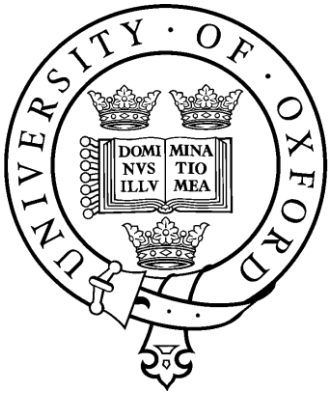
Ottoman policy-making in an age of reforms: Unearthing Ottoman archaeology in the 19th and early 20th centuries



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Abstract

This thesis discusses the Ottoman policies on archaeology in the aftermath of the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms (1839) and until the end of the Ottoman Empire (1923). It explores the activities of the central state, the autonomous Principality of Samos in the Aegean, and the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople. Primary and secondary sources in Ottoman Turkish, *Katharevousa* Greek, Modern Turkish and Modern Greek, English and French inform the analysis. The first chapter looks at the contexts within which an Ottoman interest in archaeology emerged. It discusses the rise of archaeology as a distinct area of scientific and scholarly research in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the encounters of the Ottomans with western archaeologies in that period, and those domestic intellectual dynamics that made them receptive to archaeology. The second chapter focuses on the Ottoman legislation on antiquities, and secondarily looks at related institutional developments. It discusses at length the emergence of an Ottoman voice on archaeology through the crystallisation of increasingly comprehensive and mature sets of rules and procedures on heritage management. By looking at the autonomous Principality of Samos, the third chapter shifts the attention to the western periphery of the empire, and explores how the Greek Orthodox, when outside the direct control of the central state, could develop their own understanding of, processes and structures regarding archaeology. The fourth chapter looks, for the first time in the literature, at the archaeological activities of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, and discusses the contribution of Ottoman society to the promotion of archaeological research and the protection of monuments. Overall, this thesis provides a critical

analysis of the emergence of the concept and practice of archaeological heritage protection in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

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In this long journey through time and space, many people extended a helping hand and shared a word of encouragement. In Istanbul, I would like to thank Dr Şehrazat Karagöz, formerly vice-director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Ms Havva Koç, formerly head librarian at said museum, Dr Edhem Eldem, Dr Fatmagül Demirel, my Ottoman Turkish language instructor Mr Mustafa Küçük, and the personnel at the Ottoman Archives, the 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi library and the *Atatürk Kitaplığı* in Beyoğlu. Also, my thanks go to Dr Antony Greenwood, director of the American Research Institute in Turkey (Istanbul), and his colleagues. In Athens, I would like to thank Dr Daphne Voudouri, Dr Evangelos Kyriakidis, Mr Vassilios Petrakos, secretary general of the Archaeological Society at Athens, and the archivist of said Society, the archivists at the General State Archive, and the librarians of the French School, the library of the Hellenic Parliament and the Gennadius Library. Also, my gratitude goes to Dr Ioannis Kyriakantonakis for generously sharing thoughts and resources. My parents, Faidon and Anna Papatheodorou, without me asking them and, noteably, without them asking me, have been the most self-motivated research assistants one can think of. On Samos, I found a warm and facilitating climate for my research at the local branch of the General State Archives; my thanks to its Director Ms Angeliki Chatzimichali, its former Director Mr Christos Landros, its personnel as well as the personnel of the Public Library at Vathy. Finally, I would like to thank Dr Ioannis Kolakis from the island of Chios. In the UK, Dr Yannis Galanakis at the University of Cambridge, Dr Vasileios Varouchakis, and Dr Nigel Tallis at the British Museum provided me with their sound advice and support. My

supervisor, Dr Laurent Mignon, extended a rare – admittedly the only – welcoming hand to my suggested PhD topic and supported me throughout my research with wise comments that, *inter alia*, much helped me with learning how not to give in to the many sirenes of archival research. This thesis was materially made possible thanks to a three-year grant by the A.G. Leventis Foundation, a research grant by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and the initial support of my uncle, Paris Papatheodorou, and aunt, Danae Tentes. At the lowest ebb of my doctorate, when I found myself in the midst of an ocean with no land in sight, Vassilis Bornovas was there to encourage me to go on. Now I see that he was right. My sister, Dido, and friends have put up with many years of introversion on my side; I hope I can remedy this now. I fear that many are those whom I did not have the opportunity to mention by name in this shorter than desired acknowledgment text. They have my gratitude nevertheless.

A Note on footnotes and bibliography, transliterations, and quotes

The footnotes and bibliography have been largely formulated according to the MLA referencing system, as presented in Russel, Tony, et al., "MLA Formatting and Style Guide." *The Purdue OWL. Purdue U Writing Lab,* 2 Aug. 2016, owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/747/01/. Accessed 11 Jan. 2017. Diversions include references to encyclopaedias, dictionaries, and other referencing works, which appear in the same way as books. Archival sources follow, as closely as possible, the referencing style suggested by the archive, if available. Otherwise, these are cited in a style devised specifically for this PhD thesis. Transliterations follow the choices made in Bahrani, Zainab et al., "A Note on Spelling, Transliteration, and Dating" in *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, edited by Zainab Bahrani et al. SALT, 2011, pp. 6-7. An exception is made for Greek names and surnames, where the phonetic transliteration is replaced by one that maintains its allusion to Greek spelling, e.g. Makrides instead of Makridis. When the name of an individual is established in an alternative way, the established version is chosen, e.g. Christos Tsountas instead of Chrestos Tsountas. Quotes in *Katharevousa* Greek are without the diacritics, and the stress marks in words have been simplified to the system of contemporary Demotic Greek, which uses only one of these marks. For the transliteration of Ottoman Turkish texts, recourse has been made to the suggestions of archivist Mr Mustafa Küçük, and when these not available, to the dictionaries of the Turkish Language Foundation (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) and Devellioğlu, Ferit. *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat (Eski ve Yeni Harflerle)*. 26th ed., Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 2010. Dates were converted from the *Hicrî* and/or

Rumî calendars to the *Miladî* one by use of the online *Tarih Çevirme Kılavuzu* of the Turkish History Foundation (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*).

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Introduction

This thesis looks into archaeology as a policy field for the Ottoman state in the years delineated by the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 on one end and the demise of the empire in 1923 on the other end. More than being used as rigid chronological delimitations, these dates provide a widely accepted periodisation that encompasses key dynamics with relevance for Ottoman archaeology as well, namely the efforts of the Ottoman state to reform and modernise its legal and administrative systems, and the pressure exerted by imperial dissolution. These decades, a centenary but for one generation, are replete with attempts of the Ottoman state to regulate archaeology. Significantly, archaeology, as a child of modernity, acquired an importance and meaning in those years that was unprecedented in Ottoman history.

Although numerous locations from disparate lands feature in it, the analysis makes no pretense of covering all corners of the vast empire in depth and the focus remains with the central administration in Constantinople. Also, two case studies, archaeology in the autonomous Ottoman Principality of Samos, an island in the Aegean, and the archaeological endeavours of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, serve to highlight the plurality of agents and contexts in Ottoman archaeology, and bring to the fore two stakeholders that have been disregarded for long.

This thesis attempts to cover the entire period, in which archaeology was conceptualised and developed as a field worthy of systematic attention by state and society alike. This justifies a more macroscopic approach, in which the formulation and implementation of policies regulating archaeology take centre-stage. Thus, this thesis discusses policies, whereas politics,

intellectuals and leading figures in Ottoman archaeology complement the analysis.

In discussing the central state, the autonomous Principality of Samos, and the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, Ottoman elites come to the fore. Although this does not negate the engagement of all walks of life with archaeology and antiquities, it acknowledges the indispensable role that elites have in policy-making and implementation and, in consequence, our understanding of policies.

A number of reasons underlie this choice of topic. Of particular importance is the fragmented and partial – occasionally even distorting – picture of Ottoman archaeology drawn so far. Available histories tend to cluster around certain issues, while leaving much wanted. One such issue is the role of foreigners. Oftentimes, Ottoman archaeology is read through the lens of non-Ottomans, almost invariably Europeans and Americans who worked, travelled and/or excavated in the empire.[1] Although the inclusion of foreigners in the discussion of the history of Ottoman archaeology is indispensable, the Ottoman voice and lens merit our attention in their own right. Archaeology in the Ottoman domains included foreigners, but Ottoman archaeology was far from being limited to the archaeology of those foreigners or a mere reaction to their activities. The Ottoman voice and vantage points are essential for understanding Ottoman archaeology on its own premises. Thus, it is important to look thoroughly at the Ottomans as agents in

[1] For example, see Patrizio Gunning, Lucia. *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*. Ashgate, 2009, though the author makes no claim to discuss Ottoman archaeological history. Also, many of the papers in Redford, Scott, and Nina Ergin, editors. *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açıları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri*., Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010.

archaeology by turning primarily to Ottoman sources rather than the accounts of westerners.

Some work has already been done in this respect, which however focuses on museology and prosopographic accounts. In the 1950s and 1960s, Remzi Oğuz Arık and Kâmil Su[2] took it upon themselves to shed light on the Imperial Museum, that is, the central Ottoman archaeological museum. More recently, Wendy Shaw[3] provided a critical account of the Ottoman museums, with a focus on the Imperial Museum, while popularised histories of Ottoman museology run parallel to this.[4] Prosopographies tend to focus on Osman Hamdi Bey, the first Ottoman director of the Imperial Museum (1881-1910).[5] Although the leading role that Osman Hamdi Bey had in the development of Ottoman archaeology is indisputable, it is important to acknowledge that one of his biggest achievements was to establish a bureaucracy within the Ottoman state, which was in charge of archaeology and was populated by numerous men working for a variety of institutions at the central and local levels. Our knowledge of Ottoman archaeology has

[2] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. *L' Histoire et l' Organisation des Musées Turcs*. Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1953. Su, Kâmil. *Osman Hamdi Bey'e Kadar Türk Müzesi*. ICOM Türkiye Millî Komitesi Yayınları, 1965.

[3] Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Possessors and Possessed – Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. U of California Press, 2003.

[4] Yücel, Erdem. *Türkiye'de Müzecilik*. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1999. Başgelen, Nezih. *Müze-i Hümayun'dan Günümüze İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi – Istanbul Archaeology Museum from Imperial Times to the Present*. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2010.

[5] For example, see Cezar, Mustafa. *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*. 1971. Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı Yayını, 1995. 2 vols.; Eldem, Edhem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*. edited by David Shankland, vol. 1, The Isis Press, 2004, pp. 121-149. For a popularised prosopography, see Başgelen, Nezih. *Ölümünün 100. Yıldönümünde Osman Hamdi Bey Yaptığı Kazılar – Bulduğu Eserler*. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2010.

much to gain from exploring further the institutional aspect, especially institutions beyond the Imperial Museum.

Significantly, available histories of Ottoman archaeology have silenced the Ottoman citizen. Although some revisionist accounts question the dominance of state actors and archaeologists by looking at ordinary people, such as peasants involved in archaeological excavations,[6] the current discussion ignores the role of those citizens who engaged in archaeology in a voluntary, non-professional, yet learned manner. To deprive these individuals of their voice is to deprive them of an agency that they possessed in their times, and the history of Ottoman archaeology of an important chapter.

In particular, histories of Ottoman archaeology have for long silenced Ottoman Greek voices and actors. It would be hard to attribute this to a conscious decision on the part of their authors. To incorporate the contribution of Ottoman Greeks in Ottoman archaeology requires skills not easy to acquire, above all, an advanced command of the Greek language in its *Katharevousa* – not Demotic – form. Still, this state of the field systematically disregards the multiethnic and multiconfessional nature of the empire and accounts for a serious distortion of our understanding of Ottoman archaeology, with important repercussions for how we treat Ottoman history more broadly.[7]

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[6] For example, see Çelik, Zeynep. *About Antiquities – Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*. U of Texas Press, 2016, esp. ch. 5 – *The Landscape of Labor* and ch. 6 – *Dual Settlements*, pp. 135-213. Also, Hamilakis, Yannis. "Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece." *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. edited by Zainab Bahrani, et al. SALT, 2011, pp. 49-69.

[7] For two contributions on how to move beyond the compartmentalisation of Ottoman history into national(ist) histories with an emphasis on the Ottoman Greek aspect, see Philliou, Christine. "The Paradox of Perceptions: Interpreting the Ottoman Past through the National Present." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 44, no. 5, Sep. 2008, pp. 661-675; and Eldem, Edhem.

Also, it is important to question to what extent the tendency shown in the literature to discuss polarisation, friction and competition over collaboration in archaeological matters is substantiated. The literature on the role of westerners in Ottoman archaeology is replete with instances of looting, imperialist, nationalist, orientalist and colonialist accounts.[8] Significantly, even revisionist approaches to the history of archaeology fall short of enriching these narratives with discussion of neutral or even positive exchanges.[9] Few contributors acknowledge the varied intentions and expressions of archaeological interest among westerners,[10] and the wide range of contacts between Ottomans and non-Ottomans that could be as conflictual and negative, as they could be collaborative and positive. Moreover, the literature has extended the Orientalist critique to inter-Ottoman relations.[11] Valid as these critical inquiries may be, they tend to limit our understanding of Ottoman archaeology. Without turning a blind eye to the many traumatic experiences, there is a need to include in our discourse all types of engagement, negative

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"Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography." *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, vol. VI, 2009, pp. 27-40. DOI: dx.doi.org/10.12681/hr.238. Accessed 7 June 2017.

[8] For example, these premises largely inform the following publications: Çelik, Zeynep. *op.cit*.; Patrizio Gunning, Lucia. *op.cit.*; and Shaw. *op.cit*.

[9] Díaz-Andreu, Margarita. *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology – Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. Oxford UP, 2007. For a general critique of the focus of the literature on nationalism and imperialism/colonialism, see Abadía, Oscar Moro. "Beyond externalism. Exploring new directions in the history of archaeology." *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 17, issue 2, Dec. 2010, pp. 215-236. DOI: doi.org/10.1017/S1380203810000280. Accessed 2 Nov. 2012.

[10] Thomasson, Fredrik. "Justifying and Criticizing the Removals of Antiquities in Ottoman Lands: Tracking the Sigeion Inscription." *International Journal of Cultural Property*, vol. 17, 2010, pp. 493-517, esp. pp. 505-510. DOI: doi.org.10.1017/S0940739110000238. Accessed 7 June 2017.

[11] Çelik. *op.cit.*, pp. 157-167. Also, Eldem, Edhem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *op.cit*.; and Makdisi, Ussama. "The "Rediscovery" of Baalbek: A Metaphor for Empire in the Nineteenth Century." *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. *op.cit*. pp. 257-279, esp. pp. 272-276. For a broader discussion beyond Ottoman archaeology, see Makdisi, Ussama. "Ottoman Orientalism." *The American Historical Review*, vol 107, no. 3, June 2002, pp. 768-796. www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532495. Accessed 3 Oct. 2012.

and positive alike, between Ottomans and non-Ottomans, and among Ottomans.

Arguably, the edited volume *Scramble for the Past* provides the closest example regarding the aims of this thesis. This volume attempts to rectify "[t]he story of the rise of western scientific archaeology, particularly in its Mesopotamian and Graeco-Roman dimensions, [that] has thus far been written from one perspective only, and by silencing local voices", while the editors emphasise "that the absence of local actors and the neglect of Ottoman documents and history, often combined with a lack of source criticism that perpetuates the major nineteenth-century accounts rather than questioning them, has resulted in a biased presentation of this era and its developments."[12] This thesis is intended to contribute to remedying such biases and misinterpretations, and to draw a more complete picture of the history of Ottoman archaeology along these lines.

This thesis brings to the fore Ottoman archaeology, looks in depth at the policies of the central state and local realities, gives Ottoman Greeks a voice, while attempting to treat conflict and collaboration in archaeology with equanimity. For this, primary and secondary sources in a variety of languages and scripts were identified in a host of locations in three countries and five cities as well as online. Istanbul is an epicenter for research on Ottoman history. Extensive research was conducted in the Ottoman Archive (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library in Taksim, and the library of the Archaeological Museum. Holdings of

[12] Bahrani, Zainab, et al., editors. *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. *op.cit.*, p. 28.

the libraries of the American Research Institute and the 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi have also been useful. In Greece, the collections of the Gennadius Library, the library of the French School, and that of the Hellenic Parliament were utilised, while no luck was found at the archive of the Archaeological Society at Athens. Also, in Athens, material related to Heinrich Schliemann, in particular, was located in the General State Archives. The Greek island of Samos is home to a treasure, the archive of the Ottoman Principality of Samos that is kept at the local branch of the General State Archives, while useful material was found at the Municipal library. In the United Kingdom, research was conducted at the archive of the British Museum in London, and the many libraries of the University of Oxford, especially the Sackler Library. Secondary sources and, more importantly, rare primary material, such as issues of the periodical of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, are available online. To all these, one can add the visits to numerous bookshops, and the encounters with people who generously shared material and their knowledge.

The primary and secondary sources consulted are textual. Articles and books make up the bulk of the secondary sources in English, French, Modern Greek and Modern Turkish. Language-wise, they make for smooth readings.

Primary sources are comprised of administrative documents, acts of law, statutes, periodicals, newspapers, and other publications, as well as unpublished correspondence. In particular, the Ottoman archive in Istanbul and the local branch of the General State Archives of Greece on Samos got the lion’s share in archival research. The archive of the Department of the Middle East at the British Museum and the letters of Theodoros Makrides,

curator at the Imperial Museum, to Halil Bey, vice-director and eventually director of said museum, make up the unpublished correspondence consulted. The laws studied are the laws of the Ottoman state, the Principality of Samos, and Greece and, secondarily, Egypt. Periodicals, gazettes, statutes and books were used in a complementary fashion to archival material and legislation, with a major exception, the periodical of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, which has formed the core of the material studied in relation to it.

Ottoman Turkish in *Rika* and *Katharevousa* Greek form the backbone of the primary material studied, with sources in French and English enriching the research. Most of the Ottoman Turkish and *Katharevousa* Greek documents, as well as the documents in English from the archive of the British Museum, are manuscripts. This is no mean feat for a researcher, even when reading manuscripts in her mother tongue and the same alphabet she uses in her daily life. Moreover, at the Ottoman Archive, the documents studied are almost invariably *müsvedde*, that is, the final drafts that can bear corrections and cross-outs, oftentimes in colour pencil, and additions on the sides and bottom of the page before being neatly copied for dispatch. To say the least, this more playful arrangement is a guarantee for a meandering reading.

Language-related issues have no monopoly over the challenges associated with archival research. Uncatalogued archives – or sections of archives – may have a considerable effect on research. Faced with this, researchers can either limit their research to what they can get hold of in the period of time allocated to working in a particular archive or set out to catalogue the entire section of interest to them on the basis of the digital

copies acquired. The former has been the case with the archive of the British Museum, where digital copies or photocopies are not an option, and the latter with the archaeology-related section of the archive of the Principality of Samos. Of a lesser importance, elliptic summaries of archival documents[13] can also complicate decision-making as to whether a document fits into the topic a researcher works on. Similarly, the various transliterations for the same non-Muslim name or toponymic that appear in Ottoman Turkish means that the researcher needs to identify all versions in advance to use as key words for research in a search engine.[14] Documents bearing no date and/or having survived to our days unsigned are rare but they exist.[15] When documents that appear in catalogues of archival holdings and/or in references in publications cannot be located physically in the archive, it is a frustrating experience. Rare though such instances may be, this was the case with a document from the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul[16] and with documents from the archive of the Archaeological Society at Athens that another scholar had previously been able to consult.[17]

[13] For example, BOA.HR.HMŞ.İŞO(108/54), dated 22 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1336 (22.12.1920), goes by the rather broad theme "Memalik-i Osmaniye'de âsâr-ı atika taharrisi". Similarly, one of the themes in the topic given for BOA.İ..DUİT(71/6), dated 8 Receb 1336 (19.04.1918) is "Asar-ı Atika". (Both documents consulted in the summary provided in the catalogue of the archive.)

[14] For example, Heinrich Schliemann appears as Schliemann as well as Şiliman, BOA.MF.MKT(36/137), dated 29 Rebî'ül-âhir 1293 (24.05.1876), and Şaliman, BOA.MF.MKT(48/158), dated 6 Cemâziye'l-evvel 1294 (19.05.1877). (All documents consulted in the summary provided in the catalogue of the archive.)

[15] For example, BOA.Y.EE(41/160) is dated 6 Rebî'ül-âhir 1327 (27.04.1909) in the summary provided, but the actual document bears no date. Similarly, by being unsigned, the draft law on antiquities on Samos that was put together in 1886 and is classified under GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1886, 2/2συνα, 23.07.1886 does not allow one to identify its editor with certainty.

[16] BOA.MF.MKT(99/77), dated 23 Şevvâl 1305 (3.07.1888).

[17] Καλπαξής, Θανάσης Ε. *Αρχαιολογία και Πολιτική – Ι Σαμιακά Αρχαιολογικά 1850-1914*. Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 1990.

Significantly, filtering the material available goes beyond content to critically interpreting this content. Particular interests, preferences, ideologies, and other features permeate the documents, which record the voice of individuals and institutions in many ways. The same holds true in relation to secondary sources where, to complicate things further, the voice of the original document meets that of the scholar who is commenting on it.

In the context of these layers of differing perspectives, it is important to clarify the use of certain concepts. The term “archaeology” is used in a broad sense, as justified by the fact that the period in question marked the formative years of archaeology as a discipline and of archaeological policies. Also, in this introduction, one occasionally comes across the term “Istanbul”. In the main chapters, one will read about “Constantinople”, in the same way that one will read about Salonica, and not Thessaloniki, and Smyrna, instead of Izmir. Overall, this thesis considers cities as human geographies, not just a spot on the map. As a result, an effort is made to employ the toponymic that, while widely in use in English (and French) in Ottoman times, also better reflects the multiethnic and multiconfessional Ottoman world. Similarly, the term “Ottoman” is far from restricted to the Muslim Turk. The choice between “Greek” and “Hellenic” is more of a challenge. With no intention of unjustified rigidity, the term “Greek” is most of the time used in reference to the Greek state, except for standard expressions, such as “Ottoman Greek”, while the term “Hellenic” serves to denote things “Greek” that do not necessarily relate to the Greek state. In English, the linguistic distinction between “Greece” and the “Hellenic Republic”, as is the official name of the country, further complicates things. In Greek, no such distinction is made; the country is

widely known as *Ελλάδα* (Hellas) and officially as *Ελληνική Δημοκρατία* (Hellenic Republic). The term *Rum*, borrowed in English from Turkish, has been avoided. Although it exists in Greek as well (*Ρωμιός-ά*), this Anglo-Turkish hybrid appears to be too loaded politically and ideologically, and nowadays is more a reflection of nation-building processes and their uneasiness *vis-à-vis* minorities. When required, as for example when the ethnic affiliation of a person is unclear or less dominant than their religious identity, the religious identification “Greek Orthodox” is employed. More than one doctoral thesis can be written about the use of words in relation to identity in the Ottoman Empire and Ottomanist historiography, and no explanation of the words chosen over alternatives can ever satisfy all readers to the full. Be this as it may, this thesis is an attempt to shed more light on identities rather than further distort them.

These principles, filters, challenges, formative experiences, questions, critical dialogues with the discipline and the field, interactions with archives and their world, *culs-de-sac* and treasure troves have informed the analysis, which is developed in four chapters.

The first chapter provides a context for the emergence of Ottoman archaeology. It views archaeology as a child of modernity and a tool for reinforcing its concepts, while acknowledging both a western context for Ottoman archaeology, and an Ottoman one. The western context serves to better understand the formation of archaeology as a discipline, and the interactions between western archaeology and the Ottomans. In turn, the Ottoman context looks at the changes in the historiographical paradigm in the empire that can be associated with the emergence of Ottoman archaeology.

More specifically, it discusses methodological and conceptual shifts as well as new themes in the historical study of antiquity that paved the way for a positive reception of archaeology.

Sources include both secondary and primary readings. As far as the European context is concerned, this chapter benefits from a selection of readings from an established body of literature on the history of world and European archaeology. It draws on classic sources, such as the work of Paul Bahn,[18] and more recent critical approaches, such as that of Díaz-Andreu.[19] However, even though they make an effort to avoid Eurocentrism, both classic and critical bodies of literature are its victims. They deprive local populations outside of Europe of agency or, at best, downplay their agency by discussing it from the margins and as reactive to the Europeans. Moreover, they exhibit a tendency to treat Europe as a cultural and political unit, with critical approaches, in particular, focusing on the negative aspects of the European engagement with archaeology abroad. As little research has been done with a view to challenging Eurocentrism in the history of archaeology, one needs to turn to the archive. Significantly, the Ottoman archive provides the kind of information required for exploring the nuances between western countries, and among individuals from the same country.

Information regarding the Ottoman context comes from a variety of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources form a fascinating body of literature, which deals with history, history of art, topography, and occasionally archaeology, and includes books and newspapers in Ottoman

[18] Bahn, Paul G. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*. Cambridge UP, 1996. Also, Bahn, Paul. *Archaeology – A Very Short Introduction*. 2nd ed., Oxford UP, 2012.

[19] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit*.

Turkish, transliterations from Ottoman into Modern Turkish, publications in *Katharevousa* Greek, translations from Armenian into Modern Turkish and from French into Ottoman Turkish. Although in the study of Ottoman history an artificial insulation along the official languages of successor nation-states has resulted in these sources being studied in non-Ottoman contexts, the effort in this chapter is to bring them together in an Ottoman context. This is not without challenges, as for example the fact that different Ottoman populations share converging as well as diverging intellectual histories both in terms of their chronological as well as their thematic evolution. In spite of the challenges, such primary sources have a significant role to play in showing the domestic roots of the interest in archaeology that was developed among the Ottomans. Secondary sources fit into the broader analysis for the Ottoman context by providing information mostly on the evolution of historiographical writing in Ottoman Turkish. Zeynep Çelik's article in *Scramble for the Past* is particularly useful in identifying Ottoman primary sources on archaeology in the empire.

The second chapter deals with the archaeological policies of the Ottoman central state. Its focus is on legislation, given that laws encapsulate and codify state policies, with parallel developments, such as the emergence of archaeological institutions and their activities, enriching the discussion. This chapter arguably provides the first systematic analysis of Ottoman archaeological policies by going beyond a textual analysis of the main regulations on antiquities to incorporate a plethora of legal and administrative decisions and issues. It lays out a narrative that aims to provide a comprehensive picture as to what the archaeological policies of the Ottoman

state were, what causes they served, how they were implemented, and how they evolved. This chapter is divided into sections that follow the main regulations on antiquities, as each one ushered in a new period for Ottoman archaeology. The first section deals with the period up to 1869, when the first regulation on antiquities was adopted. In it, one can find a critical analysis of the regulatory arrangements and legal understandings that characterised the period between the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 and the adoption of the 1869 regulation as well as a discussion of the first steps towards the creation of archaeological institutions, especially a museum in the Ottoman capital. Each of the following sections is developed around one of the main regulations on antiquities. It provides a critical discussion of the content of the law, attempts to trace the reasons behind its promulgation, and to locate its sources, and looks critically into its implementation. Parallel developments, especially aspects of institutional capacity building, are brought into the discussion for the weight they carry in better understanding the Ottoman archaeological policies. Primary and secondary sources in Ottoman and Modern Turkish, *Katharevousa* and Modern Greek, French, and English have been consulted.

Primary importance is ascribed to the Ottoman voice as seen in Ottoman sources, while non-Ottoman sources and approaches are complementary. The analysis draws largely on primary sources with a considerable number of documents being studied for the first time and other read in a new light. With a wealth of material, the Ottoman Archive is a major source of information. Because of its dizzyingly large number of available documents, a selection of documents was made on the basis of their

importance and relevance, as established through a comparative reading of summaries and cross-readings of summaries with other primary and secondary sources. These documents provide crucial information regarding law enforcement and the reasons behind the promulgation of the regulations. The texts of the laws in Ottoman Turkish and, occasionally, French were located primarily in the Library of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum as well as the Ottoman Archive, in the Ottoman official gazette, *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, in 19th century publications and as reprints in contemporary publications. In particular, when a French translation is available, this was read in comparison with the Ottoman Turkish text, and, where deviations were spotted, these were duly noted. Greek archaeological legislation from the 19th century was also studied in the original and served for a comparative analysis with the Ottoman regulations, in light of loans and influences of the former to the latter. Writings by individuals who worked for the Imperial Museum are important sources as well. Theodoros Makrides' unpublished correspondence with Halil Bey in French provides unique insight into the workings of the Imperial Museum and especially the situation on the ground in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century. Dethier's history of the Imperial Museum is an invaluable testimony from one of the directors of the museum.

There is a concrete body of secondary literature on Ottoman archaeology available, though few sources deal with legislation, especially in a systematic and comprehensive way, or frame their analysis in terms of policies. In spite of its focus on individuals, museums, excavations, collections and publications, secondary literature has considerably enriched the analysis in this chapter. Edhem Eldem is by far the most prolific author on Ottoman

archaeology. His work covers a variety of topics that range from prosopographical accounts to encyclopaedic dictionaries on Ottoman archaeology. With an erudite use of primary sources, including Ottoman administrative documents, he has opened new vistas for our understanding of Ottoman archaeology. The two-volume publication on Osman Hamdi Bey by Mustafa Cezar provides a narrative on the life and work of this famous and widely acknowledged director of the Imperial Museum based, *inter alia*, on Ottoman archival material. Cezar's discussion of broader issues related to Ottoman archaeology oftentimes sheds light on important aspects. The analysis of Wendy Shaw focuses on the Imperial Museum. It is succinct and well-resourced, though it occasionally forces the reader to contemplate to what extent she has avoided identifying Ottoman history with Turkish history and whether she views archaeology in Ottoman lands almost exclusively through a binary that pits Ottomans against Westerners. Koçak's book on the archaeological excavations in the Ottoman Empire includes references to a considerable number of primary documents from the Ottoman Archive, but rarely goes beyond a descriptive account. Similarly, it adds little to the works of Shaw and Cezar, which it often quotes as sources. Zeynep Çelik's book on the politics of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire provides an interesting comparative analysis of Ottoman and Western archaeological realities. It was published in late 2016, at the same time that the last chapter of this thesis was being finalised, and informs the analysis to the extent possible. From among the articles consulted, Şimşek and Dinç's article and the ones by Mumcu and Çal provide a useful analysis with a focus on the Ottoman regulations on antiquities.

The third chapter looks at the autonomous Ottoman Principality of Samos in the Aegean, and discusses its archaeological policies with a view to shedding light on the administration of archaeological heritage on the island from the mid 19th to the early 20th centuries and providing an answer as to the relations between an autonomous territory and the Ottoman central state in archaeological matters. Significantly, the fact that the principality adopted its first law on antiquities almost 15 years before the central government in Constantinople highlights its importance for the study of Ottoman history, especially at a time when the central state was reorganising largely in response to secessionist trends, and a time of increased interest in archaeological affairs and their regulation. Also, the analysis contributes to a body of literature where the principality is sporadically studied, and, in spite of its importance, its archaeological regime hardly ever discussed. The analysis gives priority to legislation, because the laws encapsulated and codified the archaeological policies of the principality, and attempts to situate the voice of the principality in a regional context, in an attempt to reconstrunct the Samian archaeological regime in relation to both Athens and Constantinople, two major *loci* of influence. More specifically, this chapter discusses the archaeological laws of the principality, the reasons behind their promulgation, and their sources, while exploring parallel developments, such as the creation of museums and administrative positions for archaeology. A first section with background information on the political history and institutions and the socio-economic development of Samos in the 19th and early 20th centuries introduces the reader to the principality. This chapter is based on primary and secondary sources largely in Greek, including *Katharevousa* Greek, and

secondarily in French and English, with additional information drawn from sources used in the second chapter and the analysis provided in it.

This chapter draws heavily on archival material and, in particular, legislative texts and administrative documents to be found in the archive of the principality that survives in the branch of the General State Archives of Greece on Samos,[20] as well as books and newspapers printed in the 19th and early 20th centuries. For the discussion of Samian archaeological policies, the former stands out as the most important source, including, for example, the archaeological decrees of the princes and governors. More importantly, the section of the archive entitled "antiquities and excavations" (*1/2 Αρχαιότητες και ανασκαφαί*) is a unique trove, with this chapter being largely based on material found in it. More specifically, the "antiquities and excavations" section is a rich collection of archival documents, almost in their entirety manuscripts in Greek, which span the period from 1853 until 1912. Any researcher, though, should be aware that, unlike other sections of the archive, this one is not catalogued.[21] Significantly, a large number of documents offer inconclusive evidence as to the issue at stake in them. For example, in case of police investigations about random archaeological finds, one may read

[20] Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους. *Αρχεία Νομού Σάμου*. gak.sam.sch.gr/. Accessed 31 May 2017. For a description of the archive, see Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους. *Αρχεία Νομού Σάμου, Αρχεία – Συλλογές*. gak.sam.sch.gr/ArchCol/archcol-00.html. Accessed 31 May 2017.

[21] For the purposes of this research, a catalogue of all documents was produced as follows: (a) the code of the document, that is the section in which it is found (i.e. 1/2 Antiquities and Excavations); (b) the document number (e.g. 1 or 2, etc.); (c) the photo number of the document (this is the number the camera generated for each picture taken); (d) the date of the document; (e) a short summary; (f) the language(s) of the document; and, (g) if deemed necessary, a longer summary with notes. In some cases, whole documents or sections were transcribed or the picture of a typed document (e.g. decree) copied and pasted in the catalogue.

pages of interrogations but be left without an answer as to their conclusion.[22] In such cases, it is unclear whether more documents existed but have not survived, or whether these were not produced at all and one should consider this normal administrative practice at that time. Although researching for relevant documents in other sections of the archive is much facilitated by the online search engine of the archive, for this topic, the results have been particularly limited.[23] Also, in a couple of cases, such as the excavations of the French Archaeological School at Athens and those of the Archaeological Society at Athens, the archive reveals too little compared to their size and importance, and anyone interested in these needs to look elsewhere. In spite of these limitations, the branch of the General State Archives on Samos remains an indispensable source of information for anyone who wishes to study archaeological developments in the principality.

Other primary sources include newspaper articles and a few books that were written at the time of the principality or soon after as well as the texts of Greek and Ottoman laws. Though limited in their scope, they provide invaluable information and enrich the discussion on the Samian archaeological regime as delineated primarily by the documents located in the branch of the General State Archives on Samos, while, to an extent, also remedy caveats in the narrative. In particular, the articles are found in the *Official Gazette of the Principality* (*Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως της Ηγεμονίας*

[22] For example, General State Archives of Greece, Samos branch (GSA-Samos from now on), Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1866, 1/1συν(α-ι).

[23] For example, one is able to retrieve the *Agreement between the Samian Parliament and French archaeologist Paul Gerard for the excavation in the area of Ireos*. Reference code: GRGSA-SAM_COL015.01.F000001.IT000100. arxeiomnimon.gak.gr/browse/resource.html?tab=tab01&id=469573&lang=en. Accessed 15 Feb. 2017.

της Σάμου) and local newspapers, such as *Eunomia* (*Ευνομία*). The books include a catalogue of the Egyptian collection of the archaeological museum of Samos written by the Museum Director Aristomenes Stergioglides,[24] which, *inter alia*, provides insight into his understanding of antiquity. A history of Samos by local journalist Ioannes Vakirtzes[25] provides information while allowing one to study the views and ideologies of a Samian journalist and intellectual with a first hand experience of the principality. The testimony of Victor Guérin, a French archaeologist who visited the principality in its early years, includes a unique account of the birth of the idea of archaeological heritage protection on the island. Significantly, the archaeological laws and related administrative decisions of the Greek state and the Ottoman laws on antiquities are indispensible for situating the Samian regime in a regional context.

Secondary sources, all in Greek, include contemporary publications that deal with the history of the Samian Principality and a book that focuses on the politics of archaeology on the island, especially, at the turn of the 20th century. Uneven in their scholarly merits, these sources form a body of literature that requires additions, before one can argue that it provides a satisfactory picture of the principality. Kostas Ptines is an early, post-WWII amateur historian.[26] Although his work is useful in that it provides information

[24] Στεργιογλίδης, Αριστομένης. *Κατάλογος των Υπό της Α. Υψ. του Αντιβασιλέως της Αιγύπτου Χελμή Αββάς Πασσά Δωρηθεισών Αιγυπτιακών Αρχαιοτήτων εις το Μουσείον του εν Σάμω Πυθαγορείου Γυμνασίου*. εκ του Δημοσίου Τυπογραφείου, Σάμος, 1900.

[25] Βακιρτζής, Ιωάννης. *Ιστορία της Ηγεμονίας της Σάμου 1834-1912*. Β' έκδοση, Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους – Αρχεία Νομού Σάμου, 2007.

[26] Πτίνης, Κώστας. *Διαλέξεις: Η παιδεία στη Σάμο στα Χρόνια της Ηγεμονίας, Η συμβολή της Σάμου στην πνευματική ανάπτυξη της Μικράς Ασίας*. Σάμος, 1981; and Πτίνης, Κώστας. *Ο περί προστασίας των αρχαιοτήτων νόμος του 1855 της νήσου Σάμου*, Ανάτυπον εκ της Αρχαιολογικής Εφημερίδος, 1983.

and hints at topics worthy of discussion, it fails the test of a modern review. More recently, Samians with an interest in local history, such as the current and the former directors of the local branch of the General State Archives, Ms Angeliki Chatzimichali and Mr Christos Landros, have worked towards creating an enabling environment for the study of the history of the principality mostly though conferences and publications in local periodicals. This work is also of help with shedding light on the history of the principality, as the article by S. Yokarines[27] consulted for the analysis in this chapter reveals. Significantly, in 2013, an edited volume regarding the "constitutional" texts of the Principality of Samos was published by the Foundation of the Hellenic Parliament.[28] Although its four papers exhibit diverging levels of critical inquiry, this volume considerably facilitates one's understanding of the principality, its political history, the development of its political institutions and, to an extent, its society. Still, a comprehensive social and economic history of the island in the 19th and early 20th centuries is yet to be written. More particularly, Thanasses Kalpaxes' book regarding the politics of archaeology on Samos[29] with a focus on German activities and Theodor Wiegand's excavation at the Heraion stands out as an insightful and well-resourced account. *Inter alia*, it is based on extensive research in archives in Greece and Germany, though not the archaeology-related archive of the principality, and a long bibliography in German about archaeological excavations on the island. Kalpaxes' treatise is unique for the analysis that it provides, and, even

[27] Γιοκαρίνης, Σ. «Μια γειτονιά με νεοκλασικά κτίρια κατά την περίοδο της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου.» *Η πόλη της Σάμου: φυσιογνωμία και εξέλιξη*. (conference proceedings), Σάμος, 10-11.05.1997, Αθήνα, 1998, pp. 100-109.

[28] Λαΐου, Σοφία, editor. *Συνταγματικά Κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*. Ίδρυμα της Βουλής των Ελλήνων για τον Κοινοβουλευτισμό και τη Δημοκρατία, 2013.

[29] Καλπαξής. *op.cit*.

though it neglects the Ottoman context, it makes for a comprehensive history of archaeological politics in the principality that anyone interested in the history of archaeology on Samos should consult.

The fourth chapter shifts the attention to non-state actors and discusses, for the first time, the archaeological activities of a civic, non-academic entity, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, which was active from 1861 until the demise of the Ottoman Empire. Although there were many non-state collective entities active in the field of archaeology in the empire, scholars have paid hardly any attention to their work. This skews our understanding of Ottoman archaeology by creating a perceived gap between a reforming state that promoted heritage protection, for example, by promulgating laws and establishing archeological museums, and its citizens, who appear unconcerned about the value of antiquities as heritage and mostly interested in ensuring a financial profit through their trafficking or use as building material. However, in the 19th century, many voices and initiatives in favour of heritage protection emerged among the Ottomans, certainly among the Ottoman Greeks. Arguably, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople was the most important one of these, with activities spanning over half a century. Significantly, it is expected that the analysis will contribute to the debate about Ottoman archaeology, by bringing, for the first time, into the picture the perspective of learned inhabitants of the empire and by raising the importance of the role played by collective civic entities in the study of archaeology.

This chapter is divided into two sections; the first section provides information on the society in general, while the second one delves into its

archaeological activities. Given that little is known about the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, the first section introduces the reader to the general outlook and activities of the society, discusses its membership, its outreach strategies, and the reasons behind them. It traces the evolution of the society through time, and looks at its ideological profile while also identifying the main challenges that it was faced with. This sets the background for discussing the archaeological activities of the society, and especially, those of its archaeological committee in the second section. This section attempts to identify the thematic interests of the society and its archaeological committee, looks at the membership of this committee, the goals that it set out to achieve, the strategies that it developed and the tools, including technology, that it utilised. Also, this section discusses the challenges with which the society was confronted in terms of its archaeological aspirations, and critically explores the limits to its archaeological engagement.

In spite of the fact that most historians acknowledge its importance,[30] the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople has attracted little systematic attention and only a few studies are available on it. As a result, the literature provides too little information on the society, on which the first section could rely. Two books, one by George Vassiadis[31] and another one by Haris

[30] For example, Exertzoglou argues that "the Hellenic Literary Society has by default a special place in the history of [Ottoman Greek] societies [...]." ("ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος κατέχει αυτοδίκαια μία ειδική θέση στην ιστορία των συλλόγων [...].") In Εξερτζόγλου, Χάρης. *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αιώνα – Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 1861-1912*. Εκδόσεις Νεφέλη, 1996, p. 9.

[31] Vassiadis, George A. *The Syllogos Movement of Constantinople and Ottoman Greek Education 1861-1923*. Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 2007.

Exertzoglou,[32] are the main sources of information. In these, the reader can find general information on the development of the society through time, the most important issues with which it was faced, and its ideological and membership profiles. However, both books focus on the educational activities of the society. Vassiadis provides a thorough discussion of the entire period starting with the creation of the society in 1861 and ending with the collapse of the empire in 1923. In turn, Exertzoglou explores the education-related competitions of the society. Besides their focus on education and, thus, limited relevance for archaeology, neither Vassiadis nor Exertzoglou pay particular attention to the Ottoman context within which the society operated. This appears to be partly related to the relevance of their topic for no other community but the Greek Orthodox. At the same time, however, it is a reflection of a tendency to view the various Ottoman communities in terms of the nation-states that are associated with each community. Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak's study[33] breaks with this historiographical tradition by drawing information from the Ottoman archive and reconstructing an Ottoman context. However, by dealing more generally with the Ottoman policies towards Greek associations, his work brings little information on the society in particular, and is more useful as a general reading for a time when Ottoman Greek associational life mushroomed in the empire. In order to fill in gaps in the narrative, better substantiate arguments made by other authors and put forth additional ones, this section uses a small number of secondary sources in

[32] Εξερτζόγλου, Χάρης. *op.cit*.

[33] Karabıçak, Yusuf Ziya. *The Development of Ottoman Policies Towards Greek Associations (1861-1912)*. Libra Yayınları, 2014.

complementary fashion. Above all, though, it turns to the periodical of the society.

With the archaeological activities of the society being studied for the first time, there is no secondary literature available that could inform the analysis in the second section of this chapter. Given that the archive of the society was lost in the vicissitudes of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the 34 issues of the periodical of the society as well as their archaeological annexes stand out as the main source of information. Besides the studies and lectures that one can find in these, the minutes of the meetings also available in the periodical make it a unique and indispensable source. The information contained in the minutes is relatively detailed and covers topics, such as donations of ancient artefacts and coins, catalogues of the library holdings and, significantly, the annual reports of the society and those of its various committees, thus making it possible to draw a picture of the society and Ottoman archaeology as practiced within it. Significantly, the minutes produce the impression that, in most cases, they have undergone little editing in terms of content, even when their publication could potentially undermine the interests of the society, and that, therefore, they can be trusted as genuine reflections of the discussions that took place in the society. Also, the periodical documents the names of the members of the society, including their place of residence and professional occupation, as well as those involved in its various governing bodies and committees. In conjunction with the minutes, these pieces of information are particularly useful for tracing established social and scholarly networks and coming closer to drawing a more complete picture of Ottoman archaeology in the second half of the 19th

and the early 20th centuries. Yet, in spite of its many advantages for research, the periodical can in no way fully compensate for the archive of the society and, as a result, certain aspects and incidents are bound to remain partially or completely in dark. This is particularly true for the period after 1911, which is the last year covered in the periodical in detail.[34] The regulations of the society provide useful information, especially if studied in conjunction with the periodical, but even more than the periodical these too fall short of filling all gaps. Irrespective of these shortcomings related to the primary sources available, the information that they include has allowed the putting forth of the first narrative of the archaeological activities of the society and, thus, contribute to the little studied issues of both the history of the society and the role of civic organisations in Ottoman archaeology.

Significantly, this thesis deals with the history of Ottoman archaeological policies in a period when important transformative dynamics were in place in the empire as seen in grave disorganisation risks coupled with far-reaching reorganisation efforts. These competing forces created a dualism that characterised the entire period and stretched the resources and capacities of the empire. At the same time, the Ottoman society came in contact with the technological advancements and intellectual movements that were rooted in historical processes experienced primarily outside of the empire, in the western world, such as the Enlightenment and industrialisation. The following analysis provides a summary of these dynamics, challenges,

[34] This opinion is echoed by Vassiadis. *op.cit.* p. 212, when he argues that after 1914, "it is almost impossible to penetrate the dark veil which obscures the history of the [society] until the signing of the armistice in November 1918."

and contacts with a view to setting the background against which the archaeological policies of the empire were conceived and implemented.

Historians usually discuss the period following the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 as divided into three sub-periods: the main Tanzimat period (1839-1876); the Hamidian period (1876-1908); and the Second Constitutional period (1908-1918).

The Tanzimat period (1839-1876)

The Tanzimat period[35] (1839-1876) was characterised by increasing external and internal threats to the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire exemplified in khedival Egypt gaining autonomy, the complicated political situation on Crete and in the Lebanon, the emergence of Russian pan-Slavism in the Balkans, Greek irredentism and the Crimean War (1853-1856). Thought of as a remedy for the ills of the empire, reforms were introduced under the pressure of European powers and as a result of a genuine wish among Ottomans to save their country. Indeed, the attempts to reform the empire were so extensive and far-reaching that the word "Tanzimat", which means reorganisation, has become emblematic of the entire period.

Three landmark texts have been associated with the Tanzimat reforms. The Edict of *Gülhane* was pronounced by Sultan Abdülmecid I in 1839. In spite of its liberal overtone, it acknowledged as sources of law both secular

[35] Unless specified, the section on the Tanzimat period is based on a combined reading of the following sources: Hanioğlu, Şükrü M. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton UP, 2008, pp. 72-108; Zürcher, Erik J. *Σύγχρονη Ιστορία της Τουρκίας*. Translated by Βαγγέλης Κεχριώτης, Εκδόσεις Αλεξάνδρεια, 2004, pp. 98-121; and Vaughn Findley, Carter. "The Tanzimat" *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, edited by Reşat Kasaba, vol. 4 - Turkey in the Modern World, Cambridge UP, 2008, pp. 11-37.

and Islamic law. With the Imperial edict of *Islahat* (1856), the sultan introduced equality before the law for Muslims and non-Muslims. At the end of the Tanzimat period, the first Ottoman Constitution was adopted (1876) and marked the beginning of a short-lived experiment with constitutional monarchy.

In the Tanzimat period, one witnesses new patterns of governance as well as new societal orientations. The centralisation of state authority was a major goal of the reforms that aimed not just to improve but, more importantly, to replace the centuries-old Ottoman administrative culture of decentralisation. The empire was introduced to economic liberalism through free trade and the rationalism of the Enlightenment. The sultan became increasingly sidelined in the daily management of the affairs of the empire, which gradually passed into the hands of a proliferating bureaucracy, known as the Sublime Porte. Significantly, from 2.000 scribes in 1790, the Ottoman administration counted as many as 35.000-70.000 officials in Abdülhamid's time. Although this was a relatively low number compared to civil administration in other countries, the pace of growth was particularly rapid. Importantly, the Ottoman administration saw a similar increase in the number of councils. By being a result either of a scarcity of staff or the underdevelopment of permanent administrative structures where needed, councils were often a reflection of a bureaucracy that was yet to find its pace.

Throughout the Tanzimat period, legislation and, in particular, regulation (*nizamnâme*) figured as the main tools for reform. Significantly, thousands of new laws (*kânun*) and regulations were adopted in those years in an attempt to regulate old and new aspects of life according to the precepts

of modern statehood. Increasingly based on a secular legal understanding, the Ottoman legislators critically drew legal provisions from European laws to promote what, at times, were attempts at far-reaching reforms. However, the actual implementation of the laws and regulations made for a less straightforward case. Overall, as Hanioglu argues, ”[i]n many areas, new laws remained valid on paper while old practices continued. Still, the codification of new thinking created a body of law that could no longer be ignored.”[36]

Besides changes at the state level, the Ottoman Empire experienced important societal transformations. The new ideology of Ottomanism ran parallel to the introduction of formal equality among the Ottomans and was based on the idea of a supranational Ottoman identity cherished by all Ottoman subjects irrespective of their religion or ethnic affiliation. In the words of Vaughn Findley, at a time of imperial dissolution, Ottomanism was seen “as an antidote to separatism.”[37] Westernisation had a visible effect on Ottoman society as well. Although it started as a class-based distinction, the adoption of European manners and ideas gradually became associated more with the age group rather than the socio-economic background to which people belonged. Ottomanism and, to an extent, westernisation found their expression in the Young Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar*), who formed a loose group of intellectuals, often personified in Namık Kemal, that aspired to create a modern Ottoman culture. In doing so, the Young Ottomans approached westernisation critically and continued to draw on Islamic thought. This latter attribute eventually undermined the appeal of Ottomanism for the non-

[36] Hanioğlu. *ibid*. p. 108.

[37] Vaughn Findley. *ibid*, p. 28.

Muslims, who in those years also saw the modernisation of their respective *millets*.

The modernisation of non-Muslim *millets* took many forms, including changes in education[38] and literary production. Significantly, through the adoption of communal regulations, lay members started to participate in the administrative affairs of their *millet* alongside representatives of the clergy. This partial secularisation of the affairs of the *millets* was coupled with secessionist trends within them as the Ottoman authorities were petitioned for the recognition of new *millets* in those years.

The factors that contributed to these societal transformations often incorporated incongruous elements and characteristics that complicated and undermined their success. As mentioned, non-Muslim adherents to Ottomanism found it hard to reconcile their Ottoman identity with the Islamic overtones of Ottomanism. Similarly, modernisation accounted both for the secularisation of the administration of *millets* and for their compartmentalisation into smaller ones under the influence of nationalism.

Increased contacts with the West accounted for many of these changes. Thus, while trade would bring European products to the empire, translations brought western ideas, which eventually went beyond the intellectuals to reach less educated readers. The newspapers contributed to this trend by disseminating information about events and ideas originating in western countries. Foreign schools, such as the numerous education establishments run by missionaries and, in the case of the Ottoman Jews, the

[38] For a discussion of the Greek Orthodox *millet*, see Vassiadis, George A. *op.cit*., pp. 23-40.

schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, provided a more systematic approach to the westernisation of younger Ottomans.

Contacts with the West were far from contained in the Ottoman lands and could take place directly in western countries through travelling and opportunities to study abroad. In 1867, Sultan Adbülaziz appeared to sanction at a symbolic level such exchanges with his trip to Europe, the first one by an Ottoman sultan while at peace and not at war with the Europeans. Perhaps more importantly, travelling to Europe spread to ordinary Ottoman officials, as it appears, primarily as a result of the expansion of the Ottoman diplomatic service.[39]

Overall, in the Tanzimat period, the quest for reform became fundamental in state affairs and in society. The centralisation of the state was the centerpiece in reformist attempts at a time when the civil administration saw an unprecedented expansion. Legislation, especially the regulation (*nizamnâme*), was the main vehicle for change and created a shift in the administrative paradigm of the empire, even though many laws and regulations remained ineffective. At the societal level, Ottomanism encapsulated a new supranational identity shared by statesmen and intellectuals, even though its inherent contradictions and the limited outcomes of state reforms undermined its success. Moreover, Ottomanism had to compete with alternative ideologies, especially the various nationalisms

[39] For example, see Mignon, Laurent. "Portrait of the Traveller as a Young Man: Mustafa Sâmi Efendi and his Essay on Europe." *Sensibilities of the Islamic Mediterranean – Self-Expression in a Muslim Culture from Post-Classical Times to the Present Day*, edited by Robin Ostle, I.B. Tauris, 2008, pp. 103-117.

associated with Ottoman communities that provided counter-narratives to its version of reform.

The Hamidian period (1876-1908)

The Tanzimat period is considered to have come to an end with the rise of Abdülhamid II to the throne in 1876. The Hamidian period (1876-1908),[40] as the following 30-odd years came to be known, were fraught with challenges that reflected an amalgamation of internal ethnic strife, irredentist policies of neighbourhing countries, aspirations of the Great Powers, direct threats to the throne and immense economic pressure, which led to the establishment of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1881 following the bankruptcy of the Ottoman state in 1875. Unrest on Crete and among the Armenians was a major source of consideration for the Ottoman government, especially in the 1890s. Considerable territorial losses in the Balkans, especially in 1878 with the Treaty of San Stefano, and Egypt's drifting away from Ottoman control resulted in an empire more Asian and increasingly Muslim in character. Refugee flows from territories inhabited by Muslims outside the empire also added to its Muslim character. Against this backdrop of instability, the sultan's longevity on the throne may seem remarkable, but in spite of the instability Abdülhamid's reign left an indelible mark on this period of reform and repression domestically, and gradual alignment with Wilhelmian Germany in foreign policy.

[40] Unless specified, the section on the Hamidian period is based on a combined reading of the following sources: Hanioğlu, Şükrü M. *op.cit.*, pp. 109-149; Zürcher, Erik J. *op.cit.*, pp. 128-144; and Fortna, Benjamin. "The Reign of Abdülhamid II." *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, *op.cit.,* pp. 38-61.

The Hamidian period was the culmination and pay-off time of state reforms that had been initiated in the Tanzimat period, and, in spite of differences with the previous years, the reformist idea remained dominant. The main features of reform included the centralisation of the state, an increase in the authority of the sultan, and intensified censorship. State centralisation was supported by technology and improvements in communications and transport. Thanks to the telegraph, trains and the steamboat, the bureaucracy was able to reach out to the empire, even to remote places that had previously eluded actual control. Photography created a new visual reality of the empire, whereupon anyone could acquire literally a better picture of the places depicted, including the sultan who systematically collected photographs from throughout his domains. By strengthening the office of public administration within the palace, known as the *Mâbeyn*, while curtailing the power of the Sublime Porte, which was relegated to a secondary position, Sultan Abdülhamid II managed to turn the throne into the centerpiece of authority. Also, the sultan personally took care of the appointment of officials, especially the grand viziers, thus securing loyalty to his person, even though, in the bureaucracy, this approach increased nepotism and corruption. In the Hamidian period, control of expression, especially through censorship, was intensified. In particular, the spread of nationalist, liberal, constitutionalist and even Islamist ideas, if not palatable to the state, were not tolerated.

Despite reforms often being carried out as a continuation of initiatives undertaken in the Tanzimat period, the Hamidian understanding of state affairs and ideology set the tone. The reform in education is a case in point. Sultan Abdülhamid II built on the school system introduced by Tanzimat

reformists but ensured that this was more clearly associated with Islam. According to Benjamin Fortna,

> … although the schools were open to and attended by children of all confessional backgrounds, the Hamidian establishment thought of them, in contrast to their minority and foreign counterparts, as 'Muslim' schools. Members of the ulema were employed in a variety of roles in the ostensibly 'secular' Ottoman state system, and the curricula of these schools reflect considerable attention to Islamic subjects.[41]

Far from being coincidental, this pronounced position of Islam in education reflected the sultan's choice to highlight Islam at a time when the Ottoman state was acquiring an increasingly Muslim character. For Sultan Abdülhamid II, this could justify the instrumentalisation of Islam into a state ideology, often referred to as pan-Islamism, especially used in order to strengthen the cohesion among Muslim Ottomans of different ethnic backgrounds. Also, Hamidian pan-Islamism was turned into a foreign policy tool in support of Ottoman efforts to maintain the territorial integrity of the empire as well as, more generally, counterbalance the power of imperialist states.

The instrumentalisation of religion was one way, in which Sultan Abdülhamid II managed tangible and intangible symbols in order to further his policy of reform, maintain the integrity of the empire, and impress a feeling of sultanic omnipresence throughout his country. Ceremonial protocol, style in architecture, the erection of monuments, dedicatory inscriptions and the act of bestowing honours and medals stand out from among a long list of practices that were instrumentalised under this sultan for their symbolic potential.[42]

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[41] Fortna. *ibid*, p. 52.

[42] Deringil, Selim. "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908." *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, vol. 35, no. 1, Jan. 1993, pp. 3-29. jstor.org/stable/179114. Accessed 1 Feb 2017. For the monuments, in particular,

Significantly, this potential was aimed both at domestic audiences that were reached mainly through the Ottoman press, and foreign ones as seen in the case of fairs, conferences and conventions, in which the empire participated in these years.

The flourishing of the press, which saw an increase in both the numbers of newspapers and journals in circulation, and their readership, has been associated with Sultan Abdülhamid's reign as well. Hamidian censorship, though, had a significant impact on the regular nature of publications as well as their content; in particular, newspapers and journals readjusted their topics away from thorny political issues towards articles on science, history and geography, technology and literature.

Restrictions in freedom of expression were not enough to stifle the dynamism of Ottoman society in these years. As Fortna has argued,

> … advances in transport, mechanisation, the increase in numbers and visibility of imported goods, popular literacy and the participation of women in the economy and in public life all attest to the vibrancy of life in the Hamidian era as the empire adapted to the rapid pace of change associated globally with the late nineteenth century. The liveliness of the literary field alone, in which important works were being published and debates were being held on language, the role of women in society, and the degree to which Ottoman society should follow the West, all belie the attention that observers paid to the prominence of Hamidian censorship in the political field.[43]

Political opposition survived, evolved and eventually rose to power in these years. If the Young Ottomans accounted for the main opposition force in the Tanzimat period, the Hamidian period saw the rise of the Young Turks. Like the Young Ottomans, the Young Turks were an umbrella organisation that

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see Kaiser, Klaus. "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt, 1840-1916." *Muqarnas*, vol. 14, 1997, pp. 103-117, esp. pp. 110-114, www.jstor.org/stable/1523239. Accessed 21 July 2015.

[43] Fortna. *op.cit.*, p. 58.

brought together disparate groups whose ideas ranged from Ahmed Rıza Bey's positivism to 'Mizancı' Murad Bey's Islamic liberalism and Prince Sabahaddin's support of decentralisation and economic liberalism. The Young Turks, who also became known under the name 'Committee of Union and Progress' (CUP), eventually rose to power following the incorporation of a group of Ottoman officers serving in Macedonia. These endowed the Young Turk group with the practical mentality of men-in-arms. When in 1908 rumours of foreign-imposed reforms in Macedonia spread and were coupled with intelligence of an impending crack-down on the CUP, the latter launched a movement against the sultan demanding the reinstatement of the constitution, which had been *de facto* suspended for years. The Constitutional Revolution succeeded in having the constitution reinstated and in having the Parliament reconvening while the sultan was eventually deposed. These events heralded the post-Hamidian period.

The fact that Sultan Abdülhamid II was dethroned as a result of a revolution belies the success of his reformist programme. Sultan Abdülhamid II continued the trend, seen largely during the Tanzimat period, of adopting foreign models for reform but, more than before, attempted to endow these models with a clearly Ottoman reasoning for reform. Technological advances in communications and transportation allowed him to push further with his reforms, reach out to larger segments of the population, even in remote places, and yield better results. Yet, he failed to mobilise behind his vision the ones, who could best support it, namely the bureaucrats, the military officers and the intellectuals. Likewise, his pan-Islamist policy had only limited results, not the least because it came as a belated counterweight to the spread of

ideas among the non-Muslim elites that propagated looser links to the Ottoman capital or, even, full independence.

The Young Turk period (1908-1918)

The decade between the Constitutional Revolution of 1908 and the actual collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, known as the Young Turk or Second Constitutional period,[44] was fraught with political unrest and major territorial losses. The empire lost its territories in the Balkans (Albania and Macedonia, 1913), in Africa (Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, 1911) and saw its Arab provinces drifting dangerously away after the spark of the Arab revolt (1916). The empire, thus, became not only more Muslim but increasingly Turkish as well. A quick succession of political events dotted a climate characterised by insecurity and repression. A watershed development, as the Constitutional Revolution had been, ushered in a move towards Turkish nationalism and lip-service to constitutionalism.

Although the Revolution had gained significant support among Ottomans from different ethno-religious backgrounds under the banner of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Justice', the CUP soon distanced itself from these notions. Historians usually identify two periods of CUP rule; the years between the Revolution and the Balkan Wars (1908-1913), and the years following the Balkan Wars (1913-1918). In particular, the first five years after the Revolution, the CUP ruled without governing, by extending its authority

[44] Unless specified, the section on the Young Turk period is based on a combined reading of the following sources: Hanioğlu, Şükrü M. *op.cit.*, pp. 150-202; Zürcher, Erik J. *op.cit.*, pp. 147-191; and Hanioğlu, Şükrü M. "The Second Constitutional Period, 1908-1918." *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, *op.cit*., pp. 62-111.

from behind the scenes. Although it restored the constitution and the parliament, which became the *locus* of legislative work, a new form of post-Hamidian authoritarianism emerged that intensified centralisation, put limits to individual and collective freedoms and controlled elections. The CUP managed to dominate the bureaucracy where advancement was linked to loyalty to the Committee. Whereas it had initially worked in order to restore parliamentarianism and constitutionalism against Hamidian rule, the CUP ended up employing similar tactics to Sultan Abdülhamid II, such as censorship, repression of political activity and nepotism.

Unlike in the Hamidian period, though, the Ottoman Empire under the CUP entered its post-imperium era. It did not take long for the Young Turks, who had initially preached a fraternal and egalitarian Ottoman identity with anti-European overtones, to embrace Turkism. This ideology aimed at promoting a Turkish national consciousness among the Turks of the empire before providing for the needs of Turkic populations outside the empire and, finally, achieving political unity with them. In practice, Turkism in the empire went as far as the first stage of creating a Turkish national identity for the Ottoman Turks with pan-Turkism being limited to an intellectual game among few. Significantly, the loss of predominantly Muslim Albania weighed heavily in the shift towards Turkism, because it showed to the CUP leadership that even Ottoman Muslims could engage in their own nationalist projects. Following the loss of lands inhabited by non-Turkish Ottoman Muslims and the consequent diminished importance of pan-Islamism as well as a predilection towards positivism that the Young Turks exhibited, a policy of secularisation was introduced.

Turkism made great inroads in economic policy as well. In 1914, the Ottoman Empire unilaterally abolished the capitulations by taking advantage of political conditions in Europe at the onset of the First World War. Besides that, the overall economic policy of the CUP in these years, summarised with the phrase 'National Economy' (*Millî İktisad*), promoted state control over the economy, protectionism and autarky while treating favourably the Muslim, especially Turkish, bourgeoisie, at the expense of non-Muslims. Foreigners, non-Muslims, and non-Turks experienced significant damage to their economic interests and activities.

New forms of organisation supported the CUP and its policies. A massive political organisation emerged through a network of CUP branches throughout the empire. Although not necessarily under the central control of the CUP, the expansion of these branches from 83 on the eve of the Revolution to 360 by 1910 was coupled with an even more impressive increase in their membership from 2.250 to 850.000 people in the same period. For the CUP, such organisations were expected to carry the term 'national' (*millî*) in their title in what reflects the nationalisation of mass politics. Besides political organisations, the CUP also instituted new governmental bodies to carry out its policies. For example, special bodies, such as the Special Trade Commission (1916), the Central Exchange Commission (1917) and the Ministry of Provisioning (1918) were created. Economic organisations, such as cooperatives for Muslim and Turkish manufacturers and artisan associations, that "supported the goal of 'nationalising the economy' while at the same time deepening organised political support for the CUP"[45] complete

[45] Hanioğlu. *ibid*, p. 98.

the picture while illustrating the blurred limits between the party and the state. In such a nationalist context of mass politics, the non-Muslim and the non-Turkish were bound to feel hardly at ease.

An increasingly Turkish in its orientation state ideology, political repression and a nationalist economic programme signaled the marginalisation of the non-Muslims, who now turned to their ethnic identities for inspiration and their fellows for solidarity, and organised their individual and communal lives accordingly. In general, the Second Constitutional period saw the rise of insulated barriers between Ottomans who belonged to different ethno-religious groups, and the politicisation of these groups along nationalist lines, even though until that time cultural autonomy had been the dominant trend. Unlike in previous times, the impact of nationalism on the politicised *millets* and their members reached the heartland of the empire. At the same time, cultural production, such as literature, also became increasingly influenced by nationalism and, when justified by ethnic affiliation, the literary movements of countries established on former Ottoman lands, such as Greece and Bulgaria.

Overall, the Young Turk period saw the continuation of authoritarianism often with the use of the same tools as under Sultan Abdülhamid II. Politics, though, were fundamentally different as the state was introduced to nationalism. With the emergence of the Turkist version of Ottomanism the gap between the leaders of the empire and its diverse ethnoreligious groups became more pronounced, unbridgeable in many respects, and political in nature. Authoritarianism, mass politics and nationalism, including in the economic sphere, shaped the empire in these years. Reform was not

abandoned but replaced by a nationalist programme that employed a corresponding language and symbols.

The period between 1919 and 1923 marked the official collapse of the Ottoman state and its replacement by nation-states, including the Turkish Republic. It was a period of competing nationalist and irredentist struggles at interplay with western imperialist expansion in the Near and Middle East. These wars brought extensive destruction of infrastructure in Ottoman lands and unprecedented population loss and movements. The ability of the Ottoman government to rule over its territory was significantly curtailed. Nevertheless, institutions in the capital continued to function.[46]

The years, close to a centenary, between the initiation of reforms in the empire and its collapse saw a rapid succession of landmark events and initiatives. Throughout this period, the empire struggled to preserve its territorial integrity and its social cohesion. Widespread reforms and a new state ideology, namely that of Ottomanism, were adopted as its main strategy. In the Tanzimat period (1839-1876), the reformist efforts introduced far-reaching changes in the administration, especially through modern legislation. The bureaucracy, in the form of the Sublime Porte, became the *locus* of power and partially replaced the palace. Ottomanism was propagated in its most comprehensive form as a supranational identity that brought under its umbrella all ethno-religious communities in the empire while westernisation had a significant effect on society. In the Hamidian period (1876-1908), the reformist efforts reached their climax and, with the support of technological advances, produced concrete results while allowing the state to reach out to

[46] Zürcher. *op.cit.*, pp. 192-228.

remote places. However, authority moved back to the palace and the sultan in person. Public life, now more vibrant than ever, experienced a number of restraints as a result of deepening authoritarianism. Further territorial losses shifted the focus from Ottomanism to Islam as an ideology, even though westernisation continued to influence Ottoman society. In the Second Constitutional period (1908-1918) the empire openly entered the era of modern nationalist politics. Turkism, as interpreted by the CUP, gradually took over Ottomanism. Authoritarianism continued in the service, this time, of building a society where the Turks would have the upper hand. The social fabric of the empire was torn beyond repair. Protracted warfare confirmed the collapse of the territorial integrity of the empire and its social cohesion at a great cost. The Ottoman policies on archaeology developed against this background. The following chapter looks at the factors and processes that provided a more specific context for the emergence of Ottoman archaeology.

Chapter I – A context for Ottoman archaeology

The West, as the birthplace of scientific archaeology, and the Ottoman Empire, as home to an impressive number of antiquities and ancient sites, were both critical for the emergence of Ottoman archaeology. The following sections discuss these contexts in detail with a view to identifying those factors, processes and interactions that can be found at the roots of Ottoman archeology. Sources include both secondary and primary readings with an attempt being made to substantiate arguments found in secondary readings with archival material, when possible.

Archaeology in the West

A child of the European Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, archaeology owes a great deal of its maturity to experiences lived out in the lands of the Orient, especially the Ottoman Empire. In the words of Kristian Kristiansen, "the development of archaeology and the protection of its heritage was linked with the transformation of Europe from a static agricultural-mercantile society to a modern industrialized society."[47] Significantly, far from this link being one-way, archaeology was shaped by and contributed to shaping modern society. With the Classical world and the Christian Bible being at the core of debates related to the formulation of such a modern society, the Ottoman state, overlord of the Classical and biblical lands, was by default drawn into the vicissitudes of this historical

[47] Kristiansen, Kristian. "Perspectives on the Archaeological Heritage: History and Future." *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*, edited by Henry Cleere, Routledge, 2000, p. 23.

phenomenon. For the Ottomans, this became increasingly pressing from the moment archaeology became linked to their own attempted transformation into a modern industrialised society.

Human activities associated with archaeology can be traced back deep into human history. According to Paul Bahn, the earliest known example of an interest in antiquities is that of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, who excavated the floor of a temple down to its thousands-year-old foundation layer. In the first centuries AD, the term archaeologist was already in use in the Greek world to denote those actors who put on stage ancient legends. It has been suggested that archaeology acquired its modern meaning only in the 17th century thanks to Jacques Spon, a doctor and antiquary from Lyons, France.[48] Still, it would take another two centuries for it to come into its own as a discipline.

Two parallel processes are found at the roots of modern archaeology, the Grand Tour (c. 1660-1840) and antiquarianism. An extension of what has been termed "a gentleman's education", which focused on the study of Classics, the Grand Tour brought young Europeans to Italy and the eastern Mediterranean and ancient works of art back home on their return. The latter works were amassed into smaller or larger collections of art, some of which formed, in time, the nuclei of museums, such as the British Museum in London, the Altes Museum in Berlin and the Louvre in Paris. The activities of societies, such as the Society of Dilettanti, and trade in antiquities, from which locals and Europeans alike profited, further amplified the impact that the

[48] Bahn, Paul. *Archaeology – A Very Short Introduction*. *op. cit*., pp. 8-10.

Grand Tour had on shaping aesthetic values and the art market.[49] Thus, the Grand Tour had a significant impact on increasing the scholarly and financial interest of Europeans in the Graeco-Roman antiquities to be found in Italy and the Ottoman lands.

Whereas the Grand Tour was related to the Classical world, antiquarianism focused on the prehistory of the homeland. Already in the 16th century, field monuments attracted the interest of Europeans in Great Britain and Scandinavia. Initially, Europeans visited and surveyed these monuments but, with time, the idea came of digging for more. By the late 18th century, barrow-digging had gone a long way and become a social trend. Although, in most cases, it was synonymous with treasure-hunting, some of those involved developed a more conscious and scientific approach.[50]

Only gradually did archaeology acquire its status as a distinct field of scientific and scholarly research. For long, it was viewed as an annex of and tool for history, especially the history of art, and philology or, in the case of Biblical archaeology, theology. Until the second half of the 19th century, excavations were conducted almost exclusively in order for museums, collectors and traders in antiquities to acquire artefacts destined to enrich art collections. The quest for antiquities was a quest for works of art from the Classical world and, at a later stage, Egypt and the Middle East. Any finds that failed the eligibility test for art collections were disregarded and

[49] Bahn, Paul G. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*. *op.cit.,* Archaeology and the Grand Tour; The Survival of the Classical; Archaeology and the Grand Tour (Travels in Greece); The First Antiquaries; Men of the Spade. Because this publication provides no page numbers, the titles of sections within chapters are given instead.

[50] Bahn. *ibid*, Men of the Spade. Also, Bahn, Paul. *Archaeology – A Very Short Introduction*. *op.cit*., p. 10.

discarded. In the minds of Europeans, Classical antiquities usually set a standard against which any other culture was measured, almost exclusively for the latter to be found lacking. For example, 19th century British diplomat and orientalist Henry Rawlinson maintained that "[the Assyrian sculptures have] nothing whatever to do with value. You ask by what standard I compare them. Why of course, in any abstract matter we adopt the highest standard available-and I say therefore the Elgin Marbles… And I still think the Nineveh marbles are not valuable as works of art."[51]

Finds, which were deemed to lack aesthetic value, remained outside the purview of individuals conducting archaeological research and so did, more broadly, reconstructing ancient civilisations. The shift to a more comprehensive approach to the history of ancient civilisations and the gradual acknowledgment of prehistory contributed significantly to disentangling archaeology from the history of art. Similarly, although at first archaeology was viewed as a channel for acquiring ancient texts, that is, a digging activity for procuring museums with inscriptions and tablets, the upgrade of archaeology into a distinct discipline facilitated cutting the umbilical cord with philology. Epigraphy was born out of this process and the exigencies that ancient inscriptions created.[52] Initially developed out of a desire to vindicate the Bible and thanks to its successes in the field, Biblical archaeology became

[51] Bernhardsson, Magnus T. *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq*, U of Texas P, 2005, pp. 42-43. ProQuest ebrary, site.ebrary.com/lib/bodleian/detail.action?docID=10172713. The quotation is from p. 43. For biographical information on H. Rawlinson, see "Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Creswicke-Rawlinson. Accessed: 9 Dec. 2016. For the development of Biblical archaeology in general, see Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit*., pp. 131-166.

[52] Bahn. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*. *op.cit.* ch. 2-6, esp. ch. 4. Also, Gran-Aymerich, Eve. *Naissance de l' Archéologie Moderne, 1789-1945*. CNRS éditions, 1998, esp. pp. 64-82 and ch. 4.

gradually disentangled from theology and moved towards increased professionalisation. The words of George Smith, a staff member of the British Museum hired in 1866, reveal resistance to this process: “I must confess that the view by the two Rawlinsons and the German professors is more consistent with the literal statements of the Assyrian inscriptions than my own, but I am utterly unable to see how the biblical chronology can be so far astray here as the inscriptions lead one to suppose.”[53]

In those years, Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (1859) and the concept of evolution paralleled and supported the shift from a biblical reading of time to its modern understanding.[54]

Besides Darwin, archaeology has always enjoyed a close relationship to and, overall, has benefitted tremendously from developments in the sciences. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, it borrowed stratigraphy from geology in what endowed it with a means for dating finds. Moreover, stratigraphy, as opposed to the study of historical texts or inscriptions, is a method that only relates to the archeological process in the field, and in this way, paved the way for the establishment of a purely archaeological methodology.[55]

This increasing professionalisation of archaeology paralleled its gradual institutionalisation in the 19th century. Mostly in reference to the

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[53] Moorey, P.R.S. *A Century of Biblical Archaeology*. The Lutterworth Press, 1991, p. 12, qtd. in Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit*., p. 143. For biographical information on George Smith, see “George Smith.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com/biography/George-Smith-British-Assyriologist. Accessed 6 June 2017.

[54] Bahn. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*. *op.cit.* The Search for a Timescale; Enlightenment Views of the Human Past; Ch. 4 – Science and Romanticism, 1820-1860 (introduction).

[55] Cline, Eric H. *Very Short Introductions: Biblical Archaeology: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford UP, 2009, pp. 21-22. Also, Bahn. *ibid*, Boucher de Perthes.

period leading up to the 1880s, Diaz distinguishes two models regarding European and American archaeological activities, the Continental or State-interventionist model and the Utilitarian model. In the former model, activities, usually entire expeditions, were centrally organised in the country of origin of the team of researchers and were supported by the government. The latter model reflected a greater diffusion of actors with expeditions being seen as private enterprises. Countries, such as France and Germany, are mostly identified with the former model whereas Britain and the United States fall in the second category. In both cases though expeditions could expect the support of the legations of their respective governments.[56]

Compared to expeditions, the various schools of archaeology that were established in the 19th and early 20th centuries endowed archaeological research with more permanent structures. The Corresponding Society for Archaeology (*Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*) was the first institution of this kind to be established in 1828 in Rome. Its international character eventually gave way to its nationalisation when, following the unification of Germany, it was transformed into an official Prussian institution (1871) and, not long after that, into the German Archaeological Institute. The French School was opened in 1873 with the Austro-Hungarian Historical Institute and the American Academy following suit in 1891 and 1894 respectively. The British Academy was established in 1899 and the Dutch Institute in 1904. In the newly established Greek kingdom, the French School at Athens was established in 1846 and was followed, thirty-five years later, in 1881, by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The British Academy in

[56] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit.* p. 128.

Athens was established in 1884 with the Austrians and Italians following suit in 1898 and 1909 respectively. These foreign schools developed their activities in parallel with the nascent local institutions for the management of archaeology, the Italian *Sopraintendenza de Archeologia* created in 1870[57] and its Greek equivalent delineated in the first Greek law on antiquities of 1834.[58]

With the institutionalisation of research, there came the institutionalisation of the academic study of archaeology too. In France, for example, in the second half of the 19th century, new chairs of archaeology were set up at the Sorbonne and various provincial universities.[59]

Professionalisation and institutionalisation were reflections of the Enlightenment and the industrialisation of the western world, and so were the political ideas prominent in the 19th and early 20th centuries that have been associated with archaeology. Nationalism cut through archaeological thinking and practice in those years. Kristiansen maintains that "it was this turmoil of economic and political change that gave birth to archaeology, not merely as a scientific discipline but also, from the outset, as a testimony of the historical heritage of the nation and its people."[60] Besides providing evidence for the national heritage in the homeland, abroad, archaeological activities were often operationalised with a view to endowing the nation-state with prestige, which could best be evaluated and conceptualised in comparison with other

[57] Díaz-Andreu. *ibid*. pp. 100-110.

[58] Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος, Γενική Εφορεία των Αρχαιοτήτων. "Νόμος περί των επιστημονικών και τεχνολογικών συλλογών, περί ανακαλύψεως και διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων και της χρήσεως αυτών." *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. Εκ του Εθνικού Τυπογραφείου, Εν Αθήναις, 1886, pp. 9-29, esp. section "Περί Εφορείας", pp. 13-19.

[59] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit.* p. 109.

[60] Kristiansen. *op.cit.* p. 123.

countries. This explains, for example, the germanisation of the Corresponding Society for Archaeology, competition between countries in consolidating their archaeological presence abroad, so well illustrated by the mushrooming of foreign archaeological schools in Italy and Greece, and the scramble of museums for exhibits.[61]

In the age of empires and, significantly, colonialist empires, imperialism also cast its shadow on archaeology. In much of the Mediterranean, where countries either acquired their independence or struggled to maintain a fragile sovereignty in the 19th and early 20th centuries, one often comes across instances of what has been termed "informal imperialism" or "informal colonialism".[62] For example, the dominant role of the French in the administration of Egyptian archaeology is viewed along these lines. With the appointment of French archaeologist Auguste Mariette as director of Egyptian antiquities, the late 1850s introduced almost a full century, during which French archaeology dominated things archaeological in Egypt. Although Mariette's and his successor's, Gaston Maspero's, work to protect Egyptian heritage in Egypt and fight back the export of finds should be acknowledged, France appears to have been aware of the benefits that having a Frenchman at the helm of Egyptian antiquities provided. Thus, when faced with Mariette's demise, in 1880, Paris responded by establishing the French Archaeological Mission, later to be refashioned as the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology. More than that, French "informal imperialism" has been

[61] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit.* pp. 100-110.

[62] Díaz-Andreu. *ibid*. p. 99 defines "informal colonialism" as "a situation in which a powerful nation manages to establish dominant control in a territory over which it does not have sovereignty."

associated with the systematic sidelining of Egyptian archaeological expertise as evidenced in the recruitment processes of the Antiquities Service, which provided few, if any, opportunities to local experts.[63]

Nationalism and imperialism were coupled with racism in undermining the path of archaeology towards professionalisation. The search for the original language of Europeans, the proto-language, led scholars to develop the theory of the migration of the Aryans, whom they perceived as the ancestors of the Europeans. The racial debate that ensued was reflected in archaeology, for example, in attempts to categorise ancient peoples in a hierarchy topped by the Aryans, whose best illustration could be found in the Greeks of Classical times. The civilisations developed by all other ancient peoples were accordingly compared and classified. In particular, such racial ideas reinforced anti-Semitism and distorted archaeological activity in the biblical lands.[64]

Another offspring of Western political thinking, orientalism brings to the fore the local populations in the antiquities-rich Orient. For example, as Bilsel succinctly summarises, "there are lengthy accounts that characterize the locals as either childlike – like the modern Greeks, supposedly unworthy of Hellas, and whose claim to have descended from the Hellenes is found suspect – or as unwelcome intruders in the lands of the European genesis, as in the image of the Turk as 'the vandal'."[65]

[63] Díaz-Andreu. *ibid*. pp. 118-126.

[64] Díaz-Andreu. *ibid*. pp. 110 and 136-137.

[65] Bilsel, Can. *Antiquity on Display – Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*. Oxford UP, 2012, p. 90.

Home to both those Greeks unworthy of Hellas and to the vandal Turks, the Ottoman Empire figured prominently in the archaeological preoccupations of the West. By a twist of history, it was located at a crucial juncture where civilisations met or succeeded one another since prehistoric times, thus, offering unique opportunities for archaeological explorations and discoveries. Rich in antiquities from the Graeco-Roman period, ruler of the ancient lands of Mesopotamia and the Bible, uniquely endowed with early Christian and Byzantine heritage as well as a custodian of Islamic antiquities – Arab and Turkic – the Ottoman Empire was an unparalleled treasure trove for Europeans and Americans alike who, in those years, turned to it with increasing interest. To document their activities goes beyond the scope of this thesis but the following discussion provides a sample with the aim of better contextualising the Ottoman archaeological policies to be discussed later.

Western archaeologies in the Ottoman East

Westerners had for a long time shown an interest in the antiquities to which the Ottoman lands were home,[66] yet, in the early 19th century, regional developments led to an increase in their archaeological engagements in the empire, engagements that could take both negative and positive forms. First, the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) put an end to the established itinerary of the Grand Tour, which held Rome at its centre, and forced travelers to look

[66] The website "Travelogues" brings together information on a large number of travel accounts by foreigners who visited Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean between the 15th and 19th centuries and confirms this argument. Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation. *Travelogues*. eng.travelogues.gr/. Significantly, in the 18th century antiquities and ancient sites were important in shaping itineraries. "Planning the Website." *Travelogues*. eng.travelogues.gr/ergo.php?view=11. Both accessed 2 May 2017.

further afield into the eastern Mediterranean.[67] Similarly, the adoption by the revolutionary Greeks in 1827 of a ban on the export of antiquities, which was reconfirmed in the Greek law of 1834, made European countries reluctant to finance excavations in the Greek state and shifted their focus to the Ottoman Empire,[68] where the system appeared to be much more lenient. Starting in 1835, restrictions in the conduct of archaeological research in Egypt created an environment far from propitious for western archaeology, as for example seen in the case of the British Museum that argued that "we are not likely to have any European resident in Egypt whose means of acquisition and zeal in acquiring will equal those of the late Mr. Salt and if we had, the prohibition to excavate now strictly enforced by Ibrahim *Pasha*, would prevent his success." This shift in the Egyptian archaeological policy sealed the reorientation of the West to the Ottoman lands.[69]

In the Ottoman Empire, it was common for political considerations to influence the archaeological activities of westerners with an ensuing distorting effect. Oftentimes did the empire become a terrain where nationalism, imperialism and the quest for prestige were played out between Europeans, while the Americans joined the race with a focus primarily on partaking in

[67] Bahn. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*. *op.cit.* Archaeology and the Grand Tour (Travels in Greece).

[68] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit.* pp. 112 and 103-104. Also, Κόκκου, Αγγελική. *Η Μέριμνα για τις Αρχαιότητες στην Ελλάδα και τα Πρώτα Μουσεία*. 1977. Εκδόσεις Καπόν, 2009, pp. 32-46, esp. p. 46. For the Greek law of 1834, see Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος, Γενική Εφορεία των Αρχαιοτήτων. "Νόμος περί των επιστημονικών και τεχνολογικών συλλογών, περί ανακαλύψεως και διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων και της χρήσεως αυτών.", *op.cit*., esp. article 76.

[69] Patrizio Gunning. *op.cit*., p. 156. Patrizio Gunning argues, in particular, that the combined restrictions of Greece and Egypt shifted the focus to the Aegean. The quote is from a letter to the Treasury, 17th June 1835, B.M.A. Letter Book, vol. n. 6, fols. 75-8, qtd. in footnote 49, where another two quotes on the same topic are found. For more information on the first Egyptian law on antiquities, the Ordinance of 15 August 1835, see Khater, A. *Le Régime Juridique des Fouilles et des Antiquités en Égypte*. Imprimerie de l' Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale, 1960, pp. 37-71.

world culture. Competition is seen in the activities of a number of key western institutions for archaeology. As already discussed, the foreign archaeological schools established in Athens were, *inter alia*, an expression of the competing quest for national pride played out in the archaeological field between their respective countries,[70] and, oftentimes did they extend their activities over to the Ottoman Empire.[71] According to Üre, the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, which was the only archaeological school based on Ottoman soil and which remained operational for twenty years, between 1894 and 1914, "was regarded as a supplement to political influence" in a period of Russian pan-Slavism.[72]

At times, universities took part in this race. For example, in a letter dated 1888, one follows the attempts of "the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and of a number of the leading scholars in America, representing eight of the largest Universities and Colleges in several States, who are desirous of obtaining the privilege to make excavations for antiquities in the Vilayets of Haleb and Bagdad." The applicants wished to collect

[70] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit*. p. 107 where she maintains that "the creation of foreign schools led to further competition between empires."

[71] For example, "[a]lthough the French School's work in the last third of the century and up to the 1920s was predominantly concerned with the opening of the major sites, 'ancillary' initiatives were not neglected: between 1878 and 1890, there were no less than eighteen different excavation sites in Greece and Asia Minor. Excavations and expeditions were undertaken in increasing numbers in Anatolia, in the search for Hellenism outside Greece, until the 'catastrophe' of 1922." In "History (1870-1950)." *École Française d' Athènes*, 6 Feb. 2017, www.efa.gr/index.php/en/ecole-francaise-athenes/histoire/1870-1950. Accessed 2 May 2017. For the British School at Athens, see Gill, David W.J., "The British School at Athens and Archaeological Research in the Late Ottoman Empire." *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, *op.cit*., pp. 223-255.

[72] Üre, Pınar. "Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)." Dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014, p. 263. For a more concise analysis of the Russian Archaeological Institute, see Papoulidis, Konstantinos. "Konstantinopolis'te Rus Arkeoloji Enstitüsü (1894-1914): Kuruluşundan Bugüne", *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Ceçmişe Bakış Açıları*, edited by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010, pp. 221-226.

Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities, which no museum in America had in its possession, and promote the teaching of these civilisations. Significantly, one of the main arguments made in favour of providing the permission related to "the fact that while European Museums have large collections of antiquities, America practically has none."[73]

Archaeological expeditions can also be interpreted as reflections of national and imperial quests for identity and prestige. Bilsel provides an interesting account of the political significance of the Pergamon sculptures for Germany when he invites us

> … to recall that the reformers of the early nineteenth century-von Humboldt and Schinkel among them-had forged the Prussian-German identity as 'the Greeks of the modern times', and promoted the free city of Athens as a political utopia. This meant that the German humanists were turning away from the Roman imperial heritage, which they identified with the modern-day France and its imperial designs in Europe.[74]

By being aware that "for Prussia's *gymnasium*-educated public, the most highly praised outcome of a state-sponsored archaeological expedition was the monumental sculpture it was expected to yield,"[75] the Prussian ruling elite was eager to locate strong symbols and to visualise this identity.

The widely-supported excavations at Olympia in Greece (1875-1881) failed to procure the kind of antiquities anticipated because of the paucity of finds as well as the restrictive laws of that small Mediterranean kingdom. However, what Prussia did not discover in modern Greece, it found it in the Ottoman Empire, in Humann's excavations at Pergamon and its main

[73] Both quotations from a letter by US Ambassador O.S. Straus in Constantinople that was addressed to Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha, dated 7 May 1888, and that can be found at BOA.HR.TO(148/75).

[74] Bilsel. *op.cit.* p. 109.

[75] Bilsel. *ibid*. p. 92.

discovery, a Hellenistic frieze of monumental dimensions depicting the Gigantomachy.[76]

Museums also developed their activities in the Ottoman Empire with a view to contributing to the prestige of their countries. Significantly, competition between them could go as far as the creation of archaeological intelligence networks with diplomats acting as agents on the ground. As Lucia Patrizio Gunning has shown, by the mid 19th century, "it appears that [Britain's] consuls were being employed to report on the movements of their French colleagues in relation to antiquities, providing the British Museum with a means of monitoring their rival's progress in acquisitions."[77]

Besides acting as sources of information, consuls could be more actively engaged in the search and collection of antiquities with a view to procuring for their national museums. For example, as Patrizio Gunning argues, "by 1860 the [British] Museum had organized an effective agency for the collection of antiquities, under [Charles Thomas] Newton's direction, with the Foreign Office, the Admiralty and the Customs."[78] The system was informal but well-oiled as it was based on an extensive network of paid and unpaid British consuls in the Levant, whose appointments in areas of archaeological interest the British Museum was not expected to leave to chance.[79] Significantly, in 1864, the British Museum went as far as to issue a

[76] Bilsel. *ibid*. pp. 91-100.

[77] Patrizio Gunning. *op.cit.* p. 154.

[78] Patrizio Gunning. *ibid*. p. 185.

[79] Patrizio Gunning. *ibid*. esp. ch. 4. This book documents at length the role of British Consul C.T. Newton. The article by Barchard, David. "The Fearless and Self-Reliant Servant. The Life and Career of Sir Alfred Biliotti (1833-1915), an Italian Levantine in British Service", *SMEA*, 48, 2006, pp. 5-53, esp. p. 11-22, provides information on the activities of another consul, Alfred Biliotti, who worked for some time together with Newton. The archive of the

set of instructions addressed to the consuls regarding what kind of and how to look for ancient artefacts in their areas of jurisdiction.[80] Political considerations appear to motivate the activities of French consuls when excavating sites and collecting antiquities in Mesopotamia. For example, Paul Emile Botta, the French consul appointed in Mesopotamia in 1840, had a background in archaeology, which allowed him to excavate with success the ancient sites of Nineveh (1842) and Khorsabad (1843). Far from random, his appointment was pre-meditated, for the French government had been looking for a consular representative who could engage in serious archaeological work.[81] The following decade, the French vice-consul, Victor Place, also conducted archaeological excavations, which, between 1851 and 1852, focused on the areas that Botta had left unexplored.[82] De Sarzec was another French consul in Mesopotamia who engaged in extensive archaeological activities.[83]

Besides the consular service, the embassies of western countries were explicitly supportive of the archaeological activities of institutions and individuals, on behalf of whom they often mediated to the higher echelons of Ottoman decision-making. The request of the American universities discussed above was submitted by US Ambassador to the Sublime Porte O.S. Straus

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British Museum includes a large number of incoming letters by Newton – and his assistant Colnaghi – from his time in the Aegean as consul. For example, see British Museum. Department of the Middle East. Correspondence 1826-1860 (10) NA-OW W.A.A., no. 3868, 3870, 3871, 3872, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3862, 3864, 3865, 3866, and 3867.

[80] Qtd. in full in Patrizio Gunning. *ibid*. pp. 187-188.

[81] Bernhardsonn. *op.cit.* pp. 40-41.

[82] Bernhardsonn. *ibid*. pp. 47-48.

[83] A number of documents regarding de Sarzec's archaeological activities survive in the Ottoman Archive. See, in particular, BOA.HR.TO(205/60), dated 17.06.1879; BOA.HR.TO(205/67), dated 7.08.1879; and BOA.HR.TO(205/70), dated 15.09.1879.

directly to Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha with the notice "Personal".[84] When, in 1863, Mr Miller, member of the French Academy, wished to acquire permission to visit the Greek antiquities kept in the Ottoman Treasury, it was the French legation that submitted the application on his behalf directly to the grand vizier.[85] Similarly, when, in 1874, George Smith from the British Museum attempted to export a slab that he had discovered, the application was submitted by the British Legation in Constantinople to the Sublime Porte.[86] It appears that every country with an interest in antiquities found in Ottoman lands actively included its embassies in their pursuit. In 1875, only a few months after the request of the British Legation on behalf of George Smith, the Legation of Sweden and Norway applied directly to Foreign Minister Fuad Pasha with a request for permission to be granted to Swedish archaeologist Carlo Landberg to conduct excavations in Sidon (also known as Sayda and Saïda in present-day Lebanon).[87] Many more such documents survive in the Ottoman archive and point not only to the facilitating role of foreign legations on issues, such as authorisation for research, the ownership and export of finds, and visiting collections,[88] but on its long-standing, tacit acknowledgment by the Ottoman authorities as well.

[84] BOA.HR.TO(148/75), dated 7.05.1888.

[85] BOA.HR.TO(200/14), dated 16.06.1863.

[86] BOA.HR.TO(249/43), dated 13.10.1874.

[87] BOA.HR.TO(274/25), dated 10.03.1875.

[88] For example, see BOA.HR.TO(241/19), dated 19.04.1864; BOA.HR.TO(242/60), dated 14.06.1866; BOA.HR.TO(242/45), dated 18.04.1866; BOA.HR.TO(146/65), dated 11.05.1869; BOA.HR.TO(58/56), dated 24.06.1874; BOA.HR.TO(250/39), dated 19.06.1875; BOA.HR.TO(249/105), dated 15.03.1875; BOA.HR.TO(250/48), dated 19.08.1875; BOA.HR.TO(205/39), dated 19.11.1878; BOA.HR.TO(205/60), dated 17.06.1879; BOA.HR.TO(205/67), dated 07.08.1879.

If consuls could be turned into archaeologists and ambassadors took a close, even proactive, interest in the archaeological interests of their countries, archaeologists could also be put at the service of their homeland in capacities other than their official one. Instances of intelligence gathering activities have been documented, especially at times of unrest. Britain ahead of the Great War has provided some of the most renowned examples, such as Gertrude Bell and T.E. Lawrence, widely known as “Lawrence of Arabia”. While Bell was involved in intelligence-gathering activities that revolved around checking the accuracy of British maps and collecting information in her discussions with local politicians in the areas she visited, T.E. Lawrence was embedded in a mission of the Palestine Exploration Fund aimed at conducting an archaeological survey in northern Palestine and covertly provide information on the overland routes that the Ottomans could use in case they decided to invade Egypt.[89]

Nationalism and imperialism accounted for intelligence-gathering activities but the racism exhibited on specific occasions revealed the dangerous excesses of European intellectual traditions. In the Ottoman lands, it affected – and in a sense distorted – archaeology mostly in relation to the archaeology of the Semites. In their attempts to classify ancient civilisations in evolutionary terms, scholars would relegate the Semites to secondary positions. This thinking is echoed in the words of Ernest Renan, Professor of Hebrew in the Collège de France and excavator of various locations in the Levant in the early 1860s, who would argue that “[t]he Semitic race appears to us as incomplete through its simplicity. It is, dare I say it, to the Indo-European

[89] Bernhardsonn. *op.cit.* p. 61 on Gertrude Bell. Cline. *op.cit.* p. 29 on T.E. Lawrence.

family what drawing is to painting or plainsong to modern music. It lacks that variety, that scale, that superabundance of life that is necessary for perfectibility."[90]

Along these lines, the Phoenicians were viewed in a less positive light because of their Semitic origin with Phoenician archaeology gradually decreasing in appeal. In consequence, Phoenician sites in the Ottoman provinces of present-day Syria and Lebanon were either left unexplored or were interpreted in a Greek context. Archaeological anti-Semitism was evident in the context of Mesopotamian archaeology as well. For example, German Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch interpreted the Mesopotamian roots of Christianity as its emancipation from its Jewish tradition and its transformation into the first "true universal religion".[91]

Trafficking in antiquities, including illicit traffic aided by the diplomatic bag, was common practice in the Ottoman lands with countless small and anonymous instances providing fertile ground for the rise of legends.[92] After Helen of Troy and the spark that her abduction gave to epic warfare immortalised in the Iliad and a most adventurous return trip narrated in the Odyssey, the way Schliemann smuggled his precious finds from Troy – by a small boat in the middle of the night – has acquired the mythical dimensions of a new abduction, that of Priam's gold, and has much tormented Ottomans

[90] Díaz-Andreu. *op.cit.* pp. 136-137. The quote is on p. 136.

[91] Díaz-Andreu. *ibid.* pp. 136-137.

[92] For example, the Borrells from Smyrna were a long-standing supplier of ancient artefacts, esp. coins, to the British Museum. See British Museum. Department of the Middle East. Correspondence 1826-1867 (2) New Series: BO-BY W.A.A., no. 418, 419, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, and 427. For the analysis related to the diplomatic bag, see Eldem, Edhem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *op.cit.*, pp. 136-137. For a reference on illicit traffic on the Aegean island of Samos, see Κρητικίδης, Εμμανουήλ. *Τοπογραφία Αρχαία και Σημερινή της Σάμου*. Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Ρενιέρη Πρίντεζη, Εν Ερμουπόλει, 1869, pp.28-29.

and non-Ottomans, in legal battles and desired return trips, that have never ceased to fascinate people.[93]

A document that survives in the archive of the British Museum from 1839[94] provides a vivid account of the extremes westerners could reach in their attempts to get hold of antiquities from the Ottoman Empire. Written by a certain Mr Burson [name illegible] on 5 March, it provided the museum with his thoughts on how best to remove antiquities from a specific site. Because this remained unknown to him, Burson worked on the basis of two scenaria; one that wanted the location to be uninhabited and isolated and another one in which the ruins would not be deserted. Not being the person in charge of the removal, Burson started and concluded his letter by acknowledging the authority and knowledge of Lieutenant Graves who was expected to carry it out:

> I don't know that I can suggest anything in the shape of hint or instruction which will not immediately occur to Lieut. Grave's mind', as soon as he knows what he is required to do...
>
> [...]
>
> Graves is full of love for antiquity, full of invention, courage & energy, & has had so much practice in the Levant, among the Turks, that I think he would conduct such a job with all the needful skill & prudence. He is also so scientific & mathematical that he would bring you a beautiful ground plan of your locality & map of the surrounding country, which would add to the value & interest of the marbles. He has also some knowledge of art which would be useful. I feel so much

[93] Κορρές, Γεώργιος Σ. «Ερρίκος Σλήμαν (1822-1890), μια Ζωή στην Υπηρεσία της Αρχαιολογικής Επιστήμης.» *Conference "Archaeology and Heinrich Schliemann: A Century after his Death. Assessments and Prospects. Myth-History-Science"*, April 1990, Κορρές, Γεώργιος Σ. et al., επιμέλεια, 2012, pp. 220-226. http://www.aegeussociety.org/images/uploads/publications/schliemann/Archaeology-and-Heinrich-Schliemann_2012.pdf. Accessed 15 Jan. 2017. The documents of the legal battle at the Greek courts of first and second instance survive in the General State Archives at Athens, Year 1874, no. 977 and 962/37600 respectively. Also, Sönmez, Ali. "Truva Hazinelerinin Peşinde Bir Hukuk Mücadelesi: Osmanlı Devleti ve Schliemann Davası." *OTAM*. vol. 29, Spring 2011, pp. 215-228.

[94] British Museum. Department of the Middle East. Correspondence 1826-1860 (1) A-BI W.A.A., no. 734 and 733.

> ashamed of having suffered my own zeal for antiquity to have led me over these 2 sheets to say that which Graves knows better than I, that I must say no more...

In those two sheets, Burson's suggestions reveal an approach based on deceiving and bribing the locals and on acting in secret. Burson wished Lieutenant Graves to avoid acquiring the official consent of the Ottoman authorities and viewed the option of applying for a *firman* as an undesirable waste of time and, probably, equally as expensive as his suggested course of action:

> This [the firman] the Ambassador at Constantinople must be moved to procure, & the affair will then (I should fear) be more slow & difficult and after all will probably require as many presents & petty local bribery as if the firman had not been granted.

For Burson, there was a better way to go, according to which Graves should seriously prepare for bribing with the use of an interpreter strong in the local language(s) and well-accustomed with what he perceived to be local manners:

> I should say however that he must first & foremost have on board his vessel <u>a proper Interpreter</u>, a man from the establishment of some English Consul, accustomed to intrigue & negotiate with Turks & of some nerve, standing & experience. This I think of absolute necessity to prevent any broil or dispute. Next he must have on board his Vessel some Loaf sugar & coffee (raw) for presents, as well as some broad cloth, some pilots day & night telescopes, a shewry [or silvery – word illegible] plated telescope or two, perhaps a Turkish watch or two, a few pairs of long Turkish pistols, & an English double barrell'd fowling piece. Gun powder of course he would have. These would serve for presents, but I would leave him the choice of them, & the Interpereter would direct and suggest the use to be made of them. He must also be provided with a bag of Spanish Dollars which the Interpreter would suggest the mode of applying.

Having established the means of bribing and the profile and role of the interpreter, Burson moved on with suggesting a reconnaisance mission, both geographical and political, as the second preparatory step for the removal:

> The Spot and the Marbles wanted being particularly indicated, of course Graves would first carefully reconnoitre the territory & inform himself very carefully under whose immediate authority the district was, & of the character of the person in authority, whether timid & in fear of the porte, or the contrary. and how far from the ruins he resides etc. etc.

Following the preparations, Burson described the steps that should be taken for the actual removal of the objects by prioritising the most important ones and extending his advice to include the possibility of unwelcome encounters:

> If the ruins are in a place absolutely deserted & Graves should be of opinion (after reconnoitring) that the objects wanted could be taken by a coup de main, I would land [word illegible] people enough to take away in the least possible time the objects wanted most. For instance the long bi-lingual inscription, a perfect tomb, or the finest sculpture, after getting these safe on board, I would go on with others, any single person coming by accident & seeing the proceedings must be tackled with by the Interpreter & civilly treated & if tractable be bribed to assist & kept with the party. I think, at any rate, if bribed & well treated, any person might be prevented from needlessly meddling & giving information to the authorities, which would most probably speedily give rise to, at least, a warning off. Then the Interpreter's province would be called into action, & if presents, & gentle means, should be of no avail, as with a timid person in authority would be the case, and no quiet willing consent can be brought about by any bribing or presents, then, I presume we should do nothing without the Porte's firman.

Burson's suggested course of action in case the ruins were inhabited was similarly based on bribing.[95]

Although it is hard to tell to what extent such quasi-military expeditions were indeed a common recourse for western institutions in search of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire, the mere fact that such a course of action could be conceived in the first place and shared with the museum authorities makes one think that Burson's proposals would not be entirely discarded and laughed at in the early 19th century. His suggestions were based on a specific

[95] British Museum. Department of the Middle East. Correspondence 1826-1860 (1) A-BI W.A.A., no. 734 and 733.

reading of the personality and psychology of the locals, which in his view made them predisposed to bribing. Also, it reflects a readiness to neglect the Ottoman central authorities couched in his wish to avoid delays and his indirect reference to their inability to enforce their decisions at the local level, which, in his view, would have possibly necessitated the bribing of local authorities anyway. In his letter, without perhaps realising it, Burson drew a picture of the Oriental as a corrupt, slow and inefficient person and juxtaposed this to the image of the Briton, personified in Lieutenant Graves, as knowledgeable, ingenious, courageous and energetic. While bearing some testimony to the excesses of the western quest for antiquities in the Ottoman Empire, at least in the first half of the 19th century, this letter serves as a good illustration of the orientalising stereotypes that went along with this quest.

The analysis above touched upon how nationalist and imperialist projects rooted in the West were projected in the Ottoman East, how racism, including anti-Semitism, affected the study of antiquity in Ottoman lands, how orientalism could be played out in the ancient sites of the empire, how traffic in antiquities contributed to the rise of a modern mythology shared by Ottomans and westerners alike, and how the long-standing operationalisation of diplomats as archaeologists had its counter in the occasional instrumentalisation of archaeologists as intelligence agents. However, not all instances of western archaeological engagement with the Ottoman Empire should be linked to such negative phenomena. The increasing professionalisation of archaeology and the development of purely archaeological methodologies facilitated the transition to politically more neutral versions of foreign archaeological activity in the empire. One needs to

acknowledge that the interest of foreigners engaged in archaeological activities in the empire, such as diplomats, could be genuine and a benign expression of sensitivity *vis-à-vis* heritage protection.

Two documents from 1860 and 1879 point to the sensitivities that British diplomats shared regarding the protection of ancient artefacts and monuments. In the first letter dated 10 June 1860, the British Ambassador to Constantinople informed Foreign Minister Fuad Pasha of some new discoveries made in Van not long ago, "[...] principally [...] a fine bronze human-headed bull, about three-fourths the size of life, a large winged eagle, and two carved serpents – all of the same metal." Significantly, the ambassador continued with drawing the Pasha's attention to the need for their protection:

> There is, I fear, good ground for believing that the Governor of Van, - ignorant, perhaps, of the value of these antiquities, in a scientific point of view, - has sanctioned their being in part melted down, in order to utilize the substances of which they are composed, - I have, therefore, to beg Your Excellency to be good enough to send as soon as possible the necessary instructions to the Pasha, in order to prevent any further injury to such interesting objects.[96]

Almost twenty years later, on 15 November 1879, informed by the British vice-consul at Preveza (in present-day north-western Greece), the British ambassador in Constantinople wrote to the Sublime Porte to protest "the almost complete destruction of many of the remains of ancient buildings at Nicopolis to be used as materials for the construction of a new quai at Preveza. As the ancient ruins of Nicopolis", the ambassador continued, "were of considerable extent and of great archaeological interest, her Majesty's Embassy has been directed to make strong representations in the Porte on

[96] BOA.HR.TO(234/11), dated 10.06.1860.

the subject, and to urgently request that orders may be given for the immediate arrest of their further destruction. It would also be desirable", the ambassador added, "that the Porte should send, without delay, a circular to the authorities both in Europe and Asia to prevent the destruction of ancient remains which is now going on, Her Majesty's ambassador regrets to say, to a very serious extent in the Provinces." The letter ended emphatically with the ambassador's personal testimony of destruction reflected in that, "[h]e has himself witnessed it at Ephesus and elsewhere."[97]

Not only could westerners be genuinely sensitive *vis-à-vis* the destruction of antiquities when perpetrated by Ottomans, but they could be critical of fellow westerners involved in similar cases of destruction. The removal of the Parthenon marbles by Elgin and the ensuing uproar in Europe is often cited as a turning point in this respect. For individuals from lesser European powers, to position themselves critically *vis-à-vis* the removal of antiquities, especially when these caused irreparable damage both to the finds and the site as a source of information about the finds, could be relatively easier. For example, at the turn of the 19th century, Swedish Orientalist Johan David Åkerblad, who had visited Ottoman Athens, was openly opposed to practices commonly employed by collectors of antiquities because of their close resemblance to looting and the complete disregard for archaeological methods that these entailed.[98]

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[97] BOA.HR.TO(257/45), dated 15.11.1879.

[98] Thomasson, Fredrik. "Justifying and Criticizing the Removals of Antiquities in Ottoman Lands: Tracking the Sigeion Inscription." *op.cit*., pp. 493-517, esp. pp. 505-510. For biographical information on Johan David Åkerblad, see Thomasson, Fredrik. "Johan David Åkerblad: Orientalist, Traveller, and Manuscript Collector." *Travelling Through Time: Essays in Honour of Kaj Öhrnberg*, special issue of *Studia Orientalia*, vol. 114, 2013, pp. 463-477. ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/StOrE/article/view/52286/16217. Accessed 15 Jan. 2017.

Overall, even though it is worthwhile to try to establish general patterns and homogeneous narratives regarding western archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, western archaeological activities should be kept in perspective or, as Fredrik Thomasson has argued, "[t]he evidence shows that it is difficult to construct a common European attitude toward the removal of antiquities. Opinions did differ in a Europe that often has been constructed as a single cultural sphere, especially in its contacts with the Orient."[99]

An Ottoman intellectual context for Ottoman archaeology

The 19th century saw an increasing interest in antiquity and its remains among the Ottomans. Surviving publications in Ottoman Turkish, Greek and Armenian, including books, periodicals and journals, reveal the links between the emergence of a modern historiographical tradition and Ottoman archaeology. Modern methods and ideas resulted in a reconceptualisation of the past and its artefacts, and, thus, enabled the emergence of the study of antiquities. Topographical accounts reinforced such an enabling intellectual environment for Ottoman archaeology, while histories of art brought their readers closer to archaeological concepts. Significantly, for some publications, antiquities took centre stage, in what underscores that archaeology could be considered a field in itself.

A change of paradigm is noticeable in history-writing in this period with Ottoman historiography moving away from chronicling to encompass modern historiographical methods and concepts. Hanioğlu considers Ahmed Cevdet

[99] Thomasson. "Justifying and Criticizing the Removals of Antiquities in Ottoman Lands: Tracking the Sigeion Inscription." *ibid*, p. 510.

Pasha's history of the Ottoman Empire, which was written between 1854 and 1884, "the watershed between classical historiography and post-Tanzimat writing of history."[100] Indeed, certain features of Ahmed Cevdet Pasha's work reveal a break with the past. For example, contrary to what one sees in chronicles, he avoided derogatory comments about the non-Muslims. He employed a variety of sources that ranged from chronicles, periodicals and draft laws to archival documents and collecting testimonies from witnesses while approaching these sources in a critical manner. Significantly, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha attempted to position Ottoman history within world history, without missing the comparative perspective between East and West.[101]

More broadly, Ottoman historiography underwent major changes that can be traced already in the 1840s. In what has been observed in other fields of writing and has been termed *dilde sadelesme hareketi* (the language simplification movement), the language used for writing history was simplified. The sources were diversified with western works being consulted in the original and/or in translation. Also, the periodisation employed changed significantly, in what represented a shift in the understanding of time and history among the Ottomans. Karateke has identified a number of reasons behind this shift in periodisation: the use of new source material, including even archaeological finds, drawings, statues and inscriptions as in the case of court annalist Şânizâde Mehmed; the diminishing prestige of royal dynasties that had served as references for periodisation; the emergence of "scientific" periodisation in Europe and the willingness of Ottoman historiographers to

[100] Hanioğlu. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, *op.cit.*, p. 98.

[101] Arıkan, Zeki. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tarihçilik." *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 6, İletişim Yayınları, 1985, pp. 1584-1585.

adopt it; the loss of faith in the linearity, singularity and centrality of Ottoman history in terms of world history; and the development among Ottoman historians of a new notion of "universalism", that is, the notion of a shared, universal civilisation. All these contributed to a reconceptualisation of Ottoman history in the 19th century and the development of a "new method" (*usûl-i cedîd*), which was based on the tripartite division of world history into the "ancient", "medieval" and "new" periods. In this context, the notion of progress, in the sense of history as progress, became key and a useful analytical tool for the state of affairs in an empire where representative government was making its first steps.[102]

Also, Ottoman historiography appears to have followed the evolution of Ottomanist thought in these years. An initial interest in Ottomanism as a supranational identity can be found in the works of historiographers, such as Namık Kemal. Writing in a simplified language, Namık Kemal's work was shaped by the idea of Ottoman patriotism and the importance of Islam in history. He viewed history-writing not simply as an area of scholarly activity but as a pedagogical tool for the formation of the nation. He argued in particular that "history is vital not only for those who govern, it is vital for the nation."[103] Turkism was next in exerting a considerable influence on Ottoman Muslim historiographers. For example, cultural Turkism characterised the work of Ahmed Vefik Pasha, who was one of the first to give a wider

[102] Arıkan. *ibid*, p. 1584. Karateke, Hakan T. "The Challenge of Periodization – New Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Historiography." *Writing History at the Ottoman Court : Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*. edited by H. Erdem Cipa and Emine Fetvaci, Indiana UP, 2013, pp. 129-131 and 145-147. site.ebrary.com/lib/bodleian/detail.action?docID=10698306. Accessed 1 Aug. 2016.

[103] This is a translation of "[t]arih yalnız erbab-ı hükümet için değil, efrad-ı millet için elzemdir". For the quote and general information on Namık Kemal, see Arıkan. *ibid*, p. 1587.

perspective to the Turkish civilisation by maintaining that the Turks and their languages spread throughout Asia as far as the Pacific Ocean. Also, political Turkism had a strong influence on historiography, especially in the Second Constitutional period. Yusuf Akçuraoğlu considered the political union of the Turks in Asia and Eastern Europe the only solution, following the demise of Ottomanism as a supranational identity and the small probability of an Islamic union.[104] Mehmed Ziya Gökalp, in turn, promoted the syncretism of Islam and secularism in an Ottoman state dominated by the Turks, as exemplified in his motto "to become Turkish, Muslim and modern".[105]

Such a novel understanding of time and space, and the reconceptualisation of history and culture according to the more dynamic concepts of progress and, gradually, nationalism aspired to replace traditional worldviews that acknowledged individual agency barely, if at all, and were based on divine will. This major shift was critical for the acknowledgment of antiquities as worthy of attention for what they revealed about the past, now shaped by human agency, and, on occasion, for the prospect of their manipulation for the future.

This shift was limited neither to court annalists nor to Ottoman Muslims. The sultan's court was no longer the only institution to be found behind the study of history. With the expansion of education and the mushrooming of printing houses, the nineteenth century saw an increase in history-writing outside the palace by individuals associated with societies or working

[104] Arıkan. *ibid*, pp. 1587-1589.

[105] Zürcher. *op.cit.*, p. 190; and Hanioğlu. A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, op.cit.*, p. 187.

independently.[106] Such historiographical production could take the form of books as well as that of articles in periodicals and was carried out by Ottoman Muslims as well as non-Muslim Ottomans, at least the Greeks and the Armenians.

Far from providing a comprehensive picture of such histories, the following examples may help to illustrate the breadth of such productions, the causes they wished to promote, and their sources. In 1865, Epameinondas Stamatiades, a Samian intellectual who, *inter alia*, served as director of the office of the autonomous government of his island and as ephor of antiquities of the Samian Principality,[107] published in Athens a volume containing biographies of the Greek Orthodox dragomans in the service of the Ottoman state between 1661 and 1821,[108] as well as a historical description of the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.[109] In the introduction to his biographies, Stamatiades shared the reasons behind his compilation; to provide material to anyone interested in "writing a general history of Greece after the fall of Constantinople" and to serve as "a token of national gratitude" to those men who provided leadership to "the Greek ethnicity" in hard times. Epameinondas Stamatiades made use of a variety of sources, including works by other authors and the archives of the families and descendants of the dragomans in

[106] Karateke. *op.cit.*, p. 147.

[107] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', 1879-80, Τύποις Βουτυρά και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1884, p. κα'. www.archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiod00turkgoog#page/n7/mode/2up. Accessed 3 March 2017. Also, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', 1883-84, εκ του Τυπογραφείου Αντωνίου Κορομηλά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει,1888, p. κβ'.

[108] Σταματιάδης, Επαμεινώνδας Ι. *Βιογραφίαι των Ελλήνων Μεγάλων Διερμηνέων του Οθωμανικού Κράτους*, Τύποις Α. Κτενα και Π. Σουτσα, Αθήνα, 1865. (selectively read)

[109] Σταματιάδης, Επαμεινώνδας Ι. *Ιστορική Περιγραφή του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ναού της Αγίας Σοφίας*, Τύποις Α. Κτενα και Π. Σουτσα, Αθήνα, 1865. (selectively read)

question, which he was able to consult in Athens and Constantinople.[110] In 1899, Nikolaos Stamatiades turned his attention to revolutionary Samos and the years preceding the acknowledgment of Samian autonomy under the Ottomans. Nikolaos Stamatiades provides a biography of the two main revolutionary leaders, Logothetes Lykourgos and Konstantinos Lachanas, before reproducing an impressive number of documents that can serve as primary sources for the study of the Samian political affairs at that time. Interestingly, Nikolaos Stamatiades relied mostly on women as keepers of the collective memory of the island to compile his volume. He consulted with the daughter and grand-daughter of Logothetes Lykourgos, the daughter of K. Lachanas and the elderly lady Maria Koutzoura. Significantly, the historical documents reproduced in the volume had been collected and preserved by the grand-daughter of Logothetes Lykourgos and put at the disposal of the author,[111] in what reveals that women too had their share in the emerging new historical awareness that characterised the late Ottoman period.

A few years later, in the Ottoman capital, the Turkist organisations *Türk Derneği* (established 1908) and *Türk Ocağı* (established 1912) used the periodical *Türk Yürdü* to propagate their message about the origins and achievements of the Turkish civilisation. In 1910, the Ottoman Historical Committee (*Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni*) was established with a view to compiling a history of the Ottoman state and publishing brochures, documents and historical records related to Ottoman history. Indeed, the Committee

[110] Σταματιάδης, Επαμεινώνδας Ι., *Βιογραφίαι των Ελλήνων Μεγάλων Διερμηνέων του Οθωμανικού Κράτους*, *op.cit.*, «Τοις αναγινώσκουσιν.» (page numbers not provided)

[111] Σταματιάδου, Νικολάου Ι. *Σαμιακά ήτοι Ανέλιξις της Νεωτέρας Ιστορίας της Σάμου δι' Επισήμων Εγγράφων, ων Προτάσσονται αι Βιογραφίαι των Λογοθέτου Λυκούργου και Κωνσταντίνου Λαχανά*, εκ του Ηγεμονικού Τυπογραφείου, Σάμος, 1899, «Πρόλογος.» (page numbers not provided; selectively read)

published a periodical, the *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, as well as a number of books, such as *Tarih-i Ebu'l-feth* by Dursun Bey and the history written by Byzantine historian Kritovoulos in translation into Ottoman Turkish. Among the pioneering works carried out in the context of the Committee was the study and publication of Seljuk, Ottoman and other Turkish inscriptions from throughout the country, as in the case of the book by Halil Edhem Bey, director of the Imperial Museum, on the inscriptions at Kayseri, which was published in 1918 under the title *Kayseriyye Şehri*. In 1915, the periodical of the Committee for the Study of Islamic and National Works [of Art] (*Âsar-ı İslamiye ve Milliye Tetkik Encümeni*), *Millî Tetebbular Mecmuası*, became a platform for the study of Turkish history, as illustrated in Köprülüzade's article titled "Turkish civilisation in Anatolia at the times of the Seljuks" (*Selçuklular zamanında Anadolu'da Türk Medeniyeti*) that was published in its 5th issue.[112]

Köprülüzade's article was only one among many instances that showcase an increasing interest in the history of art noticeable in these years that, significantly, also saw the establishment of an Ottoman School of Fine Arts (1882).[113] For example, in 1914, one of the prominent professors at the School of Fine Arts, Vahid Bey, translated Salomon Reinach's textbook *Apollo - tarîh-i umûmî-i sınâât* (*Apollo – a general history of the arts*). The book consists of Reinach's teaching notes at the Louvre school and is arranged in 25 courses.[114] For Vahid Bey, the history of art was the most beautiful,

[112] Arıkan. *op.cit.*, pp. 1590-1593.

[113] "Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi" in Eldem, Edhem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*, Kültür ve Türizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2010, pp. 454-456.

[114] Reinach, Salomon. *Apollo - tarîh-i umûmî-i sınâât*. Translated by Vahid (Bey), Matbaa-i âmire, İstanbul, 1331, pp. 23-26 and 408-409. (in Ottoman Turkish; selectively read)

complete and exemplary way to learn about a civilisation.[115] Thus, history of art was added to the array of historical approaches through which the Ottomans attempted to explore history and locate themselves in it.

Standing monuments and surviving works of art from bygone eras did much to spark the interest of Ottomans in history and the study of the remains of civilisations that flourished in the lands of the empire. This was clearly reflected in studies of historical topography. Ottoman Armenian Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan's short history of the Ottoman capital (*Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*), which was completed in 1800 in Armenian, provides an early example of a study of the monuments of Constantinople in a topographical approach. A historian and teacher born in 1740 in the same city that he treated in his book, Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan began his narration with a summary account of the founding of Constantinople in 655 BC, before embarking on a detailed description of his contemporary city by means of its gates. With Narlıkapı as his starting point, Hovhannesyan moved from gate to gate until he reached the gates of the Topkapı Palace. He then continued his description from Bahçe Kapı all the way to Kağıthane, Kasımpaşa and Galata on the other side of the Golden Horn. Hovhannesyan also tracked the entire shore of the Bosphorus; the European side up to Kavak Kalesi, from where he turned to the Asian side all the way down to Fener Bahçesi. In this extensive mapping of Constantinople, Hovhannesyan provides information on demographics, the churches, synagogues and mosques that he came across, the landscape and economic activity. Anecdotal stories and mythological narrations dot his description. Yet, his work is also rich in historical

[115] Reinach. *ibid*, "Mütercimin ifâdesi" and, in particular, "o medeniyeti bize bundan daha güzel ve daha tâmm ve mükemmel keşf ve tahmin ettirecek hiç bir şey bulunamaz", p. 9.

information. As mentioned in his short introduction, Hovhannesyan consulted histories in Greek, Armenian and Ottoman Turkish in order to complete his work. Significantly, besides such textual sources, he benefitted from the remains of monuments and other surviving artefacts, such as the ruins of churches (e.g. p. 53), those of old Ottoman palaces (e.g. p. 62) and the crosses on the Byzantine walls of the old city (e.g. p. 13) in order to draw a more complete historical account of the city.[116]

With its many impressive monuments from bygone eras, the Ottoman capital continued in the years that followed Hovhannesyan's work to inspire Ottomans to shed their ink in describing it. In 1910, Mehmed Ziya, a graduate of the Galatasaray Lycée and teacher at the Mercan secondary school (*Mercan İdadisi*), published a book on the Chora Monastery/Kariye Mosque under the title *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerifi*. In its introduction, he lamented the lack of interest in this monument exhibited by the Ottomans also seen, as he remarked, in the facts that no book on it was ever written in Ottoman Turkish and that no locals visited it. Significantly, he juxtaposed that to the advanced knowledge of the French, who went as far as to produce an entire illustrated volume on it, and the regular visits by foreigners, as this monument was also included in a guidebook. Mehmed Ziya took the opportunity to visit this monument together with his students at the Mercan İdadisi, following their request. Wishing to pay tribute to great men, who served their "religion and state and nation", he would first take his students to the Mihrimah Sultan Camii, a mosque constructed in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent by Mimar Sinan. Significantly, Mehmed Ziya appeared anxious to fend off in

[116] Hovhannesyan, Sarkis Sarraf. *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*. Translated by Elmon Hançer, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996.

advance any accusations of destruction and harm caused to the Chora Monastery by the Ottomans. He, thus, referred to destruction caused in the context of the Latin conquest of the Byzantine capital as well as by the Iconoclasts.[117] A proud Ottoman, Turk and Muslim, Mehmed Ziya wished to accommodate Byzantine history within his contemporary Ottoman reality; to help his compatriots reach the level of knowledge Europeans enjoyed about the Ottoman lands; and reconcile the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople with his understanding of monument preservation; all these encapsulated in the description of a single monument of the Ottoman capital. Constantinople inspired the Ottomans to study its historical topography on many other occasions, as in the case of Celâl Esad (Arseven) who published a book on the old buildings of Galata in 1913,[118] and Mehmed Râif Bey who, in those years, developed an interest in the antiquities of the Sultan Ahmed neighborhood,[119] and the Topkapı Palace and its surroundings.[120]

Besides the capital, historical topography sparked the interest of Ottomans in other parts of the empire as well. For example, in 1869, Emmanouel Kretikides published a topographical study of ancient and modern Samos. Originally from Samos but a resident of the Greek island of Syros in the Aegean, where he worked as a physician, Kretikides provides an interesting example as to the interplay between topographical observations

[117] Ziya, Mehmed. *Ka'riye Cami-i Şerifi*. Transliterated into modern Turkish by Ömer Zülfe, Okur kitaplığı, 2012, esp. p. 11-16. (selectively read) The quotation is from p. 14.

[118] Celâl Esad (Arseven). *Eski Galata ve Binaları*. Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı, İstanbul, 1329 (1913). (in Ottoman Turkish; selectively read)

[119] Mehmed Râif Bey. *Bir Osmanlı Subayının Kaleminden Sultan Ahmed Semti – Sultân Ahmed Parkı ve Âsâr-ı Atîkası*. Transliteration, introduction, and glossary by H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Adem Korkmaz, Okur kitaplığı, 2010. (selectively read)

[120] Mehmed Râif Bey. *Bir Osmanlı Subayının Kaleminden Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresi – Topkapı Sarây-ı Hümâyûnu ve Parkının Târîhi*. Transliteration, introduction, and glossary by H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Adem Korkmaz, Okur kitaplığı, 2010. (selectively read)

and the study of history when, for example, during a visit to a tower close to the Samian Heraion, he observed an inscription on top of a gate – a mere "1575" – and decided to visit the monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos to consult the will of the initial owner of the tower with a view to tracing the history of this 16th-century monument. Significantly, Kretikides, like others who worked on historical topography, offers insight as to the link between historical topography and archaeology as well. In what resembles field surveys in archaeology, he identified the remains of ancient monuments on the island, such as the traces of an ancient city, slabs, broken ceramics, and a huge statue of which only the torso survived in the vicinity of Alonaki in Mesokampos.[121]

Historical topography was not the only means through which the Ottomans were introduced to the study of antiquities and, indirectly, archaeology. Some of the histories produced in the Ottoman Empire, especially those known as 'general histories' (*tarîh-i umûmî*) contributed to introducing their readers to antiquity and its remains.[122] A specialised history of Crete written by Hüseyin Kâmi Hanyavî and published in 1288 (1871) is of interest for its presentation of the ancient history of the Cretans, including ancient Greek gods and goddesses, and, more importantly, for its discussion of the Minoan Labyrinth, which is based on an article written by a certain Hourmouzes on the cave where the Labyrinth was purportedly found.[123]

[121] Κρητικίδης. *op.cit*. For the story about the inscription, see p. 13. For the traces of the ancient city and other ancient remains at Mesokampos, see p. 51.

[122] Çelik, Zeynep. "Defining Empire's Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities." *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. edited by Zainab Bahrani et al., SALT, 2011, pp. 462-466.

[123] Hanyavî, Hüseyin Kâmi. *Girid târîhi*. Mühendis oğlu Ohaness matbaası; Dersaadet, 1288 (1871), pp. 47-50 and 80-91. (in Ottoman Turkish; selectively read)

Illustrated journals also covered archaeological activities in the empire and abroad, while *salnames*, the provincial yearbooks, "did not simply offer information but framed the issue of civilisation in terms of history, making the argument that contemporary reforms were reviving past grandeur – especially in the Arab provinces".[124] Sultan Abdülhamid II's photographic albums provide visual evidence of an Ottoman interest in antiquities. They offer an extensive geographical coverage and, in Çelik's view, an insight into the "civilizing mission" the Ottoman administrative elite in the capital considered itself responsible for regarding the Arab provinces in particular.[125] Notably, the provincial official gazettes covered archaeological matters.[126] By means of illustration, between 1874 and 1876, the bilingual (Ottoman Turkish and Greek) provincial official gazette *Aydın* published articles on issues, such as archaeological research and excavations, finds, illicit digs, competition between European powers for archaeological research in Ottoman lands, the protection of monuments, auctions of ancient artefacts, and the dissemination of archaeological rules, administrative circulars and legislation. The articles dealt with archaeological developments in the province of Aydın, in other Ottoman provinces, as well as in Greece.[127] Published in Greek in Constantinople, the newspaper *Oriental Star* (*Ανατολικός Αστήρ*) provided its

[124] Çelik. "Defining Empire's Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities." *op.cit.* pp. 454-460 and 466-469. For the quote, see p. 458.

[125] Çelik. *ibid*. pp. 447-454.

[126] Ορταϊλί, Ιλμπέρ. «Τα Αρχαία Μνημεία.» *Ανακαλύπτοντας Ξανά τους Οθωμανούς*. Translated by İbrahim Kelağa Ahmet, University Studio Press, 2008, p. 212.

[127] *Εφημερίς Σμύρνης «Αϊδίν»*, issues 406 dated 13.03.1874 – 680 dated 11.12.1876 and, in particular, 407 dated 20.03.1874, p. 3; 408 dated 23.03.1874, p. 5; 429 dated 8.06.1874, p. 37; 432 dated 19.06.1872, p. 43; 446 dated 7.08.1874, p. 71; 450 dated 21.08.1874, p. 80; 467 dated 19.10.1874, p. 113; 477 dated 30.11.1874, p. 133; 484 dated 24.12.1874, p. 147; 517 dated 30.04.1875, p. 212; 519 dated 7.05.1875, p. 215; 521 dated 14.05.1875, p. 219; 524 dated 24.05.1875, p. 225; 529 dated 11.06.1875, p. 235; 532 dated 21.06.1875, p. 241; 540 dated 19.07.1875, p. 257; 559 dated 24.09.1875, p. 295; and 666 dated 23.10.1876, p. 1. This gazette was consulted in Greek.

readers with articles related to antiquity and, more often, archaeological news from the Ottoman Empire, Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean and in Europe.[128] An introduction to Christian archaeology, namely the study of "the monuments of the early Christian and medieval periods in general" (*Τα μνημεία της πρώτης του χριστιανισμού περιόδου και τα του μεσαιώνος εν γένει*) is testimony to the interest in Christian antiquities in the empire. The book, which was published in 1899 by the Printing House of the Patriarchate in Constantinople, had been written by Andreas Kopases, who was*, inter alia*, a member of the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*), involved in the administrative affairs of the Greek Orthodox *millet*, a member of the Spanish Royal Academy of historical sciences[129] and of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople,[130] and would be appointed prince of Samos between 1908 and 1912.[131]

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[128] *Ανατολικός Αστήρ*, issues 1 dated 6.10.1861, pp. 2 and 3; 3 dated 18.10.1861, p. 4; 4 dated 25.10.1861, p. 4; 5 dated 1.11.1861, p. 4; 6 dated 8.11.1861, pp. 2 and 4; 7 dated 15.11.1861, p. 4; 10 dated 6.12.1861, p. 4; 16 dated 17.01.1862, p. 4; 22 dated 28.02.1862, p. 3; 24 dated 14.03.1862, p. 3; 27 dated 3.04.1862, p. 4; 29 dated 17.04.1862, p. 3; 31 dated 1.05.1862, p. 31; 32 dated 8.05.1862, p. 64; 1 dated 15.10.1877, pp. 31 and 32; 3 dated 22.10.1877, p. 47; 4 dated 29.10.1877, pp. 50 and 62; 5 dated 5.11.1877, p. 71; 6 dated 12.11.1877, p. 81; 7 dated 19.11.1877, pp. 97 and 110; 11 dated 17.12.1877, pp. 173-174; 12 dated 31.12.1877, p. 207; 22 dated 3.03.1878, pp. 350 and 351-352; 24 dated 17.03.1878, pp. 376-377; 28 dated 14.04.1878, pp. 444 and 445; 29 dated 20.04.1878, pp. 459 and 460; 30 dated 28.04.1878, pp. 474, 476 and 477; 31 dated 31.05.1878, pp. 486, 490 and 491-492; 33 dated 19.05.1878, pp. 514-517; and 34 dated 26.05.1878, pp. 537-538.

[129] Κοπάσης, Α. Ε. *Γενικαί Γνώσεις περί Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογίας*. εκ του Πατριαρχικού Τυπογραφείου, Κωνσταντινούπολη, 1899. (selectively read)

[130] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1907, p. ζ'.

[131] Βακιρτζής. *op.cit.*, pp. 493-535.

Overall, Ottoman archaeology developed against a dual backdrop; one that referred to the emergence of archaeology as a distinct discipline in the West; and another one that linked it to the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire. In the course of the 19th century, the emergence of archaeology in the West as a distinct discipline in the context of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution took place under the parallel processes of professionalisation, institutionalisation and political instrumentalisation. Foreign archaeological activity in the Ottoman Empire developed along these lines. Ottoman archaeology emerged in dialogue with western archaeology and against a backdrop of new historiographical approaches, including the study of the history of art and historical topography, in the empire. Archaeology in the empire eventually became newsworthy. Many were the publications, in a variety of languages and formats, that paved the way for a positive reception of the study of antiquity or, more importantly, directly contributed to archaeological knowledge. Such an increased foreign and domestic interest in antiquity and its remains created a new field for the Ottoman state to regulate. In line with the dominant administrative culture at that time, state policies would be based on regulations.

Chapter II – Ottoman archaeology: regulations and parallel developments

This chapter discusses the Ottoman archaeological policies by focusing on the main tool through which the Ottoman state attempted to bring about reform and implement its policies in these years, namely the regulation (*nizamnâme*). It is broken down into five sections; the first one attempts to shed light on the period immediately preceding the first regulation; the second section deals with the first regulation that was adopted in 1869; the third section discusses the second regulation that was promulgated in 1874; the fourth section covers the 1884 law; and the final section deals with the regulation of 1906 and complementary acts of law from the years up to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Each section contains a description of the main features of the regulation followed by a discussion of the roots of the stipulations and influences in their adoption. Moreover, each section attempts to shed light on the ways in which the regulations were implemented. A discussion of parallel developments, such as the creation of museums and other institutions, as well as the steps towards improving the human resources for archaeology in the empire, on which a more detailed literature is already available, attempts to enrich our understanding of the Ottoman policies on archaeology.

Regulation without a regulation: Ottoman archaeology between 1839 and 1869

Between the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 and the adoption of the first regulation on archaeology in 1869, the Ottoman ruling elite became expressly aware of the value of antiquity and its remains, and developed an interest in their contemporary use. Thus, antiquity and antiquities were gradually incorporated in the public sphere and became an area for the state to regulate. Although no text was produced with a view to acting as a comprehensive legal point of reference for archaeological matters, many separate instances reveal that the core of the main issues that tantalised Ottoman archaeology to the end of the empire, such as the ownership of finds, their export, the duration of excavation permits, protection from damage and destruction, the role of foreign diplomatic representations and that of local administration, the supervision of excavations, the finances of archaeology and the role of museums, were central already in these years. Ideas put forth and solutions provided during this period would later be found at the core of discussions and legislative developments. Even though attempts to regulate archaeology vacillated between Islamic jurisprudence and a modern concept of law, the gradual shift from the former to the latter is noticeable in this period. Overall, these thirty years were formative for the Ottoman government and administration, which developed an awareness of the value of antiquities and took their first steps in regulating this new area.

In spite of the lack of a regulation on antiquities, two laws incorporated elements of a policy regarding the remains of the past. The Land Regulation (*Arâzî Kanûnnâme-i Hümâyûnu*, article 107) that was adopted in 1858 dealt

with coin finds and treasures. More specifically, it stipulated that "in general the rules regarding ancient and modern coins and various treasures found on a plot of land and whose owner is unknown are detailed in *fiqh* books."[132] Article 133 of the Penal Code (*Cezâ Kanûnnâmesi*) that was adopted in 1858 arguably introduced the first clause on the protection of antiquities by stipulating the punishment of those "demolishing, destroying or partially breaking and damaging buildings of good deeds and those embellishing towns and works on them".[133] Although adopted in the same year, the two laws were based on different legal traditions, that of Islamic jurisprudence in the case of the Land Regulation and of modern European concepts in the case of the Penal Code. However, it appears that *fiqh* was restricted in the administrative handling of coin finds and, over time, gave way to an entirely secular approach to antiquities.

Whether regulated along Islamic or European legal premises, a number of issues that one comes across in those formative years would remain a constant feature of Ottoman archaeology throughout. The issue of ownership of finds was fundamental and became a subject in many attempts to regulate archaeology in the empire. As early as 1845 and in response to the sale of an ancient stone slab to the Danish consul on Cyprus, Sultan Abdülmecid ordered the preservation of ancient coins in the Mint and of

[132] "Bilcümle arazide bulunup malik ve sahibi belli olmayan meskûkât-ı atike ve cedide ve defâin-i mütenevvianın ahkâmı kütübü fıkhiyyede tafsil olunmuştur." Qtd. in Mumcu, Ahmet. "Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye." *A.Ü Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. XXVI, no. 3-4, 1969, p. 66, footnote 26. Mumcu offers a detailed description of *fiqh* rules on this matter on pages 66-68.

[133] "Hayrat-ı Şerife ve tezyinat-ı beldeden olan ebniye ve âsâr-ı mevzu'âyı hedm ve tahrib ve yahud bazı mahallerini kırıb rahnedâr […]". Qtd. in Mumcu. *ibid*. p. 68. Also, in Çal, Halit. "Osmanlı Devletinde Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmeleri." *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 26, 1997, p. 391.

antiquities in the Ammunition Store.[134] Two years later, in 1847, on the occasion of a chance find of coins by a peasant in the district of İnegöl (either in the present-day district of Bursa or that of Manisa-Sarıgöl),[135] the sultan confirmed that ancient coins should be preserved in the Mint and added the concept of compensation in the administrative handling of coin finds. Thus, the state, now the sole owner of the coins, would have to compensate their discoverer with the equivalent value of the coins in full.[136]

The issue of ownership of coin finds took a new turn in 1850, when a ruling by the *Fetvâhâne* stipulated that ancient coins would belong to the owner of the land where found provided that the landowner claimed ownership. The same ruling accorded the Ottoman state only a fifth of the finds. In case of non-Islamic coins, this ruling introduced a fundamentally different approach to what was seen before. The new approach made reference to the time of the Islamic conquest of the land and the notion of *lûkata*[137] while taking into consideration the financial status of the discoverer. These were conceptual premises inherent in Islamic jurisprudence, but far from notions of European law that appear to have informed the imperial orders a few years earlier. In 1857, the procedure put forth by the *Fetvâhâne*

[134] Koçak, Alev. *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations, Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*. The Isis Press, 2011, p. 31.

[135] Akbayar, Nuri. *Osmanlı Yer Adları Sözlüğü*. 2001. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003, p. 80.

[136] Koçak. *op.cit*. p. 22.

[137] *Lûkata* is defined as "[a] thing found, which after an interval, becomes the property of the finder." In Hony, H. C. *A Turkish – English Dictionary*. 2nd ed., Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1958, p. 223. It is understood that *lûkata* is a concept used in the context of Islamic law.

was refined albeit along the same lines. For example, the new decision also dealt with coins found in lands that belonged to pious foundations.[138]

Such recourse to Islamic law is not to be found in the case of non-coin finds. Significantly, in such cases one often comes across ideas and solutions that were later incorporated in the Ottoman laws regulating archaeological research. For example, in 1853 the Ottoman government prompted by the sale of three ancient sarcophagi to the Prussian consul in Smyrna put forth the concept of state ownership for all underground antiquities.[139] In 1874, this principle was included in article 3 of the Ottoman regulation on antiquities.[140] In the early 1860s, any ancient finds discovered during the construction of the Constanza railway in the Dobrudja (a region on the Black Sea now split between Bulgaria and Romania) were to be shared between the company and the Ottoman state.[141] The same held true in the case of an authorisation granted to a Russian subject who wished to conduct excavations in Constantinople and its surroundings in 1867.[142] The concept of sharing finds between the Ottoman state and the excavator would also find its way into the Ottoman regulation on antiquities of 1874 (article 3).

Ottoman attempts at regulating archaeology also put emphasis on the issue of the export of finds. Surviving documents reveal that foreigners considered it wise, if not obligatory, to seek special authorisation in this

[138] Koçak. *op.cit*. pp. 23-25.

[139] Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 33-34.

[140] For full bibliographical references to the Ottoman regulations on antiquities of 1869, 1874, 1884 and 1906, see footnote no. 171 on p. 100 for the regulation of 1869, footnote no. 191 on p. 110 for the regulation of 1874, footnote no. 227 on p. 124 for the regulation of 1884, and footnote 311 on p. 160 for the regulation of 1906.

[141] Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 47-48.

[142] Koçak. *ibid*. p. 53.

regard. For example, in 1861 the British legation addressed a letter to the Ottoman government requesting a vizirial letter for Mr Richard Popplewell Pullan "to remove from Sighajik (the site of the ancient Teos) [Sığacık, close to present-day İzmir] such sculptures and antiquities as he may discover in order that they may be placed in the British Museum."[143] Five years later, in 1866, the British legation submitted a memorandum to the Ottoman government requesting, *inter alia*, permission for Mr Pullan to export sculptures and inscriptions found in other locations.[144] In 1861, the French diplomatic authorities in Constantinople requested permission for Mr Heuzey to export ancient slabs that he had discovered in Durazzo (Durrës in present-day Albania) during his scientific mission in Roumelia.[145] Two years later, in 1863, the French legation attempted to ensure that the Ottoman authorities would cause no complications to Mr Miller who was interested in exporting finds from the Aegean island of Thassos.[146]

Although these cases show a pattern, in which the excavator's legation takes it upon itself to submit the request for permission to export the finds, to which request the Ottoman government was anticipated to reply "with the liberality it has always shown on such occasions,"[147] in the higher echelons of the Ottoman administration, one could find influential individuals opposed to the export of antiquities on principle. Fethi Ahmed Pasha's[148] position

[143] BOA.HR.TO (237/36), dated 5.12.1861.

[144] BOA.HR.TO (242/60), dated 14.06.1866.

[145] BOA.HR.TO (199/49), dated 17.11.1861.

[146] BOA.HR.TO (200/42), dated 23.12.1863.

[147] BOA.HR.TO(237/36), dated 5.12.1861.

[148] Fethi Ahmed Pasha was the marshal of the Imperial Arsenal. For more biographical information, see Shaw. *op.cit.*, pp. 46-48.

illustrates this well for, in 1850, on the occasion of a request by Layard[149] to export finds, he suggested a complete ban on the export of antiquities on the grounds that the remains of antiquity are "like a spiritual key to human history and this situation is inappropriate and does not fit the glorious Ottoman Empire."[150] Significantly, all Ottoman regulations on antiquities would regulate the issue of exports; the regulations of 1869 (article 2), 1884 (article 32) and 1906 (article 27) by prohibiting them and the regulation of 1874 (article 32) by conditioning them upon governmental authorisation.

A few more issues that appeared in those years would resurface in future attempts to regulate archeological research on Ottoman lands, that is, the duration of permits, the supervision of excavations, and the rights of landowners. Regarding the former issue, for example, when British Ambassador Stratford Canning acquired permission for Newton to excavate on the Aegean island of Kalymnos in 1853, he did so for one year.[151] Similarly, in the 1860s, Wood's permissions to excavate at Ephesos were limited to one year.[152] In 1867, a Russian subject who requested permission to excavate in Constantinople and its surroundings was provided with a permit also limited to one year.[153] Although increased to a maximum of two years, the issue of the duration of a permit is seen in the regulations of 1874 (article 11), 1884 (article 17) and 1906 (article 18).

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[149] For biographical information on Layard, see "Sir Austen Henry Layard." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com/biography/Austen-Henry-Layard. Accessed 6 June 2017.

[150] Qtd. in Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 40.

[151] Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 40-41.

[152] Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 51-52. For a request of a renewal of permission for one year, see BOA.HR.TO(241/19), dated 19.04.1864.

[153] Koçak. *ibid*. p. 53.

The Ottoman government was slower to embrace the idea of supervision of excavations. Already in 1850 Fethi Ahmed Pasha had suggested that "a capable Ottoman official be sent to accompany Layard in his excavations."[154] In 1868, in what echoed mistrust and suspicion about Wood's activities in Ephesos, the governor (*vâlî*) of Aydın proposed that an Ottoman official supervise the excavations *in situ*. After considering the proposal, the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) deemed this idea excessive and, in its stead, instructed the local authorities to be watchful.[155] By 1868, however, the Ottoman government had grown more accustomed to the idea of appointing a supervisor to excavations and, for example, the Russian subject who was granted permission to excavate in Constantinople and its surroundings could only do so under the supervision of an Ottoman inspector whose expenses he was to bear.[156] With the exception of the regulation of 1869, all Ottoman regulations on antiquities would cover this issue.[157]

The rights of landowners were another topic that the Ottoman authorities attempted to regulate already in those years. Two cases seen before, the Kalymnos excavations from 1853 and the Constantinople excavations from 1867, suggest that the Ottoman government acknowledged the obligation of excavators to acquire the consent of landowners before digging on private land.[158] Significantly, as the British legation reveals in its 1866 memorandum also discussed above, Mr Pullan was willing to

[154] Qtd. in Koçak. *ibid*. p. 40.

[155] Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 52-53.

[156] Koçak. *ibid*. p. 53.

[157] The regulation of 1874 in article 9, the regulation of 1884 in article 21 and the regulation of 1906 in article 16, paragraph 5.

[158] Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 40-41 and 53.

compensate private landowners.[159] The regulations of 1874 (article 7), 1884 (article 6 and 17) and 1906 (articles 12 and 16) would deal with the obligation to acquire the consent of the landowner and provide compensation.

Also, this was formative times for the Ottoman state in terms of developing its administrative system for the management of antiquities with various branches of the government and, in particular, local authorities being allocated specific tasks and responsibilities. In 1847, when the governor of Jerusalem wished to dispatch antiquities to Constantinople, the sultan ordered the expenses to be paid by the local treasury.[160] In 1850, local authorities were rendered responsible for paying the equivalent of the value of coin finds in cases of compensation.[161] On another occasion, the permission that the British acquired in 1853, which allowed them to excavate on the island of Kalymnos, stipulated that they would have to deliver the Ottoman share of finds to the governor-general of the Aegean islands.[162] These instances suggest the gradual creation of new duties and lines of expenses for various branches of the state, rendered necessary by the development of an archaeologically sensitive mindset in the Ottoman administration.

One of the most central offices for the administration of antiquities in the following years, that is, the archaeological museum, was created during this period. The idea of founding a museum was first discussed by the

[159] BOA.HR.TO(242/60), dated 14.06.1866.

[160] Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 45.

[161] Koçak. *ibid*. p. 23.

[162] Koçak. *ibid*. p. 41.

Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances in 1845[163] as an attempt at offsetting the export of antiquities from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in Bodrum following a request by British Ambassador Stratford Canning in 1843. As in other instances of regulating archaeological matters during these years, the role of Fethi Ahmed Pasha was pivotal in the creation of this museum.[164] Initially, this took the form of a collection of antiquities which, for some time, was located alongside a collection of military items in the former Church of Hagia Eirene in the first courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.[165] Dispatches of finds from the provinces[166] and a limited number of excavations[167] resulted in the number of exhibits increasing constantly.

Significantly, in those years, the concept of a museum, even one able to compete with its European counterparts, appeared to gain ground among Ottoman elites. For example, in 1857, in his request to excavate selected sites on the Anatolian shores of the Aegean, the Prince of Samos, Ioannes Gkikas, argued that his finds could be transferred to a place in Constantinople that "within a few years could be transformed into one of the most remarkable museums of Europe."[168] A museum created by the Izmir-Aydın Railway Company in Ephesos, in 1863, illustrates the nascent idea of local museums that were expected to host less important antiquities while the most

[163] Shaw. *op.cit.,* p. 46 cites 1846 as the year of this initial discussion. For a discussion of other discrepancies between historians regarding the date that the museum was established, see Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 30-31.

[164] Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 30-31.

[165] Shaw. *op.cit.* pp. 45-53.

[166] Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 43-46.

[167] Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 41-42 and 44.

[168] "… à Constaninople dans un local [...] qui en peu d' années pourrait devenir un des Musées les plus remarquables de l' Europe." In BOA.HR.TO(484/19), dated 7.03.1857.

remarkable finds would be sent to the capital.[169] The collection at Hagia Eirene attracted the interest of Ottoman bureaucrats and foreign visitors.[170]

Overall, even though the decisions and rules put forth by the Ottoman administration may have drawn on fundamentally different legal paradigms and may have been erratically implemented, it was during these years that the seeds of an Ottoman policy on antiquities were planted. Through their activities, locals and foreigners forced the Ottoman government to take a stance on how to handle the remains of the past. For example, the state had to decide how to handle chance finds, such as ancient coins. Also, it had to respond to the aspirations of foreigners eager to discover the European past on Ottoman soil. With time, and as it acquired its own understanding of and interests in the administration of antiquities, the Ottoman Empire moved from a purely reactive to a more proactive stance. Faced with regular violations of fundamental rules related to the ownership and export of finds, the Ottomans introduced concepts, such as the monitoring of excavations, set up their own nascent mechanism for collecting antiquities, created a venue to exhibit finds and, even, contemplated conducting excavations. The suggestion by the Minister of Public Education Safvet Pasha in 1868 that the government should conduct a survey of antiquities with a special focus on Cyprus and the Aegean[171] is an illustration of the fact that, a year before the adoption of the first regulation on antiquities, the Ottoman state was ready to claim the remains of the past that lay buried in its lands.

[169] Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 49-50.

[170] Shaw. *op.cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[171] Koçak. *op.cit*., pp. 53-54.

The 1869 regulation

In 1869, the Ottoman government adopted its first law on antiquities.[172] Short and a reflection of the lawmakers' reluctance to make bold moves, it left outside its purview numerous issues. Nevertheless, it marks the turn to a comprehensive approach towards archaeology by the Ottoman state. The preamble[173] of the law sheds light on the reasons behind its promulgation, which, overall, reflect an advanced understanding of the value of antiquities for the state. Next to acknowledging the archaeological wealth of the empire, the preamble highlighted the importance that antiquities and museums carried with regards to knowledge. A subtle comparison of the Ottoman state with other countries, as illustrated by the use of the phrase "in all countries" (*her devlette*) when discussing the establishment of museums, spoke of the wish of the Ottoman lawmakers to bring the empire to the same level as that enjoyed by countries endowed with museums. At a time when the Ottoman state was reevaluating its "national" assets and priorities in changing circumstances that were leaving it behind at the international level, a law on antiquities appeared to reinforce its claims over its wealth, its share of knowledge, and relative position in the world.

Specific issues that were reflections of these broader considerations at a more practical level weighed heavily in the adoption of the regulation. Because of being based on the sharing of duplicate finds, the conventional

[172] For the text of the regulation in Ottoman Turkish, see *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 1 Şubat 1284 (13 February 1869). For its transliteration into modern Turkish, see Çal, *op.cit.*, pp. 394-395. For a translation into French, see Aristarchi Bey, Grégoire. *Legislation ottomane : ou Recueil des lois, reglements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Émpire Ottoman*. Imprimerie Frères Nicolaides, vol. 2., Constantinople, 1874, pp. 161-162.

[173] To be found only in *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, ibid.

system for sharing antiquities in place up to that time was seen as insufficient and, consequently, in need of reform; duplicate finds were considered rare and often went undeclared, kept hidden from the authorities. This situation undermined the ability of the state to enrich its museum, a fact which was much regretted. This regulation was thought to introduce a more complete order, systematised in written form, and was expected to ensure respect for the principles that it enshrined. Although the articles of the law contained no relevant stipulation, the preamble endowed the museum with an upgraded function, that of making antiquities available to the public through their exhibition.

Significantly, the 1869 regulation on antiquities was the culmination of a process that had started a year before in response to developments with Wood's excavations at Ephesos.[174] In 1868, seriously concerned with the way finds were being exported from the site, the Governor of Aydın, Hekimbaşı İsmail Pasha, submitted a report to the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) with his views and suggestions on this matter. He was of the opinion that duplicate finds were a rarity, a fact which he considered as the reason behind the paucity of the Ottoman Museum, despite the empire being richer in antiquities than other countries. Hekimbaşı İsmail Pasha stressed that European museums were long-established institutions that had much profited from finds originating in the Ottoman Empire whereas the empire was deprived of an institution of a similar caliber, a lack which he considered a serious

[174] For more information on John Turtle Wood and the excavations at Ephesos, see "Excavation History of Ephesos." *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut*, www.oeai.at/index.php/excavation-history.html. Accessed 6 June 2017.

disadvantage. For the governor of Aydın, more excavations by foreigners would signify more exports of finds. These assumptions and his experience as a high-ranking Ottoman administrator framed his policy suggestions, which referred to the monitoring of excavations; the introduction of a fixed system for the sharing of finds; and that no excavation should be allowed without authorisation, with permits to include a designation of the area to be excavated.[175]

After examining this report, the Public Works Commission (*Nâfıa Dairesi*) of the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) not only upheld it but even took the recommendations one step further. Unlike the governor, who had proposed the adoption of a fixed system for the sharing of finds, the Commission maintained that in order for the Ottoman state to establish "a perfect museum"[176] there should be no sharing of finds and that only the Ottoman state should conduct excavations. The Commission argued, in particular, that

> [...] as there will also be among the antiquities rare and precious objects whose worth will be impossible to evaluate, instead of doing so, that is of handing over such valuable and rare objects to a group of antique dealers the majority of whom are foreigners and then having to deal with the difficulty of their division, it has been found appropriate that from this point on [...] an effort should be made to constitute a perfect museum by ceasing to grant authorizations to search for antiquities to this or that person, and instead by allocating for the time being a yearly sum of one hundred thousand piastres from the Imperial Treasury to have those places where there is hope of finding antiquities investigated and searched by the government....[177]

[175] Information on the content of the governor's report is contained in Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 55-56. Also, in Eldem, Edhem. "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869." *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914. op.cit.*, pp. 316-317.

[176] Qtd. in Eldem. *ibid*, p. 318.

[177] Qtd. in Eldem. *ibid*. pp. 318-319.

On the issue of the sharing of finds and that of authorisation of excavations, the Council of State toned down the recommendations found in the document prepared by the Public Works Commission and suggested that the example of European countries, especially France, be followed. More specifically, they proposed granting third parties permission to excavate without however giving them a right to export finds unless they acquired special permission by the sultan and except for coin finds. The Council of State showed special consideration for the protection of monuments, and acknowledged landowners' rights over finds. The Council of State adopted the recommendation of its Public Works Commission for creating a museum and even suggested Hagia Eirene as an appropriate location. Also, it upheld the view that excavations should be carried out on behalf of the Ottoman state, and suggested slicing out an allocation of 200.000 ***kuruş***[178] and identifying experts on antiquities. Finally, the Council of State designated the Ministry of Public Education as the authority that should be responsible for the administration of antiquities and suggested that a regulation be adopted.[179]

In almost verbatim fashion, the sultan approved the proposals of the Council of State on 19 January 1869 and, on February 3, it was decided to communicate the provisions to the embassies as soon as the regulation was

[178] *Kurush* (or *gurush*) was a denomination of the Ottoman lira. It is often translated as *piaster*. See Bruce, Kolin R. and Thomas Michael. *2008 Standard Catalog of World Coins*. 35th edition, Krause Publications, 2007, p. 2014.

[179] Eldem. "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869." *op.cit*., pp. 319-320.

finalised.[180] The regulation appeared in the official gazette *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* a few days later, on 13 February 1869.[181]

In all, the regulation consisted of 7 articles that dealt with the authorisation to excavate, export, trade and ownership of finds, and heritage protection, and designated the authority in charge of its implementation. The first article stipulated that official permission was required to conduct an excavation and designated the Ministry of Public Education as the authority responsible for dealing with such requests. Article 5 completed this provision by clarifying that an authorisation could be issued only with regards to antiquities located underground. Article 5 continued with banning any intervention to antiquities to be found overground, thus, introducing an element of heritage protection in this, otherwise, rather laconic text. Significantly, such a ban was linked to punishment according to the law. Articles 2 and 4 dealt with the export of antiquities. Whereas the former banned any such exports, the latter excluded coin finds from the ban. Also, article 2 stipulated that trade in antiquities within the Ottoman Empire was allowed and afforded the state priority in case it expressed its interest in purchasing a find. Article 3 acknowledged individual landowners (*bir adamın mülkü*) full ownership over all finds discovered in their lands.

Whereas articles 1 to 5 introduced an elementary system for handling archaeological research in the empire, article 6 provided a legal way for circumventing this system by stipulating that official requests by foreign powers would be dealt with by the sultan as they would be subject to special

[180] Eldem. *ibid*. p. 320.

[181] *Takvîm-i Vekâyi*, 1 Şubat 1284 (13.02.1869).

imperial permission (*müsâ'ade-i mahsûsa-i seniyye*). By putting on paper a pattern which was well-known to both the legations and the Ottoman authorities already from the previous decades,[182] this provision formalised the regular intervention of embassies on behalf of their citizens, as numerous cases in those years illustrate.[183]

It has been argued that technically the final article of this regulation (article 7) has no place in the text of the law.[184] Indeed, this article resembles more an open call for experts on antiquities rather than a regulatory provision, for it invited experts on archaeology (*antika taharrî ve ihrâcı hususunda vukûf ve malûmâtı olup*) to contact the Ministry of Education, in case they wished to acquire funding to conduct excavations on behalf of the Ottoman government. If, on the one hand, this article shows the lack of expertise of the Ottoman administration, which in 1869 still lacked even token expert archeologists among its ranks, on the other hand, it illustrates the willingness of the Ottoman state to take archaeological matters into its hands, and its acknowledgment of the scholarly nature of archaeological research.

Besides the 1869 regulation, a number of complementary activities were considered necessary for the administration of the remains of antiquity, and for the Ottoman state to achieve the level of perfection it desired for its museum. Even though the regulation was expected, as stated in its preamble,

[182] For the role of legations in archaeology in the empire up to 1869, see Eldem. "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869." *op.cit.* pp. 281-312. Also, BOA.HR.TO (242/60), dated 14.06.1866; BOA.HR.TO (237/36), dated 5.12.1861; BOA.HR.TO (199/49), dated 17.11.1861; BOA.HR.TO (200/42), dated 23.12.1863; BOA.HR.TO(241/19), dated 19.04.1864; and BOA.HR.TO(242/60), dated 14.06.1866.

[183] For example, see BOA.HR.TO(244/113), dated 21.04.1869; BOA.HR.TO(146/188), dated 18.08.1869; BOA.HR.TO(246/53), dated 12.1.1872; BOA.HR.TO(248/17), dated 13.10.1873; BOA.HR.TO(248/8), dated 28.08.1873; and BOA.HR.TO(248/55), dated 28.2.1874.

[184] Çal. *op.cit.* p. 392.

to contribute to enriching the museum, additional measures were soon introduced in the form of a series of official requests to the provinces for the collection of antiquities for the museum, issued by the the Minister of Public Education Safvet Pasha.[185] With the same goal in mind, Ottoman officials, especially the Director of the Imperial Museum Edward Goold, became engaged in archaeological research and excavations in places outside of Constantinople.[186]

Overall, the 1869 regulation was the culmination of debates and policy deliberations that had characterised the years before its adoption as well as the first step towards the articulation and implementation of a comprehensive approach in the handling of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire. Though a big step in this direction, it was at the same time the reflection of a policy with inherent contradictions that aspired to safeguard Ottoman interests in a minimal way. While the more radical suggestions of the Public Works Committee of the Council of State were sidelined and the governor of Aydın's understanding was reflected in the preamble only, it was the less austere ideas and more balanced policy suggestions put forth by the Council of State that shaped the stipulations contained in this regulation. The parallel creation of a legal way for circumventing the process and standards of other articles in this law is telling of this approach. With no reference to a system for sharing finds, only private landowners, and not the state, were explicitly acknowledged ownership rights. The ban on the export of antiquities was to an extent counterbalanced with the sanctioning of a domestic market in

[185] Cezar. *op.cit.* pp. 231 and 233. Also, Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 66, and Shaw. *op.cit.* pp. 85-86.

[186] Cezar. *ibid*. p. 233, and Shaw. *ibid*. p. 88.

antiquities. Significantly, practices tested before that could increase state control over excavations, such as monitoring archaeological research, were left out of the regulation.

A number of caveats are noticed as well. For example, the regulation discussed the ownership of finds only as far as private lands (*mülk*) were concerned leaving outside its purview not only state (*mîrî*) lands but also pious foundation (*vakıf*) lands. Markets for antiquities were equally left unregulated. Even though the regulation sanctioned the trade of antiquities domestically, it provided no regulatory framework for such a market, as would have been the case had it created procedures and designated responsible authorities. Similarly, the regulation excluded coin finds from the ban on the export of antiquities but offered no stipulation that would regulate such an export. Whether that meant that coins could be exported without even the exporter declaring the export and depositing a list of the coins with the Ottoman authorities remains to be answered.

Also, the 1869 regulation fell short of creating a comprehensive bureaucratic system for the administration of antiquities. Even though it designated the Ministry of Public Education as the body in charge of the remains of the past, the exact way this ministry was expected to handle its new tasks appeared to be left at the discretion of the minister and his subordinates. For example, in comparison with the Greek law on antiquities of 1834, which created a bureaucracy both at the central and local levels,[187] the Ottoman lawmakers only went so far as to request in the preamble the

[187] Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος, Γενική Εφορεία των Αρχαιοτήτων. "Νόμος περί των επιστημονικών και τεχνολογικών συλλογών, περί ανακαλύψεως και διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων και της χρήσεως αυτών." *op.cit*., esp. Τμήμα Β' «Περί Εφορείας», pp. 13-19.

necessary, for the operation of the museum, addition to the budget of the Ministry of Public Education. Important though this may be, it fell short of creating the new posts, committees, processes and hierarchies that the implementation of the regulation necessitated. The fact that the Imperial Museum was not included in the regulation, except for the preamble, is an illustration of this weakness. That Safvet Pasha had to issue a separate set of instructions, after the promulgation of the regulation, for the local authorities to collect and dispatch antiquities to the Imperial Museum shows that the provincial administration was far from ready to automatically shoulder its share of the responsibilities created with this regulation. The fact that even the Pasha's instructions left many aspects, such as who the bearer of the expenses for the dispatches would be, unaddressed[188] further attests to the unpreparedness of the Ottoman administration to handle issues related to this new area, a state that the regulation failed to remedy.

The malleability of the Ottoman archaeological regime,[189] as introduced by article 6 that afforded foreign legations preferential treatment by the sultan, has been castigated in literature.[190] Although this article created a loophole for by-passing the core of the regulation and allowed political and other

[188] Şimşek, Fatma and Güven Dinç. "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eski Eser Anlayışının Doğuşu ve Bu Alanda Uygulanan Politikalar." *U.Ü. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Year: 10, no. 16 (2009/1), p. 108.

[189] The notion of "regime" is borrowed and adapted from international relations theory. For example, Stephen Krasner defines regimes as "sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations. Principles are beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude. Norms are standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are specific prescriptions or proscriptions for action. Decision-making procedures are prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice." Krasner, Stephen. "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables." *International Law and International Relations*, edited by Beth A. Simmons and Richard H. Steinberg, Cambridge UP, 2007, p. 3.

[190] Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 64-65.

considerations to affect authorisation for archaeological research, a study of the implementation of the law shows that this provision also created a window of opportunity for the Ottomans to introduce standards, processes and practices more advantageous to their interests than the ones the 1869 regulation afforded them. Archival sources document the use of a system for monitoring excavations as well as a system for the sharing of finds and the imposition of time limits to permits.[191] Irrespective of the actual ability of the Ottoman government to enforce these stipulations on all occasions, the fact that it could make them in the first place attests to its acknowledging that the 1869 regulation fell short of safeguarding its interests, while showcasing its strength in balancing preferential treatment through the same clause that allowed it.

In all, though inherently contradictory, the 1869 regulation on antiquities was the first comprehensive approach in the administrative handling of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. It was a groundbreaking act of law with improvements introduced during its enforcement. Its promulgation and implementation paved the way for the subsequent regulatory activities of the Ottoman state with regards to archaeology.

[191] BOA.HR.TO(244/113), dated 21.04.1869; and BOA.HR.TO(248/8), dated 28.08.1873. Also, Koçak. *ibid.* pp. 61-67.

The 1874 regulation

A more complete set of regulations was adopted in 1874.[192] This has been credited to the Director of the Imperial Museum Dr Philipp Anton Dethier,[193] who viewed the 1869 regulation as a major impediment to the development of the museum. The new regulation contained a total of 36 articles arranged in six parts; the introductory clauses, parts 1 to 4, and the final clauses. Through it, Dr Dethier primarily wished to protect antiquities against loss.[194] This may explain the pain he took to regulate archaeological matters, especially excavations, to an extensive degree and in detail, so much so that Çal compares the regulation with administrative circulars that deal with the implementation of laws[195] rather than with laws that set regulatory frameworks.

The introductory clauses provided the first Ottoman legal definition of antiquities, which covered "all kinds of works of art dating from ancient times"[196] (article 1). In line with a standard, decades-old approach, the regulation set coins apart by distinguishing between them on the one hand and other moveable and immovable antiquities on the other hand (article 2).

[192] For the text of the regulation in Ottoman Turkish, see "Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmesi." *Düstür*, vol. 3 year of publication not provided, pp. 426-432. acikerisim.tbmm.gov.tr/xmlui/handle/11543/67?show=full. Accessed 10 June 2017. For the text of the law in French, see Aristarchi Bey. *op.cit.*, pp. 162-167.

[193] For example, see Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 84; Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 89; and Hitzel, Frédéric "Osman Hamdi Bey et les Débuts de l' Archéologie Ottomane." *Turcica*, vol. 42, 2010, p. 177.

[194] Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 83-84.

[195] Çal argues that the 1874 regulation has the characteristics of an excavations' circular ("kazı yönetmeliği niteliği taşır"), *op.cit.*, p. 392.

[196] According to article 1 of the regulation, "Ezmine-i kadîmeden kalan her nev' eşyâ'-i masnû'a âsâr-ı atîkadandır." / "Toute sorte d'objets d'art datant des temps anciens est une antiquité."

The first chapter dealt mainly with the right of possession and the sharing of finds. It declared that all antiquities to be discovered belonged to the Ottoman state. It clarified, though, that in case of authorised excavations, the finds would be equally divided between the state, the excavator and the landowner, each one being entitled to a third of the total, unless the land belonged to the excavator, in which case the latter would be entitled to 2/3 of the finds (article 3). Article 5 described the system of sharing, which could be either per item or according to value. Article 4 confirmed the competency of the Ministry of Public Education in archaeological affairs by stipulating that all requests for authorisation should be addressed to it. Significantly, this first chapter contained a clause on protection, which created an obligation for the state to act proactively in this respect by designating public servants for guarding archaeological sites of importance when located in private lands (article 6).

The second chapter covered archaeological research and excavations and, with 18 articles in total, contained the largest number of provisions. It regulated research and excavations in a detailed manner: from the registry book of finds, the consent of the landowner and the warranty required for authorisation, and the duration of permits and their extension, to setting geographical limitations, introducing monitoring processes and acknowledging a primacy right to the Ottoman government for research as well as for the purchase of finds. Significantly, three articles (articles 14-16) introduced the concept of public interest. Thus, public interest considerations were behind the prohibition of excavations where temples, *tekkes* (dervish convents), *medreses* (religious seminaries), cemeteries, aqueducts and public roads

were located, if these were to be adversely affected (article 14). Public interest could lead to the premature termination of excavations (article 15) while measures would have to be taken in case that damage ensued from an excavation or following its conclusion (article 16).

The third chapter covered the obligation to inform and provided more details regarding the sharing of finds. The obligation to inform the authorities in case of chance finds or finds in the context of an authorised research went beyond setting a ten-day deadline (article 25) and also detailed the administrative procedure to be followed (article 26). This procedure clarified the steps to be taken and the authorities involved, while providing a division of labour and, accordingly, responsibility. Articles 27 to 29 dealt with the sharing of finds in a detailed manner and built on article 5 of the first chapter. They provided a description of the procedure. In case the local authority hesitated to decide on the sharing, the authorities and the finder would designate an expert evaluator each. In case of disagreement, the authorities would have to choose a third expert to act as arbitrator. The final article of this chapter contained information on the conclusion of excavations and the return of warranty.

The fourth chapter covered the import, export, purchase, sale and holding in secret of antiquities. Imports to the Ottoman state from abroad and to Constantinople from the provinces would be tax exempt (article 31). Any export, however, required official permission. Potential exporters would have to provide the Ministry of Public Education with a list of items while the government had the right to purchase any item on it (article 32). Article 33

focused on the formalities related to re-exporting antiquities previously imported. Article 34 introduced the confiscation of any item illicitly trafficked.

The regulation concluded with two articles. Besides article 6, discussed above in the first chapter of the regulation, article 35 provided one more stipulation for the protection of antiquities by banning their complete or partial destruction whether in public or private lands. Significantly, it linked the violation of this article to the Penal Code and the payment of compensation as well as imprisonment. Article 36 listed the sources that would be tapped for financing the Imperial Museum: the brokerage tax (*resm-i dellâliye*) in auctions of finds; the proceeds from the division of finds according to their value; the proceeds from pecuniary punishments for breaches of the law; the proceeds from the issuance of authorisations (*ruhsatiye*); and the proceeds from confiscations.

In the 1874 regulation, one finds encapsulated regulatory notions that had been developed in the years leading to its promulgation. For example, the renewal of Wood's authorisation to excavate at Ephesos, which was issued in 1872, made reference to his obligation to provide an undertaking.[197] Although not a pre-fixed warranty, this shows that the idea of an assurance was already in the minds of Ottoman administrators. The authorisation that Schliemann acquired in 1873 illustrates more clearly the gradual build-up of regulatory concepts before these were incorporated in the 1874 law. Not only would Schliemann's excavations have to be monitored, all finds would have to be registered as well.[198] Both the monitoring of excavations and the registration

[197] For this example, see Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 75.

[198] For this example, see Koçak, *ibid*, p. 81.

of finds found their way into the 1874 regulations, in articles 21 and 26 respectively. Significantly, when the Ottoman government decided to excavate on Crete in 1873, it took into consideration the notion of public interest and prohibited the damaging of fountains, aqueducts and places of worship.[199]

Besides being based on experience gained with the implementation of certain regulatory concepts up to 1874, the new regulation was developed in juxtaposition to the complete ban on the export of antiquities stipulated in its predecessor. Unlike the 1869 regulation, the 1874 regulation permitted the legal owners of finds to export them from the country (article 32). Cezar highlights that Ottoman newspapers adopted a critical stance *vis-à-vis* this arrangement,[200] which is echoed in the modern literature as well.[201] However, the complete ban on exports in the previous years had proven ineffective, if one takes into consideration its regular violation, thus, making alternatives look worthy of exploring. By providing for the sharing of finds and allowing the owners of antiquities to export their share legally, the Ottoman authorities had devised, at least on paper, a system that created incentives for owners of antiquities to stay within the premises of the law, while a third of the finds would end up in the hands of the Ottoman state. Moreover, the fact that the government preserved for itself the right to purchase items to be exported

[199] For the excavations on Crete, see Koçak. *ibid*. pp. 87-88.

[200] Cezar. *op.cit.* pp. 330-331.

[201] Çal. *op.cit.* p. 392, and Shaw. *op.cit.* pp. 91 and 108.

provided yet another opportunity for the Ottoman state to get hold of selected antiquities.[202]

The literature offers differing opinions as to the implementation of the 1874 law. For example, Shaw sees a lack of enforcement[203] while Hitzel provides a more nuanced opinion when he argues that the law was badly applied (*mal appliqué*).[204] In turn, Şimşek and Dinç suggest that the law was implemented in an uneven fashion with instances of meticulous enforcement being succeeded by instances of neglect of its stipulations.[205]

Archival documents present a mixed picture as to the consistent and uniform implementation of the new law. Already a few months after the promulgation of the new regulation, the Ottoman administration had registered the law as a tool in its array. In December 1874, when the Ottoman government decided to allow the representative of the German heir to the throne to carry out excavations at Pergamon and the surrounding area, the text of the authorisation made clear reference to the 1874 regulation. To highlight that the excavations would be undertaken in an area that the Ottoman authorities were interested in excavating, the text made reference to article 23 of the regulation, which explicitly excluded such lands from being excavated by anyone else besides the state. One could argue that, in this case, such an acknowledgment of the regulation was instrumentalised in order to increase the value of the decision by the Ottoman government to

[202] By arguing that "the 1874 regulations represented a realistic compromise, and a more effective means of protecting the Ottoman heritage", Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 85, somewhat echoes this understanding while, though, making a less nuanced point.

[203] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 108, makes reference to "the numerous loopholes in the 1874 antiquities law and the absence of enforcement […]".

[204] Hitzel. *op.cit.*, p. 177.

[205] Şimşek and Dinç. *op.cit.*, p. 111.

grant permission to a third party and might have been more of a diplomatic move rather than a genuine invocation of the regulation. Yet, other points made in the text of the authorisation appear to have no allusion to politics. Thus, in line with article 19 of the regulation, the applicant was granted the right to conduct research in one place at a time. Significantly, for every new location he would have had to follow the official procedure and apply for permission. His obligation to bear all expenses related to the excavations echoed article 22 of the regulation. Significantly, the text of the authorisation went beyond the regulation and imposed stricter rules as regards the ownership of finds, which would belong to the Imperial Museum with the excavator only retaining the right to make copies.[206] Although the authorisation left other articles of the regulation outside of its purview, it serves as a good example of the readiness of the Ottoman government to invoke and enforce the regualtion a short time after its adoption.

A rare example of a private application for permission to excavate shows that individuals were aware of the regulation and the need to abide by it in order to acquire authorisation. In 1878, writing on behalf of Mr Freshfield from London, who wished to excavate in Ephesos, Mr D' Alessio from Constantinople explicitly mentioned that Mr Freshfield would be willing to accept the necessary stipulations (*Monsieur Freshfield acceptera les stipulations necessaires pour les travaux*). The petition is even accompanied by a sketch of the place where Mr Freshfield aspired to conduct his

[206] BOA.MF.MKT(22/47), dated 28 Şevvâl 1291 (8.12.1874).

research.[207] Already this was in line with article 13 of the regulation, which requested that a plan of the location in question be submitted, if necessary.

The authorisation provided in 1879 to French Consul de Sarzec to conduct excavations in Mesopotamia is a good example of inconsistency with the implementation of the regulation and brings to the fore the role of legations. By being addressed to Foreign Minister Karatheodore Pasha, already the petition for a permit by-passed the regulation, which invited all interested parties to acquire authorisation by submitting their petition directly or through the local authorities to the Ministry of Public Education (article 4).[208] The tone of the petition was formal, yet the French ambassador did not fail to include a personal invocation to the minister to kindly inform the sultan of the French request.[209] This invocation confirmed the attempt of the French legation to ignore the role of the Ministry of Public Education, which a letter written later that summer clearly expressed by highlighting the need to avoid the "bureaucratic formalities".[210] Also, it confirmed the wish to frame the authorisation process as a foreign policy issue to be dealt with from the beginning at the ministerial level. This is reinforced by the explicit request for equal treatment with Great Britain, which a few months earlier had been granted permission to excavate throughout Mesopotamia in the name of Sir Henry Layard.[211]

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[207] BOA.HR.TO(464/37), dated 17.6.1878.

[208] See also article 8 that reinforces the pivotal role of the Ministry of Public Education.

[209] BOA.HR.TO(205/60), dated 17.06.1879.

[210] *[…] sachant très bien que si on recourt aux formalités bureaucratiques rien ne se fera."* In BOA.HR.TO(205/67), dated 07.08.1879, letter by French Ambassador H. Fournier to Foreign Minister Safvet Pasha.

[211] BOA.HR.TO(205/60), dated 17.06.1879.

The text of the authorisation to Consul de Sarzec contains a number of clauses that contradicted and others that upheld the 1874 regulation. The fact that permission to excavate was granted to the French consul in Basra was in dire contrast to article 17 of the regulation, which forbade public servants of foreign governments, such as Consul de Sarzec, to excavate within the area of their jurisdiction. Similarly, de Sarzec was allowed to excavate throughout Mesopotamia (article 1 of the authorisation), whereas the regulation stipulated that authorisation could be provided for research limited to a village or town (article 13). The entire land stretch between the northern sources of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in the Taurus mountain range and the southern delta of these rivers close to the city of Basra in the Persian Gulf far exceeded the limits of the geographical scope of a village or town and this clause can only be viewed as an illustration of equal treatment with the British. Moreover, the clauses regarding the sharing of finds diverted from the regulation and, in particular, articles 3, 5 and 27 of the law which regulated this topic. The Ottoman government maintained a right to half of identical finds (article 7 of the authorisation) with no right over single items (article 6 of the authorisation) and broken ones (article 8 of the authorisation). No reference was made to landowners who, under the 1874 regulation, were entitled to a third of all finds in their lands (article 3 of the law). Significantly, de Sarzec was also exempted from the obligation to pay custom duties (article 11) that article 33 of the regulation stipulated that should be paid in all cases of exports of finds.

On the other hand, the text of the authorisation contains several instances where the 1874 regulation was followed. In line with article 7 of the law, an excavation was conditioned on the consent of the landowner in the

case of private lands (article 2). The authorisation took into account public interest (article 3), as seen in article 14 of the regulation, while making clear that all expenses would be shouldered by de Sarzec (article 4), in line with article 22 of the regulation. Although there was no reference to monitoring, de Sarzec would have to uphold the obligation to inform the authorities of any finds within ten days (article 5), as stipulated in the 1874 regulation (article 25).[212]

The analysis of the authorisation provided above shows that the regulation was followed on issues of lesser importance to the French, who wished to excavate in as many locations as possible and secure as many finds as possible. To facilitate this, the text of the authorisation clearly diverted from the letter and the spirit of the 1874 regulation. Interestingly, with the exception of monitoring, the authorisation that Rassam had been granted in 1878 on behalf of the British contained the same conditions.[213] It appears that the issuance of authorisations for excavations to foreigners could be a delicate issue for the Ottoman government, which could find itself unable to resist by-passing its own law, especially when the matter could be presented as a foreign policy issue and reflected fierce competition between foreign powers, as in this case between Great Britain and France.

In spite of the mixed results with the implementation of the 1874 regulation, the Ottoman administration attempted repeatedly to improve the content of the law and its enforcement. One way of doing this was by making additions or modifications to the regulation; another one by disseminating the

[212] BOA.HR.TO(205/70), dated 15.9.1879.
[213] For the clauses of Rassam's authorisation, see Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 89.

regulation among stakeholders. Already in August 1874, that is, only a few months after the promulgation of the regulation, a new official order (*tenbîh-i resmî*) came to reinforce the law as regarded the preservation of monuments. It was based on the observation that rare works in old and famous cities were being destroyed for their parts to be used as construction material and highlighted the need for care and vigilance with a view to preventing such damage and destruction.[214] This official order reinforced articles 6 and 35 of the regulation, which dealt with the preservation of monuments and punishment in case of damage respectively, and can be seen as an expression of an increasing interest in the protection of antiquities as well as greater awareness of the risks posed to the remains of the past. In 1875, the Council of Education (*Meclis-i Kebîr-i Maarif*) made an inconclusive attempt to modify specific clauses of the regulation[215] and, in 1881, an imperial edict modified article 10 of the regulation; first, it re-designated the administrative body in charge of defining the deposit or warranty and, second, it created categories for the authorisation fee according to the duration of the excavation.[216] Also, the Ottoman government took measures to raise awareness about the regulation among key stakeholders, for example, by making available a translation of the regulation into French that allowed non-Turkish speaking audiences to acquire an unmediated knowledge of its stipulations.[217] These cases show that the Ottoman administration could be

[214] "Tenbîh-i resmî", dated 3 Receb 1291 (16.08.1874) in *Düstür*, op.cit., p. 431.

[215] Cezar. *op.cit.* p. 330, and Koçak quoting Cezar, *op.cit.* p. 85.

[216] Âsâr-ı atîka Nizamnâmesi'nin Onuncu Maddesi makamın kaim olmak üzere ta'dilen kaleme alınan fıkra-i nizâmiyedir, dated 3 Safer 1298 and 24 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1296 (5.01.1881). In *Düstür*, ek 1-4, p. 73. acikerisim.tbmm.gov.tr/xmlui/handle/11543/67?show=full. Accessed 11 June 2017.

[217] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 89.

responsive to the situation on the ground and proactively look for a better administrative arrangement for law enforcement and the protection of antiquities.

It was not only the 1874 regulation that marked a significant step forward towards a more complete regime in the administration of antiquities in the empire. Other measures and developments further reinforced this. The system of collecting antiquities through local agents, in place already under the previous regulation, continued these years with Yuvanaki Bey being active in Salonica, Takvor Ağa in Bandırma and with Constantinople falling under the jurisdiction of Derviş Hüseyin.[218] The collection of antiquities housed in Hagia Eirene acquired its own building after being transferred to the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*), following a request by Dr Dethier in 1875.[219] Following its restoration, the new museum building was inaugurated in 1880 in a ceremony attended by high-ranking dignitaries and in which Minister of Public Education Münif Pasha expressed his satisfaction at "the opening of a museum in Istanbul similar to those in other civilized countries…".[220] Moreover, in 1875, Dr Dethier was tasked with drafting a regulation regarding the establishment of an Ottoman school of archaeology.[221] The press supported this initiative even though it criticised its entry requirements, which included the knowledge of French, Greek and Latin, that appeared to disadvantage non-Christian Ottomans, and its small stipend for long hours of work. In spite of the initital

[218] Cezar. *op.cit.* p. 235, and Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 91.

[219] For the text of the request, see Dethier, Ph. A. *Études Archéologiques (Oeuvre Posthume)*. Librairie internationale Lorentz & Keil, Constantinople, 1881, Annexe du Bulletin Scientifique: Histoire du Musée central ottoman de Stamboul et son programme, p. 2.

[220] Qtd. in Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 93. Also, see Cezar. *op.cit.* p. 241.

[221] Dethier. *op.cit.* p. 2.

wishes of the government, the steps taken, press support and Dr Dethier's firm belief in its importance, the school did not materialise.[222]

In those years, at the initiative of Osman Hamdi Bey, the Ottoman intellectual who, in 1881, upon the death of Dr Dethier succeeded him at the helm of the Imperial Museum, the Ottoman state started to conduct large-scale, systematic excavations. Little is known of the excavations in Aeolis, in western Anatolia, that Demosthene Baltazzi executed on behalf of the Imperial Museum in 1883.[223] Significantly, in that year, Osman Hamdi Bey led the first Ottoman archaeological expedition to Mt. Nemrut in southeastern Anatolia where he discovered the tumulus of Antiochus, an important archaeological breakthrough, which he described in a detailed publication.[224]

These years saw a number of administrative developments that contributed to building up the management of antiquities in the empire. Under Dr Dethier, the museum acquired a correspondence logbook[225] while under Osman Hamdi Bey it proceeded with publications on its collections and missions.[226] More importantly, in 1877, a museum commission was

[222] Dethier. *ibid.* p. 2-3. For the press, see Shaw. *op.cit*. pp. 91-92.

[223] Hitzel. *op.cit.*, p. 175.

[224] Osman Hamdi Bey, Osgan Effendi. Musée Impérial Ottoman. *Le Tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh: Voyage, Description, Inscriptions avec Plans et Photographies*. Imp. F. Loeffler, Constantinople, 1883. solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph013162114. Accessed 27 March 2017. Several scholars have commented on this expedition. See, for example, Hitzel. *ibid*, p. 175, and Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 109.

[225] Cezar. *op.cit.* pp. 235-236.

[226] Hamdy Bey. *op.cit.*, and Reinach, Salomon. *Catalogue du Musée Impérial d'Antiquités*. Direction du Musée, Constantinople, 1882. Cezar. *ibid*. p. 236, mentions that Dr Dethier produced a small catalogue of the museum. This appears to have been produced privately and not as a catalogue sanctioned by the Ottoman government. All previous catalogues of the museum were similarly privately published and do not form part of a publication programme by the museum: Dumont, Albert. "Le Musée Sainte-Irène à Constantinople Antiquités Grecques, Gréco-Romaines et Byzantines." *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, vol. 18, 1868, pp. 237-263. www.jstor.org/stable/41733107. Accessed 8 June 2017. Goold, Edward. *Catalogue Explicatif, Historique et Scientifique d' un certain Nombre d' Objets contenus dans*

established. With Osman Hamdi Bey among its initial members, this permanent commission was responsible both for issues that related to the museum as well as more broadly with the advancement of archaeology in the empire. More particularly, the museum commission was in charge of completing the restoration of the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) and transferring the exhibits to this new location. Also, it was responsible for promoting the new museum and ensuring that it would attract as many visitors as possible. Beyond the premises of the museum, the Commission was in charge of protecting monuments as well as promoting archaeological research and excavations.[227]

Overall, the 1874 regulation provided for an upgrade of the Ottoman regime for archaeology by endowing it with a detailed set of rules that encompassed considerably more aspects related to archaeology than its predecessor. The archival record provides a mixed picture as to its implementation with the Ottoman government being particularly susceptible to pressure by foreign powers. Yet, both the text of the regulation and its enforcement reveal a much greater awareness about archaeology, the protection of finds and the interests of the Ottoman state. Related developments during these years confirm the gradual strengthening of the Ottoman state with regards to the administration of antiquities. In 1881, the appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey as director of the Imperial Museum

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le Musée Impérial de Constantinople. Imprimerie A. Zellich, 1871, Constantinople. books.google.gr/books?id=PcD1GgAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=el&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed 1 June 2017. The same holds true for the catalogue produced by Museum Director Dr Dethier.

[227] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 93.

heralded a new era,[228] which a new regulation on antiquities would soon make manifest.

[228] Eldem. “An Ottoman archaeologist caught between two worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910).” *op.cit.*. esp. pp. 129-147.

The 1884 regulation

A new regulation on antiquities was adopted in February 1884.[229] This marked the beginning of a mature phase for Ottoman archaeology, during which the Ottoman state showed itself more effective in defining its interests and projecting its understanding about archaeology in the empire.

Many stakeholders were involved in its drafting and finalisation.[230] More specifically, the new regulation was the result of input by the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) and Osman Hamdi Bey, who produced draft texts, as well as the Office of the Grand Vizier (*Sadâret*), which made additions to the draft of the Council of State based on Osman Hamdi Bey's draft, before sharing the new draft regulation with the Ministry of Education on 25 November 1883. Following instructions by the Office of the Grand Vizier aimed at restricting the export of antiquities, the Ministry of Education produced a final draft on 31 January 1884. This passed from the ministerial council (*Meclis-i Mahsûs-ı Vükelâ*) on 13 February 1884 and on 21 February 1884 was approved by the sultan.[231]

[229] For the text of the 1884 regulation in Ottoman Turkish, a manuscript with no further bibliographical information is available. For a translation into French, see Reinach, Salomon. "Chronique d' Orient – Fouilles et Découvertes." *Revue Archéologique*, vol. 1-6, 1884, "Règlement sur les Antiquités", pp. 336-343. As Reinach mentions (p. 343), the French translation is characterised by some inaccuracies. The ones identified in the course of this research have to do with the numbering of the chapters and two minor slips in the translation in articles 11 and 12 that do not affect the essence of the text. More importantly, in article 4, the French translation fails to explicitly make the distinction between individuals and communities that possess lands and buildings (see also footnote no. 241 on p. 132), and, in article 10, the French translation mistakenly makes reference to article 3 instead of chapter 3.

[230] Koçak's point that "[i]t is clear that Osman Hamdi was the driving force behind the decision to introduce the new regulation. He lobbied ministers incessantly, and the details of the new regulation were largely inspired by him." fails to capture the breadth of the activities and the number of offices and individuals involved in this affair. Interestingly, Koçak uses Cezar as her source, even though Cezar does not put forth this argument. Koçak, *op.cit.*, p. 100.

[231] Cezar. *op.cit.* p. 332.

In retrospect, the adoption of the new regulation comes as little surprise given a widespread dissatisfaction with the content and the implementation of the 1874 regulation. Already in the early days of his appointment as museum director, Osman Hamdi Bey would share with his interlocutors his concern about "the way in which the regulations concerning antiquities were disregarded by explorers."[232] When comparing administrative practice in European countries and the Ottoman state, the Ottoman government too showed itself particularly irritated by the great laxity in the export of antiquities afforded to foreign archaeologists. The aforementioned instructions of the Office of the Grand Vizier for the finalisation of the new regulation illustrate this well:

> … in Europe such explorers of antiquities can only make one plaster copy of each type of ancient work that they bring to light and leave the originals to the local museums… for this reason, there is the need of a law that from now on will [ensure] that those interested in conducting excavations in Turkey will only be given one copy per find and the originals will be handed over to the Imperial Museum.[233]

Such was the urgency of the Ottoman officials to change the regime governing archaeological research in the empire that stipulations of the draft regulation appear to have informed the issuing of new excavation permits even before the official promulgation of the new law.[234]

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[232] "Captain Conder's Reports." *Palestine Exploration Fund*, Quarterly Statement, London, July 1882, as qtd. in Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 96.

[233] *[...] Avrupa'da bu gibi eski eser araştırıcıları, meydana çıkardıkları her nevi eski eserin yalnız alçıdan yapılmış birer kopyasını alarak asıllarını mahalli müzelere bıraktıklarından ... onun için, bundan böyle Türkiye'de arkeolojik kazı yapmak isteyenlere bulacakları eserlerin yalnız birer kopyasının verilmesi ve asıllarının Müze-i Hümâyun'a konması şartiyle ruhsat verilmesi esasına dayanacak bir tüzüğün elde bulunması gerektiği.* Qtd. in Cezar. *op.cit.* p. 332. For another example of the Ottoman government expressing such an opinion, see Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 110.

[234] Şimşek and Dinç. *op.cit.*, p. 112. Also, Ernest Renan argued that "these deplorable measures, that were just codified, had been implemented already for a couple of years…" (*Ces déplorables mesures, qui viennent d' être codifiées, étaient, du reste, appliquées depuis deux ou trois ans*…). Qtd. in Hitzel. *op.cit.*, p. 179.

The 1884 regulation comprised five chapters and a total of 37 articles. It exhibited the same structure as the 1874 regulation which it replaced, that is, it provided a definition of antiquities and went on with delineating in great detail the conditions regarding the ownership of antiquities, their protection, archaeological research and excavations, the export and import of antiquities, and concluded by providing information on sanctions related to its violation. A number of clauses of the 1884 regulation were in agreement with the previous regulation whereas other articles deviated significantly. A number of stipulations appear to have evolved from the 1874 regulation.[235]

Foreign archaeologists received the new law with reactions ranging from uneasiness to bitterness. This paid little justice to improvements, such as those that facilitated dealing with the state on archaeological matters and the increased professionalisation of the state, and is telling of their priorities, which related to the ownership and export of finds, rather than the overall qualities of the regulation. For example, Salomon Reinach deplored the adoption of ideas that, in his view, undermined archaeology and the arts.[236] In the same vein, he stressed that regulations that are prohibitive in nature promote illicit traffic, which, he claimed, had been seen before in the empire in the case of its customs regime.[237] Ernest Renan considered the new regulation disastrous, all the more so because it would be applied in the vast expanse of the Ottoman Empire,[238] which, one could add, was one of the

[235] For the view that the law introduced "an entirely new and radical system" (*yepyeni ve radikal bir sistem*), see Mumcu. *op.cit.*, p. 74.

[236] Reinach. *op.cit.*, p. 336.

[237] Reinach. *ibid*, p. 344.

[238] Qtd. in Hitzel. *op.cit.*, p. 179.

richest in archaeological sites of primary importance to archaeologists of that time.

It is through the differences between this regulation and its predecessor, differences that focus on the fundamental concepts of ownership, sharing of finds and their export, that one can better understand the aspirations of the Ottomans on the one hand and the unfavourable reaction of foreign archaeologists on the other hand. Whereas according to the 1874 regulation the state was entitled to all antiquities that lay underground (article 3), the 1884 law put forth the concept of complete state ownership of all antiquities, including the ones to be found in the sea, lakes, rivers and streams (article 3). By banning even the partial ownership of antiquities without prior state authorisation (article 7), this new regulation provided hardly any room for third parties to own any ancient item. This was confirmed by the shift in the sharing of finds in the case of authorised excavations. Whereas in the 1874 regulation, those who conducted authorised excavations were entitled to a third of the finds (article 3), the 1884 regulation precluded the sharing of finds (article 3). Echoing the wish of the government, as discussed previously, the rights of the excavator were limited to making copies (*moulages*) and drawings (article 12). Salomon Reinach rightly observed that such rights were not exclusive to the excavator.[239] Finally, whereas the 1874 regulation left some room for legal exports (articles 32-33), no provision for the export of artefacts discovered in Ottoman lands could be found in the 1884 regulation (see, in particular, Chapter IV on the transport and use of ancient objects).

[239] Reinach. *op.cit.*, footnote 1, p. 338.

This new framework regarding the ownership of antiquities aimed at maximising the safeguarding of the rights of the Ottoman state with only small concessions – copies and drawings – afforded to third parties, such as foreign archaeologists. That the expenses of the public servant responsible for monitoring an excavation, including his return trip to the site, should be borne by the excavator, attested to a certain economic frustration of the Ottoman government when it came to financing archaeological affairs[240] as well as to its maximalistic approach in controlling the archaeological activities of third parties. Compared, though, to the complete state ownership of finds and the ban on exports, this was nothing beyond an onerous additional extortion for an excavator, as Salomon Reinach exclaimed.[241]

Besides these fundamental differences, the 1884 regulation and its predecessor had several clauses in common. For example, this is seen in the clauses regarding the limits of authorisations. The two regulations shared the maximum duration for a permit, that is, two years (article 11 in the 1874 regulation and article 17 of the 1884 regulation). Similarly, the two regulations forbade the issuance of permits to civil servants of the Ottoman or a foreign state for excavations within the boundaries of the area of their jurisdiction (article 17 of the 1874 regulation and article 22 of the 1884 regulation). Also, article 19 of the 1874 regulation and article 24 of the 1884 regulation limited authorisation to one place at a time. The Ottoman authorities could critically

[240] For a discussion of the financial difficulties that the Imperial Museum was faced with, see Koç, Havva. "Müze-i Hümâyûn'da Yayın Çalışmaları (Cumhuriyet Dönemine Kadar)." *Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat*. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sanat Tarihi Bölümü Sempozyumu (Günsel Renda'ya Armağan), 2005, pp. 135-147, esp. p. 141.

[241] Reinach. *op.cit.*, footnote 3, p. 340.

evaluate the 1874 regulation on antiquities and preserve those aspects that served their interests while modifying those that did not.

A considerable number of stipulations were developed forms of clauses that existed in the 1874 regulation, which further stresses the constructive interplay between the two laws and the evolution of the 1884 regulation from that adopted in 1874. A comparison of the administrative architectures pictured in each regulation illustrates this well. For example, the 1874 regulation prescribed that applications for excavation permits should be addressed to the Ministry of Public Education either directly or through the agency of local authorities (article 4) and that the ministry would be responsible, *ad referendum* to the Sublime Porte, for issuing the permit (article 8). Similarly, the Ministry of Public Education was rendered responsible for authorising the export of antiquities (article 32). Although the 1884 regulation maintained the same tenets that kept the Ministry of Public Education at the heart of archaeological affairs, it developed an administrative architecture characterised by a greater diffusion of power among an increased number of governmental stakeholders. More specifically, according to the new regulation, any requests for authorisation to conduct an archaeological excavation would have to be submitted to the Ministry of Public Education either directly or locally to the general governors (*vâlî*). The latter part is a clarification of what was contained in the 1874 regulation in that the new regulation specifically mentioned the local authority in charge. Moreover, the 1884 regulation charged the local authority with additional duties. Besides being obliged to forward the petition to the ministry, as in the 1874 regulation, local authorities would have to conduct an investigation and draft a report

regarding the location, and add any specific remarks, if required (article 15). The Ministry of Public Education remained in charge of issuing authorisations *ad referendum* to the Sublime Porte (articles 16 and 10). Yet, this time it would also have to consult with the Imperial Museum (article 16). Article 18 clarified that the ministry would also collect the fees for the authorisation of excavations, which would then be delivered to the Imperial Museum. Similarly, regarding the export and import of antiquities, the administrative structure included the Imperial Museum in the capital and either the local council or commission of public education, or the local authorities in the provinces. In all cases, however, the Ministry of Public Education would remain at the heart of procedures (article 29). Finally, the ministry maintained its responsibility for authorising exports of antiquities but, according to article 32 of the new regulation, it could only do so in consultation with the Imperial Museum. Overall, even though the Ministry of Public Education remained at the core of the administrative structure dealing with antiquities, and the government and local authorities maintained their position, new players were added in the picture, namely the Imperial Museum and the local commissions and councils of public education. Similarly, established duties and responsibilites were confirmed, and new ones introduced according to needs. This new administrative architecture for archaeology in the empire reflected the increased specialisation and professionalisation of the Ottoman state on archaeological matters.

The definition of antiquities that the new regulation provided developed considerably its elliptic predecessor, and, similar to the administrative architecture discussed above, reflected the gradual professionalisation of

Ottoman state archaeology. According to article 1, antiquities were all the vestiges left by ancient peoples who had lived on the lands that formed, at that time, the Ottoman Empire. The use of concepts, such as vestiges, ancient peoples and Ottoman lands, mark the scientific underpinnings of this definition. In particular, the interest of the lawmakers covered all remains of antiquity, irrespective of their monetary or artistic value. Thus, next to coins and works of art, such as sculptures and the remains of ancient temples, one finds the aesthetically little valued creations of humble people, such as everyday utilitarian terracotta items. Significantly, this definition gave the two the same archaeological value by acknowledging them as antiquities without any hierarchy of value and, by default, extending to them the same protection. It was only the concrete examples that followed this definition that revealed a bias towards high culture in Ottoman minds. Thus, all cited examples, such as coins, sculptures, weapons, temples and palaces, bas-reliefs and engraved stones point to an elaborate art and an advanced technology. Still, it would be hard to argue that the selective use of examples of high culture essentially watered down the comprehensiveness of the definition. Moreover, the use of the term “ancient peoples” provided a neutral anthropological reference while the geographical delimitation inherent in the concept of the contemporary Ottoman Empire reflected the administrative preoccupations of the lawmakers, which an excavator had to take into consideration, and afforded the lawmakers a neutral and comprehensive reference to ancient peoples and their lands, without the risk of selectively including some while leaving others out.

Yet, a major weakness of this definition from the scientific and administrative points of view is that it evaded the issue of a chronological clarification of antiquity. Whereas the regulation spoke of ancient peoples, the issue of whether the Ottoman lawmakers considered the vestiges of Christian and Muslim peoples from bygone eras antiquities or not was left unclear. The concrete examples that article 1 provided are of little help with clarifying this aspect. Recourse to the regulation of the Imperial Museum, which was adopted a few years later in 1889, reveals that Byzantine antiquities and Islamic art must have fallen under the jurisdiction of this regulation.[242]

The new regulation built on stipulations of the 1874 regulation, by making additions better aligned to the 1884 reality on the ground and administrative needs. For example, the new regulation made reference to both private and community properties (article 4) with the latter being included in an Ottoman regulation on antiquities for the first time.[243] Thus, it was forbidden for such real estate owners to destroy any antiquities located in their properties. In a similar vein, scientific societies were explicitly mentioned for the first time next to individuals as having the right to acquire an authorisation for excavation (article 9). These additions contributed to the comprehensiveness of the regulation by decreasing the risk of leaving outside its purview important stakeholders, the activities of which the government needed to regulate.

[242] For the text of the regulation, see Cezar, *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 547-551, esp. article 4.

[243] The French translation fails to explicitly make this distinction. Thus, whereas the Ottoman text speaks of "cemaat ve efrâdın taht-ı tasarrufundaki arazide ve emâkinde", that is, "in the plots of land and edifices possessed by communities and individuals", its translation into French makes reference to "les propriétaires de terrains et bâtiments", namely, "the owners of lands and buildings".

Another instance of a concept that developed from the 1874 regulation is that of protection, which took a drastically different form in the new regulation. In the 1874 regulation, article 6 stipulated that the Ottoman government could designate an agent for the protection of monuments, such as temples and other complete edifices, on lands that belonged to individuals. The 1884 regulation reverted the obligation from the state to the individuals and communities in possession of lands or buildings where antiquities were found. In the new regulation, these individuals and communities were responsible for preserving antiquities in their properties. Moreover, the new regulation elaborated further the notion of protection by introducing a ban on the construction of limekilns in the vicinity of ancient sites; raising scaffolding on monuments; removing stones that lay on the ground; even making copies (*moulages*) of antiquities; or using antiquities, as, for example, in the case of habitation and various agricultural usages (article 5). It appears that the Ottoman government introduced this new concept on protection faced with its own financial weaknesses, which would have made the cost of proactive protection measures prohibitive, and with the aim of better aligning the law with the situation on the ground. As for the stance taken by foreigners, Salomon Reinach offers a glimpse. Whereas he welcomed the part of the measures that banned the construction of limekilns in the vicinity of antiquities,[244] he deplored the limits imposed on activities that supported the work of scholars, such as architects and archaeologists.[245]

[244] Reinach. *op.cit.*, footnote 1, p. 337.

[245] Reinach. *ibid*, footnote 2, p. 337.

The 1874 regulation was not the only reference point for the development of the 1884 regulation. A comparison with the archaeological regime of Greece shows that the Ottomans were in a position to benefit from Greek legislation as well. Significantly, Ottoman interest in the way the Greek kingdom managed its archaeological affairs was not new, and focused on the challenges that foreign activities posed as well as archaeological heritage protection. As early as 1875, the Ottoman government had expressed its interest in the Greek case when the *Meclis-i Kebîr-i Maarif*, while discussing potential modifications to the 1874 regulation, took seriously into consideration the conditions for excavations that the Greek kingdom had stipulated.[246] Although the workings of the *Meclis-i Kebîr-i Maarif* were inconclusive, Greece continued to serve as a model for the Ottoman state. In his speech at the opening of the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) in August 1880, Minister of Public Education Münif Pasha made recourse to the Greek case for "at present, even though they spend large amounts of money for archaeological research in Greece, European states do not transfer antiquities to their countries and [the finds] are preserved in Athens."[247] Significantly, these instances appear to form some of the first examples where Mediterranean countries looked to one another in order to develop their archaeological regimes.

Although Salomon Reinach's exclamation that the Ottomans "simply reproduced, with insignificant modifications, the restrictive and prohibitive laws

[246] Cezar. *op.cit.* vol. I, p.330.

[247] *Hâlen Avrupa devletleri Yunanistan'da dahi büyük masraflar karşılığında eski eser araştırması yapıyorlar ise de bunlar kendi memleketlerine naklolunmayıp Atina'da muhafaza ediliyor.* Qtd. in Cezar. *ibid*. p. 242.

applied in Greece for more than half a century"[248] is misleading in its wholesale approach to Ottoman legislation, specific provisions of the new regulation were indeed based on the Greek law of 1834. Article 5 of the Ottoman regulation of 1884, which deals with the protection of monuments, was to a large extent a translation of article 85 of the Greek law of 1834. This applied in particular to paragraphs α', β', γ', δ', ζ' and η', that is, the entire article in the Greek law except for paragraph ε΄. Thus, both laws banned landowners from destroying monuments, ancient roads, etc., that were located on their properties (paragraph α' of article 85 in the Greek law), and forbade the construction of limekilns within less than 250m from a monument (paragraph β'). Also, they prohibited landowners from executing any kind of activity around a monument, if that could cause harm or damage to it (paragraph γ'), from removing stones from the ground where antiquities were found (paragraph δ') and from erecting scaffolding on monuments with a view to measuring them, sketching them or for other similar reasons (paragraph ζ'). Finally, they forbade the re-use of antiquities as habitation, depos, for watering animals, etc. (paragraph η'). For the first time, an Ottoman regulation on antiquities attempted to put an end, in a targeted manner, to all economic and scholarly activities that could possibly harm a monument and, in doing this, it used the Greek law of 1834 as a source.

Omissions and additions in the transfer of clauses from the Greek to the Ottoman law confirm the critical reading of Greek legislation by the Ottomans. Paragraph ε' that was omitted made special reference to churches

[248] Reinach. *op.cit.* p. 335 (*ils se sont contentés de reproduire, avec des modifications insignifiantes, les lois restrictives et prohibitives appliquées en Grèce depuis plus d'un demi-siècle.*)

and monasteries. Along with this, the Ottoman regulation did not repeat the phrase “temples and other Greek edifices, sarcophagus tombs” (*ναούς και άλλα Ελληνικά κτίρια, τάφους σαρκοφάγους*) found in paragraph η’ of the Greek law. However, the Ottoman lawmakers added “the walls of forts, ramparts and fortifications” where the Greek text in paragraph α’ made no such reference. These ommissions and additions appear to allude to political sensitivities, and highlight the priorities of the Ottoman state in terms of monument preservation. Thus, whereas Greek antiquity and early Christianity could not be singled out, especially when no special reference was made to Islamic or Ottoman antiquities, the remnants of defensive constructions should not be left out.

A few more articles in the Greek law served the regulatory needs of the Ottoman lawmakers, and were closely related to archaeological activities associated mostly with foreigners. For example, the provisions found in articles 29 and 30 of the Ottoman regulation regarding the import and re-export of antiquities echoed the relevant clauses in the Greek law of 1834 (articles 75, 76 and paragraph β’ of article 77). Thus, both laws allowed the import of antiquities without any requirements. Yet, their re-export required official state permission. Any difference in the provisions was minor, as in the case of the list of items that the owner had to submit to the authorities; whereas in the Greek case, one had to do so within 8 days from the date of import, in the Ottoman case one had to do so in no less than 8 days prior to the date of import. Also, the idea of having an authority at the local level provide a report following a site-visit before an authorisation for excavation is issued (article 15) reflected a similar clause in the Greek law (article 105).

Overall, the 1884 regulation developed in a critical dialogue with its predecessor and the Greek law of 1834. Ruptures, similarities and developments speak of administrative continuity as well as an ability to evolve according to needs. This regulation signaled the entry of Ottoman archaeology into a more mature and professional phase, though challenges on the ground remained.

Scholars appear to agree that the full implementation of the 1884 regulation remained a sought-after goal for the Ottomans. For example, Shaw and Koçak maintain that the regulation "often proved too weak to implement".[249] In turn, Eldem suggests that "the museum was clearly understaffed and could not ensure the monitoring of every archaeological site."[250] Indeed, law enforcement exhibited substantial weaknesses that the Ottoman authorities attempted to counter by concerted efforts and additional measures.

One can identify various factors that impeded the smooth implementation of the 1884 regulation. Budgetary issues did not only hinder the Imperial Museum from effectively monitoring sites, as Eldem notes, they also affected the collection of antiquities. Hitzel argues that the Ottoman government lacked the financial means to buy antiquities and to transfer items from the provinces to the capital. He maintains that such weaknesses resulted in questionable confiscations and abandoning finds in the headquarters of local governors-general or ports.[251]

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[249] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 117, and Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 133.

[250] Eldem. "An Ottoman archaeologist caught between two worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *op.cit.* p. 137.

[251] Hitzel. *op.cit.*, p. 180.

Also the Ottoman authorities had considerable difficulties with combating illegal digs and the flourishing black market in antiquities in the vast expanse of the empire. There are many reports of illegal activities from those years. For example, in 1900, inscriptions accidentally discovered in Sidon were channeled to the local market for antiquities before Theodoros Makrides of the Imperial Museum was informed and retrieved them.[252] In 1895, in Yemen, where the Ottomans exerted little beyond nominal authority, illicit traffic in antiquities by locals went unpunished.[253]

Makrides' correspondence with Halil Bey, the deputy director of the Imperial Museum, provides a lively documentation of such instances. In one of his letters to Halil Bey from 1902, Makrides describes how he investigated illegal digs in Palmyra and his subsequent steps to measure the damage. Thus, one learns that the director of Palmyra showed Makrides two locations in the vast necropolis of that site where there were signs of illegal digs. Makrides added that he executed trial excavations (*sondages*) to ascertain the degree of pillage which, he concluded, was complete in the first case but not in the second one.[254]

For Makrides, nothing could compare with the case of Raqqa. In his correspondence from "this most terrible of exiles" (*le plus terrible des exils*), he argued that the entire population, from the *kaymakam* and his last employee, to the gendarmerie and everybody else, was involved in illegal excavations and trade in antiquities. Significantly, he spoke of thousands of

[252] Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 115.

[253] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 154.

[254] Letter to Halil Bey, dated 14 June 1902 and written in Djerah (Gerasa), in *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. edited by Edhem Eldem, unpublished, p. 14.

holes from illegal digs within the city walls, and of his complaints to the representative of the *kaymakam* about an illegal dig, which he had personally witnessed, being met with indifference.[255]

Such widespread illegal activities provided antiquities for a considerable number of illegal exports, which corrupt local bureaucrats[256] and foreign diplomats much facilitated.[257] In 1903, alarmed by publications in foreign scholarly journals about items that had reached the West from Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine through illegal exports, the Imperial Museum requested the customs authorities and the coast guard to pay particular attention to the issue.[258]

Illegal digs and traffic in antiquities were complemented by the use of ancient sites as sources of free construction material by local populations. Significantly, the use of ancient slabs in construction was a well-established pattern of recycling building material and a tradition that dated back hundreds of years,[259] a fact that may explain Theodoros Makrides' firmness when confronted with such cases. In a letter to Halil Bey from 1904, he urged that "… it is absolutely necessary that I go to Notion (Ghiaour Keuy or Christian-Keuy) [to the south of present-day Izmir] to see what is going on there. The

[255] *Letters by T. Makrides – Imperial Museum. ibid*: (a) letter to Halil Bey, dated 14/27 Dec. 1905 and written in Raqqa, esp. pp. 65, 69 and 70, and (b) letter to Halil Bey, dated 5 Jan. 1906 and written in Raqqa, esp. p. 73.

[256] For example, Makrides clearly accused the *kaymakam* of Raqqa for illicit traffic in antiquities. In *Letters by T. Makrides – Imperial Museum*. *ibid*, letter to Halil Bey, dated 14/27 Dec. 1905 and written in Raqqa, p. 65.

[257] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 133. Eldem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *op.cit.* pp. 137-138. Also, Hitzel. *op.cit.*, p. 182.

[258] BOA.DH.MKT(2601/81), dated 26 Cemâziye'l-evvel 1321 and 7 Ağustos 1319 (20.08.1903).

[259] For example, see *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora*. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1961. books.google.gr/books?ie=UTF-8&vid=ISBN0876616074&redir_esc=y. Accessed 8 Feb 2017.

priest of the village Papa Dimitri together with a certain Dimitri who is a vekil [representative] of the Church and a grocer [named] Stathi were digging to get stones required for building a new church."[260]

Indeed, this long-standing tradition could have dire consequences for monuments. In a letter from Djerach in 1902, Theodoros Makrides spoke of the quarry of Kanawat (also known as Qanawat in present-day Syria) and Soweida in Hauran, which the Druze would visit in order to select the stone slabs that suited their needs, remove entire sculpted gates and break sculptures into pieces.[261] Occasionally, other profitable activities followed the destruction of a site and the removal of its stones, and sealed its fate. For example, in the port of Kaytan in the province (*vilâyet*) of Aleppo, a plot of land by the sea was put up for sale by the local authorities, after the antiquities on it were either removed by the locals or destroyed and the land was abandoned.[262]

The financial paucity of the Imperial Museum, entrenched financial interests, local political cultures and popular traditions, as discussed above, were coupled with high politics in undermining the proper implementation of the 1884 regulation. The way that Sultan Abdülhamid II exercised his prerogatives in those years illustrates this well, with geopolitical considerations weighing heavily in by-passing the 1884 regulation. Thus, for

[260] Letter to Halil Bey, dated 3/16 Oct. 1904 and written in Ayassoulouk, in *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. *op.cit.*, p. 50 (*[…] il faut absolument que j' aille à Notion (Ghiaour Keuy ou Christian-Keuy) pour voir ce qui se passe là. Le prêtre du village Papa Dimitri avec un certain Dimitri vékil de l' Eglise et un bacal Stathi faisaient des fouilles pour extraire des pierres nécessaires à la construction d' une nouvelle église*.).

[261] Letter to Halil Bey, dated 14 June 1902 and written in Djerah (Gerasa), in *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. *ibid*, p. 17.

[262] BOA.DH.MKT(2479/96), dated 13 Muharrem 1319 and 19 Nisan 1317 (2.05.1901).

example, the foreign policy objective of harnessing good ties with Germany and Austria resulted in neglecting the Ottoman archaeological legislation in the case of the excavations at Ephesos. Similarly, a secret agreement with Germany, signed in 1899, provided for the equal sharing of finds between the two countries[263] contrary to the regulation that stipulated complete Ottoman ownership. However, when the geopolitical interests of his country were not at stake, the sultan was more willing to heed the advice of his administration in charge of antiquities. For example, when, in 1892, the French ambassador acting on behalf of the Louvre Museum requested a number of artefacts found in the collection of the Imperial Museum, the sultan actively sought and ultimately endorsed the advice of Museum Director Osman Hamdi Bey.[264]

Faced with such challenges and the possibility of being by-passed, the Director of the Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi Bey, employed tactical deviations from the 1884 regulation in order to manage relations with foreign actors who had a stake in archaeology in the empire. By making use of his authority as director of the Imperial Museum, he could choose when and exactly how to facilitate archaeologists from abroad in their various requests that ranged from photographs and copies of items in the museum collection to support for their petitions for the granting of excavation permits. More importantly, when Ottoman interests, as expressed by the Sublime Porte and the sultan, collided with his views on the management of antiquities, Osman

[263] Shaw. *op.cit*., p. 120. For a concise discussion of German policy in the Ottoman Empire and archaeology, with a focus on Mesopotamia and without a reference to the 1899 secret agreement, see Bernhardsson. *op.cit*., pp. 52-56 and 65-68.

[264] Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 132-133 and 159-160. Also, Shaw. *ibid*, p. 117.

Hamdi Bey acknowledged the usefulness of pragmatism.[265] In Edhem Eldem's words, "the flexibility he occasionally showed was thus a way of guaranteeing the survival of his institution and of his own position, thus allowing him to contain, for lack of being able to eradicate, the outflow of antiquities from the Ottoman lands."[266]

Overall, when it came to the enforcement of the regulation on antiquities, difficulties on the ground were often insurmountable and Ottoman foreign policy interests non-negotiable. The large number of communities and individuals involved in illicit digs and the trafficking of antiquities made it practically impossible for the Ottoman authorities to effectively contain the situation on the ground. This was exacerbated by the fact that these phenomena, especially the digs, often happened in remote areas of an empire stretching out over three continents. Corrupt local officials could frustrate the implementation of the directives of the central state, while diplomats enjoyed the use of tools and channels beyond the authority of the Ottoman state, such as the diplomatic bag.[267] The Ottoman state at its highest level initiated deviations from the 1884 regulations when its geopolitical considerations so dictated. Against this backdrop, there was little one could achieve, if one were to attempt to address these issues in a direct, let alone, confrontational manner. The system for the protection of antiquities in the empire could be

[265] Eldem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *op.cit.*, pp. 133-147. *Nazlı's Guestbook – Osman Hamdi Bey's Circle* provides an overview of Osman Hamdi Bey's network of foreign archaeologists. Eldem, Edhem. *Nazlı'nın Defteri – Osman Hamdı Bey'in Çevresi / Nazlı's Guestbook – Osman Hamdi Bey's Circle*. Homer Kitabevi, 2014.

[266] Eldem. "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)." *ibid*. p. 147.

[267] Eldem. *ibid*, pp. 136-137.

strengthened through measures that would run parallel to the regulation, while supporting its implementation.

One way of doing this was through creating incentives for the Ottomans to partake in the protection of antiquities. Money and decorations given as rewards illustrate this approach. For example, in 1887, Muhammed Şerif Efendi was awarded an amount of money and a 5th grade decoration (*mecîdî nişanı*) for having facilitated the archaeological work of Osman Hamdi Bey at his plot in Sayda.[268] A few years later, in 1893, Osman Hamdi Bey requested that the Ministry of Education award Eyüb Sabri Efendi from Lapseki (Lampsakos) in Biga with a 5th grade decoration (*mecîdî nişanı*). Eyüb Sabri Efendi had not only provided the Imperial Museum with jewlery and other finds from his plot of land for a small amount of money in the past but, more recently, had notified the museum about the existence of a number of tombs in his property, which led to the discovery of a golden diadem. For Osman Hamdi, Eyüb Sabri Efendi was worthy of the decoration for his gracious and patriotic acts (*bir muamele-i cemile ve hamiyyet-kârâne ibrâz eylemiş olduğu gibi*).[269] Significantly, it appears that, through such pecuniary and symbolic rewards, the Ottoman state acknowledged and promoted a link between the protection of antiquities and the moulding of the good citizen of the reform era.

[268] Şimşek and Dinç. *op.cit.*, p. 118.

[269] BOA.MF.MKT(171/25), dated 4 Zi'lka'de 1310, 8 Mayıs 1309 (20.05.1893). Şimşek and Dinç. *ibid,* p. 118 make use of the same example but instead of a golden diadem their reference is to a golden statue (*altın bir heykel*). The original in Ottoman Turkish is "altundan ma'mûl bir iklil". For an extensive commentary on Osman Hamdi Bey and patriotism, see "Vatanperverlik" in Eldem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. op.cit., pp. 479-481.

Also, the Ottoman government reminded local authorities of their obligation to implement the 1884 regulation. Far from being phrased in a general way, these reminders could focus on a specific issue at stake, such as the sharing of finds or damaging antiquities. In 1893, following a request by the Imperial Museum submitted to the Sublime Porte and approved by the *Tanzimat Dairesi* of the Council of State, the authorities in Izmid and Biga near the capital as well as the ones in the remote regions of Zor (in Aleppo) and Bingazi (Benghazi in present-day Libya) were instructed of the need to implement the 1884 regulation. The ministry was particularly concerned with reversing the pattern of sharing finds with landowners for, as stated in its correspondence, according to special law, that is, the 1884 regulation, all finds belonged to the Imperial Museum and should be forwarded to the ministry, while no finds were to be shared with any third party without permission.[270] Two years later, in 1895, the *Daire-i Umûr-i Dâhiliye* of the Sublime Porte sent out a document, which stressed the implementation of the regulation on antiquities. This provided precise information as to the punishment in case of damage caused to the remains of antiquity, which included pecuniary sanctions and compensation as well as imprisonment from one month to one year, as stipulated in article 138 of the Penal Code. Significantly, the document added that the civil servant would be held liable in

[270] BOA.MF.MKT(169/112), dated 18 Mayıs 1309 (30.05.1893) and BOA.MF.MKT(177/63), three documents dated 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1310 / 28 Haziran 1309 (10.07.1893), 29 (28) Zi'l-hicce 1310 / 1 Temmuz 1309 (13.07.1893) and 19 Temmuz 1309 (31.07.1893). In the case of two documents, the Hicrî and Rumî dates diverge, and the conversion to the Miladî calendar was based on the Rumî date. The Hicrî date that coincides with the Rumî one is found in an parenthesis next to the Hicrî date stated in the surviving document. This notification system is followed in all such cases in this thesis. For the geographical identification of Zor, see Akbayar. *op.cit*., p. 175.

case of improper execution of his duties,[271] in a clear attempt by the Ottoman government to engage its officials in effective law enforcement.

Besides incentivising the Ottoman citizen and reasserting law enforcement with local authorities, a number of parallel developments supported the regime on antiquities that the 1884 regulation had introduced. These developments included the strengthening of the museum infrastructure and operational capacity as well as the introduction of greater control over the movement of foreigners who visited the empire, oftentimes lured by its antiquities. What these initiatives had in common was the wish to bring greater control over archaeology in the empire into the hands of its civil servants and government.

The expansion of the Imperial Museum as well as the creation of local museums provided the Ottoman state with significantly more space for safely storing and exhibiting antiquities. This afforded it greater control over antiquity and its remains, and strengthened its relative position *vis-à-vis* other stakeholders at a material and symbolic level. Through exhibiting ancient finds to the public, the Ottoman state was able to reassert its ownership over these items across both domestic and foreign audiences.[272] Twice was the Imperial Museum extended in those years. An entirely new building was constructed opposite the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) and was opened in 1903. In turn, an

[271] BOA.DH.MKT(2072/78), dated 28 Cemâziye'l-âhir 1313 / 3 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1311 (15.12.1895).

[272] Shaw. *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87 provides a similar argument when she attempts to answer the question “[w]hat, precisely, was the museum to teach?”.

extension was built to it in the following years and was inaugurated in 1908,[273] two years after the adoption of the 1906 regulation on antiquities.

Significantly, the architectural design of these two structures, which was based on European classicism, brought the Imperial Museum visually closer to European museums.[274] Thus, at the turn of the 20th century, with a larger space available to safeguard and exhibit its increasingly richer collection of antiquities and the architectural aesthetics of its central museum bringing Europe to mind, the Ottoman Empire had moved closer to a claim of parity with the most important world museums at that time, such as the British Museum and the Louvre Museum.[275]

In the early 20th century, the Ottoman Empire acquired its first local museums in Konya and Bursa as well as an on-site museum in Bergama.[276] In Bursa, Greek and Byzantine antiquities and, in smaller numbers, Islamic ones were housed in a small pavilion in the courtyard of the high school (*idâdiye*). The museum was administered by the Imperial Museum even though its creation had been financed with local (*vilâyet*) funds. In Bergama, the museum was attached to the archaeological site and contained items of

[273] Shaw. *ibid*, pp. 161-162.

[274] Shaw. *ibid*, pp. 157-158.

[275] For the comparison with important European museums, see Shaw. *ibid*, pp. 158-159.

[276] There is no agreement in the literature regarding the dates of the establishment of these museums. For example, Mumcu. *op.cit.*, p. 75, and Eldem, Edhem. «Μια Νέα Ματιά σε μια Αρχαία Πόλη: Η Θεσσαλονίκη στην Οθωμανική Αρχαιολογία, 1832-1912.» *Θεσσαλονίκη μια Πόλη σε Μετάβαση, 1912-2012*. Edited by Δημήτρης Καιρίδης, Επίκεντρο, 2015, p. 138, argues that the museum in Konya was established in 1902 and the one in Bursa in 1904. Shaw. *ibid*. p. 170, agrees with Mumcu on the date for the establishment of the museum in Bursa but claims that it was "the first regional museum". Remzi Oğuz Arık. *L' histoire et l' organization des musées Turcs*. Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1953, p. 55, cites 1904 as the year of establishment for the museum in Konya.

lesser importance and of little interest for the Imperial Museum to exhibit them in Constantinople.[277]

Although, at first glance, one could argue that the creation of museums at the local level counteracted the centralisation of the state and, thus, the effectiveness of its archaeological policy, they provided certain advantages. For example, they lightened the finances required for the transfer of finds to the Imperial Museum in the capital, and decreased the risk of having to abandond finds in train stations and remote sites due to a lack of a sufficient budget for their transfer. Also, a strategy for protecting antiquities locally could produce even better results with finds being inventoried *in situ*.[278] Importantly, the existence of local museums meant that the Imperial Museum was able to focus on exhibiting the most significant items from throughout the empire, while creating smaller exhibition spaces available to tourists and others beyond the capital.[279]

Besides improving their infrastructure, the Ottomans aimed at improving their operational capacity in archaeological matters. They attempted to do so in partnership with European experts as well as through harnessing their own resources. Although, in its initial stages, the Imperial Museum had benefitted from the work of its foreign directors,[280] in these years, foreigners were no longer selected to fill permanent key positions,

[277] Shaw. *ibid*, p. 170.

[278] Shaw. *ibid*, pp. 169-170.

[279] For a discussion on local museums as attractions for tourists, see Shaw. *ibid*, pp. 169-170.

[280] Before Dr Dethier and between 1869 and 1872, Edward Goold served as director of the Imperial Museum. Goold was succeeded by Terenzio, who did not last more than a year at the helm of the museum. In Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 65-67 and 70-71.

which were reserved for Ottomans. Instead, they would be hired for limited periods of time and in order to execute a specific set of tasks.

The Imperial Museum systematically relied on a small number of French and other European archaeologists to develop its capacity. The museum would hire them in order for them to provide for the arrangement of its collections, the publication of catalogues and, more broadly, the formation of its staff. A few activities from the final years of the period introduced with the 1874 regulation acted as a prelude to the institutionalisation of this approach. When, in 1881, Osman Hamdi Bey became director of the Imperial Museum, French archaeologist Salomon Reinach, still only 23 years old, initiated him into the science of archaeology.[281] Also, in 1882, Salomon Reinach produced a catalogue of the museum collections.[282]

In the following years, more archaeologists followed Salomon Reinach in producing museum catalogues, such as André Joubin, Jean-Vincent Scheil and Gustave Mendel as well as orientalist and diplomat Johann Heinrich Mordtmann.[283] Of these, André Joubin was also charged with arranging the exhibits at the new building of the museum and rearranging the items in the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*).[284]

Foreign experts were not limited to Constantinople and the premises of the Imperial Museum. They also worked beyond the capital in conducting

[281] "Reinach, Salomon" in Eldem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. *op.cit.*, pp. 444-445.

[282] Reinach, Salomon. *Catalogue du Musée Impérial d'Antiquités*. op.cit., 1882.

[283] "Müze-i Hümayun", *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. *op.cit.*, p. 396. For a discussion on Salomon Reinach, André Joubin and Gustave Mendel, also see Hitzel, *op.cit.*, pp. 174-175. For a discussion of the museum publications, see Koç. *op.cit*. Also, Eldem, Edhem. *Mendel-Sebah. Müze-i Hümayun'u Belgelemek / Documenting the Imperial Museum*. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, 2014.

[284] Hitzel, *ibid*, p. 174.

archaeological excavations on behalf of the museum. For example, in 1893, Scheil conducted excavations at the ancient city of Sippara in Iraq, with his finds forming the core of the Assyrian Department at the Imperial Museum.[285] French archaeologist M. Gautier excavated the site of Kadesh in Syria in 1894.[286] In 1901, French archaeologist Paul Gaudin conducted excavations on behalf of the Imperial Museum at Yortan in western Anatolia,[287] while the following year, German archaeologist Rudolf Herchok excavated a site on the Aegean island of Kos (*Istanköy*).[288]

Many years after the first Ottoman regulation on archaeology (1869) had invited experts to carry out archaeological excavations on behalf of the Ottoman state, far from abandoned, this idea appeared to come into effect in earnest. Significantly, instead of highlighting the endemic lack of local experts, for all archaeologists engaged were foreigners, this measure contributed to the formation of local experts. Excavation sites were sites of peer-learning where members of staff of the Imperial Museum could improve their knowledge by working side-by-side with trained European archaeologists. For example, the son of Osman Hamdi Bey and employee of the Imperial Museum, the young architect Edhem Bey, was able to benefit from the breadth and depth of knowledge of Salomon Reinach during the excavations at Tralles in western Anatolia in 1902.[289] Aware of the limits of his own knowledge and of the quality of work of Hugo Winckler, self-taught

[285] Koçak. *op.cit.*, p. 110.

[286] Koçak. *Ibid*, p. 111. Also, Cezar. *op.cit.*, p. 324.

[287] Koçak. *Ibid*, p. 116. Also, Cezar. *ibid*, p. 324.

[288] Koçak. *Ibid*, p. 115.

[289] For information on the excavations at Tralles, see Cezar. *op.cit.*, pp. 320-321.

archaeologist and numismatist Theodoros Makrides much enjoyed his collaboration with this leading German archaeologist in Sidon, between 1903 and 1904, and a few years later, in 1907, at the excavations of Boğazköy.[290]

The ways in which the museum aimed at improving the training of its staff could only partially improve their expertise, which remained short of formal, academic training. In response to this, in 1891, Museum Director Osman Hamdi Bey suggested that graduates of the Imperial School of Fine Arts be sent abroad to continue their studies, and even produced the name of the first candidate, İhsan Efendi.[291] Abortive though this initiative appears to have been, it reinforces the view that, for the director of the Imperial Museum, building its capacity was a fundamental issue.

The first regulation[292] dealing with the internal operation of the Imperial Museum was introduced in 1889 and marked another attempt at improving the operational capacity of the museum. It provided a description of the positions in the museum and the duties of each position, from the museum director and the departmental curators to the museum accountant and gardeners, and resembles a modern organisational charter. Centred around the director, six departments were created: (a) the department of Greek,

[290] Cezar. *ibid*, pp. 317 and 321-322. Also, in a letter to Halil Bey, dated 25 Aug. 1904 from Saida that can be found in Eldem. *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. *op.cit.*, p. 47, Makrides wrote: *Mes connaissances géologiques ne sont pas vastes.* (*my knowledge of geology is not vast*.) For his relations with Hugo Winckler, see letter to Halil Bey, dated 10/23 June 1907 from Boghaz Keuy that can be found in Eldem. *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. *op.cit.*, p. 87, where Makrides said: *Quant aux tablettes, si même elles seront du domaine public, personne ne pourra surpasser les études du prof. Winckler*[...] (*As for the tablets, even if made public, no one could surpass the studies of Prof. Winckler*[...]. Similarly, in a letter to Halil Bey, dated 27 May 1907 from Boghaz Keuy that can be found in Eldem. *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. *op.cit.*, p. 79, he mentioned: *Le Professeur Winckler qui est un compagnon aussi sérieux bon et agréable*[…] (*Professor Winckler who is a serious, good and pleasant companion*[...].

[291] Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 125.

[292] For the text of the regulation, see Cezar. *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 547-551.

Roman and Byzantine antiquities; (b) a department for Oriental and African antiquities, including civilisations such as the Assyrians, the Hittites, the ancient Egyptians and the Arabs; (c) the department of Islamic art; (d) the department of numismatics; (e) a department for Natural History; and (f) the library. Each department would be headed by a curator (article 4).

Significantly, this internal regulation introduced the concepts of control, reporting and accountability. For example, regular controls of the collections were envisaged; weekly ones by the departmental curators (article 18) and quarterly ones by the museum director together with the departmental curators (article 12). Also, the regulation introduced the responsibility of departmental curators regarding the theft or loss of items in their collections (articles 12 and 13).

The internal regulation went beyond tidying up the operations of the Imperial Museum and included more visionary clauses that covered issues, such as the appointment of museum curators to excavations around the country (article 25) and the establishment of local museums (article 14). Indeed, as seen, in the years following the adoption of this regulation, the Imperial Museum both conducted excavations in the empire and proceeded with the establishment of local museums.[293]

Moreover, the regulation officially put modern technologies at the service of the Imperial Museum. A photography and a modeling studio as well as a conservation laboratory (*ameliyâthâne*) were created (article 6) with their

[293] See pp. 147-148.

staff being directly accountable to the museum director (article 29).[294] Reproduction technologies were important in the effort of the museum to nurture a more accommodating culture *vis-à-vis* the principle of complete state ownership of finds, by providing copies to interested parties, and, in this way, an alternative to their wish to acquire the original. Also, together with the conservation laboratory, they contributed to documenting and preserving the archaeological wealth of the empire. Arguably, this also explains why these facilities were put under the direct supervision of the museum director.

Overall, by positioning the museum at the centre of the day-to-day management of antiquities in the empire through the deliniation of the duties of its staff and, especially, the addition of provisions for appointments in excavation sites around the country and for creating local museums, far from being a simple internal document regulating the operation of a museum, this regulation aspired to turn the Imperial Museum into the *de facto* antiquities service of the Ottoman state.[295]

This developed infrastructure, renewed publication activity, the improved training of the museum staff, and the enhanced operational capacity of the museum were ways to increase actual control over antiquities and control at a symbolic level as well as to facilitate knowledge control, and contributed to increasing the share of the Ottoman state in the archaeological affairs in its territory. Actual territorial control, as expressed in the introduction of travel permits for visits to archaeological sites, was another way through

[294] For an earlier engagement of the Imperial Museum with the idea of photography and its collaboration with Pascal Sebah, see Eldem. *Documenting the Imperial Museum, Mendel – Sebah*. *op.cit*., pp. 31-36.

[295] For a similar view, see Mumcu. *op.cit.*, p. 74.

which the Ottomans aimed at reinforcing their voice and prerogatives with regards to archaeology.

The requirement for travel permits (*mürûr tezkiresi*)[296] for those foreigners interested in visiting archaeological sites was based on two sets of considerations. The one related to archaeological research *per se* while the other one extended to the realm of foreign policy and brought political considerations into the administration of Ottoman archaeology.

Archaeological considerations appear to have carried significant weight in the Ottoman attempts to control the movement of foreigners in the country. Already in 1888, the Imperial Museum, alarmed at the news of violations of the regulation on antiquities, informed the Ministry of Education that foreign holders of travel permits used these not only to visit places of archaeological importance but also to conduct excavations.[297] A few years later, in 1891, the issue of travel permits was defined as one that needed to go beyond the formalities of Foreign Ministries with the inclusion of the Ministry of Education in the procedure. More specifically, a letter from the Ministry of Interior to the Foreign Ministry stated that foreigners, most of whom wished to visit ancient sites with travel permits that they had acquired through their legations, would use these permits in violation of stipulations in the regulation on antiquities. The letter concluded by introducing the Ministry of Education into the

[296] Koçak. *op.cit.* p. 130, maintains that, from 1895 onwards, foreigners who wished to visit the Ottoman lands were required to obtain special permits, and that, from 1896 onwards, the authority to issue such permits was transferred from local government to the central government. Significantly, she adds that any civil servant working for local authorities who failed to transfer a request for a travel permit to the central authorities was faced with dismissal. Yet, the analysis here shows that the request for travel permits and their issuance from central authorities were instituted already before 1895 and that, by that time, this policy had become a permanent feature of Ottoman administration. Şimşek and Dinç. *op.cit.*, p. 113, hint at the issue of the travel permits without, however, elaborating.

[297] Şimşek and Dinç. *op.cit.*, p. 113.

procedure as a body responsible for approving a petition for a travel permit.[298] A year later, in 1892, the Ministry of Finance was also included in the process.[299] Thus, by 1893, the issuance of a travel permit required the approval of at least three Ottoman ministries, the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Finance. Archival documents show that, in the case of the Ministry of Education, approvals were given in consultation with the Imperial Museum.[300]

Surviving material in the Ottoman Archive highlights the political considerations attached to the issuance of travel permits with regards to individuals who wished to conduct archaeological research in particular. The case of the travel permits issued in 1894 for Dr Hogarth[301] from the University of Oxford and his team illustrates this well. In line with the procedure at that time, Dr Hogarth and his team acquired their permits from the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs following consultation with the Ministry of Education and, specifically, the Imperial Museum. Significantly, the latter introduced a number of conditions for the issuance of the travel permits, namely that no excavation should take place, that no damage should be inflicted on antiquities, and that the scholars should submit a copy of their report to the Imperial Museum. If these were the preoccupations of a scholarly institution, such as the Imperial Museum, the Ministry of Interior was sceptical on political

[298] BOA.DH.MKT(1881/49), dated 22.10.1891. This document is also used by Şimşek and Dinç. *ibid*, p. 113.

[299] BOA.DH.MKT(2033/77), dated 22.12.1892.

[300] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), documents dated 12 (13) Ramazan 1311 and 8 Mart 1310 (20.03.1894), 14 Ramazan 1311 and 9 Mart 1310 (21.03.1894), 17 Ramazan 1311 and 12 Mart 1310 (24.03.1894) and 21 Ramazan 1311 and 16 Mart 1310 (28.03.1894).

[301] For biographical information on Dr Hogarth, see "David George Hogarth" in Oxford Reference. www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095940549. Accessed 8 June 2017.

grounds. With the eastern provinces in Anatolia characterised by instability caused by Ottoman Armenian nationalist activities that were later that year met with what came to be known as the Hamidian massacres and Dr Hogarth having applied to visit these parts of the country, the Ministry of Interior expressed its hesitancy and requested the opinion of the grand vizier. It was only after the grand vizier had consented, seeing no political purpose behind the trip of Dr Hogarth and his team, that the provinces (*vilâyet*) of Adana, Aleppo, Elazığ (*Ma'mûretü'l-azîz*), Erzurum, Trabzon and Sivas were informed of the permission granted to Dr Hogarth and his team. Sigificantly, in a confidential paragraph added at the grand vizier's request, local authorities were instructed to keep the travelers under surveillance.[302] This shows the degree to which politics were taken into consideration when it came to archaeological research and any traveling related to it. The incidents that followed confirm this impression. When, in August 1894, information about the purported political nature of the travel by Dr Hogarth and his team reached the sultan, for the travelers had diverted from the locations mentioned on their travel permits and had joined a German scholar, Hermann Bockhart (unverified name), in Erzurum, the Ottoman government was alarmed. The grand vizier informed the Ministry of Interior, which, in turn, eager to avert blame, provided a record of the procedure that had been followed where it was clearly stated that the permits had been sanctioned by the grand vizier. More importantly, this development resulted in the introduction, on 20 August 1894, of yet another requirement for the issuance of a travel permit, that is,

[302] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), documents dated 12 (13) Ramazan 1311 and 8 Mart 1310 (20.03.1894), 14 Ramazan 1311 and 9 Mart 1310 (21.03.1894), 17 Ramazan 1311 and 12 Mart 1310 (24.03.1894) and 21 Ramazan 1311 and 16 Mart 1310 (28.03.1894). For the political background and the Hamidian massacres, see Zürcher. *op.cit.*, pp. 135-137.

the agreement of the sultan in the form of an imperial edict (*fermân-ı hümâyûn*).[303]

This decision was promptly communicated to the authorities throughout the empire (*her tarafa tebliğ edilmiş idi*).[304] A number of documents exchanged within government sections and other ones from the provinces that informed the central authorities of particular issues or asked for clarifications attest to the implementation of this decision.[305] Some of the challenges related to its implementation are of particular interest and bring to the fore the nexus between political, administrative and archaeological considerations. In a request for clarifications from the province of Syria written in February 1895, the local authorities wished to know how to deal with those travelers who were unable to present the required permit. As one can discern from this document, the predicament was considerable for a province that every year welcomed thousands of travelers on their way to the ruins of Baalbek and Zumer (unverified location).[306] In the same year, faced with regular petitions for permits from consulates acting on behalf of foreigners who wished to visit Babylon, the local authorities in Baghdad wanted to know

[303] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), documents dated 17 Safer 1312 and 8 Ağustos 1310 (20.08.1894), 17 Safer 1312 and 8 Ağustos 1310 (20.08.1894), 19 (18) Safer 1312 and 9 Ağustos 1310 (21.08.1894), 19 (18) Safer 1312 and 9 Ağustos 1310 (21.08.1894) and 9 (8) Rebî'ü'l-evvel 1312 and 28 Ağustos 1310 (9.09.1894).

[304] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), documents dated 11 (10) Şa'bân 1312 and 25 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1310 (6.02.1895) and 15 (14) Şa'bân 1312 and 29 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1310 (10.02.1895). See also BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), dated 29 (28) Şa'bân 1312 and 12 Şubat 1310 (24.02.1895). The quote is from the latter document.

[305] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), documents dated 18 (17) Şa'bân 1312 and 1 Şubat 1310 (13.02.1895), 19 (18) Şa'bân 1312 and 2 Şubat 1310 (14.02.1895), 2 Şubat 1310 (14.02.1895), 14 (23) Şa'bân 1312 and 7 Şubat 1310 (19.02.1895), 9 (29) Şa'bân 1312 and 13 Şubat 1310 (25.02.1895), 15 Ramazan 1312 and 28 Şubat 1310 (12.03.1895), and 13 Şevvâl 1312 and 27 Mart 1311 (8.04.1895).

[306] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), dated 13 Ramazan (18 Şa'bân) 1312 and 2 Şubat 1310 (14.02.1895).

whether the decision of the government had been communicated to consular authorities.[307] Both cases reveal the difficulties on the ground that the decision of the government to introduce travel permits issued by the authorities in Constantinople entailed for places, like Syria and Iraq, that were heavily visited by foreigners with an interest in antiquities. At the same time, they both highlight an interest by the local authorities to implement the decision properly and effectively and, as in the case of the local authorities in Baghdad, even indirectly suggest a solution with regards to a difficulty, that is, to inform the consulates, if not yet done.

In spite of the aspirations, the issuance of travel permits remained short of providing effective protection to antiquities. This is what a document by the Ministry of Interior dated 15 December 1895 implied in an attempt to re-assert the implementation of the regulation on antiquities. The document focused on the destructive activities of foreign visitors to sites and requested the imposition of the sanctions contained in the Penal Code while highlighting the responsibility of civil servants to act in accordance with the law.[308] This may explain the adoption, in 1896, of a regulation that requested foreigners to apply for special permission in case of visits for archaeological or other scientific research. The petitioner would have to address the Ministry of Interior with information as to the reason for his visit and his itinerary. Following examination, the ministry would issue a recommendation letter to be shared with the visitor and local authorities at destination. According to this regulation, the traveler would have to report to local authorities upon arrival

[307] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), dated 13 Şevvâl 1312 and 27 Mart 1311 (8.04.1895).

[308] BOA.DH.MKT(2072/78), dated 28 (27) Cemâziye'l-âhir 1313 and 3 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1311 (15.12.1895).

and be accompanied by an official at all visits. If a person failed to abide by the obligation to report to the local authorities, his permit would be rescinded and he would be sent back to his place of departure. The Ottoman state reserved the right to postpone the implementation of a permit, while a public servant acting contrary to this regulation would be held responsible.[309]

A document from 1899 confirms the combined archaeological and political considerations of the Ottoman administration when requested to issue travel permits for archaeologists. Issued by the Ministry of Interior and addressed to the grand vizier, this document dealt with the travel permit of a French archaeologist. In it, one comes across the same conditions stipulated by the Imperial Museum for the permit to Dr Hogarth except for the request of a copy of the report, but with the addition of a requirement for the French archaeologist to submit a detailed plan of his trip, including information on the means and duration of his research at every step. Concerns of a political nature stand out, especially, considerations over links between foreigners who visited the empire on scholarly and scientific grounds on the one hand and rebellion, mischief and anarchy among the locals on the other hand.[310]

An addition to the 1884 regulation on antiquities also aimed at improving its implementation. More specifically, in 1903, an addition to article 3 specified the location where antiquities were to be sheltered following their discovery in the provinces. Thus, such antiquities would first be transferred to the preparatory schools (*idâdiye mektebi*) where they would be photographed

[309] Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 130-131.

[310] BOA.DH.MKT(214/36), dated 18 Teşrîn-i evvel 1315 (30.10.1899).

before the most important ones were sent to the Imperial Museum.[311] This small addition is telling of the development of archaeological research in the empire and the efforts of the Ottoman state to maintain control over finds. Also, it shows the interplay between centralisation and decentralisation in the case of archaeology. With the number of artefacts exceeding the capacity of the Imperial Museum and the cost for their transport being prohibitive, the government decided to entrust the preparatory schools in the provinces with safekeeping antiquities. Photography was key in the process of selection, keeping decision-making in the hands of the Imperial Museum in the capital and relegating local authorities to an auxiliary role.

Two abortive attempts to modify the regulation have been recorded, one related to allowing the Imperial Museum to swap "duplicate or otherwise unecessary" items with foreign museums and collectors, and the other one to reducing the rights of the state while strengthening those of land and property owners in the case of coin finds and treasures.[312] In 1906, having greately contributed to the reform of the Ottoman regime on antiquities, the 1884 regulation was replaced by a new one.

[311] Young, George. *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, v. 2, Oxford, 1905, p. 391, n. 1, as qtd. in Eldem. *Letters by T. Macridy – Imperial Museum*. *op.cit.*, p. 27, footnote 95.

[312] Koçak. *op.cit.*, p. 102.

The 1906 regulation

As each previous regulation turned a new page in the administration of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, the one adopted in 1906[313] also ushered in a new period. This new regulation built on its predecessor, while introducing novelties and changes. Yet, unlike its predecessor, it had a less dominant position in the regulatory framework for archaeology which, in those years, became populated by more acts of law and administrative decisions. The Imperial Museum remained a major reference point for parallel-to-the-law developments in the administration of antiquities, but the landscape became increasingly diversified with the creation of various institutions for heritage management. Significantly, in those years and especially after 1914, the precipitated dissolution of the empire coupled with the rise of Turkish nationalism produced new dynamics on the ground and a new political and intellectual setting, *vis-à-vis* which Ottoman archaeology had to position itself.

The 1906 and the 1884 regulations shared a number of core principles. For example, both acknowledged full state ownership of antiquities.[314] They stipulated practically the same prohibitions with a view to protecting antiquities,[315] and included an obligation to inform the authorities about archaeological finds.[316] Issues related to excavations, such as the duration of permits, their renewal and their maximum number at a time, followed the

[313] *Âsâr-ı atîka nizamnâmesi fî 29 Safer 1324 ve 10 Nisan 1322* (24.04.1906). Mahmud Bey matbaası, Dersaâdet, 1328 (in Ottoman Turkish). A translation into French can be found in Gelin, Mathilde. *L'archéologie en Syrie et au Liban à l'époque du Mandat (1919-1946): Histoire & Organisation*. Geuthner, 2002, "Annexes: Legislation Ottomane sur les Antiquités", pp. 91-97.

[314] See article 4 in the regulation of 1906 and article 3 in the regulation of 1884.

[315] See article 8 in the regulation of 1906 and article 5 in the regulation of 1884.

[316] See article 9 in the regulation of 1906 and article 25 in the regulation of 1884.

same pattern in both regulations.[317] Similarly, the same principles informed the clauses referring to the import and export of antiquities in the two regulations, with imports being free and exports being prohibited except for re-exporting antiquities previously imported.[318]

The changes and new ideas introduced are of particular importance and point to the reasons for the adoption of this new regulation. Administrative reasons are behind a number of shifts from the 1884 regulation. Already in its first articles, the 1906 regulation introduced a new system for the administration of archaeological affairs; it positioned the Imperial Museum at the helm of an Antiquities Service responsible for the entire country. Moreover, it created a permanent committee (*dâimî komisyon*), which would be composed of the vice-director of the Imperial Museum and at least two of its curators under the leadership of the museum director (article 1). Also, the regulation clarified that the provincial directors of public education would be part of the Antiquities Service at the local level, while also acting as directors of local museums where these existed (article 2). At the top of this new structure one found the Ministry of Public Education (article 3). The customs offices were for the first time explicitly mentioned in an Ottoman regulation on antiquities and charged with dispatching any antiquity imported from abroad or transported domestically to the Antiquities Service (article 28). This structure built on the internal regulation of the Imperial Museum that had been introduced many years earlier, in 1889, and, indirectly, the 1884 regulation.

[317] See articles 18-19 and 21-25 in the regulation of 1906 and articles 17-19 and 22-24 in the regulation of 1884.

[318] See articles 27-29 and 31 in the regulation of 1906 and articles 8 and 28–32 in the regulation of 1884.

Significantly, though, the Antiquities Service, which was introduced with the 1906 regulation, was envisaged in a robust and clear way for the first time.

Numerous provisions streamlined the regulation with reality on the ground as well as with developments in archaeology as a field of scholarship and scientific research. For example, the new regulation made a distinction between full-scale excavations, trial excavations and surface surveys,[319] whereas all previous regulations had made no such distinction. More importantly, the way this distinction was incorporated in the text of the regulation shows that the Ottomans were aware of the scientific differences between these three types of archaeological research, and were able to translate these differences into corresponding administrative arrangements. By means of illustration, permissions for excavation could be granted for up to two years, whereas for trial excavations and surface surveys permits were limited to a duration of two months (article 18), in what reflected a clear understanding of the scope and way of execution of each type of archaeological research.

Based on the 1884 regulation, the 1906 regulation provided detailed information on the procedures regarding authorisation for archaeological research and related matters. Compared to its predecessor, though, the 1906 regulation exhibits a degree of refinement that introduced improvements. For example, the examination of the petitions for authorisation would no longer include the Ottoman government (*Bâb-ı Âlî*), with authorisation now being discussed between the Ministry of Public Education and the Imperial Museum

[319] See chapter *V: Des fouilles*, esp. articles 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 23.

only.[320] The 1906 regulation supplemented the provision regarding the expropriation of lands for excavation on the grounds of public interest with a provision regarding preliminary trial excavations, the execution of which it envisaged without expropriation.[321] The new regulation went beyond regulating the registration of finds into special registries, by also requesting their deposition at a designated place in the excavation area for safekeeping.[322]

The 1906 regulation provides insight into the way the Ottoman state had come to see itself in the early 20th century and the shifts in comparison to the 19th century. In an unprecedented statement, the regulation underscored that it was the prerogative of the state to issue authorisations for archaeological research:

> With all ancient objects, immovable and movable, discovered or to be discovered, throughout the Ottoman Empire, being the property of the state, the execution of all trial excavations, [surface survey] research, and archaeological excavations, irrespective of whether in public or private lands of the state or in the properties of individuals or communities, is reserved for the Directorate General of the Imperial Museums.
>
> In any case, the Ministry of Public Education, upon the proposal of the Directorate General of the Imperial Museums, **by means of exception and special favour** [emphasis added], may authorise scientific institutions and individuals, national and foreign ones, who have the required qualifications, to carry out trial excavations, [surface survey] research and excavations at a location of the [Ottoman] territory as requested by them or designated by the Ministry [of Public Education] at its wish.[323]

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[320] See article 10 in the regulation of 1906 and article 10 in the regulation of 1884.

[321] See article 13 in the regulation of 1906 and article 6 in the regulation of 1884.

[322] See article 16 (par. 6) in the regulation of 1906 and article 11 in the regulation of 1884.

[323] In French, article 10 of the regulation of 1906 read as: *Tous les objets antiques, immobiliers et mobiliers, découverts ou à découvrir, dans toute l' étendue de l' Empire Ottoman, étant la propriété de l' Etat, l' execution de tous sondages, recherché et fouilles archéologiques, tant sur les domains publics et privés de l' Etat, que sur les proprieties des particuliers ou des communautés, est reserve à la Direction Générale des Musées Impériaux. Toutefois, le Ministère de l'Instruction publique, sur la proposition de la Direction Générale*

For a country to maintain that it has the right to issue permits for archaeological research may sound redundant and, even in previous legislation, authorisation to excavate would not be granted automatically but was conditioned upon the consent of the state.[324] Also, the 1874 regulation excluded third parties from carrying out excavations in areas of interest to the state.[325] However, in this case, the Ottomans did not simply re-assert a limited right along these lines nor did they attempt to elaborate on the functional aspects of authorisation, as would have been the case had the regulation discussed in detail "the required qualifications". Instead, by adding emphatically the exceptional nature of permits and their issuance as special favour to the applicant to the monopoly of the state over antiquities and that of the Imperial Museum over archaeological research, the Ottoman state appears to have wished to impress its authority and prerogatives through projecting an elevated position for the state as a concept, a position that rendered it above all other stakeholders, and turned its permits into invaluable concessions. Thus, the Ottoman lawmakers appear to have introduced not so much a new understanding of archaeological affairs as to have projected a new concept regarding the state and its authority, as expressed by means of its bureaucracy.

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des Musées Impériaux, ***par exception et comme faveur spéciale*** [emphasis added]*, pourra autoriser les corps savants et les particuliers, nationaux et étrangers, ayant qualités requises, à entreprendre des sondages, recherches et fouilles sur telle partie du territoire qu' ils demanderont ou qu'il plaira au Ministère de leur designer.* In Ottoman Turkish, it read as: *Me'a mâfih Müze-i Hümâyûnlar Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi'nin iş'ârı üzerine Maârif Nezâreti'nin* ***istisnâen ve bir müsâade-i mahsûsa üzere*** [emphasis added] *cemiyet-i ilmiyyeye ve mütehassıs olan efrâd-ı tebe'a ve ecnebiyyeye memâlik-i şâhânenin her hangi cihetinde taleb ederler ise veyahut Nezâretin tensib edeceği mahalde sondaj ve taharriyât ve hafriyât icrasına müsaade edilebilecektir […].*

[324] See article 1 in the regulation of 1869, article 4 in the regulation of 1874, and article 7 in the regulation of 1884.

[325] See article 23 in the regulation of 1874, and the case of authorisation given to the representative of the German heir to excavate in Pergamon discussed on pp. 115-116.

Also, in the early 20th century, the Ottoman Empire started to show greater pragmatism *vis-à-vis* the commodification of antiquities and the *de facto* existence of a market for ancient artefacts. With the exception of the 1869 regulation, which had merely sanctioned a domestic market without regulating it,[326] this was the first time that the Ottoman Empire positioned itself officially on this matter.[327] Overall, up to that time, it had treated the commodification of antiquities in the context of illegal digs and illicit traffic, including the export of finds. The 1906 regulation acknowledged a financial value for antiquities and created a legal space for the antiquities market to operate. More specifically, the sale of antiquities was sanctioned and the profession of dealer in antiquities recognised though only upon official authorisation (article 26). Although the stipulations were rather laconic and limited to a minimum of regulatory provisions, they permitted the Ottoman government to move away from the absolute prohibition of trade in antiquities, and its failure to enforce it, towards a more realistic policy for that era aimed at delimitating the market of antiquities by regulating it. Although the success of this policy could not be guaranteed in advance, this pointed to greater administrative and legal maturity.

The explicit addition of Islamic arts and crafts in the definition of antiquities (article 4) confirmed the gradual shift in the self-identification of the empire at a time when it was becoming increasingly Muslim and, eventually, Turkish.[328] The collection of items that pertained to Islamic arts and crafts had been included in the mandate of the Imperial Museum already from 1889, as

[326] See article 2 in the regulation of 1869, and pp. 99-101.

[327] Çal. *op.cit.*, p. 394, also maintains that this provision filled a gap in this matter.

[328] For a discussion of this transition, see ch. 1, esp. pp. 40-49.

seen in the museum regulation that dedicated an entire department to Islamic antiquities. Although the way the Imperial Museum enacted its collections policy relegated Islamic artefacts to a secondary position,[329] the fact that these were included in the new regulation sealed their acknowledgment as valued objects from the past worthy of protection. Significantly, the new regulation did not simply list Islamic antiquities among other ancient artefacts as in article 5. It made special reference to them, in article 4, where it clarified that "the stipulations of this article [sic] are equally applicable to all ancient objects, movable or immovable, that pertain to Islamic arts and crafts."[330] Shaw argues that "[t]he value assigned to works of Islamic art shifted as reports of their theft by Europeans began to circulate" in the years preceding the 1906 regulation, and links this with the inclusion of Islamic heritage in the new regulation.[331] Yet, Islamic antiquities were in no case the only ancient objects of art affiliated with a religion that were endangered in the empire. For example, so were Christian antiquities, such as manuscripts.[332] By not extending this special reference to Christian and Jewish antiquities, which were included as examples next to Islamic ones in the list of article 5, the

[329] Shaw. *op.cit.*, *pp*. 172-184. Shaw largely repeats her analysis in her article "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923." *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 30, Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art, 2000, pp. 56-68. www.jstor.org/stable/4434262. Accessed 8 June 2017.

[330] In French, the article reads as follows: *Les dispositions du present article sont également applicables à tous objets antiques, mobiliers et immobiliers, appartenant à l' Art et à l'industrie Islamiques.* The original in Ottoman Turkish reads: *İşbu mâddenin ahkâm-ı mündericesi ve sanâyi'-i nefîse-i İslâmiyyeye müteallik kâffe-i eşyâ'-yi menkule ve gayr-i menkule-i atîka hakkında da carîdir.*

[331] Shaw. *Possessors and Possessed – Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire. op.cit.*, p. 183. Also, Shaw. "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923." *op.cit*., p. 63.

[332] For example, speaking already of the early 19th century, Gonda Van Steen mentions that "Koraes was perturbed about some manuscripts that the British traveller, Edward Clarke, had taken from the Greeks on Patmos." In Van Steen, Gonda. *Liberating Hellenism from the Ottoman Empire – Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 31.

lawmakers singled out Islam and its heritage in a way that reflected its elevated position in the self-identification of the state, and brought the archaeological regime of the empire closer to Sultan Abdülhamid's policy that viewed Islam as a political tool for strengthening the fragile cohesion of his empire.

Like its predecessor, the 1906 regulation resorted to Greek legislation, and in particular the Greek law of 1899,[333] in order to develop some of its stipulations. The first, in an Ottoman regulation, specific reference to Islamic antiquities was an adaptation of a paragraph from the Greek law of 1899; where the Greek law made reference to early Christianity and medieval Hellenism, the Ottoman regulation spoke of Islamic antiquities. More specifically, where the Greek law mentioned that "the objects from early Christianity and medieval Hellenism too are not exempted from what is defined in this law",[334] the Ottoman regulation clarified that "the stipulations of this article [sic] are equally applicable to all ancient objects, movable or immovable, that pertain to Islamic arts and crafts."[335] Also, important stipulations about the ownership of antiquities and the obligation of the state to protect antiquities were to a considerable extent copied from the Greek law. In the Ottoman regulation of 1906, the clause about the ownership of antiquities[336] was a combination of the relevant clauses in the Ottoman

[333] *Περί Αρχαιοτήτων Νόμος ΒΧΜς'* (24.07.1899). Εφημερίς της Κυβερνήσεως του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος, τεύχος πρώτον, αριθ. 158 (27.07.1899), pp. 585-589.

[334] *Και τα αντικείμενα τα προερχόμενα εκ της αρχαιοτάτης εποχής του χριστιανισμού και του μεσαιωνικού ελληνισμού δεν εξαιρούνται των ορισμών του παρόντος νόμου* (article 1).

[335] See footnote no. 330 on p. 167.

[336] In French, article 4 of the regulation of 1906 reads: *Tous les monuments et objets antiques, mobiliers ou immobiliers, de quelque nature qu'ils soient que l'on sait exister actuellement ou qu'on découvrira par la suite, dans toute l' étendue de l' Empire Ottoman tant dans le domaine public ou privé de l' Etat que dans les biens des particuliers ou des*

regulation of 1884[337] and the Greek law of 1899.[338] Because antiquities belonged to the Ottoman state, the state was responsible for protecting them, exactly like the Greek kingdom, with no adaptation seen in this clause except for the reference to the museum: "In consequence, the right and care to bring to light, collect and deposit [antiquities] in the Imperial Museum [state museums, in the Greek law] belongs to the state"[339] both laws read. In addition, the way that the Ottomans regulated their antiquities market for the first time in the 1906 regulation (article 26) was based on the relevant clauses of the Greek law of 1899 (articles 26-28). Yet, the Ottoman regulation provided a simplified version of a regulatory system. This was centred around the obligation for antique dealers to acquire permission issued by the Ministry

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communautés sont la propriété de l' Empire Ottoman. In Ottoman Turkish: *Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i şâhânede hükûmete ait bulunan arazi ve emlâk ile efrâd ve cemaat-ı muhtelifenin uhdelerindeki emlâk ve arazide mevcûdiyeti bilinen veyahut âtiyen keşif olunacak olan her nev' âbidât ve âsâr-ı atîka-i menkule ve gayr-i menkulenin cümlesi Hükûmet-i Osmâniyye'nin malıdır.* A translation into English could read as: *All the monuments and antique objects, movable and immovable, of whatever nature known to exist presently or to be discovered in the future, throughout the Ottoman Empire both in public and private domains of the state as well as in the possession of individuals or communities are state property.*

[337] In French, article 3 of the regulation of 1884 says: *Tous les objets d' antiquité qui existent dans l' Empire ottoman, qui sont à découverts par l'exécution de fouilles, ou qui seront retirés du fond de la mer, des lacs, des rivières, des cours d'eau, appartient de droit à l' État.* In Ottoman Turkish: *Memâlik-i Osmâniyye'de mevcud ve mekşûf ve bundan böyle hafriyât zahire çıkarılacak ve deniz ve göl ve nehir ve çay ve derelerde zuhûr edecek olan her nev' âsâr-ı atîka kâmilen devlete âiddir.* A translation into English could read as: *All antiquities in the Ottoman Empire, known and to be discovered by means of excavations or retrieval from seas, lakes, rivers, and streams, belong to the state.*

[338] Article 1 of the law of 1899 reads: *Πάντα τα εν Ελλάδι εν οιοιςδήποτε εθνικοίς κτήμασιν, εν ποταμοίς, λίμναις και εν τω πυθμένι της θαλάσσης, προς δε εν δημοτικοίς, κοινοτικοίς, μοναστηριακοίς και ιδιωτικοίς κτήμασιν ευρισκόμενα αρχαία, κινητά τε και ακίνητα, από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων και εφεξής, είνε ιδιοκτησία του Κράτους.* A translation into English could read as: *All the antiquities in Greece, movable and immovable, found in whatever national lands, rivers, lakes and the sea bed, as well as municipal, communal, monastery- and privately owned lands, from ancient times onwards, are considered state property*.

[339] Article 1 of the law of 1899 included the following: *Κατ' ακολουθίαν το δικαίωμα και η φροντίς περί αναζητήσεως και διασώσεως, περί συναγωγής και καταθέσεως τούτων εν δημοσίοις Μουσείοις ανήκει εις το Κράτος*. Article 4 of the Ottoman regulation of 1906 included the following: *Par conséquent, le droit et le soin de les mettre à jour, les réunir et les déposer dans les Musées Impériaux, reviennent à l'État.* Or in Ottoman Turkish: *Binâen aleyh âsâr-ı atîkanın keşif ve muhafazasıyla bunları toplamak, müze-i hümâyûnlara vaz' eylemek hakkı hükûmete aittir.*

of Public Education in consultation with the Imperial Museum, whereas the Greek law developed a more elaborate system that involved a larger number of public authorities, including the police and state financial authorities. Whether a straightforward translation, an adaptation or a simplification, it is clear that certain clauses in the Ottoman regulation of 1906 drew on the Greek model. Significantly, the Ottoman lawmakers would update even what may look like a detail of 50 metres in the regulation. Whereas in the Ottoman regulation of 1884 and in line with the Greek law of 1834 certain activities were banned from within less than 250m from an antiquity,[340] in the Ottoman regulation of 1906 (article 8) and in line with the Greek law of 1899 (article 7) that distance was increased to 300m.

Greece did not serve as an example for all Ottoman stipulations, with the Ottoman government modeling its regulation on the Greek example only to the extent that it suited its views and interests. Significantly, the Ottoman regulation kept silent about private collections of antiquities in contrast to the Greek law of 1899 (article 27) and a regulatory tradition introduced already with the Greek law of 1834 (especially article 84). Such a lack of regulatory framework for private collections contradicted reality on the ground and the newly sanctioned market on antiquities. For example, in Palestine alone there were many collections in private hands, in monasteries and missionary institutions,[341] while the Greeks in Constantinople, Smyrna and elsewhere maintained collections of antiquities and ancient coins in private collections and in the context of institutions, such as the Hellenic Literary Society at

[340] See pp. 135-136.

[341] Shay, Oded. “Collectors and Collections in Palestine at the Conclusion of the Ottoman Era.” *Le Muséon*, vol. 122, no. 3-4, 2009, pp. 449-471.

Constantinople and the Museum of the Evangelical School in Smyrna.[342] Also, the ambivalence shown by the Ottomans when it came to regulating the sale of antiquities owned by the state diverted from the clearer stance of the Greek archaeological regime. A short and rather obscure stipulation existed in the Ottoman regulation of 1906 about the sale of antiquities by the state in auctions (article 32), whereas the Greek law of 1899 dedicated two articles to the sale of antiquities "redundant for the Museums of the State" (articles 24 and 25; *αρχαία περιττά δια τα Μουσεία του Κράτους*).

In those years, old themes continued to have a significant impact on the archeological affairs of the empire. One such theme was the role that the sultan played in cases of by-passing the 1906 regulation, especially with regards to the export of finds. For example, when in August 1906, just a few months after the adoption of the new regulation on antiquities, the German ambassador to the Porte expressed his disenchantment with the new regulation, the Imperial Museum, in its reply to the representative of the Kaiser, adopted a clear stance in support of the law. In his letter, Osman Hamdi Bey attempted to provide a counter-argument to the ambassador's claims, based on the concepts of the rule of law and territorial integrity. By means of illustration, at the accusation that the Ottoman government had not consulted with foreign stakeholders in the drafting of its regulation, the director of the Imperial Museum kindly reminded the German ambassador that the drafting of laws was a domestic issue of the Ottoman state. Regarding the ambassador's sensitivities about the provisions on land expropriation, Osman

[342] For the collection of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, see ch. 4, esp. pp. 331-339. For the collection of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, see Παρανίκας, Μ. *Ιστορία της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής Σμύρνης εκ των Πηγών Συναχθείσα*. Τύποις «Αληθείας», εν Αθήναις, 1885, pp. 207-209.

Hamdi Bey argued that expropriation on the grounds of public interest was well-known in European states, thus, positioning this Ottoman practice into a European legal culture based on the rule of law. Although the intervention of the head of German diplomacy in the empire bore no fruit against the 1906 regulation in general, it did not take long before the sultan granted the Germans the right to export half of the finds in the case of the excavation at Miletus.[343]

Illicit digs and traffic in antiquities continued to be a major headache for the Ottoman authorities. Surviving documents exchanged between the governor (*vâlî*) of Aleppo, the Imperial Museum, the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of Interior allow one to follow illicit activities regarding antiquities in the province (*vilâyet*) of Aleppo and, in particular, Raqqa after 1910 and up to the outbreak of the First World War four years later.[344] These documents reveal a recycling of arguments about the need to protect antiquities and the inability of the state authorities, be they attached to the central government or local administration, to do so. Estimated at a few

[343] Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 162-164. Also, Shaw. *op.cit.*, p. 129.

[344] BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), documents dated 5 (4) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 24 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1326 (7.12.1910), 17 (16) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 6 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (19.12.1910), 12 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (25.12.1910), 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910), 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910), 25 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (7.01.1911), 30 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (12.01.1911), 19 (11) Rebî'ül-evvel 1329 and 27 Şubat 1326 (12.03.1911), (11) Rebî'ül-evvel 1329 and 27 Şubat 1326 (12.03.1911), 29 Rebî'ül-âhir 1329 and 16 Nisan 1327 (29.04.1911), 24 (23) Şa'bân 1329 and 6 Ağustos 1327 (19.08.1911), 5 (4) Ramazan 1329 and 16 Ağustos 1327 (29.09.1911), 25 (24) Ramazan 1329 and 5 Eylül 1327 (18.09.1911), (11) Şevvâl 1329 and 22 Eylül 1327 (5.10.1911), 15 (26) Muharrem 1329 (1330) and 3 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1327 (16.01.1912), 21 Muharrem 1329 (2 Safer 1330) and 9 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1327 (22.01.1912) and 3 Muharrem 1329 (15 Safer 1330) and 22 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1327 (4.02.1912). Also, BOA.DH.İD(129_1/12), documents dated 26 Muharrem 1332 and 12 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1329 (25.12.1913), 28 (29) Muharrem 1332 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1329 (28.12.1913), 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1329 (28.12.1913), 4 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1329 (17.01.1914), 20 Safer 1332 and 5 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1329 (18.01.1914), 8 Rebî'ül-evvel 1332 and 22 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1329 (4.02.1914), 26 Rebî'ül-evvel 1332 and 9 Şubat 1329 (22.02.1914) and 2 Mart 1329 (15.03.1913). These documents refer to Raqqa and other places. Quotations and specific pieces of information to be found in a particular document are mentioned in separate footnotes.

hundred thousand liras, illicit traffic in antiquities in this province was a major source of income for locals who engaged in it "on a rather vast scale" (*pek vâsi' bir mikyâsda*).[345] Illegal digs could go on for days in a row and involve many people, as the following excerpt from a telegram sent by the *Kaymakam* of Raqqa and quoted in a document illustrates: "[…] for the past three-four days, many locals, even women and children, go to the ruins of Raqqa to look for [antiquities] and it has been made known that they have stolen objects of considerable value […]."[346] The inability of local security forces to intervene was beyond doubt. In Raqqa, the *kaymakam* argued that the gendarmerie had turned a blind eye and taken no measures against these unlawful acts, as undoubtedly had been happening for years, because of its forces being numerically insufficient.[347] Indeed, an incident described by the Governor General of Aleppo Hüseyin Kâzim in December 1910, shows that looters would, at times, go as far as to use violence against the gendarmerie and engage in serious fighting.[348] When one takes into consideration the expanse of the province of Aleppo, the difficulties of traveling in its desert and reaching its many remote places that in the documents studied are characterised as being away from civilisation (*ma'mûrelere pek uzak bulunan yerler*),[349] the challenges that local authorities were confronted with become clearer. While

[345] BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 5 (4) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 24 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1326 (7.12.1910) for the quote, and BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910) for the estimate.

[346] *[…] üç dört günden beri kasaba ahâlisinden bir çok halkın ve hatta kadınlarla çocukların bile Rakka harabesine giderek taharriyât icra etdikleri ve pek kıymetdâr şeyler aşırdıkları […]*. In BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910).

[347] BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910).

[348] BOA.MF.MKT (1164/81), dated 12 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (25.12.1910).

[349] BOA.MF.MKT (1164/81), dated 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910).

evading the issue of increasing the capacity of the gendarmerie, the local authorities insisted on the appointment of guardians to archaeological sites and ruins. In contrast, the Imperial Museum considered local government fully responsible for law enforcement and, in particular, for not giving way to illegal digs, for arresting and bringing to justice those who acted contrary to the regulation on antiquities, for getting hold of finds, and for preventing any damage to antiquities. Also, the Imperial Museum considered it impossible to conduct excavations in all – and there were many – places of archaeological importance in the vast territorial expanse of the empire, and that it was beyond its means to appoint guardians in all sites. With the Ministries of Public Education and Interior acting as messengers, the Imperial Museum and the local government in Aleppo engaged themselves in an unproductive exchange of arguments that appeared to aim at persuading the other side to do what it considered impossible.[350] Although while doing this, the Ottoman administrative elite at the central and local levels showed itself aware of the issue at stake and of various limitations in addressing it, it also made manifest its inability to work out a feasible and effective solution.

For Halil Bey, Osman Hamdi Bey's successor at the Imperial Museum, this state of affairs posed a risk for Ottoman heritage and could expose the Ottoman state as uncivilised. With issues of illicit traffic in antiquities tormenting not only the authorities in Raqqa but the ones in Jerusalem as

[350] BOA.MF.MKT (1164/81), documents dated 5 (4) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 24 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1326 (7.12.1910), 17 (16) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 6 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (19.12.1910), 12 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (25.12.1910), 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910), 26 (25) Zi'l-hicce 1328 and 15 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (28.12.1910), 25 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (7.01.1911), 30 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1326 (12.01.1911), 5 (4) Ramazan 1329 and 16 Ağustos 1327 (29.09.1911), 15 (26) Muharrem 1329 (1330) and 3 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1327 (16.01.1912), and 3 Muharrem 1329 (15 Safer 1330) and 22 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1327 (4.02.1912).

well, in August 1911, Halil Bey expressed his deep regret and kindly requested the Ministry of Public Education to arrange for a governmental reminder of their obligations to be sent to local authorities.[351] The following month, while discussing the serious destruction of Ancient Magnesia (Balatçık) in western Anatolia, he drew a comparison between the western parts of Anatolia and its hinterland. Halil Bey argued, in particular, that "if our antiquities the exceptional importance of which is evident and beyond a need for explanation and which are located alongside the railway are repeatedly destroyed in this way, one could draw an analogy and imagine how antiquities located in the Anatolian hinterland are destroyed."[352] For Halil Bey, the need for the Ottoman government to take measures was imminent because otherwise "be they related to ancient civilisations or Islam, all these things we take pride in will soon be totally destroyed and disappear, and as a result we will be exposed to the entire civilised world."[353]

If handling archaeological matters in the provinces required overcoming what, at times, appeared to be insurmountable barriers, the capital offered the Imperial Museum with more opportunities to engage directly with heritage protection, even to pitch the idea of heritage conservation, as in the case of the Byzantine walls of the old city in 1909 and 1910. At that time and sparked by a project that suggested the demolition of

[351] BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 24 (23) Şa'bân 1329 and 6 Ağustos 1327 (19.08.1911).

[352] *Ehemmiyet-i fevkalâdeleri müstağnî-i arz ve beyan olan ve şimendüfer güzergâhında bulunan âsâr-ı atîkamız bu yolda mütemâdiyen tahribâta uğradıldığı hâlde Anadolu'nun içerilerinde vâki' âsâr-ı atîkanın ne türlü tahrib edileceği kıyası ve tasavvur olunabilir.* In BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 25 (24) Ramazan 1329 and 5 Eylül 1327 (18.09.1911).

[353] *[…] gerek akvâm-ı kadîmeye gerek devr-i İslâma ait her türlü mefâhirimizin az vakitte kâmilen mahv ve nâ-bûd olacağını ve bundan dolayı bütün âlem-i medeniyete karşı düçâr olacağımız […].* In BOA.MF.MKT(1164/81), dated 25 (24) Ramazan 1329 and 5 Eylül 1327 (18.09.1911).

the Byzantine walls for the construction of avenues, two approaches to modernisation conflicted with regards to the city walls, one that was expressed by the Imperial Museum and was upheld by the Ministry of Public Education and another one that was projected by the Ministry of War. The Imperial Museum promoted the idea of preserving the walls in their entirety as a single unit. In its view, the walls were of historical importance beyond doubt, and their demolition would antagonise the entire civilised and educated world. The museum argued that any demolition should be prohibited and that the walls should be repaired or fortified as required. Significantly, it demanded that the state protect and preserve them. In complete alignment with the museum on this topic, the Ministry of Public Education was responsible for conveying the position of the Imperial Museum to the Office of the Grand Vizier. The other approach to modernisation was expressed mainly by the Ministry of War and aspired to replace the walls with European-style boulevards at the proposal of prospective European investors. With the walls no longer serving a military purpose, the ministry argued that their derelict appearance only served to undermine the city landscape. Moreover, it was expected that, by selling the lands where the walls were located, the Ministry of War, which maintained a barracks there, would be able to finance the construction of new military facilities elsewhere. The issue was taken over by the grand vizier and the ministerial council (*Meclis-i Mahsûs-ı Vükelâ*), which opted for consensus by inviting the two sides, the Imperial Museum and the Ministry of War, to designate one representative each to discuss and decide together which parts could be demolished and which ones would have to be preserved. Given that this left the Imperial Museum, which advocated for the

preservation of the walls as a whole, without arguments in the ensuing negotiation, it appears that Osman Hamdi Bey made recourse to stakeholders from abroad. A letter signed by Dr Paul Clement, Vice-President of the "Congress for Monument Preservation" (*Muhafaza-ı Âbidât Kongresi*), which brought together "Friends of Monuments" (*Muhibb-i Âbidât*) from Germany, Austria and Switzerland, survives in the Ottoman archive. In it, Dr Clement wished to know about the proposal of having the walls of the city demolished, while requesting their preservation. The archival documents available for consultation end with a request by the grand vizier addressed to the Imperial Museum by means of the Ministry of Public Education, with which he aims to ensure the appointment of the representative of the Imperial Museum in order to accelerate the process and reach a decision.[354] Nevertheless, in the documents consulted, the interest of the Imperial Museum for the preservation, even conservation, of the Byzantine walls of the Ottoman capital is clear and provides yet another indication that, by the early 20th century, heritage protection had taken roots in the Ottoman Empire.

It was arguably experience with the proposed demolition of the walls of Constantinople and similar instances in the provinces that prompted the adoption of the Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments (*Muhafaza-ı*

[354] BOA.MF.MKT(1137/7), documents dated 23 Cemâziye'l-âhir 1327 and 29 Haziran 1325 (12.07.1909), 24 (23) Cemâziye'l-âhir 1327 and 29 Haziran 1325 (12.07.1909), 14 (13) Receb 1327 and 18 Temmuz 1325 (31.07.1909), 17 (16) Receb 1327 and 21 Temmuz 1325 (3.08.1909), 22 Receb 1327 and 27 Temmuz 1325 (9.08.1909), 29/5/1325 (11.08.1909), 9 (8) Şa'bân 1327 and 12 Ağustos 1325 (25.09.1909), 17 (16) Şa'bân 1327 and 20 Ağustos 1325 (2.09.1909), 19 (18) Şa'bân 1327 and 22 Ağustos 1325 (4.09.1909), 7 Ramazan 1327 and 9 Eylül 1325 (22.09.1909), 10 Ramazan 1327 and 12 Eylül 1325 (25.09.1909), 24 Şevvâl 1327 and 26 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1325 (8.10.1909), 26 Şevvâl 1327 and 28 Teşrîn-i Evvel 1325 (10.10.1909), Şevvâl 1327 and Teşrîn-i Evvel 1325, 26 Zi'lka'de 1327 and 27 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1325 (10.12.1909), 7 Zi'l-hicce 1327 and 7 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1325 (20.12.1909), 7 Zi'l-hicce 1327 and 7 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1325 (20.12.1909), 1 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1325 (14.01.1910), 3 Muharrem 1328 and 2 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1325 (15.01.1910), and 14 Muharrem 1328 and 13 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1325 (26.01.1910).

Âbidât Hakkında Nizamnâme)[355] in 1912, a regulation that, unlike its title, focused more on the demolition of monuments rather than their actual preservation.[356] Already its first article linked this regulation with the 1906 regulation on antiquities, which it practically complemented. The 1912 regulation covered old fortresses, towers and city walls and, in general, all edifices irrespective of their period of construction as described in article 5 of the regulation on antiquities. The second article introduced a complete prohibition regarding their destruction. This article confirmed the links with the 1906 regulation on antiquities by stating that violators should be punished according to article 8 of the regulation of 1906. Article 3 of the Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments set the geographical scope of this law, which covered the provinces, and stipulated the formation of provincial committees comprised of a civil servant, a representative of the military, the engineers of the ministry of public works (*Nâfıa*) and the municipality (*Belediye*), and of employees of the local museum under the local director of education. According to article 4, these committees would be responsible for providing the authorities with documentation about the monument proposed for demolition. Documentation should include a plan and a section of the monument as well as additional information drawn from local sources. These

[355] BOA.DH.İD(129_1/12), dated 16 Safer (15 Şa'bân) 1330 and 17 Temmuz 1328 (30.07.1912) provides the text of the law in draft form. Alternatively, *Muhafaza-ı Âbidât Hakkında Nizamnâme.* Matbaa-i âmire, İstanbul, 1328, and *Muhafaza-ı Âbidât Hakkında Nizamnâme*. Matbaa-i âmire, İstanbul, 1333. (both in Ottoman Turkish)

[356] Also Altinyildiz highlights that the regulation was about demolitions when she argues that "[…] two issues introduced with the new law paradoxically concerned demolition, not protection." In Altinyildiz, Nur. "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation." *Muqarnas*, vol. 24, History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum", 2007, pp. 281-305, and, in particular, p. 286 for the quote. www.jstor.org/stable/25482464. Accessed 21.07.2015. Mumcu. *op.cit.*, p. 76, speaks of a "minimum principle" (*minimum bir prensip*) that, however, was not that of "protection from demolition" (*yıkılmaktan korunması*) but, instead, dealt with the procedures to be followed for the demolition of monuments in the provinces.

should accompany the report of the committee prepared for submission to the office of the governor (*makâm-ı vilâyet*). However, the decision was not to be taken at the local level but in the Ottoman capital. The report and its annexes, if any, would be sent to the Ministry of Education, which was required to consult with the Imperial Museum. In case the monument in question was of paramount importance, the museum would appoint a specialist from its ranks to conduct a site visit. In this decision-making process, the Ministry of Education was accorded the final word. Before a decision was made, no one could proceed with the demolition of the monument in question or they would be held responsible according to the law. Article 5 created a window for those exceptional cases where an imminent threat to the surroundings of a monument could be verified, and the documentation and decision-making process described in article 4 could not be concluded. In such a case, the local government was responsible for handling the dangerous situation (*tehlike ref‘ edilir*) in consultation with its engineer or other knowledgeable person. Yet, as also mentioned in article 5, the local government was responsible for rescuing what decorations and inscriptions it could by removing, without causing any harm, the ones on stone, and by taking pictures or making drawings of the ones painted on plaster or by getting hold of their shapes in other ways, and for letting the Ministry of Education know of the situation. According to article 6, these rescued decorations and inscriptions would have to be preserved at the local museum or, if required, be sent to the Imperial Museum.

The 1912 regulation on the preservation of monuments focused on ensuring their preservation by creating checks and balances for their

demolition. It introduced a request for documentation, moved decision-making from the local level to the central level, and tied the entire process to scientific expertise, especially that of engineers and museum staff members. Moreover, it introduced the idea of rescuing heritage through documenting monuments and even removing parts of edifices. This regulation confirmed that Ottoman archaeological management put at its service scientific knowledge, such as engineering, and technology, as for example photography, and had come to the point of valuing the documentation of a monument.

However, the fact that this regulation put emphasis on the conditions for the demolition of a monument without acknowledging a need for proactive preservation, including restoration, points to the scale of demolitions affecting historical edifices in the empire rather than the practice of preservation. As seen with the walls of Constantinople, be it due to the derelict state of monuments, their limited usefulness, or the need to provide for modern facilities, the early 20th century ushered in great challenges for heritage protection. Significantly, a document, which was produced only a few days after the draft Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments, on 6 August 1912, and made reference to it, highlighted the financial profit attached to clearing space occupied by monuments. Signed by Grand Vizier Gazi Ahmed Muhtar, it mentioned that “as written in a reply by the Ministry of Finance, the said fortresses and walls that in no way possess any value and importance from the viewpoint of history and the arts and what remains of them can have

no imaginable use would be demolished and the ruins and plots be left to the local municipal offices for sale."[357]

The demolition of parts of the Ayıntab (present-day Gaziantep in Turkey) fortress in 1912 provides an early example of the implementation of the Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments. Following a request to the Ministry of Interior by the Deputy Governor of Aleppo Halil Hicri for 2.000 *kuruş* to finance the demolition of those parts of the Ayıntab fortress which were likely to collapse, the Ministry of Public Education informed the Ministry of Interior of the need to proceed according to the Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments and, in particular, article 5 that provided for the documentation and removal of ornamental parts and inscriptions. Interestingly, even though the Ministry of Public Education asserted this condition, it did not request proof that it had been followed, before providing the amount requested for the demolition.[358]

The Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments was also used as a reminder for the duty of local authorities to extend protection to historical edifices and their remains. For example, when stones with inscriptions from a church that was standing in ruins in the town of Arga, in the *vilâyet* of

[357] *[...] Maliye Nezâret-i Celîlesi makamının tezkire-i cevâbiyesinde muharrer olduğu üzere kılâ' ve esvâr-ı mezkûreden bir gûne kıymet ve ehemmiyet-i târihiyye ve sınâ'iyyeyi hâiz olmayıp bekasında hiç bir suretle menfaat mutasavver olmayanların fesih ve hedmiyle enkazı ve arsalarının fürûht olunmak üzere mahallî devâir-i belediyesine terki zımnında [...].* In BOA.DH.İD(129_1/12), dated 23 (15) Şa'bân 1330 and 17 Temmuz 1328 (6.08.1912). Mumcu. *op.cit.*, p. 76, confirms that the lands would be transferred to the municipalities and, in their absence, to the provincial (*vilâyet*) authorities according to a provisional law ("Esvar ve Kıla-i Atikadan Belediyelerle Vilâyete Terk Olunacak Yerler Hakkında Kanun") introduced on 18 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1330 (31.01.1915).

[358] BOA.DH.İD(129_1/12), documents dated 11 (10) Şevvâl 1330 and 9 Eylül 1328 (22.09.1912), 23 Şevvâl 1330 and 22 Eylül 1328 (5.10.1912), 13 Muharrem 1331 and 10 Kânûn-ı Evvel 1328 (23.12.1912), and 18 Muharrem 1331 and 15 Kânûn-ı evvel 1328 (28.12.1912).

Ma'mûretü'l-azîz (in present-day Akçadağ in Elazığ, Turkey),[359] were used, after the inscriptions on them had been erased, in the construction of the barracks and the local government mansion, the Ministry of Public Education requested the Ministry of Interior not only to ensure that a local expert would be tasked with carrying out field research at the ruins and its surroundings but also that all provinces and independent districts (*vilâyât ve elviye-i müstakılle*) would be reminded of their duties according to the regulation.[360] As the cases of Ayıntab and Arga highlight, having been developed to complement the regulation on antiquities of 1906, the Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments, within less than a year, had become a useful tool in the preservation policy of the Imperial Museum and the Ministry of Public Education in the provinces.

The Ottoman capital fell under the jurisdiction of the Council for the Preservation of Antiquities (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümeni* or *Muhafaza-ı Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümeni*), the creation of which Halil Bey had suggested in 1915.[361] A draft law on the establishment and duties of a Permanent Council for the Preservation of Antiquities (*Muhafaza-ı Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümen-i Dâimî Vezâifi Hakkında Kanun Lâyihası*) survives in the Ottoman Archive from 1918[362] and probably refers to practically the same institution.[363] According to this draft

[359] Akbayar. *op.cit.*, p. 10.

[360] BOA.DH.İD(129_1/12), dated 13 Şevvâl 1330 and 12 Eylül 1328 (25.09.1912). For the follow-up to this request, see BOA.DH.İD(129_1/12), documents dated 15 Eylül 1328 (28.09.1912), and 15 Eylül 1328 (28.09.1912).

[361] Shaw. *op.cit.*, p. 212, and Altinyildiz. *op.cit.*, p. 288.

[362] *Muhafaza-ı Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümen-i Dâimî Vezâifi Hakkında Kanûn Lâyihası*, in BOA.MV(212/115), dated 31 Temmuz 1334 (31.07.1918).

[363] Shaw. *op.cit*., p. 243, endnote 13, maintains that the council was established in 1915 but adds that Sümer Atasoy cites 1917 as its year of establishment whereas the Ottoman document quoted above situates the establishment of the council in 1918. As Shaw convincingly argues, "such discrepancies suggest that the [council] may have been disbanded

law, the council would be established under the auspices of the minister of education (article 1) and would be responsible for cataloguing the antiquities, as defined in article 5 of the 1906 regulation, and for providing visual documentation (article 2), such as their photographs and drawings. Moreover, the council would be in charge of authorising any restoration or alteration, the transfer (*nakil*) and demolition of an antiquity (article 3). In article 4, the draft law envisaged the compensation of those negatively affected by the decisions of the council and, in the following article, it anticipated the drafting of a detailed regulation regarding the organisation and the duties of said council.

Within a decade from the promulgation of the 1906 regulation on antiquities, a complementary Regulation on the Preservation of Monuments (1912), with provincial committees envisaged in it, and possibly a new Council for the Preservation of Monuments (1915) were added to the array of tools that the Imperial Museum and the Ministry of Public Education had at their disposal in their effort to protect the archaeological heritage of the Ottoman Empire. This trend of creating additional institutions for heritage protection is also noticeable with regards to the protection of Islamic antiquities in particular.

Unlike in the 19th century, in this period, Islamic heritage would become increasingly relevant to Ottoman archaeology and heritage preservation. By and large in the context of the Tanzimat reforms, the 19th century had seen a drastic reorganisation of traditional structures of use and maintenance of Islamic edifices, such as mosque complexes. Already before

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and reestablished several times during the war years." Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that shifts in its structure or duties may have occured.

that, in 1836, the Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Nezâret-i Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn*) was established and brought under its authority many of the duties and prerogatives that the pious foundations had enjoyed until that time. Significantly, the pious foundations were deprived of using their sources of income independently and had to rely on a reallocation of resources by the central state. As a result, in the 19th century, many pious foundations faced difficulties with maintaining their properties. Also, modernisation projects presented a threat to Islamic heritage, as in the case of the numerous demolitions of old buildings that belonged to pious foundations during the enlargement of the *Divanyolu*, the main artery in the old city of Constantinople, in order to make way for the tram line. Although many cities across the empire faced serious challenges to their Islamic heritage, the arrival of Muslim refugees as a result of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 brought about greater stress to the edifices that belonged to pious foundations in the capital, as many of these were used to provide shelter and other services to the refugees.[364] Significantly, even though Sultan Abdülhamid II based his policy of state centralisation, besides institutional modernisation and Ottomanism, on the instrumentalisation of Islamic identity, the preservation of Islamic heritage remained rather marginal in the sultan's activities.[365]

However, with Islamic archaeology coming of age at the turn of the century, Islamic heritage in the empire became a contested field in a similar

[364] Altinyildiz. *op.cit.*, pp. 281-285. Also, Hitzel. *op.cit.*, pp. 184-185.

[365] St. Laurent, Beatrice, and András Riedlmayer. "Restorations of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock and Their Political Significance, 1537-1928." *Muqarnas*, vol. 10, Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar, 1993, p. 81. Also, Hitzel. *ibid*, pp. 187-188.

way to Graeco-Roman heritage. In those years, an increasing number of foreigners aimed at getting hold of items from Islamic monuments, such as tiles and carpets, which thus became commodities in a new lucrative arts market with an international outlook. This interest of foreigners coupled with an alarming rise in thefts, which was associated with the commodification of Islamic heritage, put pressure on the Ottoman elite to re-evaluate artefacts and monuments from earlier phases of Islam. Thus, in a similar fashion to Graeco-Roman antiquities before, it became important for the Ottoman state to actively claim Islamic artefacts and to protect them.[366]

With the death of Osman Hamdi Bey in 1910, the change of the guard at the helm of the Imperial Museum greatly facilitated the inclusion of Islamic heritage in the core of the Ottoman policy on antiquities. Whereas Osman Hamdi Bey had exhibited a strongly cosmopolitan and Ottoman imperial outlook with secular predilections, his successor Halil Bey was more attached to the Arabo-Islamic heritage of his country and to its Ottoman Turkish features. At the museum, his work had focused on Islamic and Ottoman numismatics and on Arabic and Ottoman Turkish inscriptions, which, in Mayer's words, made him "the most successful pioneer of Islamic archaeology and art history in Turkey."[367] With his scholarly expertise in Islamic history, epigraphics and numismatics already developed, and his administrative experience acquired in the most central institution for

[366] Shaw. *op.cit*., pp. 172-184 and 208-209. Hitzel. *ibid*, p. 189. For a short but vivid account of the market in Islamic tiles, see *Guides-Joanne de Paris à Constantinople Hongrie_Balkans_Asie Mineure*. Hachette et Cie, 1914, p. LXX.

[367] Mayer, L.A. "In Memoriam: Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938)." *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1939, p. 198 for the quote, and pp. 198-201 for the entire obituary, including Halil Bey's bibliography. Hitzel. *ibid*, pp. 186-188, hints at the rather marginal importance that Islamic antiquities had for Osman Hamdi Bey.

archaeology in the empire, Halil Bey was arguably the most suitable person to lead the shift in the perception and management of Islamic heritage in the empire. His choice to write about Turkish history in (Ottoman) Turkish[368] points to his greater identification with a Turkish national self, which would gradually gain ground in those years.

Following the Young Turk Revolution, the Ottoman state acquired a new interest in collecting Islamic antiquities and putting them on display. For years, the arrangement of exhibits at the Imperial Museum had ascribed secondary importance to Islamic antiquities. In 1908, though, the Islamic collection of the Imperial Museum acquired its own space at the Tiled Pavilion, and a few years later, in 1914, its own museum, the Islamic Endowments Museum (*Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Müzesi*), located at what used to be the *imaret* of the Süleymaniye mosque complex. More than being limited to the collection previously exhibited at the Imperial Museum, this new museum acted as a depository for public display of historical items from Islamic monuments across the empire. In a move loaded with symbolic value, the Islamic Endowments Museum was inaugurated on April 14, namely on the anniversary of the coronation of Sultan Mehmet Reşat.[369]

Also, these years saw an increased interest in the preservation and restoration of Islamic monuments. In 1908, the Ministry of Pious Foundations was reorganised with a new department specially tasked to deal with restorations, the Technical Commission for Construction and Repairs (*İnşâât ve Ta'mîrât He'yet-i Fenniyyesi*), being set up the following year. Significantly,

[368] Mayer. *ibid*, p. 199, argues that Halil Bey "deliberately wrote about Turkish history in the Turkish language."

[369] Shaw. *op.cit.*, pp. 210-211. Also, Altinyildiz. *op.cit.*, p. 286.

this commission was headed by Kemaleddin Bey who would become one of the founders of the Revival style in architecture, that is, a style that drew its inspiration from Ottoman heritage.[370] In 1910, the Ministry of Public Education turned its attention to the Islamic and Ottoman arts, by establishing a commission under Halil Bey that was tasked with determining "the appropriate methods and sturdy provisions" for the preservation of Islamic heritage. The commission concluded by dividing the task of preservation between the Ministry of Pious Foundations and the Imperial Museum, with the former being in charge of buildings and the latter of mosaics, tiles and other decorative elements.[371] In preserving Islamic heritage, non-Islamic features would also have to be accommodated, when present. At least this was the case for the ministerial council (*Meclis-i Vükelâ*) that authorised the Ministry of Pious Foundations to proceed with the restoration of the Molla Zeyrek Kilise Camii in Constantinople, also known by its Byzantine name as the Pantokrator monastery,[372] in 1911. Acknowledged as an "ancient" church (*âsâr-ı atîkadan kilise*), it was understood that "the aforementioned mosque [which had originally been built as a church] would not be exempted from the viewpoint of the preservation of its beautiful architectural features."[373]

The trend towards a greater interest in Turkish heritage left its mark on this period often combined with attention paid to Islam. Significantly, these two

[370] Altinyildiz. *ibid*, pp. 286-287.

[371] For the quote and other pieces of information, see Shaw. *op.cit.*, p. 210.

[372] Moutafov, Emmanuel. "Pantokrator Monastery (Molla Zeyrek Camii)", *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Κωνσταντινούπολη*. www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=11770>. Alternatively, www.academia.edu/4200686/Pantokrator_Monastery_Molla_Zeyrek_Camii_. Accessed 3 June 2017.

[373] *Mezkûr tezkirede dermiyân olunduğu vech ile Zeyrek'de kâin âsâr-ı atîkadan kilise, câmi'-i şerif tamirat-ı mukteziyesinin ihale suretiyle icrası câmi'i şerif-i mezkûrun hâiz olduğu nefâset-i mimariyyenin muhâfazası nokta-i nazarınca muaf olmayacağı anlaşılmasına binâ'en […].* In BOA.MV(159/58), dated 5 Zi'l-hicce 1329 and 14 Teşrîn-i Sânî 1327 (27.10.1911).

elements of identity, the Turkish and the Islamic, would become increasingly combined in a less imperial and more national, even nationalist, expression of identity. In 1915, for example, the Committee for the Examination of Antiquities (*Tedkik-i Âsâr-ı Atîka Encümeni*) was tasked with the study of works of "Turkish civilization, Islam, and knowledge of the nation."[374] The draft regulation concerning the establishment of a Committee of Examination (*Encümen-i Tedkik Nizamnâmesi*) – no longer of antiquities – in 1918 mentioned that its scope would be to study the works of Islamic and national knowledge (*Âsâr-ı ilmiye-i İslâmiyye ve milliye hakkında tedkikâtta bulunmak*). Dropping the reference to antiquities appears to highlight the gradual shift away from a Graeco-Roman past and towards a preoccupation with an Islamic-Turkish identity.[375]

The First World War years, though, did not mark a complete break with Graeco-Roman antiquity in spite of the relative inactivity of the Ottoman state in this field. More than ideology, it was the inability of the authorities to exert effective control over most of the empire that rendered the Imperial Museum seemingly inactive. Although the last Ottoman excavation was conducted just before the outbreak of the war, in 1913, at Notion by Theodoros Makrides,[376] in the war years, the Imperial Museum was able to adapt to the new reality by focusing on collecting information on antiquities and excavations carried out in the mandated zones rather than on collecting antiquities and conducting

[374] Shaw. *op.cit.* p. 212.

[375] BOA.MV(239/22), dated 22 Şevvâl 1336 and 31 Temmuz 1334 (31.07.1918). As seen earlier in the case of the Council for the Preservation of Antiquities, one comes across what appears to be the reestablishment in 1918 of an institution that was active already in 1915. This can be interpreted as the reestablishment of a body previously disbanded in the mayhem of the war years. The change in the name, with the 1918 committee dropping the reference to antiquities, adds to the confusion.

[376] On Ottoman excavations, see Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 117-119, and Cezar. *op.cit.*, pp. 321-325.

excavations.[377] Significantly, as Shaw argues, the value of antiquities "as expressions of territorial sovereingty increased in the context of the war."[378]

With the exception of the war years when territorial and political fluidity created a state of emergency in the Ottoman administration of antiquities, overall, developing the capacity of the Ottoman state with regards to archaeology continued during this period. In terms of infrastructure, the Imperial Museum was expanded with the addition of another wing that was completed in 1908. Although the war undermined their realisation, the establishment of local museums in Salonica, Sivas and Smyrna was envisaged.[379] As before the adoption of the 1906 regulation, in some of the few excavations that the Imperial Museum was able to carry out before the outbreak of war, collaboration with foreign experts and peer-learning continued. Thus, Theodoros Makrides worked with Hugo Winckler in Boğazköy in 1906, with M. Johannes Mülberg in Akalan that same year, and with the Director of the French Archaeological School at Athens Picard at Notion in 1913.[380] Also, through its publication programme, the Imperial Museum continued to formulate and project its own voice on antiquities in those years.[381]

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[377] Shaw. *op.cit.*, pp. 212-214.

[378] Shaw. *ibid*, p. 212.

[379] Shaw. *Ibid*, pp. 161-162 and 169-171. For the museum in Salonica, in particular, see Eldem. *«Μια Νέα Ματιά σε μια Αρχαία Πόλη: Η Θεσσαλονίκη στην Οθωμανική Αρχαιολογία, 1832-1912.» op.cit.*, esp. pp. 138-140.

[380] On these excavations, see Koçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 117-119, and Cezar. *op.cit.*, pp. 321-324.

[381] Publications include Mendel, Gustave. *Catalogue des Figurines Grecques de Terre Cuite*. Constantinople, 1908; Mendel, Gustave. *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines du Musée de Brousse*. Athénes, 1908; Musées Impériaux Ottomans (Ebersolt, M. J.). *Catalogue des Poteries Byzantines et Anatoliennes du Musée de Constantinople*. Typo-lithographie Ahmed Ihsan & Cie, Constantinople, 1910. Mendel, Gustave. *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*. Constantinople,

Interestingly, the Ottoman authorities in charge of antiquities pushed for the adoption of a new law in 1921, at the same time that the Ottoman state was faced with the danger of becoming obsolete. The draft law of 1921[382] combined in one text the regulation of 1906 and the Regulation for the Preservation of Antiquities adopted in 1912 while introducing amendments to the former. More specifically, this draft law set a core of provisions based on the 1906 regulation, modified a small number of provisions seen in this regulation, and incorporated the main provisions of the Regulation of 1912 as articles 7 to 9.[383] The draft law made reference to an Office of Antiquities (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Emâneti*) that would play the role of the Antiquities Service without however describing its organisation.[384] Significantly, it was the first law text to define antiquities chronologically by setting a date, the 17th century,[385] after which artefacts would not qualify as antiquities (article 1). Unlike these amendments that fell within the lines of previous legislation while introducing important but rather particular improvements, the provision that acknowledged excavators a share of the finds (article 29) and their export (article 34) signaled a radical shift in the Ottoman regime on antiquities. Çal suggests that these provisions were introduced either as a genuine acknowledgement of the effort and expenses undertaken by the excavator or, more probably in his

1912-1914. Musées Impériaux Ottomans (Ebersolt, M. J.). Catalogue des Sceaux Byzantins. Feuardent, Paris, 1922. For information on more publications, see Koç. *op.cit.*, pp. 141-144.

[382] For the text of the law in Ottoman Turkish, see *Âsâr-ı Atîka Kanûnu Layihası*, Matbaa-i âmire, İstanbul, 1921-1336. A transliteration of the draft law can be found in Çal. *op.cit.*, pp. 395-400.

[383] Article 7 of the draft law of 1921 corresponded to articles 3 and 4 of the Regulation of 1912; article 8 of the draft law of 1921 corresponded to article 5 of the Regulation of 1912; and article 9 of the draft law of 1921 corresponded to article 6 of the Regulation of 1912.

[384] See, for example, parts 3 and 4 of the draft law.

[385] Çal. *op.cit.*, pp. 394-395, provides the correct century in the transliterated text but cites the 18th century in his analysis.

view, under pressure by the foreign Powers that controlled much of Ottoman territory at that time.[386] Irrespective of the reasons behind the adoption of these two provisions, the combination in one text of the regulations of 1906 and 1912 was arguably a prudent move against the existence of multiple legal points of reference for the same or complementary issues, and the confusion that this could create or the evasion of the law that it could facilitate. Alternative interpretations for what prompted the Ottomans to draft a new law on antiquities in the haze of the war years should also be explored.

Overall, between 1906 and 1921, and in spite of the many challenges that the country, faced with instability and, eventually, warfare, had to overcome, the Ottoman archaeological landscape became populated by a number of laws, a variety of institutions, and a plethora of activities that reflected a more advanced understanding and practice of archaeological management and heritage protection. In this context, next to Graeco-Roman antiquities, Islamic heritage came to acquire greater importance and visibility for the first time.

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The 19th and early 20th centuries saw the emergence of archaeology as a new policy area for the reforming Ottoman state. Significantly, by being linked to issues of identity, foreign policy, and territorial control, archaeology was an important area for the state to regulate, with issues, such as authorisation for

[386] Çal. *ibid*, p. 394.

excavations, the ownership of finds, their sharing and export, being particularly sensitive ones for many of the stakeholders involved. State policies took mainly the form of regulations with four regulations promulgated in 1869, 1874, 1884 and 1906. A trend towards a more comprehensive and mature set of rules and procedures is clearly discernible from one law to the next with each new regulation bringing the Ottoman policy on archaeology closer to the priorities of the Ottoman state, as conceptualised primarily by the high echelons of its bureaucracy. Parallel to developing its legal framework, the empire also paid attention to building its institutional infrastructure, especially through a parallel museum policy. It created an antiquities service based on the Imperial Museum and supporting institutions in the capital and the provinces. Also, developing experts in archaeology was given some attention that, however, did not go beyond peer-learning, while publications contributed to increasing the Ottoman voice on archaeological matters. In those years, law enforcement fluctuated in its weakness, with various factors affecting it at the local and central level. For Ottoman state archaeology, Graeco-Roman antiquities remained a major point of focus throughout these years. However, following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, Islamic heritage, often combined with a quest for Turkish roots, came emphatically to the fore. Such a history of Ottoman state archaeology does not necessarily make the case for the entire empire. Autonomous territories could follow their own path in the administration of the remains of the past, and the Ottoman Principality of Samos in the Aegean, which is discussed in the next chapter, provides an example of what political autonomy could mean for Ottoman archaeology.

Chapter III – Policies on antiquity in the Ottoman Principality of Samos

It requires a lot of imagination to capture how a few dozen thousand people on a small island in the Aegean managed to adopt laws on antiquities before the central government in Constantinople, attempted to regulate archaeological activity with what means they possessed in their predominantly rural society, and created a museum boasting a collection of 200-odd items from the land of the Pharaohs. Far from being random, these activities formed part of the archaeological policies that the Ottoman Principality of Samos[387] developed between the 1850s and 1912. Mostly through an analysis of laws and the lens of administrative practices, this chapter looks into these policies and discusses their evolution and their political and ideological underpinnings. It attempts to decipher the reasons behind them and to trace the models they wished to emulate and the goals they set to achieve.

Besides the importance that it carries in its own right, Samos provides an example of how archaeology could develop in the empire, especially its western parts, without the direct mediation of the central authorities. For most Ottoman territories, the Sublime Porte was the source of legislation on antiquities and the tip of the administrative apparatus that supervised the implementation of the laws. In other words, the central government set the norms against which to measure compliance and divergence, and dictated its

[387] In Ottoman Turkish Samos is known as *Sisam* and the Principality of Samos as Sisam Beyliği or Sisam Emâreti / Emâret-i Sisam. The Ottoman Principality of Samos was established in 1832 but it took another two years before autonomy was acknowledged by the islanders and an effective autonomous administration started to operate on the island. For a discussion of the events between 1832 and 1834, see Ορφανουδάκης, Σαράντης. «Τα Συνταγματικά Κείμενα της Σάμου.» *Συνταγματικά Κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*. edited by Σοφία Λαΐου, Ίδρυμα της Βουλής των Ελλήνων για τον Κοινοβουλευτισμό και τη Δημοκρατία, 2013, pp. 69-77, esp. pp. 75-76. The principality ceased to exist in 1912 when the island declared its union with Greece. For the names of the principality, see Σαρηγιάννης, Μαρίνος. «Η Πολιτειακή Ορολογία στα Οθωμανικά Έγγραφα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου.» *Συνταγματικά Κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*, *ibid*, pp. 193-195.

own understanding of and ideology on the past. In turn, Samos provides a clearer picture as to how a Greek Orthodox and Greek-speaking Ottoman community could deal with antiquity and its remains when granted autonomy. Compared to other autonomous parts of the empire, such as Crete, which was autonomous between 1898 and 1912, Samos offers a greater depth of time for this kind of analysis.

Local realities should be borne in mind, when drawing on the Samos case, to discuss Ottoman archaeology in autonomous lands. Although perhaps not unique in the empire, the island exhibited a rare combination of demographic homogeneity and a tradition of autonomy. Samos was mixed neither in ethno-linguistic terms nor in religious terms and, throughout its history under the House of Osman, remained Greek Orthodox and Greek-speaking. Also, Samos had been practically autonomous since its fall to the Ottomans in the mid 16th century; for many centuries due to privileges that amounted to local autonomy[388] and after 1832/1834 as an autonomous Ottoman principality. Therefore, the Samian Ottoman Greeks did not have to negotiate arrangements with other ethnic and religious communities on the island itself. For the analysis, this aspect is all the more important in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when archaeology becomes associated with Greek nationalism.

[388] Λαΐου, Σοφία. «Η προφορική παράδοση ως όπλο διαπραγμάτευσης.» *Συνταγματικά Κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*. *op.cit.*, pp. 19-45, esp. pp. 24-25.

The Principality of Samos

The following analysis of the Samian polity serves as background for discussing the Samian archaeological policies. Although it is based on few available accounts that draw primarily from the official archive of the principality, official Ottoman documents, and the views of Samian male intellectuals and political leaders, while leaving the Samian peasants[389] and women largely voiceless, it should provide an overview of the political system and institutions of governance as well as the socio-economic development of the principality.

Although revolutionary Samians joined other Ottoman Greeks at the outset of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, fended off the Ottoman forces from the island, and established their own mini-state, their aspirations for union with Greece did not come to fruition. Instead, following diplomatic negotiations between the Greek government, the Ottoman government and the Great Powers, an autonomous regime, the Principality of Samos, was established on the island on the basis of a charter issued in 1832.[390] This charter was an important text produced unilaterally by the sultan in Constantinople, that is, without the active contribution of its recipients, whose political life it delineated. Thus, instead of being a negotiated arrangement with Samian representatives, it was presented as a concession. This charter

[389] For a few archival documents where the views on antiquities of peasants survive mediated, though, by the public servants of the principality who took the records, see GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1874, (1/1συνα), 24.02.1874 and 7.03.1874; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1878, (2), 29/6/1878; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1891, (2/2συνα), various dates in March 1891; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1894, (2), various dates in October 1894; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (9/συνα), various dates in October and November 1895.

[390] Ορφανουδάκης. *op.cit*., pp. 47-77.

was constitutional in nature. It broadly set the foundations of the autonomous regime while leaving open the details of its implementation. Significantly, it created a dualism that characterised the principality to its end in 1912; an externally appointed head of the principality, the prince, co-existed with elected local representatives.

The charter served different purposes for the Ottoman government on the one hand and the Samians on the other hand. For the Sublime Porte, it was a tool for imposing its authority on the island, while accommodating the islanders in a way reminiscent of solutions provided in relation to other territories where the Ottoman government had been and would be confronted with challenges to its authority, such as Moldavia and Wallachia in 1829 and Crete in 1898. After their diplomatic defeat, for the Samians, it was the only means through which they could press for greater self-rule. Although the charter remained the foundation text of the principality to its end, the efforts of the Samians and a facilitating environment in the empire, following the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms, resulted in the islanders gradually acquiring a greater say in their domestic affairs and setting clearer limits on the role of the prince.

The political system that was created following the acquiescence of the islanders to the charter in 1834 revolved around the prince who was the ultimate source of power. Always a Greek Orthodox, he was appointed by the Sublime Porte and headed the ministerial council.[391] Significantly, following a

[391] Differences in the terms used in Ottoman Turkish and Greek for the same institution of the Samian Principality have been identified, and are of importance for they reflect the diverging political aims between the Sublime Porte and the representatives of the island. See Σαρηγιάννης. *op.cit.*, pp. 200-205. Terms familiar to western concepts have been chosen

long-standing Ottoman tradition, the autonomy of Samos was each time bestowed upon him as the leader of the island instead of being granted to the islanders as a community. Besides the prince, there was a general assembly, which roughly corresponded to a parliament, and another body, known as *voule* (Βουλή), which is identified with the government or ministerial council at the helm of which one finds the prince. An initially weak distinction of powers between the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative was gradually strengthened, while the administration expanded and its effectiveness increased. Similarly, the representative nature of the political system was enhanced when, in 1899, the principality introduced the direct vote for the election of the general assembly by all men with the right to vote. Significantly, the candidate to be elected was the one to gather more votes than any of the other candidates.

To differing degrees, the general assembly and the government were reflections of local political will, which socioeconomic developments on the island greatly shaped. Although Samos never reached great affluence, in the years of the principality, its economy saw growth and relative diversification. In 1834, Samos was a predominantly agrarian society, which the struggle for independence and union with Greece had left in bad shape. The following decades saw the Samians attempting to tackle their economic issues. Increasing numbers of islanders, men and women, migrated to other parts of the empire as well as other countries, such as Egypt and Russia. Also, the islanders developed new products in high demand in foreign markets, such as tobacco and leather. Although the principality never completely overcame its

here for practical reasons, and because the secondary literature consulted for this section is in Greek and follows the terminology used by the Samian representatives, also in Greek.

economic dependency on the Ottoman state, it was able to reduce it significantly towards the end of the 19th century.[392]

The development of an industrial production base was accompanied by a new societal outlook.[393] With time, alongside the peasants, a bourgeois stratum of merchants, lawyers, journalists, public servants, teachers and industrialists surfaced. This built on pre-autonomy dynamics as much as the new realities and opportunities that the autonomous regime created.

An increase in education, improvements in health services, infrastructure and communications accelerated the contacts of Samos with modernity. In the realm of ideas, democracy and nationalism became increasingly popular, especially after 1860 and as the 19th century drew to a close. Even though the principality would not tolerate Greek nationalism as expressed in unionist ideas, the Samians actively followed developments elsewhere in the Ottoman Greek world. After 1860, Samian volunteers joined the Cretan Revolt, and islanders provided shelter to refugees who reached the shores of Samos.[394] In 1906, the Samian public welcomed the relocation of the seminary of the *Anatole* Association, which was active in spreading the use of the Greek language among the non–Greek-speaking Greek Orthodox in Anatolia.[395] The cultural and intellectual links with Greece were reinforced. The authorities of the principality often drew on Greek laws for developing the

[392] Λάνδρος, Χρίστος. «Ηγεμονία Σάμου 1834-1912. Οργάνωση και εξέλιξη.» *Συνταγματικά Κείμενα της Ηγεμονίας Σάμου*. *op.cit.*, pp. 99-186.

[393] For the impact of these changes on the urban landscape of Samos, especially the capital town of Vathy, see Γιοκαρίνης. *op.cit*.

[394] Λάνδρος. *op.cit.*, pp. 99-186, esp. pp. 183-186.

[395] Πτίνης. «Διαλέξεις – Η παιδεία στη Σάμο στα χρόνια της Ηγεμονίας.» *op.cit.*, pp. 29-31; and Πτίνης. «Διαλέξεις – Η συμβολή της Σάμου στην πνευματική ανάπτυξη της Μικράς Ασίας.» *ibid*, pp. 43-69.

Samian corpus of law. The educational system was modeled after the Greek one. As in other parts of the empire, teachers were recruited in the Greek kingdom and Samian professors completed their studies in Athens. Besides professors, an increasing number of Samians would study at the National University of Greece in Athens. In the textbooks used in schools, the island was presented as an integral part of the Hellenic world and its history was linked to that of the rest of the Greeks. The local newspapers, which were first printed in the 1890s, and the books, which were published by Samians, reveal a similar attachment to a Greek national outlook.[396]

Although this latent integration in the Greek state developed with time and, in the early years of the principality, a segment of the political elite sided with the Ottoman state in order to protect its interests *vis-à-vis* the revolutionaries whose fight against Ottoman rule also aimed at a different social contract domestically, towards the end of the 19th century, the cleavages in the Samian society had little to do with the question of Ottoman authority. Nor was ideology of primary importance. The two political formations that were crystallised were leader-centred and reflected more the interests of their local bases of power. The self-labeled Progressive party put emphasis on progress whereas the other, which is known as the Conservative party in literature, was in favour of the *status-quo* and emphasised law enforcement. The Progressive party was also known as “Vathiotiko” from the town of Vathy, its stronghold, and the Conservative party as “Karlovassitiko” from the town of Karlovassi, its stronghold. The latter was also known as

[396] Λάνδρος. *op.cit*. For the laws, also see Βακιρτζής. *op.cit.*, pp. 211-212. Examples of books (selectively read) include Κρητικίδης. *op.cit.*; Σταματιάδης, Επαμεινώνδας. *Ο Ιππόδρομος της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. Αθήνα, 1868; and Σταματιάδης, Επαμεινώνδας. *Βιογραφίαι των Ελλήνων Μεγάλων Διερμηνέων του Οθωμανικού Κράτους*. *op.cit.*.

"Chatzegianniko" from its leader Chatzegiannes. At the helm of the Progressive party was Themistokles Sofoules, an archaeologist who would serve as prime minister of Greece in 1924 and again in 1945.[397]

Strong local political figures, such as Chatzegiannes and Sofoules, had to co-exist with those Greek Orthodox Ottoman statesmen, whom the Sublime Porte appointed as princes. The princes played a pivotal role in the principality. They were the highest authority on the island, representatives of the Ottoman overlord and guardians of the charter. Drawn from among the Phanariots, most princes were of Greek descent, with Greek being their mother tongue. In spite of these affiliations that brought them closer to the locals, for the islanders, the princes were identified with the Sublime Porte. The same holds true for their representatives, that is, other Greek Orthodox Ottoman statesmen whom the princes sent to Samos as governors to administrate the principality on their behalf, as they themselves continued to reside in the capital. When the balance tilted against the prince/governor on the island, the Samians developed the tradition of dispatching a delegation to Constantinople to petition against him. As a result, numerous princes/governors were summoned back to the Ottoman capital and were relieved of their duties. The period of rule differs significantly between them.

Stefanos Vogorides (1834-1850) was the first prince appointed by the Sublime Porte in 1834 and ruled through governors for 16 years. His rule has been associated with the re-imposition of Ottoman authority on the island and abuses of power. Vogorides showed little interest in Samos and the prosperity of its inhabitants and focused more on the collection of the annual tax (*haraç*)

[397] Λάνδρος. *ibid*, pp. 172-174.

that, according to the charter of 1832, Samos had to pay to Constantinople. His rule, long afterwards, was remembered as tyrannical.

Most princes/governors after Vogorides are linked to one or more policies that attempted to improve conditions in the principality. Georgios Konemenos (1850-1854) served as governor on behalf of Alexandros Kallimaches, that is, Vogorides' successor. Having previously served in the Ottoman Embassy in Athens, he set the foundations of the administration of the principality, for which he used the Greek kingdom as a model, a fact attributed to his Greek education, his networks in Athens and his acquaintance with the Greek administrative and legal systems. Ioannes Gkikas (1854-1858), who is mostly mentioned as a Romanian revolutionary in literature, focused on fighting lawlessness and on promoting education, and Miltiades Aristarches (1859-1866) on public works and infrastructure. Pavlos Mousouros (1866-1873), Konstantinos Photiades (1874-1879) and Konstantinos Adosides (1879-1885) continued Aristarches' work on infrastructure and paid attention to improving the Samian laws. Alexandros Karatheodore (1885-1894) ruled for a decade during which he promoted the industrialisation of the island. In particular, leather production saw a sharp increase in his time.[398]

[398] Λάνδρος. *ibid*, pp. 99-186, esp. pp. 178-183. For Ioannes Gkikas, also see Μαρινέσκου, Φλορίν. «Ο Ιωάννης Γκίκας ως Κυβερνήτης της Νήσου Σάμου.» *Η Σάμος από τα Βυζαντινά Χρόνια Μέχρι Σήμερα*. (conference proceedings), vol. II, Πνευματικό Ίδρυμα Σάμου «Νικόλαος Δημητρίου», Αθήνα, 1998. Vakirtzes provides information in particular for the memories Vogorides left on the island. He defines Vogorides as «the worst kind of a tyrant» (*ο χειρότερος τύπος των τυράννων*) and adds that "this period that was associated with Vogorides' name left on the following Samian generations inescapable memories" (*Η περίοδος αυτή που συνεδέθη με το όνομα του Βογορίδου αφήκεν εις τας μεταγενεστέρας γενεάς των Σαμίων επάρατον μνήμην*). In Βακιρτζής. *op.cit.*, pp. 174 & 175 respectively.

A new political reality characterised the final years of the principality and delimitated the work of the princes. Those princes who ruled in the late 19th and in the 20th centuries[399] were no longer an unrivalled source of power. As seen, the law of 1899 regarding the election of the general assembly created new dynamics that brought about the formation of local political groups that competed for power. The princes became involved in those power struggles by favouring one or another of these groups. Moreover, those years saw a rise of nationalism in the Ottoman lands, and the retreat of the empire from the Balkans and the Middle East/North Africa. This further complicated a prince's role, with Prince Andreas Kopases paying with his life the spill-over of nationalist violence from the Balkans to the island in 1912. Prince Kopases' assassination marked the end of the principality with his successor Gregorios Vegleres executing his duties in no substantial manner and for a few months only.[400]

Overall, with the Principality of Samos, the islanders were introduced to local autonomy that was to last for 80 years. In those years, power concentrated in the hands of the prince became gradually diffused and, as a result, in the early 20th century local political leaders, around whom political groups were crystallised, could challenge his role. Many princes/governors left an imprint on the history of the island and so did a few local politicians. An administration was created largely on the model of the Greek kingdom and

[399] These were Georgios Verovits (1895-1896), Stefanos Mousouros (1896-1899), Konstantinos Vagiannes (1899-1900); Michael Gregoriades (1900-1902); Alexandros Mavrogenes (1902-1904); Ioannes Vithynos (1904-1906); Konstantinos Karatheodore (1906-1907); Georgios Georgiades (1907); D. Mavrogordatos (governor for a few days in December 1907); Andreas Kopases (1907-1912); and Gregorios Vegleres (1912). In Λάνδρος. *ibid*, pp. 181-182.

[400] Λάνδρος. *ibid*, pp. 178-183. For more information on Andreas Kopases' assassination and a not particularly flattering obituary, see Βακιρτζής. *op.cit.*, pp. 523-525.

expanded with time. In the course of the 19th century, the Samian society became less agrarian, and a bourgeois stratum was formed as the economy was diversified and the first industries appeared on the island. The cultural and intellectual bonds with Greece were expressed and reinforced in various ways, including through education and publications. Archaeology on the island developed in this context.

The archaeological policies of the Principality of Samos

Samos was an island where antiquities abounded and, like many other parts of the Ottoman Empire, from early on, attracted the interest of European travelers.[401] Significantly, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, its temple of Hera, the Heraion, granted it a distinct popularity. It would not take too long after its establishment for the principality to introduce a system for the administration of antiquities that it would subsequently develop. No single declaration or other text survives that could be considered a policy document. However, the archaeological policies of the principality can be traced between the lines of its administrative documents and, above all, codified in its archaeological laws.

In 1853, the principality came close to acknowledging by law the existence and importance of antiquities on its soil. In his book, French archaeologist Victor Guérin speaks of an initiative by Governor Georgios Konemenos, who, at the instigation of the former, suggested to the general assembly the adoption of a law stipulating the expropriation of the site of the

[401] "Samos." *Travelogues.* eng.travelogues.gr/page.php?view=45. Accessed 31 May 2015.

Heraion. Guérin also mentions the support of the president of the assembly to this idea. Although Konemenos' summoning to the Ottoman capital cancelled all plans,[402] this introduction of antiquities to public debate and to the sphere of public law appears to have paved the way for the adoption of a more comprehensive law two years later.

On 29 April 1855, Governor Ioannes Gkikas, a man with a personal interest in archaeology,[403] signed the first "law regarding the preservation of the remnants of antiquity".[404] This law delineated a regime regarding archaeology in the principality based on the need to respect antiquity and protect its vestiges from ignorance, lack of interest and neglect that, as noted in its introduction, had caused extensive loss.

The main body of the law dealt with the issues of ownership of antiquities (articles 1-3) and their exports (article 4), trade in antiquities (article 5), their protection (article 6), and excavations (articles 7-8), and provided a definition of antiquities (articles 9-10). Irrespective of their location on the ground, underground, in the sea or elsewhere, the law acknowledged all antiquities as public property for being works of the ancestors of the Samians (articles 1-2). However, it gave room to private ownership by stipulating that those antiquities discovered in private land either by chance or as a result of an excavation would be shared equally between the principality and the landowner (article 3). The principality recognised for itself preferential

[402] Guérin, Victor. *Description des iles de Patmos et de Samos*. Auguste Durand, Libraire, Paris, 1856, pp. 321-322. solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/OXVU1:LSCOP_OX:oxfaleph014764579. Accessed 15 Feb. 2017.

[403] BOA.HR.TO(484/19), dated 7.03.1857.

[404] *Διάταξις ΜΒ', Νόμος περί διατηρήσεως των λειψάνων της Αρχαιότητος*, *29.04.1855*. In GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1855, 2/2συν(α).

treatment, that is, priority over other bidders, in case of sales of such discoveries. Those who discovered old coins were granted full ownership. Also, the law banned all exports of antiquities found on Samos in the absence of official permission, and provided for punishment in case of illegal exports according to the Penal Code (article 4).

Compared to exports, the limitations in the sale of antiquities were less severe with the principality openly sanctioning a local market for them. The sale of antiquities found in private lands was free within Samos as long as the finds were not exported and remained in the principality. For such a sale to be completely legal, the mayor had to be informed (article 5).

Also the law introduced the idea of preservation. Landowners were prohibited from causing damage to ancient monuments found in their lands, from removing slabs and reusing artefacts, such as sarcophagi, tombs, etc., if this posed a risk of harming or damaging them. Violation of this article could result in pecuniary punishment between 25 and 100 *kuruş* and a request for compensation.

Official permission was required for any excavation including in one's own land. The law foresaw punishment between 100 and 300 *kuruş* and the confiscation of finds in the case of unauthorised excavations (article 7). Permission could be given to the landowner and to third persons provided that they had acquired the consent of the landowner (article 8).

The law delineated its subject by providing a definition of antiquities. Next to the works of sculpture and architecture, all carved marble slabs and stones regardless of shape, vases, weapons, jewelry, metalwork and clay

pots as well as all kinds of inscriptions (article 9) fell within the definition of an ancient artefact and, thus, were worthy of protection according to this law. Significantly, the law covered works of art from the Middle Ages as well (article 10).

Overall, this law introduced the first regime for the administration of antiquities in written form in the principality, and replaced what appears to have been *ad hoc* administrative practices.[405] A rather vague notion of respect for antiquity, and an acknowledgement of loss and destruction due to ignorance and neglect were the expressed reasons behind this law. To these, the lawmakers added the wish of the principality to acquire a historical depth, to link its status to an ancestry and endow itself with a past. Arguably, article 1 of the law best reflects this by ascribing ownership of the antiquities found on Samos collectively to the people of Samos, on the grounds that these were works of their ancestors. The ban on exports further reinforces this point.

In spite of its significance, this law was, in some respects, incomplete. One notices a striking imbalance between the responsibilities and prohibitions that concern the individual on the one hand and the role that the principality reserved for itself on the other hand. The law focused almost exclusively on the individual for whom it created prohibitions without discussing the corresponding responsibilities of the principality to monitor and control, that is, to enforce the law, let alone the responsibility of the authorities to protect antiquities in a pro-active manner. For example, the law imposed certain limitations to the activities of individuals, as in the case of excavations, sales

[405] Guérin. *op.cit.*, pp. 305-324, describes his excavations on the island in Governor Konemenos' years.

and exports of artefacts, and linked those to pecuniary sanctions and the Penal Code. Implied in these limitations and sanctions was the responsibility of the principality to monitor respect for the law and impose the sanctions when required. However, except for the obligation to inform the mayor in case of sales, the law did not mention the processes for its enforcement, nor did it designate the administrative offices that would be in charge. It appears as though the role of the principality was secondary and the important element was to delimitate the activities of the individual. It follows that this regime excluded the idea of a principality that would pro-actively protect its antiquities, as would have been the case with the establishment of a museum or the creation of new positions in the administration, as seen in Greece[406] and, to a lesser extent in those years, the Ottoman state.[407]

The way that this law commodified antiquities created a potential inconsistency with the need to protect ancient artefacts. Whereas on the one hand it envisaged the protection of antiquities from ignorance, neglect, harm and destruction, and created numerous prohibitions in this respect, it failed to institute a proper system for their protection while in private hands. Albeit indirectly, the law acknowledged the remains of antiquity as a commodity, sanctioned a market for them limited to the island and, authorised the mayor, that is, a representative of the principality, to act as the overseer of that market. Even though the inclusion of such a clause in the Samian law may reveal a pragmatist approach for an island where ancient artefacts abounded

[406] Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος, Γενική Εφορεία των Αρχαιοτήτων. "Νόμος περί των επιστημονικών και τεχνολογικών συλλογών, περί ανακαλύψεως και διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων και της χρήσεως αυτών.", *op.cit*. Also, Κόκκου. *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 27-116.

[407] For the Ottoman regime in antiquities in those years and the creation of the collection in Hagia Eirene, see Koçak. *op.cit.* pp. 21-46, and Shaw. *op.cit*., pp. 46-53.

and a market for antiquities already existed,[408] the law did not create checks and balances that would specifically refer to the protection of items found in private collections. Thus, for example, the 1855 law stipulated that the mayor would be informed only as far as ownership was concerned and did not acknowledge him a right to inspect the item.

The 1855 Samian law on antiquities was largely based on the "law on the scientific and technological collections, on the discovery and preservation of antiquities and their use", which the Greek kingdom had adopted 21 years earlier, in 1834.[409] The latter consisted of three parts and a total of 114 articles and, as its title reveals, dealt with antiquities as well as other topics. Part 3 dealt specifically with antiquities in 51 articles. The Samian law was either an almost verbatim repetition or a summary of selected articles of this law.[410]

In spite of their striking resemblance, the two laws are different in a few important ways. First, their aims set them apart. Although the Greek law made no explicit reference to the reasons behind its promulgation, the literature has widely discussed the efforts of the Greek state to mould its identity through an

[408] Numerous documents in the Samos branch of the General State Archives point to the existence of such a market. By means of illustration, see GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1862, 2, 3 & 4/συνα, dated 21.04.1862, 20.05.1862 and 21/5/1862 respectively. Also, Κρητικίδης. *op.cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[409] «Νόμος περί των επιστημονικών και τεχνολογικών συλλογών, περί ανακαλύψεως και διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων και της χρήσεως αυτών.» *op.cit.*. Kokkou. *op.cit*, p. 72 argues that this was based on an Italian law regarding the antiquities of Rome. Also, Voudouri, Daphne. "Law and the Politics of the Past: Legal Protection of Cultural Heritage in Greece." *International Journal of Cultural Property*. vol. 17, 2010, p. 549. Kalpaxes. *op.cit*., p. 30, is arguably the first one to mention the use of the Greek law as a model for the Samian law without elaborating further.

[410] In particular, article 1 of the Samian law corresponds to article 61 of the Greek law; article 2 to article 62; article 3 to article 64; article 4 to article 76; article 5 to article 78; article 6 to articles 84-85; article 7 to article 100; article 8 to article 103; and articles 9 and 10 to articles 110 and 111 respectively.

"appropriation" of the symbols of Greek antiquity.[411] More importantly, a careful reading of the Greek law reveals a concerted effort to state-building and the creation of an administrative apparatus that would effectively monitor and control activities related to the remains of the past, while at the same time taking the initiative for their protection. The law established new administrative positions, such as that of the *ephor*, and new institutions, such as councils, which would be in charge of the administration of antiquities. A hierarchy was created within the public administration and punishments were extended, beyond the transgressor of the law, to those public servants who failed to carry out their duties. As discussed above, the Samian law too aimed at endowing the principality with historical depth at least on paper, but, unlike the Greek law, did not focus on building its administration let alone on creating an obligation to protect that would bind it. Rather it focused on delimitating the activities of individuals by setting prohibitions and obligations for them. When the Greek law entered into force in June 1834, the Greek kingdom was in its infancy. When the Samian law was voted in the general assembly in 1855 the principality already counted 21 years of existence. Although Vogorides' rule (1834-1849) had offered little in terms of establishing an administration, Konemenos' governorship (1850-1854) had set the foundations of a functioning principality. Arguably, this first law on antiquities shows how far the principality wished to go in terms of building its administration at that time. It aspired to protect the antiquities on its soil but put the burden of it not on itself but the individual, be they Samians or foreigners.

[411] Voudouri. *op.cit.*, pp. 547-551.

Also, when compared to the Greek law, the Samian law illustrates the importance that words occasionally carry, and hints at sensitivities and limitations related to the Samian statehood. In particular, a word-to-word comparison between the articles of the Samian law and their corresponding articles in the Greek law shows that specific words were intentionally avoided. One such word was the term 'national' (εθνικός). The same holds true for the term 'Greek' (Έλλην or ελληνικός), which was used interchangeably with the term 'national' in the Greek text. Whenever one of these words appeared in the Greek text, in the Samian text it would be replaced by neutral words, such as 'Samian' and 'public'. For example, in article 1 of the Samian law the phrase 'public ownership' has replaced the phrase 'national possession of all the Greeks in general' (article 61). Similarly, the phrase 'national land' (εθνικής γης) in article 62 of the Greek law was replaced by the term 'soil' (εδάφους) in the Samian text (article 2). The term 'state' (Κράτος) of the Greek law was also replaced by the term 'public', as in the case of article 2 where 'state ownership' becomes 'public ownership'. The word 'Territory' (Επικράτεια) was one more term that the Samian law avoided. Thus, article 4 speaks of exports from "the Island" instead of "the Territory" (article 76) and article 5 speaks of trade 'within Samos' instead of trade 'in the Territory', as in the Greek law (article 78). The Samian text would replace one more word, 'Government' (Κυβέρνησις) with 'Administration' (Διοίκησις). Thus, in Samos one needed permission from the administration in order to export an ancient artefact (article 4) whereas in the Greek state permission by the government was required (article 76).

These lexicological differences fall within a broader pattern that relates to the political nature of the principality and its ties with the Ottoman state. As Marinos Sariyiannis has shown, the 1832 charter that granted autonomy to the Samians and other fundamental or "constitutional" texts of the principality reveal an attempt by the Sublime Porte to play down the autonomous character of Samos through the use of a language that is reminiscent more of local administration rather than statehood.[412] The same holds true for the law on antiquities. The terms that the Samian law on antiquities consistently avoids are the three main elements of a state and, in particular, the modern nation-state, namely nation, territory and government. Certainly, the law on antiquities could not altogether dismiss these. To the extent that the principality had to exert effective control over an island and its inhabitants, the law had to find a way to refer to these elements. However, the choice of words highlights the predicament of the lawmakers.

Kalpaxes, who has dealt extensively with the politics of archaeology in the Principality of Samos and has argued that Gkikas had intended to reverse Governor Konemenos' use of Greek laws as models for the principality, has tentatively suggested that, even though the law on antiquities was promulgated during Gkikas' governorship and bears his signature, it was possibly adopted at the initiative of the general assembly.[413] Indeed, introduced to the concept of archaeological legislation by Governor Konemenos, the general assembly could have been behind the promulgation of this law, all the more so because it was based on Greek legislation in

[412] Σαρηγιάννης, Μαρίνος. *op.cit.*, pp. 187-211.

[413] Kalpaxes. *op.cit*., p. 30.

Governor Konemenos' fashion. Yet, Gkikas was far from impervious to the importance of archaeology, and, significantly, had a personal interest in it. Extensive research in the archive of the principality has been of hardly any help with shedding light on the person or institution behind this law. Yet, no matter who should be credited with its promulgation, the 1855 law for the preservation of the remains of antiquity set the foundations for a protective system regarding antiquities on the island, which subsequent laws and decrees would further develop.

Ioannes Gkikas has been associated with the second legal text on Samian archaeology as well, albeit in an unexpected way. A surviving document from 1859 claims that "[f]ormer Hegemon I. Gkikas annulled the law that he had ratified, and, by violating what he should have respected and ensured is respected by everyone, deprived our Homeland from all antiquities discovered during his rule."[414]

Indeed, when his tenure came to an end, Gkikas exported a number of antiquities from the island to Moldavia and Wallachia. The initial reaction of the islanders was to attempt to recover them. They dispatched a delegation to the Sublime Porte and managed to recuperate two headless statues, one of the god Bacchus and one of the goddess Artemis. Because they had failed to get hold of the rest, including the heads of the two statues, "and especially a bronze horse, which had been found in an ancient tomb during the road works

[414] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (3α), 4.06.1859: *[...] ο πρώην Ηγεμών Ι. Γκίκας ακυρώσας τον Νόμον ον επεκύρωσεν, και καταπατήσας όσα έπρεπε να σεβασθή και να κάμη σεβαστά εις όλους αφήρεσεν από την Πατρίδα μας πάσας τας επί των ημερών του ανακαλυφθείσας αρχαιότητας.*

in Vathy in the direction of Mesokampos,"[415] they kindly drew the attention of the new governor to this subject and requested him "to act insistently".[416]

In addition to these restorative activities, the general assembly attempted to enhance the protective regime for antiquities so as to prevent further loss, by completely banning the export of antiquities and creating a museum. It unanimously decided that "antiquities discovered on Samos cannot be exported no matter what the excuse,"[417] and defined the punishments for the violation of this clause. The transgressor faced imprisonment from six months up to one year or pecuniary punishment of 500 to 1.000 *kuruş*. Significantly, transgressors would also be deprived of their political rights for five to ten years. In a move that highlighted a perceived greater risk of export when antiquities were in the hands of foreigners, the general assembly took the unanimous decision to ban the sale of antiquities to foreigners, that is, all non-Samian citizens (*πάντα μη υπήκοον Σάμιον*), and to punish transgressors as above.[418]

This modification to the 1855 law was officially adopted on 12 August 1859 by a law that amended articles 4 and 5.[419] The fact that the new law was instigated by Gkikas' export of antiquities is clear in the decision of the

[415] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (3α), 4.06.1859: *[...] και ιδίως εν χάλκινον άλογον όπερ ευρέθη εις αρχαίον μνήμα εις την οδοποιΐαν Βαθέος κατά τον Μεσόκαμπον.*

[416] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (3α), 4.06.1859: *[...] ενεργήσει επιμόνως*.

[417] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (1α), 26.05.1859: *αρχαιότητες εντός της Σάμου ανευρεθήσαις δεν δύνανται υπό ουδεμία προφάσει να εξαχθώσι εκτός της Νήσου.*

[418] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (5νσ), 27.05.1859.

[419] *Διάταξις ΟΒ' Νόμος περί τροποποίησεως των άρ. 4 κ' 5 του περί διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων Νόμου*. In GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (5νστ), 12.08.1859.

general assembly, which argued in favour of the changes "[…] because the Law on the preservation of antiquities forgives their export from Samos with permission from the Administration and this may result in a violation of this clause as happened with the former Hegemon Ioan. Gkikas […]".[420]

The new law followed the 1855 law, which created obligations for and limitations on the individual without discussing how the authorities would effectively monitor and enforce these. The punishments it introduced and, above all, the deprivation of one's political rights, were severe. The room that the 1855 law afforded for exporting antiquities was lost. Still, instead of improving the capacity of the law enforcing bodies, the general assembly opted for greater deterrence through increased sanctions, in what appears to have been an evasion on the side of the authorities of their inability to effectively implement the law.

Besides the restorative acts and the complete ban on exports, the general assembly decided to establish a museum. This introduced a new element in the archaeological regime of Samos by making the principality directly responsible for safeguarding antiquities. For this, an entirely new law was promulgated on 20 August 1859, a few days after the law amending articles 4 and 5.[421] It referred to the establishment of the museum and its location in Chora. Also, it mentioned the kind of antiquities that would be deposited in this museum: the ones in the possession of the principality at that

[420] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (1α), 26.05.1859: *[...] επειδή ο περί διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων Νόμος συγχωρεί να εξέρχωνται της Σάμου αρχαιότητες τη αδεία της Διοικήσεως και εκ τούτου δύναται να γίνει παραβίασης της τελευταίας ταύτης διατάξεως ως εγένετο υπό του πρώην Ηγεμόνος Ιωαν. Γκίκα [...].*

[421] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (1α), 26.05.1859.

time; those to be found and acquired by the authorities in the future; and the antiquities from outside of Samos to be found and acquired by the principality (article 1). It mentioned that all antiquities on the island not owned by an individual would be collected and transferred to the museum (article 2). Significantly, it created an obligation to inform. Whoever found out about the existence of an ancient artefact had to inform the mayor and, in turn, the mayor was obliged to inform the administration of the principality, so as to transfer the artefact to the museum (article 3). Also, this law introduced an obligation for individuals with antiquities in their possession to transfer them to their houses or other safe places or hand them over to the authorities for depositing in the museum (article 4), and described in a rather detailed manner the inventory that the authorities should keep for all antiquities in the museum (article 5). The creation of the honorary post of a museum guardian is of special interest. Only one of the most respected and educated Samians could hold this position, for which he was required to deposit 10.000 ***kuruş*** (articles 6-7). In addition, the museum would be open to visitors and its guardian would be responsible for guiding them through the exhibits (article 8).[422]

It is hard to trace the text that may have acted as a model for this law. The first Ottoman law on antiquities was promulgated a decade later, in 1869,[423] while the study of Ottoman administrative documents on

[422] «Νόμος της 20 Αυγούστου 1859 – Σύστασις Μουσείου των Αρχαιοτήτων.» *Σαμιακή Νομοθεσία*. edited by Σωκράτης Ιωαννίδης and Μιλτιάδης Γάγκος, Εκ του Ηγεμονικού Τυπογραφείου, Εν Σάμω, 1875, pp. 54-55. The law can also be found in GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1859, (4), 20.08.1859 but the manuscript is illegible. The analysis above has made use of the law as it was published in *Σαμιακή Νομοθεσία*.

[423] For the first Ottoman regulation on antiquities, see ch. II, pp. 100-109.

archaeological matters provides no evidence of an Ottoman influence on the Samian museum policy, except perhaps for the practice of dispatching antiquities from the provinces to the Museum in Hagia Eirene.[424] The 1834 Greek law on antiquities, seen before, and the Greek law "on an Archaeological Museum" that was adopted in 1840[425] contained provisions that could be loosely linked to the Samian law. However, unlike the 1855 law, which was to a large extent a verbatim or summary repetition of the 1834 Greek law, this one could have only vaguely drawn on its Greek predecessors. With the content of the provisions in the Greek laws on the one hand and those of the Samian law on the other hand differing considerably, the Greek laws, at best, served for setting themes in the Samian law, such as introducing the obligation to inform (article 65 in the 1834 Greek law), creating a collection inventory (articles 16-17 in the 1834 Greek law), collecting antiquities and depositing them in a museum (article 8 in the 1834 Greek law and 1840 Greek law), establishing the position of the museum guardian (articles 20-21 in the 1834 Greek law and the 1840 Greek law) or opening up the museum to the public (article 18 in the 1834 Greek law). Irrespective of the links between these laws, Greek legislation fell within the broader structure of the regime for the protection of antiquities that was established in the Greek kingdom, whereas the details of the Samian law served the needs of a much smaller administration. This might explain the selective loans, and it points to the agency of the principality when it came to regulating archaeological matters.

[424] For the Ottoman Museum, see ch. II, pp. 89-192.

[425] «Περί Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου (13.05.1840).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων*. *op.cit*., pp. 33-34.

The law on the establishment of an archaeological museum was a step forward compared to the 1855 law. It introduced an obligation to inform about archaeological finds, and upgraded the obligation of possessors of antiquities to safeguard them. More importantly, it acknowledged and focused on the obligation of the principality to protect the remains of antiquity by collecting and keeping them in a museum and cataloguing them. For this, it even created a new position, that of a guardian for the museum, practically a director, and stipulated that it should be filled by a highly educated Samian. The categories of antiquities envisaged to be collected and, in particular, the reference to antiquities from outside the island deserve particular attention as they reflect a vision that, at that time, appeared strangely out of proportion with the small Aegean principality.

In spite of this step forward, this law lacked one basic element, namely, the finances for its proper implementation. For a long time after its adoption, the museum remained little more than a dead letter, and the antiquities collection of the principality was kept in inappropriate places.[426] By establishing a non-paid position for the museum guardian while requesting a warranty for it (article 6), the law defeated its own purpose. Significantly, the 10.000 ***kuruş*** of the warranty almost amounted to the monthly salary of the prince,[427] a sum that few would be able, and hardly anyone willing, to pay on Samos.

[426] Στεργιογλίδης, Αριστομένης. «Υπόμνημα υποβληθέν τη Αυτού Υψηλότητι τω Ηγεμόνι υπό του Επόπτου της παιδείας.» *Ευνομία*, 27.11.1897. The actual report had been drafted and submitted to the prince a year earlier, on 1.11.1896.

[427] Kalpaxes. *op.cit.* introduces this comparison on p. 34.

By the end of the 1850s, the principality had endowed itself with a law on the preservation of antiquities and another one that established a museum, at least, on paper. These discussed broad regulatory issues for archaeology on the island, and, with the exception of the much more limited in scope laws authorising excavations, for the next twenty years, were the laws that the principality set out to implement. The few records found in the archive of the principality document the efforts of the authorities to enforce the obligation to inform about finds, limited though these seem to have been in their success as they were met with resistance by the locals. Other archival documents reveal the efforts of the principality to contain the recycling of antiquities as construction material and, thus, promote their protection, and to tackle illicit traffic and exports.[428] Significantly, in 1862 and 1863, the principality attempted to excavate in the Heraion and fence off the site with a view to protecting its antiquities from damage. No matter how illustrative of the wishes of the principality to protect the major archaeological site on the island this may be, it appears to have been inconclusive.[429] The petition of Manouel Leventakes, a villager from Marathokampos, who, in June 1878, kindly requested permission to cultivate his plot of land, where traces of antiquities

[428] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1860, (1), 19 [date illegible] March 1860; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1861, (1), 13.6.1861; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1862, (2), 21.4.1862; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1869, (1/1συν(α-γ)), various dates in February 1869; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1871, (no code), 23/7/1864; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1874, (1/1συνα), February and March 1874; *Agreement between the Samian Parliament and French archaeologist Paul Gerard for the excavation in the area of Ireos*, 9/21 July 1879, *op.cit*.

[429] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1862, (5/5 συνα), 26.9.1862; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1863, (2/2 συν(α-β)), various dates in November 1863.

were visible, is unique of its kind and of special interest for openly acknowledging the law on antiquities.[430]

Twenty years after the adoption of the law for establishing a museum, the principality made one more attempt to develop and codify its archaeological policy. On 19 September 1879, Prince Konstantinos Adosides signed a decree that dealt with the obligation to inform and the obligation not to cause harm or destruction to antiquities. As with the 1859 laws, this decree amended the 1855 law. Its promulgation reveals an increased awareness regarding the destruction of antiquities, which the decree views as an expression of disrespect to the ancient past and the laws of the principality, and as a factor that undermined the sciences and the reputation of the principality, as one reads in its preamble. This decree consisted of 3 articles. It expanded the prohibition on causing harm or destruction to the remains of the past to everybody (article 1), instead of only the landowners as in article 6 of the 1855 law. It made more severe the punishment linked to instances of harm and destruction of antiquities compared to the 1855 law. Thus, the pecuniary punishment was increased to 500 *kuruş* to be paid to the authorities and compensation was replaced by imprisonment for one month (article 2). Finally, it extended the aforementioned punishment to the mayors, police officers and *politarches,* if they failed to inform the prince of its violation (article 3).[431]

[430] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1878, (2), 29.06.1878.

[431] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1879, (5), 19.09.1879.

In many respects, this law is reminiscent of the Greek policy developed in the previous twenty years. Although it would not follow this in its focus on measures that were not punitive in nature, but aimed at engaging an increasing number of authorities with a view to safeguarding antiquities, or aimed at reminding authorities of their duties in this respect,[432] its clear preoccupation with improving protection emulated the Greek model. More specifically, the extension of punishment to the local authorities that one sees in the Samian law appears to build on the Greek law of 1834 (article 90). On the other hand, with its stipulations for pecuniary punishment and imprisonment in cases of damage inflicted upon antiquities or demolition (article 35), the Ottoman regulation of 1874 may have also served as a model.

A few months later, on 22 February 1880, law no. 125 replaced this decree. Both signed by Prince Adosides, the decree and the law were practically the same text with two differences. The introductory section of the decree was replaced by a procedural note, thus, removing the justification for the promulgation of the law. More importantly, the law made the punishments for its violation more severe. Those responsible for causing harm or destruction to an antiquity would pay a fine of 1.000 ***kuruş*** and be imprisoned

[432] «Εγκύκλιος Περί Επιτηρήσεως των Αρχαιοτήτων (14.10.1863).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων,* op.cit., pp. 46-48; «Εγκύκλιος Περί Απαγορεύσεως Ανασκαφών και Ανευρέσεως Αρχαιοτήτων (22.12.1865 and 27.12.1865).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*, ibid, p. 51; «Εγκύκλιος Περί Προφυλάξεως των Αρχαιοτήτων (20.06.1866).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων, op.cit.*, pp. 54-55; «Περί Εκποιήσεως Αρχαιοτήτων (8.02.1871).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων, op.cit.*, pp. 57-58; «Εγκύκλιος Περί Επιτηρήσεως των Αρχαιοτήτων υπό των Καθηγητών και Διδασκάλων (20.06.1874).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων, op.cit.*, pp. 60-61.

for 6 months. By default, this was extended to the mayors, police officers and *politarches,* if they failed to inform the prince of a violation of the law.[433]

This law confirms the greater sensitivity that the principality had developed with regards to protecting the remains of antiquity. Although already the first law on antiquities (1855) prohibited their destruction and stipulated the punishment of transgressors, for more than two decades, these stipulations saw no systematic implementation. Significantly, the law of 1880, and before it the decree of 1879, came as a response to cases of destruction and reflected a new policy *vis-à-vis* such instances. The following example from the archive of the principality illustrates this well. In 1861, when builders, eager to find stones ready for use, pulled down sections of the ancient walls of Samos, Governor Miltiades Aristarches ordered them to rebuild the ancient fortifications with the use of the same stones that they had extracted from them.[434] In no case was this the kind of punishment stipulated in the law, which put forth pecuniary sanctions and imprisonment. However, in 1878, that is a year before the decree in question was drafted, Prince Konstantinos Photiades made specific use of the term "sanctions" when informed about a Samian who made use of stones from the acropolis of Samos in building a stone wall around his plot of land.[435] It appears that towards the end of the 1870s the principality, alarmed at the destruction of antiquities, considered the punishment in the law inadequate and wished to increase its severity mostly

[433] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1880, (1&2συν(α-γ)), January and February 1880.

[434] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1861, (1), 13.06.1861.

[435] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1878, (1), 14.03.1878. In particular the phrase, "*θέλει υποστή* ***ποινάς***" (emphasis added).

as a way to prevent destruction. The fact that the punishment in the law was made more severe than the punishment in the decree reinforces this view.

Two more acts of law that relate to archaeology bear Prince Adosides' signature. The first one was the law on the preservation of antiquities, which was adopted on 1 August 1883. In its first article, the law drastically changed the regime concerning private ownership by stipulating that "the statues and other antiquities discovered by individuals will be considered from now on public property and the individuals will be compensated according to the expenses incurred for the excavation having no other right."[436] The second and final article reiterated the punishments already in place for harming or removing antiquities, and brought the punishment for the export of antiquities, which in the 1855 law had been linked to the Penal Code, in line with these.[437]

Explicit references in the new law to the laws of 1855 and 1879 show that this was an attempt at improving the regime for the administration of antiquities, first introduced twenty-eight years earlier. However, the specific reasons behind its adoption remain unclear. Was it one or more events that sparked this modification? Or was it changes in archaeological legislation elsewhere, which Samos felt the need to follow? The stipulation, which recognised finds by individuals as public property, is reminiscent of the Ottoman law of 1874, which acknowledged full state property for all finds. Significantly, though, the Samian law did not follow the Ottoman regulation in

[436] «[...] τα ανακαλυπτόμενα παρ' ιδιωτών αγάλματα και λοιπαί αρχαιότητες να θεωρώνται του λοιπού ιδιοκτησία του Δημοσίου, εις δε τους ιδιώτας να χορηγήται ανάλογος αποζημίωσις ένεκα της δαπάνης της γενομένης ανασκαφής άνευ άλλου τινός δικαιώματος.» In «Νόμος της 1ης Αυγούστου 1883 Περί Διατηρήσεως Αρχαιοτήτων.» Kalpaxes. *op.cit*., p. 128.

[437] «Νόμος της 1ης Αυγούστου 1883 Περί Διατηρήσεως Αρχαιοτήτων.» Kalpaxes. *ibid*, p. 128.

allowing private ownership of finds made in the context of authorised excavations (article 3).[438]

Also, Adosides was behind a decree concerning the appointment of an ephor of antiquities (*έφορος αρχαιοτήτων*) dated 3 April 1884. Epameinondas Stamatiades, schools' inspector at that time, was the first Samian to hold this position. Behind his appointment seems to have been the construction of the bell tower of a church with the use of ancient slabs from Tegani.[439] Already before his appointment as ephor of antiquities, Stamatiades had written in a report to the prince:

> "Because they intend to transfer those stones to Mytileni to use them in the repair of the church of Hagios Demetrios there and, thus, this remnant of Antiquity will be destroyed against the provisions of the law on antiquities, I am reporting these [pieces of information] to Your Excellency to order the blocking of this transfer of the stones".[440]

That the Hagios Demetrios case was at the core of this development can also be seen by the fact that, two days after his appointment, on 5 April 1884, Stamatiades' first duty as ephor of antiquities was to report on this case.[441]

This decree introduced the first administrative position regarding archaeology following the abortive attempt to establish a post for a museum guardian twenty-five years earlier. This appointment points to a pattern seen

[438] For the text of the regulation in Ottoman Turkish, see "Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmesi." *Düstür*, *op.cit*., pp. 426-432, esp. p. 426 for article 3. For the text of the regulation in French, see Aristarchi Bey. *op.cit.*, pp. 162-167, esp. p. 162 for article 3.

[439] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1884, (2-5συνα) and (8/8συνα), various dates from January to June 1884.

[440] «Επειδή δε τους λίθους τούτους προτίθενται να μεταφέρωσιν εις Μυτιληνούς όπως χρησιμοποιήσωσιν αυτούς εις την επισκευήν του αυτόθι ναού του αγίου Δημητρίου, ούτω δε μέλλει να καταστραφή το λείψανον αυτό της αρχαιότητος , εναντίον των διατάξεων του περί αρχαιοτήτων νόμου, αναφέρω ταύτα τη υμετέρα υψηλότητι όπως ευαρεστουμένη διατάξη την παρεμπόδισιν της τοιαύτης μεταφοράς των λίθων». In GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1884, (3α), 29.02.1884.

[441] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1884, (5α), 5.04.1884.

before in the Greek kingdom, that is, to engage school professors/teachers as inspectors of antiquities.[442] However, unlike Greece where the work of teachers-turned-antiquities inspectors was complementary to a developed system of ephorates, on Samos, Stamatiades would have had to act on his own.

Overall, during Adosides' rule, the Samian regime for the administration of antiquities was amended and strengthened in a number of ways while being put to the test of pragmatism. With the creation of a new position, that of an ephor of antiquities, the principality took a concrete step towards establishing a bureaucracy linked to archaeology on the island. The law became stricter both in terms of punishments and the ownership of antiquities. On an island generously endowed with antiquities, and where new discoveries were made by the simple ploughing of one's plot of land,[443] the obligation to compensate individuals for their discoveries, which was introduced with the 1883 law, was expected to create incentives for the Samians to hand finds over to the authorities. In those years, however, poor finances remained the Achilles' heel of the Samian archaeological regime. The establishment of an archaeological museum remained little more than a declared goal. When Epameinondas Stamatiades, in his capacity as inspector of antiquities, requested the addition of a line in the budget for financing the museum and for paying the compensations for excavations that led to finds, the general assembly unanimously concluded that Samos could not afford this

[442] «Εγκύκλιος περί Επιτηρήσεως των Αρχαιοτήτων υπό των Καθηγητών και Διδασκάλων, Αρ. Πρωτ. 4639, 20.06.1874.» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων, op.cit.*, pp. 60-61.

[443] For example, GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1878, (2), 29.06.1878.

and opted for “things to remain as they are”.[444] With the same decision, they designated the reserve fund for emergency expenses (*κεφάλαιο των απροβλέπτων εξόδων*) as the source for compensating individuals for their discoveries. For the principality, archaeology remained an issue to be dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis and for which a regular investment of public money was not as yet justified. However, the aspirations of the principality had increased; next to a museum, the principality emphasised its wish to protect antiquities and introduced a complete ban on private ownership. In those years, the gap between the codification of policies in laws and their implementation on the ground remained a feature of the Samian archaeological regime.

Within almost thirty years, between 1855 and 1884, Samos adopted seven laws and decrees on archaeology, most of which amended the first law on the preservation of the remains of antiquity. These created a regime with multiple reference points which, in 1886, a draft law[445] attempted to codify and simplify into one act. Charged with this task was the attorney of the courts of second instance (*παρ’ εφέταις εισαγγελεύς*). On 10 August 1886, this draft law was adopted as Law no. 382 on antiquities[446] and, with its entry into force, annulled all previous acts (article 11).

The draft law initially consisted of 14 articles. In the text of the attorney, cross-outs, merges and additions handwritten by a reader, perhaps the prince, survive. Among the most crucial such alterations made to the original

[444] «[...] να μένωσι τα πράγματα ως έχοντα [...]». In GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince’s Office, 1/2 “Antiquities and Excavations”, 1884, (7/7συνα), 17.05.1884.

[445] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince’s Office, 1/2 “Antiquities and Excavations”, 1886, 2/2συνα, 23.07.1886.

[446] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince’s Office, 1/2 “Antiquities and Excavations”, 1887, (10).

text was the addition of ancient and medieval coins and antiquities found in the sea to the list of artefacts covered by the draft law (article 1). A reference to "a Museum" (*εν τινί Μουσείω*) was crossed out and replaced by the word "the archive of the Hegemony" (*τω αρχειοφυλακείω της Ηγεμονίας*) (article 2). Another addition described the tripartite committee that would be in charge of deciding about the compensation to be given to individuals who possessed antiquities (article 4).

The draft law thus amended and law no. 382 were identical in content.[447] The latter provided for the following: It presented the types of antiquities that the principality considered public property, namely all antiquities to be discovered, whether by chance or in the context of an excavation, on public or private land and in the sea, including ancient and medieval coins (article 1). It spoke of the obligation of the principality to collect all movable antiquities from throughout the island and deposit them in the archive of the principality (article 2). It discussed the obligation to inform about antiquities spotted (article 3), and the obligation of individuals who possessed antiquities to hand them over to be deposited in the archive of the principality, while describing the committee in charge of their "reasonable compensation" (*ευλόγω αποζημιώσει*) and the right of the authorities to remove ancient artefacts by force in case of non-compliance (article 4). The law banned all exports of antiquities, and set the punishment for violating this clause (article 5). Also, it prohibited any conduct that could cause harm or

[447] Articles 1-5 in the amended draft law corresponded to articles 1-5 of law no. 382. Article 6 of the final text was article 6 and 7 of the initial text. Similarly, articles 7 and 8 of the 1887 law corresponded to articles 8 and 9 of the draft law. Articles 10 and 12 of the draft law were merged in article 9 of law no. 382 and, finally, articles 10 and 11 of law no. 382 were articles 11 and 14 in the original text respectively.

destruction to the remains of antiquity, and set the punishment for such transgressions (article 6). It described the responsibility of the authorities in case of violation of articles 5 and 6 (article 7), and dealt with the right to conduct an excavation for Samians and foreign archaeologists, which was conditioned upon official authorisation (articles 8-9). The law acknowledged a complete ownership right to the principality, and limited the rights of those carrying out excavations to copying and publishing their finds (article 10).

Law no. 382 was an important text because it codified in one legal act the regime for the administration of archaeology that until that time was to be found in numerous laws and decrees as well as in administrative practices. It updated certain provisions and added new ones that better reflected the needs of the principality in the 1880s. Law no. 382 explicitly incorporated ancient and medieval coins among the artefacts that belonged to the principality. This was a major difference to the 1855 law, which excluded them by recognizing that “coins of any kind, date and nationality […] belong to those who discover them” (article 3). Significantly, by explicitly incorporating coins into its definition of antiquities, law no. 382 streamlined the Samian regime with that of Greece (article 110 in the law of 1834) and the Ottoman Empire (article 1 in the law of 1884), while, more generally, the definition of antiquities in this law brings to mind the Greek law (articles 62 and 110) and Ottoman law (articles 1 and 3).

Moreover, this new law codified, for the first time, the administrative practice surrounding authorisation for excavations. For example, such an authorisation would have the form of a contract containing clauses on the ephorate (i.e. inspection) of the excavations and the labourers who would be

hired (article 9). The law acknowledged the principality as the sole owner of any artefact to be discovered, while granting the bearer of authorisation the right to copy the finds (by photographing them, making casts and moulds and copying their inscriptions) and to make relevant publications (article 10). For Samos, this system appears to be the culmination of experience gained in previous years with various excavations. For example, already in 1879 foreign archaeologists petitioned the prince to acquire permission to conduct excavations, and such permissions were granted in the form of a contract with provisions that, *inter alia*, referred to the ownership of all finds by the principality and the designation of an inspector.[448] Lists with the names of male and female workers survive from 1882 and 1884.[449] The name of a local inspector is mentioned in a document regarding an excavation undertaken by the French School at Athens in 1884.[450] In particular, the arrangement regarding the rights of excavators over finds appears to be in line with the Ottoman law of 1884 (article 12) and, to a lesser extent, a Greek royal decree of 1885 regarding the museum and the Acropolis (article 4).[451] The Ottoman law was less detailed than the Samian one. It made reference only to photographing and making casts or moulds but did not deal with inscriptions or the right to publication. Although limited to finds exhibited in museums, the

[448] See documents regarding the excavation at Heraion by Paul Girard and, in particular, GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1878, (3), 18.07.1878; *Agreement between the Samian Parliament and French archaeologist Paul Gerard for the excavation in the area of Ireos*. *op.cit.*; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1879, (4), 14.07.1879; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1880, (4α-β), January and February 1880;

[449] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1882, (2/2συνα – 5/5συνα), August to November 1882. Also, GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1884, (6/6συνα), 19.04.1884.

[450] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1884, (6/6συνα), 19.04.1884.

[451] «Διάταγμα περί διοργανισμού των εν Αθήναις Μουσείων (25.11.1885)». *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών, Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. *op.cit*. pp. 70-73.

Greek royal decree permitted copying inscriptions and publishing them free of charge. However, it stipulated that for photographing exhibits and making moulds or casts by stucco official permission by the government was required.

Arguably, the clause that allowed the authorities to remove antiquities with the use of force was based on administrative experience with resistance to confiscation. By means of illustration, in 1874, the mayor of Pagondas reported to the prince that a local had denied handing over two statues that he had discovered while cultivating his land, and which the prince had requested be sent to the capital.[452] A few years later, in 1880, the mayor of Chora resisted police authority when the police officer, upon the orders of the prince, attempted to get hold of a number of ancient statues in his possession for dispatching to the capital.[453]

The establishment of a committee that would decide about the compensations to be given to those handing over ancient artefacts added one more institution to the nascent administration of antiquities and strengthened its bureaucracy. Also, it confirmed the will of the principality to collect all Samian antiquities. Significantly, the 1883 law had also made reference to such compensations. Three years later, law no. 382 not only reiterated the provision of compensation but also linked this to a specific decision-making body.

Indeed, the establishment of this committee created new dynamics on the ground. In the following decade, Samians would contact the authorities

[452] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1874, (1/1συνα), 24.02.1874 and 7.03.1874.

[453] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1880, (5) to (7), various dates in June 1880.

with a view to handing over finds and collecting the money given as compensation.[454] The prospect of earning money carried a significant weight for these people, as exemplified in a petition by an islander who claimed to have discovered a statue. This Samian argued that he had given the statue to a relative so that he could let him know more about it without, however, ever getting it back. Thus, he requested the prince "to order the return of this statue to the principality and the payment to him [the petitioner] of the amount that the law stipulates".[455]

At the same time, law no. 382 reflected the limitations of the Samian archaeological regime. The reference to the museum, found in the initial draft, was replaced by one to the archive of the principality. This meant that antiquities would continue to be treated in the same way as the archives of the principality; stored away from public view and accessible only by a handful of civil servants. Similarly, even though compensating people for finds could be foreseen as a regular expense for the principality, this law failed to establish a permanent line for this in the budget. Thus, in spite of the important steps taken towards systematising and institutionalising the policy of the principality regarding antiquities, its finances remained an issue to be treated on an *ad hoc* basis.

[454] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1888, (6), 14.11.1888; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1888, (8), 16.12.1888; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1888, (9), 16.12.1888; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1890, (1), 29.05.1890; GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1891, (1-2/2συνα), various dates in March 1891.

[455] «όπως ευαρεστηθείσα διατάξη να επιστραφή το άγαλμα τούτο εις το Δημόσιον και δοθή εις εμέ η κατά τον Νόμον αμοιβή.» In GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1894, (3α), 3.10.1894. The same link between an offer and the compensation is clearly made in a series of documents that date from 1895: GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (9/συνα), various dates in October and November 1895.

Still, law no. 382 was a major point of reference with regards to archaeological matters in the decade to follow. In their petitions for authorisation to excavate, foreigners appeared to be aware of its stipulations.[456] Similarly, locals would contact the authorities for handing over finds and collecting the compensation and, in 1895, in response to the obligation of the principality to collect all antiquities from throughout the island, as enshrined in article 2 of this law, Prince Verovits established a committee.[457]

Ten years after law no. 382 was adopted, during Prince Stefanos Mousouros' rule, the principality looked again in depth at the issue of the administration of archaeology. On 1 November 1896, a draft law attempted to reshape the Samian regime on antiquities. Similarly to the 1886 draft law that was the work of a civil servant, an attorney, this one was put together by the Inspector of Education and Director of the Pythagoreion High school Aristomenes Stergioglides.[458] While building on the 1886 law, this draft law was a comprehensive attempt at regulating archaeology on the island and introduced a number of novelties.

It consisted of 22 articles arranged for the first time in thematic chapters, as in the case of the Ottoman and Greek legislations on antiquities in force at that time. The first chapter (articles 1-8) referred to the authorities responsible for the monitoring and preservation of antiquities on Samos

[456] See the petition by English archaeologist Theodor Bent in GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1886, (2ε), 5.03.1886; and that of Dr Johannes Böhlau in GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1894, (1), 3.09.1894.

[457] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (1), 7.02.1895.

[458] Στεργιογλίδης. *Ευνομία,* op.cit.

(article 1). The law provided a definition of antiquities, which, besides the artefacts mentioned in previous laws, acknowledged as antiquities the "movable and immovable monuments of Christian **and any other** [emphasis added] art from the early years of Christianity to 1830 AD"[459] as well as fossils and [other] paleontological finds (article 2). Also, it referred to the obligations individuals carried in case of chance finds on their lands (article 3) and forbade digging beyond 50 cm. in depth on lands where one could expect to find antiquities (article 4). Like previous laws, this draft law prohibited the destruction and harming of antiquities and added to this prohibition their repair and alteration. Significantly, it banned the operation of quarries and lime kilns in the vicinity of ancient buildings, and activities that could harm antiquities directly or indirectly (article 5). The text introduced for the first time the right of the principality to expropriate private properties, where antiquities were located, and described in detail the expropriation procedure (article 6). It dealt with the case of individuals who would object to handing ancient artefacts over to the principality (article 7) and described the obligations of individuals who discovered such artefacts regardless of location (article 8).

The second chapter (articles 9-13) regulated excavations. It dealt with the excavation permit (articles 9-10) and the right of the government to monitor and direct the excavations (article 11). Also, this chapter contained the obligation of the bearer of authorisation to declare all finds and provide the principality with their catalogue (article 12). Significantly, it introduced an

[459] «[...] κινητά και ακίνητα μνημεία χριστιανικής και πάσης άλλης τέχνης από των πρώτων χρόνων του χριστιανισμού μέχρι του 1830 μ.Χ.». Νομοσχέδιον περί Σαμιακών Αρχαιοτήτων (1η Νοεμβρίου 1896), in Στεργιογλίδης. *ibid*. Also, Kalpaxes. *op.cit*. p. 129.

entirely new clause by stipulating that monuments of a public nature, such as public roads, aqueducts, etc., would be expropriated (article 13).

The third chapter (articles 14-17) dealt with the obligation to inform about antiquities. It covered individuals for chance discoveries and individuals who owned or possessed antiquities (article 14). It dealt with informants, that is, those individuals who would provide information in cases of undeclared finds (article 15), and collectors and owners of individual items (articles 16-17).

The fourth chapter (articles 18-22) was a collection of miscellaneous provisions that either repeated stipulations seen before in the text or introduced new ones, which could however had been incorporated in other chapters. More particularly, it referred to the obligation of those individuals who came across or heard about the existence of antiquities in a place to inform the administration (article 18). It stated the obligation of individuals, who possessed antiquities, to hand them over to the principality (article 19), and reaffirmed the ban on the export of antiquities seen in previous laws (article 20). Also, it stipulated that those authorities that failed to declare a violation of the law on antiquities would be considered accomplices (article 21).

This draft law built on and expanded law no. 382 that had been adopted in 1886. Compared to the 1886 law, it largely refined the obligation to inform. Whereas in law no. 382 this obligation was confined to coming across or hearing about antiquities (article 3), the 1896 draft law defined this obligation in greater detail and for a larger number of articles by adding instances and types of individuals bound by it (articles 3 and 14-18). Also, it

placed emphasis on tackling the issue of non-declared finds by creating incentives for uncovering individuals who would fail to declare to the authorities antiquities possessed or discovered (article 15). In this way, not only did the possessors of non-declared antiquities run the risk of being identified by the authorities in the exercise of their duties but were aware that any of their compatriots had a reason to inform the authorities, if only to collect the money. Moreover, this draft law expanded the obligation of individuals to hand over to the principality antiquities in their possession. Thus, whereas only one article in law no. 382 (article 4) referred to this obligation before, this draft law created a variety of consequent obligations around this obligation in numerous articles (3, 8, 14-17 and 19). In spite of overlaps and repetitions, which could have been avoided and which the final text of the law would correct, this development reflects an attempt at regulating this topic in greater detail.

This enhancement of the obligation to inform and to hand over to the principality the antiquities in one's possession appears to have served primarily the idea of enriching the museum collections. Indeed, at that time, to a large extent thanks to Aristomenes Stergioglides, the author of this draft law, a new era was heralded for the museum. In 1895, the antiquities collection of the principality was transferred from the building of the archives to the Pythagoreion High School, of which Stergioglides was the director.[460] Although still not in a dedicated museum building, the principality had decided to take the remains of Samian antiquity from its administrative depot and hand them over to one of its pioneering institutions of education.

[460] Στεργιογλίδης. *ibid*.

At the same time, a campaign to enrich the museum collection was launched that aimed for antiquities from throughout the island and beyond. As seen, in 1895, the same year that the archaeological collection of the principality was transferred to the Pythagoreion High School, Prince Verovits had set up a committee with the purpose of collecting antiquities destined for the soon-to-be-opened museum.[461] Its members were carefully selected in what reflected a genuine interest in delivering results. Themistokles Sofoules was a Samian archaeologist and a leading politician, arguably the closest to a scientific archaeologist that the island possessed. The participation on this committee of the inspector of education was a reflection of a tradition that had started with the appointment of Epameinondas Stamatiades, then inspector of education, as ephor of antiquities in 1884. The inclusion of the Inspector of Agriculture and Forestry Aristoteles Mantafounes is harder to interpret but could relate to his access, due to his position, to lands throughout the island as well as fast access to information pertaining to these lands, including new discoveries made on them. Besides setting up this committee, the prince had ordered the mayors of the island to collect all antiquities within the area of their jurisdiction, and had provided detailed information on how to do so.[462] Stergioglides took this one step further by suggesting the designation of a number of honorary ephors of the museum from the main towns of the island. In his petition to the prince, he mentioned Aristoteles Stamatiades and Dionysios Luimark for the Port of Vathy, archaeologist Demetrios Konstas in Marathokampos, Odysseas Orologas in Tegani and the head (hegumen) of

[461] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (1), 7 February 1895.

[462] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (3), 19.04.1895.

the monastery of the Holy Cross, Theophanes.[463] Stergioglides' selection appears equally informed as he suggested individuals knowledgeable enough and with leverage that would enable them to contribute to guarding and collecting antiquities.

On a similar move, shortly before the inauguration of the museum, all ancient coins were transferred from the Treasury to the museum.[464]

Eliciting donations from Samians living on the island and abroad was one more way of enriching the museum collection. Stergioglides appears to have been the first one to donate his collection,[465] and his example was followed by numerous other Samians, whose names appeared in the official gazette and the local press in acknowledgment.[466] Significantly, inviting Samian expatriates to contribute resulted in the museum acquiring a heteroclite collection of exotic items from places as diverse as Australia and Vladivostok, Egypt, India and Japan, Zanzibar and South Africa.[467]

Above all, the international character of the museum collection was enhanced with the acquisition of 191 ancient Egyptian artefacts from the

[463] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (4), 20.04.1895. The information that Demetrios Konstas was an archaeologist is found in Καλπαξής. *op.cit.*, p. 56.

[464] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (7), 18.10.1895.

[465] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (2), 13.04.1895.

[466] Ευνομία, 27.04.1895; Εφημερίδα της Ηγεμονίας της Σάμου, (40), 28.06.1895; (41), 17.07.1895; (51), 7.10.1895; (55), 25.10.1895; (59), 14.11.1895; (71), 31.01.1896; (80), 3.04.1896; (81), 10.04.1896; (135), 7.06.1897; (136), 14.06.1895; (141), 18.07.1897; (142), 25.07.1897; (143), 2.08.1897; (144), 9.08.1897; (145), 4.09.1897; (154), 15.11.1897; (156), 3.12.1897; (157), 10.12.1897; (174), 15.04.1898; (211), 16.01.1899. Kalpaxes. *op.cit.* p. 47 is the first to mention these acknowledgments.

[467] Kalpaxes. *ibid*. p. 48. For the Egyptian antiquities, also see Στεργιογλίδης. *Κατάλογος των υπό της Α. Υψ. του Αντιβασιλέως της Αιγύπτου Χελμή Αββάς Πασσά δωρηθεισών Αιγυπτιακών αρχαιοτήτων εις το Μουσείον*. *op.cit*., Παράρτημα.

Museum of Gizah. Having lived in Egypt between 1866 and 1869, Stergioglides had the chance to visit many places of archaeological interest, including the Bulaq Museum. His youth memories of Egypt appear to have inspired him to kindly suggest, with a letter addressed to the Vice-Roy of Egypt Abbas Hilmi and dated 30 April 1898, the donation to the Samian museum of artefacts in double or multiple copies in the museums of Egypt. The council of ministers of Egypt responded positively and, on 21 October 1898, the Museum of Gizah, through its Director, Victor Loret, offered as many as 191 Egyptian antiquities to the Museum of Samos. Upon the receipt of the donation, Stergioglides used this collection to showcase ancient Egyptian religion and mythology and how these were to be found at the roots of ancient Greek religion and mythology.[468]

A number of purchases of collections, especially of coins, for the museum have been documented,[469] while Stergioglides went as far as to solicit at least one significant purchase from outside the principality, ill-fated though it appears to have been. Surviving documents show that, in 1900, the 318 ancient coins, which doctor Demetrios Dapoles had acquired in Macedonia on behalf of the museum, were confiscated by the customs authorities of Salonica and it turned out that most of them would be looted.[470]

Besides enriching the museum, this draft law also took a firm stance regarding the ban on the export of antiquities by linking its violation to the

[468] Στεργιογλίδης. *ibid,* pp. 5-11.

[469] Kalpaxes. *op.cit*., p. 47.

[470] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1900, 1, 20.01.1900 and 21.01.1900.

deprivation of one's political rights (article 20), a sanction seen before in the Samian regime on antiquities.[471]

Significantly, the 1896 draft law introduced a number of novelties. For example, it distinguished between collectors and possessors of individual items (article 16). Arguably, this was a reflection of the fact that by that time the Samians would no longer only amass antiquities found by chance and for no specific archaeological purpose but that, among them, some had developed into collectors knowledgeable in archaeological matters.[472] Also, the addition of fossils and [other] paleontological finds to the definition of antiquities in article 2 appears to have been a long-overdue necessity. Already in May 1887, that is, less than a year after the 1886 law entered into force, this caveat came to the fore when Scottish naturalist Forthsyth discovered a large number of fossils, which he packed with a view to exporting from Samos. While acknowledging that the law on archaeology left fossils out of its purview, the police officer of Chora felt the need to inform the prince. He stressed that there still was a great number of fossils in the field, which a policeman could collect, and that he had kindly asked Forthsyth to leave tokens for the Museum of Samos.[473] This incident shows that among the locals an understanding had developed that paleontological finds were remnants from the past worthy of protection and that they had a place in the museum. What remained was for the law to be amended so as to facilitate

[471] See the modification to the law of 1855 adopted on 12 August 1859, pp. 211-213.

[472] For example, GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1895, (2), 13.04.1895 refers to the donation of Stergioglides' collection to the museum. Stergioglides (*Ευνομία*, op.cit.) makes reference to more collections donated to the museum or bought for it. For a concise discussion of collections donated or purchased, also see Kalpaxes. *op.cit*. p. 47.

[473] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1887, (1), 24.05.1887.

their protection. Interestingly, though the Imperial Museum in Constantinople included paleontological finds in its collections,[474] neither the Greek law nor the Ottoman law incorporated paleontology into their purview, an omission that points to the degree of Samian agency in the drafting of its laws.

The addition of non-Christian art from late antiquity to 1830 AD is harder to explain. The year 1830 AD carries no specific significance to either archaeology as a discipline or Samos as a polity. However, it is the year that the modern Greek state was established.[475] Therefore, it is highly probable that this stipulation was copied from Greek administrative or legal texts. Although this clause was removed from the final text of the law, arguably also because Samos possessed hardly any works of non-Christian art from late antiquity onwards, it bears witness to the use of Greek sources in the drafting of Samian laws.

Actual archaeological protection was another field where novelties are noticeable. As mentioned, excavating at a depth greater than 50 cm was prohibited without permission, if antiquities were expected to be found on that land (article 4). Quarries and lime kilns were banned from the vicinity of antiquities (article 5) and so was any kind of activity that could cause harm to an antiquity directly or indirectly. In particular, the reference to lime kilns

[474] For example, BOA.İ.DH(978/77267), dated 6 Cemâziye'l-evvel 1303 and 29 Kânûn-ı Sânî 1301 (10.02.1886). For the official establishment of a department of Natural History, see the internal regulation of the museum, pp. 150.

[475] For the Greek war of independence and the establishment of the Greek state, see Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey – A Modern History*. 3rd ed., I.B. Tauris, 2005, pp. 30-35. Zürcher mentions the Treaty of Edirne, signed in September 1829, as the document through which the Ottoman Empire acknowledged Greek independence. Orphanoudakes (*op.cit.*, p. 67) links the establishment of the Greek state to a protocol signed on 3 February 1830.

brought the Samian law in line with the Greek and Ottoman legislations.[476] That the ephor of the museum was entitled to use public funds in order to restore movable or immovable antiquities (article 5) was arguably the greatest innovation of this draft law, which thus introduced the idea of conservation to Samian archaeology for the first time. The addition of the right to expropriate lands where antiquities were discovered (articles 6 and 13) confirms that this draft law attempted to introduce a new approach to the protection of antiquities, in which the principality would have greater responsibility not only to monitor bans and prohibitions imposed on individuals but to proactively protect antiquities as well. This novelty too appears to have streamlined the Samian regime on antiquities with those of Athens and Constantinople.[477]

As already seen in the case of the 1855 law on antiquities, language matters. In his draft, Stergioglides made use of the term 'government' (*κυβέρνησις,* article 11), which until that time had been a word intentionally avoided in the archaeological legislation of the principality. Also, whereas previous laws referred to ephors, article 6 spoke of an ephorate. Although, as he acknowledged himself,[478] Stergioglides was not an expert in law or in the lawmaking processes of the principality and, thus, was most probably unaware of the sensitivities regarding such a choice of words, his use of the term 'government' reveals his understanding of the principality as an autonomous state rather than an Ottoman island with self-rule limited to local

[476] See Greek law of 1834 (article 85) and Ottoman regulation of 1874 (article 5). The Greek law of 1899 (article 7) would also make reference to quarries.

[477] See Ottoman regulation of 1884 (article 6). For Greece, see «Περίληψις περί ερμηνείας διατάξεων τινων του αρχαιολογικού Νόμου.» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων, Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. *op.cit.*, pp. 66-69, esp. p. 69(3).

[478] «[...] άλλως τε και δεν είμαι νομομαθής.» In Στεργιογλίδης. *Ευνομία*. *op.cit.*

administration. It may also be the case that the deviations regarding the use of the term 'ephorate' was a result of automatically transferring articles from Greek legislation that had served as model for Stergioglides' draft. Thus, the deviations from Samian legal norm might rather be seen for what they reveal about the author of this draft, his understanding of the polity he lived in and for its role with regards to archaeology.

The 1896 draft law was never adopted as such. Less than two years later, on 25 June 1898, law no. 887 on antiquities[479] was introduced, largely as a combination of law no. 382 and the 1896 draft law. Without being broken into separate chapters, it organised the 22 articles of the draft law in a better way. It remained comprehensive, and it introduced novelties that Samos needed at that time in order to improve its archaeological regime. With its entry into force, this law annulled all previous laws on antiquities (article 16).

Law no. 887 was comprised of 16 articles. In its first article, it defined antiquities. It repeated article 1 of law no. 382 with the additional reference to paleontological finds but without any reference to the works of Christian and non-Christian art up to AD 1830. Also this law contained an obligation to inform for landowners (article 3) and everybody else (article 2). It created an obligation to show to the ephor of the museum, whenever requested, any ancient artefact that its owner would not wish to sell to the principality (article 4). Also, it dealt with the right of the principality to expropriate plots of land (article 5), and banned quarries and lime kilns from areas where antiquities were located (article 6). Articles 7 to 10 contained provisions with regard to excavations and, in particular, the permits required for an excavation (article

[479] Kalpaxes. *op.cit*., pp. 132-134.

7) and the supervisor of archaeological excavations (article 8). The law also delineated the rights of the bearers of authorisation to excavate over their finds; these were limited to making casts and moulds and taking photographs, copying inscriptions and making relevant publications (article 9), as seen previously in law no. 832 (article 10). It included obligations binding the supervisor of an excavation to declare and to keep an inventory of all finds (article 10). Like the draft law, law no. 887 provided incentives for individuals to report anyone who failed to declare antiquities in their possession (article 11). Significantly, it set the conditions under which private collections could remain in the possession of collectors (article 12). Also, it referred to the import of antiquities and their re-export from Samos (articles 13-14) while banning all sales, exports and confiscations[480] of antiquities. Like the draft law, it re-introduced the deprivation of one's political rights in case of its violation (article 15).

Overall, law no. 887 was as comprehensive as its draft from 1896. In many respects, it was also an improved text. By grouping together in two articles the many articles referring to the obligation to inform, it retained its scope while gaining in conciseness. Also, it maintained the provisions of law no. 832 regarding the rights of the bearers of authorisation to excavate over their finds, which the draft law had omitted. The expropriations procedure was better described by adding that, besides the land proper, trees and grapevines should also be evaluated. Also, law no. 887 introduced to the Samian archaeological regime the first stipulations regarding the import of

[480] Besides banning them, the law (article 15) provided no further information on the concept of confiscations: The sale or export of antiquities as well as their confiscation are prohibited on all grounds. (*Επ' ουδενί λόγω επιτρέπεται η πώλησις ή η εξαγωγή αρχαιοτήτων ως και η κατάσχεσις αυτών.*)

antiquities and their re-export (articles 13-14), an addition reflecting the Greek law of 1834 (articles 75 and 77) and the Ottoman law of 1884 (articles 28-32). The law stipulated that a supervisor of excavations would have to be an expert archaeologist, instead of simply an employee of the principality. Moreover, this expert archaeologist could be a Samian or an expatriate (*ομογενής*) (article 8). Significantly, for the first time, a Samian law on archaeology introduced measures that provided for the finances of the museum. In particular, fines imposed for non-compliance with the obligation to inform (articles 3 and 4) would be destined for the museum. These fines ranged from 100 to 5.000 *kuruş* and, even though, this would in no way solve the issue of the museum finances, their allocation to a museum budget reflects an increased understanding of the need to support it.

After 1898, a local museum and a position of ephor of antiquities came to strengthen the Samian regime on antiquities. On 6 June 1902, law no. 1144 established an annex of the museum in Tegani.[481] This annex was destined to house overweight antiquities found in its vicinity as well as any less valuable and less important ancient artefacts in line with the policy that the Greek state had already enacted[482] and the Ottoman authorities delineated.[483] Even though it was established with a princely edict, the cost for its construction was excluded from the budget of the principality and, instead, fell upon the

[481] *Νόμος 1144 περί ιδρύσεως παραρτήματος του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου εν Τηγανίω*. GSA-Samos, 1902, Princes' Decrees (Ηγεμονικά Διατάγματα), 6.06.1902.

[482] Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος, Γενική Εφορεία των Αρχαιοτήτων. "Νόμος περί των επιστημονικών και τεχνολογικών συλλογών, περί ανακαλύψεως και διατηρήσεως των αρχαιοτήτων και της χρήσεως αυτών.", *op.cit*., pp. 10-11 for articles 8-9; and Κόκκου. *op.cit.*, pp. 304-306.

[483] See ch. II, p. 152.

municipality of Tegani.[484] More importantly, a few days later, on 19 June 1902, law no. 1185 created the salaried position of an ephor of antiquities.[485] As seen in 1884, Epameinondas Stamatiades had been appointed ephor of antiquities. It is unclear whether that had been a salaried position or not, but the explicit reference in law no. 1185 to the position of the ephor as a salaried one and part of the annual budget of the principality points to a wish for strengthening the bureaucracy in charge of the administration of antiquities.

In the final decade of the principality (1902-1912), the regime on antiquities remained nominally the same. However, authorisation for research, ownership of finds and supervision of excavations were instrumentalised in order to promote two competing political agendas, one that propagated union with Greece and one that aspired to keep Samos under the Ottomans. At the same time, archaeology became a terrain where local political antagonisms were played out.

Although for many decades after the establishment of the principality, the main consideration of the islanders was to strengthen their regime *per se* and *vis-à-vis* the Sublime Porte, in the second half of the 19th century, the idea of union with Greece gradually resurfaced.[486] At the turn of the century, a game of authorisations ensued with proxies used both by those promoting union with Greece and those aspiring to keep the island in the Ottoman orbit. The former found their expression in Themistokles Sofoules and their proxy in

[484] *Νόμος 1144 περί ιδρύσεως παραρτήματος του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου εν Τηγανίω*. GSA-Samos, Princes' Decrees, 6.06.1902.

[485] *Νόμος 1185 περί θέσεως Επόπτου παιδείας και Εφόρου Αρχαιοτήτων*. GSA-Samos, Princes' Decrees, 19.06.1902.

[486] Landros. *op.cit.*, pp. 183-186, esp. pp. 185-186.

the Archaeological Society at Athens (ASA).[487] Sofoules' prior collaboration with the University of Athens and the ASA meant that he enjoyed a broad network of acquaintances in the academic and the political circles of the Greek capital, which he was able to mobilise in order to ensure that the ASA would petition the authorities on Samos for a permission to excavate at the Heraion. Indeed, on 18 October 1901, the society submitted an official request and, on 1 May 1902, law no. 1038 granted the ASA permission to excavate at the Heraion and the ancient city. A number of indications point to the marginal nature of this excavation for the society and confirm the view that this was a political move instigated by the Samian archaeologist-turned-politician. First, contrary to its statute, the ASA resigned, in this excavation contract, all rights over the finds, including the right to publish them. Also, despite Sofoules' efforts, world-acclaimed Greek archaeologist Christos Tsountas[488] turned down the offer to undertake the direction of these excavations. Even the co-director of the excavations and Vice President of the Society, Panagiotes Kavvadias,[489] left the island within a few days from the start of the excavations, leaving Sofoules at their helm.[490]

The *status quo* forces were personified in Prince Andreas Kopases with Germany being their proxy. For a long time German archaeologists had attempted to carry out excavations at the Heraion. Already in 1896 and again

[487] For more information on the ASA, see *The Archaeological Society at Athens*. www.archetai.gr/site/eng_page_uc.html. Accessed 8 June 2017.

[488] For biographical information, see "Christos Tsountas." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. www.britannica.com/biography/Christos-Tsountas. Accessed 4 June 2017.

[489] For biographical information on Kavvadias, see «Καββαδίας Παναγιώτης (1850-1928).» *Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία*. www.archetai.gr/site/content.php?artid=1365. Accessed 4 June 2017.

[490] Kalpaxes. *op.cit*., pp. 55-69.

in 1901, Friedrich Sarre[491] had expressed his interest.[492] In 1902, Theodor Wiegand[493] acquired permission, one, however, that was conditioned upon the agreement of the ASA, which had already been authorised to excavate at the Heraion; a stratagem used by the pro-ASA Samians to block Wiegand, while not openly turning down his petition. The year 1908 found Prince Andreas Kopases at the helm of the principality and the Young Turks in power in Constantinople. Soon Sofoules, who had exiled himself to Greece, was condemned to death *in absentia*. This was a time when the dependence of the Greek state on Germany increased, and the leadership of the ASA was discredited by accusations of lenience to foreign (archaeological) interests and financial mismanagement. The setting was conducive for Weigand to acquire his long-envisaged authorisation. On 23 May 1909, only a day after he applied for permission, the general assembly extended its approval and, on 16 September 1909, following tacit resistance by public employees, Prince Kopases ratified the authorisation. Kalpaxes considers the clauses of the authorisation scandalous. First, Wiegand was granted permission to excavate for 10 years unlike the common practice at that time, according to which permission was given for a year and could be renewed annually. Unlike law no. 877 on antiquities that stipulated that all finds belonged to the principality, the contract permitted Wiegand to claim half of the finds when he deemed it

[491] Friedrich Sarre was a German archaeologist and art historian, better known for his work on Islamic art. For more information, see "Sarre, Friedrich." *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. *op.cit*., pp. 456-457.

[492] GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1896 and 1897, 2/2συν(α-ζ) and 3, various dates in May 1896 and January – February 1897. Also, GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1901, (2), 15.10.1901.

[493] Theodor Wiegand was a famous German archaeologist. For more information, see "Theodor Wiegand." *Universität Heidelberg*. www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/Englisch/helios/fachinfo/www/arch/digilit/wiegand.html. Accessed 15 Feb. 2015.

necessary. Significantly, in what appears to have been masterminded by Kopases, the contract was signed with Wiegand in his personal capacity and not as representative of the Berlin Museums, which meant that the authorisation was better shielded against adverse developments in the relations between Germany and Samos.[494]

Also, the fate of the ASA excavations at the Heraion exemplifies the impact that local political competition had on Samian archaeology at that time. When in 1904 Sofoules, as leader of one of the two main political groups on the island, lost control of the general assembly, the excavations came to a standstill. His political opponents initiated a political campaign that aimed at discrediting him by accusing him of financial mismanagement, *inter alia*, at the Heraion. Also, law no. 1700 that designated the government as solely responsible for appointing an ephor at excavations was adopted. With the general assembly against him and law no. 1700 in force, Sofoules had little room for manoeuvre. However, when two years later, in 1906, he regained control of the general assembly, he repealed law no. 1700 and invited the ASA to continue the excavations.[495]

Such antagonisms and machinations illustrate a new context for Samian archaeology in the early 20th century both at the regional and the local level. In those years, a certain distance continued to characterise the letter of

[494] Kalpaxes. *op.cit*. pp. 90-94. For the text of the agreement between Wiegand and the principality, see GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1909, (4/4συνα), 16.09.1909.

[495] Kalpaxes. *ibid*. pp. 69-77. A petition survives in the Principality Archives where a Samian expresses his intention to sue whoever is responsible, Themistokles Sofoules or the ASA, for the delay in the payment of the rent for past use of a building that belongs to him. It is not clear whether this petition was used by Sofoules' opponents in this political fight. In GSA-Samos, Archive of the Prince's Office, 1/2 "Antiquities and Excavations", 1904 and 1905, (1/συν1α-β), various dates in December 1904 and January-February 1905.

the law from its implementation. Contrary to earlier years, however, when this feature had mostly been a result of limited resources and capabilities, at the turn of the century, it would be mostly due to the new position that politics and ideology came to occupy in archaeology.

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Overall, in spite of the location of Samos in the western periphery of the empire, its small size and insular geography, its policies reflected a mainstream understanding of how to regulate archaeology. They were developed with a view to addressing local challenges, such as an interest to unearth the Heraion, the recycling of antiquities in constructions, and the export of finds, and promoting local visions, as would be the case with the museum. The archaeological legislation emanating from Athens and, to an extent, Constantinople facilitated the principality in shaping its regime but borrowing was selective and informed by local conditions. Princes and governors from Constantinople, and locals, especially civil servants of the principality, shared a preoccupation with developing the Samian archaeological regime. The archaeological policies of Samos evolved through time and gradually moved from focusing on restricting the individual interested in antiquity to endowing the principality with its own proactive role in the protection of archaeological heritage. Poor finances remained a constant feature of Samian archaeology, but in assessing their impact one should consider that the main capitals in the region also faced relative financial

shortcomings. For example, if it took Samos almost 40 years to create a museum it took Athens 32 (from 1834 to 1866).[496] Significantly, politics could have an impact on Samian archaeology. Although the lexicological deviations from the Greek law of 1834 exemplify the sensitivities of the Ottoman government with regards to the political character of the principality rather than the essence of the Samian policies on antiquities, at the turn of the century, archaelogical practice was instrumentalised and disrupted due to politics and ideology. Small and insular, but able to partake in mainstream policies, the Ottoman Principality of Samos makes for an interesting case study of how Ottoman communities could engage with antiquity, when given autonomy in their archaeological affairs. In the following chapter, while keeping the focus on the Ottoman Greeks, the case of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople shall bring the discussion back to the Ottoman capital and to the fore the role of non-state, civic actors in archaeological matters.

[496] The Greek law of 1834 (article 77) made reference to a central and regional museums. Also, «Περί Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου, (13.05.1840).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. *op.cit.*, pp. 33-34; «Διάταγμα περί Σχεδίου Μουσείου των Αρχαιοτήτων.» and «Οδηγίαι περί Κατασκευής Μουσείου Αρχαιολογικού.» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. *ibid*, pp. 37-40; «Διάταγμα περί Αναγέρσεως Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου (16.03.1865).» and «Διάταγμα Προσωνυμίας του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου (16.03.1865).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. *ibid*, p. 51; and «Διάταγμα περί Αποδοχής Δωρεάς Οικοπέδου της κ. Ελένης Τοσίτσα (19.03.1866).» and «Διάταγμα περί του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου (23.03.1866).» *Συλλογή Αρχαιολογικών Νόμων Διαταγμάτων και Εγκυκλίων*. *ibid*, pp. 53-54.

Chapter IV – Archaeology and the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople (1861-1923)

This chapter looks into the role and the activities of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople[497], that is, a non-state Ottoman collective actor with an interest in archaeology. Significantly, there were many such entities in the empire, including the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniyye*),[498] the Evangelical School (*Ευαγγελική Σχολή*) with its museum in Smyrna[499] and the Society of Friends of Istanbul (*İstanbul Muhibbleri Cemiyeti*),[500] but the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople stands out for

[497] The Society is known in Greek as the *Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*. In French, it appeared as *Syllogue littéraire grec de Constantinople* (Petit, Louis. "Le Syllogue littéraire grec de Constantinople." *Échos d'Orient*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1897, pp. 59-62. DOI: 10.3406/rebyz.1897.3092. Accessed 4 June 2017), and in Ottoman Turkish as *Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Rûmiyye* (*Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΙΗ', 1883-84, εκ του Τυπογραφείου Αντωνίου Κορομηλά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1888, minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Jan. 1884, p. 48; for similar to this one names, see Karabıçak. *op.cit.*, p. 55). The English translation used here is adopted from George Vassiadis, where instead of 'Greek' the adjective 'Hellenic' is preferred in an attempt to disassociate this Ottoman society from the Greek state while preserving its association with Hellenic culture. It is acknowledged though that 'Greek' could also have been used.

[498] Gümüşsoy, Emine. ''Tanzimattan Sonra İlk Halk Eğitimi İçin Kurulan İki Cemiyet: Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye ve Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye'.' *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, vol. 8, no. 2, publication year not provided, pp. 173-192, esp. pp. 177 and 179-180. sbd.ogu.edu.tr/makaleler/750778_2_Makale_10.pdf. Accessed 26 Feb. 2017. For a short reference in Greek, see Μαμώνη, Κυριακή, and Λήδα Ιστικοπούλου. *Σύλλογοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1861-1922)*. Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν Ωφελίμων Βιβλίων, 2009, pp. 28-29.

[499] Παρανίκας. *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 204-209. Also, *Μουσείον και Βιβλιοθήκη της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής*. Περίοδος Τρίτη, Έτος Πρώτον και Δεύτερον (1878-9 και 1879-80), Τύποις Νικολάου Α. Δαμιανού, εν Σμύρνη, 1880; *Μουσείον και Βιβλιοθήκη της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής*. Περίοδος Πέμπτη, Έτος 1885-1886, εκ του Τυπογραφείου ο «Τύπος», εν Σμύρνη, 1886; Papadopoulos Kérameus, Athanasios. *Catalogue Descriptif des Poids Antiques du Musée de l' Ecole Evangélique à Smyrne*. Smyrne, 1880; Παπαδόπουλος του Κεραμέως, Α. *Περί Τινος Μήτρας Σταθμών Ανακαλυφθείσας μεν εν Υπαιποίς Ευρισκομένης δε εν τω Μουσείω της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής*. εκ του Τυπογραφείου ο Τύπος, εν Σμύρνη, 1877. hdl.handle.net/123456789/7010. Accessed 26 Feb. 2017; Papadopoulos Kérameus, Athanasios. "Liste des agoranomes de Smyrne." *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, vol. 2, 1878, pp. 28-31. DOI: 10.3406/bch.1878.4433. Accessed 26 Feb. 2017; Παπαδόπουλος του Κεραμέως, Αθανάσιος. *Τα αρχαία Σμυρναϊκά σταθμά του Μουσείου της Ευαγγελικής Σχολής: Αρχαιολογική διατριβή*. Τυπογραφείον Π. Μαρκοπούλου, Σμύρνη, 1875. hdl.handle.net/123456789/7010. Accessed 26 Feb. 2017.

[500] *İstanbul Şehri Muhibbleri Cemiyeti Nizamnâmesi*. Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1327; and *İstanbul Şehri Muhibbleri Cemiyetin Umûmî Raporu*. Dersaâdet, 1329 (both in Ottoman

the duration of its engagement with antiquity and its rich outcome. Given that little is known about this society in literature, a first section discusses its general outlook and activities. In it, one can find information on the finances, outreach, evolution through time, main challenges and the ideological profile of the society. This sets the background for the archaeological activities of the society, which are dealt with in a second section.

The Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople at a glance

A literary salon is found at the roots of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, which 86 men created in 1861. According to George Vassiadis, in March 1861, Spyridon Mavrogenes, Herokles Vassiades and Aristides Palaiologos, while meeting at the house of the former, decided to "organise a larger literary society open to all ranks of Greek society in Constantinople".[501] The following month, a larger gathering at the house of *Chatze* Georgios Konstantinides founded the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople (*Ελληνική Φιλολογική* ***Εταιρεία*** *Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* – emphasis added), which in a second meeting was renamed Greek – or Hellenic as used here – Literary Society at Constantinople (*Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός* ***Σύλλογος*** – emphasis added). Although in English the term "society" blanks the difference between the terms 'εταιρεία' (*etaireia*) and 'σύλλογος' (*syllogos*) used in the original in Greek, the

Turkish). A concise description of the *Societé des Amis de Stamboul* in Greek is available in Μαμώνη and Ιστικοπούλου. *op.cit.*, p. 423.

[501] Vassiadis. *op.cit.* pp. 56-57. The quote is from p. 57. Regarding the number of founding members, in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, έτος Α', τόμος Α, τύποις Βυζαντίδος, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1863, p. η', there is reference to another four men, who "though founders too, did not inscribe their names in the Registry" (*[...] καίτοι ιδρυταί και αυτοί, δεν ενέγραψαν τα ονόματα αυτών εν τω Μητρώο.*).

change in the name highlights the political sensitivities of its founders. Given that the term 'εταιρεία' (*etaireia*) had been used by the secret society that organised the Greek war of independence from Ottoman rule (*Φιλική Εταιρεία*), the founders of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople appeared particularly interested in disassociating their collective activities from anything that the Ottoman government could consider a threat.[502]

Besides the specific literary salon to be found at its roots, the society falls within the history and practice of associational life in the Ottoman Empire, and the debate on progress that one encounters in the 19th century. According to Kyriaki Mamoni and Leda Istikopoulou, the dynamics that led to the creation of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople can be traced back to the religious and philanthropic brotherhoods that the Greek Orthodox located in a given area created irrespective of the socio-economic status of their members, as well as the guilds.[503] Haris Exertzoglou views the creation of the society as part of the emergence of a Greek Orthodox bourgeois stratum in the empire.[504] In turn, the society positioned itself within the broader dynamics towards progress that the Ottoman state and its various communities shared. More specifically, it viewed itself as being side by side with state initiatives, such as the establishment of new schools known as *mekteb-i rüşdiye*, the Medical School, the cataloguing of the holdings of

[502] Vassiadis. *ibid*, p. 56. For a general discussion of the reception and translation of Greek words related to associational activities by the Ottoman state, see Karabıçak. *op.cit.* pp. 58-61. Also, secondary literature on the society in English and French, such as the works by Vassiadis and Moraux, occasionally maintains the use of the term "syllogos" in transliteration instead of translation. See, for example, Vassiadis, *ibid*, and Moraux, Paul. *Catalogue des Manuscripts Grecs (Fonds du Syllogos)*. Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1964, p. XVI; and Moraux, Paul. "Un Document Nouveau sur le Syllogos." *Belleten*, vol. XLI, n. 26, p. 401.

[503] Μαμώνη and Ιστικοπούλου. *Σύλλογοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1861-1922)*. *op.cit.*, p. 13.

[504] Εξερτζόγλου, Χάρης. *Εθνική Ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αιώνα. Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 1861-1912*. op.cit., p. 10.

libraries in the capital, and the Ottoman General Exposition on industry and agriculture, as well as, on the part of the Ottoman *millets*, the periodicals published by the Armenians, including one for women, and the newspapers issued by the Jews. For the society, the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniyye*) stood out as a model, especially in view of its inclusion of Greek Orthodox, Armenians and Europeans among its members and of its periodical. Also, the schools for girls, the philanthropic brotherhoods, the periodicals and the newspapers run by members of the Greek Orthodox community exemplified progress. Significantly, for the society, the absence of universities in the empire justified the creation of Greek societies (*syllogoi*), such as not only itself but also the Medical Society and the Musical Society, which had been created at about the same time. The approval that the Ottoman government had extended to these Greek societies and the annual support afforded by the state to the Imperial Medical Society only reinforced the wish of the founding members of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople to push forward with their plans.[505] Overall, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople was able to draw from a long-standing and rich experience with community and associational life, and endow this with the new aims and ideas linked to progress.

The regulations of the society codified this modern outlook. According to the regulation that was adopted in December 1861,[506] the society aimed at "the written or oral communication of literary issues" (article 1) and explicitly

[505] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit., pp. γ'-δ'.

[506] *Κανονισμός του Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. Bibliographical information not available. medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/3806. Accessed 27 Feb. 2017. Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 57, makes reference to "a temporary ordinance [that] had been drawn up at the first meeting of the GPSC [Greek Philological Society of Constantinople] in April 1861" but provides no further information.

banned “any political discussion” (article 2). The rest of the regulation, which was comprised of a total of 23 articles, provided for the administration of the society, its membership, the rights of non-members, the agenda of the meetings, the archive and the finances of the society, and concluded by setting the validity of the regulation to two years. Its format and language clearly reflected a modern understanding of law and associational life. The fact that the society was open to individuals interested in literary matters without any reference to their religion or professional occupation illustrates this well. Significantly, in this way, the society distanced itself from the pre-modern systems of both the *millet* and the guilds, on which political and socio-economic life had been based in the Ottoman Empire, and introduced the voluntary association of individuals according to their personal choice of how to dispend with their spare time.

Also, the operational pattern of the society reflects a new understanding of collective activity. Committees would be created around topics, such as education, archaeology, biology, and anthropology, which resonated well with modernity and progress. These committees would follow their own course within the society. In 1871, ten years after the creation of the society, its new regulation made reference to an educational, a philological, an archaeological, and a scientific and anthropological committee.[507] Although committees, such as the philological and archaeological ones, would remain as such throughout the lifespan of the society, others would be split up or abolished, and new ones would be created sometimes to replace pre-existing

[507] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. Τύποις Ι. Α. Βρετού, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1871, p. 10, article 40. medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/5212. Accessed 27 Feb. 2017.

ones. For example, in the regulation of 1886, the scientific and anthropological committee was split into two separate committees,[508] which appears to highlight an increasing diversification in the engagement of the society with the sciences. In turn, the scientific commitee was partially replaced by the physics and mathematics committee seen, ten years later, in the regulation of 1896.[509] Not all committees endured equally long, as in the case of the architectural committee, which appears to have been active between 1888 and 1904.[510]

The committees followed specific rules of conduct that reflected the orientation and values of the society. These rules included convening at least once a month, recording the deliberations in minutes, and preparing a report of their workings annually for submission to the plenary. Also, the society could request a committee to investigate specific issues, including review books. In turn, the committees could share important studies with the plenary. Their annual reports could be published in the periodical of the society

[508] *Κανονισμός του Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. Εκ του Τυπογραφείου Σ. Ι. Βουτυρά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1886, pp. 13-15, articles 42 and 47-48. medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/5204. Accessed 27 Feb. 2017.

[509] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1896, p. 16, article 55. medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/5210. Accessed 27 Feb. 2017. Compare with the regulation of 1886: *Κανονισμός του Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. ibid, pp. 14-15, article 48.

[510] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', 1887-88 and 1888-89, Τύποις Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1891, minutes of the meeting convened on 31 Oct. 1888, p. 239. archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiodi2122helluoft#page/n6/mode/1up. Accessed 28 Feb. 2017, regarding the establishment of an architectural committee. The last reference to this committee appears to be in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1907, minutes of the meetings convened on 1 Nov. 1904, and 22 Nov. 1904, pp. 66 and 68 respectively, regarding the election of Kemaleddin Bey as member of the society at the proposal of the architectural committee. In the Regulation of 1919, *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. Τυπολιθογραφείον Γ. Δ. Πρωτόπαπα και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1920, p. 16, article 63, medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/5215. Accessed 28 Feb. 2017, architectural themes fall under the mandate of the physics and mathematics section, as the committee was named at that time.

together with a selection of their studies.[511] Significantly, such rules show that the society based its workings on a rather elaborate organisational pattern, which put expertise and scholarship at its core. Also, they highlight a culture of accountability towards the members of the society, as manifested in the practice of recording the proceedings of meetings and, more importantly, of the annual reports.

Although regular membership in the society is reminiscent of clubs to the extent that the introduction of new regular members was preconditioned on the proposal of three regular members,[512] the society was an extrovert organisation with a large and relatively diverse outreach. Significantly, reaching out to people was a strategic decision that was codified in its regulation as early as 1864, when a periodical (*Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*), a public library, public courses and competitions were added to the scope of the society.[513] "Appropriate writings and books useful to the people" were added

[511] For the rules of conduct of the committees of the society, see *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. op.cit., p. 11, articles 46-50; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. *op.cit.*, pp. 15-16, articles 51-56; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. op.cit., pp. 17-19, articles 61-71; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. ibid, pp. 17-19, articles 68-70 and 74-84.

[512] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου*. Τύποις «Βυζαντίδος», εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1864, p. 5, article 13. medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/5213. Accessed 28 Feb. 2017; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. ibid, p. 6, article 15; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. ibid, p.8, article 16; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. ibid, p. 4, article 4; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. ibid, p. 4, article 3.

[513] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1864)*. ibid, p. 3, article 1.

as a means through which the society could achieve its goal in the regulation of 1896.[514]

The society built a rich library, including books and manuscripts, accessible not only to its members but the general public as well. The decision to create a public library came within the first decade of its operation. "The Society seeing that Constantinople is deprived of a public reading room and wishing to make use of the Library that it possesses, decides to create a public reading room in the hall of the Society and to make its library available for use to all lovers of knowledge of all religions and ethnicity…" read the minutes from the meeting of 20 January 1869.[515] A librarian, member of the governing body of the society, would be in charge of it,[516] while a special regulation provided the rules for its operation, including its opening hours and the request for special permission for non-members in order to acquire access to it.[517] The library acquisitions increased at an impressive pace. By 1870, that is, within less than 10 years after the establishment of the society, the library had 1.900 volumes while a few years later, in 1876, this number had gone up to 5.100 volumes.[518] By 1909, the library contained a total of 16.631 volumes,

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[514] «δια [...] καταλλήλων συγγραφών και βιβλίων χρησίμων τω λαώ». In *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. op.cit., p. 3, article 1.

[515] «[...] ο Σύλλογος βλέπων ότι η Κωνσταντινούπολις στερείται δημοσίου αναγνωστηρίου και θέλων να χρησιμοποιήση την Βιβλιοθήκην, ήν κέκτηται, αποφασίζει την σύστασιν δημοσίου αναγνωστηρίου εν τη αιθούση του Συλλόγου και την χρήσιν της βιβλιοθήκης αυτού παρά παντός φιλομαθούς οιασδήποτε θρησκείας και εθνικότητος [...]». In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν (τα Περισωθέντα)*. τόμος Δ', Τυπογρ. Ι. Α. Βρετού, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1871, minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Jan. 1869, p. 235.

[516] For example, Alexandros Mavrogenes was elected librarian for the year 1870-71. *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', 1870-71, Τυπογραφείον Ι. Α. Βρετού, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1872, p. ι'.

[517] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν (τα Περισωθέντα)*. τόμος Δ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Jan. 1869, p. 235; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. op.cit., p. 22, articles 96-97.

[518] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', 1875-76, Τύποις Βουτυρά και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1877, minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Apr. 1876, p. 177.

666 journal issues (τεύχη) and 630 brochures.[519] A summary list from 1892 shows that, in that year, the library contained approximately 10.400 volumes and 800 journal issues organised in 30 categories. The top five were: Greek philology with 1.187 volumes and 12 journal issues; history with 879 volumes and 39 journal issues; medicine with 840 volumes and 79 journal issues; religion with 549 volumes and 2 journal issues; and archaeology with 528 volumes and 53 journal issues.[520] The acquisitions policy of the society appears to have relied heavily on donations. According to the regulation of 1886, every author who would be elected member of the society was required to send a copy of his books for the library.[521] Even before that, members of the society and others provided the library with publications. For example, among the donations from 1877, one finds two brochures of the "Minutes" (*Πρακτικά*) of the Museum and the Library of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, and two publications on the ancient site of Dodona, namely a book in French by society member and excavator of the site Konstantinos Karapanos and a brochure on a find. Also, one finds four brochures containing the philological and archaeological lectures of Papadopoulos Kerameus, and a copy of the volume *Byzantine Studies* (*Βυζαντιναί Μελέται*) by Alexandros

[519] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΒ', Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1911, minutes of the meeting convened on 17 May 1909, p. 40. pc-3.lib.uoi.gr:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/HASH018fe0e22432aec10b9abdd7/1/doc.pdf. Accessed 28 Feb. 2017.

[520] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΓ', 1891-92, Εκ του Τυπογραφείου «Νεολόγου», Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1893, minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1892, p. 62. pc-3.lib.uoi.gr:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/HASHea00d1689ffe013f39e078/1/doc.pdf. Accessed 4 June 2017.

[521] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. op.cit., p. 9, article 24. This was repeated in the Regulation of 1896, as seen in *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. op.cit., p. 6, article 13.

Paspates, another member of the society.[522] Entire book collections, namely the libraries of individuals, were also donated to the society, as in the case of Mavrogenes Pasha and Aristarches[523] or physician Zambakos Pasha.[524] As a result of the significance that book donations had for enriching the library, the regulation of 1919 stipulated the acknowledgment of "important donations to the library" on a special panel inside the library.[525]

The public lectures, also known as public courses, aimed at "contributing to the intellectual advancement of our society, as [with courses on] physics, physiology, general, non-general and philological history, hygiene, philology, law, etc., while strictly prohibiting all political discussions".[526] In the 1870s, due to the special weight that these lectures carried for general education, a number of Ottoman Greek societies in the capital got together under the leadership of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople and decided to coordinate their activities.[527] Significantly, one

[522] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', 1877-78, Τύποις Βουτυρά και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1879. www.archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiodi1012helluoft#page/n497/mode/2up. Accessed 28 Feb. 2017, minutes of the meeting convened on 31 Oct. 1877, pp. 111-113.

[523] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meetings convened on 9 Dec. 1902 and 24 Feb. 1903, pp. 6 and 9 respectively. The minutes do not mention the first name of Aristarches.

[524] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meetings convened on 25 Oct. 1904 and 1 Nov. 1904, pp. 65 and 66 respectively.

[525] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. op.cit., p. 23, article 105. The quote in Greek reads as "σπουδαίας δωρεάς εις την βιβλιοθήκην".

[526] «να συντελέσωσιν εις την διανοητικήν της παρ' ημίν κοινωνίας ανάπτυξιν, οίον Φυσικής, Φυσιολογίας, Ιστορίας γενικής, μερικής και φιλολογικής, Υγιεινής, Φιλολογίας, Δικαίου κτλ., αποκλειομένης αυστηρώς πάσης πολιτικής ομιλίας.» In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τεύχος Γ', τύποις Βυζαντίδος, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1864, minutes of the meeting convened on 12 Nov. 1862, pp. 140-141. medusa.libver.gr/handle/123456789/4470. Accessed 4 June 2017.

[527] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', 1870-71, Τυπογραφείον Ι. Α. Βρετού, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1872, «Έκθεσις περί των Δημοσίων Διαλέξεων», pp. 86-90; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', 1871-72, εκ του Τυπογραφείου Α. Κορομηλά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1873, minutes of the meeting convened on 8 Nov. 1871, p. 227.

of these, the Asia Minor Club,[528] offered public lectures in both Greek and Turkish, the latter ones aimed at the Turkish-speaking Greek Orthodox Anatolians who resided in the capital. By means of illustration, in 1871-1872, 31 lectures were delivered in Greek and 22 lectures in Turkish, with the ones in Turkish regularly being attended by a considerable number of Armenians and Muslims as well.[529] Although the public lectures given at the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople were in the Greek language,[530] by coordinating the efforts of these Ottoman Greek societies and by hosting their annual reports on the lectures in its periodical,[531] the society's embrace of a much broader audience that, in line with its founding principles, was not limited to the Greek Orthodox was confirmed. The importance of public lectures prompted the society to attempt to improve their curriculum and the teaching methods employed.[532] A decision was made in 1877 for the lectures to be divided into a few topics to be discussed at length, instead of the

archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiodi67helluoft#page/n3/mode/2up. Accessed 1 March 2017.

[528] For background information on the Asia Minor Club (*Λέσχη Μικρά Ασία*), see Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, pp. 144-145. Μαμώνη and Ιστικοπούλου. *op.cit.*, pp. 24-25, attempt to contextualise the operation of this and similar clubs.

[529] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1872, pp. 279-284, esp. pp. 282-283.

[530] A limited number of lectures delivered in French is noticeable throughout the years. See, for example, the reference to the lectures by J. Sandoz on lyrical poetry in the French language in Canada and Ch. Nazaretti on contemporary education, in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', 1892-93, Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1895, minutes of the meeting convened on 16 May 1893, p. 107.

[531] See, for example, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1872, pp. 282-283; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', 1872-73, εκ του Τυπογραφείου Α. Κορομηλά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1874, minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1873, pp. 305-321. archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiodi67helluoft#page/n432/mode/1up. Accessed 1 March 2017.

[532] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1873, pp. 336-337.

multiple fragmentation that had been the case up to that point.[533] The issue of systematising the public lectures resurfaced again in 1903, but its discussion was postponed.[534] The number of lectures fluctuated between years. For example, in 1872-1873, as many as 43 public lectures were delivered in the society[535] whereas in 1877-1878 only 15, not the least because of the political uncertainty that the Russo-Turkish War had brought about, rough weather conditions and a lack of accessible literature.[536] Ten years later, in 1887-1888, the number of public lectures at the society rose to 43[537] only to go down to 10 in the year 1900-1901.[538] Although far from being restricted to men, both the audience and the lecturers were male dominated. The few women who delivered a lecture, such as the Headmistress of the Zappeion school for girls in Constantinople Ms Kalliope Kechagia who talked on the fine arts, and the Armenian intellectual Ms Dussap, who spoke on the matter of progress in general and among the Armenians in particular, both in 1881-1882,[539] should rather be seen as exceptions. Likewise, few women attended the lectures, a

[533] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', *op.cit.*, minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1878, p. 126.

[534] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1904, p. 59.

[535] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1873, p. 306.

[536] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1878, p. 125.

[537] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Apr. 1888, p. 210.

[538] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΗ', 1899-1902, Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1904, minutes of the meeting convened on 27 May 1901, pp. 48-49. medusa.libver.gr/jspui/handle/123456789/4482. Accessed 4 June 2017.

[539] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', 1881-82, Τύποις Σ. Ι. Βουτυρά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1885, minutes of the meeting convened on 11/13 May 1882, p. 382. www.archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiod00istgoog#page/n5/mode/2up. Accessed 4 June 2017.

reality much lamented by the society, which, however, remained unable to remedy it.[540]

With its 34 volumes plus a number of annexes, namely separate volumes commissioned mostly by the archaeological and the biology committees, the periodical holds a special place in the history and activities of the society. The first volume was published in 1863,[541] not long after the idea of issuing a periodical was put on the table.[542] The periodical of the society is a portable record of its identity and work. The volumes include, in their introductory pages, lists of the founding, regular, honourary and corresponding members of the society, followed by lists of the members of its governing body and various committees, as well as the names of the curators of the archaeological and numismatic collection and of the scientific instruments collection. Also, the periodical contains the minutes of the meetings of the society and its annual reports as well as selected studies read and discussed in these meetings. It was the main tool that the society had available for disseminating its work and decisions, and afforded it an audience well beyond the confines of the Ottoman capital. This is reflected in the minutes of a meeting from 1888, when the society acknowledged the periodical as the main tool for maintaining relations with universities, scholarly societies, museums, academies, national libraries and other similar

[540] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 5 May 1868, p. 231; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1872, p. 279; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', 1885-86 and 1886-87, εκ του Τυπογραφείου Α. Κορομηλά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1891, minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1887, p. 93.

[541] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit..

[542] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Α', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 11 March 1863, p. 195.

institutions in Europe and the United States.[543] Besides being a networking tool, the periodical considerably supported the aspirations of the society to engage itself in the scholarly debates of its time through the production and sharing of knowledge. Thus, for example, exchanging the periodical with the journals of other institutions and newspapers in the Ottoman Empire and abroad[544] worked as a two-way channel: it enabled the society to promote its own work to third parties while allowing it to enrich its library and, in consequence, the opportunities that its members-*cum*-contributors to the periodical had to access otherwise difficult-to-attain pieces of information and rare, state-of-the art scholarly production. The publications that found their way to the library of the society on the basis of such exchanges include the *Archaeological Newspaper* (*Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*) from Greece, the bulletin of the German Archaeological School at Athens, the *Bulletin Critique* from Paris, the publication *Platonist* from the United States, the bulletin of the Russian Ministry of Education, and that of the Canadian Academy.[545] For the society to be able to participate in such exchanges, its periodical needed to contain original pieces of research and analysis, in which other scholars would be interested. Aware of this necessity, the society attempted rather

[543] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 May 1888, p. 220. For a similar case, see: *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11/13 May 1882, p. 384.

[544] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*.τόμος ΚΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 1 May 1888, p. 219; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 May 1903, p. 28.

[545] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 May 1888, p. 219. Already in 1861, in his letter to the society, the Jewish journalist from Corfu A. Koen had suggested the exchange of his newspaper with the periodical of the society. Although the society members were positively predisposed to A. Koen's letter, their response cannot be found published in the periodical and, thus, one cannot verify the exchange, which would have been an early example. *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Oct. 1861, p. 41.

unsuccessfully to issue the periodical on a quarterly basis,[546] and adopted a rule that acknowledged it a right of first publication regarding all studies presented in it.[547] In addition to this scholarly function, the periodical served the efforts of the society to support the dissemination of progress and the fight against prejudice and ignorance within the Greek Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire, through its free sharing with communities, schools and societies, as in the case of the 330 volumes of the periodical that were donated in 1904.[548]

The members of the society were divided into three categories: regular, honourary, and corresponding members. The regular members were the only ones with full membership rights, including the right to vote and to be elected. Initially, only residents of Constantinople could be admitted with this status but, after 1871, regular membership was opened up to everyone irrespective of their place of residence.[549] Honourary members were elected on the premises of their contribution to the letters and sciences, their benefaction towards the society or their support for the dissemination of education.[550] The

[546] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', 1884-85, εκ του Τυπογραφείου ΝΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1888, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Apr. 1885, pp. 107-108. archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiodi1920helluoft#page/n5/mode/2up. Accessed 2 March 2017.

[547] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 4 June 1884, pp. 60 and 61. Also, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', 1889-90 and 1890-91, Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1891, minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Jan. 1891, pp. 99-100. archive.org/stream/syngrammaperiodi2122helluoft#page/n412/mode/1up. Accessed 2 March 2017.

[548] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1904, p. 60.

[549] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1861)*. op.cit., pp. 2-3, article Θ΄and Ι'; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1864)*. op.cit., p. 5-6, article 13-14. Compare with *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. op.cit., p. 6, article 15.

[550] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1861)*. ibid, p. 3, article ΙΑ', which mentions only the first two premises; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1864)*. ibid, pp. 5-6, article 14; *Κανονισμός του εν*

corresponding members were expected to take part in the scholarly debates of the society by sending their contributions.[551] However, the duties of a corresponding member were changed after 1871, when, as an alternative to their papers, corresponding members could contribute to the spread of learning and the preservation of ancient monuments.[552] In 1920, a corresponding member could be anyone who resided outside the Ottoman capital and was able to contribute to the aims of the society,[553] a wording that encapsulated the most encompassing conditionality for corresponding membership. With 86 members at the moment of its creation and even though membership numbers fluctuated, the society grew to hundreds of members over the years. For example, in 1883-84, membership had reached more than 510 persons,[554] while in 1905 it had dropped to 384.[555]

The society was male- and middle–class-dominated. For example, its 86 founding members were all men[556] and 31 of them, for which data on their

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Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871). ibid, pp. 6-7, article 16; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. op.cit., p. 8, article 17; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. op.cit., p. 4, article 5; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. op.cit., p. 4, article 4. Between some of these articles, rather minor changes are noticeable, which though do not affect the meaning.

[551] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1861)*. ibid, p. 3, article Ι'; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1864)*. ibid, p. 6, article 14; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. ibid, p. 7, article 17; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. ibid, p. 8, article 18; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. ibid, pp. 4-5, article 6; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. ibid, p. 4, article 5.

[552] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. *ibid*, p. 7, article 17; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. ibid, p. 8, article 18; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. ibid, pp. 4-5, article 6.

[553] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. ibid, p. 4, article 5.

[554] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., pp. γ'-κβ΄.

[555] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., pp. γ'-κ'.

[556] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit., pp. ζ'-η΄.

occupation is available, were divided as follows: 12 physicians, 6 merchants, 4 professors, 3 statesmen, 1 banker, 1 lawyer, 1 landowner, 1 cleric, 1 intellectual and 1 consul.[557] The fact that the membership lists published in the periodical occasionally "would raise some from the dead, leave aside many active, hard-working and useful members, while giving others strange occupations"[558] does not entirely invalidate these for research purposes, as patterns are noticeable throughout the years. Exertzoglou's study of the lists for regular members has led to an interesting analysis, which confirms that it was the middle classes, such as merchants, bankers, physicians, teachers and lawyers, which formed the nucleus of the society. The relative weight of each occupational group within the society fluctuated with time. Businessmen, including merchants, bankers and high-ranking managers of companies, were a key component of the society. Data show that the bankers maintained their presence at the same level through time. However, from 35% in 1879, the membership of merchants went down to 11% in 1909. Still, this was approximately the same percentage as that of teachers and intellectuals whose membership in the society rose by only 2 percent, from 10% to 12% in that period, a fact incongruous with the goals of this literary society. The numbers of physicians and lawyers among the regular members of the society increased steadily during this period. Ottoman Greek statesmen, also known as neo-Phanariots, formed another category among the regular members of the society with a total of 22 representatives during the active years of the

[557] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., pp. γ'-δ'.

[558] «[των μελών ο κατάλογος] νεκρούς εγείρων τινάς, ενεργά δε και φιλότιμα και χρήσιμα μέλη πολλά παραλείπων, ετέροις δε διδούς επαγγέλματα παράδοξα». In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΕ', 1893-94, Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1895, minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1894, p. 96.

society. Among them, one comes across the names of Aristarches Stavrakes, Alexandros Karatheodore Pasha, Savvas Ioannes Pasha, Spyridon Mavrogenes Pasha and Andreas Kopases.[559]

Regular membership to the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople was open both to foreigners and Ottomans other than the Greek Orthodox. Indeed, numerous staff members of foreign legations[560] and other foreigners joined the society, often as active members of its committees,[561] while in 1869-1870 an Anglo-Dutch physician at the Ottoman court, Julius Millingen, headed the society as its elected president.[562] Other examples include James Calvert, who was secretary at the British legation, Jean Mordtmann and Paul Schroeder, who both worked as dragomans at the German legation, Rev. C. G. Curtis, who served at the Memorial Anglican Church in Constantinople, Alex. van Millingen, who was a professor at Roberts College, lawyers Edward Pears and A. Bardaut, painter F. Berggren, chemist Ch. Bonkowski, the Director of the Ottoman Bank Emile Deveaux, and dentist Al. Sorlin Dorigny.[563] Contrary to foreigners, the society appeared less attractive to non–Greek-Orthodox Ottomans. Yet, a small number of Armenians and Muslim Ottomans joined its ranks as regular members, such as Emin Salih Effendi, Ottoman intellectual and employee at the Ministry of Commerce;[564] Feizi Bey, Ottoman consul in Odessa; and Bedros Kuyumdjian Effendi,

[559] Εξερτζόγλου. *op.cit.*, pp. 34-41. Alexandros Karatheodore Pasha and Andreas Kopases served as princes of Samos. See ch. III, pp. 201-202.

[560] Εξερτζόγλου. *ibid,* p. 42.

[561] For example, see the analysis of the members of the archaeological committee, pp. 304-306.

[562] Karabıçak. *op.cit.*, p. 91; Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 83.

[563] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', 1883-84, op.cit., pp. ε'-ιδ'.

[564] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., p. ζ'; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Jan. 1894, pp. 82-83.

director of the division of forests and mines in the Ottoman administration.[565] The architectural committee of the society provides the best example of Ottoman Greek, foreign and non–Greek-Orthodox Ottoman members of the society getting together in what perhaps represented the pantheon of Ottoman architecture at that time. In 1903, this committee brought together architects Alexandre Vallaury, A. Perpignianni, Guilio Mongeri, Achilleas Kampanakes, A. Tedeschi, K. Papas, Pierre Bello, Edoardo de Nari or Mari, Perikles Photiades, Ch. Vladikas, M. Langas, Hikmet Mehmet Bey, I. Aznavour, I. Emine, Leon Gurekian, G. Nafilian, I. Nahoum, Y. Pekmezian, Th. Kouyand, G. Semprini, G. Tedeski, A. Tahtadjian, L. Valeri, H Vuccino, H. Libey, Vidat Bey, D. Ioannides, A. Tsigkrias, G. Koulouthros, K. Kyriakides, G. Linardos, V. Mavropoulos, V. Mavrogordatos, M. Vlassiades, F. Zachariades, S. Chrestides, G. Kosmatopoulos, G. Theocharides, K. Livanopoulos, and A. Yeni-Dounias.[566] These were soon joined by Ottoman court architect Raimondo d' Aronco, Antoine Ratifuski and Friederich de Ridder,[567] St. Fasanotti and A. Destuniano[568] and, by late 1904, Kemaleddin Bey.[569]

A look at the lists of corresponding members reveals the geographic spread of the society and the interest in its work that individuals in other parts

[565] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., pp. θ'and ιγ'.

[566] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', 1902-05, op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 March 1903, pp. 9-10; minutes of the meeting convened on 18 March 1903, pp. 10-11; minutes of the meeting convened on 19 May 1903, p. 16; and minutes of the meeting convened on 25 May 1903, p. 28. In the periodical, several non-Greek names appear in Greek, or even Hellenised, a fact that complicates their accurate transliteration into English.

[567] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 16 Feb. 1904, p. 43; and minutes of the meeting convened on 1 March 1904, p. 44.

[568] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Apr. 1904, p. 45.

[569] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*.τόμος ΚΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 1 Nov. 1904, p. 66; and minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Nov. 1904, p. 68.

of the empire and abroad shared. Corresponding members came from many parts of the empire, such as the Aegean islands of Chios (Sakız), Lesvos (Midilli), Samos (Sisam) and Amorgos; Anatolian towns like Kydoniae (Ayvalık), Pergamon, Trabzon and Kaesaria (Kayseri); Balkan cities, such as Salonica, Adrinople (Edirne), Filippoupole (Felibe / Plovdid in present-day Bulgaria), Arta and Ioannina (Yanya) (both in present-day Greece); and from Cyprus. Also, Greeks from outside the empire, especially Athens, joined the society as corresponding members next to Greeks and, mostly, foreigners from Paris, Venice, Bucharest, Braila, Alexandria, and London.[570] There were many reasons why someone might had wished to become a corresponding member of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, such as scholarly interest in archaeology or education. The periodical provides some insight into the reasons behind the membership of three Jewish journalists from the island of Corfu.[571] Progress and the fight against ignorance and superstition as well as a claim to a shared Greek identity motivated A. Koen, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, to join the society as early as 1861. As he wrote in his letter to the president of the society on the occasion of the anticipated launch of the society's periodical in "the national language" that year,

> This endeavour is met with our complete sympathy, all the more so that it contributes to the glory of the nation, while promoting the general good for humankind, and we cannot stay indifferent, even though we belong to the Jewish religion, but are no less and without interruption bonded with national ties with that people, which gave birth to the light and sciences, and of which we form part.[572]

[570] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., pp. ιθ'-κβ'.

[571] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', op.cit., p. η'.

[572] "Το έργον τούτο τυγχάνει υπέρ το δέον της ημετέρας συμπαθείας, καθ' όσον παν ό,τι τείνει προς αύξησιν της ευκλείας του έθνους, το αγαθόν της ανθρωπότητος συνάμα προάγον, δεν δύναται να αποβή αδιάφορον εις ημάς, οίτινες, ει και ανήκοντες εις το Ισραηλιτικόν πλήρωμα, ουχ ήσσον υπό εθνικών δεσμών αδιασπάστως συνδεόμεθα προς τον λαόν εκείνον, παρ' ω τα φώτα και αι επιστήμαι έσχον την κοιτίδα αυτών, και ούτινος μέρος αποτελούμεν." In

Ten years later, in 1871, Samouel Mordos and Iosef Nachamoules reaffirmed the aspirations of Jews from Corfu to see the society contributing to progress and the advancement of civilisation with this wish: "May complete success reward your efforts to promote the lights and civilisation in order to dispel the deep gloom of ignorance and superstition, which for so long have been tantalising the society and humanity."[573]

Unlike the admission of regular and corresponding members, that of honourary members was dependent on the society extending an invitation on the basis of an informed decision. Significantly, such a selection could be both a token of gratitude and acknowledgment, as well as a strategic move. Honourary members were expected to have contributed to the letters and sciences, to have acted as benefactors of the society or to have promoted education.[574] Indeed, donors of significant amounts were acknowledged as honourary members of the society, as in the case of Archimandrite Eugenios, who financed a competition in the early years of the society.[575] Many university professors from Greece and western countries are listed among the honourary members of the society.[576] Even members of the French Academy, such as Georges Perrot, accepted the honorific title.[577] Ambassadors are

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Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν. έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Oct. 1861, p. 41. It is noted that Koen's membership appears to have been initiated in 1863. See *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', ibid, pp. ζ'-η'.

[573] "Είθε πλήρης επιτυχία να στέψη τας προσπαθείας υμών, των φώτων και του πολιτισμού διαδιδομένων προς διασκέδασιν της ζοφεράς ομίχλης της τε αμαθείας και των προλήψεων, αίτινες επί τοσούτων εγένετο η μάστιξ των κοινωνιών και της ανθρωπότητος." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1872, p. 285.

[574] See p. 264.

[575] Vassiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 64, for the competition; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', op.cit., p. στ', for the Archimandrite's membership.

[576] See, for example, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., pp. ιε'-ιη'.

[577] See, for example, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΙΗ', ibid, pp. ιε'-ιη', and in particular for Georges Perrot p. ιζ'.

another category noticed in the list of honourary members, as are Greek Orthodox patriarchs.[578] Significantly, the society appears to have given considerable importance to maintaining good relations with the Ottoman authorities through extending honourary membership to a number of high-ranking Ottoman statesmen, such as grand viziers and ministers, and other members of the Ottoman administration. For example, as early as 1865, Edhem Pasha, minister of commerce and public works, and Münif Pasha, minister of education,[579] were inducted as honourary members. Edhem Pasha's reply has survived, and provides some insight into the reasons for accepting the title, as he encouraged the society, by stressing that "its works will bear fruits for the advancement of the letters and civilisation in our Country".[580] A few years later, in 1871, Senator and Minister Kemal Pasha was invited into the ranks of the society as a honourary member, while in 1879 it was the turn of former Grand Vizier Said Pasha.[581] Aarif Pasha, president of the Council of State, was announced an honourary member in 1887, the same year that honourary membership was extended to Foreign Minister Said Pasha.[582] Members of the Greek Orthodox community who excelled in Ottoman administration could be acknowledged as honourary members. For example, Ioannes Aristarches, who had served as Ottoman ambassador to Berlin, and Gregorios Aristarches, who had served as

[578] See, for example, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., pp. ιστ'-κβ'.

[579] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., p. ιζ'.

[580] "… dont les oeuvres ne manqueront de porter leurs fruits pour l'avancement des lettres et de la civilisation dans notre Pays". The quotation and general information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τεύχος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', εκ του Τυπογραφείου Α. Κορομηλά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1868, minutes of the meeting convened on 3 July 1865, pp. 81-82.

[581] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., pp. ιε' and ιη' for Kemal Pasha and Said Pasha respectively.

[582] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., pp. ιστ' and κα'.

Ottoman ambassador to Washington D.C., were made honourary members of the society in 1873 and 1879 respectively. In 1881, Alexandros Karatheodore Pasha, prince of Samos, received the honourific title.[583] Arguably, the election of Blackey Bey, president of the 6th municipality of Constantinople, as an honourary member in 1886[584] was directly related to the attempt of the society to elicit support among Ottoman administrators when confronted with a major taxation issue.[585] It is a daunting task to attempt to group and analyse all honourary memberships, especially when the justification for each election does not survive in the periodical. However, a great variety of occupations and levels of political seniority is noticeable among the honourary members, where next to British Prime Minister William Gladstone one finds the Director of the Department of Indirect Taxes of the Ottoman administration, Ali Fuat Bey.[586] In particular, for the years 1871 to 1878, Vassiadis has shown that,

> 120 non-Greeks were accorded honorary membership, 50 regular membership, and 30 corresponding membership. In ethnic terms, the largest group, well over 60 in number, were of French origin. Approximately 50 were German and about 30 were British. There were also small numbers of Italians, Russians, Americans, Ottoman Muslims, and other nationalities. The vast majority of these foreign members were academics, usually Classical philologists and historians. A significant proportion were diplomats and politicians, whilst the smallest number belonged to the professions and high finance.[587]

An exceptionally small number of women can be found among the regular and honourary members. Arguably, the first woman to join the society was Romanian Princess Helen Koltsov-Mossalsky, widely known as Dora d'Istria,

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[583] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', ibid, pp. ιστ' and ιη' for the Aristarches and Karatheodore Pasha respectively.

[584] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', ibid, p. ιστ'.

[585] For a discussion of this taxation issue, see pp. 279-281.

[586] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., p. ιε'.

[587] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 109.

in 1868, as honourary member.[588] Margarita Albana Meniate was elected honourary member in 1885.[589] All other women, who were admitted to the society, were admitted as regular members and were educators, a fact that Vassiadis views as "an obvious manifestation of the [society's] desire to enhance its involvement in the education of women".[590] In 1872, Sappho Leontias, a pioneering educator residing in Smyrna, was elected corresponding member, and, in 1878, upon moving to Constantinople, became arguably the first female regular member of the society. In 1874, Caroline Furet, headmistress of the Armenian school for girls in Ortaköy in the Ottoman capital, and Despina Skentou, headmistress of a Greek private school for girls in Pera, followed suit. The year 1907 saw the admission of three new female regular members, Euthaleia Adam, headmistress of the Zappeion school for girls in Constantinople; Elene Strouvale, deputy headmistress of said school; and Ioustina Lagoudake, headmistress of the Ioakeimion school for girls in Constantinople.[591]

In spite of its elaborate organisational structure and its large outreach, which spread over four continents, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople was not immune to challenges, some of which carried the risk of bringing about its demise. The society was confronted with its first great challenge on 24 May 1870, when a fire ravaged over half of the Pera district, burning down its rented headquarters and turning its archive, archaeological and scientific instruments collections and library into ashes. In spite of the

[588] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., p. ιστ'.

[589] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., p. ιδ'.

[590] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 112.

[591] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., pp. ε', θ' and η' for each educator respectively. Also, Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, pp. 111-112.

widespread belief that the society had come to an end, a combination of solidarity, sound management, and vision allowed the society to be reborn from its ashes. In the aftermath of the fire, many individuals and institutions from the empire and abroad expressed their sympathy by, *inter alia*, donating books and/or money. The Greek School at Galata, the Imperial Medical Society, and the School of Panagia in Pera, which had escaped the fire, all hosted the itinerant society in the first twelve months following this catastrophe. Also, the society embarked on a targeted fundraising campaign, which allowed it to move into its own building in 1873, and initiated another campaign that actively promoted book donations for its library, while encouraging members who had delivered lectures in the society before the fire to send copies so that it could replenish the burnt down archive.[592]

Besides calamities, Ottoman politics, including foreign policy considerations, weighed heavily on the course of the society in the Hamidian and Young Turk periods in particular. A first indication of the impact that the changing political environment under Sultan Abdülhamid II would have on the society came in 1882, when the Ottoman government requested the society to acquire permission in order to publish its periodical. Governmental control over publications and censorship were new to the society, which up to that point had been printing its periodical without the state being part of the process. It took the society some time before it mastered the new rules and acquired the sought-after governmental permission in 1884. Significantly, the facilitating role of the Minister of the Interior, Edhem Pasha, appears to have

[592] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', op.cit., various meetings, pp. 132-142, 146 and 147, 149, 151, 152, 162, 166, 173, 176, 181-182, 186, 187-188. Also, Vassiadis. *ibid*, pp. 85-87. In particular, for the opening ceremony of the new building, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., p. 333.

been crucial, if not indispensable, and beyond what "his duty dictated towards a society, which aims at promoting the learning in the empire and, thus, benefiting the state", as he kindly evaded when the society expressed its gratitude. Interestingly, the governmental permission was issued not in the name of the society but in that of one of its members, Iakovos Artemiades, former counselor (*müsteşar*) in the administration of Yanya (Ioannina in present-day Greece) and, at that time, representative of the tramway company in Constantinople, who offered to facilitate the process. Although it is hard to provide a specific explanation as to why this solution was chosen, Karabıçak's argument that, in those years, "the Ottoman bureaucrats felt the need to interfere when the associations' relations assumed an institutional form rather than a personal one" appears to be of some value, in that it reflects Hamidian uneasiness with associational life when not under the control of the state. The vigilance of the state can be seen in the process followed even for extending permission to Artemiades. Not only was the volume in question studied, the censor thoroughly looked into all previous volumes issued. In terms of acquiring permission from that moment onwards, the permission document stated that the periodical would have to abide by a number of conditions: (a) maintain its scientific, philological and philosophical orientation while avoiding the administrative and political sciences; (b) not publish political news and ideas; (c) avoid any political debates; and (d) keep away from discussing issues that relate to nations and religions, including the ones contemporary to its issuance. Moreover, each time Artemiades wished to publish a new volume, the Press Office of the Ottoman government would have to receive a list of its contents as well as each article to be published, if

necessary.[593] With the assistance and good advice of one of its prominent honourary members, Edhem Pasha, the society had been able to overcome a major complication; from that point onwards, though, it would have to readjust its *modus operandi*, so as to accommodate an increasingly interfering and controlling government.

The society was to receive a blow on its 25th anniversary, in the summer of 1886, when the international scholarly congress that it had been planning for almost two years was cancelled by order of the Ottoman government, only three weeks before its inauguration. The congress was planned as a major international event that would bring to Constantinople well-known scholars from abroad, including many honourary members of the society. The decision for its organisation had been announced to the members of the society in late 1884 and by September 1885 the programme of the congress had been published and invitations had been sent out. Also, in May 1886, as the starting day of the congress was approaching, the president of the society embarked on a two-month trip to the Balkans and western Europe in order to further publicise it and attract participants.[594] As stated in its general ordinances, the congress aimed at cultivating and promoting the letters and sciences in the Ottoman lands through presentations on philological, archaeological, and educational matters as well

[593] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8/20 March 1882, pp. 365 and 310-311. *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Jan. 1884, pp. 47-48, and, in particular for Edhem Pasha's quote, p. 50 (*[...] το καθήκον αυτού ετέλεσεν εις σωματείον την διάδοσιν των γραμμάτων εν τη αυτοκρατορία στοχαζόμενον και ούτω το κράτος ωφελούν.*). Also, in the same volume, minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Apr. 1884, p. 68; and minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1884, pp. 94, and 104. Vassiadis. *Ibid*, p. 152, shortly comments on this issue without however providing much information. For the quote by Karabıçak, see Karabıçak. *op.cit.*, p. 73.

[594] Vassiadis. *ibid*, pp. 157-161.

as on the natural sciences, the social sciences and ethics, and any other scientific area. At the same time, the congress had a strong fundraising component reflected in the explicit addition of money donations for the promotion of the letters and sciences in the East in its aims. Significantly, the society was careful to ban the discussion of any political and religious matters.[595]

News that the Ottoman government had forbidden the society to proceed with the congress, on the grounds of its international character, came by means of a letter signed by the minister of education on 26 July 1886,[596] a day after the decision was made by the cabinet (*Meclis-i Has*). Karabıçak argues that the cancellation of the congress was related to its international outlook at a time of growing Ottoman sensitivities to the possibility of foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the empire, and, in particular, "the fact that the association had invited related parties and it contacted foreign embassies in the capital, without prior notice to the Ottoman authorities", as the *Meclis-i Has* stated in its report.[597] George Vassiadis also associates the cancellation of the congress with foreign policy considerations. Echoing Droulia, he argues that behind this decision of the Ottoman government one finds Germany, which, alarmed at the participation of a number of French scholars, who also happened to be politically active, lobbied the Sublime

[595] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ' τόμου, Τύποις Σ. Ι. Βουτυρά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1884, p. 1 at the end of the volume.

[596] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Εικοσιπενταετηρίς, 1861-1886, Παράρτημα του τόμου ΙΗ', Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, 1888, minutes of the meeting convened on 7/19 Sep 1886, p. 12.

[597] Karabıçak. *op.cit.*, p. 73.

Porte "to take this extreme measure".[598] His view that, besides German influence, the cancellation was "a further example of [Sublime Porte's] campaign aimed at diminishing the prestige of the Greek *millet* of the empire",[599] requires further research before it can be fully taken on board.

The speech of the president of the society, delivered at its 25th anniversary, which was celebrated in a considerably more modest way than intended in September 1886, creates the impression of being a subtle and diplomatic response to the Ottoman government for its decision, or rather an attempt to belatedly assuage their fears and sensitivities regarding the international character of the congress in particular and that of the society more broadly. While considering this decision being based on "a misunderstanding" (*εκ παρανοήσεως*), President Herokles Vassiades made an extensive and elaborate presentation of the principles upon which the society was based. He stressed that the society had kept itself away from political and religious debates and had instead focused on the study of the human condition and the sciences. In what he termed the clearest example of "the cosmopolitan character of Greek culture" (*ο κοσμοπολιτικός χαρακτήρ του ελληνικού πολιτισμού*) and using quotes from ancient Greek texts, Herokles Vassiades spoke of humanism and the need for humankind to form one polity. He then argued that all civilised people were expected to work together against darkness and ignorance. Solidarity for progress at the international level justified, for the president of the society, its policy of open

[598] Droulia, Loukia. "The Cancelation of the International Congress of Literary Societies for the Furthering of Hellenic Studies, Constantinople, 1886." *Actes du IIe Congrès International des Études du Sud-Est Européen*. vol. 4, Athens, 1987, pp. 525-526, in Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 161.

[599] Vassiadis. *ibid*, p. 161.

membership and, more broadly, the international outlook of the society, and necessitated the invitation of individuals and institutions from abroad. Herokles Vassiades considered the decision of the Ottoman government "a misunderstanding", all the more so because the grand vizier, the minister of education and the rest of the government had been informed about the congress a year in advance. A few months before the congress, in May 1886, the letters that the society sent to Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha and to Minister of Education Münif Pasha, who happened to be a honourary member of the society, provided information on the programme of the congress and its participants, and went as far as to request the aegis of the Ottoman government.[600] For the president of the society, the cancellation could only have been a misunderstanding, given the regular invitation of the Ottoman minister of education to the annual anniversaries of the society, often extended to him in person, and the fact that both the annual anniversaries and other meetings of the society were regularly attended by foreigners. In spite of the shockwaves that this abrupt cancellation generated, the society was able to partly mitigate the damage by hosting those would-be participants who went on with their trips and, more importantly, by publishing in its periodical those presentations shared in writing by would-be participants.[601]

One issue spanned both the Hamidian and the Young Turk periods, that of taxing the society. It surfaced for the first time not long after the cancellation of the society's congress, when, in October 1886, the president of

[600] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Εικοσιπενταετηρίς, op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 7/19 Sep. 1886, pp. 5-12. On Münif Pasha's membership, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., p. κ'.

[601] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, Εικοσιπεντατηρίς, ibid, esp. p. 11 for the meetings, p. 10 for participants who went on with their trips, and pp. 53-620 for the presentations.

the society informed its members at a meeting of an official letter by the President of the 6th municipality of Constantinople Blackey Bey, with which he requested the payment by the society of a total of 133,260 *kuruş*, that is, more than 1.300 liras, as land tax.[602] Initially, the society attempted to resolve this directly with the municipal authorities, an attempt which also entailed extending honourary membership to President Blackey Bey. The latter's response at the visit of the society's delegation is revealing of a broader effort to undermine the society on the part of the state, or at least some segments within it, and is worth quoting extensively:

> […] in his reply his Excellency Blackey Bey said that he had not expected such a great honour, for which he considers himself totally unworthy, and which he much appreciates; that he has been aware for some time now of the existence and work of the society on education; that he recently felt very sad at the news regarding the academic congress, which if it had taken place would have much benefitted the country and would have been an honour for it; that **the society has many enemies** [emphasis added], but also a few friends, of which Mavrogenes Pasha had been for a long time one, and from that day onwards himself; that there is little he can do in favour of the society but will willingly do what is possible; that he will try to rid the society of the requested municipal tax; that the society should not lose faith and its courage but to continue courageously and silently its noble work; that every friend of civilisation is a friend of the society and that it would be to wonder, if such an institution did not exist here and was not supported as required.[603]

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[602] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 Oct. 1886, p. 51.

[603] "[...] απαντών ο εξοχώτατος Βλάκ βέης είπεν, ότι δεν περιέμενε τοσούτον έκτακτον τιμήν, ης θεωρεί εαυτόν πάντη ανάξιον, και ην περί πολλού ποιείται' ότι γινώσκει από χρόνου ικανού την ύπαρξιν του συλλόγου και τους κόπους, οίτινες καταβάλλονται υπέρ της παιδείας' ότι επ' εσχάτων σφόδρα ελυπήθη πληροφορηθείς τα περί του επιστημονικού συνεδρίου, ούτινος η τέλεσις ήθελε τα μάλα ωφελήσει τον τόπον και μεγάλην περιποιήσει αυτώ τιμήν΄ ότι ο σύλλογος έχει πολλούς εχθρούς, έχει δε καί τινας φίλους, εν οις έκπαλαι με τον Μαυρογένη πασσάν, από δε της ημέρας ταύτης και αυτόν' ότι δεν δύναται μεν να πράξη πολλά υπέρ του συλλόγου, αλλά προθύμως θα πράττη το κατά δύναμιν' ότι θα προσπαθήση να απαλλάξη αυτόν του αιτουμένου δημαρχιακού φόρου' ότι ο σύλλογος δεν πρέπει να πτοήται ουδέ να δειλιά, αλλά να εξακολουθή θαρραλέως και αθορύβως το ευγενές αυτού έργον' ότι τον σύλλογον αγαπά πας φίλος του πολιτισμού και ότι θα ήτο απορίας άξιον, αν καθίδρυμα τοιούτον δεν υπήρχεν ενταύθα και δεν ενισχύετο δεόντως." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 3 Nov. 1886, pp. 52-53.

As no progress was made in the following months, the society brought the issue to the Patriarchate, which from that point onwards petitioned the Ottoman government accordingly.[604] Although the Patriarchate managed to convince the government that the society was a "school of the people" and the demands for immediate payment of the tax ceased, the society, in spite of its efforts, never managed to acquire official confirmation of its tax-exempt status.[605]

The issue resurfaced in August 1910, when the society was officially requested to pay all taxes purportedly owed from 1 March 1874 until the end of that fiscal year (28 February 1911).[606] Karabıçak maintains that the request of 1910 came about as a result of the enactment of the 1909 Law of Associations, which distinguished between natural and legal persons, with the property of the society appearing under the name of a natural person, and that the issue was eventually solved in favour of the society.[607] Indeed, the Council of State deliberated in favour of the society by exempting it from all taxes retrospectively.[608] Significantly, when, in the aftermath of this decision, a delegation of the society visited Grand Vizier Hakkı Pasha to present him with his honourary membership diploma, Hakkı Pasha in his response acknowledged the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople as "the oldest Literary Society in our Country as I got to know no such other before it and

[604] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Apr. 1887, p. 75. Also, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Jan. 1888, p. 189; minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Jan. 1888, pp. 189-190; and minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Feb. 1888, p. 194.

[605] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 163.

[606] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΓ', 1910-11, Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1914, minutes of the meeting convened on 12 Oct. 1910, p. 3.

[607] Karabıçak. *op.cit.*, pp. 73-74.

[608] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, pp. 210-211.

appreciated from a distance its scholarly activities", and concluded by saying that "I consider myself happy for having been able to provide our Society with a small service".[609]

Although different in nature, the two taxation cases highlight the political predicaments that the society was faced with. In the first case, the tax request was clearly a political measure aimed at undermining the society, a fact that is reinforced if one takes into consideration the stance of the Ottoman government with regards to the international congress of the society planned for the same year, and points to attempts to create a disabling environment for the society. In the second case, the extent to which the request reflected an attempt by the authorities to control the society is less clear. At first glance, it appears more as a side-effect of the transition from an old legal paradigm regarding associational life in the empire to a new legal regime following the enactment of the 1909 Law on Associations. The fact that the issue was resolved in favour of the society without remaining pending for years, as it had been in the first case, reinforces this view. However, in order to fully appreciate the situation, the question is born whether other associations in the empire, with their property appearing under the name of individuals, were met with a similar request, and whether different ideological strands can be identified within the Ottoman authorities at this period of Young Turk rule that could be expected to be less positively predisposed to this Hellenic society than, for example, Grand Vizier Hakkı Pasha.

[609] «... ως το αρχαιότατον Φιλολογικόν Σωματείον εν τω Κράτει ημών, καθόσον ουδέν άλλο τοιούτον σωματείον εγνώρισα συσταθέν προ αυτού και εξετίμησα μακρόθεν την επιστημονικήν αυτού δράσιν.» «Θεωρώ εμαυτόν ευτυχή, ότι τελευταίως εις τινα υπόθεσιν του Συλλόγου μας ηυτύχησα να παράσχω μικράν εκδούλευσιν.» In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 Jan. 1911, pp. 5-6.

Also, this question begs attention because the society soon entered a period of significant difficulties in its functioning, due to political considerations and restraints. In late 1911, for reasons that remain uncertain, the society cancelled, at the last minute, the celebrations planned on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. George Vassiadis suggests two possible explanations; either governmental interference or a wish by the society itself to maintain a low profile following the occupation of the Dodecanese islands in the Aegean by Italy in October 1911. Either way, already in 1911 politics appear to have had a considerable impact on the society, which chose to celebrate its 50th anniversary in March 1912 with a modest ceremony. Significantly, this was only a prelude to what would happen during the First World War. For example, in those years, censorship reached such a level that, except for an annex of the biology committee, the efforts of the society to publish its periodical did not materialise. Similarly, having put its headquarters at the disposal of the Central School for Girls, which had been requisitioned, and due to a law that banned the holding of meetings in school buildings, the society was barred from convening. Both its inability to convene and that of publishing its periodical condemned the society to a forced state of inactivity, lest its members risk being arrested.[610]

Besides such exogenous difficulties, some of the challenges that the society was faced with were internal to its operations. Although there were years when the society enjoyed financial surpluses,[611] lack of funding, at least

[610] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, pp. 211-213.

[611] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', 1879-80, op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1880, p. 204; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 12 May 1885, p. 124.

compared to what it wished and set out to achieve, remained a constant theme for most of its history. The society primarily relied on the payment of membership fees and donations, including inheritances, for its income. Yet, its longstanding laxity with the payment of the membership fees and uncertainty with donations, partly because of the economic misfortunes of the Ottoman Empire, resulted in a certain degree of financial insecurity.[612] The embezzlement of the society's capital in cash by its accountant, which only came to light after he committed suicide in 1883, rendered a heavy blow to the society, both in terms of the risks that ensued for its credibility and, more importantly, in terms of its financial sustainability. Prompt legal action did not end in favour of the society in any other way than to avert an outcry for not having prevented the embezzlement. However, the society was eventually able to mitigate the worst financial consequences of this development, not least, thanks to sound financial management and the support of other societies.[613]

The society did not develop its activities in an ideological void, and, though it was not created in order to express a certain political idea, its members shared a distinct interest in progress. Its founders identified their initiative as being a reflection at the societal level of the broader efforts of the Ottoman state to push forth a reformist agenda for the sake of progress.[614] As a topic, progress repeatedly came up in the lectures delivered at the

[612] See, for example, the discussion by Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, pp. 103, 147, 148, 150-151, and 199. Also, Exertzoglou. *op.cit.*, pp. 22-23, 28-29, 37-38, 44-47.

[613] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 14 June 1883, p. 37; minutes of the meeting convened on 21 Nov. 1883, p. 43; minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Nov. 1883, p. 44; minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Jan. 1884, p. 49; minutes of the meeting convened on 16 Jan. 1884, p. 50; and minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1884, pp. 92-94.

[614] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit., pp. γ'-δ'.

society.[615] Significantly, Ottoman statesmen acknowledged the contribution of the society to the promotion of progress in the empire. For example, in 1884, the representative of the minister of public education, Elias Matar Effendi, congratulated the society on its anniversary in a move, which he framed as part of the efforts of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his government to enhance the promotion of the letters and sciences.[616] Similarly, the following year, the representative of the minister of public education, Georgakes Ohannes Effendi, expressed his satisfaction with the work of the society, "which the government follows with interest and which is beneficial to the country and in accordance with the wishes of His Excellency the Sultan, who wants all the peoples under his rule to progress in the letters and civilisation."[617] In a similar fashion, upon his election as honourary member of the society in 1888, Said Pasha called the society "worthy of much praise […] for having worked for the past 25 years towards the reform of a large segment of the inhabitants of Anatolia" while acknowledging the society as "one of the things in which the Imperial capital can take pride".[618]

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[615] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11/13 May 1882, p. 382. The lecture "on the respect of correspondence especially in relation to conjugal rights and obligations" is an example of the debate touching the issue of human rights and, in particular, women's rights. "Περί του εις την Ανταπόκρισιν Οφειλομένου Σεβασμού και Ιδία Περί των υπό την Έποψη ταύτην Συζυγικών Δικαιωμάτων και Καθηκόντων.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 Dec. 1890, pp. 92-93.

[616] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1884, p. 101.

[617] "ου τα έργα η κυβέρνησις μετ' ενδιαφέροντος παρακολουθεί και α εισί προς όφελος του κράτους και σύμφωνα προς τας βουλάς της Α. Μεγαλειότητος του Σουλτάνου, όστις επιθυμεί, ίνα πάντες οι υπό το σκήπτρον αυτού λαοί προάγονται εις τα γράμματα και τον πολιτισμό." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 12 May 1885, p. 134.

[618] "πλείστων επαίνων άξιος τυγχάνει ο σύλλογος ως από εικοσιπενταετίας εργαζόμενος υπέρ αναπλάσεως μεγάλης μερίδος κατοίκων της Ανατολής και ότι θεωρείται εν των σεμνωμάτων της πρωτευούσης της αυτοκρατορίας." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 14 March 1888, p. 197. In the list of honourary members in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., p. κα', a Foreign Minister Said Pasha is included,

By and large, a liberal foundation linked the ideas and opinions aired in the society. Two lectures from 1871-1872 that took interest in the abolition of slavery in the United States and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in the United Kingdom,[619] as well as a reference to civic liberty and individual prosperity to be achieved through the study of the Ancient Greeks from 1890[620] provide some of the clearest examples of liberal thinking shared in the society. However, references to women's rights were rarely recorded and could generate uneasiness, as in the case of a lecture from 1890 on the rights and duties of men towards their wives that openly acknowledged equality of rights between men and women.[621]

The society strongly projected the idea that science, including the humanities, was indigenous to the lands of the empire, and further argued that the (Ottoman) Greeks had a civilising mission. The argument for the indigeneity of science regarded the Ancient Greeks as the forefathers of local science and scholarship, and was occasionally developed in competitive terms with western sources of knowledge or, more precisely, their import into the empire. The words of the president of the society in 1868 illustrate this thesis well:

> And we have been truly called upon so that under the mighty aegis of H.E. the Sultan, by stirring the dust of time and clearing the debris, we find the natural and fertile ground, and plant in it the

though the starting date of his membership is set to 1887. It is highly probable that the Said Pasha mentioned in this list is the same as the one whose response is partially quoted above.

[619] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1872, p. 281.

[620] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 13 March 1872, pp. 258-259.

[621] "περί του εις την ανταπόκρισιν οφειλομένου σεβασμού και ιδία περί των υπό την έποψιν ταύτην συζυγικών δικαιωμάτων και καθηκόντων." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 Dec. 1890, p. 92-93.

> indigenous tree of science, instead of the degenerate and exotic one that bears no fruit! and we erect underneath this a local altar to the Muses, an altar close to us and not alien and foreign and strange, uncommon to this land and not to the liking of the Goddesses who protect our abode.[622]

In this context, the society saw for the Greek nation, which it considered the natural guardian of a global heritage, a civilizing role addressed to all nations in the Ottoman Empire,[623] and for itself that of the centre and abode of all scientific associations in the empire.[624] In spite of any Occidentalising or (self) Orientalising undertones, the mission of the society was to disseminate knowledge beyond the learned Ottomans and open its realms to "all inhabitants of the East" (*εις πάντα κάτοικον της Ανατολής*). Significantly, the society considered knowledge a natural right of all those living in the East and "no longer the exclusive possession of the learned ones" (*δεν είναι πλέον κτήμα αποκλειστικόν των περί τα γράμματα μόνον ασχολουμένων*).[625] This "return of Greek science" (*[...] την επάνοδον... της ελληνικής επιστήμης...*) was above all to be peaceful. "The Muses of light, Gentlemen, of peace and love between the nations, our Society has been called upon to bring back […] to

[622] "Και αληθώς εκλήθημεν, ίνα υπό την κραταιάν αιγίδα της Α.Μ. του Σουλτάνου, την τέφραν των αιώνων ανασκαλεύοντες, τα συντρίμματα εκκαθαίροντες, ανεύρωμεν το φυσικόν και ζωογόνον έδαφος, στήσωμεν επ' αυτού το ιθαγενές δένδρον της επιστήμης, και ουχί το έκφυλον εκείνο και εξωτικόν το μηδένα καρπόν φέρον! και υψώσωμεν υπ' αυτό βωμόν ταις Μούσαις εγχώριον, βωμόν οικείον και ουχί αλλότριον και ετεροειδή και αλλοπρόσαλλον, ανοίκειον τω εδάφει τούτω και απαρέσκοντα ταις εφεστίαις Θεαίς." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 5 May 1868, p. 228.

[623] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1869, pp. 239-247, esp. pp. 239-240 and 246.

[624] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Dec. 1869, p. 251.

[625] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 May 1871, pp. 210-211.

their first abode, the City of all cities", exclaimed the president of the society in 1867.[626]

The focus of the society on the sciences, classics, history and archaeology, its emphasis on progress and the fight against prejudice and ignorance, the importance that it consequently ascribed to education, especially that of ordinary people, its publication activity, as in the case of its periodical, its liberal leanings, and its middle class orientation, in particular among the merchants, pointedly raises the question as to the relation between the society and the Enlightenment. Indeed, these features of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople resonate well with what the literature has labeled as the Hellenic Enlightenment in the Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia in the 18th and early 19th centuries, for the proponents of the Hellenic Enlightenment, largely merchants, educators, including clerics, and Phanariots, believed in rational thinking, as experienced through the modern sciences, in the concept of human evolution and progress, especially through the spread of education, and in the ability of humans to attain happiness.[627]

Although it is worthy to attempt to explore the links further, considerable gaps in the literature and methodological issues do not allow

[626] «Τας Μούσας των φωτών, Κύριοι, της ειρήνης και της αγάπης των εθνών κέκληται ο ημέτερος Σύλλογος ίνα, θεραπεύων και φιλοφρονών, επαναφέρη εις την πρώτην αυτών εστίαν, εις την βασιλίδαν ταύτην των πόλεων.» In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 20 May 1867, p. 201.

[627] Δημαράς, Κ. Θ. *Νεολληνικός Διαφωτισμός*. 10th ed., Ερμής, 2009, pp. 1-119, esp. pp. 5-6 for the basic features of the Hellenic Enlightenment. Also, Κιτρομηλίδης, Πασχάλης Μ. *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*. 3rd. ed., Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης. For a revision of some of his initial ideas, see Kitromilides, Paschalis M. "The Enlightenment and the Greek Cultural Tradition." *History of European Ideas*, vol. 36, issue 1, 2010, pp. 39-46. DOI: dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.histeuroideas.2009.06.001. Accessed 21.03.2017.

one to reach definite conclusions.[628] First, it is particularly difficult to bridge the chronological gap[629] between the European Enlightenment, which underwent its period of maturity in the 18th century, with a society that was created in the second half of the 19th century. Even the relative lateness in the emergence of the Hellenic Enlightenment, the peak of which is chronologically identified with the late 18th and early 19th centuries, just before the establishment of the Greek state, fails to explain the link. Significantly, at least a generation separates what is considered the end date of the Hellenic Enlightenment and the starting year of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople. Also, the established view that the Hellenic Enlightenment fulfilled its historical mission with the Greek War of Independence and the creation of the Greek state, at which point its demise came about, further complicates any attempt to associate the Enlightenment and the society. However, at the establishment of the Greek state in the early 1830s, most Greeks continued to live in Ottoman lands. To argue that the Hellenic Enlightement came to an end with the formation of the Greek state deprives the Ottoman Greeks of agency and an important part of their intellectual history, and misleads the modern historian into thinking that what might have been true for those lands that came under Greek authority was also true for those Greeks whose intellectual life was not dictated or delineated by the exigencies and relatively illiberal understandings of the modern Greek polity. Such an important point of

[628] Unless otherwise mentioned, the analysis is based in a critical re-evaluation of the mainstream approach to the Hellenic Enlightenment as expressed by Dimaras and Kitromilides. For bibliographical information, see previous footnote no. 625.

[629] For a critique of chronologically and ideologically vague definitions of the European Enlightenment, see Frängsmyr, Tore. “The European Enlightenment.” *European Review*, vol. 3, issue 1, 1995, pp. 25-34. DOI: doi.org/10.1017/S1062798700001307. Accessed 19 Apr. 2017.

irrelevance of the dominant analytical model regarding the Hellenic Enlightenment to the Ottoman Greeks is complemented by the inability of the model to incorporate more inclusive and less nationalistic versions of the Enlightenment, as noticed among the Phanariots. By drawing on the work of Christine Philliou and Johann Strauss, one could argue that the Phanariots, in particular, introduced concepts and ideas of the Enlightenment not only among the Greek-speaking Ottomans but the Ottoman Muslim ruling elite as well.[630] Moreover, one should carefully take into consideration whether the initiation of modernisation reforms in the Ottoman Empire, which resonated with the liberal requests of the Hellenic Enlightenment, at the same time that the Greek nation-state was being established at the expense of the Hellenic Enlightenment could have deflected the Ottoman Greeks from Greek nationalism and into more universalist understandings that were closer to the ideas of the Enlightenment and did not negate the Ottoman polity. The picture becomes more complicated when one attempts to decipher the links between the Ottoman Muslim bureaucratic elite and the Enlightenment, especially when unmediated by the Phanariots,[631] in an attempt to understand the broader context regarding the reception of Enlightenment ideas in the empire. Overall, the available literature sheds no light on the possibility of an Ottoman

[630] Philliou, Christine. "Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 51, issue 1, 2009, pp. 151-181. DOI: doi.org/10.1017/S0010417509000073. Accessed 21.03.2017. Strauss, Johann. "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th – 20th Centuries)." *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, vol. 35, issue 2, Nov. 1995, pp. 182-294. www.jstor.org/stable/1571230. Accessed 21.03.2017.

[631] For example, see the discussion provided in the following two articles: Yılmaz, Hüseyin. "From *Serbestiyet* to *Hürriyet*: Ottoman Statesmen and the Question of Freedom during the Late Enlightenment." *Studia Islamica*, vol. 111, 2016, pp. 202-230. doi.org/10.1163/19585705-12341340. Accessed 5 June 2017. Eldem, Edhem. "Début des Lumières ou Simple Plagiat ? La Très Voltairienne Préface de l' Histoire de Şânizâde Mehmed Ataullah Efendi." *Turcica*, vol. 45, 2014, pp. 269-318. DOI: doi.org/10.2143/TURC.45.0.3032671. Accessed 5 June 2017.

Greek Enlightenment following the creation of the Greek state, and little light on its interaction with the Ottoman Muslim ruling elite that could contribute to understanding the Enlightenment in an Ottoman context.

While bearing these restrictions and counter-arguments in mind, one could tentatively suggest that the many similarities between the main features of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople and the basic tenets of the Hellenic Enlightenment point to a stronger connection between the two than situating the society only within the context of the Ottoman reforms afford it. In other words, it is suggested that a more deeply rooted engagement with the Enlightenment ideas is at the roots of the society and the orientation of its activities, which the Ottoman reforms, especially of the Tanzimat period, enabled and, occasionally, reinforced.

However, by being a continuation of the Hellenic Enlightenment in a post-European Enlightenment era and under the pressure of nationalist ideologies in the empire, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople gradually moved closer to Greek nationalism, a shift made clear only after the Balkan Wars and the outbreak of the First World War. Overall, the society remained open and inclusive until the collapse of the empire. Yet, following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 and the temporary creation of Greater Bulgaria on the basis of the Treaty of San Stefano (1878), the Greek nation both as a concept and a point of reference started to gain ground in the discourse of the society. Exertzolgou views the national and, eventually, nationalist outlook of the society as a feature that, far from being a founding one, was developed according to the analysis of the socio-political reality around them that the members of the society made on an ongoing basis. In

such analyses, threats, as for example the Treaty of San Stefano and Bulgarian nationalism, and, one could add, opportunities, such as the prospects for self-determination that went along with the League of Nation mandates following the First World War, acted as catalysts in the formation of the national and nationalist attributes of the society.[632] Such threats and opportunities slowly eroded the cultural identification of the society with a Greek nation able and willing to acknowledge and respect the Ottoman polity, and eventually turned this into political identification with Greek irredentism.

A generational shift evident in the leadership, financing and membership of the society reinforced such a development in the ideological outlook of the society. The two generations that one can discern in the 60-odd year long history of the society had differing formative experiences. Whereas a first generation can be linked primarily to the Greek War of Independence and, in particular, its aftermath, including the initial years of the Tanzimat reforms, the second generation came of age during Sultan Abdülhamid's reign, and led the society in the Young Turk period, and during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. This change of guard appears to have taken long with the two generations overlapping for a significant number of years after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78.[633] In spite of this, though, it contributed to the shift in the ideological outlook of the society, becoming evident in the final years of the empire after decades of collaboration between Greeks and non-Greeks on matters related to Greek history, language and

[632] Εξερτζόγλου. *op.cit.*, pp. 165-177, esp. pp. 167-169.

[633] For example, for the founding members of the society passing away, compare the lists of founding members in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', op.cit., pp. γ'-δ' and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., pp. γ'-δ'. The society developed the practice of announcing the deaths of its members in its meetings with information consequently surviving in the minutes of meetings that were published in its periodical.

thought as well as the history, language and intellectual production of other nations, ancient and contemporary.

Significantly, at the beginning of the Young Turk period, the society still exhibited a mixed stance *vis-à-vis* Greek nationalism, on the one hand, and Ottomanism, on the other hand. In an event organised in the aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution, and aimed at celebrating this new political development in the presence, *inter alia*, of Prince Sabahaddin, the leader of the pro-decentralisation branch of Ottomanist intellectuals,[634] the president of the society commenced his speech by reciting the Greek national anthem. Although this anthem is succinctly titled "Ode to Liberty" (*Ύμνος εις την Ελευθερία*), for it is a beautiful poem against slavery and in favour of freedom, it is hard to miss the symbolism behind this act. For "Ode to Liberty" was written on the occasion of the Greek War of Independence and, in particular, the so-called exodus of Missolonghi in 1826 when the destitute Greek Orthodox inhabitants of this little Ottoman town (in present-day central-western Greece), at that time besieged by Ottoman forces, opted for escaping at night and liberty at all cost rather than having to choose between capitulation or starving to death. In contrast, the member of the society, charged with delivering the celebratory speech at this event, chose a completely different approach, one that followed the ideas of Ottomanism. He argued that "the struggle is not yet over […] our nation has much to offer alongside the other nations with whom we live in our common motherland, if liberty is truly reborn in it and equality before the law is sincerely achieved."[635]

[634] On Prince Sabahaddin, see Zürcher. *Σύγχρονη Ιστορία της Τουρκίας*. op.cit., pp. 186-187.

[635] «Ο αγών δεν επεράνθη [...] πολλά έχει να συνεισφέρη το ημέτερον έθνος παρά το πλευρόν των άλλων συμβιούντων εθνών εις την κοινήν πατρίδα, εάν αδόλως ανεγεννήθη εν

Such ambivalence was completely lost after the First World War, when the society developed an openly Greek irredentist discourse and lobbied foreign governments in favour of the self-determination of Ottoman Greeks with the use, *inter alia*, of an unflattering language for the Turks.[636]

The society did not survive the transition to the Turkish nation-state. Although it continued to hold elections for a few more years after the proclamation of the republic, its permission to operate was withdrawn in 1923 on the grounds that the society had violated its regulation and the 1909 Law on Associations. In that year, its premises were sealed off, and, the following year, its building was transferred to the Republican People's Party. By 1925, its movable property, including its library and archive, had been confiscated and had been removed from the site.[637] Almost 40 years later, Paul Moraux, professor at the Free University in Berlin, revealed that the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) as well as a number of libraries in Ankara and Istanbul, such as the National Library, had received the books and manuscripts of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople.[638] The archive of the society, he noted, was to be found in the Süleimaniye Library in Istanbul.[639] More recently, it was made known that the Turkish Historical Society had digitised all manuscripts of the society in its possession and that

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αυτή η ελευθερία και κατορθωθή ευόρκως η ισοπολιτεία.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΛΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Sep. 1908, pp. 6-7. The quote is from p. 7.

[636] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 213. For a representative document produced by the society, see Syllogue Littéraire Grec de Constantinople. *Le Syllogue Littéraire Grec à ses Membres Honoraires, aux Académies, Universités et Associations de Savants des Pays de l' Entente et des Pays Neutres.* Imp. Chaix., Constantinople, Février 1919.

[637] Vassiadis. *ibid*, pp. 214-215.

[638] Moraux, Paul. *Catalogue des Manuscripts Grecs (Fonds du Syllogos)*. op.cit., p. XVI. Also, Moraux, Paul. "Un Document Nouveau sur le Syllogos." *op.cit.*, p. 401.

[639] Moraux. *Catalogue des Manuscripts Grecs (Fonds du Syllogos)*, ibid, p. VII.

these were available for purchase in digital copies.[640] With no one having been granted permission to do research in the archive of the society to this day, in the years to come, it is expected that archival research, if made possible, could significantly facilitate our understanding of the society, a society that espoused a Hellenic, Ottoman and international outlook, and has been credited with a prolific scholarly output, *inter alia*, in archaeological matters.

The society's engagement with antiquity

For the society, archaeology held an important place, and such an acknowledgment came early and was lasting. As the president of the society pointedly stated already in 1862, for this literary society, history and topography were more important than poetry.[641] And isn't archaeology history and topography combined, or, put differently, the study of history through its traces on *topos*, the land?

Already in the aftermath of its creation, the society exhibited a strong interest in archaeological matters that soon led to the creation of a permanent archaeological committee. Certain features of this early engagement of the society with antiquity and its remains are discernible. The ancient Greek and Byzantine heritage of Constantinople came close to monopolising its attention. A review of a study of the obelisk at the Hippodrome, Emperor

[640] Ροββά, Κατερίνα. «Ελπίδες για τον θησαυρό των 50.000 βιβλίων & εγγράφων.» *Έθνος*, 4.06.2016. www.ethnos.gr/koinonia/arthro/elpides_gia_ton_thisauro_ton_50_000_biblion_eggrafon-64387153/. Accessed 7 Nov. 2016.

[641] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Α', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 May 1862, p. 136.

Marcian's column, and other artefacts and landmarks of the Ottoman capital appeared as early as 1862.[642] Field visits were organised for study purposes, collecting artefacts and, in case of disagreement, deciding on the most appropriate interpretation of sites. By means of illustration, in 1864, a special committee was set up with a view to visiting a Byzantine site in the capital for identification purposes.[643] The following year, two members of the society made a study visit at the Byzantine walls of Constantinople, during which they also collected broken bricks.[644] At a time when there was no state office for monitoring finds and conducting excavations, the society appeared occasionally eager to fill this gap.[645] In their archaeology-related work, members of the society regularly drew on authoritative sources available, such as the studies of Dr Dethier.[646] The society showed special interest in manuscripts[647] and inscriptions from Constantinople and beyond, in particular unpublished ones.[648] The first donations of coins and other ancient artefacts

[642] Ιωαννίδης, Εμ. «Κριτικαί Τινες Επιστασίαι εις το «περί Πατριαρχικού Θρόνου κτλ. Πόνημα του Κ. Γ. Χρυσοβέργη.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Β', Τύποις Βυζαντίδος, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1863, pp. 52-59.

[643] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Β', τεύχος Ι'-ΙΒ', bibliographical information not provided, minutes of the meeting convened on 30 May 1864, p. 260.

[644] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τεύχος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 12 Apr. 1865, pp. 70-71.

[645] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Β', τεύχος Η'-Θ', bibliographical information not provided, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 March 1864, p. 122; Dethier, Ph. A. (εκ του γαλλικού υπό Κ. Καλλιάδου). «Μνημείον Θεοδοσίου του Β' επί της Αγοράς του Ταύρου.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τεύχος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', ibid, pp. 62-67; and, in the same issue, minutes of the meeting convened on 22 March 1865, pp. 69-70; and minutes of the meeting convened on 5 June 1865, p. 77-78.

[646] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τόμος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 22 March 1865, p. 69. For biographical information on Dethier, see "Dethier, Philipp Anton." in Eldem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. op.cit., pp. 169-170.

[647] For example, see «Βιβλιογραφία.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τόμος Β', op.cit., pp. 93-96.

[648] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Β', τεύχος Ι'-ΙΒ', op.cit., pp. 232-239 and 251-254.

can be traced to these years as well.[649] These activities were precursors to the creation of the archaeological committee and a more systematic engagement with archaeology.

The archaeological committee was the main body of the society charged with the study of antiquity, including the Middle Ages and, occasionally, prehistory.[650] It remains unclear when it was created. In 1865, a member of the society suggested the creation of an archaeological committee only to be reminded by another member that such a committee had long existed.[651] Yet, this appears to be a reference to an *ad hoc* archaeological committee, one of a number of archaeological committees that were set up for the study of specific issues.[652] Arguably, the permanent archaeological committee was created by means of the regulation of the society adopted in 1871[653] and served the society until its final years.[654]

Throughout those years, archaeological activities gained pace and became more varied, while gaining in professionalism. For example, the study of manuscripts and inscriptions continued unabated, with the need for

[649] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τεύχος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 3 May 1865, pp. 72-73; minutes of the meeting convened on 5 June 1865, p. 77; and minutes of the meeting on 26 June 1865, p. 80.

[650] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. op.cit., esp. article 44, p. 11; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*. op.cit., esp. article 45, pp. 13-14; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*. op.cit., esp. article 52, p. 15; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*. op.cit., esp. article 59, p. 15. For the study of prehistory, see pp. 303-304.

[651] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), *op.cit.*, minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Dec. 1865, p. 188.

[652] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Dec. 1869, p. 251.

[653] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. op.cit., article 44, p. 11.

[654] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, pp. 212-213.

recording finds resulting in the drafting of relevant catalogues. By 1902, the society had copied as many as 1.276 inscriptions in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, the Palmyrene version of Aramaic and other languages in its catalogue.[655] Its archaeological and numismatic collections were enriched to such a level that the society considered establishing its own museum.[656] Written studies proliferated to the extent that the publication of archaeological annexes of the periodical of the society was not only justified but required.[657] Also, ancient topography and monuments were included in a few topographical competitions that the society organised.[658] In this long period that the society was involved in the study of antiquity, its efforts to remain up to date in terms

[655] For the catalogue of inscriptions, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1873, pp. 292-295; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 May 1881, pp. 72-75 and 77; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 June 1902, p. 76. For the catalogue of manuscripts, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΑ', Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1909, minutes of the meeting convened on 3 Sep. 1907, p. 25.

[656] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 5 May 1868, pp. 230-231.

[657] The archaeological annexes located are *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΓ' τόμου, Τύποις Βουτυρά και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1880; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΔ' τόμου, Αρχαιολογικός Χάρτης των Χερσαίων Τειχών της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Τύποις Βουτυρά και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1884; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ' τόμου, op.cit.; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΖ' τόμου, Τύποις Σ.Ι. Βουτυρά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1886; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΘ' τόμου, Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1891; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του Κ'-ΚΒ' τόμου, Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1892; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Παράρτημα του ΚΔ'-ΚΣΤ' τόμου, Τύποις Ι. Παλλαμάρη, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1896. A paleographic annex has also been identified, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Παλαιογραφικόν Δελτίον, Παράρτημα του ΙΣΤ' τόμου, Τύποις Σ.Ι. Βουτυρά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1885.

[658] For example, see "Διαγώνισμα του Αρχιμανδρίτου Ευγενίου Ξηροποταμηνού." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α΄, τεύχος Γ', op.cit., inside cover; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΛΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1908, p. 77 on the Satheios competition; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΛΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 Dec. 1910, p. 5; minutes of the meeting convened on 14 March 1910, p. 11; and minutes of the meetings convened on 22 Apr. 1911, p. 14, and «Διαγώνισμα Δ. Ζαμπακού Πασά», pp. 19-20, on Zambakos Pasha's competition.

of the latest developments in archaeology rendered the archaeological collection in its library one of its richest.[659]

The society and its archaeological committee developed an interest in numerous ancient and medieval civilisations, while maintaining the early focus on ancient Greece and Byzantine topics. Such a thematic orientation confirms the nature of the society as a proponent of progress and knowledge, in a way that prioritised Ancient Greece for its perceived perfection, while acknowledging the value of a more encyclopaedic knowledge that encompassed other civilisations with a historical presence in the Ottoman lands.

For a Hellenic society, its engagement with Greek antiquity comes as no surprise, all the more so because, at that time, the West, which was considered the cradle of progress, exhibited a profound interest in and admiration of Ancient Greece. In the society, many lectures on Ancient Greece were given that attempted to shed light on it[660] and decipher the reasons for what were considered to be glorious achievements. “What were the reasons that what the Hellenic nation received from other nations, it incorporated into its own works, put its own stamp on and rendered it perfect”, read one of the themes of the plenary meetings of the congress planned on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the society.[661] A large number of items in the numismatic and archaeological collections of the society, such as

[659] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΓ’, op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1892, p. 62.

[660] For example, see “Περί των Ερειπίων της Αρχαίας Κυζίκου.” *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ’, op.cit., pp. 25-33; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ’ τόμου, op.cit..

[661] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ’ τόμου, op.cit., p. 4 at the end of the volume.

coins, inscriptions and fragments of ancient artefacts, were remains of the Ancient Greek world.[662] Ancient Greece figured prominently in the archaeological news shared in the society. For example, in 1868, an entire meeting appears to have been dedicated to the news of a discovery of Ancient Greek jewelry depicting the goddess Artemis and bearing other symbols related to her cult in the Crimea.[663] Significantly, committees other than the archaeological one shared an interest in Ancient Greece, as, for example, in the case of the biology committee, which used ancient Greek textual sources for the study of medicine,[664] a fact that reinforces the impression that Ancient Greece formed an important topic for the society overall.

Next to Ancient Greece, Byzantine archaeology was a topic that dominated the activities of the society and its archaeological committee. For example, the committee produced studies on Byzantine architecture[665] and inscriptions,[666] while the numismatic collection of the society featured

[662] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1872, pp. 288-289. Also, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Oct. 1872, pp. 236-237; minutes of the meeting convened on 26 March 1873, p. 274-275; minutes of the meeting convened 24 Apr. 1873, p. 281; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1892, p. 44

[663] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 March 1868, pp. 226-227.

[664] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896).* op.cit., articles 53-55, p. 16.

[665] For example, see "Περί Κατασκευής Θόλων παρά Βυζαντινοίς." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 May 1888, p. 234; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 May 1891, p. 119.

[666] For example, see "Βυζαντιναί Επιγραφαί." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΘ' τόμου, op.cit., pp. 24-27.

numerous Byzantine coins.[667] Constantinople enjoyed a distinct place with many studies dealing with its Byzantine monuments, as in the case of the Kariye camii, also known with its Byzantine Greek name as the monastery of Chora, which repeatedly attracted the attention of the society especially between 1888 and 1890,[668] and the Byzantine walls, of which the society published a map in the early 1880s.[669] Unlike Ancient Greece, the Eastern Roman Empire and, consequently, Byzantine archaeology did not enjoy popularity among European scholars. For long, Byzantine history was neglected and the empire essentialised as backwards.[670] In this respect, the interest that the society developed in Byzantine antiquities illustrates its ability to delineate its activities according to its own worldview and needs for knowledge. Close proximity to Byzantine vestiges for people who could also make a mental link between these and themselves, especially in the capital, may account for such an interest. In this sense, Exertzoglou's argument that "for the Greek Orthodox community of Constantinople Byzantium meant much

[667] For example, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1872, pp. 288-289; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Oct. 1872, pp. 236-237.

[668] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Nov. 1874, pp. 216-217; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 June 1887, p. 179; minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Jan. 1888, p. 190; minutes of the meeting convened on 1 Feb. 1888, p. 191; and minutes of the meeting convened on 14 Nov. 1888, p. 241; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Apr. 1890, pp. 45-46; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 Nov. 1892, p. 59.

[669] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΔ' τόμου, Αρχαιολογικός Χάρτης των Χερσαίων Τειχών της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, op.cit.; and Plan Archéologique des Murailles de Constantinople du Côté de la Terre, Constantinople, 1881 (in French and Greek).

[670] For an overview of the rehabilitation of Byzantine history and the emergence of Byzantine archaeology in western scholarship in the 19th and early 20th centuries, see Ousterhout, Robert. "The Rediscovery of Constantinople and the Beginnings of Byzantine Archaeology: A Historiographic Survey." *Scramble for the Past – A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. *op.cit*. pp. 181-211. For a short discussion on how Byzantine history was gradually mainstreamed in historiographical accounts produced in Greece in the 19th century, see Κιτρομηλίδης, Πασχάλης Μ. *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*. op.cit., pp. 484-485.

more [than a historical period], given that experiencing byzantine past was much stronger in the collective, intellectual and popular representations" is of particular value.[671]

Although less concrete and comprehensive than the preoccupation with Ancient and Medieval Greek antiquity, a certain interest in Oriental and Biblical archaeology as well as Armenian, and Turkish/Ottoman studies is also noticeable in the workings of the society and its archaeological committee. Looking into these civilisations served two purposes. On the one hand, these were studied in their own right; on the other hand, they were explored for the information that they could provide regarding the Ancient Greeks and the Byzantines. An interest in the study of cuneiform is documented as early as 1865.[672] A few years later, in 1868, the society discussed the discovery of a Phoenician monument in the Balkan city of Salonica.[673] On another occasion, information on the influence of the Egyptian religion on the Ancient Greeks was drawn from Ancient Greek authors as well as leading contemporary French Egyptologists Auguste Mariette and Jean-François Champollion.[674] Besides the Phoenicians and the Egyptians, the Hittites, the Assyrians and the Babylonians featured in the periodical of the society together with references to important archaeologists who brought these civilisations back to

[671] "[...] για την ελληνορθόδοξη κοινότητα της Πόλης το Βυζάντιο σήμαινε πολύ περισσότερα πράγματα, καθώς η βίωση του βυζαντινού παρελθόντος ήταν πολύ πιο έντονη στις συλλογικές λόγιες και λαϊκές αναπαραστάσεις." In Εξερτζόγλου. *op.cit.*, pp. 145-146.

[672] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τεύχος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Nov. 1865, p. 90.

[673] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 16 Dec. 1868, pp. 233-234.

[674] "Περί τινών ανεκδότων επιγραφών." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), ibid, pp. 5-7.

light, such as George Smith and Hermann Hilprecht.[675] In turn, Armenian sources from the 5th and 6th centuries were used for the study of Ancient Greek metrology,[676] while Ottoman Turkish sources were occasionally employed in efforts to locate Ancient Greek cities.[677]

In particular, the prehistoric civilisations, whose traces could be discovered on Ottoman lands, held a relatively important position for the society, with their study being considered an archaeological matter as well as a topic relevant to other committees, such as the anthropological one.[678] For example, in the programme of the congress planned on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the society, one of the topics of the archaeological committee aimed at exploring the prehistoric sites found in the Ottoman Empire. For the 50th anniversary of the society, a member of the archaeological section – as the archaeological committee was called at that time[679] – was tasked with discussing the studied and non-studied prehistoric

[675] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 16 May 1883, p. 35 (on the Hittites); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος Ι', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 March 1876, pp. 159-160 (on the Assyrians and George Smith); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΚΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1892, p. 59 (on the Babylonians); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΚΖ', Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1900, minutes of the meeting convened on 15 Dec. 1897, p. 120 (on Hilprecht). For biographical information on Hermann Hilprecht, see "Hilprecht, Hermann Vollrath" in Eldem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. *op.cit.*, pp. 273-275.

[676] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ' τόμου, op.cit., pp. 9-35.

[677] "Λίβυσσα, Δακίβιζα, Γκέκπουζα." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., pp. 264-287, esp. pp. 271-278.

[678] For the overlap in the study of prehistory between different committees of the society, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1887, p. 96, in combination with article 47 of the «Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου» on p. 183, and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1911, p. 15, where information on the 50th anniversary.

[679] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920).* op.cit., article 57, p. 15.

monuments of the empire.[680] Overall, even though less pronounced compared to Ancient Greek and Byzantine archaeology, interest in prehistoric and other civilisations of the Eastern Mediterranean left its imprint on the society.

Those members of the society with an interest in archaeology and, in particular, the members of the archaeological committee exhibited a noteworthy diversity. Among them, one can find men residing in the Ottoman capital, in other parts of the empire, and abroad, Ottoman citizens and foreigners alike, who, in line with the overall outlook of the society, could be academics, statesmen, businessmen, employees of legations, doctors and other.[681] This contributed to the ability of the society and its archaeological committee to cover a wide geographical area beyond Constantinople for the study of antiquity; is testimony to the society's international outlook; and facilitated the creation of an informal network of Ottomans and non-Ottomans interested in the remains of antiquity in the empire.

With the exception of the architectural committee, the archaeological committee appears to have been the only committee of the society that regularly brought together Ottoman Greeks and non-Ottomans residing in the capital. Significantly, for a long period of time, these two groups were represented on the committee in almost equal numbers. For example, in 1885-1886, eight members comprised the archaeological committee: four Ottoman Greeks, Osman Hamdi Bey, and three Europeans, Reverend C. G.

[680] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., p. 7 (at the end of the volume – for the programme of the congress).

[681] The first pages of the periodical include lists of members per category of membership, the members of the board of the society, and the members of each committee.

Curtis, James Calvert and J. Mordtmann.[682] In 1887-1888, three members of the committee were Greeks and four were Europeans, the same three individuals as in 1885-1886 plus P. Schroeder.[683] In 1892-1893, the committee was comprised of six Greeks and seven Europeans, including two Russian names, P. Mansurov and A. Smyrnov,[684] while, in 1896-1898, twelve Greeks and nine Europeans made up the committee.[685] Although this was not representative of the typical composition of the committee, in 1883-1884, the Europeans outnumbered the Greeks by eight to three[686] and, in 1884-1885, by seven to four.[687] Foreigners were repeatedly elected presidents of the committee, as in the cases of Reverend C.G. Curtis and A. Mordtmann.[688]

Such a high representation of foreigners on the archaeological committee reflects the openness of the society and its readiness to provide an abode to Europeans interested in the study of antiquity. Although philhellenism and a widespread European interest in the study of Classical Greece must have played a part in their joining the society, foreign members worked on Classical Greece as well as other topics. Far from being the exclusive prerogative of the Greek Orthodox members of the archaeological committee, Byzantine archaeological topics also engaged Europeans, such as Frenchman Prétextat who, in 1889, gave a lecture in which he compared

[682] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', op.cit., p. λ'.

[683] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., p. λα'.

[684] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., p. κζ'.

[685] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., pp. κθ'-λ'.

[686] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., p. κδ'.

[687] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', op.cit., p. κδ'.

[688] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., p. κζ'; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΕ', op.cit., p. κζ'; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., p. κη' (for C.G. Curtis); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., pp. κβ' and κγ' (for A. Mordtmann).

Byzantine and Italian mosaics.[689] Similarly, the volume of the periodical, which was published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the society, featured Salomon Reinach's study regarding the description of Byzantine Constantinople by Buondelmonti.[690] On the 50th anniversary of the society, Jean Mordtmann delivered a lecture on the prehistoric monuments of the Ottoman Empire.[691] In spite of its proclivity towards Ancient Greece, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople projected an encompassing discourse based on the quest for knowledge and progress, which was attractive and welcoming to educated Europeans interested in exploring the complex cultural and historical wealth of the Ottoman lands.

Members from abroad, who specialised on archaeology-related matters, reinforced the international character of the society. In the membership lists of the society, one comes across a large number of university professors, and experts of archaeology and related fields, including museum directors, from Greece, Europe and the United States. These include names, such as P. Lambros, a well-known Greek numismatist; Gustave Hirschfeld, professor of archaeology at the University of Königsberg; French archaeologist Georges Perrot; the explorer of Troy, Heinrich Schliemann; the former, at that time, Director of the French School of Archaeology at Athens Emile Burnouf; the former, at that time, Director of the German School of Archaeology at Athens U. Gohler; the Director of the British Museum Charles

[689] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Jan. 1889, p. 245.

[690] Reinach, Salomon. "La Description de Constantinople par Bondelmonte." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν.* Εικοσιπενταετηρίς, op.cit., pp. 181-187.

[691] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1911, p. 15.

Newton; the Director of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople Theodore Uspensky; Otto Benndorf, professor of archaeology at the University of Vienna; Alexander Conze, professor of archaeology in Berlin; Hermann Hilprecht from the University of Philadelphia; I. Troitcky, professor of Biblical archaeology at the University of St Petersburg; the Director of the Christian Archaeological Museum at Athens, Georgios Lambakes; Theodor Wiegand, Director of the Royal museum in Berlin; and many others.[692]

Within the country, the society was able to attract key figures in the management of antiquities. The directors of the Imperial Museum were members of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople. Its first Director, Edward Goold, became a corresponding member in 1871[693] after offering the society a copy of his catalogue of the antiquities stored in the Imperial Museum.[694] Little is known of his actual membership of the society and his involvement in its archaeological activities besides a donation of 10 Ottoman liras that he made right after his election as a member, in order to express his gratitude and support for the goals of the society.[695] Dr Anton Philippe Dethier, who succeeded Goold at the helm of the Imperial Museum after a short stint by Terenzio,[696] had developed ties with the society, at a time when he was still director of the Austrian School at Constantinople and before

[692] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., pp. ε'-κβ'; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., pp. ε'-κε'; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., pp. ε'-κ' (in alphabetical order).

[693] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 June 1871, p. 214.

[694] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 May 1871, p. 213.

[695] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 22 July 1871, p. 218.

[696] For Terenzio, see, for example, "Müze-i Hümayun." in Eldem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. op.cit., p. 393.

becoming a regular member in 1866.[697] He knew of the existence of the society and was eager to join its activities, even without being a member, already in 1864, when he requested special permission to give a lecture in French about a manuscript on Ancient Greek and Roman writers found in the library of the Topkapı Palace.[698] As a reference to a publication by him regarding a sculpture at the Hagia Eirene Museum shows, the society too was aware of Dr Dethier's archaeological activities as early as 1863.[699] Dr Dethier served as vice-president of the society in 1867-1868[700] and turned out to be one of the most active members of its archaeological committee until his death in 1881.[701] The society and, in particular the archaeological committee, mourned his death as deserved by a much respected and loved colleague; most of the archaeological committee members escorted the deceased to his resting place and its president delivered a eulogy.[702] Ten years later, Dr Dethier's colleagues still cherished his memory as founder of the topographical studies of Byzantine Constantinople.[703]

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[697] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', op.cit., p. ζ'.

[698] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Β', τόμος Β', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Jan. 1864, pp. 103-105.

[699] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τεύχος Γ', op.cit., pp. 153-154.

[700] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 14 May 1867, pp. 200-201.

[701] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 21 Oct. 1874, p. 213; minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Nov. 1874, p. 217; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., in the table of contents there appear as many as 8 lectures and summaries of lectures by Dr Dethier, pp. 259-264; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Dec. 1872, pp. 256-258; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Apr. 1876, p. 166; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1881, pp. 75-76.

[702] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1881, pp. 79-81 (in French).

[703] Mordtmann, A. "Τοπογραφία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΘ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 11.

Unlike Goold and Dr Dethier, who were corresponding and regular members of the society respectively, Osman Hamdi Bey and his successor Halil Bey held the title of honourary member. Osman Hamdi Bey was elected an honourary member in 1884[704] and, in 1885-1886, his name appeared on the list of members of the archaeological committee.[705] References to his relation with the society are rare in the periodical, and the few that can be traced show that Osman Hamdi Bey carefully cultivated his relations with the society without actively participating in its deliberations. For example, he personally thanked the society in a letter upon receipt of three volumes of its periodical in 1895.[706] Similarly, in 1898, he offered the society two copies of his publication "Monuments Funéraires", one in French and one in Ottoman Turkish,[707] and, in 1904, donated to the society the latest three, at that time, publications of the Imperial Museum.[708] Halil Bey was elected honourary member of the society in 1910, as soon as he succeeded Osman Hamdi Bey at the helm of the Imperial Museum.[709] Yet, he had been aware of the society already for more than ten years, as shown by his donation to it of two

[704] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4 June 1884, p. 62; minutes of the meeting convened on 11 June 1884, p. 64; and minutes of the meeting convened on 1 Aug. 1884, p. 69.

[705] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1885, pp. 118-119.

[706] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 23 Oct. 1895, p. 22.

[707] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 6 July 1898, p. 177.

[708] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1904, p. 60.

[709] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 June 1910, p. 2.

publications of the museum dated in 1899, that is, at a time when he was vice-director of the Imperial Museum.[710]

Also, members of staff of the Imperial Museum, and close associates of its directors were members of the society. Nikolaos Ohanes, an employee of the museum, was elected regular member in 1873; Marie de Launay, who co-authored with Osman Hamdi Bey a book entitled *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, and, in 1876 gave a lecture at the society regarding the walls of Galata, was elected a regular member in 1877; Salomon Reinach was elected corresponding member in 1887; and Osgan Effendi, director of the Ottoman School of Fine Arts, close partner of Osman Hamdi Bey in his expedition to Mt Nemrut and co-author of the subsequent publication *Le Tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh*, joined the society as a regular member in 1892. Vasileios Mystakides, the librarian of the Imperial Museum, became a member in 1893. Theodoros Makrides was the last to be elected regular member in 1897, at a time when he was curator of the numismatic collection of the museum.[711] The fact that both the leadership of the museum and a

[710] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Jan. 1899, p. 190.

[711] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Nov. 1873, p. 304 (for Nikolaos Ohanes); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΑ' (1876-77), Τύποις Βουτυρά και Σας, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1878, on page ι' (in alphabetical order); and minutes of the meeting convened on 22 March 1876, pp. 160-162 (for Marie de Launay); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Nov. 1887, p. 186; and minutes of the meeting convened on 14 Dec. 1887, p. 187 (for Salomon Reinach); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., p. ι' (in alphabetical order – for Osgan Effendi); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., p. η' (in alphabetical order – for Vasileios Mystakides); and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 March 1897, p. 109 (for Theodoros Makrides). For biographical information on Marie de Launay, see "Launay, Victor-Marie de" in Eldem. *Osman Hamdi Bey Sözlüğü*. op.cit., pp. 354-356; on Salomon Reinach, see "Reinach, Salomon" in Eldem. *ibid*, pp. 444-447; on Osgan Effendi, see "Osgan, Yervant" in Eldem. *ibid*, pp. 423-424; and on Theodoros Makrides, see "Makridi, Theodoros" in Eldem. *ibid*, pp. 366-367. For an account of Vasileios Mystakides as a scholar, see Κυριακαντωνάκης, Ιωάννης. «Η Επιστήμη ως Επάγγελμα. Αθανάσιος Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς και Βασίλειος Μυστακίδης, Κωνσταντινούπολη-Σμύρνη-Ιερουσαλήμ-Πετρούπολη.» *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά*, τόμος 20, 2017 (forthcoming). The full bibliographical reference for the publications mentioned are: Osman Hamdi Bey, Osgan Effendi. Musée Impérial Ottoman. *Le*

number of its closest associates and assistants joined the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople illustrates that the latter was considered a focal point for archaeological matters in the empire.

Trained and amateur archaeologists acknowledged the importance of the society and its archaeological committee by joining their ranks and participating in their archaeological activities. For example, in 1880, Edwin Freshfield, who had been corresponding member of the society since 1877[712] and, the following year, would petition the Ottoman government with a view to acquiring permission to excavate at Ephesos,[713] offered the society 24 photographs of antiquities, including Byzantine churches of Constantinople that had been converted into mosques.[714] From Smyrna, lawyer and archaeologist Photiades, and professor of French at the Homerion school and archaeologist Weber, joined the society in 1908.[715] Even Theodor Wiegand, the acclaimed German archaeologist and director of the Royal Museum in Berlin, who, *inter alia*, brought to light the temple of Hera on Samos, took a proactive stance in building and maintaining ties with the society. Having been elected a corresponding member in 1898, he made at least two donations of books written by him, one in 1903-1904 and another one in 1908 and, more

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Tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh: Voyage, Description, Inscriptions avec Plans et Photographies. op.cit. Hamdy Bey, Marie de Launay. *Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873 : ouvrage publie sous le patronage de la commission Imperiale Ottomane pour l'exposition universelle de Vienne*. Impr. du "Levant times & shipping gazette", Constantinople, 1873.

[712] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', *op.cit.* p. κβ' (in alphabetical order).

[713] See p. 116.

[714] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1880, p. 189.

[715] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 17 June 1908, p. 4; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΑ', op.cit., p. κ' (in alphabetical order).

importantly, in 1905, while in Constantinople, insisted on joining a meeting of the archaeological committee and delivering a lecture.[716]

Significantly, such members much contributed to the ability of the archaeological committee to cover a broad geographical area extending well beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman capital. By means of illustration, in 1871, Epameinondas Stamatiades, who had joined the society as corresponding member a few years earlier in 1867, sent copies of inscriptions found on Samos[717] while, in 1881, he notified the society of the establishment of a Samian archaeological museum.[718] From Lesvos, another Aegean island, M. Photiou, an archaeologist who joined the society as corresponding member in 1882, would, for two years, send copies of inscriptions and archaeological news from the excavations of Clarke on Lesvos and those of the Archaeological Institute of America at Assos on the Anatolian coast.[719]

Also, the relations of the society and its archaeological committee with archaeological institutions and archaeological museums attest to the existence of an extended scholarly network and confirm the international

[716] For his membership, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., p. κ' (in alphabetical order). For the book donations, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1904, p. 60; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 10 March 1908, p. 42. For his participation in the archaeological committee, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 10 Jan. 1905, p. 71; and minutes of the meeting convened on 29 Apr. 1905, p. 83.

[717] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 May 1871, p. 212. For Stamatiades' membership, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 Nov. 1892, p. 81.

[718] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 5/18 July 1881, pp. 332-333.

[719] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 21/2 Jan. 1882, p. 350; minutes of the meeting convened on 28/9 Jan. 1883, p. 351; minutes of the meeting convened on 1/13 Feb 1882, p. 358; minutes of the meeting convened on 15/27 March 1882, p. 365; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΖ' (1882-83), Τύποις Σ. Ι. Βουτυρά, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1886, minutes of the meeting convened on 4/16 Oct. 1882, p. 150; minutes of the meeting convened on 24/5 Feb. 1883, p. 159; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 16 May 1883, p. 34.

outlook of the former two. The society maintained ties, mainly through the exchange of publications, with the Archaeological Society at Athens and the Christian Archaeological Society at Athens, with foreign archaeological schools in the Greek capital, including the French School at Athens, the British School at Athens, the German Archaeological Institute, and the Austro-Hungarian Archaeological School, as well as with the Instituto di Corrispondenza in Rome.[720] Similarly, the society and the British Museum exchanged their publications.[721] The links with the only foreign archaeological school based in the Ottoman capital, the Russian Archaeological Institute, show a greater degree of collaboration, which can be partly attributed to proximity but was also consciously and systematically cultivated at the initiative of the Russians, already from the establishment of the Institute in 1895. In his letter announcing the creation of the institute, its Director Theodor Uspensky invited the society to a "harmonious collaboration with a view to succeeding in the aspired goals" and offered the members of the society

[720] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 Nov. 1871, p. 227; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Feb. 1898, p. 122 (for the Archaeological Society at Athens); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Λ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 3 July 1906, p. 47 (for the Christian Archaeological Society at Athens); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 3 Feb. 1897, pp. 106 and 107; minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1898, p. 125 (for the French Archaeological School at Athens); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Λ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 3 July 1906, p. 48 (for the British School at Athens); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Feb. 1889, p. 247; minutes of the meeting convened on 1 March 1889, p. 262 (for the German Archaeological Institute); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Jan. 1909, p. 18 (for the Austro-Hungarian Archaeological School); and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 May 1889, p. 2 (for the Instituto di Corrispodenza).

[721] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Oct. 1879, p. 155; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 Oct. 1880, p. 36; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 Feb. 1884, p. 53; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 June 1887, p. 179.

access to the library and the museum of the institute.[722] In the following years, the society and the institute exchanged their publications, their members attended meetings and lectures organised by the other, while, on at least one occasion, a member of the archaeological committee of the society published a study in the periodical of the institute.[723] For the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, that is, a society that was comprised of non-specialists who volunteered their spare time, its ties with leading foreign archaeological schools, societies and museums, namely professional and academic institutions specialised in the study of antiquity, provided a strong token of recognition for its work in archaeological matters.

What did that work serve? Undoubtedly, it satisfied the curiosity and drive for learning of those involved. Significantly, it also supported their wish to see antiquities protected and preserved. If the former reason echoed the rise of the knowledge-driven, progressive individual of the Enlightenment era, the latter introduced the modern concept of heritage and its protection. More particularly, in its efforts to promote heritage protection, the society adopted a number of strategies, such as that of monitoring and acting as a watchdog, advocacy, documentation, and direct preservation through collecting artefacts. The activities of the society in archaeological matters were delineated by its

[722] "ομόφωνον σύμπραξιν προς επιτυχίαν του επιδιωκόμενου σκοπού". This quote and the other pieces of information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Feb. 1896, p. 42.

[723] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΚΖ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 11 March 1896, p. 50; minutes of the meeting convened on 1 Apr. 1896, p. 52; minutes of the meeting convened on 15 Apr. 1896, p. 58; minutes of the meeting convened on 19 May 1896, p. 62; minutes of the meeting convened on 3 Feb. 1897, pp. 106 and 107; minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Feb. 1898, p. 122; and minutes of the meeting convened on 8 March 1899, p. 193. Also, *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΚΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 27 May 1901, p. 43; minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1902, pp. 64-65; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1904, p. 49; and Σάρρος, Δημήτριος Μ. "Παλαιογραφικός Έρανος." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. ΛΓ', op.cit., p. 51.

nature as a civic, non-specialist and non-academic organisation, its financial resources, its human capital, including its geographical spread and access to decision-making bodies, and its ability to make use of technology.

Sharing archaeological news was common practice for the society and its archaeological committee,[724] and represented the minimum level of activity on those rare occasions its members felt insufficiently qualified for more.[725] More importantly, it served as a gateway to heritage protection because of its links with documentation. There are many instances where the society and its archaeological committee decided to conduct field visits with a view to identifying and documenting finds, and disseminating relevant information. For example, when in 1863 antiquities were discovered in Chalkedona (*Kadıköy*) on the Asian side of the Ottoman capital and in Kağıthane on the Golden Horn in the European side, the society formed special committees tasked with reporting back on their field visits.[726] Similarly, in 1872-1873, when the archaeological committee was informed of the discovery of antiquities that were tentatively identified with a summer palace of Byzantine emperors, it

[724] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, Τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 16 Dec. 1868, pp. 233-234; minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1870, p. 254; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1873, p. 299; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Apr. 1890, pp. 44-45; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1893, p. 81; and «Επιγραφαί Αρχαίαι και Βυζαντιναί.» Edited by Ξ. Α. Σιδερίδης. *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΚΔ'-ΚΣΤ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 135.

[725] For example, the committee argued that "[r]egarding the archaeological developments and excavations and discoveries made by governments, societies and individuals, our Committee only briefly deals with these, for at the moment it has no members who specifically work on archaeology." ("Εκ της καθόλου αρχαιολογικής κινήσεως και των ανασκαφών και ανακαλύψεων, των ενεργουμένων υπό κυβερνήσεων, σωματείων και ατόμων, ακροθιγώς όλως ασχολείται η Επιτροπή, άτε μη έχουσα, το γε νυν, μέλη ειδικώς περί την αρχαιολογίαν ασχολούμενα.") In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Apr. 1903, p. 20.

[726] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τεύχος Ε'-ΣΤ', Τύποις Βυζαντίδος, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1864, minutes of the meeting convened on 7 Sep. 1864, p. 284; and minutes of the meeting convened on 21 Sep. 1863, pp. 284-285.

requested Dr Mordtmann (senior) and Ahmet Bey Tunezli to conduct a field visit.[727] In the 1880s, twice did Metropolitan Germanos from Sylevria (present-day Silivri in Turkey) instigate field visits conducted by the archaeological committee, after notifying the society of finds in the vicinity of his seat. Significantly, the first visit led to the discovery of unpublished inscriptions, and the second one to the important discovery of sculpted depictions of the Thracian horse rider,[728] a deity of the ancient Thracians. Documenting antiquities was so important for the archaeological committee that, at least on one occasion, it went as far as proposing to pay a committee member, architect Pelopidas Kouppas, 25 Ottoman liras for a description and sketches of the site and the antiquities found on a location excavated by the water company of the Ottoman capital.[729]

Also, in the case of documentation, the society was able to conceive of capacity building measures. In 1882, it produced a review of a manual for simple topographical descriptions, including of ancient sites. Having acknowledged the qualities of the manual, the society decided to contribute to its dissemination by publishing the review in the newspapers and by getting hold of copies, given that the manual was being offered free of charge, to dispatch accordingly.[730] It appears that, for the society, this manual had the potential of raising the quality of topographical information and studies on ancient locations that it received from its members, especially in the

[727] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1873, p. 299.

[728] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΖ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 65.

[729] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 17 Oct. 1888, p. 237.

[730] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 12/24 Apr. 1882, pp. 368-369.

provinces. Similarly, at the congress planned on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the society, one of the topics for discussion in the archaeological section concerned the "instructions for the accurate copying and interpretation of inscriptions discovered in the provinces of the Ottoman state".[731]

The reproduction of finds was an important element in documenting finds, and various techniques, such as photography, sketching and making estampage on paper, supported the archaeological work of the society. As a technological phenomenon, photography drew the attention of the society as early as 1861, when a lecture was given "[o]n the photographic images on organic and inorganic matter produced by the thunder".[732] The periodical provides many instances where photography was used for archaeological purposes. For example, in 1864, a slab discovered in Constantinople was presented to the society by means of its picture.[733] In 1872, Heinrich Schliemann shared the picture of a vase with the society.[734] In 1890, another member of the society, Chrestos Papadopoulos, donated 24 photographs depicting ancient monuments in Syria.[735] Photography was occasionally used even for copying manuscripts, as in the case of certain manuscripts that a

[731] "Οδηγίαι προς ακριβή αντιγραφήν και ερμηνείαν των ανακαλυπτομένων επιγραφών εν ταις επαρχίαις του οθωμανικού κράτους." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., p. 6 at the end of the volume.

[732] Βασιάδης, Η. "Περί των υπό του κεραυνού Φωτογραφικών εικόνων επί οργανικών και ανοργάνων όντων." *Πεντηκονταετηρίς (1861-1911)*, Παράρτημα του ΛΔ' τόμου, Τύποις Α. Κ. Γεράρδου, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1913-1921, p. 439.

[733] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Β', τεύχος Η'-Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 March 1864, p. 87.

[734] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Feb. 1872, p. 254.

[735] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 15 Jan. 1890, p. 16.

member of the archaeological committee, Athanasios Papadopoulos Kerameus, discovered during a field study on the Aegean island of Lesvos in 1883,[736] and which arguably represents an early example of using a photographic machine for scanning and creating long-lasting copies of documents on paper. Similarly, one comes across numerous cases in the periodical where sketching[737] and making estampage on paper[738] are

[736] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Nov. 1883, p. 44. For more examples of photography serving archaeology, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 16 Dec. 1869, p. 250; minutes of the meeting convened on 3 May 1870, p. 256; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Dec. 1871, pp. 238-240; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 Nov. 1876, p. 148; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 7 Nov. 1877, p. 112; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1880, p. 189; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Nov. 1883, p. 44; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 18 May 1892, p. 47; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 7 Dec. 1898, p. 185 (for fossils - prehistory); minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1899, p. 196; Βύρχνερ, Λουδοβίκος. "Βυζαντινή εν Σάμω Επιγραφή." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΗ', op.cit., pp. 214-218, esp. p. 215 (where the picture is also published in the periodical); and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Λ', 1905-1907, Τύποις Αδελφών Γεράρδων, εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1908, minutes of the meeting convened on 7 May 1907, p. 74.

[737] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Nov. 1874, pp. 215-216; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Γ', τεύχος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 March 1865, pp. 69-70; minutes of the meeting convened on 3 July 1865, p. 84; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 25 March 1868, p. 227; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1877, p. 170; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 May 1881, p. 79; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 21/3 May 1883, p. 94; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Apr. 1890, pp. 44 and 45; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1893, p. 80; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., "Εξακρίβωσις Αρχαίων Τοποθεσιών", p. 229 (where the sketch was also reproduced in the periodical).

[738] For example, see Mordtmann, J. "Επιγραφαί Θεσσαλίας." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ' τόμου, op.cit., pp. 3-8, esp. p. 3; and, in the same issue, Mordtmann, J. H. «Επιγραφαί της Επαρχίας του Πόντου», pp. 44-49, esp. p. 48; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4/16 Oct. 1882, p. 150; Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμεύς, Α. "Αρχαιότητες και Επιγραφαί της Θράκης." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΖ' τόμου, op.cit., pp. 65-113; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Sep. 1885, p. 5; minutes of the meeting convened on 23 Feb. 1887, p. 65; minutes of the meeting convened on 2 March 1887, p. 66; minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Apr. 1887, pp. 73-75; "Επιγραφικαί και Αρχαιολογικαί Ανακοινώσεις." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του Κ'-ΚΒ΄ τόμου, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-18, esp. pp. 13 and 14; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1892, pp. 67 and 68.

mentioned in relation to archaeology. Far from random, the use of these techniques reflected an awareness on the side of the archaeological committee and individual members of the society of their potential contribution not only to improving the quality of the studies produced but also to protecting heritage as far as eternalizing the image of antiquities was concerned.

Copies produced by photographic means, sketching, and estampage supported the archaeological committee and individual members of the society in producing more accurate studies of finds and in solving scholarly issues. A 16th-century sketch of the famous bronze snake's column that occupied a central position in Sultanahmet Square, where the Byzantine hippodrome once stood, in the heart of the Ottoman capital, helped the society put forth the argument that the bronze snakes had not been decapitated by Sultan Mehmet II, as suggested at that time, but at a later stage.[739] In 1886, a certain K. Georgiades from the Balkan town of Serres (in present-day Greece) sent 150 moulds of ancient coins for the archaeological committee to study.[740] Some years later, the archaeological committee was able to study a newly discovered sarcophagus from Artake (Erdek in present-day Turkey), thanks to a sketch by a certain K. Orphanoudakes.[741] In 1894, it was able to photographically enrich the study of one of its members that was published in the periodical, because years earlier another member had wisely

[739] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', *op.cit.*, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1873, p. 295.

[740] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 29 June 1886, p. 35.

[741] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 Nov. 1892, p. 58; and minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1893, p. 80.

bought pictures relevant to that topic by photographer G. Abdullah.[742] Photographs were also used for verification purposes during lectures at the society. By means of illustration, in 1890, a lecture on numismatics used pictures of the coins in question as props[743] and, in 1905, physician K. Makres used photographs "to better substantiate [his] arguments" during his lecture on the ancient thermal baths that he had excavated on the islet of Kerás close to Artake.[744] On a number of occasions regarding inscriptions shared with the society in handwritten copies in particular, the archaeological committee regretted the lack of copies produced with the use of more advanced copying techniques, which would have allowed further study of the text and would have rendered it publishable, and attempted to remedy this by usually asking for estampage on paper.[745]

Besides contributing to improving the quality of the studies produced in the context of the society, reproduction techniques were considered important tools in heritage protection. By 1873, the archaeological committee of the society spoke of the need "to save through photography many works of Byzantine art that are found in the ancient Byzantine Churches converted into

[742] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 17 Apr. 1894, p. 111.

[743] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 29 Oct. 1890, p. 82.

[744] "προς πλείονα των λεγομένων πίστωσιν". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 29 Apr. 1905, p. 84. For a similar use of photography at the Russian Archaeological Institute, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 4 May 1904, p. 49.

[745] Mordtmann, J. H. "Επιγραφαί της Επαρχίας του Πόντου." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 44; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 Apr. 1885, pp. 98-99; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Κ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 March 1887, p. 66.

ott[oman] Mosques".[746] At the proposal of one of the members of the committee, physician Alexandros Paspates,

> the committee, with a view to at least saving the plan of the byzantine relics of the capital, through the mediation of Dr Mordtmann Senior, kindly asked Mr Kargopoulos, the dexterous photographer of our city, to photograph those mosques that used to be byzantine constructions, of which it is expected that copies will soon be submitted to the Society. The committee shall facilitate the photographer to enter the mosques and he, in return for this facilitation, shall offer [the committee] one copy per monument, which will have been photographed upon its suggestion.[747]

This rather ingenious project that combined the leverage that the society enjoyed with Ottoman authorities on the one hand and the photographic skills of Kargopoulos on the other hand, also implies a commercial interest in these pictures, for the photographer would be free to sell their reproductions, and points to an interest in Byzantine heritage among the wider public.

Almost ten years later, in 1882, the archaeological committee once again turned its attention to utilising "new means for preserving the memory of Classical and Byzantine monuments", this time, through an album containing sketches and photographs, "the study of which would bring back to memory the destroyed ones, and would contribute to a better knowledge of those surviving to our days." For the committee and its president, the on-going destruction of Byzantine heritage rendered its preservation by means of

[746] "ίνα δια της φωτογραφίας, διασώση πολλά έργα της Βυζαντινής τέχνης υπάρχοντα εν ταις εν οθ. Τεμένεσι σωζομέναις αρχαίαις Βυζαντιναίς Εκκλησίαις". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1873, p. 338.

[747] "[...] η επιτροπή ίνα διασώση τουλάχιστον το σχέδιον πολλών βυζαντινών λειψάνων της πρωτευούσης, παρεκάλεσε, τη μεσολαβήσει του κ. Dr. Mordtmann του πρεσβυτέρου, τον κ. Καργόπουλον, επιδέξιον φωτογράφον της ημετέρας πόλεως, ίνα φωτογραφήση όσα τσαμία της πόλεως ήσαν άλλοτε οικοδομήματα βυζαντινά, ων αντίτυπα θέλουσιν υποβληθή τω Συλλόγω μετ' ου πολύ. Η επιτροπή διευκολύνει τω φωτογράφω την είσοδον εις τα τεμένη, ούτος δε, εις αντάλλαγμα της χορηγουμένης ταύτης ευκολίας, προσφέρει αυτή ανά εν αντίτυπον των, τη εισηγήσει αυτής, φωτογραφουμένων μνημείων". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1873, p. 300.

photography all the more necessary. As the latter argued, "[t]he avarice of businessmen and of travelers – the needs of the 19th century – and even rain and wind, which add up to the catastrophes brought about by time, are always combined to erase any trace of the history of this glorious city."[748]

It is arguably in this light that one should interpret the request of the archaeological committee for a photographic camera that would allow it "to easily copy many monuments and inscriptions out of reach";[749] its request for funds so as to purchase the photographs of a Byzantine building that had been discovered in the Gedik Pasha district of the Ottoman capital;[750] or even the donations of photographs of ancient and Byzantine monuments,[751] and of centuries-old houses located in the traditional Greek Orthodox districts of Fener, Cibali and Balat along the Golden Horn of Constantinople.[752]

Although the society never conducted an archaeological excavation, except for a few timid attempts,[753] it encompassed the concept and act of

[748] "... της παραδοχής νέων μέσων προς διατήρησιν της μνήμης των κλασικών και βυζαντινών μνημείων.", "... ων η μελέτη ήθελεν επαναφέρει εις την μνήμην τα κατεστραμμένα, και ήθελε συντελέσει προς ακριβεστέραν γνώσιν των μέχρι των ημερών ημών σωζομένων." and "Η απληστία των επιχειρηματιών και των περιηγητών – αι ανάγκαι του XIX αιώνος – και αυτή ακόμη η βροχή και ο άνεμος υποβοηθούσαι τας του χρόνου καταστροφάς αείποτε συνδυάζονται όπως απαλείψωσιν εκ της περιδόξου ταύτης πόλες παν ίχνος της ιστορίας αυτής". The quotes and other pieces of information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 23 Apr. 1882, p. 372.

[749] "προς εύκολον αντιγραφήν πολλών απροσίτων μνημείων και επιγραφών". The quote and other pieces of information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 252-253.

[750] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Jan. 1891, p. 99.

[751] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 7 Nov. 1877, p. 112; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1880, p. 189.

[752] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 March 1908, p. 42; and minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1908, p. 77.

[753] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 May 1871, p. 212; Δάμων, Δρ. "Περί των εν Σουλού Σεράϊ του Πόντου Ανακαλυφθεισών Επιγραφών." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', ibid, pp. 1-6; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 26 Apr. 1873, p. 299; Leval,

salvaging finds, in what reveals its acknowledgment that excavations represented an advanced tool of study and a clear step towards proactive heritage protection. For example, in 1872, when antiquities, including inscriptions, were located in Chalkedona (*Kadıköy*), and it was made known that these could be unearthed for the small amount of 3 Ottoman liras, the society took it upon itself to provide the required funds.[754] Nevertheless, the society occasionally envisaged the execution of systematic excavations, as in the case of one of the members of the society, who suggested in 1864 that they carry out an excavation at a place known as Fildere.[755]

Even though the society never carried out a regular archaeological excavation, individual members of the society did so in their personal capacity with permission from the Ottoman government, and shared their conclusions with the rest of the society. For example, in 1905, physician K. Makres delivered a lecture "on the ancient thermal baths on the islet of Kerás across Artake" (Περί των Αρχαίων Ιαματικών Υδάτων της έναντι της Αρτάκης κειμένης Νησίδος Κεράς), which he excavated with the purpose of verifying its nature.[756]

Arguably, the archaeological excavation by a member of the society, which best illustrates both interest in learning through a regular excavation

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André. "Αρχαιολογικά." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Εικοσιπενταετηρίς, op.cit., p. 619-620; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1893, p. 81; and «Επιγραφαί Αρχαίαι και Βυζαντιναί.» Edited by Ξ. Α. Σιδερίδης. *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΚΔ'-ΚΣΤ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 135.

[754] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Aug. 1872, p. 235.

[755] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι'-ΙΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30 May 1864, p. 260.

[756] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 29 Apr. 1905, p. 84.

and sensitivity towards heritage protection, was the one carried out by Konstantinos Karapanos in Passarona (present-day Dodona in north-western Greece) in 1875 and afterwards.[757] Karapanos, who was a banker, originally from Epirus[758] where Passarona was located, a regular member of the society since 1862,[759] twice its president (1871-1872 and 1872-1873),[760] and who later had a successful political career in Greece,[761] excavated in Passarona with a view "not only to identify[ing] the site of Dodona but also to shed[ding] light on various issues pertaining to Greek religion and art, and the geography of Epirus."[762] After his trial dig resulted in important finds, he went to Constantinople, with the aim of acquiring governmental permission for a regular archaeological excavation. While he was away, the site of Passarona/Dodona was looted.[763] As another Epirote shared with the society, "so, these four [looters] in tandem and with 40-50 workers continued to dig in Passarona for months and to bring it upside down along with its antiquities, for they followed no system and no discipline, nor did they respect antiquity".[764] And he added,

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[757] Carapanos, Constantin. *Dodone et ses Ruines.* Librairie Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1878, p. 2. gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6108898d/f8.image. Accessed 29 March 2017.

[758] "The Donor." *National Archaeological Museum*, www.namuseum.gr/object-month/2010/nov/nov10-donor-en.html. Accessed 29 March 2017.

[759] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', op.cit., p. θ' (in alphabetical order).

[760] Vassiadis. *op.cit.*, p. 243.

[761] The Donor." *National Archaeological Museum*, *op.cit.*

[762] "[…] θέλει συντελέσει ου μόνον εις τον ορισμόν της θέσεως εν ή έκειτο η Δωδώνη, αλλά και εις εξακρίβωσιν διαφόρων ζητημάτων σχέσιν εχόντων προς τε την Ελληνικήν θρησκείαν και τέχνην και προς την Γεωγραφίαν της Ηπείρου." In Καραπάνος, Κ. "Δωδώνη και τα ερείπια αυτής." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', op.cit., p. 2.

[763] Καραπάνος, Κ. "Δωδώνη και τα ερείπια αυτής." *ibid*, p. 1.

[764] "Ούτω λοιπόν οι τέσσαρες ούτοι συνεταιρικώς επί μήνας και δια 40-50 εργατών εξακολουθούσι την ανασκαφήν και ανατροπήν της Πασσαρώνος και των αρχαιοτήτων αυτής, διότι ούτε σειράν ούτε τάξιν διατηρούσιν ούτε σέβας προς την αρχαιότητα." In Τσιγαράς, Ν. "Περί της πόλεως Πασσαρώνος." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', op.cit., p. 139.

> ... from these [looted finds], the former governor general of Epirus Akif pasha, who gave permission for the digs, received 300 coins along with other votive offerings; the worst and ugliest ones of the finds, they [the looters] brought them to the governorate building, and the best and worthiest ones are to be found in the houses of the said [looters], while many are being sent abroad, and in this way Epirus and the museums of our homeland the Orient lose them for good, and the domestic science and history of our homeland enjoys no benefit.[765]

Karapanos eventually bought those antiquities that the looters and other locals still had in their possession.[766]

Karapanos and his compatriot were aware not only of the importance of this site for the study of Ancient Greece, but also of the importance of systematic archaeological excavations and how illegal digs undermined the scientific study of antiquity and heritage protection. Karapanos' conduct of a trial dig before embarking on a regular excavation illustrates his awareness of the archaeological method. His interpretation of the finds, in which he carefully made the distinction between certainty and indication, was systematic, albeit not necessarily that of a professional archaeologist.[767] For his compatriot, the lack of a systematic approach by the looters was synonymous with destruction, a belief, which he emphatically expressed by comparing the looting of Dodona by his contemporaries to that of the Athenian Parthenon by Elgin as well as to the destruction of the Byzantine walls of Constantinople during the construction of the railway line in the early 1870s.[768] Importantly,

[765] "Εκ τούτων, έλαβε 300 νομίσματα ο πρώην γενικός διοικητής Ηπείρου Ακίφ πασσάς, ο δούς και την άδειαν των ανασκαφών, μετά και άλλων αναθημάτων΄τα χείριστα δε και αθλιώτατα εκ των ευρεθέντων έφερον εις το διοικητήριον, και τα καλλίτερα και πολυτιμότερα ευρίσκονται εις τας οικίας των ειρημένων, πλείστα δε απέρχονται εις την αλλοδαπήν, και ούτω στερείται εσαεί ταύτα η Ήπειρος και τα μουσεία της πατρίδος ημών Ανατολής, ουδεμίαν δε ωφέλειαν καρπούται η εγχώριος και πάτριος ημών επιστήμη και ιστορία." In Τσιγαράς, Ν. "Περί της πόλεως Πασσαρώνος." *ibid*, p. 140.

[766] Καραπάνος, Κ. "Δωδώνη και τα ερείπια αυτής." *op.cit.*, p. 1.

[767] Καραπάνος, Κ. "Δωδώνη και τα ερείπια αυτής." *ibid*, pp. 1-6.

[768] Τσιγαράς, Ν. "Περί της πόλεως Πασσαρώνος." *op.cit.*, p. 139.

heritage protection was undermined not only because of the destruction happening in the field but also because of the loss of artefacts that could have otherwise been displayed in the museums of the Orient, an opinion which echoes the key role of museums in the protection of antiquities.

Even when a member of the society could not carry out an archaeological excavation, he could aspire to be involved in other ways, such as by volunteering his services according to his knowledge and skills in excavations undertaken by third parties. For example, in 1874, physician Nikolaos K. Lemnios "requested that the society acts so that those slabs excavated, which bear inscriptions, are kept in storage for rescue, and that he is given permission to be present during the excavations so that he reads the inscriptions discovered."[769] While wishing that the society could intervene to ensure safe storage for prospective finds, Lemnios went a step further, by offering his language skills for the reading of the inscriptions to be discovered.

The partial demolition of the Byzantine walls of Constantinople for the construction of the Thracian railway line in the early 1870s provides another example of the sensitivities that the society expressed regarding heritage protection, while showing the limits of its engagement. In a study by physician Alexandros Paspates that was published in the periodical of the society, the wish to see scientific archaeological excavations was coupled with the author's indignation at the destruction of the walls. "It was never forgiven to

[769] "[...] εξαιτείται όπως τη ενεργεία του Συλλόγου των εξαγομένων λίθων οι φέροντες τοιαύτας επιγραφάς φυλάττωνται που αποτεθειμένοι προς διάσωσιν, χορηγηθή δ'αυτώ η άδεια να παρίσταται εν ταις γινομέναις ανασκαφαίς προς ανάγνωσιν των ανακαλυφθησομένων επιγραφών." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 May 1874, p. 204.

dig the depths of our city for the sake of science",[770] argued Paspates, before recounting, in a most unflattering language, the destruction of the city brought upon by the Crusaders in 1204 and by the Ottomans in 1453, and before including his contemporary Europeans in this sequence of sackings by adding in wonder:

> What can I say about the digs that are undertaken these days by the Europeans, who pull down apses, while turning a blind eye to marble decorations, who throw inscriptions in the sea, turn into pieces slabs covered in symbols and inscriptions? The diggers amputated sculptures and crosses for fun. Many parts of the sea walls at Propontis were pulled down with wedges or blown up just to be used as small pieces for layering the road. Marble slabs, pieces of columns, capitals of columns, and big slabs with inscriptions were used in that same layer. Once the house of grand Justinian found, it was by and large pulled down, without anyone caring to find out to whom this had belonged.[771]

Significantly, for Paspates, the Greeks stood out in defence of heritage at risk. As he argued, "[w]e, Greeks, are not at all in agreement with these unfair opinions [and] are right to mourn the harm caused to so many historical monuments".[772] In spite of some elements of a watchdog role and limited advocacy activity that are found in Paspates' article, overall, in this case, the society appeared unable to move forward with a more concrete plan for

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[770] «Ουδέποτε συνεχωρήθη να εμπηχθή η σκαπάνη χάριν της επιστήμης εις τα έγκατα της ημετέρας πόλεως.» In Πασπάτης, Α. Γ. "Περί των εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ανασκαφών." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., p. 46.

[771] «Τι όμως να είπω περί των επιστατούντων τας σημερινάς ανασκαφάς Ευρωπαίων, κατεδαφιζόντων αψίδας, αμελούντων κοσμήματα μαρμάρινα, ριπτόντων εν τη θαλάσση ενεπιγράφους πλάκας, συντριβόντων πλίνθους μετά συμβόλων και επιγραφών; Οι σκαπανείς χάριν παιδιάς ηκρωτηρίασαν αγάλματα και σταυρούς. Πλείστα μέρη των παραλίων τειχών της Προποντίδος κατηδαφίσθησαν δια σφηνών και πυρίτιδος, μόνον και μόνον ίνα κατακερματισθώσι, και χρησιμεύσωσι ως στρώμα του δρόμου. Πλάκες εκ μαρμάρου, τεμάχια κιόνων, κιονόκρανα, και ενεπίγραφοι μέγισται πλίνθοι, εχρησίμευσαν δια το αυτό στρώμα. Του οίκου του μεγάλου Ιουστινιανού, ανευρεθέντος, το πλείστον μέρος κατηδάφισαν, ουδόλως φροντίσαντες να μάθωσι τίνος η κατοικία αύτη.» In Πασπάτης, Α. Γ. "Περί των εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ανασκαφών." *ibid*, pp. 47-48. For the other pieces of information, see pp. 46-48.

[772] «Ημείς οι Γραικοί ουδόλως συμμεριζόμενοι τα άδικα ταύτα φρονήματα, δικαίως θρηνούμεν την φθοράν τοσούτων ιστορικών μνημείων.» In Πασπάτης, Α. Γ. "Περί των εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ανασκαφών." *ibid*, p. 48.

preserving the endangered antiquities. Importantly, this article clearly acknowledged the Ottoman government for having halted the destruction of the monuments in question,[773] in what shows that the society was aware of its own limits in heritage protection and able to readily recognise the role of the state in this field.

For the society and its members, the Ottoman state was the leading institution in heritage protection and, more broadly, heritage management. They acknowledged the Ottoman government priority in these fields, and even cherished the expectation that it would carry out relevant activities. The society excluded from its field visits in the Ottoman capital those sites, of which the government took care. For example, in 1863, when a member of the society inquired whether the society had acted in the aftermath of a discovery made in the Ottoman capital, he was informed that "the August Government has taken responsibility for the excavation",[774] meaning, in other words, that there was no reason for the society to be involved. Also, the society and its members looked upon the government for the promotion of archaeological research. By means of illustration, in his study of the ancient cemetery of Amastris (present-day Amasra in Turkey), which was published in the periodical of the society in 1872, Avraam, an engineer from Vartíni (Bartın in present-day Turkey), did not miss the opportunity to express his wish that: "May the imperial ottoman government, the protector and friend of progress,

[773] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 Feb. 1872, p. 252.

[774] "[...] της ανασκαφής επελήφθη η Σ. Κυβέρνησις [...]". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. έτος Α', τεύχος Ε'-ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 7 Sep. 1863, p. 284. The periodical mistakenly states 1874 as the year of the meeting (p. 283).

order the carrying out of important research and excavations, which will be of much interest to science and shed much light on the past of Amastris."[775]

The society, its archaeological committee, and individual members openly acknowledged the Imperial Museum for its role in heritage protection, and looked upon it as an active agent and safe harbour for the rescue of finds and as a place, where they could further their studies of antiquity. For example, in 1889, André Leval, a member of the society and its archaeological committee, warned that two great inscriptions found on a collapsing part of the walls of Constantinople ran the risk of destruction, and suggested that the society inform Osman Hamdi Bey, director of the Imperial Archaeological Museum, in order to rescue them.[776] The following year, another member of the society, Vegleres shared the news that antiquities brought to the naval base in the capital from the Aegean island of Karpathos, for use in the construction of a pier, had eventually been transferred to the Imperial Museum.[777]

The Imperial Museum was a regular destination for study by members of the society and, in particular, its archaeological committee. Inscriptions came first *par excellence* in their preferences, but other finds also attracted

[775] "Είθε η αυτοκρατορική οθωμανική κυβέρνησις η προστάτρια και φίλη της προόδου να διατάξη να γίνωσιν έρευναι και ανασκαφαί σπουδαίαι, αίτινες έξουσι πολύ το ενδιαφέρον δια την επιστήμην και επιχύσουσι πολύ φως επί του παρελθόντος της Αμάστριος." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ε', op.cit., p. 48.

[776] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 May 1889, p. 274. For André Leval's membership of the society and its archaeological committee, see pp. ι' and λα' respectively in the same issue.

[777] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Apr. 1890, p. 44.

their interest.[778] The Alexander Sarcophagus was one of the exhibits that greatly attracted their attention, even though construction and classification work at the museum kept it inaccessible for a considerable period of time. Such was the desire of members of the archaeological committee to inspect the sarcophagus that they compromised by studying it on the basis of a report by Titos Karambellas, a regular member of the society, who had seen the sarcophagus upon its transfer to the Ottoman capital, while Dr Mordtmann, member of the archaeological committee, had the opportunity to study it from photographs.[779] Significantly, besides enjoying inspections of exhibits up close, members of the society were able to secure copies of finds by estampage on paper as well.[780]

[778] For example, see Millingen, J. «Περί Δύο Ανεκδότων Κυζικηνών Ψηφισμάτων.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., p. 23; Millingen, Julius. «Συμπλήρωσις επί των Δύο Ανεκδότων Κυζικηνών Ψηφισμάτων.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', op.cit., p. 164.

Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν. τόμος ΙΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Apr. 1877, p. 169; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 8 May 1881, p. 74; Mordtmann, J. «Επιγραφαί Θεσσαλίας.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΕ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 8; and, in the same issue, Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμέως, Α. «Ελληνικαί Επιγραφαί του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Αυτοκρατορικού Μουσείου.», pp. 55-61, esp. pp. 55-56; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΣΤ' τόμου, op.cit., pp. 6, 8, 9, 17, 19, 22, 24; Παπαδόπουλος Κεραμεύς, Α. «Αρχαιότητες και Επιγραφαί της Θράκης.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΖ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 74; Σιδερόπουλος, Ξ. Α. «Βυζαντιναί Επιγραφαί.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του ΙΘ' τόμου, op.cit., p. 27; and, in the same issue, «Επιγραφή Κυζίκου», p. 29; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 17 Apr. 1891, p. 109; "Επιγραφικαί και Αρχαιολογικαί Ανακοινώσεις." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του Κ'-ΚΒ' τόμου, op.cit., pp. 14-16, 17; Μυστακίδης, Βασίλειος Α. «Διάφορα Σημειώματα.» *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΗ', op.cit., p. 222; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Λ, op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 June 1906, p. 38.

[779] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*, τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 Oct. 1890, p. 79; minutes of the meeting convened on 17 Apr. 1891, p. 111. Also, see the reference to the study on the sarcophagus by Rev. C. G. Curtis in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΓ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1892, p. 69; and Curtis, Ch. G. "Εικασίαι τινές περί της εν τω Αυτ. Μουσείω του Τσινιλι-κιόσκ σαρκοφάγου, ήτις επονομάζεται η του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του Κ'-ΚΒ' τόμου, ibid, pp. 73-75.

[780] For example, see Millingen, Julius. «Συμπλήρωσις επί των Δύο Ανεκδότων Κυζικηνών Ψηφισμάτων.» *op.cit*., p. 164; "Επιγραφικαί και Αρχαιολογικαί Ανακοινώσεις." *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. Αρχαιολογική Επιτροπή, Παράρτημα του Κ'-ΚΒ' τόμου, ibid, pp. 14-16.

By acknowledging the leading role of the state in heritage protection and that of its main institution in this field, the Imperial Museum, the society did not relinquish its own aspirations to collect antiquities and create a museum. Already in 1868, it publicly expressed its vision for creating a museum that was expected to materialise with time and, together with other initiatives of the society, such as its library and its collection of scientific instruments, to be a source of pride for the Ottoman capital.[781] This vision was re-affirmed in 1872, when an archaeological museum was envisaged "worthy of the holy land on which we walk", as the president of the archaeological committee exclaimed in his annual report to the plenary.[782]

The first attempts of the society to gradually build its collection of antiquities date to the years before the fire that destroyed its headquarters in 1870, with donations being the main source of items. Arguably, the first donation of an ancient artefact went back to 1864, and referred to a small marble monument bearing an inscription that had been found a few years earlier, in 1861, in San Stefano, on the outskirts of Constantinople,[783] while more donations from the folllowing years were documented in the periodical of the society. The types of artefacts and their origin varied. Coins, ceramics, funerary stelae, even fossils were collected, and while some of these were from Constantinople, others came from Anatolia, the Balkans, the Aegean islands or from places outside the empire, such as Athens. Their donors came

[781] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 5 May 1868, p. 231.

[782] "αξίου του ιερού εδάφους εφ' ου βαδίζωμεν". The quote and other pieces of information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1872, p. 278.

[783] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι-΄ΙΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 June 1864, p. 262.

from different places as well, with some being from the Ottoman capital and others from the provinces. In 1870, US Consul Brown donated a number of Phoenician vases to the society.[784]

In the aftermath of the fire, which annihilated the items collected that far, the society took more decisive steps towards building up and enriching its collection. The new regulation of the society that was issued in 1871 formally created a numismatic and archaeological collection (article 62), and stated that the society would budget accordingly for its enrichment (article 63).[785] Circulars inviting the inhabitants of the provinces to collect antiquities were issued in 1871, 1873 and 1879,[786] and resulted in a relatively regular flow of donations from the provinces.[787] In 1874, a five-member committee was created with the task of enriching, *inter alia*, the collections of the society.[788] In

[784] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΓ'-ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 12 Apr. 1865, p. 70; minutes of the meeting convened on 3 May 1865, pp. 72-73; minutes of the meeting convened on 26 June 1865, p. 80; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 17 Feb. 1869, p. 236; and minutes of the meeting convened on 3 March 1870, p. 252. For US Consul Brown in particular, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Δ' (τα Περισωθέντα), ibid, p. 263.

[785] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*. op.cit., p. 14, article 62-63.

[786] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 Nov. 1871, p. 219; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 May 1873, p. 287; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 10 Dec. 1879, p. 169.

[787] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1872, pp. 288-289; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 26 March 1873, pp. 274-275; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 15 Oct. 1873, pp. 300-301; minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Nov. 1873, p. 303; minutes of the meeting convened on 8 Apr. 1874, p. 320; minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1874, p. 330; minutes of the meeting convened on 5 May 1874, p. 362; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 July 1874, p. 208; minutes of the meeting convened on 14 Oct. 1874, p. 211; minutes of the meeting convened on 21 Oct. 1874, p. 212 and 213; minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Jan. 1875, p. 223; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 March 1876, p. 160-162; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Oct. 1879, p. 160.

[788] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1874, p. 340.

these years, a few purchases have also been recorded,[789] with the society not limiting itself to Greek antiquities, as the purchase of Sasanian, Parthian and Kufic coins shows.[790]

Overall, the variety of artefacts, their provenance and donors only increased after 1870. The proactive stance of the society and, in particular, its archaeological committee meant that Greek, Roman, and Byzantine antiquities and coins, as well as smaller numbers of ancient Egyptian,[791] Oriental,[792] European[793] and even Turkish[794] antiquities and coins found their place in the archaeological and numismatic collection of the society. By the late 19th century, the society had in its collection more than a 1.000 items while more artefacts and coins were added in the following years. For example, in 1896, the society had more than 260 antiquities other than coins and close to 1.000 coins and similar artefacts, such as precious stone rings

[789] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Aug. 1872, p. 235; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1874, p. 330; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 May 1874, p. 204; minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Apr. 1875, p. 251; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΘ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 4 June 1884, p. 60; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 23 May 1888, p. 235; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 260-261; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 17 Apr. 1891, p. 111; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1893, p. 81.

[790] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 260-261.

[791] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 260-261; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Apr. 1875, p. 251.

[792] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 260-261; and *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1884, p. 97.

[793] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΗ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1884, p. 97.

[794] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Apr. 1875, p. 251.

(*δακτυλιόλιθοι*) in its collection.[795] Within two years, the number of coins alone had increased to 1.146[796] while, by 1902, another 44 antiquities other than coins had been added to the collection.[797] Also, the profile of donors varied, as they could be from the Ottoman capital or the provinces, with foreign names appearing next to Ottoman Greek ones. Significantly, both laymen and clerics shared the passion of collecting and donating antiquities, including coins, to the society,[798] a passion that the society consciously attempted to harness already in 1873 by providing its members and the readers of its periodical with donor role models. Clergymen were invited to follow the example of the Metropolitans of Derkos (*Δέρκων*), Belgrade (*Βελεγράδων*), and Ganos and Chora (*Γάνου και Χώρας*), who had been collecting various coins in their respective provinces and dispatching them to the society, while laymen in the provinces were provided with the example of Demetrios Evlambios from Chartalime (present-day Kartal in Istanbul), who kept

[795] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 May 1896, p. 88.

[796] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 31 May 1898, p. 166.

[797] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 June 1902, pp. 76-77.

[798] For example, see *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 24 Apr. 1872, p. 278; minutes of the meeting convened on 30 Apr. 1872, p. 303; minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Apr. 1872, pp. 288-289; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 9 Oct. 1872, p. 237; minutes of the meeting convened on 26 March 1873, pp. 274-275;); *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Η', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 15 Oct. 1873, pp. 300-301; minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Nov. 1873, p. 303; minutes of the meeting convened on 8 Apr. 1874, p. 320; minutes of the meeting convened on 15 Apr. 1874, p. 322; minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1874, p. 330; minutes of the meeting convened on 5 May 1874, p. 362; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Θ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 July 1874, p. 208; minutes of the meeting convened on 14 Oct. 1874, p. 211; minutes of the meeting convened on 21 Oct. 1874, p. 212 and 213; minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Jan. 1875, p. 223; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 22 March 1876, p. 160-162; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 28 Nov. 1877, p. 113; *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 25 Oct. 1879, p. 160; minutes of the meeting convened on 5 Nov. 1879, p. 163.

collecting coins and donating them to the society.[799] In line with the general outloook of the society, hardly any women figured among the donors, with Charikleia Konstantinidou, who in 1887 offered the society the head of a statue,[800] making for an exception. The Ottoman Ministry of Public Education with one donation[801] and the Society for Medieval Studies (*Σύλλογος Μεσαιωνικών Σπουδών*) with another one[802] stand out as rare instances of institutional donors.

The accumulation of items in the archaeological and numismatic collection of the society brought about the need to organise the collection. Although until the early 1870s, the librarian had been in charge of it,[803] a shift is noticed in 1875, when the archaeological committee started electing a curator specifically charged with taking care of the collection. As enshrined in the regulation of 1886 and subsequent regulations, the curator of the archaeological and numismatic collection was responsible for maintaining the collection in good condition, cataloguing the acquisitions, including with information on the date of the donation and the name of the donor, and submitting a detailed annual report to the plenary of the society.[804] Mordtmann

[799] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ζ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 March 1873, pp. 338-339.

[800] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Oct. 1887, p. 182.

[801] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 1 Feb. 1872, p. 255.

[802] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 29 March 1876, p. 165.

[803] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1871)*, op.cit., p. 5, article 8.

[804] *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1886)*, op.cit., p. 20, article 71; *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1896)*, op.cit., p. 23, article 92; and *Κανονισμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ελληνικού Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου (1920)*, op.cit., p. 24, article 109.

Jr appears to have been the first member of the society to occupy this position[805] and was succeeded by numerous Ottoman Greeks.[806]

One of the most important tasks linked to organising the collection was to classify its items and, subsequently, catalogue it. A few initiatives in this regard are noticeable between 1882 and 1908, which, however, appear to have been either inconclusive or without a proper follow-up. In 1882, a promising young man known for his archaeological work while at Smyrna, Athanasios Papadopoulos Kerameus was hired with a view to his classifying the archaeological and numismatic collections.[807] In 1896, he decided to produce a catalogue of the collection,[808] which was, however, left unfinished.[809] Three years later, in 1899, the issue of drafting a catalogue reappeared, when the archaeological committee requested that the curator of the collection be provided with all support required for compiling such a catalogue.[810] The president of the archaeological committee was reported to have dedicated his time to classifying the numismatic collection of the society in 1907-1908.[811]

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[805] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Ι', *op.cit.*, p. κδ'. This argument is based on the lack of reference to curators of the collection in previous volumes.

[806] The names of the curators can be found in the final pages of the initial pages of each volume, which are numbered with letters.

[807] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΣΤ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 30/11 June 1882, pp. 403-404. For a discussion of Papadopoulos Kerameus as a scholar, see Κυριακαντωνάκης. *op.cit*.

[808] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 Nov. 1896, p. 98.

[809] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΗ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 2 June 1902, p. 76.

[810] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 18 Jan. 1899, p. 190.

[811] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1908, p. 84.

For a society unable to catalogue its collection, the creation of a museum would remain elusive to the end. Certain restrictions imposed by Ottoman legislation appear to have had only a marginal impact on the collection activities of the society, with mostly internal limitations accounting for the inability to achieve its declared goal of creating a museum.

The little information that the periodical of the society affords the reader as to the impact that Ottoman archaeological legislation had on the endeavours of the society to collect original antiquities leads one to the conclusion that the society was rather oblivious to the law. In 1907, in a rare acknowledgment of Ottoman legislation, the president of the society admitted in his annual report that "as far as the archaeological collections are concerned, their enrichment is difficult because, as known, a new law of the State regulates these collections".[812] Indeed, that year, the archaeological committee of the society appears to have only attempted to classify its numismatic collection with no reference being made to any new acquisitions.[813] Yet, not long after that, the society publicly acknowledged in its periodical the donation of two funerary plaques found at a house. The person who had mediated for the plaques to be transferred to the society was named along with a note that the society had thanked him by means of a letter.[814] Significantly, at a time when private acquisitions, beyond what was

[812] "Όσον δ' αφορά τας αρχαιολογικάς συλλογάς ο πλουτισμός αυτών δύσκολος, διότι, ως γνωστόν, νέος νόμος του Κράτους διέπει τας τοιαύτας συλλογάς". The quote and other pieces of information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος Λ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 13 May 1907, p. 87.

[813] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 11 May 1908, p. 84.

[814] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΛΒ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 6 Oct. 1908, p. 8.

available in the legal market for antiquities, were prohibited, such an open acknowledgment, including the name of the mediator, appears to have been misplaced and overtly risky.

With legal restrictions to collecting antiquities weighing little for the society, the reasons why its rich collection never materialised into a museum are rather to be found in the inadequate facilities of the society, its lack of specialists, as well as of the required funding. Annual reports by curators of the archaeological and numismatic collection illustrate these reasons well. Pelopidas Kouppas, an architect who was responsible for the archaeological collection in the year 1888-1889, admitted in his report his lack of skills necessary for putting in order a collection that lay in a most disorganised state:

> […] I cannot keep silent that I found the work, with which I was tasked by my esteemed colleagues through their vote, severely challenging and beyond my material capabilities and my intellectual ability; challenging first because by being irregular and too far from proper care, the state in which our antiquities lay forced me to dedicate a long time and effort in order to transfer to the garden of our institution the inscriptions and other archaeological remains that were thrown in shapeless masses in the staircase of the society and build them in, in such a way that they could be read and studied by visitors; raise the marble torso that laid before the door of the meeting room and place it against the wall in that garden by securing it at an appropriate position, so that it can be easily shown to those interested in the arts; and the vases, bricks, amphorae, and other such items found in the drawers of the room of the archaeological collections piled under layers of dust, and without neglecting the bas-reliefs, statuettes, inscriptions and similar items that lay on the floor in no order place these in their right position, and hand over a clean, well-ventilated and easy-to-walk-through room.[815]

[815] "[...] ου δύναμι σιωπήσαι, ότι το έργον, ο κατ' εντολήν και ψήφον των εμών αξιοτίμων συναδέλφων ανέλαβον, σφόδρα επαχθές και υπερέχον των εμών δυνάμεων υλικών τε και διανοητικών εύρον΄επαχές μεν, ότι η κατάστασις, εν η τα αρχαιολογικά ημών αντικείμενα διέκειντο, ανωμαλωτάτη και καθόλου ημελημένη ούσα ηνάγκασέ με διαθέσαι μακρόν χρόνον και κόπον, ίνα τας μν δίκην αμόρφων όγκων εν τω διακλίμακι του συλλόγου ερριμένας επιγραφάς και έτερα αρχαιολογικά λείψανα μετακομίσω εις τον κήπον του καθιδρύματος ημών και ερρύθμως εντειχίσω προς ευχερή ανάγνωσιν και μελέτην των προσιόντων' τον δε

Significantly, Kouppas was also able to identify the risk of causing damage to the antiquities, which was associated with his lack of expertise:

> Because if I had managed to act upon and only partially, that is, as much as my knowledge would allow, this too would have been difficult and unsuccessful, and my conscience was sending out a warning by not only projecting to my mind possible points of criticism but also showing the difficulty, so that my good intention and to the maximum care of these ancient heirlooms would not result in damage instead of benefit.[816]

Almost ten years later, D. G. Mostratos, the curator of the archaeological and numismatic collection at that time, submitted a "report on the numismatic collections" where he revealed that practically no progress was noticeable as this necessitated time, money and a specialist, all of which the society appeared to be constantly lacking:

> In order to acquire a numismatic collection worthy of showing to scholars who would visit it, a spacious hall, especially designated for the keeping and scientific classification of the coins, is required. What do books, newspapers and bas-reliefs and statues have to do in the coins room? And their classification, why should it be within the confines of drawers, and not in glass cases, one coin next to the other? […] What is required is money, and time, and a scholar, a methodical and patient **guardian**, who could draft catalogues of the numismatic possession for us and could designate the system which he is acquainted with and can use in order to classify it.[817]

προ της εισόδου των συνεδριάσεων κείμενον μαρμάρινον κορμόν ανορθώσω προς τον τοίχον εν τη αυτή αυλή κτίσας και στερεώσας καθ' αρμοδίαν στάσιν, όπως εις θέαν των καλλιτεχνούντων ευχερώς προβληθή' τα δ' εν τοις ερμαρίοις του θαλάμου των αρχαιολογικών συλλογών εν σωρώ και κόνει πολυχρονίω κεκαλυμμένα αγγεία, πλίνθους, αμφορείς και ει τι τοιούτον, ούτε τα εν τω δαπέδω φύρδην μίγδην σεσωρευμένα ανάγλυφα, αγαλμάτια, επιγραφάς και όμοια εξαιρούμενος, εν οικεία θέσει έκαστον κατατάξω και τον θάλαμον καθαρόν, ευάερον και προσιτόν δια την ευρυχωρίαν παράσχω." The quote and further pieces of information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 260-261.

816 "Διότι, ει τούτο ηδυνάμην πράξαι και εν μέρει μόνον, ήτοι εφ' όσον αι γνώσεις εμού επιτρέπωσι, και τούτο δυσκατόρθωτον και ανεπιτυχές, η συνείδησις προοιώνιζεν ου μόνον τας πιθανάς επικρίσεις τω νω προβάλλουσα, αλλά και δυσχέρειαν εμφαίνουσα, μη η φιλότιμος μέριμνα και άκρα περιποίησις επι των αρχαίων τούτων κειμηλίων ένεκα της περί τα τοιαύτα αγνοίας μου βλάβην αντί ωφελείας παρέξη." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΑ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 20 Apr. 1889, pp. 260-261.

817 "Προς κτήσιν ευπροσώπου νομισματικής συλλογής, ήτις να κήται εις θέσιν επιστήμοσιν επισκέπταις, απαιτείται ευρεία αίθουσα, αποκλειστικώς ωρισμένη εις φύλαξιν και επιστημονικήν νομισμάτων κατάταξιν. Βιβλία, εφημερίδες και ανάγλυφα και αγάλματα τι ζητούσιν εν τη νομισματοθήκη; Η δε κατάταξις δια τι να γίνηται εν περιωρισμένοις συρταρίοις,

The inability of the society to create its museum and, through it, project its own idea of heritage and heritage protection is linked to its weakness *vis-à-vis* other stakeholders interested in collecting antiquities. The transfer of a marble bas-relief depicting the head of a lion in its collection to the Berlin Museum exemplifies this well. More specifically, in 1879, the Berlin Museum kindly requested the bas-relief for its own collections through the mediation of Paul Schroeder, consul general of Germany in Beirut and member of the society and its archaeological committee, in exchange for an ancient bust or a copy in stucco of the so-called Laocoon complex.[818] In the extraordinary meeting that was convened to discuss this issue, a host of opinions was aired that reflected the debate regarding heritage protection and the ownership of finds taking place at that time in the Ottoman Empire. The first point revolved around the issue of who is responsible for managing antiquities. A divide was clearly discernible in the society between those arguing that the financial committee, the only committee consulted up to that point, should be in charge on the one hand, and those insisting that the archaeological committee should share its opinion, given, on the other hand, that it was the only one competent in assessing antiquities.

Far from being merely procedural in nature, this difference of opinion was linked to a conceptual split between those favouring antiquities as

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ουχί δε εν υαλοφράκτοις θήκαις, κατά γραμμήν τεθειμέναις; [...] απαιτείται δε και δαπάνη και χρόνος και επιστήμων, μεθοδικός και υπομονετικός **φύλαξ**, όστις να συντάξη ημίν καταλόγους της νομισματικής περιουσίας και να υποδείξη κατά ποίον σύστημα γινώσκει και δύναται να κατατάξη αυτήν." The quote and further information in *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΚΖ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 27 Apr. 1898, p. 136. See also, minutes of the meeting convened on 31 May 1898, p. 166.

[818] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 3 Dec. 1879, pp. 168-169. For biographical information on Paul Schroeder, see pp. ιγ' and κδ' of the same volume. An initial reference to a J. Schroeder (p. 168) should be considered a typo, as other references show.

commodities that can be exchanged or traded with other items, versus those viewing antiquities as heritage that necessitates special protection. The former view ascribed financial value to antiquities and allowed their commodification. The latter approach considered antiquities primarily as heritage, rejected their commodification and acknowledged their unique status. Although the issue of the bas-relief fell within the jurisdiction of the Ottoman government, its view as expressed in its relevant legislation regulating the ownership and export of finds was of little interest to the society. Significantly, no member of the society followed up on the suggestion of that member who "mentioned that because there is no trade in antiquities but illicit traffic, which is punishable by the legislations of civilised countries, for this reason the society before it makes a decision should study the laws of the state regarding antiquities and decide accordingly on whether to transfer it or not."[819]

Even for those members advocating in favour of keeping the bas-relief, the commodification of antiquities was not disputed; instead, it was not given priority over other values. As Herokles Vassiades argued, "the Society ought to think not of the [financial] value of the bas-relief, but of whether bowing down to moral pressure and transferring the requested item in exchange for whatever [offered] is compatible with its dignity and moral interest."[820] And he

[819] "Παρατηρεί ότι επειδή εμπόριον αρχαιοτήτων ουχ υπάρχει, αλλά λαθρεμπόριον, τιμωρούμενον υπό της νομοθεσίας των πεπολιτισμένων κρατών, δια τούτο πριν αποφασίση τι περί του ζητήματος τούτου ο Σύλλογος οφείλει εξετάσαι τους περί αρχαιοτήτων νόμους του κράτους, και ακολούθως ν' αποφασίση αυτός περί παραχωρήσεως ή μη". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Dec. 1879, p. 173.

[820] "[...] ο Σύλλογος οφείλει σκεφθήναι ουχί περί της αξίας του αναγλύφου, αλλά περί του αν συμβιβάζηται προς την αξιοπρέπειαν και το ηθικόν συμφέρον αυτού να υποκύψη εις ηθικήν πίεσιν και να παραχωρήση το αιτούμενον ανθ' οιουδήτινος". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Dec. 1879, p. 172.

continued by discussing the respect that needs to be shown to ancient monuments, "because moral and, moreover, national interest dictates steadfastedness [to the society]. Prior activity by the society shows that it castigates any instance of handing over antiquities to any recipient, because it is disrespectful to the monuments of the ancestors […]".[821]

When a member of the society argued that the bas-relief should be handed over for the sake of science, because the Berlin Museum already possessed parts of the monument that the bas-relief in question was part of, Vassiades, who had advocated steadfastedness on the grounds of respect for heritage, escalated the debate to the level of state policy and the risks ensuing from the archaeological policies of European countries that systematically collected antiquities in the Ottoman Empire. The minutes read:

> He [Vassiades] expressed his surprise at the words of Mr Chatzechrestos, because, if the opinion of the latter is to be followed, we need to hand over all the antiquities of Greece, some to England, others to France, and some to other Museums in Europe; because they all have parts of a complete antiquity, which they have no intention of handing over to the mother of all, Greece. He said to those [sharing such an opinion] that if the Society gives in this time, the entire Asia Minor will soon be stripped of its antiquities.[822]

Significantly, Vassiades saw for the society an opportunity to act as a role model for the communities in the empire:

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[821] "διότι ηθικόν και εθνικόν άμα συμφέρον υπαγορεύει εις αυτόν ευστάθειαν. Εκ δε των προτέρων του Συλλόγου πράξεων καταφαίνεται ότι κατακρίνει πάσαν των αρχαιοτήτων παραχώρησιν εις οιονδήτινα, κρίνων αυτήν ως έλλειψιν σεβασμού προς τα αρχαία των προγόνων μνημεία [...]". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Dec. 1879, pp. 172-173.

[822] "Εκφράζει έκπληξιν επί τοις λόγοις του κ. Χατζηχρήστου, καθόσον, κατά την γνώμην αυτού, δέον όπως δοθώσιν άπασαι της Ελλάδος αι αρχαιότητες, αι μεν εις την Αγγλίαν, αι δε εις την Γαλλίαν, άλλαι δ' εις άλλα των της Ευρώπης Μουσείων΄ διότι άπαντα έχουσι μέλη όλου τινός, άπερ ουδόλως βούλονται να παραχωρήσωσιν εις την μητέραν αυτών, την Ελλάδα. Λέγει δε προς τούτοις, ότι εάν ο Σύλλογος φανή επί του παρόντος ενδοτικός, η Μικρά Ασία άπασα εντός ολίγου χρόνου γυμνωθήσεται των αρχαιοτήτων". In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Dec. 1879, p. 173.

> […] the Society set as a principle to hand over no antiquities for whatever reason, because it has been convinced that by protesting and rendering difficult such instances, the communities in Turkey will be able to block the stripping of the country from these. Thus, it has a duty to insist in its rejection, so as to show that it empathises with the nation for the injustice done to it with the removal of the antiquities that belong to it.[823]

With 19 votes against and only 4 in favour, this debate resulted in a landslide victory for those against handing the bas-relief with the head of a lion over to the Berlin Museum.[824] Unlike the Trojan priest Laocoon who had unsuccesfully warned his compatriots to "fear Greeks bearing gifts" when the Greek army presented Troy with a super-sized wooden horse, the famous Trojan horse, as a deceitful token of peaceful understanding; the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople had actually feared the Germans bearing gifts and fended off what most of its members considered to be a risk to heritage. How this decision was overturned a few months later remains a mystery,[825] but Vassiades' reference to "moral pressure" appears to provide a clue as to concerted pressure exerted on the society and its members.

Instead, what is known with certainty is that the society eventually came to regret having handed over the bas-relief to the Berlin Museum and admitted its lack of professionalism. As Herokles Vassiades, now no longer a simple member of the society but its president, stated:

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[823] "... ο Σύλλογος έθηκεν αρχήν να μην παραχωρή επ' ουδενί λόγω τας αρχαιότητας, διότι επείσθη ότι και διαμαρτυρόμενος και δυσχεραίνων αυτός και αι εν Τουρκία κοινότητες δεν δύνανται να παρακωλύσωσι την απ' αυτών απογύμνωσιν της χώρας. Όθεν δέον να επιμείνη αρνούμενος ίνα δείξη ότι αισθάνεται την προσγιγνομένην εις το έθνος αδικίαν εκ της αφαιρέσεως των εις αυτό ανηκουσών αρχαιοτήτων." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Dec. 1879, p. 173.

[824] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 19 Dec. 1879, pp. 172-174.

[825] *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΔ', ibid, minutes of the meeting convened on 7 March 1880, p. 180.

> The archaeological collection got hold of a copy in stucco of the beautiful Laocoon complex, which was sent by the Berlin archaeological museum as counter-gift to that other original ancient heirloom; this copy was placed where once stood as guardian of the Society that lion from Pergamon, to the right of the entrance, standing monument of our naivety and our childish gullibility.[826]

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Overall, this Hellenic Ottoman society, which enjoyed an international outloook, and aimed at spreading knowledge and supporting progress, embraced antiquity and its study as a priority issue. Its archaeological committee was a meeting point for Ottoman Greeks and foreigners alike, and the society enjoyed the membership of the leading figures of Ottoman archaeology. While being delimitated by the nature of the society as a civic, non-specialist organisation of volunteers, the archaeological affairs of the society, in general, and its archaeological committee, in particular, exhibited a strong orientation towards heritage protection. With excavations being supported as a concept, the society focused on documenting and, not the least thanks to donors, to collecting antiquities with important results. Limited in its cataloguing, classification and display efforts, it was unable to share these with the wider public, except for what was published in its periodical. The society openly acknowledged the state for its role in heritage protection

[826] "Η δε των αρχαιοτήτων συλλογή εκτήσατο γύψινον εκμαγείον του καλού συμπλέγματος του Λαοκόοντος υπό του εν Βερολίνω αρχαιολογικού μουσείου αντίδωρο πεμφθέν ετέρου γνησίου αρχαίου κειμηλίου΄ το εκμαγείον τούτο ίδρυται εκεί ένθα ποτέ ίστατο δίκην φρουρού του Συλλόγου ο εκ Περγάμου εκείνος λέων δεξιά παρά την είσοδον, επιφανές μνημείον της απλότητος και παιδικής ημών ευπιστίας." In *Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν*. τόμος ΙΕ', op.cit., minutes of the meeting convened on 29 Apr. 1881, p. 61.

and heritage management. Interestingly, even though it regarded it and, especially, the Imperial Museum, as the main stakeholders in these fields, it approached Ottoman archaeological legislation with a significant degree of detachment. Moreover, by being a disciple and a master at the same time, its understanding of its own role in heritage protection was not unwavering. As seen in the case of the bas-relief that was offered to the Berlin Museum, the society would learn about the protection of antiquities at the same time that it attempted to spread knowledge in this field to others. Still, in no way does this diminish its rather unique position in Ottoman archaeological affairs and its unprecedented role in spreading and supporting the scientific knowledge of antiquity at the societal level.

Conclusions

Archaeology and related topics in the Ottoman Empire have attracted little scholarly interest. Against this background, this thesis has attempted to shed light on what were the archaeological policies of the Ottomans in the years starting with the Tanzimat reforms, that is, the period when Ottoman archaeology began to acquire flesh and bones. Many other questions were born out of this original one. For example, what were the sources of such policies; what goals did the policies serve; what was the weight that the policies that emanated from the central State carried for autonomous stakeholders; and was there a place for the citizen in Ottoman archaeology? In turn, each of these questions opened a path to myriad more and these to new ones in an excavation of the textual remnants of humanity, which each time carried the researcher into a deeper analytical layer of history. In this quest for answers, one stumbles upon many finds, and this thesis has deliberately focused on deciphering institutional voices, that of the central state, the autonomous Principality of Samos, and the collective voice of a segment of the Ottoman society, as expressed through the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople. It has utilised to the maximum extent possible the administrative archives of these stakeholders, while benefitting from other primary and secondary sources.

The first chapter discussed the contexts, within which Ottoman archaeology emerged. Archaeology was a child of the Enlightenment and the industrial revolution as experienced first in the West. It developed from a pre-modern engagement with the past and its remains into a distinct discipline, which eventually became endowed with its own institutions. It grew on the

basis of experiences lived locally as much as in the Orient, in particular, the antiquities-rich Ottoman lands. The latter experiences created a specific context for the Ottomans, in which general patterns went hand-in-hand with the specificity of each case. Besides these contexts, involving interaction with western archaeology, an Ottoman intellectual context paved the way for the emergence of archaeology in the empire. Significantly, under the influence of factors, such as translations and travelling abroad, Ottoman historiography was modernised while an interest in historical topography and the history of art became noticeable. The encounter of the Ottomans with archaeology gave rise to a greater awareness on their part of the need to regulate this field by means of policy and law.

The fact that the Ottoman Empire largely based its reforms programme on legislation necessitates a look at the Ottoman archaeological laws for the analysis of the Ottoman policies on archaeology, as seen in chapter II. A formative period, in which antiquities were gradually removed from the realm of Islamic law to be treated under secular law, preceded the adoption of the first regulation on antiquities in 1869, which introduced the first systematic attempt at regulating archaeology in the empire. These two periods together represent an early stage in the engagement of the Ottoman state with archaeological policy-making, during which it experimented with discovering its own voice. The Ottomans came closer to expressing their own understanding of antiquities and of their proper management with the regulation adopted in 1874, which was more comprehensive and closer to codifying the interests of the state. The regulations of 1884 and 1906 represent an advanced state of maturity in Ottoman legislation for

archaeology, both in terms of regulatory content and, in particular with the 1906 regulation, administrative arrangements. Also, the 1906 regulation was paralleled with the creation of multiple legal points of reference with regards to the Ottoman policy on archaeology, which confirms the creation of a more complex regime. The archaeological laws of Greece served as sources for regulatory arrangements in the case of the latter two Ottoman regulations and to the extent required by Ottoman needs and priorities. The institutional build-up of Ottoman archaeology paralleled the development of the legal framework. The Ottoman state strengthened its infrastructure, especially with the expansion of the Imperial Museum and the creation of provincial ones, while taking timid initiatives with regards to building the capacity of its human resources. In spite of improvements in the regulatory regime and the strengthening of archaeology-related institutions in the empire, law enforcement fluctuated throughout the period studied in this thesis.

The third chapter looked at the archaeological regime of the autonomous Ottoman Principality of Samos, and aimed to contibute to our understanding of relations between Constantinople and its western periphery through the lens of archaeology. Samos adopted its first law on antiquities long before the Ottoman capital, with an act that constituted an almost *verbatim* summary repetition of Greek legislation. Greek archaeological policies and, to an extent, the Ottoman ones provided reference points for the subsequent Samian laws on antiquities. Yet, the principality ensured that its archaeological laws served its own needs and those laws were far from uncritical copies of stipulations seen in the laws of Athens or Constantinople. Little is known about law enforcement, but a museum policy is clearly

discernible in the principality. The museum materialised several decades after its declaration by law, during which time the policy of the principality slowly moved from focusing on restricting the individual to adopting a proactive stance in the management of antiquities. With Samos being caught between Constantinople and Athens, politics occasionally weighed heavily in its archaeological activities. The systematic clearing of terms, associated with the concept of statehood, from the first law was succeeded many years later by a fierce competition for authorisation for archaeological excavations, where the pro-Greek and pro-Ottoman sides collided through proxies.

As shown in chapter IV, Ottoman society also developed activities related to the study of antiquities. The Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople stands out for the duration of its engagement with antiquity and the various forms that this took. Ottoman Greek with a strong international profile, the society was comprised of non-specialist, learned individuals who shared an interest in progress. It disseminated knowledge about antiquity through sharing archaeological news, studies on various archaeology-related topics, including efforts to document antiquities, and tools building archaeological capacity. It advocated for archaeological research and heritage protection, also by acting as a watchdog and monitoring archaeological sites. The society enacted a systematic collections policy that encompassed coins and other artefacts, for which it was able to mobilise a large network of people in many parts of the empire. Creating an archaeological museum remained an elusive goal throughout its operation for lack of specialists, space and money, in what reveals the limits of its engagement with archaeology. The society openly acknowledged the

Ottoman state, especially the Imperial Museum, for its role in archaeological matters and looked to it for heritage protection and for advancing the study of antiquities. For its own work, it was able to harness technology. It printed a periodical that afforded it a wide outreach, and used advanced copying techniques, including photography, for studying, documenting and sharing antiquities.

When studied together, the policies of the Ottoman government and those of the Samian Principality, and the activities of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, point to the emergence of the concept of heritage in those years with two related issues, protection and ownership, being of particular importance. The creation of an awareness that no longer considered acceptable certain behaviours that had been firmly rooted in local cultures and practices in the empire up to that point is telling of such a conceptual shift. Removing antiquities during public works and recycling antiquities in new constructions and public works had been a widespread practice for centuries with detrimental effects for the remains of the past. In the course of the 19th century, one notices the rise of a new approach *vis-à-vis* such activities among state and non-state actors. Harming and destroying antiquities, and the equally harmful practice of traffic in antiquities were banned in the Ottoman and Samian laws. In the early 1870s, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople expressed its strong disagreement with the destruction of the Byzantine walls in the Ottoman capital for the construction of the railroad and the use of Byzantine artefacts from the site as construction material. Similarly, in the early 20th century, the Imperial Museum attempted to safeguard the Byzantine walls in the capital against those advocating for

the construction of boulevards. Interestingly, in both cases heritage protection was conceptualised as a token of progress and was pitted against activities, the construction of a railroad and that of boulevards respectively, which also illustrated progress.

Heritage begs the question “whose heritage?” and brings to the fore the issue of ownership both at a concrete and a symbolic level. At a concrete level, the way that this issue was regulated points to an evolution towards complete state ownership, which under the pressure of pragmatism, could occasionally give way to limited ownership rights for other stakeholders. More specifically, an initial understanding that land ownership justified a claim to ownership regarding the artefacts found on or beneath the land, and the principle of “finders, keepers”, which created ownership rights for excavators, were gradually replaced by a state monopoly over the ownership of finds both in the Ottoman Empire and the Principality of Samos. Instead of ownership rights, landowners were acknowledged a right to compensation, as in the case of expropriations. The export of antiquities was prohibited, and those carrying out archaeological excavations saw their rights being limited to acquiring copies of their finds. A certain ambiguity is noticeable in the case of private collections, with the law being oftentimes unclear and reality showing that they could go unchecked irrespective of legislation. For example, this appears to have been the case with the archaeological and numismatic collection of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople and the private collections formed in the Principality of Samos. The commodification of antiquities, with the sanctioning of domestic markets, countered the concept of heritage protection both in the case of the central state in the empire and

the Samian Principality and can be better understood in terms of pragmatism in archaeological policy-making, which might have dictated the regulation of a market that the state could not altogether suppress.

Both state and civic stakeholders claimed antiquities at a symbolic level. For the Ottoman state and the Principality of Samos, owning the remains of the past and rescuing them from oblivion or even destruction was coupled with their public display and the production of catalogues of exhibits. In spite of its declared aspirations and efforts, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople never managed to put its collection of antiquities on public display. However, the society publicly advocated for heritage protection and documented antiquities, while antiquity figured prominently in its rich publication activity.

The re-conceptualisation of antiquities as heritage owned by the state, and occasionally others, and claimed at a symbolic level by the state and its citizens led to the rise of a counter-narrative to the narratives, which were available up to that time, and which were linked to the commodification of antiquities. Central in this counter-narrative was the concept of the guardian of antiquities, which claims of progress and nationalism shaped. For example, the Ottoman state prioritised the protection of Graeco-Roman antiquities, largely because these artefacts were linked to civilisations primarily associated with progress. The Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople included in its work civilisations other than the Ancient Greek one, because their study was an indication of partaking in universal knowledge and, therefore, progress. Heritage could be instrumentalised on nationalist grounds as well. Cultural links, such as those cherished by the Ottoman Greeks

regarding the Ancient and Medieval Greeks, and those by Muslim Ottomans regarding a Turkish and/or Ottoman past also accounted for the reasons why state and non-state actors in archaeological heritage protection could project themselves as guardians of antiquities.

Technology much contributed to the ability of such guardians of heritage to pursue their role. The periodical of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople and the catalogues of museums afforded them a greater outreach in their attempt to project their understanding of antiquity and its remains, and contributed to consolidating their image as guardians of archaeological heritage, especially *vis-à-vis* contestors, often foreign ones. Reproduction techniques, such as moulding and photography, allowed them to document antiquities, facilitated the study of artefacts and monuments from a distance and, significantly, improved the accuracy of these studies. More particularly, they afforded museums, such as the Imperial Museum, greater freedom over foreigners much displeased with their curtailed ownership rights. Importantly, reproduction techniques, such as sketching and, increasingly, photography, provided the Ottoman government with another tool for promoting the centralisation of the state, in the sense that they allowed for decision-making on heritage protection to be moved from the local level to Constantinople.

In spite of progress with developing a legal and an institutional framework, and the adoption of the role of guardians of archaeological heritage, all three actors studied in this thesis, the Ottoman state, the Principality of Samos and the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, proved reluctant or unable to invest as required in increasing the capacity of

their human resources in terms of archaeology. Hardly any relevant activities are noticed in the case of Samos while the government in Constantinople and the society took only timid steps. Arguably, this weakness to improve the output of locals engaged in archaeological heritage management and protection, as for example by supporting their professionalisation through university studies, was the Achilles' heel of Ottoman archaeology. Although technology, improved infrastructure, and regulatory developments contributed to the emergence of a more mature and self-conscious Ottoman voice in archaeology, a lack of local experts only undermined and deprived it from reaching its full potential.

Overall, heritage and the modern narrative of the state and civic actors as guardians of antiquities are central in understanding Ottoman archaeology in the period following the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms. In those years, the state developed regulatory and institutional frameworks, gradually increased its prerogatives and authority over other stakeholders, built its infrastructure for heritage management, and made some timid steps towards creating local expertise. These features are noticeable to differing degrees in the case of the Ottoman central state and the autonomous Ottoman Principality of Samos. Significantly, with the rise of the learned individual in the empire, and of collective civic entities that superceded the pre-modern confines of the *millet* system and took it upon themselves to disseminate the notion of progress, non-state actors made their debut in Ottoman archaeology. The Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople was one of the most important learned societies that comprised non-specialist Ottomans and foreigners and developed a systematic engagement with past civilisations

found on Ottoman lands, especially the Ancient Greek and Byzantine ones. Technology supported the emergence of Ottoman archaeology, especially in terms of amplifying its voice, strenghtening its prerogatives, and disseminating knowledge, but a lack of committment to developing local archaeological expertise worked counter to these.

This thesis attempted to provide answers to the making and implementation of Ottoman archaeological policies as seen in the cases of the Ottoman government and the Principality of Samos, and to the role of a civic actor, the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople, in Ottoman archaeology. However, the issue of Ottoman archaeology is hardly exhausted here. The analysis has covered a broad period of more than 60 years and has focused on identifying longer-term patterns in the evolution of archaeology in the empire. There is a lot to be gained from a detailed and in-depth study of each law and its implementation, especially when one takes into consideration the availability of primary sources in the Ottoman and other archives, the usefulness of old books, newspapers, and other primary sources for such research, and the engagement of a small number of contemporary scholars with the history of archaeology in the lands that formerly constituted the Ottoman Empire, which continually sheds new light on our understanding of Ottoman archaeology and leads to new research questions. Similarly, as shown with the case of Samos, a critical approach to archaeology in the provinces, whether autonomous or not, is bound to clarify a number of questions regarding local trends in Ottoman archaeology, and support our understanding of the Ottoman provinces. The case of the Hellenic Literary Society at Constantinople brings for the first time to the fore the role of civic

actors in Ottoman archaeology. This thesis has made reference to a few more institutions, the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniyye*), the Evangelical School (*Ευαγγελική Σχολή*) with its museum in Smyrna and the Society of Friends of Istanbul (*İstanbul Muhibbleri Cemiyeti*), though many more societies that engaged with archaeology and heritage are known to have existed in the empire, especially ones run by Ottoman Greeks. At the regional level, the fact that Ottoman and Samian laws on antiquities selectively borrowed from the archaeological policies of the Greek kingdom begs the question whether a certain model regarding archaeological heritage management could be identified in the Eastern Mediterranean, including Egypt, in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

This thesis has attempted to place in their position a few pebbles in that monumental mosaic that makes up Ottoman archaeology. In return for this hard work, you are guaranteed a fascinating journey through time and space, during which you become acquainted with leaders and common people, roam the corridors of newly-established museums and listen to the echo of the voices of their directors, share the agony of those who identified themselves as guardians of heritage at risk, come face-to-face with greedy looters, feel the bitterness of specialists deprived of previously acknowledged rights, and witness the fascination of making new discoveries. It is a journey worth taking!

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