FROM ANTIQUARIANISM TO URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY: TRANSFORMATION OF RESEARCH ON 'OLD' ISTANBUL THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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2021

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Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

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2021

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Firuzan Melike Sümertaş, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date .....07.04.2021.....

ABSTRACT

From Antiquarianism to Urban Archaeology:

Transformation of Research on 'Old' Istanbul throughout the Nineteenth Century

This dissertation is a study of a nineteenth-century intellectual network gathered around the agency of 'old' Constantinople as an object of antiquarian knowledge. The actors of the network are intellectuals from different backgrounds and institutions who have extensively studied different features of the long-term history of Constantinople with a particular focus on its pre-Ottoman (Byzantine) past and its physical remnants. The study deciphers its actors in relation to the intensity of their relationship with these remnants, which materialize as hubs of the network. When it comes to the study of the material past of the Byzantine layer of Constantinople, these hubs are mostly occupied by Greek-Orthodox intellectuals and institutions which published books and conducted research projects thanks to their close engagement with the urban antiquarian history of Constantinople, such as Patriarch Kōnstantios I (1770-1859), Skarlatos Byzantios (1797-1878), Alexander G. Paspatēs (1814-1891) and the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople (the *Syllogos*).

'Old' Constantinople in this dissertation is an object of knowledge in itself that creates links between various actors that were one way or another engaged with that object. The representation of this object is formed through the accumulation of knowledge on the historical urban material context and its emergence in different solid forms, such as books, journals, maps, illustrations and the like. Through close scrutiny of these representations, and the network that surround them, the thesis investigates the transformation of the knowledge on the historical material context of

Constantinople from ‘urban antiquarianism’ to ‘urban archaeology throughout the nineteenth century.

ÖZET

'Eskiçağcılık'tan Kentsel Arkeoloji'ye:
Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda 'Eski' İstanbul Çalışmalarının Dönüşümü

Bu tez ondokuzuncu yüzyılda bir ‘eskiçağcı’ (antiquarian) bilgi nesnesi olarak ‘eski’ İstanbul etrafında bir araya gelen entelektüeller ağını inceler. Burada incelenen ağın aktörleri, farklı geçmişlerden gelen, değişik kurumlara bağlı olan ve İstanbul’un uzun geçmişini özellikle Osmanlı öncesi (Bizans) dönemi ve fiziksel kalıntılarını inceleyen araştırmacılardır. Çalışma, aktörlerini bu kalıntılarla ilişkilerinin yoğunluğuna göre çözümler ve yeri geldiğinde bu yoğunluk onları ağın içindeki merkezler haline getirir. Kentin Bizans dokusu söz konusu olduğunda, bu merkezlerde çoğunlukla, şehrin geçmişi ile yakından ilgili çalışmalar yapan, kitaplar yazan, projeler yürüten Patrik Kōnstantios I (1770-1859) Skarlatos Byzantios (1797-1878), Alexander G. Paspatēs (1814-1891), Dersaadet Rum Cemiyet-i Edebiyesi (Helen Filoloji Derneği – Rum Sillogosu) gibi ‘kentsel eskiçağcı’ (urban antiquarian) Rum-Ortodoks entelektüeller ve kurumlar bulunmaktadır.

Bu tez kapsamında, ‘Eski’ İstanbul, kendisi ile o ya da bu şekilde ilintili başka başka aktörler arasında ilişkiler kuran bir bilgi nesnesidir. Bu nesnenin temsilleri, kentin tarihi fiziksel dokusu hakkındaki bilginin birikimi ile ortaya çıkmış ve kitap, dergi, harita ve çizim gibi çeşitli somut formlar almıştır. Bu temsillerin ve onları çevreleyen ağın yakın bir incelemeye tutulması ile bu tez, ondokuzuncu yüzyılda İstanbul’un tarihsel fiziksel bağlamı hakkındaki bilginin ‘kentsel eskiçağcı’ (urban antiquarianisms) bir literatürden ‘kentsel arkeoloji’ projelerine dönüşümünü inceler.

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Other Publications

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

whatever happens, happens for a reason…
yaşıyorsak, sebebi var…

For me, as a relentless Gemini, the most important thing is to communicate, to tell about yourself, your ideas, your feelings, etc. Concerning that, not surprisingly, the most enjoyable part of the Ph.D. manuscript was this, the acknowledgments which I have started drafting even before the main body of the dissertation and which was almost ready even before I got close to finishing the manuscript. Then, coronavirus (Covid-19) came. Long days of quarantine, mostly in solitude like mine, added a new chapter and a new perspective equally to this acknowledgment section and also to what I aim in life, my expectations from a post-Ph.D. career and my priorities. I was already expecting a new beginning after this long Ph.D. chapter in my life. I have decided to put my motto "whatever happens, happens for a reason" to the beginning of this page months earlier. I had truly believed in it. But today, during the Covid-19 days, my belief is confirmed.

* * *

Every Ph.D. is a long journey and although it may feel so lonely many times, no Ph.D. can be finished without the help and companion of others, be it colleagues, family, or friends. Mine is no exception. Within the rough and sometimes dark passages of this long journey, I got help from a lot of people. I consider myself very lucky in that aspect. Every person I met within the scope of this work, brought his/her touch of spice into it. They all helped it to move further and better.

First and foremost, I am delighted to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, and hopefully lifelong mentor, Ahmet Ersoy. If he was not there for me at many moments, from my first step in the Anderson Hall until the end, I would not be at this moment my-this historian self. I have truly enjoyed his guidance, his

support for all the difficulties I had to experience throughout the long Ph.D. years. And if there is anything original and worth discussing in this dissertation, it is thanks to what I have learned from him; in his seminars, in the discussions, chats we had all those years. I sincerely hope that this dissertation is not an end to but the beginning of a new chapter in my relationship with him.

I am indebted to Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, whom I admire deeply. The inspiration she gave to her students, her fascination with the past and present of this city with all aspects, her devotedness to the scholarship even in the turmoil days always reminded me what should be done to survive and provided a role model to follow. Besides her guidance, I have enjoyed every single minute of her seminars and each opportunity that I could use to learn from her.

I am also grateful to the members of my dissertation examinee committee. Murat Güvenç followed this research since its early phases and guided me through his valuable comments particularly about the theoretical background of the project. From the very first moment we met, he provided the courage for me to dive into deep seas. Haris Exertzoglou was a scholarly guide, a caring mentor, always keeping an eye on me and my research as far from as Athens. I sincerely thank Koray Durak, with whom I not only shared the joy of working together in the Making of the Modern World survey course of the History Department at Boğaziçi University but also the common interest in Greek language and Byzantine culture. His comments and guidance on the issues related to Byzantine history provided some confidence for me as a non-Byzantinist.

This dissertation is dedicated to my two role models in life, two historians, who shed light on my way: One is my father Enver Sümertaş, a devoted high school history teacher; the other is Vangelis Kechriotis, a renowned historian. They both left

us at very young ages of their lives. Yet again, both had their impact on me, as well as on other people within their vicinity, disproportionally with the time we spent together.

My father was a father of an only daughter, protective, compassionate but strict; but also, an 'Enlightened Republicanist' and thus fond lover of education. His passion to know and learn things in life, his never-ending enthusiasm for reading, and his skeptical mind always provided a role model for me. Besides being a curious reader himself, he used to read books to me before I go to sleep when I was too little to read on my own. The last such book I remember was the Robinson Crusoe. A book borrowed from the library of the secondary school in Susurluk, where he had worked almost twenty years, with a cover designed by Sabri Amca, the art teacher of the same school. The mysterious life of Robinson and Cuma became my partners in crime in my mind and dreams. Being a single child, if books became the comrades of my 'aloneness,' it is my father's doing. Moreover, I am not sure whether without the long walks and accompanying talks we had with my father in Ayvalık or Cunda or Istanbul or Efes or any possible historic site, would I ever have any interest in the history of the built environment. Being an architect was partially my choice but also partially the choice of my destiny. But I have deliberately chosen to be a historian. I owe every single step of achievement of my academic journey to my father's guidance, not only in academia but also in life in general.

Whether it is because I have lost both of them at very critical stages of my life due to the same illness, or not, I always had a feeling that if my father and Dr. Kechriotis would have known each other, they would be good friends. Both fathers in love with their daughters, and passionate teachers, colleagues, and role models. Within this very lucky but tough journey of Ph.D. the sudden illness and loss of Dr.

Kechriotis was among the most difficult moments. I feel his loss deep in my heart. I have met him very late but within such a short period, he had changed my life, and my career in a positive way, that no one else could impact more. He was not only a very well-established historian but also a "professor" who had been interested in the academic personas of each of his students. He was the actor behind the chance that I got to visit Princeton for a short graduate conference which opened my mind to sail in the greater oceans. He was my guide when I was struggling with the complex issues within the history of the Ottoman Empire. After a semester of one-to-one tutorials on the non-Muslims in the Ottoman context, he signed the book he gave me as a gift and wished me "better Wednesday mornings." I still cannot think of any "better Wednesday mornings," than those I have spent with him discussing what I have read. This dissertation is dedicated to his and my father's fond memories. I am still feeling their loss deeply in my heart. A feeling that never ceases to fade away, just blows as the 'last of the forty candles' which had burnt in my heart since their immediate and unexpected, unwanted loss.

I am also grateful to my professors at Boğaziçi University History Department, from whom I have learned a lot, at different stages of my Ph.D. and had the chance to discuss and develop my initial ideas and get guidance, knowledge, and even archival material related to my research: Edhem Eldem, Nevra Necipoğlu, Aslı Özyar, Paolo Girardelli, Meltem Toksöz, Lale Babaoğlu, Anestis Vasilakeris, Arzu Öztürkmen, Oya Pancaroğlu, Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, Derin Terzioğlu, Tony Greenwood, Selçuk Esenbel, Selim Deringil, Elif Ünlü and late Yavuz Selim Karakışla.

I attended two seminars of late Yavuz Selim Karakışla in which I have enjoyed his scholarly and friendly supervision to his students. During all the years I

have worked as a departmental research assistant, each time we came across, even though he was not my supervisor, he always made me feel that he cared about me and my Ph.D. progress as he did for most of the students in the department. The last time we met, was his last Monday afternoon, behind TB building (Anderson Hall), once he again told me: "Finish, asap, you can never know what you will encounter next in this country." I said: "I am doing my best." I still remember that day. I did not know that would be the last time I saw him.

When I have first started doing Ph.D., I was working at Eskişehir, Anadolu University, Department of Architecture (now Eskişehir Technical University) where I met Nuray Özaslan and Deniz Özkut. We have shared a lot with our "fellowship of the rings". We had to struggle with lots of difficulties. But we also achieved significant projects, among which the documentation of the twentieth-century modern architecture of Eskişehir occupies the first place. I am grateful for all the experience we had together and all I have learned from them. I also would like to thank Alper Çabuk, the chair of Department of Architecture then, for making it possible for me to commute between Eskişehir and İstanbul and thus be able to start a Ph.D. at Boğaziçi University, and İnci Güldoğan my roommate, for all her kindness and friendship.

Eskişehir was also the place where I have met my dear friends, Özgür Özer, Alper Elitok, Osman Şişman and Örsan Elitok. These all very talented men turned my days in Eskişehir into great joy. They are the strongest source of regret for me for leaving Eskişehir. My first post-doc (and post-corona) project is before pursuing any research at any institution to catch up with life and regain the time to spend with my beloved friends and family, starting immediately from Eskişehir.

Speaking of Eskişehir, I must mention my travels back and forth between İstanbul and Eskişehir. I wasn't sure that I would be able to that, but I did, for 3.5 years, without interruption. Then, I was young apparently. I am grateful to the workers and ticket conductors of "Fatih Ekspresi" and its "kuşetli vagon" for their service. I liked every morning standing at the stairs of the Haydarpaşa station and watching the "city" from afar. Each time I walked down them, I felt like one of the roles in the 1970s Turkish movies, an immigrant to the city… I still feel like an outsider in this city, waiting for the right moment to leave, and go to where I belong, if I ever can find it.

I left Eskişehir, initially for one semester in Istanbul and for good for a research year in the US. Even though Onur Baycan and Burcu Kut also live in Eskişehir, thinking of them always reminds me of our paradise-like days in the US. With the presence of Ufuk Ergin, my dear friend for more than twenty years, we had a great road trip on the East Side, including a day in the six-flags, one other rememberable memory of my research year in the US. I also would like to thank Robyn D. Radway, Emily Spratt, Henry Shapiro, James Ryan, Zachary Foster, Luca Zavagno, Ayşe Ozil, Seçil Yılmaz, Elçin Arabacı, Evrim Hikmet Öğüt, for everything we shared, events, seminars, lectures, and even parties in the US.

Returning from the US, my new home became the History Department of Boğaziçi University where I enjoyed the friendship and support of my colleagues, Oya Arıkan, Buket Köse, Ramiz Üzümçeker, Esra Ansel, Yener Koç, Betül Kaya, Damla Özakay, Burcu Işıl, Berna Kamay. The great team of the Making of the Modern World seminar, Sinan As, Işık Gürgen, Naz Özkan, Özlem Kinaş, Erdem İdil, Mete Oğuz, Merve Savaş, Okcan Yıldırımtürk, Ozan Yıldız, made our days of teaching at the North Campus most joyful of all.

MEF_FADA was the first architectural school I have worked in Istanbul. After years away from architectural school, particularly from the design studio, I am grateful to Burcu Serdar Köknar who had encouraged me all the time during my reunion with the education of architecture. I am also indebted to Arda İnceoğlu, Dean of FADA, who also trusted me without actually knowing me and my professional experience. At FADA, I have worked with a great team of colleagues, Zeynep Aydemir, Natalija Subotincic, Yelda Gin, Başak Eren, Derya Uzal, Eda Yeyman, Avşar Karababa, Bilge Kalfa, Sevince Bayrak, Ali Paşaoğlu, Tomris Akın, Ahmet Sezgin, Kürşad Özdemir, İpek Yürekli, Ozan Avcı, Şebnem Yüksel and last but not least Aslı Şener and I enjoyed every single moment I had spent at the Hangar.

In all these institutions, I worked with pleasure and I have learned a lot. Finally, I found myself very lucky to be a part of the lively academic environment of Kadir Has University, Faculty of Art and Design, Department of Architecture. I am grateful to Arzu Erdem and Ezgi Tuncer, who have welcomed me to this great group of architects, designers, artists, including my roommate Birge Yıldırım Okta and everyone else from the Faculty of Arts and Design. I had the pleasure of working with Ufuk Soyöz, Ali Onat Türker, Gürbey Hiz, Ali Dur, Sarper Takkeci, Sait Ali Köknar, Ayşe Erek, Didem Kılıçkıran, Beril Sezen, Tutku Sevinç, Aybike Batuk, Aslıhan Demirtaş, Atıl Aggündüz and Kıvanç Kılınç. Unfortunately, the current conditions of quarantine prevented us from sharing the same habitat. I also would like to thank Sabri Gökmen, the chair of the Department of Architecture, for his kind help and collaboration for the issues regarding my position as faculty at Kadir Has University.

Through all these years, I have lived in seven different cities in three countries, on three continents. Being a graduate student is not far from being a

nomad, obviously. Still, settling down is not what I expect from a post-Ph.D. life since I enjoyed every moment of my travels that this Ph.D. had required. I do not even remember how many times I have changed home within certain periods. I met many people, got help from most. I made a lot of friends, while I also lost many of them. I sincerely apologize to those friends whose close friendship I could not enjoy enough, due to my lack of time and energy or change of locus. Yet, many did not give up on me. Even though sometimes due to my lack of energy, I failed to pay back their commitment to our friendship. Seçil Yılmaz was my mentor of all academic levels, since we first met as undergrad students in the meetings of ÇDT at METU, some twenty years ago. From day one of my Ph.D. application process to the final jury day, she was there to support and encourage me. I cannot thank her enough to express my gratefulness. Haris Theodorelis-Rigas a very worthy scholar, never hesitated one second to share his work, his ideas, his guidance, and his friendship all through my research and writing process. I am very delighted to enjoy his friendship and I consider myself very lucky to have his scholarly guidance as well as his fine touch on the final editing of this manuscript. Melis Cankara was one good soul, who never has quitted believing in me, during times even when I lost belief in myself. In her way of doing things, she found her way to support and empower me on many different occasions. Füsun Gençel Okay is not only a friend for more than 35 years, or a sister. She is like my better half. She knows me better than I do most of the time and she has believed in me, many times even when I did not believe in myself. Whenever my eyes looked for somewhere or someone to rely on, I found her just there, next to me. I am not so sure whether I could be for her even a quarter of what she was, and she is for me. Without her company, I would not be me, let alone this dissertation. Başak Kural Uslu and İlke Gürbüz Gencer, together with Füsun, you are

my history. I grew up with you. You are a part of me, and the reason I am me. I am so lucky to have you nearby after so many years. May it continue ever. Bahar Karabulut and Ülkü Oktay in Istanbul and Figen Kıvılcım Çorakbaş in Eskişehir and later in Bursa surrounded me with their caring friendship all these tough years of Ph.D. as they always did since our very first days in the School of Architecture at METU in Ankara. From casual daily meetings to the days, nights and holidays we spent together, they made me feel that they are the family of my choosing. Onur Şar is one of the greatest gifts of Ph.D. I met him in my very early, 'immature' years at Boğaziçi and grew with his friendship. I learned many things from him, and I also introduced him to the joyful life we have lived in "taşra" such as celebrating the new year ☺ Saadet Özen is another precious gift of this long Ph.D. journey. Working with her was and will always be great joy and lots of learning for me. Nilay Özlü, my comrade Architect/Historian, was the person with whom, I shared the burden of this transformation but also always found a way to have great fun.

Among all periods of Ph.D. they say that the beginning and the end are the most difficult ones. I have survived them both. But for me, the final part was harder than the beginning. I will never forget the support of those who did not leave me alone within the dark tunnels of the final stage of writing. We made a great group of library fellows, Berna Kamay, Kutay Şen, Burcu Işıl, Yener Koç, Gülseren Duman, and many other friends we have encountered at the North Campus. I am particularly grateful to my comrades in writing and partners in crime, Berna Kamay and Kutay Şen, the eyewitnesses of what a thesis-writing process can do to one poor soul: Berna as my housemate and later on neighbor, and Kutay Şen our "pride giving brother," I feel so lucky for having you beside me for the final though days of writing. The unforgettable days of quarantine in Spring 2020 would not be bearable if Berna and

her family were not there. The days we have spent, either in the vicinity of the school or some distant corner of Istanbul, which we had chosen to study for that particular day, were among the most enjoyable ones. I sincerely thank and wish them a successful and happy path in their own routes in Ph.D. and in life.

I have met one of the most influential women of my life very lately. I am grateful to Vera Bulgurlu, for everything I have learned from her about different disciplines within the scholarship, about the history of the Byzantine Empire and the history of this city, but more and more about life itself. She is among the strongest women I have ever met: Very patient and ambitious. I am glad to have the chance to work with her closely and enjoy her company, friendship, and guidance. I also would like to thank her particularly for the time she devoted to the reading of my chapters. I am also grateful to her sister Anna Maria Pertan, who also read my chapters and helped me in different aspects of this project.

I am so lucky to have a large family. My "Geniş Aile" has always been my support throughout long years and turning tough corners of life and Ph.D. Whenever I needed help, in any terms, my uncles and aunts were just next to me. The caring friendship of my cousins, Sertan & Bilge Aşkan, Hülya & Caner Sevginer, Gökçe Aşkan, Emre & Nesil Çalışkan and the joy of having two cutest niece and nephew ever, Ceren & Can was light bringing aspects of my life. My only regret for the time I have dedicated to writing this thesis that, it could be dedicated more to Ceren and to Can. I hope one day when they get old enough to read these pages, they will understand my sorrow and forgive me.

Last but not least, my mom, Müjgan Sümertaş, my inspiration in life, despite everything that life has given to and taken from her, had to stand very strong against life, stronger than many could do. Besides being the great teacher of all my ages, I

have learned to resist in life, sometimes resist against life from her. Without knowingly I found myself admiring her. This dissertation is my thanks to her for everything she has done and sacrificed for me.

* * *

This Ph.D. would not be possible if I did not get the support of certain significant institutions. My first step into Istanbul was thanks to The Paul Getty Foundation Connecting Art Histories Initiative. That semester I have spent in Istanbul working as the project assistant, I have opened my eyes to the possibility of new horizons and draw a new life path for myself.

Fulbright Exchange Commission of the US State Department provided the best academic experience I could ever get, at Princeton University, USA. I am also grateful to Molly Greene for accepting my application to be under her supervision in History Department at Princeton University. I cannot also forget her hospitality from the first day that I have stepped into the United States. Besides being an academic mentor, she was also a close friend during my days in Princeton. I remember her and John Haldon's support with great gratitude.

My days in Princeton was spent with my attendance to the seminars of Molly Greene, Heath Lowry and Şükrü Hanioğlu on different topics related to the history of the Ottoman Empire, lectures, events on Modern Greek history at the Hellenic Studies Program run by Dimitris Gondicas as well as long reading and research hours in the Firestone Library (a.k.a paradise!) and its Rare Collection. That year, spent within the scholarly milieu of Princeton was one of the most formative periods of this Ph.D.

I got the chance to pursue my research both in Turkey and in Greece, With the funds from ARIT İstanbul and French School at Athens. I would like to extend

my gratitude also to Vehbi Koç Vakfı and AKMED which have supported this dissertation in the year 2019. (Proje No: KU AKMED 2019 / T.1059) Travel funds from Princeton University, London School of Economics, Modern Greek Studies Association as well as Boğaziçi University Foundation and TUBİTAK provided opportunities to share my work with the established scholars and graduate fellows around the world, at different stages of my Ph.D. I got scholarship from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of Philosophy for the Modern Greek Summer School. The University of Crete, under the auspices of the Erasmus Student Exchange Program and Sismanoglio Megaro of Greek Consulate in Istanbul together with Stavros Niarchos and Bodossaki Foundations, provided scholarships for my Modern Greek language education. I am especially grateful to Eva Achladi and Angeliki Douri from Sismanoglio Megaro for their committed teaching and help in the long years of learning Greek as well as their help with the Father Sakoulidis Library at Sismanoglio. I also would like to thank Antonis Anastosopoulos and Elias Kolovos, first my professors from the Erasmus Program at the University of Crete, and later on my friends. I have also enjoyed the fruitful scholarly environment of the Istanbul Studies Center at Kadir Has University as a research fellow even before and without knowing that I would end up being a member of faculty myself at the university. I want to thank Funda Dönmez Ferhanoğlu for all help with the matters regarding the center, with her always kind and smiling attitude even long after my fellowship has ended.

Throughout the writing process, I got great help from my friends, colleagues, professors. I am grateful to all of them: Edhem Eldem shared with me the materials he has encountered about the *Syllogos* or Paspates. Additionally, together with Üzeyir Altekin and Havva Koç, he enabled me to see the 28 mt. long scroll of

Demetriades at the Library of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. Seeing the scroll in reality was one of the most vivid memories of mine from the research period. Elçin Macar provided Dimitri Rayçoncovski's graduate thesis, a very rare source on the Archaeological Commission of the *Syllogos* and their research. Mehmet Kentel brought Petropoulos's manuscript at Suna – İnan Kıraç Vakfı Manuscript Collection to my attention. I am also grateful to him for sharing his wonderful dissertation on the nineteenth-century Pera. (With a very sad instance, after we have lost him just recently, I realized that our beloved friend, late Yavuz Sezer brought this manuscript to my attention in 2017. Without realizing that it was not the published copy that I was working on, but another, yet handwritten version, I had replied to him, 'yes I know it!' No, I did not! And Yavuz, as always, knew it! This short instance is always in my mind, for me to remember Yavuz and what a valuable friend we lost. May he rest in peace.) Damla Özakay shared her unpublished seminar paper and Ozan Yıldız his unpublished master's thesis. Gülru Tanman provided access to the copies of the epigraphical works of the *Syllogos* kept in the Istanbul Research Institute, Semavi Eyice collection. Nurçin İleri helped me to access the Robert College archives kept at Boğaziçi University. I am grateful to all of them. I am also indebted to Timur Hammond for the discussion at MESA 2017 which gave me the insight for formulating my last major chapter particularly. Nicholas Melvani, each time I wrote to him, answered my never-ending questions about Byzantine Constantinople with great patience and in meticulous detail. Seyfi Berk, Kamber Yılmaz, Sevim Cevizbaş from Boğaziçi University Aptullah Kuran Library, made us feel at home during our long library hours with their kind help in all matters. Alp Eren Topal and his 'digital sarraf' provided the most crucial support that is having a virtual library in our reach. The great photocopy office team of

Boğaziçi Library, Engin Gündoğan, and co: Özgen Kaya, Çağdaş Aydoğan, and Mustafa Aydoğan were the hidden heroes of my Ph.D. life, with their never-ending help for providing copies of any source from the library collection. Christian Hillman proofread some of my chapters, before their final editing by Haris Theodorelis-Rigas. Elena Papadopoulou provided the translations of Katharevousa passages from my sources. She also kindly offered her friendship and company throughout these years. Mustafa Baştürk transcribed some early documents from BOA.

I have pursued a significant part of my archival research, particularly on the *Syngramma Periodikon* of the *Syllogos* in Asia Minor Studies Center in Athens. I am thankful to Dimitris Kamouzis who also became a friend in Athens and Stavros Anestidis who provided great help for my research at the center in the summer of 2015. Savvas Tsilenis was always both a scholarly guide and friend with whom I shared my great inspiration to this city and the Greek culture that is embedded in its stones and bricks. I also would like to thank Marianna Yerasimos, who not only shared her knowledge on Alexander G. Paspates with me but also provided logistics for my research period in Athens.

Through my long Ph.D. I got the chance to participate in significant projects, in which I mostly collaborated with my close friends. The Yıldız Palace Museum with Gürem Özbayar, Zeynep Kutlu, Saadet Özen, Özlem Kinaş, with the meticulous supervision of Ali Akyıldız; the Map of Female Patrons in Ottoman Istanbul at SALT Research with Murat Tülek, Meriç Öner, Lorans Tanatar Baruh, Masum Yıldız and Can Gümüş; the Reşad Ekrem Koçu Archive as a joint work between Kadir Has University and SALT with the great chance of getting guidance from Selim Kuru and Reşat Kasaba from the University of Washington. Finally, the exhibition of "The Conqueror's Renaissance" by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality,

provided the opportunity to work with Nurhan Atasoy, “the professor of the professors” closely. I am grateful to Mahir Polat and Oktay Özel for this unique chance. I would like to thank all my colleagues who at different levels participated to the project, for their collaboration.

* * *

Firuzan Melike that has started a Ph.D. more than a decade ago is never the same person, who is just about to finish. Time has passed, I have changed, people around me have changed, the cities I have lived had changed. I do not know how life would be without all these but besides the work that I am now finishing, I am grateful for those who had entered in my life, even for a short while thanks to Ph.D. and sorry for those who had left… With this dissertation, and the end of my Ph.D. I feel like a chapter in life ends and a new one begins. I expect to have more of my friends around me with more of those happy and blissful moments of life together.

The writing year of 2019-2020 was a year of the "unexpected." Unexpected incidents, unexpected arrivals, unexpected departures… Not only due to the rough ups and downs of the long process of writing but also everything (including and excluding Covid-19) literally and metaphorically, that I had to handle with my body and heart, tested my courage and devotedness to the Ph.D., this dissertation, and the writing process in general. It is also throughout this thesis process that, I have learned to welcome and embrace everything that has happened with patience and peace, as I believe, whatever happens, happens for a reason… *yaşıyorsak, sebebi var…*

To

Enver Sümertaş
&
Vangelis Kechriotis

To whom, inspired me to be a historian

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Literature review 4

1.2 Methodology: The Network 26

1.3 Sources 35

1.4 Chapter Outlines 48

PART I EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST IN CONSTANTINOPLE 52

CHAPTER 2 PATRIARCH KŌNSTANTIOS I 53

2.1 The biography of the Patriarch 63

2.2 *The Kōnstantinias,* Ancient and Modern Constantinople 71

2.3 Antiquarianism 87

2.4 Urban antiquarianism at work: the *Kōnstantinias* 103

2.5 Conclusion 114

CHAPTER 3 SKARLATOS BYZANTIOS: TOWARDS AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING HISTORY OF CONSTANTINOPLE 116

3.1 The biography of Skarlatos Byzantios 117

3.2 Constantinople, an overview 124

3.3 Urban Antiquarianism at work: *Constantinople* in detail 138

3.4 Sources 151

3.5 Conclusion 170

PART II FROM ANTIQUARIANISM TO URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY: ALEXANDER G. PASPATĒS AND THE *SYLLOGOS* 175

CHAPTER 4 AN ANTIQUARIAN IN TOWN: ALEXANDER G. PASPATĒS AND *BYZANTINAI MELETAI* 177

4.1 The Life of Paspatēs 181

4.2 Paspatēs: From medical doctor to antiquarian 187

4.3 *The Byzantine Studies (Byzantinai Meletai):* From urban antiquarianism to urban archaeology 193

4.4 Paspatēs's Sources: 222

4.5 Conclusion: Paspatēs's influence and legacy 235

CHAPTER 5 THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF URBAN ANTIQUARIANISM: TOWARDS URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY 241

5.1 The *Syllogos* 243

5.2 'New' knowledge and the rise of learned societies in the Ottoman Empire 269

5.3 Research on the historical topography of Constantinople 286

5.4 Conclusion 306

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION: EPILOGUE 309

APPENDIX A: ORIGINALS OF THE QUOTATIONS IN GREEK 321

APPENDIX B: TABLE OF VERSIONS OF THE *KŌNSTANTINIAS* 337

APPENDIX C: TABLE OF CONTENTS OF *DE TOPOGRAPHIA CONSTANTINOPOLEOS ET DE ILLIUS ANTIQUITATIBUS* BY PETRUS GYLLIUS 338

APPENDIX D: THE LIST OF THE SUPPORTERS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD VOLUMES OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY BYZANTIOS 344

APPENDIX E: TABLE OF CONTENTS, *CONSTANTINOPLE* BY BYZANTIOS, VOL 1- 3……...345

APPENDIX F: OTTOMAN ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS..... 352

APPENDIX G: LIST OF EXTERIOR STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF HAGIA SOPHIA……357

APPENDIX H: NEWSPAPER CLIPPING OF PASPATES'S EULOGY……..361

APPENDIX I: AMHERST COLLEGE ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS…..…….362

APPENDIX J: PASPATES DOCUMENTS FROM BNF, GALLICA……365

APPENDIX K: LIST OF KNOWN AND UNKNOWN CHURCHES IN *BYZANTINAI MELETAI*……..……..…….……..368

APPENDIX L: THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *BYZANTINAI MELETAI*………369

APPENDIX M: MAN WITH A CANDLE IN THE PRISON OF ANEMAS...…370

APPENDIX N: THE ADDRESS OF THE SYLLOGOS IN THE LETTERHEAD……371

APPENDIX O: ORIGINALS OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM *MECMÛ'A-I FÜNÛN*…….372

APPENDIX P : A SECTION FROM THE MARMARA WALLS SCROLL BY DĒMĒTRIADĒS.....374

REFERENCES..... 375

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Constantinopolitan Network 32

Figure 2. The cover of the *Kōnstantinias,* the first book edition of 1820, in Greek . 55

Figure 3. The cover of the *Kōnstantinias*, the second book edition of 1824, in Greek 55

Figure 4. The cover of the *Kōnstantinias,* the third book edition of 1844, in Greek 56

Figure 5. The cover of the *Constantiniade*, fourth book edition of the *Kōnstantinias* in 1846, in French 57

Figure 6. The first page of *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl*, issue 6, with the first part of the *tefrika* (series) of *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* at the bottom of the page 58

Figure 7. The first page of *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* in 1861 59

Figure 8. The cover of *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* the eighth book edition of the *Kōnstantinias* in 1868, in English 59

Figure 9. Patriarch Kōnstantios I (1770-1859) 64

Figure 10. The cover of the biography of Patriarch Kōnstantios by Aristoklēs 64

Figure 11. Greek Commercial School, in Chalkē (Heybeliada) 65

Figure 12. The cover of *Eisagōgē eis ta Geōgrafika kai Sfairika* by Notaras, 1716 73

Figure 13. The cover of *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de Illius Antiquitatibus* by Petrus Gyllius 86

Figure 14. The cover of *The Antiquities of Constantinople* by Petrus Gyllius 86

Figure 15. The cover of *Roma Instaurata* 92

Figure 16. Portrait image of Skarlatos Byzantios 117

Figure 17. The cover of *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 1, by Skarlatos Byzantios 119

Figure 18. The cover of *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 2, by Skarlatos Byzantios 120

Figure 19. The cover of *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 3, by Skarlatos Byzantios 120

Figure 20. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Lithograph by Josef Kriehuber, 1843 .. 155

Figure 21. The cover of *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall 157

Figure 22. The map of Constantinople by Kauffer, published by Skarlatos Byzantios 165

Figure 23. İncili Köşk 166

Figure 24. Emperors Constantine the Great & Justinianos 167

Figure 25. The Edirnekapı Gate 167

Figure 26. Alexander G. Paspatēs 182

Figure 27. Photograph of Alexander G. Paspatēs by G. Berggren 185

Figure 28. The cover of *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn,* by Alexander G. Paspatēs 189

Figure 29. The cover of *Byzantinai Meletai* by Alexander G. Paspatēs 196

Figure 30. Façade drawing by Kōnstantinos Dēmadēs 207

Figure 31. Draft sketch of the Walls surrounding the Topkapı Palace grounds 208

Figure 32. Location of Boukoleon Palace within the layout of Great Palace 210

Figure 33. Drawing of the Monastery of Manouēl/Kefeli Mescidi by Manarakēs . 215

Figure 34. The exterior drawing of the Studios Monastery by Manarakēs 215

Figure 35. The interior drawing of the Studios Monastery by Manarakēs 216

Figure 36. Drawing of the Pantokrator Monastery/Zeyrek Mosque by Manarakēs 216

Figure 37. Drawing of the Hagia Theodosia Church/Gül Mosque by Manarakēs .. 217

Figure 38. Drawing of the Chora Monastery/Kariye Mosque by Manarakēs 217

Figure 39. Location of the *Syllogos* building in Goad's Insurance Maps 249

Figure 40. Detail from Goad's Insurance Maps, plate 39 249

Figure 41. The façade of building of the *Syllogos* on Topçular Street 251
Figure 42. The interior of the *Syllogos* library. 252
Figure 43. Geōrgios Dēmētriadēs 264
Figure 44. The cover of the first issue of *Syngramma Periodikon* 266
Figure 45. Details from the Column of Markarianos, Kıztaşı..... 268
Figure 46. The plan of the Pammakaristos Monastery 268
Figure 47. The cover page of *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* 278
Figure 48. The list of locations pointed on the Land Walls map 289
Figure 49. Detail from page 2, the list of locations pointed on the map 290
Figure 50. Topkapı (Gate), drawn by Manarakēs 290
Figure 51. Mevlevihane Kapı, drawn by Manarakēs 291
Figure 52. Yedikule, drawn by Manarakēs 291
Figure 53. Tekfur Saray (Palace), drawn by Manarakēs..... 291
Figure 54. Anemas Prison, drawn by Manarakēs 292
Figure 55. The table indicating the differences between the map of the *Syllogos* and other famous maps of Constantinople..... 293
Figure 56. The map of the Land Walls of Constantinople, published by Dēmētriadēs in 1881..... 296
Figure 57. The map of the Land Walls of Constantinople..... 296
Figure 58. Map of the Galata Walls by Marie de Launay..... 299
Figure 59. The portrait of Geōrgios Zarifi 305
Figure 60. Interior wall image from the Kariye Mosque 311
Figure 61. Correspondence between W. Metcalfe and Paspatēs about the translation of *Ta Byzantina Anaktora* 317
Figure 62. The newspaper clip of The New York Times, the funeral of Zarifi..... 318

Figure 63. The façade of the *Syllogos* building from Topçular Street (on the left) 320

Figure 64. The parking lot on the site of the demolished building of the *Syllogos* (on the right)..... 320

The thesis follows the Library of Congress for the Romanization of Greek texts, titles, names.

Greek

Vernacular	*Romanization*	*Vernacular*	*Romanization*
A	A	α	a
B	B (Ancient and Medieval)	β	b (Ancient and Medieval)
	V (Modern)		v (Modern)
Γ	G	γ	g
		γγ	ng
Γκ	Gk	γκ	gk (initially and finally)
			nk (medially)
		γξ	nx
		γχ	nch
Δ	D	δ	d
E	E	ε	e
Z	Z	ζ	z
H	Ē	η	ē
Θ	Th	θ	th
I	I	ι	i
K	K	κ	k
Λ	L	λ	l
M	M	μ	m
Μπ	B	μπ	b (initially)
			mp (medially and finally)
N	N	ν	n
Ντ	D̲	ντ	d̲ (initially)
			nt (medially and finally)
Ξ	X	ξ	x
O	O	ο	o
Π	P	π	p
P	R	ρ	r
Ῥ	Rh (see notes)	ῥ	rh (see notes)
Σ, C	S	σ, c, ς (final)	s
T	T	τ	t
Y	Y	υ	y (u in diphthongs αυ, ευ, ηυ, ου, υι, and ωυ)

Φ	Ph	φ	ph
Χ	Ch	χ	ch
Ψ	Ps	ψ	ps
Ω	Ō	ω	ō

Archaic letters

Ϝ	W	ϝ	w
Ϙ	Ḳ	ϙ	ḳ

Notes

For the purposes of this table, texts written before 1454 are considered Ancient or Medieval Greek, and texts written after 1453 are considered Modern Greek.

The rough breathing (῾) is romanized *h*. When it appears with a vowel or a diphthong, the *h* precedes the romanized vowel or diphthong; when it appears with rho (Ῥ, ῥ), the *h* follows the romanized rho (*Rh, rh*). The *h* is supplied as appropriate when the rough breathing does not appear in the Greek text (for example, when the text is in all capitals, or, in Modern Greek, when the text is in monotonic orthography). *Exception:* in Modern Greek, romanize Ῥ/ῥ as Rh/rh only if the rough breathing appears in the Greek text.

Other diacritical marks, such as the smooth breathing, the coronis, acute, circumflex, and grave accents, and the diaeresis, as well as iota subscript and adscript, are omitted in romanization.

Examples

Ancient and Medieval

ΗΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΚΡΑΙΟΥ ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ (= Ἡσιόδου τοῦ Ἀσκραίου Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι)	Hēsiodou tou Askraiou Erga kai hēmerai
Η ΤΟΥ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΙΛΙΑΣ (= Ἡ τοῦ Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς)	Hē tou Homērou Ilias
ΦΙΛΗΒΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΗΔΟΝΗΣ (= Φίληβος ἢ Περὶ ἡδονῆς)	Philēbos ē Peri hēdonēs
ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ (= Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ)	Agnōstō theō

κεῖται παρ’ Ἅιδῃ	keitai par’ Hadē
ΑΙΤΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ (= Αἴτια Ῥωμαϊκά)	Aitia Rhōmaika
Ὅτι οὐδ’ ἡδέως ζῆν ἔστι κατ’ Ἐπίκουρον	Hoti oud’ hēdeōs zēn esti kat’ Epikouron
Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως πιστεύειν διαβολῇ	Peri tou mē rhadiōs pisteuein diabolē
ἀϋπνους νύκτας ἴαυον	aypnous nyktas iauon
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός	Lētous kai Dios huios
ὑϊκὸν πάσχειν	hyikon paschein
εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς	eipe pros ton andra ton heōutēs
τί τοῦδ’ ἂν εὕρημ’ ηὗρον εὐτυχέστερον;	ti toud’ an heurēm’ hēuron eutychesteron?
Τοῦ Κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχου βιβλίον α΄	Tou Kata pasōn haireseōn elenchou biblion 1
καλὸν κἀγαθόν	kalon kagathon
ᾤχοντο θοἰμάτιον λαβόντες μου	ōchonto thoimation labontes mou
Περὶ ἰλίγγων	Peri ilingōn
ὅτε τ’ ἴαχε σάλπιγξ	hote t’ iache salpinx
Ἐγχειρίδιον ἁρμονικῆς	Encheiridion harmonikēs
ἄλαστα δὲ Ϝέργα πάθον κακὰ μησαμένοι	alasta de werga pathon kaka mēsamenoi
Δαμαρέτα τ’ ἐρατά τε Ϝιανθεμίς	Damareta t’ erata te Wianthemis
ΞΕΝϜΟΣ (= ξένϜος)	xenwos
ΠΑΤΡΟϘΛΟΣ (= Πάτροϙλος)	Patroḳlos

Modern

Ἐτήσια ἔκθεσις / Κυπριακὴ Δημοκρατία, Ὑπουργεῖον Ἐργασίας καὶ Κοινωνικῶν Ἀσφαλίσεων	Etēsia ekthesis / Kypriakē Dēmokratia, Hypourgeion Ergasias kai Koinōnikōn Asphaliseōn
Ετήσια έκθεση / Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, Υπουργείο Εργασίας και Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων	Etēsia ekthesē / Kypriakē Dēmokratia, Hypourgeio Ergasias kai Koinōnikōn Asphaliseōn
Ελληνικό Ίδρυμα Ευρωπαϊκής και Εξωτερικής Πολιτικής	Hellēniko Hidryma Eurōpaikēs kai Exōterikēs Politikēs
Ελευθέριος Δ. Παυλίδης	Eleutherios D. Paulidēs
Ορθόδοξος Αυτοκέφαλος Εκκλησία της Αλβανίας	Orthodoxos Autokephalos Ekklēsia tēs Alvanias
Βίος και πολιτεία του Αλέξη Ζορμπά (= Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἀλέξη Ζορμπᾶ)	Vios kai politeia tou Alexē Zormpa
Λασκαρίνα Μπουμπουλίνα	Laskarina Boumpoulina
Νταίηβιντ Μίτσελ	D̲aiēvint Mitsel

Τζαίημς Τζόυς	Tzaiēms Tzoys
Ἡ κοινωνιολογία τοῦ ρεμπέτικου	Hē koinōniologia tou rempetikou
Βίλλυ Μπραντ	Villy Brant
Μπραντ Πιτ	Brant Pit
Γιάκομπ Φίλιπ Φαλμεράυερ	Giakomp Philip Phalmerayer
Σαρλ Ογκουστίν ντε Κουλόμπ	Sarl Onkoustin de Koulomp
Λαμπέρτο Ντίνι	Lamperto Dini
Τζωρτζ Χέρμπερτ Ουώκερ Μπους	Tzōrtz Chermpert Ouōker Bous
Ουίνστων Τσώρτσιλ	Ouinstōn Tsōrtsil
Παγκόσμιο Κέντρο Εμπορίου	Pankosmio Kentro Emporiou
Φαίδων Γκιζίκης	Phaidōn Gkizikēs
Γκέτεμποργκ	Gketemporgk
Ουάσιγκτον	Ouasinkton
Ουάσινγκτον	Ouasinnkton
Αεροδρόμιο Ρόναλντ Ρέιγκαν της Ουάσινγκτον	Aerodromio Ronalnt Reinkan tēs Ouasinnkton
Ντμίτρι Ιβάνοβιτς Μεντελέγιεφ	Dmitri Ivanovits Mentelegieph
Άγγελος Σταύρου Βλάχος	Angelos Staurou Vlachos
ΟΔΗΓΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΕΤΙΝΓΚ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ / Ἑλληνικό	Hodēgos marketingk Hellados / Hellēniko
[sic] Ἰνστιτοῦτο Μάρκετινγκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς	Institouto Marketingk tēs Hellēnikēs Hetairias
Ἑταιρίας Διοικήσεως Ἐπιχειρήσεων	Dioikēseōs Epicheirēseōn
Σάλπιγξ Ἑλληνική	Salpinx Hellēnikē
Μπιντπάϋ	Bintpay
Η υιοθεσία ενηλίκων	Hē huiothesia enēlikōn
οι Άρπυιες	hoi Harpuies

Greek numerals

Character	*Value*	*Character*	*Value*
α′	1	ρ′	100
β′	2	σ′	200
γ′	3	τ′	300
δ′	4	υ′	400
ε′	5	φ′	500
Ϝ′, ϛ′, στ′	6	χ′	600
ζ′	7	ψ′	700
η′	8	ω′	800
θ′	9	ϡ′	900

ι′	10	,α	1000
ια′	11	,αα	1001
…	…	,αβ	1002
κ′	20	…	…
κα′	21	,β	2000
κβ′	22	,γ	3000
…	…	,δ	4000
λ′	30	,ε	5000
μ′	40	…	…
ν′	50		
ξ′	60		
ο′	70		
π′	80		
ϙ′, ϟ′	90		

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of a nineteenth-century intellectual network gathered around the agency of 'old' Constantinople as an object of antiquarian knowledge. The actors of the network under scrutiny here were intellectuals from different backgrounds and institutions who have extensively studied different features of the long-term history of Constantinople with a particular focus on its pre-Ottoman (Byzantine) past and its physical remnants.[1]

With the deployment of this network, this study aims to challenge the established state- and ethno-religious community-oriented focus that has shaped the studies on the history of Ottoman Constantinople until recently. The utilization of a network for the inquiry into a group of people has called for the investigation of novel sets of interactions other than the pre-established categories among these 'actors.' As such, the network helps us transcend the disciplinary limitations of contemporary scholarship established within boundaries defined along the ethno-religious identities of the actors, as well as their languages of scholarly research. Additionally, such an inquiry, following the links of a network, paves the way for the surfacing of new sets of actors regarding 'old' Constantinople and its physical remnants, beyond the 'usual suspects' i.e., the Ottoman state and its institutions such as the Imperial Museum.

Within the scope of this study, the binding element for the intellectual network examined is the physical remnants of 'old' Constantinople. Accordingly, the

[1] This dissertation deliberately refers to the city as 'Constantinople', as opposed to its modern name Istanbul due to its focus on the 'old,' 'historical' (read the Byzantine city of Constantine) context of the city. In the few instances where it is noted as 'Istanbul' the reference is to contemporary aspects of the city.

study deciphers these actors in relation to the intensity of their relationship with these remnants, which would materialize as hubs of the network. When it came to the study of the material past of the Byzantine layer of Constantinople, these hubs were mostly occupied by Greek-Orthodox[2] intellectuals and institutions which published books and conducted research projects thanks to their close engagement with the urban antiquarian history of Constantinople. Accordingly, Patriarch Kōnstantios I (1770-1859) and his *Kōnstantinias,* Skarlatos Byzantios (1797-1878) and his work *Constantinople*, Alexander G. Paspatēs (1814-1891) and his *Byzantinai Meletai,* (Byzantine Studies), and the Greek Literary Society (*Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* - hereafter *Syllogos*), its Archaeological Commission in particular, and the archaeological supplements to the annual journal of the *Syllogos* will be under investigation in relation to the wider network that surrounded and connected them.[3]

Sources, authors and institutions from the wider intellectual environment of Constantinople will further accompany this investigation: Petrus Gyllius and his book *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de Illius Antiquitatibus,* (*The Topography of Constantinople and its Antiquities*), Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and his *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî and his *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî*, *(Garden of Mosques)*, as well as the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniye, (Ottoman Society of Science)*, another late-nineteenth-century intellectual society in Constantinople, concurrently active with the *Syllogos.* Together they will

[2] Within the scope of this study, the reference to the Greek-Orthodox community of Constantinople is a general, non-exclusive reference to Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox members of Ottoman society. It does not denote any ethnic-national identity or subjecthood to the Ottoman or any other state. For a detailed inquiry on the relation between various different names embraced by the Greek-Orthodox depending on the regional, chronological or historiographical context, see Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the late Ottoman Empire,* particularly: "Introduction," 1-21; Theodorelis-Rigas, "Identity, informal institutions and collective action in Istanbul's Rum community in the twenty-first century," particularly "Chapter 2.2 'Rum,' 'Greek' and 'Arab Orthodox,'" 28-36.
[3] See section '1.3 Sources' of this chapter for detailed information on these source materials.

constitute the nodes employed in my tracing of the implications and links of the Greek-speaking intelligentsia within the broader scope of the Ottoman (and European) intellectual world.

The timeframe of this study expands throughout the nineteenth century, starting as early as 1820 with the *Kōnstantinias.* However, particular attention will be devoted to a period which spans roughly more than two decades, from early 1860s to mid-1880s. This is the period in which the two major hubs of the aforementioned network, Alexander G. Paspatēs and the *Syllogos* were in a productive collaboration, culminating with Paspatēs's decision to move his research endeavor under the umbrella of the *Syllogos*.

'Old' Constantinople in this dissertation is an object of knowledge in itself that creates links between various actors that were one way or another engaged with that object. The representation of this object is formed through the accumulation of knowledge on the historical urban material context and its emergence in different solid forms, such as books, journals, maps and the like. Therefore, the content of this research lies somewhere in between an urban history of Ottoman Constantinople and a history of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, while being neither and both at the same time; hence the utilization of terms, such as 'urban antiquarianism' and 'urban archaeology.' Urban antiquarianism denotes an antiquarian interest in city-scale structures, buildings such as churches, city walls, columns or the urban context as a unity in itself, rather than a focus on the small-scale, movable remnants of the past such as relics, bones, artefacts etc. Urban archaeology, on the other hand, signifies the institutionalized, method-based scientific study of these material remnants within the urban context. Accordingly, this study aims to portray the transformation that scholarship on Constantinople underwent in the nineteenth century, i.e. the gradual

passage from an urban antiquarian literature with a broader focus on the urban context, to the precursors of modern, institutionalized urban archaeology that emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century, through an inquiry into its agents, who constitute the nodes of the intellectual network extending from the Greek community to Ottoman bureaucracy and, in turn, to European intellectual circles.

1.1 Literature review

With its research agenda, this study aims to engage with different research fields concerned with the historical study of the Ottoman Empire. First and foremost, it implements a rather novel perspective on the history of nineteenth-century Constantinople. Diverging from established scholarship, which focuses on nineteenth-century Constantinople as the modernizing (a.k.a. Westernizing) and bureaucratizing capital of the Ottoman Empire, with particular emphasis on the relationship of the urban context with novel developments ranging from new urban institutions to new urban interference, from new settlement areas to new urban technologies and infrastructures, this work focuses on the historical stratum of the city, mostly concentrated within the intra-mural town. Accordingly, it aims to pose questions about the relationship between the physical urban context and the transforming approaches to its past. Secondly, in order to engage critically with the studies about the rise of antiquarianism and archaeology and their transformation as nascent domains of knowledge in the Ottoman Empire, which predominantly focus on the role of the Ottoman state and its institutions, such as the famous Imperial Museum of Antiquities, this study foregrounds the role of non-state institutions and individuals with antiquarian research agendas which would eventually evolve into

methodological and institutional *in-situ* investigations (archaeological), of the urban remains of Byzantine Constantinople. As mentioned earlier, these non-state institutions and individuals, and their interconnections and possible impact on state agendas would form the very network that this study dwells on. The third aspect of the research agenda of this study approaches critically the domain of the cultural and intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire. Even the most recent studies regarding the diverse cultural and intellectual environment of Ottoman Constantinople have a tendency to explore the domain with an exclusivist focus informed by long-established categories of inquiry, such as the language of intellectual and cultural activity, or the communal body within which these activities take place and the ethno-religious identity of its actors.[4] As a result, emerging examples of this sort create homogenous spheres of knowledge, i.e. Greek Press, Armenian Architects, which inevitably fall short of fully representing the multifaceted aspects of intellectual and cultural life in the Ottoman Empire. Such an approach not only limits the possibilities of inquiry to exclusively intracommunal agendas and monolinguistic source material for the researcher, but also runs the risk of misleading the audience of these works, at large. It isolates the subject matter from its broader context and encapsulates it within the narrow domain defined by ethno-religious identity. As previously mentioned, the hubs of the aforementioned network were mostly occupied by 'Greek-Orthodox' intellectuals and institutions. An inquiry within the boundaries of the language and identity of these hubs is bound to miss their wider implications

[4] A case in point would be the exhibitions and their respective catalogues on the Greek and Armenian Architects of Constantinople which took place in 2010 in Istanbul. See Kuruyazıcı & Şarlak, *Greek Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization*; Kuruyazıcı, *Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization*. Despite the multiplicity of actors involved in the construction process, from design to realization, the exhibitions isolated significant architectural works only according to the 'ethnic' identity of their architects. Both exhibitions, which aimed to transcend the nationalistic perspective of architectural history studies focusing on Turkish-Muslim actors, resulted in the creation of new isolated domains and the decontextualization of significant architectural examples from their physical and intellectual contexts.

and interactions with the broader intellectual milieu of Constantinople. To counterbalance this, this study offers a parallel reading of the work of Alexander G. Paspatēs on Byzantine churches with that of another Ottoman, an *imam,* son of Hacı İsmail from Ayvansaray, Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî*,* on the mosques of Constantinople, a connection already revealed by Paspatēs himself. This, in turn, will provide us with the necessary link for evaluating the flow of information between different languages of the empire, as well as, in this case, the scope of the accumulated knowledge regarding the converted churches from the Byzantine era. Similarly, the inquiry into both Greek and non-Greek members of the Greek Literary Society, and their role in the dissemination of the transforming perception of the historic material remnants of the city provide us with a more complete picture of the intellectual milieu of nineteenth-century Constantinople.

1.1.1 "Urban History" of Constantinople

This research does not offer a proper urban history of Ottoman Constantinople *per se*. Its focus on the urban context does not examine the dynamic interactions that produce or reproduce urban space but, rather, the accumulation of knowledge about that urban context. Nevertheless, it still departs from and critically engages with some major questions and challenges regarding cities' 'identity' or 'social compound', that have also shaped the historiography of the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the nineteenth-century context.

In Europe, the transformation of urban (antiquarian) literature into modern urban histories took place around the early twentieth century. It was around the same time that cities of the 'East,' including the domains of the Ottoman Empire together with North Africa, began to be conceptualized as 'Islamic' with reference to a

Weberian 'monolithic' and 'undifferentiated' definition of the cities of the Middle East.[5] The term "Islamic cities" became established around the mid-twentieth century by Gustave Grunebaum as the cities with central mosques, bazaars and 'irrational' street patterns.[6] As such, the term came under criticism and reconceptualization from various quarters particularly from the 1970s onwards. It started with the works of Janet Abu-Lughod, who, while partly agreeing with some of Grunebaum's arguments, specifically underlined that being under the rule of Islam was not the sole factor affecting the design, character or identity of these cities.[7] Despite such relatively early criticisms of the paradigm, the 'Islamic City' notion has proven remarkably resilient in the relevant scholarship. It either persisted unchanged, – as in the studies of Halil İnalcık,[8] who as late as the early 1990s discussed Constantinople as an Islamic city after Grunebaum – or, alternatively, morphed into other essentialist varieties, such as those of the 'Ottoman', the 'Arab', the 'Anatolian' or the 'Balkan' cities.[9]

Around the late 1970s, under the influence of the work of Fernand Braudel and the *Annales* School, and the world system analysis model developed by Immanuel Wallerstein, history-writing on the Ottoman Empire turned its focus onto the cities of the Mediterranean, and their rapid urbanization, particularly in the nineteenth century, a phenomenon which was shaped by their integration into the

[5] Eldem, Goffman and Masters, "Was There an Ottoman City?" 2.
[6] Grunebaum, "The Structure of the Muslim Town."
[7] Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City-Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance." For the historiography of the 'Islamic city' paradigm, see Çelik, "New Approaches to the 'Non-Western' City."
[8] İnalcık, "Istanbul: An Islamic City."
[9] For a detailed inquiry into the concept of the "Ottoman city": See: Eldem, Goffman, Masters, *"*Was There an Ottoman City?"*;* On Eastern Mediterranean cities, in particular, see: Sluglett, *The Urban Social History of the Middle East: 1750-1950;* Weber, *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation (1808-1918);* Toksöz & Kolluoğlu*, Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day;* Bierman, A. Iene, Abou-El-Haj, Preziosi D*. The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order.*

world-system economy through the penetration of the European market economy in these ports.[10] The 'peripheralization' of the Ottoman state vis-à-vis the world capitalist system and the rise of mercantile elites in these ports as the agents of European economies constituted the basis of this approach with particular emphasis on its class dimension.[11] Cities on the shores of the Mediterranean, such as Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria and Beirut were examined either individually or within a comparative perspective within the framework of urban development in the domains of urban technology and infrastructure, public and municipal services and regulations, and novel typologies of the built environment, as well as the expansion of already existing ones, which took place thanks to the accumulated economic capital.

Besides being a significant port-city in the Mediterranean basin, well-embedded within the broader networks of trade and, accordingly, as the largest and most populous urban center of the Eastern Mediterranean, Constantinople was also the seat of central administration where one would expect to find the showcase practices of the transforming and bureaucratizing state.[12] Accordingly, the rapid transformation parallel to the changes in the administrative and financial structure of the Ottoman State under the regulations of *Tanzimat* era,[13] as well as the strategies of

[10] See Kasaba, *Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, Keyder, Özveren, Quatert, "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives."
[11] For the role of 'class' as a category of investigation into Mediterranean port cities, see Gekas, "Class and cosmopolitanism: the historiographical fortunes of merchants in Eastern Mediterranean ports." Gekas also provides a detailed analysis on the transformation of scholarship from 'class'-based analysis into a 'cosmopolitanism'-informed perspective.
[12] Historiography on Constantinople, then, was also bounded with the modernist scholarship of the mid-twentieth century approach to Tanzimat and Ottoman modernization, as a top-down, overarching progressive project.
[13] This phenomenon was also directly linked with the addition of Ottoman lands to European markets. The 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Trade Treaty may be seen as a marking point for the increase of particularly British, but also European influence in general over the Anatolian hinterland. The 1839 declaration of the *Tanzimat* and the 1856 declaration of the Reform Edict were among the major milestones that resulted in the transformation that characterized this period. See: Frangakis-Syrret, "Implementation of the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Convention on Izmir's trade: European and minority merchants," İnalcık, *Application of the Tanzimat and its Social Effects*; Augustinos, "Bureaucratic Reform and Economic

the state apparatus over the urban context received significant scholarly attention.[14] The new 'invented traditions' of the Western world: 'laws and legislations' and the 'urban design principles' regulated by these novel legal frameworks together with the administrative bodies, financial structures, and new taxations and 'new building types', created the framework of the perspective towards the transforming urban scheme of the city during the *Tanzimat*.[15]

Critiques of the Tanzimat as a 'top-down' modernization process have traditionally focused on the Ottoman periphery, drawing attention to the tensions between locals and the administrators dispatched by the central state or the 'orientalist/imperialist' approach of the Ottoman state particularly towards 'Arab cities'. More recently, however, similar criticism of the implications of the *Tanzimat* have begun to focus on the city of Constantinople itself.[16]

Following the 'cultural turn' of the 1980s,[17] the Mediterranean port-city paradigm and its focus on class as a category of analysis, was gradually replaced by a somewhat 'romanticized' perspective that tended to emphasize the conviviality of multireligious and multiethnic populations that dominated the urban space of these

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Change," Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire;* Rosenthal, "Foreigners and Municipal Reform Istanbul: 1855–1865."

[14] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul,* are the fundamental studies that dwell on such a perspective. Çelik also underlines that, the efforts of the Ottoman state were only scattered here and there, and could not achieve to apply a unified urban plan over the entire city. The planning efforts could only be part of urban regeneration projects developed after major fires that took place particularly throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

[15] Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul,* xvii. See also Kuban, *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi: Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul.*

[16] A recent example is Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City.* Also see Deringil, "They live in a state of nomadism and savagery': The late Ottoman Empire and the Postcolonial Debate", Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism"; Makdisi, "Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform." Also see Kechriotis and Türesay for a critigue of this literature. Kechriotis, "Postcolonial Criticism Encounters Late Ottoman Studies"; Türesay, "The Ottoman Empire Seen Through the Lens of Postcolonial Studies: A Recent Historiographical Turn." For a critique of Tanzimat implications on the urban context of Constantinople, see Kentel, "Assembling Cosmopolitan Pera," Güçlü, "Urban Tanzimat, Morality and Property in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul." Karaağaçlıoğlu, "Epidemics, Urban Life, and Sanitation: Pera and the End of the Plague."

[17] The rise of attention to culture and cultural studies. For details, see: Burke, *What is Cultural History?*

ports. Parallel to the financial transformation of both the Ottoman state and Europe, the penetration of the European market economy and rise of consumer culture in Constantinople also resulted in the transformation of socio-cultural life. A new urban lifestyle, adorned with the aesthetic and cultural codes and spatial typologies of Western (European) cities, emerged. Hence, the disputed theme of cosmopolitanism as a framework for the manifold identities of the inhabitants of the city, integrated with the rest of the world through (sometimes political) economic and cultural ties as a result of a 'continuous flow of people,[18] goods, commodities and ideas from different localities.'[19]

In recent decades however, this romantic conceptualization of 'cosmopolitan' urban culture with its celebrated focus on coexistence and tolerance towards people from different backgrounds has been replaced by a more nuanced focus which looks into the fluidity of these identities as outcomes of dynamic encounters and engagements in the urban context:

> Urban historians have recently begun to use the fabric of the city as a primary source for their investigations. While traditional urban history tends to privilege the social, political and economic contexts of the spatial environment, this approach recognizes the shape of the city as a repository of cultural meaning. What is productive in this approach is the notion that the shape taken by cities, that is, the appearance and interrelationship of structures and open spaces—houses, streets, quarters, civic buildings, public monuments, gardens—is not arbitrary, nor is it merely the result of authoritative decisions taken. [20]

In this light, Athanasios (Sakis) Gekas rightly underlines that together with the changing nature of the 'cosmopolitan' urban culture, the impact of social (class) mobility due to the rapidly changing production methods, recent scholarly

[18] For a detailed research on the increasing rate of migration and its interplay with the urban context, see Freitag, Fuhrmann, Lafi & Riedler, *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Urban Modernity.*
[19] Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir,* 2.
[20] Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City,* 25.

approaches to nineteenth-century Constantinople tend to focus on a variety of themes such as movement of financial capital or the changing notions of time and space.[21] More specifically, the rise of a new, non-administrative elite, both financially strong and politically influential became a locus of scholarly attention. This focus on urban elites and their involvement in diverse urban matters from municipal administration to property ownership and from large-scale constructions to the implementation of infrastructure may also be analyzed in relation to the meteoric rise of neoliberalism after the 1980s. A parallel rise of a set of values attributed to the urban space led social scientists to prioritize space, rather than time, as the marker of human existence and to analyze the transformation of space together with its impact and agency in the construction of identities.[22] The groundbreaking study of Henri Lefebvre opened up the path for the conceptualization of production of space as a social construct.[23] The dynamic interaction between the physical and social space transformed scholarly perspectives of the urban context from a static, linear, progressive, modernist analysis to a plethora of dynamic, constantly renegotiable set of relationships.

Although, as previously mentioned, this study focuses on the knowledge accumulated on the material aspects of the city and its representations, the ways in which this knowledge was harnessed was very much connected with the production of space as conceptualized by Lefebvre. For the intellectuals examined here, it was the personal experience of being in the city, walking inside and around these structures that provided them with close and detailed readings and the capability of production and reproduction of that particular layer of the urban context.

[21] Gekas, "Class and Cosmopolitanism: The Historiographical Fortunes of Merchants in Eastern Mediterranean Ports."
[22] See Yılmaz, "Küreselleşme Öncesi ve Sonrası Kent Tarihçiliği."
[23] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*

Accordingly, all intellectual production under scrutiny here, consists of products of a such a close interaction with that material residue, involving the bodily experience of visiting and observing these sites and their surroundings. It is this experience and hands-on engagement that turns them into "sites of memory" as Pierre Nora would put it.[24]

The locus of the 'cosmopolitan westernization and modernization of Constantinople' paradigm was mostly concentrated around the Galata-Pera-Beyoğlu (and further Bosporus) region, the new development axis towards the north of the city, parallel to the Bosporus (as another urban axis) from the hilltop. Edhem Eldem rightly notes how recent emphasis on the history of Constantinople in the last few decades, has particularly included a nostalgia for Pera, as the site of cosmopolitan livelihood,[25] based on a conceptualization of Pera as the main locus of the emerging consumerist economy of the late nineteenth century, with the Grand Rue serving as the showcase of new luxurious goods about to penetrate local markets.[26]

A paradigm based on an imported modernity that issued forth from industrializing Europe and was applied as 'mimicry', and a mode of life mostly based on 'western dynamics' is obviously 'destined to fail' when applied to the site of the 'old' Ottoman ground. It is obvious that an eye that searches for a Western style of aesthetics and mode of life, conveniently finds it in the 'Westernized neighborhoods' of Pera. Although the so-called 'abandoned city' image of a predominately 'Muslim' intra-mural town that grew in apposition to that of the 'cosmopolitan (read European and /or non-Muslim) Pera is already being challenged

[24] Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire."
[25] Eldem, "Ottoman Galata and Pera between Myth and Reality," 19.
[26] For a detailed discussion of the rise of consumption in relation to culture in the nineteenth-century Constantinople, see, Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the Nineteenth Century."

in recent studies, [27] its focus on nineteenth-century novelties, such as new building types for new offices or new technology and its implication for the urban landscape in the form infrastructure seems to retain its sway over scholarly research.

Recent, revisionist literature on the urban history of Constantinople questions these established paradigms, with their myopic focus on Pera and their claims of an unquestioned, direct acceptance of western forms and methods in the urban context characterized by a unilateral flow of information.[28] A new example came with the doctoral dissertation of K. Mehmet Kentel which questions the established notions within the abovementioned scholarship. Utilizing a thorough investigation on the integration of infrastructural interventions and its agency of redefining urban space, the dissertation problematizes "Pera as an already finished, static end-product, as a symptom of nineteenth-century Ottoman modernity and cosmopolitanism."[29] However, the particular importance of Kentel's study from the perspective of this research comes from its close engagement with the historical texture of Galata, that is the urban walls which would be demolished as part of urban renewal projects by the Sixth District Municipality in 1864, and artefacts such as inscriptions that the walls embodied. Diverging from the existing literature on Pera, Kentel does not treat the walls and their destruction only as a means or opportunity for the urban renewal of Galata, in search of urban order and freeing up land for construction, but as another mode of engagement with the city's own past.[30] Kentel's reading of the destruction of the walls and Marie de Launay's[31] engagement with the walls and

[27] Çelik "Tanzimat Döneminde Tarihî Yarımada: Tercihler, Yaklaşımlar, Görünümler"; Çelik, "İstanbul Tarihî Yarımadası'nda Tanzimat Dönemi İdari Yapıları."
[28] See Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures,* Kentel, "Assembling Cosmopolitan Pera*"*, Güçlü, "Urban Tanzimat, Morality and Property in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul."
[29] Kentel, "Assembling Cosmopolitan Pera," 5.
[30] This is not to ignore the impact of the demolition of the Walls and the creation of new building lots but rather to emphasize another dimension, that of the Walls as artifacts. For a detailed investigation along these lines, see Han, "İstanbul ve Galata Hendeklerinde Kentsel Toprak Kullanımı".
[31] See Chapter 5.

preservation of its artefacts are very much akin to what this research aims at, with its focus on the larger historic texture of Constantinople. Despite the existence of studies such as Kentel's, very little research has been done on the conditions of the historic sites and buildings as part of the urban context of Constantinople in the nineteenth century.

1.1.2 Archaeology of Constantinople

1.1.2.1 Modernity's approaches to the Past and the Present

In the nineteenth century, the dominant approach to cities and their historic textures were far from preservationist. Post-Enlightenment Europe was particularly shaped by a demand for progress reflected onto the urban context as new street orders, the search for hygiene and urban surveillance due to the rise of new urban technology and infrastructures.[32] These changes eventually required major clearances predominantly of massive antique and medieval structures. The aforementioned destruction of the Galata Walls by the Sixth District municipality may have been inspired by the famous example of the Hausmann renovations in Paris. The preoccupation with regularizing urban space left little room for any serious concerns regarding the preservation of 'old' buildings, besides the scattered and usually 'unsuccessful' objections by intellectuals and learned societies of the period.[33] Focusing on the case of the nineteenth century France, Michael Greenhalgh states that, modernization and progress were almost synonymous with destruction in the nineteenth century context.[34]

[32] For a detailed inquiry on the relationship between Modernity (as progress) and the urban context, particularly the transformation of antiquarianism and the eventual rise of archaeology, see Thomas, *Archaeology and Modernity.*
[33] Thomas, *Archaeology and Modernity.*
[34] Greenhalgh, *Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Nineteenth-Century France.*

Yet, as scholars of modernity assert, modernity is also about the transforming relationship of humankind with its past:

> To be modern is to live a life of paradox and contradiction…. It is to be both revolutionary and conservative: alive to new possibilities for experience and adventure, frightened by the nihilistic depths to which so many modern adventures lead, longing to create and to hold on to something real even as everything melts. [35]

As Stephen Bann, David Lowenthal and other scholars of the changing relation of humanity with its past underline, despite certain turning points such as the Renaissance or the Enlightenment, it was especially during the nineteenth century when the relation of people with their own past was irreversibly transformed. But as Lowenthal notes, "concern with the past did not conflict directly with the progress of modernization".[36] According to him, to be modern is to find one's self in an environment that promises us a new world – and at the same time, that threatens everything we have, everything we know, everything we are.[37]

In modern societies, it is precisely that threat, highly evocative of a sense of the 'past', and it is that promise of adventure and transformation that creates a demand for the 'present'. It was this adventure and transformation which had created the understanding of a new era and at the same time the tempting feeling of 'loss', which had triggered institutionalized studies on earlier periods, including interest on the constructed environment as the witness and reminiscence of that 'past'.[38] This dual, or intermingled aspect of modernism and its implications on the urban context of Constantinople in the nineteenth century constitutes another backbone for this study, in a similar vein with Watenpaugh, who states that "cities, especially ancient

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[35] Berman, *All That is Solid, Melts into Air*, 13-14.
[36] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country, Revisited,* 183.
[37] Berman *All That is Solid, Melts into Air*, 15.
[38] For more on the rise of "history" as a discipline and "historicism" in the nineteenth century, see: Lowenthall*, The Past is a Foreign Country-Revisited;* Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History,* Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument.*

cities where history has accumulated in layers, such as Ottoman Aleppo, are central to the investigation of society's evolving relationship with the past".[39]

This research investigates Constantinople as an urban entity, albeit in its historical material form. As previously underlined, parallel to what Lowenthal argues, the everyday encounter with the remnants of a distant past, is the recreation of that past experience in a simultaneous setting where the past and the present coexist:

> The supreme merit of tangible remains is the ready access they afford to the past's ubiquitous traces. Relics and remnants viewable by all offer unmediated impressions free to any passer-by. Seeing history on the ground is less self-conscious than reading about it: texts require both an author and our deliberate engagement, whereas relics can come to us seemingly unguided and without conscious effort.[40]

This 'ready-made' daily encounter with the ancient layers of the city was very much a nineteenth century phenomenon, rather unlike what Mehmed II had encountered when he first entered the city following the conquest in the mid-fifteenth century. As the Ottoman city was gradually adorned with monumental-scale structures representing the imperial idiom, as well as new settlement areas due to the rise of population and increase in the volume of trade both in terms of variety and quantity, the Byzantine layer became ever less visible down through the nineteenth century. Moreover, the conversion of some of its monumental structures, particularly churches, into 'Ottoman/Muslim' spaces,[41] has rewritten the collective memory gathered around those spaces. Nonetheless, with their particular spatial organization, scale and construction material utilized, some were able to survive to a certain extent

[39] Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City,* 3.
[40] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country-Revisited,* 389.
[41] As this sentence is being drafted in 10 July 2020, Hagia Sophia is being formally converted into a Mosque again.

far into the nineteenth century, albeit surrounded by another, more recent layer of the city.

From this perspective, the study of the historical texture of the city, requires a refined perspective on its intermingled nature. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, while scrutinizing the transformation of Constantinople from the capital of one world empire to the capital of another, underlines the isolated distinctiveness of the established inquiries of these two domains, that is the Byzantine and Ottoman, while interpreting the date of May 29, 1453 as a sharp division. Such isolated perspectives fall short of a proper analysis of 'a complex cultural environment worked with interaction, fluidity and hybridity,'[42] which characterized the urban context of Constantinople in both the fifteenth and the nineteenth century.

1.1.2.2 Antiquarianism, the Archaeology of Constantinople and *Âsâr-ı Atîka*

The study of the Byzantine layer of Constantinople required the investigation of certain structures which were either buried underground during the course of four hundred years or decayed. Such an inquiry entailed the close-up and *in-situ* investigation of the remaining structures, which would eventually transform from personal observations into more organized and institutionalized survey and excavation projects.[43] Furthermore this inquiry was embedded within a wider discussion on the rise of archaeology around the Ottoman geography, a story whose main actor would be the Ottoman state and its related institutions, especially museums. Beginning from early attempts to establish a museum for antiquities, the story is narrated from the perspective of the Ottoman state, particularly in the

[42] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 8-9.
[43] See Chapter 6: Conclusion for a detailed discussion on this transformation and the rise of 'proper' archaeology of Byzantine Archaeology within the Ottoman Empire.

Ottoman capital. Despite serving as the major site for this nascent area of knowledge production by state institutions, the capital itself would become the subject-matter of such processes at a much later stage. Although isolated studies of the Byzantine remnants of Constantinople begin to appear in Europe in the sixteenth century, a local, proactive engagement with the 'pre-Ottoman' material remnants of the city would have to wait until the mid-nineteenth century.

The rise of archaeology and related discussions of *âsâr-ı atîka* (antiquities, 'rmaterial remnants of a certain historical period, with artistic quality') largely revolved around the peripheral centers of the Ottoman Empire, especially the Near East and Greece and Western Anatolia. When it came to Constantinople itself and despite its centuries-long ancient residue, the only focus throughout the nineteenth century remained on the establishment of museums as state institutions.[44] The rising interest on the Byzantine layer of the city including the inquiry of architect Wilhelm Salzenberg, who came to Constantinople at the behest of the Prussian King Wilhelm IV,[45] the Fossati restorations of Hagia Sophia by order of Sultan Abdülmecid, or the excavations in the Hippodrome area etc. were viewed as an altogether different field from the establishment of the museums. This was due to the rigid disciplinary boundaries maintained by scholarship at the time.[46]

[44] The scholarship was long dominated by the work of Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed,* with its particular focus on the establishment of museums as central to the development of Ottoman archaeology.
[45] For detailed information on the visit of Salzenberg, see Nelson, *Hagia Sophia 1850-1950,* 29-50.
[46] The rising interest on the history of Byzantium was mostly discussed within the framework of post-Enlightenment Europe, beginning from the negative perspectives of Montesquieu and Edward Gibbon. The re-emergence of Byzantium within the European and particularly within Greek historiography with its relation to the Greek Enlightenment, is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The counterpart of the same discussion within an Ottoman context, is usually dated to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Chapter 6 for details. For a survey of the transformation of this perspective on Byzantium, see: Chondrogiannis, *Byzantium in the World.* I am grateful to Koray Durak who has brought this book to my attention.

This complete or partial absence of a focus on Constantinople is due to the fact that the study of *âsâr-ı atîka* in Ottoman lands mostly dealt with the archaeological remnants of Classical Greek and Roman Antiquity, parallel to the scholarly interests of the mostly European (antiquarian) investigators of those sites. So, the material and archaeological rush for discovering material remnants of a very 'specific' past by default excluded Constantinople itself.

The state-oriented focus of Ottoman archaeological studies prioritized the legal framework of archaeological sites that accompanied state institutions. Accordingly, Edhem Eldem dates the 'birth of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire' to 1869, underlining that the necessity to claim the birth required a "procedural and legal structure to regulate the search, extraction, possession and preservation of antiquities," which required a state mechanism behind it.[47] Despite earlier 'piecemeal attempts,' it was only in 1868, that the Ottoman state put forward certain principles and acknowledged the importance of establishing a museum, and in 1869 a bylaw was drafted.[48] The 'state versus European scholars' dichotomy as the major actors of archaeological domains was only challenged through the inclusion of indigenous actors such as members of the local elite or governors into the picture, particularly in Near Eastern geographies.[49] Parallel to this perspective, this study also asserts the inclusion of local actors, scholars and intellectuals who had already gathered around certain institutional bodies such as the *Syllogos* or the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye,* before the establishment and during the early years of the Imperial Museum.

[47] Eldem, "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern," 314.
[48] Bahrani, Çelik, Eldem, *Scramble for the Past,* 13.
[49] A recent contribution of this sort is the work of Emily Neumeier, "The Architectural Transformation of the Ottoman Provinces under Tepedelenli Ali Pasha, 1788-1822."

Moreover, while acknowledging earlier efforts for the establishment of 'museums' or literally 'collection of certain artefacts,' Eldem still claims that these efforts cannot be considered 'foundational' due to their lack of a legislative background.[50] This research agrees with the centrality of legal frameworks in the establishment of archaeology as a manifold discipline with multiple actors, whose roles and limits had to be legally defined. But one should also have to closely consider the underlying process behind such legal decisions, the background discussions, the role of certain influencers in calling for, informing and formulating the final legal decisions. All these factors are as important as the legal framework itself. The intellectual environment of Constantinople and its connections with the Ottoman state constitutes a significant aspect of the inquiry in this research. To a certain extent this point is shared by the authors of the *Scramble for the Past* who have criticized the dominant scholarship in the history of archaeology for its narrow-sightedness, Eurocentrism and silencing of local voices: "Situating the development of archaeology in the context of late Ottoman history disrupts the conventional story line of the discipline, displays intricate webs of interaction between the east and the west."[51] Following-up on this perspective, what this study underlines is that the introduction of other, so far neglected actors in the picture would deliver the study of the beginnings of archaeology from the suffocating grip of the Ottoman State – European actors dichotomy, and offer a more nuanced approach with the inclusion of non-state, mostly local-resident actors in Constantinople.

Part of this important criticism concerning the history of archaeology may be linked to the very definition of the discipline itself. Recent definitions of archaeology do not always contain any particular distinction from antiquarianism, as the study of

[50] Eldem, "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern," 314.
[51] Bahrani, Çelik, Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, 28.

the material residue of a certain past. Or reversely, going to the other extreme, they sometimes tend to over-emphasize differences between the two bodies of knowledge, particularly in terms of methodology and professionalization. The definition of archaeology by Yannis Hamilakis and others as "the discourses and practices involving material things of a past time"[52] actually makes it difficult to discuss the question of how and after which point in time archaeology was distinguishable from antiquarianism. Hamilakis's semantic stretching of the definition of what he calls "scientific, modernist archaeology", is of course intentional, aiming to "strip it from the modernist baggage". For Hamilakis, there are "multiple modernist archaeologies and multiple modernities."[53] In this light, pinpointing the historic turning point of the passage from antiquarianism to archaeology and architectural history remains elusive or, at best, debatable. Nevertheless:

> … nineteenth century travelers in search of antique considered their own deeds to be the beginnings of the true scientific sprit in the study of the antiquity and thus saw themselves as the first real archaeologists.[54]

This, in turn, calls for an examination of multiple intellectual nodes, since throughout the nineteenth century, both of these bodies of knowledge, antiquarianism and archaeology, have been in close engagement not only with each other but also with various other areas such as ethnography, anthropology, history, art and architectural history, rendering these disciplinary boundaries all the blurrier:

> The nineteenth century concern with the distant past was distinctive not so much for its newness or the uniqueness of its scholarly attention to the categorization of ancient places and things but for the way in which it presented its own enterprise as exceptional and unprecedented.[55]

[52] Hamilakis, "Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece," 52.
[53] Hamilakis, "Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece," 63.
[54] Bahrani, "Untold Tales of Mesopotamian Discovery," 126.
[55] Bahrani, "Untold Tales of Mesopotamian Discovery," 125.

A significant factor behind any such attempt at disciplinary distinction seems to pertain to the institutionalization of archaeology, itself indicative of a transformation into a systematic discipline, when compared to the sporadic efforts of the antiquarians. If one of the causes for the rise of modern archaeology could be found in institutionalization, the case of the *Syllogos* might be considered as a foundational step in the history of archaeology within the Ottoman realm.

Active for more than half a century, the *Syllogos*, with its rising interest in different archaeological sites within the Empire, turned ever closer towards the discipline of modern archaeology. Documentation of artefacts, *in-situ* inquiry of sites and monuments, research on primary sources, diachronic comparison and systematic cataloguing are some of the methods adopted by the *Syllogos* that connect it to the field of modern archaeology.

A state-centric myopia in recent scholarship seems to fall short of evaluating the historic contribution of the *Syllogos* to the development of Ottoman archaeology as distinct field. This state-centered perspective, inevitably focuses on Turkish-speaking, Muslim bureaucrats as the major actors in the process. Moreover, the scholarly perception of the Ottoman non-Muslim communities as independent and self-sufficient cultural categories, has placed the *Syllogos* within an exclusively Greek framework and has tended to evaluate it as part of an exclusively Hellenic intellectual environment whose center remained in Greek-speaking Greece rather than in multicultural Constantinople.

1.1.3 Cultural history of the communities

Through a special focus on the *Syllogos,* whose sixty-year long career, 34 published annual journal volumes, its supplements, other lost publications and its lost archive

make it by far the most durable and productive society in late-nineteenth-century Constantinople, and on other Ottoman Greek intellectuals, such as Patriarch Kōnstantios I, Skarlatos Byzantios and Alexander G. Paspatēs, this research underlines the dominant role played by a Greek-speaking intelligentsia that occupied the hubs of a broader Constantinopolitan network which developed around the rise of urban archaeology in Constantinople.[56] Yet, just as this research does not aspire to conduct urban history proper, it also refrains from focusing on the Greek-Orthodox community of Constantinople *per se.* Despite its significant hubs, the network under scrutiny is composed of actors from a diverse range of ethno-religious backgrounds. These actors especially consisted of intellectuals active in Ottoman Constantinople, characterized by a strong educational background and competence in a series of languages other than their native one. At the same time, they tended to be middle-class professionals financially backed by elite members of their communities. "They took advantage of the Ottoman reforms, the increasing financial and trade relations with European economies, and the rise of modern professions."[57] And yet, it is their scholarly engagement with the historic material texture of Constantinople, rather than their communal/ethno-religious sense of belonging or their socio-economic standing in Ottoman society, that rendered them relevant subject-matters for this study.

The post-1980s 'cultural turn' in historical studies has significantly transformed research on the cities of the Mediterranean. Given the 'cosmopolitan' character of these urban centers, the focus of many such studies has tended to draw

[56] The network under scrutiny here with the hubs occupied by Ottoman Greek intellectuals and institutions is not the only scholarly network at play in late-nineteenth-century Constantinople. On the contrary, it is one among many, which together comprised the broader Constantinopolitan intellectual milieu converging over an interest in the city's multiple historic layers.
[57] Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the Nineteenth Century," 78.

on issues such as identity politics and ethnoreligious belonging. Since the early 1990s, however, as these studies gained momentum, they also transformed in terms of focus area. Communities outside the capital were finally also being taken into account,[58] as were various social strata other than the higher echelons of the respective communities, such as the wealthy members or the administrative elite.

The *millet* system has constituted the core of most approaches towards Ottoman non-Muslims, especially from the 1980s onwards. The tendency was to base one's analysis on a semiautonomous *millet* structure, led by the '*milletbaşı*', a recognized religious leader.[59] The debate on the *millet* structure was well-embedded with the world-system approach to cosmopolitanism which envisages the conviviality of different religious backgrounds. Approaching the city as an economic entity, Gekas questions the historiographical passage from class to cosmopolitanism within the background of the world-system analysis of port-cities of the Mediterranean which straddles between class and identity.[60] This realization underlines the importance of investigating intercommunal relations rather than penning individual histories of the respective ethnic groups as isolated entities, which runs the risk of assuming, distorting and over-compartmentalizing these communities. Despite the fact that belonging to an individual *millet* or even carrying a foreign passport has historically been a complex, dynamic and fluctuating phenomenon in the Ottoman empire, when it comes to the cultural and intellectual

[58] See Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire;* Benlisoy, "Education in the Turcophone Orthodox Communities of Anatolia during the Nineteenth Century."
[59] For a detailed inquiry of the Ottoman *millets*, see: Braude & Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*; Gondicas, & Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: politics, economy, and society in the nineteenth century*, particulary the articles by Paraskevas Konortas, "From Tâ'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community;" and Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System."
[60] Gekas, "Class and cosmopolitanism: the historiographical fortunes of merchants in Eastern Mediterranean ports."

sphere, the scholarship still tends to over-emphasize boundaries rather than connections and interactions.

'*Milletçilik*' (nationism) after Cemal Kafadar, has been just as significant as '*milliyetçilik*' (nationalism) in the recent historiography of the Ottoman Empire. According to Kafadar, despite their alertness to the pitfalls of nationalism or their open dismissal of its ideology, many scholars continue to base their analysis in national terms, with the result that ethnic-national identities and cultures still dominate the scholarship.[61] The Ottoman Greek-Orthodox are a case in point. Most recent scholarship on Ottoman Greeks focuses on notions that are bounded by the limits of some form of community, its boundaries marked by ethno-religious identity or language. The last decade has witnessed the emergence of several such examples. The acknowledgement of architects of Greek or Armenian origin in the Ottoman Empire, turned into a search for 'Greek' or 'Armenian Architects of Constantinople'[62] and their related architectural identity. And yet, a careful examination of the details of the production of built space would reveal a much more complex and synthetic picture. Far from the isolated creation of a solitary 'master designer,' construction is a process involving a multiplicity of agencies at various levels and stages, such as the construction workers, the patron providing the financial support and the state providing the necessary licensing. For all their value, such identity-driven studies tend to underestimate the multifarious structure of the broader Ottoman society and to ignore the significant extra- and supra-communal impact of

[61] Kafadar, *Kendine Ait bir Roma,* 61-62. As my study aims to deconstruct the established boundaries of the scholarship which search for nations and nationalisms in the ethnoreligious identities of certain actors, it carefully refrains from a wider debate on the ideology of nationalism, which lies beyond its scope.

[62] Recent works which share this perspective are the exhibitions on the "Greek Architects of Constantinople" and "Armenian Architects of Constantinople" during the 2010 Istanbul Cultural Capital of Europe events and their respective publications: Kuruyazıcı & Şarlak, *Greek Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization*; Kuruyazıcı, *Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization*.

both the *Syllogos* and the larger group of intellectuals that converged around it. In this light, employing the historical material texture of Constantinople as a 'non-human actant' allowed this study to go beyond the established categories within the Ottoman historiography, and convey a far more complex picture, especially when it comes to ethnoreligious communities such as the Greek-Orthodox, Armenians, etc.

Moreover, besides the trap of '*milletçilik*' (nationism) one should also be aware of the inherent fluidity that characterized identities in nineteenth-century Ottoman society.[63] Recent work on the Greek Orthodox in particular, reveals such a fluidity of identities.[64] Moreover, these studies suggest that, the approach to any of these *millets* as a unified entity overshadows the diverse contextualization of categories of socio-economic layering such as the bourgeoisie and other social strata. The 'bourgeoisie' also served as the financial backers of the institutionalization of research on the historical layers of the city. As mentioned earlier, the network inquiry that this study proposes offers a way of moving beyond the boundaries of identity and the debates on cosmopolitanism and on class as a social construct.

1.2 Methodology: The Network

Avoiding the trap of methodological '*milletçilik*' (nationism) in a study whose core focus rests on the activities of members of a particular ethno-religious community, resides in searching for ways to overcome the disadvantages of established, stabilized, almost 'frozen' categories of analysis. This points to the need for alternative ways of defining 'social' entities. As discussed above, the structuralist definitions that still dominate cultural studies, usually anchored on the identity and

[63] Davison, "Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response," 33.
[64] An example would be Kechriotis, "Atina'da Kapadokyalı, İzmir'de Atinalı, İstanbul'da Mebus: Pavlos Karolidis'in Farklı Kişilik ve Aidiyetleri."

language of the actors, tend to create isolated insularities within the great ocean of intellectual waters. These categories separate social groups more than they unite its members. For instance, a perspective which focuses on 'Greek' sources only, is bound to miss the vast potential for comparison with sources in other languages, which in turn would reveal lineages of transmission or networks of interaction. Similarly, focusing exclusively on the Greek scholars of 'old Constantinople' carries the risk of overlooking the connections between scholars of different backgrounds and of losing the track of the potentially wider implications of their work.

In order to decode these wider implications and the interaction between disparate actors, it is of paramount importance to reverse the initial point of perspective and, in turn, begin from what had initially brought these actors together. Tracing the main topic, issue or question around which all these actors converged and shedding light over their constantly renegotiated relation to that object, issue or question, require a novel attention to the connecting capacity of such a materiality as a relationship between humans and non-humans. Such a reversal in perspective and attention to the importance of materialities and associations brings us to the Latourian 'sociology of associations.'

In his seminal study, 'Reassembling the Social,' Bruno Latour defined 'sociology of associations' as the creative destruction of the 'social' as a predetermined category of analysis and its 're-assemblage' through a new set of 'associations', which were 'constantly being performed' and enabled by heterogeneous sets of 'actors or actants' which may be 'humans or non-humans'.[65]

[65] Farías & Bender, *Urban Assemblages,* 3. Also see: Latour, *Reassembling the Social.*

According to Latour:

> …social does not designate a thing among other things, like a black sheep among other white sheep, but a type of connection between things that are not themselves social. [66]

> …all those heterogeneous elements might be assembled anew in some given state of affairs. [67]

What is important for Latour is tracing these new 'states of affairs' as they emerge through the connections with the actant and to define the new 'social':

> …. to follow these new connections, another notion of social has to be devised. It has to be much wider than what is usually called by that name, yet strictly limited to the tracing of new associations and to the designing of their assemblages. This is the reason why I am going to define the social not as a special domain, a specific realm, or a particular sort of thing, but only as a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling.[68]

Accordingly, the definition of the social emerges out of these new associations, it is not an initially given category of analysis. It should be expected to emerge as an outcome of the dynamic relationship, through new, ongoing, and particular connections between the actants:

> The task of defining and ordering the social should be left to the actors themselves, not taken up by the analyst. This is why, to regain some sense of order, the best solution is to trace connections between the controversies themselves rather than try to decide how to settle any given controversy.[69]

Latour underlines that rather than looking for the 'already assembled', it is necessary to look for 'what assembles' those which are 'already there':[70]

> …either we follow social theorists and begin our travel by setting up at the start which kind of group and level of analysis we will focus on, or we follow the actors' own ways and begin our travels by the traces. [71]

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[66] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 5.
[67] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 5.
[68] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 7.
[69] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 23.
[70] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 43.
[71] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 29.

The outcome of this 'travel' is a 'network' formed on the basis of these associations. The importance of the network lies in the fact that it provides us with the necessary link between different, and otherwise seemingly unrelated actors:

> … in situations where innovations proliferate, where group boundaries are uncertain, when the range of entities to be taken into account fluctuates, the sociology of the social is no longer able to trace actors' new associations. At this point, the last thing to do would be to limit in advance the shape, size, heterogeneity, and combination of associations. To the convenient shorthand of the social, one has to substitute the painful and costly longhand of its associations.[72]

> No social formation is thus a totally unified entity, but rather forms an open-ended lattice of relations; societies do not just occupy space, they manufacture networks.[73]

The crucial element of this network is the role played by actors whose trajectories should be investigated constantly so as to follow the traces of their performative acts:

> …social aggregates are not the object of an ostensive definition—like mugs and cats and chairs that can be pointed at by the index finger—but only of a performative definition. They are made by the various ways and manners in which they are said to exist. [74]

> …the object of a performative definition vanishes when it is no longer performed. [75]

Within the context of this research, the basic actant that in Latourian terminology connects the actors to each other is the historical material texture of Constantinople. The encounter of the actors with the urban texture and the ensuing interactions is the basic factor that produces the major connections, the twines of this web. This research accordingly seeks to understand the role and capacity of the materiality of urban space as an agent for re-assembling the new 'social.' This approach can potentially transform our understanding of nineteenth-century Constantinople and its social structure not through *a priori* understandings of identity or belonging but

[72] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 11.
[73] Warf, "From Surfaces to Networks," 74.
[74] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 34.
[75] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 37.

through collaborations, common goals and closely historicized interactions between actors of different backgrounds, in close connection to the materiality of the urban context in this case. For Latour, it is important "to scrutinize thoroughly the exact content of what is 'assembled' under the umbrella of a society".[76] Accordingly, acknowledging the agency of the historical built environment and its capacity to gather different actors around, allows for the establishment of a new 'social' composed of people and institutions in direct connection to the urban historical context of Constantinople.

The agency of this urban historical context was realized through its transformation into an object of knowledge. It is these objects and the involvement of different actors gathering around them that enable us to go beyond the borders established by the material context, which otherwise may be utilized to emphasize and sustain communal identities.[77] A number of diverse modes of transmitting that knowledge, including books written on the history of the material context of the city, down to the actual office building of the *Syllogos*, where these books and other information was exchanged as well as reproduced, or from the journal of the *Syllogos* to all the outcomes of research projects conducted by the institution and the life cycles and trajectories of these free-floating, heterogenous items served as intermediaries of this network:

> Societies - and spaces - emerge from the collective activities of these heterogeneous actors between which powers are distributed, responsibilities are allocated, actions are constructed and spaces configured. It is the distributions, allocations, constructions and configurations which should catch our attention. But our attention can only be caught if we are alert to the many possibilities which are likely to emerge from the complex combination

[76] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 2.
[77] Paspatēs and his research on the Land Walls constitutes such an example (see Chapter 4 and 5). For a dicussion of the utilization of material environment for the sustainability of identities in the case of Evliya Çelebi, see Kafescioğlu, "Rûmî Kimliğin Görsel Tanımları: Osmanlı Seyahat Anlatılarında Kültürel Sınırlar ve Mimari Tarz."

of social and material resources in networks. [78]

In their inquiry of *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes, Bruno Latour and Michel Callon underline the importance of the model offered by Hobbes for the social contract, "formulating clearly … for the first time the relationship with micro-actors and macro-actors:"

> There are of course macro-actors and micro-actors, but the difference between them is brought about by power relations and the constructions of networks that will elude analysis if we presume a priori that macro-actors are bigger than or superior to micro-actors. These power relations and translation processes reappear more clearly if we follow Hobbes in his strange assumption that all actors are isomorphic. Isomorphic does not mean that all actors have the same size but that a priori there is no way to decide the size since it is the consequence of a long struggle. The best way to understand this is to consider actors as networks. [79]

Accordingly, the network does not provide any hierarchy in between its nodes. If there is any hierarchy, this is due to their struggle in Leviathan, or due to the increase in the number of contacts with different knowledge-transmitting modes, in our case, concerning the historical context of Constantinople:

> Networks involve the mobilization of rules, resources, and power, including information, in order to accomplish tasks, creating a net of intended and unintended consequences that stretch across the spatio-temporal boundaries of the network. To maintain network functionality, actors must perform by being engaged with one another recursively, interpreting and translating one another's behavior. Actors and networks are thus twin, mutually presupposing aspects of one phenomenon, simultaneously enabling and constraining actions in time and space. Because actor-network theory strives to overcome the artificial boundaries between culture and nature (Latour 1993), actors in this socio-technical seamless "nature-culture" nexus need not be human, but may include inanimate objects such as books, papers, or computer systems (Bingham 1996; Murdoch 1997), which are necessary to the maintenance and operation of networks. [80]

The network under inquiry in this study has come together through the agency of the knowledge of the historic material texture of Byzantine Constantinople. It is neither

[78] Murdoch, "Towards a Geography of Heterogeneous Associations in Progress."
[79] Callon & Latour, "Unscrewing the big Leviathan, how actors macro-structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so."
[80] Warf, "From Surfaces to Networks,"73.

finished nor closed at any end. On the contrary, any further research may add or subtract nodes from the network. Alternatively, it may choose to focus on particular sections, delineated by specific sites or buildings. So, any change in the agents may result in an immediate change in the set of actors gathered. Accordingly, the graph of the network I have provided here is only a phase of this cloudy, unbounded convergence of these actors in a certain moment in time.

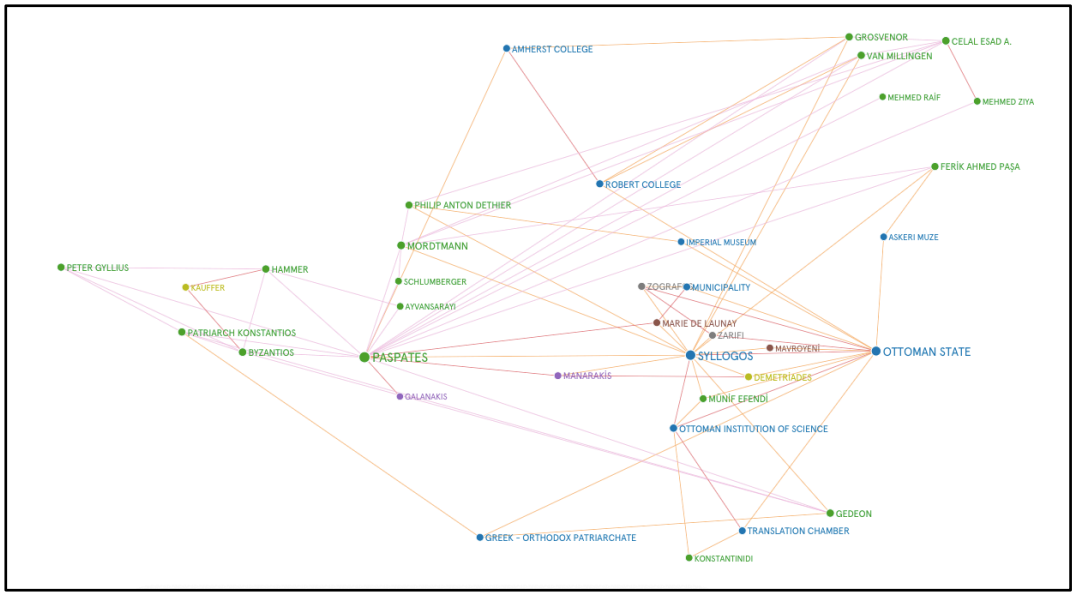


Figure 1. The Constantinopolitan Network
An interactive version may be found at:
https://graphcommons.com/selections/7e410ec9-ad41-4c03-892d-1cd9b3bf6ef6

In its most condensed rendering, the time-frame of the network analyzed here sits roughly somewhere in between the early 1860s and the mid-1880s. Similarly, to the cloudy, unbounded and therefore dynamic nature of the network itself, these dates cannot be visualized linearly. Accordingly, the dissertation was compelled to include material from before and after this period. [81]

[81] Particularly Part I aims to constitute the background for the network, whose hubs were discussed in Part II.

As seen above, the network, that is the new 'social' created by the agency of the historical texture of Constantinople and its representations, included actors who create, participate in the creation, re-creation, exchange and consumption of these representations from different backgrounds: professionals from different fields, such as doctors or officials from different sections of the Ottoman bureaucracy, as well as certain institutions. Two major nodes constitute the hub of the network: the first is Alexander G. Paspatēs, one of the most renowned scholars of Byzantine History in the nineteenth century and the other is the *Syllogos* and its members.[82]

This manufactured network, this study argues, led to the creation of a new social, composed of a set of interactions between different actors, gathered around the aforementioned authors and scholars, which eventually linked them to the Ottoman State. Although the *Syllogos* is known to have been founded by a small group of Ottoman-Greek intellectuals, it very quickly attracted many other intellectuals, either from different communities of Constantinople, (Muslim, Armenian etc.) or of European origin (German, British etc.) making the society a wider hub of scholarly attention to the city's past.[83] The close connection and traceable interaction between the members of the *Syllogos,* the aforementioned authors and various people and institutions of diverse origins, constitutes the core of the theoretical framework of this research.

> "[t]he question of the social emerges when the ties in which one is entangled begin to unravel; the social is further detected through the surprising movements from one association to the next; those movements can either be suspended or resumed; when they are prematurely suspended, the social as normally construed is bound together with already accepted participants

[82] It is important to note here that it is not the institutional structure of the *Syllogos* that necessarily makes it a hub. It is rather the existence of 'other members' who collaborated with Paspatēs under the umbrella of the *Syllogos*. In that sense that particular node in itself is also a cloud of actors. See Figure 1.

[83] An initial research on the members of the Society, revealed the existence of an indirect, inorganic relation with the circles of the Ottoman Imperial Museum through P. A. Dethier, J. H. Mordtmann, A. V. Millingen, and others as well as members of Ottoman Administration such as Münif Paşa, Minister of Education or Edhem Paşa, Minister of Economics and Customs.

> called 'social actors' who are members of a 'society'; when the movement toward collection is resumed, it traces the social as associations through many non-social entities which might become participants later; if pursued systematically, this tracking may end up in a shared definition of a common world, what I have called a collective; but if there are no procedures to render it common, it may fail to be assembled; and, lastly, sociology is best defined as the discipline where participants explicitly engage in the reassembling of the collective."[84]

Bruno Latour's major contribution to sociology, his 'reassembling of the collective' is fruitfully applicable to the social dimension of historical analysis. Implementing *a priori* social categories in historical inquiry presents its own handicaps such as not being able to explain inconsistencies, irregularities or failure to account for significant gaps between predefined categories. Following Latour, this study traces a network formation by redefining the 'social' through the agencies of different 'actants' and allows this new 'social' to assemble its own 'collective.' Likewise, to be able to map this 'reassembled collective' in the form of the aforementioned network, the study utilizes Latour's concept of agency of 'non-human actants', applied here to the historic urban space of Constantinople, or several objects of knowledge that would represent those spaces, such as books, drawings, sketches and maps. It will be through these actants, whether consisting of representations of the historical material context of Constantinople, or the spatial context itself, that the nodes of this network will be connected to each other. The study of this network ultimately allows this research to effectively evaluate the extra-communal impact for the Greek-language urban literature and projects that lay in its core.[85]

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[84] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 247.

[85] At this point it must be noted that, this research does not offer a proper "social network analysis" for the network that has gathered through the agency of the 'old' Constantinople. It confines itself to the mapping of such a relationship within a group of actors from diverse backgrounds. "Social Network Analysis" on the other hand would require the utilization of established methods based on formal descriptions, models, patterns, and theoretical evaluations and testing between the actors and their interdependent actions of this network and calls for a new layer of analysis for the discussion provided within this dissertation. For more information of the theoretical background as well as the

1.3 Sources

1.3.1 Background: Antiquarian historiography of Constantinople

> Were I making an antiquarian tour, instead of the journey of an artist, or mere traveler, I should have been able to indulge, here, in a long dissertation upon the probable sites of ancient Byzantium; to reconstruct them, from the few dubious fragments lost amid the aggregation of Turkish hovels and ruins; and lend authenticity to my creations or assumptions by transcribing and importing bodily into the subject, a certain number of Greek inscriptions, which would, at least, have given me an air of great learning and antiquarian wisdom. But I prefer a rough sketch made from nature-a real impression honestly rendered.[86]

By the time Theophile Gautier was writing these notes for his soon to be published mid-nineteenth-century work on Constantinople, a vast body of literature on Constantinople had already been in circulation, together with an established differentiation of genres between structured antiquarian research and the travel accounts based on 'improvised' encounters of the traveler with the urban context. However, only a few decades prior to the publication of Gautier's work this differentiation of genres remained uncrystallized.

Even before the capture of the city by the Ottomans, Constantinople, as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire for more than a millennium, had attracted visitors from within and beyond the Empire, who left a vast body of literature behind. Distinguishing these works from one another in terms of genre is extremely challenging. They range from scattered memoires of an idle visitor to the city, to a structured body of knowledge painstakingly gathered for this specific purpose. Those that have survived are the ones that at some point had the good fortune of being recorded in manuscript form. Some are kept in different archives and libraries and were published in the ensuing centuries, while others appeared for the first time in

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methods of social network analysis, see Scott, *Social network analysis: A handbook*; Wasserman & Faust, Social *network analysis: Methods and applications.* I am grateful to Murat Güvenç for bringing up this issue.

[86] Gautier, *Constantinople of To-day,* 234.

printed format. A very well-known and early example is Petrus Gyllius's *De Topographia Constantinopoloes et de Illius Antiqvitatibus* (The Topography of Constantinople and its Antiquities) which was published in 1562 by his nephew after the author's death in 1555.[87]

Gyllius's work, besides his notes from his visit to the city, was based on a variety of Byzantine sources, including a tenth-century Byzantine compilation on the foundation of the city and its major buildings entitled *Patria of Constantinople.*[88] The general layout of the book included descriptions of the urban space organized around different aspects of the city. Beginning from the first foundation of Constantinople, Gyllius's work included detailed descriptions of the general topography of the city including its major monuments.

Interestingly enough, the earliest known example of antiquarian literature on Constantinople in Ottoman Turkish was also a translation of *Patria,* by order of Mehmed II.[89] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu speaks of several versions of *Patria*, in Greek, Turkish and Persian, in circulation in fifteenth-century Constantinople.[90] However, the Turkish version is said to have been rather brief.[91]

Mehmet II's interest in the *Patria* literature conforms with what we know of his claim on the Byzantine (Roman) identity of Constantinople. As the self-proclaimed 'Caesar' of Constantinople, Mehmed seems to have carefully selected the

[87] For a recent translation and commentary on Petrus Gyllius, see Byrd, "Pierre Gilles's "Topography of Constantinople and its antiquities."
[88] *Patria* literally means 'history of a native land' or 'local history' (Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria,* vii). See: Kazhdan, "Patria of Constantinople". For a recent edition of Patria, see Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*.
[89] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul,* 172.
[90] The *Ha-za Tarih-i beyan-ı bina-i Ayasofya-i* Kebir of Şemsettin Karamani and *Risale-yi Istanbul (Tarih-i Kostantiniyye)* of Ilyas Arabi. For a detailed discussion on both texts, See Yıldız, *Ilyas Arabi's Risale-yi İstanbul: Perceptions of Architecture and Legend Through A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Text.* I am grateful to Ozan Yıldız, who has not only shared his preliminary ideas during the early stages of his research but also provided a final copy of his recently submitted manuscript.
[91] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul,* 238, f.n.17.

sites for his future monumental building projects which appear to have followed the Byzantine urban plan of Constantinople: from his palaces to the first congregational mosque of the city and from the market area to the main port.[92] The conversion of the Hagia Sophia into a congregational mosque and its appropriation within Ottoman literary cultural life emerged from the earliest days after the conquest while the imperial cathedral, which had already been a symbol of the conquest, also became a model for the novel imperial idiom of architecture, starting with Mehmed II's own new mosque, (Fatih Mosque today).[93] Accordingly, the translations of the *Patria* were accompanied by narratives with a particular attention to Hagia Sophia and to the establishment of Constantinople, which mostly included legends, inherited from both the Byzantine and early Islamic and Ottoman traditions.[94]

A significant transformation of the interest in the remnants of 'antiquity' in Constantinople, gained a material momentum with the flourishing of imperial architectural culture in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Such a transformation was even further accelerated by the development of the classical imperial idiom of Ottoman architecture.

The rise of antiquarian literature on Constantinople included literature on the architectural output of the master architect of that era. Sinan's architectural dialogue with Hagia Sophia, as reflected in the widely known example of his challenge with the dome or the case of his utilization of *spoliated* columns and marble revetments for the construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque, a sort of *homage* to Justinian's transportation of columns from pagan temples, as Gülru Necipoğlu argues, might be

[92] See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, for the making of Constantinople as the new capital of Mehmed II.
[93] Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," 196-198.
[94] See Yerasimos, *Konstantiniyye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri.* One such example was the *Risale-yi Istanbul* of Ilyas Arabi. See Yıldız, *Ilyas Arabi's Risale-yi İstanbul*.

considered as another example of the historical awareness of the master architect and his relation to the 'antiquity' (or simply its material past) of Constantinople, embodied by the Hagia Sophia itself.[95] His foundational role as an architect was supplemented by his equally important contributions to the written culture of the architectural milieu of Constantinople.

Sinan's treatises carry significant importance for the transmission of a literary genre on architecture in early modern Constantinople. As Necipoğlu underlines, the text by Sai *Çelebi,* and later on the treatise of Cafer *Efendi*, contained architectural references to many other historical, literary texts of the period, indicating an already established written culture on architecture.[96]

> From the autobiographies of Sinan to the *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye* of Cafer Efendi, from *Menâzırü'l-'Avâlim* containing Mehmed *Âşık*'s comprehensive comparisons and descriptions, to the *Seyahatnâme*, to *Abdurrahmân Hıbrî, Dâyezâde* Mustafa *Efendi* and *Ayvansarâyî*, an architectural discourse was in part shared and transmitted, reflecting the Ottoman elite's understanding of their material environment and giving shape to their expositions.[97]

The rise and transformation of the transmission of the "knowledge and discourse on architecture" as well as an 'aesthetic sensitivity' through literary texts by the Ottoman intellectual elite, as mentioned by Kafescioğlu, are also reflected in the work of Evliya Çelebi. His *Book of Travels* would be a later but significant work that established a dialogue with this developing literary tradition.[98] With the first volume of the compilation devoted to the Imperial capital city and its major monuments, Evliya, according to Kafescioğlu, responded to the written culture developed by Sinan and his contemporaries, including their interaction with the Hagia Sophia.

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[95] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan,* 142-143.
[96] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan,* 146.
[97] Kafescioğlu, "Itinerant Gaze: Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture in the Book of Travels," 313.
[98] More information on the concept of encyclopedism will be provided in Chapter 2 and further discussion on the encyclopedism of Evliya may be found in Chapter 4.

Another example almost contemporary to Evliya was Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan and his book on the history of Constantinople.[99] Unlike the 'encyclopedic' outlook of Evliya's text, the work of Kömürciyan offered a cinematographic encounter of the author with urban topography. Kömürciyan provided the reader with a montage he compiled by means of his own bodily experience of the city. His almost visual narration of the text provided the reader with a lively depiction of the urban environment. However, Kömürciyan did not pay a lot of attention to the material aspects of the urban context. His work focused more on the spatial experience itself. Despite his non-antiquarian tendency, however, the case of Kömürciyan is significant as an example of accumulation of knowledge on the history of the city within the Empire's different linguistic milieus.

This rise of the "knowledge and discourse of architecture" gained a new form in the course of the eighteenth century with the meteoric rise of construction activity in the capital and related transformation of the urban architectural culture, as well as the rising interest in the historical remains of Constantinople, particularly among European intellectual circles. Shirine Hamadeh outlines the growing number of written responses to this transformation of the urban context, in both prose and poetry, as the authors' "apprehension of their built environment and … their perception and understanding of architectural beauty".[100] The new architectural idiom and the new urban culture on Constantinople, that accompanied it, was appropriated in the verses of the famous poets of the Ottoman court. Poetry as a literary form was even utilized to describe the urban context of the city as in the case

[99] I have utilized the Turkish version of Kömürciyan, translated by Hrand Andraesyan and published by Kevork Pamukciyan. According to the introduction of the translator, two manuscript copies of the work was kept in the monastery libraries in Jerusalem and Echmiadzin. The translation however was based on a printed copy, published in Venice in 1913.
[100] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures,* 14.

of *Βοσπορομαχία* (Bosporomachia - The quarrel of the Bosphorus) by Senior Gaspard Ludwig Momartz, published in 1766 in Leipzig.[101] The text, consisting of 4430 lines, was a desciription of a 'contest' between the "beauties of the Asian and European sides of Bosphorus" on the basis of their buildings, palaces, monuments or natural beauties.[102]

Parallel to the transforming urban culture that followed a change in the architectural idiom also, came a rise in the number of visitors from outside of the Empire around the eighteenth century. The increase in the number and means of travels, combined with a revived desire to know and possess the capital of the Orient, resulted in the publication of many works, often illustrated with maps and other plates. A significant driving force behind this literature was the curious European traveler, who was filled with an 'antiquarian desire' and whose route to the Orient passed at some point from Constantinople. As a result, the eighteenth century witnessed the accumulation of a vast number of manuscripts and publications providing different levels of information regarding the urban material context of Constantinople.[103] A significant case of such a visitor with a specialized interest was Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817), whose work would constitute a major reference point for nineteenth-century antiquarianism on Constantinople. This was not only due to its distinct focus on the city, but also due to the visual material, the engravings and maps that accompanied his virtually unprecedented compilation.

[101] For detailed information on Bosporomachia, see Tsilenis, &Dafna, "Senyor Momars'ın Vosporomahia Adlı Yunanca Şiirinde Türkçe Kelimeler ve 18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Tasviri" and Tsilenis, &Dafna, "Oi Tourkogeneis lexeis sto stichourgēma tēs Bosporomachias kai ē chrēsē tous se keimena tou 18ou aiōna."
[102] Tsilenis, &Dafna, "Oi Tourkogeneis lexeis sto stichourgēma tēs Bosporomachias kai ē chrēsē tous se keimena tou 18ou aiōna," 117; Tsilenis, &Dafna, "Senyor Momars'ın Vosporomahia Adlı Yunanca Şiirinde Türkçe Kelimeler ve 18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Tasviri" 69.
[103] Detailed information about these travelers as well as sample pages from their work can be found at: http://eng.travelogues.gr.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, this rise of antiquarian research in Europe found its resonances among members of the intellectual elite of the Ottoman Empire, such as Gağuş Incicyan, a member of the Mekhitarist monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice. Having grown up in Venice, Incicyan was most probably familiar with the print culture that dominated Europe at the time. Accordingly, his compilation on the city, which formed part of his world geographical atlas, was published in Armenian and Italian at the turn of the century. The compilation of Incicyan constituted another significant example of antiquarian literature on Constantinople, due to its systematic organization of knowledge, which followed, for the most part, the structure and content of Petrus Gyllius's work, through an updated, detailed account of the city and its structures. Accordingly, Incicyan constituted another significant step in the rise and accumulation of antiquarian knowledge of the urban context on Constantinople, particularly after the appearance of its French edition in the early nineteenth century.[104]

1.3.2 Sources

The core of this study is occupied by antiquarian literature on Constantinople written in Greek, for the most part produced in the nineteenth century. Its agenda also includes the utilzation of the research and findings conducted by members of the Greek-Orthodox community of the city that is the nineteenth century antiquarian literature on Constantinople in the Greek language, one of the rather under-studied voices of the Ottoman intellectual milieu, especially when it comes to urban research literature. There are particular reasons behind this focus: First and foremost, as mentioned earlier, the Greek literature on Constantinople is among the least utilized

[104] Injijian, *Description du Bosphore*.

material within the aforementioned paradigmatic studies concerning nineteenth century urban morphology and its transformation. As a response, this study utilizes a body of literature that mostly consists of books, starting as early as 1820, with the work of Patriarch Kōnstantios I, written in Greek and entitled *Κωνσταντινιὰς Παλαιά τε καὶ Νεωτέρα: ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, (Kōnstantinias: Ancient and Modern, or a Description of Constantinople). This book saw many re-editions throughout the course of the nineteenth century, in French, English, Ottoman Turkish and Karamanlidika translations. In it, the Patriarch narrated Constantinople with a particular focus on the contemporary conditions of the historic sites of the city together with depictions of scenes from the social context, including stories of personalities relevant to the sites in question.

Another important name that comes forward within these circles is the abovementioned Alexander G. Paspatēs, a medical doctor with a specialized interest in the urban conditions of the city he was living in. His work was most probably driven by this interest, as reflected in a significant chapter of his book which dealt with contemporary Istanbul. In it he expounded a theory of correlations between the occupations of the patients he had examined and their illnesses.[105] Paspatēs considered this chapter extremely important as according to him the major source of illness was the "incredible" living conditions in the city at the time:

> I am doing this because those who are oblivious of this place would never understand what I am writing about my observations at the hospital, if first they do not consider the recklessness of the residents and without reading what I have written on the incredible dirtiness and malodor of the city.[106]

[105] Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn.*
[106] Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn* 42-43. See Appendix A1.

Paspatēs's approach towards Constantinople is shaped by his claims of analyzing the city "as it is".[107] In his search for 'truth', he positions himself at an angle that starkly contrasts with that of Skarlatos Byzantios, who had chosen to describe the city through a narrative based on the present and historic edifices of the city.[108]

> There are many depictions of this wonderful and crowded city, by foreigners and by our authors. Especially, as a person who knows the city closely, Skarlatos Byzantios's work, where he glorifies the old and new monuments of the city and its natural beauties is worthy of attention…. My intention however is not to tell of the beautiful climate of the city and the *yalı*s of its inhabitants on the cool shores of Bosporus like a foreigner or a traveler… My aim is to tell you of the city of *Constantinople as it is:* [emphasis added] Its muddy streets, malodorous sewers, sprawling unhealthy air, unbearable smell, the dam and stifling *han*s where the migrants of the town, coming from the hinterland and foreign lands for trade and pocket money, had lived in illness and died in misery.[109]

Byzantios's 'eulogy' on Constantinople is a three-volume compilation published in 1851, 1861 and 1869 respectively, including all sorts of information about the city in a format that resembles an urban encyclopedia: From neighborhoods, to edifices, from the population to different characteristics of its people, from public buildings to landscape, from administrative information to the genealogy of Byzantine and Ottoman emperors, ect.[110]

Alexander G. Paspatēs's work displayed significant departures from that of Byzantios. Unlike Patriarch Kōnstantios or Byzantios, whose understanding of the city was conveyed through its idealized descriptions of both a historical past and a glorious present, Paspatēs's approach is more of a realistic backdrop, in which the city is supposed to be depicted 'as it is.' Besides his previously mentioned work on

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[107] Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn.*42. See Appendix A2.
[108] Byzantios, *Constantinople.*
[109] Paspatēs *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn* 41-42. See Appendix A2.
[110] It is a significant work based on earlier writings of Greek and Roman annalists such as Polybius, Procopius etc. and chroniclers from the medieval Greek-speaking world, such as Doukas, Anna Comnena etc. Moreover, starting from Peter Gilles, Byzantios had consulted many travelers' accounts on Istanbul. For a detailed analysis of Byzantios's approach and content, see Pesmazoglou, "Skarlatos Vyzantios's Konstantinoupolis."

the Yedikule Hospital Records, Paspatēs would advance this approach in another of his studies, this time explicitly on the history of Istanbul, entitled "Βυζαντιναί Μελέται" (*Byzantinai Meletai* - Byzantine Studies). In it he isolated the historic buildings of Byzantine origin from their social urban context and reassessed them from what we would call a 'heritage making' perspective. Emerging from this perspective, the work of Paspatēs alone may be evaluated as the representation of an insular history of the urban context, bounded with the religio-communal identity of the Greek-Orthodox which, in this case, defined itself through references to the Byzantine era. His focus on the 'Greekness' of the built environment leads his audience to a unilateral reading of the city. What enables this research, however, seems to be a broadening of this focus and a widening of the viewangle through the simultaneous reading of different works on the same subject matter, an issue which will be discussed later in this chapter.

A second reason for this study's focus on Greek literature arises from the fact that, after a sudden decline after 1821, Ottoman Greeks, and their elite in particular, became once more an influential social group in Ottoman Istanbul due to their rising socio-economic role within Ottoman finance, mostly during the second half of the nineteenth century.[111] Greek intellectuals of this period not only produced a sizeable body of literature on Istanbul and its past but also studied the surviving remains of that past in a systematic and institutionalized way. The *Syllogos* constituted the most significant example of this trend.[112]

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[111] See, Issawi, "The Transformation of the Economic Position of the Millets in the Nineteenth century," Exertzoglou "Greek Banking in Constantinople, 1850-1861"; Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati;* Kazgan, *Galata Bankerleri*; Augustinos *Greeks of Asia Minor;* Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire;* Gondicas & Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism;* Millas, *Pera, the Crossroads of the Empire*, on the socio-economic rise of the Greeks as financial actors.

[112] *See:* Anagnostopoulo, "Tanzimat ve Rum Milletinin Kurumsal Çerçevesi"; Exzertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati.*

First established in 1861, the Syllogos would remain active up until 1922, a period that was marked by the regular publication of an annual journal. The *Syllogos* was therefore one of the most enduring and productive societies of the late Ottoman intellectual milieu. In accordance with its focus on the continuity of Greek culture as an integral part of Greek ethnic identity, members of the *Syllogos* also conducted extensive research on the architectural and archaeological remnants of the 'Greek' past within Ottoman lands, from Antiquity to the Byzantine period, a significant part of which inevitably pertained to Constantinople, as the capital city of the Byzantine Empire.[113] Hence the journal of the *Syllogos, the Syngramma Periodikon* and the articles and minutes of monthly meetings published in that journal are discussed in detail in this study.

Furthermore, Greek intellectuals in Constantinople did not only produce a sizeable body of literature on Istanbul and its past, but also studied surviving traces of that past in an institutionalized manner. The foundation of an 'Archeology Commission' as a study group within the *Syllogos* and its publications[114] which served as supplements to the *Syngramma Periodikon*, constituted an important body of sources regarding the history of the city as well as a base for discussions on its physical texture. Starting in 1863, for a period of over than half a century, the commission initiated research and discussions, gave public lectures and published articles on various aspects of the historic buildings and sites of the city. Although most of the members were Greek-speaking intellectuals and produced material

[113] The role of Antique and Byzantine heritage in the making of Greek national identity has been discussed by Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins,* and Ricks & Magdalino, *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, respectively. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid by recent scholarship to the publications by Greek intellectual circles in Istanbul. Likewise, the role played by Byzantine history in Ottoman Turkish literature has been hugely understudied; for a succinct attempt see Ursinus, "Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Turkish Historiography."

[114] The first volume of the Society's journal was published in 1863. From the first volume onwards, there are articles on issues related to Archeology. Nevertheless, the first Archeology Supplement was published in 1875.

mostly in Greek, the commission became a source of attention for many people within and outside of Istanbul during the period of its activities, making the society a wider node of scholarly attention to the 'past' of the city. A significant outcome of the *Syllogos*'s research on the city was its publication of the Land Walls Map of Constantinople in one of these aforementioned supplements (Volume 14). The project included the documentation of the Land Walls of Constantinople, which surrounded the city in the west and had been built in the Byzantine period, with its plan and elevations of the major gates on the walls. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the map, which was produced by the collaboration of scholars within the *Syllogos* through utilization of a body of earlier sources and maps, seems to be one of the most enduring and influential products of the institution. The map, and other issues of the journal were regularly sent to different institutions in and out of Constantinople as part of an international intellectual network for the exchange of specialized knowledge. Accordingly, the exchange of knowledge on the city through the manuscripts, books, journals, maps or oral presentations provided the continuous establishment and reestablishment of new nodes within the Constantinopolitan network, itself. This is manifest in the names of members and external collaborators and the diversity of their backgrounds. Within this network a scholar from Europe such as G. Schlumberger could 'converge' with an Ottoman official, such as Münif Pasha[115] over a common interest area.

Here it is very important to note that Alexander G. Paspatēs himself served as a member of this society, as well as of the Archeology commission almost from its inception. Accordingly, a major focus of this study will be on the collaboration of Alexander G. Paspatēs with the *Syllogos* from the early 1860s up to the early 1880s

[115] See Doğan, "Münif Mehmed Paşa."

when Paspatēs left Constantinople for good, a period that coincided with an intense transformation and proliferation of studies on the old city.

The aforementioned map project on the Land Walls of Istanbul, will be one of the major case studies within the scope of this dissertation. This project which continued for almost a decade, from the early1870s to mid 1880s, was first published as a supplement to the aforementioned journal of the Syllogos and as a separate map later on. The Land Walls project, as the dissertation asserts, would eventually lead to the acknowledgement of the walls as an ancient monument '*âsâr-ı atîka'* in the eyes of the Ottoman administration, long before their legal acknowledgement as such by the state, in the early twentieth century.

Besides these main sources this study also relies on a varied body of urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople in order to contextualize the source material. Particularly the works of Petrus Gyllius, Hammer-Purgstall, Ayvansarâyî as well as the institutional bodies comparable to the *Syllogos*, such as *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye* and its journal *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* which also constitute nodes of the aforementioned network, will be utilized to form a comparative perspective.

Through a parallel reading of sources in Greek and other languages and a comparative examination of Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking intellectual circles, this study aspires to combine what has so far been treated as separate spheres of knowledge by the scholarship. Literature focusing only on one of these languages, is bound to miss connections in between these intellectual spheres and to evaluate these within their respective domains. Accordingly, a comprehensive reading of different versions of the *Kōnstantinias,* may reveal the transmission of knowledge on the urban context from one language to another or from one intellectual circle to another and hence accumulating simultaneously in different spheres, or tracing the

references that connect Paspatēs's work to that of Ayvansarâyî's might offer us new connections that would enable us to trace the lines of transmission of knowledge on Constantinople. Eventually these sources, being the tangible forms of knowledge on the City of Constantinople, will enable us to trace the nodes of the aforementioned network, that is the new 'social' assembled around the historical material context of Constantinople.

1.4 Chapter Outlines

This dissertation consists of two major parts, further divided into four chapters. The first part, aims to analyze a small yet significant fragment of the Constantinopolitan intellectual network which this study investigates at large. The fragment which included Patriarch Kōnstantios I and Skarlatos Byzantios and their respective works on the historical and tangible texture of Constantinople, comprise the background for the nineteenth century perspective. Chapter 2 focuses on the work of Patriarch Kōnstantios I and inquires its engagement with the antiquarian literature, particularly with the work of Petrus Gyllius. As a follow up, Chapter 3 focuses on the three-volume compilation of Skarlatos Byzantios on Constantinople and its relation with the transforming literature, particularly with the work of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall.

These two authors on which the first part is focused, the Patriarch and Byzantios, had published their opera magna in the early and mid-nineteenth century, respectively and their work constitutes the major body of literature on the urban history of Constantinople for that period. Not only did both authors compile a significant corpus of knowledge that had been accumulated through centuries by many different scholars; but they also successfully combined these with their

personal *in situ* experiences and investigations, as both had spent a significant portion of their lives in Constantinople. The works constitute benchmarks for the transformation of antiquarian interest in the city and were part of a certain literary lineage roughly commencing in the sixteenth century with the aforementioned French traveler Petrus Gyllius and his book *De Topographia Constantinopoloes et de Illius Antiqvitatibus* (The Topography of Constantinople and its Antiquities). These chapters will also examine their position within this literature. This will lead to a detailed discussion of the rise and transformation of antiquarianism simultaneous to the increasing interest in the shared territories and capital city of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, Constantinople, and its implications on the emerging literature within early modern European intellectual circles.

The works of Kōnstantios and Byzantios have another significant common aspect in relation to their position within the Constantinopolitan network that this study explores. Besides constituting a significant branch and the historical background of the aforementioned network, the way in which these works were utilized by Alexander G. Paspatēs as one major hub of the network itself is also striking. Paspatēs, making extensive use of the studies of both authors, further developed his own viewpoint partly in dialogue and partly in opposition to their approach towards the city of Constantinople and its history.

Paspatēs's shift initiates a fruitful discussion when analyzed together with the relatively closer perspectives of Kōnstantios and Byzantios. As all three had published their work originally in Greek, the positions taken by each of these authors on the issues of antiquarianism and the transformation of the historiography of the Byzantine Empire are extremely pertinent to the formation of Modern Greek identity, from the eighteenth century onwards. Surely, the ongoing political and ideological

discussion around the emergence and transformation of Modern Greek identity and the consequent nation building processes are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Since the history of Constantinople is well-embedded in the history of the Byzantine Empire, however, the discussion on the transformation of the approaches towards the Byzantine Empire and hence its impact on the urban/antiquarian literature in Greek within the background of the Greek Enlightenment is unavoidable.

The second part of the dissertation focuses on the transformation of the antiquarian literature into an urban archaeological one, through institutionalization. To begin with, in Chapter 4, it examines the works of Alexander G. Paspatēs in the second half of the nineteenth century and examines his transformative role in the literature on the urban context of Istanbul. Through his close reading of the earlier monographs, such as the aforementioned ones by Kōnstantios and Byzantios and other works on Constantinople, together with his own *in situ* research, the separation of the present context from the past, and recreation of the past, mostly its 'monumental' forms in its new isolated context are among the major aspects to be analyzed through Paspatēs's literary work on Istanbul. His transformative role, based on the rising historicism of the nineteenth century are examined here through his research methods, which consistently prioritized the scientific documentation of the urban context.

Both chronologically and thematically this part of the dissertation also focuses on a later phase of the studies on the urban context of Istanbul. It focuses on a more interactive, collaborative phase of marked by works emerging in the second half of the century, not necessarily initialized by Paspatēs, but owing a great deal to his contributions. It aims to discuss the institutionalization of research on the urban context of 'old' Istanbul with the Syllogos at its center together with the projects

conducted by that institution. In Chapter 5, this dissertation focuses on the transformation of the *Syllogos*, which had been founded originially as a literary society, through the impact of Paspatēs into an institution with a significant interest in urban material texture. The rise of urban research on 'old' Istanbul especially with the impetus created by Paspatēs, and collaboration with many scholars and other institutions within the larger Ottoman intellectual milieu will be the major themes of this chapter.

The epilogue/conclusion of this study focuses on the aftermath of this productive collaboration between Paspatēs and the society and searches for its impact within the larger intellectual milieu of Istanbul. It will trace later research and contributions to the field that followed in its footsteps or drew on that seminal collaboration, the fruits of which deeply transformed and promoted the growing literature on 'old' Istanbul, that was to be written, read and appreciated in a series of languages used in the Imperial city in the decades to come.

Itself being a recent contribution to the study of 'old' Constantinople, this work aims to offer not only the application of a novel method, that investigates network formation around scholarship on Constantinople, but also to revisit mostly overlooked sources, from the nineteenth-century Greek literature on the history of Constantinople. Accordingly it intends to transcend long-established boundaries within the scholarship and paves the ground for the investigation of novel sets of interactions among different actors of scholarly research on Constantinople.

PART I

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST IN CONSTANTINOPLE

> The history of his city becomes for him the history of himself; he reads its walls, its towered gate, its rules and regulations, its holidays like an illuminated diary of his youth and in all this he finds again himself, his force, his industry, his joy, his judgment, his folly and vices.[116]

This first part of this dissertation aims to analyze a small, yet significant fragment of the Constantinopolitan intellectual network which consisted of the works of two major authors, Patriarch Kōnstantios I (1770-1859) and Skarlatos D. Byzantios (1797-1878), within the larger context of the urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople. This part provides the necessary background for the nineteenth century perspective on the historical and tangible texture of Constantinople.

Despite the fact that their active period and the initial publication of their work is beyond the timeframe of this study, which is roughly between early 1860s and mid 1880s, their utilization by the nodes and hubs of the network, particularly by A. Paspatēs, and other members of the *Syllogos,* made them crucial nodes. Moreover, the constant reappearances of the *Konstantinias* in different languages down through the second half of the nineteenth century, also brings it even closer to the time of development of the aforementioned network.

[116] Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," 73. Also quoted by Miller, *History and Its Objects,* 5. Miller gives the same quotation also in another article on a similar topic: Miller, "A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism 1500-2000," 79-80.

CHAPTER 2

PATRIARCH KŌNSTANTIOS I

> This abridged book narrates the former condition and appearance of the city of Istanbul itself, the capital of the imperial throne, together with its environs, the Golden Horn and the islands etc. and contains a description of the extant and non-extant ancient monuments found therein.[117]

These are the very first lines of the preface in the book entitled *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Kostantiniyye*, (The Condition of Old Constantinople) which was published on the history of 'old' Constantinople in 1861. According to renowned historian Semavi Eyice this was the first study written and published in Ottoman Turkish analyzing the Byzantine layer of the city in a systematic manner.[118] It was however, as Eyice also acknowledged, not an original work but rather a translation of an earlier book written in Greek by a former Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Kōnstantios I (p. 1830-1834) during his tenure as Archbishop of Mt Sinai. The book was first published in Venice in 1820 (Figure 2) "for the benefit of the Constantinople-based association of Greek traders" and was entitled *Κωνσταντινιὰς παλαιά τε καὶ νεωτέρα ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* [119] (*Kōnstantinias Palaia te kai neōtera ētoi perigrafē Kōnstantinoupoleōs - The Kōnstatinias: A Description of Ancient and Modern Constantinople*). In addition, there are two other books, by the same author, one published in 1803 in Moscow, in Greek and Russian: *Ἀρχαία Ἀλεξάνδρεια.*

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[117] Kōnstantios, *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Kostantiniyye*, no p. n. "İşbu risâle-i muhtasara payitaht-ı saltanat-ı seniyye olan nefs-i İstanbul şehri ile etrafındaki belad ve halic-i kostantiniyye ve adalar ve sairenin evvelinde ne hal ve heyetde bulunduğunu nakl ve bunlarda mevcûd ve mefkûd bulunan asâr-ı kadimenin ta'rifatını şamildir." See Figure 7 below for the original Ottoman Turkish page.

[118] Eyice, "İstanbul'un Fethinden Önceki Devre Ait Eski Eserlerine Dair Bir Kitap Hakkında," 87. The term 'Ottoman Turkish' here refers to Turkish written in Arabic script. The other forms of Turkish such as in Greek script will be referred to as 'Karamanlidika*'* with reference to the related literature, especially the works of Evangelia Balta. For detailed studies on Karamanlidika, see Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier*; Balta, *Miscellaneous Studies;* Balta, *Gerçi Rum isek de.*

[119] I sincerely thank Haris Theodorelis-Rigas for his warnings on the contemporary and nineteenth century utilization of the terms 'παλαιά' and 'νεωτέρα' (ancient - modern).

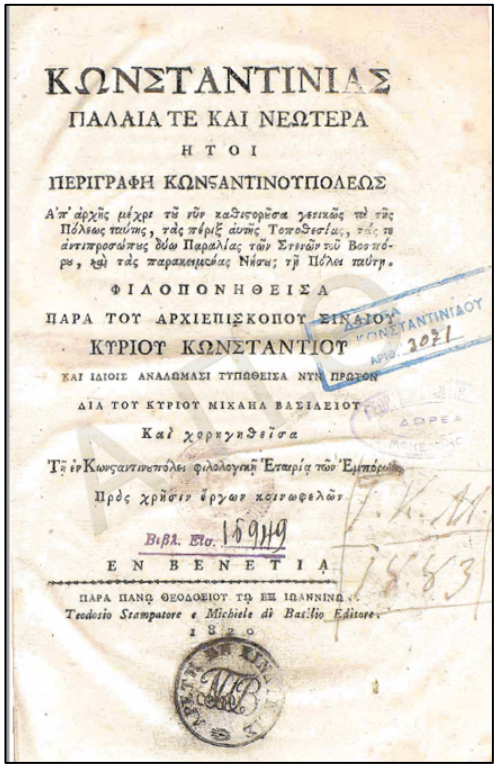
Περιγραφὴ τῆς πόλεως (*Archaia Alexandreia Perigrafē tēs poleōs - Ancient Alexandria: A Description of the City*) and another one in İstanbul in 1849 entitled as *Πραγματεία ἀρχαιολογικὴ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας* (*Pragmateia archaiologikē peri tou naou tēs Hagias Sophias - An Archaeological Study of the Church of Hagia Sophia*).

The aforementioned Ottoman Turkish version of the *Kōnstantinias* was neither the only translation of the book nor the earliest one. During the course of the nineteenth century, it had been translated into different languages and was published several times. Although Semavi Eyice has counted eight different versions of the book, there are actually nine books (plus one newspaper series and one translation manuscript available) in the nineteenth century.[120] The earliest version of the book that was published in Venice in 1820 (Figure 2), was listed neither in Eyice's article nor in the other studies on the book, which mainly cite Eyice.[121] Stavros Anestidis, on the other hand, mentions nine versions.[122] Following this first edition in 1820, there are two more Greek versions: one in 1824 (Figure 3), published again in Venice and one in 1844 (Figure 4), published in Constantinople.

[120] See Appendix B for a full list of all the versions. The most recent publication of the book that I could locate was by Şevket Rado in 1981. He had published the book as transliterated from Ottoman into Modern Turkish and simplified, together with a summary of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's section on Mehmed II and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (*The History of the Ottoman Empire)*; and with another article by Albert Gabriel, on the achievements of the Turks in Constantinople. See Rado, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet: İstanbul'un alınışı-Eski Hali*. Another twentieth century edition was a facsimile print of the 1824 Greek edition which was published by Nea Poreia in Thessaloniki in 1979.

[121] Erdem, "Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye: Tarih-i İstanbul," Kılıç-Yıldız, "Byzantium Between "East" and "West," Kılıç-Yıldız, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Entelektüellerin Gözüyle Bizans İstanbul'u," are among the works that mention different versions of the book. Erdem actually refers to the possibility of the ninth one but as she could not locate it, prefers to base her study on Eyice's research.

[122] He does not refer to one published and one manuscript Ottoman Turkish version. Anestidis, "Kōnstantios A ho apo Sinaiou kai Manouēl Iō. Gedeōn," 49-51.



ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΑΣ

ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ

Η Τ Ο Ι

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Α'π' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστορῦσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς περιξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τάς τε ἀντιπροσώπους δύω Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ.

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΗΘΕΙΣΑ

ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΣΙΝΑΙΟΥ

ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΟΥ

ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΣΙ ΤΥΠΩΘΕΙΣΑ ΝΥΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ

Καὶ χορηγηθεῖσα

Τῇ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει φιλολογικῇ Ἑταιρίᾳ τῶν Ἐμπόρων,

Πρὸς χρῆσιν ἔργων κοινωφελῶν.

Βιβλ. Εἰσ. 15919

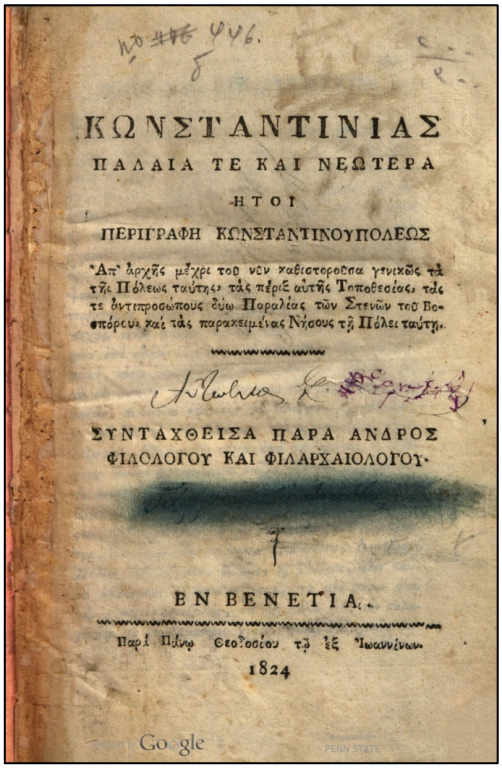
ΕΝ ΒΕΝΕΤΙΑ

ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΝΩ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΤΩ ΕΞ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩ.

Teodosio Stampatore e Michiele di Basilio Editore.

1 8 2 0

Figure 2. The cover of the *Kōnstantinias,* the first book edition of 1820, in Greek
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Digital Collections, Rare Books



ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΑΣ

ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ

ΗΤΟΙ

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστορῦσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς περιξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τάς τε ἀντιπροσώπους δύω Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ.

ΣΥΝΤΑΧΘΕΙΣΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ

ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ.

ΕΝ ΒΕΝΕΤΙΑ.

Παρὰ Πάνῳ Θεοδοσίου τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων.

1824

Figure 3. The cover of the *Kōnstantinias*, the second book edition of 1824, in Greek
Accessible at: Hathi Trust Digital Library
Originally from Pennsylvania State University


ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΑΣ

ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ

ΗΤΟΙ

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστορουσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς πέριξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τὰς τε ἀντιπροσώπους θέας Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ.

Συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ

ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΥ.

ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ.

ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ,

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΠΑΣΠΑΛΗ.

1844.

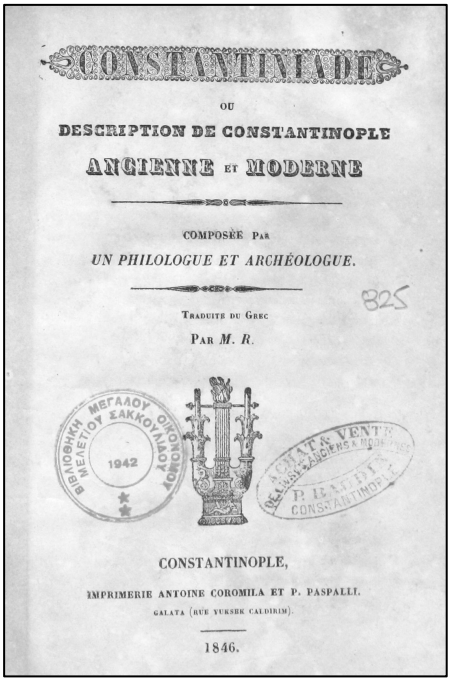
Figure 4. The cover of the *Kōnstantinias,* the third book edition of 1844, in Greek
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

These were followed by a French edition in 1846 (Figure 5) which was also published in Constantinople. In 1860, it was translated, from '*lisan-ı rûmiden zeban-ı türkîye'*[123] meaning from Greek to Turkish, by a translator named Yorgaki Petropulo Efendi[124] from *Divan-ı Zabtiye.* It was published in a series, as *tefrika,* in the *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl* newspaper – issues 6 to 16 (except for no:8); on the first and second pages of each issue (Figure 6), entitled again *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i*

[123] Quoted by Strauss, "The Greek Connection in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Intellectual History," 50. A manuscript version of this translation can be found in the archive of Istanbul Research Institute Pera. I am grateful to K.Mehmet Kentel for locating Petropoulo's manuscript copy of *Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* in the Suna and Inan Kıraç Foundation Manuscript Collection. For detailed info, see: Alışık "Eis tēn Polin, fakat Şehir Nerede: Kōnstantios'un İstanbul'u."

[124] According to Strauss he was the son of the logothete Alexander Petropoulos, who was an author of a geographical compilation during the reign of Mahmud II. See: Strauss, "The Greek Connection in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Intellectual History," 50. For detailed info see: İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, 217, 350-351.

Konstantiniyye.[125] This was followed by the version in Ottoman Turkish mentioned above with the same title (Figure 7).[126] Subsequently in 1863, the book appeared in Karamanlidika; [127] in 1868 in English (Figure 8), published in London, and finally in 1872 once more in Ottoman Turkish.


CONSTANTINIADE

OU

DESCRIPTION DE CONSTANTINOPLE

ANCIENNE ET MODERNE

COMPOSÉE PAR

UN PHILOLOGUE ET ARCHÉOLOGUE.

TRADUITE DU GREC

PAR *M. R.*

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ ΣΑΚΚΟΥΛΙΔΟΥ
1942

CONSTANTINOPLE,

IMPRIMERIE ANTOINE COROMILA ET P. PASPALLI.

GALATA (RUE YUKSEK CALDIRIM).

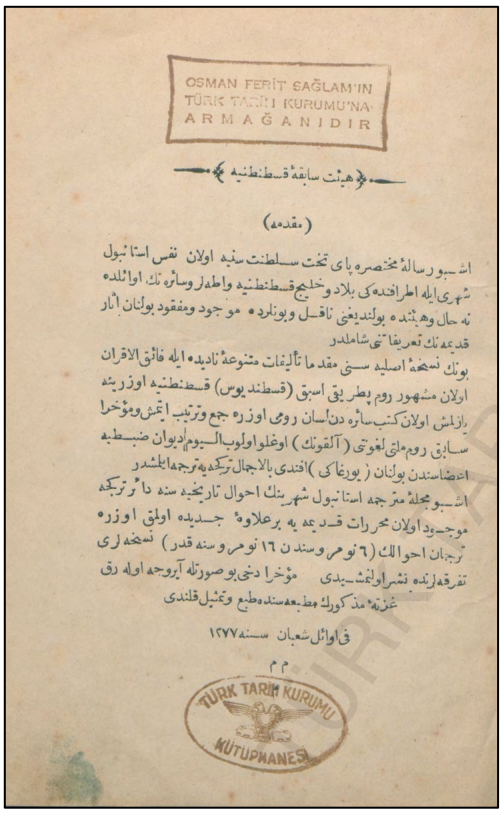
1846.

Figure 5. The cover of the *Constantiniade*, the fourth book edition of the *Kōnstantinias* in 1846, in French
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

[125] Between 12 *Cemâziyelevvel* 1277 (26 November 1860) and 23 *Receb* 1277 (4 February 1861). Kılıç-Yıldız, "Byzantium Between "East" and "West," and Strauss, "The Greek Connection in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Intellectual History," state that these reprints of the book may indicate a "success" for the Ottoman press, most probably due to its extensive number of translations.
[126] This book was advertised in *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl*, as being available for purchase from either the printing house or from places where the newspaper was sold for 10 *kuruş* (issue 19, 14 *Şaban* 1277-25 February 1861). Later on, the price would become 8 *kuruş* (issue 26, 13 *Şevval* 1277-24 April 1861).
[127] A hybrid version of Turkish written in the Greek alphabet, mostly used by the Greek-Orthodox community of Central Asia Minor, Cappadocia. See footnote 3 in this chapter.



Figure 6. The first page of *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl*, issue 6, with the first part of the *tefrika* (series) of *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* at the bottom of the page
ISAM Library Newspaper Collection, Istanbul


OSMAN FERİT SAĞLAM'IN
TÜRK TARİH KURUMU'NA
ARMAĞANIDIR

هیئت سابقهٔ قسطنطنیه

(مقدمه)

اشبو رسالهٔ مختصره پای تخت سلطنت سنیه اولان نفس استانبول شهری ایله اطرافنده کی بلاد و خلیج قسطنطنیه و اطه لر وسائره نك اوائلده نه حال وهیئتده بولندیغنی ناقل و یونارده موجود ومفقود بولنان آثار قدیمه نك تعریفاتنی شاملدر

بونك نسخهٔ اصلیه سنی مقدما تألیفات متنوعهٔ نادیده ایله فائق الاقران اولان مشهور روم پطریق اسبق (قسطندیوس) قسطنطنیه اوزرینه بازلمش اولان کتب سائره دن استان رومی اوزره جمع وترتیب ایتمش ومؤخرا سابقی روم ملتی لغوتی (آلفونك) اوغلو اولوب الیوم دیوان ضبطیه اعضاسندن بولنان (یورغاکی) افندی بالاجمال ترکجه یه ترجمه ایلمشدر

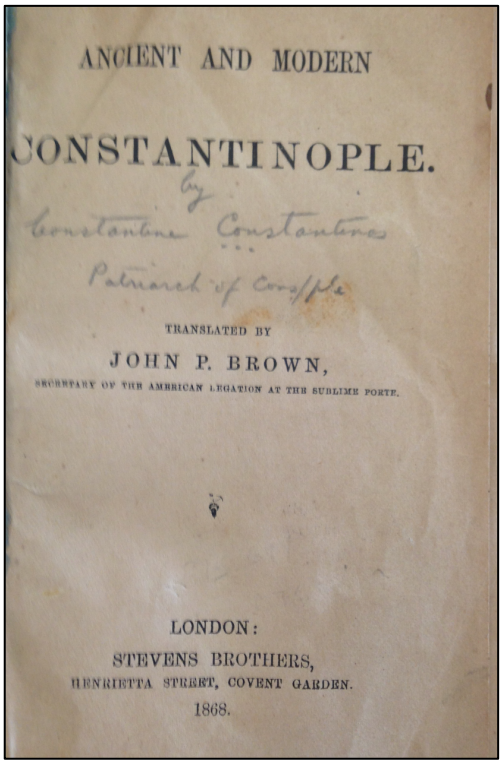
اشبو مجلهٔ مترجمه استانبول شهرینك احوال تاریخیه سنه دائر ترکجه موجود اولان محررات قدیمه یه برعلاوهٔ جدیده اولق اوزره ترجمان احوالك (٦ نومرو سندن ١٦ نومرو سنه قدر) نسخه لری تفرقه لرنده نشر اولنمشیدی مؤخرا دخی بو صورتله آیروجه اوله رق عزیزنه مذکورك مطبعه سنده طبع وتمثیل قلندی

فی اوائل شعبان سنه ١٢٧٧

٢٢

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU
KÜTÜPHANESİ

Figure 7. The first page of *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* in 1861
Turkish History Foundation Digital Library


ANCIENT AND MODERN

CONSTANTINOPLE.

by

Constantine Constantinos

Patriarch of Constple

TRANSLATED BY

JOHN P. BROWN,

SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGATION AT THE SUBLIME PORTE.

LONDON:

STEVENS BROTHERS,

HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1868.

Figure 8. The cover of *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*
the eighth book edition of the *Kōnstantinias* in 1868, in English
Boğaziçi University Library, Rare Collection, Istanbul

It is an interesting aspect that aside from the very first publication, none of these versions acknowledge the author's name on the cover. Instead, the work is described as "prepared by a man, philologist and philarchaeologist." The English edition likewise does not have the name of the author on the front piece. In its place, there is the reference to the translator John Porter Brown.[128] Still, several pages later the book provides a biography of the author and names him in the text. The Ottoman Turkish editions, on the other hand, acknowledge the author in their prefaces. The only version that had announced the author very clearly was the very first version that was published in 1820.

This curious case of anonymity – complete in some editions and partial in others – merits further discussion. While Kōnstantios's enthusiastic biographers tend to explain it as a mark of the patriarch's genuine modesty[129] it is evident that his change of mind from the 1820 to the 1824 editions occurred in the immediate aftermath of the 1821 Greek Revolution, the fall from grace of the Phanariot class and the ensuing reprisals against the city's Christian population.[130] At the time,

[128] Thus, it is usually catalogued within the libraries or acknowledged as written by J.P. Brown. i.e.: "In trying to obtain the necessary *firman* for continuing my excavations, I met with new and great difficulties, for the Turkish Government are [sic] collecting ancient works of art for their recently established Museum in Constantinople, in consequence of which the Sultan no longer grants permission for making excavations. But what I could not obtain in spite of three journeys to Constantinople, I got at last through the intercession of my valued friend, the temporary *charges d'affaires* of the United States to the Sublime Porte-Mr. John P. Brown, the author of the excellent work 'Ancient and Modern Constantinople' (London, 1868)." Schliemann, Smith & Schmitz. *Troy and Its Remains,* 59. Brown was the Secretary of the American Consulate in Constantinople when the book had been translated and republished. He held various offices in the consulate, between 1834-1872, until his death. For a detailed biography of John Porter Brown, see Conn, *John Porter Brown, father of Turkish-American Relations;* Leiser, "John Porter Brown, Early American Orientalist (1814-1872)". The translation of the book was also listed within his works, in an obituary published in the Levant Herald, 30 April 1872, also cited by Conn, *John Porter Brown, Father of Turkish-American Relations,* 289; Leiser, "John Porter Brown, Early American Orientalist (1814–1872)," 187.

[129] Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A*, 21.

[130] For an analysis of the reactions of the Ottoman state to the Greek War of Independence see Ilıcak, *A Radical Rethinking of Empire.* For the 1821 Ottoman reprisals against the Greek Orthodox in Istanbul, including the state-sponsored execution of Patriarch Gregory V at Phanar, several hundred meters away from Kōnstantios's own residence at the time see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire,* 65-74.

Kōnstantios, as Archbishop of Mt Sinai, was residing in the monastery's *metochion* (ecclesiastical embassy) in Istanbul's Balat district. According to his biographer:

> During the horrifying tempest of 1821, Kōnstantios, overtaken by terror, left his *metochion* and retreated to the island of Antigonos [Burgazada]. To his hiding place there the British Embassy sent a legation led by the elderly Ssaper [Sarell?], its 1st dragoman, to tell him not to be afraid. Having been emboldened thus and after the initial shock of danger had passed, he retired for a few more years in his retreat on the island of Antigonos, where he pursued his customary literary endeavors.[131]

In addition to this anonymity, apart from the English edition, in which the translator dedicates his work to Alexander G. Paspatēs, we have no clue about the concrete reasons or the actors behind the re-appearances of this work.[132] Nonetheless, the Turkish translation and publication as a series in *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl,* may be seen as part of the expanding publication movement within the Ottoman press and the rise of intellectual activity in the second half of the nineteenth century in Istanbul.[133] This was the period of the Young Ottomans, a new reformist intellectual movement spearheaded by mid-ranking bureaucrats of the Ottoman government.[134] These bureaucrats, as 'men of knowledge,' mostly educated abroad, or in modern institutions of learning in the Ottoman Empire, had a significant interest in the ongoing intellectual discussions within European circles, especially concerning

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[131] Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A*, 7. Translated by Haris Theodorelis-Rigas. See Appendix A3 for the original page. In fact, through a close comparative inspection of the technical characteristics of the 1820 and 1824 editions, Sklavenitis has convincingly argued that the latter was not an actual edition but rather consisted of the remaining copies or reprint of the *editio princeps*, which were sent to Constantinople and had their title pages substituted with an anonymous version: Sklavenitis, "Bibliologika A," 356.

[132] This dedication does not prove that it is due to Paspatēs only, however, it can still be said that one way or another, Paspatēs is involved in the decision. From another work of Paspatēs, published also in English, we learn about his collaboration with J.P. Brown. See Hamlin & Paspatēs, "Memoir on the Language of the Gypsies, as Now Used in the Turkish Empire," 12. Moreover, the close connections of Paspatēs to the American Consulate, because of his missionary origins, should also be taken into consideration. For more details on Paspatēs and his connection to the Missionaries, see Chapter 4.

[133] Kabacalı, *Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın,* 59-94. This rise and its implications on the political thought was discussed by Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought.*

[134] For a detailed analysis of the Young Ottomans, see Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* and Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots.*

political theory and nationalism along the lines set by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

Accordingly, in the early 1860s, translations and reprints of both European and earlier Ottoman scholarly texts started to re-appear in Constantinople, the first of which would be the *Telemaque* of Fenelon.[135] Here the role of *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl,* published by Agâh Efendi and Şinasi Bey, should be considered crucial, as the newspaper was one of the earliest products of this transforming intellectual environment. This translation and the reappearance of the book of Kōnstantios within the early pages of *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl,* was most probably of their doing.

For our purposes, the importance of the reappearances of Kōnstantios's work here stems from the fact that these reprints temporally juxtapose with the rise in influence and activities of these reformist intellectuals in Constantinople in the 1860s. This period would be the peak of a movement that was to resonate in the establishment of new intellectual societies, and in the increase in the number of new publications.[136] The Greek Literary Society, the *Syllogos*, (*Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος)*, another hub of the Constantinopolitan intellectual network that this study is based on and its counterpart in Turkish, *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye*, (Ottoman Society of Science) another node of the same network, will have been established, also within this productive milieu, by 1861.[137] Therefore, these reprints of Kōnstantios's work actually connect the original work

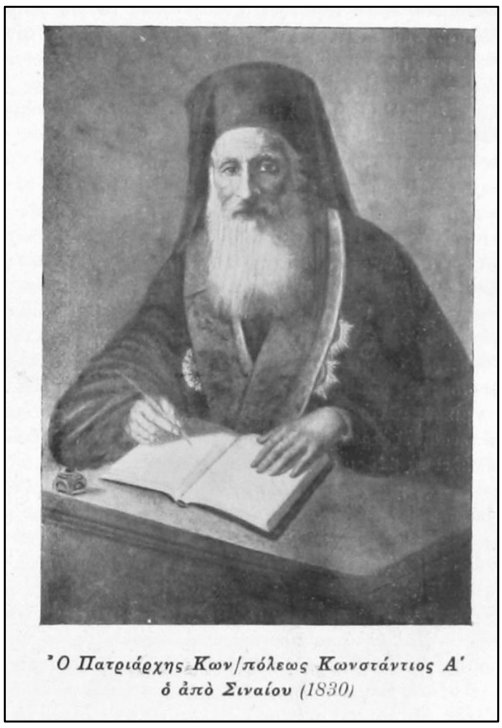
[135] Kabacalı, *Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın,* 80; Budak, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Gazetecilik ve Edebiyat*, 205-239. An interesting detail concerning *Telemaque* is that it was also one of the early translations of the Greek Enlightenment, as early as 1742. See Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 70.
[136] See Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots.* For the analysis of the rise of 'Societies' within the Greek community of Constantinople, see Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople.*
[137] Budak, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Gazetecilik ve Edebiyat*, 117-155. also underlines the role played by those two – and some other – institutions for the development and consolidation of the scientific discourse. See Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 83-84. Also see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion on the institutionalization of knowledge.

and its author to the intellectual network under investigation within this study, yet from another node.

2.1 The biography of the Patriarch

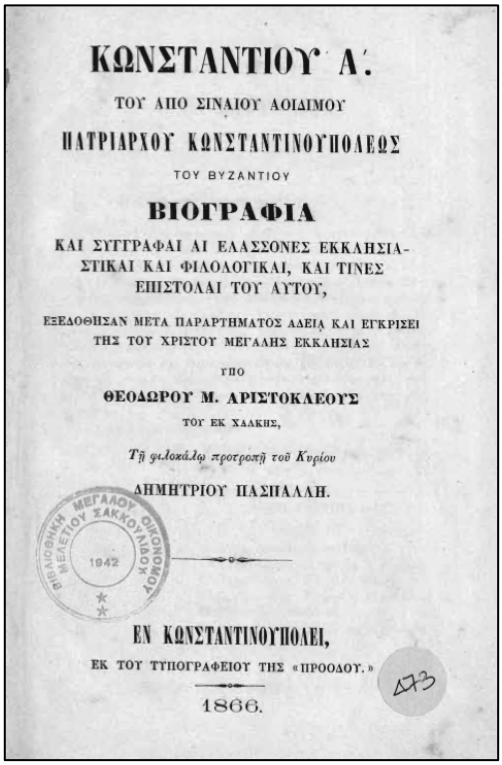
The increase in publishing activities did not only pertain to Ottoman Turkish, but also to the other languages of the Empire, such as Greek and Armenian. It was actually a cross-communal phenomenon, since it included diverse actors from different backgrounds, as it is evident in the case of newspapers or journals for instance. This was due to simultaneous transformations within the social conditions of non-Muslim *millets* of the Empire, following the Reform Edict of 1856, as well as their rising economic capacity.[138] In 1866, at around the same time as the consecutive reappearances of the *Kōnstantinias,* Theodoros Aristoklēs, a musician and intellectual from the island of Chalki (*Heybeliada*), and founding member of the Musical Society of Constantinople,[139] Kōnstantios's protégé and personal copyist, had published a biography of Patriarch Kōnstantios I (Figure 9), together with some of his other articles as well as a hymn.[140] For all their glosses and hagiographical undertones, Aristoklēs's biography (Figure 10) and the eulogies delivered at Kōnstantios's funeral[141] constitute our main sources of factual details about Kōnstantios's upbringing, ecclesiastic career and intellectual background.

[138] Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople, 23-85.* For the changing conditions of the Ottoman Millets in the nineteenth century, see Braude & Lewis*, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire,* and particularly for the conditions of the Ottoman Greeks, see Gondicas & Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism.*
[139] For detailed info on the Musical Society of Constantinople, see Erol, *Cultural Identifications of the Greek Orthodox Elite of Constantinople.*
[140] Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A,* 1.
[141] Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A*, 37-50.



Ὁ Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως Κωνστάντιος Α΄
ὁ ἀπὸ Σιναίου (1830)

Figure 9. Patriarch Kōnstantios I (1770-1859)
Hēmerologion tou etous 1907, 237.



ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΟΥ Α΄.

ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΣΙΝΑΙΟΥ ΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΥ

ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ

ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΑΙ ΕΛΑΣΣΟΝΕΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ-
ΣΤΙΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ,

ΕΞΕΔΟΘΗΣΑΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΔΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΚΡΙΣΕΙ
ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ

ΥΠΟ

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ Μ. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΧΑΛΚΗΣ,

Τῇ φιλοκάλῳ προτροπῇ τοῦ Κυρίου

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΠΑΣΠΑΛΗ.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ ΣΑΚΚΟΥΛΙΔΟΥ
1942

ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ,

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ «ΠΡΟΟΔΟΥ.»

1866.

Δ73

Figure 10. The cover of the biography of Patriarch Kōnstantios by Aristoklēs
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

According to this biography, Patriarch Kōnstantios was born in Balat in 1770 to a father of Cretan extraction and a local Greek Orthodox mother in Balat's Xyloporta neighbourhood, where he received his primary education [142] After receiving a theological education in Iassy, he went to Kiev in 1790 and entered the Patriarchal Academy there. In 1798, he joined the Sinai monastery and became the metropolitan of Sinai in 1805. He stayed at the post until he was elected Patriarch (technically archbishop) of Constantinople in 1830, on July 6.[143] Stavros Anestidis states that Kōnstantios was also the founder of the famous Commercial School (Figure 11) (*Ἐμπορικὴ Σχολή – Emporikē Scholē*) in Chalki, (*Heybeliada*).[144]



Figure 11. Greek Commercial School, in Chalkē (Heybeliada)
IBB Atatürk Library Digital Collection

[142] Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A*, 1.
[143] Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A*, 7.
[144] Anestidis, "Kōnstantios A ho apo Sinaiou kai Manouēl Iō. Gedeon," 46

The school, which had been established in the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa in the Monastery of St. John [145] in 1831, was active until the First World War. Through the financial support of the Greek-Orthodox communal elite, it became one of the leading educational institutions of the city. Throughout the First World War, education at the school was suspended and its buildings were used for several different purposes, finally after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, became an orphanage for war victims.[146] Even though the buildings remained the property of the Greek-Orthodox community, they were an issue of dispute between the Turkish state and the Patriarchate. Ultimately, the buildings of the school were confiscated by the Turkish government following the Second World War.[147] Today it is within the grounds of the Heybeliada Military School, which was also recently closed down.[148]

The educational activities of the Patriarch were not confined to the Commercial School. Again, as Anestidis mentions, he also worked on the curriculum of the Patriarchal Academy, the Great School of the Nation (*Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή -Megalē tou Genous Scholē*).[149] When we consider the intellectual prominence of the Greek-Orthodox elite, lay and clergy of Constantinople around the turn of the nineteenth century, the ambitious scholarly position of the Patriarch himself is not surprising.

[145] I am grateful to Vera Bulgurlu, for drawing my attention to this church and monastery. For detailed info on the monastery and the church, see Mathews and Mango "Observations on the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalkē), Istanbul."
[146] Mathews & Mango, "Observations on the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalkē), Istanbul," 119.
[147] Ertani, "Heybeliada'daki Rum Kurumları Deniz Kuvvetleri'nin Elinde."
[148] After the failed *coup d'etat* in July 2016, the Military Schools were closed by the Turkish Government. Yet the property of the building is still owned by the State.
[149] Anestidis, "Kōnstantios A o apo Sinaiou kai Manouēl Io. Gedeōn," 46.

2.1.1 The intellectual environment of the Patriarch:

The learned Patriarch (*alim patrik)*[150] Kōnstantios was born in the second half of the eighteenth century, in a period marked by the prominence of the Phanariot *Bey*s within the Greek-Orthodox community of the Empire.[151] The higher echelons of the Greek – Orthodox community of Constantinople, known as Phanariotes after the name of their residential neighborhood Phanar on the Golden Horn, were mostly financially strong members of the Constantinopolitan Greek community, due to their profitable trading within the Mediterranean.

From the seventeenth century onwards, thanks to their maritime connections with Western Europe, the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire had established colonies on the banks of the Mediterranean. Most of the younger generations of those Greek families had acquired a European education and mastered European languages and hence were exposed to the major intellectual concepts discussed around Europe. This, according to Paschalis Kitromilides, was the first contact of the Ottoman Greeks and the reestablishment of intellectual ties with the West since the end of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century.[152] Especially thanks to the existence of Greek colonies around the Italian peninsula, certain Italian cities such as Bologna and Padua, with their educational institutions, and Venice, which would later become the center of Greek publishing, were extremely important for the establishment of these connections. These cities became the hubs of the intellectual encounters within the Ottoman Greeks and European intellectual circles.[153] The result was the

[150] "Learned Patriarch" was the mode of address employed by the Porte in its regular correspondence with Kōnstantios I, according to Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantinou A*, 26.
[151] For a detailed account on Phanariotes, see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire.*
[152] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 26.
[153] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 26, 55-56. For a detailed analysis on the Venetian connection of the Ottoman Greeks, Kitromilides provides an extensive bibliography: Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution.*

expansion of these merchants' prominent role within the Greek community as intellectual leaders as well as their ascendancy within the Ottoman administrative structure due to their increasing contact with the West and their growing capability of foreign languages.[154] They first became *dragomans* – imperial translators [155]– at the Ottoman court and were later on given the title of the *Hospodar*/*Voyvoda* of Moldovia and Wallachia in Eastern Europe.[156] In particular, Grand Dragomans were extremely useful to the Ottoman state at a time around the late seventeenth century, when the Ottomans needed strong diplomatic connections with the West. This was a period when diplomacy rivaled war politics for the Ottoman Empire, a precursor of the transformation of the Ottoman State,[157] while Europe was particularly under the influence of the European Enlightenment. In this context, the economic and political rise of the Ottoman Greeks in addition to their contact with the intellectual circles of Western Europe, provided an interaction and engagement with Enlightenment circles, and resulted in the rise of a Greek version of the Enlightenment.

The Greek Enlightenment, as discussed by Paschalis Kitromilides, may be viewed as a projection of the European Enlightenment on the Greek cultural tradition, in the Greek speaking communities of Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe. Rather than being a response or counter-development to Enlightenment currents flowing in Paris or London, it was a significant part of the web of areas and languages where Enlightenment ideals were not only received but also developed. Here the methods of transmission of ideas, mobility, correspondence and translations

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[154] Philliou, *Biography of An Empire*, xx-xxi; Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 29.
[155] This would only be a beginning for the contribution of the Greeks to the Ottoman letters. For a detailed account on this issue, see Strauss "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)."
[156] Iorga, in his seminal work underlines the continuation of the Byzantine 'forms' in Moldavia and Wallachia: Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium.*
[157] Baki Tezcan and Rifat Abou-El-Haj, both refer to the transformation of the Ottoman state structure especially in the eighteenth century: Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire;* Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State.*

were already well-embedded.[158] In this aspect, it constituted a crucial part of the Enlightenment at large and was bigger than the context of the Greek nation state, as it dominated a much larger area of influence.[159] The movement was particularly active in areas with high demographic presence of Greeks that were distant from Ottoman political control, such as, Thessaloniki, Kastoria, Ioannina, the Ionian Islands or the semi-autonomous Danubian Principalities.[160]

The Greek Enlightenment, under the direct influence of the European Enlightenment, would further evolve throughout the eighteenth century. The initial political arguments which would coalesce around the search for an enlightened absolutism under the influence of Voltaire,[161] in which the Greek intellectuals searched for a Greek Empire; [162] would soon take the shape of a search for liberal republicanism in accordance with Rousseau, in the mid to late eighteenth century. The most significant change would come under the influence of the French Revolution at the end of the century, which, with the rise of Nationalism, turned the Greek Enlightenment's aspirations increasingly towards an exclusivist Greek nation-state.[163]

The influence of the Enlightenment on the transformation of political discourse and philosophy in Greek intellectual circles and its impact on the rise of the nascent modern Greek state is beyond the focus of this study. Yet its implications

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[158] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 21.
[159] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 7. This definition of Greek Enlightenment was also nourished by the recent scholarly conceptualization of the Enlightenment, not as a movement centralized in Northwestern Europe, around Paris and London and leaving all the rest as a 'periphery' but rather as a web of intellectual interactions between different geographies and languages that would feed each other bilaterally. This, as we learn from Kitromilides, marks the cultural map of the Enlightenment. For a detailed analysis and discussion on the political and moral theories of the Greek Enlightenment, see: Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution;* Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity.*
[160] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 39.
[161] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 139.
[162] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 153.
[163] Kitromilides discusses this transformation in length with reference to the major works by Greek intellectuals such as R. Velestinlis or A. Korais: Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution.*

had a significant effect on the rise and transformation of urban/antiquarian histories, particularly of Constantinople. The reasons, which will be discussed further, later in this chapter, are twofold: The first is related to the rise of modern science and its methods, such as empiricist research and the related increase of Antiquarianism, the study of the material remnants as truthful evidences of the past, and as a method for writing history. The second on the other hand, is related to the rising and transforming interest in the historiography of the Byzantine Empire and Constantinople as its capital, as part of both Greek and European history writing.

Kōnstantios was born in and had lived during the peak of the political and intellectual power of the Greek Phanariotes, of which he himself had been a member, as noted by the translators of both French and English editions of his books.[164] His mature period has been defined as the final phase of the Greek Enlightenment by both Kitromilides and Myrogiannis before it came to an end as a result of the rising nationalist aspirations which would result in the Greek War of Independence.[165]

The war, which partly took place due to the transformation of the Greek Enlightenment ideals into a national awakening, actually caused a drastic decline in the situation of the remaining Ottoman Greek elites within Ottoman Constantinople.[166] Kōnstantios's appointment as Patriarch coincided with the final phase of the Greek War of Independence.[167] It was around the time of the foundation

[164] This claim was not included in the Greek original. Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantionople,* 105; Kōnstantios, *Ancienne et Moderne,* 140.
[165] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution;* Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity.* For an analysis of the Greek War of Independence from the perception of the Ottoman state, See Ilıcak, *A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence 1821–1826.*
[166] Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity,* 21-31.
[167] Stamatopoulos defines the period between 1830 till 1858, which also juxtaposes with a period of transformation for the Ottoman State as well, as a transitional one for the patriarchate.
Philliou states that the appointment of the Patriarch to the post was due to the involvement of the 'lay' element within the patriarchal circles, especially clear since the salary of the Patriarch was now paid by the 'Community Treasury.' See Philliou, *Biography of an Empire,* 143. Stamatopoulos adds that, the introduction of the lay element was intentional, as the great secretary of the Patriarchate, Geōrgios

of the new Greek state, when he was enthroned as Patriarch in Constantinople in 1830, that is to say as the religious leader of the 'nation in captivity'.[168]

Although he had made a significant number of reforms to the benefit of the Greek Orthodox church, Kōnstantios had to resign from his position as Patriarch in 1834[169] due to conflicts with both the higher members of the Orthodox clergy and the Ottoman state, which resulted in significant accusations against him.[170] Even though he was exonerated of all charges, he refused to return to his post and settled in Antigoni, Burgazada, İstanbul, to pursue his research and writing activities. Edward Dorr Griffin Prime stated that he was removed from his post, despite his "Enlightened zeal towards education."[171] Kōnstantios died in Antigoni, Burgazada in January 1859, where he was buried.

2.2 *The Kōnstantinias,* Ancient and Modern Constantinople

The Patriarch's monograph on Constantinople, which he compiled whilst he was Archbishop of Sinai, is one of the most comprehensive studies on the city during the nineteenth century. Although the preparation and the publication of the book was juxtaposed with the rise of nationalism within Greek intellectual circles, for certain reasons it is possible to consider Kōnstantios outside of these currents. He was a member of two major groups which would be subjected to harsh criticism by Greek intellectuals around the late-eighteenth century due to their alliance with the Ottoman

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Afthonidēs proposed it as a solution to the demands of transformation for the church. See Stamatopoulos, *Metarrythmisē Kai Ekkosmikeusē,* 37.

[168] The term 'nation in captivity' denoted the Greek 'nation' in the making before the establishment of the Greek state following the war of independence. It is coined by Myrogiannis with reference to Katartzis. See Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity.* Leal, on the other hand, refers to Paparrigopoulos for a similar connotation. See Leal, "The Ottoman state and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul."

[169] For a list of the Ecumenical Patriarchs of Greek Orthodox Church, see: https://www.patriarchate.org/list-of-ecumenical-patriarchs

[170] Stamatopoulos, *Metarrythmisē Kai Ekkosmikeusē,* 41.

[171] Goodell & Prime, *Forty years in the Turkish Empire*, 180.

State: the Greek-Orthodox Church and the Phanariots.[172] Hence the "carefully formulated Anti-Ottoman spikes" in his manuscript.[173] Anestidis also relates the aforementioned lack of Kōnstantios's name from the title page in the second edition in 1824 as a necessity felt by the author in an environment where many Greeks were assassinated by the Ottoman state following the Greek Revolution. [174]

Regarding his objectives, he does not appear to aim at any particular audience; besides in his introduction, where he refers to the "friendly reader," "people who love ancient things."[175] However, his constant utilization of the pronoun, 'our,' while referring to certain aspects of the Greek past, suggests that he had a Greek reader in mind. But it is not certain who these Greek people were, as he does not refer to any significant group such as the intellectuals or people of religious hierarchy. He sees his work as a beginning in the series of works about the historical topographies of the ancient cities of Greece, starting with Constantinople. His major aim is, to a certain extent, to reconstruct the ancient city based on the information provided both by the earlier literature and his own observations.[176]

Kōnstantios's work consisted of two major parts: one is the old (ancient), the other is the respectively newer (modern) Constantinople. 'Ancient' and 'modern' are replacements of the Patriarch for 'Ancient and Byzantine' and 'Ottoman' periods, a deliberate choice which actually suggests the 'last fall' (*τελευταίας ἁλώσεως*) of the city, that is the Ottoman take-over, as the major turning point within its history.[177]

The utilization of the concepts of 'Ancient' and 'Modern' is mostly reserved

[172] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 233.
[173] Anestidis, "Kōnstantios A, o apo Sinaiou kai Manouēl Iō. Gedeōn," 47.
[174] Anestidis, "Kōnstantios A, o apo Sinaiou kai Manouēl Io. Gedeōn," 47.
[175] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias,* γ.
[176] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias*, ζ.
[177] The term 'last fall' which defined a significant rupture for the ruling polity of the state, would be more and more emphasized by Alexander G. Paspatēs. See Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 1-32.

for post-Enlightenment authors, who distinguish the contemporary knowledge based on reason from that of pre-Enlightenment authoritarian knowledge. Myrogiannis exemplifies this through the geographical work of Chryssanthos Notaras,[178] (Figure 12) entitled as *Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰ Γεωγραφικὰ καὶ Σφαιρικά* (*Eisagōgē eis ta Geōgrafika kai Sfairika* -Introduction to Geography and Astronomy).

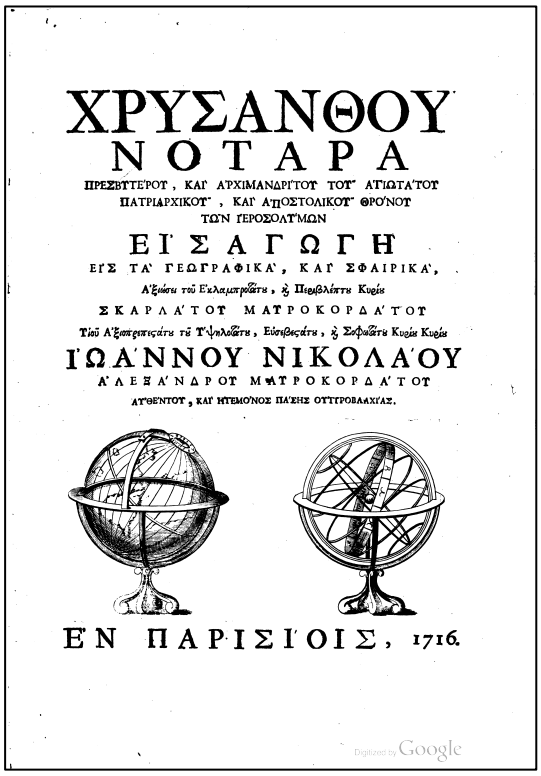

ΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΥ
ΝΟΤΑΡΑ
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΥ ΘΡΟΝΟΥ
ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ
ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ
ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ, ΚΑΙ ΣΦΑΙΡΙΚΑ,
Αξιώσει τοῦ Ἐλαμπροτάτου, καὶ Περιβλέπτου Κυρίου
ΣΚΑΡΛΑΤΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΟΚΟΡΔΑΤΟΥ
Τοῦ Ἀξιοπεπεστάτου τῆς Υψηλοτάτης, Εὐσεβεστάτης, καὶ Σοφωτάτης Κυρίας Κυρίας
ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΟΚΟΡΔΑΤΟΥ
ΑΥΘΕΝΤΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΟΥΓΓΡΟΒΛΑΧΙΑΣ.
ΕΝ ΠΑΡΙΣΙΟΙΣ, 1716.
Digitized by Google

Figure 12. The cover of *Eisagōgē eis ta Geōgrafika kai Sfairika* by Notaras, 1716 Available at Google Books Online

Notaras, although rejecting the modern theories of Copernicus, for instance, still considers himself as a follower of modern (read as post-Enlightenment) reason as he

[178] Also known as Chrysanthus Notaras or Chrysanthus of Jerusalem. He was born in the Peloponnese, in Trikala of Korinth, around 1663: Stathi, *Chryssanthos Notaras Patriarchēs Ierosolymōn: Prodromos tou Neohellēnikou Diafōtismou.* 4-5. He had studied in Padua between 1697-1700: Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity,* 54. He was the Patriarch of Jerusalem (1707-1731) until he died. For detailed information, See Stathi, *Chryssanthos Notaras Patriarchēs Ierosolymōn: Prodromos tou Neohellēnikou Diafōtismou.*

relies on the importance of empiricism, experimentation and the rationalization of sciences.[179] However, the conceptualization of 'Ancient' and 'Modern' for Kōnstantios is not within the same parallel of either Notaras or other post-enlightenment thinkers. In that aspect, it resembles a geographical treatise by another Greek author, Meletios Mitrou, metropolitan of Athens*: Γεωγραφία Παλαιὰ καὶ Νέα* (*Geōgraphia Palaia kai Nea - Geography Old and New*),[180] where the 'new' or 'modern' denotes the new ruling polity in Constantinople, though not in an exclusivist manner as he occasionally crosses the borders of these categories.

In addition to these two major parts, the book is composed of an introduction and an architectural history treatise included as an appendix. The introduction is the part where from the very beginning Kōnstantios reveals his focus on the material aspects of the city, through the testimony of the Emperors who were once rulers of the city. It is almost like a lament for the loss of a beloved city of glorious times which had yet left still admirable tangible remnants behind. As he narrates, the scepter of the 'Eastern Empire' was gone and the city had lost its glory:

> These revered remains, built to a magnificent scale by the generous hands of our emperors in various periods, are worthy of such admiration that the more the interest of our scholarly compatriots in them grows, the more compelling it becomes for them to groan in their souls, upon considering the grave misfortunes of conflagrations that consumed the greatest number and most beautiful among them and thus utterly deformed the appearance of this City.[181]

[179] Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity,* 55-58. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 91.
[180] The work of Meletios which was published in 1728 in Venice, is also significant in the sense that it was considered to be the first example of the impact of European Antiquarianism on Greek literature, the aspects of which will be discussed later in this chapter. The book is a world history comprised of subsections organized as regions and cities starting from the Western end of the continental Europe, that is the Iberian Peninsula. In two volumes, it describes different aspects of each region starting from stories about their foundations. A significant feature of his work was his lengthy description of the Greek geography.
[181] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias*, γ. See Appendix A4 for the original of the quotation.

Neither the names nor the buildings had survived. It was only the walls that still survived as the most visible, enduring remnants of the period of the Emperors. Here it is also interesting to note that the author usually refers to the 'period of the Emperors' for the Byzantine period of the city, while mostly using 'Byzantine' as an adjective which denotes the historians or certain people that are people of Byzantium – as a city – origin.

The two major sections of the book are mainly organized around certain physical aspects of the city. The first part on the 'Ancient' city, comprising fifteen subchapters, is organized thematically, starting from the foundation of the city of Byzantium. The subchapters deal with important structures such as the walls surrounding the entire city, gates on the city walls, infrastructural elements such as aqueducts, cisterns, baths, palaces, the famous columns, the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia, and several other churches which had been converted into mosques. Besides these material aspects, the author also discusses the regional divisions and the climate of the city.

The structure of this part is based on the dominant walk-through experience of a visitor as an outsider;[182] that is, starting through his first encounter with the encircling land and sea walls and their gates, followed by the major buildings of the city. Although not an outsider himself, this already established format for the traveler's experience of approaching the city from a distance and the sequential order of the visible, was seemingly acknowledged by the author as well. This feature is especially evident as he talks about the walls of the city, where his description follows the physical sequence of the walls and its gates. Additionally, as in most

[182] A well-established method of narrating the city, visible also in the earlier examples of antiquarian literature on Constantinople, such as the works by Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan, Evliya Çelebi and others. For details see section 4.4.2 The wider context of Encyclopedism and Antiquarianism in the Ottoman Empire in this study.

travelogues, he describes nearby structures in the vicinity of the walls. However, different from most travel accounts writers which would confine themselves only to the buildings, events or people that they had encountered along their walk, Kōnstantios makes conscious choices for the content and the organization of his book, and he does not limit himself with only his eyewitness experience. Thus, he provides the reader with organized and detailed set of information for most of the structures that he discusses.

The extensive section on the walls and gates, including a depiction of their hinterland, is followed by a description of the aqueducts and baths as well as of the churches and monasteries. The section on the palaces of the Byzantine Empire comes later, for the reasons which Kōnstantios does not reveal.

The second part of the book, the 'Modern' section illustrates mainly the Ottoman period with its buildings, old and new palaces, imperial (sultanic) mosques, and certain sultana[183] mosques in Constantinople, along with the existing Greek churches, schools and several public libraries. Certain suburbs such as Eyüp, the sacred springs and water sources, the villages on the north of Golden Horn as far as the northern end of the Bosphorus, as well as the Asian side and the Prince Islands are also included.

As the structure of the book is developed according to the material texture of the city, it gives extensive details on the builders of each structure as well as certain details that help the reader understand the peculiarity of that structure:

> […] The royal cistern built by Constantine the Great with all the art and magnificence which all the ancient Romans used in the construction of their edifices. This cistern, still preserved, is situated to the north of St. Sophia, and is called by the Turks *Yéré Batan Seray,* or the "Subterranean Palace." It receives through subterranean and unknown aqueducts the waters of the little river of Cydari, which flows into the head of the Golden Horn. Its

[183] The terms "Sultan and Sultana" is used for the male and female members of the imperial family by both Kōnstantios and J.P. Brown, the translator.

> construction consists of several porticoes, resting upon three hundred and thirty-six granite columns of the Corinthian order; its length is divided into sixteen rows of columns, and its breadth into twenty-eight.[184]

As there is a large variety among the buildings or structures described within the text, it is difficult to trace a certain pattern. For instance, the information he provides for the gates does not have any balance or structure even though he is speaking of similar structures. He mentions only its different names for one gate, whereas for another he provides detailed information which he gathered from his available sources, such as the reasons behind the name or certain events that took place in the vicinity. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that, as long as he could locate the necessary information from his sources, Kōnstantios provided the reader with information about the patron of the building as well as its date of construction and certain repairs in the course of time if applicable.

A significant part of the 'Modern' section is devoted to the New Palace of the Ottomans, the Topkapı Palace. While depicting the palace grounds starting from the outermost gates, he pays most attention to the palace library and its collection. The reasons for this are twofold: Firstly, as an *âlim patrik*, a distinguished man of letters, Kōnstantios was apparently interested in book culture, hence libraries and their collections. But it is also evident from his meticulous depiction of the palace library that Kōnstantios was driven by a specifically 'patriotic' interest in discovering unpublished Greek manuscripts:

> It was supposed that in it there were, among others, 120 large Greek manuscripts, and certain explanations of the New Testament; and if we are to believe all that is told respecting it, it must contain a great number of Greek and Latin works. [185]

[184] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 45-46.
[185] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 91.

This is actually the underlying pattern of his approach to 'Modern' Constantinople. Even though the ruling polity is different, he still seeks traces of the 'Greek' city, that is, the remnants of the city of Byzantium. For instance, in the section on the Palace, he underlines that the Ottoman Palaces, the old and the new, had been constructed over and had used *spolia* from the forum of Theodosius and other structures around. In another instance in the section where he depicts the *selatin* Mosques, he underlines the role of the Greek architects as their master-builders, such as the mosque of Mehmed II, which he discusses extensively:

> It was the Greek architects who, as in the case of St. Sophia, erected on the most elevated and finest points of Constantinople the magnificent mosks [sic] which are now seen there.[186]

At the end of the book, there is an architectural history section, entitled *Syntomos Ekthesis peri tēs Architektonikēs* (*Σύντομος Ἔκθεσις περὶ τῆς Ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς* - A Brief Exposé on Architecture), where Kōnstantios widely searches for the 'origins' of the achievements of Ancient Greek architecture and how it differed from its predecessors.[187] Evaluating the role of Ancient Egyptian and Phoenician architectural cultures as the forerunners of Greek Architecture, he underlines the progressive role of the Greeks and how they had transformed the 'bulky' architecture of Ancient Egypt into an impressive mode through the help of geometrical order, proportion and fine workmanship. According to Kōnstantios, it was only during the Roman era, when the economic capacity and wealth of the Romans was combined with the construction science, they learnt from the Etruscans together with the fine artistic capacity of the Ancient Greek civilization.[188] Therefore, it was first in Rome and

[186] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 97.
[187] The interest of Kōnstantios in the achievements in art and architecture of Greek Antiquity could be considered as a reflection of his connection to the ideals of the Greek Enlightenment and which will be discussed further later in this chapter.
[188] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias*, 239.

then Egypt where this new fusion of architecture, together with the styles of Ancient Greece, reached a certain level during Roman rule. Yet, not all the Roman rulers had the same capacity in the art of construction. The decline of the Roman Empire would also result in the decline for the arts, where a new revival could only be seen in the Eastern Empire, under the emperors Constantine, Theodosius, Arcadius and Justinian. The Eastern or Byzantine art, according to Kōnstantios, was another combination of Roman art with the European Gothic.[189]

This awareness of the Patriarch of architectural styles is also apparent in the main text. Several times, he refers to and sometimes criticizes a building or decoration with reference to these major styles:

> The mother of Selim III also built at Ayub her own magnificent tomb; but on account of its Moorish architecture, it is void of any gracefulness in appearance.[190]

This relatively long inquiry of architectural history, a section which indicates no relation with earlier ones, appears in the second and third publication and was not included in the 1861 and 1872 Ottoman Turkish, or the French and English versions in 1846, 1861 and 1868. In its stead, there is nothing in the Ottoman Turkish versions as they were only short summaries, rather than translations, a feature which was also acknowledged in their prefaces. Kōnstantios himself stated that this section on the architectural history together with certain new information such as the biographies of the authors mentioned, were added to the second edition.[191]

[189] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias*, 240.
[190] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 112.
[191] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias*, θ.

2.2.1 Editions of the book: Different languages, different approaches

As mentioned before, one significant aspect as well as a strong testament to the importance of Kōnstantios's book is its periodic reappearances throughout the nineteenth century. This reveals the existence and continuity of a certain degree of interest in the contents of the book in this period and even later. It was 'alive' up until the 1870s, when new literature based on new research would eventually grow.[192]

Besides the long lifespan of this work, it is also interesting to compare the various editions in different languages as they reveal an approach to the same issue within different intellectual circles. For instance, a parallel reading of the 1844 Greek version and the 1861 Ottoman Turkish version reveals that the section on the Byzantine history has been preserved almost as it was in the earlier version. The sequence of events was described with the same narrative flow. Yet the Turkish version includes neither the Ottoman texture of the city, that is the Ottoman Palace and the section of the mosques, nor the treatise in the annex on the architectural origins of Greek architecture, all of which indicates an interest in the 'old' city, rather than the 'recent' one. This was also reflected in the title of the book, which denoted only the '*sabık*,' the 'old,' the 'ancient' Constantinople, rather than the ancient and modern at the same time. There is no clear indication of any reason for such a preference in these editions. If we are to speculate however, it might be due to the change of audience as a result of the change in language, and the preferences of that audience, especially if we keep in mind that the Turkish version had first appeared in an Ottoman Turkish newspaper.[193]

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[192] Especially the number of the books on the Byzantine texture of the city will increase around this time such as: Dethier, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* in 1873; Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* in 1877.
[193] Additionally, almost simultaneously with the translation of *Kōnstantinias*, into Turkish, articles were published about the 'old' urban texture, the Byzantine remnants of the city, in journal entitled

The comparison between the *Karamanlidika* and the Ottoman Turkish versions is especially significant as they were both written in Turkish, yet one was in the Arabic script, which is called Ottoman Turkish, the other in Greek letters.[194] This was due to their respective audiences, i.e. the communities of Muslim Ottomans and Greek Orthodox Karamanlis, both of whom spoke Turkish. Despite being written in the same language, a close reading of the same text in different scripts reveals nuances, which are most probably due to their respective targeted audience, consisting of different *millets*. As both versions of Turkish were also, in a sense, hybrids, mixed with Arabic and Persian, or Greek, this fact is also reflected within the texts.

Since the Karamanlidika version appears later on, it is probable that to a significant extent it had been created from the Ottoman Turkish version, as it follows much the same narrative structure. However, there are certain sections such as the one on '*Atmeydanı*' (Hippodrome) or 'Ayasofya' where the Karamanlidika text follows the Greek version and makes its own attempt at translation. There are only a few different words or phrases utilized, either to make the text clearer to the Greek audience, such as the definition of certain geographical entities especially from mainland Greece, such as Megara, or certain terms, i.e. 'Cumhur – Δημοκρατία', or even more interestingly, the replacement of certain Arabic originated words with Turkish ones such as '*intisabı – seçmesi*' or '*tahayyül etmeyüb – düşünmeyüb'.* In addition, the Greek names of the Roman or Byzantine Caesars, and the Greek version of the Christian saints are used in the Karamanlidika version. Elsewhere also,

Mecmû'a -i Fünûn of the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniye*, in Turkish. Articles such as *Tarih-i Ayasofya* or *Cenberlitaş [sic]*were by authors who were members of the *Cemiyyet*. For a detailed discussion on *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniye* and *Mecmû'a -i Fünûn* see Chapter 5.

[194] For a detailed inquiry on the comparison of the Karamanlidika and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Kōnstantinias,* see Theodorelis-Rigas & Sümertaş, "Archaeology as Epic: Language, Transmission and Politics in the Different Editions of Patriarch Kōnstantios I's Constantiniad (1820)."

the Karamanlidika text provides the names and details of the churches and monasteries or other Byzantine era buildings in full, especially while describing the topography of the city; whereas the Ottoman Turkish version only briefly outlines as '*kiliseler*' (churches), '*sair kilise*' (other church) or '*hamamlar*' (baths) etc. References to Byzantine sources or utilization of the Gregorian calendar are also among the aspects of the Karamanlidika text, which link it to the Greek version. A significant issue can be related to the dating of the "ancient" period. The use of the term '*sabık*' (old) or '*ezmine-i kadime*' (old ages), or '*Kayserlerin asrı*' (the age of the caesars), as the denominator of the Byzantine period was one of the common points of both the Ottoman Turkish and the Karamanlidika versions of the texts. The term 'age of the caesars', '*kayzerlerin vaktinde',* might be an indication of the lack of a notion for the 'Byzantine Empire' within the Ottoman Turkish-speaking intellectual circles.

The English edition, on the other hand, was designed to be a guide book which meant that a city guide section was attached. The English translator, John P. Brown, who was the Secretary of the American Consulate of Istanbul, considered the Patriarch's book as a valuable source of information for those who wished to walk around the city:

> [T]o residents, as well as to travelers, it will also prove a valuable text-book for past and present times and form a useful vade-mecum to guide the steps of the wanderer amidst the many labyrinths and intricate quarters of Stamboul [195]

Thus, this section of the book included many 'useful' bits of information such as a list of the hotels in the city, major shipping companies as the major travel means to and from the city, the telegraph and post offices, and exchange currencies. This

[195] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, vi.

section also included a list of the members of the Ottoman imperial family, the high echelons of the administrative elite, the military elite and the local governors. Finally, the book ends with another list of must-see places in town. Besides the bazaars, the list interestingly similar to the book, starts with the land walls. The list included a tour of the Golden Horn, a Bosporus tour, site viewing from either Galata or *Seraskeriat* Tower, the Whirling Dervishes at Galata or the Dervish rituals at Üsküdar and the Friday Prayer of Sultan Abdülaziz.

Another interesting aspect of the English version is the issue of the footnotes. At certain junctures, the translator adds his own notes, whereas in other sections, he either totally omits the footnotes by Kōnstantios or embeds them into the main text. In this manner, the English version resembles the French one more. It seems as though John P. Brown had translated the book from French to English, rather than from the Greek original. The footnotes do not appear at all in the Ottoman Turkish or the Karamanlidika versions.

2.2.2 The sources and the genre

Kōnstantios made use of quite a number of earlier works, which he also lists at the very end of his book.[196] A closer look at this list may reveal the connections of the author to the earlier literature and may give us the chance to see the links through his eyes. One such aspect of these sources is the fact that most of them are works by Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine period historians such as Herodotos, Polybius, Procopius, and Anna Komnene. There are only two authors from the 'Post-Byzantine' period of the city in the list, namely Petrus Gyllius and Dimitrie

[196] There are very few studies which he did not mention in the list but gave reference within the main text.

Cantemir.[197] Within the text, Kōnstantios also refers to the History of the Ottoman Empire by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, especially concerning details regarding the Ottoman period.[198] According to Myrogiannis, a particular reason behind such a preference for focusing on the Byzantine and Ancient historians, a feature which was also visible in the works of early modern Greek geographers charting Greek lands, was the lack of contemporary Greek sources.[199] This was acknowledged by Kōnstantios himself as well. Kōnstantios had lived through the fruitful intellectual milieu of the last phase of the Greek Enlightenment. Especially the last decade of the eighteenth century was very productive, as more than 20% of all the books published in the eighteenth century were actually from this last decade.[200] It is interesting that he preferred to keep his choices within the purview of 'pre-enlightenment literature'.

Kōnstantios's sources are mostly histories of the Byzantine or Ottoman Empires, but not exclusively histories of Constantinople. The only source with a focus on the city ostensibly had the most impact on Kōnstantios's approach. It was the book of Petrus Gyllius, which is widely acknowledged as the forerunner of the modern literature on the history of Constantinople. Gyllius actually may be considered as being the only one among the sources of Kōnstantios who had the same intention as him: to write a proper, truthful history of the city, based on the material evidence, and reliable facts. The desire that united them could be defined as a desire to study the material remnants of the antiquities of the city, as an index of its glorious past, which I will soon discuss as urban/antiquarian, that is an antiquarian

[197] Dimitri Cantemir (1673-1723) was an ethnically Rumanian Ottoman Greek, musician, diplomat and historian. According to Kitromilides, he was one of the most influential figures of the South Eastern Europe. For detailed info see: Maxim, "Dimitrie Cantemir;" Leal, "The Ottoman state and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul," 398-445; particularly pp.432-437.
[198] He once or twice briefly mentions Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. For a detailed info about von Hammer-Purgstall, see Chapter 3.
[199] Myrogiannis, *Emergence of a Greek Identity,* 54.
[200] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 197.

approach with a particular focus on the larger scale of an urban context in a systematized analytical framework.

Petrus Gyllius, (Pierre Gilles) was a French traveler and topographer who was born in Abi, France, in 1490.[201] He was among the 'men of eminency' and a 'figure in polite learning'. He was part of a generation in France who had great interest in the humanists, and had thus mastered ancient languages and the study of antiquity per se.[202] He was sent to Italy and Greece by Francis I (r. 1515 – 1547), the king of France at the time, but there he was captured by corsairs. Gyllius died in 1555, at the age of 65. Around the mid-sixteenth century, he accompanied the French Administrator to Constantinople, Gabriel d'Aramon, where he would conduct research for his *opus magnum,* which was published years after his death, in 1562, by his nephew A. Gyllius, on the basis of his notes (Figure 13). Its first reappearance was in English (Figure 14) and it was published in London in 1729. The book would reappear many times in different languages, up until today.

According to John Ball, who translated Gyllius's work on Constantinople into English for the first time in the eighteenth century, Gyllius had spent more than 40 years travelling through "Greece, Asia and the greatest part of Africa" in the 'search of antiquities', investigating both material and textual remains of antiquity.[203]

> How I came to engage my self [sic] in such unfortunate Travels I know not. I was very apprehensive of the Troubles and Dangers, which I must necessarily undergo, and which indeed have befallen me, before I ventur'd [sic] upon such an Undertaking; yet I would willingly persuade my self, [sic] that my Resolutions herein were Good, and my Design Honourable; being confirmed in the Opinion of the *Platonists*, That we ought to be indefatigable in the Search of Truth; and, That 'tis [sic] beneath a Man to give over when his Enquiries are Useful and Becoming.[204]

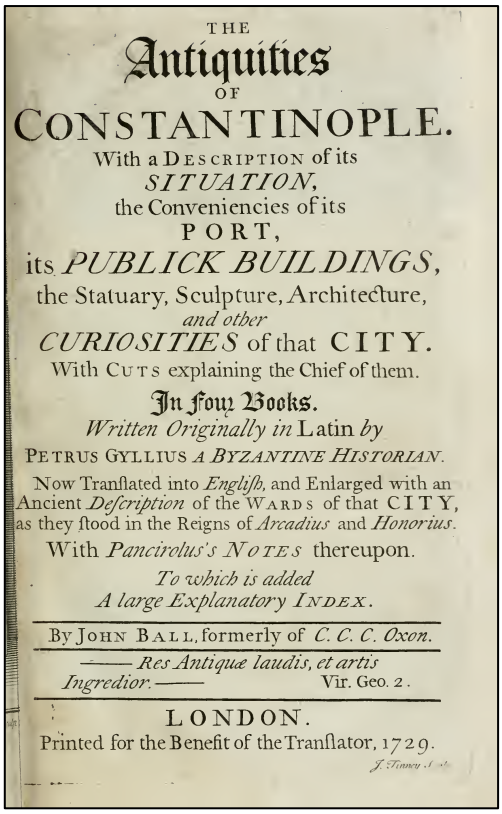
[201] Ball, *The Preface of the Translator,* A3.
[202] Gyllius, *İstanbul'un Tarihi Eserleri*, 15.
[203] Ball, *preface of the translator*, no page number is given.
[204] Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople,*1284.



PETRI GYLLII
DE TOPOGRA-
PHIA CONSTAN-
TINOPOLEOS,
ET DE ILLIVS ANTI-
QVITATIBVS
LIBRI QVATVOR.
Ad Reuerendiſs. & Illuſtriſs. D. Georgium
Cardinalem Armaignacum.

LVGDVNI,
APVD GVLIELMVM ROVILLIVM,
SVB SCVTO VENETO.
M. D. LXII.
Cum priuilegio Regis.

Figure 13. The cover of *De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de Illius Antiquitatibus* by Petrus Gyllius
Retrieved from Archive.org



THE
Antiquities
OF
CONSTANTINOPLE.
With a DESCRIPTION of its
SITUATION,
the Conveniencies of its
PORT,
its *PUBLICK BUILDINGS*,
the Statuary, Sculpture, Architecture,
and other
CURIOSITIES of that CITY.
With CUTS explaining the Chief of them.
In Four Books.
Written Originally in Latin *by*
PETRUS GYLLIUS *A BYZANTINE HISTORIAN.*
Now Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and Enlarged with an Ancient *Deſcription* of the WARDS of that CITY, as they ſtood in the Reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*.
With *Pancirolus's NOTES* thereupon.
To which is added
A large Explanatory INDEX.
By JOHN BALL, formerly of *C. C. C. Oxon.*
——— *Res Antiquæ laudis, et artis*
Ingredior. ——— Vir. Geo. 2.
LONDON.
Printed for the Benefit of the Tranſlator, 1729.

Figure 14. The cover of *The Antiquities of Constantinople* by Petrus Gyllius
Retrieved from Archive.org

The travel of Gyllius and his research on Constantinople was partly due to a rising interest in Antiquity and its material remnants, especially after around the fourteenth century, in Europe (mainly Italy). This 'return to the roots' movement, which would constitute a significant part of the Italian Renaissance, had initially directed its interest to the Roman past, and was immediately followed by an interest in Ancient Greece and the Levant.[205]

2.3 Antiquarianism

Antiquarianism, or the interest in 'antiquities', as a term, has an ever-changing definition which was never 'one and only.'[206] In recent scholarship it is generally referred to as "the attempt to understand the past through interaction with objects that exist in the past."[207] Although it is about the objects in the past, it is very much related to the present. It is neither isolated from the chronological and geographical context we are speaking about, nor unchained by power relations between different actors. On the contrary, "[t]o inquire into antiquity is to study the cultural confrontations and political struggles through which places and things come to be ruins and artifacts that speak of the past in the present".[208] Nevertheless, despite all these disclaimers, broadly speaking, the term, until very recently, was utilized as a replacement for European Antiquarianism.[209]

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[205] Reinsch, "The history of editing Byzantine historiographical texts," 435.
[206] Anderson, "Forgetting Athens," 186.
[207] Anderson, "Forgetting Athens," 186.
[208] Kosiba, "Ancient artifice: The production of Antiquity and the social roles of ruins in the heartland of the Inca Empire," 74.
[209] This is not to deny the discussions on other antiquarian traditions in different geographies such as China, where an equally old tradition could be traced through sources, or Africa or Americas where different modes and understandings of the study of material remnants of the past were seen. Yet, in regard to the focus of the source material for this study, the major discussion will be based on European antiquarianism. For a detailed analysis of 'other antiquarianisms': See: Miller & Louis, *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500*-1800; Schnapp, Falkenhausen, Miller & Murray, *World Antiquarianism;* Rojas & Anderson, *Antiquarianisms.*

Even within the European context, the meaning attributed to the term has undergone significant transformations. In Ancient Greece, where it was utilized for the first time, it denoted an interest (*archaiologia*) in whatever had existed in the 'past' (*historia*).[210] Later on, during the Italian Renaissance, it morphed into an indicator of an interest exclusively in the material remnants of that past. While a major turning point for antiquarianism was the eighteenth century, when it denoted the scientific and professional mode of curiosity, namely research on the material remnants of a certain past, it was mainly during the nineteenth century that, with the significant rise and establishment of specialized disciplines out of its own body, such as archaeology and art history, antiquarianism lost its monopoly on the scientific method.[211] Nonetheless, its broad and diverse approaches to material culture provided for the continuation of antiquarian practices far into the twenty-first century.[212]

2.3.1 Antiquarianism, the beginnings: Antiquity

As mentioned above, 'curiosity' with regard to the past and the relationship between how people perceived that past as well as their interest in its remains is as old as humankind.[213] Yet the accumulation of that knowledge was not considered part of scientific inquiry, due to the lack of related discursive framework and scientific

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[210] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 60; Schnapp, "The Birth of the Archaeological Vision: From Antiquaries to Archaeologists," 217.
[211] This transformation is also in relation particularly with the transformation of the definition of Archaeology. For a more detailed discussion on the rise and transformation of archaeology in relation with antiquarianism, see Chapter 4.
[212] Murray, "Antiquarianism of and in Preliterate Societies: Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts," 26.
[213] Yet it is not indispensable as González-Ruibal discusses for African 'non-antiquarian' societies: See González-Ruibal, "The Virtues of Oblivion: Africa and the People Without Antiquarianism." Rojas utilizes the term '*Archaeophilia*' as a broader term to denote these different modes of the encounter with the material traces of a certain past. He defines it as "the urge to explore and explain the past by identifying, interpreting, and manipulating things that are (or are imagined to be) old". See Rojas, "Archaeophilia: A Diagnosis and Ancient Case Studies," 11.

methodology, until a certain time. However, although not seen as modern science *per se,* there was undeniably the root of a certain approach, termed 'antiquarianism' which "refers to the investigations of the past conducted by antiquarians, scholars who studied antiquity through its material remains as well as its texts"[214] whose beginnings can be traced back to the Neolithic era, and continued until our own day. As Schnapp underlines:

> "To build their power base, kings, pharaohs, and emperors needed knowledge. Knowledge about the past—about ancient texts, traditions, and monuments—was part of the political arsenal of every ruler. The search for objects, inscriptions, even monuments from the past is attested to by texts, collections, and descriptions of excavations. This was not archaeology in the modern sense of the term but a form of curiosity, most often religious or mystical, practiced by learned men or officials with a keen interest in antiquities, and sometimes by kings themselves to establish their legitimacy.[215]

It was the Ancient Greeks who had first named this inquiry into the past as *historia* and the corresponding curiosity as *archaiologia*.[216] It included diverse aspects of the past such as events, stories and material remnants. Momigliano, who discussed the 'history of antiquarianism', dated the utilization of the terms defining the study of the past as old as the fifth century BCE, to Plato.[217] As he also states, Plato did not himself invent the term *archaeology*; it was already in use by then. The term meant the history of the past, regardless of how far 'past' it was, including the political texts of Thucydides, where he discusses the events of almost 'yesterday'.[218]

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[214] Miller & Louis, *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life,* 2; Miller also underlines the difference of antiquarianism, being "an abstract category and formal study," from other modes of relations with the past such as archaism, ancestor-worship and veneration for the past: Miller, *"*A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism 1500-2000," 68.
[215] Schnapp, "The Birth of the Archaeological Vision: From Antiquaries to Archaeologists," 217.
[216] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 60; Schnapp, "The Birth of the Archaeological Vision: From Antiquaries to Archaeologists.", 217.
[217] Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 287.
[218] Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 287.

This meaning of '*archaiologia*' changed during the Hellenistic period, and transformed into the study of only the ancient past. Romans, together with new standards, gave a new –Latin – name to the study as '*antiquitates*' and the person who studies it as '*antiquarius.'* [219] The title was preserved for the systematic study of the past and its remnants during the Middle Ages, while the major distinction within scholarship, the antiquarian as the 'student and collector of the past' came with the fifteenth and sixteenth century humanism.[220]

2.3.2 Renaissance Antiquarianism and the rise of urban antiquarian literature

The Renaissance was a major turning point in European history. The development and rise of urban centers in politically fragmented Italy, which were "self-governing mercantile communes ruled by despots" utilized the study of Antiquity, especially the history of the Roman Republic to declare a new rule over the religious Medieval discourses and to legitimize power:[221] This rising interest in the texts of antiquity and their study raised an awareness of the material remnants from antiquity as their evidence. Therefore, structured studies of the remains of antiquity had increased in number and transformed considerably.[222]

However, "the [major] practice of the antiquaries began with collecting."[223] It was through collecting and comparison with other objects and texts in a structural, systematic manner in order to 'reconstruct' the past, that the collectors granted a new

[219] Schnapp, "The Birth of the Archaeological Vision: From Antiquaries to Archaeologists," 217.
[220] Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 286-287, 290.
[221] Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth Century Archaeology,* 32. Part of this discussion relates antiquarianism and archaeology later as a tool of colonialism. Moreover, in such contexts, Antiquarianism also is discussed as an elite activity, a career, open mostly to those with "high degree of literacy, and high symbolic, economic and social capital:" Gonzales-Ruibal, "The virtues of oblivion: Africa and the people without antiquarianism" 36.
[222] Miller, *History and Its Objects,* 10.
[223] Miller, *History and Its Objects,* 9.

meaning to those objects.[224] They isolated the objects from the original context that once camouflaged them.[225] The collection itself became a mechanism for the 'generation of knowledge' and the objects were converted into the 'the objects of knowledge' for that certain past.[226] Schnapp states that the antiquary collects uncommon objects with individual peculiarities as though they were representatives of a by-gone world.[227] He underlines that it was after the second half of the sixteenth century, the monuments of Rome began to be surveyed and the measured drawings were recognized as 'scientific' tools that became generators of knowledge.[228]

There was a significant interest in singular buildings, objects and inscriptions, and yet a certain body of the earliest works of Renaissance antiquarianism concerned the material remains of cities. Accordingly, systematic study of the cities, especially their topographies, monuments, and morphologies, rose after the European Renaissance.[229] These either focused on Rome, and the Roman heritage in Italy or expressed curiosity about the Greek remnants of the Byzantine Empire. To a certain extent, antiquarian desire first aimed at the lands of 'Rome' and 'New Rome'. This was not a surprise.

The early examples during Renaissance were the works of Petrarch in the fourteenth century and Cyriac of Ancona,[230] Poggio Bracciolini, and Flavio Biondo and Alberti,[231] before the mid-fifteenth century. They were among the most well-

[224] Miller, *History and Its Objects,* 9; Miller, "A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism 1500-2000," 69.
[225] Schnapp, "Introduction," 4.
[226] Kosiba "Ancient artifice: The production of Antiquity and the social roles of ruins in the heartland of the Inca Empire," 76; Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 168. The issue of 'the objects of knowledge' as the intermediaries of connecting nodes of this 'antiquarian network' will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[227] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 125.
[228] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 125.
[229] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 123.
[230] Cyriac of Ancona, besides being a Renaissance humanist, is also known to be a consultant of Mehmed II, before and after the siege of Constantinople. For a more detailed account of Cyriac of Ancona, see Raby, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II."
[231] Miller, *History and Its Objects,* 12; Miller & Louis, *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life,* 122.

known examples of this period.[232] Miller appraised Petrarch as, "in making space, and the movement through space, the axis of his quest, Petrarch was creating a new way of studying and thinking about the past", on his description of a walk in Rome, in a letter sent to Francesco Colonna in 1341 or 1337.[233] Poggio followed Petrarch with this convention of walking through Rome and the interest in the antiquarian heritage of Rome.[234] Biondo's work entitled *Roma Instaurata,* (Figure 15) was written between 1444 and 1446.[235]



Figure 15. The cover of *Roma Instaurata*
Retrieved from Archive.org

[232] Miller, *History and Its Objects,* 55; There are other names such as Francesco Albertini: *Opusculum de Mirabilibus;* Bernardo Rucellai: *De urbe Romana*; Raffaele Moffei: *Descriptio Urbis Rome, Commentarii Urbani*, Fabrizio Verano: *De urbe Roma collectanea.*
[233] Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism," 248.
[234] Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism," 249.
[235] Mazzocco, "Introduction," 18.

The book was considered to be the first systematic depiction of the topography of the ruins of Ancient Rome.[236] It was composed of three books in one.[237] It was a follow up to the schema which was first offered by Petrarch and developed by Poggio. Yet "in Biondo, by contrast, the imaginative, personalized, and reflective context is gone, but the vision of Rome from a walker's perspective is retained, though now filled in and overwhelmed by a great body of facts."[238] According to Miller, "the topos of movement through space was, then, more than just a literary tool; the spatialization of antiquity, not just as scattered pieces but the vision of a whole fabric, provided a model for reconstruction." [239]

The other book by Biondo, *Roma Triumphante*, on the other hand, provided another model with its focus on the "religion, public administration, the military, private institutions and triumphal marches", that would eventually lead to an "encyclopedic survey of Roman public, private, military and religious matters". [240]

As previously mentioned, the basic structure of Gyllius's work could be seen as parallel to *Roma Instaurata* and *Roma Triumphante* of Biondo. It responds to the general questions that one might want to know about a city. The work of Gyllius and *Roma Instaurata* are based on a similar structure, divided into 'books' which denote major sections. The book of Biondo contains three books, whereas that of Gyllius contained four. Besides that, they have many aspects in common, such as both of them begin with the geographical description of their respective cities from their foundation, the core of their cities, the hills that constitute the major geography of

[236] Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism," 250. Miller & Louis, *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life*, 123.
[237] Miller & Louis, *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life,* 123.
[238] Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism," 250.
[239] Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism," 248.
[240] Miller here especially underlines the retelling of Nicolo Contis tales of India by Pioggo where he had rearranged it in a structural mode following the structure about ancient Rome. Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism," 250.

them, the administrative and religious cores, and the palaces of their rulers which are described along with the gates surrounding the cities. Mazzocco states that the rest of the book by Biondo continues with certain regions of Rome as well as descriptions of major religious monuments (temples of Jupiter, Janus etc.), public administration buildings (senate house, *comitium*, and *aerarium*), and entertainment (theatres).[241] It ends by the descriptions of several major monuments (such as Nero's house, Trajan's forum, the Arch of Constantine) scattered around the city. The same model could be followed in Gyllius's book including depictions of the Church of Hagia Sophia, the palaces, and several other major monuments of the city.[242]

2.3.3 Rise of Antiquarianism on Constantinople and Byzantine Empire

> …For I believe that never did a daughter resemble to her mother so precisely as Constantinople resembles Rome.[243]

Soon after Rome, the antiquarian interest was directed towards other cities of Europe such as Paris or the cities of the antiquity in the Near East including Constantinople. This rising interest was accompanied by a rising number of travels to these cities. It was a period when an increasing taste for travel was born.[244]

Among the interest in the cities of the Levant, Constantinople had constituted a significant locus. Yet, apart from the rise of antiquarianism, there were other important reasons behind the increasing curiosity about Constantinople, such as the loss of the city to the Ottomans. The change of polity accompanied by the change of the dominant religion provided for a certain unrest within Europe. The end of the millennia-old Graeco-Roman rule over the city, together with the ongoing march of

[241] Mazzocco, "Introduction," 11.
[242] See Appendix C for the table of contents of the book.
[243] Chrysolōras, "Comparison of Old and New Rome," 206.
[244] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 93.

the Ottomans towards European territories had invoked significant attention. In a Europe where the name Byzantine was not yet acknowledged, this was the end of the (Eastern) Roman Empire.[245] Thus, it was no surprise that Constantinople attracted many curious gazes in and out of itself. [246]

In about the same period, starting even before the final siege by the Ottomans, in light of the looming threat, scholars of the Byzantine Empire were on their way to Europe. Accordingly, they became the first teachers of Greek, especially in Italy, in the late fourteenth century, with Chrysolōras teaching in Florence being the first, and also acting as a source of encouragement for the other scholars.[247] Chrysolōras was also a significant name in the sense that he had created an acceleration within Greek studies among early Renaissance scholars. He was not only a teacher of Greek but also a provider of method himself. He additionally compiled a 'letter-essay' entitled "*Comparison of Old and New Rome*" in 1411, which he had addressed to the Byzantine Emperor of his time.[248] The letter -essay, being one of the early accounts of "Old and New Romes" was a significant step for the formation of the antiquarian literature on those respective cities due to its impact on the later works by his student Bruni or the aforementioned Bracciolini.

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[245] It was first coined in the sixteenth century, with reference to the city of Byzantium, the capital.
[246] Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation have published their research on the European travelogues at http://eng.travelogues.gr/. Information about the names of the European travelers to geographies around Eastern Mediterranean between fifteenth and twentieth centuries, their routes and destinations as well as their accounts can be found in this site.
[247] Reinsch, "The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts," 435; Gyllius, *İstanbul'un Tarihi Eserleri*, 16. For a detailed inquiry on Chrysolōras, his impact on the Renaissance Learning and the letter essay, see Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism*. The volume also has a copy of the essay in English.
[248] The analysis of Smith of the letter essay by Chrysolōras reveals that, it was not only due to Western Antiquarianism that an interest in the antiquities of Constantinople had risen. She underlines that he, even before his arrival to Rome was interested in archaeology. Moreover, she also emphasizes the under-researched rising interest of archaeology in the Late Byzantine Empire, dating back to *Patria* (a tenth century anonymous compilation on Constantinople). See Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism*. 153-156.

The mobilization of the scholars gained momentum when the city fell into the hands of the Ottomans in the mid-fifteenth century. They brought certain significant Ancient Greek manuscripts with themselves as well, most of which were later gathered in the famous libraries of Italian cities. One such name was John Malaxos in the sixteenth century. He was actually a copier of manuscripts and also certain epigraphic records of several monuments. These manuscripts were reproduced first by hand then by the printing press and paved the way for the aforementioned rise of Greek publishers in the seventeenth century. Interest in the inscriptions on the monuments had also intermingled with interest in the buildings themselves and had inspired expeditions including that of Gyllius in ca. 1544, to the Greek or formerly Greek lands to collect more manuscripts. [249]

The attentiveness to the texts of Antiquity soon included the texts of the Byzantine Empire. The initial interest in Byzantine literature focused on church historians. The interest in the secular histories of Byzantium came only after the rising Ottoman threat in Europe, especially throughout the sixteenth century.[250] The information they provided about the 'Turks' and the reasons behind the rise and fall of the Byzantine Empire made them useful before the eyes of the European scholars. Interestingly, the first center of publications of these Byzantine histories was Augsburg, Germany, where a significant mercantile elite who also had business connections with the Ottomans resided. As Reinsch mentions, some early visitors of Constantinople, such as de Busbecq and Hans Dernschwam, were also from Augsburg.[251] The later centers of attention to the Byzantine history literature would

[249] Reinsch, "The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts," 436; For a detailed account on the early modern travels to Constantinople and the exchange of knowledge between scholars, see Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 16th-17th centuries.*
[250] Reinsch, "The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts," 438.
[251] Reinsch, "The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts," 438.

be Leiden in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Paris in the seventeenth century and Venice during the eighteenth.[252] It was also in seventeenth century France that the antiquarian interest was turned towards the medieval Europe as well. [253] It developed with Peiresc in the second half of the seventeenth century and was institutionalized in the eighteenth.[254]

2.3.3.1. Antiquarianism in the Eighteenth century:

If one major turning point for the history of Antiquarianism in early modern Europe was the Renaissance, another was definitely the eighteenth century. Under the impact of the Enlightenment, antiquarianism was significantly transformed. The rise of secularization was not limited to the criticism of Church institutions. With the rise of science, the appeal to reason and to empirical methods, such as observation and reliance on empirical data, namely empiricism and positivism, had its resonance in the antiquarian tradition as well. [255] An important aspect of the Enlightenment was the change in the notion of time and the past from a Christian understanding of temporality to a more secular one. The Newtonian sense of the world and new discoveries led to a new understanding of time and space and resulted in the change of the perception of geography, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The increasing focus on empiricist inquiry brought along the importance given to the material aspects of history as being the truthful evidence to their respective periods within the eighteenth century. This juxtaposed with the rise of the

[252] As previously discussed, the aforementioned rise of the Phanariots and their trade connections with Italian cities was one of the reasons that the center of the attention to Byzantine history had moved towards Venice.
[253] Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 14.
[254] For detailed info on the transformative role of Peiresc, see Miller, "Major Trends in European Antiquarianism."
[255] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 95.

number of studies on the material remnants, especially from antiquity and the European Renaissance onwards. As a result, making collections of such items and systematized studies on these collections had gained impetus. It was also during this 'materialist revolution' that the new discoveries on earth and the new methods in science such as experimentation took place.[256] Likewise, as mentioned above, examples of urban monographs, the earliest of which would be about Rome in the fourteenth century, had both increased in number and became systematized.

Eighteenth-century antiquarianism also meant institutionalization. Momigliano states that the establishment of the Göttingen Historical Institute marks the irreversible victory of the non-literary evidence for historians. According to him, "this was the moment when the first academic curriculum for material culture studies was created."[257] Referring to the same institute, Miller underlines that, this was one of the several 'material turns' within the history of the 'object' where one could locate the transformation of interest to the material traces of the past. The Society of Antiquaries in London and their relation to the publication of Petrus Gyllius in English, which was also mentioned by Ball, is just one another example of rising institutions of antiquarian interest.[258]

Gyllius's work, although originally a product of the sixteenth century, was actually remade and refurbished in the eighteenth century with the rising interest or 'curiosity' in the antiquities of the east. The eighteenth century rise and transformation of antiquarianism changed the focus of travels to the Levant through a desire for *in situ* research. The rise in the capacity of travel was accompanied by the burgeoning interest of the scholars. Accordingly, at the end of the eighteenth century,

[256] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, 176.
[257] Miller, *History and Its Objects*, 76.
[258] For a more detailed discussion on the institutionalist approach in Antiquarianism see Chapter 5.

antiquarian studies had already extended beyond Roman antiquities, and sites in Greece and Asia Minor became accessible for inquiry: "The knowledge of antiquity expanded in space as well as in time."[259] A similar fate was seen with certain art objects, icons and relics from the Byzantine Empire, which were gathered under European possession and were "acquired, bought and sold," especially from the fourth crusade in the thirteenth century to the fifteenth and then eighteenth centuries.[260]

2.3.3.2 Towards an antiquarian history of the Byzantine Empire

The eighteenth century was also a critical turning point for the acknowledgement of the Byzantine Empire as a historical entity. The rising criticism of religion by the Enlightenment was directed to any subject that was once associated with the Church. Since the role of religion and the clergy was questioned, the Byzantine Empire, as the seat of Eastern Orthodoxy, with its emperor at the head of the Church, was also considered to be adversarial to the secularist perspectives of Enlightenment thinkers.[261] The legacy of the Renaissance to them was the "courage to place mankind within its historical context".[262] Especially the well-known *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbons was the key work to posit the 'Orthodox- Christian' empire in the medieval and 'dark' ages context *vis-à-vis* the Age of Reason.

As mentioned above, the European Enlightenment had its resonance with Greek intellectual circles as well. Despite the 'enlightened absolutism' of the

[259] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 260. Schnapp also underlines the rise of Graeco-Roman antiquity as a school of aesthetic which considered to be unsurpassable, also thanks to the seminal work of Wincklemann.
[260] Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity,* Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 260.
[261] Haarer, "Writing Histories of Byzantium,"10.
[262] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 228.

Phanariots, and their claim to be descendants of the Byzantine dynasties, which had also nestled the conception of the Byzantine Empire as the protector and transmitter of Greek culture down to the late seventeen and early eighteenth centuries, the rise of secularism within intellectual circles in Europe found its response among the later generations of Greek intellectuals and had resulted in anathematizing the Byzantine Empire, or at least its condemnation to a certain degree. This deepened the crack between the intellectuals and the clergy. Especially in the last phase, the third generation of the Greek Enlightenment, the intellectuals had mostly resided in diaspora with a deeper engagement with the Western circles and had no interest in the Orthodoxy; indeed many were explicitly secularist.[263] This was just before the reign of Kōnstantios as Patriarch, when the Greek Orthodox Church was inclined to accept the Ottoman State as the protector of the Christian people from the heretical attacks against their faith.[264] Thus, the ecclesiastical hierarchy became the supporter of *status quo* while the intellectuals of especially the diaspora had promoted a new, free Greece based on the model of France.[265]

Kōnstantios, himself being a man of the Church, grew up within the intellectual environment of the Greek Enlightenment. Aristotelian philosophy was embedded in Byzantine philosophy, which was intermingled with the Christianity of the Greek East. Accordingly, Kōnstantios's position as a member of the Greek Church hierarchy, positioned him against the Enlightenment ideals at large, which are Republicanism – the criticism of Aristotelianism and its cultural consequences.[266]

[263] Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks,* 40-41. According to Gallant, there are three generations within the Greek Enlightenment with changing attitudes.
[264] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 192.
[265] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 196.
[266] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 169.

Nevertheless, while discussing the conditions of the Greek schools after the demise of the Byzantine Empire, he himself states that:

> Thanks to Descartes, who in Europe was the first to undertake to overthrow courageously the system of the Lyceum, and to free us from the prejudices of the Aristo-Platonic philosophy. He was the first to show, that one must judge and criticise freely philosophical systems, without regard to the authors, be they whom they may. In accordance with him, his contemporaries were celebrated for their erudition and their discoveries, and, above all, the immortal Newton introduced anew in society the right to examine, and freely to treat upon difierent subjects—a right abolished now some 2000 years.[267]

This pro-Enlightenment perspective of the learned Patriarch may be better explained by Kitromilides: "The dilemma between the Enlightenment and Orthodoxy was resolved by positing a complete epistemological separation between philosophy and theology".[268] Kitromilides also underlines that the Orthodox priests contributed to the cultural transformation of the Greek Enlightenment especially with their work in the field of education.[269] Kōnstantios's scholarly research and his book on Constantinople as well as his focus on the educational institutions of the Greek – Orthodox Community, proves Kitromilides right.

It was only in around the mid-nineteenth century, after the establishment of the new Greek State, with the well-known works of Constantine Paparrigopoulos, a university professor from Athens and others, that the history of the 'Hellenes' started to be written with the history of the Byzantine Empire[270] As Christodoulou also mentions and Kitromilides agrees this was not a mere unification of chronology but also an appraisal to the Byzantine Period as the core of the history of Hellenes:[271]

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[267] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople*, 107-108.
[268] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 46.
[269] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution*, 46.
[270] Kitromilides, "On the Intellectual Content of Greek Nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea," 28; Paparrēgopoulos, *Historia tou Hellēnikou Ethnous* (History of The Greek Nation). For a detailed analysis of the role of the Byzantine Empire within the making of the Modern Greek identity, see: Ricks & Magdalino, *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*; Beaton and Ricks, *The Making of Modern Greece.*
[271] Christodolou, "Byzantium in Nineteenth-Century Greek Historiography", 456 – 459.

> In Paparrigopoulos's work, the anxiety brought by the Enlightenment into Greek thought in relation to the Byzantine dimensions of Greek history and Greek identity was finally settled in the most magnificent and reassuring way.[272]

Although its appraisal took a great deal of time, the history of the Byzantine Empire continued to be mentioned in the works of Greek intellectuals, though under different titles, such as the 'period of Christian Kings'. Since the scholars of the Enlightenment in the West, disparaged the 'Byzantine Empire', Greek scholars needed to consult the Byzantine or Ancient sources for their part in the history of the 'Christian Empire', a feature that is also visible in the *Kōnstantinias.* The first utilization of 'Byzantine History' as a term however, would only be around 1805 by Korais.[273] Kōnstantios, follows Korais, in a similar fashion, and uses 'Byzantine' as an adjective in the *Kōnstantinias* several times.

This may be either due to the distanced position of Kōnstantios to Greek Enlightenment discourses or due to his specific focus on the history of the city, and its material remains. As previously mentioned, the antiquarian tradition did not dismiss Constantinople, even around the peak of Enlightenment. On the contrary, it included the rising methods of the new empiricist inquiry and an increasing number of travels to the Near East to deepen its acquaintance with the city.

This was due to several reasons, some of which were related to the Ottoman rule, as already mentioned in this chapter. Yet, there is another reason related to the Enlightenment transformation of Modern Greek ideology, that is, in a period, when the capital of their lost empire came to be regarded the center of their future imperialist aspirations. Only after the mid-nineteenth century, when Athens became

[272] Kitromilides, "On the intellectual content of Greek nationalism: Paparrigopoulos, Byzantium and the Great Idea," 28.
[273] Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity.*

the capital city of the 'free nation,' did a dispute arise about the selection of a city as the "capital of future desires." Yet, up until then, it was Constantinople.

2.4 Urban antiquarianism at work: the *Kōnstantinias*

The Kōnstantinias begins from day one of Constantinople, when the city was first established as an Ancient Greek colony, by its mythical founder, Byzas of Megara. Kōnstantios outlines the history of the city down to the Ottoman conquest. He names the great builders of the city, with a particular emphasis on Constantine the Great not only as the founder of the city but also with reference to his famous commands for bringing artifacts from different cities to beautify Constantinople:

> Magnificent edifices were erected by the hands of the very able workmen of his time. But what contributed in a brilliant manner to the embellishment of his royal city were the celebrated edifices, glorious monuments of the artists of antiquity. All the chef d'euvres [sic] which served to adorn the cities of Greece and Asia Minor, and which consisted in columns, statues of the gods, heroes, sages, and poets of antiquity, as well as in monuments and trophies, were by an edict of Constantine carried to Constantinople for its embellishment.[274]

The author continues with a description of the urban context from outside to inside, starting from the walls that encircle the old town. As previously mentioned, it is difficult to trace any pattern for these descriptions, other than a basic order of the gates as if one is walking along the walls. This 'urban walk' feature was actually a shared aspect between Kōnstantios and the aforementioned urban/antiquarian literary tradition.

Besides this theme of an 'urban walk' Kōnstantios actually utilizes several different aspects of this urban/antiquarian tradition. For instance, following Gyllius, he describes the topographical aspects of the city together with the administrative

[274] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 4.

divisions, namely *regiones*, again with a sequence starting from the Seraglio point onwards:

> Guided by these fragments, and aided by a scrupulous examination of the localities, and great perseverance, we have been able to discover the principal places and ancient monuments, and to divide, for the facility of the traveller, as did P. Gyllius, the city into hills and regions, giving in a detailed and clear manner a description of the ancient as well as of the modern monuments. [275]

In each *regio,* except for number thirteen which was reserved for Galata, the walled region on the other side of the Golden Horn, Kōnstantios lists the major buildings such as churches, mosques, baths, as well as columns, and at every possible moment, he gives both the Byzantine and Ottoman toponyms and underlines certain important events that took place in those areas:

> The eighth region was situated behind the third hill, to the South; it communicated by a suite of five porches with the forum of Constantine, and enclosed the rest of the "Bull" the church of the Forty Martyrs, that of the Apostle St. Mark. Also the capital, called the Basilica of the Schools, and now known as Laleli Jamissi [sic], an hotel, and the palace of Theodosius, where now stands the mausoleum of Sultan Bayazid [276]

Although he aimed to describe as much as he could about the remnants of the city, his particular focus is on the most visible of those remnants such as the Land and Sea Walls together with their gates; the church of Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome with its columns. Additionally, he also devotes quite a number of pages to the Great Palace of Byzantium. Yet here, in relation with his sources, his focus is more on the palace ceremonials rather than the building complex itself.

While describing these major monuments in detail he does not reveal any information about their architectural or ornamental styles. He is certainly aware of the structural systems, formed around domes, the load bearing columns etc., which keep these buildings intact. His stylistic references, on the other hand, are very few

[275] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 25-26.
[276] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 30.

and mostly limited with the antique orders of the columns, which he also mentions in his annexed architectural history treatise on the origins of ancient Greek architecture:

> The portal of the entrance to this church of St. John the Baptist rests upon four columns of the Corinthian order, admirably wrought, and near to the first arcades one beholds on both sides six green columns of the same order. These columns, spotted with black specks, have a circumference of six feet six inches.[277]

Kōnstantios, describes Constantinople as a material palimpsest. Yet, the inquiry on the Byzantine period of the city is not an easy task for him. According to the Patriarch, due to the passing of time and new settlement patterns as well as certain disasters such as fires, all material remains of the Byzantine city had mostly disappeared, including its churches, palaces, baths, as well as public streets and columns:

> But which of these glorious and admirable masterpieces have preserved their ancient name? Apart from three or four, there is nothing else. Churches, palaces, *triklinia*, *domus augusta*, fora, hot baths and baths, theaters, cisterns council chambers, big yards, public streets, columns statutes, pillars and dog yards, all these were damaged and lost…[278]

Especially fires as one of the most destructive forces and the passing years as the reasons behind the loss of much information on the urban topography of Constantinople was a reiterating theme for Kōnstantios:

> During the great conflagration which occurred in 1866, all the houses surrounding this column and the *corps de garde* around its basement, were destroyed, and it can be seen quite naked, presenting a sad and lamentable appearance.[279]

It was only the land walls, that could endure such a destruction:[280]

> ….[S]ome of them because of the constant changes, some of them because of the harshness of all-taming time, different voices succeeded the Attic ones

[277] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 73.
[278] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias, γ*-δ. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A5 for the original of the quotation. He also speaks about the Byzantine Emperor as 'our' emperor, in accordance with the discussion in the previous section.
[279] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 50.
[280] The land walls, as the site of the 'last fall' constituted significant place within the urban/antiquarian histories of Constantinople, as it is in Kōnstantios's work. This aspect of the walls will be inquired in detail in Chapter 4.

> and distorted all the original ancient names of all the locations and places in the city. From all the buildings, only the walls just remained as fortresses but also the biggest part of those was disgracefully destroyed by the all-tamer time.[281]

Due to the vulgarity (*ἀγροικίαν)* of the 'years after the fall', namely the Ottoman era, Kōnstantios defines New Rome, Constantinople as a 'monster of change' (*τέρας ἀλλοιώσεως*).[282] The same tone about the Ottoman rule, a reason for the vanishing of the 'old' city, could be found in Gyllius as well. Only a century after the fall, it was 'sadly' noted by him:

> Had I not seen, the Time I liv'd at *Constantinople*, so many ruinated Churches and Palaces, and their Foundations, since fill'd with *Mahometan* Buildings, so that I could hardly discover their former Situation, I had not so easily conjectured, what Destruction the *Turks* had made, since they took the City. And tho' they are always contriving to beautify it with publick Buildings, yet at present it looks more obscurely in the Day, than it did formerly in the Night when, as *Marcellimus* tells us, the Brightness of their Lights, resembling a Meridian Sunshine, reflected a Luflre from their Houses. The Clearness of the Day now only serves to fhew the Meanness and Poverty of their Buildings; so that was Constantine himself alive, who rebuilt and beautify'd it, or others who enlarg'd it, they could not discover the Situation of their antient Structures. The Difficulties I labour'd under in the Search of Antiquity here were very great. I was a Stranger in the Countrey, had very little Assistance from any Inscriptions, none from Coins, none from the People of the Place. [283]

Actually, their shared sorrow over the lost Byzantine city, their related nostalgia and search for the truthful reconstruction of that certain past, constituted another feature of the urban/antiquarian literature. Kōnstantios states that, his work which came 391 years after the fall, is now unfinished and defective since time had erased tradition and remembrance. So, the theme of the 'irreversible past' and the loss of the memories is deeply embedded in his work. He considers that his work, an effort to keep the memory of the once 'owned' city alive, is actually a very late project.

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[281] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias,* δ. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A6 for the original of the quotation.
[282] Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias,* δ.
[283] Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* 281-282.

Moreover, he regrets that no one from 'his' people, the Greeks, had the will to note down those places in the city, which were still existing and took a new name following the fall. Without any doubt, Kōnstantios was nostalgic about the Byzantine capital, as he mentioned that this was the place that the scepter of 'his' state once stood. A similar 'requiem' may be heard from Gyllius as well:

> Consider [sic] farther the profound ignorance of the Greeks at present [sic]. There is scarce a Man of them who either knows, or has so much as an Inclination to know, where their Antiquities are.[284]

Kōnstantios also refers to Gyllius's criticism on the 'ignorance' and forgetfulness of the Greeks for 'their' city as his reference to the lack of any 'Greek' interest in the city until his day.[285] He only offers the aforementioned study of Meletios as an example and criticizes his work as being a direct copy of Du Fresne's travelogue.[286]

Moreover, Kōnstantios complains that the textual sources of the Byzantine Empire are not of great help. These works, most of which were aimed at their contemporary audience, referred to landmarks which were already were gone by Kōnstantios's time. Kōnstantios underlines the fact that, the earlier authors were only considering what they saw in the streets of the city, rather than making a thorough analysis:

> Thus one sees that all which these authors relate is addressed to their contemporaries who beheld around them whatever then existed and were acquainted with the streets and various parts of the city; but who -(a few savants excepted) were ignorant of the real origin of what they saw. This

[284] Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* 74.
[285] Although when discussed within the urban/antiquarian literature, the work of Kōnstantios is the first of its sort written in Greek, there are other works that issued the city in different literary genres. One such example is the lyric composition entitled *Bosporomachia,* literally meaning 'the battle of the Bosporus', a poem with certain references to the shores of Bosphorus. For a detailed discussion on other literary genres that issued the city, see the introduction of this study.
[286] Du Cange, *Histoire de L'empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François.* One of the traveler accounts from sixteenth century. Meletios, a man of clergy, a later Metropolitan of Athens, was actually among the people who had brought his westernized education into the Greek intellectual world, through the new way of empiricist thinking in his geographical work. He had inquired the inscriptions and ancient toponyms from antiquity. His work was significant as it critically assessed the available empirical evidence, mostly could gathered through direct observation. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 92. For a detailed analysis of Meletios, see Leal, "The Ottoman State and the Greek Orthodox of Istanbul."

> want of topographical description clear and precise of Constantinople, and an exact indication of the monuments and the streets of the city - also of the continual changes which have occurred during four centuries, effacing even the least traces of the ancient edifices, of which only a thousandth part now exists, - have cast a deep shade over our knowledge at the present day.[287]

In addition to the scarcity of earlier works on the city, he claims there is very rarely useful information:

> …. for among those who have written on Constantinople each followed his own fancy - an erroneous path - without having thought that he wrote for posterity. [288]

So, he takes his part, and traces out his 'πατρίδα' (homeland) with tireless observations and tries to fill in the gaps of information within those earlier studies. He mentions all *his in-situ* work as 'observations' – παρατηρήσεων:

> Guided by these fragments and aided by a scrupulous examination of the localities and great perseverance, we have been able to discover the principal places and ancient monuments, and to divide, for the facility of the traveller, as did P. Gyllius, the city into hills and regions, giving in a detailed and clear manner a description of the ancient as well as of the modern monuments.[289]

Yet he does not speak of any attempt for on purpose excavations of any sort. Only in certain instances, he mentions that due to the construction activities in some parts of the city, the underground Byzantine texture of the city is revealed and thus some new information emerges:

> Constantinople is in various places hollow, and supported by vaults and subterranean edifices; its soil is made up of consecutive conflagrations and the remains of many buildings crumbled down during the space of four centuries; so that frequently when a Turkish house is built, discoveries are made of marbles, columns, subterranean ways and ruined cisterns.[290]

On such occasions, he mentions certain specific research, but it is not so clear whether the research he refers to was carried out by himself or what kind of a research he is speaking about:

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[287] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 25-26.
[288] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 25-26.
[289] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 25-26.
[290] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 47.

> Since the time of Gyllius not the least trace of this church exists, and notwithstanding all the search made, especially below the cistern. nothing has been discovered. [291]

The Patriarch does not mention any reason for this lack of investigations on certain sites. Only in certain examples, he underlines the forbidden access to several sites, which would be of interest to him. Such a case was the Blachernae region on the land walls:

> The extent of this circuit is middling; it has a great gate, and comprises also the ancient door of the Blackernes, situated on the side of the walls of the land, and which is now closed up. This circuit also contains three towers, of which the most celebrated is that of Ane'mzi, an Ayasma, or "Holy Fountain," of St. Basil, and a celebrated mausoleum. The entrance to the interior is forbidden to Christians.[292]

This seemed like an obstacle for the learned Patriarch. Another source of disappointment for Kōnstantios, was the use of *spolia* by the Ottomans. He is downhearted for the destruction of certain buildings which could have been used even by the Ottomans, such as baths, to provide material for new constructions:

> Of these ancient and magnificent edifices, eighty in number, which once existed in Constantinople—of these admirable nymphaea—of these fine fountains, spoken of by the Byzantine historians as of marble, craters, whose limpid and pure water was so pleasant and so beneficent there do not now remain even the traces. One cannot but ask how it is that the Turks, who transformed so many Christian churches into mosks [sic], should have not left the fine baths, without destroying them for the purpose of building others. [293]

His interest in *spolia* is actually indicative of his focus on the material residue of the Byzantine Empire. Likewise, he pays a great deal of attention to the material qualities of the sites he is describing. He provides the reader with extensive details in

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[291] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 83. This actually would be a major difference of Paspatēs from all other previous authors: his focus on *in-situ* research, as in his observations during the excavations made during major infrastructure works, i.e. the construction of the Railways in and around the walled city. For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 4.
[292] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 44. Here, for the Tower of Anemas, the Translator notes the research and discovery of Alexander G. Paspatēs. For a detailed discussion on the research on Anemas Tower, see Chapter 4.
[293] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 36.

that aspect. He does not just name or mention their locations, but also gives specific information:

> These horses were made of that famous amalgam of copper, gold, and silver, called the "Corinthian" bronze.[294] The Corinthians knew of this mixture before the capture of Corinth by Mummius, as is stated by Pliny and Cicero. It was taken from the ancients; but stormy circumstances and various changes, which finally brought about the Grecian catastrophe, caused its disappearance; and now it is only known in the amalgam of which those famous horses are formed.[295]

He describes the Tekfursarayı in Balat in a similar manner. After a few paragraphs on the location of the building as well as on its origins, Kōnstantios defines the building:

> This edifice forms a large square, eighteen toises in length, resembling a tower three stories high. Its marble belts still exist, but the greater part of the columns which supported it have fallen down; the polish of the marble has entirely disappeared, the sculptured epistyles are filled with earth, and the external arcades are all filled up. Above the windows of the first story, to the north, one sees a two headed eagle, sculptured on a plate, with the two letters 11 X, which indicate the monogram of the Palaeologi.[296]

Or in another chapter, while describing the Obelisk in the Hippodrome he states that:

> The height of its pedestal is seven feet; its four sides are covered with sculptures, which, notwithstanding their beauty, show to connoisseurs the decline of the arts which commenced with this period. On one of the sides of the pedestal one sees Theodosius pompously seated on his throne with his wife, and children Honorius and Arcadius; on the other, the same emperor receiving the submission of his enemies; on the third Theodosius is represented viewing the Olympian games; and on the fourth he is between his sons holding a crown, and followed by several persons. At the foot of the pedestal one sees a representation of the machinery with which the obelisk was raised, as well as the Hippodrome with all its embellishments… [297]

This excessively detailed, almost photographic definition provided by Kōnstantios helps readers to visualize the building before their eyes. It was a major aspect of antiquarian literature, when images for the objects in question were either not

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[294] The technique is called as Tombac. For detailed info on the technique, see Tekdemir "Alcemy Turning Copper into Gold: Tombac."
[295] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 59-60.
[296] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 38.
[297] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 55.

available or scarce.[298] These minute details also include the epigraphy on these monuments, which are mostly related with their patrons or patron saints:[299]

> O Christ, King and Master of the universe,
> It is to Thee that I consecrate this humble city,
> As also these sceptres and the power of Rome:
> Have them in Thy keeping and preserve them from harm. [300]

Another feature of those detailed descriptions by Kōnstantios is their spatiality. Besides the tangible qualities of those spaces, within his descriptions Kōnstantios provides the spatial syntax in relation to the functions of those spaces:

> The church of the Convent was divided, according to ancient usage, into three parts. It is surrounded by porticoes, and the middle walls are covered internally with various square blocks artistically joined together, now blackened by time. As a mosk it is called Kahrieh Jamissee.[301]

The interior decorations as part of the spatial aspects of such a significant church was not forgotten by the author:

> In the interior, on one of the doors, the last possessor of this church, Metochitus, was painted in the act of offering a plan of it to Jesus. In the first part of this mosk, or in the nave, and in the second, one sees on the walls and around the porticoes several images in mosaic, and fresco paintings; moreover, on the eastern door one remarks on a block of marble, Iambics, a portion of which is now covered with lime and illegible.[302]

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[298] None of the editions of Kōnstantios I could reach had images, neither photographs, nor engravings. It is significant that, although the genre he belongs to had already incorporated different techniques of image making, from drawing to engraving and photography later on, as an indication of scientific truth, Kōnstantios and his successors preferred to stay out of this. This would later on turn into a basic feature of the scholarly research in art history in order to keep record of the objects they inquire. Even though there were the drawings and/or photographs were available, the art historians provided detailed descriptions of the objects, utilized as a means for analysis. This method, to a certain extent is still in use. See Terpak & Bonfitto, "Transferring Antiquity to Ink - Ruins from the Americas to Asia Minor and the Development of Photolithography."

[299] Kōnstantios provides the reader quite a number of inscriptions from different edifices under his investigation. They help him to get certain details about the building, such as the dates and patrons of construction or any later repair, engraved onto the buildings. However, it does not play a leading role for his descriptions.

[300] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 50.

[301] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 77.

[302] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 77-78.

When the functions of these buildings are considered, it is evident that Kōnstantios was also aware of the conversions of the former churches into mosques. But he does not raise any criticism towards these conversions:

> This church, though much injured by the frequent fires, nevertheless still exists, and one can readily observe from its northern side that it had many dependencies. Mahommed II. after the conquest of Constantinople converted it provisionally into a house for the poor (Imaret), until the magnificent hospital for the poor which he constructed close by it was finished. He then converted it into a mosk, and gave it the name still home by its vicinity, Eski Imaret Mahallassee.[303]

Obviously, he was aware of the differences between the mosques converted from churches and the ones that had been recently constructed. However, while providing their descriptions, his approach to the mosques constructed in the Ottoman era, was not so different from his approach to the ones that were converted from Byzantine churches, especially concerning their materiality and spatiality. He underlines similar major aspects such as the patron of the building, peculiarities of the site and the material and spatial features:

> The seventh mosk is the *Othmaniyeh* or *Osmanieh*, commenced in 1748, by Mahmood I., and terminated in 1755, by his brother, Osman III., and surnamed the Noor i Osmanieh[sic] (the Othman Light). The height of this mosk [sic] is great, the work is very fine, and one cupola covers it entirely. One observes that it has neither marble columns nor peristyle which denotes the period in which 'it was built, for it differs essentially from the other mosks of the sultans, constructed on the type of St. Sophia. Near to this mosk there is a sarcophagus in porphyry, of one block, eight feet in length, six in width, and five in height. From its appearance this must have been that of some Greek emperor.- It is remarkable that on the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, these opened and pillaged the tombs of the emperors which were in the church of the Holy Apostles; and after the conquest of the city by Mahommed II. these sarcophagi were dispersed here and there, no one any longer knows where.[304]

[303] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 80.
[304] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 100. Konstantios was apparently unaware of the fact that most of the sarcophagi were kept within the Topkapı Palace grounds. See Mango "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," 399.

I have already discussed that, the modern section of Kōnstantios's book, despite highlighting the Sultans edifices, has an underlying tone for its search for what had remained as Greek in the city; as in the case of the Greek manuscripts kept in the Palace library, as can be seen in the Nuruosmaniye Mosque example above. Accordingly, significant attention was directed to the still existing - unconverted - Greek churches:

> The first is that called the Great Church, built in memory of Pammakarista (the Happy), because the holy image of the Virgin Pammakarista was conveyed there from the ancient Patriarchal Church; and also in memory of the church of St. George. This grand church, in which now is the Apostolical seat of the (Ecumenical Patriarchate, was enlarged and repaired in 1614, under the Patriarch Timothy of Cyzicus. It was subsequently rebuilt at the expense of the Greek nation (community) in 1720, under the Patriarch Jeremiah III.[305]

However, Kōnstantios does not mention anything about the possible intervention by the Ottoman state in the construction of these churches. In order to avoid any disputes, most probably, he only describes these constructions as factual data. This is another feature of Kōnstantios, that keeps him at a distant point from Paspatēs and his critical approach.

When the overall structure of Kōnstantios's book is considered, it is evident even from the content table that he had devoted more than half of his book to the walled city, what we call today the historical peninsula. In the sections outside the walled city, yet again, the walking pattern[306] as the major method of information becomes the main structure. The Patriarch follows the seaside and describes all the neighborhoods, with their significant structures one after the other. The urban walk takes the shape of the excursion, with a sight of these neighborhood at a distance from the sea, making stops on his way, sometimes short, as in the case of Kasımpaşa,

[305] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 104.
[306] A well-established method of narrating the city. See footnote 182 in this study.

or long as in the case of Galata. He speaks extensively of Galata, the thirteenth *regio,* which he did not discuss at all while speaking about the *regione*s earlier in his book. This also reveals that, the categorization in Kōnstantios's mind is dominated by the geography of the city.

He describes each neighborhood along the shores through their most important aspects, regardless of them being from the Byzantine or Ottoman periods. His focus however, similar to the section on the walled city, is mostly on the major constructions of these districts and their respective patrons who either built or renovated them:

> After Fonduklee there is, on the seashore, the spot called *Dolma Baktcha*, and in ancient times "Jasonion." It was there that Jason went on shore with the Argonauts during their expedition to Colchis. On the bank there are old palaces which were formerly the summer abodes of the sultans, but his highness now only resides there in the winter season. The kiosk which is on the seashore, close by these palaces, was built, some years ago, in imitation of the Chinese kiosks. The present sultan has commenced rebuilding these palaces, and proposes to extend and embellish them.[307]

Starting from the shores of the Golden Horn, Kōnstantios's journey takes him along the shores of European side till the Northern exit of the Bosporus and a reverse sojourn towards the south along the Asian shores. Passing in front of Chalcedon, he arrives at the Princes Islands, which constitute the final section of the book.

2.5 Conclusion

Kōnstantios's work, belongs to a particular genre, namely urban/antiquarian literature, which had developed and transformed through the Renaissance. It emerged from the same desire for research on the material remnants of the past that resulted in the rise of Antiquarianism. However, due to its focus on the larger contexts of cities,

[307] Kōnstantios, *Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 122.

urban/antiquarian research offers a different perspective from the Antiquarian literature that deals with more tangible, small scale, sometimes moveable – thus available for collecting – remnants such as objects, coins, seals, reliquaries or even bones. First and foremost, the spatial and contextual nature of the urban tangible remnants requires from the scholar a site-specific, *in-situ* inquiry. It thus necessitates either travel to those cities or being already a resident, as in the case of Kōnstantios, and the others in our network. Moreover, the unbreakable relation of those edifices with their topography makes the historical inquiry more complicated, more difficult, as Kōnstantios himself also complains.

Here I have only discussed the relationship of Kōnstantios within this lineage as part of a Eurocentric discussion. However, as discussed earlier, Antiquarianism is not an exclusively European phenomenon. Thus, the work of Kōnstantios also needs to be analyzed within the rising architectural awareness and the resulting literature in the other languages of the Empire such as Turkish and Armenian, which will emerge later on in this dissertation.

Kōnstantios's work is one of the most comprehensive accounts on Constantinople. Its endurance throughout the nineteenth century, as well as its content and its remarkable success for crossing the boundaries of different languages, makes it one of the most significant nodes of the aforementioned network as well as one important source for Alexander G. Paspatēs, a scholar who would transform the knowledge he obtained from Kōnstantios and others, into new forms. One other such compilation on the history of Constantinople would come a few decades later by the hand of Skarlatos Byzantios.

CHAPTER 3

SKARLATOS BYZANTIOS:

TOWARDS AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING HISTORY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

> … while re-paying my debt to the Queen of cities, as someone who was born, raised and educated there, I also satisfied my own desire and so "pleased both the Muses and myself", as the flute-player Ismenias used to say.[308]

Another scholarly milestone within the nineteenth-century urban antiquarian Greek literature on Constantinople, is the three-volume compilation of Skarlatos Byzantios (Figure 16), which also constituted another pivotal node in the aforementioned Constantinopolitan intellectual network. Published in three volumes, each consisting of around 600 pages, Byzantios's study is one of the largest compilations on the city of Constantinople published in the nineteenth century. [309]

This chapter aims to discuss this work by Byzantios and place it within the wider context of the aforementioned urban antiquarian literary genre. The chapter dwells on both the method and content of Byzantios's *magnum opus* and explores how it follows suit or departs from the previously discussed modes of urban antiquarianism and similar literature that either preceded or chronologically overlapped with Byzantios. It also investigates his all-embracing approach to the historical, tangible texture of the city and thus his utilization of different sources of information such as images, maps, etc.

[308] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 1. (All such references to Byzantios's *Constantinople* refer to the 2019 English edition of the first volume by İstos Publishing, If the volume number is indicated, together with the Greek title of the book, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis* then the reference is to the original Greek edition.)

[309] Prof. Stephanos Pesmazoglou is preparing a long-awaited monograph on the life of S. Byzantios. I am grateful to Haris Theodorelis-Rigas for introducing me to Prof. Pesmazoglou and his work.



Figure 16. Portrait image of Skarlatos Byzantios
Ethnikon Hēmerologion tou Etous 1866, image 74
The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digital Collection

3.1 The biography of Skarlatos Byzantios

Information on Skarlatos Byzantios's life is fragmentary at best. He appears to have been born in Jassy, Moldavia, in 1797, brought up in Istanbul and died in Athens in 1878.[310] According to Stephanos Pesmazoglou, his name Skarlatos, a version of Charles, comes from his grandfather, Prince Skarlatos Kallimachēs of Moldavia, while his surname, Byzantios was a literary. pseudonym.[311] Skarlatos's residence in the centers of Greek learning had a profound impact on his intellectual formation as did his first-hand experience of momentous historical processes and events from the heyday of Modern Greek Enlightenment to the 1821 War of Independence. Pesmazoglou rightly notes that Skarlatos lived through a pivotal period of transformation for Europe, starting with the French Revolution in 1789, continuing

[310] Pesmazoglou, "Skarlatos Vyzantios' Konstantinoupolis: Difference and Fusion," 9. Nevertheless, Byzantios explicitly states in his Preface (*Constantinople*, 1) that he was born in Istanbul. Pesmazoglou's forthcoming monograph in Greek on Skarlatos Byzantios aspires to elucidate the details of Skarlatos's life through extensive archival work, especially the dates of his residency in Constantinople, Paris and Athens.
[311] Pesmazoglou, "Foreword," viii.

with the 1848 revolutions and including the great transformation of the Ottoman Empire throughout the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.[312]

Byzantios spent his youth in Constantinople, most probably in the islands, and studied in the Great School of the Nation, which had for a time relocated in Kuruçeşme. In the immediate aftermath of the 1821 Revolution and the ensuing Ottoman reprisals, Skarlatos, at the age of 24, fled with his family, first to Asia Minor and then, in 1830, while in his early 30s, to the nascent Greek Kingdom. From there he moved to Paris to study as a researcher through the generous financial support of the influential Phanariot family of Kallimachēs.[313]

Upon his return from Paris to Athens, he held various public positions such as that of Vice Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens (1848-1851), Secretary (1851-1852) and member of its Scientific Committee (1848-1851)[314] and Director of Primary Education around 1855, a post which he held for 23 years until the end of his life.[315] There are explicit references in his works, to his periodic returns to Constantinople at an old age and even to his taking notes as he strolls around the city's monuments, though the precise nature, frequency and duration of these visits remain unknown.[316] In addition to his work on Constantinople, he also published various dictionaries of the Greek language, both Ancient and Modern, as well as one from Greek to French. Nevertheless, *Constantinople*, published in three

[312] Pesmazoglou, "Foreword," ix.
[313] Pesmazoglou, "Foreword," viii.
[314] The Archaeological Society at Athens, People: Skarlatos Byzantios. https://www.archetai.gr/images/persons/Skarlatos_Vyzantios.pdf; https://www.archetai.gr/index.php?p=content&section=1&id=13&lang=en
[315] Pesmazoglou states that he is still credited in Greece with the foundation of Greek Primary Education.
[316] Pesmazoglou, "Skarlatos Vyzantios's Konstantinoupolis: Difference and Fusion," 26. Byzantios also explicitly mentions his several visits to the city in his work: "The small church was finally demolished in the beginning of 1821 by the Janissary cadets ([Tur.] *yamak*). Upon my return to Constantinople, after a four-year exile [he mentions his leave after 1821] I visited the area as a pilgrim…. Twenty-four years had passed when I once again visited the shrine, this time my beard whitened by old age." Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 459-460.

volumes in 1851 (Figure 17), 1862 (Figure 18) and 1869 (Figure 19) respectively, remained his *magnum opus* and unpublished research by Pesmazoglou suggests that Byzantios explicitly defined himself as a "historian of Constantinople" rather than a lexicographer.

Unlike the work of Kōnstantios, we encounter only one re-publication of Byzantios's book until very recently.[317] The first volume, which had been published initially in 1851, was reprinted in 1890, again in Athens. Aside from this, no other translations or reappearances of the book were detected.[318]



Η ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ

Η

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ

ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ

ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΩΘΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΣΠΟΡΟΥ
ΠΡΟΑΣΤΕΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ,

ΑΠ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ ΑΧΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ
ΜΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΚΙΛΩΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΙΝΑΚΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΣΑΦΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

ΥΠΟ

ΣΚΑΡΛΑΤΟΥ Δ. ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ

συνδρομῇ φιλοτίμῳ

ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΣΤΕΛΝΙΚΟΥ

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΟΥ

Ὧι καὶ προσανετέθη.

ΤΟΜΟΣ Α.

περιέχων τὴν ἐντὸς καὶ πέριξ τειχῶν Κωνσταντινούπολιν.

ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ,

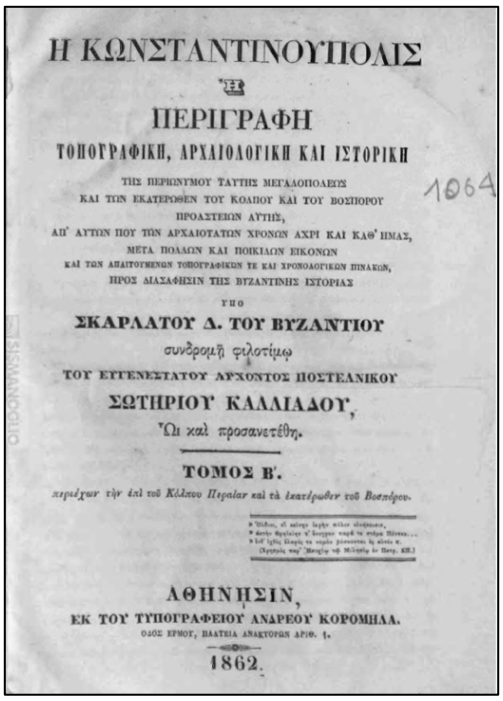
ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΚΟΡΟΜΗΛΑ

ΟΔΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΥ ΑΡ. 215.

1851.

Figure 17. The cover of *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 1, by Skarlatos Byzantios
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

[317] In 1993 Pelekanos Publishers in Athens released a facsimile edition of *Constantinople*, which largely coincided with a rediscovery by researchers of Skarlatos and his work and has made several reprints ever since. An English version has been translated by Haris Theodorelis-Rigas and published in April 2019 by İstos Publishing, İstanbul. I am grateful to Haris Theodorelis-Rigas for sharing his drafts for the translation with me including the Foreword written by Prof. Pesmazoglou.
[318] Although it would be natural to expect a simultaneous reprint of all volumes, during my research, I could not locate any re-prints of the second and third volumes, prior to the Pelekanos edition.



Η ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ

ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ

ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΩΘΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΣΠΟΡΟΥ
ΠΡΟΑΣΤΕΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ,
ΑΠ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ ΑΧΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ,
ΜΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΚΙΛΩΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΙΝΑΚΩΝ,
ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΣΑΦΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

ΥΠΟ

ΣΚΑΡΛΑΤΟΥ Δ. ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ

συνδρομῇ φιλοτίμῳ

ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΣΤΕΛΝΙΚΟΥ

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΟΥ,

Ὡι καὶ προσανετέθη.

ΤΟΜΟΣ Β'.

περιέχων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κόλπου Περαίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ Βοσπόρου.

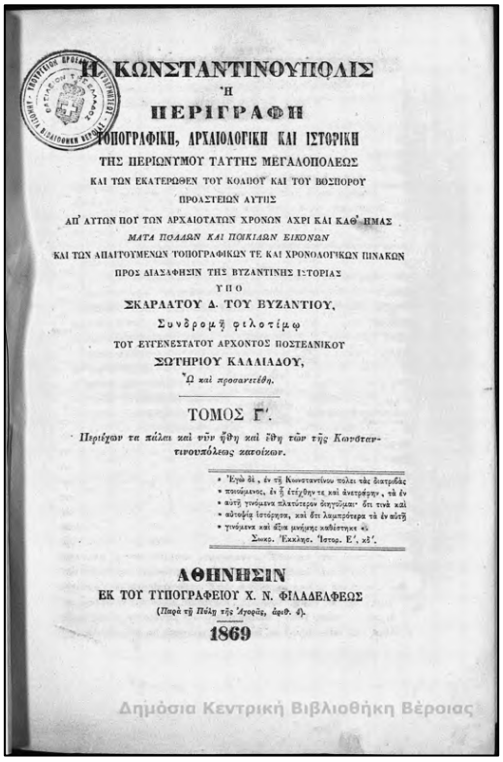
ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ,

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΚΟΡΟΜΗΛΑ.

ΟΔΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΥ, ΠΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΑΝΑΚΤΟΡΩΝ ΑΡΙΘ. 1.

1862.

Figure 18. The cover of *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 2, by Skarlatos Byzantios
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul



Η ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ

Ἡ

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ

ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ

ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΩΘΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΣΠΟΡΟΥ

ΠΡΟΑΣΤΕΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ

ΑΠ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ ΑΧΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΚΙΛΩΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝ

ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΙΝΑΚΩΝ

ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΣΑΦΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

ΥΠΟ

ΣΚΑΡΛΑΤΟΥ Δ. ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ,

Συνδρομῇ φιλοτίμῳ

ΤΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΣΤΕΛΝΙΚΟΥ

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΔΟΥ,

Ὡ καὶ προσανετέθη.

ΤΟΜΟΣ Γ'.

Περιέχων τα πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἤθη καὶ ἔθη τῶν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατοίκων.

ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ Χ. Ν. ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΣ

(Παρὰ τῇ Πόλῃ τῆς Ἀγορᾶς, ἀριθ. 4).

1869

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

Figure 19. The cover of *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 3, by Skarlatos Byzantios
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Veria Public Library, Greece

The work of Byzantios was never published in Constantinople, but it was well-known in Greek-speaking Constantinopolitan intellectual circles. He was often referred to in the meetings of the *Syllogos*.[319] Although Byzantios himself was not a member, his tenure as the head of Greek Primary Education coincided with the most active period of the *Syllogos*, whose primary aim was to develop education within the Greek Orthodox *millet* in the Ottoman Empire. It is impossible not to imagine some degree of contact between these two major institutions which both had a significant focus on the education of Greek youth. After all it is worth noting that, several members of the *Syllogos* were among the sponsors of his work, including Alexander G. Paspatēs, who also served as the vice-president of the *Syllogos* around the same period.[320]

This connection between the *Syllogos* and Byzantios, already makes him a significant node of the Constantinopolitan intellectual network. Yet, as previously mentioned, his contribution to the transforming scholarship on the history of 'old' Constantinople, served as a springboard for future research by the likes of Paspatēs or the *Syllogos,* making Byzantios and his work a significant and permanent node in the network. Accordingly, he was rightly described as "the first Greek author to specialize in *patridography* […] paving the way for and inspiring many of his compatriots who subsequently studied their native history and topography."[321]

For all their differences, the diverging attitudes of Paspatēs and Byzantios towards Constantinople, both ancient and modern, actually suggest a wide range of perceptions of the urban material context of Constantinople in the nineteenth century

[319] For a detailed inquiry of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople see Chapter 5.
[320] The list of the supporters of the second and third volumes are published in the third volume. See Byzantios, *Constantinople,* Vol. 3*,* no page number is given. See Appendix D for the list.
[321] Mordtman, "Bios Alexandrou Paspatē," 15.

as well as its transformation through time.[322]

Another indication of contact between different nodes of this Constantinopolitan network is the letter by the Patriarch Kōnstantios to Byzantios, a short version of which was first published in the 251st issue of the *Byzantis* newspaper and was subsequently republished in full as a footnote to the Preface of *Constantinople*'s second volume.[323] In this letter, penned by the learned Patriarch in 1852, almost immediately after the release of the first volume of Byzantios's *Constantinople*, Kōnstantios underlines the importance of Byzantios's work and adds and corrects certain data for some of the buildings that both authors had briefly touched upon in their own works, such as Tekfur Saray or the Golden Gate of the land walls.

When compared with the vast number of translations and re-prints of Kōnstantios's book, one cannot help but think that there were concrete reasons which prevented a similar editorial interest in Byzantios's compilation. One possible factor might be the extensive scale of the work which would have made it difficult to find the necessary funding for translations and reprints. Pesmazoglou however, links this lack of reprints and translations to the political and ideological stance of Byzantios vis-à-vis Athenian intellectual circles in the nineteenth century.[324] According to him, Byzantios's approach did not fit into the prevailingly classicizing paradigm of Hellenic identity, which were being established during the last phase of the Greek Enlightenment.[325] Although Byzantios grew up within a milieu of rising Greek nationalism, his book portrays a rather different perception, when compared to

[322] See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion on A. G. Paspatēs.
[323] Byzantios welcomes this letter by the Patriarch with pleasure due to their 34 years of friendship. Byzantios, *Constantinople,* Vol. 2*,* στ-ιβ.
[324] Discussion over lunch with Stephanos Pesmazoglou and Haris Theodorelis-Rigas in Athens, in January 2018.
[325] Pesmazoglou, "Foreword," xvi.

contemporary Greek intellectuals, especially those established in the nascent Greek State. When the "immediate and violent" response to his work within Athenian intellectual circles by significant scholars such as Stefanos Koumanoudēs and Geōrgios Chrysovergēs is considered, the conspicuous lack of reprints is rather predictable. Even the existence of the 1890 reprint might come as a surprise:[326]

> "Skarlatos Byzantios is an apologist of [Turkish] Barbarism", a title indicative of the mood of writings by Stefanos Koumanoudis, an eminent academic and influential scholar at the time….Skarlatos's second arch-rival and slanderer, the Constantinopolitan Georgios Chrysovergis will attempt to ridicule Skarlatos's work in a pamphlet entitled *Skarlatanism* (a pan on "charlatanism", since "Skarlatos" was a local rendering of the name "Charles").[327]

The lack of any reprints and the ensuing 150-year-long virtual silence on Byzantios's work, prevented his work from being republished in the nineteenth century and at the same time constituted the reason behind the recent rediscovery by scholars of Byzantios and his work. As a politically controversial figure, he provided a significant example of off-canon discussions on nationalism in the nineteenth century. This political opposition towards Byzantios, as well as his position within the transformation of Modern Greek identity in regard to the Greek Enlightenment is beyond the scope of this dissertation, as we have previously underlined. This study, however, aims to inquire into Byzantios in a different manner, one that even Pesmazoglou considers to be of secondary importance:

> What matters is not so much his place in European travelogue literature nor the additional elements and points of view he provided in understanding nineteenth century Istanbul and its dynamics overtime, but his overall

[326] The debate between Byzantios, Koumanoudēs, Chrysovergis and several other intellectuals actually resulted in a publication of several pamphlets that directly attacked Byzantios's perspective and blamed him, in particular, for his acknowledgement of Byzantine History as part of the Modern Greek identity as well as his positive approach to the Ottomans. For details on this debate See, Pesmazoglou, "Skarlatos Vyzantios's Konstantinoupolis: Difference and Fusion," 62-68. Also see Christodoulou, "Making Byzantium a Greek Presence: Paparrigopoulos and Koumanoudes Review the Latest History Books" 239-244. I am grateful to Brigitte Pitarakis for drawing my attention to this article. A rather 'warmer reception' came from Pandōra, with a ten-page coverage through an extract from the book: "Kōnstantinoupolis," 437-446.

[327] Pesmazoglou, "Foreword," p.xvi.

presence in the newly nascent Hellenic Kingdom and its Athenian scholarly community.[328]

Contrary to Pesmazoglou's perspective, the place occupied by Byzantios's staggering study of Constantinople places Byzantios in a significant position within the network under inquiry in this dissertation. The existing scholarship focuses only on the perspective of the identity/nation-making process which results in an exclusivist outcome concerning the Greek community, both within and beyond the Ottoman context. In other words, focusing only on the 'Greekness' of this literature and its authors, sets forth a Greek cultural and political discussion isolated from its larger context. However, their use of the urban antiquarian literature on a particular city such as Constantinople as significant cornerstones helps us transcend the communal borders defined by language, and to discuss the complex and intermingled aspect of the Ottoman intellectual milieu within its broader context. Accordingly, the importance and strength of Byzantios's work comes from the fact that, it not only provided answers to questions on many aspects of Constantinople's history and topography, but also provided the necessary ground for a larger discussion and interaction between different actors within aforementioned network through the agency of the urban material context. In this sense, Byzantios's work extends far beyond the urban antiquarian literature that this dissertation deals with.

3.2 Constantinople, an overview

As we already saw, Byzantios's *Constantinople* consisted of three volumes, published successively at decade-long intervals.[329] The first volume included a

[328] Pesmazoglou, "Skarlatos Vyzantios's Konstantinoupolis: Difference and Fusion" 42-43.
[329] In the preface of the second volume, Byzantios claimed that the late arrival of the second volume was due to reasons beyond his control ("willingly or out of compulsion") such as the Crimean war. But he also mentioned that this delay resulted in the improvement and perfection of his project. Byzantios, *Constantinople,* Vol. 2, α.

history of the city from its foundation to Byzantios's own times. It included almost every single available piece of information one would need to know about the city: From topographical details, to its monuments, from how it was founded to its famous products, regions, climate, population, demography as well as trade and agricultural capacity.[330] At the same time, special priority was given to major aspects of the urban space, such as public buildings of monumental size and to significant districts within the intramural city, such as palaces or main squares like the Hippodrome or the various *fora.* The first volume is especially significant for our purposes here as it gives the most detailed information about the tangible texture of the 'old' walled city, the historic city center of Byzantium, which in turn constitutes the major agency of our network.

Here it is important to note that, Byzantios's study deals with the 'old' and 'new' city of Constantinople synchronously. He does not devote different sections on the 'ancient' and 'modern' aspects of the city. This approach, which deals with the urban context as a unified, geographical entity, resembling a palimpsest, will be discussed later in this chapter.

The second volume – currently under translation – was published a decade after the first one, and contained descriptions of the neighborhoods lying outside the historical peninsula, including Galata, the villages around the Bosphorus and the Princes' Islands. Like the first volume, it also offers the reader a district-by-district guide to the city. Typically starting with the etymology or meaning of each toponym, these sections contain detailed descriptions of urban aspects such as main roads, squares and buildings, mosques, churches, schools or baths. Just like the

[330] See Appendix E for a list of the contents of the three volumes. Unfortunately, in Vol 2. Byzantios does not provide a list of contents.

Kōnstantinias, it provides extensive information on the neighborhoods outside the walled city, on the shores of Golden Horn, the Bosporus and the Princes' Islands.

The third and final volume of *Constantinople* is organized around a broader theme which moves beyond urban history in the general sense to describe Constantinople/Istanbul specifically as an imperial, capital city. In it the researcher may find valuable information on the Ottoman governmental system, the sultans and their families, the religions, laws and languages of the city as well as its inhabitants and their habits, customs, and character. An interesting feature of the volume, which at the time raised vociferous criticism against his person, is that Byzantios emphasizes observable continuities in the city's history, which he presents as an uninterrupted rule from the Roman era down to the Ottomans. As in the rest of the book, he embraces all historical periods and cultural strata as conducive to the character of the city he knew so well. After all, the second volume contains an appendix with a list of "Rulers of Constantinople", Byzantine and Ottoman alike, while elsewhere in the third volume he draws interesting parallels between particular Ottoman sultans and their Roman and Byzantine predecessors. Yet this does not mean that his is a strictly neutral approach. In the Preface of the first volume, he explains his perspective towards the polities ruling the city. He develops a positive approach to the Romans who took over from the Greeks and ruled the city for more than a millennium, especially in light of the adoption of Christianity and the respective 'Hellenization' of Eastern Romans after the division of the Empire. His following negative attitude towards the Latin crusaders, however, was not as harsh as what would follow with the Ottoman period:

> Soon after that, however, comes a third conquest, unlike all the previous ones. For it entailed no respect for city-autonomy or admiration for arts and sciences. Its barbarism and fanaticism was set at annihilating the Greek nation. …. And through this resistance to assimilation and overlordship for

> four hundred years, during which time, and among great sufferings, the Greeks were finally united through uniform slavery into one nation and eventually seceded by means of a revolution beyond hope and managed to set the foundations for a new future and a new field of glory.[331]

A significant aspect of such an approach resides in its silencing of the actual term 'Ottoman Empire', even though he clearly defines the period with its peculiarities, just like in the aforementioned section on the 'Rulers of Constantinople.' One may deduce from this paragraph that Byzantios would have been a devoted Greek nationalist inimical to the Ottoman State. And yet nothing could be further from the truth, as becomes apparent in other sections of his compilation, especially where he writes about the contemporary sultan, Abdülmecid and his reforms, or Sultan Mahmud II and his abolition of the Janissaries:

> In this square, [Atmeydanı - Hippodrome] one of the most decisive developments of our times took place. Its amelioratory results have already been felt and are bound to manifest themselves even clearer in the future (thanks to the noble intent of our current ruler and his government), as pertaining to the improvement and reform of the Turkish political system. For it was in this square that on June 28, 1826, the Prophet's Holy Banner (*sancak-ı şerif*) was waved against the rebelling Janissaries and the end of the terror, unleashed by this corps for about four hundred years, was finally proclaimed before the Ulema and the faithful, who had gathered there in their thousands.[332]

Despite his abovementioned criticism, and maybe due to his positive approach towards the Ottoman rulers, a short while after the publication of his book, the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Athens, Halil Bey, filed a petition to the Ottoman Sultan to ask for a formal recognition of Byzantios's book:

> Concerning the issue of presenting the book of one of the Greek historians, Monsieur Bizansiyo, composed and written in Greek and containing the topography and history of Istanbul submitted to the Sultan, together with a written note by His Excellency the Ambassador to Athens, Halil Bey and the [author's] biography to the appraisal of His Majesty. [333]

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[331] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 10-11.
[332] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 319.
[333] Translated by Haris Theodorelis-Rigas. "Yunan müverrihlerinden Mösyö Bizansiyon'un İstanbul'un hey'et-i mevkiiye ve tarihini şamil Rumca olarak te'lif ederek tab' ettirmiş olduğu kitabın bir nüshasını atebe-i felek mertebe cenâb-ı mülûkâneye takdim olunmak emeliyle i'tâ eylediği ifadesine

In his letter, Halil Bey defines Byzantios as "different from the other Greek authors, promoting the Islamic nation".[334] Apparently, Byzantios was acknowledged by Sultan Abdülmecid, and was subsequently awarded a fifth-degree decoration (*nişan*):

> A relevant imperial decree was issued by the sultan on the permission of the issue of decorating Monsieur Byzansio, among the Greek historians, with the honourable Medal of the Mecidiye Order / Fifth Class, and an official document was issued by Protocol Department to the imperial treasury on Haziran, 22 1273 [June 1857]. [335]

However, even though he was recognized by the highest circles of the Ottoman State, this never resulted in any reappearance or translation of his work in Constantinople.

3.2.1 Aim, intentions and obstacles

Byzantios outlines his close connection with Constantinople, his aim and intention for compiling such a work, his sources, obstacles he had to face, and other details which actually draw the reader into his world, in the Preface of the first volume. He states that the years he had lived in the city formed his desire to write a 'truthful' history of the city. He had undertaken the study of a number of works on the city and even studied some that had long lain forgotten. He, "synthesized and arranged chronologically and topographically and placed [them] in order" to achieve a truthful

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dair Atina Sefiri izzetli Halil Bey'in tahriratıyla mumaileyhin bir kıt'a arz-ı halinin tercümeleri zikr olunan kitap ile beraber meşmûl nazar-ı âli-i hazreti pâdişâhî buyurulmak için irsal-i sayi vâlâları kılındı…" BOA A.}AMD 75/44. See Appendix F1 for the original document.

[334] "*işbu eserini sair Yunan müverrihlerinin adetlerine muhalif surette olarak te'lif ile millet-i İslamiyenin medâyihinde bulunmuş olmakla*" BOA A.}AMD 75/44. See Appendix F1 for the original document.

[335] Translated by Haris Theodorelis-Rigas. "*Yunan müverrihlerinden Mösyö Bizansiyo'ya beşinci rütbeden bir kıta mecidiye nişân-ı zî-şânı i'tâsı hususuna bi'l-istîzân emr ve fermân-ı hümayun hazreti pâdişâhî müteallik ve şerefsudûr buyurulmuş ve 22 Haziran Sene 73 tarihinde cânib-i teşrîfâttan ilm ü haber verilmiş olduğundan mezkur nişanın serî'an imal ettirilmesi hususuna himmet buyurulmak babında"* …. Fî 18 D Sene 1273 - BOA A.}DVN 125/42 See Appendix F2 for the original document.

history, in which he included the Byzantine era which he claims constitutes his 'own national' history.[336]

While stressing this work as the history of 'his' city, Byzantios criticizes the lack of studies from 'his people' on the history of their country, in a similar manner to Kōnstantios. He accuses Greek scholars of waiting for this gap to be filled by European scholarship, despite the fact that it is they, i.e. Greek scholars, that have the necessary access to the sites, sources and tools to 'guide' the European scholars who were always either biased or ignorant towards the history of the Greeks:

> The second reason for taking up this work was my realization that most of our scholars shun from such research, for reasons unknown to me, and instead prefer to engage in foreign topics, waiting to be instructed in the archaeology and history of their own nation and country by foreigners and expatriates, resembling "unfledged chicks with their mouths gaping under that of another"; and all this despite the fact that given the identity of our language, our traditions of morals and customs and our first-hand experience of the relevant locations it would be more natural for us to guide them. [337]

Having shared a near-contemporary intellectual environment with Constantine Paparrigopoulos, Byzantios was well aware of the adverse stance of Enlightenment thinkers towards the Byzantine Empire, which tended to be unbalanced and biased.[338] He, nevertheless, claimed to approach all stages of Greek history, which he sometimes delineated as Ancient Greek, Christian or Greco-Roman and the Ottoman era, (before and after the abolishment of the Janissary corps) and sometimes as the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine and Turkish; almost with the same distance. He declares that all the phases of Greek history are as remarkable as the important events of the ancient times. Despite his criticism of Ottoman rule, Byzantios believed that, due to the four hundred years of living together, even the

[336] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 2.
[337] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 2.
[338] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 2-3

history of the Turks was important for the Greeks.[339] Accordingly, the history of any district of Constantinople should be regarded as important, since "nothing is insignificant in history".[340]

For Byzantios, there were key matters that made his colossal study much more difficult to handle. First and foremost, the alterations in the urban topography of Istanbul were impossible to follow, since many buildings had been lost, either due to the passing of time or to human interventions. In particular, periods like the Latin conquest in the thirteenth century have had a devastating impact on the city due to the extensive looting of its treasures by the Crusaders. Another impediment to Byzantios's work was the change of toponyms, sometimes spontaneous but usually due to a change of the ruling polity.[341] This change of toponyms, together with the shifting of topography, further exacerbated things and most of his sources were of no help in tracing these changes. Byzantios complains that a large number of these earlier works on the city were erroneous in noting the names and other details of those sites. Additionally, he asserts that the current owners of the city, the Ottomans, either did not allow any research on this matter or even became suspicious about any kind of visits to the relevant sites.[342] This difficulty in accessing the sites was also a recurrent feature in the work of Kōnstantios.[343]

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[339] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 3.
[340] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 4. His all-inclusive mode of history-writing will be discussed later in this chapter.
[341] As an accomplished lexicographer, Byzantios places great importance to the language issue both when it came to his sources and to his own account. He especially criticizes the Byzantine period sources for their misspelling of the names of certain places, since in time this caused the loss of important information. Moreover, his focus on the language of his work was also intentionally different from the daily, "public" language of nineteenth century Greek, "the language used in the newspapers" which made it difficult to decode for the reader of Modern Greek in the twenty-first century. See Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 32.
[342] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 5.
[343] Apparently, Paspatēs would be one of the early scholars to overcome such an impediment. This issue will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Interestingly enough, according to Byzantios, another major obstacle for researchers of Constantinople that prevented them from achieving a more accurate description of the city was superstition. The firm belief of the Byzantines in the supernatural powers of certain sculptures and columns, sometimes resulted in the destruction of those monuments to avoid their 'malefaction', which became another reason for their loss.[344] Byzantios's focus on superstition as an obstacle to his search for the 'truth' might also be seen as a reflection of his take on Enlightenment ideas, namely the victory of Reason over superstition.

Almost all these obstacles that Byzantios outlines constitute actual difficulties pertaining to the reconstruction of a lost, by-gone city and the related feeling of nostalgia which had been well embedded in the urban antiquarian literature of Constantinople since Petrus Gyllius, and including Patriarch Kōnstantios I. As David Lowenthal would put it, these scholars would grasp, step by step, the 'foreignness of the past.'[345] What makes Byzantios's account different however, was his integrative approach towards this reconstruction of the 'truthful' and 'all-encompassing' history of Constantinople.

3.2.2 Encyclopedism

In his insistence on seeking the 'truth', Byzantios certainly emerges as a man of reason, a scholar of an enlightened mind, a modern historian. I have already discussed the impact of the European Enlightenment on Greek intellectual circles. The work of Byzantios constituted no exception in that respect. For all the lacunae in our understanding of Byzantios's life and career, a close analysis of his book on

[344] For a detailed inquiry into this topic, the transformation of the statues and their interpretation from the 'Ancient Greek religion to Modern Greek folklore' as well as their trajectories throughout the Byzantine era, see Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder."
[345] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country- Revisited*, 363.

Constantinople quickly reveals his enthusiastic endorsement of the Enlightenment ideals of science and knowledge acquisition, such as the importance of empirical methods and data.

In this light, his assertion of the all-encompassing content of the book reminds us of a certain feature of the European Enlightenment, reflected on the well-known *Encyclopedia* of the Enlightenment, edited by Diderot and D'alambert:[346]

> The explosion of architectural research, travel and publishing after 1750 was launched in the spirit of Diderot's determination to examine every domain freed from the shackles of tradition, of church dogma, and of received superstition.[347]

In a similar fashion to Diderot, Byzantios was determined to examine every domain of Constantinople. Moreover, Byzantios was aware of the potential of history writing as a safeguard against the loss of memory on earlier historical periods.

Nevertheless, Byzantios's work does not directly emulate the *Encyclopedia,* since it avoids the entry-based format of a lexicon structured around specific subjects and the newly emerging sciences etc., and diverges, in terms of content from the prevailing Enlightenment perception of the world[348] What he certainly does adopt however is the rise of empiricism, the search for truthful knowledge and the related call for organization and categorization thereof, as well as the tendency towards being comprehensive with all aspects of that knowledge.[349] So, it was the influence

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[346] Of course, the *Encyclopedia* was not the first emergence of a compilation of an all-around information on a subject. The origins go as far back as Antiquity. However, it was only with the Enlightenment and the transformation of the definition of scientific knowledge within a new, acquirable mode, that it gained a new meaning and scale.
Diderot, and d' Alembert. *Encyclopédie, Ou, Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences,* 17.
[347] Bergdoll, *European Architecture, 1750-1890,* 10.
[348] For a detailed analysis of the encyclopedia as a product of the Enlightenment, see Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment*.
[349] Another aspect of Encyclopedism which was also shared by Byzantios would be the popularization of knowledge: "For the politician and the private citizen, the artist and the antiquarian, the old and the young, as well as the housekeeping, gentler sex, this manifold theatre of history may serve as an inexhaustible source of self-improvement, instruction and entertainment." Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 4. I am grateful to Haris Theodorelis-Rigas for bringing this point and quote to my attention.

of Encyclopedism, rather than the *Encyclopedia* itself that had apparently provided a raw model for Byzantios.[350]

Encyclopedism, or the encyclopedic concept of knowledge accumulation was not unique to the Enlightenment. The concept of an encyclopedia, which entailed a system of sciences within their own context, had been utilized since the humanists of the seventeenth century.[351] However, with the changes in the acquisition of scientific knowledge that occurred in the eighteenth century, Encyclopedism extended "to cover all that was known" about sciences.[352] In a similar fashion, Byzantios's book may be viewed as an encyclopedia of Constantinople. Its aim is to foster everything that is related to the city as a survey conducted in an organized, systematic manner:

> And if I was to say that for the purpose at hand I have read hundreds of volumes, or that in order to verify a single questionable quotation and to discover the truthfulness of one simple fact I was often compelled to read through, more than once or twice, sizeable works by various authors whose names — even — have long been forgotten by scholarship, it would not be in order to show off, but to demonstrate the simple fact that perhaps so much more has been done for and written about this city than about any other. All this information had to be synthesised, [sic] arranged chronologically and topographically and placed in order.[353]

He chooses not to leave out any aspect of the city, beginning from its geography. In his approach to geography, Byzantios, as early as the mid-nineteenth century, announces that which Alan Baker presupposes for the late nineteenth century historians:

> In the late nineteenth century, historians viewed geography generally as the handmaiden to history and 'geography' itself was understood by them primarily as physical geography, necessarily providing the context for historical studies and also possibly providing evidence for historians to draw upon.[354]

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[350] Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment,* 520.
[351] When it comes to seventeenth-century encyclopedism, one cannot but think of Evliya Çelebi. His approach to Constantinople will be discussed together with the role of antiquarianism in Ottoman Turkish literature.
[352] Vakkari, "Reading, Knowledge of Books, and Libraries as a Basis for the Conception of Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century Germany," 70-71.
[353] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 1.
[354] Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*, 16.

Byzantios is equally aware of the paramount significance of the knowledge of geography in the development and proper discussion of historical knowledge:

> The study and investigation of history presupposes a sound knowledge of places, without which all hopes of any fruitful reading of a historical work are in vain.[355]

Accordingly, Byzantios has described not only the land occupied by the city but also its waters, especially the Bosporus. His discussion of the geography of the city largely revolved around its major elements, i.e., the hill tops, the Bosporus and the Golden Horn. The Bosporus, its measurements, length, width, depth, along with the currents of its water, is discussed in depth, so as to demonstrate to the reader its overall importance for the city at large:

> These straits, unique in the entire world, may be seen as a long river having its source at the Euxine, its course flowing through the Propontis or Sea of Marmara (a lake, if we are to extend the analogy) and the Hellespont and its mouth located in the Aegean. When the more than thirty rivers – most of them sailable – that flow into the Black Sea, either directly or through the Palus Maiotis, flood the Black Sea with their overflow of water, the latter pushes these waters southwards through these straits. That is why Philostratus calls them "the mouth", Aristides prefers the rather metaphorical notion of "the Gates" and Euripides calls it the "Keys of the Pontus". Herodotus calls them "the Neck" and the Turks similarly speak of *Boğaz*. The Graeco-Romans speak of it as *"Stenon,"* or in the plural *"Stena"* and refer to the local sailors as *"Stenitai."* Apollonius of Rhodes refers to "the narrowest part of a tortuous passage", while the more urbane among its contemporary inhabitants typically refer to the Inner Bosphorus as *"Katastenon."*[356]

When it comes to the topography of the city, to achieve a precise definition of Constantinople, Byzantios mentions the importance of both the actual experience of the city from within – by means of walking – as well as through outside observation from different vantage points. He is certainly aware of the fact that the view of the city from within is not as impressive as the vistas it provides from outside. He acknowledges the existence of dirty and muddy neighborhoods such as Balat. Yet, he

[355] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 4.
[356] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 44-45.

still underlines that one needs to be fair when approaching Constantinople, in as much as every city hosts its own version of 'Balat', whereas Istanbul also has astonishing sites, as gorgeous as Champs Elysées, such as the main street, Divanyolu, the newly founded districts of Kumkapı and Yenikapı, or the glorious mosques that resemble the great churches of Paris and London:

> Whoever is willing to disregard slanderous hearsay – knowing full well that every city has her own version of Balat, just as she has her own Champs-Élysées – and roam around her streets in search of magnificent avenues and orderly and hygienic districts, might as well walk down the so-called *Mesē Hodos* [Gr."Middle Street", Tur.Divanyolu] from the Hagia Sophia to the Gate of Adrianople; or perhaps visit the districts of Kumkapu and Yenikapu, where the newly-founded Armenian neighbourhoods rival in quality many European cities. [357]

This new and orderly outlook was thanks to the transformation taking place at the time due to the new Ottoman administration under Mahmud II. Byzantios expresses his appreciation of this improvement of the city through the widening of streets, organized construction of houses etc. Yet, he still acknowledges that such major changes in the urban context take some time and come at a price for traditional values and practices.

These transformative acts of Sultan Mahmud II obviously invoked the sense of an ever-gone past for Byzantios, as he had lived through especially the abolishment of the Janissary corps, which would be the major turning point for him, since it had resulted in a major change of the political scene of the Ottoman Empire and in a series of transformations within the state structure. Byzantios, aware of the fact that the *Tanzimat* reforms were a consequence rather than a beginning, repeatedly underlines the importance of 1826:

> But the iron fist of the great reformer of Turkey[358] has crushed all these traditions that now lay under the ruins of colossal barracks and the piles of

[357] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 39.
[358] The reference is to Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808 – 1839).

> thousands of corpses, which makes the need for history to preserve them ever more urgent if we are to understand and explain historical events. [359]

The author even links the reasons behind his interest in Ottoman Constantinople to the rapid transformations that took place in the Empire after 1826,[360] with the pre-reform conditions already becoming a subject of *'antiquarian'* study, in his view.[361] He insists that the habits, values and way of living of 'old' Turkey, or 'Turkism' (Τουρκισμοῦ) as he calls them, should be studied, before they fade away for good:[362]

> It is therefore necessary, out of *curiosity* and love for learning to examine eagerly the traces of old Turkism before they completely vanish from the horizon, like a multi-colored rainbow after a rainstorm.[363]

Byzantios's positive approach towards the recent conditions in the city and his aforementioned ifs and buts for its 'diseased' parts found their resonance also in the illnesses observable in the city in the course of the early and mid-nineteenth century. For Byzantios, the city was blessed with a very hygienic climate, free from any endemic disease and with a very low impact of pandemics such as cholera.[364] For

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[359] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 31.
[360] Namely the abolishment of Janissary troops, namely *Vak'a-i Hayriye*.
[361] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* Vol. 1, στ. Translated by Haris Theodorelis-Rigas. The original term in Greek that Byzantios uses is *archaiologia*. Byzantios also uses the terms "archaeology" and "history" together to define the studies of his nation's past. In Greek *archeilogia* literally denotes the "knowledge of the (distant) past", and as such it had been utilized since Greek Antiquity, with the Latin plural *antiquitas* (pl. *antiquitates*) serving as the Latin version of the same term. In his translation Dr. Theodorelis-Rigas uses 'archeo-' depending on whether a person/method is openly referred to in relation to the material culture, while in a few cases where it may denote all aspects of the past, he used 'antiquar-'. This dual translation may seem somewhat confusing, given the transformation the term "antiquarian" underwent mainly after the Renaissance and especially in the eighteenth century, to denote the study of material culture, yet, when evaluated within its context, the distinction is pertinent. I would like to thank Dr. Theodorelis-Rigas once more both for sharing the drafts of the translation and for our fruitful discussions on Byzantios's work. For the transformation of the approaches towards *Vak'a-i Hayriye*, as well as considering it as an opening for a new era: see Neumann, *Araç Tarih, Amaç Tanzimat.* Here, Neumann refers to the history of Ahmed Cevdet as a major source for the establishment of *Vak'a-i Hayriye*, a critical turning point for Ottoman political history. Mardin, on the other hand, states the importance of the abolishment of the Janissaries for the Young Ottomans, as a step towards modernization, the elimination of a power-check for the sultan as well as the lack of a voice expressing the grievances of the poor. I am grateful to Alp Eren Topal, for drawing my attention to Neumann's work.
[362] Turkism here refers to the 'Turkish way of life from an outsider's perspective, in a similar fashion to 'Hellenism' which denotes the adoption of Greek culture by other polities. I am grateful to Haris Theodorelis-Rigas for his comments on the use of this term.
[363] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 3.
[364] The first strike of cholera in Constantinople occurred in 1831 and resulted in around 6,000 deaths: Ulman & Yıldırım, "The Great Cholera Epidemic of Istanbul in 1865," 437. This was much lower

Byzantios, common illnesses usually occurred due to the sloppy lifestyle of its inhabitants, malnutrition etc. He offers different causes for different illnesses such as, 'melting snow' for the inflammations of the larynx, or 'excessive fruit-eating for malignant fevers."[365] Even when it came to the gravest illnesses such as cholera, it was the lifestyle of the city's 'lower' classes, who lived in *hans* or *kirahane*s, that was held responsible for their contraction and spreading, prior to the victims' death and burial outside the walls. The 'bad habit' of elite women, who would spend many days of their lives in *hammams* and return to their homes late at night, walking on the muddy streets in their light sandals even in winter, was also criticized. However, as a positive aspect, Byzantios underlines the local diet and five-times-a-day ablution practice (*abdest*) which allowed people to live up to 90 years.

When it comes to the material texture of the city, Byzantios made copious efforts to provide the definitions of each and every major building and material structure, including the city's columns and obelisks. He devoted a significant section of his compilation, the better part of the first volume, to these buildings. His sections on these structures, though far more extensive than their *Kōnstantinias* counterparts, tend to mention similar details: the patron of the building, its physical aspects, such as its materials, dimensions, repairs, life cycle and major events or major people who were one way or another related to that building's life. While doing so, Byzantios displays particular care in explicitly mentioning his sources:

> The large rectangular obelisk ([Tur.]*Dikilli Taş*) that today stands at the centre of the Hippodrome, is a monolith made of granite from Thebes [[Anc.Egypt.]*Waset*, today's Luxor]. After it was brought down by an earthquake it was restored in 390 – as the two epigraphs on its pedestal suggest – by Theodosius I, under the supervision of Proclus, at the time serving as the urban prefect or eparch.

than the number of deaths in Europe around the same time. Still, it is most probably Byzantios's overall enthusiasm for the city that made him overlook such a large number of deaths. This, to a certain extent ignorant, positive attitude was criticized by Paspatēs (*Hypomnēma Peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn*) as well. For a detailed discussion on urban hygiene, see Chapter 4.

[365] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 69.

> A surprised Gyllius asks himself why the obelisk is not mentioned in the old *Notitia Urbis*, and remarks in turn that a rectangular obelisk of Theban stone is mentioned as standing in *Regio* V, from where – if indeed it is the same obelisk as our author surmises – it was moved and reinstated at the Hippodrome by Theodosius I after its collapse.[366]

Among other aspects of Byzantios's encyclopedic compilation, its focus on the material remnants of the urban context leads us to compare it to the earlier urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople already discussed.

3.3 Urban Antiquarianism at work: *Constantinople* in detail

As discussed in the previous chapter, the search for a 'reconstruction' of a certain past emerges as a key element in antiquarian literature. Byzantios's work, with its search for the 'reconstruction' of the 'old' Constantinople, dwells upon the urban antiquarianism of the previous century and develops a broader perspective of its own.

Among Byzantios's three volumes, it is the first one that is most relevant to our purpose here, with its detailed treatment of the tangible remnants of the 'old' city.[367] The volume begins with several short subsections providing detailed information about the topographic divisions of the city, and its climate, urban health, the products, and the mythological and factual details of the foundation of Constantinople. The majority of the volume however, is devoted to the major buildings and significant sections of the urban space, which he discusses under two headings, "Public Buildings" and "A Detailed Description of Monuments". Here, Byzantios categorizes major constructions such as walls, gates, schools, libraries

[366] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 334.
[367] He also discusses the buildings and urban space in the second volume, where he focuses mostly on the extramural city. Here, in this chapter, although I mainly focus on the first volume which deals with the historic, walled city, Constantinople *per se,* I also refer to the second and third volumes when necessary.

aqueducts etc. as "Public Buildings", while he discusses structures such as Hagia Sophia, the Ottoman and Byzantine palaces as well as urban squares such as the Hippodrome of the Imperial *Fora as "*Monuments."

Byzantios begins his description of "Public Buildings" with a general, almost aerial view of the contemporary city, starting from the Seraglio Point. As he declares, he follows the pattern of an urban walk, (entering and exiting the city walls), a feature of the urban-antiquarian literature since the Renaissance and begins his walk along the shores of the tip of the intramural city.[368]

At this point, Byzantios formulates one of his key research questions as follows: "What would Justinian's Constantinople have looked like?"[369] He tries to mentally reconstruct the unknown, by-gone city, through a handful of fragmentary monuments that had survived since Justinian's era. He tries to understand the image of the city under Justinian, by observing clues that the present state of the city may provide him with. He underlines that, in Constantinople, since most of the Ottoman constructions were built over the sites of Byzantine structures, it is to a certain extent easy to follow which buildings were built where. Moreover, he also emphasizes that, there is usually a continuity of function in this respect, as the churches were either converted into or replaced by mosques, state institutions by state institutions, and palaces by palaces, which provides additional clues for locating the by-gone Byzantine monuments. Byzantios's conclusion may also mean that the urban schema of Ottoman Constantinople, which he defines as a palimpsest, to a significant extent

[368] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 218. Although it may be speculative to assert a genre out of this literary style, it is still important to note that, the aforementioned work by Gyllius also matches this 'spatialization of antiquity', in the way it embraces Constantinople. The 'topos of movement through space, which was an integral part of Gyllius's reconstructive narrative in four books, links it to this Italian tradition of urban antiquarianism.
[369] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 217.

follows that of the Byzantine city.[370] As a follow up, he also mentions that in both periods, the most important buildings were concentrated in the first four hills of the city.

For by-gone structures of the Byzantine period, Byzantios needed to consult and rely mostly on Byzantine sources and the eye-witness accounts they contained. Yet, as he also mentions in his Preface, those sources, sometimes contradict each other in terms of the details they provide regarding the Byzantine city. Although at times he also tried to conduct personal *in situ* research when he was in the city, he admits that there was little information he could bring to light, when it came to non-extant buildings. Accordingly, for the long-lost buildings of the Byzantine era, the amount of data available to him amount to little more than what could be deduced from his sources and, as such, they were beyond his control. In a few cases, where digs for recent construction purposes had revealed formerly unknown parts of old buildings, he tends to utilize the updated information provided by relatively recent sources:

> According to the author of the *Constantiniad* [Patriarch Kōnstantios], traces of this portico came to light in 1847 during the digging of the foundations of the new Turkish University [*Darülfünun*] (to which we shall shortly return).[371]

The fact that he could only convey as much as he could deduce from his sources, results in a very unbalanced degree of detail within and between his entries. However, the situation is notably different for the still-standing buildings of the city. He provides the reader with his own observations made during the urban walk

[370] In a similar fashion, Kafescioğlu discusses the deliberate choice of Mehmed II for the revival and sustainability of the trade and market areas of the city. See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/İstanbul.*
[371] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 597.

mentioned above. Depending on the accessibility of the building, he provides a certain degree of detail concerning both its interior and exterior elements.[372]

3.3.1 *Constantinople* under the spotlight

A close reading of his entries in *Constantinople* demonstrates that, Byzantios placed a great deal of importance to the material aspects of the structures under investigation. When possible, he provides dimensions, structural and spatial characteristics, including the number of columns, domes, half domes, materials and the like:

> [The Cistern of Theodosius] is a small but very elegant structure with arcs and domes supported by 32 or 33 columns of white marble, separated in four groups each consisting of 8 of them. It is 129 ft long and 70 ft and 6 digits wide. Its columns are separated from each other by an equal distance of 12 ft and 2 digits. Their mid-height perimeter is 2,5 ft suggesting a total height of about 25-26 ft since their bases and lower shafts are buried underground. They feature a double row of Corinthian capitals with the upper row being left uncarved. [373]

As this example demonstrates, he is well-versed in the antique orders of columns, to which Byzantios occasionally refers as "Doric", "Corinthian", etc., as well as non-antique orders, as in the case of the column capitals of Haseki Mosque which he describes as "more along Turkish lines."[374] Apparently, his sound knowledge of the material aspects of the buildings provided him with the necessary perspective for the stylistic evaluation of those structures, columns and other artefacts in general:

> In fact, the grandson of Emperor Herakleios, Constans [II], relocated all bronze and marble columns from the squares of Old Rome to the New one. This slapdash assortment of miscelenious [sic] materials, uncharacteristic of

[372] This is especially the case with buildings in the 'old', intramural city. When he moves beyond the city walls, to the shores of the Bosporus, his descriptions of particular buildings are less detailed, most probably due to their lower accessibility for Byzantios.
[373] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 366.
[374] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 401.

> the carefully harmonious arrangements of classical monuments gave rise to the mix-and-match architectural style that we know as "Byzantine".[375]

His knowledge of the various architectural styles is not limited to the structures of the Byzantine period, allowing him to compare what he sees with architectural styles characteristic of distant geographies:

> ….In front of this façade there is a colonnaded peristyle that contains the mosque's [Yeni Cami in Eminönü] courtyard, equal in length to the façade itself. The design of the three gates that lead to this courtyard from each three sides follow the Moorish style (ῥυθμοῦ Μαυρουσιακοῦ).[376]

In some cases, he provides detailed and, for the most part, accurate information on the structure's patrons, which include emperors, sultans, *valide*s, and secular and religious officials, who have left their mark on the urban landscape. In doing so, Skarlatos demonstrates his awareness of the mnemonic capacity of the built environment. Accordingly, he often utilizes spatial discussions as articulate reminders of major historic events, such as the declaration of the *Tanzimat* Reforms while describing the Topkapı Palace grounds, or in his reference to particular Byzantine ceremonies described in Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis* when discussing the physical attributes of the long-lost, Byzantine Great Palace:

> On the Monday of the first week of Lent a *silention* ["an imperial audience", cf. Latin, *silentium*, "silence"] would take place at the Magnaura, [a huge pavillion in the Great Palace grounds] [377] whereby the emperor "standing at the top of the steps at the hall's entrance, which are covered with praying-carpets delivers a sermon on the details of fasting to the people."[378]

He discussed events, rites, rituals that took place at a particular space, intermingled with the peculiarities that characterized it.

Another significant feature that occasionally emerges in Byzantios's entries is the issue of *spolia*. Although the use of *spolia* in modern scholarship is discussed

[375] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 109.
[376] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 711.
[377] Both phrases in brackets have been added by the translator.
[378] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 298.

with its multilayered, implicit and explicit meanings, for Byzantios spolia constitute a merely practical solution where he does not search for any underlying agenda either for the use of materials from near-by Byzantine buildings or for providing material from distant sources, such as the ancient Greek temples from all four corners of the empire. He only mentions their reutilization as building material on several different occasions, such as in the case of the Süleymaniye Mosque:

> Four large, monolithic columns of eastern porphyrite or granite are particularly noteworthy. Each rising at 60 ft high, the used to belong, according to tradition, to the famed temple of Ephesus. The mosque's *mihrab*, *kursi*, *minbar*, *mastaba* and *maksure* are all made of white marble and bear sculpted decorations.[379]

Similar to the Süleymaniye, Mehmed II's New Mosque (*Fatih Camii*) is actually among the few examples where Byzantios had access to a significant amount of information. In such cases, when his sources allow it, his inquiry and relevant entry on an existing, available building is remarkably well organized. Beginning with the particulars of each site and their patrons, the entries contain a plethora of details, both structural and spatial. They furthermore include the financial details of their construction, sources of materials used and the number and types of the dependencies of the buildings:

> The mosque's overall precinct (Tur. *sahn*) has eight entrances and contains eight secondary schools (Tur. *medrese*), four of them in the northern part and the other four in the south, each equipped with residence hall for the students (Tur. *tetimme*) at its back, collectively known as *Sahnı Seman* [Tur. "eight sections"].[380] The entire complex [Tur. *külliye*][381] also contains: a) a soup kitchen for the poor (Tur. *imaret*), a very large building extending across the mosque, intercepted by a road at a certain point and containing porticoed courtyards and tree-covered enclosures; b) a hospice (Tur. *darüşşifa*), whose appraisal by Thévet, some three hundred years ago we have already seen; c) a madhouse (Tur. *bimarhâne*); d) a primary school (*mekteb*); e) a school for the study of hadiths (Tur. *sünne*); f) the library (Tur. *kitabhâne*) housed in a separate building outside but nevertheless very near the precinct of the mosque, the first such institution to have been established by the Ottomans in

[379] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 733-734.
[380] Added by the translator.
[381] Added by the translator.

> Constantinople, containing 1,625 handwritten volumes; over its main entrance it features the following inscription in Arabic: "the study of science is a sacred duty for every Muslim; this beautiful building was built in 1185"; g) the public water distribution point (Tur. *sebil-hâne*); h) the bathhouse, to which we shall return shortly and i) within a tree-covered courtyard to the east the founder's mausoleum (Tur. *türbe*), fashioned from snowwhite marble in the shape of a lead-roofed cylinder or hemisphere featuring grilled windows and a magnificent porch.[382]

Other examples of such Imperial complexes that he discusses in detail are the Sultan Ahmed and the converted mosque of Hagia Sophia.

Before dealing with the unique case of Hagia Sophia, one last point that needs to be made in reference to Byzantios's entries concerns his approach to the re-used buildings of the Byzantine era, the churches transformed into mosques. Interestingly enough, this issue of church conversions is not scrutinized by Byzantios in detail as one would expect from someone who is actually after the idea of a transformed city. On the contrary, on several instances, e.g., when describing the *Küçük Ayasofya* mosque, he mentions the conversion as yet another detail about the mosque and raises no questions or no discussion about it:

> As for the church of SS Sergius and Bacchus, it still stands today near the Sidēra gate, having been converted to a mosque, which on account of the elegance of its colonnade and lavish decoration came to be known as *Küçük Ayasofya*, i.e. "Little Hagia Sophia". According to Gyllius and Thévet, it is in a flat area some 400 paces wide, just below the Hippodrome, and between its arena and the Sea of Marmara.[383]

In fact, in most such cases, he only mentions the conversion of the church and summarily gives the date and actors involved in this conversion. He usually does not deal with the converted mosques, but reserves space for the description of the original church building, as far as his sources can be of help. In very few examples, however, we can trace the interior structural or spatial aspects of those buildings, which might indicate the lack of accessibility and thus lack of *in situ* research on his

[382] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 524.
[383] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 368-9.

part. It is also significant to note that, he treats the churches converted from pagan temples in the same manner:

> This church, [the Church of St Menas of the Great Palace] which reportedly still stood within the Saray in Gyllius's time used to be a pagan temple dedicated to Zeus – or more likely, according to Hesychios – to Poseidon that was eventually converted to a church by Constantine the Great. If we are to believe Kodinos the statutes of these gods actually remained standing within the precinct.[384]

So, this could be seen as his holistic approach to the history of the city which does not distinguish or prioritize one period over another, or along cultural, religious or ideological lines.

3.3.1.1 Antiquarianism at its peak: The case of Hagia Sophia

Hagia Sophia, the most important of all converted churches, occupies a special place in Byzantios's narrative. In his own words, "all notable events of Graeco-Roman history are connected with the history of this church."[385] Owing to the enormous amount of information about the church, he devotes more than sixty pages to the building. Despite the obvious difficulty of describing it, the section is particularly interesting as it demonstrates a climax of his approach to the urban texture of the city.

After providing certain information on the location of the building, the different stages of earlier structures and their patron builders, the financial requirements of the construction, its inauguration ceremonies, damages, and repair stages, Byzantios focuses mainly on the most recent Hagia Sophia and describes extensively both its interior and its exterior. He combines structural details with

[384] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 239.
[385] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 693.

spatial ones and also delves into its decoration. Accordingly, he traces the material source of almost all architectural elements:

> Of these, eight Egyptian or Porphyry columns, of almost identical size, thickness and weight had been sent from Rome by Marcia, a widow of noble stock, who had somehow inherited them. The columns originally belonged to the temple of the Sun-god in Baalbek and had been brought to Rome by Aurelian. Six green Thessalian columns were brought to Constantinople by the urban prefect Constantine, others from Cyzicus, from the Troad, from the Cyclades and even from Athens and all sort of places.[386]

In addition to the building itself, he also devotes certain paragraphs to the description of major elements of the interior space such as the mosaics and icons as well as the altar table, or the *minber* and *mihrab* as the additions to the interior space of the church after the conquest.[387] Then he moves outside and describes the exterior structures such as the buttresses and minarets. He also discusses the tombs and the ablution fountain in the courtyard. He provides a list of everything visible from an outside viewing of the building, whether those are structural parts of the building or not.

Actually, on many occasions, Byzantios provides the reader with a list of particular details about the buildings he discusses, as well as the city in general, including near-exhaustive lists of neighborhoods, wall gates, fires that had devastated the city. The aforementioned example of the list of exterior structural elements of Hagia Sophia, is indicative of his strong preference for lists as a means of systematizing information, even for material for which the list format would be less than ideal.[388]

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[386] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 646.
[387] Byzantios mentions that he saw the structure's mosaics during the Fossati restorations, which took place between 1847-49: Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 656-657. For the parts that he could not see with his own eyes, such as the floor decorations under the carpets, he refers to his Byzantine sources such as the *Patria:* Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 657.
[388] See Appendix G for the complete list.

The case of Hagia Sophia, as described above, constitutes the most significant example of Skarlatos's approach in the entire volume. The number of pages and the detail of the information provided is indicative of its centrality in Skarlatos's narrative. The detailed information also includes images of the building. This utilization of images does not exclusively pertain to Hagia Sophia. As we will discuss later on in this chapter, images constituted an important part of his three-volume compilation.[389] In the case of the Hagia Sophia, however, the author also provides a ground plan of the building, which he finds necessary for comparing it with earlier descriptions of the Church, such as the one by Procopius, in order to fully comprehend the extent of its transformation over time:

> It is difficult to follow this elegant description without prior familiarity with elevations and plans of the church. Even then, however, one can hardly corroborate the structure's current state with its original arrangement. The light elegance attributed to it by most authors is no longer discernible especially from the outside, due to the various interventions and additions made to the structure. In short, the architectural elements of the Hagia Sophia delivered by the hands of Isidōros differ greatly from those of the monument that has survived to our day.[390]

Yet in several other entries, where the information provided by his sources sometimes included images, Byzantios chose not to include them in his book. Yet, he made his comparisons based on his detailed, almost photographic descriptions, and often criticized the truthfulness or accuracy of those images.

3.3.1.2 Antiquarianism and its silences

When considering the extensive information compiled in the case of Hagia Sophia, and the near-exhaustive character of Byzantios's work, the reader is struck by a

[389] As it will be discussed below, the utilization of images in support of the 'truthfulness' of the information provided, constituted a significant aspect of the antiquarian tradition.
[390] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 638-639.

series of conspicuous silences, such as the very limited reference to *Mimar* Sinan, the master architect of many of the buildings that Byzantios discusses.[391] Surely, Byzantios is not ignorant or indifferent to the central role played by architects. He names some of them, while speaking about Hagia Sophia for instance, mentioning both the architects and engineers who had constructed the church in the sixth century, and those who had renovated in the nineteenth, or the Greek architect of the Mehmed II Mosque, Christodoulos. Yet, he rarely mentions by name any architect of contemporary constructions. One such example is the Balyans for the Dolmabahçe Palace construction, which he cites in the second volume. [392]

Regardless of the period of the building, another kind of information that he avoids delving into are the inscriptions on certain structures, buildings, or columns. If possible, he quotes the inscription in full but does not discuss it in detail, not even when it comes to its linguistics aspects.[393] This observation presents additional interest, especially since, as discussed in the previous chapter, inscriptions and epigraphy had already been a significant part of the information provided from the material culture not only for buildings but also for coins and seals etc.

A third and final striking silence pertains to some of the entries themselves. Interestingly enough, Byzantios treats certain structures very tentatively, as in the case of the Egyptian Bazaar for which he reserves a single sentence. Despite the fact that he devotes a few pages to the Yeni Mosque complex of which the Bazaar formed a part, he prefers not to speak about it, which is rather surprising given the

[391] He eventually refers to Sinan only once, while speaking about the Şehzade Mosque, Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 521.
[392] Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol.2, 90.
[393] Here my comparative reference is to the level of inquiry by the members of the *Syllogos* who would devote certain research projects to these inscriptions. See Chapter 5 for details. Moreover, Paspatēs criticizes both Patriarch Kōnstantios and Byzantios for copying some epigraphical examples from the works of foreigners: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 33.

extent of the compilation, since the Egyptian Bazaar is one of the central constructions of the port area of Eminönü, as well as a vibrant trade center of the city.

3.3.2 Antiquarianism meets historicism: Early nineteenth century historiography

Despite the aforementioned silences, in his own version of the 'reconstruction' of Constantinople, Byzantios proudly states that, his work contains everything worth knowing about a city. This is relevant for both the temporal and spatial aspects of the city. In other words, Byzantios excluded no period, no ruling polity in the long history of the city since its establishment, nor any aspect of its tangible or intangible urban aspects. Although he mainly focused on the urban topography, organized around major monuments, the districts that encompass them, and their surrounding geography, he included certain other features such as information on population, the climate of the city, the characteristics of its inhabitants and their customs, along with specific traits of the city as a capital of two successive empires, such as their governmental systems and rulers.

In that respect, *Constantinople* may be considered an early example of an all-encompassing encyclopedia of a city, though not organized in an alphabetical order, as most of the modern encyclopedias are, but following a model which had been developed since the Renaissance; that of urban antiquarian literature. Therefore, it is possible to assert that the three-volume compilation of Byzantios is an amalgam of different approaches of gathering and categorizing knowledge that had matured in the course of previous centuries.

To be able to achieve such a compilation, Byzantios himself assessed almost all preceding literature within his reach and merged its information with his own

observations in an effort to establish the 'ultimate truth' about the city. As noted above, the 'search for the ultimate truth' was a feature of the transforming approach towards scientific knowledge as that emerged in the course of the eighteenth century, within the intellectual context of the European Enlightenment. But by the time Byzantios was working on his compilation, around the second quarter of the nineteenth century, historiography had already taken a new direction, especially in one of the major Enlightenment centers, Germany. The University of Göttingen was one of the cradles of the professionalization and institutionalization of historical writing.[394] German institutions and professors, such as Leopold von Ranke, a professor from the University of Berlin, and his focus on the methodologies of historical writing, played a central role in the promotion of history as a science, leading to the formation of a school of thought that would later become known as Historicism.[395] This emphasis on method and professionalism would also bring the separation of the 'scientist' from the 'amateur' and Ranke would later obtain the title of the 'father of scientific history'.[396]

The secularization of history and establishing 'the truth' through the testimony of material remnants were intellectual achievements of the Enlightenment, at a time that coincided with the rise of antiquarianism. Throughout the eighteenth century, antiquarians were focusing on collecting and interpreting the material remains of the past, whereas historians of literary traditions or philosophical historians mostly relied on the earlier literary examples of history-writing. However, some, especially in German universities, began to stress the importance of utilizing

[394] Berger, "The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism." 19.
[395] Berger, "The Invention of European National Traditions in European Romanticism." 23; Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century,* 29.
[396] Iggers, "The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century 'Scientific' History: The German Model," 42.

primary sources.[397] They underlined that "it was this source criticism that enabled them to produce verifiable historical knowledge".[398] The University of Berlin would provide the 'prototype' for such an approach, with Ranke serving as its most prominent spokesman.[399]

The nineteenth-century rise of scientific history-writing came at the expense of antiquarianism.[400] Antiquarianism would later evolve and 'survive' in different fields such as anthropology, archaeology, art history, sociology and history of religion, and later still form part of the so-called 'cultural sciences'.[401] To a certain extent, this was due to the persistence of its methods, that is the ways of utilizing of non-literary sources which were not only collected but also interpreted, within the rising history writing traditions.[402]

Ranke's 'scientific methodology', which "meant historiography based on a strict reconstruction of the past, on the facts as they appeared through a critical examination of sources"[403] – effectively a forerunner of Positivism – seems to have informed Byzantios's concern for attaining 'the truth.'[404]

3.4 Sources

In order to compile a work of such a size and diverse scope that drew from many different fields to approach one of the most attractive cities in the world, Byzantios utilized a vast number of sources. In his preface to the first volume, he claims to have

[397] Donnelly and Norton, *Doing History,* 36.
[398] Donnelly and Norton, *Doing History,* 36.
[399] Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century,* 23-25; Donnelly and Norton, *Doing History,* 36.
[400] Ceserani, "Antiquarian Transformations in Eighteenth Century Europe," 317.
[401] Miller, "Introduction: Momigliano, Antiquarianism, and the Cultural Sciences", 4.
[402] Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," 286.
[403] Iggers, "The Intellectual Foundations of Nineteenth-Century 'Scientific' History: The German Model," 42.
[404] Yet, Byzantios does not reveal any connection to either Ranke or his approach to the history-writing.

used almost all of the earlier literature, including ancient material, works by Byzantine authors, European travelogues, histories and previous urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople, including the Greek ones, such as the *Kōnstantinias*. Although, unlike Kōnstantios, Byzantios does not provide a list of his sources, it is relatively easy to follow his reference material in most cases, since he tends to references them clearly either in his main text or in his footnotes.

Earlier European literature on Constantinople had largely consisted of the aforementioned travel journals by visitors to the city. The core of this literature was the collection of impressions about the city, its environs and inhabitants, eye-witness accounts of certain events, etc. Very few of these, however, included a systematic, focused study of the city's antiquities. Still, they provided a certain degree of first-hand, eye-witness testimonies.

From among these travelogues, Byzantios followed in Kōnstantios's footsteps by utilizing the account of Petrus Gyllius, to whom he refers as the "greatest travel-author of them all."[405] According to Byzantios, second place should be awarded to Guillaume-Joseph Grelaut, the capable architect in the court of Louis XIV, whose work was of the highest standards according to French antiquarian and traveler Jean-Baptiste Le Chevalier, another major source for Byzantios. While these authors, with their wide scope and comprehensive accounts, provided Byzantios with invaluable information, he was very selective in drawing from them, focusing especially on the works of Löwenklau, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, etc.[406]

[405] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 25.
[406] Pesmazoglou calculates that Byzantios must have read a total of some 200 travelogues.

3.4.1 Struggling with the sources

Despite the wide array of his sources, Byzantios was rather critical of the quality of most of them, regardless of the period to which they belonged. For instance, even though he particularly cites works which are earlier than most of his other sources and provide almost first-hand evidence, such as the *Patria of Constantinople*[407], or the *Corpus Byzantinorum*,[408] he still criticizes them for the false information they provided, their misspelling of the names and toponyms and even the form of Greek in which they were written:

> As for all the rest – and especially the anonymous authors of the *Patria* – they have lead [sic] to the perpetuation of improbable and ridiculous falsehoods, while conflating dates, personalities and events and making it convenient for European commentators to deride, sneer and mock them indiscriminately as "foolish Greeklings", although they themselves deserve much greater reproach, as it becomes evident from the following examples.[409]

'European commentators' on the other hand demonstrated, according to Byzantios, significant confusion in the names of the Emperors such as 'Constantine the Great, Constantius, Constans and Constantine II'.[410]

Byzantios expresses his surprise at the fact that many scholars at the time combined their weak grasp of important aspects of their periods with an evident bias against their contemporary emperors. According to Byzantios, this was due to the personal feelings, likes or dislikes, of these authors, who were "either monks or laymen that lived and thought in a manner resembling that of monastic life", which brought with it a tendency to exaggerate facts and numbers.[411]

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[407] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 11. For a recent translation of the *Patria*, see: Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*.
[408] *Coprus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. Another compendium of Byzantine authors, published from 1648 onwards.
[409] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 14-15.
[410] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 15.
[411] Byzantios, *Constantinople,* 16. This is another indication of Byzantios's secularist, enlightened perspective.

As for the work's specialized interest in the material and spatial aspects of the city, Byzantios states that most of these authors were not reliable in that respect, either due to their contradictory information or the rapid change of urban topography in the city and subsequent loss of evidence.

Byzantios also expresses his criticism for his *homogeneis.*[412] As previously mentioned, he complains about the lack of interest by the Greeks in the history of the city, except for the previously mentioned example of Meletios of Athens.
Unlike Kōnstantios, he refers to the eighteenth-century poem, *Bosporomachia* as the first topographical work on Constantinople in Greek but criticizes it for its Greek-Turkic hybrid language.[413] The *Bosporomachia,* which literally meant the 'quarrel of the Bosphorus', was a work in verse by Signor Gaspard Ludwig Momartz, dragoman of the Austrian Embassy to Constantinople. It basically narrates the "struggle of East and West for the beauty of Constantinople, by personifying the Asian and European shores of the Bosporus as two sisters in contest".[414] The *Bosporomachia,* which still did not fulfill Byzantios's expectations of 'his people' was followed by the *Kōnstantinias.*[415] According to Byzantios, the learned author of the *Kōnstantinias* was the first to undertake an organized description of the city and its environs.[416]

3.4.2 A source of inspiration: Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall

Leaving unreliable sources aside, other works served as valuable sources of knowledge and inspiration for Byzantios. Besides the comprehensive works of

[412] Literally meaning "people of same origin", used to refer to Byzantios's contemporary Greek intellectuals.
[413] See: Tsilenis&Dafna, "Senyor Momars'ın Vosporomachia Adlı Yunanca Şiirinde Türkçe Kelimeler ve 18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Tasviri". Also see Mackridge, "The Delights of Constantinople in Eighteenth-Century Greek Literature."
[414] Tsilenis&Dafna, "Senyor Momars'ın Vosporomachia Adlı Yunanca Şiirinde Türkçe Kelimeler ve 18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Tasviri".
[415] See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the *Kōnstantinias.*
[416] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 295.

Gyllius and Le Chevalier, the most significant among them seems to have been the book of Austrian historian, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (Figure 20) (1774-1856, hereafter Hammer) entitled *Constantinople und der Bosporos,* which to a certain extent provides a model for Byzantios.[417]

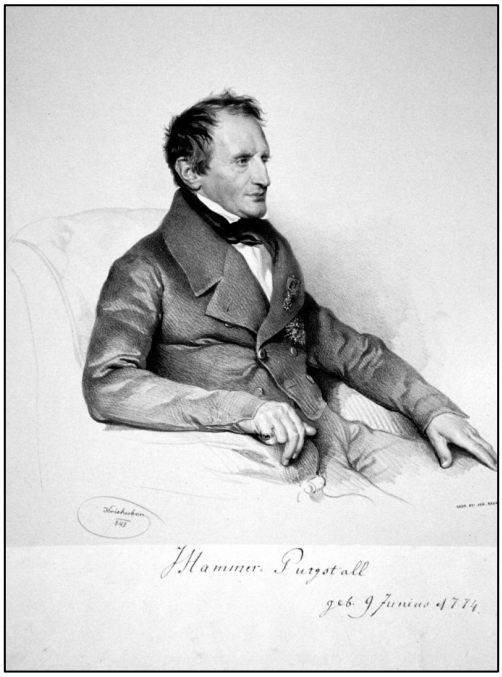


Figure 20. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Lithograph by Josef Kriehuber, 1843 https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/10/Hammer_Purgstall.jpg

Hammer was the well-known author of the one of the most impressive histories on the Ottoman Empire.[418] He was a diplomat and orientalist who had worked in Constantinople. He studied oriental languages in Vienna's Orientalische Akademie for ten years, just before coming to Constantinople as a translator in 1789. After a short stay, he left the city for Egypt and Britain. He returned to Constantinople in 1802 and stayed until 1806.[419] Thanks to his education, he knew

[417] Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*. From here on, I will refer to the Turkish translation: Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi.*
[418] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches.*
[419] TV İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, Vol. 3, 545. He also published his memories from his stay in Constantinople. See: Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben: 1774-1852*. I am grateful to Burak Karahanoğlu and Ufuk Ergin for their kind help in reading the memoire.

the languages of the Orient: Turkish, Arabic and Persian, together with the Western ones including Greek and Latin. He had command of more than ten languages in total.[420] Thanks to his linguistic skills, he had mastered many sources from both Western and Eastern cultural traditions. Ahmet Ersoy rightly describes Hammer's *History of the Ottoman Empire* as one of the major texts that paved the way for the construction of Ottoman historiography in the course of the nineteenth century.[421] However, besides his major compilation and his translation of the travels of Evliya Çelebi into English,[422] Hammer is rarely credited for his work on the urban context of Istanbul.[423] His translation-summary of Ayvansarayi's *Garden of Mosques*, as a part of his larger *Ottoman History* project, together with his documentation of some Istanbul institutions and their buildings is more widely known when compared to his *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*. His two-volume study on the history and present conditions of Constantinople was published in 1822 in Pest and is recognized as the first comprehensive work on late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century Constantinople.[424]

3.4.2.1 *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*

Hammer's *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos* (Figure 21) displays an encyclopedic and historicist approach to Constantinople, akin to that of Byzantios. His perspective of the city is likewise an all-embracing one. He rules out no period from the city's millenia-long history nor any social aspect, high or low. In his preface, Hammer

[420] Ortaylı, "Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph Freiherr von," 494.
[421] Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins," 123. For a Turkish analysis of Hammer and his impact on the Ottoman Historiography see Somel, "Osmanlı Tarihi Sahasında Türkçe Başvuru Eserler: Akademik ve Siyasal Bir Durum Tespiti."
[422] Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa.*
[423] Another rarely credited work of his is the *Topographical Views collected on a trip to the Levant* (*Topographische Ansichten Gesammelt auf Einer Reise in die Levante*).
[424] In this study, I use a very recent translation of Hammer into Modern Turkish. Interestingly I was unable to locate an earlier version, or one in Ottoman Turkish.

reveals the holistic approach of his comprehensive work and states that anyone with an earlier knowledge of the previous literature on Constantinople, would appreciate the novelty and value of his work.[425]

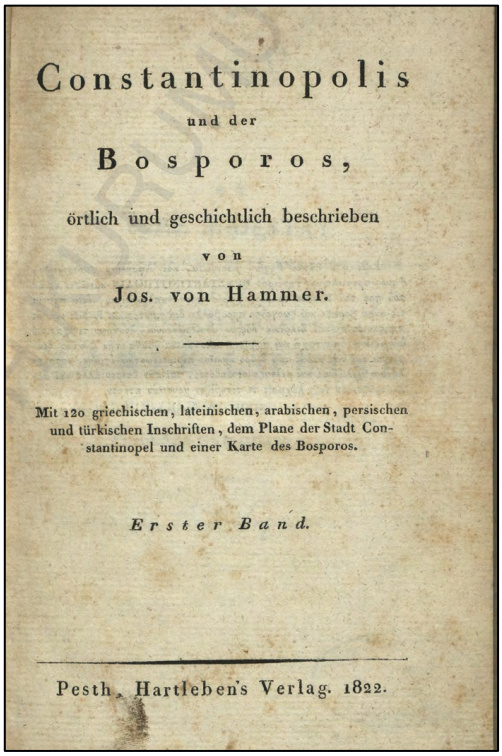

Constantinopolis
und der
Bosporos,
örtlich und geschichtlich beschrieben
von
Jos. von Hammer.
Mit 120 griechischen, lateinischen, arabischen, persischen und türkischen Inschriften, dem Plane der Stadt Constantinopel und einer Karte des Bosporos.
Erster Band.
Pesth, Hartleben's Verlag. 1822.

Figure 21. The cover of *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos* by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall
Türk Tarih Kurumu Library Online Archive

Hammer's study is based on empirical data, compiling them form earlier works and appropriately revising them through his own, *in-situ* observations. A significant type of sources that he extensively utilized were travelogues. He studied all these earlier travel accounts, which he had classified according to nationality, as Italian, German or French. He combined these with Byzantine and Ottoman sources, as well as several of his own visits to the sites of the city and its environs in order to make his own observations and analyze the relations and rules of etiquette amongst

[425] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* xxv.

the inhabitants of the city's neighborhoods. He strove to discover the customs and traditions of the Ottomans and the history of their state and administration. His list of travel accounts from different languages mostly dated around late seventeenth and eighteenth century, reflects the aforementioned rise of travel literature and its links to antiquarian empiricist inquiry. Yet, Hammer made an important distinction between travelers who included Istanbul in the long list of places they visited and those who came with the explicit purpose of reviewing the city. This, in turn, entailed a crucial distinction between those who had a focus on Constantinople and those who did not.[426]

In this light, it is telling that Hammer emphasized the great use he made of his two periods of residence in Constantinople, one for seven months and another for a period of four years.[427] He asserts that the significance and success of his work comes from the fact that he devoted long walks within the city, as well as, on the shores of Bosporus on every possible occasion, usually with Kauffer's short guide in hand, which he included as an appendix to his own work.[428]

Like Byzantios, Hammer also commences his first volume with a broader description of the geographical position, its climate, and other natural aspects such as its products, followed by the urban spaces, squares, streets, major buildings such as the palace and other public official buildings and monuments, mosques, churches etc. He begins from a broader picture and step by step zooms on the spatial and material aspects of these structures. Through such an approach, he tries to include almost every major building, infrastructure and urban void in his work. The first volume

[426] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* xxii. This differentiation may also be read as an implicit distinction between the antiquarians and others, who do not pay particular attention to the urban history of the city.
[427] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* xxiv- xxviii.
[428] Presumably he meant Kauffer's map.

ends with the inscriptions of a great number of monuments which he studied in detail. He states that he devoted a great deal of time and effort to the study of these inscriptions during his visits to the sites.[429]

The second volume of *Constantinople und der Bosporos* includes a section on the extra-mural city, including neighborhoods such as Büyükçekmece, Eyüb, Alibeyköy, and Hasköy. It follows the seashore on the northern side of the Golden Horn until Galata and Pera and moves to the shores of Bosporus all the way up to the Black Sea, just as Byzantios and Kōnstantios did, then returns from the Asian shore through Üsküdar to Chalcedon, and ends with the Princes Islands.

It is of interest that the book was reviewed in certain journals in Europe as early as in 1822 and 1823, i.e. almost simultaneously with its first edition. This might indicate an acknowledgment of the value of the work by European intellectual circles, which given Hammer's profile should not come as a surprise. Educated in Vienna, he was especially well-connected in German-speaking intellectual circles. His exceptional language skills allowed him to synthesize a vast array of sources from different languages, while through his position in the Austrian Embassy of Constantinople he may be seen as the agent of a European expatriate intellectual community, active in close proximity to Ottoman intellectual circles.

3.4.2.2 Hammer vs. Byzantios: A comparison

Starting from their shared method of knowledge acquisition – one based on the near-exhaustive evaluation of earlier accounts followed by personal *in-situ* observations – a series of common aspects seem to connect the works of Hammer and Byzantios

[429] Although the original German version of his work includes Ottoman Turkish inscriptions from Ottoman structures together with the Greek and Latin inscriptions from Byzantine structures, the recent modern Turkish translation I mostly consulted here, excludes the Greek and Latin ones.

respectively. More precisely, these commonalities seem to suggest that Hammer served as an influential model and source for Byzantios. The comprehensive content, sources, route of descriptions, focus on the city and several other features of the two books display a striking similarity of approach. This resemblance and Byzantios's conscious and deliberate choice to follow Hammer in his own encyclopedic compilation allow us to connect Hammer himself to the aforementioned Constantinopolitan network with Byzantios serving as a node. Thus, a parallel investigation of both works might reveal understudied aspects of the 'encyclopedic' approach to Constantinople and their larger impact on the aforementioned network.

Given Byzantios's heavy reliance on Hammer's work, it is no surprise that the two authors utilize almost the same source material. As their sources are similar, their attitude towards these sources is equally critical. Despite their immense value, reputation and status, the seminal works of the likes of Gyllius, Du Cagne or Banduri fell short of satisfying the expectations of either Hammer or Byzantios and their search for a 'truthful' history of the city.[430] Hammer claims, and Byzantios agrees, that almost none of the earlier accounts on Constantinople had consulted Byzantine sources. The few who had, such as Gyllius and Du Cagne had not always understood them correctly.[431] Hammer also asserts that certain sections that praise the achievements of the Byzantines were added to the narrative by the Ottoman administrators.[432]

[430] The references given by Hammer himself are as follows: Du Cagne, *Constantinopolis Christiana seu: Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, 1682; Banduri, *Imperium Orientale, Sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae,* 1711.
[431] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* xxv.
[432] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* xxv. Unfortunately, Hammer does not explicitly identify his "Ottoman administration sources" and adds that although these additions were not directly topographical but they were still of use due to the direct relation between time and space.

A telling difference between the two authors' utilization of sources however pertains to their linguistic capacities. For instance, Byzantios does not refer to any source in Turkish other than *Evliya Çelebi,* which he had apparently accessed through the references and translations of Hammer,[433] whereas in Hammer's study, one can see the references to his translations from the *Seyahatname* of Evliya Çelebi, *Tacü't-Tevarih* of Hoca Saadeddin, or the *Şehrengiz* of Yahya bey.[434] Thanks to these translations of the polyglot Hammer which had made many Ottoman sources available, Byzantios refers to Hammer's translations extensively. So, the role of Hammer in this aspect is not only utilization of diverse sources but also bridging certain linguistic gaps and providing links between different intellectual traditions.[435]

Besides their sources, the very first impression made to the reader of both works side by side is the similarities observable in their content and flow of information. As we have seen, both authors begin with a broader description of the city, with its geographical and natural aspects before moving to its topography. They describe the land and seas of the city, together with the Golden Horn and the Bosporus, as well as its rivers and valleys, followed by a section on the climate conditions, and several other natural factors, such as winds.

Geography played a twofold role in urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople: one is the geography of the city itself, defined by the land, seas, straits, bays and rivers of the city. The majority of the literature focuses on the

[433] Only in the section concerning the Hagia Sophia: Byzantios, *Constatinople,* 483, 509, compared with Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* 203, 207, respectively.
[434] Hammer also adds the German translation of some verses of Yahya Bey's *Şehrengiz:* Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinople und der Bosporos*, 6-8. These works which form part of the early modern literature on Constantinople, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
[435] Here the transformation is mostly from the Ottoman sources to the Greek ones through German. The reverse will be seen, this time through Francophone intellectuals of late nineteenth century such as Mordtmann. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 4.

geography of the city, following in the steps of early Renaissance antiquarians such as Petrarch, Poggio of Biondo.

The second role attributed to the geography of Constantinople, said to set it apart from other capital cities and to produce its macroform, had also been acknowledged by earlier authors, such as Gyllius.[436] This pertained to the 'natural' supremacy of Constantinople's geography over other surrounding geographies, such as that of the Black Sea, through its control of the only gate to and from the Black Sea and of the corresponding trade.[437] After all, Constantinople's relationship with the water that surrounds it is especially striking, since, unlike most European cities, it does not merely pass through the city but also encircles it from all sides, thus defining the nature of its trade, location of harbors, location of the neighborhoods and even its spatial distribution.

Both authors devote significant chapters of their work to the buildings of the city and its tenants: humans, animals, plants and their peculiarities. When it comes to certain structures of the city, the authors mostly portray a common attitude towards those structures in terms of attention or focus. They both devote significant part of their work to certain major monuments like Hagia Sophia. Their description of Constantinople provides a broad perspective and systematization of knowledge based on a certain level of hierarchy. This hierarchical organization is shaped by the imperial vision of the city as a capital and starts exactly from the administrative center, where the heart of the city is considered to be located.

Nevertheless, despite similarities in their sources, methods, subject matter and structure, upon closer inspection the two works reveal a series of differences in

[436] Gyllius, *The Antiquities of Constantinople,* 2.
[437] The 'geopolitical' importance of the city, which seems to be acknowledged as early as in the sixteenth century, is a well-established category for the city even in our present day.

nuance and focus, not to mention outright disagreements. For instance, while describing the walls, both authors extensively describe the sieges of the city that took place in their immediate surroundings. And yet the details of the list of gates each author gives differ significantly in the two accounts. When compared to Hammer's detailed information, Byzantios's offered little more than a list of names. In the same section, Hammer extensively describes the Ottoman repairs on the walls, while Byzantios mention only a few. The major repair activity on the walls, according to Hammer, was carried out during the period of Ahmed III, costing 227.748 *para* and taking three years to complete.[438]

Another such significant point of divergence between Hammer and Byzantios lies in their approach to the churches that had been converted to mosques. As mentioned above, Byzantios does not deal with the conversion in any detail other than a quick note, whereas Hammer enquires into the actors and the results of the conversion, including some key changes in the architectural features, such as unaligned location of the *mihrab* (prayer niche).[439]

A close reading of the two works also betrays the difference of their respective audiences as well as their own stand within the context of Istanbul. Much like Kōnstantios, Byzantios choses to emphasize the 'Greekness' of the city through a clear focus on its Greek aspects, such as the very foundation of the city as a Greek colony and its 're-foundation' by the Roman emperors. Hammer, on the other hand, an Orientalist well-versed in languages and literatures of the East, offers a more balanced narrative, also anchored on Ottoman sources and replete with valuable 'insider's' information, made for the first time available to 'outsiders.'

[438] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* 51.
[439] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* 219.

3.4.2.3 Visualizing the antiquarian inquiry: The role of images

A distinctive category that results in significant convergence between Hammer's and Byzantios's work, is their utilization of visual representations of the city. Especially the importance placed in providing an accurate map of the city constitutes an important feature of both works. Hammer, and Byzantios had both utilized the seminal map of François Kauffer, *Plan de la Ville de Constantinople et de ses Faubourgs,*[440] an extremely important, early specimen of a plan of Constantinople 'adjusted to scale', produced around the end of the eighteenth century.[441] Kauffer's map was made to accompany the antiquarian research of the French Ambassador, Choiseul-Gouffier, with whom he had arrived at Constantinople.[442] Accordingly, it marked all the ancient sites and major monuments still visible and hence was very useful for successive studies such as those by Hammer or Byzantios:[443]

Although Byzantios had utilized the map of Kauffer (Figure 22), he actually updated it with certain details which had transpired in the meantime:

> On the map of Constantinople produced by Kauffer and Le Chevalier, a pillar ([Fr.]*pile*) of that bridge is noted in the northern part of the river, which suggests that the bridge used to be much further below than its contemporary counterpart.[444]

However, he does not refer to the map very often or include any fractions from it in his actual text. Instead, the maps accompanied the compilations as a supplement, where their utility depended on the reader's willingness or capacity for map-reading.

[440] Dufour, *Plan de Constantinople et de ses Faubourgs et d'Une Partie du Bosphore.*
[441] Manners, Ian. *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World,* 78*;* Pedley, *Kauffer and the Survey of Constantinople,* 29.
[442] Pedley, "Enlightenment Cartography at the Sublime Porte: François Kauffer and the Survey of Constantinople," 52.
[443] Pedley, "Enlightenment Cartography at the Sublime Porte: François Kauffer and the Survey of Constantinople," 49.
[444] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 826.



Figure 22. The map of Constantinople by Kauffer, published by Skarlatos Byzantios
IFEA Istanbul Archives, Map Collection

While already acknowledged by his predecessors, Hammer was in fact the first author to emphasize the role of eighteenth-century visitors to the city as forerunners to an emerging visual genre. Antiquarian practice, besides the artefacts, also focused on their visual representation.[445] According to Schnapp, it was Bianchini who first underlined the centrality of utilizing images in antiquarian inquiry.[446] Illustrations enabled the antiquarian to reproduce the objects, monuments or landscapes under investigation and make them readily available for further study.[447] Likewise, the maps acknowledged the information gathered on urban

[445] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, 186.
[446] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*, 186-188. Yet Schnapp also adds that, his rigid utilization of the images was problematic, which led him to confuse image with symbol. Though he still acknowledges his participation to the inclusion of iconography alongside numismatics and epigraphy.
[447] Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past,* 237.

topography. Especially maps like Kauffer's, that is maps drawn with an explicitly antiquarian interest, were extremely useful in that sense.

In addition to Kauffer's maps, Byzantios placed a large number of plates scattered through the three volumes, including certain monuments such as the İncili Köşk (Figure 23) or the Hagia Sophia, portraits of Emperors (Figure 24), Sultans, the Edirnekapı Gate (Figure 25), in the first volume, or some characteristic 'types' of inhabitants in the third volume.

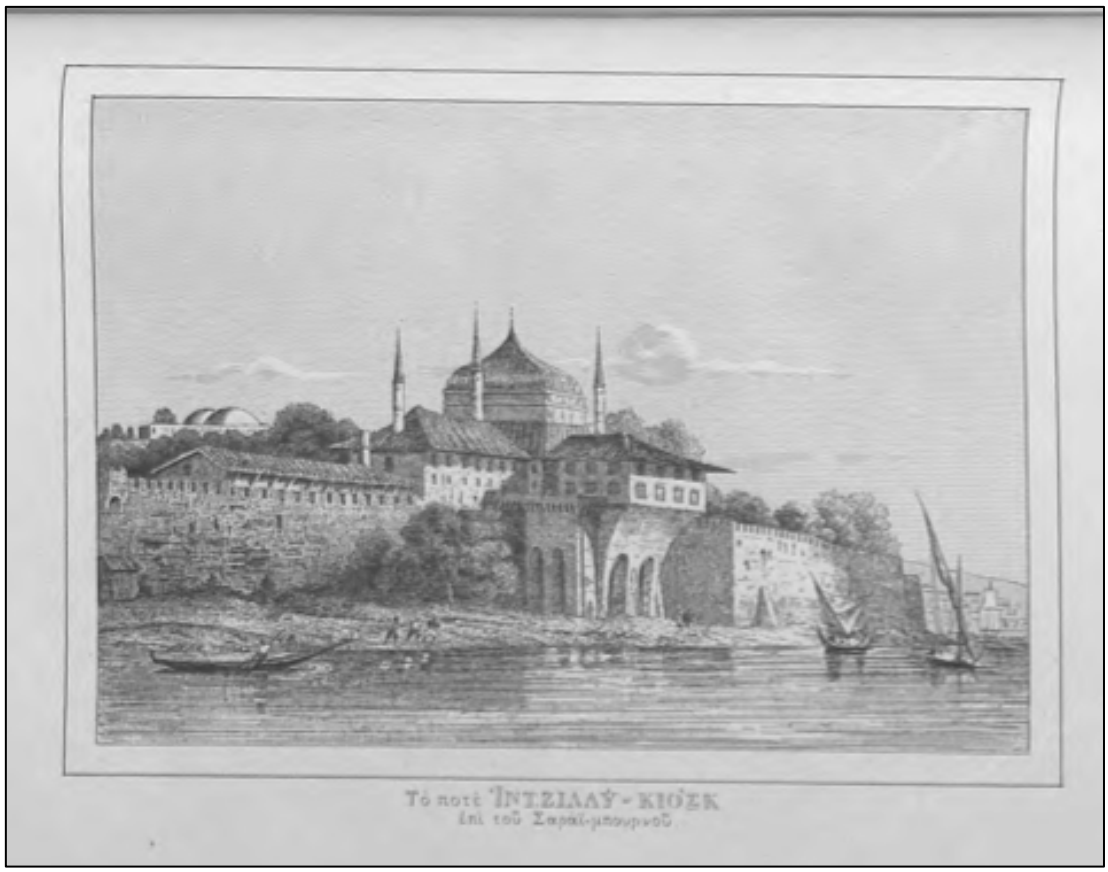


Figure 23. İncili Köşk
Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 1.

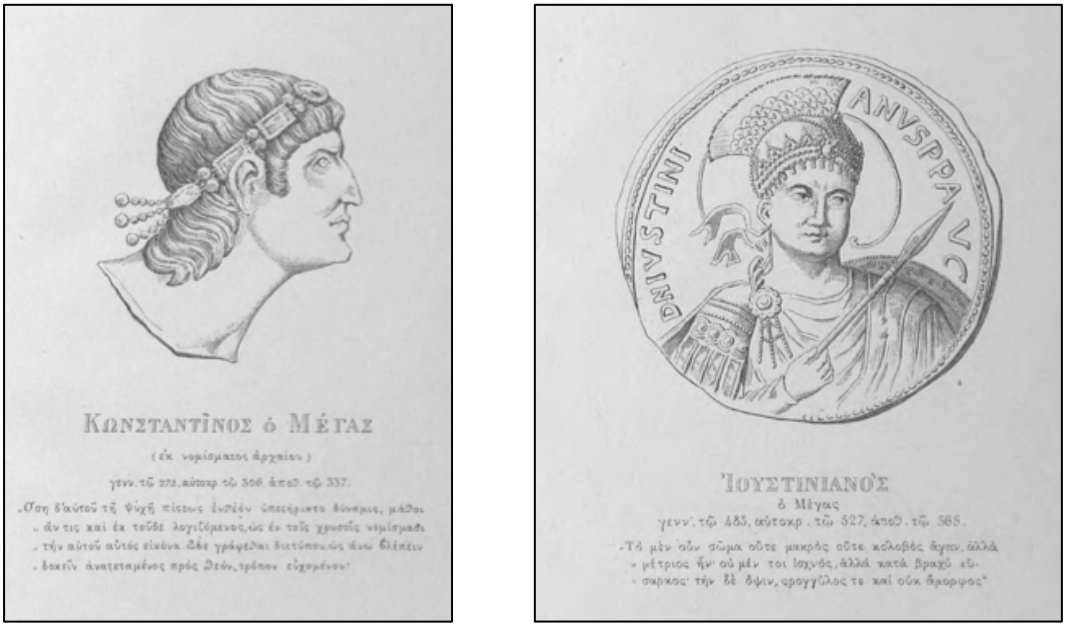


Figure 24. Emperors Constantine the Great & Justinianos
Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 1.



Figure 25. The Edirnekapı Gate
Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis,* Vol. 1.

Byzantios makes it clear that the images were meaningful and intentional rather than randomly chosen. He claims to have chosen them for their accuracy rather than for their aesthetic value, since his work's priority was to further elucidate 'the truth'.[448] The search for accuracy in the maps and the utilization of images as an index of the truth for the objects and artifacts to be described within the antiquarian literature, is an eighteenth-century phenomenon.[449] While not a specifically eighteenth-century novelty, cartography was for the first time being utilized to represent the 'truth' pertaining to unseen antique lands, in accordance with the novel search for accuracy developed with the Enlightenment.[450] The power of images and maps also accompanies antiquarian interest, which had required truthful visualizations of the lands and their material remnants under investigation.

Unlike Byzantios, none of the editions of Kōnstantios's work contain any images, despite the fact that some of them are actually much later reprints. Hammer on the other hand, did not use any other images than the maps in his *Constantinople und der Bosporos.* However, in his earlier work *Topographical Views,* he had utilized many drawings of antiquities such as sarcophagi scattered around the territories he had visited. It is worth noting that despite the early arrival of photography in the Ottoman lands, the dissemination of image-making techniques such as lithography and the subsequent rise of photography as a tool for antiquarian research before its transformation into the field of archaeology in the late nineteenth century, photographic depictions were not employed by any of the authors discussed here.

[448] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 32.
[449] Manners, *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 78.* Maps of antiquarian interest is actually a phenomenon of the Renaissance. What is novel in the eighteenth century is the quest for increased map accuracy.
[450] Manners, *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 78.*

3.4.2.4 Antiquarian topography vs. history

One last issue on which Byzantios and Hammer appear to have shared similar perspectives was the idea of sound topographical knowledge as a prerequisite for 'proper' historiography. I have already underlined Byzantios's perspective on the relation of history and geography. Hammer also argues that significant historical events such as the sieges of Constantinople, or major events such as earthquakes or fires should be taken into account. According to him, these details, while being the subject of history rather than topography, are equally important due to the inherent connection between time and space.[451]

This inter-connection of time and space as underlined by Hammer was widely acknowledged by the antiquarian literature. The significant transformation of antiquarianism also went hand in hand with the secularization of both time and space during the Enlightenment. Space and travel, as the inquiry of space, had gained a secular dimension,[452] as it now extended beyond the traditional, sacred purpose of pilgrimage. In time, the notion of space transformed from an understanding based on the geography of faith to one revolving around the geography of human achievements.[453] In this sense time and space were by now closely intertwined.

The antiquarian literature in general, speaks about the 'topography' of the city. While denoting the physical conditions of an urban setting, including its natural aspects included, topography technically refers to the "recording/writing of a place".[454] It is the registering of space with a certain identity or value, which amounts to something more than the mere geography it lies upon: "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with

[451] Hammer-Purgstall, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* XXV.
[452] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 89.
[453] Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution,* 92.
[454] Liddell & Scott, "Topos."

value.*"*[455] In this perspective, 'place-making' is the meaning attributed to certain parts of a given topography, as in the example of the 'land walls' perceived as the site of the apocalyptic 'last fall'. This transformation of geography into topography, or space into place constituted the core of the urban antiquarian interest examined here.

3.5 Conclusion

> What was ancient Constantinople like, that is, the city of Constantine and Justinian that has now disappeared, leaving behind only an impression of a skeleton? How can one recreate the effect of greatness produced by the extensive, promenades, the immense columns, the golden-hued domes of so many churches, monasteries and palaces, when Valens' Aqueduct ([Tur.]Bozdoğan-kemeri) alone, the half-surviving backbone of this skeleton, makes such a forceful and magnificent impression on the beholder? What would have been the effect of the vast Hippodrome, featuring twenty-four columns, only six of which survived and were admired by Gyllius, packed with statutes made by the great masters of antiquity? One may try to imagine this effect, without ever managing to actually depict it, since no worthwhile representation has been passed down to us.[456]

Writing about the history of any city – not to mention Constantinople – is a tempting and ambitious project. Since Antiquity, it has become a subject of many works by people who had either lived or hardly visited the city in question. In time, the sum of these works amounted to a substantial body of literature. One very early example of this genre comes from the tenth-century and is known as the *Patria.* It was a compilation of four books, presumably by the same, anonymous author. It gives substantive detail on the history of the city, its administration and structures. It actually constituted a model even for Petrus Gyllius in the sixteenth century:

> Under Alexis [sic] Comnenus, another anonymous religious writer composed four volumes on the antiquities of Constantinople. In his world, he divides the city into three principal parts, and give a description of the temples, monuments and other edifices which it contained. His style is diffuse and

[455] Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place,* "Introduction."
[456] Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 38.

> disconnected, his descriptions are without order and very often filled with errors.[457]

Remedying precisely these perceived deficiencies, of the *Patria*, its loose structure, penchant for legends, inaccurate phrasing, disregard for consistency and factual detail or 'truthfulness' would precisely set the tone for the post-Renaissance transformation of urban antiquarian literature.

This chapter, together with the previous one had explored two major Greek works on Constantinople, composed around the early- and mid-nineteenth century. It was not only their linguistic medium but also their relationship with the preceding and subsequent literature on the city, that required their joint discussion in this first part. The two works studied here constitute important examples within this intellectual lineage. While much earlier than the remaining nodes of the Constantinopolitan network, their utilization within the network, and their endurance throughout the period that this study focuses on made them particular nodes of the network. These two major compilations, with their focus on the material remnants of the city, their close attention to its buildings, monuments and ruins, form a significant branch of an intellectual network that came into existence through the agency of these physical elements of urban space. Their inquiries focus on the 'truthful' testimonies offered by these remains of a certain historical past. Therefore, they not only provide the necessary links to the Constantinopolitan network with the preceding antiquarian literature on Constantinople but also pave the ground for a novel perspective on the historical context of the city.[458]

Despite the chronological proximity and similar approaches to the city, the works of Byzantios and Kōnstantios actually reflect very different outcomes.

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[457] Kōnstantios*, Ancient and Modern Constantinople,* 24.
[458] Particularly for Paspatēs.

Kōnstantios follows the most initial version of this genre, exemplified by Gyllius, whereas Byzantios develops a more comprehensive study, that was more or less in line with the 'encyclopedist' spirit of the Enlightenment, whereby truthful information should be collected to its fullest, and therefore seems to utilize the methodology of Ranke and to take Hammer as his model. One other difference between Byzantios and Kōnstantios may be found in their utilization of sources. Unlike Kōnstantios, whose sources were mostly confined in Greco-Roman authors, Byzantios utilized almost every possible extant source of literature within his reach. Sources that Byzantios was unable to utilize due to the limits of his linguistic skills, including Turkish ones, were also absent from Kōnstantios's narrative, contrary to one's expectations of a "learned patriarch" of Constantinople as an intellectual with at least a working knowledge of literary Ottoman Turkish.

Another major departure in Byzantios's work is his approach towards the Byzantine Empire and his employment of the phrase 'Byzantine Period' or 'Byzantine Emperors' (Βυζαντινῶν χρόνων, Βυζαντινών Αὐτοκρατόρων) as a definitive term instead of Kōnstantios's "period of the Caesars/emperors," also reflected in the Ottoman Turkish editions of the *Kōnstantinias*. We have already discussed above the transformation of the role played by the Byzantine Empire in Greek national identity formation as early as the eighteenth century. Without explicitly referring to "a period of the Byzantine Empire," Kōnstantios referred to the age of Caesars as 'our' age. So, parallel to what Myrogiannis asserted, we saw the impact of a continuous perspective through the history of Constantinople. In this manner, Kōnstantios made use of the history of the city and its material remnants, namely through his antiquarian approach, and underlined the continuity of Greek history. The difference in Byzantios, however, comes from the terminology he

employs. He clearly underlines the period as the 'Byzantine'. This term was not an innovation of the nineteenth century. On the contrary it has been in circulation from as early as the sixteenth century. Its avoidance by Kōnstantios is therefore much more striking and meaningful that its employment by Byzantios. As we have already noted, this should not be seen as a lack of a concept for the Byzantine period of the Greek past, but rather as the absence of an established and commonly accepted Greek terminology. The only reference Kōnstantios makes to Byzantium is 'Byzantion,' the ancient name of the city.

A common aspect of these works, besides their shared focus on Constantinople, is their notion of the 'old' city, i.e., that of the Byzantine period. This effort appears to have been founded on the idea of 'our' past, as a distant, irreversibly by-gone era. The 'new' layer of Ottoman Istanbul would constitute a new city, with new layers of the urban context. The sites that remind one of this past and its irreversible character are of the outmost importance, especially evident in the case of the land walls as the site of the 'last fall' of the city.[459]

Early- and mid-nineteenth-century examples of urban antiquarian literature constituted both the background and referential nodes for the Constantinopolitan intellectual network which would develop into a major hub later in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially thanks to the efforts of Alexander G. Paspatēs. In this chapter I have discussed the literature that Paspatēs had both utilized and extensively revised. The next chapter will focus on his work and the ways in which it relayed or departed from the approaches of Byzantios and Kōnstantios respectively, allowing us to evaluate the transformative role played by Paspatēs on the urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople.

[459] The antiquarian and archaeological interest in the land walls as the site of 'the fall' will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The perception of the Byzantine Empire, the place occupied by Byzantine identity within and beyond Modern Greek identity, and transformation it underwent especially in the course of the nineteenth century, extends far beyond the scope of this dissertation. Here, my aim has been to analyze only one layer of this multi-layered discussion, by looking at scholarly interest in the material remains of the Byzantine period, the ancient and medieval the city of Constantinople and its buildings. This is basically due to the fact that, the discussion on the study of material remnants, namely the antiquarian tradition on the Byzantine Empire and specifically on Constantinople, and their parallel reading of source material from different linguistic domains, is endowed with a potential for crossing boundaries of language and identity, which would otherwise be sustained by their isolated evaluation within their own cultural context. In the case of the Greek urban antiquarian literature, which was nourished by specific hubs within this web of agencies, or networks, our approach has provided a non-exclusivist approach to the urban history of Constantinople.

PART II

FROM ANTIQUARIANISM TO URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY: ALEXANDER G. PASPATĒS AND THE *SYLLOGOS*

The second part of the dissertation focuses on the transformation of urban antiquarianism on Constantinople into urban archaeology, a process that occurred later in the nineteenth century. This transformation revolved around the utilization of earlier urban antiquarian literature as background information, and the improvement of this literature into a novel mode of knowledge production through *in-situ* research. The main actors of this research conducted on the Byzantine remnants of Constantinople, Alexander G. Paspatēs and the Greek Literary Society, or *Syllogos*, constituted two major hubs of the intellectual network that this study dwells on.

Accordingly, the two chapters in this part focus on the cases of Alexander G. Paspatēs and the *Syllogos* respectively. Through a close analysis of their research agendas, methodologies and mutual collaboration, both chapters will examine the rise of Byzantine archaeology within the urban context of Constantinople and its multifarious aspects, such as *in-situ* research or institutionalization around the second half of the nineteenth century, and particularly from the 1860s onwards.

Part I of this dissertation demonstrated that the height of urban antiquarianism coincided with, and progressed under the intellectual umbrella of the European Enlightenment and was subsequently transformed through its encounter with the rise of historicism in the early nineteenth century. Focusing on the second half of the nineteenth century, this second part analyzes the institutionalization of these antiquaries of Constantinople – as in the cases of Paspatēs and the *Syllogos,* whose work eventually turned into urban archaeological projects – and the emergence of

archaeology as a separate discipline from antiquarianism. This institutionalization was to constitute the locus of research on the historical urban context of Constantinople in the later part of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 4

AN ANTIQUARIAN IN TOWN:

ALEXANDER G. PASPATĒS AND *BYZANTINAI MELETAI*

This chapter focuses on a specific main hub and the associated nodes of the wider Constantinopolitan intellectual network that this study investigates, as well as their transformation from an urban antiquarian approach to Constantinople into an initial form of urban archaeology.

A 'hub,' may be defined as a central position within a network to which multiple links converge.[460] Within the context of the network, one such major central position was occupied by medical doctor, archeology-enthusiast and researcher, Alexander G. Paspatēs. Paspatēs had lived for more than forty years in the city of Constantinople and spent most of his time researching the city's historical texture. Besides his earlier works, the chapter primarily examines Paspatēs's *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται* (*Byzantinai Meletai - Byzantine Studies*), his well-known book on the Byzantine period of Constantinople, the culmination of his decades-long study of certain sites. Most notably, the work built on his discovery of the Anemas Tower on the Land Walls of Constantinople, his investigations of the Great Palace excavation, which was made possible after the Roumelian Railway construction, and his inquiry regarding previously "known and unknown" churches of Constantinople.[461]

Paspatēs was one of the most active researchers in nineteenth-century Constantinople. He studied different features of the city, initiated projects, collaborated with a plethora of institutions and intellectuals, and published and

[460] "The effective center of an activity, region, or network." https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/hub
[461] Paspatēs later published his findings concerning the Great Palace of the Byzantine Empire as a separate volume. See Paspatēs, *The Great Palace of Constantinople.*

disseminated the outcome of his work in different formats. Accordingly, his work influenced many succeeding intellectuals and resulted in a general rise of accumulated knowledge, especially concerning the historical material texture of the city. In a certain sense, he laid the foundations for the rise of Byzantine Studies within the context of the Constantinopolitan intellectual milieu. Therefore, his position as a 'hub' in this network was not solely contingent upon his prolific activity in Constantinople, but also upon the influence of his work on other actors, intellectuals, and institutions and their subsequent contributions to an understanding of the historical texture of Constantinople, as well as on the transformation and rise of research on the city's Byzantine remnants. In this sense, Paspatēs may rightly be considered a pioneer, a 'game changer' in the field.

Relying to a great extent on the preceding urban/antiquarian literature, including the books by Patriarch Kōnstantios and Skarlatos Byzantios, Paspatēs utilized the accumulated body of knowledge to develop a proactive engagement with the urban context of Constantinople. He also furthered his studies through his *in-situ* investigations. Indeed, he visited several sites around the city accompanied by professionals such as painters or architects, and induced them to produce images and drawings of these sites. Furthermore, he collected and analyzed materials such as stones and bricks from these same sites all around the city. He compiled as much data as he could and studied it in light of earlier literature on the same sites. On some occasions his findings confirmed those earlier works, while on others he produced his own novel discoveries.

Besides the knowledge he produced, Paspatēs placed the utmost importance on his methods of research, especially his *in-situ* investigations. Moreover, as a member of one of the city's historic communities, he claimed the right and the

responsibility for *in-situ* investigations of the city both for himself and for his ὁμογενεῖς (*homogeneis*).[462] At numerous points throughout the book, he underlines the importance of his and his *homogeneis'* potential contribution to the scholarship of Byzantine Studies, by virtue of having easier access to the sites in Constantinople as well as to the language of Byzantine sources, namely Greek. In a sense, he promoted the localization of research on Byzantine Constantinople and the increase in numbers of 'indigenous' actors in Byzantine scholarship.

Paspatēs's *in-situ* research constituted a new development within the urban antiquarian literature on Constantinople, particularly within the city itself, as far as Greek-language scholarship was concerned. Although there had been emerging research on the existing monuments of the Byzantine period, especially on the Hagia Sophia, by European scholars such as Salzenberg,[463] the search for the 'unknown' and 'unseen' aspects of that texture remained a novelty in Constantinople around the mid-nineteenth century. This included both the underground, 'unknown' remnants of Byzantine structures, such as the Great Palace, which was uncovered thanks to the railway excavations in the 1870s, and the discovery of the Anemas Tower within the Land Walls, as well as the 'unseen' ones, such as lesser-known churches, which had escaped the scrutiny of scholars since they had been converted into mosques at some point in the past.

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[462] "*Homogeneis* ("members of the same *genos* or descent") is a popular usage that recognizes the historical bonds of Turkey's Greek Orthodox community to Hellenism without jeopardizing their position as rightful members of the Turkish body politic (Theodorelis-Rigas, "Identity, Informal Institutions and Collective Action," 66)." For a detailed discussion on the connotations of the term *genos* see Theodorelis-Rigas, "Identity, Informal Institutions and Collective Action," 64-66.

[463] The architect Wilhelm Salzenberg came to Constantinople under the orders of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV (r. 1840-1861) and published the first archaeological study on the church of Hagia Sophia). Salzenberg, Paul, Kortüm, & Wilhelm, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert.* Also see Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950*, 33. For a detailed inquiry on the studies of Hagia Sophia in the nineteenth century, see Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950,* 2004. Also see Kılıç-Yıldız, "Byzantium Between 'East' and 'West.'" Kılıç-Yıldız's work inquires into the position of the Byzantine period within the rising literature of architectural historical surveys in Europe in the nineteenth century.

At this historical juncture, the work of Paspatēs represented a significant phase in the rise of *in-situ* investigation of the material past, of antiquarianism and its conversion into a novel mode of knowledge production in the nineteenth century, namely archaeology. This transformation was to take a more structured shape with the institutionalization of the research initiated by Paspatēs, as exemplified in the case of the *Syllogos*, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Paspatēs's education, language capacity, the research he had conducted and the new knowledge he had acquired provided the foundation for future scholarly forays into the field.

Archaeology as a mode of reckoning with the material remnants of the past had been actually embedded within antiquarianism since the Renaissance. The alteration of early modern antiquarianism involved the development of more advanced and systematized modes and techniques in archaeology, such as traveling to these sites, expeditions or the excavation or recovery of sites from the ground, their detailed measurement and recording. The nineteenth century, however, inaugurated an important change in the methodology, namely the introduction of stratigraphy and typology, that is the classification and comparison of items under study, according to time and type, as opposed to the mere amassing of a collection. This would ultimately result in the rise of archaeology as a separate discipline, which became institutionalized and professionalized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In this study, however, the aim is not to draw strict lines of comparison between antiquarianism and archaeology, but rather to investigate and underline the modes of transformation that had eventually resulted in the rise of archaeological methods as were exemplified in the case of Paspatēs and his study of the Byzantine texture of Constantinople. In this chapter, my aim is to discuss the change in the

methods of inquiry as promoted by Paspatēs, i.e. from a form of antiquarian curiosity into a proactive and methodical form of archaeological investigation, which would lay the ground for the eventual rise of Byzantine archaeology.

4.1 The Life of Paspatēs

An article in the Athenian daily newspaper *Acropolis* on 15 December 1891 announced the death of Paspatēs in the following words:

> Our famous wise scientist, Alexander Paspatēs died the day before yesterday and was buried yesterday. His funeral procession commenced from his house in Lykavitos Street at 10:30, where a great crowd had gathered. […] Many respected people of our community […] attended the funeral of this wise man, who was a famous scientist, a doctor and a Byzantinist and […] knew 16 languages, including classical and modern European languages, Greek, Turkish and Persian, Arabic, Syriac and Sanskrit among others.[464]

Alexander Geōrgios Paspatēs (Figure 26) was an Ottoman Greek who was born in Chios in 1814.[465] He studied medicine in Italy and worked as a doctor at the Balıklı-Yedikule Greek Hospital in Constantinople around the mid-nineteenth century. Concurrently, he started his career as a researcher of Constantinople, a career which he continued even after leaving the city in 1882 for Athens, where he died in 1891.

The Paspatēs family was one of the oldest, noble families of Chios island. According to Argenti, their origins were from Karaman in Asia Minor.[466] The first name registered in the church records of the island was that of Kirykos Paspatēs in 1612.[467] Geōrgios (1761-1818), father of Alexander, was the family's oldest

[464] See Appendix H for the original page.
[465] Chrysovelōnēs, *Chios kai Chioi dia mesou tōn aiōnōn,* 68-69; Blachos, "Alexandros Paspatēs (1814-1891)," 185.
[466] Argenti, *Libro d'oro de la noblesse de Chio*, 92.
[467] Argenti, *Libro d'oro de la noblesse de Chio*, 92. Zolōtas gives the same date as 1630: Zolōtas, *Historia Tēs Chiou,* 746.

offspring and had married Maria (1774-1858), the daughter of Michael Skylitsēs in 1793.[468]

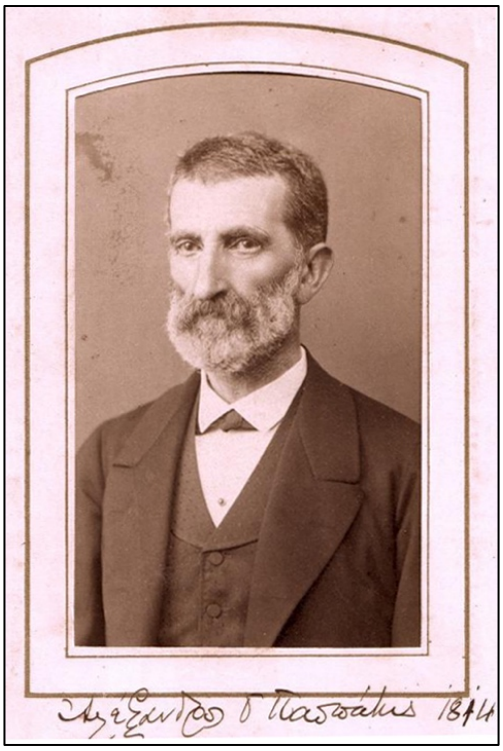


Figure 26. Alexander G. Paspatēs
http://www.agelastos.com/genealogy/photos/Alexandros%20Paspatis%20%281814%20-%201891%29.jpg

While Geōrgios had spent most of his life in Constantinople, dealing in the silk trade, the rest of his family resided in Chios. Alexander was born in 1814 as the seventh of eight children: four boys and four girls, named Zenobi – Zinovia, (b.1795), Baru – Batou (b.1798), Fuenka (b.1799), Michail (b.1804), Philippos (b.1806), Angeru – Agerou (b.1808), Alexander (b.1814), and Nikolaos (b.1815).[469] When he was 4, his father died at the age of 57 in Tatavla (today's Kurtuluş) and he was buried in the cemetery of the parish church.[470] His mother, who died 40 years later in 1858, was buried in the same cemetery, next to her husband.

[468] Zolōtas, *Historia Tēs Chiou,* 746.
[469] Zolōtas, *Historia Tēs Chiou,* 746.
[470] Zolōtas, *Historia Tēs Chiou,* 746. Grosvenor, however, claims that he was killed during the Chios riots.

The father's death cast the family into trouble. The widowed Maria, who now had to raise eight children, the youngest of whom was only one years old, faced great difficulties. Yet, soon after, with the outburst of the Greek War of Independence, due to turbulent events in Chios, she left the island and eventually migrated to Malta. Alexander was brought to the slave market of Smyrna and narrowly escaped being sold by the timely intervention of his mother. Years later, Edwin Grosvenor, Paspatēs's fellow-graduate from Amherst College, in his obituary for his friend, describes these events as he had heard them from Paspatēs himself:

> After the hideous massacre of 1822, which reduced the population from 120,000 to 16,000 souls, he was exposed in the slave market of Smyrna to be sold as a slave. His father and one brother had been slain in the carnage. His mother, a woman of admirable character, but whose physical charms had faded, was despised as worthless by the brutal soldier and left at liberty. The frenzied woman wandered everywhere seeking her own, ignorant whether they were living or dead. She found her boy in the shambles of Smyrna. Dr. Paspatis has often told me how she paced back and forth before the post to which he was tied, giving only a hasty, startled look each time she passed, both being afraid to speak for fear if their relationship was known his price might be augmented beyond her ability to pay.
>
> Even to this day the pride and chief ornament of a Sciote[471] woman is the string of coins, worn on gala occasions across the forehead and handed down as heirloom from generation to generation. There are no women more chaste than the Greeks, but to lose this ancestral string is deemed by a Sciote woman a calamity only inferior to the sacrifice of her honor. Through the sack and massacre, Paspatis's mother had managed to conceal her string. Hurled from an affluent home, with nothing else to save the clothes she wore, the delicately reared lady, whose hand knew no labor, had slowly parted with coin after coin, till only two were left. But there was a glut in the slave market; the boy was sickly looking and small, and with these last two coins – worth about five dollars of our money – the mother bought her child. Giving him a stinging blow so as to forestall any possible suspicion, she led him away; but "when she got me" said Dr. Paspatis, "to a spot where no one saw us, I thought she would eat me up. In fact, she had nothing else to eat save what she managed to steal from the street dogs."[472]

[471] Meaning 'from Chios island.'
[472] Grosvenor, "A Famous Greek," Amherst College Archives. I am grateful to Mrs. Margaret Dakin, from the Archives and Special Collections of Amherst College for her kind assistance in sending these documents regarding Alexander G. Paspatēs housed in the Amherst College Archives. See Appendix I1.

A major milestone in Paspatēs's life occurred in the aftermath of this redemption by his mother, with their migration to Malta. There, the members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Malta, requested young Alexander from his family and took him to the United States for his education in 1823.[473] From 1824 until 1826 he lived in the house of Marshall P. Wilder at Bolton, Massachusetts.[474] He was sent to Mount Pleasant Preparatory School and then enrolled in Amherst College in Massachusetts. He graduated from this school in 1831, at the age of 17.

According to the annual reports by the American Board of Foreign Missionaries, Paspatēs accompanied Mr. Goodell, who was a member of the first mission to Constantinople, in 1832.[475] From the same reports we understand that Paspatēs taught Arithmetic in the Galata Lancasterian school, where mostly Greek children were educated, and over which the missionaries had exercised "immediate and entire" control.[476] Again, within the same period, he worked as coordinator and principal instructor in the Armenian Peshtimaljean Seminary in Pera, which had been opened in 27 October 1834.[477] Apparently this was not the career that Paspatēs had desired. As a result, and contrary to the wishes of the missionaries, Paspatēs left Constantinople to pursue his studies in Medicine.[478] After Paspatēs's departure, Mr.

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[473] Annual Report - ABCFM (1831), v:22, 43, 108. With him, there were eleven more Greek boys who had been recruited with Paspatēs. Their names were: Karavelles, Kavasales, Petrokokino, S. G. Galatty, P. Galatty, C.T. Ralli, P. Ralli, Perdicari, Prassus, Vlasopolos and Sophocles.
[474] Amherst College Archives. See Appendix I2; Blachos, "Alexandros Paspatēs (1814-1891)," 186
[475] Annual Report - ABCFM (1832), v:23, 67; Goodell, William (1792-1867), American missionary to the Near East. For more information on Goodell, see Goodell & Prime, *Forty years in the Turkish empire: or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell*; Yetkiner, *Amerikan Missionaries;* Yetkiner, "İstanbul'da Bir Cemaatin Doğuşu: William Goodell ve Amerikan Protestan Misyonu."
[476] Annual Report - ABCFM (1832), v:23, 37.
[477] The school had been opened with 6 students, a number which had risen to 30 by the following March, one-third of which were Greeks. Annual Report - ABCFM, (1835), p.43. Also see Yetkiner, *American Missionaries,* 164. As already noted in Chapter 2, Kōnstantios I was Patriarch at that time and he was supportive of the establishment of these schools: See Goodell, W., & Prime, E. D. G., *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell,* 180. It is highly probable that Paspatēs and Kōnstantios met in person or at least knew each other around this time.
[478] Annual Report - ABCFM, (1836), v.27, 43.

Goodell mentioned his sorrow and stated that he "is highly valued as an assistant" in his report.[479]

One of the most reliable sources for his biography is the brief letter which he sent to the Geographical Society of Paris in 1883. In this letter, Paspatēs provides a brief overview of his education and his work, together with his own photograph (Figure 27):[480]

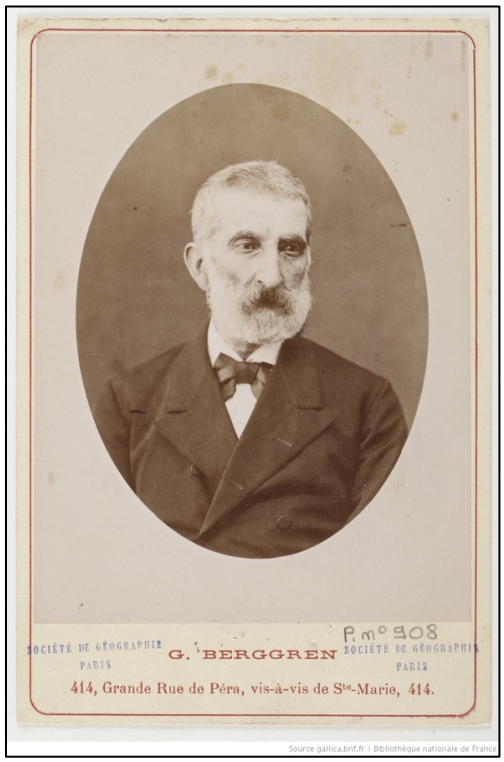


Figure 27. Photograph of Alexander G. Paspatēs by G. Berggren
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Société de Géographie, SG PORTRAIT-908

Paspati, 908
Geographical Society, Paris
Athens, 26 March 1883
Dear Sir,
I have received in Istanbul, four days ago, your letter dated 20 January 1883. I hasten to respond by sending you a photograph and a list of my works. I was born in Scio (Chios) in 1814. In 1824 I went to the United States of

[479] Annual Report - ABCFM, (1834), v.25, 45.
[480] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Société de Géographie, SG PORTRAIT-908. I am grateful to my dear friend Onur Şar for his translation from French. See Appendix J for the original document.

America to follow my studies in the College of the State of Massachusetts. In return, I followed my medical studies in Italy and Paris. In 1840, I settled in Constantinople as a doctor. Last year I left Constantinople to establish myself permanently here in Athens. Here is the list of my works:[481]
--*Information on the Seven Towers Hospital in Constantinople*, 1862, 8e pp. 449 in Greek
--*Studies on Gypsies or Bohemians of the Ottoman Empire*, Constantinople, 1870, 8e pp. 652 in French – this work was completed after long travels and studies [that spanned] 15 years.
--*Byzantine Studies, Topographical and Historical with Several Illustrations*, Constantinople 1877 4e pp. 416, in Greek
--*Remarks on the Revised Version of the New Testament*, Athens, 8e pp.45 in English
--*The Siege and Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453*, in press, in Greek
I am a member of several learned societies in Greece and abroad. While concluding this brief statement of my work, let me sir, thank you for the unique honor you have given to me by inviting me to become a member of your learned society.
Sir, accept apprehension of my very best regards.
A. G. Paspatēs, Athens, Greece
[to] M. C. Manoir, General Secretary of the Geographical Society

As seen in the letter, Paspatēs studied Medicine in Italy and Paris.[482] Upon completing his studies in 1839, he worked in London and in several British cities as a doctor.[483] Finally, in 1840, he came to Constantinople once more, and obtained a position at the Balıklı-Yedikule Greek Hospital.[484]

[481] The list of his works we learn from his letter includes only the books published until that time. For instance, it does not include any of the research activities or talks he gave, articles he had published. He also only briefly mentions his collaboration with the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, (the *Syllogos,* see Chapter 5), without even naming it.
[482] Some sources such as Chrysovelonēs (*Chios kai Chioi dia mesou tōn aiōnōn,* 68) refer to it as Pisa, whereas others including Grosvenor (no date, see Appendix I1) as Padua. Yet Padua appears likelier, since Grosvenor, as an intimate friend of Paspatēs, is more likely to have offered correct information on this issue. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, Padua was among the Italian cities where Ottoman Greeks had established a trade colony from the seventeenth century onwards. Accordingly, important actors of the Greek Enlightenment had also studied Medicine at Padua, including A. Mavrogordato. In addition, Padua was also the central institution for learning in early modern Europe. It was established in 1222 by former professors of the Bologna school. For detailed information, see Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*, 22-23. According to the official website of the institution, there have been many eminent alumni of the school, including William Harvey. https://www.unipd.it/en/university/history/eminent-alumni
[483] Blachos, "Alexandros Paspatēs (1814-1891)," 187.
[484] Although certain sources report that he had settled in Athens first, he himself mentions his date of arrival to Constantinople as 1840. This list of publications in the letter, even though it does not include most of his studies, his articles, *in-situ* investigations etc. still help us understand the broadness of the scope of the scholarly personality of Paspatēs. For details on Paspatēs's tenure at Balıklı, See Yıldırım, "Panoliko'dan Balıklı Rum Hastanesi'ne," 53; Yıldırım, "Yedikule Haricindeki

During his tenure at the Hospital, Paspatēs became one of the leading doctors of Constantinople.[485] He was even nominated for a membership and appointed member of the Health Assembly, which was established for the benefit of public health by the American Consulate in Constantinople in 1860.[486] He started his work in the hospital as an intern, however, attained new medical skills while working at the British Hospital in Üsküdar during the Crimean War. Accordingly, when he returned to Balıklı, he continued his work both as the hospital's chief physician and surgeon.

4.2 Paspatēs: From medical doctor to antiquarian

Paspatēs's European medical education in conjunction with his career as a doctor, provided him with invaluable background for antiquarian research. The relation between the transforming urban context and medicine was a topic of intense focus in the nineteenth century Europe. The rapid rise of population, especially in the urban

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Rum Milleti İspitalyası Balıklı Rum Vakfı Hastanesi," 320, 322, 338. Yıldırım, "Balıklı Rum Hastanesi", 668.

[485] Unfortunately, my attempts at research in the Balıklı –Yedikule Greek Hospital archives were unsuccessful. The head of the Hospital Foundation, as well as the deputy chief physician denied the existence of any archival material from the period of Paspatēs's tenure.

[486] Nuran Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Coğrafyasında Karantina Uygulamalarına İsyanlar: Karantina İstemezük," 19-20.

Memâlik-i müctemia-yı Amerika devleti sefâreti tarafından düvel-i müntehabe saire misillü meclis-i sıhhıyede birinin bulunması lazım olmakla Mösyö Doktor Paspati nâm-ı senâverî nasb ve tayin olunduğu beyân ile keyfiyet meclis-i mezkûre ifade buyurmaları iltimâs ile takrir-i hulûsları bu defa irsal olunmuştur. A}MKT NZD 308/57- 001. See Appendix F3.

Devletlü Atûfetlü Efendim Hazretleri
Amerika sefâreti tarafından Mösyö Doktor Paspati nam kimesnenin meclis-i sıhhıye azalığına tayin olunduğuna dair cânib-i sefârete i'tâ kılınan takrir manzûr-ı vâlâ-yı aşer askerîleri buyurulmak üzre leffen irsâl kılınmış olmakla iktizâsının icrası bâbında irâde efendimindir fî 4 Şaban Sene 1276 (26 şubat 1860)

Mâ'rûz-ı Çâkerkemînleridir ki
Sûret-i emirde iş'âr-ı âlî-i dâverâneleri ve takrîr-i mezkûr mevzân-ı mal'um-ı çâkerânım olmuş ve meclis-i mezkûrun mevcut olan azaları miktarı hakkında şifâhen ifade ve istîzân lazım gelir mevâd olduğu cihetle izzetli Ahmet Efendi pîşgâh-ı sâmi-i cenâb-ı sadâretpenâhîlerine gönderilmiş olmağın ol babda emr ve fermân hazreti min lehü'l-emrindir. Fî 19 Şaban Sene 276 A}MKT NZD 308/57-002. See Appendix F4.

centers, the poor living conditions of the people dwelling in those centers as a result of an expanding industrial production and the commensurate change in the working patterns, all led to an increase in illnesses and epidemics. As a result, a search for healthy and hygienic urban ground became the foundation of urban transformation efforts in post-Enlightenment Europe, especially in major nineteenth-century cities such as Paris and London.[487] In this light, both Paspatēs's college education in the United States, as well as his medical education and practice in Europe, played a significant role in shaping his awareness of the conditions of the urban context that surrounded him.

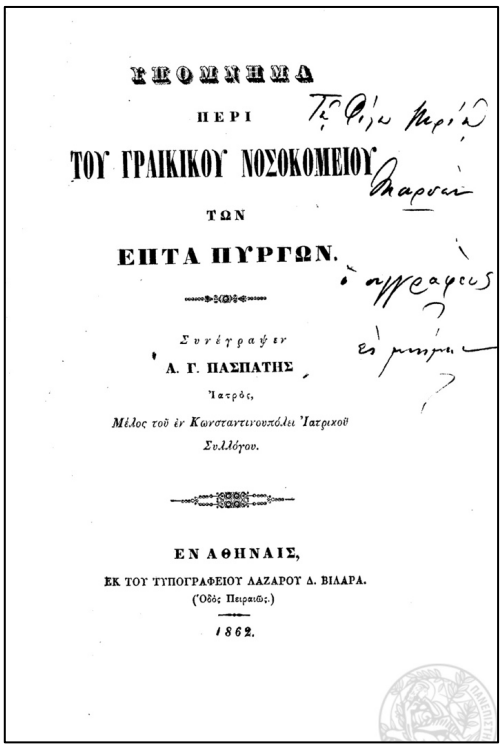
In addition, the rising importance of hospitals as new *loci* for practicing medicine in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe, together with changes in the production of medical knowledge based on observation and investigation of pathologies, made them centers of medical education and research, and hence of production of knowledge.[488] This change provided doctors working in the hospitals with authority as well as social and intellectual prestige.[489] Accordingly, it is no coincidence that, besides Paspatēs, most members of the earlier intellectual societies of mid-nineteenth-century Europe were medical doctors. In the Constantinopolitan context, a very significant example of this came from two major intellectual societies of the city, the Greek Society of Doctors, and the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, both of which had a significant number of members who were medical practitioners.[490]

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[487] Hygiene was a significant concept developed during the Enlightenment. For a detailed discussion of the public hygiene, see La Berge, *Mission and Method,* especially "Chapter 1: Public Health and the Community of Hygienists", 9-48.
[488] Waddington, *Social History of Medicine,* 157-158.
[489] Waddington, *Social History of Medicine,* 157-158.
[490] For details, see Chapter 5, section 5.1. Also see Vassiadis, *The* Syllogos *Movement of Constantinople,* Troumpoukēs, *Hellēnikē Iatrikē*, and Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 37-38.

4.2.1 A Report on the Greek Hospital of Yedikule: The city 'as it is'

Like most of his colleagues, Paspatēs's long experience as a medical practitioner and director of the Balıklı-Yedikule Greek Hospital had fostered a certain capacity and desire for the pursuit and systematization of knowledge. Yet he could only publish the first outcome of his research in 1862, entitled *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn* (Figure 28) *(Ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ Γραικικοῦ Νοσοκομείου τῶν Ἑπτὰ Πύργων - A Report on the Greek Hospital of Yedikule*), after he had retired from his position at the hospital. The book, which was published in Athens by the Lazaros D. Vlaras printing house, was based on a statistical study of the patient records of the hospital.


ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ

ΠΕΡΙ

ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΙΚΙΚΟΥ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΕΙΟΥ

ΤΩΝ

ΕΠΤΑ ΠΥΡΓΩΝ.

Συνέγραψεν

Α. Γ. ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗΣ

Ἰατρός,

Μέλος τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἰατρικοῦ Συλλόγου.

ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ,

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ Δ. ΒΙΛΑΡΑ.

(Ὁδὸς Πειραιῶς.)

1862.

Figure 28. The cover of *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn,* by Alexander G.Paspatēs
Retrieved from: Anemi Online: University of Crete Archives

The book was organized in two parts with several subchapters. In the first section of the first part the author describes the conditions of the Greek Hospitals of

Constantinople, particularly the Balıklı-Yedikule Greek Hospital, in detail, including the construction work that took place under his supervision and the improvement of the hygienic conditions within the hospital. The second chapter was reserved for the hospital's patient registers. It offers examples from those registers together with a severe criticism of the deficiency of adequate and consistent information. The third chapter is where Paspatēs deals with the urban context of Constantinople.[491]

Through his education in Europe, where the recent rise of medical knowledge was at the time coinciding with a profound transformation of the larger social context, Paspatēs's had acquired an approach to medicine that had a strong social dimension. In order to analyze the disease that he had encountered in the hospital, he studied the reasons behind the appearance of each illness, such as the patients' working conditions, as well as the urban context in which they had found themselves. As previously mentioned, the relation of illnesses and medicine to their surroundings and the criticism of the 'sordid' and 'swampy' areas of a city constituted a major discussion in nineteenth-century European cities. In a similar vein, he claimed that, it was necessary to investigate urban space in order to understand the causes of the illnesses and epidemics, especially with regard to the lack of hygiene and poverty of the city's inhabitants. He also contributed to the development of the concept of 'healthy bodies-healthy cities' which was rapidly gaining currency in nineteenth-century European urbanization projects.[492] Accordingly, he had devoted a separate chapter of the book to analyzing the urban conditions of the city in that period. In this chapter, Paspatēs tried to outline the

[491] Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn* 41-110; Paspatēs, *Balıklı Rum Hastanesi Kayıtlarına Göre İstanbul'un Ortodoks Esnafı 1833-1860*, 23-46.
[492] On William Harvey, blood circulation and its impact on European urbanization from the eighteenth century onwards, see Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization,* particularly "Chapter 8: Moving Bodies, Harvey's Revolution," 255-281. An interesting detail is that Harvey was also a graduate of the Medical School of Padua University.

neighborhoods where some illnesses were most common, and the occupations which made people more vulnerable to those illnesses. His intention was to understand the reasons behind the major epidemics of the period and to provide or suggest preventive measures, mostly in terms of improving urban conditions. The details he provided for those professions also give us significant information about urban labor and its social aspects in mid-nineteenth-century Constantinople.

As mentioned above, nineteenth-century urbanization in Europe had a significant focus on the conditions of hygiene in the cities, the construction of the relevant infrastructure and the sanitization of the urban space. The establishment of municipal bodies, and novel rules and regulations for urban spaces constituted the core of the transformation of cities in this period.[493] Constantinople was no exception in that sense. This issue would constitute a major focal point in the discussions of *Tanzimat* elites and eventually would culminate in the establishment of a municipal structure and in the institutionalization of urban services. The time of Paspatēs's second arrival to the city coincided with the aftermath of the declaration of *Tanzimat* edict and the growth of bureaucratization in the Ottoman capital. [494]

Nevertheless, the focus of the new municipality was, to a certain extent, rather myopic. Indeed, most of its focus was on the new settlement areas of Galata and Pera or on major areas of the old city that were mostly close to the administrative center. Therefore, the 'old' and 'far-off' neighborhoods of the historical peninsula were not transformed as rapidly as in Pera, particularly neighborhoods on the fringe

[493] See Kentel, "Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera*"*; Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul.*
[494] For a detailed discussion on the establishment of the municipality and development of infrastructural works see: Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency;* Çelik, *Remaking Istanbul;* Akın, *Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*; Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul:* Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*; Tekeli, "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine;" Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri*; Kentel, "Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera."

such as Balat. In this light, Paspatēs's description of Balat, and the conditions of its 'impoverished' Jewish inhabitants is noteworthy:

> Passing by Fener, we arrive to Balat, which is exclusively occupied by the Greeks and Armenians and above all the Jews. The malodors of this neighborhood are very well-known to all the inhabitants of Constantinople.[495]

The second part of the book contains the main body of information on the patients and their respective illnesses. It is in this section of the book that Paspatēs utilized the statistical data he derived from the patient registers. By means of the charts and tables that he had prepared for each profession, Paspatēs offered detailed information on the patients, what their origins and identities were, and where they had lived in the city. Therefore, he did not only focus on the illnesses themselves but also on the reasons behind them. He devoted particular attention to working conditions:

> I do not think that the fishermen of Constantinople have suffered more than their colleagues in other countries. On the contrary, fishing in no other city is as productive and fertile as it is in Constantinople, so that local fisherman, excluding the few who hunt in the İzmid Bay, hardly ever leave the shore. Since they do not need to sail away from the shore, they are not exposed to the dangers or troubles that foreign fishermen face, nor are they as talented and brave. Yet, our fishing boats are small and decaying. They do not have a sufficient space to serve as shelter for the fisherman and due to this negligence, our fishermen very rapidly contract the illnesses that bad sea weather or rain and snow cause.
>
> I am attributing the high death rate among the fishermen of Constantinople to a great extent to the dirtiness of the fish markets and the difficulties of the winter months, when the cold north winds coming from the Black Sea blow for weeks on end, coupled by the rain and snow of Constantinople. Nevertheless, like everywhere else, here too the fishermen are coarse people who neglect their health and laugh at the face of death. [496]

[495] Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn,* 66. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A7.
[496] Paspatēs, *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn,*176. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A8. Paspatēs, *Balıklı Rum Hastanesi Kayıtlarına Göre İstanbul'un Ortodoks Esnafı 1833-1860*, 84.

Especially with regard to the neighborhoods of his patients, most of whom were Greek-Orthodox, he singles out the lack of accessibility to clean air as a consequence of the density of the urban environment. And he blamed the dirtiness and muddiness of the streets as the reasons behind the spread of illnesses. He also blames the illiteracy of the people.[497]

The book by Paspatēs was neither translated into any other language nor reprinted and we do not have sufficient evidence that would allow us to trace the possible audience and impact of the book.[498] The only information available to us is that Paspatēs had donated a copy of his work on the Balıklı Hospital to the library of the *Syllogos*.[499]

4.3 *The Byzantine Studies (Byzantinai Meletai):* From urban antiquarianism to urban archaeology

Paspatēs had conducted his research on the urban conditions of the city together with the patient records while he was still working at the Balıklı Hospital. He could actually further his studies only after he had retired from the hospital in 1860. It was only then that he could publish his aforementioned book and his career as an urban researcher became his main occupation, which he would pursue until he left the city for good in 1882, going to Athens where he would live until the end of his life.

The period of over two decades, from his retirement from the hospital to his departure for Athens, was a period of transformation for Paspatēs. During the course of this period, he attained a more prominent role as an urban researcher, effectively

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[497] Paspatēs *Hypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Hepta Pyrgōn,* 45-48.
[498] There is only one recent Turkish edition published in 2014: Paspatēs, *Balıklı Rum Hastanesi Kayıtlarına Göre İstanbul'un Ortodoks Esnafı 1833-1860*. Here the translator, Marianna Yerasimos decided to shorten certain parts of the book. Instead of certain paragraphs she has provided their summaries.
[499] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Y.1, V.3, 202, 29 April 1863. Meeting no: 59.

becoming the hub of the intellectual network investigated in this dissertation. He was one of the scholars in town, whom you would wish to meet if you came to the city with a similar purpose of research, particularly if you were a foreigner. For instance, the eminent Byzantine Sigillographer Gustave Schlumberger, mentions in his work ' *Le siege, La prise et le sac de Constantinople*, that in his visits to Constantinople, around early 1870s, he worked with "Dr. Paspati" whom he described as "*Le vieil historien grec de Constantinople.*"[500]

In this period Paspatēs was more of an urban researcher than a doctor. In the years from the early 1860s until the early 1880s, he also collaborated with the *Syllogos,* which was indicative of his transformation. These years were marked by his emergence as a proactive researcher, who was not only a passive observer of the environment he was investigating, like his forebearers Patriarch Kōnstantios or Skarlatos Byzantios, but an active participant in the field, actively documenting and researching, initiating urban-scale projects, or making use of various possibilities for revealing the 'unknown' and 'unseen' elements of the urban context. In this manner, he reshaped the scholarship of antiquarianism, that he had, in a sense, inherited from Kōnstantios and Byzantios, and advanced it several steps ahead into a mode of urban archaeology.

One basic feature of his mode of archaeology was his *in-situ* investigations. For Paspatēs, *in-situ* inquiry constituted the foundation of scientific research. He asserted that, the most important deficiency of European Byzantinists was their repetition of earlier authors along with their mistakes, due to the lack of their own authentic on-site research. He rejected this and stated that what needs to be done is to

[500] Cited by Stephenson, *The Byzantine World*, p. 479, fn. 77. One another name was Edwin Pears. See Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 62-65, on his close acquaintance with Paspatēs. I am grateful to Vera Bulgurlu for drawing my attention to this reference.

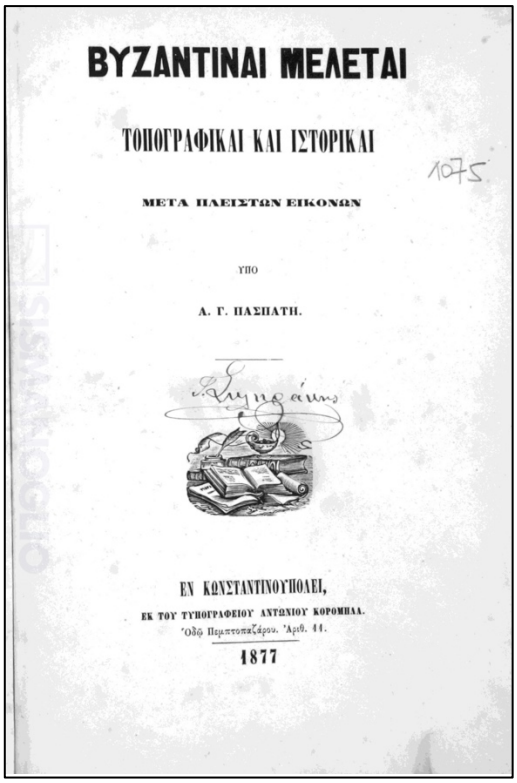
investigate these buildings in-situ within the urban environment and compare the findings with the existing literature, correct any possible mistakes, and develop a new literature in the light of these findings. Besides his own application of this approach, his antiquarianism had a significant impact on other people who had some interest in the history of Constantinople, and encouraged them to pursue further research. His wider impact on the rise and development of antiquarian studies on Constantinople was quite significant and deserves to be examined in detail.

His encouragement to other researchers and institutions and his own collaborations had resulted in the emergence of several research projects beyond the personal capacity of Paspatēs in terms of scale. The simultaneous establishment of the *Syllogos* and the research conducted within that society was a very significant example in this sense. Paspatēs was a member of the *Syllogos* since its early days and was elected as its director for three different terms. He had presented most of his research in the meetings of the *Syllogos* both to its members and to a larger group of intellectuals in Constantinople. Most of these were published in the society's yearly journal. A significant example was his research on the Land Walls of the city, which would later be transformed into a larger project by the members of the *Syllogos.* They had prepared a map, with several elevations as well as a section drawing of the land walls, and published it both as a supplement to the journal and a separate map to be distributed.[501]

One of the most significant and enduring results of the research of Paspatēs was his magnum opus, entitled *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται: Τοπογραφικαὶ καὶ Ἱστορικαί* (Figure 29) (*Byzantinai Meletai: Topografikai kai Historikai - Byzantine Studies: Topographical and Historical*). It was published in 1877 in Constantinople by the

[501] For a detailed discussion about this project, see Chapter 5.

Antonios Koromilas printing house.[502] The work, organized in four books, was a compilation of all aspects of his research on Constantinople, some of which he had already presented in the meetings of the Greek Literary Society, the *Syllogos,* including his research on the Land walls, the Genoese trade in the Galata region during the Byzantine period, the Railway excavations, and his study of the known and unknown churches of Constantinople.


ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙ

ΤΟΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑΙ

1075

ΜΕΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝ

ΥΠΟ

Α. Γ. ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗ.

ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ,

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΟΜΗΛΑ.

Ὁδὸ Παπτοπαζάρου. Ἀριθ. 11.

1877

Figure 29. The cover of the *Byzantinai Meletai* by Alexander G.Paspatēs
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

4.3.1 *In-situ* examination: The Land Walls and the Discovery of the Anemas Tower

> …two days later, while accompanied by A. Sgouridou who lives nearby and whose eagerness I must proclaim to all, we entered from this opening equipped with a wooden ladder, candles, paper torches, and canes, neither of us knowing the way and facing the risk of falling into a cesspit. While

[502] The second example would be *The Great Palace of Constantinople* which he published almost 20 years later in Athens.

> passing the entrance of a 10-meter long gallery crawling on our knees, in the manner of robbers walking through the night, we got into a small room, about 5 m2, vaulted, moist, and lit only from the entrance. On the right and left sides there were two holes in the shape of an arch, in the front there was a big opening leading to other spaces. A man's body could barely fit through this hole on the right. From this hole we threw a stone and heard the noise of the stone falling into the water. We went inside the hole while holding our candles to light the place and saw a big vaulted room with its plaster still intact on all sides. Under this orifice, there was a big and round well which according to the later measurements by Mr. Sgouridou had a depth of 5.5 m. Above this well, a very dim light was coming in through a small opening in the vault. In this underground place, bats were flying, being confused by the light of the candles. After that, we passed to the front part of the opening very carefully and we moved upwards all in fear and keeping an eye on the torches so as not to lose the light.[503]

Around the early 1860s, these intrepid explorers, Mr. Paspatēs and Mr. K. A. Sgouridēs, were walking together in the dark, moist rooms of the Anemas Tower (prison), which is located close to the northern end of the Land Walls of Constantinople. The two researchers were gathering information about the architectural and structural details of the tower in-situ and collecting materials for a further analysis of the construction materials of the walls, to produce knowledge which would soon be presented by Dr. Paspatēs in one of the regular meetings of the *Syllogos* as an article entitled 'About the Land Walls of Istanbul.'[504] Together with two other articles, presented again in the meetings of the *Syllogos,* entitled 'the Epigraphy of the Land Walls'[505] and 'The Towers of Land Walls,'[506] this article would later be published as a chapter of his *Byzantinai Meletai*.

[503] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 28. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A9.
[504] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 2, 171-189, 2 November 1864. Meeting No: 108.
[505] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 2, 189-209, 23 November 1864. Meeting No: 111.
[506] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 2, 209-221, 15 February1865. Meeting No: 121.

The discovery of the Anemas Tower[507] was a representative outcome of his *in-situ* research on the land walls, one of the major sites he had studied *in situ*.[508] Together with various colleagues[509] including the aforementioned Mr. Sgouridēs,[510] he had walked in and around the walls and collected building material to be analyzed. He compared his findings with the earlier studies on the walls as well as the works of Byzantine historians.

His major concern with the walls in this article was to document and preserve the walls, which he considered to be at risk of total destruction and disappearance in all their aspects. While explaining his aim in detail in the preface of his famous *Byzantine Studies*, he especially discussed the loss of many Byzantine-period artifacts especially within the last 30 years (roughly from 1840s onwards), as a result of disasters such as fires, earthquakes, and the re-use of the building material from the ruins of old buildings etc.[511]

His particular interest in the walls, as well as in the broader context of Constantinople, would also initiate a larger research project within the *Syllogos:* the society's Archaeological Commission carried out this project for almost two decades, and it would eventually culminate in the publication of a map, or to be more accurate, a plan and a section of the walls including elevation drawings of some

[507] The Anemas Tower is on the Land Walls of Constantinople, closer to Ayvansaray and the Blachernae Palace. It is known as the place where the Byzantine general Michael Anemas was imprisoned by Alexios I. Komnenos. See: *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, 386. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 131-153. Paspatēs's discovery was also acknowledged by other scholars later on. See: Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople,*133; Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* 91, f.n. 155.

[508] Another outcome of this research would be his book on the language of the Gypsies who were living within the vicinity of the Land walls, close to the hospital. The book, which also was listed among his works in his short letter to the Paris Geographical Society, remains one of the most valuable sources on the language of Gypsies living in the Ottoman Empire: "Peri tōn Atsinganōn kai tēs glōssēs autōn" (On Gypsies and their Language). Also see: Hamlin &. Paspati. "Memoir on the Language of the Gypsies, as Now Used in the Turkish Empire."

[509] He mentioned that he visited the site of the Railway excavation with Mr. Zaharoff for instance. Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,*106.

[510] Member of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, the *Syllogos.*

[511] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* "Prologos", στ.

sections, along with other findings of the project as a supplement to the Journal of the *Syllogos* in 1884. [512]

4.3.2 Infrastructure vs Archaeology: The Railway excavations and the Boukoleon Palace:[513]

Paspatēs's endeavors to conduct in-situ investigations were not limited within the areas in the vicinity of the Hospital. On the contrary, he tried to explore sites scattered over virtually the entire city. As the Land Walls were one of the most enduring and visible remains of the Byzantine period, the energy and effort he devoted to the study of the walls is not surprising. Equally important to him, however, was the Railway excavation along the Marmara Walls on the ruins of the Byzantine Boukoleon Palace, which was located on the eastern end of the historical peninsula, within the Topkapı Palace grounds. He had inquired into the excavations and presented the outcomes of his research as usual, first in the regular meetings of the *Syllogos*, subsequently as a published article in the journal of the society[514] and then republished in his compilation, entitled as *Byzantinai Meletai.*[515]

As he mentioned in his speech, it is clear that Paspatēs was well aware of the excavation and its route from the very beginning:

> The railway started in the middle of April 1871 from the gate of Yalıköşk, the gate of Eugenios of old. It passes through the entire circumference of the palace. It goes out eastwards through Kara Kapısı and passes through the Ottoman neighborhood there, reaching all the way to Çatladıkapı, the old gate of Sidera. From that point on, advancing between the walls and the church of SS Sergius and Bacchus (today's Küçük Ayasofya), it passes through Kadırga Limanı and the gardens of Vlanga, at times staying within the walls, and at

[512] Further inquiries on the Land Walls by the *Syllogos* will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[513] This is the southern end of the Great Palace complex.
[514] Although in his speech it was mentioned as November 18, within the minutes of the meeting, the date was given as Nov. 29. Meeting 305:*Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 46-64.
[515] The chapter is entitled as "Hai en Kōnstantinopolei Anaskafai tou Thrakikou Sidērodromou," 99-126.

> times contining from the outside. […] [In the area f]rom the Sidera Gate up until Yedikule I did not observe anything worthy of description.[516]

The Railway project actually began in 1868 and was aimed at connecting Vienna and the greater European hinterland to Constantinople. It would pass through Austria, the Balkans, Bulgaria and Thrace, and would eventually terminate in the city. The initial project was planned with Yedikule, outside the Land Walls, as the final destination. However, Yedikule was not an appropriate station, since it was too far away, for both passengers and goods, from the port and trade areas as well as the center of the city.[517]

A more suitable location appeared to be Sirkeci, the main locus of trade in the city. But constructing the railway from Yedikule to Sirkeci would mean that its route would go around the historical peninsula, an option that necessitated the construction of a road which passed through the Topkapı Palace grounds. This would entail the destruction of some of the kiosks and gardens in the Palace, alongside some of the walls.[518] At the same time, this would only be possible along the sea walls, in order to avoid huge costs for expropriation.[519]

The road from Yedikule to Sirkeci followed the Marmara Seaside Walls, through Langa, Narlıkapı, Yenikapı, and Çatladıkapı, all the way to Sirkeci. This meant a considerable amount of construction work around the ancient walls. Finally, from Çatladıkapı, it was supposed to pass along the palace grounds, first the site of the Byzantine Great Palace and then the Ottoman Palace of Topkapı.

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[516] Paspatēs, *Byzantiani Meletai,* 101. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A10.
[517] Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 69.
[518] Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 66-71.
[519] Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, 69.

The construction of the Roumelian Railway gave Paspatēs the chance that he had been looking to reveal another 'unknown' layer of Constantinople.[520] It is not certain how he managed to obtain permission to access the site while under construction.[521] A very likely connection may have been established through the Ottoman engineer Kōnstantinos Stefanos Karatheodori who, in addition to his membership in the *Meclis-i Ma'âbir,*[522] was also a member of the *Syllogos* just like Paspatēs,[523] and had been appointed as the head of the railway construction. [524] Although I could not locate any document as definitive proof, it seems very likely that Paspatēs got his permission through Mr. Karatheodori, since Paspatēs explicitly mentions his assistance for another site, the Chora Church.[525] Moreover, from his speech/article it is apparent that he did not visit the excavation site just once. On the contrary he surveyed it through a long period of time:

> To my grief, in August, stones from the ancient wall, together with nearby debris, sculpted anew, were integrated for the most part into a new wall built in the vicinity….
> …. On the side of the street, some stones from this cyclopean wall have survived to this day (18 November). [526]

And he evidently stayed for a long time at the site, since he was able to measure the site and work on the details of the structures around:

> The sides that were parallel to the seaside walls had a length of 98.28 m, the south and the north parts being 17 meters. The side that was facing Ayasofya had a recess of 25.68 m from the point of its junction with the north side. This recess was extending over 46,92 m. The length of the wall was 1,18 m. The

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[520] Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi,* 25.
[521] Van Millingen, in his book published in 1912, mentioned that such permissions were promised to himself by the Constitutional government (of the Second Constitutional Era) (Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople,* xi).
[522] Commission on Passageways and Bridges, within the Ministry of Public Works.
[523] He participated as an engineer in the Land Walls project of the *Syllogos*. For details, see Chapter 5.
[524] BOA A.}MKT.MHM. 420/21, H. 26.05.1285, M. 19.09.1868.
[525] Referring to the the Chora Church, Paspatēs stated that: "Working the whole day, the artist Mr. Orfanoudakis, with the help of Mr. K. St. Karateodoris and Mr. Dēmētriadēs, copied this destroyed icon." Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 330. For more information on Dēmētriadēs see Chapter 5.
[526] Paspatēs, *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 6, 50. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A11.

whole area of the space that was dug and that had walls around it, was 1670,76 m^2.[527]

Paspatēs was well aware of the importance of his in-situ research for the Byzantine remains of the city, and underlined it at every single opportunity. Although Constantinople "was about to lose its fame due to the impending destruction and loss of many magnificent and glorious monuments,"[528] he thought that there was a lot to research since the urban context of the Byzantine city was still unknown. Before the total loss of this environment, the urban environment should be studied and documented. Thus, in his book, he heralded the beginning of urban archaeology for Byzantine Constantinople.[529] He claimed that until then, research had dealt with what had already been visible. Moreover, it was not only the Byzantine remains that he could inquire into but also the Ancient Greek art, since in the early days of the city, many great examples of Ancient Greek art were brought there by the emperors.[530]

The inception of the railway excavations coincided with a period of rapid urban transformation for Constantinople. Particularly the late 1860s, after the Hocapaşa fire of 1865, which had swept the center of the historical peninsula, the city witnessed a series of post-fire reconstructions.[531] The recently established municipality and its *Islahat-ı Turuk* Comission redesigned the area. They mainly imposed a new urban scheme with larger roads and new infrastructure, which sometimes required the destruction of still-standing buildings, even including, at times, some that survived the fire. In most cases these consisted of the 'old' texture

[527] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 106. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A12.
[528] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* Preface (πρόλογος), στ.
[529] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 99.
[530] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 99.
[531] Çelik describes the period between 1865-1869 as the 'most active phase' of urban transformation. See: Çelik*, The Remaking of Istanbul,* 55-63. Also see Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency.*

around the major monuments such as the neighborhood of Hagia Sophia. Also, some major monuments were either trimmed or slightly moved in order to provide enough space for a broad street.[532]

It was just around that time that the Railway excavation was initiated. Being another major infrastructural process, the project also required significant excavation work along its route. However, this time, it was utilized as an important opportunity for Paspatēs to conduct research on the urban ground:

> Never before had these majestic Byzantine structures suffered or undergone as much destruction as they did at the hands of the diggers of the railway. At the same time never before has as much light been shed over the history and topography of Byzantium. The excavations fortunately revealed the area of the palace precinct, a Byzantine space that had remained inaccessible to all up to that point.[533]

Unfortunately, according to Paspatēs, the number of studies on this topic were very few.[534] For such a deficiency, he did not accuse the Ottoman state which was responsible for the administration of the city, but rather directed his ire at the Greek world at large, which he cited as 'our people' castigating them for lacking a certain interest in the topic. At this point, Paspatēs's approach towards the Ottoman state is remarkable. Although he held the Ottoman state responsible for the aforementioned destructions, or accused it of obliviousness, and underlined that the Ottomans did not approve of anything that was foreign to them, he nevertheless stated that they did not have a negative attitude towards those who work on such issues.[535] Additionally,

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[532] Such as the Çemberlitaş Bath or the mausoleum of the Köprülü Complex. Çelik*, The Remaking of Istanbul,* 55-63.
[533] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 100. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A13.
[534] In this regard, Çelik underlines that, what saved the Column of Constantine, Çemberlitaş from the destructions of Divanyolu particularly after the Hocapaşa fire, could be the attention and study of certain European scholars. Also, Akyürek mentions the importance of the competition organized for the repair of the column around 1866. Akyürek, "Mid-19th Century Ottoman Re-discovery of Constantinople: New Practices of Seeing Architecture of the City", 188-192. For a detailed discussion, See Chapter 5.
[535] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* "Prologos," δ. It should also be noted that around the time that Paspatēs was conducting his research in Constantinople, the Ottoman state had long been dealing with

even though he underlined the fact that the Ottomans allowed the demolition of many monumental religious structures to proceed and even used remnants as building material elsewhere because they were adherents of a different religion, he also stressed that, the Byzantines, in a rather similar fashion, had employed the same approach towards the remnants of Greek Antiquity and had destroyed quite a number of monuments, inscriptions and art work.[536] He also found the European researchers insufficient. Although they had done extensive research, he decried them as mere imitators of one another, since they had not pursued in-situ work on the monuments. He believed in the importance of those who, like him, were able to conduct *in-situ* research. He also stressed the necessity of combining in-situ analysis with the writings and observations of earlier historians.[537] For Paspatēs, this was a great opportunity to hand his interest in the Byzantine History down to future generations. The material remnants of the Byzantine past needed to be recorded but not in the manner of the Europeans, who attempted this from a distance. Instead, it should be done with a close inspection of the structures and evaluating them together with an analysis of earlier, Byzantine historians. This was the manner in which he pursued his research.[538] Apparently, he had closely examined the recently unearthed remains of the Boukoleon Palace:

> A few days later, the workers discovered in the northernmost corner of this place at a few meters below ground level and under a collapsed arch, a large pile of very heavy cut marbles slabs, and all sorts of marble stone, of various size and weight that belonged to this beautiful building.[539] Amidst this pile 10

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the issue of *Âsâr-ı Atîka* and developing relevant strategies and policies. For detailed information, see Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire.*

[536] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* "Prologos," ζ. The utilization of building material from an earlier structure that Paspatēs refers to is discussed as "spolia" in recent scholarship. See: Saradi,"The Use of Ancient Spolia in Byzantine Monuments: The Archaeological and Literary Evidence" pp. 395-423, Brenk "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology,"103-109. Also see Jevtić, & Yalman, *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives of Objects, Materials and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era.*

[537] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* "Prologos,", ζ.

[538] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* "Prologos," στ.

[539] He refers to the Boukoleon Palace.

> column capitals, 4 big and 6 smaller, were found and countless pedestals, the bigger of which were similar to the two pedestals that had survived intact on the edge of the building.[540]

He not only observed, but also measured the pieces and examined them closely:

> Two marble slabs were retrieved from the bottom of the pile, each 2.76 m in length, 1,07 m in width 0.23 m in thickness. Only one of their two edges is decorated. In the decoration of each flat stone one can see clearly two heads: one head of a lion one of a bull. The same heads are also discernible in other fragments retrieved from this pile. These marbles, capitals and bases had been kept for some time in a certain basement below the street. When I first saw on these slabs, the lion and the bull and the size of all the marbles that were brought to the surface, I was convinced straightaway that these were remains from the famous and much-praised – both by our own (scholars) and by foreigners – Byzantine palace of Boukoleon.[541]

As part of his detailed inquiry, measuring and documentation of almost every single piece, he aims to visualize them for his audience:

> We had no depictions of these palaces. I may err in this but listen to my words, my reasons:
>
> The recess of the building had a length of 46,92. In front of this recess 2 pedestals were preserved and the distance between them was 2,76. The marble flat stones with the head of a lion and a bull are of the same length 2,76. And are without a question, part of a cornice. Dividing the length of the recess 46,92 by the distance between the bases, 2.76 we found the space between the columns: 17 divisions, 16 pillars. As I have already mentioned, both large and small pedestals have been retrieved, so I measured the large ones, whose base is 0.92 m, their upper diameter 0.76 m, and their height 0.45 m. I also measured the large column capitals, their height being 0.56 m. In order to find out the height of the pillar, I measured out many pillars that were scattered along both sides of the road. I have found that some of the pillars had a diameter of 0.68 m and height of 4.22 m. The ratio of the diameter to the height was 1 to 6 and 2/3, i.e. the body of the pillar is 6 times that of the diameter… The [ratios of the] dimensions for other pillars in Ottoman mosques are about 1 to 10 or 12. Most of these do not seem to be Byzantine made, but to have been taken from the Greek temples.[542]

The detailed measurements of Paspatēs were not only intended for the study of the individual pieces but also to enable him to 'reconstruct' the demolished structure.

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[540] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 106-107. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A14.
[541] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 107. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A15. The southern part of the Great Palace: Kazhdan, "Bukoleon" ODB, Vol:1, 317.
[542] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,*107-108. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A16.

Accordingly, sometimes he needed to fill in certain gaps himself through making calculations:

> In these ruins no pillar was discovered in good shape. So, I thought of giving to the height of the pillar 7 diameter of the base of the pedestals.
> 0.76m. * 7= 5,32 m.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | height of the base | 0.45 m |
> | height of the capital of the column | 0.56 m |
> | height of the shaft | 5,32 m |
> | | --- |
> | | 6,33 m |
>
> On top of this row of pillars there was another row. The remnants of this row were still preserved with smaller pedestals and smaller capitals. The basis of each pedestal has a diameter of 0.66 m. and the capital a height of 0.51 m. According to this analogy the shaft of other pillars should be 4.62 m. Total height of the body:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | height of the base | 0.37 m |
> | height of the capital of the column | 0.51 m |
> | height of the shaft | 4,62 m |
> | | --- |
> | | 5,50 m |
>
> In the middle of the upper and the lower part of the pillar is the architrave and square-shaped pieces of marble that are preserved in the ruins. The distance between the upper pillar and lower pillars is about 2,20. The cornice of the upper row of pillars was supported by marble flat stones. These marble flat stones carry [the aforementioned depictions of] heads of lions and bulls.[543]

After measuring almost every single piece within the excavation site, he asked architect Kōnstantinos Dēmadēs[544] to draw a restitution of the palace façade on the side of Hagia Sophia (Figure 30). [545]

[543] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 108. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A17.
[544] Greek Architect. Unfortunately, there is not much information about his life other than his death in 1901. He is widely known as the architect of the Great School of Nation in Fener. About the building, see: Tsilenis, "*Hē diamorfosē tou chōrou stēn Kōnstantinoupolē,"* 331-341.
[545] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 109.

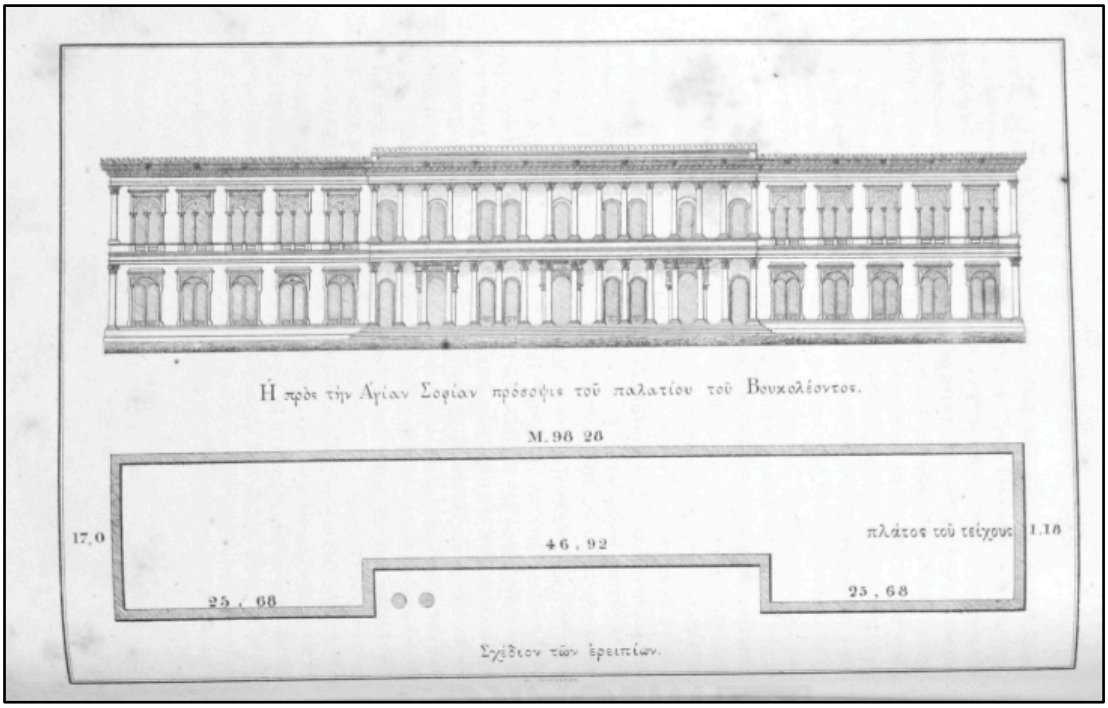


Figure 30. Façade drawing by Kōnstantinos Dēmadēs Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,*109

Dēmadēs's drawing, alongside a detailed façade, included a draft outline of the building circumference with its measurements, details which again Paspatēs had gathered from his in-situ analysis. Unfortunately, there are not many images that accompany this research in either of its publications, except for the abovementioned restitution and several minor copies of four short epigraphy examples. There is an additional sketch of the entire palace grounds published in the article version (Figure 31):

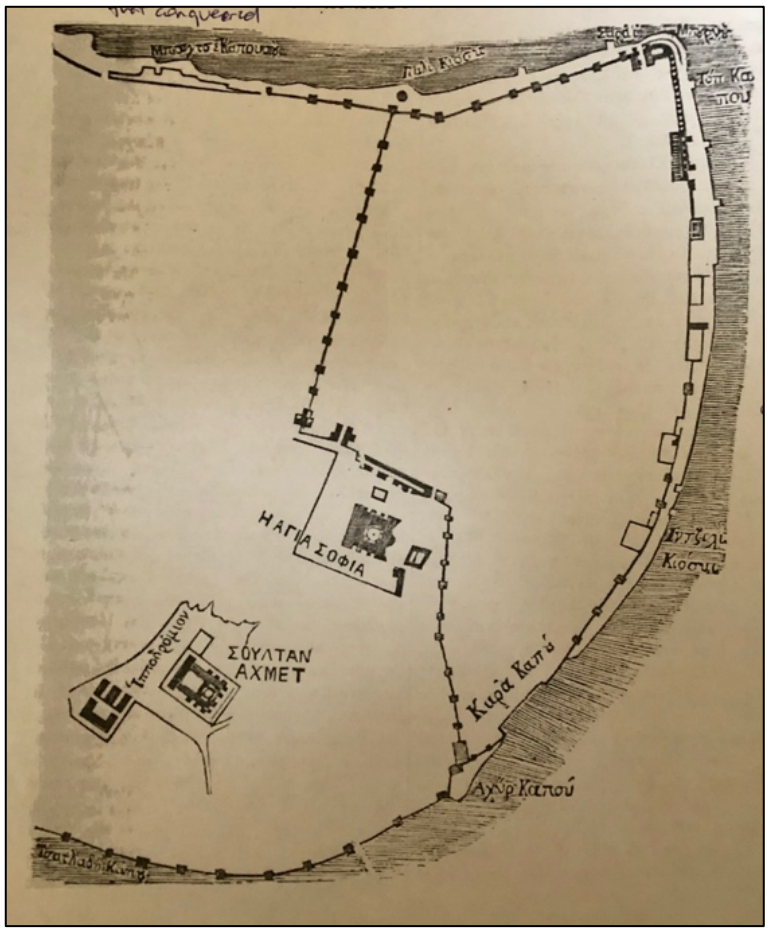


Figure 31. Draft sketch of the Walls surrounding the Topkapı Palace grounds *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 47.

It is difficult, however, to establish the connection between the excavation finds and this plan, as the drawing does not include any references to the site. Besides these, it is probable that Paspatēs and Dēmadēs had utilized certain other drafts of the site or maps from earlier periods such as the one by Buodelmonti:[546]

> What is left now is to find the position of the port of Boukoleon, which Buondelmonti in his map calls the Palace Harbour … [547]

[546] In his obituary of Paspatēs, Mordtmann stated that, most of the archive of both Paspatēs and the *Syllogos* were lost due to the great fire of Pera in 1870. See Mordtmann, "Bios Alexandriou Paspatē," 16.
[547] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 117. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A18.

Since he refers to certain parts of the palace as "here" "there" or "this" or "these", it is possible to think of the existence of draft sketches of the site or more likely a map:[548]

> When, around the beginning of August, the workers broke through the wall of Karakapusu to the East, they started demolishing the barricades defending the gardens, digging foundations of the houses and baths so I was hoping to find trace of this ancient wall or at least its foundations. The first 300 meters of this road were not dug. Inside these gardens, no trace of Byzantine buildings appeared. In some fountain behind Ahırkapı there were two big shrines made of marble and featuring crosses.[549]

Eventually, a map of the site (Figure 32) would later accompany his book on the Great Palace, published few years after his departure from Constantinople, *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάκτορα* (*Ta Byzantina Anaktora* -The Byzantine Palaces). The location of Boukoleon according to that map does not match its location, as accepted by recent scholarship. Apparently Paspatēs was mistaken in his identification.[550] A comparison between Paspatēs's map and a draft layout drawn by Feridun Dirimtekin indicates the site of Boukoleon coincides with the Agios Sotirios Church.[551] However recent studies indicate that the site should be the Mangana Monastery.[552]

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[548] Since the archive of the *Syllogos* was first confiscated by the Turkish Republic in 1923 and then lost, it is not possible to trace the existence of such drawings, sketches or any other type of visual or textual documentation of his fieldwork. See Chapter 5 for details.
[549] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 119-120. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A19.
[550] This was not the only point that Paspatēs was proven wrong with his findings. As early as 1894, in an article in the Scottish Review, J.B. Bury criticizes Paspatēs's findings and states that it will not be possible to have a proper knowledge of the Great Palace "until her [Constantinople's] present Asiatic rulers sweep away the slums in the neighbourhoods of St. Sophia and the Hippodrome, and permit a company of trained archaeologists to excavate, any attempt to reconstruct the Great Palace must be merely an exercise of the fancy. The observations of portions of ancient walls, of vaults, and of isolated old buildings, which Dr. Paspatēs, made, are not sufficient to establish identifications." See Bury, The Great Palace of Constantinople," 268. For a recent study on the Great Palace of Constantinople, see Westbrook, "An Architectural Interpretation of the Early Byzantine Great Palace in Constantinople, from Constantine I to Heraclius."
[551] Dirimtekin, *Fetihten Önce Marmara Surları*, 19-21, Nicholas Melvani reindentified this monastery in a recent publication as the Pephaneromenos Church: Melvani, "The Duplication of the Double Monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople." I am grateful to Nicholas Melvani for sharing this article and his further ideas about the monastery with me.
[552] De Zulueta "A Grand Entrance of The Facade and Crypt of a Church in the Marmara Sea Walls at Istanbul."



Figure 32. Location of Boukoleon Palace within Layout of Great Palace
Paspatēs, The *Great Palace of Constantinople*

Although the railway excavation was not a proper excavation designed and executed for research purposes, it nonetheless provided a valuable chance to generate new information on the Byzantine texture of the city. Although in terms of

methodology the dig was not under the control of the researcher, still the outcome, the findings, the columns and other structural parts, their reconstruction and the knowledge produced thanks to this information urge us to acknowledge the value of this research:

> I document these things, gentlemen, in order to show to our *Syllogos* that there is a need for intensified study of this, still unclarified topography of this large city. Let us not lose our courage from the mistakes of such great authors. Today everything is accessible to us. We would in fact be incurring blame if we do not shed light over the entire history of Constantinople, following, in the footsteps of so many hard-working men. [553]

According to Paspatēs, the findings from the excavation were sent to the Imperial Museum, very few of which can be found in the Mendel catalogues.[554]

4.3.3 'Known' and 'Unknown' Churches of Constantinople:

The discovery of 'unknown' layers of Byzantine Constantinople was not restricted to the underground for Paspatēs. He was well aware that there were other standing structures which were built during the Byzantine era but had since been lost or obscured, due to their conversion from churches to mosques. Accordingly, he devoted significant time and effort to the 're(dis)covery' of those structures.

In order to re-discover these churches and integrate them into the collective memory of 'his people', before anything else, Paspatēs needed to identify them. In some cases, he was able to achieve this thanks to his ability to recognize Byzantine structures, whereas in other instances he had to rely on his written sources from either the Byzantine era or more recent ones such as *Kōnstantinias* of Patriarch

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[553] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 64. Meeting No 305, Nov. 29. This sentence is not exactly the same in the version of the article published in *Byzantinai Meletai.* Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A20.

[554] Efforts to trace these items in the archive of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums gave no outcome. Since no proper catalogue or register for items acquired in the pre-Osman Hamdi Bey period exists, researchers have to rely only on the Mendel's catalogues. See Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines.* Vol 1&2.

Kōnstantios , the colossal compilation of Skarlatos Byzantios, or the sources written in Ottoman Turkish such as *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi'* by *Ayvansarâyî*.[555] Through a close reading of his sources he was able to compile a list of churches, which were classified as being 'known' and 'unknown'[556] up to that point, and compared the knowledge he gathered from these sources to what he had seen and revealed *in-situ.*

Being a dedicated antiquarian, Paspatēs visited almost all of the converted churches which he included in his book, *Byzantinai Meletai.*[557] As he underlined in the speech, he gave to his colleagues in a regular meeting of the *Syllogos*, their ability to access most of the sites under study, was their main strength. However, these converted churches were not actually as accessible as he asserted. Most of the time, he could not enter the building, and was effectively forced to make do with observing it from the exterior. As Paspatēs's aim was to reveal what was not known or visible, he was not very satisfied with a mere external observation of the buildings, which was just enough to observe them through an outsider's gaze:

> As long as entering is not allowed, there is no way for us to determine their area, height and interior decorations. I was never granted access to many of them. Myself and the artist Manarakēs kept wandering around the churches from one side to the other, in order to find a spot from where we could visualize them, as they stood surrounded by high dwellings. We climbed over walls, entered Muslim cemeteries, grocery and convenient stores, we bought our way into adjacent humble dwellings, from where the churches could clearly be seen. We never got annoyed by the Ottoman priests as they eagerly narrated the history of the churches and their conversion into mosques.[558]

Despite all the difficulties of accessibility, the study of these churches was a top priority for Paspatēs, particularly since most European scholars focused exclusively on Hagia Sophia, not only due to its grandeur but also to its relatively better

[555] See subsection 4.4.1 in this chapter.
[556] See Appendix K for the list of these churches.
[557] Unlike his research on the Land Walls or Railway Excavations, Paspatēs did not present his work on the converted churches in the *Syllogos* meetings.
[558] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 277- 278. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A21.

accessibility.[559] It was most likely for this reason that, contrary to many other scholars, he did not devote many pages to the 'Great Church' in his book, and even consciously underlined the importance of studying other churches as well as increasing the availability of information on them:[560]

> In addition to the church of Hagia Sophia which many ancient writers and modern topographers of Constantinople (both foreigners and our own) narrated in every detail, other churches are also often mentioned in the writings of the Byzantines and the church hagiographies (*Synaxaristai*)… Fortunately, in Constantinople, most of the larger churches and monasteries have survived, offering clear insights into the architectural art of the Byzantines.[561]

Fortunately for him, although he was unable to enter some of the churches, he was able to enter others, such as the Fenari İsa Mescidi*:*

> In this church I did manage to enter. There is only one door in the outer wall of the narthex, which is spread with stones and bricks. On the inside, the two churches are divided by a very thick wall. This wall has in the middle of it a very large arched opening, through which they are connected. Both of them feature a dome and shells. This building is still fortified with a fence but it has been stripped of all its Byzantine decorations.[562]

As the case of Fenari İsa Mescidi reveals, even when he entered the churches, he briefly described the general tectonics of these converted structures. The information he provided was usually limited to observations from a certain distance, and rarely encompassed close inspection of the artifices or precise measurements.

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[559] Eldem states that, late eighteenth century onwards, there was an increasing number of permissions given by the state to the visitors of Hagia Sophia, having its peak around the Crimean War in 1853-1856 when the city had many visitors from Europe. After 1861, according to Eldem, it is not possible to trace any permissions, most probably due to the normalization of the visits to the Great church. See Eldem, "Ayasofya: Kilise, Cami, Abide, Müze, Simge." Nelson also mentions the "sale of firmans" for entering the Great Church, See Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950,* 81.

[560] Interestingly a similar attitude was shared by Alexander van Millingen, who also did not include Hagia Sophia to his book entitled *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople.* "The omission will, however, secure one advantage: the churches actually studied will not be overshadowed by the grandeur of the "Great Church" but will stand clear before the view in all the light that beats upon them." Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, ix.

[561] Paspatēs*, Byzantinai Meletai,* 278. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A22.

[562] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 324. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A23.

Most likely, the limited time he could spend in those mosques, usually in-between prayer times, explains the fact that his inquiry into the churches was not as detailed as in the cases of the Anemas Tower and the Land Walls or the Railway excavation, where he found ample opportunity to work on site like a modern archaeologist; maybe he did not dig himself, but he collected material pieces and documented and measured the finds at his leisure. Here, on the other hand, in the converted churches, it was not possible for him to further follow up the traces of their old uses, such as the mosaics, frescos and icons.

This limited accessibility of these buildings can also be ascertained from the images provided in the book, which are mostly drawn from their exteriors (figures 33, 34, 36, 37, 38). In fact, not only the drawings in the 'churches' section, but almost all of the drawings (except for the restitutions by Dēmadēs) used in *Byzantinai Meletai* were drawn by the Greek painter Manarakēs.[563]

Although the images in the book were published in grayscale, the original images were apparently in color, as the copies of the Studios Monastery kept in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens suggests (Figures 34, 35).[564]

Furthermore, there is an interior image of the monastery in the same collection, which suggests that, when they were allowed to do so, albeit very rarely, the painter and Paspatēs would seize the opportunity to provide interior images of the churches they had visited.[565]

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[563] Unfortunately, there is not much information on Manarakēs. The only information I could locate comes from Mordtmann, who mentioned Manarakēs as 'dead' in his review of *Byzantinai Meletai,* just fifteen days after it was published in 1877: Mordtmann, "Epigrafika ek Kōnstantinoupoleōs," 616. There are few images other than those of the churches: one of them is the interior view of the Anemas Tower, the other is the reconstruction of the façade of the Boukoleon Palace, within the Great Palace grounds.

[564] http://www.ebyzantinemuseum.gr/?i=bxm.el.exhibit&id=186 The Museum informed me that they have also published in their catalogue: *The World of the Byzantine Museum*,439, n.445 and n.446.

[565] http://www.ebyzantinemuseum.gr/?i=bxm.el.exhibit&id=166

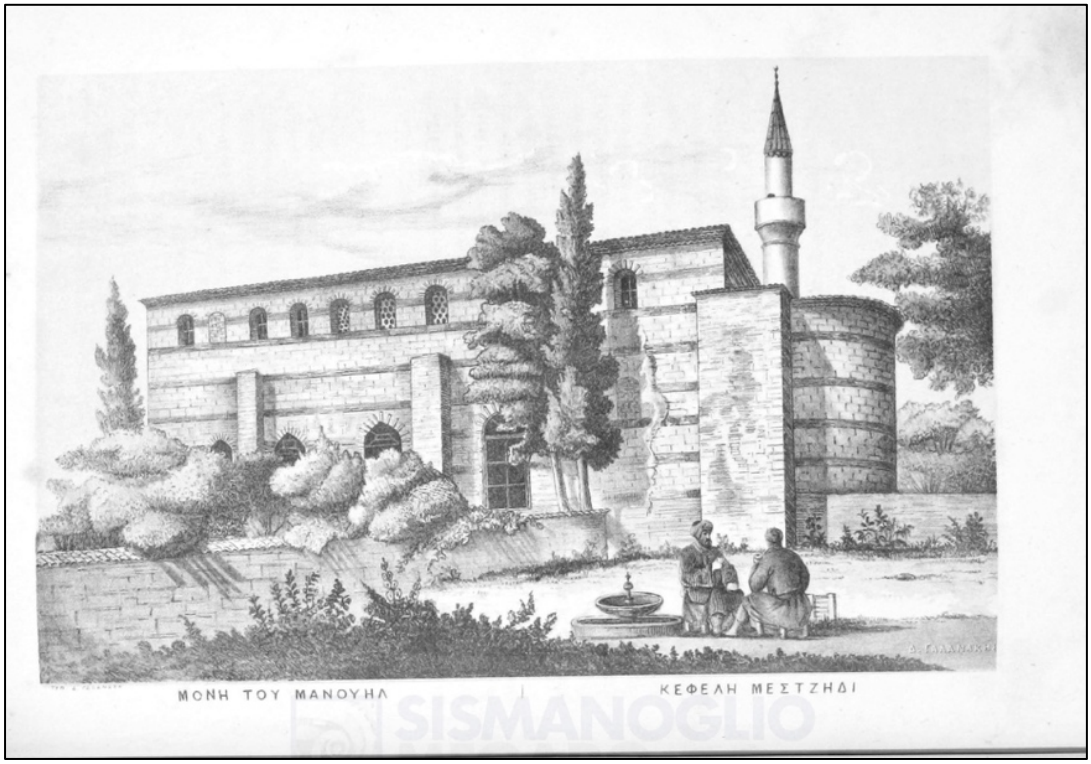


Figure 33. Drawing of the Monastery of Manouēl / Kefeli Mescidi by Manarakēs
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

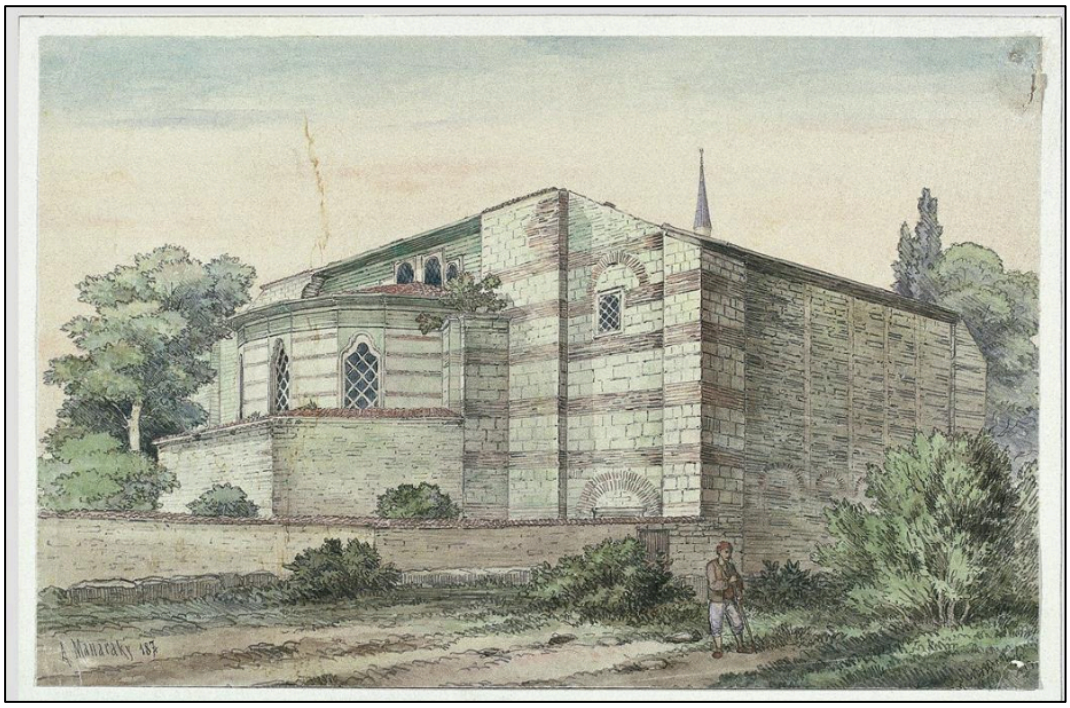


Figure 34. The exterior drawing of the Studios Monastery by Manarakēs
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Online Catalogue, Athens
http://www.ebyzantinemuseum.gr/?i=bxm.el.exhibit&id=186



Figure 35. The interior drawing of the Studios Monastery by Manarakēs
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Online Catalogue, Athens
http://www.ebyzantinemuseum.gr/?i=bxm.el.exhibit&id=166

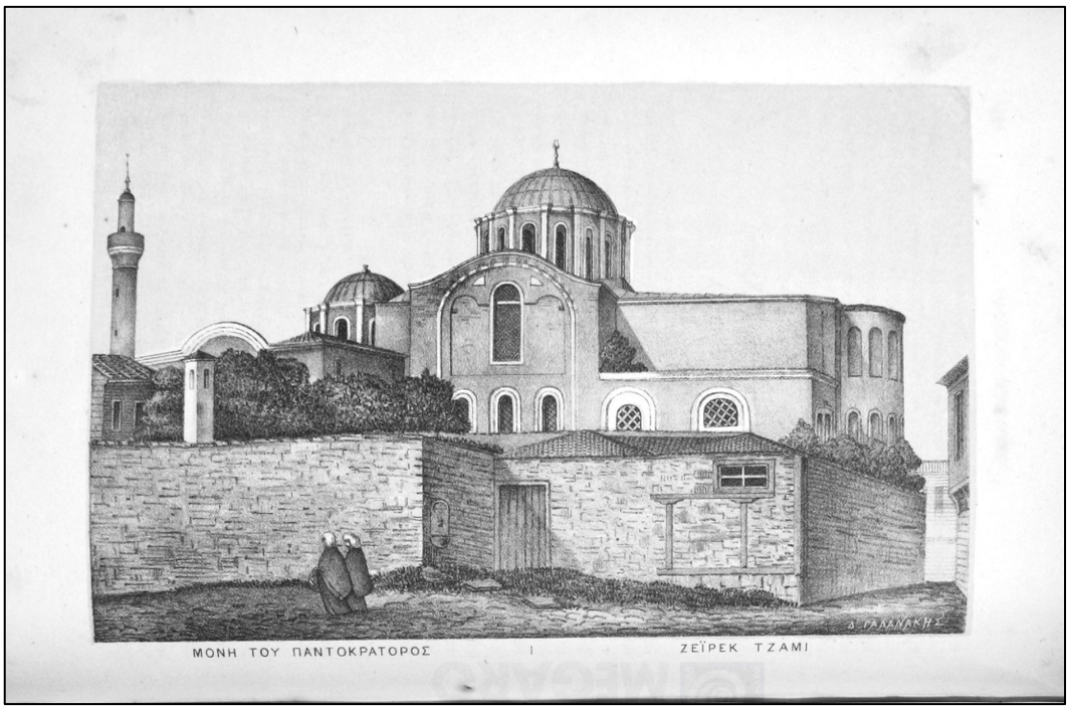


Figure 36. Drawing of the Pantokrator Monastery/Zeyrek Mosque by Manarakēs
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

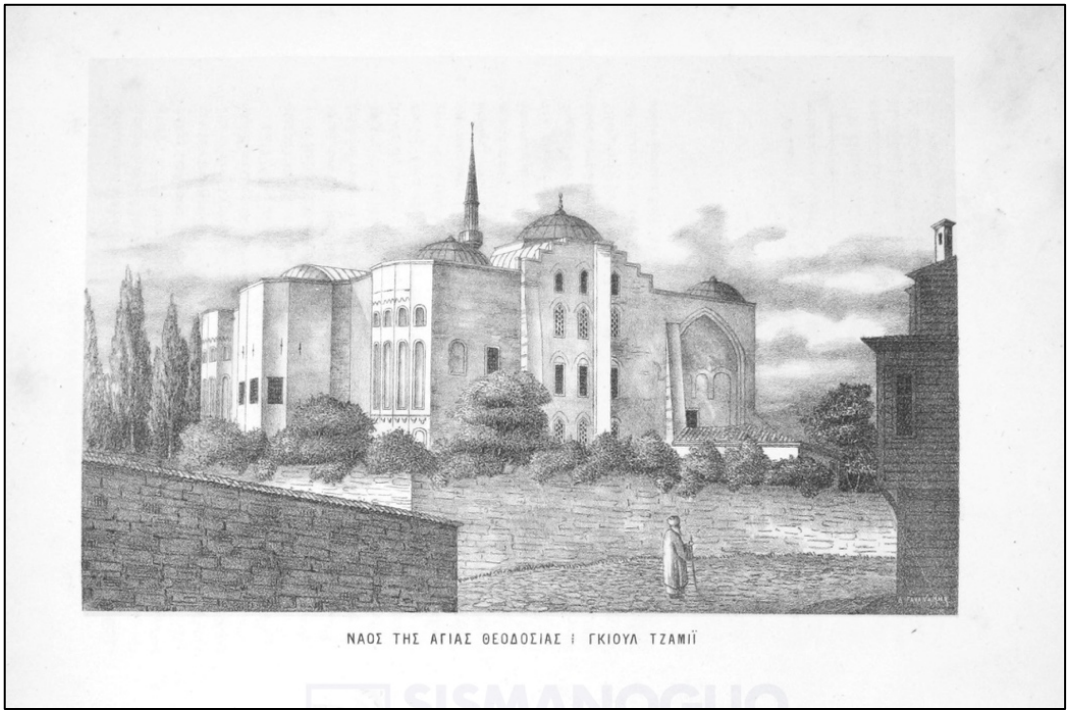


Figure 37. Drawing of the Hagia Theodosia Church/Gül Mosque by Manarakēs
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

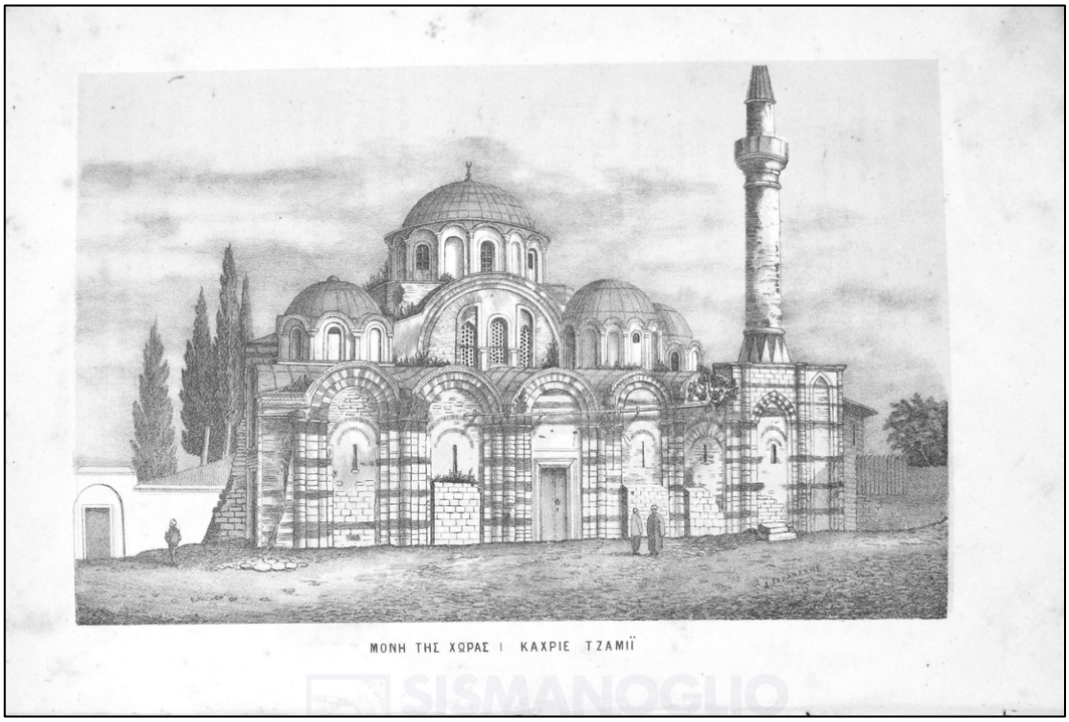


Figure 38. Drawing of the Chora Monastery / Kariye Mosque by Manarakēs
Retrieved from: Medusa: Veria Public Library Online Archives
Originally located in: Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

The exterior images of these churches do not provide much details about either their immediate surroundings or the urban context to which they belong but rather offer a small glimpse of their streets with the existence of certain people, observing these buildings from a distance. This actually goes hand in hand with the description of each monument by the author. Most notably, in his depictions, Paspatēs isolated the Byzantine remnants from their immediate surrounding within the urban context of Constantinople, peeled them from their new function as mosques, and rephrased them in a different, more 'Byzantine' setting with particular references to their relative patrons or saints, and underlined major events that signified the importance of those buildings in the eyes of its audience. Through re-contextualizing those buildings within Byzantine history, Paspatēs emphasized their mnemonic capacity, as representations of a certain past, and in a sense transformed them into *lieux de memoire,* a site of memory in Pierre Nora's terms, thus signifying their role as crucial reminders of the Byzantine history of the city, which I argue is a significant step towards their heritagization. As Nora states, "There are *lieux de memoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de memoire,* real environments of memory."[566] Accordingly, it is the impending loss and disappearance of the Byzantine environment that led Paspatēs to focus on the representation of the Byzantine past through these sites. The images he utilized in the book served the same function. Robert Nelson, though referring to Hagia Sophia, underlines the role of images, especially photography or photographic depictions of the building, in the rediscovery and acknowledgement of the Great Church as a modern 'monument' in the second half of the nineteenth century.[567] Unfortunately, it was not possible to

[566] Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," 7.
[567] Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950,* 73-104. For a detailed analysis of the relation between the rise of photography and the study of Byzantine Architecture, see Ousterhout, "Historic Photography and Byzantine Architecture."

trace any of the photographs of these buildings that could accompany the depictions of Manarakēs.[568] Yet, there is still grounds to assert that, Paspatēs was most probably aware of the visual depictions of Hagia Sophia, and utilized a similar visual regime for these other converted churches.

Moreover, Paspatēs's focus on the initial phases and actors of these converted churches also provide him with an opportunity to recontextualize these buildings as contested spaces. In this light, he was interested not only in the conversion of the churches into mosques by the Ottomans, but also in their conversion into Latin churches during the *Latinokratia* in Constantinople, or into Armenian churches, as in the case of Sulu Manastır*,* (Surp Kevork- St. George).[569] The case of St. George church is also significant in the sense that although it was one of the Byzantine churches that was given to the Armenian community of the city by Mehmed II, Paspatēs neither mentioned the church as belonging to a different confessional group nor dealt with any details about it. He just underlined that it had lost its 'Byzantine' features after the fire of 1782.

Paspatēs was also aware of the decrepit state of the city before the Ottoman siege and conquest, and that Mehmed II had to relocate people from different regions of the Ottoman polity into the capital in order to revive it.[570] It was around that time, Paspatēs tells us, that the Christians of the city relocated closer to the seaside walls and the gates, and left the high, cozy neighborhoods to the Muslim Ottomans: 'In this

[568] Almost two decades after Paspatēs, Alexander Van Millingen photographed some of the buildings he had studied. One interesting example is the photo of the Anemas Tower, which is exactly from the same perspective as the drawing of Manarakēs. Moreover, there is another photo from inside the tower including a "man with a candle," published in Grosvenor*, Constantinople*, 397. See Appendix M.

[569] Paspatēs refers to the Latin conquest and rule in Constantinople during the Forth Crusade between 1204-1261 by the Greek word *Latinokratia,* which literally translates as 'Latin rule'.

[570] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 404. For a detail information on the policy of Mehmed II after the conquest, see Inalcık, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City;" Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/İstanbul.*

way, these notable churches stayed without Christians, without parishioners and the monasteries without monks'[571] all of which, eventually, led to their conversion into mosques.[572]

Despite his negative attitude towards these conversions, Paspatēs still maintained his 'objective' standpoint, and underlined that the conversion of the churches into mosques was not a feature exclusive to the Ottomans. He mentioned that the first Christian monuments of the city were also built on top of ancient Greek temples, regardless of whether they were already in ruins or not.[573] He also added that the final destruction of all Greek temples eventually took place during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius.[574]

Focusing exclusively on the buildings themselves, isolated from the rest of their context, Paspatēs discussed, albeit not in a well-organized or systematic way, the important stages in the lives of practically every church, such as the fires, the reconstructions, and the legendary stories behind their constructions. He gave the names and if possible, lives of people, rulers, members of clergy, saints or administrators involved in their constructions, conversions and in sporadic repairs:

> This monastery [Kefeli *Mescidi*] was first erected by Manuel, who was a well-known general of the Eastern army, during the reign of Theophilos and his son Michael… This small monastery was restored from its foundations by Photios the Patriarch and after him Georgios Lakapenos. Michael Doukas Parapinakes (1071-1078) resided for some time in this monastery.[575]

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[571] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 404-405.
[572] This is another issue on which Paspatēs was mistaken, as the change in the urban distribution of communities and the eventual conversion of the mosques took place within the sixteenth century. See Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/İstanbul,* 207-226.
[573] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 391, f.n.1. The Church and Holy Waters of Panagia of Blachernae is an example of a church built on top of a Greek temple and then Latinized during the *Latinokratia*. Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 390-391.
[574] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 291, f.n.2
[575] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 304-305. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A24. Semavi Eyice questions this information regarding the Kefeli Mescidi and its connection to the Monastery of Manuil as the major Byzantine references that confirm the connection were proven wrong by later studies. Eyice, "Kefeli Mescidi" İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, Vol 4, 517. See also Eyice, "İstanbul'da kiliseden çevrilmiş cami ve mescidler ve bunlarin restorasyonu." Müller-Wiener also, parallel to Eyice, states that this connection is not proven correct. Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası,* 166-168.

Another aspect of the churches that Paspatēs examined was their yards, which often also served as their cemeteries. Unfortunately, as Paspatēs asserted, after the conversion of the churches, the yards were also used by the Muslims as cemeteries, making it difficult to trace the earlier grave sites.

In addition to his approach to these buildings as individual artifacts, whenever possible, he described the bones and reliquaries once or still kept or within those structures. The reasons behind Paspatēs's interest were manifold. First and foremost, the presence of bones and reliquaries of the saints essentially constituted the holiness of a site for both the western and eastern churches. A church was 'never'[576] built without placing holy, venerated relics within.[577] Their transfer to another place and their keeping in different churches of Europe indicated not only a certain level of interest in those items but also underlined the importance of these churches in relation to the relics.[578] In a sense the reliquaries that these relics were kept became an index of the importance as well as sacredness of these structures.

The importance of his attention to these small but important remnants was not only due to their sacred and symbolic nature. As I have already discussed in the previous part, the antiquarian interest of the eighteenth century had devoted a great deal of effort to the search and collection of reliquaries, which were viewed not only as small representatives of the belief system to which they belonged but also as

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[576] Paspatēs may seem to exaggerate the importance of the relics and reliquaries yet Alexei Lidov agrees with him on the importance of the relics as well as their essential existence in an Eastern Church. Lidov also underlines the importance of the Constantinopolitan churches serving as role models in this aspect. Lidov, *Eastern Christian Relics,* 14. However, Liz James, also in the same volume, mentions that when the number of relics and churches in Constantinople were compared it is very likely to have some churches without relics as some of the Churches such as Holy Apostles had above average in number. James, "Dry Bones and Painted Pictures: Relics and Icons in Byzantium," 48.

[577] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 285.

[578] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 286. It was particularly the Latins who took these relics to Europe. They were interested in the bones of saints who were similarly honored by the Western (Latin) church.

evidence of historical facts. The importance given to the loss of bones and other holy relics to the Latins was almost tantamount to that of the conversion of these buildings into mosques, since in both cases these buildings lost their ability to embody the faith of the Eastern Christianity. Via his research, Paspatēs aimed to 'reconstruct' their representative capacity and utilized the stories behind the existence or non-existence of these reliquaries as evidence.

4.4 Paspatēs's Sources:

Despite the fact that Paspatēs based his research mostly on his *in-situ* observations, the case of the churches illustrates that he also utilized a significant number of earlier works as well. He combined his fieldwork and observations with the writings of Byzantine authors and earlier urban/antiquarian literature on Byzantine Constantinople, a literature that can be traced through the sixteenth century research of Petrus Gyllius. The outcome of this multilateral and thorough analysis was, however, a different approach than in these previous studies. Unlike urban antiquarian literature, which had focused on the urban context as a holistic, unified entity with different subsections, Paspatēs focused on one single (yet again multifaceted) layer of the city, isolated from its existing context and reframed in another, historicized one. The content of the book *Byzantinai Meletai* and his other writings indicate a selected, focused perspective towards the city. In a sense he filtered the earlier literature to extract 'his' city.

Paspatēs provided the reader with a very short list of bibliography of fourteen books, all of which were written after the fall of the city, and a "variety of Byzantine authors" as his major sources.[579] But from the footnotes of his book, it is clearly

[579] See Appendix L for the list of those sources as provided by Paspatēs.

apparent that he utilized a greater variety of sources including the works of Greek and European scholars and travelers. Among them were significant names of Byzantine authors such as Choniates, Sphrantzes, Kodinos, and more recent ones such as Meletios of Athens and even somewhat contemporary authors like Andreas Mordtmann or Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall:

> Even if sometimes in this study I do not share many of the ideas of contemporary scholars, I respect deeply the hard work of such writers. None revers more than myself the intellectual depth of the famous German scholar, Hammer, the naiveté of Patriarch Kōnstantios, the versatile erudition of Sk. Byzantios and the industriousness of K. Mordtmann.[580]

Among them, the works of Skarlatos Byzantios and Patriarch Kōnstantios are particularly significant for Paspatēs. First of all, they were the earliest examples of urban antiquarian literature in Greek, and can rightly be considered Paspatēs's forerunners. As quoted above, Paspatēs was critical of most of the earlier works and aimed to 'correct' them through his own observations and research.

Among the issues that Paspatēs underlined in the previous literature, especially those dating to the Byzantine era, one major problem related to the inability to follow their narratives in the current context of the city. As Paspatēs underlined several times, the city had been altered significantly since the time of the Byzantine authors. Due to the fires, earthquakes and other changes such as those in street names, it was difficult to follow their topographical references. He stated that even the great number of accounts of the history of the city may not help in this respect.[581] He also blamed Byzantine writers for being unreliable, a fact that he attributed at times to their ignorance, or their readiness to flatter. A consequence of this was the occasional misnaming of some of the churches or providing the name of

[580] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 1. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A25.
[581] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 280.

the person who had repaired or rebuilt it rather than the initial patron of the building.[582]

Despite these misleading sources, obviously there were some other names that Paspatēs made significant use of in his research. One such name was the church chronicler Symeon Metaphrastes, the renowned Byzantine hagiographer, who was also *patrikios*[583] under Leo the Wise.[584] Paspatēs underlined that, as a Constantinopolitan, when Symeon referred to churches, he gave detailed information about their locations and Christian customs: "He speaks like a person who knows his *patris* (hometown, home country)."[585] Another major source used by Paspatēs was a collection of Patriarchal proceedings between 1315-1402. As Paspatēs narrates, these accounts included "the inscriptions, synod judgements and documents and notes of ecclesiastical site notes or legislations." They were forgotten for a while and then were given to Busbecq, the Austurian Ambassador to Constantinople in the sixteenth century, (1554- 1562).[586] Bousbeq took them to Vienna where they were rediscovered and published by Miklosich and Müller in the nineteenth century.[587] A common aspect of both works was their detailed description of monastic life and the churches themselves, information which, according to Paspatēs, could not have been gathered from any other account. The work of Comte Riant[588] was also important as it gave detailed information concerning both the Latin invasion and sack of the city

[582] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 280.
[583] High ranking dignity, See "Patrikios" ODB Vol. 3, 1600.
[584] Byzantine Emperor Leo VI was co-emperor from 870 and sole emperor from 890-912. Known for his erudition and promotion of scholarship he was called 'the Wise' or 'the Philosopher'. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was his son. See "Leo VI" ODB, Vol. 2, 1210-11.
[585] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 282.
[586] Augier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522-1592), or Ogier Ghiselin De Busbeck, Flemish Diplomat. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Augier-Ghislain-de-Busbecq.
[587] As cited by Paspatēs: "*Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, collecta ediderunt Franciscus Miklosich et Josephus Müller*. Vindobonae. Vol. 1 (1860), Vol. 2 (1862), Vol. 3 (1865). Vol. 4 (1871)." Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 282.
[588] As cited by Paspatēs: "Des Dépouilles Religieuses enlevées a Constantinople au XIII siécle par les Latins, et des Documents Historiques nés de leur transport en Occident, par le Comte Riant. Paris 1875."

by crusaders and Italian tradesmen and the plundering of reliquaries, which are now largely kept in the churches of Italy and Europe. As mentioned above, the issue of the relics and reliquaries constituted a significant focus of Paspatēs's interest.

4.4.1 Ayvansarâyî and the *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi*

The most intriguing among Paspatēs's sources, however, was a book written in Ottoman Turkish by Hafız Hüseyin Efendi, also known as Ayvansarâyî*,* 'son of Hacı İsmail, from Ayvansaray close to Eğrikapı.'[589] His work, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi* the 'Garden of the Mosques', was written with the encouragement and financial backing of Müstakimzâde between 1768-69 and 1779.[590] For Paspatēs, the importance of Ayvansarâyî came from the fact that he was the only source with which he could follow the transformation of the churches into mosques together with their lifecycle in the post-Fall period:

> I benefited in a double way from the study of this work. First in his description of many mosques he states explicitly that in the old times they were churches, or that they were built on top of destroyed churches. But unluckily the Ottomans do not mention whether these mosques were originally monasteries or cathedrals, what their ancient name had been or which saint they had been dedicated to. Writers access some of this information from the Christians who were living around that area. At least in the descriptions of some of the large churches they could refer to the byzantine names of these churches, byzantine names that were preserved down to our day, in the mouth of even illiterate folk. While describing Hagia Sophia, they only state that, in earlier times it was a church. Second, and closer to our topic of interest, they give a record, they narrate the year, sometimes even the month and the day of the conversion of these churches into Muslim mosques. In addition to these, they even mention quite often the people who converted these churches into mosques.[591]

[589] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 283.
[590] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 283. Müstakimzâde Süleyman Sâdeddin who was named after his late grandfather Mehmed Müstakim Efendi, the judge (kadı) of Edirne and Damascus; was an Ottoman intellectual who had lived in the eighteenth century. He had published books on literature and religion. For a detailed biography of Ayvansarâyî, See Eyice, "Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî;" Crane, "Introduction."
[591] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 283-284. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A26.

As previously mentioned, Paspatēs relied on *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî* for the identification of the converted churches, another feature that distinguished his work from earlier literature. Although Semavi Eyice states that he has referred to Ali Sati[592] as the author of the *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî*, a close reading of Paspatēs reveals that he clearly gives the name of Hafiz Hüseyin from Ayvansaray:

> The last work from which we collected everything that we know about the period after the Fall, is the two-volume work of Hafiz Hüseyin Efendi, son of Hacı Ismail from Ayvansaray, a parish near Eğrikapı. This document is called Garden of the Mosques (f.n. hadikat-oul-tzevami) it was written with the encouragement and funding of Mustakimzade. It was edited and completed by Seid Ali from 1248 – 1253 meaning for us 1832 up until 1837. It was published in Constantinople in 1281 of Hicri (1864).[593]

Yet, Paspatēs also adds that 'Said Ali', who had republished Ayvansarâyî's work, did not devote his time to improve the work of Ayvansarâyî and did not visit the mosques *in situ,* which meant that he thus was unable to follow the changes that had occurred in the buildings throughout time:

> Unfortunately, Seid Ali copying the work of Hafiz Hüseyin who compiled this work years ago, never visited himself all of the mosques that are narrated. He describes some mosques as standing even though the foundations and walls of these mosques had disappeared many years ago.[594]

Paspatēs states that he utilized the work of Ayvansarâyî in several different aspects: First, since Ayvansarâyî explicitly mentions if the mosque in question was converted from a church or constructed over one, his work enabled Paspatēs to identify the locations or buildings of those churches. However, he claims that Ayvansarâyî did not give any further detail with regard to whether the building was previously part of a monastery or a regular church. On the other hand, he provided

[592] Paspatēs refers to him as Said Ali, most probably he mixes Seyyid Ali Satı as Said or Seid Ali.
[593] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 283. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A27.
[594] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 285. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A28.

information about the conversion itself, chronicling who converted the building into a mosque and when it took place. [595]

> [N]o Christian writer narrated what happened to those churches after the Fall. All the mosques that are named as churches by these writers I visited, not once but many times. The clear knowledge of the Ottoman writers about these mosques is praiseworthy. The Muslim priests from whom I extracted a lot of information about these churches, never contradicted the aforementioned writers. I visited some mosques that in the old times used to be churches but were not described in any sources. I regret to say that I discovered many churches whose Byzantine-period names I ignore. These churches have been 'unknown' to this day, are found in Ottoman neighborhoods, and their truthful depictions I want to exhibit.
>
> The story of some others I narrate and share with the public the reasons that lead me say that this church was called so-and-so by the Byzantines. In addition, this work includes valuable information about ancient Byzantium, contained in the extant descriptions of its mosques. He [Ayvansarâyî] says that the mosque called Hekim Çelebi close to Koska (close to Laleli) was erected during the kingship of Süleyman and had served as a barn for elephants in earlier times. This is the earlier evidence we get from this document that in the old times elephants were bred in Constantinople. And also, we learn the location of the yard in which these animals were enclosed. Another building similar to this one was located behind *Makrohori* [today's Bakırköy] which is to this day called 'barn for elephants' by the farmers and shepherds living around the area.[596]

The importance of Ayvansarâyî for Paspatēs is patently clear, but within the limits of this study there is yet another aspect that makes Paspatēs's utilization of *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi* noteworthy: it becomes another node in the network that this study investigates and it integrates the accumulating body of the Ottoman Turkish urban-antiquarian literature into the Greek one.

Although as Shrine Hamadeh and Howard Crane indicate, there is no similar predecessor of *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi*, it is obviously a product of the rising architectural awareness amongst the intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire.[597] It was also a work of

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[595] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 283.
[596] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 284. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A29. Elephants were also bred in the cistern of the Palace of Takiro, Tekfursarayı.
[597] Hamadeh, "The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayi's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul," 110; Crane, "Introduction," xv-xvi.

long-standing popularity in the Ottoman era, especially in the nineteenth century. Hamadeh states that the first summary and translation of *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi* appeared in German by Hammer von Purgstall in 1833 as an appendix to his *History of the Ottoman Empire*.[598] As Paspatēs also mentioned, Ali Sati edited and expanded the compilation between 1832/33 and 1838 and it was printed in Istanbul by the Imperial Printing Press (*Matbaa-i Amire*) in 1864/65.[599] This was the version that Paspatēs utilized and referred to in his section on the churches of Constantinople.[600] The importance of this comes from the fact that, Paspatēs refers to various pages of the *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi*, making it evident that he studied the Turkish version of the book in detail.[601] Little research has been conducted on *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi* as a literary work. Özakay's paper in this respect stands out as a significant effort to contextualize the work of Ayvansarâyî and discuss his spatial and urban concerns.[602] Here in this study, however, I focus on Paspatēs's approach to *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi* as a model for his investigation of churches.

The works of Paspatēs and Ayvansarayî share another important common feature. They constitute examples of the thematic presentation of knowledge in a systematic manner. In that aspect the *Garden of Mosques* is in itself an encyclopedia with a special focus on one single type of building, the mosque. Each entry, that is every single mosque, actually consists of certain characteristic details regarding its

[598] As also discussed in Chapter 3, Byzantios had utilized the work of Hammer in his compilation. It is interesting that despite the fact that he had referred to some of the mosques that had been converted churches, he did not mention Ayvansarâyî at all.
[599] Hamadeh, "The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayi's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul," 110, Hamadeh also adds that it was subsequently enlarged by Süleyman Besim to include material extending to the year 1859/60. See also Galitekin, *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi* 32-33. It was Tahsin Oz who published a two-volume book, *Istanbul Camileri* (The mosques of Istanbul) and the first volume of Sati's version was translated into modern Turkish by Ihsan Erzi. The latest edition by Howard Crane is the first translation into English.
[600] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 285.
[601] Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 297, fn:1
[602] Özakay, "Spatial Network, Urban Memory and Public Making in *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi",*1. I am grateful to Damla Özakay for sharing her unpublished seminar paper on Ayvansarâyî with me.

tangible and non-tangible aspects. The entry begins with the number of the minarets of the mosque, which is an indication of the position of the mosque within a certain hierarchy of mosques in the city. Although this may seem rather arbitrary, the number of minarets and their balconies accordingly might give us an idea of who the potential patron of the building may have been. The second set of information pertains to the building program of the mosques, whether they included any dependencies or not, including certain details about their decoration. Another key detail provided by Ayvansarâyî about these edifices was their chronology, which entailed any alterations made throughout the lifecycle of those buildings, any repairs etc. One other aspect examined was the burials around the mosque. The names of those who were buried in the cemetery of a given mosque were taken as an important detail regarding the prominence of the mosque. The final component of each entry was to elucidate the existence of a neighborhood attached to that mosque.

However, the most significant detail for our purposes that Ayvansarâyî, included in his work is the fact that he underlines the 'converted' status of the mosques. The general organization of the book starts with Hagia Sophia, the imperial Mosque, the renowned *Cami-i Kebir*. He continues in a chronological order of *selatin* (imperial) mosques, starting with the very first one constructed by Mehmed II following the conquest.

Even without delving into the details of both works, it is apparent that both authors had chosen a specific layer of the urban context and remodeled that layer within their new framework. Both selected their congregationally-representative space, the church or the mosque, and either collected them in a 'garden' as in the case of Ayvansarâyî, or 're(dis)covered' them as in the case of Paspatēs. The juxtaposition within these structures, in other words same buildings being once a

church, now a mosque, connected these authors to one another, a feature most possible in an urban context such as Constantinople.

Yet another common feature was the fact that as a compilation of all the mosques, *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi* focused on several aspects which could also be followed in the work of Paspatēs. It is not the architectural details, or the plan of the building, or the material utilized in the construction that occupied both authors so much as the patrons and saints of the buildings, that is to say, the person(s) who had ordered the church or the mosque to be built or rebuilt, and the icons, relics and holy people who had been buried here. Özakay underlines that Ayvansarâyî, through the utilization of these buildings as agents, reveals the urban network that included the patrons of these buildings as well as others, such as people who were buried in the cemeteries revealing the impact of this network within the urban context.[603] Such an assertion could also be made for Paspatēs who through his focus on the 'Byzantine' patrons or burials and 'Christian' saints of these buildings, re-memorized their forgotten identity and reemphasized their imprint on the urban context of Constantinople.

4.4.2 The wider context of Encyclopedism and Antiquarianism in the Ottoman Empire

What connects Paspatēs to Ayvansarâyî, as two nodes of the Constantinopolitan network, besides the juxtaposition of their subjects, was their organized presentation of the available knowledge regarding the urban material context. Moreover, both works, for all their exceptionalism and pivotal role within the urban antiquarian literature in their respective languages, Paspatēs in Greek, Ayvansarâyî in Ottoman

[603] Özakay, "Spatial Network, Urban Memory and Public Making in *Hadîkatü'l-cevâmi,"* 10-11.

Turkish, did not emerge out of a void. Similar to Paspatēs, Ayvansarâyî was the product of a rising intellectual culture, which prized accumulated knowledge and acute awareness of their immediate architectural contexts. What differentiated them in the content of their works, however, was their perception of and engagement with the urban context from different standpoints, an approach which was in turn shaped by their identities, meaning the respective communities to which they belonged.

I have already discussed the scholarly background which Paspatēs's study dwelt on, in the previous part of this dissertation. However, the broader intellectual alignments of Ayvansarâyî are not as easy to decipher, since neither Ayvansarâyî himself, nor Ali Satı, reveal the sources of their inspiration or knowledge regarding the buildings. As mentioned above, Hamadeh and Crane have already underlined the impact of the rising architectural awareness among eighteenth-century intellectuals in Constantinople as a major source of inspiration for Ayvansarâyî.[604] Moreover, Kafescioğlu mentions that there was already a rising 'aesthetic sensitivity' among the intellectual elite of Constantinople –to which Ayvansarâyî belonged– towards the material aspects of urban structures from the late fifteenth century onwards; they were observers of the novel imperial architectural idiom of the capital city.[605] In addition, by the time Ayvansarâyî had compiled his *magnum opus* in the late eighteenth century, a remarkable body of texts had already been produced on the buildings of Constantinople in the early modern era, including a variety of genres

[604] Hamadeh, "The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayi's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul," 110; Crane, *The Garden of the Mosques*, xv-xvi. For the rising architectural awareness among the Ottoman intellectual elite, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures.*
[605] Kafescioğlu, "Itinerant Gaze: Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture in the Book of Travels," 315.

from poetry to prose in different languages of the empire, such as Turkish or Armenian.[606]

A very well-known example was Evliya Çelebi from the seventeenth century. In his *Seyahatname*, or "Book of Travels", Evliya described the buildings of the cities he visited, and treated them as complete structures with their visual and spatial (and several times mythical) aspects. As Faroqhi emphasized, the *Seyahatname* provided a significant amount of information on the architecture of the early modern era. Evliya was not as "sober" [607] as he was when describing the constructions from antiquity or Christian culture, or, as Kafescioğlu stated, the pre-Ottoman, medieval constructions in Anatolia did not receive enough attention from Evliya since he defined them as "*kadîm" (ancient)* and built in the "*tarz-ı kadîm"* (ancient style) which had a negative connotation for him;[608] he was nevertheless an important source for the architectural and urban culture of the territories of the early modern Ottoman Empire, starting from the capital spreading all through its vast geography.[609]

Similar to Ayvansarâyî, early modern examples focusing on the material aspects of the urban context of Constantinople devoted particular attention to the imperial mosques, including the Great Mosque of Ayasofya.[610] Evliya was no exception in this regard. However, as Kafescioğlu states, rather than its "*tarz-ı kadîm,"* Evliya focused on the symbolic importance attributed to the converted

[606] Some examples include *Evsâf-ı İstanbul* of Latifi, *Heves-nâme* of Tacizade Cafer Çelebi, *Risale-i İstanbul,* by Ali el-Arabi İlyas, *XVII. Asırda İstanbul Tarihi* by Kömürciyan *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul Tarihi* by İncicyan. See Pamukciyan, *İstanbul Yazıları,* for the literature in Armenian.
[607] Faroqhi, "Foreword", xvii; Dankoff, *An Ottoman mentality,*52.
[608] See Kafescioğlu, "Itinerant Gaze: Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture in the Book of Travels," 319.
[609] Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality.*
[610] One such example was the *Risale-yi Istanbul* of Ilyas Arabi See Yıldız, *Ilyas Arabı's Risale-yi İstanbul*. I am grateful to Ozan Yıldız, who has not only shared his preliminary ideas during the early stages of his research but also provided a final copy of his recently submitted manuscript.

church.[611] Despite his lack of interest in the 'ancient' buildings of Constantinople, Evliya's *Seyahatname* still constituted a striking example of the nascent interest in the material aspects of the city. It constituted a paradigmatic example for urban antiquarian literature to a certain extent and was one of the most visible and enduring works due to its sheer size and vast content. As it was presented in an orderly fashion, it is possible to affiliate it with models of early modern Encyclopedism.[612] Although Encyclopedism as a concept matured and took a novel form during the European Enlightenment, it has actually existed through a wide range of methods for systematizing knowledge since Antiquity.[613] In that respect, *Seyahatname,* with its focus on different cities in and out of the Empire, together with the orderly descriptions of the major (imperial) buildings in those cities, can be evaluated as one example of Encyclopedism in the Ottoman intellectual milieu. Actually, by the end of sixteenth century, Hagen states that there is a 'well established canon of knowledge' among the Ottoman intellectuals, which could be claimed as 'classical in itself, as it has attained systematic organization and internal ordering while at the same time imposing order onto its subject matter.'[614]

The early modern literature examined in this study has been limited, for the most part, to works written in Greek and Ottoman Turkish, due to language limitations. This is not to underestimate or ignore the possible sources in languages

[611] Kafescioğlu, "Itinerant Gaze: Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture in the Book of Travels," 319.
[612] Encyclopedism as the compilation and organization of knowledge in Enlightenment has already been discussed in Chapter 2.
[613] See: König & Woolf, *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance;* Endress, & Filali-Ansary, *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth-Century Islamic World.*
[614] Hagen, "The Order of Knowledge, the Knowledge of Order: Intellectual Life," 407. A significant example is the sixteenth century historian Taşköprüzade Ahmed who categorized his bibliographic encyclopedia *Miftah al-saʿada wa misbah al-siyada* on the history and organization of scientific knowledge. Hagen, "The Order of Knowledge, the Knowledge of Order: Intellectual Life," 409-411; Also see Kutluer, "Miftâḥu's-saʿâde."

such as Armenian. Moreover, although experts on Armenian language and literature, such as Kevork Pamukciyan, state that there were not many examples of urban/antiquarian literature in Armenian, other than the renowned works of İncicyan[615] Kömürciyan and Hovhannesyan, recent inquiries on lesser-known works continue to transform our perception of early modern literature regarding the urban context of the city.[616]

Despite the lack of adequate scholarly attention to these works, even a perfunctory perusal of their modern edition reveals that this literature was not bounded by language. The rising awareness of the architectural/material culture made its mark beyond the borders of any language in the Ottoman realm. This is one of the major points that this study aims to underline, that through the agency of the material texture, and parallel utilization of the objects of knowledge of this texture produced within different domains, it is possible to cross the borders of linguistic barriers. The importance of Paspatēs as a polyglot lies in the fact that he was able to utilize different sources of knowledge from different linguistic traditions, accumulate information about the same subject matter, Constantinople, and enrich it with his in-situ experience.

[615] The work of İncicyan constitutes another encyclopedic presentation of knowledge on the urban context of Constantinople. Parallel to the urban/antiquarian tradition generated by Petrus Gyllius in the sixteenth century, İncicyan provides a thorough description of the late eighteenth-century Constantinople. I had access to the Turkish translation of Incicyan's work, with additions from the work of Hovhannesyan, as Andreasyan, the editor of the book mentions. His all-inclusive approach to the city reminds one, of the work of Hammer-Purgstall and the colossal compilation of Skarlatos Byzantios, which was discussed in Chapter 3. For detailed information on the Armenian literature on Constantinople, See: Pamukciyan, *İstanbul Yazıları.*

[616] One such example is the article by Polina Ivanova on *Ōragrut'iwn*, by Eremia Chelebi Kömürciyan. See Ivanova, "Armenians in Urban Order and Disorder of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul."

4.5 Conclusion: Paspatēs's influence and legacy

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, by the time Paspatēs was an active researcher in Constantinople in the later nineteenth century, there had already been a certain level of European interest in some of the Byzantine buildings of Constantinople, beginning with Hagia Sophia, such as the work of Salzenberg or the extensive restorations by the Fossati brothers. What made Paspatēs's approach unique was his ability to combine a vast number of sources with his meticulous, hands-on, *in-situ* inquiry, thanks to his linguistic, practical, and social skills: First, his capacity for reading many different languages, including Turkish as well as his native Greek, provided him with access to a vast number of sources beginning from the Byzantine period until his contemporaries. His fluency in Turkish together with his residence in Constantinople must have constituted a tremendous advantage in his *in-situ* inquiries, especially in neighborhoods where the sites of churches/mosques were now dominated by a Turkish-speaking population. Another benefit of being a resident in Constantinople was his ability to pursue extensive fieldwork with the assistance of local connections in the Ottoman bureaucracy such as Karatheodori. One potential deficiency of Paspatēs was his not being an architect or a painter himself. Yet, he overcame this again through his personal network, which included professionals such as Manarakēs or Dēmadēs.

Making the most of his potential and striving to become a hardworking researcher with a keen interest in Constantinople, Paspatēs has left a significant number of studies behind.[617] However, his true legacy lies in the impact he made on his colleagues throughout his life and even after his death. Andreas David Mordtmann Jr bid farewell to Mr. Alexander G. Paspatēs with a speech on 13

[617] See References for a short list of his work.

January 1892 at the *Syllogos*, following the death of Paspatēs in Athens, in December 1891:

> [T]he true founder of scientific topographical studies of Byzantium. For no architectural remains, no alley, no dwelling, no decrepit tower, no basement, escaped his wolf-like gaze or was left un-appraised by autopsy. And before providing an accurate description, he never shunned from renewed visits and toil over the sites to clarify points of uncertainty, to measure the sites, either alone or in the company of friends, scholars, engineers or architects. In this way he was known to all locals, both Muslim and Christian, who appreciated his gentle and approachable character and eagerly provided every assistance to his research. The archaeological excursions led by Paspatēs in search of some monastery or in the deserted parishes of Blachernae, the walls or the great palaces, retain their lasting impression in the memory of those fortunate enough to participate in them.[618]

As Mordtmann stated, Paspatēs not only studied the Byzantine heritage by himself, but also inspired others to do the same. Many of Paspatēs's colleagues, with whom he had collaborated either through the *Syllogos* or his personal network, also utilized his work in their own research. One such individual was Edwin Grosvenor, who wrote a book entitled *Constantinople*. Grosvenor, who was also a graduate of Amherst College, met Paspatēs in Constantinople, while the former was teaching at Robert College, and quickly forged a friendship grounded on a shared past of both college and missionary education. They were also both members of the *Syllogos.* They furthered their friendship in their collaboration on research on Constantinople. In his preface to *Constantinople* by E. Grosvenor, which was published in two volumes in 1895, Lew Wallace notes:

> As far back as 1831, Amherst College graduated a young Sciote, named Alexander G. Paspatis, who became a man of vast erudition. His whole life succeeding graduation was given to Constantinople and Greece. He was, in fact, the chief Greek archeologist of his time, and knew more of Byzantium than any other scholar, however devoted to that conglomeration of antiquities. Professor Grosvenor accepted a chair in Robert College on the west- ern bank of the Bosphorus, six miles above Stamboul, and while in that position made the acquaintance of Dr Paspatis. Sons of the same Alma Mater, it was natural that they should be drawn together. Ere long they became intimates; and

[618] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 23, 16-17. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A30.

> when Professor Grosvenor developed a facility for the acquirement of languages —Paspatis spoke fifteen —and a taste for the antique in and about the old capital of the Komnenoi, Paspatis took him to his heart and became his master and guide. The days they went roaming through the lost quarters and over the diminished hills, digging into tumuli in search of data for this and that, deciphering inscriptions, and fixing the relations of points, were to the younger professor what the illuminated letters are at the beginning of chapters in the Koran.1 Paspatis suggested to his friend the writing of a book, and from that moment the latter betook himself to preparation, greatly assisted by a thorough mastery of many languages, modern and classic. He collected authorities, and with the learned Doctor personally tested them on the ground. Old churches were thus resurrected, and palaces restored. Greek sites and remains were rescued from confusion with those of the Turks. [619]

These words by Wallace and his pointed reference to Paspatēs as the main person behind the Grosvenor's research and knowledge is a testament to Paspatēs's impact through his own research as well as his motivation. Grosvenor himself also acknowledged the role of Paspatēs in his studies, along with many other names he had listed in his preface:

> Yet there are two to whom I owe more than to all the rest: Alexander G. Paspatis, graduate and doctor of laws of my own Alma Mater, my teacher and early friend, the most modest, the most patient, the most learned of all those who have striven to probe the mysteries of the classic and the Byzantine city; General Lew. Wallace, companionship with whom through years of study and research, and whose always constant friendship have been and are an inspiration.[620]

As Grosvenor's work was published shortly after the death of Paspatēs, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that this was a form of obituary, a way of acknowledging Paspatēs'simpact on the author's life.

Grosvenor's book was not a solitary example in this respect. In fact, Paspatēs'swork, which became a trendsetter for the succeeding literature on 'old' Istanbul, provided a significant base for many others including A. Mordtmann, Schlumberger, Ferik Ahmet Muhtar Paşa,[621] later the founder of the Military

[619] Wallace, "Introduction," xv-xvi.
[620] Grosvenor, "Preface," ix.
[621] The author of *Feth-i Celil-i Konstantiniyye.*

Museum, Mehmed Raif,[622] a military officer and author who wrote extensively on urban Istanbul, Mehmed Ziya,[623] and even Celal Esad Arseven,[624] researchers who are very well known for their work on the Byzantine remains in Istanbul. Paspatēs was referred to in quite a number of the works on the Byzantine Empire until the mid-twentieth century.[625] A significant example can be found in Mehmed Raif 's work:[626]

> "It is from here that Dr. Paspatēs entered the Anemas cave. Even though the paths were blocked, this visit achieves a clear route of investigation. In order to be able to get, ladders, candles, matches, lanterns, rope and a stick are necessary. If the ground is not controlled by the stick and the area is not visible, then it is impossible to avoid the wells which are very commonly encountered in these old buildings. And Dr. Paspatēs was a unique visitor who could visit these sites safe and sound and explore them. So, if one plans a visit here they should be very careful. They may go in from the entrance mentioned above…

Although the nineteenth century offered many significant examples, this chapter has argued that Paspatēs was the crucial turning point for Greek literature on Constantinople. His unique approach to the Byzantine remnants of Istanbul created a significant gravitation, thus leading to the development of an intellectual network around him, with himself acting as the hub. But it is also through this network that, the impact of his work transcended the limits of his community and language. Paspatēs'swork also directly or indirectly reached beyond the limits of his immediate surrounding.

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[622] The author of *Sultan Ahmet Parkı ve Âsâr-ı Atîkası.*
[623] Known as "İhtifalci" The author of *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi. Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Âsâr-ı Bâkıyesi.* Also See Eyice, *"*Bir İstanbul Tarihçisi: Mehmed Ziya."
[624] *Eski İstanbul, Abidat ve Mebanisi.*
[625] His book on the language of the Gypsies however is still being used by the researchers of the area.
[626] "...İşte Doktor Paspati buradan Anemas mağarasına girmişdir. Her ne kadar yollar kapanmış ise de maʿamâfîh bu ziyâret bir teftîş-i sahîh [düzgün, tam bir teftiş] tabiatını hâizdir [sahiptir]. Buraya girmek için merdiven, mûm, kibrit, fener, ip, baston edinmek lâzımdır. Değneklerle zemîn yoklanmaz ve etrâf görülmez ise bu eski binâlar içinde karanlıkda gidilirken ekseriyâ tesâdüf edilen kuyulardan tevakki olunamaz [korunulamaz]. Ve Doktor Paspati ise bu mahalli kâmilen dolaşmış ve keşf etmiş yegâne bir zâirdir [ziyaretçi]. Bu hâlde buranın ziyâreti kasd edilirse kendi nefsini muhâfazaya çalışılmalıdır. Buraya bâlâda zikr olunan medhalden girilir. Mehmed Raif, *Sultan Ahmet Parkı ve Âsâr-ı Atîka*sı, 43.

Paspatēs was not an archaeologist in the sense of the twenty-first century. However, his proactive research was beyond the expected limits of the antiquarian, who merely visits sites and collects artefacts. His antiquarian desire transformed him into an activist researcher, who would flourish with the institutional assistance he found in the *Syllogos*, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Obviously, Paspatēs was not alone in his antiquarianism. As outlined in the introduction of this study, it was in this period where quite a number of scholars from Europe came to Constantinople following their antiquarian desires, as did their fellow-researchers from the Greek Literary Society, the *Syllogos.* Names like Andreas David Mordtmann Jr or Philip Anton Dethier, who also constituted nodes of the intellectual network under investigation in this study, were significant conjugates of Paspatēs, who also published their research on the material context of Constantinople.

Archaeology, well embedded into antiquarianism, maintained a focus on Classical Antiquity for a long period. The remains from Ancient Greece and Rome had attracted many researchers and visitors. The Byzantine period however, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2 was a latecomer within the realm of antiquarian desire, and therefore archaeological research. For instance, Ousterhout dates the rise of Byzantine Archaeology as a separate discipline to the early twentieth century.[627] Although he underlines the importance of the Fossati restorations of Hagia Sophia around the mid-nineteenth century, he refers almost exclusively to European scholars as the actors of this rise in Byzantine Archaeology. However, if we shift this perspective from European researchers to the local, Constantinopolitan intellectual circles, our chronology is bound to change.

[627] Ousterhout, "The Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey," 182.

Although I agree with the relative lateness of the Byzantine period as a topic of antiquarian research, I would suggest an earlier date for the rise of Byzantine archaeology as a separate branch, that is the research by Paspatēs himself and the research he had initiated in other scholarly milieus in the second half of the nineteenth century. His participation in the *Syllogos*, which was among the most enduring and active societies of the Ottoman empire, made Paspatēs a part of the integrated world of Ottoman Constantinople even beyond his close intellectual environment. The *Syllogos*'s active milieu and interest in urban Constantinople together with Paspatēs's endeavor generated a creative capacity which resulted in a significant number of research and documentation projects pertaining to the Byzantine past. One such project was the documentation and mapping of the Theodosian walls of the city, which most probably had an impact on the acknowledgement of the walls as protected heritage by the Ottoman Sultan and will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF URBAN ANTIQUARIANISM: TOWARDS URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY

This chapter discusses the institutionalization of urban antiquarian research on Constantinople in the second half of the nineteenth century through a detailed study of the Greek Literary Society, the *Syllogos,*[628] another major hub of the Constantinopolitan intellectual network under investigation. The *Syllogos* was established as a scholarly society for literary and scientific studies within the Ottoman Empire's Greek Orthodox *millet.* Our main focus will be on the role played by the institutional structure of the *Syllogos* in the rising attention to the urban historical context of Constantinople and the advent of the archaeology of the remnants of the Byzantine period. This role was centered around the Society's headquarters in Beyoğlu, its library and a collection of books and archival material, as well as its reading room; the public lectures given by the members of the *Syllogos,* and its large network of members including a diverse group of people, which also included Ottoman state officials. As the existing scholarship already affirms, soon after its foundation, the *Syllogos* became an attraction point for many scholars from different backgrounds and a hub for an intellectual network within and beyond the Ottoman Empire, thanks to its members' scholarly research agendas which provided them with substantial interaction with other scholars from Constantinople and

[628] *Syllogos* (Σύλλογος) in Greek means 'society,' a term of Ancient Greek origin, designating "an association of individuals aimed at reinforcing a common bond or promoting a set aim." Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 17. As Vassiadis mentions, after the establishment of the Greek Literary Society, as one of the most visible and influential of those associations, it usually denoted any "corporate bodies that professed predominantly literary or philanthropic aims." More specifically, it was accepted as an alias for the Greek Philological Society, as '*the* society' *par excellence*, which was also acknowledged by the Ottoman State and mentioned as such in a series of state documents.

beyond. Equally important in this sense were the public lectures given by members on a regular basis, and the annual journal of the *Syllogos*, which was distributed not only in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire but as far as Europe and North America.[629]

Taking into account the six-decade-long history of the *Syllogos,* from 1861 to 1922, this chapter focuses particularly on the institutions's formative years*,* roughly the first two decades of its activity, when Alexander G. Paspatēs was an attending member, that is from 1861 until his final departure from Constantinople in 1882.[630] Accordingly, this chapter aspires to investigate the impact of Paspatēs on the *Syllogos*, as one of the most active members working in archaeology, and given his diverse interests, as someone who contributed to the rise of archaeological, *in-situ* research among the diverse range of study areas of the *Syllogos,* which extended to also include topics pertaining to language and education.

As already discussed, Paspatēs was one of the most active and productive researchers working on the remnants of the Byzantine period in nineteenth-century Constantinople. His research, however, especially expanded and gained acuity in his period of collaboration with members of the *Syllogos*. Eventually, his activism, combined with the institutional capacities of the *Syllogos,* resulted in the rise of an emerging systematic research on Byzantine Constantinople. This does not mean,

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[629] Giannakopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Hellēnikou Filologikou Syllogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 310. Giannakopoulos also provides a list of the institution which exchanged publications with the *Syllogos* on pages 317-318.

[630] In Vol. 17 (1882-1883) of the *Syngramma Periodikon,* the journal of the *Syllogos,* Paspatēs is listed as "contributing from Athens." He was also mentioned in meeting no. 705, dated 21/3 May 1883, as "having resettled in Athens" (*Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol 17, 195). The importance of these two decades, and of the 1870s in particular, also relates to their being the most active period of the *Syllogos* due to several reasons, including the substantial financial support it received from Greek bankers of Galata during the latter's heyday. The influence of Greek bankers shifted drastically in 1881, with the establishment of a new debt system in the Ottoman Empire, causing a significant reduction of their economic power. For details on Greek banking in Galata, see Haris Exertzoglou, *Greek Banking in Constantinople, 1850-1861,* and Haydar Kazgan, *Galata Bankerleri.* Exertzoglou also underlines the impact of the establishment of other societies with similar aims to those of the *Syllogos,* a breach of monopoly that further reduced its capacity for influence.

however, that the role of earlier research conducted by other members of the *Syllogos,* or even by Paspatēs himself, should be underestimated.[631] Nevertheless, the impact of the dynamism characterizing the collaboration of Paspatēs with *Syllogos* members was truly exceptional, as attested in the case of the research on the Theodosian Land Walls of Constantinople. In this light, this chapter will also dwell on the research conducted on the Land Walls of Constantinople, which constituted one of the most visible projects of the *Syllogos.* The project, which was initiated around the early 1870s as a mapping project encompassing the larger historical peninsula of Constantinople (the intramural town), ended up with the publication of a map of the Land Walls in 1884, as a supplement to volume 14 of the annual journal (hereafter *Syngramma Periodikon - Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν* (Periodical Compilation)) of the *Syllogos*. The chapter will discuss the decade-long journey of this research, its actors and outcomes together with its larger impact on the rise and transformation of Byzantine studies in Constantinople, always within the wider context of the transforming intellectual milieu of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century.

5.1 The *Syllogos*

On March 3, 1861, seven[632] individuals gathered in Beyoğlu,[633] in the wooden house of Spyridon Mavrogenis, a medical doctor who would later serve as private physician to Sultan Abdülhamid II: Mavrogenis himself, Heroklēs (Konstantinos)

[631] This perspective also takes into account the rising impact of European scholars working on the Byzantine remnants in Constantinople.
[632] These would later be named as 'the Seven' (οἱ ἑπτά): Zōēros, *Eisēgēsis,* 42; Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos* Vol I., 34.
[633] Büyük Parmakkapı: Zōēros, Eisēgēsis*,* 42; Büyükparmakkapı Street, no: 15: Zōēros, *Anamnēsis,* 224; Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 33. Stavrou however, mentions 'Parma kapı Street, no: 11: Stavrou, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos,* 14.

Vassiadis, another medical doctor and professor of Medicine, Aristidēs Palaiologos, the Consul General of Greece in Constantinople, Xenophōn Zōgrafos, a professor in the Imperial School of Medicine, the brothers Ioannēs and Theodōros Zōgrafos, a lawyer and a publisher respectively, and Alexander Zōēros, who was then in his youth.[634] The Seven agreed on the establishment of a literary society in Constantinople. Their aim was to enhance Hellenic culture among the residents of Constantinople first, and then within the wider Ottoman geography, as well as to pursue advanced studies in language and philology.

Following that meeting, an even larger group gathered in April 17, 1861, this time at Geōrgios Kōnstantinidēs's house,[635] and declared the official inauguration of the society.[636] A temporary legislation was drafted and Stefanos Karatheodori was elected as the first chairman.[637] At this meeting, a first decision was made on the name of the society, as *Ἑλληνικὴ Φιλολογικὴ Ἑταιρία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, (Greek Philological Association of Constantinople). However, the newly elected president Karatheodori rejected this title, due to the potentially negative connotation of the word *ἑταιρία*, which in Greek may denote both an association and a commercial company. Furthermore, since the term was reminiscent of one of the leading actors in the Greek War of Independence, the *Φιλικὴ Ἑταιρία* (*Filikē Hetairia* – Association of Friends) the name was revised as *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς*

[634] Zōēros, Eisēgēsis*,* 42; Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos* Vol. 1, 34,
[635] According to Naum Duhani, the house was on Turnacıbaşı Street. It was first built by the Jerusalem Greek Orthodox Patriarch Cyril II and later bought by Hatzi Geōrgios Kōnstantinidis. As Giannakopoulos also confirms, the *Syllogos* was first established in the building which now hosts the Greek Consulate of Istanbul: Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos,* Vol. 1*,* 35. The *Syllogos* would soon move to a new building in Kalyoncukulluk street.
[636] This was considered the first meeting of the society and was published as such in its journal. *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 1, 34. Meeting no. 1.
[637] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 1, 34. Meeting no. 1.

Σύλλογος – The Greek Literary Society in Constantinople (hereafter, the *Syllogos*).[638] In Ottoman state documents, the Society was commonly known and also referred to as '*Silog(os)*' or '*Rum Silog(os)u'*[639] or *Beyoğlu Rum Silogosu*. In a letter sent to the *Syllogos*, the addressee was noted as *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Rumiye* (The Roman – i.e. Greek Orthodox – Society of Science).[640]

The founding members of the *Syllogos* were some of the leading members of the Ottoman Greek Orthodox community in Constantinople, including professionals, such as tradesmen, bankers and teachers.[641] Interestingly enough, around ten of the founding members were medical doctors. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the medical doctors of the Greek community served the forerunners of intellectual activities in the nineteenth century.[642] As strong supporters of the Ottoman reforms, they maintained close connections and relationships with different levels of Ottoman administration, extending all the way to its highest office, that of the Sultan himself.[643] The prominence of doctors as members of the *Syllogos* persisted throughout the history of the institution.[644] As Troumpoukēs outlines, in a total of the thirty-eight administrative years of *Syllogos* activity*,* twenty-two of its presidents

[638] Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 36; Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 56, Giannakopoulos states that the word 'Syllogos' was a 'forgotten' ancient Greek word and was deliberately chosen, while it soon "became a most common usage".
[639] This nomenclature was usually accompanied by '*Rum Cemiyyet-i İlmiyyesi'* or '*Dersaadet Rum Cemiyyet-i Edebiyyesi.'*
[640] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 18, 48. 7 June 1884.
[641] The number of the founding members was given as 90 in volume 1 of the journal and this list was reprinted on the first pages of some later issues as well. However, Giannakopoulos mentions the number as 33 for the actual founding members and underlines the fact that the list was different in several different issues of the journal: Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 36, f.n. 19. Exertzoglou also give the names of these 33 members: Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 11.
[642] For detailed information on the Greek doctors of Constantinople, see Troumpoukēs, *Hellēnikē Iatrikē* and Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 37-38.
[643] Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 37-38.
[644] Alexander G. Paspatēs being one of them.

were doctors.[645] Accordingly, medical issues occupied a significant place in the activities and focus of the association.[646]

Bankers with a privileged proximity to the Sultan, such as Geōrgios Zarifi and other wealthy Ottoman Greeks, such as Christakēs Zōgrafos, were not only prominent members but also chief financers of the activities of the *Syllogos.* [647]

The types of membership to the *Syllogos* were threefold: a) 'regular members,' were those who attended the regular meetings and the administrative boards, and study groups, b) 'honorary members' who were elected through the recommendation of three regular members and unanimous vote of all the others, c) the 'corresponding members', were mostly foreign intellectuals who lived abroad and wished to contribute to the journal the *Syngramma Periodikon* through their long-distance submission of articles. As a result, *Syllogos* membership included a large group of intellectuals not only from Ottoman Constantinople but from a wider European intellectual community.[648]

The first regulations of April 1861 were revised on 14 December 1861 and its 23 articles were published in the very first issue of the Journal.[649] The first of these articles presented the scope and mission of the *Syllogos* as the written or oral inquiry of philological issues. In practice, however, what was expected from this inquiry was the "enlightenment" of the common public, through lectures given by the orator

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[645] Troumpoukēs, *Hellēnikē Iatrikē*, 178. The impact and importance of the doctors, mostly educated in Europe, within the *Syllogos*, was linked to their preoccupation with the dissemination of science and knowledge.
[646] In fact, a Biological Committee was established in around 1886.
[647] These activities included scientific competitions and prizes: Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 74-97. As a major benefactor of the Greek – Orthodox community of Constantinople, Zarifi was also one of the most influential members of the *Syllogos.* Apart from Zarifi and Zōgrafos, there were other Greek bankers of Galata among the supporters of the *Syllogos.* Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 12-13.
[648] Each year, the list of the members in each category was published in the journal of the *Syllogos.* As an example, the membership numbers for the year 1875-1876: Regular Members: 312 Greek Ottoman, 41 European; Honorary Members: 51 Greek Ottoman-59 European; Corresponding members: 72 Greek Ottoman-15 European.
[649] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 1, ε-στ.

scholars of the *Syllogos*.[650] This ambitious scope would, however, transform itself as the number of members, range of activities and impact zone of the *Syllogos* expanded.[651] The inquiry of philological issues soon transformed into a wider concern for the education of the members of the Greek Orthodox community, particularly its youth, as far as Eastern Anatolia.[652]

Article 2 specifically excluded all political issues as topics of research and discussion by the *Syllogos*.[653] Article 18 of the same regulation stated that the *Syllogos* would meet every winter semester, which commenced on November 1st, every week on Mondays at 8 o'clock in the evening.[654] During the summer semester, which commenced on May 1st, every two weeks on Thursdays at 1 o'clock in the afternoon according to Article 15. These meetings would start with a reading and submission for approval the minutes of the previous meeting and move to evaluate incoming articles while holding verbal and written discussions over the philological matters brought up in previous meetings.[655] Additionally, Article 17 required the keeping of a copy of all material read during the meetings in the archive of the *Syllogos*. This by itself is highly indicative of the *Syllogos*'s preoccupation with creating an institutional archive from its inception.

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[650] Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 11.
[651] Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 11.
[652] To achieve this, the *Syllogos* would support poor community schools, open new ones, develop curricula and produce textbooks, thus earning for itself the status of "Ministry of Education" for the Greek youth. Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 12-14.
[653] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 1, ε.
[654] According to the '*Allafranga*' system of telling the time. For detailed information on the concept and system of time in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, See Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks Alla Turca: Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire,* Gündüz*, Alaturkadan-Alafrangaya Zaman Osmanlı'da Mekanik Saatler.*
[655] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 1, στ.

5.1.1 *Loci* of knowledge: The building and the public lectures

5.1.1.1 The building

After its initial establishment in the aforementioned wooden house of Hatzi Geōrgios Kōnstantinidēs, the *Syllogos* was compelled, time and again, to relocate its headquarters.[656] At a certain point, it shared the same building with the Society of Doctors[657] on the Grand Rue de Pera.[658] The collaboration of the Society of Doctors and the *Syllogos* was not restricted only to sharing a building. For a while these two institutions occasionally held common meetings and even celebrated their anniversaries together on the first Sunday of May each year. This is also indicative of the prominent role played by doctors in the *Syllogos*, as noted above, and suggests an overlap of membership between the two institutions.[659]

A major step, however, had to be taken after the Great Fire of Pera in 1870, which had swept through a vast area all around Beyoğlu, and destroyed both the building and the archive of the *Syllogos* compiled up to that date.[660] By the time of the fire,[661] the *Syllogos* had already become a renowned and intellectually prestigious society with an international network of its own, and as such it could gather the

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[656] Rayçanovski mentions the Beyoğlu Panagia Church as one of these buildings: Rayçanovski, *Bizans Arkeolojisi Çalışmaları,* 3. I am grateful to Elçin Macar for sharing with me this valuable and rare source.

[657] The Society of Doctors was established almost simultaneously with the *Syllogos* as an explicitly communal, Greek Orthodox society, since it had been preceded by the *Cemiyyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, established by Western European medical doctors in 1856. Since French was the working language of this institution, some doctors insisted on the need for the establishment of another society operating in Greek. The first meeting of the society took place in A. Paspatēs's house in February 15th, 1861: Trounboukis, *Hellēnikē Iatrikē*, 176.

[658] Gianakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, 37

[659] Troumpoukēs, *Hellēnikē Iatrikē*, 176. The Society of Doctors and the *Syllogos* had gathered in a common extraordinary meeting on 29 April 1862, under the direction of Stefanos Karatheodori, the director of *Syllogos* at the time: Extraordinary Meeting, *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 3, 133, 1864. The first of the anniversary meetings was however, held on May 5th, 1863. Paspatēs gave a speech in the second one in 1864.

[660] For a detailed account of the Great Fire of Pera and its devastating effects, see Keyvanoğlu, "1870 Büyük Beyoğlu Yangını."

[661] Despite the devastating effect of the fire, the *Syllogos* did not suspend its activities for the year 1870.

financial and the intellectual support required for its rebirth. One of the first steps taken after the fire was the initiation of the construction of a new building on Kalyoncu Kulluğu Street (today's Balıkpazarı and Kamer Hatun Streets) and Topçular (today's Topçekenler) Street no.18 (Figures 40,41,42).[662]



Figure 39. Location of the *Syllogos* building in Goad's Insurance Maps, plate 39 (1905)
SALT Online Archives

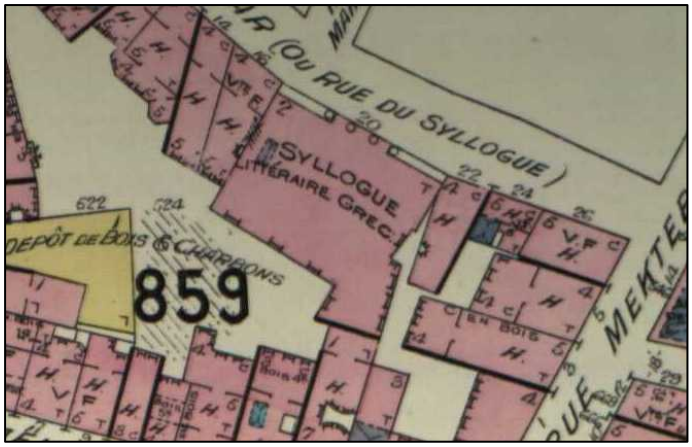


Figure 40. Detail from Goad's Insurance Maps, plate 39
SALT Online Archives

[662] The address can be seen on the letterheads of the official documents of the *Syllogos,* scattered between different archives. For an example from the Asia Minor Studies Center archives, see Appendix N..

Accordingly, architects, "whose work had met the appreciation" of the *Syllogos,* were invited to prepare the designs.[663] Among those who were invited, only seven architects accepted the offer, including Lysandros Kaftanzaoglou, a renowned architect from Athens.[664] He prepared 'four designs including the interior design of the building'.[665] However, the final draft of the design was prepared by the architects Kleanthēs and Parēgorēs.[666] Their draft was finalized by Mr. Leval, the contractor, who was also a member of the *Syllogos.* The final design of the building was discussed in the *Syllogos*, and later voted on and accepted with the full support of its members. To symbolize this support, these votes were placed in the foundation within a membrane file during the inauguration ceremony.[667]

The inauguration of the construction was held on January 9, 1872 in a ceremony attended by Patriarch Anthimos VI, the administration and membership of the *Syllogos,* and other distinguished guests including representatives of foreign embassies.[668] In his speech during the ceremony, the president of the *Syllogos,* at the time, Mr. Karapanos, stated that it had been one of the main intentions of *Syllogos* to have a permanent seat of its own from the beginning, which would become a center for the pursuit of research and the sharing of knowledge that was produced within. A committee of *Syllogos* members was formed to supervise construction: Karapanos himself, Millingen, Zōgrafos and, the accountant Gion.

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[663] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 6, 291. Meeting No: 329, 2 April 1872.
[664] Colonas states that the final project was designed by Kaftanzoglou: Colonas, *Greek Architects,* 21. As Kaftanzoglou was an honorary member of the Syllogos, this information could be correct. However, the minutes of the *Syllogos* make it evident that the design of the building belongs to Kleanthēs and Parēgorēs. *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 7. Meeting No: 333, 9 August 1872, p. 234.
[665] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 291. Meeting No: 329, 2 April 1872.
[666] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 7, 234. Meeting No: 333, 9 August 1872. Unfortunately, there is not much information about the architects and the drafts of their Project.
[667] "Laying of the foundation stone," *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 240-242.
[668] "Laying of the foundation stone," *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 241-242.

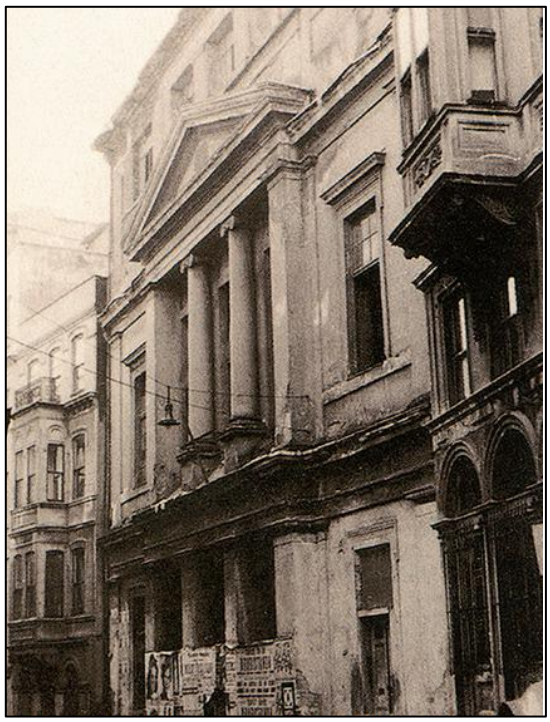


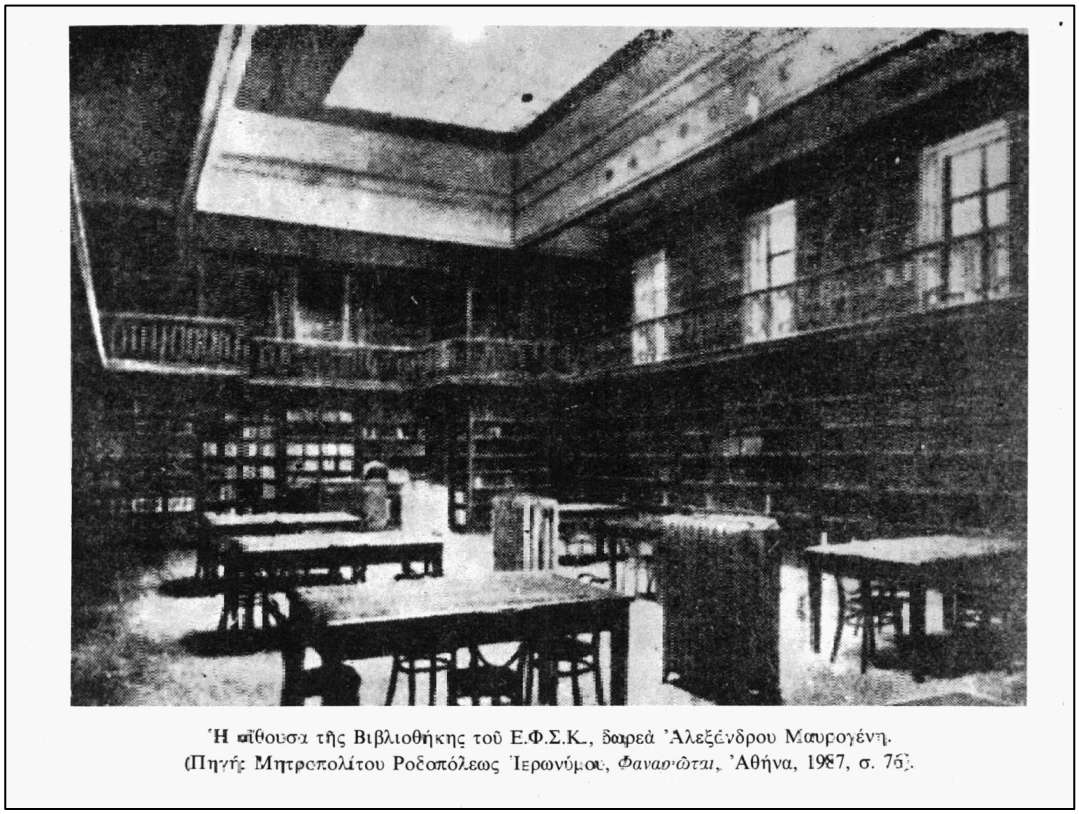
Figure 41. The façade of building of the *Syllogos* on Topçular Street
http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/2843/agos-un-arsivinden-bir-zamanlar-cemiyet-i-edebiye-simdi-otopark

The financial means for the construction were collected through donations by members. As Karapanos also underlined, it was only with the support of the '*filomousoi homogeneis'* (muse-loving compatriots) that the necessary funding for the building could be gathered.[669] First, the site for the construction was purchased. Then, some leveling and excavation was carried through on the site, and eventually, the first stone was placed on the foundations. Karapanos stated that it was through the nation's own will that this institution was supported, just as the other communal institutions such as hospitals, schools, churches and the like.[670] He also added that it was in this building that scientific and public discussion would take place and that the library, with its scientific collection would be housed.

[669] Karapanos, *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 240-241.
[670] Karapanos, *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 240-241.

5.1.1.2 The library and the reading room:

Despite Karapanos's endeavor to establish a library, no provisions for an in-house library appear in the early regulations of the *Syllogos*. However, as Giannakopoulos also remarks, the members agreed to follow certain journals and as their resources were limited, formed a working group to decide which ones to follow.[671] Their efforts to publish their own journal resulted in the rise of a need first for a librarian then for a library area (Figure 43).[672]



Ἡ αἴθουσα τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ε.Φ.Σ.Κ., δωρεὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυρογένη.
(Πηγή: Μητροπολίτου Ροδοπόλεως Ἱερωνύμου, *Φαναρώται*, Ἀθήνα, 1987, σ. 76).

Figure 42. The interior of the *Syllogos* library
Giannakopoulos, "H Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 308.

[671] Giannakopoulos, "H Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 288.
[672] Giannakopoulos, "H Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 288. However, in one of his annual reports, the librarian Loumas stated that, the *Syllogos* had aimed to house a library from the very beginning of its establishment. He underlines the important position that the library got within the activity arenas of *the Syllogos* and presented the current conditions of its collection in the same report: *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 7, 300-301, 26 April 1873.

In 1864, when a new regulation was penned in order to expand the goals of the *Syllogos*, the position and duties of the librarian were specified in relation to the upkeep and maintenance of the library and the reading room, such as compiling a catalogue and lending books to the members of the *Syllogos.*[673] Books on loan could be kept for a month and were expected to be replaced if lost or damaged.[674] After this new regulation was introduced, the first librarian to be elected was Emmanuel Kamaras.[675]

Around 1869 the *Syllogos* library turned into a public library with a collection compiled through the donations of the members or of outsiders. Lists with their names were published in different issues of the journal.[676] For a long time, this library shared the same office as the *Syllogos* in the buildings it rented in the Beyoğlu area but it was also destroyed by the Great Fire of Pera in 1870. At that point the library had around 1,900 volumes in its possession.[677] The main way of sustaining the acquisition of books was through donations. It all began with a generous donation by Zarifi, 2,000 francs for buying books.[678]

The Great Fire of Pera, which created a *tabula rasa* for the *Syllogos,* with the loss of its library and all its archival material gathered until then, later came to be considered its rebirth.[679] For instance, immediately within a few years after the fire, the library was enriched through the contributions of those who also "cared about the

[673] Giannakopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 289.
[674] Giannakopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 289.
[675] Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 63; Giannakopoulos provides a list of all *Syllogos* librarians in a sixty-year period: Giannokopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 315- 316.
[676] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 7, 300-301.
[677] Giannakopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 290.
[678] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 1, 285. Meeting No: 69, 6 October 1863.
[679] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 308. Meeting no: 331.

revival of *Syllogos.*"[680] Just three years after the fire, the collection of the library reached more than 2,000 volumes, exceeding the number of volumes that had been gathered within the decade preceding the fire. This support for the *Syllogos* was also reflected in several amendments to its general regulations, seen as necessary for the dissemination of Greek education or furthering the aims of the *Syllogos.*[681]

According to these same legislations, the library was open to the members of the *Syllogos*. Being natural members of the library, they were also expected to add their own work to the collection. All the books and manuscripts thus added to the collection, bore the seal of the *Syllogos* both on the cover and inside the book and a catalogue number on the outside. The librarian was expected to make a scientific and alphabetic cataloging of the collection. It was decided that the library should be open between 10-11 am and 1-4 pm except for Sundays and holidays.[682] Potential visitors and users of the library were expected to register first. The librarian was also expected to present the registry at the end of each year and to keep a record of the books that were checked out of the library.[683] Members would borrow the books with the permission of the librarian, whereas non-members would get a ticket from the general secretary of the *Syllogos* and later register with the librarian. If a foreigner should wish to use the library, he would need to get permission from a member of the *Syllogos* as well as from the ambassador of his/her homeland.[684]

The library of the *Syllogos* had an institutionalized structure of its own, an aspect which also supported the institutional character of the *Syllogos* itself. The existence of a building of its own and the library within provided the *Syllogos* with

[680] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 308.
[681] Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 87.
[682] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 9, 213.
[683] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 9, 213.
[684] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 9, 213.

strong ties to similar local and international institutions, especially through the practice of exchanging publications. As Giannakopoulos mentions, the list of publications in Greek and other languages closely followed by the *Syllogos* was impressively long.[685] This means, in a sense, that the work of the *Syllogos* was also known and reciprocally followed by the international scholarly communities as well. This should also be the reason behind the increase in the number of the corresponding members, particularly in the second decade of the *Syllogos*, at a time when the library was also flourishing.

5.1.1.3 Public lectures

The building of the *Syllogos,* located in the prosperous Greek neighborhood of Stravrodromi[686] in Pera, did not only host the offices of the *Syllogos* itself or its library but also many other Greek societies, such as, Mnēmosynē and the *Syllogos of Asia Minor.* Moreover, due to its location in Pera, the developing part of Constantinople associated with the newly emerging elites of bankers and tradesmen, the building also matched the character of the *Syllogos* as an intellectual hub. As the center for those other societies, some of which the *Syllogos* had helped to establish during its long life, the *Syllogos's* headquarters became an attractive spot-on account of its library, the meetings that took place there, and public events such as the monthly lectures. Besides the aforementioned establishment of the library, a series of new regulations also defined the form and scope of the public lectures and the publication of the journal.[687] As early as at meeting no.39, on 12 November 1862, discussions were made for the

[685] In 1878-79 working year, 1234 volumes came from different institutions, thanks to the efforts of Odysseus Psalemos, the president. Giannakopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 296.
[686] Literally meaning the crossroads. See Millas, *Pera the Crossroads of Constantinople,* 9.
[687] Giannakopoulos, "Hē Bibliothēkē tou Ellēnikou Filologikou Sillogou Kōnstantinoupoleōs (1863-1922)," 289.

issuing of regulations pertaining to public lectures.[688] The 1864 regulations also stated that these lectures should be delivered in a clear language, on topics related to Physics, Chemistry, Hygiene, Psychology, History, Antiquity and Modern Philology. According to *Syllogos* members, these lectures would serve as the "freely available intellectual nourishment" for Pera society. [689]

Each lecture, as well as the monthly program of the lectures, was announced either in newspapers such as the *Neologos*[690] or in the journal.[691] For instance, the schedule of the lectures for two months, November and December 1864, was published in the *Syllogos* Journal. They were scheduled for Wednesday evenings (7:15 pm) and Sunday afternoons (2:00 pm).[692] The subject matter of these seminars ranged from Geography to Physics, Philology (Greek and Turkish), History and other similar subjects.

Alongside the library and the archive, the public lectures were equally affected by the devastating impact of the Pera Fire. As Chasiōtēs states in his report about the lectures, in 1870, not only the number of lectures decreased dramatically but also, they lost a significant part of their potential audience.[693] The construction of a new building, however, transformed this picture. After the 'rebirth' of the *Syllogos*,
interestingly enough, the majority of attendees to these public lectures, held in the new building of the *Syllogos,* were members of the working class.[694] The *Syllogos* seems to have achieved to inspire people with a love for learning, thus emerging as a magnet for anyone wishing to better themselves through education. At the same time, the

[688] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 1, 140-141.
[689] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 5, 86.
[690] *Neologos* was one significant medium for the *Syllogos* to announce its decisions to the Greek-speaking community of Constantinople.
[691] The very first of these public lectures was given by Alexander G. Paspatēs.
[692] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 2, 276. Meeting No:113, 7 December 1864.
[693] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 5, 86. Read in Meetings: 289 & 292.
[694] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 6, 305. Meeting No:331, 7 May 1872.

building was also used by other Constantinopolitan *Syllogoi*,[695] such as the Phanar-based Mnēmosynē, which held some thirty-two public lectures in the building. Another such institution was the *Syllogos* of Asia Minor, which held fifty-three lectures, twenty-two of which were delivered in Turkish since their potential audiences or speakers were 'still' not versed in their homeland's language.[696] As Karapanos, the then president noted in his yearly report, one last lecture was also made by an Ottoman *hemşehri* (compatriot).[697]

The attention given to the building, the library and the public lectures underlines the importance of the *Syllogos* not only as an abstract institution for scholars but also as a site for the exchange of this knowledge among different actors, not all of whom were necessarily scholars. This designed or choreographed encounter – in terms of its schedule, duration, location, and content – between lecturer and audience, combined with the un-structured and irregular experience of the library collection by the researcher, reestablished the *Syllogos* as a veritable intellectual hub, with a particular focus on the Greek community of Constantinople and aiming to extend beyond that. Therefore, its role within the network discussed in this study is not only due to its being a systematized body and an institutional structure, but due to the embodied potential of an encounter between different recipients of the knowledge produced within its institutional structure.

[695] Plural of *Syllogos,* literally 'societies.'
[696] The working language of the *Syllogos* was Greek but due to the language capacity of the lecturers or the audience, some of the lectures and scholarly talks were made in different languages such as Turkish or French.
[697] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 6, 305. Meeting No:331, 7 May 1872.

5.1.2 *Foci* of knowledge: The Committees

Soon after its establishment, several study groups emerged within the *Syllogos*. However, the establishment of Committees along the lines of particular study areas and their acknowledgement in *Syllogos* regulations only occurred after its 'rebirth', following the great fire of Pera in 1870.[698] The new regulations which were mutually agreed upon in 1871, prescribed the establishment of specialized Committees.[699] The Committees were composed of a number of members wishing to work on specific subject areas and present reports to the *Syllogos*. The establishment of the Committees did not only initiate new subject areas but also regulated and promoted already existing ones, since, by the time they were established, the *Syllogos* had already been working on most of their research areas.

Due to a fundamental focus on language and philology, the largest activity area for the *Syllogos,* was the education of the Greek youth.[700] Accordingly, the largest committees were always the ones focusing on education. In time, they initiated a series of projects, such as establishing new schools both in Constantinople and in inner Anatolia and supporting already existing ones or developing their curricula. In this regard, the *Syllogos* also acknowledged the Ottoman educational reforms and the role of newly founded public schools as governmental initiatives. At the same time, especially within the Greek community, there had been several disputes between

[698] Giannakopoluos provides tables listing the members of each Committee (Education, Archaeology, Economics etc.) within each study year from 1871-72 to 1910-11 as an appendix to his dissertation. When *Syllogos* activities reached their peak between the 1870's and 1890's, the number of active members in each of these Committees was approximately 10.
[699] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 6, iii-x.
[700] Accordingly, most of the studies focusing on the *Syllogos* – as early as 1905 (Pantazidēs, "Vracheia Ekthesis tēs paideftikēs draseōs tou en Konstantinoupolei Hellēnikou Filologikou Syllogou: 1861-1904"), analyze in detail its policies and projects concerning education, which would also bring a certain focus on the issue of nationalism and its relation with language and education. For detailed research on the educational focus of the *Syllogos* see: Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, Tağmat, "İstanbul'da Sosyo-Kültürel Helenizm'in Temsilcisi Bir Cemiyet: "Syllogos" (1861-1923)" Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople.*

ecclesiastical authorities, i.e. the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, which wished to maintain its traditional control over communal schools, and the *Syllogos* with its particular focus on secularizing education.

While investigating the education Committee reports of the *Syllogos,* Haris Exertzoglou, underlines the readiness and effectiveness of the *Syllogos* to support Anatolian and Roumelian Greek schools, most of which were poor and in bad condition.[701] Accordingly, assisted by the *Syllogos,* these schools increased in number and improved in the quality of the education provided. Exertzoglou rightly emphasizes the importance of the competitions organized by the *Syllogos*, around ideologically meaningful themes, such as research on and the geographical description of the Pontus, History of Religion, History of the Greeks and the Greek language.[702] Just like other activities of the *Syllogos,* these competitions were financially supported by its wealthy members, such as banker Christakēs Zōgrafos or his son-in-law Kōnstantinos Karapanos, who nearly always received public acknowledgement for these contributions.[703]

Besides education, there were committees established for the study of other subject areas such as Philological, Scientific, Editorial Committees. Moreover, depending on the varying needs or research interests of the *Syllogos*, new committees were at times established or discontinued such as the Library Committee for the year 1874-1875, or a Musical Committee for the study years 1877-78 and 1878-79.[704]

[701] Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati,* 14.
[702] Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 74.
[703] For a detailed inquiry of these competitions, see Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati*, 74-97.
[704] The list of all the committees and their members could be found in Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos*, Supplement, 116-138.

5.1.2.1 Paspatēs et al. in *Syllogos*: The Archaeological Committee

Among the abovementioned manifold activity areas of the *Syllogos,* archaeology remains one of the most understudied ones.[705] Scholarly focus on the studies on education and literary issues has largely overshadowed the extensive research undertook by the *Syllogos* in the field of archaeology. The establishment of the Archaeological Committee in 1871, during the regeneration of the *Syllogos* following the 1870 fire, offered a significant boost to archaeological research.

The most durable and visible outcome of these archaeological studies was a body of literature consisting of over 250 articles published in the journal of the *Syllogos*.[706] In addition, as quite a number of these articles were first presented in the regular meetings of the *Syllogos,* serious debates had been held about the ongoing research projects and their outcomes. The importance of these meetings resides in the fact that their audience were not mere transmitters of the information presented, but were themselves researchers in the field. Accordingly, most of the debates were on the comparison of the results of research by different members of the *Syllogos.*[707]

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[705] One early study on the archaeological research initiated by the *Syllogos* dates back to 1974. See Rayçanovski, *Bizans Arkeolojisi Çalışmaları Bakımından Hellēnikos Philologikos Syllogos.* I am grateful to Elçin Macar for sharing with me this valuable and hard to find source. Scholarly attention to the archaeological studies of the *Syllogos* seems to be currently on the rise. See Sümertaş, "*Dr. Alexandros G. Paspatis'ten Dersaadet Rum Cemiyyet-i Edebiyesi'ne: İstanbul'un Kara Surları Hakkında Bir Çalışma."* The symposium by Pera Museum was a significant step in the direction of the rising interest in Byzantine Archaeology. The program of the symposium included a presentation by Georgios Vassiadis on the Archaeological work of the *Syllogos.* For a detailed info about the program, see: https://en.iae.org.tr/Images/pdf/etkinlikler/sempozyum/byzantium-program-en-2.pdf There is also a Ph.D. Dissertation completed at Oxford University by Artemis Papatheodorou in 2017, entitled: "Ottoman policy-making in an age of reforms: unearthing ottoman archaeology in the 19th and early 20th centuries." (Oxford University, Bodleian Library: MS. D.Phil. c.30743). Yet, as it was closed to readership until this study was completed, it was not possible for me to gain access to its content, except for two presentations by Dr. Papatheodorou that I have attended in 2017 and 2018.

[706] According to the database developed by the University of Athens, which can be found at http://hellinomnimon.eu.org/index.php/projects/filologikos-sillogos-konstantinoupoleos

[707] A very early and significant example was from Emmanouēl Iōannidēs on the column of Markarianos. Iōannidēs critically inquired the work of Chrysovergēs on the request of the *Syllogos* and presented his research in three different meetings of the *Syllogos*: *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 1 Meetings 33, 37 and 41. Ioannidis himself also studies the structures mentioned in the book in close detail, both through his *in-situ* inquiries and through comparisons with earlier literature on the same structures. He underlines the points where he agrees with Chrysovergēs and where he does not.

Among the diverse research areas of the Archaeological Committee, one major topic was epigraphy. They studied surviving examples of epigraphy found on the remnants of both Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire, all around the Ottoman territories including Constantinople. In the first years they occasionally published the outcome of their research within the *Syngramma Periodikon,* but later on published as separate supplements to some of the volumes of the journal itself.[708]

Moreover, throughout the sixty-year-long life of the *Syllogos,* over eleven supplements to the journal *Syngramma Periodikon* were published.[709] The archaeological research conducted by the members of the *Syllogos* included not only the major monuments of the city or topographies of certain settlements, but also small-scale artefacts such as statues or columns, or even smaller, movable items such as lead seals, inscribed panels, or stamped bricks.

For the time frame that is under inquiry in this chapter, roughly the first two decades of *Syllogos* activities, the members of the Archaeological Committee, remained more or less the same: Aristarchēs, J. Millingen, doctor;[710] A. Mordtmann, P.A. Dethier, head of the Imperial Museum, Paspatēs, doctor; Karatheodori, Mordtmann (the son), Schröeder, Dēmētriadēs engineer; Vernerdakēs and Perdikidēs. It was after 1882 that the members of the Archaeological Committee changed significantly, with the inclusion of names such as the Swiss photographer

[708] Photographed copies of the draft drawings of the *Syllogos* of epigraphy examples from all over Constantinople are now kept in the Istanbul Research Institute at Pera. For a brief outline of the content of this material, which is not yet open to researchers, see Öztürk "Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos Yazıtlar Corpus'u," Öztürk "Konstantinopolis (İstanbul) Sur ve Kule Yazıtları," and Öztürk & Öztürk "İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Hellēnikos Philologikos Syllogos Yazıtlar Corpusu: İstanbul'dan Antik Dönem Yazıtları."

[709] Besides the archaeological supplement, other Committees such as the Biological Comittee also prepared and published supplements. For a list of the *Syngramma Periodikon* and its supplements, as well as the legislation published by the *Syllogos,* see Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos* Vol. II, 28-41. Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 263-268.

[710] The father Millingen. He was also a member of the Society of the Doctors. For details about his career as a doctor, see Ülman "Levanten Bir Hekim Ailesinin Tarihçesi: Baba-Oğul Millingenler,"

Guillaume Berggren,[711] Charles George Curtis, Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church,[712] and the British Consul Edwin Pears.[713]

Among the new members, one of the most significant and active was the doctor Alexander G. Paspatēs.[714] Being not only one of the earliest members, but at the same time the vice president and president of the *Syllogos* in its early years, Paspatēs had transmitted his passion for studies on Constantinople to the *Syllogos* on many occasions, including in his speeches at the monthly meetings. Paspatēs's first presentation in the *Syllogos* consisted of his research on Indo-European languages.[715] Several of his first lectures at the *Syllogos* revolved around comparative linguistic issues of Indian, Sanskrit and Greek.[716] On 29 April 1863 he presented his book on the Balıklı Hospital and its patients to *Syllogos* members, and in 1864 and 1865, his aforementioned studies, on Byzantine structures prior to the publication of his major book. Alongside the articles which he would later on publish as books, including his study of the Land Walls or his research on the Byzantine Great Palace, Paspatēs also presented his research on the transformation of Byzantine Studies in Europe.[717]

Among the members of the Archaeological Committee in the 1870's, another significant name was Philip Anton Dethier.[718] Dethier, who had been appointed as

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[711] A photo of Paspatēs in his old age was also taken by Berggren. See Figure 27.
[712] The author of the *Broken Bits of Byzantium.*
[713] The author of the *Forty Years in Constantinople.*
[714] For detailed information on the biography of Paspatēs, see Chapter 4.
[715] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol. 1. Meeting No:19, 8 January 1862, *Syngramma Periodikon,*Vol 2, 80.
[716] "About Indian Studies," Meeting no 34 and 35, 14 June 1862 and 31 May (most probably June misdated as May, as the *Syllogos* would recess until October at the end of this meeting) 1862.
[717] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 13, "The New Byzantine Studies in Europe 1-2," pp. 5-13 and 14 -21.
[718] German historian archeologist (1804-1881). He first came to Constantinople in around 1848 as the director of the Austrian School in Pera. During his tenure at this school, he worked on the antiquities of Constantinople, particularly on the epigraphic inscriptions of the Serpentine Column or some examples from the church of SS Sergius and Bacchus. He published his work on the antiquities of Constantinople in 1864 (together with Andrea David Mordtman) and 1867 consecutively: Dethier & Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis* and Dethier, *Nouvelles Découvertes Archéologiques Faites à Constantinople.* His most well-known work however was his restitution drawings for the 1867 Paris Exposition, as a supplement to the Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867.* For a recent and detailed biography of Dethier, see: Eldem, "The Archaeology of a Photograph: Philip Anton Dethier and his 'Group for the History of Greek Art."

the head of the Imperial Archeological Museum in 1872, was already a member of the *Syllogos* by 1866, and even became its second vice-president in 1867. In one of the meetings of the *Syllogos,* Dethier expressed his regret for being unable to attend enough of the *Syllogos* meetings and offered an account of his recent visit to the excavations in Cyprus and their archaeological finds.

Despite the fact that he was the head of the main state institution specializing in antiquarian and archaeological research in the Ottoman Empire, Dethier's contributions to the Museum have hardly been acknowledged.[719] He is known rather for his publications. Being an active participant of the meetings of the *Syllogos,* he presented his research on the Theodosius Column, the Porphyry Column of Constantine the Great and on epigraphic finds in Constantinople. At another instance, the well-known and much-referred discovery of Van Millingen concerning the correct location of the Hebdomon Palace, i.e. between today's Bakırköy and Zeytinburnu, was first published in an article in the journal of the *Syllogos*.[720]

Another significant name among the members of the Archaeological Committee was the geographer Geōrgios Dēmētriadēs (Figure 44), who had drawn a map of the Land Walls together with Karatheodori.[721] Born to a prominent Phanariot family in Constantinople in 1850, he studied in the Greek school of Beyoğlu and the

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Also see Eyice, S. "İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin İlk Müdürlerinden Dr. Philip Anton Dethier Hakkında Notlar."

[719] Eldem underlines that this is mostly due to the fact that following Dethier's tenure as director of the Archaeological Museum, the fame of his successor, Osman Hamdi Bey, overshadowed Dethier's achievements. Eldem, "The Archaeology of a Photograph: Philip Anton Dethier and his Group for the History of Greek Art," 506.

[720] Supplement to *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol 20-22.

[721] Around the time when this map project was being conducted, four different Karatheodoris were among the members of the *Syllogos*. These were: Alexander Karatheodori (Diplomat and Minister of External Affairs), Kōnstantinos Karatheodori, Stefanos Karatheodori and Stefanos Kōnstantinos Karatheodori. The last one was an engineer who participated to the map-making project.

French Frères School. [722] He joined the *Syllogos* in 1871,[723] and became a member, first of the Archaeological Committee and then of the Scientific Committee of the *Syllogos*.[724] Here, he offered a series of lectures on Practical and Applied Geometry.[725]

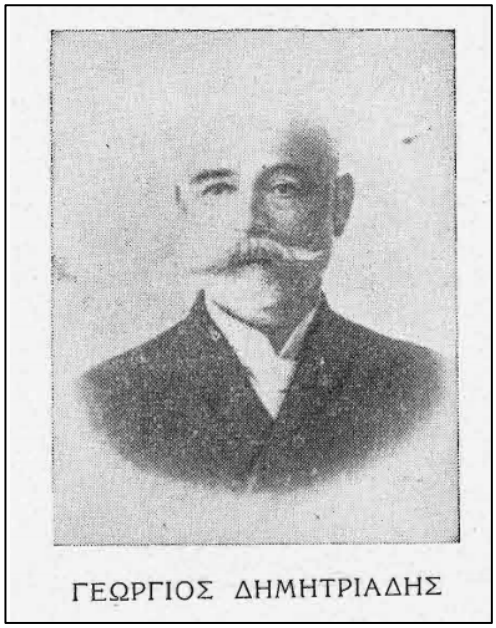


Figure 43. Geōrgios Dēmētriadēs
Dimitriadis Efendi'nin Marmara Sahil Surları Panoraması, 12.

Dēmētriadēs's membership to the *Syllogos* ended in around 1882. This may be due to his appointment as *Umûr-ı Nâfia Mühendisi* (engineer of public works) in Thessaloniki.[726] However, since there are other cases of members of the *Syllogos* moving out of Constantinople and still continuing their membership and contribution, such as that of Paspatēs, it is possible to think of other reasons behind his resignation

[722] Altekin mentions that, given that he was listed as a geometrician until 1878 and then as an engineer in the membership lists of the *Syllogos*, it may be asserted that he had finished his engineering education around that time. Altekin "Sermühendis Dimitriyadis Efendi," 15.
[723] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 6, p. Iδ. Though in the later issues of the *Syllogos* journal this was mentioned as 1866.
[724] In the academic years 1872-73 and 1874-75 respectively.
[725] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol.34, 469-471.
[726] Altekin "Sermühendis Dimitriyadis Efendi,"17. I am grateful to Üzeyir Altekin and Barış Altan for sharing the article on Dēmētriadēs before its publication.

from the membership of the *Syllogos*, a very prestigious institution at the time.[727] Despite his retrogressive relations with the Greek intellectuals of his time, it is evident from his meteoric career advancement that he maintained a good relationship with the Ottoman state. Accordingly, he was awarded a fourth degree *Mecîdî* medal in 22 September 1890 and held various offices within the different ranks of the Ottoman administration as an engineer until 1914 when he was asked to retire by order of the *Meclis-i Vukelâ* (Council of Ministers). He died in 1917 in Istanbul.[728]

The Committee was a specialized group within the *Syllogos* that focused on archaeology-related issues. The profile of the members of the Archaeological Committee and the research conducted by them are highly indicative of the role of the *Syllogos* as a locus for institutionalized archaeological research. Although it was not an officially recognized educational institution, as, say, European universities were, where antiquarian desires transformed into disciplinary formations, nonetheless the *Syllogos* provided a ground for a similar transformation among the intellectual circles of Ottoman Constantinople.

5.1.2.2 The journal: *Syngramma Periodikon*[729]

The outcome of the research conducted by the Committees, the Archaeology Committee in particular, was disseminated to a wider audience through the publication of the journal of the *Syllogos.*

In this regard, in another regulation dated 11 March 1863, [730] the *Syllogos* launched the publication of another journal as a supplement to its other. Given the loss

[727] A possible instance that resulted in his resignation will be discussed later in this chapter.
[728] Altekin, "Sermühendis Dimitriyadis Efendi," 23.
[729] See Giannakopoulos, *Hellēnikos Filologikos Syllogos,* Vol. II, for a detailed account on the journal of the *Syllogos.*
[730] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 1, δ.

of the *Syllogos* archive, the journal constitutes our main source of information on the institution's activities.[731] An initial proposal for the journal suggested publication on a monthly basis.[732] However, due to several reasons, the decision for an annual journal prevailed from 1864, and the publication continued uninterruptedly until the termination of *Syllogos* activities in 1922.[733]

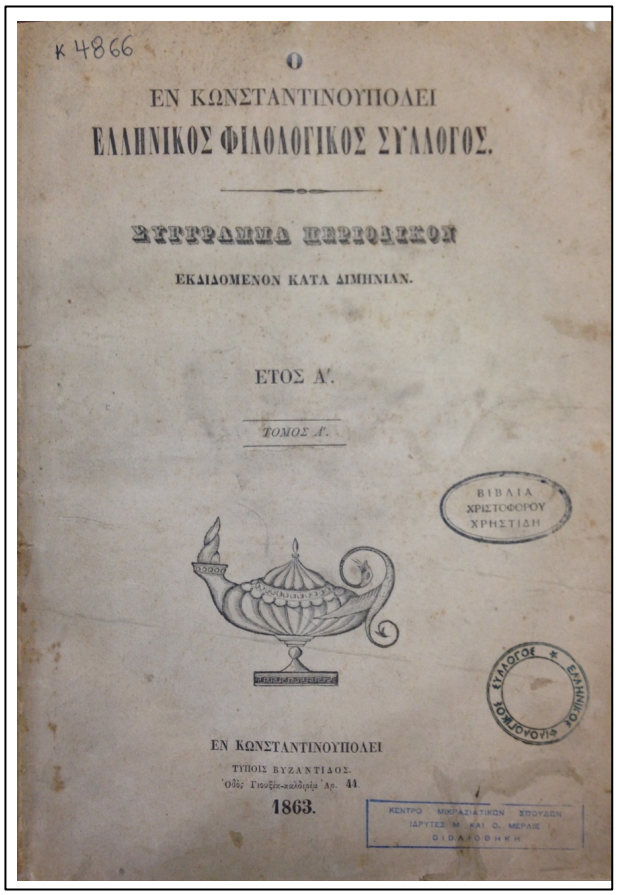


Figure 44. The cover of the first issue of *Syngramma Periodikon*
Asia Minor Studies Center Archives

[731] The archive of the *Syllogos,* should include all drafts of all the archaeological project withheld by the *Syllogos*, particularly after 1870, the Pera fire. However, the building of the *Syllogos* was confiscated by the young republic together with its library and archive. See Chapter 6 for details.
[732] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 1, δ.
[733] The copies of this journal are now to be found in several libraries, such as the Father Sakoulidis Library in Sismanoglio Megaro or the Istanbul Research Institute, both in Beyoğlu. However very few of them have a complete set of its volumes, except for the Center for Asia Minor Studies in Athens. I am grateful to Dimitris Kamouzis and Stavros Anestidis for their kind help during my research at the Center.

The front matter of each issue of the journal contained a list of the founding members, benefactors, as well as honorary, regular and corresponding members. In some issues, the table of contents followed these lists of members, whereas in others it was located at the very end of the journal. After this introductory section, the journal contained the academic articles *per se* that had either been presented in the meetings of the *Syllogos*[734] or had been submitted by a corresponding member. The author was mentioned at the very end of each article.

The *Syngramma Periodikon* did not include many images. The few scattered images in each issue were mostly lithographic copies of hand-drawn sketches of certain monuments (Figure 46), or that of inscriptions documented by the Archaeological Committee or plans of certain structures that were already published in contemporary publications (Figure 47).[735] By the time the *Syngramma Periodikon* was being published, in around the mid-nineteenth century, lithography was already considered an outdated technology in Europe.[736] Although the first illustrated journals were published at around the same time as the *Syngramma Periodikon,* the 'golden age' of illustrated journals in Constantinople with their 'pictorial turn' would only emerge in the 1890's.[737]

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[734]This would typically be indicated beneath the title of the article with the corresponding meeting number.

[735] The plan of the Pammakaristos Monastery was initially published by the Russian Archaeological Institute in their journal. *Syngramma Periodikon*, *Archaeological Supplement to Vol 20-22*, 31. In this light the Land Walls map and relevant elevation drawings may be seen as the most comprehensive and spectacular visuals in the *Syngramma Periodikon.*

[736] Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals," 337. Although the inauguration of learned societies and their publications dated back to the late seventeenth century in Europe, actually it was in the eighteenth century that the periodical press eventually flourished. By the nineteenth century, journals were more specific in terms of their subject-matter and their focused target audience. For a detailed account on European Periodicals see: Broman, "Periodical Literature" and Thopham, "Anthologizing the Book of Nature: The Origins of the Scientific Journal and Circulation of Knowledge in Late Georgian Britain", Keseroğlu, "Batı'da ve Osmanlı'da Süreli Yayınların Ortaya Çıkışı ve Özellikleri".

[737] For a detailed account of illustrated journals in the Ottoman Empire, see: Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals." It is significant that, despite the advances in the technology of image reproduction for use in periodicals in

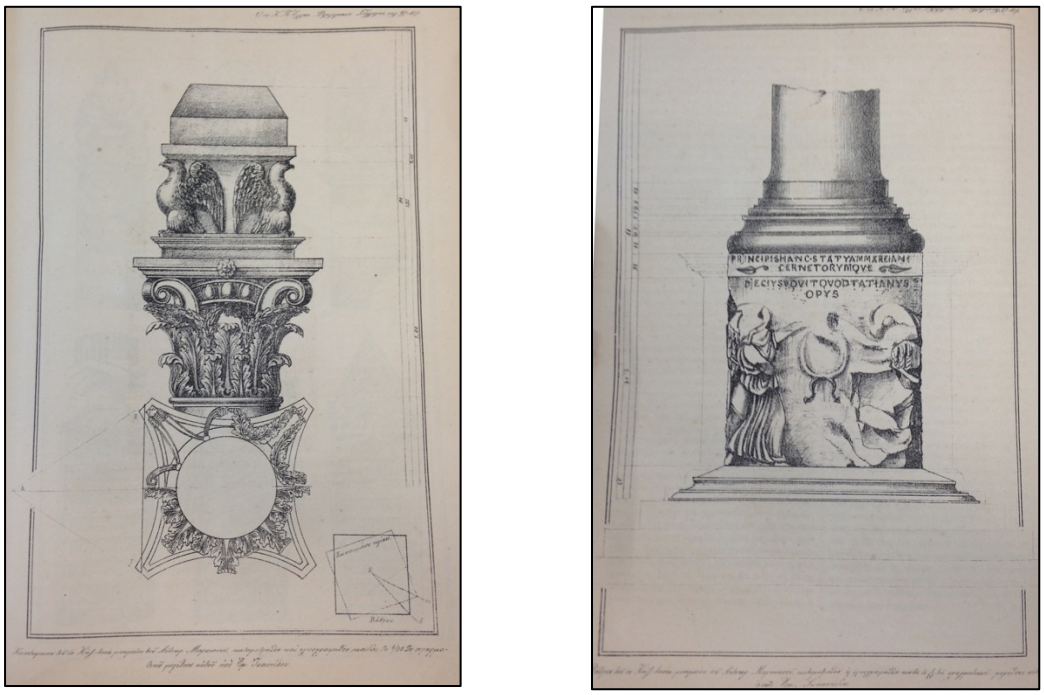


Figure 45. Details from the Column of Markarianos, Kıztaşı
Syngramma Periodikon, Year 1. Vol.3.

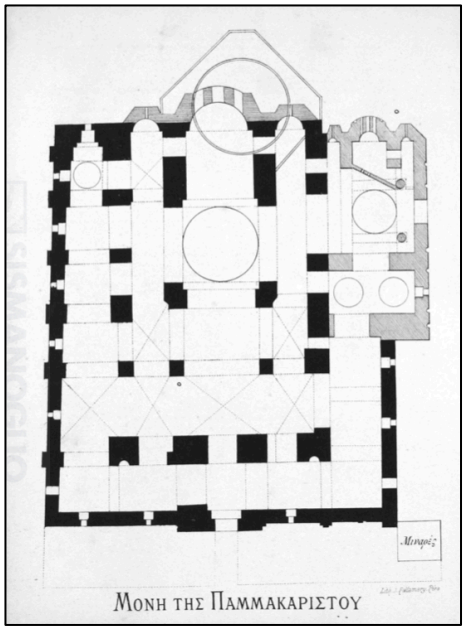


Figure 46. The plan of the Pammakaristos Monastery
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 20-22.

Europe, Beegan dates the rise of photographic images in journals to the 1890's: See: Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London.*

As the public interface of the activities and the research of the *Syllogos*, the journal constituted a major link connecting the *Syllogos* to the broader intellectual world. Its issues were sent to other institutions within and beyond the Empire in exchange for the journals or publications of those institutions.[738] In other words, both parties were exchanging their research agendas on a regular basis. Among the recipients of the journal, there were institutions as far away as the British Museum, or the Smithsonian Institute in the US.[739] Together with the aforementioned 'corresponding members,' namely members who were foreign intellectuals from different parts of the world submitting their work for publication by the journal, the existence of a regular publication, as durable outcome of research and the transition of knowledge, rendered the *Syllogos* a central node within the hub of the Constantinopolitan intellectual network that this study explores. Hence, the journal became one of the actants that connected different nodes of the aforementioned network. Besides publishing a journal, what gave the *Syllogos* a significant character as an intellectual hub was its centrally located building, which housed all its activities, including the meetings of the *Syllogos*; its library, its developing manuscript and archival collection and the reading room that would eventually be added to the library.

5.2 'New' knowledge and the rise of learned societies in the Ottoman Empire

Around the time of the establishment of the *Syllogos* in the mid-nineteenth century, Ottoman Constantinople was going through a period of vibrant intellectual activity.[740] As mentioned in the previous chapters, that period was characterized by a

[738] For instance, the minutes for 3 Nov. 1875 notes that the Smithsonian Institute in Washington sent two volumes of the "Daily Bulletin of Weottre's Reports." *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 10, 148. Meeting No: 444.
[739] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol: 14, 155. Meeting No: 568, 22 October 1879.
[740] See Mardin, *Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought.*

significant rise in the activities of the printing press, especially newspapers, accompanied by a surge in the number of translations of foreign language works. These were also accompanied by the rise in the number of learned societies as well as urban clubs, which provided an opportunity and space for the gathering of the urban intellectual elite, both local, foreign, Muslim and non-Muslim. More significantly for the perspective of this study, whether established as a Turkish or Greek-speaking society by a majority of Muslim or of Non-Muslim members, these societies shared a significant number of common members that cut across the confessional or ethnic divide.

In the background of this rising intellectual activity were the transformations provided by the modernizing and bureaucratizing Ottoman state, taking place since the late eighteenth century, with *Tanzimat* regulations as a critical accelerating point. The bureaucratizing state, in search of modernization and centralization, not only created new institutions but also developed its own cadres from the officers who had received education abroad, obtaining a good command of foreign languages, mainly French, and interacting frequently with European politicians and notables. The new institutions of the changing state structure required the transformation of the 'new' knowledge imported from post-Enlightenment Europe, through new institutions such as schools, new publications, and translations in particular, as well as people who had personally experienced this 'new' knowledge either in Europe or at a European-oriented institution.

In his study of the rising intellectual members of the Late Ottoman society, Alper Yalçınkaya defines the understanding of the 'new' knowledge by the Ottomans as the "needed, beneficial, useful" knowledge produced in the European

West.[741] Accordingly, the empire, 'weakened' in the war game, needed first to catch up with the new military arts and at the same time to develop a higher capacity in diplomacy. In this light, the simultaneous opening of new military schools and the dispatch of the first permanent ambassadors to European capitals should not come as a surprise.[742]

Consequently, first the *Hendesehane* and then, the two *Mühendishanes* (1775 and 1795), [743] the European-style schools of engineering were established. They were among the earliest institutions of the modernizing Ottoman state which produced the "educated modernizing military officer" who would become the transmitter of knowledge from the West.[744] The abolition of the Janissary corps and the formation of new institutional bodies such as the *Mekteb-i Ulum-i Harbiye*,[745] "an institution that would gradually evolve into the most prominent symbol of new knowledge in the empire"[746] were among the significant steps taken for the institutional transfer of new knowledge, which was expected to be transferred and applied rather than developed. The structure of the school was very similar to the French Military Academy, with its large library, new educational materials such as up-to-date maps and tools, all brought from England, and its own printing press and hospital.[747]

Besides the establishment of new schools and a new education system, major transformations took place in the state mechanism, particularly in its rising

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[741] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 10-11.
[742] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 11-12.
[743] See, Beydilli "Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Hümâyun," Beydilli "Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümâyun."
[744] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 21.
[745] For a detailed account on *Mekteb-i Ulum-i Harbiye* and corresponding military schools, see Özcan, "Harbiye."
[746] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots*, 37.
[747] The military/engineering knowledge would be followed by medicine, and medical schools, though it was again not 'new' as a science in the nineteenth century. The rapid rise in the content of medical knowledge however, transformed the role of medical doctors into that of the 'new'scientists *par excellence*, as it was already discussed in the previous chapter.

bureaucracy. As mentioned above, a new generation of bureaucrats, mostly Muslim, were expected to speak European languages and interact frequently with European politicians and notables, in a similar fashion to the non-Muslims, particularly the Greek Orthodox.

5.2.1 *Tercüme Odası & Encümen-i Daniş*

The commercial elite of the Greek-Orthodox community and their descendants were already connected to European education and its conceptual world from the late seventeenth century. Accordingly, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the diplomatic translators (*dragoman*) of the Ottoman Sultans, the post of *Divan-ı Hümayun Tercümanlığı* (directly linked to the Grand Vizier and to the Sultan)[748] were occupied by the Greek Orthodox due to their better command of western languages.[749] This phenomenon continued till the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It was with the outbreak of Greek War of Independence in 1821, that Greeks lost their reliability in the eyes of the Ottoman Administration.[750] A sharp end to the post came immediately in 1821 with the execution of the last translator on the grounds of malpractice.[751] Yahya Efendi from *Mühendishane* and his son were appointed to the post. As they were not capable of pursuing the diplomatic aspects of the work, however, few *katibs* from the Divan and the *Sadaret* (Prime Ministry) were also brought to the office and were expected to learn foreign languages from Yahya and his son. Accordingly, this meant the establishment of the *Tercüme Odası* (Translation Chamber) by Sultan

[748] For the tables of organization see, Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire,* 71 and 75.
[749] See Chapter 2 for details of the Greek connection with the Western Europe.
[750] For a detailed account of the Ottoman perception of the 1821, Greek War of Independence, See Ilıcak, "A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence 1821–1826."
[751] Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Refom,* 72.

Mahmud II, immediately in April 1821, a few weeks after the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence.[752] The major point was to train Muslims in foreign languages and utilize them in the Ottoman administration.[753] Until that was achieved, however, another Greek, yet 'harmless' officer, Stavrakēs Aristarchēs, was appointed as deputy to the post.[754]

Institutionalization of the Chamber, though, took a while. It was around 1833, following the defeat of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali's army and the *Hünkar İskelesi* treaty, when a new chapter was opened in Ottoman diplomatic relations with Europe, that the translation chamber gained a more important position and was reformed by Sultan Mahmud II.[755] The number of members increased and new offices were established within the chamber. Eventually, the chamber became a school for the "westernized Ottoman statesmen" *hommes de letters.*[756] Turkish-Muslim educated young men were carving out a niche for themselves in the social hierarchy.[757] There were also Ottoman Greeks among the members of this institution.[758] Later on, with the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Nezareti),* the chamber became part of the ministry.[759]

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[752] For a detailed study of the role of the translation chamber in Ottoman modernization in the nineteenth century, see Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Refom,* 72-78, Bilim, "Tercüme Odası", Akyıldız, "Tercüme Odası" Balcı, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası"; Kılıç, "Osmanlı Hariciyesinde Gayrimüslimler." Mardin also underlines the fact that the formative cadres of the Young Ottomans had also served as members of the Translation Chamber for some time: See Mardin, *Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought*, 10-11.
[753] Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Refom,* 72.
[754] According to Akyıldız, although Aristarchēs's service as the Imperial Translator did not last long, his appointment underlines the fact that, the need for him was not only due to his linguistic capacity but to Yahya Efendi's lack of diplomatic abilities in foreign relations and lack of necessary know-how in foreign policy: Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Refom,* 74.
[755] Akyıldız, "Tercüme Odası," 504- 505; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire,* 136-137.
[756] Names like Ali Pasha, Fuad Pasha and Saffet Pasha were trained here. Akyıldız, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme,* 52.
[757] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 14.
[758] See Kırmızı, "Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Gayrimüslim İstihdamı," Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," and Findley "The Acid Test of Ottomanism" on the active role of *Millet-i Rum* and Other *Millets* in the Ottoman Bureaucracy.
[759] For the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the rise of modern, bureaucratic elite, see Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire,* 126 – 140.

It was from this background that *Encümen-i Daniş* (Comission of Science) was established as another state institution. It was inaugurated on 18 July 1851 and officially tasked with writing or translating books for *Darü'l-Fünûn* (in collaboration with the *Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye* – The General Education Committee).[760] It was planned to resemble the Academy of Paris.[761] Despite its short life-span and limited area of study on literature and history,[762] it was accepted as one of the most significant intellectual institutions that prepared the ground for more influential ones such as the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye.*[763]

According to the membership regulations, there were forty internal *(dahili)* members and a limitless number of external *(harici)* members.[764] Among its 40 internal and 33 external members, who were expected to be competent in at least one field of science, there were many significant names such as those of the future *sadrazam*s Ali Pasha, Fuad Pasha, Yusuf Kamil Pasha, the head doctor and Minister of Medicine Mehmed Salih Efendi, Keçecizade Mehmed Fuad Efendi, dictionary author James Redhouse, Austrian historian Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall,[765] etc.[766] The members of the *Encümen* were also able either to write original books or translations from Arabic and Persian. Among the famous works produced, were

[760] Karaçavuş, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim Cemiyyetleri," 131.
[761] Tezakir, Tetimme 40, s.46 (cited in Karaçavuş, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim Cemiyyetleri," 114).
[762] Işıl, "Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmua -i Fünun," 13.
[763] *Encümen-i Daniş* was not the first forerunner of the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye*. There was another small community of intellectuals, gathered around Şanizade Ataullah Efendi, in İsmail Ferruh Bey's mansion, which became known as the *"Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye* in Beşiktaş." However, since it was not a proper society, but rather a group of intellectuals gathering informally, its sufficient investigation could not be incorporated into this study. See Karaçavuş, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim Cemiyyetleri," 47 – 110.
[764] Karaçavuş, *"*Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim Cemiyyetleri*,"* 129.
[765] See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of Hammer-Purgstall.
[766] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 63; Karaçavuş, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim Cemiyyetleri," 142.

Kavaid-i Osmaniye (Rules of Ottoman Turkish)[767] and *Tarih-i Cevdet* (History by Cevdet).

5.2.2 *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye*

A decade after the establishment of *Encümen-i Daniş*, on April 11, 1861, Halil Şerif Pasha,[768] Ottoman Ambassador to St. Petersburg, wrote a petition to the Ottoman state for the foundation of the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye*.[769] The *Cemiyyet* aimed at encouraging scientific study by publishing books and translations and stimulating the introduction of western scientific knowledge on science, a mission which was also shared by the *Syllogos*. Although the institution would only survive for six years until 1867, it nevertheless proved much more efficient, productive and effective than the *Encümen-i Daniş.* The *Cemiyyet* managed in a very short time to establish a library at Taşmektep in Çiçekpazarı, a reading salon and its own press, aspects which again approximate the activities and outlook of the *Syllogos,* an attitude which was also acknowledged by the *Syllogos* itself in the foreword of *Syngramma Periodikon:*

> So the Ottomans, the Muslims established the scientific society *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye*, which also includes Orthodox, Armenian Christians and Europeans among its members. And they publish a periodical, that has gained respect among scholars through its historical, geological and political articles and the men who are high officials of the state successfully teach public scientific lessons in the courtyard of the half-finished academy, which hopefully will gradually serve its purpose.[770]

This reference of the *Syllogos* to the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye* should not be seen as an accident or a reference made in passing. Established almost

[767] Karaçavuş states that publishing *Kavaid* was among the first day decisions of the *Encümen.* Karaçavuş, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim Cemiyyetleri," 128.
[768] The Ottoman Ambassador to St. Petersburg and former Ambassador to Athens. He had been responsible for presenting Skarlatos Byzantios to the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid. He will later on contribute to the journal of the *Cemiyyet* with several articles.
[769] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots,* 81. Also see İhsanoğlu, "Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye."
[770] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 1, *prolog.* Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A31.

contemporaneously, the *Cemiyyet* was also a significant part of the Ottoman intellectual milieu in Constantinople. Composed of intellectual professionals, bureaucrats, and others, it was to a certain extent a derivative of the *Syllogos*, with the difference that it operated in the official language of the Empire, Turkish.

Similar to the *Syllogos*, the *Cemiyyet* published its own journal entitled *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* (Journal of Sciences) in 1861.[771] The *Mecmû'a* was among the earliest scientific journals to appear in an Ottoman intellectual environment, covering very diverse areas of interest which, just like the *Syllogos*, included archaeology. The interaction between the *Cemiyyet* and the *Syllogos* was not a mere side-effect of their contemporaneity. From the Foreword of the *Syllogos* journal, partially quoted above, it emerges as a conscious and intentional overlap. Members of the *Syllogos,* would refer to the *Cemiyyet* as another, yet 'half-finished academy' with its public lectures. Similar to *Syllogos*, the *Cemiyyet* also drew its members from a variety of different backgrounds, including those who worked at the Translation Chamber. Among them, there were significant names who were members of both societies such as Münif Pasha, İbrahim Edhem Pasha, and Alexander Kōnstantinidēs.

In addition to their overlap in membership, there were names within the productive intellectual universe of late Ottoman Istanbul who remained close to both societies and often collaborated with their members such as Marie de Launay or Ahmed Vefik Pasha. As Ersoy underlines, people like Edhem Pasha, Marie de Launay, Pierre Montani, who would later become members of the *Syllogos*, and like Ahmed Vefik who was already a member of the *Cemiyyet* (and *Encümen-i Daniş* previously), were also among the participants of another intellectual network that had authored the publications *Usul-i Mi'mari-i 'Osmani,* about the fundamentals of

[771] For detailed information about the see Uçman, "*Mecmû'a-i Fünûn.*"

Ottoman Architecture, and *Elbise-i Osmaniye*, a photographic album of Ottoman traditional costumes to be displayed in the Vienna World Exhibition, both published in 1873.[772]

It should not therefore come as a surprise that both societies followed each other's publications.[773] Despite its much sorter lifespan when compared to the *Syllogos,* the *Cemiyyet* was definitely another hub within the complex intellectual networks of the Ottoman Empire. Historian Georgios Vassiadis,[774] underlines this similarity in his recent book on the *Syllogos* as mimicry, "the obvious imitation of the *Syllogos*" on behalf of the *Cemiyyet.*[775] While such a claim may be difficult to prove in my view, one may confidently speak of a complex set of intellectuals from different *millet*s, whose work set forth from similar environments, as part of the same or connected network, mainly distinguished by their language output, which in turn reflected their different target audiences.

5.2.2.1 *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*

The most significant and enduring work of the *Cemiyyet* was a journal called *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* (Figure 48). It was not the first publication in Turkish that would focus on the modern "sciences." As Yalçınkaya outlines, there were earlier attempts to publish works on different branches of science. One of the first would be the section entitled as "*fünûn*" (sciences) as a subchapter of *Takvim-i Vekayi* or the compilation entitled *Mecmû'a-i Ulum-i Riyaziye* (1830 – 34), one of the first examples of

[772] For a detailed inquiry on the *Usul-i Mi'mari-i 'Osmani* and *Elbise-i Osmaniye*, *see* Ersoy, *Architecture and Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*.
[773] For a list of the journals, including the *Syngramma Periodikon,* (mentioned as *Rum Cemiyyeti Mecmuası*) kept in the library of the *Cemiyyet* and published as a list in Mecmû'a , see Işıl, *Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmû'a-i Fünûn,* 161-162.
[774] He is the grandson of Hēroklēs Vassiadis, a member and president of the *Syllogos,* hence is the similarity of the surname.
[775] Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 61.

publications on different aspects of science such as Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Astronomy, Biology, Botany, Zoology, and Minerology all at once.[776]

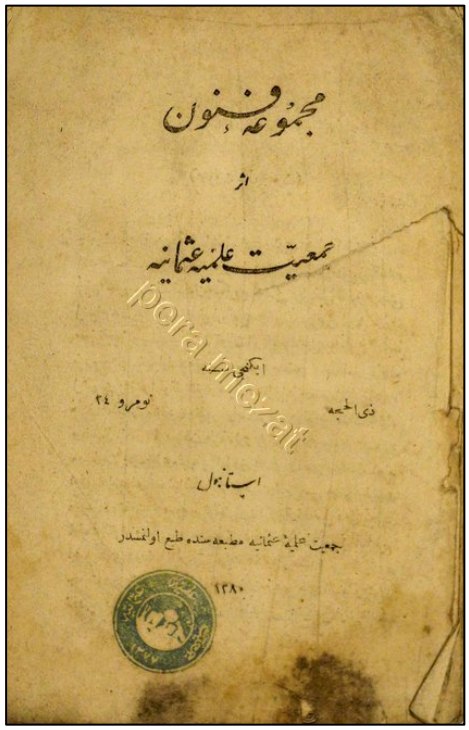


Figure 47. The title page of *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*
Hakkı Tarık Us Online Library

The publication of the journal was among the main priorities of the *Cemiyyet* as defined in its *Nizamname* (regulations) which was published in the very first issue of the *Mecmû'a.* The second article of the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniyye Nizamnamesi* stated that:

> The *Cemiyyet,* will publish a journal each month entitled *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* on science, education, commerce and industry and this journal will be at least thirty-two pages and will be distributed free of charge to all its members.[777]

[776] Yalçınkaya, *Learned Patriots*, 35
[777] *"Cemiyyet ulum ve maarife ve ticaret ve sanayie dair Mecmû'a-i Fünûn ünvanıyla beher mah ibtidasında bir gazete çıkaracak ve işbu mecmû'a laakal otuziki sahifeden ibaret olarak âzânın cümlesine meccanen birer nüshası ita olunacaktır." Mecmû'a -i Fünûn,* Vol. 1, 2. See Appendix O1.

The seventh article however makes it compulsory for all members of the *Cemiyyet* either to contribute to the *Mecmû'a* with articles or to give lectures on their specialization areas.[778] The journal *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* was first published in June 1862 (*Muharrem* 1279). At the end of the third volume, in its third year, the publishers had to give a break due to a cholera epidemic. Publication was resumed in May 1866 (*Muharrem* 1283) and in June 1867 (*Safer* 1284) when it stopped due to several other obligations of its publishers. Münif and İbrahim Edhem Pashas served as editors of the journal. Among the contributors were Ottoman official Sakızlı Ohannes Efendi,[779] Mehmed Şevki, (*Matbuat Müdürü*, director of the Press Office) Aziz Edhem Pertev Pasha[780], and Halil Şerif Pasha. [781]

5.2.2.2 Antiquarianism in *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*

Another aspect in which the *Cemiyyet* resembled the *Syllogos* was the antiquarian interest of its members.[782] As discussed above, the *Syllogos* paid significant attention to the topography of the existing urban context of Istanbul. A mere glance of the table of contents of *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*, reveals an interest in the urban context of Constantinople shared by many members of the *Cemiyyet.* Articles with a particularly antiquarian focus, mostly published from late-1864 until mid-1867 by authors Alexander Phardys and Alexander Kōnstantinidēs.[783]

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[778] *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn,* Vol. 1, 3. The same article also requires its members to be the subjects of the Ottoman state.
[779] For a short bio, see Işıl, *Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmua-i Fünun,* 109.
[780] For a short bio, see Işıl, *Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmua-i Fünun,* 96.
[781] For a short bio, see Işıl, *Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmua-i Fünun,* 97.
[782] This does not mean however, that the studies produced or and researchers engaged in the *Cemiyyet* were as numerous as those of the *Syllogos.* The importance of the research conducted under the auspices of the *Cemiyyet* however, despite its much shorter life span comes from the mere existence of such studies written in Ottoman and for an Ottoman-speaking audience.
[783] This timeframe which roughly coincides with the continuous republications of *Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* in Turkish and Karamanlidika is significant in the sense that, it underlines the rise of an interest in antiquarian literature on Constantinople in Turkish, parallel to the rising institutional intellectual establishments, such as the learned societies and the printing press among Ottoman Bureaucrats.

The first such piece to appear in *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* in this respect was authored by Phardys (Fardis) in *Şaban* 1281 (December 1864) and entitled *Ayasofya*. The author's full name was Alexander Themistoklēs Phardys.[784] He was a diplomat and the dragoman of the Ottoman embassy in Berlin. Together with Constantine Phōtiadēs, he compiled the first Ottoman – Greek Dictionary. He was also a member of the Translation Chamber.[785] He produced five articles which were mostly published as serials in the journal, which were: *Tarih-i Mulûk-i Kudemâ-yi Fars,* (The History of the Ancient Kings of Persia) *Tarih-i Kostantiniyye,* (History of Constantinople) *Ayasofya, Mizac-ı Hava-yı İstanbul* (The Weather Condition of Istanbul) and *Çenberlitaş*, of which only the ones on Hagia Sophia and the Çemberlitaş were based on antiquarian inquiries.

The article entitled *Ayasofya* by Phardys was published in two different issues. The article begins with a description of the location of the building in the city, the decision of the Byzantine emperors to build a church and to gather equipment, material and workmen from all over the empire, the choice of its name, and the restorations during its lifetime. Then there is a lengthy description about the architectural properties of the building in which the materials, columns, mosaics and icons are described.

In the next issue, the article continued with the properties of the columns, the floors, describing the structural attributes of the building from the pool in the courtyard to the numbers of the doors and windows. The article ends with a comparison of the Hagia Sophia with St. Peter's church in Rome, 'a church' in

[784] Strauss "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," 221.
[785] For a short bio, see Işıl, *Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmua-i Fünun,* 113.

Florence, and St. Paul's in London in terms of *irtifâ* (height), *arz* (width) and *tûl.* (length).

The other article by Phardys was on *Çenberlitaş*[sic].[786] It was also a description of the column, beginning from its multiple names as the Column of Constantine or the Burnt Column, including its construction date, and other particular details. Unlike these two articles on the Hagia Sophia and Çemberlitaş, Phardys's other contributions to *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* were more histories of events, which took place during certain historical periods. For instance, the one entitled *Tarih-i Konstantiniyye* is a historical account of Constantinople around the period of Constantine the Great.

The other author to write on the material texture of Constantinople was Alexander Kōstantinidēs (Kostantinidi), the author of the *Tarih-i Ayasofya*, who was also an Ottoman bureaucrat at the time. He would become a member of the *Syllogos* much later, in 1872. He was mentioned by Johann Strauss as the "most competent Greek Ottoman scholar of the nineteenth century".[787]

Among the significant works of Kōnstantinidēs, the first place is occupied by his chrestomathy published in 1871: *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Osmâniyye* (Selection of Ottoman Works). The book was a selection of Ottoman literary works and it was aimed for academic use in schools. Strauss states the significance of the book as being a "Greek" selection of Ottoman works with a hidden agenda of underlying Greek influence on the Ottoman past.[788] The selection included the fables from

[786] Phardys, "Çenberlitaş." Akyürek underlines that this article was simultaneous with the competition on the burnt column. See Akyürek, "Mid-19th Century Ottoman Re-discovery of Constantinople: New Practices of Seeing Architecture of the City," 199, f.n. 17.
[787] Strauss "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," 218.
[788] Strauss "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," 227-228.

Aesop translated by Ahmed Midhat Efendi, the chapter on Socrates and Plato from Münif Pasha's *Tarih-i Hükemâ-i Yunan* (History of Greek Philosophers) and like. The book was originally written in Greek but its publication in Greek would be later, in 1874. Another work by Kōnstantinidēs, entitled *Tarih-i Yunanistan-ı Kadîm* (History of Ancient Greeks), tells about the ancient history of the Greeks from 1580 BCE to 146 BCE, following a chronological order with information on the Greek colonies, in some 340 pages.

Kōnstantinidēs contributed to the *Mecmu'a* with two articles: *Tarih-i Ayasofya* and *Kızıl Adalar*.[789] His article on the *Kızıl Adalar* (the Princes' Islands of Constantinople) was published in June 1867 (*Safer* 1284). It described the Princes' Islands as the summer resort of the people of Istanbul. He talks about the locations of the islands, Büyükada (Prinkipo), Kınalı and Burgaz, describes their historical settlements, and offers information about the monasteries which were used as banishment destinations for political rivals in the Byzantine era:

> The aforementioned islands were nine in total and located in the eastern side of the Marmara Sea. These are known as Büyük, Heybeli, Burgas, Kınalı, Sedef, Tavşanlı, Yassı, Sivri and Pita islands. Four of them, the Büyük, Heybeli, Burgas and Kınalı and Sedef are inhabited.... [790]

Kōnstantinidēs's other article, *Tarih-i Ayasofya,* was republished as a fifteen-page long offprint by the *Ceride-i Havadis* publishing house in 1868. It is a chronological treatise of the imperial monument beginning from the first two Hagia Sophias which once occupied the same site and were demolished and replaced by the later structure.

In his *Tarih-i Ayasofya,* Kōnstantinidēs, in a manner similar to Phardys, was more interested in the material features of the building and provided details about its

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[789] Kōnstantinidēs "Kızıl Adalar"; Kōnstantinidēs, "Tarih-i Ayasofya."
[790] *Cezire-i mezkure dokuz kıta olub Marmara denizinin cihet-i şarkisinde vakidir. Bunlar büyük ve heybeli ve burgas ve kınalı ve sedef ve tavşanlı ve yassı ve sivri ve pita adası isimleriyle müsemmadırlar. Dördü yani büyük ada ve heybeli ve burgas ve kınalı ve sedef adaları meskun olub…* Kōnstantinidēs, *Kızıl Adalar,* 58. See Appendix O2.

structure, materials, information regarding the expropriation of the site by Justinian, the construction details, its architects, workers, financial aspects, and the damage and repairs that the building experienced throughout its long life.

The only section where Kōnstantinidēs reflected a rather superstitious approach was the legend pertaining to the name of the church, the Hagia Sophia, the Holy Wisdom, (*Mukaddes Hikmet).*[791] According to Stefanos Yerasimos, this story was part of a traditional narrative about the church. According to this tradition, an angel resides hidden in the columns of Hagia Sophia, maintaining the holiness of the site. Several other earlier legendary Ottoman sources refer to the same legend with small differences, such as the name and guise of the angel etc.[792]

While describing in detail the Byzantine history of the church, Kōnstantinidēs succinctly summarizes the life of the monument during Ottoman rule, with a specific focus on the conversion of the church into a mosque by Mehmed II, some later repairs by Mehmed II, Selim II, Murad III, and lastly the restorations by the Fossati brothers under the auspices of Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-1861). Interestingly enough, while he mentions Fossati brothers as the architects of the renovations, he never mentions the name of Sinan, the sixteenth century chief-architect, who provided significant structural support to the building in the form of buttresses and added two minarets:

> After Ayasofya was transformed into a mosque, the activities that are worth writing historically are very few. In 1573, following the naval war between the Ottomans and the Austrians in the region called Nafpakt [Naupaktos] Sultan Selim II had Ayasofya repaired and 4 minarets in the new style were built.[793]

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[791] Yerasimos, *Kostantiniyye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri.*

[792] Yerasimos states that, these legends, particularly about the foundation of Hagia Sophia, which dated back to Byzantine sources, survived well into the Ottoman period, beginning from an historical text dated as early as 1492. According to him, the Ottomans incorporated these details into their version of the history of the city. See Yerasimos, *Konstantiniyye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri.*

[793] *Ayasofya cami'e tahvil olunduktan sonra târihce şâyân-ı tahrîr vukuatı pek azdır. 1573 sene-i miladisinde (Nafpakt) nâm mahalde Devlet-i Aliye ile Nemçelü beyninde vukû' bulan muharebe-yi bahriyesinden sonra Sultan Selim-i sâni hazretleri Ayasofyayı ta'mir ve tarz nev üzere dört minare inşa' ettirmiştir.* Konstantinidi, "Tarih-i Ayasofya," 82. See Appendix O3.

……
Since later on Ayasofya did not experience any repairs and many parts of it needed restoration, by order of Sultan Abdülmecid, may God's mercy and forgiveness be upon him, the famous Italian architect Fossati worked on the repairs and in 1849, on the first Friday of July, invited the presence of the aforementioned Sultan at the opening day of Ayasofya, whereby he congratulated and rewarded the architect and the workers with imperial presents; and a souvenir for this occasion a medallion with an image of Ayasofya on one side and his illustrious imperial cypher (on the other) was minted and distributed to the aforementioned people.[794]

Johann Strauss explains Kōnstantinidēs's effort as an attempt to write a 'proper' (read 'scientific') history of *Ayasofya*, since previous Ottoman works on the subject were mostly considered 'legend-based'.[795] However, it might also be asserted that, the significance of Kōnstantinidēs's work comes from the fact that he transfused the (antiquarian) literature, which had developed from the sixteenth century onwards and accumulated particularly in Greek throughout the nineteenth, into Ottoman Turkish. The bilingual presence of Kōnstantinidēs and Phardys within the Ottoman intellectual milieu, provided them to establish the links between different linguistic spheres. Unfortunately, neither Kōnstantinidēs nor Phardys provide proper references to their sources in their articles, which makes it difficult for the reader to decode the lineage of their bibliographical references.

As mentioned earlier, this was around the same time, when the *Konstantinias* was translated by Patriarch Kōnstantios and published in Ottoman Turkish. Şule Kılıç Yıldız, in her study on the rise of Byzantine Studies in the late Ottoman

[794] *Ayasofya ondan sonra ta'mir görmemiş ve çok yerleri muhtac-ı tarmim bulunmuş olduğundan Sultan Abdülmecid Han aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'l-gufrân hazretlerinin sadr olan emir ve irade-i seniyyeleri mucebince meşhur İtalyalı Fossati nâm mi'mar marifetiyle suret-i muhakemede ta'mir ve 1849 senesi temmuzunun birinci Cuma günü tekmil olunarak hakan-ı müşarünileyh hazretleri Ayasofyanın küşadı günü teşrif ve mi'mar ve ameleyi atiyye-i seniyye ile tatyîb ve taltif buyurmuş ve bunun bir yadigârı olmak üzeri bir tarafında Ayasofyanın resmi ve diğer tarafında tuğrâ-yı ğarrâ-yı mülükhaneleriyle mezyin bir madalya darbiyle merkumlara i'ta eylemiştir.* Konstantinidi, "Tarih-i Ayasofya," 83. See Appendix O4.

[795] Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th - 20th Centuries)," 223.

Empire, indicates this Ottoman Turkish version, *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye*, among the earliest studies in Ottoman Turkish on the empire's Byzantine remnants.[796] I believe that it is equally important to include the *Tarih-i Ayasofya* of Kōnstantinidēs and the *Ayasofya* or *Çenberlitaş* [sic] of Phardys into such an inquiry.

However, while doing so, certain aspects of these works should not be ignored. Until recently, scholarship evaluated the literature on the historical material texture of Constantinople exclusively within the particular languages of the ethno-religious communities of the empire, a habit that overshadows the simultaneous developments of, as well as entanglements and cross-overs between different languages. If, for instance, *Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye* is evaluated only through its Turkish version, its connection with the wider imperial / inter-communal intellectual context that informs the book and the author is lost. Such an approach would also conceal the identity of Kōnstantinidēs and Phardys as Ottoman Greeks and evaluate *Tarih-i Ayasofya* and their other articles within the limited scope of Ottoman Turkish intellectual production. Besides their synchrony with *Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye,* it cannot be just a coincidence that both Kōnstantinidēs and Phardys were Ottoman Greeks. In addition to their position amidst the ranks of the Ottoman learned elite, what is also significant here is their capacity to follow the accumulating antiquarian literature on Constantinople, particularly in Greek, throughout the nineteenth century. It is important that, while underlining the simultaneity of these works by different authors in different print mediums, their wider intellectual context should be evaluated accordingly. It is only through such a broader inquiry on their networked contacts, and transference in knowledge that we

[796] See Kılıç-Yıldız, "Byzantium Between "East" and "West." As a distinctive category I would prefer to stick to language, as the term Ottoman, an umbrella term, denotes not only the Muslim speaking community but also the Ottoman Greeks.

may depict a broader picture of the rising antiquarian interest within Ottoman Turkish literature. However, as could be outlined with the examples of Kōnstantinidēs and Kōnstantios, the transmission of knowledge from one linguistic domain to the other provided a necessary link for the emergence of the network that has been compiled through the agency of the historical texture of Constantinople. Conversely, on the other side of the coin, seeing the *Syllogos* and its work within an exclusively Greek context, underestimates its sphere of influence, its impact zone, and the influence it generated among other circles of the Constantinopolitan intellectual milieu, the *Cemiyyet* being one certain example.

5.3 Research on the historical topography of Constantinople

From the 1860s onwards, the institutionalization of the intellectual milieu in the Ottoman Empire seems to have resulted in the institutionalization of the rising antiquarian interest on the historical topography of Constantinople. However, it would be only in around the early 1870s that this interest would acquire a more proactive dimension. Among the two cases examined, since the *Syllogos* was rather more stable in terms of the continuation of its activities when compared to the *Cemiyyet,* it is not surprising that such an active engagement with the urban context emerged out of the circles of the *Syllogos.* The timing however, may also be linked to the aforementioned rebirth of the *Syllogos* following the 1870 fire in Pera.

A significant outcome of this proactivism was the project developed for the documentation of the historical topography of Constantinople. While its original inception remains unclear, the Land Walls research conducted by Paspatēs, and his book *Byzantine Studies*,[797] the earlier map of the Blachernae Palace by Dēmētriadēs

[797] See Chapter 4 for the details.

and Karatheodori, or the book of Philipp Anton Dethier, *Le Bosphor et Constantinople* served as sources of motivation for the rest of the *Syllogos* members, as was also indicated in the society's Archaeological Supplement. Having brought together such a group of intellectuals, already engaged in different levels of historical knowledge concerning the urban context of Constantinople, the *Syllogos* was more than ready for such an endeavor.

To lay the groundwork, besides the research of its own members, the *Syllogos* collected works on the history and topography of the city, including already existing scholarly works, books, a number of published and unpublished earlier maps, research documents, as well as copies of the recently prepared maps of the city by the Tramway and the Roumeli Railway companies.[798] After these initial steps of gathering available knowledge, the committee responsible for the project, approved the gradual undertaking of this task of collection, proceeding, one step at a time, from the outside to the inside. Their first decision, therefore, was to prepare a map of the land walls. This would be followed by a map of the seaside walls and the rest of the surface area of Constantinople, with special notes on the surviving remains of ancient monuments.[799] Supervision of the project was given to Mr. Karatheodori, an engineer, and Mr. Dēmētriadēs, a topographer. They were expected to assemble and lead the engineering team.

The progress of the project became a collective project of nearly all *Syllogos* members as various drafts were submitted for deliberation in the meetings of the *Syllogos*, leading to successive corrections to the plans that were made after long discussions, with the participation of the antiquarian members of the *Syllogos,* such as

[798] Schröeder stated that, the director of the European Turkish Railways Company, Mr. Koulman donated the 10 meters long map of the Marmara Walls to the *Syllogos* due to the constant urging of the Archaeological Committee. *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol 8, 339.
[799] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14, 3.

the late antiquarian Jules Millingen (the father of Alexander van Millingen), and medical doctors, Dr. Mordtmann and Dr. Déthier. Whenever divergence of opinion arose between members, it was duly noted and later marked on the published map itself, as was the case with the list of the site names given as an addendum to the map. These site names, accordingly, included identifications that were verified according to the existing literature, and followed by the revisionist suggestions of the 'unconvinced scholar'.

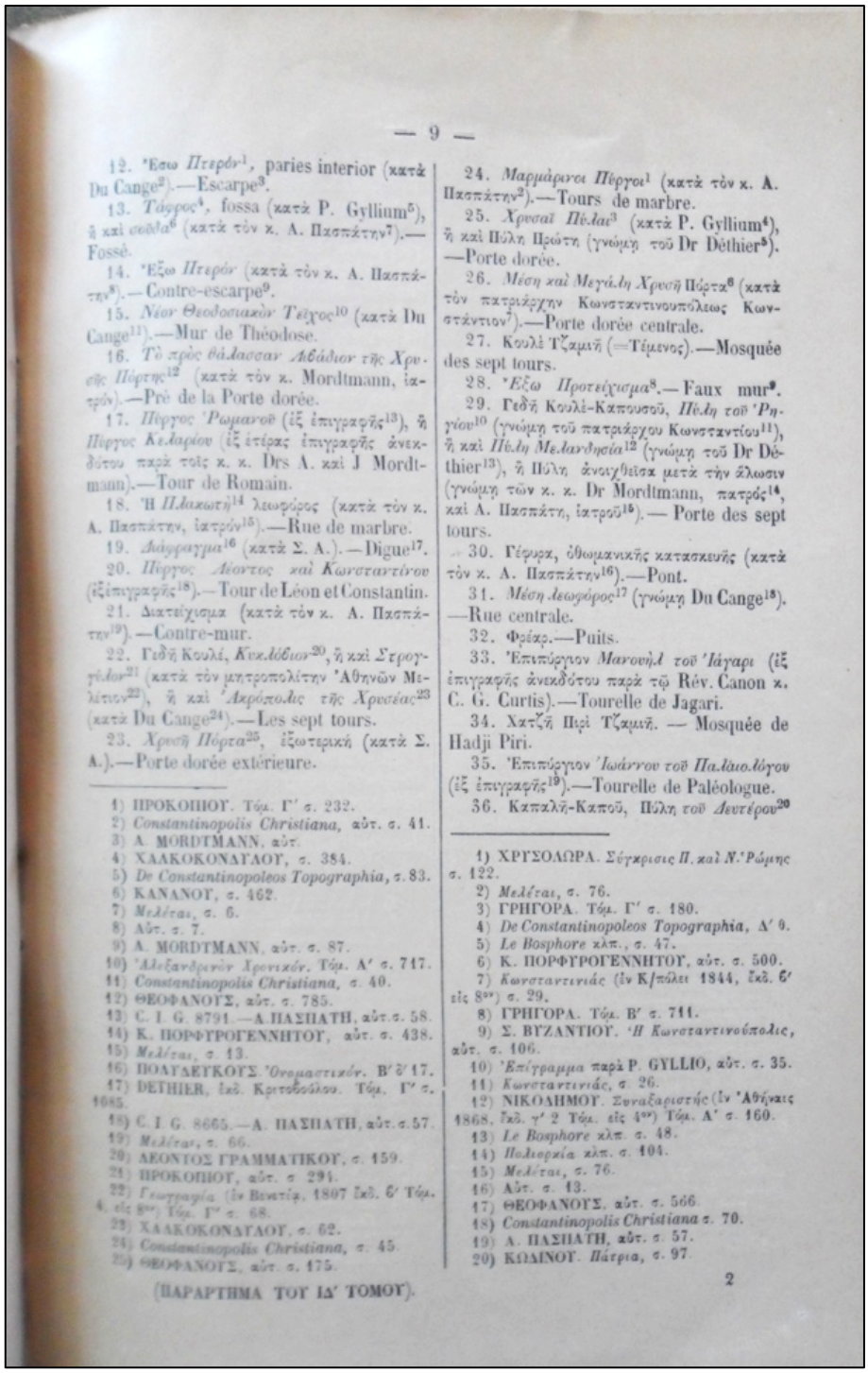
> Particular attention was given to the comparison between the modern and ancient names of places indicated on the map. Whenever the identification had met with the unanimous approval of all committee members only one ancient placename has been given. If, however, someone's personal opinion had been expressed without convincing the others, that has been indicated as "in the opinion of so-and-so"; Whenever several different opinions had been put forth, then each personal opinion has been duly noted.[800]

This would result in giving different names for one significant location in different formats. The ensuing final list compiled by Aristarchēs appeared rather complicated and difficult to decipher and yet, at the same time, highly representative of the meticulous approach generally adopted by the *Syllogos* (Figures 49, 50):

> Another member of the committee, Mr Aristarchēs composed the comparative list of names that came with the map, by adding references from his own notes and indicating the author who, in his own view, first came up with the identification that was subsequently endorsed by the committee. In this list, first the numeral referring to the map is given; this is followed by the contemporary name, either in Turkish (of a gate, mosque, etc) or in the [Greek] vernacular (of a church, etc), or the ancient one (in caseas of non-extant monuments); then comes Byzantine name in italics, spelled as it appears in Byzantine texts or inscription rather than in later spellings; then comes the later name, followed by the qualification "according to" – whenever the whole committee endorsed this name – or by the phrase "in the opinion of" whenever an individual opinion is expressed; occasionally the name is followed by the qualification "from an inscription", which also indicates a unanimous endorsement by the committee. This is because many towers and turrets, etc. were named after the inscriptions they carried. Upon

[800] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14, 6-7. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A32.

the strong insistence of the committee, a French translation of the placename was provided at the end of each entry.[801]



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12. Ἔσω *Πτερόν*[1], paries interior (κατὰ Du Cange[2]).—Escarpe[3].

13. *Τάφρος*[4], fossa (κατὰ P. Gyllium[5]), ἢ καὶ *σοῦδα*[6] (κατὰ τὸν κ. Α. Πασπάτην[7]).—Fossé.

14. Ἔξω *Πτερόν* (κατὰ τὸν κ. Α. Πασπάτην[8]).—Contre-escarpe[9].

15. *Νέον Θεοδοσιακὸν Τεῖχος*[10] (κατὰ Du Cange[11]).—Mur de Théodose.

16. *Τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν Λεβάδιον τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης*[12] (κατὰ τὸν κ. Mordtmann, ἰατρόν).—Près de la Porte dorée.

17. *Πύργος Ῥωμανοῦ* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς[13]), ἢ *Πύργος Κελαρίου* (ἐξ ἑτέρας ἐπιγραφῆς ἀνεκδότου παρὰ τοῖς κ. κ. Drs A. καὶ J. Mordtmann).—Tour de Romain.

18. Ἡ *Πλακωτὴ*[14] λεωφόρος (κατὰ τὸν κ. Α. Πασπάτην, ἰατρόν[15]).—Rue de marbre.

19. *Διάφραγμα*[16] (κατὰ Σ. Α.).—Digue[17].

20. *Πύργος Λέοντος καὶ Κωνσταντίνου* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς[18]).—Tour de Léon et Constantin.

21. Διατείχισμα (κατὰ τὸν κ. Α. Πασπάτην[19]).—Contre-mur.

22. Γιδῆ Κουλέ, *Κυκλόβιον*[20], ἢ καὶ *Στρογγύλον*[21] (κατὰ τὸν μητροπολίτην Ἀθηνῶν Μελέτιον[22]), ἢ καὶ *Ἀκρόπολις τῆς Χρυσέας*[23] (κατὰ Du Cange[24]).—Les sept tours.

23. *Χρυσῆ Πόρτα*[25], ἐξωτερικὴ (κατὰ Σ. Α.).—Porte dorée extérieure.

1) ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ. Τόμ. Γ' σ. 232.
2) *Constantinopolis Christiana*, αὐτ. σ. 41.
3) A. MORDTMANN, αὐτ.
4) ΧΑΛΚΟΚΟΝΔΥΛΟΣ, σ. 384.
5) *De Constantinopoleos Topographia*, σ. 83.
6) ΚΑΝΑΝΟΥ, σ. 462.
7) *Μελέται*, σ. 6.
8) Αὐτ. σ. 7.
9) A. MORDTMANN, αὐτ. σ. 87.
10) Ἀλεξανδρινὸν Χρονικόν. Τόμ. Α' σ. 747.
11) *Constantinopolis Christiana*, σ. 40.
12) ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ, αὐτ. σ. 785.
13) C. I. G. 8791.—Α. ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗ, αὐτ. σ. 58.
14) Κ. ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ, αὐτ. σ. 438.
15) *Μελέται*, σ. 13.
16) ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΟΥΣ. Ὀνομαστικόν. Β' § 17.
17) DETHIER, ἐκδ. Κρητοβούλου. Τόμ. Γ' σ. 1085.
18) C. I. G. 8665.—Α. ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗ, αὐτ. σ. 57.
19) *Μελέται*, σ. 66.
20) ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ, σ. 159.
21) ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ, αὐτ. σ. 294.
22) *Γεωγραφία* (ἐν Βενετίᾳ, 1807 ἐκδ. 6' Τόμ. 4. εἰς 8ον) Τόμ. Γ' σ. 68.
23) ΧΑΛΚΟΚΟΝΔΥΛΟΣ, σ. 62.
24) *Constantinopolis Christiana*, σ. 45.
25) ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ, αὐτ. σ. 475.

(ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΔ' ΤΟΜΟΥ).

24. *Μαρμάρινα Πύργοι*[1] (κατὰ τὸν κ. Α. Πασπάτην[2]).—Tours de marbre.

25. *Χρυσαῖ Πύλαι*[3] (κατὰ P. Gyllium[4]), ἢ καὶ Πύλη Πρώτη (γνώμῃ τοῦ Dr Déthier[5]).—Porte dorée.

26. *Μέση καὶ Μεγάλη Χρυσῆ Πόρτα*[6] (κατὰ τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Κωνστάντιον[7]).—Porte dorée centrale.

27. Κουλὲ Τζαμιῆ (=Τέμενος).—Mosquée des sept tours.

28. *Ἔξω Προτείχισμα*[8].—Faux mur[9].

29. Γιδῆ Κουλὲ-Καπουσοῦ, *Πύλη τοῦ Ῥηγίου*[10] (γνώμῃ τοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντίου[11]), ἢ καὶ *Πύλη Μελανδησία*[12] (γνώμῃ τοῦ Dr Déthier[13]), ἢ Πύλη ἀνοιχθεῖσα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν (γνώμῃ τῶν κ. κ. Dr Mordtmann, πατρός[14], καὶ Α. Πασπάτη, ἰατροῦ[15]).—Porte des sept tours.

30. Γέφυρα, ὀθωμανικῆς κατασκευῆς (κατὰ τὸν κ. Α. Πασπάτην[16]).—Pont.

31. *Μέση λεωφόρος*[17] (γνώμῃ Du Cange[18]).—Rue centrale.

32. Φρέαρ.—Puits.

33. Ἐπιπύργιον *Μανουὴλ τοῦ Ἰάγαρι* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς ἀνεκδότου παρὰ τῷ Rév. Canon κ. C. G. Curtis).—Tourelle de Jagari.

34. Χατζῆ Πιρὶ Τζαμιῆ. — Mosquée de Hadji Piri.

35. Ἐπιπύργιον *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς[19]).—Tourelle de Paléologue.

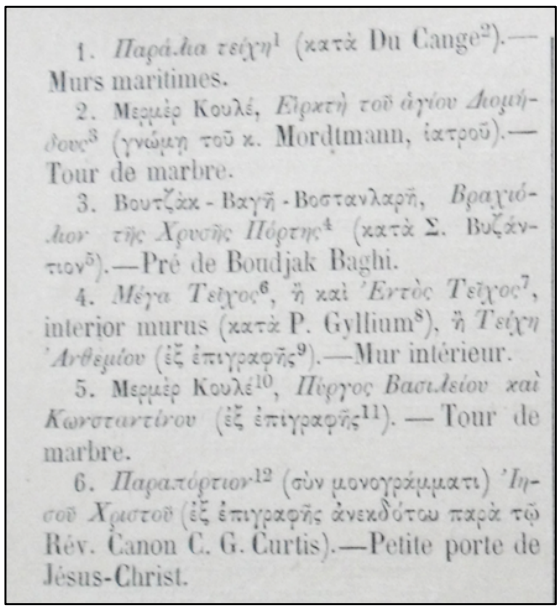
36. Καπαλῆ-Καποῦ, Πύλη τοῦ *Δευτέρου*[20]

1) ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑ. *Σύγκρισις Π. καὶ Ν. Ῥώμης* σ. 122.
2) *Μελέται*, σ. 76.
3) ΓΡΗΓΟΡΑ. Τόμ. Γ' σ. 180.
4) *De Constantinopoleos Topographia*, Δ' 9.
5) *Le Bosphore* κλπ., σ. 47.
6) Κ. ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ, αὐτ. σ. 500.
7) *Κωνσταντινιάς* (ἐν Κ/πόλει 1844, ἐκδ. 6' εἰς 8ον) σ. 29.
8) ΓΡΗΓΟΡΑ. Τόμ. Β' σ. 711.
9) Σ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ. *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*, αὐτ. σ. 106.
10) *Ἐπίγραμμα* παρὰ P. GYLLIO, αὐτ. σ. 35.
11) *Κωνσταντινιάς*, σ. 26.
12) ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΥ. Συναξαριστής (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1868, ἐκδ. γ' 2 Τόμ. εἰς 4ον) Τόμ. Α' σ. 160.
13) *Le Bosphore* κλπ. σ. 48.
14) *Πολιορκία* κλπ. σ. 104.
15) *Μελέται*, σ. 76.
16) Αὐτ. σ. 13.
17) ΘΕΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ. αὐτ. σ. 566.
18) *Constantinopolis Christiana* σ. 70.
19) Α. ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗ, αὐτ. σ. 57.
20) ΚΩΔΙΝΟΥ. *Πάτρια*, σ. 97.

2

Figure 48. The list of locations pointed on the map *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14, 2. Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

[801] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14, 7. Translated by Elena Papadopoulou. See Appendix A33.



1. *Παράλια τείχη*[1] (κατὰ Du Cange[2]).—Murs maritimes.
2. Μερμὲρ Κουλέ, *Εἰρκτὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δομήδους*[3] (γνώμη τοῦ κ. Mordtmann, ἰατροῦ).—Tour de marbre.
3. Βουτζάκ-Βαγῆ-Βοστανλαρῆ, *Βραχιόλιον τῆς Χρυσῆς Πόρτης*[4] (κατὰ Σ. Βυζάντιον[5]).—Pré de Boudjak Baghi.
4. *Μέγα Τεῖχος*[6], ἢ καὶ *Ἐντὸς Τεῖχος*[7], interior murus (κατὰ P. Gyllium[8]), ἢ *Τείχη Ἀνθεμίου* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς[9]).—Mur intérieur.
5. Μερμὲρ Κουλέ[10], *Πύργος Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς[11]). — Tour de marbre.
6. *Παραπόρτιον*[12] (σὺν μονογράμματι) *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς ἀνεκδότου παρὰ τῷ Rév. Canon C. G. Curtis).—Petite porte de Jésus-Christ.

Figure 49. Detail from page 2, the list of locations pointed on the map
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

One may partially follow the progress of the mapmaking project from the minutes of the regular meetings published in the *Syngramma Periodikon*. For instance, the *Syllogos* procured elevation drawings (referred to as "panoramas") of the Land Walls from the famous painter Mr. Manarakēs (Figures 51-55).[802]



Figure 50. Topkapı (Gate), drawn by Manarakēs
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

[802] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 8, 339. Meeting No: 393, 27 April 1874.



Figure 51. Mevlevihane Kapı, drawn by Manarakēs
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol.14.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

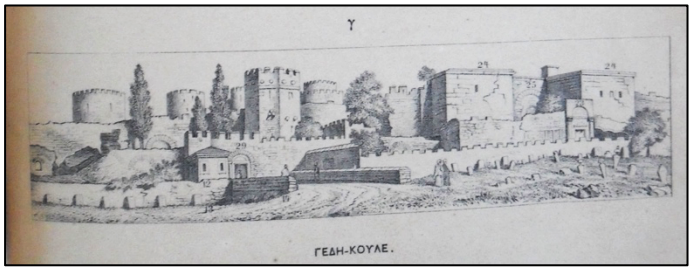


Figure 52. Yedikule, drawn by Manarakēs
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

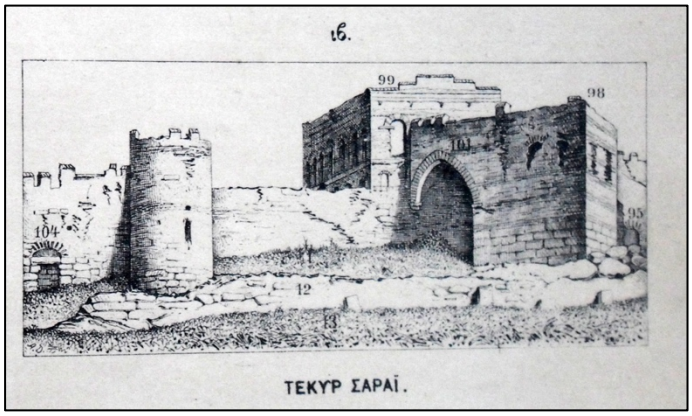


Figure 53. Tekfur Saray (Palace), drawn by Manarakēs,
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

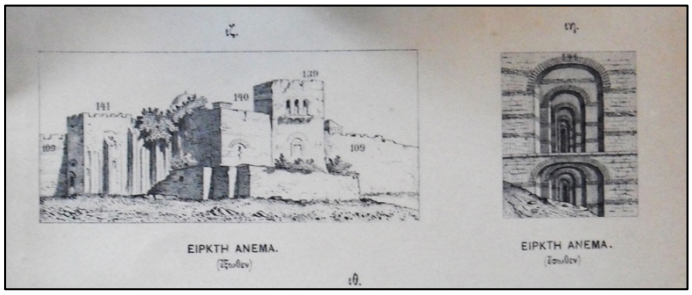
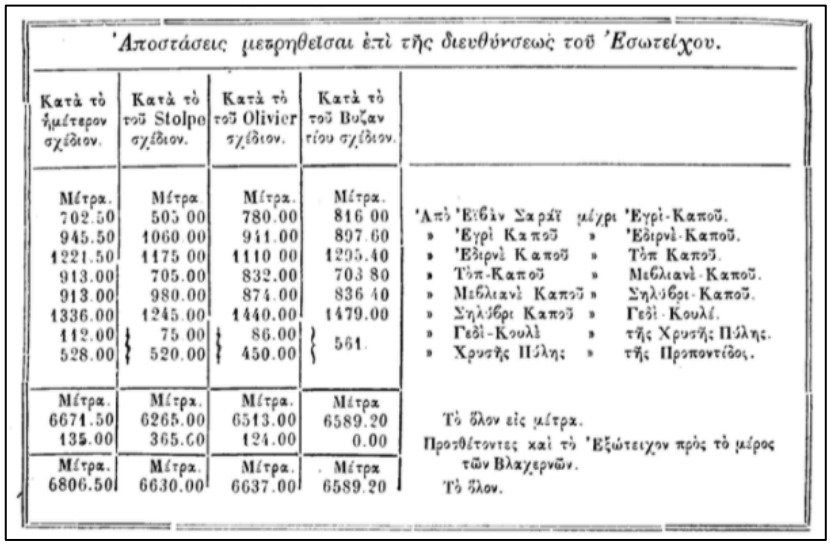


Figure 54. Anemas Prison, drawn by Manarakēs
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

In the same meeting, Schröeder, who was responsible for the library at the time, mentioned that neither the panoramas of Manarakēs nor the map of the Land Walls had been submitted to the Library of the *Syllogos* by the time he submitted his report.[803] However, as the archaeological committee's report for the year 1875-76 reveals, the map was submitted to the *Syllogos* and it could be seen by the members.[804] As the director of the *Syllogos* for that year, Paspatēs mentioned that despite the absence of a report from the Archaeological Committee that year, it was evident that the Land and Sea Walls projects were making good progress. The studies made for these projects were shedding ever brighter light over many aspects of Byzantine history.[805]

Although earlier maps produced by both members of the *Syllogos* and other scholars were used extensively, nevertheless, Dēmētriadēs and Karatheodori began by carefully measuring the walls anew. This extensive project was time consuming. At the end, the new calculations differed from earlier maps to a certain degree. Accordingly, they chose to organize these differences with the measurements of Stolpe, Oliver and Byzantios (Kauffer) maps in the form of a table (Figure 56) in the same supplement to the map and elevations.

[803] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 8, 339. Meeting No: 393, 27 April 1874.
[804] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 10, 183. Meeting No: 470, 9 May 1876.
[805] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 10, 183. Meeting No: 470, 9 May 1876.



'Αποστάσεις μετρηθεισαι ἐπὶ τῆς διευθύνσεως τοῦ 'Εσωτείχου.

Κατὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον σχέδιον.	Κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Stolpe σχέδιον.	Κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Olivier σχέδιον.	Κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου σχέδιον.	
Μέτρα.	Μέτρα	Μέτρα.	Μέτρα.	'Απὸ 'Εβὲν Σαράϊ μέχρι 'Εγρὶ-Καποῦ.
702.50	505 00	780.00	816 00	» 'Εγρὶ Καποῦ » 'Εδιρνὲ-Καποῦ.
945.50	1060 00	941.00	897.60	» 'Εδιρνὲ Καποῦ » Τὸπ Καποῦ.
1221.50	1175 00	1110 00	1295.40	» Τὸπ-Καποῦ » Μεβλιανὲ-Καποῦ.
913.00	705.00	832.00	703 80	» Μεβλιανὲ Καποῦ » Σηλύβρι-Καποῦ.
913.00	980.00	874.00	836 40	» Σηλύβρι Καποῦ » Γεδὶ-Κουλέ.
1336.00	1245.00	1440.00	1479.00	» Γεδὶ-Κουλὲ » τῆς Χρυσῆς Πύλης.
112.00	75 00	86.00	561.	» Χρυσῆς Πύλης » τῆς Προποντίδος.
528.00	520.00	450.00		
Μέτρα.	Μέτρα.	Μέτρα.	Μέτρα	Τὸ ὅλον εἰς μέτρα.
6671.50	6265.00	6513.00	6589.20	Προσθέτοντες καὶ τὸ 'Εξώτειχον πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.
135.00	365.00	124.00	0.00	
Μέτρα.	Μέτρα.	Μέτρα.	Μέτρα	Τὸ ὅλον.
6806.50	6630.00	6637.00	6589.20	

Figure 55. The table indicating the differences between the map of the *Syllogos* and other famous maps of Constantinople
Syngramma Periodikon, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14, 5.

The resulting map, which was completed between 1871 and 1873 and included not only the Land Walls but also some of the Golden Horn walls from Unkapanı to Fener, was 30 meters in length.[806] It was described as a "masterpiece of technical accuracy" by members of the *Syllogos.*[807]

5.3.1 Object of Knowledge, Subject of Dispute: The Land Walls Map

finis coronat opus[808]

The map of the Land Walls and the accompanying panoramas were kept in the archives of the *Syllogos* until 1880. It was only then that the *Syllogos* decided to

[806] It must be around the same period that, Dēmētriadēs also prepared a drawing of the city walls on side of the Marmara Sea shore. The 28 m. long scroll with the elevation drawing of the seaside façade of the Marmara Walls dated 1875 and is kept in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum archive, under inv. No 9463. I would like to thank Prof. Edhem Eldem, Havva Koç and Üzeyir Altekin for giving me the opportunity to observe closely the scroll. In a recent publication with the facsimile of the scroll, Nisa Semiz also asserts that the drawing should have been produced together with the abovementioned Land Walls map. See Semiz, "Evaluations on the Panorama of the Marmara Sea Walls by Dimitriadis Efendi." See Appendix P for a section from the scroll.
[807] *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol 8, 339. Meeting No: 393, 27 April 1874.
[808] "The end crowns the work", in the sense of "a job finished is a job well done" or "the end justifies the means"; quoted by Curtis, *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 17, 195.

bring this vast work to light and share it with the public. Once again Dēmētriadēs was asked to reduce the map to a more convenient scale, that is from 1/1000 to 1/7500.[809] Evgenidēs,[810] was the sponsor for this procedure, including the map's final publication. Nevertheless, the official presentation of the final version by the *Syllogos,* was delayed by several obstacles that had to be overcome.

One major problem was financial. As it took a while for the *Syllogos* to publish the map, Dēmētriadēs made a stride and published the map (Figure 58) on his own in 1881, fueling a heated debate and severe reactions from the *Syllogos.* In a meeting held in the June 30th, 1881,[811] it was stated that the map, which had been prepared by the Archaeological Commission through the initiative of Paspatēs, was not only kept by Dēmētriadēs as if it were his own property, but was even published personally without the prior permission of the *Syllogos.* As proof, Karatheodori noted that in the subtitle of the published map Dēmētriadēs stated that the work was taken from a copy that was found in the archives of the *Syllogos.* Karatheodori also added that Dēmētriadēs was invited to the meetings of the *Syllogos* many times but chose not to appear. Moreover, Vassiadis criticized Dēmētriadēs of unjustly usurping a map that was the intellectual property of the *Syllogos*. He suggested the *Syllogos* to confiscate all copies of the map published by Dēmētriadēs and initiate legal action against him.[812]

It is evident from the minutes of the meetings that a three-people committee – comprising Curtis, Xanthopoulos and Saltelēs – was established to the investigate and resolve for the *Syllogos* the case of Dēmētriadēs's appropriation of the map.[813]

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[809] *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14.
[810] In the same year that this supplement was published, there are two members of the *Syllogos* with the Evgenidēs surname, However, it is not clear which one is the donator for the project.
[811] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 16, 332.
[812] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 16, 332.
[813] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 16, 364.

However, as Curtis[814] himself stated in a letter he had sent to the *Syllogos*, the committee could not achieve its aim since Dēmētriadēs kept refusing to return the map to the *Syllogos*. After long deliberation, the decision was made to address a letter to Dēmētriadēs demanding that he immediately return to the *Syllogos* any maps withheld by him. In case he refused to do so, the *Syllogos* would declare in the newspapers that the maps published by Dēmētriadēs actually belonged to the *Syllogos*, that in its published form the map generally contained erroneous information and that the archaeological committee would publish a map characterized by the required scientific accuracy. Apparently, this eventually prompted the *Syllogos* to finally publish and distribute the map (Figure 59) in 1884, as part of its Archeology Supplement to Vol. 14 of the *Syngramma Periodikon*. The supplement included a short story of the project, the aforementioned list of the names mentioned in the map and the elevations (panoramas) of Manarakēs.

Published a few years after Paspatēs's book, these maps also contributed to the knowledge and visibility of the land walls, the largest (longest) Byzantine remnant in the city in terms of scale. Ottoman author and history-enthusiast İhtifalci Mehmed Ziya, for instance, who also refers to Paspatēs in his work, mentions this map among the major sources on the land walls.[815] At the same time, beyond the actual publication of the maps, what was even more important was the research process they had necessitated and their larger resonances for different intellectual (and perhaps official) circles in Constantinople.

[814] Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church
[815] Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi,* 19.

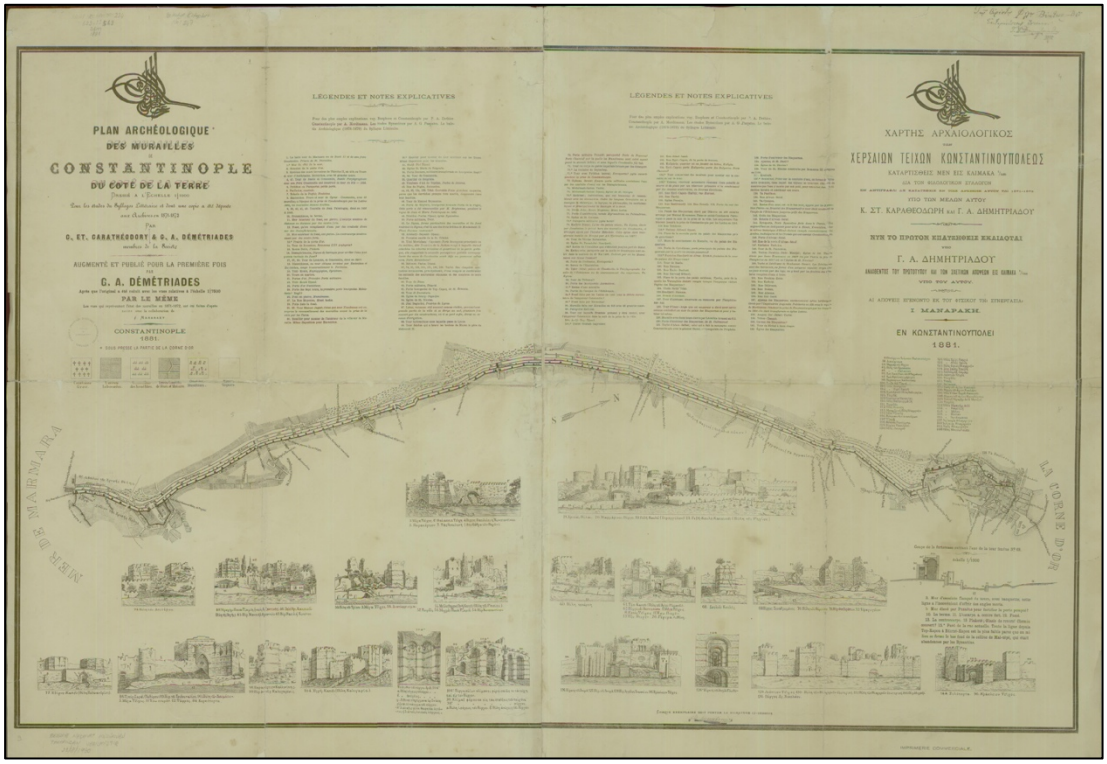


Figure 56. The map of the Land Walls of Constantinople, published by Dēmētriadēs in 1881
IFEA Istanbul Map Archives

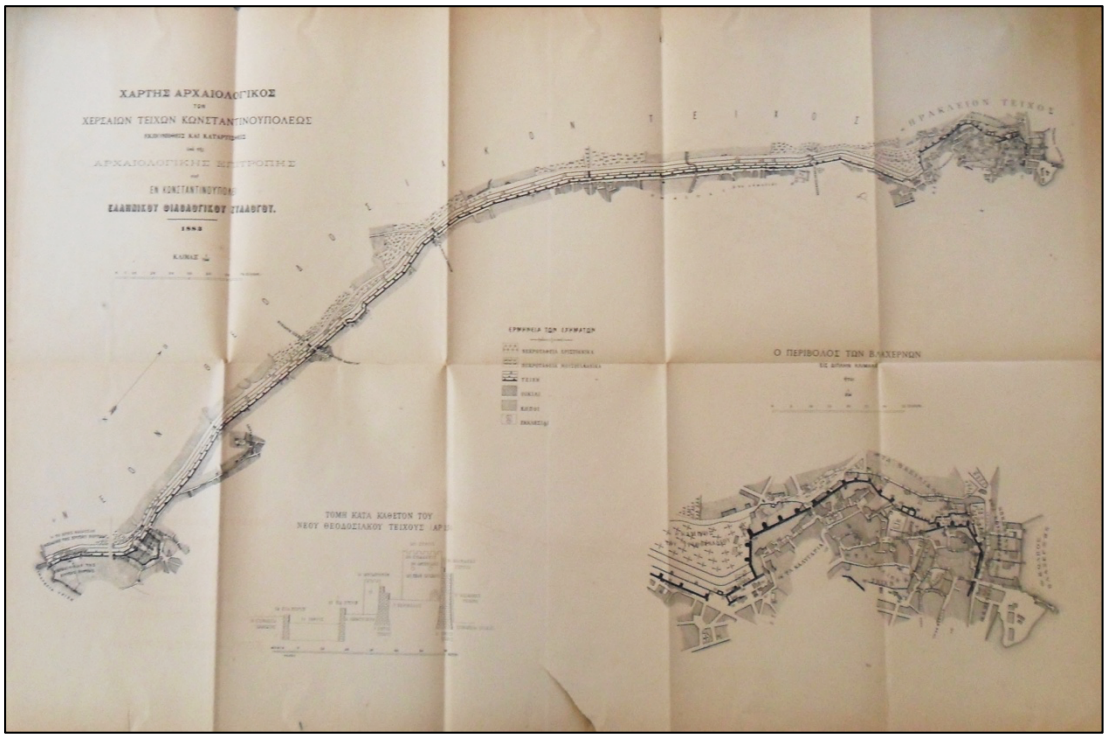


Figure 57. The map of the Land Walls of Constantinople
Archaeological Supplement to Vol. 14, 1884.
Princeton University Library, Rare Collection

It is not possible to trace the trajectories of these two different versions of the maps, which actually do not differ from each other in terms of the information they convey. However, Dēmētriadēs's map, which was published as a separate item, most likely had reached a wider audience. But this is just speculation as we do not know neither the relevant print-runs nor their channels and manner of distribution to the general public.

5.3.2 Towards the 'Heritagization' of the Land Walls

The documentation of the Land Walls by the *Syllogos* coincided with a significant period for the long-term history of the walls. In the course of the nineteenth century, a key turning point for the walls had been the abolition of Janissaries in 1826 by Sultan Mahmud II. As no one remained to maintain them, the walls turned into sources of stone and construction material, a practice that was to a certain extent legitimized by a relevant state declaration in 1864.[816] It is by the same declaration that the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* (Sixth District Municipality) in Pera was permitted to demolish and reuse the land walls of Galata.[817] There were efforts to preserve several parts of the Galata walls (Figure 60) , such as those made by Server Pasha, the head of the municipality, or Marie de Launay, member and draftsman of the municipality council of *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* in Pera. Besides being part of the aforementioned network that had gathered around *Usul-i Mi'mari-i 'Osmani,* de Launay had also documented and collected Genoese artefacts and remains on the

[816] The declaration was published by Osman Nuri Ergin in *Mecelle*: Osman Nuri Ergin, "Kule-i Zemîn Mahallerinin Cihet-i Âidiyyeti Hakkında Ma'rûza ve İrâde-i Seniyye Sureti," 3887-3890.
[817] The change in military technology that occurred in the nineteenth century, rendered the city walls unnecessary and strategically irrelevant. Moreover, the increase in the value of the urban land as a commodity resulted in the destruction of city walls in and around Europe throughout the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the walls of Galata were demolished as a consequence of this bylaw. For details, see Okur, "Galata Surlarının Yıkım Süreci."

Galata Walls prior to their destruction, which as Kentel has shown, may be one of the earliest examples of salvage archaeology in Ottoman Constantinople.[818] De Launay became a member of the *Syllogos* in 1877, where he presented his famous work that had previously been published in different formats, such as *Journal de Constantinople* and *L'univers: Revue orientale politique, scientifique*.[819]

The objections to the demolitions expressed by intellectuals such as *Vakanüvis* Ahmed Lütfi eventually proved unsuccessful in saving either the Galata or substantial parts of the Seaside Walls:

> With the coveted desire of the income rather than for nothing, some parts of the walls and gates of Constantinople were tried to be destructed removed and sold… As such, in this very center of the state, while the gates of a rare beauty such as Istanbul were tried to be destroyed and removed, on the other side, the Belgrad castle which was among the greatest castles of the Sultanate and where many thousands of heads were sacrificed for the sake of its conquest was given away easily.[820]

> Now, against this suddenness, it is not logical to eradicate the walls and gates of such a city like Constantinople and its Galata side. It is not its worth to destroy the old fashioned (in old style) towers and gates which were standing for thousands of years, for an ordinary benefit. Since it has passed under the Ottoman (Imperial) rule, preventing any damage to a single stone of the İstanbul wall and occasionally taking care of its repairs was considered important by the preceding Ottoman Sultans, even around the year of 914… …from the military eleven thousand soldiers and workers in thirty four day, the aforementioned wall and the Maiden's tower and the Silivri and Çekmece bridges were constructed.[821]

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[818] Kentel, "Assembling Cosmopolitan Pera," 68.

[819] Meeting no: 492, 22 March 1877 (miswritten as 1876) *Syngramma Periodikon* Vol. 11, 160-162; Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary,* 274, f.n.62. *L'univers* is also sigificant in the sense that Paspatēs also published his research on the Byzantine Churches of Constantinople in two different articles.

[820] Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütfi, "Te'essüf", 91 Cited in: Okur, "Galata Surlarının Yıkım Süreci". 63. Also partially cited by: Akın, *Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, 111. The transliteration here is from Münir Aktepe's edition: "*Bedavadan çok irad usülü tama'iyle İstanbul Suru'nun ba'zı tarafları ve kapıları yıkılıp, kaldırılıp, satılmağa teşebbüs olundu. .... İşte böyle merkez-i devletde İstanbul gibi bir ma'müre-i nadirenin kapıları yıkılup, kaldırılmakla uğraşılırken, öte tarafda mu'azzamat-ı kıla'ı Hakaniyye'den ve feth ü tashiri uğrunda def'atle nice binlerce başlar feda olunan Belgrad Kal'ası dahi kolayca terk olunuverdi."*

[821] Cited in: Akın, *Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Vakanüvis Ahmed Lütfi, "Nakl-i Hazîne-i Mâliyye",132-133: *Şimdi bu bedâhete karşı İstanbul gibi bir şehr-i şehirin ve Galata cihetinin dahi surlarıyla kapuların kaldırmak ma'kûl olamaz. Bu kadar bin senelerden berü mevcûd olan o kâr-ı kadim Kule ve kapılarını ednâ bir fâideye karşı mahvetmek lâyık değilidi. Saltanat-ı Seniyye'ye intikâlinden berü selâtin-i mâziyye-i Osmâniyye tarafından İstanbul surunun bir taşma halel gelmemesi mültezem ve ara-sıra termimine ihtimâm olunup, hatta dokuz yüz on dört (1508-*

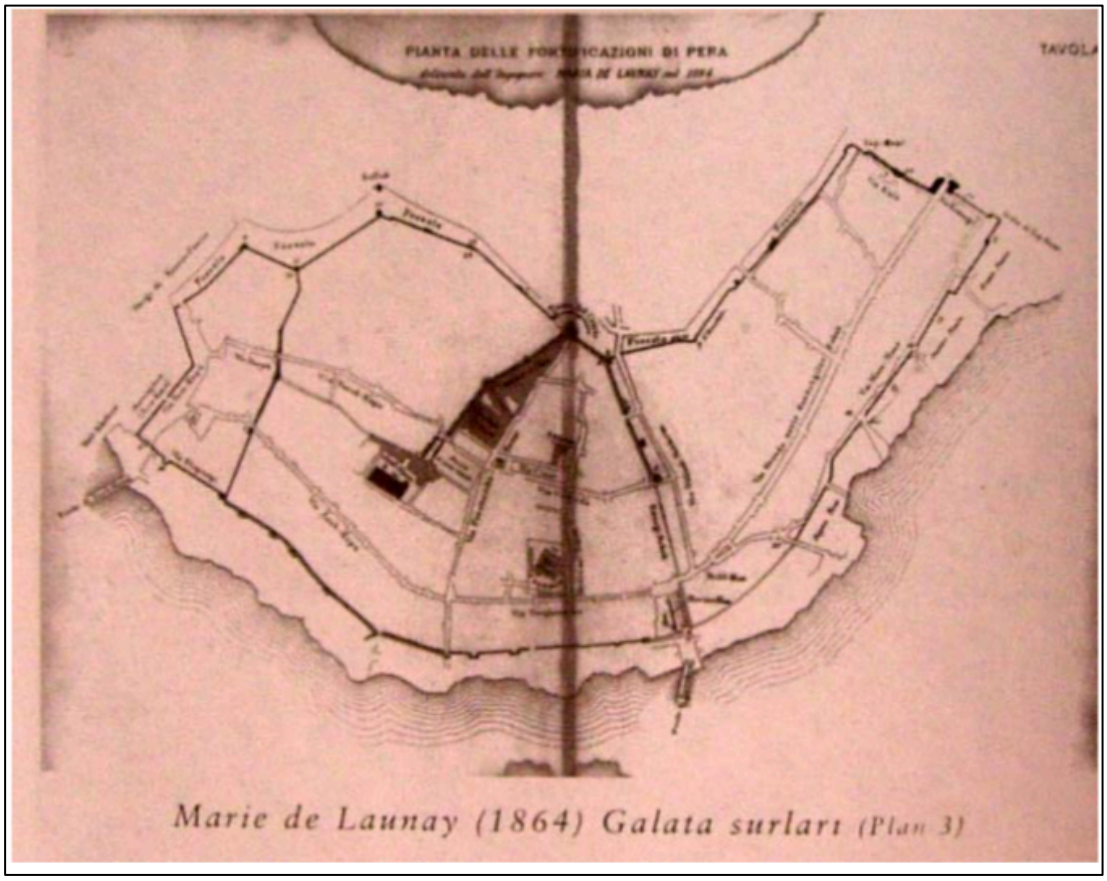


Figure 58. Map of the Galata Walls by Marie de Launay
Akın, *Galata ve Pera*, 180.

The Land Walls could only survive from this process due to their relative distance to the city center. It was also difficult and expensive to propose a rapid demolition project due to their massive scale. Nevertheless, they sustained significant damage in this period.

The walls, which were among the most enduring, massive and visible remnants of Byzantine Constantinople were not yet acknowledged as monuments. Although the 1906 *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnamesi* had a reference to "*kasaba surları*", i.e. the town walls, it was only in the 1912 *Muhafaza-i Abidat Hakkında Nizamname* (Legislation

1509) târihinde, ... tevâyif-i askeriyyeden on bir bin nefer ve amele ile otuz dört gün içinde sûr-ı mezkûr ile Kızkulesi ve Silivri ve Çekmece köprüleri inşâ ve ikmâl olunmuşdur.

about the Protection of Monuments) that the walls were declared officially as *âsâr-ı atîka:*

> All the old castles, towers and city walls, regardless of which period they belong to, all these sites and artefacts are considered as monuments (*âsâr-ı atîka*) according to the fifth article of the Legislation for the Protection of Monuments.[822]

Yet within this fifty-year period, from the mid-1860's down to the early1910's, one may speak of a significant turning point in the history of the walls, as noted by Necdet Sakaoğlu and reflected in an *irade*, (imperial decree) of Sultan Abdülhamid II, promulgated in 28 March 1884 and defining the walls as "*âsâr-ı atîka.*"[823] Although I was unable to locate the particular *irade*, in another document from the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) addressed to the Prime Ministry (*Sadaret*) and dated 10 April 1892, I encountered a reference to an earlier statement of *Sadaret* which declared the walls as "*âsâr-ı atîka"*:

> On the account of the earlier decree by His Majesty the Sultan, apart from the necessity and advantage of the walls of Galata and İstanbul which was acknowledged by the police and the protection of the customs office; its sale and destruction by the Commission for the Land of the Walls should be cancelled due to its superiority as an old monument and when necessary it will be repaired to its old condition to be sustained and protected…[824]

From another record from the Ottoman archives, this time from *Şehremaneti,* we understand that the *Sadaret* asks for additional information on those referred parts of the walls which would be too costly to repair. Such a request would have added to the urgency of documenting and mapping the walls. Yet this time, it would prove to

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[822] "*Bütün eski kaleler, burçlar ve kasaba surlar ile hangi devre ait olursa olsun bütün bu yerler ve eserler Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnamesi'nin beşinci maddesi gere ince eski eserlerden sayılır."*
[823] Sakaoğlu, "Surlar, Osmanlı Dönemi Onarımları," 36.
[824] BOA, DH.MKT 1940/18, 12 Ramazan 1309 [10 Nisan 1892]. *Galata ve İstanbul surlarının zâbıta ve muhafaza-i rüsumâtça derkâr olan lüzûm ve fâidesinden başka âsâr-ı atîka-i ma'dûdîyeti cihetiyle kule-i zemîn komisyonunca hedm ve füruhtundan ferâgat olunarak ve lede'l-hâce emr-i termîmâtına dahi bakılacak hüsn-i halde ve vaz'-ı kadîmlerinde ibkâ ve muhafazası evvelce şerefsâdır olan irâde-i seniyye-i cenâb-ı pâdişâhî iktizâsı âlîsinden olmasıyla…* See Appendix F5.

be a very difficult process, as the *Şehremaneti* itself repeatedly stated in its correspondence with the Ministry of Public Works, listing the lack of manpower and inappropriate weather conditions as major obstacles to any study of this kind.[825] Also as a result of this inquiry, a *keşif defteri* (investigation report) was recorded in H. 18 Şaban 1311, (24 February 1894), a few months before the 1894 earthquake in the city, which would further accelerate the walls' need for restoration. [826]

So, it is evident that, even before the creation of a legal framework for the conservation of the walls, concern for their maintenance had already emerged among various segments of the Ottoman learned elite. In fact, almost a decade earlier, in 1870, Paspatēs himself had stated in a meeting in the *Syllogos,* that Sultan Abdülaziz himself had ordered the protection of the Land Walls.[827] Interestingly enough, this was the same sultan who would authorize the destruction of the Seaside Walls for the construction of the European railway. Although it proved impossible to trace any connection between Paspatēs and Abdülaziz, it is evident that through his research focus Paspatēs also closely followed developments concerning the legal status of the walls and the decisions made by the Ottoman state. Still, it would take more than a decade for the walls to be officially mentioned as "*âsâr-ı atîka*" within Ottoman legal correspondence.

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[825] BOA Y.PRK.ŞH 4/30.04 Şevval 1310 / 21 April 1893. The document also reveals a certain dispute between the *şehremini*, Rıdvan Bey, and the *nazır* Tevfik Pasha on the mapping of the walls, an issue which in itself calls for deeper inquiry.

[826] BOA Y.MTV 91/10.

[827] *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol 4, 252. Meeting: 249, 10 February 1870. Edhem Eldem in a talk in 2017 at ANAMED outlined the projection of this debate on the destruction of the walls to the Foreign language newpapers such as *Pall Mall Gazette* and underlined that Edward Goold, as the director of the Imperial Museum was in favor of the destruction whereas his successor, P. A. Dethier was against it. As Eldem cites, in a report submitted to Münif Pasha dated 4 September 1877, Dethier assures that he has control over the walls and the antiquities embedded. (I am grateful to Edhem Eldem for sharing his notes of this talk and Figen Kıvılcım-Çorakbaş for sharing the video recordings for this event.) However, after this, in 1872, Mithad Paşa offers to the Sultan Abdülaziz to demolish the walls and he accepts but, according to Ebüzziya Tevfik, it was thanks to British intervention that the walls could be saved from destruction. See, Tevfik "Sur-u Kostantiniyye," 1.

Despite the fact that these steps may seem minor and insignificant, they are still indications of changes that challenge the established assumption that the Ottoman state's interest in the scientific study of antiquities and, in particular, the Byzantine heritage emerged only after the turn of the twentieth century.[828] What I would like to underline here, however, is a rather neglected and, to a significant extent earlier phase of that story: The impact of the institutional structure and 'scientific' knowledge created by the *Syllogos* and its members on the study of historical remains within the urban context and, in this particular case, on the Land Walls of Constantinople, as well as its repercussions for other scholarly milieus such as the one in Ottoman Turkish, which was represented by the *Cemiyyet.* So, the speculative question that emerges is: could there have been any flow of influence emerging within the intellectual network around *Syllogos,* that might have had an impact on the formal acknowledgement of the Land Walls as *âsâr-ı atîka* by the Ottoman state, which took place around the same timeframe, between 1864 and 1884?

5.3.3 The Network

There is no single line connecting these two contemporaneous developments, that is the project conducted by the *Syllogos* and the changing attitude of the Ottoman administration towards the Land Walls. Yet, there is a network of connections, or possibilities, which provides a potential ground for such an interactive flow. To begin with, as mentioned above, being a hub for the intellectual network in mid-nineteenth-century Constantinople, the *Syllogos* had attracted a wide range of people of diverse backgrounds. As also discussed above, the long list of *Syllogos* members

[828] Ousterhout is among those who verbalizes such a perspective: Ousterhout, "The Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey."

includes a significant number of Greek, Armenian, and Muslim diplomats, intellectuals and statesmen. But in terms of the awareness of the Land Walls and the dissemination of relevant knowledge, several names stand out: Philipp Anton Dethier, Münif Pasha, Edhem Pasha, Pietro Montani, Marie de Launay, Edward Goold, Nikolay Pavlovich Ignatiev, and others. These intellectuals, either practicing, honorary or corresponding members of the *Syllogos*, were also members of the higher echelons of Ottoman bureaucracy, or active in institutions that maintained a close, sometimes symbiotic relationships with the state. For instance, as previously mentioned, by 1872 Dethier, the German historian, archaeologist, and former director of the Imperial Archeological Museum, was already a member and second vice-president of the *Syllogos*. As noted earlier, the lead engineer of the Land Walls project, Dēmētriadēs was also a *sermühendis*, a chief engineer serving the Ottoman state. Another significant figure, İbrahim Edhem Pasha, Minister of Trade and Public Works, was among the honorary participants of the society, who were named through the recommendation of at least three regular members and acknowledged by the vote of all.[829] I have not come across any particular document that would corroborate my conjecture, enabling me to draw a linear connection between the two parties' actions. At this point it must be acknowledged that, further research on these parties may reveal more concrete connections. Nevertheless, the network that this study investigates in detail provides a potential ground for such a flow of influence. The set of associations which created the network also implies a certain direction of knowledge flow and hence, its potential impact.

Another aspect of the network developed around the *Syllogos* might be the connections between the Greek Orthodox elite who financially supported and

[829] Mentioned as "Ettem Pasha" in *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 7, 1872-1873, Members List, ιέ.

sometimes collaborated with the *Syllogos* and the Ottoman imperial administration. This connection is well known, especially for the reign of Abdülhamid II, when Geōrgios Zarifi, (Figure 61) the famous and powerful banker and a member and sponsor of the *Syllogos* was the Sultan's personal friend and financial advisor. Also, other bankers, such as Zografos, or the Sultan's personal medical doctor Karatheodori all served as members and financial supporters of the *Syllogos.*[830]

The impact of the *Syllogos* within Ottoman society was even visible many years later, mostly in regard to its educational activities. Almost half a century later, Muallim Cevdet asserted that, the *Syllogos* and the Greeks (*Rumlar*) managed to achieve what the Ottoman state failed to do for its own historic edifices.[831] Parallel to Cevdet, Osman Nuri Ergin acknowledged that the *Syllogos* had played the role of an informal 'Ministry of Education' for the Greek Orthodox community and had achieved what would remain as a *desideratum,* for the Ministry of Education, private organizations, the People's Houses, the Language and History Institutes, conservatoires, the museums of the new Republic.[832]

With direct quotations from Muallim Cevdet, who had published two consecutive articles on the achievements of the *Syllogos* and the Greek-Orthodox elite in general, Ergin claimed that, the *Syllogos* succeeded in putting to use every single foreigner with a political and intellectual impact that had ever set foot on Constantinople, including the names of Prof. Millingen, the Mordtmanns (both the father and the son), Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had opened the Suez canal, and Schliemann, who had unearthed the ancient site of Troy. Grieving about the fact that

[830] This would be a time for the Ottoman Greeks, especially the higher echelons of the community to rise within the Ottoman administrative circles, after their sudden crash following the Greek War of Independence in mainland Greece 1821 onwards.
[831] Cevdet, *"*Rum Sillogu ve Vakf Mükâfatları Ale'l Umum Rum Sillogus ve Ahi Cemiyetleri", 518-523.
[832] Around 1930s. Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi,* 792-793.

'our education administration' could not make use of them as effectively as "the Greeks" did, Ergin added that if Osman Hamdi Bey had not been associated with Mordtmann about issues regarding the Museum, we would never even have heard of such a great intellectual (*allame*).[833]



Figure 59. The portrait of Geōrgios Zarifi
Millas, *Pera the Crossroads of Constantinople,* 223.

Quite parallel to the recent scholarship, Ergin underlines the role of the *Syllogos* as a primarily educational institution. But he also concedes the importance of certain prominent names such as those of the Millingens, the Mordtmans, or Schilieman, whose existence as members also attest to the profound impact of the *Syllogos* on the field of Archaeology.

[833] Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi,* 795.

5.4 Conclusion

Being the very embodiment of intellectual associations, the *Syllogos* did not constitute a unique case either for the Greek Community or for the wider Ottoman context. It was, however, among the most durable and effective institutions on account of its longevity and extensive number of members from different ethnic and intellectual backgrounds. This chapter sought to underline the role of the *Syllogos* as a major hub for the intellectual public of late Ottoman Constantinople and as a forerunner for the institutionalization of antiquarian research on Constantinople. The main character of the *Syllogos* as a hub was not only due to its structured establishment as a society. On the contrary, significant aspects of the *Syllogos* phenomenon, such as its building, located at the core of the transforming, vivid environment of Pera, the library, together with the reading room, and its connection to external institutions and their publications, and finally the public lectures which were held in an organized and structured manner throughout the period examined here, sustained and promoted its nature as a tangible site of encounter for major actors in the field of scholarship on Constantinople as well as a potential ground for the creation of new knowledge about the history of the city. It was precisely this potential for valuable encounters and the knowledge accumulated under its auspices that gave the *Syllogos* its character as a hub.

Moreover, these aspects provided the *Syllogos* with a widely-known, supranational character. The connectedness of the *Syllogos* with the wider intellectual and administrative circles within and beyond Constantinople, together with the network that had developed around Paspatēs, provided the initial steps for

the acknowledgement of the cultural significance first of the Land Walls, and later on, of other monuments of Byzantine heritage by the larger Ottoman society.[834] The network that surrounded the intellectuals examined here had formed through the agency of a certain layer of the city's material presence, that is Constantinople's Byzantine cultural heritage.

This analysis allows us to go beyond the cultural borders of a certain community particularly defined with its language and reveals the larger potential for its integration and impact. In line with the overall argument of this work, the evaluation of intellectual environments beyond their communal boundaries as in the case of the *Syllogos* and *Cemiyyet.*

In the case of the Land Walls, although it is difficult to assert that Paspatēs's antiquarian approach and the project initiated through his endeavor by the *Syllogos* had been the main or only source of information for Ottoman administrators, nevertheless it probably had some impact on the changing attitude of the Ottoman state, or at the very least its perception of the walls. The Land Walls, in their role as a significant spatial and historical component of the city, as a remnant of the past but also as a significant actor of the present, constitute a prime site of encounters, and a source of unified knowledge. It is evident that the impact of Paspatēs's work from the mid-nineteenth century was passed down to the first quarter of the twentieth, a period which also witnessed the legal acknowledgement of the Byzantine monuments of Istanbul. This Constantinopolitan network,[835] whose core was occupied by certain Greek-Orthodox institutions and intellectuals, had actually

[834] For a detailed inquiry into the transformation of the approach towards Byzantine History and its remnants within the larger context of late Ottoman Constantinople, see Chapter 6.
[835] An interactive version of this map, as a work-in-progress, may be found at: https://graphcommons.com/selections/7e410ec9-ad41-4c03-892d-1cd9b3bf6ef6

gathered around scholarly interest in the city's Byzantine remnants.[836] It therefore included people from diverse origins and a wide array of both state and non-state institutions with a great variety of activity spheres. All these names appearing in this chapter, at first sight distant and otherwise unrelated to each other, have been drawn together both by their shared interest in Byzantine material culture and their personal and intellectual connection to the 'prime mover' himself, Alexander G. Paspatēs.

[836] For a detailed discussion on the role played by "agents" in the formation of a social entity, see: Latour, *Reassembling the Social.*

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: EPILOGUE

> … Today, there is no Byzantine wall. Secondly, as the existing wall does not have any historical or architectural value it also does not have any importance of military arts from the perspective of defense to the armed guns.[837]

As late as 1909, even after the 1906 bylaw which had banned the destruction of the town walls, Ottoman journalist and intellectual Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913) was not convinced of the "importance" or "value" of the walls in terms of their historic, architectural or military qualities. Moreover, his quote above was followed by his claim that the walls must be destroyed, which he supported on the grounds of European precedent. Naming Vienna and Paris as cities that had already demolished their historical fortifications around the mid-nineteenth century in order to enlarge their urban space, he argued against Şehremini Halil Bey, who viewed the walls as "*âsâr-ı atîka*" and had refused to demolish them. Furthermore, in the same article, Tevfik underlined an earlier aborted attempt by Mithad Paşa to demolish the walls in 1872, which had been blocked through efforts of the "British protectors of antiquities".[838]

We have seen that the debate between the "city walls as *âsâr-ı atîka*" and the proposal to demolish them was not a new one. Especially after the mid-nineteenth century, heated discussions emerged around the destruction/preservation of the walls of Constantinople and Galata, a process that ended with the demolition of the Galata

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[837] *"…* [B]*ugün Bizans suru yokdur. Saniyen sur-u hazırın gerek tarihce ve gerek fenn-i mimarice kıymeti olmadığı gibi efvah-ı nariye-i tahribiyeye mukavemet nokta-i nazarından fenn-i harbce de kıta-i ehemmiyeti yokdur."* Tevfik, "Sur-u Kostantiniyye," 1.
[838] Tevfik, "Sur-u Kostantiniyye," 1.

Walls.[839] As discussed in the previous chapter, the *irade* declared by Abdülhamid II in 1884 had served a significant bulwark against the destruction of the Land Walls. But as revealed by Ebüzziya Tevfik's article the debate on the protection or destruction of the Land Walls would continue in the years to come.[840]

That very period, the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, saw the rapid expansion of *Syllogos* activities, as well as a wider set of developments, which would pave the way for a wider acknowledgement by members of the Ottoman administration not only of the Land Walls but also of the 'old' (read as Byzantine) layer of the city, at large. Interestingly enough, it was again Sultan Abdülhamid II, who included the Land Walls into his famous photographic albums of Constantinople which were sent to the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. The albums, which served as the medium of the international display of a 'modern empire' with its reforming institutions of education, health and military, included a substantial number of the images of the city walls and their surroundings, suggestive, in turn, of the public acknowledgment of the walls as part of urban and imperial identity. Other Byzantine antiquities were also represented in the Hamidian albums.[841] These included the converted mosques such as Hagia Sophia or Little Hagia Sophia, Kariye, Fethiye and urban monuments, such as Çemberlitaş and the Egyptian Obelisk. The wall mosaics of the Kariye Mosque and the recently uncovered figural decorations of Jesus, in particular, occupied a central position in these albums (Figure 62).

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[839] That debate also extended over the sale of the urban land freed up by the demolitions. See Han, "İstanbul ve Galata Hendeklerinde Kentsel Toprak Kullanımı."

[840] The first protection plan for the Walls was only compiled in 1979 and 1981. This was followed by the acknowledgement of the Walls as World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1985. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/356/

[841] Çelik underlines a significant aspect of the albums, which were selected from a vast number of images (more than 30.000) taken by order of the Sultan, including a large number of images from ancient sites. However, the final selection only included images that pertained to the Byzantine Era. See. Çelik, "Defining Empire's Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities," 447-454.



Figure 60. Interior wall image from the Kariye Mosque
Hamidian Albums, Library of Congress Archive
https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3b47234/?co=ahii

What is more, this 'interest' in Byzantine Constantinople was not unique to Sultan Abdülhamid II. In fact, the preceding years had witnessed a series of small but concrete steps taken by the Ottoman State in the direction of acknowledging and preserving Istanbul's Byzantine heritage. One significant nineteenth-century example underlined by Robert Ousterhout had been the Hippodrome excavations led by Charles Newton, a result of the Ottoman-British rapprochement that had developed over the Crimean War.[842] That particular excavation had also resulted in the publication of one of the earliest articles on the antiquarian heritage of Constantinople, with a strong emphasis on the Hippodrome area. In this light, Göksun Akyürek cites a series of anonymous articles appearing in *Ceride-i Havadis*

[842] Ousterhout, "Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey," 191.

in 1856, which described the progress and findings of the excavation. While Akyürek is right to read these articles as representative of some degree of Ottoman acknowledgement or awareness of the "pre-Ottoman" past of the city, it is worth noting that these texts mostly focus on the act of the excavation itself, rather than the historical importance of the relevant artefacts. In addition to this re-shaping of the site of the Hippodrome area, there were also other, scattered but significant, developments around the same time, such as the announced competition for the protection of the Çemberlitaş column, the famous Fossati restorations,[843] and the permissions granted to Salzenberg for his research on Hagia Sophia, despite the seemingly controversial identity of the latter as the imperial mosque, rather than a Byzantine church.

For all their significance, such developments would have remained *ad hoc*, isolated affairs, without a transformation that occurred in the mindset of Ottoman intellectuals regarding the Pre-Ottoman, Byzantine layer of the urban environment. Michael Ursinus[844] has convincingly argued that the partial inclusion of Byzantium into the domain of world history by Ottoman historians such as Ahmed Mithad heavily drew on Enlightenment perspectives on the Byzantine Empire, and Edward Gibbon in particular.[845] Just like in Europe, Istanbul-based Ottoman intellectuals acknowledged the art and architectural history of the Byzantine Empire, much earlier

[843] See Akyürek, "Political Ideals and Their Architectural Visibility: Gaspare Fossati's Projects for Tanzimat Istanbul (1845-1865)." Also see: Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation, History and Ideology"
[844] Ursinus, "From Süleyman Pasha to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü. Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Turkish Historiography;" Ursinus, "Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Turkish Historiography."
[845] For pre-modern Ottoman historiographic attempts to include Rome and the Byzantine Empire into world history see Hazerfan Hüseyin and his Universal History, see Bekar, "A New Perception of Rome, Byzantium and Constantinople in Hezarfen Huseyin's Universal History"; also see Avcı, "Osmanlılar'ın Bizans'a Bakışı."

than its history and literature .[846] As Ahmet Ersoy underlines, studies like Texier and Pullan's, "intended to change the rooted preconceptions about Byzantine architecture and to reevaluate it with recourse to the accurate and systematic findings of modern archaeological research."[847] Nevertheless, despite the rising interest and early stages of institutional attempts to study the Pre-Ottoman history of Constantinople, it is worth noting that, when compared to late-nineteenth-century historicism, with its focus on the Ottoman-Muslim past and urban context, a Byzantium-orientated equivalent remained marginal for a long time. As epitomized by *Usul-i Mi'mari-i 'Osmani,* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture),[848] Ottoman official discourse on architectural history was mostly based on the 'rediscovery' of the Ottoman past, a tendency which found its resonance first in the literary production of the Ottoman intellectuals in historiography, but also novels and plays, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century and the rise of "the popular diffusion of the new culture of history."[849]

Despite the first steps taken by the Ottoman state at the level of policy, or the research conducted by the intellectuals gathered around the *Syllogos* and abroad, Robert Ousterhout and a wider scholarly consensus, tends to date the scholarly 'rediscovery' of Byzantine Constantinople, its art and architecture, much later, after

[846] For a detailed discussion of the development of Byzantine Studies in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, see: Necipoğlu, "Türkiye'de Bizans Tarihçiliğinin Dünü, Bugünü ve Sorunları;" Kılıç-Yıldız, "A review of Byzantine studies and architectural historiography in Turkey today;" Keser – Kayaalp, "Bizans İstanbulu Çalışmaları." Delilbaşı, "The Present and Future of Byzantine Studies in Turkey," Kuban, et al. "Bizans'ın Mirası Üzerine Tartışma,"
[847] Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Orgins in the Tanzimat Period," 136, f.n. 13.
[848] The first architectural history of Ottoman Empire, book prepared by Marie de Launay and Pietro Montani under the supervision of İbrahim Edhem Pasha for 1873 Vienna Expo.
[849] For further discussion on *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani,* see Ersoy, *"*Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Orgins in the Tanzimat Period;" Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary, 200-205.* For a detailed discussion on the architectural knowledge in the Tanzimat Period, see: Akyürek, *Bilgiyi Yeniden İnşa Etmek: Tanzimat Döneminde Mimarlık, Bilgi ve İktidar*.

the turn of the twentieth century.[850] In view, the discovery analyzed by Ousterhout is defined by its distinct method, based on a controlled process of excavation, as well as the orderly documentation of finds in a handful of sites. Otherwise, according to Ousterhout, the result was a 'salvage' archaeology an impromptu response to sudden encounters with remains during the course of rapid urban development projects:[851]

> …the location, nature and duration of an excavation was typically determined by chance discoveries during construction or necessity in the face of urban development, rather than by core questions of historical geography or cultural significance.[852]

The late nineteenth century witnessed the institutionalization of archaeological practices not only within the Ottoman Empire but in the wider European context. Modern methods of archaeology such as stratification, details and typologies of excavation developed in the aftermath of this institutionalization, mostly in the early twentieth century. Accordingly, the distance between 'professional' approaches to archaeological sites and monuments and the 'antiquarian' one widened. As professional, scientific and institutional archaeology was rising, antiquarianism *per se* was being increasingly equated to an 'amateur' interest of non-scholar researchers. In light, Ousterhout's discussion presumably searches for "professional archaeological research" on Constantinopolitan remnants, and that fails to take into account earlier, less 'scientific' but extremely important contributions to the field. While admittedly conducted in a rather uncontrolled

[850] Ousterhout, "Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey." 182. Nevra Necipoğlu also agrees with Ousterhout. See Necipoğlu, "Türkiye'de Bizans Tarihçiliğinin Dünü, Bugünü ve Sorunları."
[851] Ousterhout, "Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey," 183. However, this is not unique to the case of the Roumelian Railway, on the contrary, there are numerous examples of the encounter between the construction of infrastructure and the discovery of archaeological sites.
[852] Ousterhout, "Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey," 183.

manner, as rescue research made in a state of emergency,[853] the early research conducted by *Syllogos* associates and other members of their network, significantly contributed to the transformation of scholarship on Byzantine Constantinople from a literary, textual basis into one that emphasized material cultural aspects. It was thanks to the *in-situ* research and related publications made by the intellectuals examined in this study that a literary genre hailing from the sixteenth century was transformed into a seed from which later 'professional archaeology' would bloom. The nineteenth-century journey for knowledge of the 'old' Constantinople, was sustained, crosschecked and sometimes discovered through the 'amateur' or 'uncontrolled' excavations and *in-situ* inquiries of the likes of Paspatēs. After all, nineteenth-century inquiries of the Byzantine layer of Constantinople practically necessitated the uncovering of successive material layers, since, with the exception of converted and reused spaces, the vast majority of structures under study lay either underground or in ruins.

***

The timeframe chosen for this study 'ends' somewhere between 1881 and 1884, years of particular significance not only for the history of the *Syllogos*, for Paspatēs and for the Constantinopolitan network examined here, but also for the wider, cultural and intellectual Ottoman context. The word 'end' should not be taken too literally, of course. Instead, one could rightly speak of a moment or period of transformation into a different network, actors, hubs and nodes as new network formations emerged around the agency of the material remnants of the Byzantine Constantinople. This transformation, defined by the agency of the material

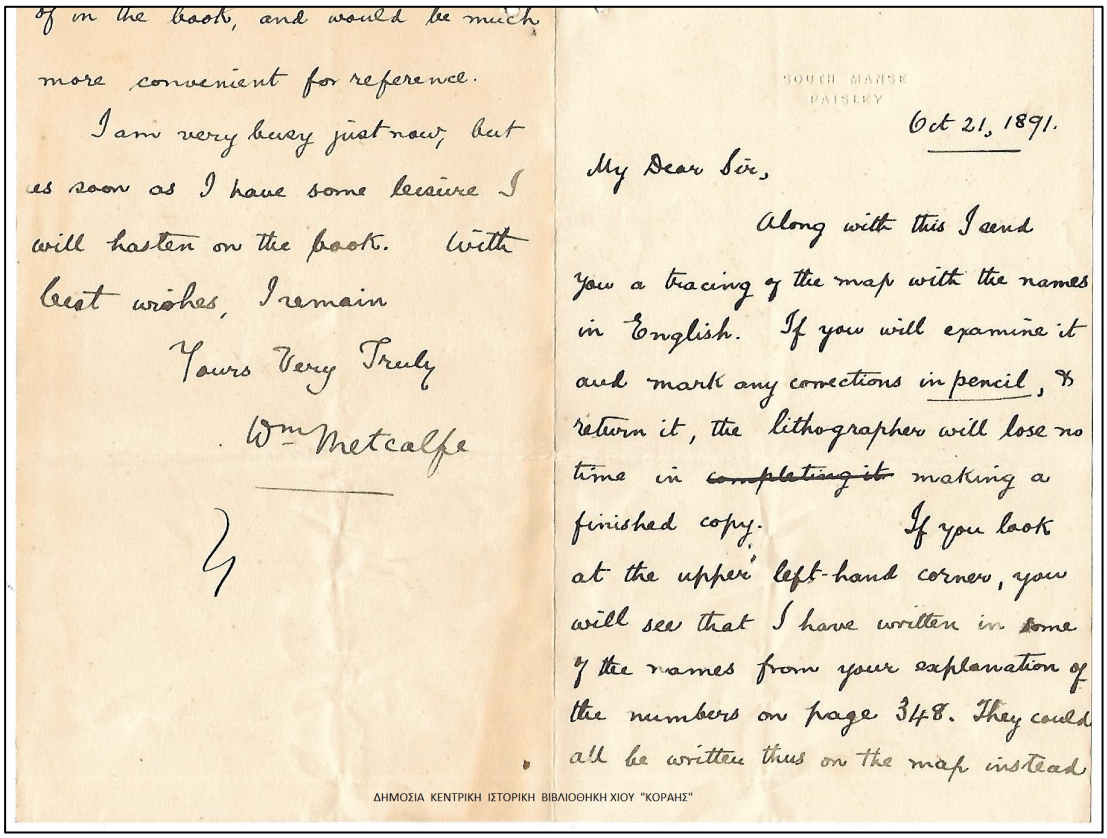
[853] One conspicuous example analyzed in Chapter 4 is the Thracian Railway excavation investigated by Alexander G. Paspatēs.

environment, naturally entailed the demise of some actors and the emergence of new ones.

When it comes to pro-active archaeology of the Byzantine remnants of Constantinople, the post-1884 period may be seen as a period of 'demise', heralded by Alexander G. Paspatēs's departure from Constantinople, and the partial dissolution of the intellectual network that had gathered around him.[854]Although his scholarly activities continued in Athens, Paspatēs's relocation deprived him of the major tenet provided by his residence in Constantinople, namely the potential for *in-situ* inquiries of archaeological remnants. The year following his settlement, he published *Ta Byzantina Anaktora* (The Byzantine Palaces), a study based on his research during the European Railway excavations in Constantinople in the early 1870s. Within a decade, he also had the book translated into English by Metcalfe, and had it published under the title *The Great Palace of Constantinople* (Figure 63).

If we are to look at the wider picture, the year 1881 has often been discussed as a turning-point for the history of the Ottoman Archaeology. It was then that the renowned Ottoman painter Osman Hamdi was appointed new director of the Imperial Museum, a development widely accepted as the birth of institutional archaeology in Ottoman lands. Hamdi's activities as the reformer of the practice of Ottoman archaeology, were founded on the 1884 bylaw, commonly viewed as the "founding legal text of modern archaeology in the Ottoman Empire."[855]

[854] My research did not reveal any particular reason why he left the city.
[855] *Scramble For the Past, 39* The perception that the 1884 legislation regulated excavations and provided protection of antiquities found in the Ottoman domains, has been recently challenged as new research underlines the role of other, earlier legislations, such as the one of 1869. At any rate, Eldem clearly states that this was not the first legislation for the organization of archaeological research within Ottoman domains.



of in the book, and would be much more convenient for reference.

I am very busy just now, but as soon as I have some leisure I will hasten on the book. With best wishes, I remain

Yours Very Truly

Wm Metcalfe

SOUTH MANSE
PAISLEY

Oct 21, 1891.

My Dear Sir,

Along with this I send you a tracing of the map with the names in English. If you will examine it and mark any corrections in pencil, & return it, the lithographer will lose no time in ~~completing it~~ making a finished copy. If you look at the upper left-hand corner, you will see that I have written in some of the names from your explanation of the numbers on page 348. They could all be written thus on the map instead

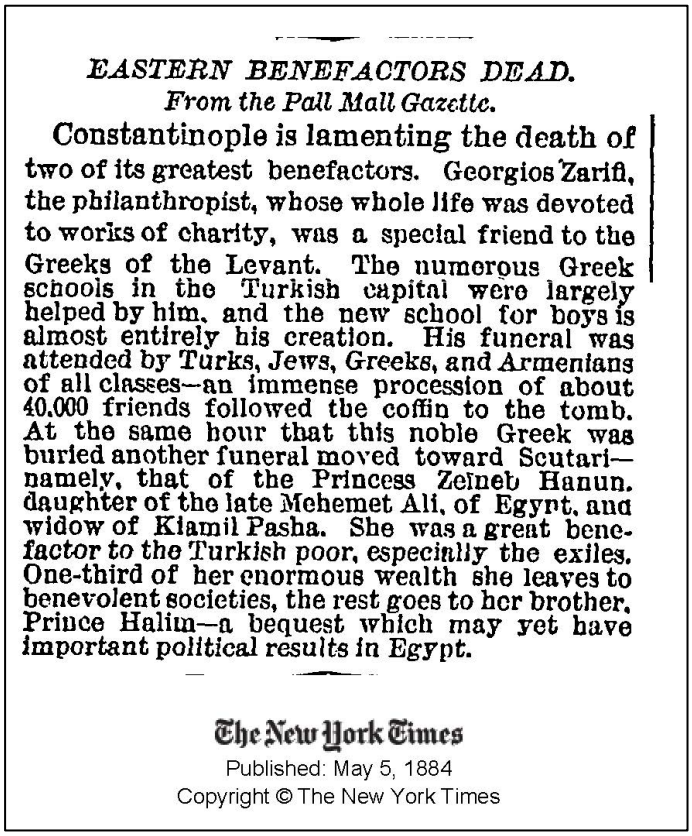
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΧΙΟΥ "ΚΟΡΑΗΣ"

Figure 61. Correspondence between W. Metcalfe and Paspatēs about the translation of *Ta Byzantina Anaktora*
Korais Library of Chios, Paspates Archives

The 1881 re-birth of the Imperial Museum, has tended to outshine the role of other institutions in the city, such as the *Syllogos.* Yet, examination of membership lists would reveal that Osman Hamdi had also become an honorary member of the *Syllogos,* a clear indication of contact between these institutions. This study chose to focus on precisely such gray areas of interaction, in which non-state institutions played a pivotal role in the rise of archaeology as distinct field, and of Byzantine urban archaeology in particular. Towards the turn of the century such institutions and proliferated, as indicated by the examples of the Russian Archaeological Institute

which was established around 1894[856] or the Hungarian Institute of Science around 1916.[857] This proliferation, in turn, lead to an increased potential for collaborations.

We have seen that around the same year, 1881, Dēmētriadēs published the map of the Land Walls, a result of a major research project of the *Syllogos*. It would take the *Syllogos* three additional years before publishing the map under its name in 1884. This may be considered the peak of a research process initiated and carried through by the *Syllogos.* 1884 was also the year when the great benefactor of the *Syllogos,* Geōrgios Zarifi died (Figure 64).[858]



EASTERN BENEFACTORS DEAD.

From the Pall Mall Gazette.

Constantinople is lamenting the death of two of its greatest benefactors. Georgios Zarifi, the philanthropist, whose whole life was devoted to works of charity, was a special friend to the Greeks of the Levant. The numerous Greek schools in the Turkish capital were largely helped by him, and the new school for boys is almost entirely his creation. His funeral was attended by Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians of all classes—an immense procession of about 40,000 friends followed the coffin to the tomb. At the same hour that this noble Greek was buried another funeral moved toward Scutari—namely, that of the Princess Zeïneb Hanun, daughter of the late Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, and widow of Kiamil Pasha. She was a great benefactor to the Turkish poor, especially the exiles. One-third of her enormous wealth she leaves to benevolent societies, the rest goes to her brother, Prince Halim—a bequest which may yet have important political results in Egypt.

The New York Times

Published: May 5, 1884

Copyright © The New York Times

Figure 62. The newspaper clip of The New York Times about the funeral of Zarifi
The New York Times Online Archive

[856] See Üre, *Reclaiming Byzantium.*
[857] Fodor, "Harp İstanbul'unda Macar Arkeolojisi: Konstantinopolis Macar Bilim Enstitüsü (1916-1918)".
[858] Since Zarifi had been one of the wealthiest and most influential personalities of late-nineteenth century Istanbul, his funeral had gathered more than 40 thousand people. See Figure 64.

With Zarifi's passing the *Syllogos* was not only deprived of the generous financial support of this affluent Ottoman Greek but also of his personal and political connections that reached up to the highest echelons of Ottoman society, including Sultan Abdülhamid II himself. Accordingly, the ensuing period has been appraised as a period of 'decline' for the *Syllogos* by scholars such as Vassiadis and Giannakopoulos.[859] Nevertheless articles on the city's Byzantine texture continued to appear in the *Syllogos* journal as well as in the special issues celebrating its 25th and 50th year of activities. Decline for the *Syllogos* hardly meant decline for Byzantine Studies in Constantinople, at large. Important scholars like A. Mordtmann and A. van Millingen continued to present their research on the Byzantine texture of the city, in *Syngramma Periodikon* throughout this period.[860]

And so, after 1881 the *Syllogos* entered a period of mostly financial decline, which also coincided with tumultuous times for the Empire at last, characterized by financial crisis and war. The final demise of the *Syllogos*, however, was due to the post-war conditions following the Greek Occupation of Western Anatolia in 1921-22. The new Republic accused the members of the *Syllogos* of collaboration with the occupying Greek forces, terminated its activities and confiscated its properties. The building of the *Syllogos* in Kalyoncu Kulluğu, Beyoğlu was given to the Republican People's Party in 1925[861] and was to be used by different public institutions until 1950. Following the *Septemvriana*[862] in 1955, the building was destroyed and finally collapsed in 1965 (Figures 65,66). Since then, the site has been used as an open-air

[859] Vassiadis, *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople,* 147-197.
[860] Mordtmann published his famous book *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* later in this period.
[861] BCA-030 18 01 014 35 2. Cited by: Macar, "İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya: İstanbul Helen Edebiyat Cemiyeti (Syllogos) Kütüphanesi'nin İzinde."
[862] The pogrom towards the Greek population of Constantinople during the riot which occured due to certain fake news regarding an attack to the house of Atatürk in Thessaloniki, in 6-7 September 1955.

carpark. The library and the archive of the *Syllogos* were also confiscated by the Republican administration. It is now widely believed to have been scattered among several libraries including that of the Turkish History Institution and the National Library in Ankara.[863] This disappearance of the archive and the library of the *Syllogos*, is part of the reason why its rich archaeological activities remain in obscurity. The scattered fragments of the archive available to researchers today offer a mere glimpse at the scale, depth and value of the original collection.

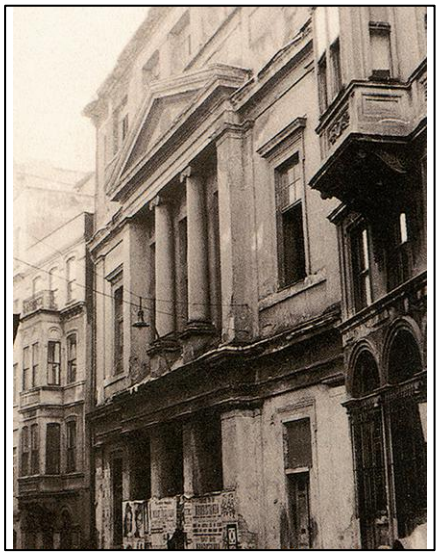


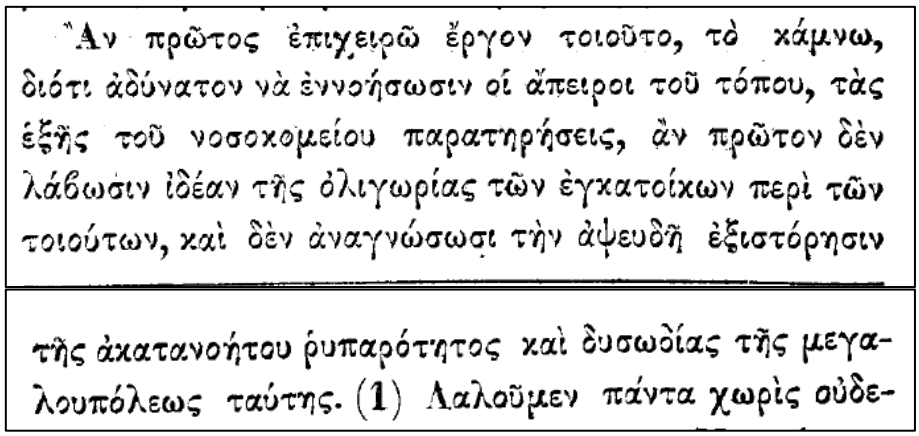


Figure 63. The façade of the *Syllogos* building from Topçular Street (on the left)
http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/2843/agos-un-arsivinden-bir-zamanlar-cemiyet-i-edebiye-simdi-otopark
Figure 64. The parking lot on the site of the demolished building of the *Syllogos* (on the right)
Google Street View

[863] See Macar, "İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya: İstanbul Helen Edebiyat Cemiyeti (Syllogos) Kütüphanesi'nin İzinde" for the long story of the lost library of the *Syllogos*.

APPENDIX A

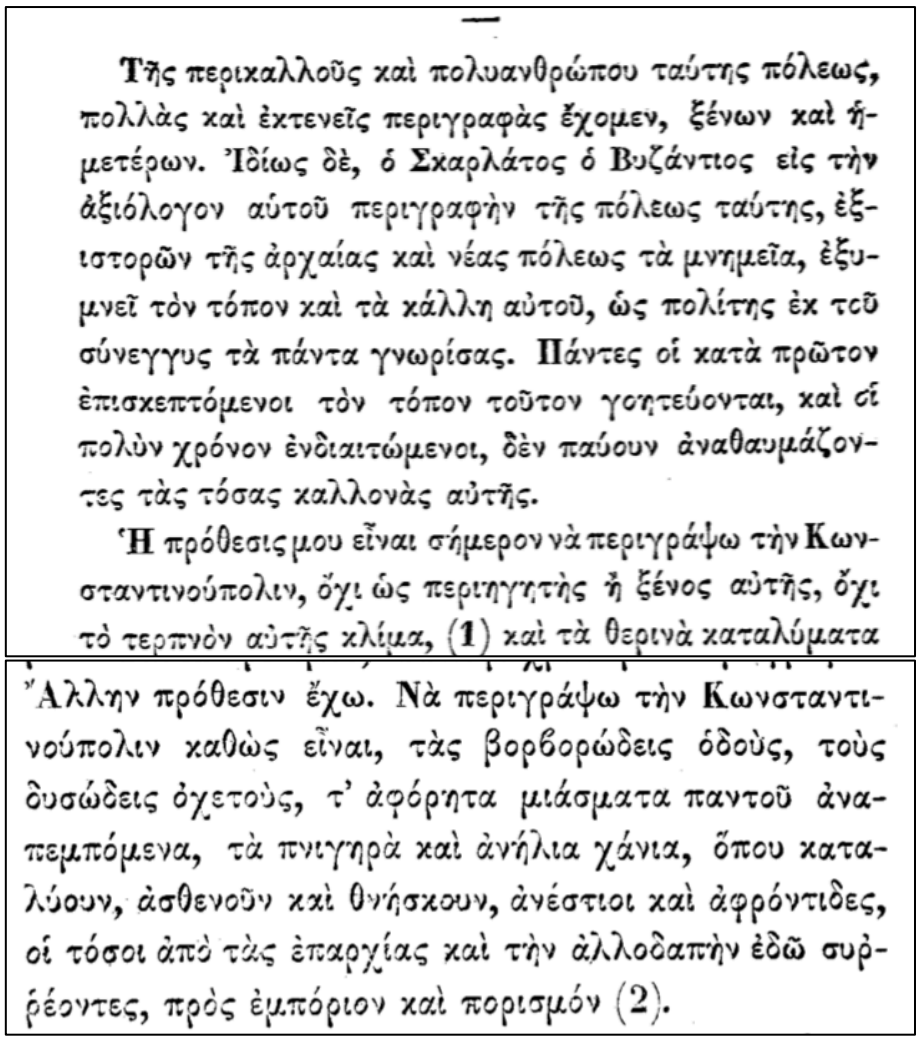
ORIGINALS OF THE QUOTATIONS IN GREEK



Ἂν πρῶτος ἐπιχειρῶ ἔργον τοιοῦτο, τὸ κάμνω, διότι ἀδύνατον νὰ ἐννοήσωσιν οἱ ἄπειροι τοῦ τόπου, τὰς ἐξῆς τοῦ νοσοκομείου παρατηρήσεις, ἂν πρῶτον δὲν λάβωσιν ἰδέαν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας τῶν ἐγκατοίκων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ δὲν ἀναγνώσωσι τὴν ἀψευδῆ ἐξιστόρησιν

τῆς ἀκατανοήτου ῥυπαρότητος καὶ δυσωδίας τῆς μεγαλουπόλεως ταύτης. (1) Λαλοῦμεν πάντα χωρὶς οὐδε-

A1: Paspatēs, *Ypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Epta Pyrgōn,* 42-43.

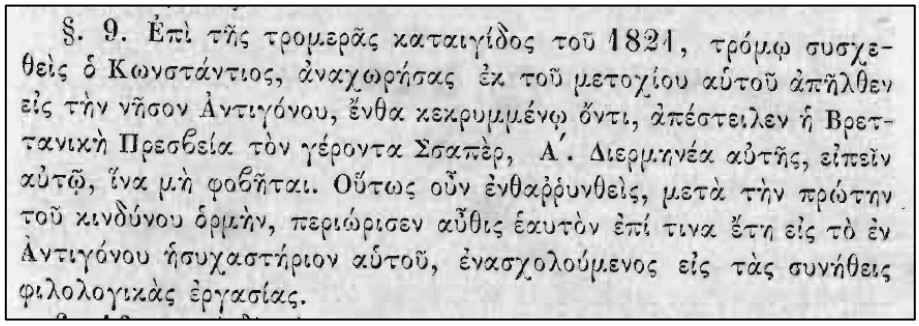


Τῆς περικαλλοῦς καὶ πολυανθρώπου ταύτης πόλεως, πολλὰς καὶ ἐκτενεῖς περιγραφὰς ἔχομεν, ξένων καὶ ἡμετέρων. Ἰδίως δὲ, ὁ Σκαρλάτος ὁ Βυζάντιος εἰς τὴν ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῦ περιγραφὴν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἐξιστορῶν τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ νέας πόλεως τὰ μνημεῖα, ἐξυμνεῖ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ κάλλη αὐτοῦ, ὡς πολίτης ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς τὰ πάντα γνωρίσας. Πάντες οἱ κατὰ πρῶτον ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον γοητεύονται, καὶ οἱ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδιαιτώμενοι, δὲν παύουν ἀναθαυμάζοντες τὰς τόσας καλλονὰς αὐτῆς.

Ἡ πρόθεσις μου εἶναι σήμερον νὰ περιγράψω τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ὄχι ὡς περιηγητὴς ἢ ξένος αὐτῆς, ὄχι τὸ τερπνὸν αὐτῆς κλίμα, (1) καὶ τὰ θερινὰ καταλύματα

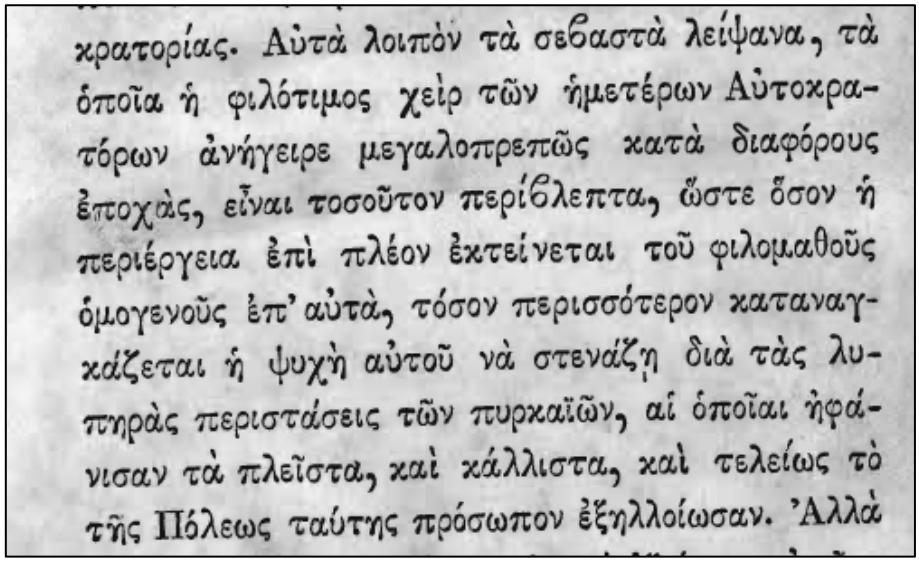
Ἄλλην πρόθεσιν ἔχω. Νὰ περιγράψω τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν καθὼς εἶναι, τὰς βορβορώδεις ὁδοὺς, τοὺς δυσώδεις ὀχετοὺς, τ' ἀφόρητα μιάσματα παντοῦ ἀναπεμπόμενα, τὰ πνιγηρὰ καὶ ἀνήλια χάνια, ὅπου καταλύουν, ἀσθενοῦν καὶ θνήσκουν, ἀνέστιοι καὶ ἀφρόντιδες, οἱ τόσοι ἀπὸ τὰς ἐπαρχίας καὶ τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν ἐδῶ συρρέοντες, πρὸς ἐμπόριον καὶ πορισμόν (2).

A2: Paspatēs, *Ypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Epta Pyrgōn,* 41-42.



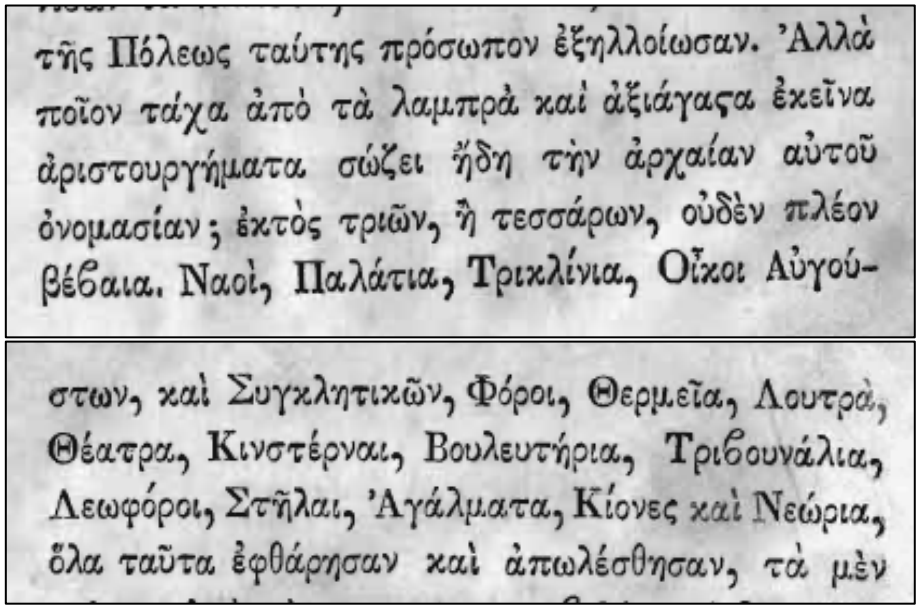
§. 9. Ἐπὶ τῆς τρομερᾶς καταιγίδος τοῦ 1821, τρόμῳ συσχεθεὶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος, ἀναχωρήσας ἐκ τοῦ μετοχίου αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον Ἀντιγόνου, ἔνθα κεκρυμμένῳ ὄντι, ἀπέστειλεν ἡ Βρεττανικὴ Πρεσβεία τὸν γέροντα Σσαπὲρ, Α΄. Διερμηνέα αὐτῆς, εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ φοβῆται. Οὕτως οὖν ἐνθαῤῥυνθεὶς, μετὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ κινδύνου ὁρμὴν, περιώρισεν αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπί τινα ἔτη εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἀντιγόνου ἡσυχαστήριον αὐτοῦ, ἐνασχολούμενος εἰς τὰς συνήθεις φιλολογικὰς ἐργασίας.

A3: Aristoklēs, *Kōnstantios A*, 7.



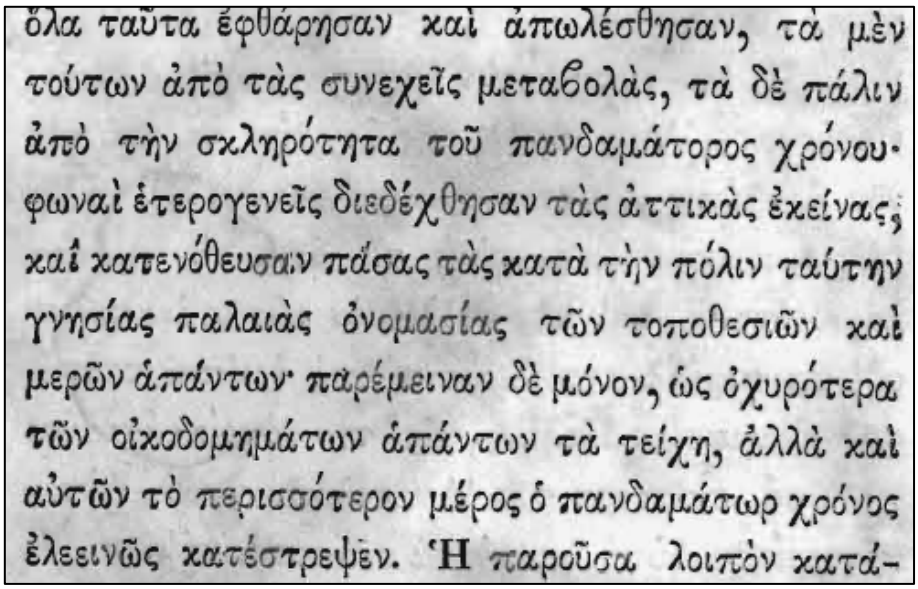
κρατορίας. Αὐτὰ λοιπὸν τὰ σεβαστὰ λείψανα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἡ φιλότιμος χεὶρ τῶν ἡμετέρων Αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνήγειρε μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατὰ διαφόρους ἐποχὰς, εἶναι τοσοῦτον περίβλεπτα, ὥστε ὅσον ἡ περιέργεια ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνεται τοῦ φιλομαθοῦς ὁμογενοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὰ, τόσον περισσότερον καταναγκάζεται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ νὰ στενάζῃ διὰ τὰς λυπηρὰς περιστάσεις τῶν πυρκαϊῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἠφάνισαν τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ κάλλιστα, καὶ τελείως τὸ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης πρόσωπον ἐξηλλοίωσαν. Ἀλλὰ

A4: Konstantios, *Kōnstantinias,* γ.



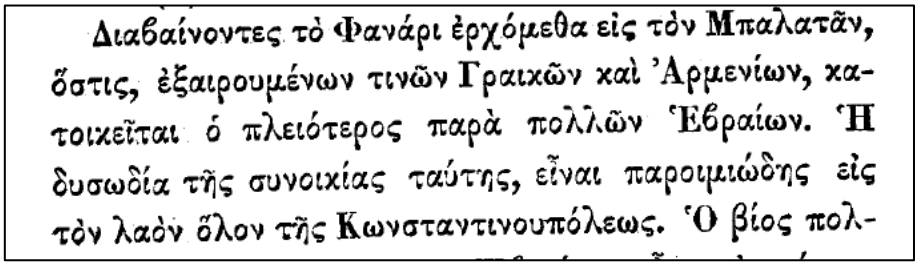
τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης πρόσωπον ἐξηλλοίωσαν. Ἀλλὰ ποῖον τάχα ἀπὸ τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἀξιάγαστα ἐκεῖνα ἀριστουργήματα σώζει ἤδη τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτοῦ ὀνομασίαν; ἐκτὸς τριῶν, ἢ τεσσάρων, οὐδὲν πλέον βέβαια. Ναοὶ, Παλάτια, Τρικλίνια, Οἶκοι Αὐγούστων, καὶ Συγκλητικῶν, Φόροι, Θερμεῖα, Λουτρὰ, Θέατρα, Κινστέρναι, Βουλευτήρια, Τριβουνάλια, Λεωφόροι, Στῆλαι, Ἀγάλματα, Κίονες καὶ Νεώρια, ὅλα ταῦτα ἐφθάρησαν καὶ ἀπωλέσθησαν, τὰ μὲν

A5: Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias,* γ-δ.



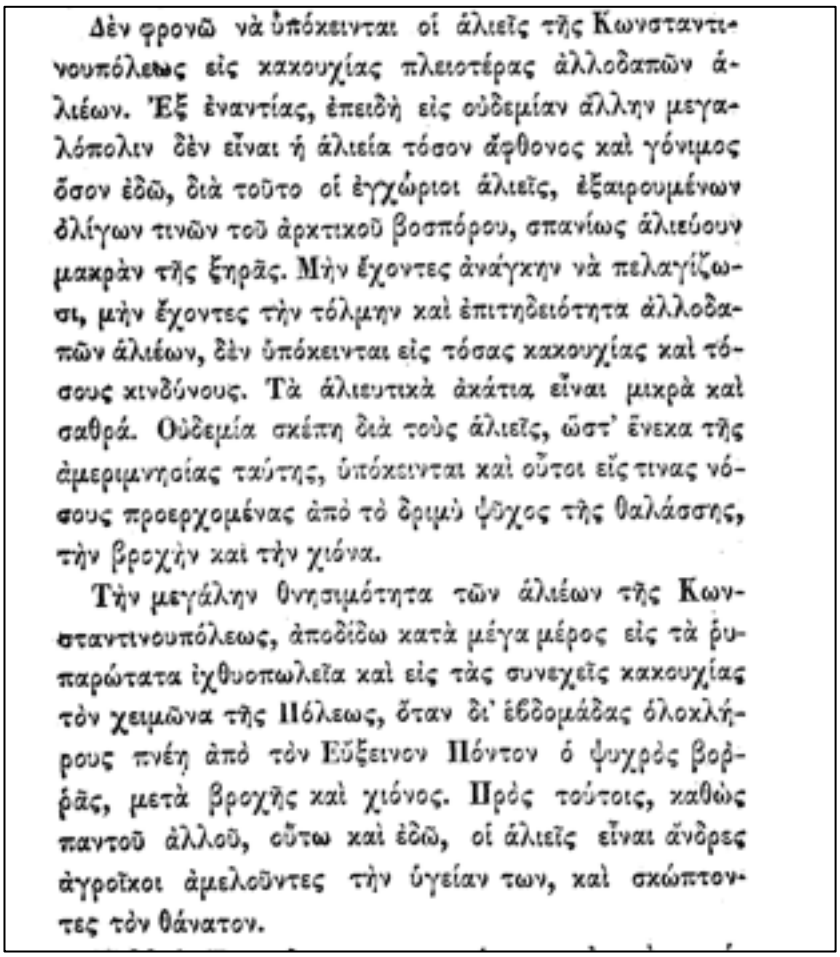
ὅλα ταῦτα ἐφθάρησαν καὶ ἀπωλέσθησαν, τὰ μὲν
τούτων ἀπὸ τὰς συνεχεῖς μεταβολὰς, τὰ δὲ πάλιν
ἀπὸ τὴν σκληρότητα τοῦ πανδαμάτορος χρόνου·
φωναὶ ἑτερογενεῖς διεδέχθησαν τὰς ἀττικὰς ἐκείνας;
καὶ κατενόθευσαν πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην
γνησίας παλαιὰς ὀνομασίας τῶν τοποθεσιῶν καὶ
μερῶν ἁπάντων· παρέμειναν δὲ μόνον, ὡς ὀχυρότερα
τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἁπάντων τὰ τείχη, ἀλλὰ καὶ
αὐτῶν τὸ περισσότερον μέρος ὁ πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος
ἐλεεινῶς κατέστρεψεν. Ἡ παροῦσα λοιπὸν κατά-

A6: Kōnstantios, *Kōnstantinias,* δ.



Διαβαίνοντες τὸ Φανάρι ἐρχόμεθα εἰς τὸν Μπαλατᾶν,
ὅστις, ἐξαιρουμένων τινῶν Γραικῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων, κα-
τοικεῖται ὁ πλειότερος παρὰ πολλῶν Ἑβραίων. Ἡ
δυσωδία τῆς συνοικίας ταύτης, εἶναι παροιμιώδης εἰς
τὸν λαὸν ὅλον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ὁ βίος πολ-

A7: Paspatēs, *Ypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Epta Pyrgōn,* 66.



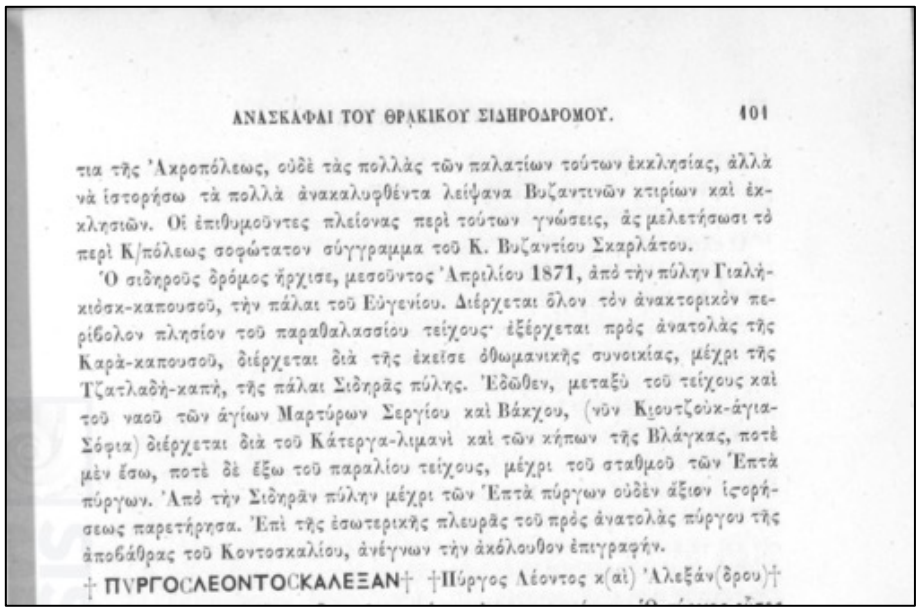
Δὲν φρονῶ νὰ ὑπόκεινται οἱ ἁλιεῖς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς κακουχίας πλειοτέρας ἀλλοδαπῶν ἁλιέων. Ἐξ ἐναντίας, ἐπειδὴ εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην μεγαλόπολιν δὲν εἶναι ἡ ἁλιεία τόσον ἄφθονος καὶ γόνιμος ὅσον ἐδῶ, διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἁλιεῖς, ἐξαιρουμένων ὀλίγων τινῶν τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ βοσπόρου, σπανίως ἁλιεύουν μακρὰν τῆς ξηρᾶς. Μὴν ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην νὰ πελαγίζωσι, μὴν ἔχοντες τὴν τόλμην καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητα ἀλλοδαπῶν ἁλιέων, δὲν ὑπόκεινται εἰς τόσας κακουχίας καὶ τόσους κινδύνους. Τὰ ἁλιευτικὰ ἀκάτια εἶναι μικρὰ καὶ σαθρά. Οὐδεμία σκέπη διὰ τοὺς ἁλιεῖς, ὥστ' ἕνεκα τῆς ἀμεριμνησίας ταύτης, ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὗτοι εἴς τινας νόσους προερχομένας ἀπὸ τὸ δριμὺ ψῦχος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὴν βροχὴν καὶ τὴν χιόνα.

Τὴν μεγάλην θνησιμότητα τῶν ἁλιέων τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀποδίδω κατὰ μέγα μέρος εἰς τὰ ῥυπαρώτατα ἰχθυοπωλεῖα καὶ εἰς τὰς συνεχεῖς κακουχίας τὸν χειμῶνα τῆς Πόλεως, ὅταν δι' ἑβδομάδας ὁλοκλήρους πνέῃ ἀπὸ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον ὁ ψυχρὸς βορρᾶς, μετὰ βροχῆς καὶ χιόνος. Πρὸς τούτοις, καθὼς παντοῦ ἀλλοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἐδῶ, οἱ ἁλιεῖς εἶναι ἄνδρες ἀγροῖκοι ἀμελοῦντες τὴν ὑγείαν των, καὶ σκώπτοντες τὸν θάνατον.

A8: Paspatēs, *Ypomnēma peri tou Graikikou Nosokomeiou tōn Epta Pyrgōn,*176.

λων λίθων καὶ λίαν τεχνηέντως καὶ στερεῶς τειχοδομημένην. Λόγοι τινὸς, ἐργαζομένου εἰς τὸ ἐνώπιον τῶν δύο πύργων οἰκόπεδον, μὲ παρώτρυναν νὰ εἰσέλθω εἰς τὰ καταγώγια ἐντὸς τοῦ πύργου, ὅπου, κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἀγροίκων ἐργατῶν, σώζονται εἰκονίσματα, γράμματα χρυσᾶ καὶ σκεύη ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἀρχαιότατα. Δύο ἡμέρας μετὰ ταῦτα συνοδευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Κ. Α. Σγουρίδου, πλησίον κατοικοῦντος, τοῦ ὁποίου τὸν ἄοκνον ζῆλον πανδήμως διακηρύττω, ἐφωδιασμένοι μὲ ξυλίνας ἀναβάθρας, κηρία, χαρτίνους φανοὺς καὶ ῥάβδους, εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν ὀπὴν ταύτην, ἀμφότεροι ἀγνοοῦντες ποῦ ἐμέλλομεν νὰ πορευθῶμεν καὶ εἰς τίνα βάθρον πιθανὸν νὰ καταπέσωμεν. Διελθόντες τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ περιζώματος, μήκους **M. 10**, κυρτοὶ καὶ γονυπετεῖς δίκην λῃστῶν νυκτιπόρων, εἰσήλθομεν εἰς μικρὸν δωμάτιον πέντε τετραγωνικῶν μέτρων, θολωτὸν, ὑγρὸν, καὶ διὰ τῆς εἰσόδου μόνης φωτιζόμενον. Ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, εἶναι δύο ὀπαὶ ἀψιδωταί. Κατὰ πρόσωπον μέγα ἄνοιγμα, ἢ μᾶλλον διαρρωγὴ, ἄγουσα εἰς μέρη ἄλλα. Διὰ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ὀπῆς μόλις ἐχώρει ἰσχνοῦ ἀνδρὸς σῶμα· διὰ ταύτης ῥίψαντες πέτραν, ἠκούσαμεν τὸν κρότον αὐτῆς πιπτούσης ἐντὸς ὕδατος. Κύψαντες δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς ὀπῆς εἴδομεν φωτιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κηρίων μας μέγα καὶ θολωτὸν δωμάτιον, τοῦ ὁποίου τὸ κονίαμα ἦτο πανταχοῦ σῶον. Ὑπὸ τὴν ὀπὴν ἦτο μέγα καὶ στρογγύλον φρέαρ, τὸ ὁποῖον μετέπειτα καταμετρήσας ὁ Κ. Σγουρίδης, εὗρε βάθους **M. 5, 50**. Ἄνωθεν τοῦ φρέατος διὰ τοῦ θόλου τοῦ δωματίου εἰσήρχετο ἀμυδρὸν φῶς ἐκ στρογγύλης ὀπῆς. Ἐντὸς τοῦ ὑπογείου τούτου ἐπτερύγιζον νυκτερίδες ταραττόμεναι ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν κηρίων. Εἰσελθόντες ἀκολούθως εἰς τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον διαρρωγὴν, καὶ μετὰ προσοχῆς καὶ φόβου προβαίνοντες, ἐπιτηροῦντες καὶ τοὺς φανοὺς ἵνα μὴ εὑρεθῶμεν αἴφνης εἰς σκότος ἐπικίνδυνον, ἐπροχωρήσαμεν πρὸς τὰ ἄνω. Ἐκ δεξιῶν, εἴδομεν εἴσοδον κατωφερῆ, χωριζομένην μὲν ἄλλοτε διὰ τείχους εὐρυτάτου, κατάφρακτον δὲ σήμερον διὰ πετρῶν καὶ μέλανος ὑγροῦ χώματος. Ἀναβάντες εἶτα πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, διὰ κλίμακος ὁμοίας τῆς ἀγούσης εἰς τὰ κατηχούμενα τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, καὶ ἐξετάζοντες τὰς ὀπὰς καὶ πολλὰς διαρρωγὰς τοῦ τείχους γενομένας πιθανῶς πρὸς ἀναζήτησιν θησαυρῶν, εἰσήλθομεν αἴφνης εἰς ὡραίαν αἴθουσαν θολωτὴν, φωτιζομένην δι' ὀπῆς ἐπιμήκους, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀρχαίου παραθύρου ἐπιτειχισθέντος. Μὴ γνωρίζοντες ποῦ εἴμεθα, ἐθέσαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς ἄκρας τοῦ παραθύρου τεμάχιον λευκοτάτου χάρτου ὡς μετέπειτα γνώρισμα. Καὶ τῷ ὄντι, ἀφοῦ κατέβημεν, ἐβεβαιώθημεν ἐκ τοῦ ῥηθέντος χάρτου, ὅτι ἡ θυρὶς αὕτη εἶναι ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ βορείου πύργου φαινομένη ἐπιμήκης ὀπή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ θολωτοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς αἰθούσης ταύτης παρετηρήσαμεν τὴν στρογγύλην ὀπὴν, τὴν ὁποίαν κάτωθεν εἴδομεν φωτίζουσαν τὸ σκοτεινὸν ὑπόγειον, ἐν τῷ ὁποίῳ εἶναι τὸ ἄνω μνημονευόμενον φρέαρ. Ἐκ τῆς ὀπῆς ταύτης καταφαίνεται τὸ στερεὸν τοῦ θόλου, μείναντος ἀκλονήτου ἐπὶ τόσους αἰῶνας. Κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς θυρίδος, ἡ αἴθουσα εἶναι εὖρους **M. 10, 60**, μήκους **M. 12, 15**, καὶ ὕψους περίπου

A9: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 28.



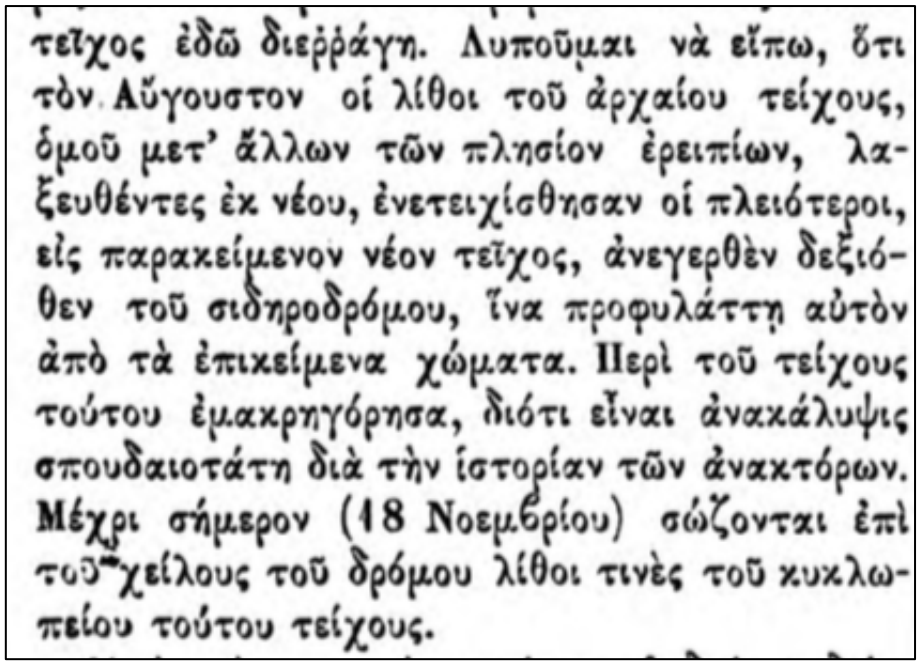
ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΡΑΚΙΚΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ. 101

τια τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, οὐδὲ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν παλατίων τούτων ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ νὰ ἱστορήσω τὰ πολλὰ ἀνακαλυφθέντα λείψανα Βυζαντινῶν κτιρίων καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν. Οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντες πλείονας περὶ τούτων γνώσεις, ἂς μελετήσωσι τὸ περὶ Κ/πόλεως σοφώτατον σύγγραμμα τοῦ Κ. Βυζαντίου Σκαρλάτου.

Ὁ σιδηροῦς δρόμος ἤρχισε, μεσοῦντος Ἀπριλίου 1871, ἀπὸ τὴν πύλην Γιαλήκιόσκ-καπουσοῦ, τὴν πάλαι τοῦ Εὐγενίου. Διέρχεται ὅλον τὸν ἀνακτορικὸν περίβολον πλησίον τοῦ παραθαλασσίου τείχους· ἐξέρχεται πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τῆς Καρὰ-καπουσοῦ, διέρχεται διὰ τῆς ἐκείσε ὀθωμανικῆς συνοικίας, μέχρι τῆς Τζατλαδὴ-καπὴ, τῆς πάλαι Σιδηρᾶς πύλης. Ἐδῶθεν, μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων Σεργίου καὶ Βάκχου, (νῦν Κιουτζοὺκ-ἁγια-Σόφια) διέρχεται διὰ τοῦ Κάτεργα-λιμανὶ καὶ τῶν κήπων τῆς Βλάγκας, ποτὲ μὲν ἔσω, ποτὲ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ παραλίου τείχους, μέχρι τοῦ σταθμοῦ τῶν Ἑπτὰ πύργων. Ἀπὸ τὴν Σιδηρᾶν πύλην μέχρι τῶν Ἑπτὰ πύργων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἱστορήσεως παρετήρησα. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς πύργου τῆς ἀποβάθρας τοῦ Κοντοσκαλίου, ἀνέγνων τὴν ἀκόλουθον ἐπιγραφήν.

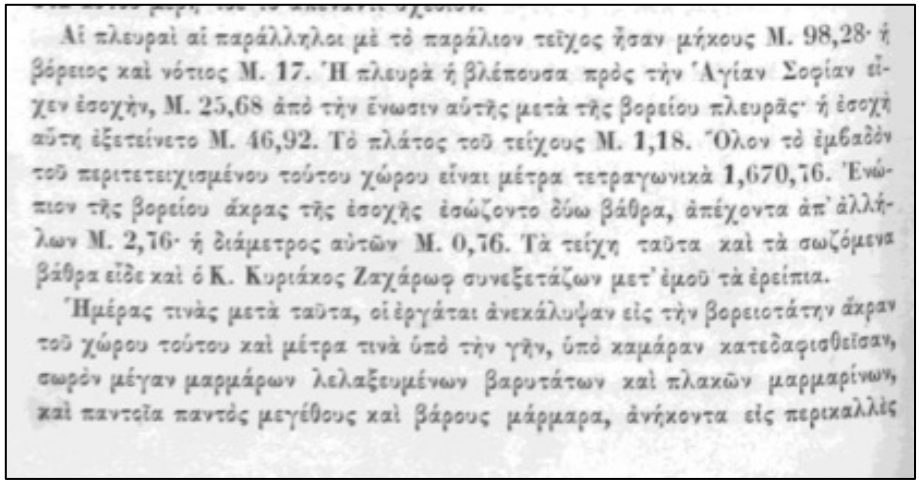
† ΠΥΡΓΟCΛΕΟΝΤΟCΚΑΛΕΞΑΝ† †Πύργος Λέοντος κ(αὶ) Ἀλεξάν(δρου)†

A10: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 101.



τεῖχος ἐδῶ διερράγη. Λυποῦμαι νὰ εἴπω, ὅτι τὸν Αὔγουστον οἱ λίθοι τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους, ὁμοῦ μετ' ἄλλων τῶν πλησίον ἐρειπίων, λαξευθέντες ἐκ νέου, ἐνετειχίσθησαν οἱ πλειότεροι, εἰς παρακείμενον νέον τεῖχος, ἀνεγερθὲν δεξιόθεν τοῦ σιδηροδρόμου, ἵνα προφυλάττῃ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τὰ ἐπικείμενα χώματα. Περὶ τοῦ τείχους τούτου ἐμακρηγόρησα, διότι εἶναι ἀνακάλυψις σπουδαιοτάτη διὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἀνακτόρων. Μέχρι σήμερον (18 Νοεμβρίου) σώζονται ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τοῦ δρόμου λίθοι τινὲς τοῦ κυκλωπείου τούτου τείχους.

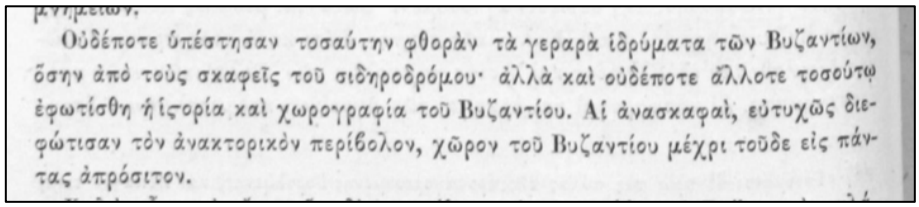
A11: Paspatēs, *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 6, 50.



Αἱ πλευραὶ αἱ παράλληλοι μὲ τὸ παράλιον τεῖχος ἦσαν μήκους Μ. 98,28· ἡ βόρειος καὶ νότιος Μ. 17. Ἡ πλευρὰ ἡ βλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν εἶχεν ἐσοχὴν, Μ. 25,68 ἀπὸ τὴν ἕνωσιν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς βορείου πλευρᾶς· ἡ ἐσοχὴ αὕτη ἐξετείνετο Μ. 46,92. Τὸ πλάτος τοῦ τείχους Μ. 1,18. Ὅλον τὸ ἐμβαδὸν τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου τούτου χώρου εἶναι μέτρα τετραγωνικὰ 1,670,76. Ἐνώπιον τῆς βορείου ἄκρας τῆς ἐσοχῆς ἐσώζοντο δύω βάθρα, ἀπέχοντα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Μ. 2,76· ἡ διάμετρος αὐτῶν Μ. 0,76. Τὰ τείχη ταῦτα καὶ τὰ σωζόμενα βάθρα εἶδε καὶ ὁ Κ. Κυριάκος Ζαχάρωφ συνεξετάζων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰ ἐρείπια.

Ἡμέρας τινὰς μετὰ ταῦτα, οἱ ἐργάται ἀνεκάλυψαν εἰς τὴν βορειοτάτην ἄκραν τοῦ χώρου τούτου καὶ μέτρα τινὰ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὑπὸ καμάραν κατεδαφισθεῖσαν, σωρὸν μέγαν μαρμάρων λελαξευμένων βαρυτάτων καὶ πλακῶν μαρμαρίνων, καὶ παντοῖα παντὸς μεγέθους καὶ βάρους μάρμαρα, ἀνήκοντα εἰς περικαλλὲς

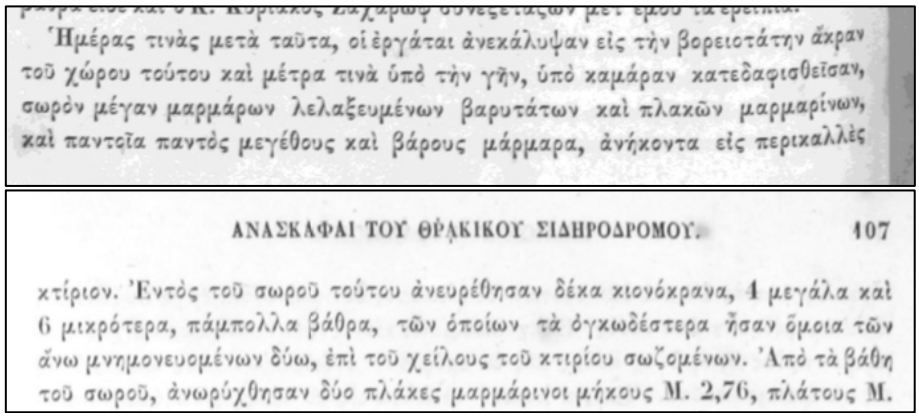
A12: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 106.



μνημείων.

Οὐδέποτε ὑπέστησαν τοσαύτην φθορὰν τὰ γεραρὰ ἱδρύματα τῶν Βυζαντίων, ὅσην ἀπὸ τοὺς σκαφεῖς τοῦ σιδηροδρόμου· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐδέποτε ἄλλοτε τοσούτῳ ἐφωτίσθη ἡ ἱστορία καὶ χωρογραφία τοῦ Βυζαντίου. Αἱ ἀνασκαφαὶ, εὐτυχῶς διεφώτισαν τὸν ἀνακτορικὸν περίβολον, χῶρον τοῦ Βυζαντίου μέχρι τοῦδε εἰς πάντας ἀπρόσιτον.

A13: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 100.

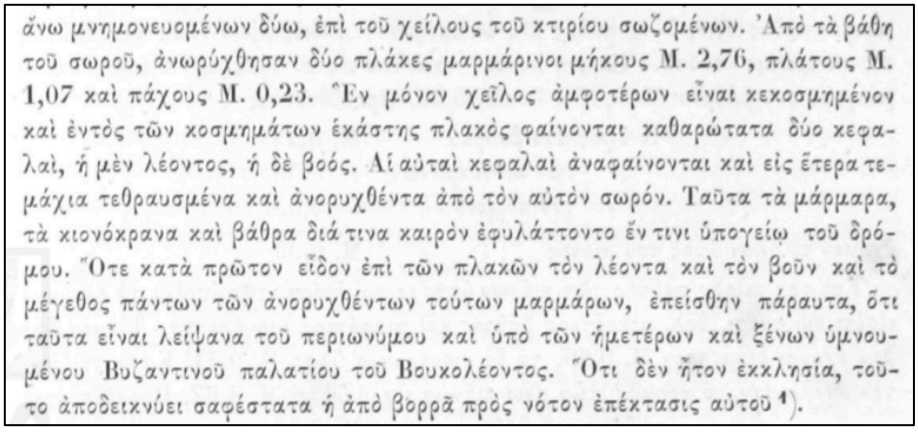


Ἡμέρας τινὰς μετὰ ταῦτα, οἱ ἐργάται ἀνεκάλυψαν εἰς τὴν βορειοτάτην ἄκραν τοῦ χώρου τούτου καὶ μέτρα τινὰ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὑπὸ καμάραν κατεδαφισθεῖσαν, σωρὸν μέγαν μαρμάρων λελαξευμένων βαρυτάτων καὶ πλακῶν μαρμαρίνων, καὶ παντοῖα παντὸς μεγέθους καὶ βάρους μάρμαρα, ἀνήκοντα εἰς περικαλλὲς

ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΡΑΚΙΚΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ. 107

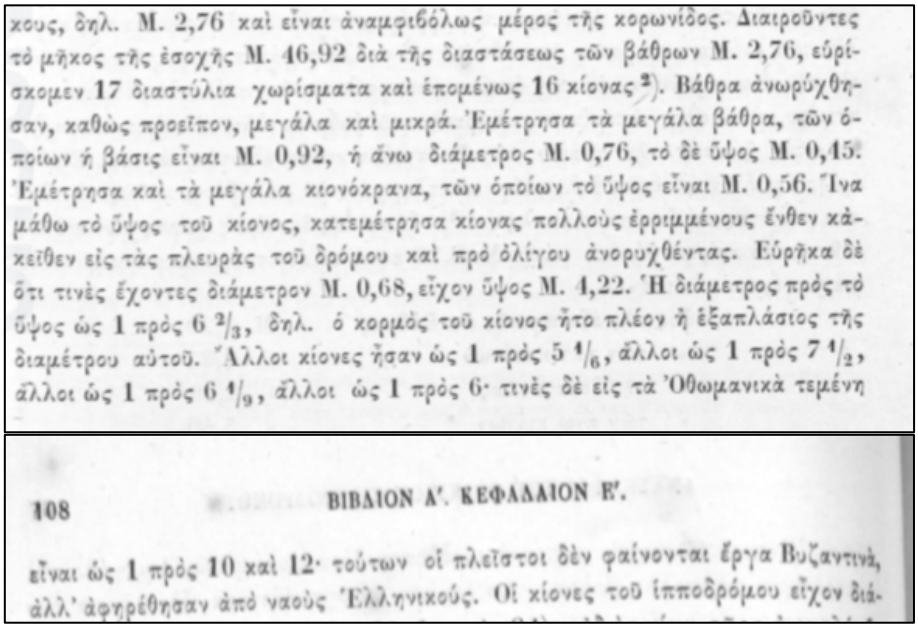
κτίριον. Ἐντὸς τοῦ σωροῦ τούτου ἀνευρέθησαν δέκα κιονόκρανα, 4 μεγάλα καὶ 6 μικρότερα, πάμπολλα βάθρα, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ ὀγκωδέστερα ἦσαν ὅμοια τῶν ἄνω μνημονευομένων δύω, ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τοῦ κτιρίου σωζομένων. Ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τοῦ σωροῦ, ἀνωρύχθησαν δύο πλάκες μαρμάρινοι μήκους Μ. 2,76, πλάτους Μ.

A14: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai*, 106-107.



ἄνω μνημονευομένων δύω, ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τοῦ κτιρίου σωζομένων. Ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τοῦ σωροῦ, ἀνωρύχθησαν δύο πλάκες μαρμάρινοι μήκους Μ. 2,76, πλάτους Μ. 1,07 καὶ πάχους Μ. 0,23. Ἓν μόνον χεῖλος ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν κοσμημάτων ἑκάστης πλακὸς φαίνονται καθαρώτατα δύο κεφαλαί, ἡ μὲν λέοντος, ἡ δὲ βοός. Αἱ αὐταὶ κεφαλαὶ ἀναφαίνονται καὶ εἰς ἕτερα τεμάχια τεθραυσμένα καὶ ἀνορυχθέντα ἀπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν σωρόν. Ταῦτα τὰ μάρμαρα, τὰ κιονόκρανα καὶ βάθρα διά τινα καιρὸν ἐφυλάττοντο ἔν τινι ὑπογείῳ τοῦ δρόμου. Ὅτε κατὰ πρῶτον εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν πλακῶν τὸν λέοντα καὶ τὸν βοῦν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος πάντων τῶν ἀνορυχθέντων τούτων μαρμάρων, ἐπείσθην πάραυτα, ὅτι ταῦτα εἶναι λείψανα τοῦ περιωνύμου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ ξένων ὑμνουμένου Βυζαντινοῦ παλατίου τοῦ Βουκολέοντος. Ὅτι δὲν ἦτον ἐκκλησία, τοῦτο ἀποδεικνύει σαφέστατα ἡ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πρὸς νότον ἐπέκτασις αὐτοῦ [1]).

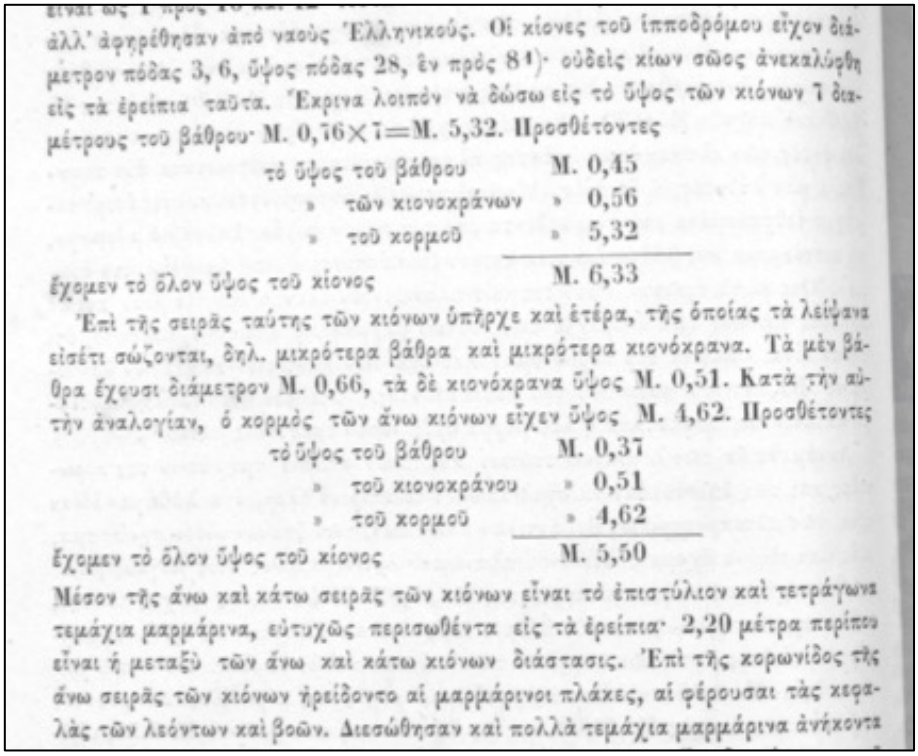
A15: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 107.



κους, δηλ. Μ. 2,76 καὶ εἶναι ἀναμφιβόλως μέρος τῆς κορωνίδος. Διαιροῦντες τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐσοχῆς Μ. 46,92 διὰ τῆς διαστάσεως τῶν βάθρων Μ. 2,76, εὑρίσκομεν 17 διαστύλια χωρίσματα καὶ ἑπομένως 16 κίονας [2]). Βάθρα ἀνωρύχθησαν, καθὼς προεῖπον, μεγάλα καὶ μικρά. Ἐμέτρησα τὰ μεγάλα βάθρα, τῶν ὁποίων ἡ βάσις εἶναι Μ. 0,92, ἡ ἄνω διάμετρος Μ. 0,76, τὸ δὲ ὕψος Μ. 0,45. Ἐμέτρησα καὶ τὰ μεγάλα κιονόκρανα, τῶν ὁποίων τὸ ὕψος εἶναι Μ. 0,56. Ἵνα μάθω τὸ ὕψος τοῦ κίονος, κατεμέτρησα κίονας πολλοὺς ἐρριμμένους ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς τοῦ δρόμου καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγου ἀνορυχθέντας. Εὗρηκα δὲ ὅτι τινὲς ἔχοντες διάμετρον Μ. 0,68, εἶχον ὕψος Μ. 4,22. Ἡ διάμετρος πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ὡς 1 πρὸς 6 $^{2}/_{3}$, δηλ. ὁ κορμὸς τοῦ κίονος ἦτο πλέον ἢ ἑξαπλάσιος τῆς διαμέτρου αὐτοῦ. Ἄλλοι κίονες ἦσαν ὡς 1 πρὸς 5 $^{1}/_{6}$, ἄλλοι ὡς 1 πρὸς 7 $^{1}/_{2}$, ἄλλοι ὡς 1 πρὸς 6 $^{1}/_{9}$, ἄλλοι ὡς 1 πρὸς 6· τινὲς δὲ εἰς τὰ Ὀθωμανικὰ τεμένη

εἶναι ὡς 1 πρὸς 10 καὶ 12· τούτων οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲν φαίνονται ἔργα Βυζαντινά, ἀλλ' ἀφηρέθησαν ἀπὸ ναοὺς Ἑλληνικούς. Οἱ κίονες τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου εἶχον διά-

A16: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 107-108.



ἀλλ' ἀφηρέθησαν ἀπὸ ναοὺς Ἑλληνικούς. Οἱ κίονες τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου εἶχον διάμετρον πόδας 3, 6, ὕψος πόδας 28, ἓν πρὸς 8[4]· οὐδεὶς κίων σῶος ἀνεκαλύφθη εἰς τὰ ἐρείπια ταῦτα. Ἔκρινα λοιπὸν νὰ δώσω εἰς τὸ ὕψος τῶν κιόνων 7 διαμέτρους τοῦ βάθρου· M. 0,76×7=M. 5,32. Προσθέτοντες

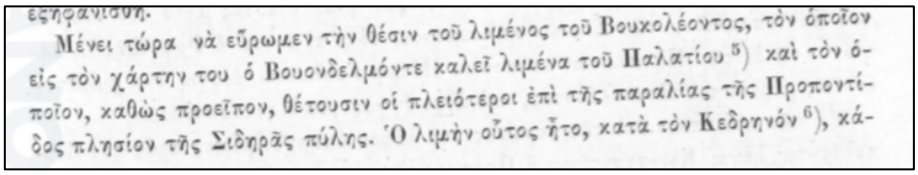
τὸ ὕψος τοῦ βάθρου	M. 0,45
» τῶν κιονοκράνων	» 0,56
» τοῦ κορμοῦ	» 5,32
ἔχομεν τὸ ὅλον ὕψος τοῦ κίονος	M. 6,33

Ἐπὶ τῆς σειρᾶς ταύτης τῶν κιόνων ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἑτέρα, τῆς ὁποίας τὰ λείψανα εἰσέτι σώζονται, δηλ. μικρότερα βάθρα καὶ μικρότερα κιονόκρανα. Τὰ μὲν βάθρα ἔχουσι διάμετρον M. 0,66, τὰ δὲ κιονόκρανα ὕψος M. 0,51. Κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν, ὁ κορμὸς τῶν ἄνω κιόνων εἶχεν ὕψος M. 4,62. Προσθέτοντες

τὸ ὕψος τοῦ βάθρου	M. 0,37
» τοῦ κιονοκράνου	» 0,51
» τοῦ κορμοῦ	» 4,62
ἔχομεν τὸ ὅλον ὕψος τοῦ κίονος	M. 5,50

Μέσον τῆς ἄνω καὶ κάτω σειρᾶς τῶν κιόνων εἶναι τὸ ἐπιστύλιον καὶ τετράγωνα τεμάχια μαρμάρινα, εὐτυχῶς περισωθέντα εἰς τὰ ἐρείπια· 2,20 μέτρα περίπου εἶναι ἡ μεταξὺ τῶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω κιόνων διάστασις. Ἐπὶ τῆς κορωνίδος τῆς ἄνω σειρᾶς τῶν κιόνων ἠρείδοντο αἱ μαρμάρινοι πλάκες, αἱ φέρουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν λεόντων καὶ βοῶν. Διεσώθησαν καὶ πολλὰ τεμάχια μαρμάρινα ἀνήκοντα

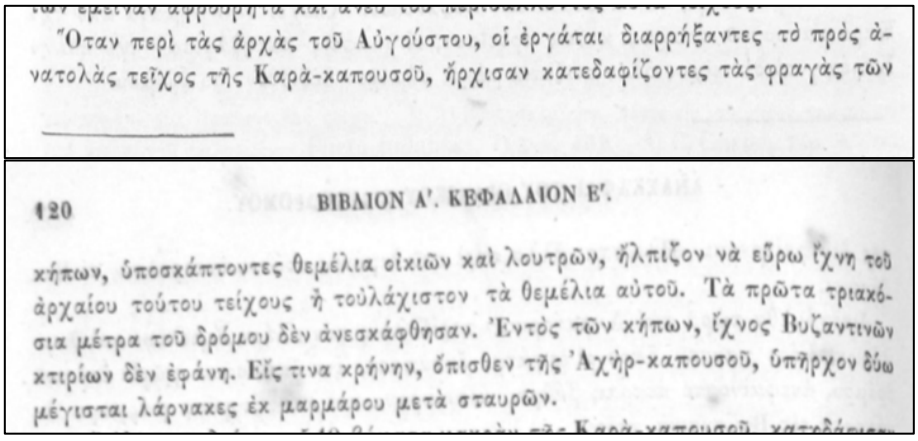
A17: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 108.



ἐξηφανίσθη.

Μένει τώρα νὰ εὕρωμεν τὴν θέσιν τοῦ λιμένος τοῦ Βουκολέοντος, τὸν ὁποῖον εἰς τὸν χάρτην του ὁ Βουονδελμόντε καλεῖ λιμένα τοῦ Παλατίου[5] καὶ τὸν ὁποῖον, καθὼς προεῖπον, θέτουσιν οἱ πλειότεροι ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας τῆς Προποντίδος πλησίον τῆς Σιδηρᾶς πύλης. Ὁ λιμὴν οὗτος ἦτο, κατὰ τὸν Κεδρηνόν[6], κά-

A18: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 117.

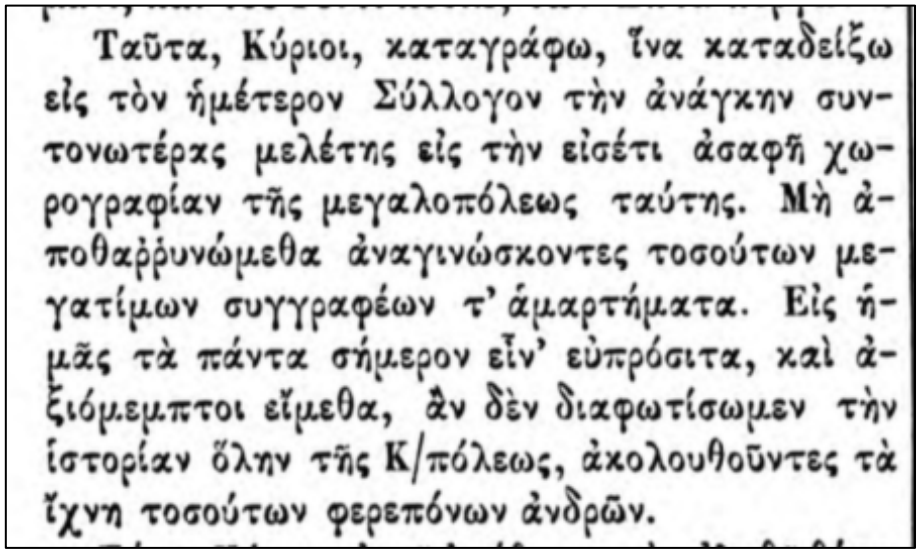


Ὅταν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ Αὐγούστου, οἱ ἐργάται διαρρήξαντες τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τεῖχος τῆς Καρὰ-καπουσοῦ, ἤρχισαν κατεδαφίζοντες τὰς φραγὰς τῶν

120 ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α'. ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Ε'.

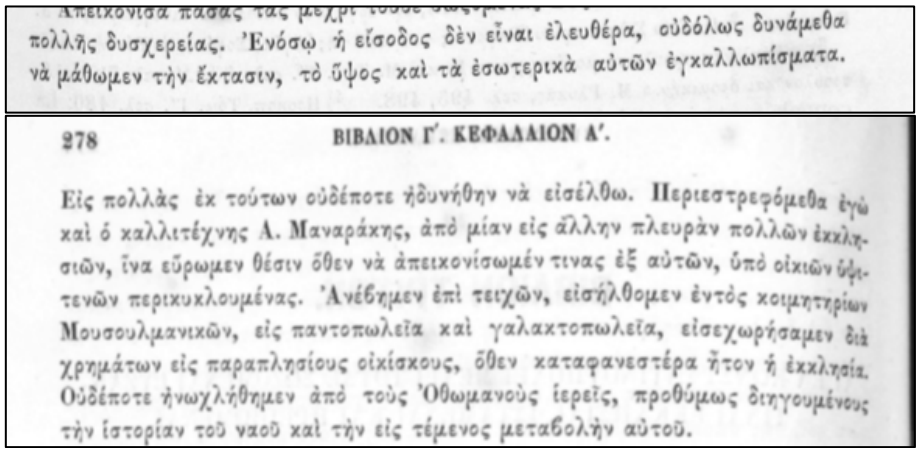
κήπων, ὑποσκάπτοντες θεμέλια οἰκιῶν καὶ λουτρῶν, ἤλπιζον νὰ εὕρω ἴχνη τοῦ ἀρχαίου τούτου τείχους ἢ τοὐλάχιστον τὰ θεμέλια αὐτοῦ. Τὰ πρῶτα τριακόσια μέτρα τοῦ δρόμου δὲν ἀνεσκάφθησαν. Ἐντὸς τῶν κήπων, ἴχνος Βυζαντινῶν κτιρίων δὲν ἐφάνη. Εἷς τινα χρήνην, ὄπισθεν τῆς Ἀχὴρ-καπουσοῦ, ὑπῆρχον δύω μέγισται λάρνακες ἐκ μαρμάρου μετὰ σταυρῶν.

A19: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 119-120.



Ταῦτα, Κύριοι, καταγράφω, ἵνα καταδείξω εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον Σύλλογον τὴν ἀνάγκην συντονωτέρας μελέτης εἰς τὴν εἰσέτι ἀσαφῆ χωρογραφίαν τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ταύτης. Μὴ ἀποθαῤῥυνώμεθα ἀναγινώσκοντες τοσούτων μεγατίμων συγγραφέων τ' ἁμαρτήματα. Εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ πάντα σήμερον εἶν' εὐπρόσιτα, καὶ ἀξιόμεμπτοι εἴμεθα, ἂν δὲν διαφωτίσωμεν τὴν ἱστορίαν ὅλην τῆς Κ/πόλεως, ἀκολουθοῦντες τὰ ἴχνη τοσούτων φερεπόνων ἀνδρῶν.

A20: *Syngramma Periodikon*, Vol. 6, 64, Nov. 29, Meeting 305.

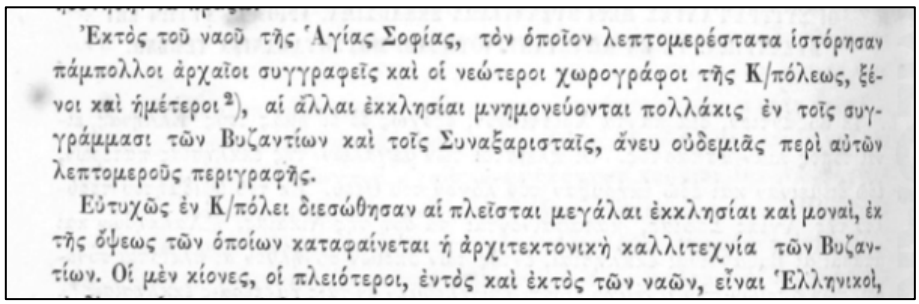


ἀπεικόνισα πάσας τὰς μέχρι τοῦδε [illegible]
πολλῆς δυσχερείας. Ἐνόσῳ ἡ εἴσοδος δὲν εἶναι ἐλευθέρα, οὐδόλως δυνάμεθα νὰ μάθωμεν τὴν ἔκτασιν, τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὰ ἐσωτερικὰ αὐτῶν ἐγκαλλωπίσματα.

278 ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Γ'. ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Α'.

Εἰς πολλὰς ἐκ τούτων οὐδέποτε ἠδυνήθην νὰ εἰσέλθω. Περιεστρεφόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ καλλιτέχνης Α. Μαναράκης, ἀπὸ μίαν εἰς ἄλλην πλευρὰν πολλῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἵνα εὕρωμεν θέσιν ὅθεν νὰ ἀπεικονίσωμέν τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ οἰκιῶν ὑψιτενῶν περικυκλουμένας. Ἀνέβημεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν, εἰσήλθομεν ἐντὸς κοιμητηρίων Μουσουλμανικῶν, εἰς παντοπωλεῖα καὶ γαλακτοπωλεῖα, εἰσεχωρήσαμεν διὰ χρημάτων εἰς παραπλησίους οἰκίσκους, ὅθεν καταφανεστέρα ἦτον ἡ ἐκκλησία. Οὐδέποτε ἠνωχλήθημεν ἀπὸ τοὺς Ὀθωμανοὺς ἱερεῖς, προθύμως διηγουμένους τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς τέμενος μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ.

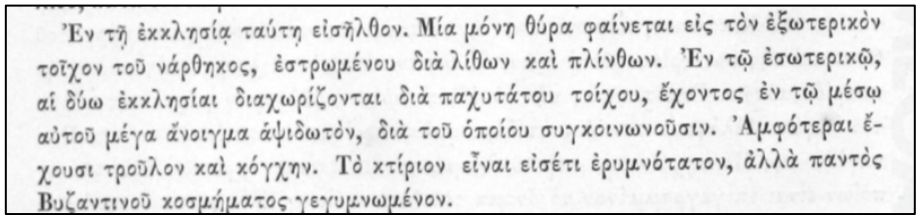
A21: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 277- 278.



Ἐκτὸς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, τὸν ὁποῖον λεπτομερέστατα ἱστόρησαν πάμπολλοι ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι χωρογράφοι τῆς Κ/πόλεως, ξένοι καὶ ἡμέτεροι [2]), αἱ ἄλλαι ἐκκλησίαι μνημονεύονται πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ τοῖς Συναξαρισταῖς, ἄνευ οὐδεμιᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν λεπτομεροῦς περιγραφῆς.

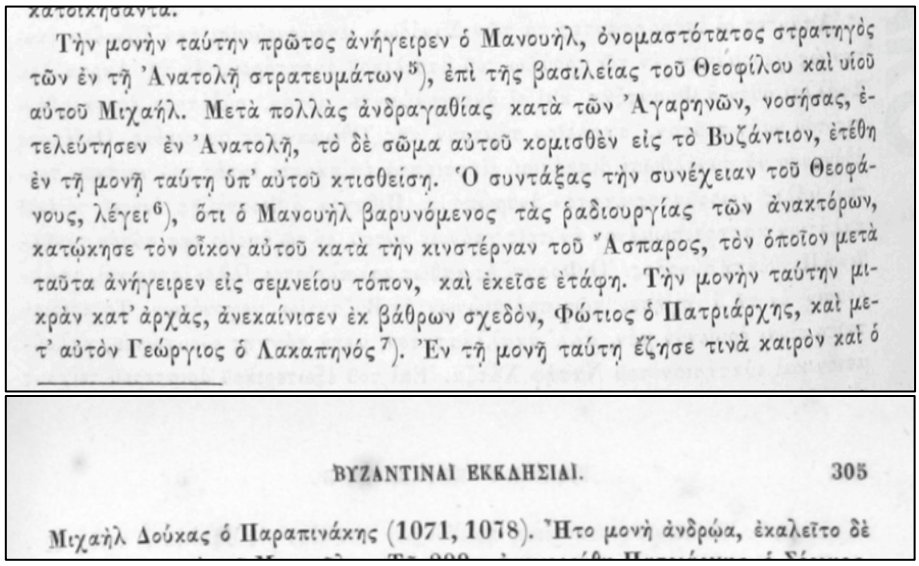
Εὐτυχῶς ἐν Κ/πόλει διεσώθησαν αἱ πλεῖσται μεγάλαι ἐκκλησίαι καὶ μοναί, ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τῶν ὁποίων καταφαίνεται ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καλλιτεχνία τῶν Βυζαντίων. Οἱ μὲν κίονες, οἱ πλειότεροι, ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν ναῶν, εἶναι Ἑλληνικοί,

A22: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 278.



Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ εἰσῆλθον. Μία μόνη θύρα φαίνεται εἰς τὸν ἐξωτερικὸν τοῖχον τοῦ νάρθηκος, ἐστρωμένου διὰ λίθων καὶ πλίνθων. Ἐν τῷ ἐσωτερικῷ, αἱ δύω ἐκκλησίαι διαχωρίζονται διὰ παχυτάτου τοίχου, ἔχοντος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτοῦ μέγα ἄνοιγμα ἀψιδωτὸν, διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου συγκοινωνοῦσιν. Ἀμφότεραι ἔχουσι τροῦλον καὶ κόγχην. Τὸ κτίριον εἶναι εἰσέτι ἐρυμνότατον, ἀλλὰ παντὸς Βυζαντινοῦ κοσμήματος γεγυμνωμένον.

A23: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 324.



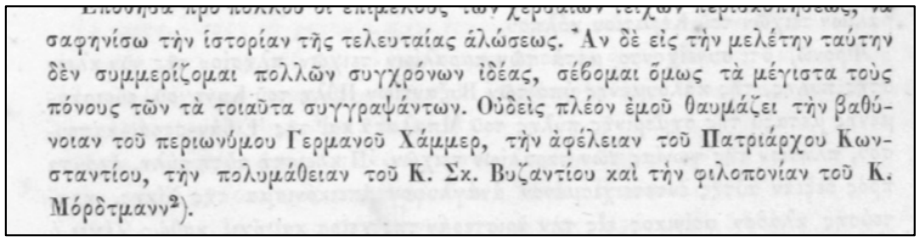
κατοικήσαντα.

Τὴν μονὴν ταύτην πρῶτος ἀνήγειρεν ὁ Μανουὴλ, ὀνομαστότατος στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ στρατευμάτων[5]), ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοφίλου καὶ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Μιχαήλ. Μετὰ πολλὰς ἀνδραγαθίας κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, νοσήσας, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἀνατολῇ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κομισθὲν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον, ἐτέθη ἐν τῇ μονῇ ταύτῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθείσῃ. Ὁ συντάξας τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ Θεοφάνους, λέγει[6]), ὅτι ὁ Μανουὴλ βαρυνόμενος τὰς ῥαδιουργίας τῶν ἀνακτόρων, κατῴκησε τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν κινστέρναν τοῦ Ἄσπαρος, τὸν ὁποῖον μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήγειρεν εἰς σεμνείου τόπον, καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἐτάφη. Τὴν μονὴν ταύτην μικρὰν κατ' ἀρχὰς, ἀνεκαίνισεν ἐκ βάθρων σχεδὸν, Φώτιος ὁ Πατριάρχης, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Γεώργιος ὁ Λακαπηνός[7]). Ἐν τῇ μονῇ ταύτῃ ἔζησε τινὰ καιρὸν καὶ ὁ

ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ. 305

Μιχαὴλ Δούκας ὁ Παραπινάκης (1071, 1078). Ἦτο μονὴ ἀνδρῶα, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ

A24: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 304-305.



σαφηνίσω τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς τελευταίας ἁλώσεως. Ἂν δὲ εἰς τὴν μελέτην ταύτην δὲν συμμερίζομαι πολλῶν συγχρόνων ἰδέας, σέβομαι ὅμως τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς πόνους τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγγραψάντων. Οὐδεὶς πλέον ἐμοῦ θαυμάζει τὴν βαθύνοιαν τοῦ περιωνύμου Γερμανοῦ Χάμμερ, τὴν ἀφέλειαν τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντίου, τὴν πολυμάθειαν τοῦ Κ. Σκ. Βυζαντίου καὶ τὴν φιλοπονίαν τοῦ Κ. Μόρδτμανν[2]).

A25: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 1.

περιγράφονται μετὰ πολλῆς σαφηνείας. Διττῶς ὠφελήθην ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτην τοῦ πονήματος τούτου. Πρῶτον, περιγράφων πολλὰ τεμένη, λέγει ῥητῶς, ὅτι τὸ πάλαι ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι ἢ ἀνηγέρθησαν ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐκκλησίας. Ἀτυχῶς ὅμως, ἀμφότεροι οἱ Ὀθωμανοὶ, οὐδόλως ἀναφέρουσιν ἂν τὰ τεμένη ταῦτα ἦσαν ἄλλοτε μοναὶ ἢ ἐκκλησίαι καθολικαὶ, ποῖον τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτῶν ὄνομα ἢ ἐπὶ τίνος ἁγίου ὀνόματι ἐτιμῶντο. Τούτων τινὰ, ἠδύναντο οἱ συγγραφεῖς νὰ μάθωσιν ἀπὸ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας Χριστιανούς. Τοὐλάχιστον ἐν τῇ περιγραφῇ τινων μεγάλων ἐκκλησιῶν, ἠδύναντο νὰ μνημονεύσωσι τὰ Βυζαντινὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τούτων ὀνόματα, τὰ ὁποῖα μέχρι σήμερον διεσώθησαν καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἀναλφαβήτου λαοῦ τὰ στόματα. Περιγράφοντες τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, λέγουσιν ἁπλῶς, ὅτι τὸ πάλαι ἦτον ἐκκλησία. Δεύτερον καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ πονήματος τούτου εἶναι, ὅτι ἱστόρησαν τὸ ἔτος, πολλάκις δὲ τὸν μῆνα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τούτων εἰς τεμένη Μουσουλμανικά.

Πρὸς τούτοις μνημονεύουσι συχνότατα καὶ τοὺς μεταβαλόντας τὰς ἐκκλησίας ταύτας εἰς τεμένη.

A26: Paspatēs, Byzantinai Meletai, 283-284.

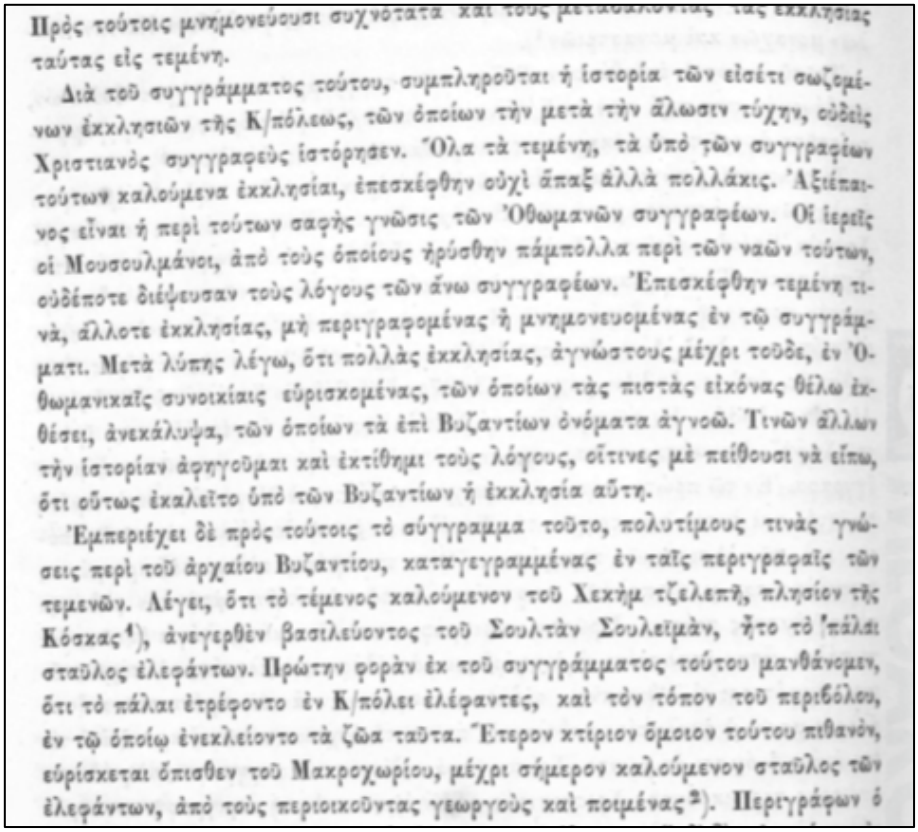
τα ταῦτα ἀφορῶσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ μονὰς ἐκτὸς τῆς Κ/πόλεως[2]).

Τὸ τελευταῖον σύγγραμμα, ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου ἠρανίσθην ὅσα περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκκλησιῶν γινώσκομεν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, εἶναι τὸ δίτομον πόνημα τοῦ Χαφὴζ Χουσεὶν Ἐφένδη, υἱοῦ τοῦ Χατζῆ Ἰσμαὴλ ἐξ Ἐιβὰν σεράϊ, ἐνορίας πλησίον τοῦ Ἐγρὴ-καποῦ. Τὸ σύγγραμμα τοῦτο ἐπικαλούμενον, «Κῆπος τῶν τεμενῶν»[3]), συγγραφὲν προτροπῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ τοῦ Μουστακὴμ ζαδὲ, ἐπεξειργάσθη καὶ συνεπληρώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σειὸ Ἀλῆ, ἀπὸ τοῦ 1248ου μέχρι τοῦ 1253ου τῆς Αἰγείρας, ἤτοι καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ 1832ου μέχρι τοῦ 1837ου. Ἐξεδόθη ἐν Κ/πόλει τῷ 1281ῳ τῆς Αἰγείρας (1864). Ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ ὁ Σειὸ Ἀλῆς λέγει, ὅτι ἐπηύξησε τὸ ἔργον

A27: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 283.

νων. Ἀτυχῶς ὁ Σειὸ Ἀλῆς, ἀντιγράφων τὸν πρὸ ἐτῶν συντάξαντα τὸ πόνημα Χαφὴζ Χουσεὶν, δὲν ἐπεσκέφθη ὁ ἴδιος ἅπαντα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἱστορηθέντα τεμένη. Περιγράφει τινὰ ὡς ἱστάμενα, τῶν ὁποίων καὶ θεμέλια καὶ τείχη πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐξηφανίσθησαν. Τοιαῦτα μεταξὺ ἄλλων εἶναι τὸ τέμενος Σιβασὴ, ὅ-

A28: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 285.

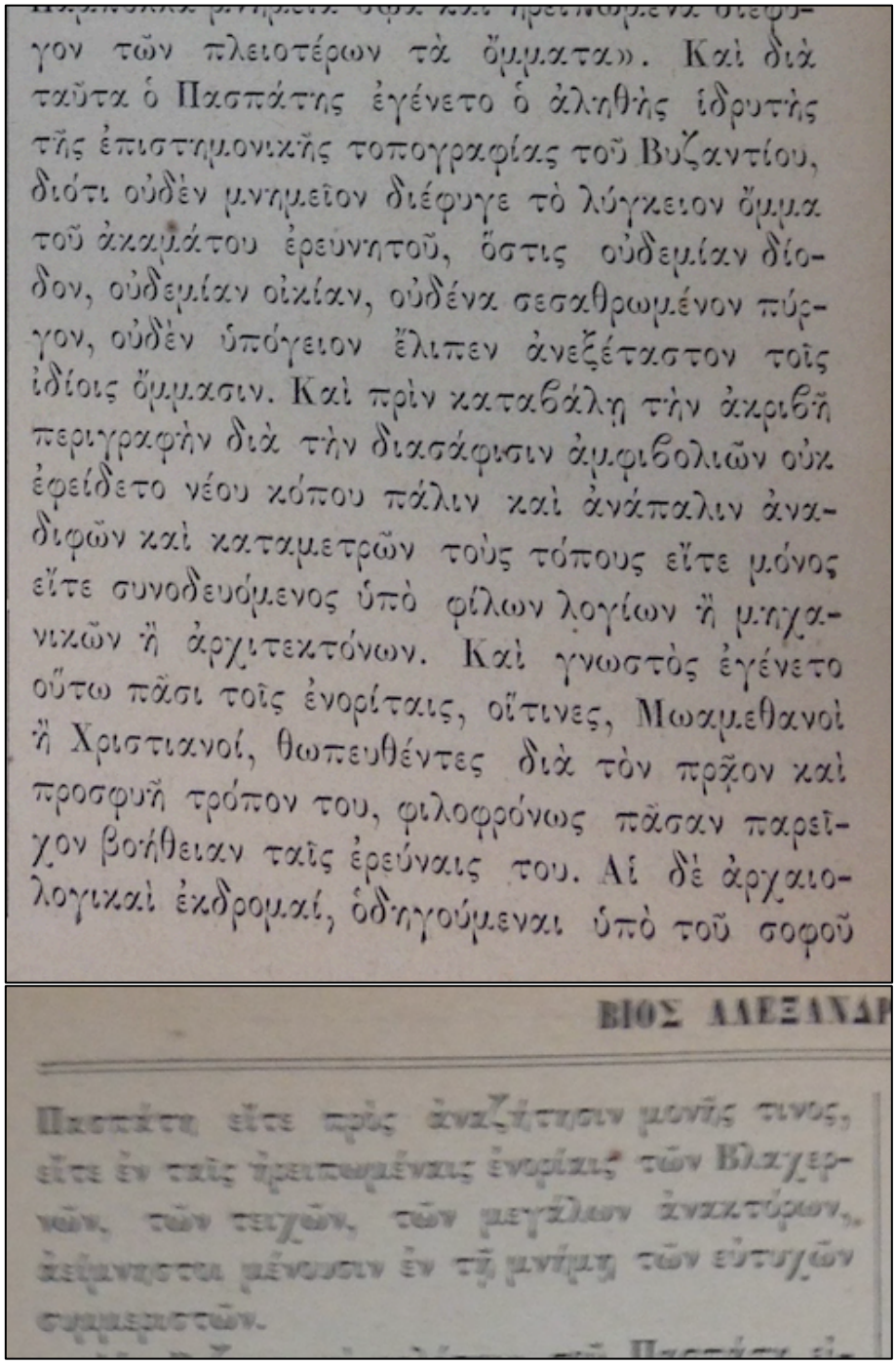


Πρὸς τούτοις μνημονεύουσι συχνότατα καὶ τοὺς μετασκευάσαντας τὰς ἐκκλησίας ταύτας εἰς τεμένη.

Διὰ τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου, συμπληροῦται ἡ ἱστορία τῶν εἰσέτι σωζομένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κ/πόλεως, τῶν ὁποίων τὴν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τύχην, οὐδεὶς Χριστιανὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστόρησεν. Ὅλα τὰ τεμένη, τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων τούτων καλούμενα ἐκκλησίαι, ἐπεσκέφθην οὐχὶ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις. Ἀξιέπαινος εἶναι ἡ περὶ τούτων σαφὴς γνῶσις τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν συγγραφέων. Οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους ἠρύσθην πάμπολλα περὶ τῶν ναῶν τούτων, οὐδέποτε διέψευσαν τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἄνω συγγραφέων. Ἐπεσκέφθην τεμένη τινὰ, ἄλλοτε ἐκκλησίας, μὴ περιγραφομένας ἢ μνημονευομένας ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι. Μετὰ λύπης λέγω, ὅτι πολλὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἀγνώστους μέχρι τοῦδε, ἐν Ὀθωμανικαῖς συνοικίαις εὑρισκομένας, τῶν ὁποίων τὰς πιστὰς εἰκόνας θέλω ἐκθέσει, ἀνεκάλυψα, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίων ὀνόματα ἀγνοῶ. Τινῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀφηγοῦμαι καὶ ἐκτίθημι τοὺς λόγους, οἵτινες μὲ πείθουσι νὰ εἴπω, ὅτι οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἡ ἐκκλησία αὕτη.

Ἐμπεριέχει δὲ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ σύγγραμμα τοῦτο, πολυτίμους τινὰς γνώσεις περὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου Βυζαντίου, καταγεγραμμένας ἐν ταῖς περιγραφαῖς τῶν τεμενῶν. Λέγει, ὅτι τὸ τέμενος καλούμενον τοῦ Χεκὴμ τζελεπῆ, πλησίον τῆς Κόσκας [1]), ἀνεγερθὲν βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Σουλτὰν Σουλεϊμὰν, ἦτο τὸ πάλαι σταῦλος ἐλεφάντων. Πρώτην φορὰν ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου μανθάνομεν, ὅτι τὸ πάλαι ἐτρέφοντο ἐν Κ/πόλει ἐλέφαντες, καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ περιβόλου, ἐν τῷ ὁποίῳ ἐνεκλείοντο τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα. Ἕτερον κτίριον ὅμοιον τούτου πιθανὸν, εὑρίσκεται ὄπισθεν τοῦ Μακροχωρίου, μέχρι σήμερον καλούμενον σταῦλος τῶν ἐλεφάντων, ἀπὸ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας γεωργοὺς καὶ ποιμένας [2]). Περιγράφων ὁ

A29: Paspatēs, *Byzantinai Meletai,* 284.



γον τῶν πλειοτέρων τὰ ὄμματα». Καὶ διὰ
ταῦτα ὁ Πασπάτης ἐγένετο ὁ ἀληθὴς ἱδρυτὴς
τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς τοπογραφίας τοῦ Βυζαντίου,
διότι οὐδὲν μνημεῖον διέφυγε τὸ λύγκειον ὄμμα
τοῦ ἀκαμάτου ἐρεύνητοῦ, ὅστις οὐδεμίαν δίο-
δον, οὐδεμίαν οἰκίαν, οὐδένα σεσαθρωμένον πύρ-
γον, οὐδὲν ὑπόγειον ἔλιπεν ἀνεξέταστον τοῖς
ἰδίοις ὄμμασιν. Καὶ πρὶν καταβάλῃ τὴν ἀκριβῆ
περιγραφὴν διὰ τὴν διασάφισιν ἀμφιβολιῶν οὐκ
ἐφείδετο νέου κόπου πάλιν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν ἀνα-
διφῶν καὶ καταμετρῶν τοὺς τόπους εἴτε μόνος
εἴτε συνοδευόμενος ὑπὸ φίλων λογίων ἢ μηχα-
νικῶν ἢ ἀρχιτεκτόνων. Καὶ γνωστὸς ἐγένετο
οὕτω πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνορίταις, οἵτινες, Μωαμεθανοὶ
ἢ Χριστιανοί, θωπευθέντες διὰ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ
προσφυῆ τρόπον του, φιλοφρόνως πᾶσαν παρεῖ-
χον βοήθειαν ταῖς ἐρεύναις του. Αἱ δὲ ἀρχαιο-
λογικαὶ ἐκδρομαί, ὁδηγούμεναι ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφοῦ

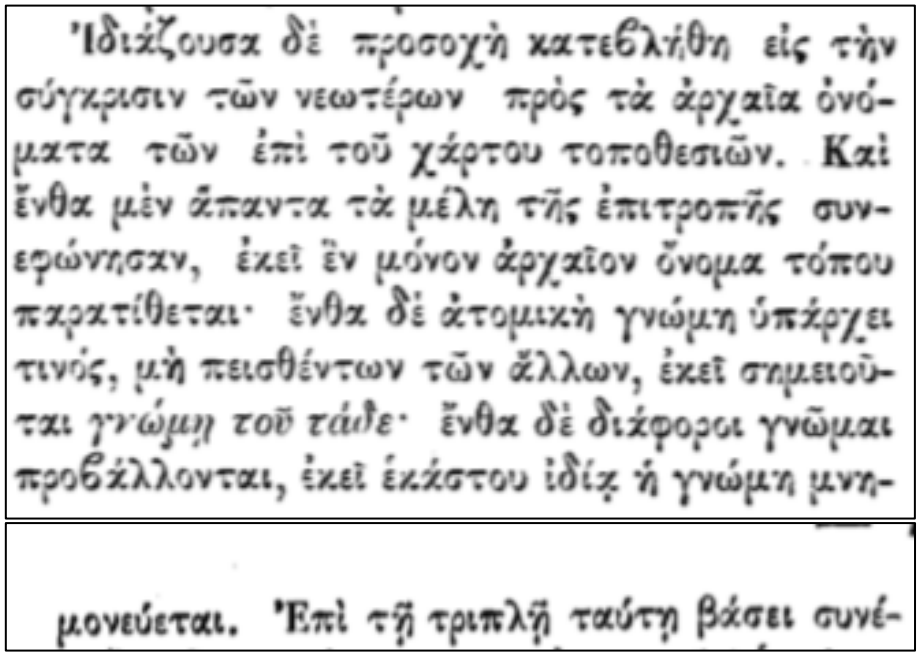
ΒΙΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ

Πασπάτη εἴτε πρὸς ἀναζήτησιν μονῆς τινος,
εἴτε ἐν ταῖς περιπωμέναις ἐνορίαις τῶν Βλαχερ-
νῶν, τῶν τειχῶν, τῶν μεγάλων ἀνακτόρων,
ἀείμνηστα μένουσιν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὐτυχῶν
συμμετόχων.

A30: *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol. 23, 16-17.

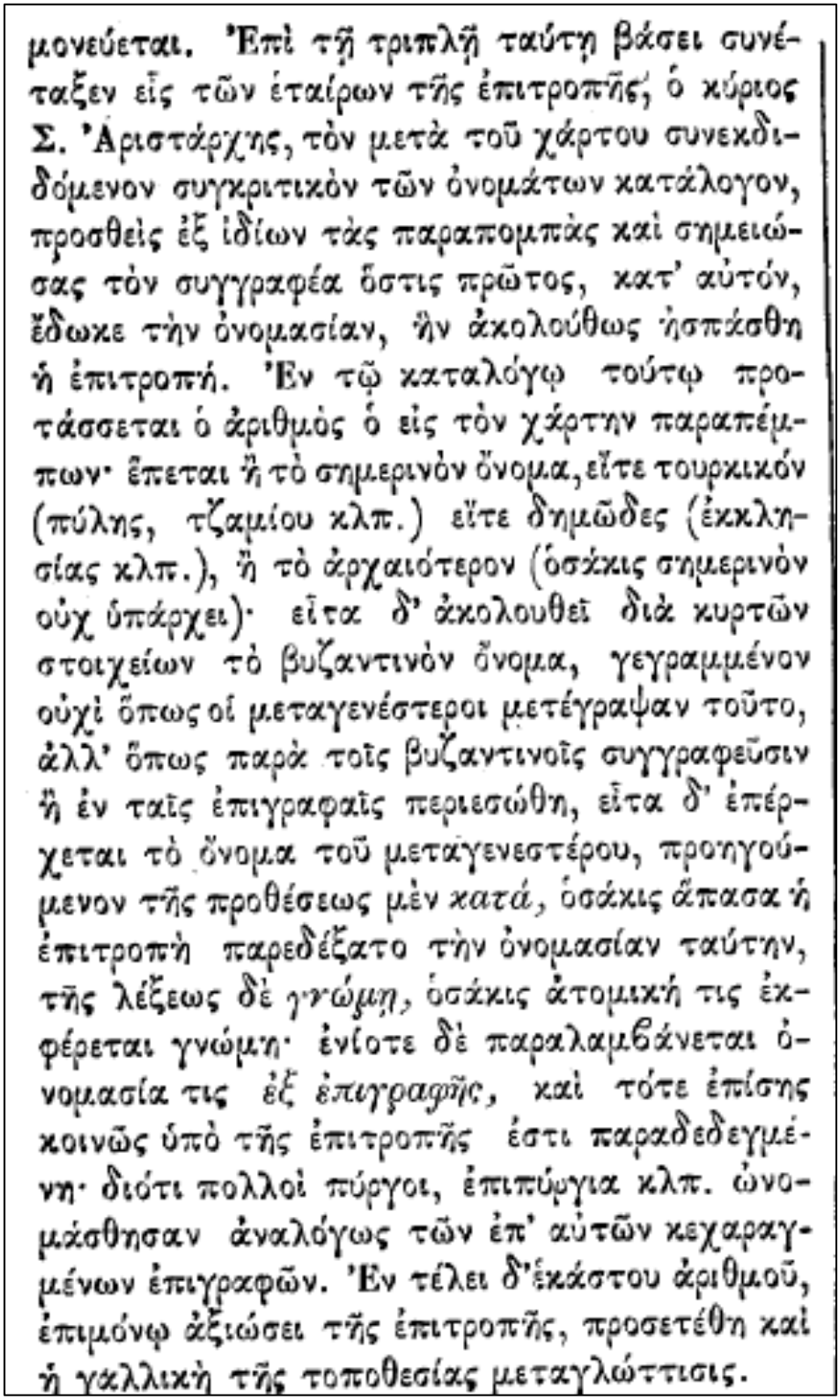
Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀθωμανοὶ συνέστησαν Σύλλογον Ἐπιστημονικόν (Τζεμιγέτι Ἰλμιγέι Ὀσμανιγέ), ὅστις μεταξὺ τῶν Μελῶν αὐτοῦ συγκαταριθμεῖ καὶ ὀρθοδόξους, καὶ ἀρμενίους, καὶ εὐρωπαίους, καὶ ἐκδίδωσι περιοδικὸν ἐφελκύσαν ἐν βραχεῖ τὴν ὑπόληψιν τῶν λογίων διὰ τῶν ἱστορικῶν, γεωλογικῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν αὐτοῦ διατριβῶν. Ἄνδρες δὲ τὰ πρῶτα φέροντες ἐν τοῖς ὑπουργήμασι τοῦ Κράτους διδάσκουσιν ἐπιτυχῶς δημόσια ἐπιστημονικὰ μαθήματα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς ἡμιτελοῦς Ἀκαδημίας, ἥτις οὕτω βαθμηδὸν ἐλπίζεται νὰ χρησιμεύσῃ εἰς τὸν ἀνέκαθεν αὐτῇ προωρισμένον σκοπόν.

A31: *Syngramma Periodikon,* Vol.1, *prolog.*



Ἰδιάζουσα δὲ προσοχὴ κατεβλήθη εἰς τὴν σύγκρισιν τῶν νεωτέρων πρὸς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὀνόματα τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ χάρτου τοποθεσιῶν. Καὶ ἔνθα μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ μέλη τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς συνεφώνησαν, ἐκεῖ ἓν μόνον ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα τόπου παρατίθεται· ἔνθα δὲ ἀτομικὴ γνώμη ὑπάρχει τινός, μὴ πεισθέντων τῶν ἄλλων, ἐκεῖ σημειοῦται γνώμη τοῦ τάδε· ἔνθα δὲ διάφοροι γνῶμαι προβάλλονται, ἐκεῖ ἑκάστου ἰδίᾳ ἡ γνώμη μνημονεύεται. Ἐπὶ τῇ τριπλῇ ταύτῃ βάσει συνέ-

A32: *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol.14, 6-7.



μονεύεται. Ἐπὶ τῇ τριπλῇ ταύτῃ βάσει συνέταξεν εἷς τῶν ἑταίρων τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, ὁ κύριος Σ. Ἀριστάρχης, τὸν μετὰ τοῦ χάρτου συνεκδιδόμενον συγκριτικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων κατάλογον, προσθεὶς ἐξ ἰδίων τὰς παραπομπὰς καὶ σημειώσας τὸν συγγραφέα ὅστις πρῶτος, κατ' αὐτόν, ἔδωκε τὴν ὀνομασίαν, ἣν ἀκολούθως ἠσπάσθη ἡ ἐπιτροπή. Ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τούτῳ προτάσσεται ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ εἰς τὸν χάρτην παραπέμπων· ἕπεται ἢ τὸ σημερινὸν ὄνομα, εἴτε τουρκικόν (πύλης, τζαμίου κλπ.) εἴτε δημῶδες (ἐκκλησίας κλπ.), ἢ τὸ ἀρχαιότερον (ὁσάκις σημερινὸν οὐχ ὑπάρχει)· εἶτα δ' ἀκολουθεῖ διὰ κυρτῶν στοιχείων τὸ βυζαντινὸν ὄνομα, γεγραμμένον οὐχὶ ὅπως οἱ μεταγενέστεροι μετέγραψαν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως παρὰ τοῖς βυζαντινοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς περιεσώθη, εἶτα δ' ἐπέρχεται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου, προηγούμενον τῆς προθέσεως μὲν *κατά*, ὁσάκις ἅπασα ἡ ἐπιτροπὴ παρεδέξατο τὴν ὀνομασίαν ταύτην, τῆς λέξεως δὲ *γνώμῃ*, ὁσάκις ἀτομική τις ἐκφέρεται γνώμη· ἐνίοτε δὲ παραλαμβάνεται ὀνομασία τις *ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς*, καὶ τότε ἐπίσης κοινῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐστι παραδεδεγμένη· διότι πολλοὶ πύργοι, ἐπιπύργια κλπ. ὠνομάσθησαν ἀναλόγως τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν κεχαραγμένων ἐπιγραφῶν. Ἐν τέλει δ' ἑκάστου ἀριθμοῦ, ἐπιμόνῳ ἀξιώσει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, προσετέθη καὶ ἡ γαλλικὴ τῆς τοποθεσίας μεταγλώττισις.

A33: *Syngramma Periodikon*, Archaeological Supplement to Vol.14, 7.

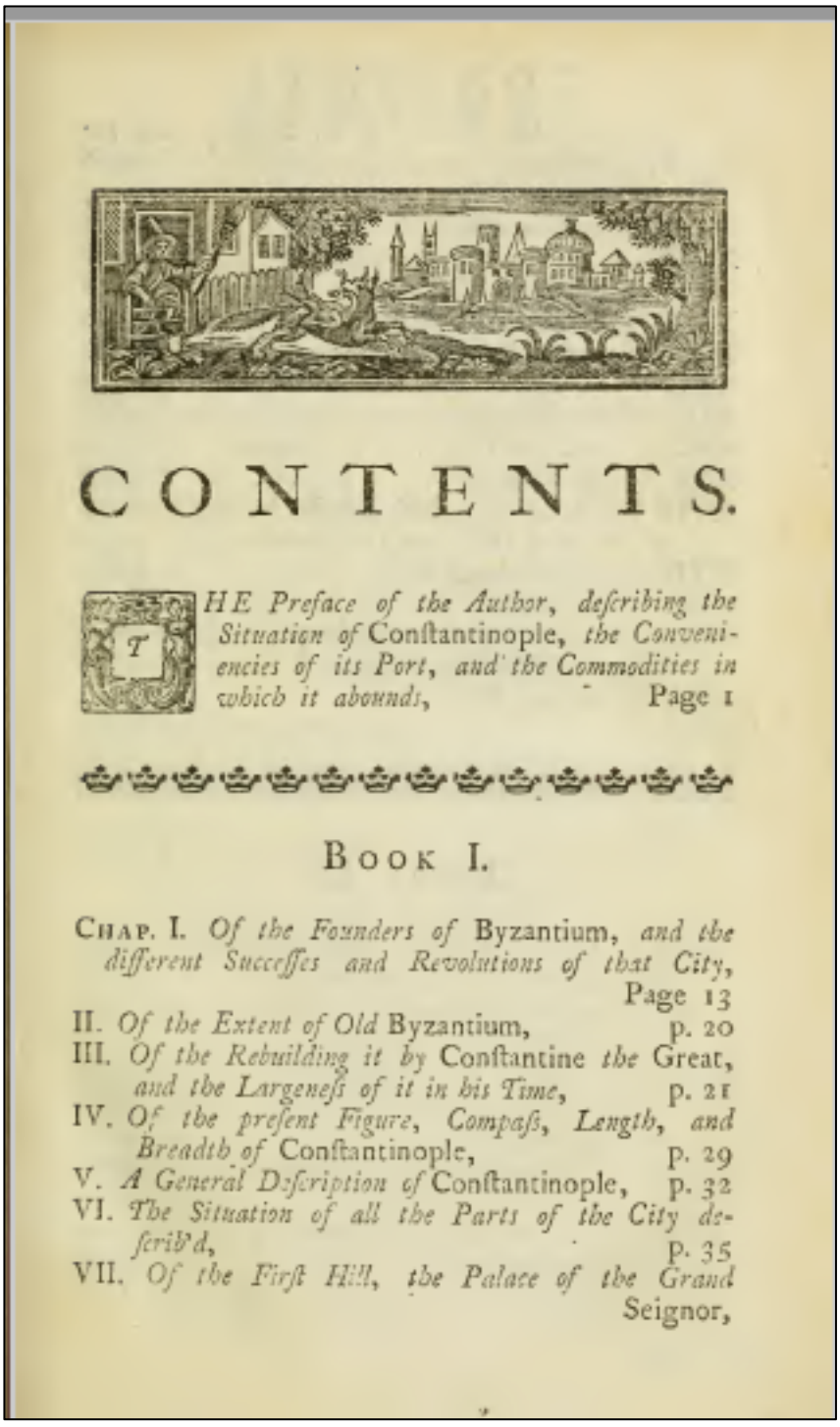
APPENDIX B

TABLE OF VERSIONS OF THE *KŌNSTANTINIAS*

Title	Year	Language	Pub. Location	Pub. Office	Format	Translator / Contributor	No of pages	Comments
Κωνσταντινιὰς παλαιὰ καὶ νεωτέρα, ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστοροῦσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς πέριξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τάς τε ἀντιπροσώπους δύω Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ. Φιλοπονηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σιναίου κυρίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασι τυπωθεῖσα νῦν πρῶτον διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Μιχαὴλ Βασιλείου καὶ χορηγηθεῖσα τῇ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει φιλολογικῇ Ἑταιρείᾳ τῶν ἐμπόρων πρὸς χρῆσιν ἔργων κοινωφελῶν	1820	Greek	Venice	Panos Theodosiou	Book	editor: Michael Vasiliou	212	Author named on cover page
Κωνσταντινιὰς παλαιὰ καὶ νεωτέρα, ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστοροῦσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς πέριξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τάς τε ἀντιπροσώπους δύω Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ. Συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ ἀνδρὸς φιλολόγου καὶ φιλαρχειολόγου	1824	Greek	Venice/Constantinople	Theodosiou	Book		212	Partial Anonymity
Κωνσταντινιὰς παλαιὰ καὶ νεωτέρα, ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστοροῦσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς πέριξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τάς τε ἀντιπροσώπους δύω Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ. Συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ ἀνδρὸς φιλολόγου καὶ φιλαρχειολόγου, ἔκδοσις δευτέρα	1844	Greek	Constantinople	Dimitrios Paspallis	Book		266, x	Partial Anonymity
Constantiniade: ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne, composée par un philologue et archéologue, traduite du Grec par M.R.	1846	French	Constantinople	Coromila, Antoine et Paspalli	Book	M.R.	218	Partial Anonymity
Risale-i Heyeti Sabıka-ı Konstantiniyye Tercümesi	1860	Ottoman Turkish	Constantinople	Unpublished	Manuscript	Yorgaki Petropulo Efendi		Partial Anonymity/Ancient Part only
Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye	1861	Ottoman Turkish	Constantinople	Tercüman-ı Ahval	Newspaper Article	Yorgaki Petropulo Efendi		Partial Anonymity/Ancient Part only
Constantiniade: ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne, composée par un philologue et archéologue, traduite du Grec par M.R.	1861	French	Constantinople	-	Book	M.R.	199, vii	Partial Anonymity/No tables
Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye	1861	Ottoman Turkish	Constantinople		Book	Yorgaki Petropulo Efendi		Partial Anonymity/Ancient Part only
Χεϊέτι Σαπηκά-ι Κωνσταντηνιε, γιάνι Ἰσταμπὸλ Ῥουμ Πατριγὶ ἐσπὰκ φαζηλετλοὺ μουτεβεφα Κωνστάντιος ἐφένδι δζεναπλερινὶν πελδέϊ ταϊπέϊ Κωνσταντηνιενὶν χεϊέτι σαπηκασηνὴ μουτεζαμμὶν Ῥουμὶ ουλ ἰπαρὲ τεελιφκερδεσὶ ὸλὰν μεδζιλέϊ νεφισενὶν ἰδζμαλὶ ὸλοὺπ, Ποὺ δεφὰ Ἀνατολὴ Γαζέταση μουελλιφὶ Κούλαλη Εὐαγγελινὸς Μισαηλίδης βὲ μουαβινὶ Φερτεκλὶ Σουλλὶ ὀγλοὺ Νικόλαος Θεολογίδησδεν τερδζουμὲ βὲ τανζὶημ ὸλαρὰκ, τάππ-ου τεμσὶλ ὸληνμήσδηρ.	1863	Karamanlidika	Istanbul	Evangelinos Misailidis Basmahanesi	Book	Evangelinos Misailidis & Nikolaos Theologidis Süllüyoğlu	72	Author named on cover page
Ancient and Modern Constantinople	1868	English	London	Stevens Brothers	book	John Porter Brown	179	Translator as Author
Heyet-i Sabıka-i Konstantiniyye	1872	Ottoman Turkish	Constantinople	Ahmed Midhat Efendi	Book	Yorgaki Petropulo Efendi		Partial Anonymity/Ancient Part only
Κωνσταντινιὰς παλαιὰ καὶ νεωτέρα, ἤτοι περιγραφὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καθιστοροῦσα γενικῶς τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ταύτης, τὰς πέριξ αὐτῆς Τοποθεσίας, τάς τε ἀντιπροσώπους δύω Παραλίας τῶν Στενῶν τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας Νήσους τῇ Πόλει ταύτῃ. Συνταχθεῖσα παρὰ ἀνδρὸς φιλολόγου καὶ φιλαρχειολόγου	1979	Greek	Thessaloniki	Nea Poreia	Book		212	Facsimile of the 1824 edition
İstanbul'un alınışı – Eski Hali.	1981	Modern Turkish	Istanbul	Rado Yayınları	Book	Şevket Rado		anthologized together with various texts on the Ottoman Conquest

APPENDIX C

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF *DE TOPOGRAPHIA CONSTANTINOPOLEOS ET DE ILLIUS ANTIQUITATIBUS* BY PETRUS GYLLIUS



CONTENTS.

THE *Preface of the Author, describing the Situation of* Constantinople, *the Conveniencies of its Port, and the Commodities in which it abounds,* Page 1

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. *Of the Founders of* Byzantium, *and the different Successes and Revolutions of that City,* Page 13

II. *Of the Extent of Old* Byzantium, p. 20

III. *Of the Rebuilding it by* Constantine *the* Great, *and the Largeness of it in his Time,* p. 21

IV. *Of the present Figure, Compass, Length, and Breadth of* Constantinople, p. 29

V. *A General Description of* Constantinople, p. 32

VI. *The Situation of all the Parts of the City described,* p. 35

VII. *Of the First Hill, the Palace of the Grand* Seignor,

CONTENTS.

Seignor, *the Church of St.* Sophia, *and the* Hippodrom, p. 36
VIII. *Of the First Valley,* p. 43
IX. *Of the Second Hill,* p. 44
X. *Of the Second Valley, which divides the Second from the Third Hill,* p. 48
XI. *Of the Third Hill,* p. 50
XII. *Of the Third Valley,* p. 54
XIII. *Of the Fourth Hill,* p. 55
XIV. *Of the Fifth Hill,* p. 59
XV. *Of the Fifth Valley,* p. 61
XVI. *Of the Sixth Hill,* p. 62
XVII. *Of the Valley which divides the* Promontory *of the Sixth Hill from the Seventh Hill,* p. 64
XVIII. *Of the Seventh Hill,* p. 65
XIX. *Of the Walls of the City,* p. 67
XX. *Of the Gates of* Constantinople, *and the Seven Towers of Old* Byzantium, p. 70
XXI. *Of the long Walls,* p. 72

BOOK II.

CHAP. I. *Of the Buildings and Monuments of Old* Byzantium *and* Constantinople, p. 73
II. *Of the Antient Monuments of the First Hill, and of the First* Ward *of the City,* p. 75
III. *Of the Church of St.* Sophia, p. 82
IV. *A Description of the Church of St.* Sophia, *as it now appears,* p. 87
V. *Of the Statues found on one Side of that Church,* p. 95
VI. *Of the* Pharo *on the* Promontory *of* Ceras, *and the* Mangana, p. 96
VII. *Of*

CONTENTS.

VII. *Of the* Bagnio's *of* Zeuxippus, *and its Statues*, p. 97
VIII. *Of the Hoſpitals of* Sampſon, *and* Eubulus, p. 100
IX. *Of the Statue of* Eudocia Auguſta, *for which St.* Chryſoſtom *was ſent into Baniſhment*, p. 101
X. *Of thoſe Parts of the City which are contain'd in the Third* Ward, p. 102
XI. *Of the* Hippodrom, *its* Obeliſk, *its* Statues, *and* Columns, p. 103
XII. *Of the* Coloſſus, p. 108
XIII. *Of ſome other* Columns *in the* Hippodrom, p. 110
XIV. *Of the Church of* Bacchus, *of the Court of* Hormiſda, *and the Houſe of* Juſtinian, p. 117
XV. *Of the Port of* Julian *and* Sophia; *of the* Portico *nam'd* Sigma, *and the Palace of St.* Sophia, p. 120
XVI. *Of the Fourth* Ward, p. 126
XVII. *Of the* Forum *called* Auguſteum, *the Pillar of* Theodoſius, *and* Juſtinian, *alſo of the* Senate-houſe, p. 127
XVIII. *Of the Imperial Palace, and the* Baſilica, *as alſo of the Palace of* Conſtantine, *and of the Houſe of Entrance nam'd* Chalca, p. 133
XIX. *Of the* Baſilica, *and the Imperial Walks*, p. 140
XX. *Of the Imperial Library and* Portico, *and alſo of the Imperial* Ciſtern, p. 143
XXI. *Of the* Chalcopratia, p. 148
XXII. *Of the* Portico's *ſituate between the Palace, and the* Forum *of* Conſtantine, p. 150
XXIII. *Of the* Miliarium Aureum, *and its Statues; of* Fortune, *the Goddeſs of the City, and her Statue*, p. 152
XXIV. *Of the Temple of* Neptune, *and the Church of St.* Mina *or* Menna, *of the* Stadia, *and* Stairs *of* Timaſius, p. 157

CONTENTS.

XXV. *Of the* Lauſus, *and its Statues*; viz. *a* Venus *of* Cnidos, *a* Juno *of* Samos, *a* Minerva *of* Lindia, *a winged* Cupid, *a* Jupiter Olympius, *a* Saturn, Unicorns, Tygers, Vultures, Beaſts *that are half Camels and half Panthers*; *of the Ciſtern, in an Hoſpital, which was call'd* Philoxenos, *and a* Chryſotriclinium, p. 159

BOOK III.

CHAP. I. *Of ſeveral Places in the Fifth* Ward, *and the Second Hill*; *of the* Neorium, *of the Port nam'd the* Boſporium, *of the* Strategium, *and the* Forum *of* Theodoſius, p. 164

II. *Of the Sixth* Ward, *and the remaining antient Buildings of the Second Hill*, p. 171

III. *Of the* Porphyry *Pillar, the* Forum *of* Conſtantine, *and the* Palladium, p. 172

IV. *Of the Senate Houſe, the* Nympheum, *and the Statues in the* Forum *of* Conſtantine, *of the* Labarum *and* Supparum, *of the* Philadelphium, *of the Death of* Arius, *and of the Temples of* Tellus, Ceres, Perſephone, Juno, *and* Pluto, p. 181

V. *Of the Seventh Ward*, p. 190

VI. *Of the Street call'd* Taurus, *of the* Forum, *and Pillar of* Theodoſius, *which had winding Stairs within it*; *of the* Tetrapylum, *the* Pyramidical *Engine of the Winds, of the Statues of* Arcadius, *and* Honorius, *the Churches of* Hirena, *and* Anaſtaſia, *and the Rocks called* Scyronides, p. 193

VII. *Of the Eighth* Ward, *and the Back-part of the Third Hill*, p. 202

VIII. *Of*

CONTENTS.

VIII. *Of the Ninth* Ward, *of the Temple of* Concord, *of the Granaries of* Alexandria *and* Theodosius, *of the Baths of* Anastasia, *of the House of* Craterus, *of the* Modius, *and the Temple of the* Sun *and* Moon, p. 205
IX. *Of the Third Valley, and the Tenth* Ward, *of the House, and Palace of* Placidia, *of the* Aqueducts of Valentinian, *the Baths of* Constantius, *and the* Nympheum, p. 209

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I. *Of the Eleventh* Ward, *and of the Fourth and Fifth Hill*, p. 217
II. *Of the Church of the* Apostles, *of the Sepulchre of* Constantine *the* Great, *of the Cisterns of* Arcadius, *and* Modestus, *of the Palace of* Placilla, *and the* Brazen Bull, p. 221
III. *Of the Sixth Hill, and the Fourteenth* Ward, p. 236
IV. *Of the* Hepdomum, *a Part of the* Suburbs, *of the* Triclinium *of* Magnaura, *of the Palace called* Cyclobion, *of the Statue of* Mauritius, *and his Arsenal, and also of the Place called the* Cynegium, p. 238
V. *Of the* Blachernæ, *the* Triclinium *of the* Blachernæ, *of the Palace, the* Aqueduct, *and many other Places of Antiquity*, p. 244
VI. *Of the Bridge near the Church of St.* Mamas, *of the* Hippodrom, *of the* Brazen Lyon, *and the Tomb of the Emperor* Mauritius, p. 248
VII. *Of the Seventh Hill, the Twelfth* Ward, *and of the Pillar of* Arcadius, p. 250

VIII. *Of*

CONTENTS.

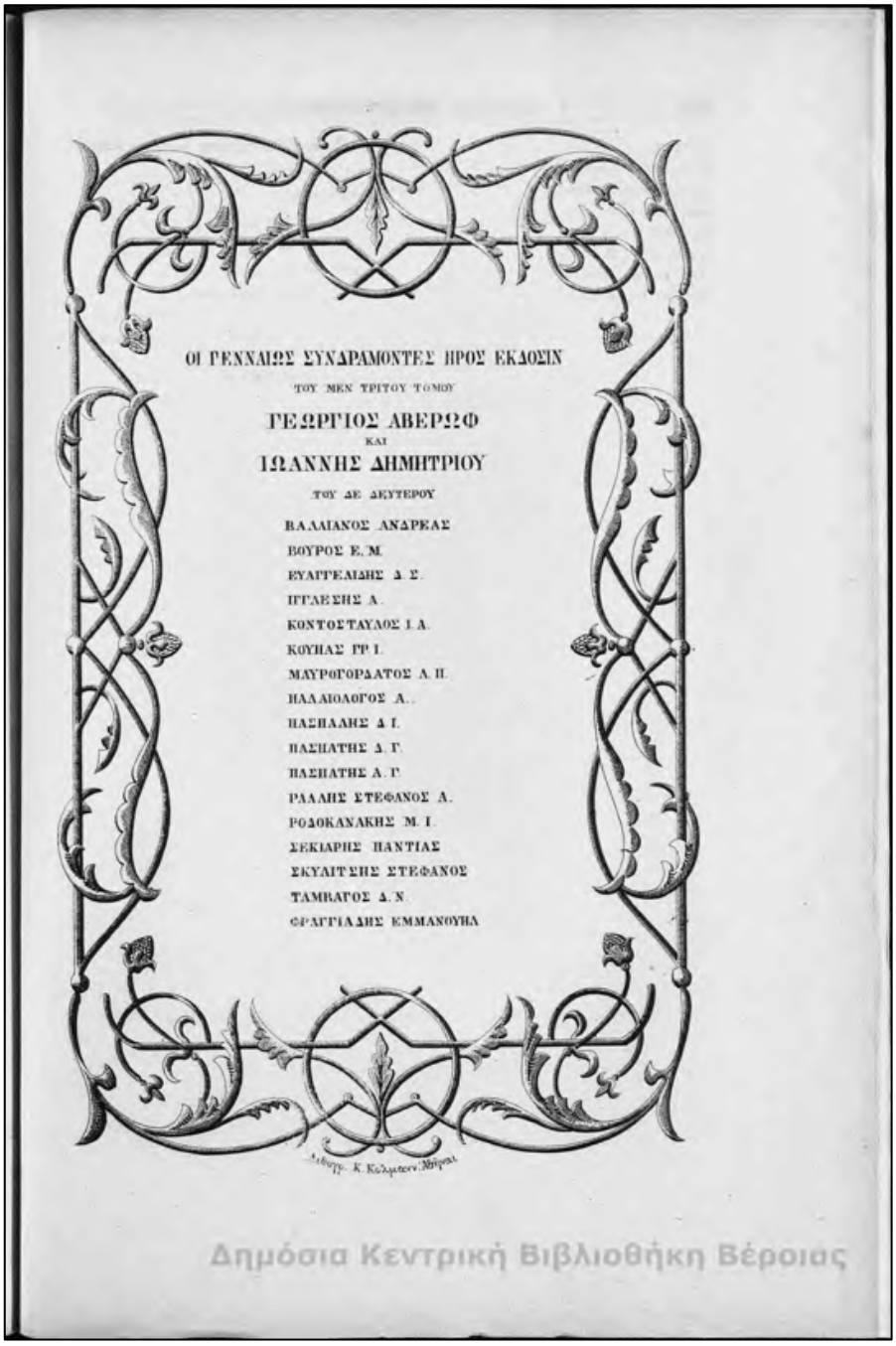
VIII. *Of the Statues, and the ancient* Tripos *of* Apollo *plac'd in the* Xerolophon, p. 255
IX. *Of the* Columns *now remaining on the Seventh Hill,* p. 261
X. *Of the Thirteenth* Ward *of the City, called the* Sycene Ward, *of the Town of* Galata, *sometimes called* Pera, p. 264
XI. *A Description of* Galata, *of the Temples of* Amphiaraus, *of* Diana, *and* Venus, *of its* Theatre, *and the* Forum *of* Honorius, p. 270

An Appendix, taken out of a MS. *in the* Bodleian *Library of the University of* Oxon, *relating to the antient Statues of* Constantinople, *demolish'd by the* Latins, *when they took the City,* p. 285

APPENDIX D

THE LIST OF THE SUPPORTERS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD VOLUMES

OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY BYZANTIOS


ΟΙ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΩΣ ΣΥΝΔΡΑΜΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΙΝ

ΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΟΥ

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΒΕΡΩΦ

ΚΑΙ

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

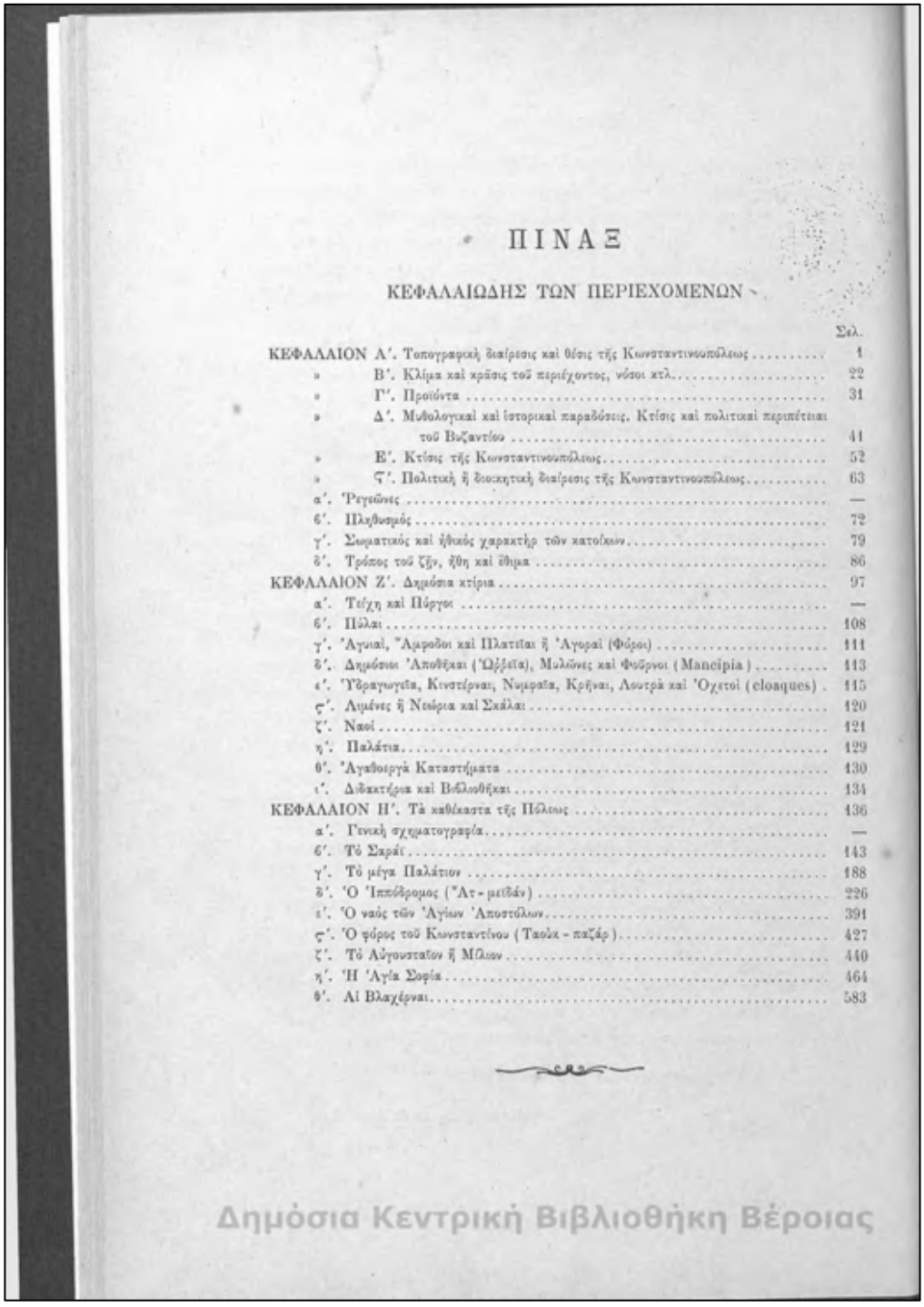
ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ

ΒΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ
ΒΟΥΡΟΣ Ε. Μ.
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΔΗΣ Δ. Σ.
ΙΓΓΛΕΣΗΣ Α.
ΚΟΝΤΟΣΤΑΥΛΟΣ Ι. Α.
ΚΟΥΝΑΣ ΓΡ Ι.
ΜΑΥΡΟΓΟΡΔΑΤΟΣ Α. Η.
ΠΑΛΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ Α.
ΠΑΣΠΑΛΗΣ Δ Ι.
ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗΣ Δ. Γ.
ΠΑΣΠΑΤΗΣ Α. Γ.
ΡΑΛΛΗΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ Α.
ΡΟΔΟΚΑΝΑΚΗΣ Μ. Ι.
ΣΕΚΙΑΡΗΣ ΠΑΝΤΙΑΣ
ΣΚΥΛΙΤΣΗΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ
ΤΑΜΒΑΓΟΣ Α. Ν.
ΦΡΑΓΓΙΑΔΗΣ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

APPENDIX E

TABLE OF CONTENTS, *CONSTANTINOPLE* BY BYZANTIOS, VOL 1- 3



ΠΙΝΑΞ

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΔΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ

		Σελ.
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Α'.	Τοπογραφική διαίρεσις καὶ θέσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως	1
» Β'.	Κλίμα καὶ κρᾶσις τοῦ περιέχοντος, νόσοι κτλ.	22
» Γ'.	Προϊόντα	31
» Δ'.	Μυθολογικαὶ καὶ ἱστορικαὶ παραδόσεις. Κτίσις καὶ πολιτικαὶ περιπέτειαι τοῦ Βυζαντίου	41
» Ε'.	Κτίσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως	52
» Ϛ'.	Πολιτικὴ ἢ διοικητικὴ διαίρεσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως	63
α'.	Ῥεγεῶνες	—
β'.	Πληθυσμός	72
γ'.	Σωματικὸς καὶ ἠθικὸς χαρακτὴρ τῶν κατοίκων	79
δ'.	Τρόπος τοῦ ζῆν, ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα	86
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Ζ'.	Δημόσια κτίρια	97
α'.	Τεῖχη καὶ Πύργοι	—
β'.	Πῦλαι	108
γ'.	Ἀγυιαί, Ἄμβοδοι καὶ Πλατεῖαι ἢ Ἀγοραὶ (Φόροι)	111
δ'.	Δημόσιοι Ἀποθῆκαι (Ὠρρεῖα), Μυλῶνες καὶ Φοῦρνοι (Mancipia)	113
ε'.	Ὑδραγωγεῖα, Κιστέρναι, Νυμφαῖα, Κρῆναι, Λουτρὰ καὶ Ὀχετοὶ (cloaques)	115
ϛ'.	Λιμένες ἢ Νεώρια καὶ Σκάλαι	120
ζ'.	Νεωί	121
η'.	Παλάτια	129
θ'.	Ἀγαθοεργὰ Καταστήματα	130
ι'.	Διδακτήρια καὶ Βιβλιοθῆκαι	134
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Η'.	Τὰ καθίκοντα τῆς Πόλεως	136
α'.	Γενικὴ σχηματογραφία	—
β'.	Τὸ Σαράϊ	143
γ'.	Τὸ μέγα Παλάτιον	188
δ'.	Ὁ Ἱπποδρομος (Ἁτ-μειδάν)	226
ε'.	Ὁ ναὸς τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων	391
ϛ'.	Ὁ φόρος τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου (Ταυὶκ-παζάρ)	427
ζ'.	Τὸ Λὐγουσταῖον ἢ Μίλιον	440
η'.	Ἡ Ἁγία Σοφία	464
θ'.	Αἱ Βλαχέρναι	583

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

Byzantios*, Hē Kōnstantinoupolis* Vol.1

Volume 1: 1851
Introduction:

A. Topographic Divisions of Constantinople and its Environs
    a. Three major periods of the city: (25 Centuries)
    b. Bosphorus:
    c. Golden Horn (Keratios Kolpos)
B. The Climate, Constitution and Health Condition of the City's Inhabitants
C. Products
D. Mythological and Historical Traditions. Byzantium's Foundation and Political Adventures
E. Foundation of Constantinople
F. Political and Administrative Divisions
    a. Regiones
    b. Population
    c. Physical Appearance and Moral Character of the Inhabitants
    d. Way of Life, Customs and Traditions
G. Public Buildings
    a. Walls and Towers
    b. Gates
    c. Avenues. Smaller Streets and Squares or Markets
    d. Public Granaries, Mills, Bakeries
    e. Aqueducts, Cisterns, Fountains, etc.
    f. Harbours, Ports and Piers
    g. Places of Worship
    h. Palaces
    i. Charitable Foundations, Hospitals, Soup-kitchens, etc
    j. Schools and Libraries
H. Detailed Description of Monuments
    a. General Overview and Suggested Routes of Travelling within it
    b. Seraglio
    c. The Great. Palace
    d. The Hippodrome (Atmeydan)
    e. The Holy Apostles
    f. The Forum of Constantine (Tavukpazar)
    g. Augustaeum or Million (Roman Milestone)
    h. Hagia Sophia
    i. Blachernai

Volume 2: 1862

Meşe ya da karaağaç
τα κεραμαρεϊα
pera de kaı antıperaıa
sütlüce
kiremitci camisi
hasköy
okmeydan
piri paşa
aynalıkavak tershane
katergon hamamı?
Divanhane
Kasımpaşa
Piyalepaşa
Tatavla
Meit iskelesi

GALATAS
Galata kulesi
Azapkapı
Arap camisi
Yeni – valide sultan camisi
Eskiyay – zindan kapısı
Balık Pazar kapısı
Pemptopazaron (Perşembe pazarı)
Karaköy kapısı
Haviaro han
Kursunlu mahsen
Mumhane kapısı
Kireç kapısı
Egri kapı
Tophane
Küçük kule kapı
Büyük kule kapı

STAVRODROMION
Galatasaray
Büyük Mezarlık
Taksim
Levent Çiftliği
Tophane
Cihangir camisi
Salı pazarı
Fındıklı
Kabadaşı
Hayat paşa
Dolmabahçe
Besikdas
Besiktas Sarayı

ORTAKOY
KURUÇEŞME
ARNAVUTKÖY
Akıntı burnu
BEBEK
Kayalar
Rumeli Hisarı
Baltalimanı
EMIRGUN
BOYACIKÖY
Steni (istinye)
Yeniköy
Kalender
TARABYA
Kireçburnu
BÜYÜKDERE (bendler)
Sarıyer

YENIMAHALLE
RUMELI KAVAK
Büyük liman
Garipçe
Fenerler
Kayalıklar
κυάνεαι ή Συμπληγάδες
Asya kayalıkları
Kumburnu
Anadolu feneri
Poyraz liman
Filburnu
Keçeli liman
Yoros kalesi
Anadol kavak
Macar burnu
Isa dağı
Umuryeri
umurköy
Selvi – mezarburnu
Hünkar iskelesi
Tokati
AKBABA
ZEKE – ÇEKİDERE
Karakulak
BEYKOZU
SULTANI
INCIRLI – INCIRKOY
CIBUKLI
KANLITZE
Korfez
Anadolu hisar
Küçük (gök) suyu
GOKSUYU
KANDILLI
VANLIKOY
Kuleli – Kule bahçesi
ÇENGELLİ – ÇENGELKÖY
BEYLERBEYI
Burgurlu
Çamlıca
Stavroz
KUZGUNCUK
Öküz – paşa liman
Kzı kulesi
USKUDAR
Haydarpasa
KADIKOY
Fenerbahce
Promote
Saturou
Borradiou
Bruantos
MALTEPE

ADALAR
PROTI (KINALI)
ANTIGONH (BURGAZ)
PITA
HALKI (HEYBELI)
PRIGKHPOS (Buyuk)
ANTIROBITOS
NEANDROS (Tavşanlı)
PLATI (Yassı)

ANNEX A: The Administrators of Constantinople Byzantine Emperors Ottoman Rulers (Turkish rulers) until Abdulmecid

ANNEX B: The Turkish Viziers

ANNEX C: BaşPsikopos ve Patrikler

ΠΙΝΑΞ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΔΗΣ

τῶν περιεχομένων

ΤΜΗΜΑ Α΄.

Κυβέρνησις.

Α΄,	Διοικητικὴ διαίρεσις τοῦ Κράτους,	σελ.	1
Β΄,	Διοικητικὸς ὀργανισμὸς ἢ περὶ τοῦ εἴδους τῆς Κυβερνήσεως	»	11
Γ΄,	Ὁ Μονάρχης	»	19
Δ΄,	Περὶ τῆς τοῦ θρόνου διαδοχῆς	»	31
Ε΄,	Ἡ Αὐλὴ ἢ τὸ Σαράϊ	»	37
	Τὸ Σουλτανικὸν Χαρέμι	»	48
	Ἡ Βαλιδὲ καὶ αἱ Σουλτανίδες	»	54
ς΄,	Ἡ Αὐλὴ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων	»	57
	Τὸ ἀρχοντολόγιον	»	66
Ζ΄,	Ἡ Πύλη	»	110
	Ὁ Βεζίρης	»	111
Η΄,	Ἐθιμοτυπία	»	126
Θ΄,	Τελεταὶ πολιτικαί. Ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Αὐλῇ τοῦ,	»	136
	Ἡ διανομὴ τῆς Ῥόγας	»	164
	Γάμοι βασιλέων	»	165
	Ὑποδοχὴ Πρέσβεων κλπ.	»	169
	Ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν προελεύσει	»	179
Ι΄,	Δικαστικὰ	»	195
	Βαθμοὶ καὶ τύποι δικαιοδοσίας	»	207
	Προσωπικὸν τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἱεραρχία	»	215
	Ἀστυνομία καὶ Ἀγορανομία	»	248
	Μέτρα καὶ σταθμά	»	229
ΙΑ΄,	Οἰκονομικά	»	231
	Χρέος Δημόσιον	»	249
	Νομισματολογία	»	257
ΙΒ΄,	Στρατιωτικά	»	269
	Οἱ Γενίτσαροι	»	281
	Νιζάμι-τζεδίτ	»	287
	Ναυτικόν	»	290

ΤΜΗΜΑ Β΄.

Κάτοικοι.

Α΄,	Πληθυσμός	»	295
Β΄,	Διαίρεσις τῶν κατοίκων κατὰ γένη, θρησκείας καὶ γλώσσας	»	302
Γ΄,	Σωματικὸς καὶ ἠθικὸς χαρακτὴρ	»	317
Δ΄,	Αἱ γυναῖκες	»	343

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

ΤΜΗΜΑ Γ'.

Ἤθη καὶ ἔθη.

Α',	Οἰκιακὸς καὶ καθημέραν βίος	σελ.	349
	Ἡ Οἰκία	»	353
	Ἡ Τράπεζα	»	361
	Τὸ Καφενεῖον	»	368
Β',	Κοινωνικαὶ σχέσεις, ἢ Ἀστικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς βίος	»	375
Γ',	Καὶ πάλιν αἱ γυναῖκες	»	385
	Τὸ Χαρέμι	»	391
Δ',	Ἱματισμός	»	398
Ε',	Ἐπιτηδεύματα	»	513
Ϛ',	Γάμοι	»	427
Ζ',	Κηδεῖαι	»	438
Η',	Διασκεδάσεις	»	451
Θ',	Ἔθιμα	»	468

ΤΜΗΜΑ Δ'.

Θρησκεία, Νομοθεσία, Γλῶσσα.

Α',	Θρησκεία Μωαμεθανῶν, τὸ Κχουρ-ἄν καὶ ἡ Σουννά	»	475
Β',	Ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ὀθωμανοῖς Κλῆρος	»	488
	Οἱ Οὐλεμά	»	488
	Ὁ Σεῖχ-οὐλ-ισλάμ	»	492
	Δερβίσαι	»	493
Γ',	Τουρκικὴ Νομοθεσία	»	497
	Περὶ ἰδιοκτησίας	»	503
Δ',	Διαίρεσις τοῦ χρόνου	»	506
Ε',	Ἡ Ἐκκλησία	»	508
	Ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Πατριάρχης	»	509
	Ἀρμένιοι	»	544
Ϛ',	Ἡ Συναγωγή	»	548
Ζ',	Τελεταὶ θρησκευτικαί	»	557
	Στέψις καὶ χρῖσις τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος	»	567
	Τὸ Ζώσιμον τῆς σπάθης	»	573
	Ἡ προσκύνησις τοῦ Χιρκαῒ-σερίφ	»	575
	Κουρμπάν-μπαϊράμ	»	577
	Ἡ πομπὴ τοῦ Σουρρέ	»	577
	Τὸ Μεβλούδ	»	579
	Νεβ-ρούζ	»	580
Η',	Προλήψεις καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαι	»	581
Θ',	Γλῶσσα	»	592
Ι',	Φιλολογία	»	606
ΙΑ',	Δημοσία ἐκπαίδευσις	»	625

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis* Vol.3

VOLUME 3 1869

PART A: Government

A. Administrative Divisions of the State
B. Administrative Body or on the Type of Government
C. Monarchy
D. On the Condition of Succession
E. The Garden or the Palace
    a. The Sultan's Harem
    b. The Valide and the Sultanas
F. The court of the Byzantine Autocrats
    a. Archontology
G. Gate
    a. Vezirs
H. Etiquette
I. The political Ceremonies, the Ruler in his Court
    a. Distribution of Stipends
    b. Royal Marriage
    c. An Ambassador's Reception
    d. Imperial Processions
J. Judiciary
    a. Levels and types of Jurisdiction
    b. Judicial Personnel and their Hierarchy
    c. Police and Market Regulators
    d. Weights and Measures
K. Economics
    a. Public Debt
    b. Numismatics
L. Military
    a. Janissaries
    b. Nizamı Cedid
    c. Navy

PART B: Residents

A. Population
B. Division of the Residents according to Nation, Religion and Language
C. Physical and Moral Character
D. Women

PART C: Habits and Customs

A. Household and Daily Life
    a. House
    b. Bank
    c. Café
B. Social Relationships, Civil and Political Life
C. More on Women
    a. Harem
D. Clothing
E. Occupations
F. Marriages

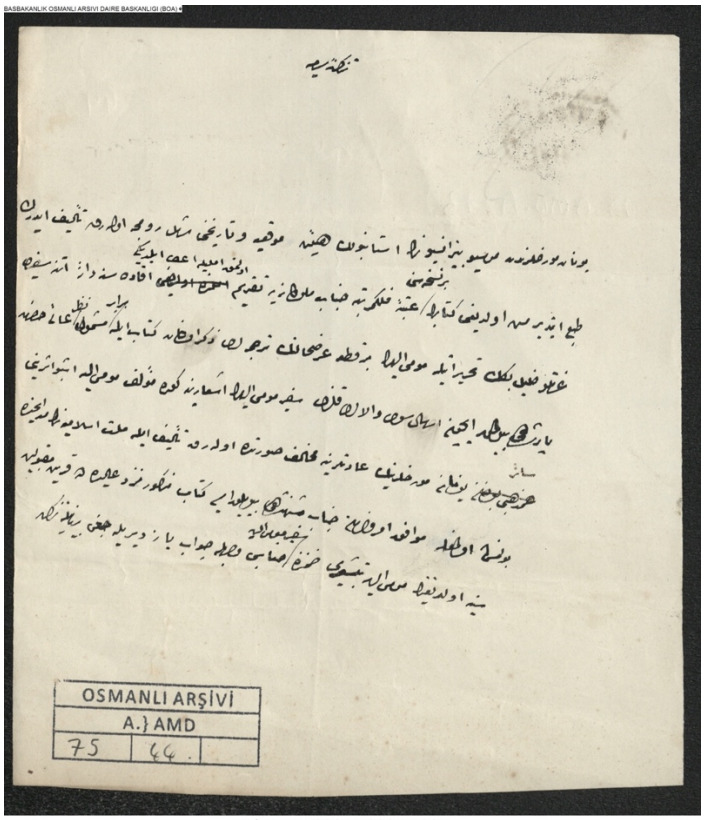
G. Funerals
H. Entertainment
I. Customs

PART D: Religion, Legislation, Language

A. Muhammedan Religion, the Quran and the *Sunna*
B. The Ottoman Clergy
    a. Ulema
    b. Seyhulislam
    c. Dervishes
C. Turkish Legislation
    a. On Property
D. Division of Time
E. The churches
    a. The Patriarchate of Constantinople
    b. Armenians
F. Synagoges
G. Religious Ceremonies
    a. Coronation and Anointment of the Monarch
    b. Taking-up the Sword
    c. The Visit to *Hırka-ı Şerif*
    d. Kurban Eid
    e. The *Surre* Procession
    f. Mevlud
    g. Nevruz
H. Superstitions
I. Language
J. Literature
K. Public Education

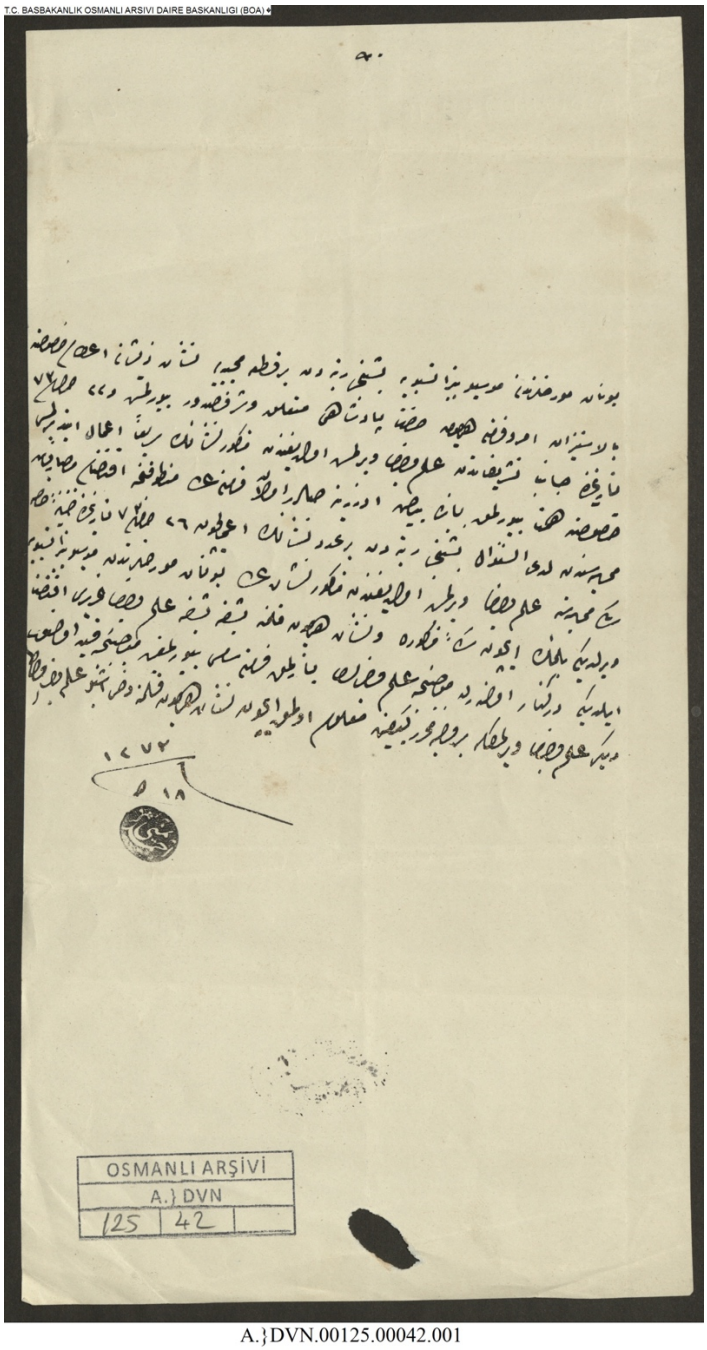
APPENDIX F

OTTOMAN ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS



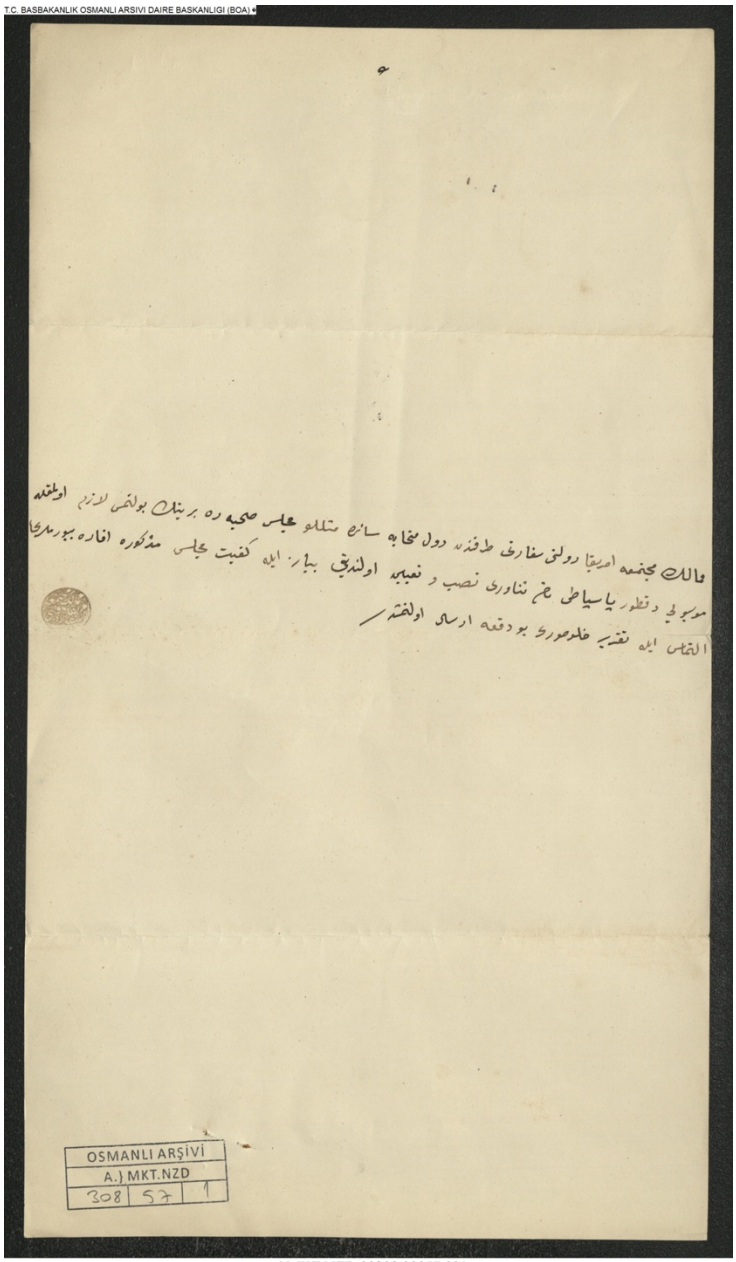
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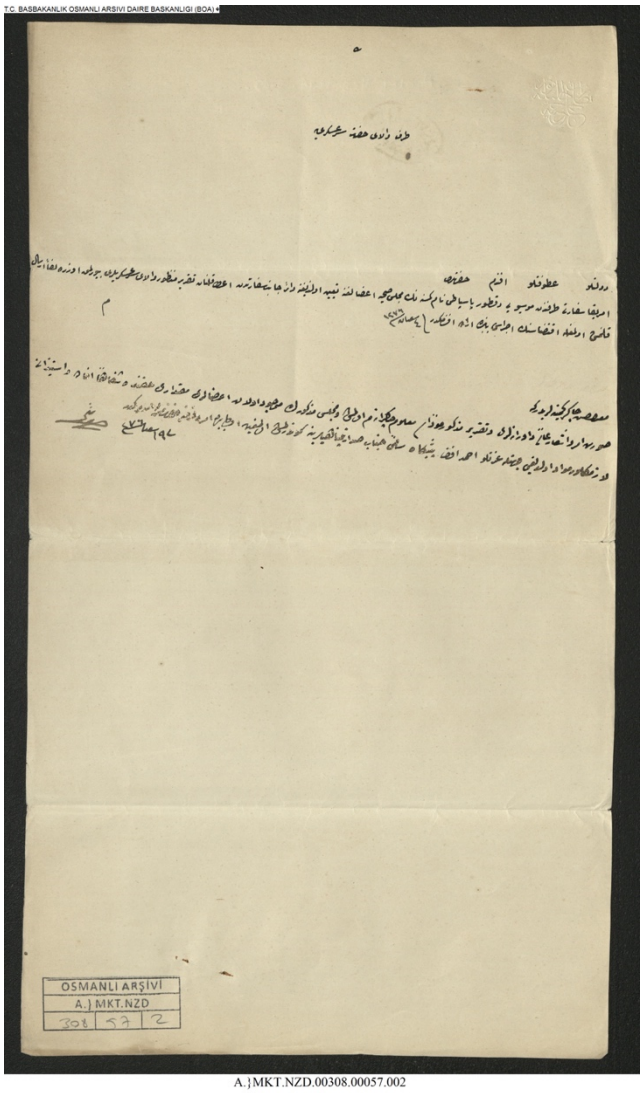
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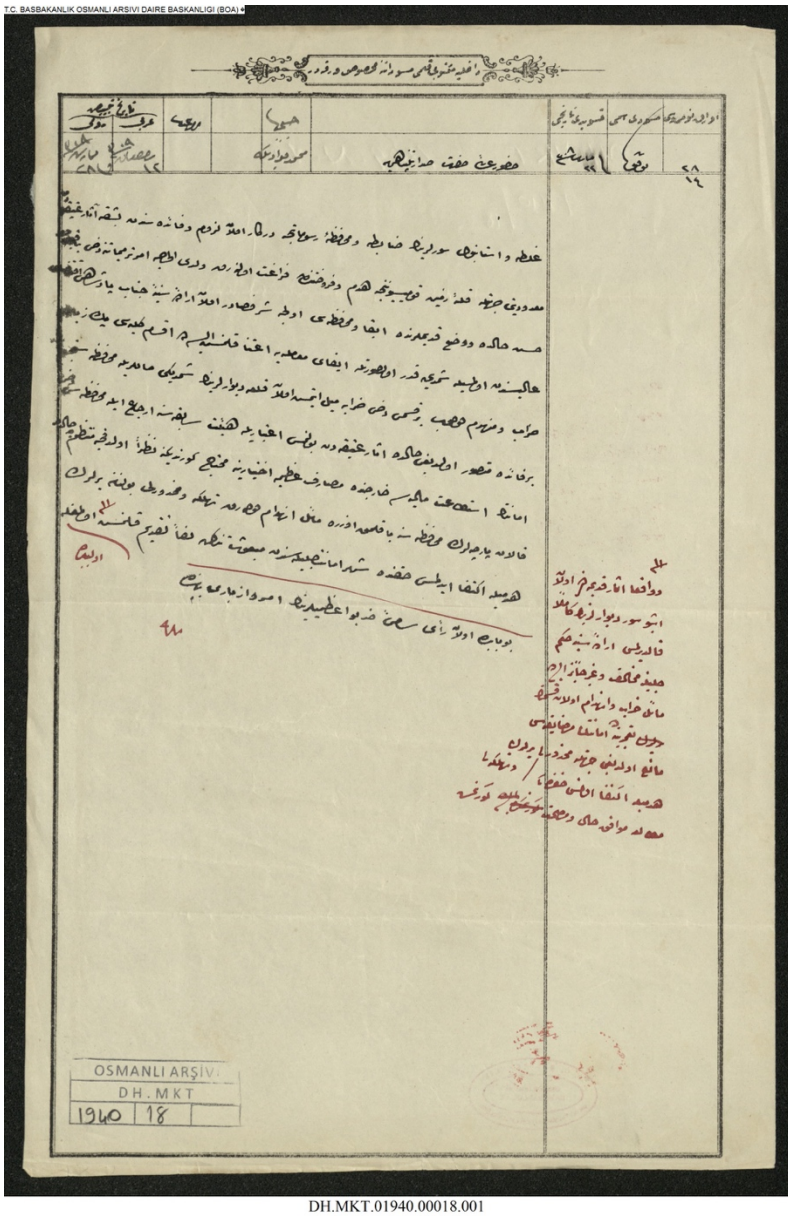

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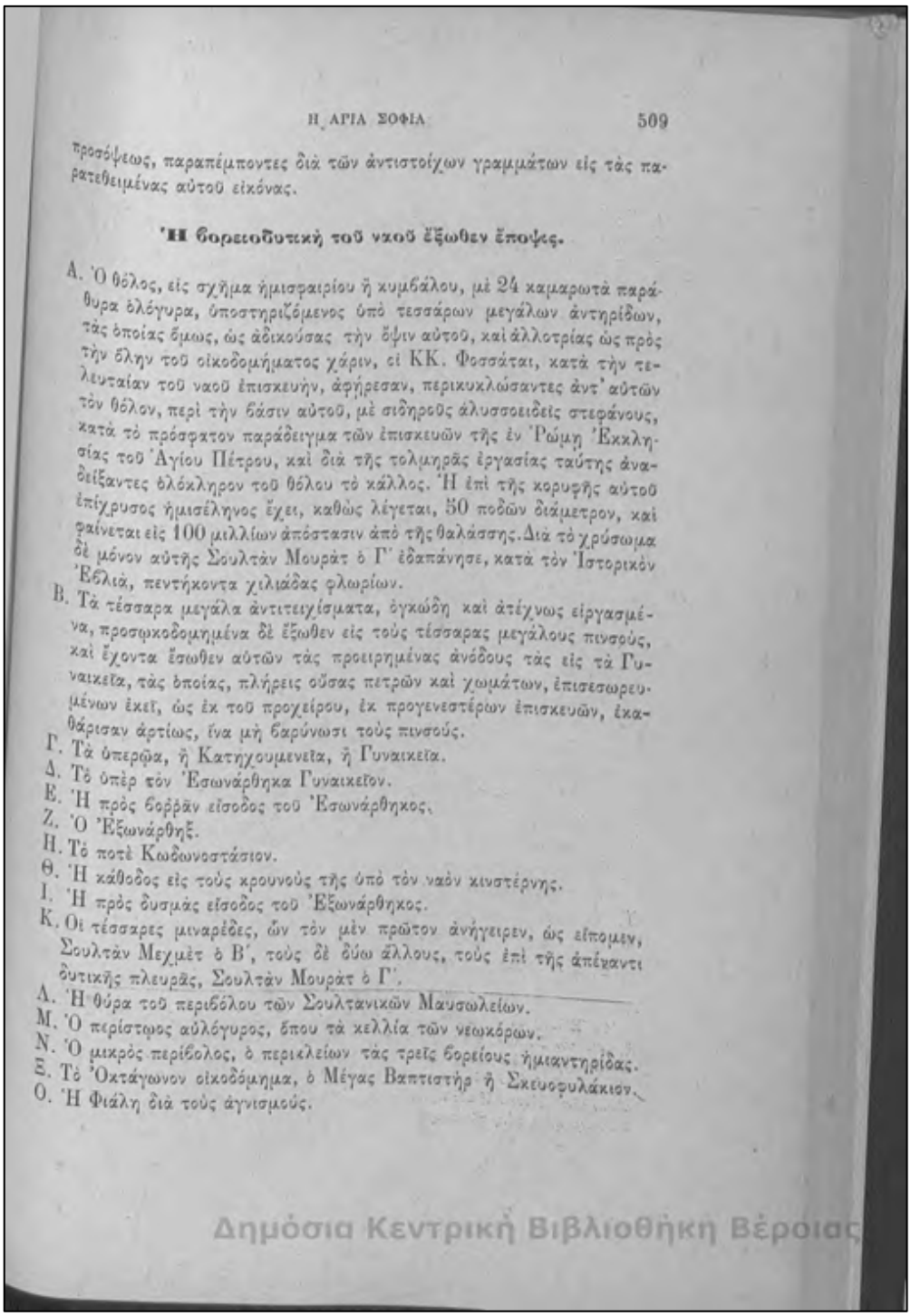

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APPENDIX G

LIST OF EXTERIOR STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF HAGIA SOPHIA



Η ΑΓΙΑ ΣΟΦΙΑ 509

προσόψεως, παραπέμποντες διὰ τῶν ἀντιστοίχων γραμμάτων εἰς τὰς παρατεθειμένας αὐτοῦ εἰκόνας.

Ἡ βορειοδυτικὴ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔξωθεν ἔποψις.

A. Ὁ θόλος, εἰς σχῆμα ἡμισφαιρίου ἢ κυμβάλου, μὲ 24 καμαρωτὰ παράθυρα ὁλόγυρα, ὑποστηριζόμενος ὑπὸ τεσσάρων μεγάλων ἀντηρίδων, τὰς ὁποίας ὅμως, ὡς ἀδικούσας τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀλλοτρίας ὡς πρὸς τὴν ὅλην τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος χάριν, οἱ ΚΚ. Φοσσάται, κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ ναοῦ ἐπισκευήν, ἀφῆρεσαν, περικυκλώσαντες ἀντ' αὐτῶν τὸν θόλον, περὶ τὴν βάσιν αὐτοῦ, μὲ σιδηροῦς ἀλυσσοειδεῖς στεφάνους, κατὰ τὸ πρόσφατον παράδειγμα τῶν ἐπισκευῶν τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου, καὶ διὰ τῆς τολμηρᾶς ἐργασίας ταύτης ἀναδείξαντες ὁλόκληρον τοῦ θόλου τὸ κάλλος. Ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσος ἡμισέληνος ἔχει, καθὼς λέγεται, 50 ποδῶν διάμετρον, καὶ φαίνεται εἰς 100 μιλλίων ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. Διὰ τὸ χρύσωμα δὲ μόνον αὐτῆς Σουλτὰν Μουρὰτ ὁ Γ' ἐδαπάνησε, κατὰ τὸν Ἱστορικὸν Ἑβλιά, πεντήκοντα χιλιάδας φλωρίων.

B. Τὰ τέσσαρα μεγάλα ἀντιτειχίσματα, ὀγκώδη καὶ ἀτέχνως εἰργασμένα, προσῳκοδομημένα δὲ ἔξωθεν εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας μεγάλους πυλῶνας, καὶ ἔχοντα ἔσωθεν αὐτῶν τὰς προειρημένας ἀνόδους τὰς εἰς τὰ Γυναικεῖα, τὰς ὁποίας, πλήρεις οὔσας πετρῶν καὶ χωμάτων, ἐπισεσωρευμένων ἐκεῖ, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου, ἐκ προγενεστέρων ἐπισκευῶν, ἐκαθάρισαν ἀρτίως, ἵνα μὴ βαρύνωσι τοὺς πυλῶνας.

Γ. Τὰ ὑπερῷα, ἢ Κατηχουμενεῖα, ἢ Γυναικεῖα.

Δ. Τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐσωνάρθηκα Γυναικεῖον.

E. Ἡ πρὸς βορρᾶν εἴσοδος τοῦ Ἐσωνάρθηκος.

Z. Ὁ Ἐξωνάρθηξ.

H. Τὸ ποτὲ Κωδωνοστάσιον.

Θ. Ἡ καθόδος εἰς τοὺς κρουνοὺς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ναὸν κινστέρνης.

I. Ἡ πρὸς δυσμὰς εἴσοδος τοῦ Ἐξωνάρθηκος.

K. Οἱ τέσσαρες μιναρέδες, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀνήγειρεν, ὡς εἴπομεν, Σουλτὰν Μεχμὲτ ὁ Β', τοὺς δὲ δύω ἄλλους, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπέκαντι δυτικῆς πλευρᾶς, Σουλτὰν Μουρὰτ ὁ Γ'.

Λ. Ἡ θύρα τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Σουλτανικῶν Μαυσωλείων.

M. Ὁ περίστωος αὐλόγυρος, ὅπου τὰ κελλία τῶν νεωκόρων.

N. Ὁ μικρὸς περίβολος, ὁ περικλείων τὰς τρεῖς βορείους ἡμιαντηρίδας.

Ξ. Τὸ Ὀκτάγωνον οἰκοδόμημα, ὁ Μέγας Βαπτιστὴρ ἢ Σκευοφυλάκιον.

O. Ἡ Φιάλη διὰ τοὺς ἀγνισμούς.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis* Vol.1, 509.

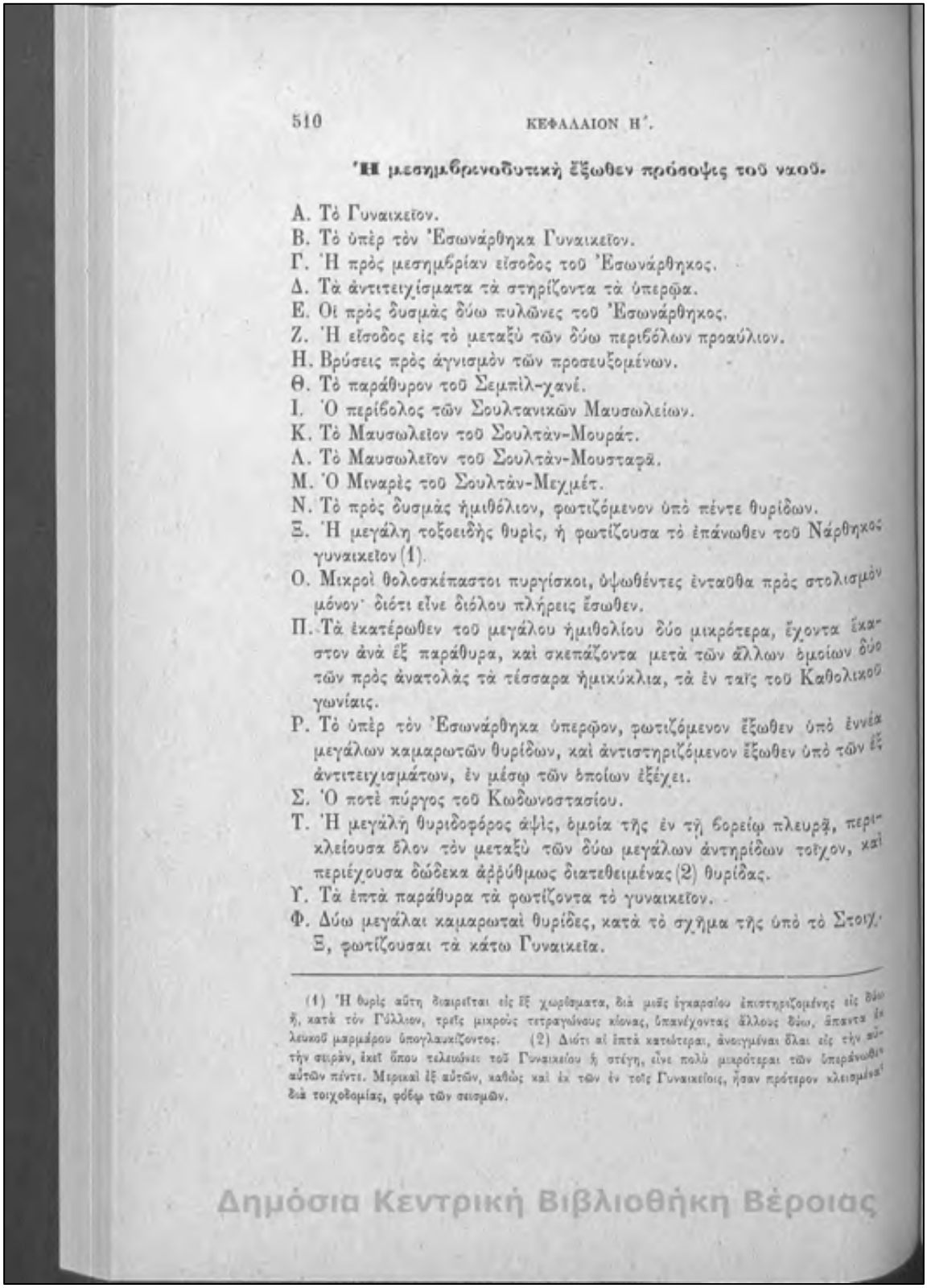
Let us now turn to the various elements of the shrine's exterior

The monument's northeastern façade

A. The dome is shaped as a semi-sphere or a cymbal; its base features an arcade of 24 arched windows and is supported by four large buttresses, which the Fossati brothers, architects of its most recent restoration saw fit to remove altogether, contrary to the monuments overall elegance, and following the example of the restoration of St Peter in Rome, replace them with huge iron rings around the dome's base, an architectural feat that successfully revealed the dome's inherent beauty. Its gilded crescent finial is said to have a diameter of 59 ft and is discernible from the sea as far as 100 miles away. According to the historian Evliya [Çelebi], Sultan Murad III spent five hundred golden pieces on the gilding of this finial alone.
B. The four large buttresses are bulky and rather clumsily attached on to the outside of the four large piers. Within them, they contain the aforementioned spiral ascents to the gynaecea. The restoration architects nicely cleaned the stones and debris that had accumulated therein from a succession of past restorations, so as to lighten the pressure exercised on the piers.
C. The galleries, or Catechumens' galleries or gynaecea.
D. The [main] gynaeceum, over the esonarthex.
E. The exonarthex.
F. The old Belfry.
G. The drain for directing water from the roof to the churches underground cistern.
H. The western entrance to the exonarthex.
I. The four minarets; the first one, as we have already seen, is the work of Sultan Mehmed II, while the other two, on the western side, of Sultan Murad III.
J. The entrance to the courtyard of the imperial mausolea.
K. The walled courtyard containing the caretakers' lodgings.
L. The small courtyard around the three northern flying buttresses.
M. The octagonal structure identified as the Great Baptistery or Sacristy.
N. The ablution pond (*Phialè*).

– 688 –

Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 688.



510 ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Η'.

Ἡ μεσημβρινοδυτικὴ ἔξωθεν πρόσοψις τοῦ ναοῦ.

Α. Τὸ Γυναικεῖον.
Β. Τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐσωνάρθηκα Γυναικεῖον.
Γ. Ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἴσοδος τοῦ Ἐσωνάρθηκος.
Δ. Τὰ ἀντιτειχίσματα τὰ στηρίζοντα τὰ ὑπερῷα.
Ε. Οἱ πρὸς δυσμὰς δύω πυλῶνες τοῦ Ἐσωνάρθηκος.
Ζ. Ἡ εἴσοδος εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν δύω περιβόλων προαύλιον.
Η. Βρύσεις πρὸς ἁγνισμὸν τῶν προσευξομένων.
Θ. Τὸ παράθυρον τοῦ Σεμπίλ-χανέ.
Ι. Ὁ περίβολος τῶν Σουλτανικῶν Μαυσωλείων.
Κ. Τὸ Μαυσωλεῖον τοῦ Σουλτὰν-Μουράτ.
Λ. Τὸ Μαυσωλεῖον τοῦ Σουλτὰν-Μουσταφᾶ.
Μ. Ὁ Μιναρὲς τοῦ Σουλτὰν-Μεχμέτ.
Ν. Τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἡμιθόλιον, φωτιζόμενον ὑπὸ πέντε θυρίδων.
Ξ. Ἡ μεγάλη τοξοειδὴς θυρὶς, ἡ φωτίζουσα τὸ ἐπάνωθεν τοῦ Νάρθηκος γυναικεῖον (1).
Ο. Μικροὶ θολοσκέπαστοι πυργίσκοι, ὑψωθέντες ἐνταῦθα πρὸς στολισμὸν μόνον· διότι εἶνε διόλου πλήρεις ἔσωθεν.
Π. Τὰ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ μεγάλου ἡμιθολίου δύο μικρότερα, ἔχοντα ἕκαστον ἀνὰ ἓξ παράθυρα, καὶ σκεπάζοντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίων δύο τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τὰ τέσσαρα ἡμικύκλια, τὰ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Καθολικοῦ γωνίαις.
Ρ. Τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐσωνάρθηκα ὑπερῷον, φωτιζόμενον ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ ἐννέα μεγάλων καμαρωτῶν θυρίδων, καὶ ἀντιστηριζόμενον ἔξωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἓξ ἀντιτειχισμάτων, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὁποίων ἐξέχει.
Σ. Ὁ ποτὲ πύργος τοῦ Κωδωνοστασίου.
Τ. Ἡ μεγάλη θυριδοφόρος ἁψὶς, ὁμοία τῆς ἐν τῇ βορείῳ πλευρᾷ, περικλείουσα ὅλον τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν δύω μεγάλων ἀντηρίδων τοῖχον, καὶ περιέχουσα δώδεκα ἀῤῥύθμως διατεθειμένας (2) θυρίδας.
Υ. Τὰ ἑπτὰ παράθυρα τὰ φωτίζοντα τὸ γυναικεῖον.
Φ. Δύω μεγάλαι καμαρωταὶ θυρίδες, κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὑπὸ τὸ Στοιχ. Ξ, φωτίζουσαι τὰ κάτω Γυναικεῖα.

(1) Ἡ θυρὶς αὕτη διαιρεῖται εἰς ἓξ χωρίσματα, διὰ μιᾶς ἐγκαρσίου ἐπιστηριζομένης εἰς δύω ἢ, κατὰ τὸν Γύλλιον, τρεῖς μικροὺς τετραγώνους κίονας, ὑπανέχοντας ἄλλους δύω, ἅπαντα ἐκ λευκοῦ μαρμάρου ὑπογλαυκίζοντος. (2) Διότι αἱ ἑπτὰ κατώτεραι, ἀνοιγμέναι ὅλαι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν σειρὰν, ἐκεῖ ὅπου τελειώνει τοῦ Γυναικείου ἡ στέγη, εἶνε πολὺ μικρότεραι τῶν ὑπερανωθεν αὐτῶν πέντε. Μερικαὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γυναικείοις, ἦσαν πρότερον κλεισμέναι διὰ τοιχοβομίας, φόβῳ τῶν σεισμῶν.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Βέροιας

Byzantios, *Hē Kōnstantinoupolis* Vol.1, 510.

The monument's southwestern façade

A. The gynaeceum.
B. The gynaeceum over the esonarthex.
C. Southern entrance of the esonarthex.
D. External supports to the galleries.
E. The two western doors of the esonarthex.
F. Entrance to the main courtyard (antecourt).
G. Ablution fountains for those about to pray.
H. The window of the public water distribution point (Tur.sebil-hâne).
I. The walled courtyard containing the imperial mausolea
J. The mausoleum of Sultan Murad [III].
K. The mausoleum of Sultan Mustafa [I].
L. The minaret of Sultan Mehmew [II].
M. The western semi-dome with its five windows.
N. The large windowed arch that lights the gallery over the narthex.[1857]
O. Small domed turrets of a purely decorative function, in as much as they are entirely solid within.
P. Two smaller semi-domes, each on either side of the large semi-dome; each has six windows and together with their other two counterparts on the eastern façade cover the four semi-circles formed in the corners of the nave.
Q. The gallery over the esonarthex, lit through nine large arched windows and supported externally by the six flying buttresses; in their midst rises what used to be
R. the Belfry tower.
S. The large windowed arch, identical to the one on the northern façade; it spreads over the entire wall that lies between the two large buttresses and contains twelve asymmetrically arranged windows.[1858]
T. Seven windows bringing light to the gynaeceum.
U. Two large, arched windows similar in shape to (N) the large windowed arch, offering light to the lower gynaecea.
V. Underneath them, two additional windows, similar to the ones contained in the large windowed arch offering light to the vestibules or

1857. This windowed arch is divided into six groups of windows by a horizontal line, intercepted by two vertical ones, or as Gyllius puts it, by three four-square columns supporting another two, all made of white marble of light-blue hues.

1858. The lower row consists of seven windows arranged in a line that coincides with the ceiling of the gynaeceum, and are much smaller than the five windows above them. Some of these windows used to be walled up, as a measure against earthquakes, as was the case with some of those in the *gynaeceum* galleries.

Byzantios, *Constantinople*, 689.

APPENDIX H

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING OF PASPATES'S EULOGY



Ἀλέξανδρος Πασπάτης

Προχθὲς ἀπεβίωσε καὶ ἐκηδεύθη γρήγορα ὁ γνωστὸς παρ' ἡμῖν λόγιος καὶ σοφὸς βυζαντινολόγος Ἀλέξανδρος Πασπάτης. Ἡ κηδεία αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο περὶ ὥραν 10 1/2 τῆς πρωΐας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ κειμένης ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀναξάρχου, ἔπροσθεν τῆς ὁποίας πολὺ πλῆθος εἶχε συναχθῆ ὅπως ἀποδώσῃ τῷ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸν ὕστατον ἀποχαιρετισμόν. Εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ τιμαὶ τοῦ Ταξιάρχου τοῦ Ταγματος τοῦ σωτῆρος.

Τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἠκολούθουν πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν μᾶλλον διακεκριμένων μελῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας, βουλευταί, πολιτευόμενοι, λόγιοι, ὁ δήμαρχος Ἀθηναίων κ. Μελᾶς μετὰ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ συμβουλίου, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τῆς Ῥιζαρείου σχολῆς ἐν σώματι. Τὸ ὑπουργικὸν συμβούλιον δι' οὐδενὸς τῶν μελῶν αὐτοῦ ἀντεπροσωπεύθη ἐν τῇ κηδείᾳ ταύτῃ, τοῦθ' ὅπερ λίαν δυσάρεστον ἐπροξένησεν ἐντύπωσιν.

Πρὸ τοῦ φερέτρου ἐκομίζοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα μεγαλοπρεπεῖς στέφανοι, κατατεθέντες ὑπὸ διαφόρων συλλόγων, σωματείων καὶ οἰκογενειῶν.

Ἡ νεκρώσιμος ἀκολουθία ἐτελέσθη ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, ψαλεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σ. μητροπολίτου κ. Γερμανοῦ.

Λόγον ἐπικήδειον ἐξεφώνησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου ὁ καθηγητὴς τοῦ πανεπιστημίου κ. Διομήδης Κυριακός. Ἐπιτάφιον δὲ ἐν τῷ νεκροταφείῳ οἱ κ.κ. Κλὼν Στέφανος καὶ Α. Ραγκαβῆς καὶ εἷς φοιτητὴς ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκ μέρους τῆς ἐκεῖ ἰατρικῆς σχολῆς, ἧς ἐγχρημάτιστο καθηγητὴς ὁ μεταστάς. Ἐν τῷ νεκροταφείῳ παρεμορίσκετο καὶ ἡ κυρία Σοφία Τρικούπη, ἀδελφὴ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς ἀντιπολιτεύσεως.

*

Ὁ ἀποβιώσας Ἀλέξανδρος Πασπάτης ἦτο εἷς ἐκ τῶν λογιωτέρων Ἑλλήνων τῆς συγχρόνου ἡμῶν ἐποχῆς, διέπρεπε δὲ ὡς γλωσσολόγος, ἱστορικὸς καὶ πρὸ πάντων βυζαντινολόγος. Ἐγεννήθη ἐν Χίῳ τῷ 1814. Δεκαετὴς, τῷ 1823, μετέβη εἰς τὴν Ἀμερικήν, ὅπου ἐσπούδασε, μείνας μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1831. Ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δεκαοκταετὴς, ἐσπούδασε τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐν Γαλλίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ. Οὕτω καταρτισθεὶς, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῷ 1840 καὶ διέμεινεν ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει ὑπὲρ τὴν δεκαετίαν. Ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐνυμρεύθη. καὶ τῷ 1852 μετέβη εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ὅπου καὶ ἀποκατεστάθη.

Ἡ ἐξάσκησις τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτοῦ σὺν ἅμα τὸν ἐλκύσασαν ἐκ τῶν φιλολογικῶν μελετῶν, αἵτινες ὑπῆρξαν ἀείποτε τὸ προσφιλὲς αὐτοῦ ἐντρύφημα. Ἦτο κάτοχος δεκαέξ γλωσσῶν, πρᾶγμα σπανιώτατον δι' Ἕλληνα. Ἐγίνωσκεν, ἐκτὸς τῶν κλασσικῶν γλωσσῶν καὶ τῶν συγχρόνων εὐρωπαϊκῶν, τὴν τουρκικὴν, τὴν περσικὴν, τὴν ἀραβικὴν, τὴν συριακὴν τὴν σανσκριτικήν. Ἐπιδοθεὶς δὲ εἰς σπουδαίας ἱστορικὰς μελέτας, συνέγραψε διάφορα συγγράμματα ἀναγίμενα εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Ἱστορίαν καὶ ἀρχαιολογίαν, οἷον τὰ Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάκτορα, τὴν Ἅλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κλπ.

Τοιοῦτος, ἐν συντόμῳ, ὁ σοφὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὅστις ἀπὸ τινων ἐτῶν εἶχεν ἐπανακάμψει εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀποκατασταθῆ ἐν Ἀθήναις.

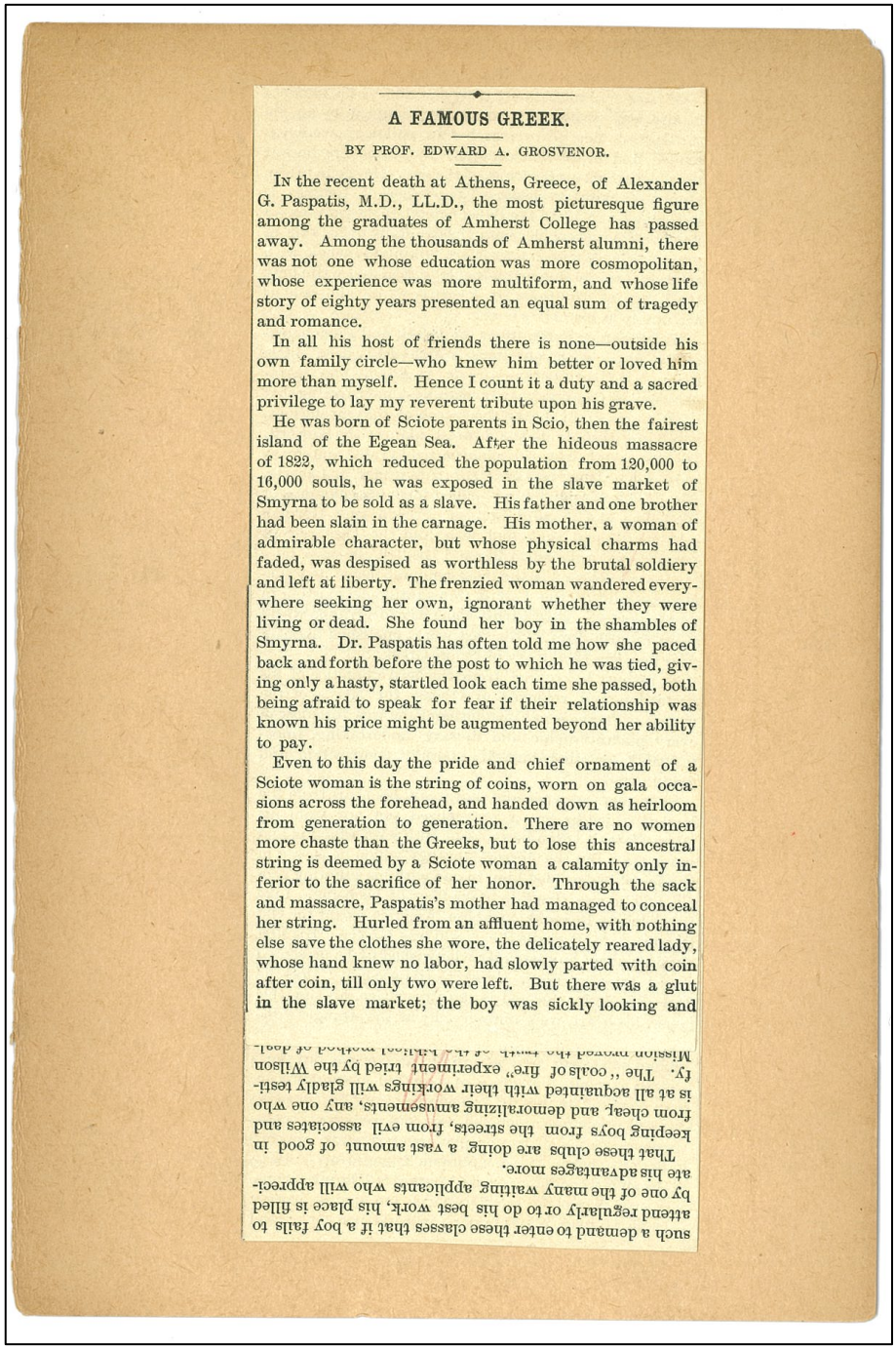
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Δαπάνειον διαγώνισμα.

Acropolis, 15 December 1891

APPENDIX I

AMHERST COLLEGE ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS



A FAMOUS GREEK.

BY PROF. EDWARD A. GROSVENOR.

In the recent death at Athens, Greece, of Alexander G. Paspatis, M.D., LL.D., the most picturesque figure among the graduates of Amherst College has passed away. Among the thousands of Amherst alumni, there was not one whose education was more cosmopolitan, whose experience was more multiform, and whose life story of eighty years presented an equal sum of tragedy and romance.

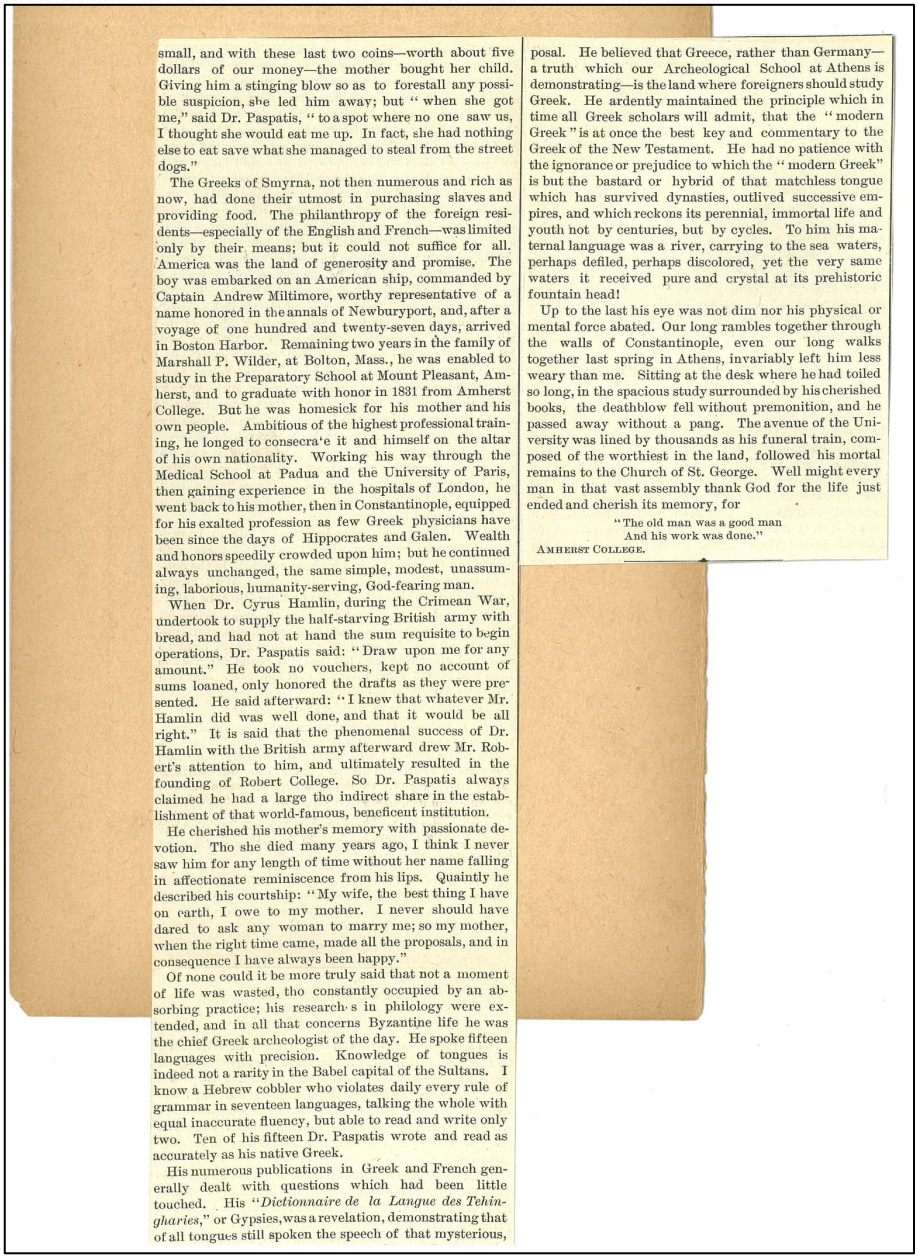
In all his host of friends there is none—outside his own family circle—who knew him better or loved him more than myself. Hence I count it a duty and a sacred privilege to lay my reverent tribute upon his grave.

He was born of Sciote parents in Scio, then the fairest island of the Egean Sea. After the hideous massacre of 1822, which reduced the population from 120,000 to 16,000 souls, he was exposed in the slave market of Smyrna to be sold as a slave. His father and one brother had been slain in the carnage. His mother, a woman of admirable character, but whose physical charms had faded, was despised as worthless by the brutal soldiery and left at liberty. The frenzied woman wandered everywhere seeking her own, ignorant whether they were living or dead. She found her boy in the shambles of Smyrna. Dr. Paspatis has often told me how she paced back and forth before the post to which he was tied, giving only a hasty, startled look each time she passed, both being afraid to speak for fear if their relationship was known his price might be augmented beyond her ability to pay.

Even to this day the pride and chief ornament of a Sciote woman is the string of coins, worn on gala occasions across the forehead, and handed down as heirloom from generation to generation. There are no women more chaste than the Greeks, but to lose this ancestral string is deemed by a Sciote woman a calamity only inferior to the sacrifice of her honor. Through the sack and massacre, Paspatis's mother had managed to conceal her string. Hurled from an affluent home, with nothing else save the clothes she wore, the delicately reared lady, whose hand knew no labor, had slowly parted with coin after coin, till only two were left. But there was a glut in the slave market; the boy was sickly looking and

such a demand to enter these classes that if a boy fails to attend regularly or to do his best work, his place is filled by one of the many waiting applicants who will appreciate his advantages more.

That these clubs are doing a vast amount of good in keeping boys from the streets, from evil associates and from cheap and demoralizing amusements, any one who is at all acquainted with their workings will gladly testify. The "coals of fire" experiment tried by the Wilson Mission proved the truth of the biblical method of deal-



small, and with these last two coins—worth about five dollars of our money—the mother bought her child. Giving him a stinging blow so as to forestall any possible suspicion, she led him away; but "when she got me," said Dr. Paspatis, "to a spot where no one saw us, I thought she would eat me up. In fact, she had nothing else to eat save what she managed to steal from the street dogs."

The Greeks of Smyrna, not then numerous and rich as now, had done their utmost in purchasing slaves and providing food. The philanthropy of the foreign residents—especially of the English and French—was limited only by their means; but it could not suffice for all. America was the land of generosity and promise. The boy was embarked on an American ship, commanded by Captain Andrew Miltimore, worthy representative of a name honored in the annals of Newburyport, and, after a voyage of one hundred and twenty-seven days, arrived in Boston Harbor. Remaining two years in the family of Marshall P. Wilder, at Bolton, Mass., he was enabled to study in the Preparatory School at Mount Pleasant, Amherst, and to graduate with honor in 1831 from Amherst College. But he was homesick for his mother and his own people. Ambitious of the highest professional training, he longed to consecrate it and himself on the altar of his own nationality. Working his way through the Medical School at Padua and the University of Paris, then gaining experience in the hospitals of London, he went back to his mother, then in Constantinople, equipped for his exalted profession as few Greek physicians have been since the days of Hippocrates and Galen. Wealth and honors speedily crowded upon him; but he continued always unchanged, the same simple, modest, unassuming, laborious, humanity-serving, God-fearing man.

When Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, during the Crimean War, undertook to supply the half-starving British army with bread, and had not at hand the sum requisite to begin operations, Dr. Paspatis said: "Draw upon me for any amount." He took no vouchers, kept no account of sums loaned, only honored the drafts as they were presented. He said afterward: "I knew that whatever Mr. Hamlin did was well done, and that it would be all right." It is said that the phenomenal success of Dr. Hamlin with the British army afterward drew Mr. Robert's attention to him, and ultimately resulted in the founding of Robert College. So Dr. Paspatis always claimed he had a large tho indirect share in the establishment of that world-famous, beneficent institution.

He cherished his mother's memory with passionate devotion. Tho she died many years ago, I think I never saw him for any length of time without her name falling in affectionate reminiscence from his lips. Quaintly he described his courtship: "My wife, the best thing I have on earth, I owe to my mother. I never should have dared to ask any woman to marry me; so my mother, when the right time came, made all the proposals, and in consequence I have always been happy."

Of none could it be more truly said that not a moment of life was wasted, tho constantly occupied by an absorbing practice; his researches in philology were extended, and in all that concerns Byzantine life he was the chief Greek archeologist of the day. He spoke fifteen languages with precision. Knowledge of tongues is indeed not a rarity in the Babel capital of the Sultans. I know a Hebrew cobbler who violates daily every rule of grammar in seventeen languages, talking the whole with equal inaccurate fluency, but able to read and write only two. Ten of his fifteen Dr. Paspatis wrote and read as accurately as his native Greek.

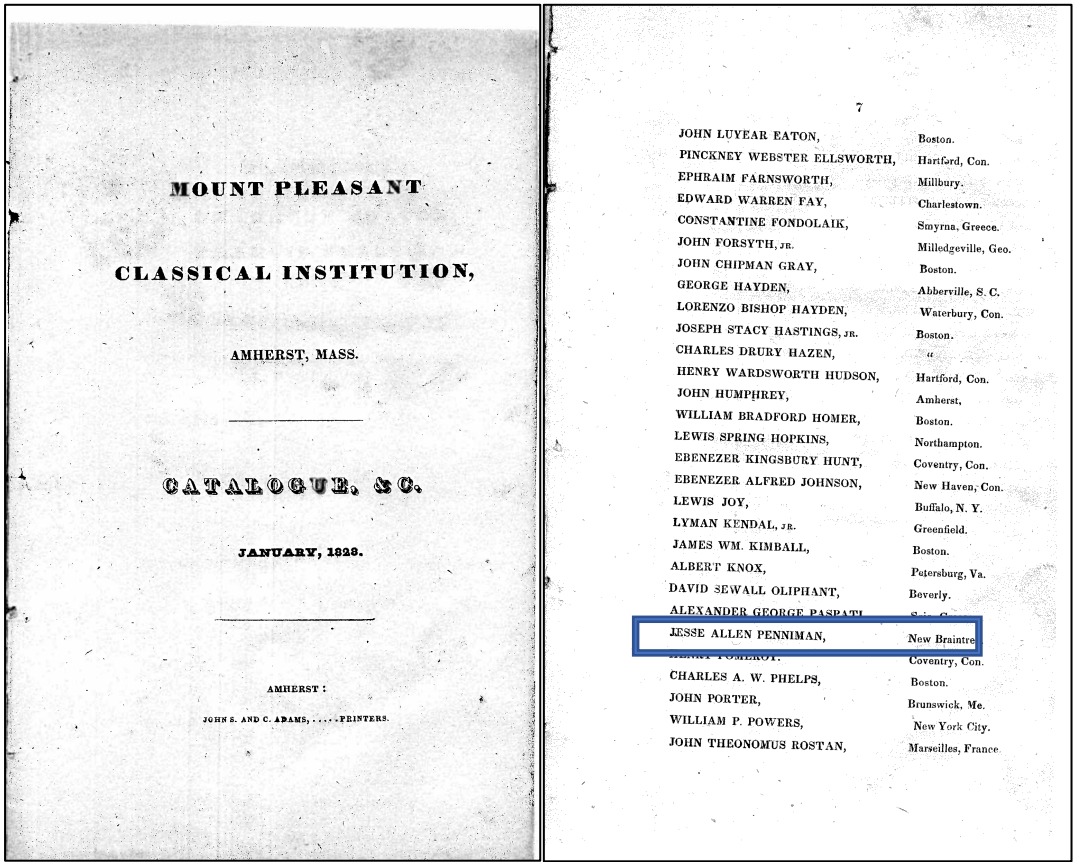
His numerous publications in Greek and French generally dealt with questions which had been little touched. His "*Dictionnaire de la Langue des Tehingharies*," or Gypsies, was a revelation, demonstrating that of all tongues still spoken the speech of that mysterious, posal. He believed that Greece, rather than Germany—a truth which our Archeological School at Athens is demonstrating—is the land where foreigners should study Greek. He ardently maintained the principle which in time all Greek scholars will admit, that the "modern Greek" is at once the best key and commentary to the Greek of the New Testament. He had no patience with the ignorance or prejudice to which the "modern Greek" is but the bastard or hybrid of that matchless tongue which has survived dynasties, outlived successive empires, and which reckons its perennial, immortal life and youth not by centuries, but by cycles. To him his maternal language was a river, carrying to the sea waters, perhaps defiled, perhaps discolored, yet the very same waters it received pure and crystal at its prehistoric fountain head!

Up to the last his eye was not dim nor his physical or mental force abated. Our long rambles together through the walls of Constantinople, even our long walks together last spring in Athens, invariably left him less weary than me. Sitting at the desk where he had toiled so long, in the spacious study surrounded by his cherished books, the deathblow fell without premonition, and he passed away without a pang. The avenue of the University was lined by thousands as his funeral train, composed of the worthiest in the land, followed his mortal remains to the Church of St. George. Well might every man in that vast assembly thank God for the life just ended and cherish its memory, for

"The old man was a good man
And his work was done."

AMHERST COLLEGE.

I1: Grosvenor, E. "A Famous Greek"



MOUNT PLEASANT

CLASSICAL INSTITUTION,

AMHERST, MASS.

CATALOGUE, &C.

JANUARY, 1828.

AMHERST:

JOHN S. AND C. ADAMS, ... PRINTERS.

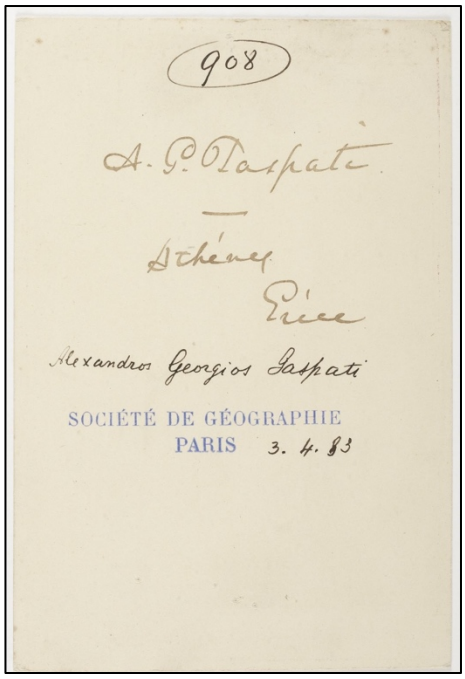
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JOHN LUYEAR EATON,	Boston.
PINCKNEY WEBSTER ELLSWORTH,	Hartford, Con.
EPHRAIM FARNSWORTH,	Millbury.
EDWARD WARREN FAY,	Charlestown.
CONSTANTINE FONDOLAIK,	Smyrna, Greece.
JOHN FORSYTH, JR.	Milledgeville, Geo.
JOHN CHIPMAN GRAY,	Boston.
GEORGE HAYDEN,	Abberville, S. C.
LORENZO BISHOP HAYDEN,	Waterbury, Con.
JOSEPH STACY HASTINGS, JR.	Boston.
CHARLES DRURY HAZEN,	"
HENRY WARDSWORTH HUDSON,	Hartford, Con.
JOHN HUMPHREY,	Amherst,
WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER,	Boston.
LEWIS SPRING HOPKINS,	Northampton.
EBENEZER KINGSBURY HUNT,	Coventry, Con.
EBENEZER ALFRED JOHNSON,	New Haven, Con.
LEWIS JOY,	Buffalo, N. Y.
LYMAN KENDAL, JR.	Greenfield.
JAMES WM. KIMBALL,	Boston.
ALBERT KNOX,	Petersburg, Va.
DAVID SEWALL OLIPHANT,	Beverly.
ALEXANDER GEORGE PASPATI	
JESSE ALLEN PENNIMAN,	New Braintre
[illegible] POMEROY.	Coventry, Con.
CHARLES A. W. PHELPS,	Boston.
JOHN PORTER,	Brunswick, Me.
WILLIAM P. POWERS,	New York City.
JOHN THEONOMUS ROSTAN,	Marseilles, France.

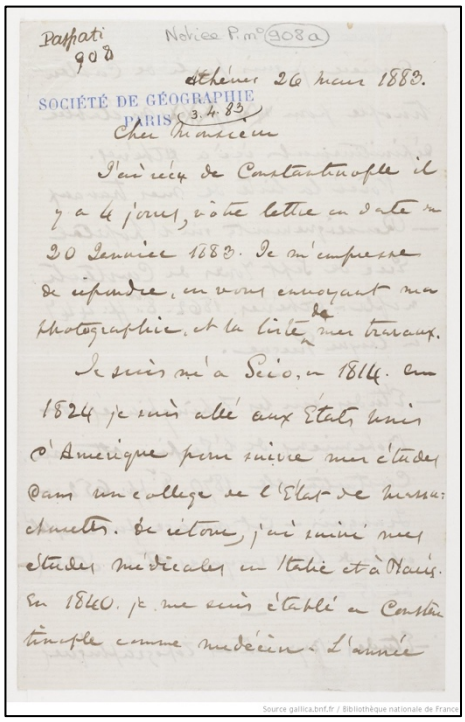
I2: Mount Pleasant Student Records

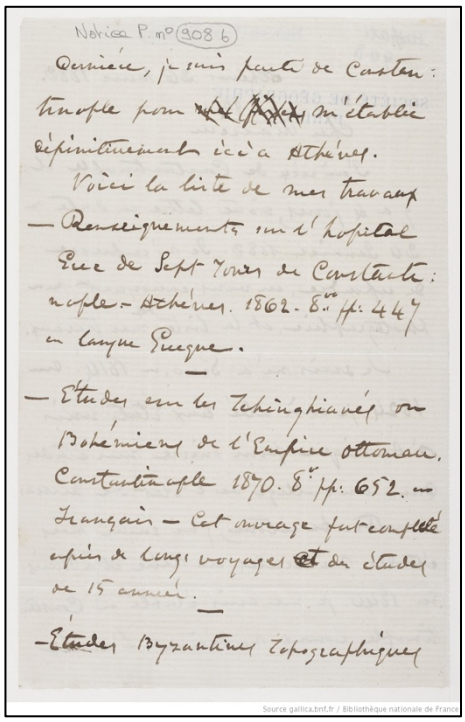
APPENDIX J

PASPATES DOCUMENTS FROM BNF, GALLICA



Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Société de Géographie, SG PORTRAIT-908
The backside of the photo of Paspates by Berggrenn.





Notice P. n° (908 b)

Dernière, j'ai suivi partie de Constantinople pour [illegible] m'établir définitivement ici à Athènes.

Voici la liste de mes travaux

— Renseignements sur l'hôpital Turc de Sept-Tours de Constantinople - Athènes. 1862. 8°. pp. 447 en langue Turque.

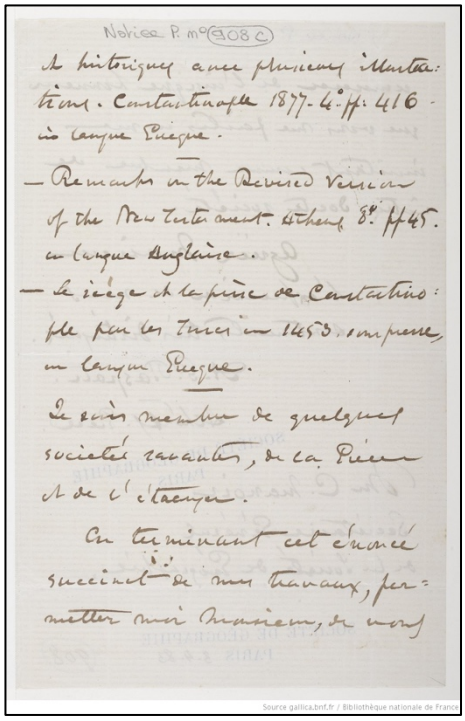
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— Etudes sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire ottoman. Constantinople 1870. 8°. pp. 652. en Français — Cet ouvrage fut complété après de longs voyages et des études de 15 années.

—

— Etudes Byzantines Topographiques

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Notice P. n° (908 c)

& historiques avec plusieurs illustrations. Constantinople 1877. 4°. pp. 416 - en langue Turque.

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— Remarks on the Revised Version of the New Testament. Athens 8°. pp 45. en langue Anglaise.

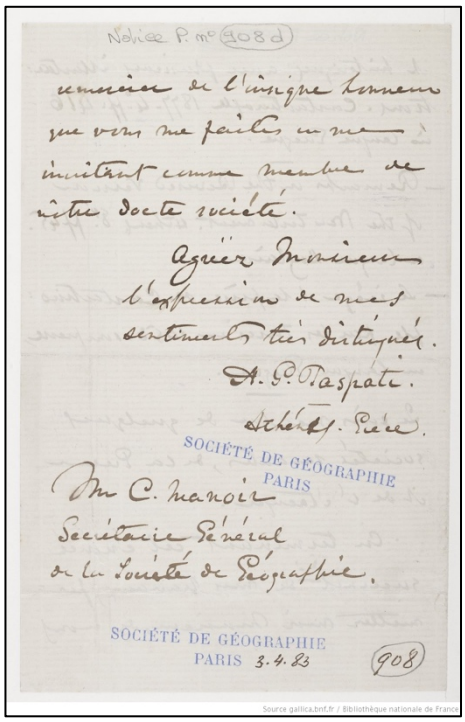
— Le siège et la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs en 1453. en prose, en langue Turque.

—

Je suis membre de quelques sociétés savantes, de la Presse & de l'étranger.

En terminant cet énoncé succinct de mes travaux, permettez moi Messieurs, de vous

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Société de Géographie, SG PORTRAIT-908

APPENDIX K

LIST OF KNOWN AND UNKNOWN CHURCHES IN *BYZANTINAI MELETAI*

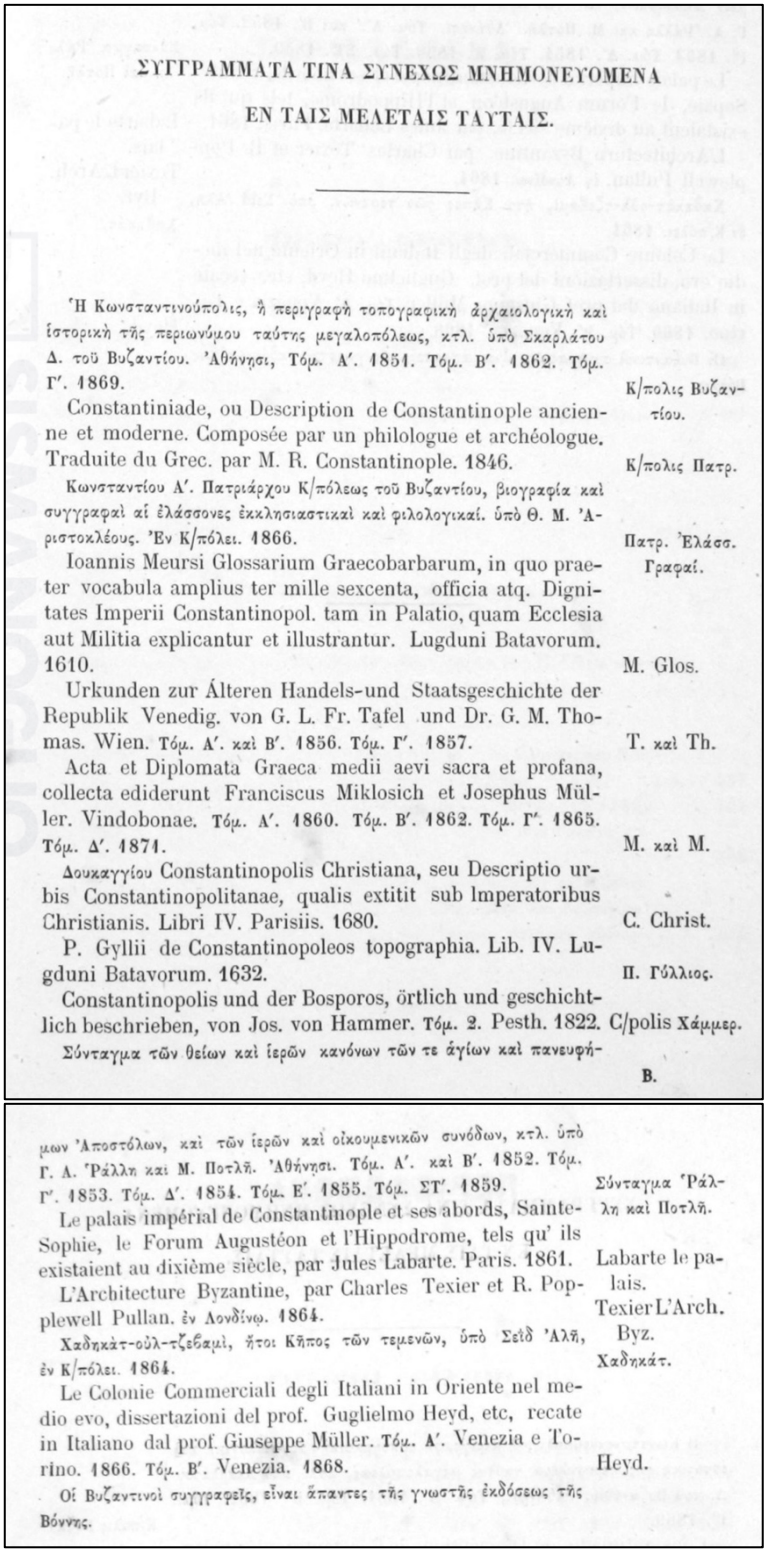
Pammakaristos Monastery/ Fethiye Camii
Agios Ioannou tou Baptıstou Monastery / Ahmed Paşa Mescidi
Manuel Monastery / Kefeli Mescidi
Pantokratoros Monastery / Zeyrek Camii
Pantepoptes Monastery / Eski İmaret Mescidi
Agios Theodorou Church / Kilise Mescidi
Agion Petrou - Markou Church / Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii
Agiou Andreou Monastery / Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii
Agios Teodosia Church / Gül Camii
Panachrantos Monastery / Fenari İsa Mescidi
Libos Monastery / Demirciler Mescidi
Chora Monastery / Kariye Camii
Agios Sergiou – Bachou / Küçük Aya Sofya Camii
Miralaiou Monastery / Bodrum Camii
Agias Eirinis Church / Armory and Museum
Agia Sophias Church / Camii Aya Sofya Kebiri
Agios Ioannou toy Baptistou Monastery or Studiou Monastery / Mirahor Mescidi

"UNKNOWN" BYZANTINE CHURCHES
Kalendarhane Camii – Monastery
Süleyman Mescidi
Gastrion Monastery / Sancaktar Mescidi
Agias Theklis / Toklu Dede Mescidi
Agios Nikolaos
Isa Kapu Mescidi
Odalar Mescidi – Salmatomruk
Agias Anastasias Pharmakolytra / Mehmet Paşa Camii
Sekbanbaşı Mescidi
Manastır Mescidi
Theotokos at Sigmati
Kuyu Mescidi
Şeyh Murad Mescidi
Sinan Paşa Mescidi
Balaban Ağa Mescidi

BYZANTINE CHURCHES THAT ARE STILL CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS
Agios Georgios
Panagia Mouchliotissa
Panagia Blachernon

APPENDIX L

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *BYZANTINAI MELETAI.*



ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΤΙΝΑ ΣΥΝΕΧΩΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΟΜΕΝΑ

ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΑΙΣ.

Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἡ περιγραφὴ τοπογραφικὴ ἀρχαιολογικὴ καὶ ἱστορικὴ τῆς περιωνύμου ταύτης μεγαλοπόλεως, κτλ. ὑπὸ Σκαρλάτου Δ. τοῦ Βυζαντίου. Ἀθήνῃσι, Τόμ. Α′. 1851. Τόμ. Β′. 1862. Τόμ. Γ′. 1869. — Κ/πολις Βυζαντίου.

Constantiniade, ou Description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne. Composée par un philologue et archéologue. Traduite du Grec. par M. R. Constantinople. 1846. — Κ/πολις Πατρ.

Κωνσταντίου Α′. Πατριάρχου Κ/πόλεως τοῦ Βυζαντίου, βιογραφία καὶ συγγραφαὶ αἱ ἐλάσσονες ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ καὶ φιλολογικαί. ὑπὸ Θ. Μ. Ἀριστοκλέους. Ἐν Κ/πόλει. 1866. — Πατρ. Ἐλάσσ. Γραφαί.

Ioannis Meursi Glossarium Graecobarbarum, in quo praeter vocabula amplius ter mille sexcenta, officia atq. Dignitates Imperii Constantinopol. tam in Palatio, quam Ecclesia aut Militia explicantur et illustrantur. Lugduni Batavorum. 1610. — M. Glos.

Urkunden zur Älteren Handels-und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig. von G. L. Fr. Tafel und Dr. G. M. Thomas. Wien. Τόμ. Α′. καὶ Β′. 1856. Τόμ. Γ′. 1857. — T. καὶ Th.

Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, collecta ediderunt Franciscus Miklosich et Josephus Müller. Vindobonae. Τόμ. Α′. 1860. Τόμ. Β′. 1862. Τόμ. Γ′. 1865. Τόμ. Δ′. 1871. — M. καὶ M.

Δουκαγγίου Constantinopolis Christiana, seu Descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae, qualis extitit sub Imperatoribus Christianis. Libri IV. Parisiis. 1680. — C. Christ.

P. Gyllii de Constantinopoleos topographia. Lib. IV. Lugduni Batavorum. 1632. — Π. Γύλλιος.

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Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, κτλ. ὑπὸ Γ. Α. Ῥάλλη καὶ Μ. Ποτλῆ. Ἀθήνῃσι. Τόμ. Α′. καὶ Β′. 1852. Τόμ. Γ′. 1853. Τόμ. Δ′. 1854. Τόμ. Ε′. 1855. Τόμ. ΣΤ′. 1859. — Σύνταγμα Ῥάλλη καὶ Ποτλῆ.

Le palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords, Sainte-Sophie, le Forum Augustéon et l'Hippodrome, tels qu' ils existaient au dixième siècle, par Jules Labarte. Paris. 1861. — Labarte le palais.

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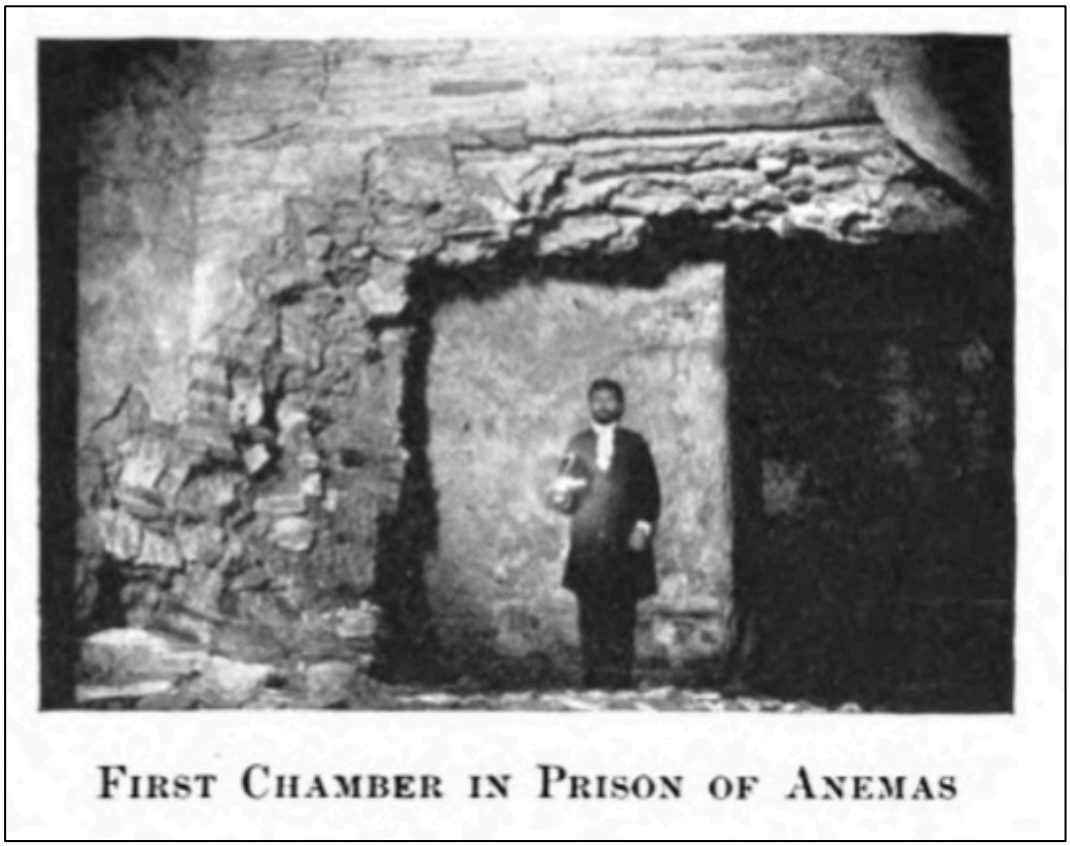
Le Colonie Commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente nel medio evo, dissertazioni del prof. Guglielmo Heyd, etc, recate in Italiano dal prof. Giuseppe Müller. Τόμ. Α′. Venezia e Torino. 1866. Τόμ. Β′. Venezia. 1868. — Heyd.

Οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ συγγραφεῖς, εἶναι ἅπαντες τῆς γνωστῆς ἐκδόσεως τῆς Βόννης.

B.

APPENDIX M

MAN WITH A CANDLE IN THE PRISON OF ANEMAS

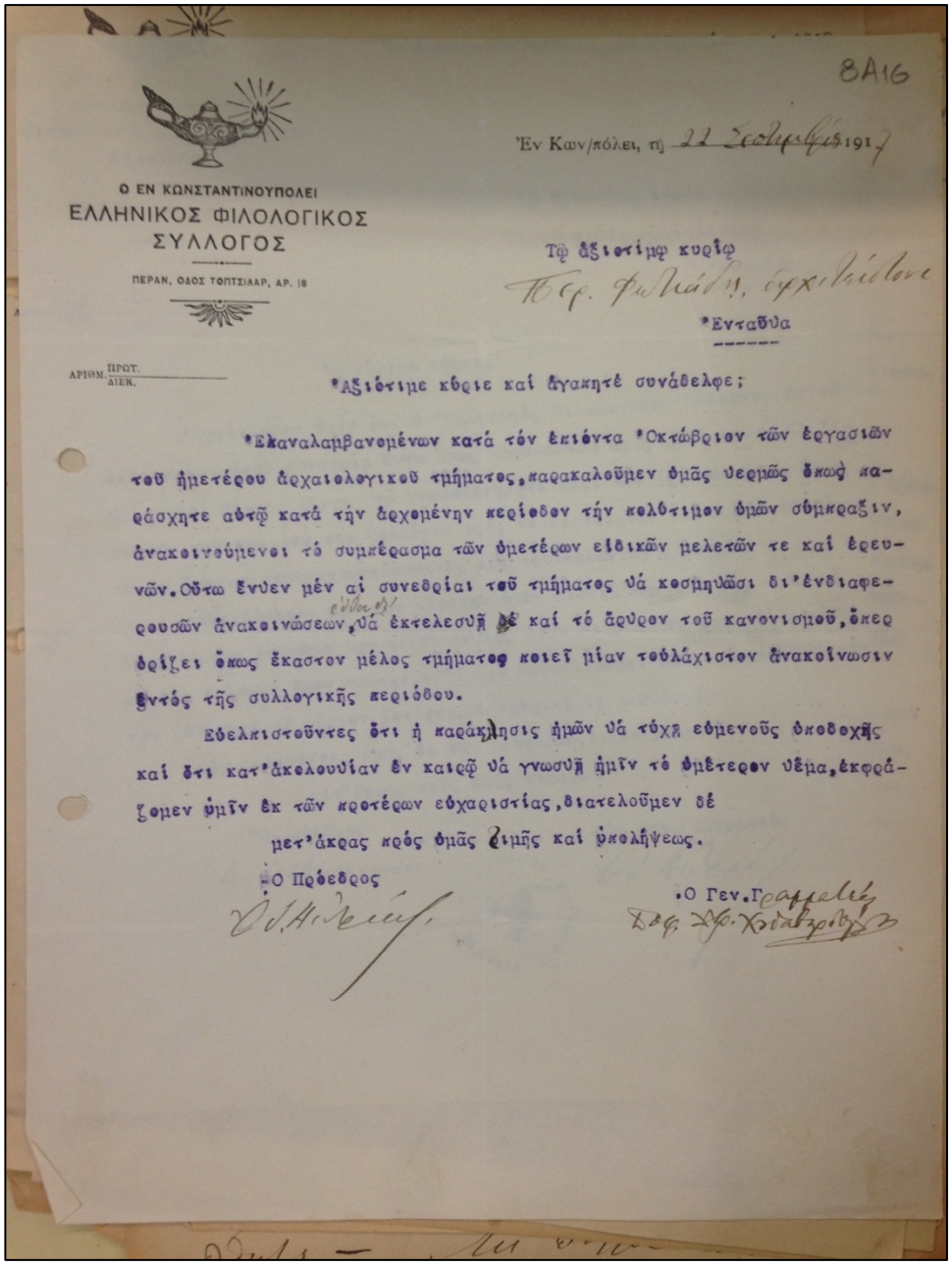


FIRST CHAMBER IN PRISON OF ANEMAS

Grosvenor, *Constantinople,* 397

APPENDIX N

THE ADDRESS OF THE SYLLOGOS IN THE LETTERHEAD



8A16

Ο ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ
ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ

ΠΕΡΑΝ, ΟΔΟΣ ΤΟΠΤΣΙΔΑΡ, ΑΡ. 18

ΑΡΙΘΜ. ΠΡΩΤ. ΔΙΕΚ.

Ἐν Κων/πόλει, τῇ 22 Σεπτεμβρίου 1917

Τῷ ἀξιοτίμῳ κυρίῳ
Θεμ. Φωτιάδῃ, ἐφημερίτῃ
Ἐνταῦθα

Ἀξιότιμε κύριε καὶ ἀγαπητὲ συνάδελφε;

Ἐπαναλαμβανομένων κατὰ τὸν ἐπιόντα Ὀκτώβριον τῶν ἐργασιῶν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἀρχαιολογικοῦ τμήματος, παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς θερμῶς ὅπως παράσχητε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχομένην περίοδον τὴν πολύτιμον ὑμῶν συμπραξιν, ἀνακοινούμενοι τὰ συμπεράσματα τῶν ὑμετέρων εἰδικῶν μελετῶν τε καὶ ἐρευνῶν. Οὕτω ἔνδυεν μὲν αἱ συνεδρίαι τοῦ τμήματος νὰ κοσμηθῶσι δι' ἐνδιαφερουσῶν ἀνακοινώσεων, νὰ ἐκτελεσθῇ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄρθρον τοῦ κανονισμοῦ, ὅπερ ὁρίζει ὅπως ἕκαστον μέλος τμήματος κατέχῃ μίαν τοὐλάχιστον ἀνακοίνωσιν ἐντὸς τῆς συλλογικῆς περιόδου.

Εὐελπιστοῦντες ὅτι ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν νὰ τύχῃ εὐμενοῦς ὑποδοχῆς καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἐν καιρῷ νὰ γνωσθῇ ἡμῖν τὸ ὑμέτερον νέμα, ἐκφράζομεν ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων εὐχαριστίας, διατελοῦμεν δὲ

μετ' ἄκρας πρὸς ὑμᾶς τιμῆς καὶ ὑπολήψεως.

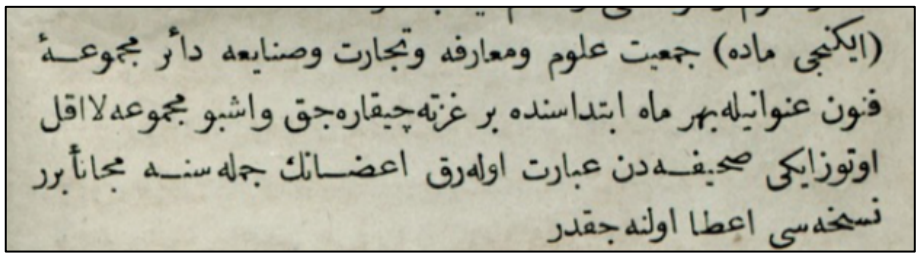
Ὁ Πρόεδρος

Ὁ Γεν. Γραμματεύς

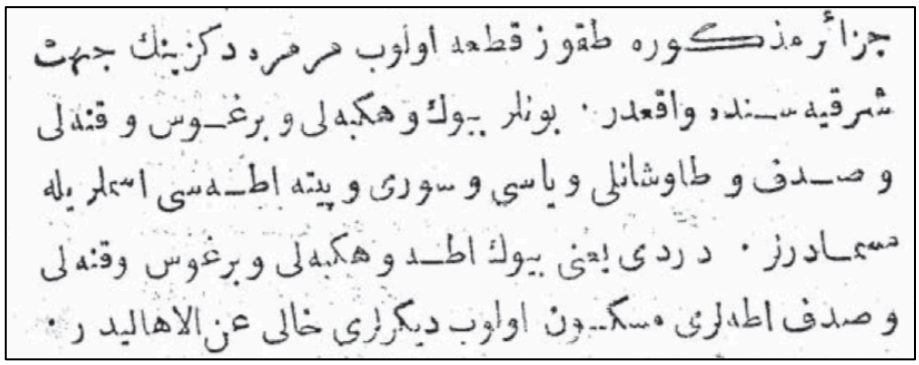
Asia Minor Studies Center Archive, Pericles Photiades Collection, 8A16

APPENDIX O

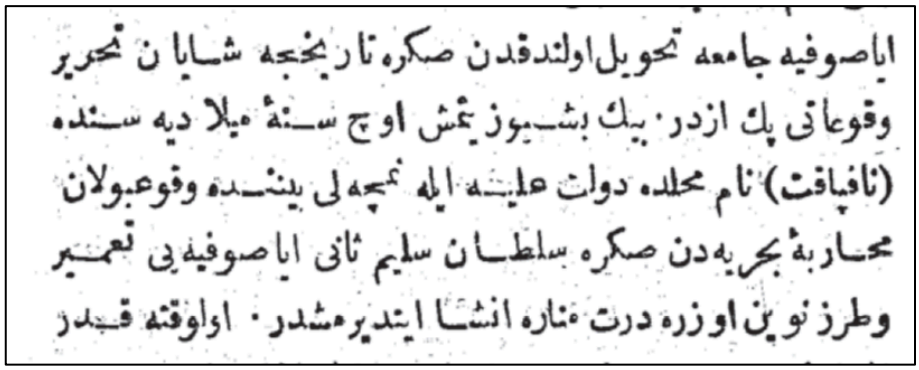
ORIGINALS OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM *MECMÛ'A-I FÜNÛN*


(ایکنجی ماده) جمعیت علوم ومعارفه وتجارت وصنایعه دائر مجموعهٔ
فنون عنوانیله بهر ماه ابتداسنده بر غزته چیقاره جق واشبو مجموعه لااقل
اوتوزایکی صحیفه دن عبارت اولهرق اعضانك جله سنه مجاناً برر
نسخه سی اعطا اولنه جقدر

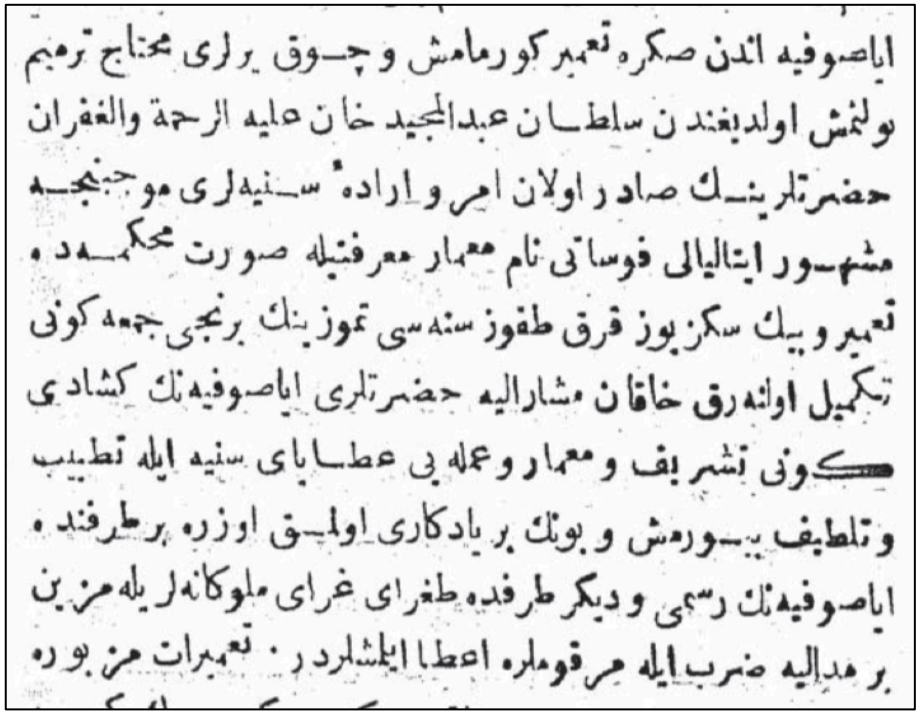
O1: *Mecmua-i Fünun,* Vol.1, 2.


جزائر مذکوره طقوز قطعه اولوب مرمره دکزینك جهت
شرقیه سنده واقعدر · بونلر بیوك وهکبه لی و برغوس و قنه لی
و صدف و طاوشانلی و یاسی و سوری و پیته اطه سی اسملریله
مسمادرلر · دردی یعنی بیوك اطه وهکبه لی و برغوس وقنه لی
و صدف اطه لری مسکون اولوب دیکرلری خالی عن الاهالید ر ·

O2: Konstantinidi, "Kızıl Adalar," 58.


ایاصوفیه جامعه تحویل اولندقدن صکره تاریخچه شایان تحریر
وقوعاتی پك ازدر · بیك بشیوز یمش اوچ سنهٔ میلادیه سنده
(نافپاقت) نام محله دولت علیه ایله نمچه لی بینده وقوعبولان
محاربهٔ بحریه دن صکره سلطان سلیم ثانی ایاصوفیه یی تعمیر
وطرز نوین اوزره درت مناره انشا ایتدیرمشدر · اواوقته قدر

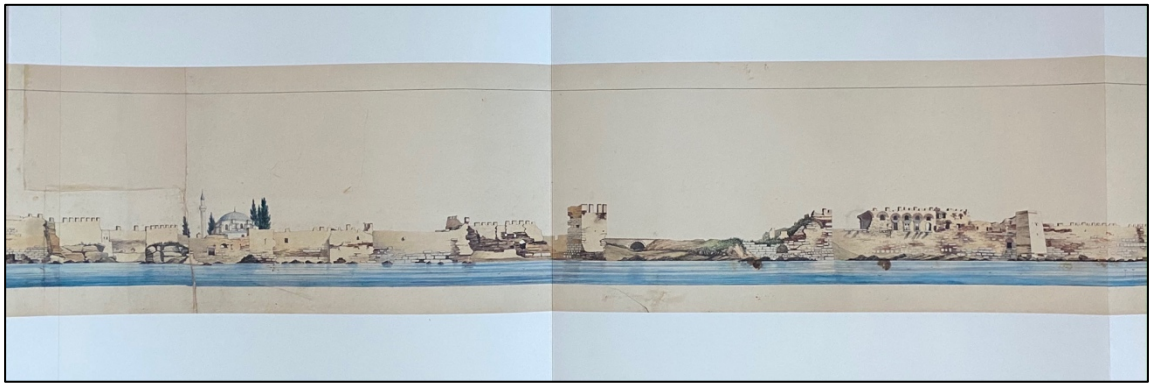
O3: Konstantinidi, "Tarih-i Ayasofya," 82.



O4: Konstantinidi, “Tarih-i Ayasofya,” 83.

APPENDIX P

A SECTION FROM THE MARMARA WALLS SCROLL BY DĒMĒTRIADĒS



Partial Image from The Panorama of The Marmara Sea Walls by Dimitriadis Efendi
Istanbul:Koç University & GABAM

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ELIA, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, Athens

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Sismanoglio Megaro Father Sakoulidis Library, Istanbul

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National Archives, Washington DC

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Gallica: Bibliothèque Nationale de France Online Archive

Yale University Library Digital Collections

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Digital Collections

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Harvard University, Digital Library

Amherst College Archives (via email)

Türk Tarih Kurumu Library Online Archive

IBB, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Atatürk Library, Digital Archive

SALT Research Online Archives

Hakkı Tarık Us Online Library

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