

**MUSEOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE  
OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS  
IN THE 19TH CENTURY**

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**SELİN ADİLE ATLİMAN**

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Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Prof. Dr. Seil Karal Akgün  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Aykut ınarođlu	(Ankara University, ARK)	_____
Prof. Dr. Seil Karal Akgün	(METU, HIST)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur	(METU, HIST)	_____

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Name, Last name: Selin Adile, Atlıman

Signature :

## ABSTRACT

### MUSEOLOGICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Atlıman, Selin Adile

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Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Recep Boztemur

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The nineteenth century is a period, when great transformations were experienced in the Ottoman Empire. Besides the political, economical and judicial changes, with the impact of the westernization process, important leaps about two important components of cultural life, museology and archeology, were realized in terms of both collecting and protecting the ancient monuments; and their exposition. As two interrelated fields of culture and sciences originated from Europe, museology and archeology were incorporated in the cultural life of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire was acquainted with these two scientific fields through the impacts of both the museological studies in Europe and the excavations of the foreign researchers and archeologists, conducted within the imperial territories. This study aims to observe the emergence of museological and archeological studies in the Ottoman Empire and its development by the impacts of the West.

In this study, the origins of the museological and archeological studies, the first attempts in the Ottoman Empire and the development in the continuing process and the judicial acts about the mentioned fields composed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century are examined chronologically. In this process of development, the works of Osman Hamdi Bey were forming an important part of this thesis.

Key Words: Museology, Archeology, Westernization, Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi Bey

## ÖZ

### 19. YÜZYIL OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU BATILILAŞMA SÜRECİNDE MÜZEOLOJİK VE ARKEOLOJİK ÇALIŞMALAR

Atlıman, Selin Adile

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Recep Boztemur

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19. yüzyıl, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda büyük değişimlerin yaşandığı bir dönemdir. Bu yüzyıl içerisinde siyaset, ekonomi ve hukuk alanlarında önemli değişimler yaşanırken, bir taraftan da Batılılaşma sürecinin etkisiyle iki önemli kültür alanı olan müzecilik ve arkeoloji dallarında da hem eski eserleri saklayıp koruma hem de bu eserleri sergileme konularında önemli atılımlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Müzecilik ve arkeoloji, Avrupa'da doğan birbiriyle bağlantılı iki kültür ve bilim alanı olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu kültür hayatına 19. yüzyılda girmiştir. Hem Avrupa'da yürütülen müzecilik çalışmalarının etkisiyle, hem de imparatorluk topraklarında kazı faaliyetlerinde bulunan yabancı uyruklu araştırmacı ve arkeologların etkisiyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu bu bilim dallarıyla tanışmıştır. Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda, müzecilik ve arkeoloji çalışmalarının nasıl başladığını ve Batı'nın da etkisiyle nasıl bir gelişme çizgisi izlediğini incelemektedir.

Bu çalışmada, müzecilik ve arkeoloji çalışmalarının kökenleri ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki ilk çalışmalar ve devam eden süreç içerisindeki gelişmeler, 19. yüzyıl içerisinde sözü geçen konularda yapılan hukuki atılımlar kronolojik olarak incelenmektedir. Bu gelişme süreci içerisinde Osman Hamdi Bey'in çalışmaları bu tezin önemli bir kısmını teşkil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müzecilik, Arkeoloji, Batılılaşma, İmparatorluk Müzesi,  
Osman Hamdi Bey

To Bige and Nihat Atlıman

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Archaeology, the basic source and the integral part of history, and museums, places where historical and archaeological materials are preserved were originated in Europe. At present, almost every state in the world, regardless of its economic status, cultural or historical background, is involved at some level in documenting, or at least in considering , the past. However, the type of archaeology and museology that are being implemented differs considerably according to the ideological and/or political setting of each country.

The beginning of Turkish archaeology and museology go back to the early years of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman Empire witnessed great changes. The Ottoman bureaucracy tried to benefit from the Western science and technology in order to gain power again and prevent the dissolution of the empire. As a result, this attempt eventuated as a modernity movement; and led to many changes not only in military, political and administrative organisms but also in cultural sphere of the empire. Generally, this movement is called as “Westernization”.<sup>1</sup>

The term “Westernization” is chosen instead of “Modernization” in the thesis, because the origin of change in museological and archaeological studies in the Ottoman Empire was Western states. Moreover, modernization is a universal process; and the best concept that defines the Ottomans’ situation in the nineteenth century is Westernization.

The Westernization process was noticeable in the Ottoman Empire until the eighteenth century. In this respect, it will be convenient to introduce what the word “West” refers to. According to Enver Ziya Karal, the West is simply “the ability of human in thinking about his value and his life by oneself. As

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<sup>1</sup> Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 1995, p.1.

such, it will be wrong to consider the West only as a Christian civilization.<sup>2</sup> The West means industrial community and state governed by the rule of law, and also means the inheritor of Greco-Roman culture.<sup>3</sup> Western civilization is the community of change. Although each civilization changes in the course of time, the West was the first to comprehend it.<sup>4</sup> While the Ottoman Empire had not been interested with the new technological, scientific and ideological innovations of the West until the eighteenth century, and had disdained it as being infidel and ignorant<sup>5</sup>; after witnessing the glories of the west, it began to question the reasons of Western success, and as a result the import of Western technology to the Ottoman Empire became a topic in the states' agenda. In the course of time, the impact of the West would be seen in many different fields such as in military, education, art, architecture and historiography.<sup>6</sup>

The Ottoman Westernization process started at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first Western influences and the desire for recognizing the West clearly showed itself between 1718 and 1730, called as the Tulip Period. The most important characteristics of the period were the adaptation of Western style of architecture and decoration in to the empire, the constitution of first printing house in the empire, and the first expeditions of Ottoman ambassadors to Europe. Especially, the visits of Ottoman ambassadors to Europe carry great importance in terms of contacting with the Western science and culture. Besides Ottoman desires to recognize the West, also Westerners wanted to familiarize with the Ottoman Empire. Foreign ambassadors came to the empire with literary men, painters, intellectuals and artists. In this way an interaction was realized. For the Ottoman bureaucracy, the idea to benefit from Western science and techniques became very important. Although these

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<sup>2</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, "Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayun'unda Batı'nın Etkisi", *Tanzimat, Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, by Halil İnalçık – Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, Phoenix Yayınevi, Eylül 2006, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Taner Timur, "Osmanlı ve "Batılılaşma"", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt I, 1985, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Batılılaşma Sorunu", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt I, 1985, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Cemil Meriç, "Batılılaşma", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt I, 1983, p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, "Baticılık", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt V, 1985, p. 1382.

influences were interrupted with Patrona Halil of 1730 for a while, during the following process, the Westernization attempts continued, and the most evident innovations were observed in the military sphere. The Ottoman Empire began to benefit from the Europeans for the army organization and training.<sup>7</sup>

The Westernization attempts were undertaken more seriously under the reign of Selim III who initiated a reform movement named *Nizam-ı Cedid* at the turn of the century. Although the basic reforms were in the military sphere, some other innovations were realized in different spheres.<sup>8</sup> In 1773, the Nautical School had been founded, and the Artillery School was added to the military education by Selim III in 1793. These two schools, constituted for contribution to the artillery, military engineering and maritime fields, played an important role in Westernizing the Ottoman educational system through its foreign teachers giving a Western style of education.<sup>9</sup> Another important development which took place among Selim III's reforms was in the field of diplomacy. As Selim III decided to establish permanent embassies in major European cities such as London, Vienna, Berlin and Paris, Ottoman ambassadors were sent to Europe beginning from 1793. Besides their diplomatic mission, these ambassadors were given instructions to visit the institutions of the West and to learn Western languages and sciences that would be efficacious for the empire.<sup>10</sup> As a result, Ottoman ambassadors witnessed directly the social, economic, politic, cultural and industrial development of the West, and they brought their impressions and acquirements to the empire.

In the nineteenth century, Mahmut II took over the Westernization goal from Selim III, and continued to the reform movement. Mahmut II recognized the fact that westernizing the army solely was unsatisfactory, it was necessary to modernize also the state institutions and community organization.<sup>11</sup> The attempts of Mahmut II would be realized through the adoption of social,

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<sup>7</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp. 1-8.

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, Cilt 1-2, İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1939, pp. 315-327.

<sup>10</sup> Lewis, p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> Karal, p. 72.

politic, judicial, and technologic institutions of the West after the declaration of administrative reforms in 1839.

After 1839, the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire accelerated. New innovations appeared in different spheres of life such as in educational system, economic and industrial affairs, military sphere, and judicial organization. Moreover, museology and archaeology, which were initiated and developed in Europe, were adapted to the Ottoman scientific and cultural life. During this process, both the Ottoman bureaucracy and intellectuals who were educated in Europe<sup>12</sup> played an important role.

The aim of this thesis is to ascertain the roots of archaeological and museological studies in the Ottoman Empire and to enlighten their developments in the Ottoman Westernization during the nineteenth century. This process will be examined from the first old artefact collecting and displaying activities in the empire; and the nineteenth century museological activities will be the main focus. Similarly, archaeological excavations will be examined in a time process starting with the first excavations conducted by the Europeans in the Ottoman lands and continuing with a Turkish archaeologist Osman Hamdi Bey at the end of the nineteenth century. The main problematic of the thesis is that under which circumstances these studies were affected by the European models, and what was the role of the key figures that contributed to the development of Ottoman museology and archaeology during the

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<sup>12</sup> During the nineteenth century, many Ottoman students were sent to Europe for education; because new well-educated minds were needed in order to achieve the goal of Westernization. Indeed, some of these students played important role in the bureaucratic organization such as in the grand-vizierate, and different ministries of the Ottoman Empire when they returned. Moreover, some became pioneers in the reform movements. Kansu Şarman, *Türk Promethe'ler, Cumhuriyet'in Öğrencileri Avrupa'da (1925-1945)*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), pp. 22-24. However, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, in his article, asserts that the students returned back to the empire did not made an attempt in the educational and scientific institutions that they acceded in terms of founding native scientific traditions and making further inquiries. According to İhsanoğlu, these students failed in bringing a new scientific mentality to the Ottoman Empire; and they could not achieve their mission of being pioneers, which was expected from them, in the Ottoman scientific and cultural life. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı", in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992), p. 375. This generalization of İhsanoğlu will be refuted while analyzing the role of Osman Hamdi Bey in the Ottoman museological and archaeological studies.

Ottoman Westernization process. At first, it will be convenient to analyze the roots and development stages of museological and archaeological studies in the Western World which is the main comparison area. Such analyze will help to understand the similarities and differences between the Western and Ottoman approaches on the subject. Secondly, the Ottoman approach and both the Ottoman and European contributing figures will be analyzed in order to understand their impact in the development of museological and archaeological studies within the empire. In addition, on the above mentioned fields, both the affirmative innovations and deficiencies of the Ottoman bureaucracy and intellectuals will be analyzed.

In the second chapter of the thesis, the roots of museological and archaeological studies both in Europe and Ottoman Empire will be examined. In other words, after giving the development stages of the above mentioned fields in the Western culture, the first museological studies of the Ottoman Empire will be studied. The nineteenth century museological activities will also be examined. Starting with the small museum arranged by Fethi Ahmet Pasha in Hagia Irene Church, the development process of the first Ottoman Museum under European directors will be analyzed both with its positive and negative aspects. On the other hand, the archaeological activities of the Europeans will be presented in a time scale, and especially will be focused on two regions: Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Although there were many European archaeologists or researchers in the Ottoman lands during the nineteenth century, the chief British, French and German archaeologists who shipped the antiquities discovered in the Ottoman lands will be mentioned in order to avoid giving too much detailed information. Enlightening the reasons and the ways of old artefact smuggling in the Ottoman Empire will also serve to understand the importance of Ancient Monuments Law.

The second chapter will also contribute to differentiate Osman Hamdi Bey's period during which great steps were taken in the Ottoman cultural life.

The third chapter of the thesis will focus on the time of Osman Hamdi Bey, because he is the most important personality when the archaeological and

museological studies of the empire are taken into consideration. In fact there are many works on Osman Hamdi Bey. However, these studies did not pay enough attention to his qualifications as a museologist and archaeologist; instead they focused on his career as a painter. In this thesis, after giving his short life story that includes his family life, education and bureaucratic career which played important role in his success in the Ottoman cultural life, his contribution on the Ottoman museum, archaeology and Ancient Monument Law will be emphasized. Lastly, his active role in museological and archaeological fields during the Ottoman Westernization process will be summarized.

The fourth chapter of the thesis will focus on the Ancient Monuments Law which is related with the archaeological studies in the Ottoman Empire. In this chapter, the legal measures of the Ottoman Empire against the European old artefact smuggling activities will be analyzed. In this context, after analyzing Western states' approaches towards the subject, the Ottoman bureaucracy's attitude will be examined both before and after the Tanzimat period; and the reasons that lies behind these protective measures will be shown. Three ancient monument regulations, 1869, 1874 and 1884 will be analyzed in separate sub-chapters, and the legal grounds of their promulgation, their contents, and their deficiencies will be introduced. Moreover, both their positive impacts and their deficiencies will be discussed. In the last sub-chapter, the role of these regulations in the Ottoman modernization process and their contributions to the Ancient Monuments Law in the Republican Era will be explained.

Indeed, this study argues out only a small picture in the general frame of the nineteenth century. In other words, museological and archaeological studies exemplify a small part of Ottoman cultural life during the Westernization process. The difference of the thesis from other studies is that the development of the above mentioned studies will be analyzed both in the Ottoman and Western spheres; and the degree of Western impact on these studies within the Ottoman Empire will be discussed. The contribution of

these two branches to the cultural and artistic life of the Ottoman Empire will also be analyzed.

## CHAPTER 2

### MUSEOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE UNTIL 1881

#### 2.1. Museological Studies in the Ottoman Empire Until 1881

Museum is a well-managed institution for the furtherance of the public welfare aiming to protect, to analyze, to assess and especially to exhibit an integrity composed by components having cultural, historical or artistic values in order to raise the appreciation and education of the people.<sup>13</sup>

While the development of museums is taken into consideration, it could be seen that some radical shifts have always been observed in its history of collection, confinement and classification of objects.<sup>14</sup> In Europe, which is taken as a comparison field in this study, the first accumulation of the materials in places appeared with the displays of interesting and bizarre objects. In the following process, by the leaps of the Renaissance, Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, the fields like archeology, ethnology, anthropology and history of arts appeared and developed in Europe. As a result, the materials gathered through these fields replaced the early collections that included rare and interesting objects; and they began to be displayed in the museums.

##### 2.1.1. The First Examples of Museum in the World and the Development of Museology in Europe

Societies' approaches towards the cultures and its inheritances underwent great changes in the course of time. After passing to the sedentary life, people started to fill and decorate their houses and their depots with utility goods and commodities to which they set high values. Collecting and storing

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<sup>13</sup> Doğan Kuban, Tomur Atagök, Nuşin Asgari and Gül Pulhan, "Müzelerin Geçmişi, Bugünü ve Geleceği", *Sanat Dünyamız*, Sayı: 80, 2000, p.83.

<sup>14</sup> Eilean Hooper, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, Greenhill, Routledge, London and New York, 1992, pp. 191-192.

activities were always a part of human nature. The ultimate in this saving activity would be private collections, museums, libraries and archives. In other words, the efforts of collecting and saving objects played an important part in the accumulation of materials in museums.<sup>15</sup>

In the Ancient Greek times, the origin and the use of the word of “museum” was different than of the modern usage. The origin of the word was “muse”, inspiration fairies, which was the name each of the nine daughters of Jupiter, and symbolized different art branches in Greek Mythology. In relation to this, “museum” was used as the houses of the muses.<sup>16</sup> The word was then translated to Latin; and passed to other western languages.

The first collections preserved in the temples were composed of the votive objects people offered to gods. Artistic works offered at Greek altars were preserved in the treasury of the temple named “thesauros”. In the following period, “pinakoteque”, which was situated in the Acropolis of Athens, can be demonstrated as an example of this tradition of collection and preservation. However, the difference of “pinakoteque” from the “thesauros” was that it was a place to display the collections of paint and these displays were open to public visit.<sup>17</sup> During the Ptolemaist Era of Egypt, a similar structure was founded in Alexandria in the fourth century BC. Soter Philadelphos I, who succeeded Alexander the Great, founded a “musaeum” in Alexandria, which was one of the most important centers of the Hellenistic Period. In this structure, which contained a “musaeum” and a library, literature, art and philosophy were studied. The examples of this structure style, mentioned above, could also be seen in the Roman Period, such as in Bergama, and Rome. These antic cities were in competition with Alexandria in terms of dominance over knowledge.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ferruh Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999, pp. 2-3.

<sup>16</sup> Halil Edhem, “Müzeler”, in *I. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Müzakereler-Münakaşalar*, İstanbul, 1932, p. 532.

<sup>17</sup> Gerçek, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Ali Artun, *Müze ve Modernlik, Tarih Sahneleri-Sanat Müzeleri I*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, pp. 13 and 15.

These early examples of collections carried great importance for the establishment of early scientific researches; because both Egyptians and Romans got the chance to encounter with Greek philosophy, art and literature through the collections and displayed objects on the “musaeum”. The next step in institutionalizing the scientific studies would be seen in the eighteenth century in Europe. Moreover, in the eighteenth century, European states would also begin to compete over the antiquity collections like in the Roman times.

In the middle Ages, the sole source of reality was accepted as the Holy Scripture, in other words, the Bible. Therefore, works like sculptures or figurines were associated with the works of pagans and were disapproved. In other words, the meaning of artistic and historic works was related to its religious qualities in the eyes of people; and the works of arts were accepted precious if they were among the holy relics.<sup>19</sup> In this context, sculptures were accepted as the relics of paganism and were generally destroyed.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, some of the clergy and some emperors interested in the antic relics: for example some of them collected antic stones and coins. In this period, the works were preserved generally in the treasuries of the monasteries and in the palaces of the aristocracy. The work of arts plundered after the wars or brought by the merchants and travelers enriched the collection of the aristocracy, and they were used as tools displaying their regency and wealth.<sup>21</sup>

During the Renaissance, which started in Italy in the fourteenth century and expanded to Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the wealthy families were also collectors.<sup>22</sup> The Medici Family<sup>23</sup> in Florence, the Pope of cardinals in the Papal State of Rome and the patricians in other city-states founded several museums prototypes embracing ancient works, precious

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<sup>19</sup> Wendy Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği, Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*, trans. by Esin Soğancılar, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Onur Ertürk, “Kültür Mirası; Önemi, Korunması, Geçmişte ve Günümüzde Toplumların Kültür Mirasına Yaklaşımı”, *Argos Gemicileri*, (Ocak-Nisan, 2003), p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Edhem, p. 533.

<sup>22</sup> Gerçek, 1995, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> The Medici Family was a wealthy Florentine family. Their museum Palazzo Medici was an early example of modern European museums. After the establishment of Medici Museums, Medici Libraries, Medici Art and Science Academies were also organized. Ali Artun, *Müze ve Modernlik....*, p. 56.

books, different animal and plant examples and the gardens of zoology and botanic.<sup>24</sup>

This *école* of collecting the precious materials brought about the emergence of the “cabinet of curiosities”.<sup>25</sup> The collections composed of sculptures, fossils, stones and new animal species, reminded the diversity of the world rather than exemplifying or symbolizing history, and were open to visit of the individual visitors.<sup>26</sup> Some of European kings had also these kinds of cabinets in their personal treasuries such as French monarchs such as François I and Louis XIV. Both of these two monarchs were bound up in historical works and arts, and their cabinets were very famous in that time. According to Halil Edhem, François XIV asked his consulates to ship the historic and artistic works of arts from the Ottoman Empire to France; and in this aspect, many works as antic coins and medals were shipped to France.<sup>27</sup>

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the interest and desire of collecting increased and spread to the other regions of the world. Both in continental Europe and in Britain, the number of the people collecting ancient works and natural relics increased. The soldiers returning from wars brought extraordinary objects, and the treasuries of the kings enriched day by day. In this period, the mentality behind the collecting activities of kings and wealthy families was to show their power and to be proud of their collections.<sup>28</sup> Besides the collecting activities of kings and wealthy families, some developments in scientific terms also occurred. For instance, in the mid seventeenth century, some academies were founded in Europe, such as Royal Society in London, Academy of Sciences in Paris, and Leopoldine Academy in Germany that were dealing with cabinet of curiosities.<sup>29</sup> Among these academies, especially the

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<sup>24</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Osman Hamdi’nin Önündeki Gelenek”, in *1. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi Bildiriler*, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1992, p.126.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>26</sup> Shaw, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Edhem, p. 534.

<sup>28</sup> Sabahattin Batur, “Dünyada Müzeciliğin Gelişmesi”, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, 1983, p. 1472.

<sup>29</sup> H. A. Hagen, “The Origin and Development of Museums (Concluded)”, *The American Naturalist*, Vol. 10, No. 3, (Mar., 1876), pp. 135-136.

Royal Society of London carried great importance for the future museological studies. As a result of Society's studies, collections were arranged and cabinets of curiosities began to be displayed in the meetings in the eighteenth century. Although the members of these academies continued to preserve their curiosities in their own collections for a while, one member of the society, Sir Hans Sloane, opened a new era for British museology by selling his unique collection<sup>30</sup> which will be mentioned in the next paragraph.

Besides the foundation of academies, the most important development of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the introduction of the museums open to public. The first public museum was founded in England in 1683.<sup>31</sup> This museum was arranged by using the collection of English collector and historian Elias Ashmole and it was named as Ashmolean Museum.<sup>32</sup> In 1753, English Parliament decided to purchase the collection of Sir Hans Sloane by paying 20.000 English pounds.<sup>33</sup> The collection of Sloane<sup>34</sup> was very important in terms of contributing to the organization of the British Museum opened in January 1759.<sup>35</sup>

Besides England, the eighteenth century can be accepted as a period of quantum leap in terms of museology also for France. It can be argued that the French Revolution had positive impacts on the development of museums in France as it had also on the other socio-political affairs. The administration of convention, with the spread of the public museums, aimed to display the collections of kings and aristocracy.<sup>36</sup> The philosophers of the eighteenth century aimed to exhibit these collections to every member of the society. As İlber Ortaylı states, in the encyclopedia of Diderot, a philosopher of the eighteenth century, the necessity of exposing the closed collections of

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<sup>30</sup> P. Fontes da Costa, "The Culture of Curiosity of the Royal Society in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 56, No. 2, (May, 2002), p. 148149.

<sup>31</sup> Sümer Atasoy, "Türkiye'de Müzecilik", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 1983, p. 1458.

<sup>32</sup> Gerçek, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Batur, S., p. 1473.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>35</sup> P. Fontes de Costa, p. 149.

<sup>36</sup> Batur, S., p. 1473.

privileged classes to public was mentioned under the article of “museum”.<sup>37</sup> As a result, all works of arts from the royal palaces were brought to the Palace of Louvre as public properties; and in 1793, the Louvre Museum in Paris was opened to public. In time, this museum enriched with the addition of various works.<sup>38</sup> This development observed in France, became a model in time for the development of national museums in other countries.<sup>39</sup> It is important to note here that besides the Louvre Museum, another institution related with the ancient monuments known as the School of Louvre was opened.<sup>40</sup> The opening of such a school had also an impact in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman bureaucracy and intellectuals, who were influenced from French institutions in their reform movements, also wanted to adopt such kind of school subordinated with the Imperial Museum. The details about the subject will be mentioned in the following chapter.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries referred to above were also the period in which the first informative works were published about the fields of archeology and museology. The first informative book *Inscription* was published by Samuel Von Quichberg in 1665. In this work, the methods of classification in the museums were discussed.<sup>41</sup> The second work, *Museographia*, was published by C. F. Neicklius in 1727. This work was the first handbook written about museology.<sup>42</sup> After the publication of this work giving details about the rules of collection in the museums, the interest of collecting objects with more scientific methods increased.<sup>43</sup> Another important informative study was the work of Carl Linnaeus written in 1753.<sup>44</sup> In short, with the increase in collections and collectors, the necessity of classification

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<sup>37</sup> Ortaylı, 1992, p. 126.

<sup>38</sup> Edhem, p. 534.

<sup>39</sup> Philip L. Kohl, “Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 27, 1998, p. 227.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

<sup>41</sup> Batur, S., p. 1472.

<sup>42</sup> Gerçek, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> Batur, S., p. 1472.

<sup>44</sup> Hagen, p. 139.

and organization appeared, therefore, the publications about museums and exhibition methods in the museums were multiplied in the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, some national museums began to be opened through the impact of Louvre Museum. Moreover, new display methods were introduced in to the museology of Europe. For instance, the inauguration of the “Museum of Northern Antiquities” in Copenhagen in 1819 is very important for bringing a new display method in the history of museology. C. J. Thomsen, who was the founder of this museum, became the initiator of a new method of classification in terms of chronology. He introduced “Three Age System” namely Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages to the scientific world through classifying the materials displayed in the museum.<sup>45</sup> Another chronological system that affected the displays of European museums was related with the archeological activities of French and British explorers in the Ottoman Empire. As these explorers brought many artifacts from the Anatolian and Mesopotamian lands, a new chronological order was added to the British and Louvre Museums displays. According to this order, the history of civilization started in Mesopotamia and expanded to Egypt, Greek Peninsula, Western Anatolia, Hellenistic and Roman Empires and finally arrived to Western Europe. By using these exhibitions, Western countries wrote their own national history emphasizing their superiority.<sup>46</sup> British and Louvre Museums were the leading structures trying to reflect their superiorities during the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, the number of public museums increased in Europe; however, among these especially two great European museums influenced the course of museum making; namely British and Louvre Museums. The British Museum was built in the style of a French chateau; and by 1808 it contained ethnographical curiosities, mummies, ancient weapons, manuscripts and portraits of famous persons. Later, the treasures of Assyria, Egypt and Anatolia were added to its exhibitions. On the other hand, the

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<sup>45</sup> Kohl, pp. 227-228.

<sup>46</sup> Shaw, pp. 12-13.

Louvre Museum's exhibitions were enriched through the trophies and art treasures which were possessed by the Bonaparte's conquests and the campaigns of the Grande Armée of 1806 and 1807. However, the real owners of the art treasures demanded the return of their artifacts with the Congress of Vienna in 1815. M. Denon who was the art gallery director of the Louvre Museum said: "Let them take them! But they lack eyes to see and France will always show her superiority in the arts; for her masterpieces were always better than those of others".<sup>47</sup> In the following years, the Louvre Museum became one of the leading museums of the world with its rich collections; and by 1848, the museum was declared as the national property.<sup>48</sup>

In sum, the collections, which were composed due to an interest towards the rare objects and antic works, played an important role in the accumulation of artifacts in the museums. To look at this subject from the perspective of museology, the museological activities started primarily in Europe and spread to the other parts of the world from there. In the nineteenth century, the European states were demonstrating their own cultural products in their national museums and public memorials and these products incarnated their development in a material existence.<sup>49</sup> Among the European states, France and England were the first countries introducing the museums open to public visit. According to Halil Edhem, although other countries founded some museums open to public, these remained as the royal property for a long time<sup>50</sup>; and in the nineteenth century they were transformed into national museums. In the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, as the Sultan was the state, ultimate ruler, and the owner of everything in the empire, the museums were founded as a state property. Although the Ottoman Imperial Museum was opened to public, only after the Republican Era that the museums and palaces of the Ottoman Empire became national.

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<sup>47</sup> Dillon Riptey, *The Sacred Grove: Essays on Museums*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969, pp. 41-43.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Carter V. Findley, *Ahmed Midhat Efendi Avrupa'da*, trans. by Ayşen Anadol, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> Edhem, p. 534.

After analyzing the origins of the museology in antiquity and its development in Europe, it will be appropriate to examine the development of museological studies in the Ottoman Empire as from the early pre-museological studies to the last quarter of the nineteenth century when Osman Hamdi Bey became the director of the museum.

### **2.1.2. Pre-Museological Studies in the Ottoman Empire**

The development of museology in the Ottoman Empire was related with its process of Westernization. Although the first Ottoman Museum was founded in the nineteenth century, collecting and storing activities, similarly to the West, goes back to the early years of the empire. A brief analysis of these activities within the Ottoman Empire will be beneficial in understanding the similar or different traditions that lies behind the appearance of first museums of the Ottoman Empire and Europe.

In the Ottoman Empire, palace treasuries were the first places in which sultan's collections were preserved. The patriarch memorials, some old objects as precious art objects and weapons, bringing of war and presents were conserved in the Bursa and Edirne Palaces since the very early dates. This conservation activity which was mostly related with an adherence to the patriarchs and traditions,<sup>51</sup> is worth mentioning while examining the history of the development of museology in Turkey, because these materials have reached from past to present and could have been displayed in current Turkish museums as a result of these preserving efforts.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Topkapı Palace treasury in Istanbul enriched. Old weapons, work of arts, costumes, drawings, and miniatures were recorded and preserved in the Palace.<sup>52</sup> Especially, in the Mehmed the Conqueror and Sultan Selim I periods, the treasuries of the Ottoman Sultans enriched and gained reputation, because many valuable works

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<sup>51</sup> Hale Özkasım, Semra Ögel, "Türkiye'de Müzeciliğin Gelişimi", *İTÜ Dergisi*, Cilt: 2, Sayı: 1, Aralık 2005, p.98.

<sup>52</sup> Tahsin Öz, *Ahmet Fethi Paşa ve Müzeler*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948, p. 1.

of arts, bringing of war were brought to the Ottoman Palace through the conquest of Istanbul and Selim's expedition to Syria and Egypt. Moreover, as the Caliphate pass off to the Ottoman Empire, Islamic custodies also arrived to the Palace.<sup>53</sup> These Islamic custodies as the Old Holy Korans, Sakal-ı Şerif and sacred objects belonging to the Byzantines, and the old weapons, which enriched the Sultans' treasury<sup>54</sup>, would be the basic materials in the formation of the Ottoman Museum in the nineteenth century.

During the rule of different Ottoman Sultans, some portable works of arts of the Sultan's treasury were displayed in the palaces of Istanbul and Edirne, and they were demonstrated to the foreign delegacies. These exhibiting patterns, which can be named as the first displays of the Ottoman Empire, were not institutional in tone; rather they were symbols of prestige of the Ottoman Sultans.<sup>55</sup>

Besides the demonstrations of palaces' treasuries, two important pre-museological display methods were performed in the Ottoman Empire. One of these methods was the system of *devşirme* (spoglia)<sup>56</sup> which was related with the demonstration of ancient relics. *Devşirme* means the reuse of architectural materials taken from the destroyed monuments for the construction of new buildings.<sup>57</sup> In Anatolia, this method was first used by the Seljuqs. The Seljuqid Sultan, Alaeddin Keykubat, constructed a city wall in Konya on which Roman and Byzantine architectural and sculptural remains were used.<sup>58</sup> Leon de la Borde, a French traveler, published these relieves and sculptures with gravures in his work named *Voyages en Asie Mineure et en Syrie* published in 1837.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, such antic relics were used on the front lines of the Seljuk

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<sup>53</sup> Gerçek, p. 79.

<sup>54</sup> Shaw, p. 24.

<sup>55</sup> Emre Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler, 1800-1950*, Ankara, ODTÜ: Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşbirliği, 2002, p. 30.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>57</sup> Shaw, p. 20.

<sup>58</sup> Alpay Pasinli, "Osman Hamdi Bey'in Müzecilik Yönü ve İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri", *1. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi, Bildiriler*, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1992, p. 147.

<sup>59</sup> Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt VI, 1985, p. 1596.

Caravanserai located between Konya-Ilgın.<sup>60</sup> Another example on the subject has been provided by Emre Madran. According to his inquiries, antic architectural materials brought both from Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire were used during the construction process of Süleymaniye Mosque. In addition, the architectural remains of the antic settlement Alexandria Troas located on the south of Çanakkale were used in different constructions in Istanbul during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup>

According to Wendy Shaw, who deeply analyzed the meaning of *Devşirme* method, the reuse of ancient relics in the construction of new structures were indicators of Ottoman interest towards the old artifacts; and this interest was most probably related with the fact that the Ottomans attributed some symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual values to the old artifacts. For Shaw, the reuse of Byzantine sculptures, for instance, might have indicated the imperial power of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>62</sup>

Although the reuse of worked materials belonging to the previous civilizations through the method of *devşirme* in Anatolia since the Seljuk times have been appraised as the first movements of display by some scholars as Wendy Shaw and Semavi Eyice<sup>63</sup>, Emre Madran, who has declared that the cause of reuse of these materials was both economic and functional, does not agree with Semavi Eyice.<sup>64</sup> According to Madran, using the ancient archaeological remains in other constructions is also a kind of destruction caused by lack of interest.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, even though to some degree, the attempts of both the Seljuk and the Ottomans was a method of display of old artifacts, the reuse of ancient architectural relics in other construction processes instead of preserving these materials in the museums or in their original places can not

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<sup>60</sup> Özkasım, Ögel, p.97.

<sup>61</sup> Emre Madran, “Osmanlı Devletinde “Eski Eser” ve “Onarım” Üzerine Gözlemler”, *Belleten*, Sayı: 195, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986, p. 506.

<sup>62</sup> Shaw, p. 34.

<sup>63</sup> Eyice, p. 1596.

<sup>64</sup> Madran, 2002, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Madran, 1986, pp. 505-506.

be called as museological studies. Such kind of practices leads the damage of old artifacts instead of their protection.

The second method of exhibition, namely “preservation of bringing of war”, can be dated back to the times of Mehmed the Conqueror. After the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, the Ottoman armaments and foreign implements of war began to be gathered together in the Hagia Irene Church which was called as *Cebehane*.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, Mehmed the Conqueror collected pillars dated back to the Byzantine period and the base of famous Porphyrius statue in the court of Topkapı Palace.<sup>67</sup>

During the rule of Ahmed III (1703-1730) the *Cebehane* place was rearranged by taking into consideration the European models of museums, and was opened with name of *Dar’ül Esliha* in 1726. In the subsequent period, however, this exhibition place was plundered and closed during the Janissary rebellion in 1808.<sup>68</sup> The name of this place was changed as *Harbiye Ambarı* after the *Tanzimat*.

The arrangement of *Cebehane* was synchronous with the Tulip Period during which the first Western influences appeared in the Ottoman Empire. As the first Westernization movement appeared in the military sphere, the first collection was arranged with military artifacts. Moreover, this armament collection symbolizing Westernization of the empire was plundered by the military class who were against the modernization of the army. As a result, they plundered the first Ottoman collection which was also a sign of modernization.

In brief, until Fethi Ahmet Pashas’ arrangement the first Ottoman Museum, some attempts were realized through the reuse method and collecting and preserving some historical artifacts. The first permanent place appropriated for preserving old materials became the Hagia Irene Church. In addition, this

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<sup>66</sup> Tahir Nejat Eralp, “Askeri Müze”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt VI, 1985, p. 1604.

<sup>67</sup> Necati Dolunay, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, İstanbul: Ak Yayınları, 1973, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Emre Madran, “Türkiye; Geçmişten Geleceğe Bir Kültürel Miras”, in *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Temeli Kültürdür*, Cilt I, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002, p. 13.

small collection of Hagia Irene formed the nucleus of the first Ottoman Museum arranged by Fethi Ahmet Pasha in the nineteenth century during which museological studies played an important role in the Westernization of the Empire, and the first steps began to be taken in the path towards the scientific museology.

### **2.1.3. Fethi Ahmet Pasha and the First Ottoman Museum**

In nineteenth century, following the Tanzimat Reforms, the acts of collecting and conserving old artifacts became more important in the Ottoman Empire. In 1847, Fethi Ahmet Pasha, who was the *Tophane-i Amire Müşiri*, rearranged the Hagia Irene Church, the first place in which the old artifacts had been preserved, as an Armament or Military Museum; and the nucleus of the first Turkish Museum appeared.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, as İlber Ortaylı has stated, some important activities as finding and collecting the old artifacts, ordering and sending ancient coinages by the fiscal offices in the provinces were known since the Tanzimat period.<sup>70</sup>

Although the reason behind these old artifact collecting and arranging activities is not known precisely, some assumptions could be put forward. Most probably, the archaeological journeys, researches and excavations made by the Europeans in the Ottoman lands played an important role in terms of the development of both museology and archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. In other words, these archaeological activities had a great impact in the formation of Ottoman museology, as well as in the advancement of Ottoman archaeology especially towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Another important aspect that led to the formation of Ottoman museum was the trip of Sultan Abdülmecid to Yalova where he spotted gilded stones on the land. After being informed that the name of Constantine had been inscripted on these stones, he decided to send these ancient relics, which

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<sup>69</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı'yı Yeniden Keşfetmek*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2005, p. 167.

<sup>70</sup> Ortaylı, "Arkeolojimiz Osman Hamdi ile Uluslar arası Kimlik Kazandı", in *Hürriyet Gösteri*, Sayı: 119, (Ekim, 1990), p. 22.

carried the name of a famous ruler, to Istanbul; and Fethi Ahmet Pasha added these artifacts to the early collection of the Hagia Irene Church.<sup>71</sup>

Fethi Ahmet Pasha was the first arranger of a small Ottoman Museum. Due to his importance in the Ottoman museology, it will be appropriate to start with his short life story. Fethi Ahmet Pasha, the son of Kaftan Ağası Hacı Mehmet Ağa was born in 1801, in Istanbul. After being educated in *Enderun*, he passed to the military service, and he advanced in this field. He was present at the Paris and London Embassies as the assistant of the Sultan; meanwhile he obtained the vice-admiral degree.<sup>72</sup> After serving for a long time in Europe, he came back to his country with knowledge of modern organization methods. He was appointed to *Tophane-i Amire Müşirliği* (Artillery Department) in 1845; and after his appointment, the duty of arrangement of the old artifacts collected in Hagia Irene was given to him.<sup>73</sup> This prototype museum, formed in a depository-like feature, was not be open to public, and was visited only with special permission.<sup>74</sup>

The artifacts of the first section arranged by Fethi Ahmet Pasha did not only consist of old armaments, but also a bronze sculpture of a snake from Hippodrome, and a bronze statue of Hercules.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the sarcophagi of Byzantine Emperors made of red porphyry and situated inside of the middle gate of the Topkapı Palace were moved to this small museum. The two cover stones of the sarcophagi buried underneath a plane-tree, and in order to announce the place of these artifacts Fethi Ahmet Pasha engraved an epigraph on a colonnade which fixed the exact place of these flat stones in 1847.<sup>76</sup>

In the following process, Fethi Ahmet Pasha made an alteration in the nucleus museum. He classified the artifacts of the church in two sections,

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<sup>71</sup> Shaw, p. 86.

<sup>72</sup> Tahsin Öz, "Türkiye Müzelerinin Kuruluşunun Yüzüncü Yıldönümü", *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, Cilt IV, İstanbul, 1945, p.1132.

<sup>73</sup> Öz, 1948, pp. 4-5.

<sup>74</sup> Atasoy, p. 1458.

<sup>75</sup> Sabahattin Türkoğlu, "Türkiye'de Müzeler", in *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Temeli Kültüdür*, Cilt I, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002, p.61.

<sup>76</sup> Edhem p. 558.

named *Mecmua-i Ešliha-i Atika* and *Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika*.<sup>77</sup> Old weapons, armor collection, and models illustrating the janissaries took place in the former section. The artifacts dated to Helen-Byzantine periods were displayed in the second section.<sup>78</sup> The former was to become the “Military Museum” and the latter the “Imperial Museum” in the following years.

Theophile Gautier, the French author who visited this small museum after four or five years, had interesting impressions especially about the collection of old weapons:<sup>79</sup>

In Hagia Irene, in a way that does not deny our Military Museum, all the wall surfaces are covered with rifles, swords, and different models of guns ordered in a military symmetrical style. However, this ostentatious decoration, which fascinates and elates the Turks, has nothing to baffle a European traveler. On the other hand, the most interesting is the historical arm collection that takes place in the bottom of the apse.

As the Europeans’ interest towards the Ottoman museum and the old artifacts discovered in the Ottoman lands increased, the Ottoman administration emphasized the old artifact collecting activities. In this respect, the officials of the provinces began to be encouraged to collect these old artifacts. The Sublime Porte sent circular letters, and asked determination of the artifacts found in the provinces and asked for the valuable ones to be shipped.<sup>80</sup> As a result of such an attempt, the old artifacts from various parts of the Empire began to flow to Istanbul. For instance, the Revenue Officer of Adana, Ahmet Ata Bey sent an inventory listing of some coinages, ceramics and other historical relics to the Sublime Porte in October 1847, and then he offered the findings to the museum. In December, the governor of Jerusalem informed Istanbul that he found a sphinx relief in Asfalan; and after having expertise, he sent a report that included the drawing of the sphinx.<sup>81</sup> In the same time period, a letter to which a list of findings as potteries, statues and

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<sup>77</sup> Madran, 2002, p.13.

<sup>78</sup> Shaw, p. 45.

<sup>79</sup> Eyice, p. 1597.

<sup>80</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “Tanzimat’ta Vilayetlerde Eski Eser Taraması”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt: 6, 1985, p. 1599.

<sup>81</sup> Ortaylı, 1990, p.22.

coinages were appended was written by the Revenue Officer of Halep.<sup>82</sup> As old artifacts began coming to the Ottoman capital, some inventory records that only included some basic information as the name of the settler, the name of the province that the artifact came from, and the entrance date of the artifact to the museum, appeared after 1850.<sup>83</sup> In these records, the primal artifact which arrived to Hagia Irene belonged to 1851; this was a marble artifact discovered by Maxime du Camp in 1850.<sup>84</sup>

On the other hand, in 1868, French archaeologist A. Dumont came to Istanbul in order to work on a catalog; and he compiled the first catalog of *Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika* by classifying these artifacts typologically.<sup>85</sup> According to this catalog, *Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika* contained Greek, Roman, Early Christian and Byzantine work of arts; and these historical artifacts were displayed in various places of the museum. Some of these artifacts were displayed in cabinets fitted with glass cases located in the large gallery, some in the open courtyard in front of this gallery, and the rest in another courtyard that was in the left side of the *Harbiye Ambarı*.<sup>86</sup>

A. Dumont, after compiling the first catalog, also criticized some deficiencies of the museum in a letter dated 1868.<sup>87</sup>

In Hagia Irene's galleries, the antique sculptures, reliefs, and inscriptions are exhibited disorderly. Most of the artifacts are examined inadequately due to the archaeologically irrelevant objects displayed in front of them; and the others are suffering more and more from lack of care and dampness every passing day. The most regrettable point is that the original places of the artifacts are not informed through a reliable note. The etiquettes, which can change place easily, mostly ended with ordinary words as the place of origin is outside of Istanbul.

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<sup>82</sup> Ortaylı, 1985, p. 1599.

<sup>83</sup> Shaw, p. 87.

<sup>84</sup> Aziz Ogan, "Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıl Dönümü", *TTOK Belleteni*, Sayı: 61-62, 1947, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Shaw, p. 46.

<sup>86</sup> Afife Batur, "Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binaları", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt:1, İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayımları, 1993, p. 310.

<sup>87</sup> Eyice, p.1597.

The letter continues with an important remark of A. Dumont. According to Dumont, after Fethi Ahmet Pasha, the Ottoman Empire assigned a Western archaeologist because of the deficiencies of the museum mentioned above.<sup>88</sup>

In summary, during the period between Fethi Ahmet Pasha's attempts in the foundation of the first Ottoman museum and the assignment of Mr. Goold to the director of the museum, important steps were taken in respect of conserving and exhibiting activities of the old artifacts. İlber Ortaylı is right to deny the view that the Ottoman public and bureaucracy were uninformed about these works of arts.<sup>89</sup> As Fethi Ahmet Pasha and museological attempts that have been mentioned above are taken into consideration, this opinion is not correct for the Ottoman bureaucracy and elites. Fethi Ahmet Pasha adopted in principle the cultural movements of the West during his years in Europe, and he wanted to apply similar cultural activities in his own country. While accomplishing his purpose, his good relations with two considerable Ottoman statesmen played an important role in his achievement. One of these men was Reşit Pasha with who Fethi Ahmet Pasha was in relation of successor and predecessor in Paris and London Embassies. The other was Ali Pasha, who worked under Fethi Ahmet's directions, and then took over the grand vizierate office. As a result of Fethi Ahmet Pasha's good relations with these officials, he could easily impose his opinions about the cultural affairs to top management.<sup>90</sup>

The nucleus museum composed of two discrete collections by Fethi Ahmet Pasha was different from modern museums of the present day; this place was like a depository where ancient weapons and some antique relics were preserved.<sup>91</sup> However, this depository played an important role in symbolizing the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire. As Wendy Shaw has stated the main function of the museum in the first half of the nineteenth century was to show the Sultan as a modern and Europeanized sovereign

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Ortaylı, 1990, p.22.

<sup>90</sup> Öz, 1948, pp. 5-6.

<sup>91</sup> Kamil Su, *Osman Hamdi Bey'e Kadar Türk Müzesi*, İstanbul, 1965, p. 7.

through getting the possession of historical artifacts collection.<sup>92</sup> In other words, becoming the owner of these relics was seen as an indication of inclusion to the European culture by the Ottoman bureaucracy. The best indicator of this aspect was majoring especially in Greek, Roman, Helen and Byzantine artifacts in the Ottoman museum. On the other hand, the armament collection emphasized the power of the empire. Furthermore, exhibiting these artifacts in a museum symbolized the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire by an institution adopted from the Western pattern.

Although museological activities, which began to penetrate into the Ottoman cultural life, are very important attempts, they also had some deficiencies. One of these deficiencies was that the educational function of the museum was not taken into account. The museum was closed to public visits. Another deficiency was the classification of the artifacts. Although the museum was founded as a Europeanized structure, it lacked the classification of materials contrary to its European counterparts. The efforts of supplying these deficiencies of the museum started with the assignment of Mr. Goold to the museum administration.

#### **2.1.4. Foreign Directors Period in the Museum**

The collection arranged by Fethi Ahmet Pasha was named “museum” for the first time in 1869, when Ali Pasha was the Grand Vizier, and Saffet Pasha was the Minister of Education. The Grand Vizier Ali Pasha changed the name “Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika” to “Müze-i Hümayun” (the Imperial Museum). Furthermore, the Minister of Education, Saffet Pasha, emphasized the educational function of the museum that was among the aims of this institution; and he sent official letters to the Ottoman provinces in order to gather all the discovered artifacts in Istanbul. These letters had a great role in the formation of a cultural policy in the Ottoman territories.<sup>93</sup> The governor of Tripoli, Ali

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<sup>92</sup> Shaw, p. 87.

<sup>93</sup> Shaw, p. 104.

Rıza Pasha and his assistant secretary Carabella Efendi<sup>94</sup>; the governor of Salonika, Sabri Pasha; the governor of Lasit province in Crete, Kostaki Pasha Adossidos; and the governor of Konya Abdurrahman Pasha were the officials who sent the most artifacts to the Ottoman capital.<sup>95</sup> The act of Saffet Pasha referred the emergence of more conscious bureaucrats about the museological and archaeological affairs.

In addition, some administrative changes were made in the museum. Edward Goold, an English man teaching in Galatasaray School was assigned to the administration of the museum through the recommendation of the British Embassy; and “Museum” and the “Museum Manager” statements appeared for the first time in official correspondences.<sup>96</sup>

The new image of museum indicated changes in the Ottoman cultural life. The new name of the museum, the assignment of a manager, and the new role of the Ministry of Education in the development of museum referred to the inclusion of museology in to the bureaucratic sphere of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. From that time, the new Imperial Museum, and its contents would be the indicators of Ottoman Sultan’s imperial power over the old artifacts discovered in the Ottoman lands and the structure where these materials were preserved. As Western states increased their archaeological activities in the Ottoman lands and they tried to emphasize their superiority through the displays in their national museums, the Ottoman Empire tried to demonstrate its imperial power.

The new image of museum was also an indication of Ottoman Westernization process. The assignment of a European director to the museum was an important step in the Westernization of the Ottoman museology. In

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<sup>94</sup> Carabella Efendi was one of the most important personalities who provided old artifacts to Mr. Goold, the director of the museum. He made excavations in Tripoli; and besides the archaeological artifacts, he also sent some different findings as a skeleton of a whale. Carabella Efendi only wanted to be the assistant manager in the museum, and to collect old artifacts by traveling in the provinces. Although he was promised about this subject in 1870, this assignment was never realized. Semavi Eyice, “Arkeoloji Müzesi...”, p. 1599.

<sup>95</sup> Shaw, p. 107.

<sup>96</sup> Cezar, *Müzeci ve Ressam Osman Hamdi Bey*, İstanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı Sanat Yayınları: 1, 1987, p.14.

other words, the Ottoman bureaucracy did not only adopt the museum structure but also its administration from the Western states.

In the museological sphere, considering Mustafa Cezar's quotation, the times of Mr. Goold in the Imperial Museum are generally disregarded; it is thought that his function in the museum could not go beyond the guardianship. However, according to Madran, some of his achievements are ignored in these comments.<sup>97</sup> It should be taken into consideration that Mr. Goold was an active figure in archaeological excavations; and he brought to the museum the old artifacts that he discovered in the antic settlement Kyzikos.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, he also brought to the museum approximately one hundred and sixty old artifacts from Tekirdağ and Marmara Island.<sup>99</sup>

A successful attempt was realized during his directorship of Mr. Goold. This was the publication of a new regulation named *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* in 1869 through the efforts of Saffet Pasha. One clause (Art.81) of the regulation is very important in terms of educational reforms of the Ottoman Empire. According to that clause, the opening of some new classes in anatomy, logic, Islamic theology, morals, law, history, Arabic, Farsi, and French was ordered in the philosophy and literature departments of the *Dar'ül Fünun* which would be instituted in Istanbul. This educational movement took a new ground with the attempts of constituting two new educational institutions which were directly related with old artifacts. These institutions were *Müze Mektebi* (Museum School) and *Asar-ı Atika Mektebi* (Ancient Monument School).<sup>100</sup> These schools were desired to be opened during the directorship of Anton Dethier, another European personality who would succeed Mr. Goold in the museum administration.

In the same year that Mr. Goold resigned his employment, Mahmut Nedim Pasha, who annulled the administrative function of the Ottoman

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<sup>97</sup> Cezar, 1995, p. 167.

<sup>98</sup> Batur, A., "19. Yüzyıl Uluslar Arası Sanayi Sergileri ve Osmanlı Sergi Yapıları", in *9. Milletler Arası Türk Sanatları Kongresi, Bildiriler*, Cilt: 1, 1995, p. 308.

<sup>99</sup> Atasoy, p. 1458.

<sup>100</sup> Madran, 2002, pp. 48-50.

Museum, replaced Ali Pasha in the Grand Vizierate. Until the time that Ahmet Vefik Pasha would become the minister of education, Mr. Terenzio was charged as a guardian in the museum.<sup>101</sup> Terenzio, who took the office in 1871<sup>102</sup>, was assigned through the recommendation of Austrian Ambassador Freiherr von Prokesch Osten. At that point, it could be observed that European states showed interest not only in archaeological excavations conducted in the Ottoman lands, but also in the development of the Ottoman Museum.<sup>103</sup> As will mention in the next chapter, besides Prokesch Osten, some British and French ambassadors directly interfered in the archaeological excavations from the early nineteenth century. However, as can be seen from the Austrian ambassador case, their interference also affected the museological studies. As they wanted to monopolize the archaeological excavations in the Ottoman lands, they also tried to monopolize the Ottoman museum by assigning their agents.

In the following process, an interest towards the museum, old artifacts, and all branches of art increased in the empire. For instance, the first art exhibition opened. Equally, the number of articles about architecture painting and sculpture in the newspapers increased. The increase of interest towards the museum and old artifacts has been explained properly by Mustafa Cezar. He stated that this interest was related with the competition of Western states in carrying away historical and archaeological relics discovered in the Ottoman lands to their own countries.<sup>104</sup>

As a result, the functions of the museum administration, which was annulled by Mahmut Nedim Pasha, were reestablished in 1872 when the Grand-Vizier was Mithat Pasha and the Minister of Education was Ahmet Vefik Pasha; and German archaeologist Anton Dethier<sup>105</sup> was assigned as the

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<sup>101</sup> Madran, "Türkiye; Geçmişten...", p. 13.

<sup>102</sup> Cezar, 1987, p.14.

<sup>103</sup> Eyice, p. 1600.

<sup>104</sup> Cezar, 1987, p.14.

<sup>105</sup> Anton Dethier was born in Kerpen town near Köln. He educated in Berlin University in the fields of history, art history, classical philology and archaeology between 1823 and 1827; and he launched into life as a teacher in Bonn. He gave his first study in 1832, and then he departed

scientific advisor of the institution.<sup>106</sup> Dethier became a respected museologist, and was given wide attribution by the Ministry of Education as the controlling and examination of the old artifacts discovered in the Ottoman lands in terms of their historical and artistic value, and announcement of these findings to the Ministry.<sup>107</sup>

Dethier was the most expert European in the fields of archaeology and history among the museum administrators who were assigned until that time. In the same year that he started to work in the museum, some archaeological researches were conducted in Istanbul. For instance, the Serpent Column in Hippodrome was uncovered and the inscription over it was deciphered. In addition, long presentation inscription in the Churches of Old Sergios and Bakkhos were copied and published. Beginning from 1871, Dethier acquired old artifacts from his agents, named Yuvanaki in Salonika, Takvor Ağa in Bandırma, and Derviş Hüseyin in Istanbul, in order to enrich the museum collections.<sup>108</sup>

On the other hand, Dethier also conducted archaeological researches. For example, he came back from Cyprus with eighty-eight boxes full of old artifacts, named “Cesnola Collection”. Cyprus potteries formed the first part of the potteries that were enlisted in the accounts.<sup>109</sup> Museum collections were enriched through these new discovered artifacts to the effect that while the number of the artifacts had been one hundred and sixty during the directorship of Goold, this number increased to six hundred and fifty under the direction of Dethier.<sup>110</sup> It was unexceptional that this sudden increase in the number of artifacts had an impact on the museum. As a result of this increase, the museum

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to Berlin where he made researches about Middle Age history, and finally he took the doctor’s degree with his thesis about Polish Kings in 1841. Eyice, 1985, p. 1601.

<sup>106</sup> Ara Altun (ed), *Türkiye’de Müzecilik, 100 Müze, 1000 Eser*, II. Cilt, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2007, p.801.

<sup>107</sup> Su, p. 24.

<sup>108</sup> Eyice, p. 1602.

<sup>109</sup> Dolunay, pp. 3-4.

<sup>110</sup> Batur, A., 1995, p. 308

was moved from Hagia Irene to the Tilled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*).<sup>111</sup> The idea of this movement came from Suphi Pasha<sup>112</sup> who was the Minister of Education who maintained the opinion that conservation of the artifacts in the museum became more difficult because the number of artifacts increased and most of the artifacts suffered from the humidity of the church. The construction of a new building could not be realized because of economic reasons. At the end of searching a convenient building, Dethier suggested to the Ministry of Education to use the Tilled Pavilion as the new Ottoman Museum.<sup>113</sup> Eventually, the Tilled Pavilion which had traces from Central Asia was converted in a more European form through a Neo-Classical style, and the museum became not only a place harboring the old artifacts but also a structure in which the collections were disposed in order.<sup>114</sup> However, the original building was damaged by some modifications. In other words, while placing the exhibiting ranks, nails were drove in tilled walls.<sup>115</sup>

Consequently, the artifacts were moved to the Tilled Pavilion in 1876 when the modification that was made by an Armenian foreman according to the project of M. Montrano finished; and the archaeology museum and the military museum were separated.<sup>116</sup> In the following process, the interest towards the armament collection decreased; and this section was closed in 1877. In this period, old artifacts belonging to the Greek and Roman civilizations were more emphasized in the museum. This emphasize was related with bringing the Ottoman Empire as part of European identity; and the Ottoman bureaucracy tried to present that various cultures were taken under the umbrella of the Ottoman Empire through the representation of historical artifacts in the museum structure. Also Shaw asserted that the closing of the

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<sup>111</sup> The Tilled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) belonged to the time of Mehmet the Conqueror; it was built in 1472 as the outhouse of Topkapı Palace. Zarif Orgun, *Çinili Köşk*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1943), p. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Abdüllatif Suphi Pasha, the Minister of Education, was interested in history and art; and he was also informed in numismatics. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Müzeleşimine Bir Bakış*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1953), p. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Su, p. 11.

<sup>114</sup> Shaw, p. 115.

<sup>115</sup> Eyice, p. 1602.

<sup>116</sup> Su, p. 13.

Armament Museum was because the Ottoman bureaucracy did not want to remind the loss of wars especially in these years.<sup>117</sup>

Another important change in the museum was the increase in the number of employees. Due to the fact that Dethier only engaged in scientific affairs of the museum, the necessity of more employees occurred with regard to internal affairs of the museum and conservation of the artifacts whose number increased in that period.<sup>118</sup> Thus, new employees began to work in the Imperial Museum; the people who knew foreign languages were charged with registration, catalogue and correspondence affairs. Limoncu Efendi, Nikolaki Efendi, Kadri Bey and Fulers were among these employees.<sup>119</sup>

During the directorship of Anton Dethier, an attempt which was both related with museological activities and educational system tried to be carried into effect. This attempt was instituting a museum school affiliated the Ottoman Museum. This idea aroused from the fact that the development of the museum also depend on education. Trained persons in the fields of old artifacts and museology would have contributed to the advance of the museum. In this respect, Anton Dethier made great effort.<sup>120</sup>

The Ministry of Education confirmed for establishing a school attempting to teach museology, even prepared the instruction for admittance and education. According to the instruction of the school, the high school graduates who knew French, Latin and ancient Greek would be admitted in this school. The courses of old artifacts, methods of photographing, techniques of taking mould of artifacts made of marble and bell metal were to be in the curriculum of the school.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, it was thought excavations to be made by the students just for practice in the old settlements near Istanbul. However, all these attempts, though they were acknowledged, could not be

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<sup>117</sup> Shaw, p. 101.

<sup>118</sup> Ogan, 1947, p. 5.

<sup>119</sup> Atasoy, p. 1461.

<sup>120</sup> Rezan Kocabaş, "Müzecilik Hareketi ve İlk Müze Okulunun Açılışı", *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, Sayı: 21, 1969, p.76.

<sup>121</sup> Kocabaş, p.76.

realized. In other words, this school could not be opened because of either hard economic condition of the period or the lack of students.<sup>122</sup>

There was also an attempt of instituting an *Asar-ı Atika Mektebi* (School of Old Artifacts) in Istanbul while Anton Dethier was the director of the museum. A small group of intellectuals who were aware of the historical and archaeological importance of Anatolia tried to establish this school. Although the idea was accepted by the Sultan in 1875, this school could not be instituted because the existing education system and the facilities of the state related with this system were not taken into consideration.<sup>123</sup>

In brief, the museological studies of the Ottoman Empire started in the Hagia Irene Church with the arrangements of Fethi Ahmet Pasha, and developed with the efforts of European directors in the course of time, and the museum building was moved to Tilled Pavilion as a result of an increase in the number of artifacts in the museum collections. However, the Imperial Museum collections could not compete with its European counterparts during this process. The reason of this fact was the European old artifact smuggling activities in the Ottoman lands as will be mentioned in the next sub-chapter.

## **2.2. Archaeological Studies in the Ottoman Empire Until 1881**

The Renaissance was the first stimulus which triggered archaeological studies. Archaeology appeared as a result of an interest towards the ancient Roman and Greek past among the Europeans. This interest was a romanticized admiration of antique civilizations. In this respect, the area of research was limited with Aegean and Mediterranean periphery; and antic monuments such as the antic theatres, palaces, city walls, and work of arts such as sculptures and vases were the most interesting relics for the Europeans. These interests led to the emergence of classical archaeology. Moreover, it encouraged the

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<sup>122</sup> Su, p. 31.

<sup>123</sup> Gül E. Kundakçı, "19. Yüzyılda Anadolu Arkeolojisine ve Eskiçağ Tarihine Genel Yaklaşım", *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, III. Cilt, II. Kısım, 1999, p. 1094.

Philhellenism or Grecism that became the dominant approaches in the eighteenth century.<sup>124</sup>

In the eighteenth century, the interest towards the Greek and Roman civilizations increased by the name of Philhellenism. According to this approach, ancient Greek which symbolized the genius and freedom was the origin of civilization; as a result, the birth place of Western nations. While associating Western nations with Greek civilization, the Greek art was promoted with the work of Johannes Winckelmann (*The History of Art among the Greeks*), and the interest towards the Greek art reached its peak.<sup>125</sup>

Eighteenth century witnessed great archaeological activities in terms of enlightening the glorious past of the Western civilization. First archaeological excavations began to be conducted. The excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii antic cities in Italy, which were buried with the eruption Vesuvius Volcano in 79, played an important role in the development of the culture of antiquity. The excavations were conducted by a Spanish mining engineer Roque Joaquin de Alcubierre, and Carl Weber, than Francisco de la Vega assisted to Alcubierre.<sup>126</sup> Although the archaeological method of Alcubierre who excavated these antic cities through burrowing was criticized<sup>127</sup>, the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum and the materials, which were discovered in these cities and examined by Winckelmann, played an important role in triggering the archaeological interest among the Europeans and in orienting the archaeological researches in to the lands that carried the traces of antic civilizations.<sup>128</sup>

During the eighteenth century, another development related with archaeological studies was the growth of associations in Europe and the publications of some periodicals. Some of these associations were French

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<sup>124</sup> Mehmet Özdoğan, *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç Olarak Arkeoloji*, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2006, pp. 46-47.

<sup>125</sup> MargaritaDiaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 49 and 82.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>127</sup> Nancy H. Ramage, "Goods, Graves, and Scholars: 18th Century Archaeologists in Britain and Italy", *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 96, No. 4, (Oct., 1992), p. 654.

<sup>128</sup> Kundakçı, p. 1083.

Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in France, Society of Dilettanti in Britain, the Academia Etrusca of Cortana and the Roman Academia Pontificia di Archaeologia in Italy.<sup>129</sup> On the other hand, some periodicals such as Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and Journal of the Oriental Society began to be published.<sup>130</sup> The establishment of such associations and the publication of some periodicals played an important role both in domestic and foreign archaeological studies, and also in the awareness of the scholars and public about the European archaeological researches. Moreover, the study of the past became more scientific and the number of the individuals working on the past increased.

The increase in the number of associations and publications in Europe played an important role in the rise of archaeological interest. Moreover, as museums began to develop in the eighteenth century, European states took part in an international race of filling their museums with antiquities shipped from the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the formation of nation-states and the rise of nationalism also played a crucial role in the archaeological activities. Archaeology, intermingled with nationalism, played an important role in the search of national identity and memory during the formation process of national states.<sup>131</sup> In other words, in the formation process, nation-states turned to social sciences in order to define their national identities.<sup>132</sup> Archaeology, history, philology and other scientific disciplines served to penetrate into the roots of past in order to link the newly formed nation-states to the glorious, golden ages. Moreover, discovered monuments and materials such as inscriptions and potteries were seen as rich indicators of the cultural identity of a nation.<sup>133</sup> Therefore, interpretations of historical, archaeological and also

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<sup>129</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p. 54.

<sup>130</sup> Yücel Bulut, *Oryantalizmin Kısa Tarihi*, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2004, pp. 105-106.

<sup>131</sup> Kohl, p. 228.

<sup>132</sup> Mehmet Özdoğan, "Heritage and Nationalism in the Balkans and Anatolia or "Changing Patterns, What Has Happened Since Hasluck?"", in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. by David Shankland, Volume 2, İstanbul: İsis Press, 2004, p. 396.

<sup>133</sup> Anthony Smith, *Ulusların Etnik Kökeni*, trans. by Sonay Bayramoğlu and hülya Kendir, Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2002, p. 25.

philological materials are important in justifying and strengthening particular ethnic or national identities.<sup>134</sup> European nation-states, as a result, accelerated their archaeological researches in order to justify and strengthen their identities. In the eighteenth century, the importance of Anatolian lands in terms of its cultural heritages was more emphasized by the foreign travelers. From the mid-eighteenth century, they started to make researches; they owned many antiquities that they discovered with the assertion that they would enlighten the past. Because Westerners believed that non-European communities lacked of understanding the value of old artifacts and of protecting them. In addition, they believed that they saved these antiquities from barbaric people and give up to scientists.<sup>135</sup> This approach of the Europeans would lead to drastic smuggling activities not only in Anatolian lands but also in Mesopotamian in the nineteenth century.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the first archaeological activities of the Europeans in the Ottoman lands focused on Greece and Anatolian lands due to their importance in Ancient Greek and Roman heritages. However, the researches of the nineteenth century were not limited only with Greek and Roman civilizations. Shortly after the interest of Europeans towards the antiquities of the Anatolian lands, biblical archaeology appeared in Europe in the nineteenth century. The aims of these biblical archaeological studies were to associate the European civilization with the written history of the Near East<sup>136</sup>, to answer the questions about human origination, to illustrate and confirm the credibility of the holy book through discovering the ancient sites that was mentioned in the bible. Because some scholars argued that the bible had no historical credibility and was written subsequently.<sup>137</sup> Due to these reasons, some archaeological researches were conducted in Egypt and Palestine, and then expanded to Mesopotamia from where the texts and

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<sup>134</sup> Thomas. H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, London: Pluto Press, 1993, p. 59.

<sup>135</sup> Shaw, p. 29.

<sup>136</sup> Shaw, pp. 60-61.

<sup>137</sup> I. Finkelstein, N. Silberman, "Kutsal Kitabın İzinde", trans. by Gül Pulhan, *Cogito*, Sayı: 28, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, p. 22.

monuments could also provide information.<sup>138</sup> As a result, both Egyptian and Mesopotamian archaeologies became important for the Europeans as well as the Anatolian archaeology as will be mentioned in the next chapters.

### **2.2.1. First European Travelers and Researchers in the Ottoman Lands**

European archaeologists did not decide to make excavations in the Ottoman lands suddenly. In order to analyze their archaeological activities, it would be appropriate to start with their first exploration activities.

From the mid-fifteenth century, many European people and groups began to come to the Ottoman Empire in order to analyze the empire in terms of economic, military and scientific aims. These groups also traveled in Ottoman territories, and wrote some travel works.<sup>139</sup> These travelers' accounts about geography, cities, community, culture and antiquities of the Ottoman Empire, dated before nineteenth century, played an important role in introducing archaeological excavations.

From the late sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was visited by some European antiquarians and explorers who were in search of ruined ancient cities. The number of these voyagers, who were especially interested with Anatolian lands which were a cradle of civilization, increased in time.<sup>140</sup> Although some Europeans came with official order of their states, others came with their private concerns. In the seventieth century, the number of travelers' accounts about the East was more than two hundred. The narratives in these accounts that included different observations of the travelers led to an interest about the Orient within the Western world.<sup>141</sup> In the same period, some antique cities such as Baalbek, Palmyra and Petra also drawn attention of the Europeans due to their relations with biblical studies; and historical topography

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<sup>138</sup> Albert A. Glock, "Tradition and Change in Two Archaeologies", *American Antiquity*, Vol. 50, No. 2, Golden Anniversary Issue, 1985, p. 464.

<sup>139</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p. 28.

<sup>140</sup> Özdoğan, 2006, p. 51.

<sup>141</sup> Bulut, p. 63.

of the area became the main concern of them. This interest in Levantine antiquities also extended to Mesopotamia. As a result, in Mesopotamian lands, the European travelers encountered with a new writing system, named cuneiform.<sup>142</sup>

These early travels of the Europeans to Anatolia, Levant and Mesopotamia led to the emergence of some old artifact shipping activities in the next century. Many statues, inscriptions, relieve, and obelisks would replace Western travelers' notes and observations.

In the eighteenth century, one of the most important travels to the Ottoman Empire was directed through the financial support of Society of Dilettanti of London in 1764. This journey was organized in order to determine Ancient Greek and Roman heritages in Anatolia.<sup>143</sup> Three experts, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Revett and Mr. Pars, whose tasks were touring antique settlements around Smyrna, mapping these places, drawing the relics of antiquity and copying the inscriptions, were assigned officially. As a result of their studies, two works were published: "Antiquities of Ionia" and "Travels in Asia Minor and Greece".<sup>144</sup>

From the end of the eighteenth century, however, the early studies and discoveries of the Europeans led to the shipping of old artifacts from the Ottoman Empire; and many of these artifacts enriched British and French museums. In this respect, two cases are important to be mentioned for the turn of the century: Bonaparte's expedition of Egypt<sup>145</sup> and shipping of Elgin Marbles.

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<sup>142</sup> A. H. Masry, "Traditions of Archaeological Research in the Near East", *World Archaeology*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Regional Traditions of Archaeological Research I, 1981, pp. 222-223.

<sup>143</sup> Güven Arsebük, "Dünden Bugüne Arkeoloji", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt III, 1983, p. 68.

<sup>144</sup> Kundakçı, pp. 1092-1093.

<sup>145</sup> Some explorers as Italian Pietro De la Vale, Danish Carsten Niebuhr and French Constantin Volney, traveled to Egypt until the seventieth century; and they noted the ancient monuments of the area. However, in comparison with Ancient Greek and Roman history, little was known about Egyptian antiquities. This situation was changed with Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Diaz-Andreu, p. 73.

Bonaparte's arrival to Egypt in 1798 with many scientists opened a new page in the history of archaeology. From that time, the West began to get more scientific information about the Orient<sup>146</sup>, and Egyptian history started to be under a close examination. The fauna and flora of the country, and the ancient monuments were enlisted; and the hieroglyphs were copied by expert engravers. Furthermore, many old artifacts such as statues, fragments with hieroglyphs, papyrus were collected.<sup>147</sup> The Rosetta stone<sup>148</sup>, which was a trilingual inscription, was the most important discovery of the expedition. This epigraphic material would be deciphered in 1822 by Jean-François Champollion. Champollion characterized the ancient Egyptians as "a people who provided the basis of human civilization, who were the first in race of the arts".<sup>149</sup>

Although Egyptian old artifacts were collected by the French scientists, they could not ship these relics to their state; because Admiral Nelson came to Egypt and defeated Bonaparte's army. As a result, French were compelled to give the artifacts to the British army; and these Egyptian artifacts were shipped to Britain to be displayed in the British Museum.<sup>150</sup>

The historical importance of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt is worth to be mentioned. Besides being considerable old artifact smuggling in the lands under the Ottoman control, it led to the emergence of a competition between France and Britain over the antiquities of Egypt. In the nineteenth century, the era of excavations started in Egypt. Moreover, the science of Egyptology appeared after this expedition and the decipherment of the Rosetta stone; and a new page in museological studies of Europe was opened.

Following French and British invasions, Mehmet Ali Pasha was confirmed as the ruler of Egypt in 1805. Under his rule, a modernization

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<sup>146</sup> Edward Said, *Şarkiyatçılık, Batı'nın Şark Anlayışları*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2008, p. 31.

<sup>147</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *Tarihimiz ve Biz*, İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008, p. 215.

<sup>148</sup> This was a basalt stele unscripted with two Egyptian and one Classical Greek languages. It was a decree written by a committee of priests to Ptolemaios V honor. Gerçek, p. 16. See Appendix 4.

<sup>149</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p. 75.

<sup>150</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.165.

movement in a Western style started. During this process, many native people traveled to Europe. Rifaa Rafii al Tahtawi, who was among these native people, observed the great interest of Europeans towards Egyptian monuments. When he returned to Egypt, he reacted against the plunder of local people and European old artifact collectors. He promulgated an edict in order to prevent old artifact trade. This ordinance also regulated the formation of an Egyptian Antiquities Service in Cairo where a museum was formed. However, his attempts came to nothing due to the demand of European states and insensitivity of Mehmet Ali.<sup>151</sup>

The change for the protection Egyptian antiquities came with the advent of French archaeologist Auguste Mariette who was sent to Egypt by the French Government to collect Coptic manuscripts and papyrus on behalf of the Louvre Museum. After working many years in Egypt, Auguste Mariette became the director of Egyptian antiquities and established the Museum of Egypt in Cairo in 1863.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, the French Archaeological Mission, which was subsequently transformed in to the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology, was founded in 1880 by the French. Britain, on the other hand, also continued its archaeological activities in Egypt; and founded Egypt Exploration Fund in 1882.<sup>153</sup>

Besides the Egyptian case, another European old artifact smuggling activity was seen in Greece at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As Bonaparte was the leading figure in the Egyptian case, Lord Elgin became the main figure for the Greek case.

From the seventeenth century, Greece was under the great investigation of the Europeans. With the establishment of classicism in Europe as mentioned in the introduction part of the chapter, Greece became the focus of attention among the European bureaucracy and intelligentsia with its classical monuments. This emphasis on Greek civilization led to an increase in travel

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<sup>151</sup> Diaz-Andreu, pp. 118-120.

<sup>152</sup> Gerçek, p. 17.

<sup>153</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p. 122.

writings and memoirs, as well as collecting and looting of many antiquities.<sup>154</sup> For instance, the Society of Dilettanti conducted professional expeditions to the Greek Island for the research of Ancient Greek antiquities. The first group of expeditors among which Architect James Stewart and Nicholas Revett took place published the results of the expedition in four volumes named “Antiquities of Athens”.<sup>155</sup> However, looting activities replaced these researches in time; and among these activities Lord Elgin’s collection of artifacts known as Parthenon<sup>156</sup> was at the first place.

The Parthenon temple of the Virgin Goddess of Athena was the principal monument on the Acropolis of Athens.<sup>157</sup> In 1687, when there was a Venetian-Ottoman war, this temple and its sculptures were destroyed with the bombardment.<sup>158</sup> However, the monument was still standing until the arrival of Lord Elgin whose real name was Thomas Bruce, the Seventh Earl of Elgin. This British aristocrat was nominated to the Embassy at Constantinople in 1799 when British-Ottoman relations was politically in a favorable climate; and in this year, the idea of making his term of office of service to the arts first occurred to him.<sup>159</sup> As a result, he used his position as a British ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, and he demanded permission to excavate and remove the old artifacts from the Athenian Acropolis. Moreover, after getting his permission, he also tried to convince the local Ottoman authorities through bribery and threats to remain blind to his activities.<sup>160</sup> As a result, he accomplished his task successfully, and he not only removed the sculptures of Parthenon, but also sculptures from Propylaea and Erechtheum. This group of sculptures, known in the literature of archaeology as “Elgin Marbles”, belonged to the fifth century BC, and depicted mainly some mythological

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<sup>154</sup> Yannis Hamilakis, “Stories from Exile: Fragments from the Cultural Biography of the Parthenon (or “Elgin”) Marbles”, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 31, No. 2, The Cultural Biography of Objects. (Oct., 1999), p. 306.

<sup>155</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p. 46.

<sup>156</sup> See Appendix 5 and 6.

<sup>157</sup> Philip Hunt, A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and His Collection”, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 36, 1916, p. 180.

<sup>158</sup> Hamilakis, p. 106.

<sup>159</sup> Hunt; Smith, p. 166.

<sup>160</sup> Hamilakis, pp. 307-308.

scenes. This large number of sculptures, violently removed from the Acropolis by Lord Elgin between 1801 and 1805 were shipped to London; they stayed in Lord's possession for a while, then sold to the British Museum and were added to its collection in 1816.<sup>161</sup> After the arrival of the sculptures, a temporary Elgin Room was arranged in the museum. After ten years, a new space for their permanent accommodation was constructed.<sup>162</sup> Today, the Acropolis sculptures are dispersed throughout the world. Almost half of them are in London British Museum; the other half is in Athens Acropolis Museum, and on the monument. Some fragments can also be found in Germany, Denmark, Austria and Italy.<sup>163</sup>

The violent activities of Lord Elgin were criticized both in Britain and Greece. However, similar looting activities continued in the Greek peninsula and its islands after Lord Elgin's removal of sculptures. For instance, in 1811 and 1812, Charles Robert Cockerell and John Foster from Britain, and Karl Haller Von Hallestein, Jacob Link from Germany excavated Basae in Greece and shipped the findings to London and Bavaria.<sup>164</sup> In the nineteenth century, two researchers, Auguste Salzman and Alfred Biliotti also conducted excavations in the cemeteries of Kameiros on Rhodes; the findings of the excavation were shipped to the British Museum. John Ruskin also explored the ancient site Ialysos on Rhodes in 1870. Moreover, a British School opened at Athens in 1886; and the students of the school went to the Aegean Islands in order to observe the antiquities.<sup>165</sup>

Greek intellectuals did not remain silent against this plunder; and they established The Society of Friends of the Muses, which aimed to protect its antiquities, in Athens in 1813. However, Greeks could not be successful in

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., pp. 304 and 308.

<sup>162</sup> Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists & Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939*, London: British Museum Press, 1992, p. 81.

<sup>163</sup> Hamilakis, p. 305.

<sup>164</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p. 46.

<sup>165</sup> David W. J. Gill, "The British School at Athens and Archaeological Research in the Late Ottoman Empire", in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. by David Shankland, Vol. 1, İstanbul: İsis Press, 2004, p. 224.

protecting their heritages until their independence.<sup>166</sup> After obtaining their independence, a systematic care, collection and also study of Greek antiquities appeared, because these relics were seen as visible material proofs of their national continuity. As a result, they adopted some measures in order to protect their national heritages. For instance, they started to the restoration of Athens Acropolis.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, they published their Ancient Monument Law which will be mentioned in the last chapter.

To sum up, British archaeologists had long been active on ancient Greek sites within the rule of the Ottoman Empire. After Lord Elgin's removal of sculptures, the archaeological plunder of Greece continued for many years, even after their independence. However, especially Elgin marbles has attracted enormous attention and reaction both from the public and scholars due to its involvement in the politics of compensation of cultural heritage.<sup>168</sup> In 1940, the authoritative of British Museum announced that they did not recognize an act of restituting the cultural heritages shipped to their country. Furthermore, although some international agreements were signed in connection with cultural and natural heritages within UNESCO, Britain disaffirmed these agreements. As a result, all valuable artifacts are still in the British Museum galleries.<sup>169</sup> In addition, the debate about the legality of the removal of marbles, and whether these artifacts should remain in the British Museum or be returned to Athens still continues.

Lord Elgin's removal of ancient Greek marbles was only a beginning for violent archaeological plunders. Unfortunately, similar cases were seen during the nineteenth century in Anatolian and Mesopotamian lands which were under the control of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, like Lord Elgin, some other British and French ambassadors in Istanbul, such as Lord Stratford Canning who will be mentioned in the next chapter, intervened in this old artifact smuggling activities.

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<sup>166</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p.46.

<sup>167</sup> Ertürk, p. 23.

<sup>168</sup> Hamilakis, p. 303.

<sup>169</sup> Ertürk, pp. 21-22

### 2.2.2. Foreign Archaeological Excavations in Anatolia

Before the nineteenth century, the importance of Anatolian lands as a cradle of Greek and Roman civilizations was reported by the early European travelers as mentioned above. On the other hand, these lands began to be excavated by the European archaeologists in the nineteenth century, and many old artifacts were shipped to the European museums.

In the nineteenth century, first scientific exploration was conducted by German researcher Schultz in Van Castle and its surrounding area in 1827.<sup>170</sup> Another important explorer came from Britain; W. Hamilton who was a member of the Royal Geographical Society was sent to Asia Minor in 1830's in order to draft a map of the region. In 1837, he arrived to Boğazköy, the capital of the Hittite Empire; and he became one of the first European explorers to visit this ancient settlement and describe the antic relics there. Moreover, he also visited the nearby ancient settlement Alacahöyük.<sup>171</sup>

Between 1833 and 1837, French government also promoted an expedition to Anatolia.<sup>172</sup> During this expedition, French Archaeologist Charles Texier excavated antic city Magnesia ad Meandrum; and the relieves of the Artemis temple, on which the battle of Amazons were described, and some other architectural remains were sent to the Louvre Museum by Texier in 1842.<sup>173</sup>

In 1840's and 1850's, British archaeologists were the leading excavators in the Anatolian lands. Especially three archaeologists from Britain played an important role for shipping the old artifacts of Anatolian lands to the British Museum. The first archaeologist was Charles Fellows. Fellows, who

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<sup>170</sup> M. Taner Tarhan, *Tarih Yazımında Arkeolojinin Önemi*, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1995, p. 24.

<sup>171</sup> Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "British Explorers in the Ottoman Empire: Exploring, Excavating and Displaying the Orient", presented at the 5th *ICAANE* meetings, Madrid, 2006.

<sup>172</sup> Diaz-Andreu, pp. 112-113.

<sup>173</sup> İsmet Ebcioğlu, "Türkiye'den Batı Ülkelerine Götürülen Arkeolojik Eserler", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt III, 1983, p. 76.

traveled to many archaic regions in Anatolian lands such as Phrygia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, finally arrived to Lycia where he discovered the ruins of some ancient towns in 1838. Magnificent sculptures and inscriptions, newly unearthed from Xanthos antic city located in Lycia province, led to new discoveries and transportation of the artifacts. After getting the excavation permit from the Ottoman government, he began his excavations in Xanthos. At the end of the excavations, he transported the Xanthian Marbles, nicknamed “Lycian Marbles”, consisting sixty cases of sculpture and forty-seven of casts<sup>174</sup>, to the British Museum; and this group of marbles became one of the most valued artifact collection displayed in the British Museum.<sup>175</sup>

The second British archaeologist who conducted excavations for the development of British Museum was Charles Newton who excavated the antic city Halicarnassus. However, the story of this excavation was mostly related with the maneuvers of Lord Stratford Canning. Stratford Canning (1786-1880), the British Ambassador of Istanbul, was a diplomat who was successful in directing the Porte for the benefits of Britain.<sup>176</sup> Without his efforts, the British Museum would not acquire its main old artifact treasures. Through the efforts of Canning that the necessary excavation permits were taken by the Ottoman bureaucracy and the archaeological treasures of Halicarnassus Mausoleum and Nineveh of Mesopotamia were shipped to Britain.<sup>177</sup> Stratford Canning included obtaining the antic relics of Eastern Mediterranean in his diplomatic mission consciously. As a result of his activities, other foreign diplomats in the Ottoman Empire would charge themselves with a “mission civilisatrice”.<sup>178</sup>

The first maneuver of Canning over the antiquities of Anatolia was started with his trip to Bodrum castle in 1844, where he was fascinated when he saw the relieves of the Mausoleum which was designated in antiquity as one

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<sup>174</sup> Jenkins, pp. 140-145.

<sup>175</sup> Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Going Native Through Archaeology: the Impact of British Explorers and Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century”, *ISIMU* 9, (in Press).

<sup>176</sup> Timur, p. 144.

<sup>177</sup> Stanley Lane Poole, *Lord Stratford Canning'in Türkiye Anıları*, trans. by Can Yücel, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p. 105.

<sup>178</sup> Eyüp Özveren, *Akdeniz'de Bir Doğu*, Ankara: Dost Yayınevi, 2000, p. 71.

of the Seven Wonders of the World. After returning to Istanbul, Canning directly got into communication with the Ottoman Palace; and he took the removal permit from the Sultan Abdülmecit in 1846.<sup>179</sup> As a result, the first group of the marbles was shipped to Britain. Canning expressed his success in the removal of Halicarnassus antiquities in a letter that he wrote to his wife as follows:

I finally overcome the difficulties raised because of Bodrum marbles. As Herodotus mentioned, thirteen priceless marbles designed by best sculptures in the golden age of Greek art. What if they are broken? I hope that they will arrive to Britain in good condition. I really afraid of what if they will be broken. Think about it, I paid all the expenses. Then the Sultan told that he will pay all the expenses to the last penny! Do not surprise, when my Artemisia arrives to London, everybody will forget the new corm laws, and will all mention about these marbles. I worked hard for three years in order to see these days... Layard also discovers many important antiquities in Mesopotamia...French will be affected by the fumes of jealousy.<sup>180</sup>

However, the concern of Canning was not only limited with the removal of thirteen pieces of marbles from Halicarnassus Mausoleum. The second removal activity was realized by Charles Newton again through the efforts of Stratford Canning who told Newton that he would use all his authority over the Porte and would make the excavations easier for him.<sup>181</sup> In 1856, Newton started his excavations in Mausoleum. He discovered a statue of Mausolus, and some lion statues; and he wanted to ship them to the British Museum. At that point, the first clash between the Ottoman Government and Newton happened. Fethi Ahmet Pasha from the Ottoman Museum demanded to Newton to send the lion statues to the museum in Istanbul.<sup>182</sup> However, Newton ignored this demand, and the artifacts were shipped to British Museum.<sup>183</sup> It was important that some artifacts were requested for the Ottoman museum. However, the incertitude of Ottoman bureaucracy about the subject led to the loss of Mausoleum artifacts. Newton encouraged by the

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<sup>179</sup> Mehmet Önder, "Anadolu'da Eski Eser Kaçakçılığı ve Kültür Soygunu", *Erdem*, Sayı: 17, 1990, pp. 483-484.

<sup>180</sup> Kundakçı, p. 1086.

<sup>181</sup> Özveren, p. 71.

<sup>182</sup> Shaw, p. 83.

<sup>183</sup> Diaz-Andreu, pp. 112-113.

attitude of Ottoman authorities took another excavation permit one year later for Didyma and Knidus antic cities; and again the artifacts from these settlements were shipped to Britain.<sup>184</sup>

The next smuggling activity of British archaeologists was in Ephesus. British railway engineer Jon T. Wood excavated Artemis Temple of Ephesus; and the relics of the temple such as relieves, statues, and columns were shipped to the British Museum. The excavation of Wood lasted until 1874.<sup>185</sup> His looting activities led to the emergence of first Ottoman ancient monument law in 1869 which will be mentioned in the last chapter of the thesis.

From the mid-nineteenth century, German archaeologists began to conduct excavations in the Anatolian lands. In 1869, a German engineer Carl Humann visited the antic city Pergamon, and its acropolis. Human noticed that there was a limekiln in which some marble pieces of the acropolis were burn by the local people. He immediately enounced the situation to Alexander Conze, the director of Berlin Museum.<sup>186</sup> In 1877, Carl Humann took the excavation permit; and in the next year he started his excavations in Pergamon,<sup>187</sup> where he discovered the Zeus Altar. Two third of the findings were given to the Germans, and one third to the Ottoman Museum. However, as İzmir German Embassy requested one third of Ottoman part by offering 20.000 Frank, this part was also given to the German state.<sup>188</sup> These artifacts taken by the German state formed the main contents of Berlin Pergamon museum.<sup>189</sup> Especially the Zeus Altar and Telephos relieves became the most famous artifacts of the museum.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Shaw, p. 83.

<sup>185</sup> Önder, p. 490.

<sup>186</sup> Önder, p. 488.

<sup>187</sup> Aziz Ogan, *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi ve 1874'den İtibaren Yapılan Hafriyat*, Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1938, p. 21.

<sup>188</sup> Recep Yıldırım, Abdullah Martal, "Osmanlı Yönetiminin Arkeolojik Eserlere Bakış Açısı", XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, III. Cilt, II. Kısım, 1999, p. 1098.

<sup>189</sup> See Appendix 7.

<sup>190</sup> Ebcioğlu, p. 78.

Another important German excavation was conducted in Troy (Hisarlık) where the biggest old artifact smuggling of the nineteenth century was realized by Heinrich Schliemann.

Heinrich Schliemann was not the first European to conduct excavations in Troy. Frank Calvert, who was a consular official in the eastern Mediterranean region, owned a large part of the site; and made the first researches.<sup>191</sup> Besides Troy, Calvert discovered more than seventeen antic sites, and conducted excavations at least in thirty settlements from 1840's to 1908. Calvert's wide knowledge about the antiquities of Troy and his personal archaeological experience played an important role in Schliemann's excavations.<sup>192</sup>

Heinrich Schliemann started his excavation in 1870 at Troy. He discovered the famous treasure of King Priamos in 1874, and at the same year, these treasure containing golden jewellerys such as necklaces, rings, bracelets, diadems, golden and silver potteries, drinking cups, fibulas, shields, and daggers were shipped to Athens, then to Britain in order to be displayed for a while, and finally to the Berlin Museum. After the shipping of Troy treasures, the Porte (dava açmak) to Schliemann. He was charged with paying 50.000 Frank to the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, he could not get another excavation permit until 1878. After 1878, he continued his researches, however, he had to give two third of the findings to the Ottoman museum according to the clauses of ancient monument law of 1874. His researches continued at Troy until 1890.<sup>193</sup>

Schliemann diaries include all stages of the excavation. However, the honesty of his narratives is discussable because some cases that he quoted were paradoxical. For instance, although he said that he only wanted to enlighten a historical fact not to search for antic work of arts in his letters written to Saffet Pasha, he only tried to find the treasure of Priamos. He also said that he would

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<sup>191</sup> Özveren, p. 70.

<sup>192</sup> Susan Heuck Allen, "Finding the Walls of Troy": Frank Calvert, Excavator", *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 99, No. 3, (Jul., 1995), p. 379.

<sup>193</sup> Esin, 1993, pp. 181-187.

share the findings with the Ottoman Imperial Museum, but he smuggled all the findings to Berlin.<sup>194</sup>

Besides Troy, there were also other excavations conducted by Heinrich Schliemann during the nineteenth century, such as Ithaka, Mykenai Royal Cemeteries, and Orkhomenos.<sup>195</sup>

Heinrich Schliemann was one of the most famous excavators of the nineteenth century. He can not be called as an archaeologist, because he was rather a treasure seeker. His methods of excavation have long been criticized by most of the scholars, because he destroyed the upper strata of the settlement due to his ambition of treasure hunting.

However, except for Schliemann, German archaeologists were important in terms of bringing a new approach in to the Anatolian archaeology. Pergamon, Priene and Miletus excavations reflected a new approach about architectural remains. German archaeologists tried to understand the role of the monuments instead of examining them as separate and isolated structures. In other words, they tried to interpret these monuments in a context.<sup>196</sup>

### **2.2.3. Foreign Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Lands and Mesopotamia**

The European explorers and archaeologists also concentrated in biblical archaeology in the nineteenth century. As a result, some archaeological researches were conducted in Egypt and Palestine, and expanded to Mesopotamia.

Differently from the early expeditions aimed to remove Egyptian artifacts, the researches by the name of biblical archaeology were conducted in Egypt during the nineteenth century, because the scholars did not disregard the fact that Egypt had been mentioned in the Old Testament, especially in Genesis

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<sup>194</sup> Esin, *Heinrich Schliemann. Kazı Raporları ve Mektuplarından Seçme Parçalarla Troya*, İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası A.Ş., 1991, p. 63.

<sup>195</sup> Esin, 1991, p. 8.

<sup>196</sup> Kurt Bittel, "The German Perspective and the German Archaeological Institute", *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 84, No. 3, (Jul., 1980), p. 274.

and Exodus.<sup>197</sup> However, the core area of research within the biblical archaeology was Palestine. For such a biblical research, America sent a scholar to Palestine whose name was Edward Robinson from Union Theological Seminary.<sup>198</sup> Robinson was the pioneer men who studied the Old Testament and wanted to find holy settlements mentioned in the book in order to refute the critics. For this purpose, Robinson traveled to Palestine that was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in 1838 and 1852. During his exploration, he used the geographical information of the Old Testament and compared them with current settlement names; and he ascertained that holy cities could be described through his method.<sup>199</sup> In 1865, the Palestine Exploration Fund was institutionalized in order to prove the authenticity of the Old Testament.<sup>200</sup> The British Royal engineers of the fund made systematic researches, and compiled detailed topographic maps of the region.<sup>201</sup> However, most of the researches conducted in Palestine during the nineteenth century were limited with surveys, and recording the monuments on the surface. Small size excavations were conducted in Jerusalem and its surrounding. The beginning of systematic excavations, on the other hand, was related with a European archaeologist, Sir Flinders Petrie who was the first to understand the importance of stratigraphy in the excavations at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>202</sup>

These Biblical researches mentioned above carried great importance for the history of Near Eastern archaeology. Many ancient settlements were discovered; and these researches were expanded to Mesopotamia. As the height of some mounds was above 50 meters, the researches were deepened, in other words, touched down through the unknown. As a result, it was understood that not only the humans existed before the Old Testament, but also they created an advanced civilization. The fact that the civilization started in these territories

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<sup>197</sup> Diaz-Andreu, p. 137.

<sup>198</sup> G. Ernest Wright, "The Phenomenon of American Archaeology in the Near East", in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the 20th century*, ed. by James A. Sanders, 1970, p. 3.

<sup>199</sup> Finkelstein, Silberman, p. 22.

<sup>200</sup> Shaw, p. 62.

<sup>201</sup> Finkelstein, Silberman, p. 22.

<sup>202</sup> Ofer Bar-Yosef, Aminai Masar, "Israeli Archaeology", *World Archaeology*, Vol. 13, No. 3, *Regional Traditions of Archaeological Research II*, (Feb., 1982), p. 310.

more earlier than the other parts of the world was attracted the attention of European scholars; and a new approach focused on Mesopotamia in relation with the history of civilization among the European states appeared.<sup>203</sup>

The historical importance of Mesopotamian lands was also recognized by some early travelers such as Pietro Della Valle, an Italian traveler, journeyed to the Eastern Mediterranean in the seventeenth century. Della Valle returned home with a notable collection of curiosities among which some square bricks inscribed with an unknown writing system.<sup>204</sup> These findings of Della Valle caused considerable interest in Europe. Moreover, he traveled to Holy Land and Egypt. Finally, he arrived to Babylon, and he became the first European traveler to visit this ancient city.<sup>205</sup>

In the eighteenth century, German traveler Carsten Niebuhr mapped the ancient city Nineveh in 1766. In the nineteenth century, British Claudius Rich who was a linguist and Asian scholar, made his surveys in the ruins of Babylon in 1811, and of Nineveh in 1820 on excursions from his post as Baghdad Resident of East India Company.<sup>206</sup>

As the Mesopotamian lands became important, archaeological activities of the Europeans started as from the 1840's. First British and French, then German and American explorers began to make systematic researches in order to enlighten Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties. In the nineteenth century, there were especially three important explorers to be mentioned: Sir Austen Henry Layard, Hormuzd Rassam and Paul Emile Botta. Their discoveries caused great excitement in Europe.

Paul Emile Botta was the first European who excavated Neo-Assyrian sites in Mesopotamia. His expedition to the Mesopotamian lands was realized through the attempts of French Asiatic Society whose members were deeply interested with cuneiform studies. The cuneiform tablets, which first arrived to

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<sup>203</sup> Özdoğan, 2006, pp. 47-48.

<sup>204</sup> See Appendix 8.

<sup>205</sup> Brian M. Fagan, *Return to Babylon, Travelers, Archaeologists, and Monuments in Mesopotamia*, University Press of Colorado, 2007, pp. 29-31.

<sup>206</sup> Roger Matthews, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia, Theories and Approaches*, London & New York: Routledge, 2003, p. 4.

France by early explorers such as Claudius Rich as mentioned before, attracted the attention of French scholars. However, some of the inscriptions were missing; and the members of Asiatic Society urged the government about the need of a consul and researcher who would represent them in Mosul and conduct excavations in Nineveh where the first cuneiform tablets came from. According to French scholars, such excavations would not only bring in to the Louvre Museum more artifacts, but also would increase France's reputation as a leader in the fine arts. As a result, Paul Emile Botta was assigned as a consul in Mosul in 1843.<sup>207</sup> While realizing his diplomatic mission, he started his excavations in Nineveh where he could only find some insignificant bricks and historical artifacts. Then he switched the researches to Khorsabad from which some villagers brought unscripted bricks. Between 1843 and 1845, Botta discovered many important remains from this Assyrian antic city such as unscripted bricks and bas-relieves depicting expedition and war scenes; and he brought all these artifacts and their drawings to the Louvre Museum.<sup>208</sup> However, during the discoveries, he faced with great difficulties caused by an Ottoman officer. In his letters to Jules Mohl, Botta reflected his annoyance due to the attitude of Pasha de Mosul, named Mehmet. Mehmet Pasha once restrained the purchase of villagers' houses. Moreover, sometimes, he put into prison the working man in order to stop the excavations. However, Botta swept all obstacles from his path, and successfully finished his mission as an archaeologist.<sup>209</sup>

The excavations of Emile Botta are important for two reasons. Firstly, the letters of Botta shows that the Ottoman authorities were not silent for European looting activities. However, their attempts to interrupt or stop the excavations could not pan out most probably due to the maneuvers of French government, and the French ambassador in Constantinople. Secondly, the excavations of Botta gave an inspiration to Henry Austen Layard who would

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<sup>207</sup> Fagan, pp. 98-100.

<sup>208</sup> M. J. Mohl (ed.), *Lettres de M. Botta sur Ses Découvertes a Khorsabad, Prés de Ninive*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845.

<sup>209</sup> Fagan, p. 98.

be the key figure in the Mesopotamian archaeology from the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, the discoveries of Botta led to a competition between Britain and France in terms of obtaining the antiquities of Mesopotamia.

Sir Austen Henry Layard's first visit to Mesopotamia was related with his business trip in 1839 during which he was fascinated by the beauty of historical remains. His sentiments could also be understood from his words: "We passed the Asia Minor and Syria from one end to the other. Now, I have devastating desire to go to the regions beyond the Euphrates which were designated by the historical narratives and Holy books as the birth place of Western civilization".<sup>210</sup> During his business trip, Layard also visited the ancient sites of Petra and Niniveh where he met with Paul Emile Botta; and he decided to conduct excavations in these lands.

From 1842 to 1845 Layard was assigned as the unofficial agent of the British Ambassador at Istanbul, Lord Stratford Canning.<sup>211</sup> In 1845, he went to Nimrud. In his first day of excavation, he discovered two Assyrian palaces, and many sculptures. In 1848, the Nimrud antiquities in fifty cases were shipped to London.<sup>212</sup> Layard transported many important artifacts such as the colossal winged bull statues<sup>213</sup> that he discovered from the Assyrian palaces to the British Museum. The arrival of such artifacts became a public event which was also announced in the newspapers of the day.<sup>214</sup> As the Assyrian exhibition were visited by the British bureaucracy and attracted their attention, the pressure on the museum to continue the excavations and find more sculptures grew. As a result, Layard was again sent to excavate Nineveh ruins, and to collect more sculptures and inscriptions. The excavations continued in 1849 and 1850, and Layard excavated both Nimrud and Kuyunjik; and he arrived in London in 1851.<sup>215</sup> As a result of his great discoveries in Nineveh, Henry

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<sup>210</sup> Austen Henry Layard, *Ninova ve Kalıntıları*, trans. by Zafer Avşar, İstanbul: Avesta Yayınları, 2000, p. 28.

<sup>211</sup> Jenkins, p. 155.

<sup>212</sup> Fagan, p. 115 and 130.

<sup>213</sup> See Appendix 9.

<sup>214</sup> Tanyeri-Erdemir, in press.

<sup>215</sup> Fagan, p. 133, 134-136.

Layard was rewarded with an honorary degree given by the University of Oxford.<sup>216</sup>

During his excavations, Layard was confronted with interesting cases. For instance, in 1849, the working men were shocked when the monumental winged bulls were discovered.<sup>217</sup> Another example comes from his diaries. While excavating the mound of Nimrud, Layard noted in his diaries some comments about the approaches of the local people towards his excavations<sup>218</sup>:

Believers of Islam were living about ten centuries in these territories. However none of them had heard something like underground palace...One European coming from abroad arrives to these lands, takes a stick in his hands and draws one line here, and another there...Where did you learn this? From the books or from your prophet?

Sir Austen Henry Layard, after his archaeological discoveries, gave up archaeology after his publication of Nineveh and Babylon. He spent his years in British Parliament, in the undersecretary for foreign affairs. Moreover, he was also assigned as ambassador to Spain and to Ottoman Empire.<sup>219</sup>

In his archaeological researches, Layard got the assistance of a Nestorian Christian named Hormuzd Rassam in Nimrud. Rassam was later trained in England, and was sent back to Nineveh and Nimrud in order to conduct further excavations for the British Museum. He accompanied Layard also in Babylon and Niffer excavations. In 1869, he joined to the Royal Geographical Society of London.<sup>220</sup> In spite of his great discoveries in Babylon in 1880's, he was never held in high estimation in European scientific spheres as Henry Layard.<sup>221</sup> However, it was important that a native man from Mosul trained him self, and became one of the most important archaeologists in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>216</sup> Yuluğ Tekin Kurat, *Henry Layard'ın İstanbul Elçiliği (1877-1880)*, Ankara: A. Ü. Basımevi, 1968, p. 9.

<sup>217</sup> Tanyeri-Erdemir, in press.

<sup>218</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.29.

<sup>219</sup> Samuel J. Hurwitz, "Layard of Niniveh", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 2, (Dec., 1968), pp. 615-616.

<sup>220</sup> J. L. M., "Obituary: Hormuzd Rassam", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1911, pp. 100-102.

<sup>221</sup> Özveren, pp. 93-94.

Another local figure also carries great importance while analyzing Mesopotamian archaeology during the nineteenth century. In 1854, Hilmi Pasha, who was the governor of Mosul, conducted an excavation which lasted nine months in Nebi Yunus, which was considered as a holy settlement by the local people because it was assumed the burial place of the prophet Jonah from the Old Testament. Hilmi Pasha tried to use the methods of European archaeologists. Moreover, he tried to secure all valuable artifacts for the furtherance of Ottoman Imperial Museum.<sup>222</sup>

Following Layard, Botta and Rassam's excavations, other British and French explorers came to Mesopotamian lands. British explorers, such as Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Loftus, and Mr. Taylor conducted excavations in Borsippa, Barka, Ur and Tell Sifr from 1849 onwards.

In 1880's, long term French excavations started in Mesopotamia. Ernest de Sarzec who was French Vice-Consul in Baghdad conducted excavations in the Sumerian city Telloh (Lagas) between 1877 and 1881. The antic treasures discovered from this territory was great in number that a new section was opened in the Louvre Museum as "Oriental Antiquities".<sup>223</sup> Among these oriental antiquities, especially newly arrived artifacts from Telloh such as the stela of vultures and diorite statues of the rulers of Lagas attracted the attention of French, and encouraged them to conduct more excavations.<sup>224</sup> Although Sarzec wanted to continue his excavations, his plans were delayed until 1888 because of assignment of Osman Hamdi Bey as the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum. Sarzecs' negotiations with Osman Hamdi Bey led to a good result in 1888; and he started to his excavations in Telloh. However, this time, the artifacts discovered by Sarzec were given to the Ottoman Museum.<sup>225</sup> This

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<sup>222</sup> Tanyeri-Erdemir, in press

<sup>223</sup> Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)", in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. by D. Shankland, İstanbul: İsis Press, 2004, p.133.

<sup>224</sup> Matthews, pp. 10-11.

<sup>225</sup> Eldem, 2004, p. 133.

circumstance was a success of Osman Hamdi who promulgated a new ancient monument law which prohibited old artifact smugglings.

At the end of the nineteenth century, German scholars appeared in the Mesopotamian lands. Although German archaeologists were very active in Anatolian archaeology during the nineteenth century, they were late in Mesopotamian. In 1898, they founded the German Oriental Society which sponsored Babylon excavations until the First World War.<sup>226</sup>

Mesopotamian excavations opened a new page in the history of civilization. First of all, a new chronology was developed in Europe that emphasized the superiority of the Europeans in the narratives of civilization. This diffusionist approach indicated that the civilization birth place was Near East. In the following process, Near East retrogressed, and gave its accumulation first to the ancient Greek civilization, then to the Western Europe.<sup>227</sup> This historical thesis developed by the Europeans served to the legitimating both Europe's colonialist activities in these lands and their claims over the old artifact treasures of Mesopotamia.

Secondly, through these excavations, some antic cities as Babylon and Nineveh began to be examined with their monuments, artifacts and inscriptions. Moreover, their military expeditions, wars, political affairs, and their relations with other city-states and civilizations were investigated through the inscriptions written with cuneiform. As a result of these investigations, the exact dates of Israelite kings, Egyptian pharaohs, Assyrian and Babylonian kings were chronologically ordered.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Matthews, p. 12.

<sup>227</sup> Shaw, p. 65.

<sup>228</sup> Finkelstein, Silberman, p. 23.

## CHAPTER 3

### A PIONEER IN THE OTTOMAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEOLOGY: OSMAN HAMDİ BEY

#### 3.1. An Introduction to Osman Hamdi Bey

The appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey as the director of Imperial Museum after the death of Anton Dethier in a period witnessing a consistent traffic of the smuggling of the ancient relics in the country could be considered as a great turning point for the history of archeology, art and law of ancient monuments. Throughout his life of sixty-eight years, Osman Hamdi Bey was active in various fields; such as science, arts and institutional management. As well as his leadership talents, such qualifications enabled him to pioneer in the Turkish cultural life. One of his greatest achievements is no doubt the fact that he single-handedly turned the ailing Istanbul Archaeology Museum into one of the most important museums of the world under his management, with great efforts. This fact, Osman Hamdi Bey is considered by many as the founding father of Turkish Museology.

In order to conceive the success of Osman Hamdi Bey and his great talent, it is crucial to analyze his historical background within the framework of his education and family life. Undoubtedly, both the advises of his father educated in Europe, Edhem Pasha, and his own observations in Europe where he had lived for a long time had important contributions to his further achievements.

Osman Hamdi was born on December 30, 1842 as the eldest son of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha and Fatma Hanım, daughter of Hacı Mustafa Aga. If his family is observed closely, his father; Ibrahim Edhem Pasha appears as the first outstanding personality.<sup>229</sup> İbrahim Edhem Pasha was one of the members of the household of Kaptan-ı Derya Hüsrev Pasha. During Mahmut II era, a revolt

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<sup>229</sup> This information was taken from the clipboard of İstanbul Archaeology Museum.

occurred in Chios. After the suppression of this revolt, some children were brought from the island to Istanbul as slaves. Kaptan-ı Derya Hüsrev Pasha adopted some of these children, and İbrahim Edhem was among these children. Hüsrev Pasha, who had never have a child, accepted them as his own and aimed to train and educate them. In order to realize this purpose, he wanted to educate these children in France by meeting their education expenses; and he introduced them to the Sultan. After having obtained his approval, he sent them to France in 1829.<sup>230</sup> İbrahim Edhem was one of the first Ottoman students sent to Europe for education. He graduated from “Institution Barbet” in Paris in 1835; and then he finished the Paris Mining School with the highest degree. He became one of the first Ottoman mining engineers. He also introduced the science of geology to the Ottoman Empire. As he was the first person using the term of “geology”, he made important contributions to the development of this science in the Empire. Moreover, he was the first to introduce metric and decimal systems to the Empire.<sup>231</sup> İbrahim Edhem Pasha was brought up with both Ottoman and European values. After returning to the empire as a mining engineer, he performed in administrative and military positions instead of continuing his own profession. Moreover, he also represented the Ottoman Empire in both Berlin and Vienna as the ambassador.<sup>232</sup> He served as *Şura-yı Devlet Başkanı* (President of the Council of the State) between December 26, 1876 and February 5, 1877. Then he was appointed as the Grand Vizier and he served in this post until February 11, 1873.<sup>233</sup>

Edhem Pasha had four children; the eldest one was Osman Hamdi; and the others were İsmail Galip, Mustafa and Halil Edhem. Here it is important to point out that all of these mentioned children of Edhem Pasha were well informed about arts and ancient monuments. To better provide an example, we can cite the fact that his brother Halil Edhem Bey was appointed as the head of the Imperial Museum upon the death of Osman Hamdi Bey. One of his other

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<sup>230</sup> Cezar, 1987, pp.8-9.

<sup>231</sup> Gerçek, pp.316-317.

<sup>232</sup> Arif Müfid Mansel, “Osman Hamdi Bey”, *Belleten*, Cilt. XXIV, 1960, p.291.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.* p. 293.

brothers, Ismail Galip Bey was among the greatest numismatists of his time. He catalogued the coins belonging to the early Islamic period; published two catalogues for the Imperial Museum: *Meskukat-ı Türkmaniye Catalogue* and the *Müze-i Hümayun Meskukat-ı Kadime-i İslamiye Catalogue*.<sup>234</sup>

Osman Hamdi's own son, Edhem Hamdi Bey also followed the family tradition. He had a very good education in French. He also worked at the same museum and conducted archeological excavations at Araphisar and Aydın. As a result of these successful excavations, many new artifacts were displayed at the museum. Osman Hamdi's daughter, Leyla Hanım, was married to Mehmet Vahit Bey who had a great interest in ancient artifacts and History of Art.<sup>235</sup> Mehmet Vahit Bey also contributed to the Turkish cultural life both before and during the Republican Era. He wrote important books and articles on fine arts, art history, art of soldiery, aesthetic and art critics. Furthermore, between the years 1908 and 1931 he instructed in the Academy of Fine Arts, established by his father-in-law Osman Hamdi.<sup>236</sup>

The importance of this family has also been stated by Mustafa Cezar:

The history of those who contributed to the development of civilization has long been studied. In time, the history of the families that provided a similar contribution will also be studied. Edhem Pasha and his family fit this description and it is worth to write novels on them. At the time, leading a European life was a privilege only available to very few. During the years of decadence, the right of protection of old artifacts as a privilege was given to Edhem Pasha and his family through implicit permit. In other words, all the works regarding the old artifacts issue seemed to have been entrusted to that family.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Abdülhak Şinasi, “Bizde Müzeciliğin Başlangıçları, *Ülkü Halkevleri Mecmuası II*, No. 8, 1933, p.137.

<sup>235</sup> Taha Toros, “Osman Hamdi Bey ve Çevresi”, *Tarih Toplum*, Cilt: 14, Sayı: 83, Kasım 1990, pp.27-28

<sup>236</sup> Kahraman Bostancı, *Mehmet Vahit Bey ve Güzel Sanatlar Üzerine Bir Terminoloji Risalesi*, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2008, p. 2.

<sup>237</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.137.

### 3.2. Education and Professional Life of Osman Hamdi Bey

Osman Hamdi Bey started primary school in Beşiktaş and he continued to his education in *Maarif-i Adliye* (the School of Judicial Education).<sup>238</sup> Then, Osman Hamdi was sent to Paris to study law in 1857. Although he continued to the law education a little while, he did not graduate from this school, because he was more interested in fine arts. His father had advised Osman Hamdi when he sent him to Paris: “Never choose the art of painting, you would become poor. Our country is not giving enough importance to this art”. However Osman Hamdi fully devoted himself to the art of painting. During the years that Osman Hamdi was in Paris, there were official schools and private workshops which provided fine arts education. Osman Hamdi attended both institutions. However, private workshops where he worked with famous painters of the period such as Boulangier and Gerome, affected Osman Hamdi’s art more than the official school. In addition, Osman Hamdi also attended archaeology classes in Paris.<sup>239</sup>

European experience had important influences on Osman Hamdi’s professional life. After taking the science and the art of the West, he returned to his country as an experienced person, and he contributed to the Ottoman-Turkish modernization process. However, France became his second home. According to Salomon Reinach, Osman Hamdi had two adherences: he was the Parisienne of the Ottomans, the most Ottoman of the Parisienne.<sup>240</sup>

Before analyzing his successful attempts and studies in the Ottoman cultural life, it would be appropriate to summarize his official employments after his return from Europe.

First employment of Osman Hamdi was in Baghdad in 1869 when he accompanied with Midhat Pasha, and assigned to the *Vilayet Umur-u Ecnebiye Müdürlüğü* (the Office of the Provincial Directorate of Foreign Affairs). Basic reason behind his appointment to this office was the close friendship between

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<sup>238</sup> Refik Epikman, *Osman Hamdi (1842-1910)*, İstanbul: M.E.B. Yayınları, 1967, p.1.

<sup>239</sup> Cezar, 1987, pp.10-11.

<sup>240</sup> Eldem, 2004, p.124.

his father Edhem Pasha and Mithat Pasha, and his proficiency in French. His mission in this office was coordinating the relations with the Europeans and the related official correspondences. The years when Osman Hamdi worked with Mithat Pasha played an important role in the development of his political views.<sup>241</sup> Through this mission, Osman Hamdi began to deal with social and political affairs. In other words, he faced with the political context of the Ottoman Empire for the first time; the realities of the Empire triggered his patriotic feelings. Although he was a proponent of being with accordance with the West in terms of cultural affairs, he was against the Western political suppression.<sup>242</sup>

After returning from Baghdad, Osman Hamdi Bey continued to work in assignments where he could use his ability in French. In 1871, he was assigned as the *Teşrifat-ı Hariciye Müdür Muavinliği* (Assistant Director for the Directorate of Foreign Protocol) where his function was to deal with the protocol affairs of the foreign ambassadors. In 1875, he became *Hariciye Umur-u Ecnebiye Katibi* (Secretary in the Foreign Affairs Directorate). In 1876, he was appointed to the *Matbuat- ı Ecnebiye Müdürlüğü* (the Bureau of Foreign Press). Lastly, he was employed in the *Beyoğlu Altıncı Daire Belediye Müdürlüğü* (Mayor to the Sixth Municipal District of Pera and Galata) in 1877.<sup>243</sup>

Osman Hamdi had also some additional employments. He was the commissary in the assignation department of the *Düyun-u Umumiye* (Public Debt Administration). Moreover, he was the chairman and associate of the *Tütün Rejisi* (Tobacco Reggie) and some banks.<sup>244</sup>

In brief, coming from abroad in 1869, Osman Hamdi officiated in different departments until 1881 when he was assigned to the Directorship of the Imperial Museum. After such official bureaucratic works, while it has been

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<sup>241</sup> Arif Müfid Mansel, 1959, p.192.

<sup>242</sup> Eldem, "Osman Hamdi Bey'in Bağdat Vilayetindeki Görevi Sırasında Babası Edhem Paşaya Mektupları", *1. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi, Bildiriler*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 69-72.

<sup>243</sup> Belgin Demirsar, *Osman Hamdi Tablolarında Gerçekle İlişkiler*, Yayınlanmış Sanat Tarihi Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul, 1987, pp.7-8.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

expected that he would continue to his professional life as a high degree official or as an ambassador, Osman Hamdi became the new director of the museum, and he proceeded in the Ottoman cultural life.

Osman Hamdi was closely interested in cultural and artistic events while he was in Europe. He may get the chance to observe European cultural life by visiting the museums and the exhibitions; and he saw there that culture was not an actual concept. He understood that culture had a historical dimension that passed from one generation to another and this historical phenomenon had also some institutions.<sup>245</sup> These experiences played an important role in his career in the scientific and cultural arenas. Acting very consciously in the cultural and artistic affairs, he founded two monumental institutions: Istanbul Archaeology Museum, and the Academy of Fine Arts. He also published two regulations concerning the ancient monuments.

### **3.3. Osman Hamdi Bey as a Museologist**

Interest towards the fine arts began to rise in the Ottoman Empire during the 1870's. For instance, articles about the areas such as painting, sculpture and architecture began to appear in the newspapers of the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the concepts of "old artifact" and "museum" became more and more important within the Ottoman society. With the lead of these developments, a museum commission was established in 1877. The idea of proposing a commission came from *Meclis-i Maarif-i Kebir* (the Grand Council of Education). Briefly, the duties of the commission were the accomplishment of the reparation of the famous Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*), the transportation of the artifacts to this building, which was decided to serve as a new museum; and the classification and arrangement of the artifacts to be exhibited. Guaranteeing the administration of the museum for upcoming years; introducing basic procedures to be followed in the research of old artifacts; and

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<sup>245</sup> İsmail Tunalı, "Batılılaşma Sürecimizin Doruk Noktalarından Biri", in *I. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi, Bildiriler*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 165.

preparing the necessary regulations in order to exercise all of the duties mentioned above were also among the duties of the commission.<sup>246</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey was among the members of the commission, which allowed him to begin to approach in museology for the first time. The next important development would be his assignment to the Directorship of the Imperial Museum.

After the decease of Anton Dethier, a common belief was that Mr. Millhofer would become the director of the museum; however, Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed to this administrative post. It is important to understand the reason behind his employment for this position; in other words, why the museum was entrusted to a Turkish man instead of a foreigner, who had administrated the museum for many years.

Although there are still many questions regarding his assignment, some articles are useful to enlighten this aspect. In an article written in *Servet-i Fünun*, one of the important publications of the time, it was written that because God granted the development of the museum to Sultan Abdülhamit, the assignment of a capable person to the directorship of the museum was a special providence. Similarly, in an article of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, a periodical published in Paris, dated to February 1, 1882, the reason of Osman Hamdi's assignment was explained away his previous achievements and employments in the state. Moreover, it was also noted that Sultan Abdülhamit II's decision to appoint a person who had previously served in important official positions, such as the ministry of foreign affairs, to the directory of the museum should be appreciate. Another article pointed that the decision to appoint an Ottoman agent to the directorship was related with the frustration caused by the first experiences with foreign directors.<sup>247</sup>

The reasons of this appointment were also discussed in *Servet-i Fünun* newspaper. Vahit Bey, a journalist of this newspaper concluded that the Ottoman bureaucracy decided to try an Ottoman director in the museum after

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<sup>246</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.184-186.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., p.188.

the frustrating experiences with foreign directors, and Osman Hamdi who educated in Europe, and experienced in arts would be the most suitable person for this task.<sup>248</sup>

In the decision of sultan about appointing Osman Hamdi to the museum, some recommendations were also effective. For instance, Osman Hamdi's father Edhem Pasha undoubtedly had an influence in this decision. Ibrahim Edhem Pasha was a successful person who worked for both administrative and political assignments; and he had personal contacts with high grade state officials. He might have been broke this matter to his companions who were high state bureaucrats.<sup>249</sup> Moreover, Münir Pasha, who was the Minister of Protocol and friend of Osman Hamdi from the school, recommended Osman Hamdi to the Sultan. In addition to these recommendations, Osman Hamdi's great achievements in his previous employments, his skill in foreign languages, his vast knowledge in arts played an important role in his appointment. As his previous accomplishments are taken into consideration, it is obvious that great performance was expected from him. In other words, developing the museum, and introducing the Empire in Western countries in terms of museological studies were expected from Osman Hamdi who had perfectly represented his country in abroad until that period. Moreover, it might have been thought that the appointment of a younger person, as compared with Dethier, to the museum directorship would give a new spirit and dynamism to the museum.

In September 11, 1881 Osman Hamdi became the new director of the museum; and a new era started with him in Turkish archaeology.<sup>250</sup>

One of the first tasks that Osman Hamdi accomplished just after his employment in the museum was the modification of the Tilled Pavilion. As it is well known, during the time period before Osman Hamdi's employment to the museum, the Tilled Pavilion of Fatih Sultan Mehmet Era had been modified as a museum. In other words, the tiles of the building that were really magnificent

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<sup>248</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.188-189.

<sup>249</sup> Demirsar, p.10.

<sup>250</sup> Ortaylı, 2005, p. 169.

works of art had been covered with plaster by Monteroana. On the other hand, Osman Hamdi had the plaster on the tiles removed while restoring this museum in order to correct the fault made by unskilled persons.<sup>251</sup> During the time period following the modifications in the Tilled Pavilion, the necessity of constructing a new museum building emerged by reason of the new oncoming artifacts to the museum. Osman Hamdi decided to construct a new museum because of the space problem in the old museum and also because of the fact that the sarcophagi coming from the ancient settlement of Saida could not be placed in the museum building.<sup>252</sup>

Osman Hamdi Bey charged architect Alexander Vallauray with the duty of drawing the plan of the new museum building. Moreover, he wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education about the necessity of a new museum building. In this letter, Osman Hamdi noted that the building of a new museum was required due to eleven sarcophagi that came from the ancient settlement Saida and the increase in the number of artifacts coming from other excavations. In addition, after giving the expenses of the construction, he emphasized the urgency of the construction permit in order to protect the sarcophagi. As a result, after getting the permit, the construction process was started immediately.<sup>253</sup> The influx of old artifacts to the museum was still continuing during the construction. For instance, Ahmet Refik Efendi, who was a pharmacist in Amasra, presented sixteen pieces of objects to Osman Hamdi; and as their historical value was predicted by Osman Hamdi, they were brought to the museum.<sup>254</sup> Osman Hamdi, who had a deep prevision, took into consideration the fact that more artifacts would come to the museum from the conducted excavations in the Ottoman territories. Realizing that this new building would not be sufficient for the upcoming artifacts, he convinced the dignity of the Ottoman Empire for the construction of the second floor.<sup>255</sup> On

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<sup>251</sup> Gerçek, p.111.

<sup>252</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.192-193.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid. p.201.

<sup>254</sup> Ortaylı, 1992, p.30.

<sup>255</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.201-202.

the other hand, before Osman Hamdi's demand, an order had come from the palace. According to this order, Sultan Abdülhamit II had a collection of imbued animals in the Yıldız Palace, and because this collection started to decompose and there was not enough space for this collection in the palace, it was requested from Osman Hamdi to place this collection in the new museum building which would protect it. Osman Hamdi took advantage of this circumstance; and he demanded a second floor in order to display this collection in the museum.<sup>256</sup> As a result, the first of the museum was constructed in a domain of 61x13 meters. This new museum was opened in June 13, 1891 with two storeys.<sup>257</sup> The entrance of the building that was constructed across the Tilled Pavilion was imitated to an antic temple front that had triangle façade and four columns. All the sarcophagi and some antic sculptures were brought to this new building. The artifacts belonging to the Sumerians, Assyrians, and Babylonians and Turkish-Islamic cultures were also exhibited in the upper floor. In addition, the catalogue of this new museum was prepared by famous French archaeologist A. Joubin; and was published in 1893 with the name of *Luhud ve Mekabir-i Atika*.<sup>258</sup> The new building was called both as "The Museum of Sarcophagi" and "The Museum of Old Artifacts", it was critically important as it was among the first ten museum buildings around the world.<sup>259</sup> An author who visited the museum after its opening gave utterance to his appreciation with these words:<sup>260</sup> "Me, only look at me! Presently, I am not only a museum that harbors many old artifacts and excellences. I am an impression of an excellent work of art as well". Actually, this appreciation should be dedicated to Osman Hamdi. He spent great efforts to provide material resources and to accomplish such kind of innovations in a period when the Ottoman Empire was in narrow straits. Through his persuasive

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<sup>256</sup> Gerçek, p.119.

<sup>257</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.310.

<sup>258</sup> Gerçek, pp.119-120.

<sup>259</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.308.

<sup>260</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.202.

ability in solving the problems, the Ottoman Empire got a new museum building that could compete with its European counterparts.

The funding for the construction of the new museum was mostly rendered from the Public Debtor upon the request of the Ministry of Education. Since Osman Hamdi was a member of this agency, the construction process was accomplished without any problem.<sup>261</sup> Moreover, Osman Hamdi Bey created some new fundings to finance the museum. The selling of some materials such as imitations, photographs or catalogues to raise revenue for the museum was his first attempt.<sup>262</sup> Secondly, he brought in a new tax system, “*centime additionnelle*”, in order to develop a material support for the archaeological excavations and old artifact restoration. This tax would be taken through charges from the stamps sent to other provinces.<sup>263</sup>

Osman Hamdi had another contribution to the Imperial Museum which was the publication of a museum regulation composed of five chapters and forty-three clauses on May 13, 1889. In brief, this regulation ascribed the terms of museum administration and the duties of the museum staff. One of the most important points in this regulation was the matter of old artifact restoration. And the regulation also brought the idea of the establishment of provincial museums to the agenda for the first time. Furthermore, the regulation established the first Ancient Monuments Organization in the Ottoman Empire, and the director of the museum was going to be the supervisor of this organization.<sup>264</sup> Thus a movement of museology in the Ottoman Empire started in harmony with the requirements of the age.

In the period following these developments, the need of space returned to the agenda due to the increase in the monuments in the museum by the day. In 1891, the reliefs of the antic city of Muğla Lagina were delivered to Istanbul by Osman Hamdi Bey. Moreover, the reliefs of the Artemis temple, uncovered

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<sup>261</sup> Ogan, 1947, p. 13.

<sup>262</sup> Gerçek, p.128.

<sup>263</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e...*, p.47.

<sup>264</sup> Ahmet Mumcu, “Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt. XXVI, Sayı: 3-4, 1969, p. 74.

by the excavations in Magnesia, conducted by the German archeologists, were taken to the museum in 1893. In short, the new building could not be able to expose all these new antiquities.<sup>265</sup> In this aspect, Osman Hamdi Bey wrote a petition to the ministry on February 6, 1901, in which he requested one extra hall for the museum. In this petition, Osman Hamdi also mentioned that these ventures were so important in Europe. According to Osman Hamdi, with regard to the European museums, the budget needed for the new hall of the museum was so low. Essentially, the main concern of Osman Hamdi Bey was that the works which had been blanchied from underground and transferred to the museum by archaeologists with several spiritual and material compromises, started to mold and decompose within the wooden cases. Therefore, Osman Hamdi Bey asked the Ministry of Education to take the necessary measures to deal with the problems of protecting the old artifacts.<sup>266</sup>

In the period after the composition of this petition, it was decided to build a new hall near to the north side of the first building and the construction started on September 1, 1898. The construction of this leaf, designed by A. Vallauray, was conducted by architecture and painter Philippe Bello and it was opened on November 7, 1903.<sup>267</sup> In this new building, there were two lounges; the Hittite artifacts were exposed in one lounge and in the other one, Byzantine works and the Sidamara sarcophagus. In the inauguration ceremony, Osman Hamdi Bey made a speech. This was published in the newspaper of *İkdam* and after the last lines of the speech these statements were added:

We considered to consecrate and to thank his Excellency, Osman Hamdi Bey, the founder of the knowledge of ancient monuments in our country and [the expert] in making us to be proud of our museum for being Ottoman with his competency and full authority and his Excellency Halil Efendi, the assistant director and the officers and the personals of the mentioned office as a duty appreciative of merit.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.203.

<sup>266</sup> Gerçek, p.123.

<sup>267</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.310.

<sup>268</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.206.

After the construction of the second building described above, there occurred the need to construct a third wing. Mustafa Cezar explains that Osman Hamdi Bey took into consideration the economic conditions of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century and in order not to exaggerate the needs for it among the bureaucrats; he decided a gradual construction process.<sup>269</sup> The construction ceremony for the third wing of the building was done on September 1, 1904. This new wing constructed in the south side of the building was also designed by A. Vallaury; and the management of the construction was carried out by Halil Edhem Bey.<sup>270</sup> This part was going to lie down along the south wing of the first building and was going to make an L shape with a courtyard in the center towards the west. The monumental entrance in the first part of the museum was also constructed in the third wing in order to compensate the façade of the building. All statues and reliefs in the Tilled Pavilion were transferred to the museum.<sup>271</sup>

Finally, the Archeological Museum of Istanbul<sup>272</sup>, or Müze-i Hümayûn as it was called in that period, which was built by the initiative of Osman Hamdi Bey, was 192 meter in length and was settled on an area of 9000 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>273</sup> The location of the museum was in an overbuilt area. It was constructed, concerning its position, in the north of the courtyard of the Topkapı Palace; towards the Golden Horde, between the Gülhane Park, Topkapı Palace and Darphane, the Mint; in other words in one of the most populous area of the city. Its architecture, with its front line decorated with columned entrances and façades exemplifying the Ancient Greek temple architecture, reflected the “fashion” in the museum architecture of the period which was Neo-Classic in that period, and its historicist approach.<sup>274</sup> The last organization and structure of the new museum building by Osman Hamdi Bey, and the transformation of

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<sup>269</sup> Cezar, 1987, p.16.

<sup>270</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.310.

<sup>271</sup> Gerçek, p.124.

<sup>272</sup> See Appendix 10.

<sup>273</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.310.

<sup>274</sup> Burçak Madran, Şebnem Önal, “Yerellikten Küreselliğe Uzanan Çizgide Tarihin Çok Paylaşımlı Vitrinleri: Müzeler ve Sunumları”, in *Müzecilikte Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları*, 2000, p.176.

the Tilled Pavilion to the Museum of Islamic Arts was discussed in details by Gustave Mendel. According to Mendel, this new museum was a building, embraced history between its two wings and protected it as a great and gentle grand father. However, it did not have florid and colorful tiles or rich marble facings like the Tilled Pavilion; it had a simple architecture showing itself with its blaze windows decorated with strong façades and it did not have any other decoration other than the antic statues. In the galleries of the north side of the building, the works from the Greek and Roman periods were generally exposed. These included little works, architectural components, and monumental statues and relieves. For instance, the sarcophagus of Sidamara carried from Miletus, the components of the temple of Apollon of Didim, Ionic capitals, the reliefs of the temple of Lagina Hekate, the relieves of the ancient temple in Assos were exposed there. In its south wing, there were most of the works from Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. Some of the most beautiful reliefs were also exposed in the museum.<sup>275</sup>

Mendel's works are so important in order to understand the characteristics of the works exposed in the museum in this period. He gives a plan of the new museum, classifies the works according to the expedition lounges, and discusses them in details. Furthermore, he mentions the cultural impacts over the works, their architectural structures and details as well as the photographs of some of them; he, thus, underlines an important work having great contributions to the scientific world.

Considering the works of Mendel, Osman Hamdi Bey did not only enforce the construction of a monumental museum building and two extra wings, but he also worked on the works exposed there; he classified and arranged scientifically all of the displayed archeological works. He conducted archeological excavations personally, prepared reports about these excavations and presented them to the scientific circles. In these presentations, Osman Hamdi Bey also benefited from the foreign scholars. For example, with the mediation of the French Ambassador Tissou, Osman Hamdi Bey called

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<sup>275</sup>Gustave Mendel, *Les Nouvelles Salles du Musee de Constantinople*, Paris, 1909, 253-266.

Salomon Reinach, a famous art historian and a member of the French committee; and Osman Hamdi made the arrangements of division and classification of the works.<sup>276</sup> Reinach who was a great specialist of antiquity conducting several archeological research in Greece, Anatolia and Africa, started to work soon after coming Istanbul, he published the first catalogue of the works exposed in the Tilled Pavilion, *Catalogue du Musée Impériale d'Antiquités Constantinople* in 1882.<sup>277</sup> Other published catalogues also appeared in his academic works. Two catalogues, published by the contributions of Osman Hamdi Bey, were very important in this period. These mentioned catalogues were prepared also by Gustav Mendel and published as the catalogues of the figures of terracotta and the works of sculpture. These catalogues including both antic figures and the Greek, Roman and Byzantine sculptures which had been presented to the scholarly circles, were the practical works prepared carefully, with detailed information. The sarcophaguses found by Osman Hamdi Bey in Saida antic city appeared in the first volume of the catalogue of the works of sculpture.<sup>278</sup>

### **3.4. Osman Hamdi Bey's Contribution to the Museology:**

The first contribution of Osman Hamdi Bey to the museology in Turkey was the construction of a museum building, which was the first museum planned as an archeological museum in the world.<sup>279</sup> Moreover, he opened a new systematic and scientific era in the field of museology. Alpay Pasinli stated that the system about the museology founded by Osman Hamdi Bey is still being used in Turkey. The questions of how a work of art is taken in to the museum, or how it is registered were answered by him. For example, Osman Hamdi Bey introduced the register systems as the register of province and

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<sup>276</sup> Epikman, p.5.

<sup>277</sup> Gerçek, p.112

<sup>278</sup> Gustave Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantine, Konstantiniyye*, 1912, p.14

<sup>279</sup> Alpay Pasinli, "Bugün Bile Çağdaş Olabilen Çok Yönlü Bir Kişilik" in *Hürriyet Gösteri*, Sayı: 119, (Ekim, 1990), p.26.

repertoire, and created a perfect system. Today, in Turkey, museological activities are based on these systems with minor changes.<sup>280</sup>

Another contribution of Osman Hamdi Bey to the Ottoman Imperial Museum was the foundation of an archeological library in the upper floor of the museum. Almost all of the books and scientific journals in this library were contributed by Osman Hamdi Bey himself, his friends, or the foreign associations as present or donation. The number of the books in the library was 15 thousand books in Osman Hamdi's time and it prospered only with his efforts.<sup>281</sup> This attempt of Osman Hamdi Bey is very important concerning his awareness about the contributions to the museums and to the knowledge, because he accepted the museums as important associations for education and research.

The museological activities of Osman Hamdi Bey were not limited to Istanbul, in his period basics of the regional city museums were established; he founded depots of old artifacts in Thessalonica, Sivas, Bursa and Konya.<sup>282</sup> The Bursa Museum was inaugurated in 1904 and the catalogue of this museum was also prepared by Gustave Mendel.<sup>283</sup>

In short, Osman Hamdi Bey, who became a member of the museum commission since 1878, was appointed as the director of the museum in 1881 and he was the most suitable person for this job. Museology, placed in a cultural atmosphere, came together with his desire of art and history, he started a new systematic and scientific era in the field of museology and by rich catalogues, and the Imperial Museum of the Ottoman Empire prospered thanks to his efforts.

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid., p.27.

<sup>281</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.309.

<sup>282</sup> Madran, Önal, p.176.

<sup>283</sup> Arık, p.4.

### 3.5. Osman Hamdi Bey as an Archaeology Researcher

Although archaeology and museology are two different areas of specialization, they are intrinsically related with each other. Osman Hamdi Bey was active in both. He initially took archaeology lessons when he was in Paris, and although he did not receive a degree or certificate in archaeology department, he became a very successful archaeologist beginning from his first excavation. He has also cooperated with some well-known foreign archaeologists and museologists and invited them to Istanbul in order to be informed in archaeological studies through benefiting from their experiences. Later, he conducted all his archaeological researches and excavations on his own.<sup>284</sup> Salomon Reinach can be considered as the leading figure from which Osman Hamdi learned important archaeological knowledge, technique and know how. Osman Hamdi had expressed his gratitude to Reinach as follows: “When you were in Istanbul, maybe unconsciously, you were the one who formed my archaeological knowledge”.<sup>285</sup>

Other than Reinach, two other German scholars, Carl Humann and Alexander Conze, who gained reputation through Bergama excavations, had impact on Osman Hamdi’s archaeological career. Osman Hamdi mentioned them with gratitude<sup>286</sup>: “I learned excavation from Humann. Conze, however, was as happy from my success stories as if it was his own success. He denoted this many times both orally and written; and he always encouraged me to make further attempts”.

Osman Hamdi Bey engraved his name in Turkish History of Archaeology as the first Turkish archaeology researcher. Before Osman Hamdi, there had existed some other figures who conducted old artifact researches. Although their research could not be named as archaeological

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<sup>284</sup> Although many scholars called Osman Hamdi Bey as the first Turkish archaeologist, it would be more convenient to call him as the first Turkish archaeology researcher due to the fact that Osman Hamdi did not graduate from a school or university of archaeology.

<sup>285</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.215.

<sup>286</sup> Mansel, pp.295-296.

excavations, there had been the officers appointed by the state for a useful cause. For instance, Aristoklis Efendi, who was a member of the Education Ministry Assembly, was sent to Crete to conduct research. Besides him, from historical documents, it can be shown that an antiquity dealer applied to the ministry for the permit of excavating Bandırma-Belkıs ruins in 1878. However, it is unknown whether this excavation was actually realized or not.<sup>287</sup>

After these initial steps, Osman Hamdi directed some excavations between the years 1883 and 1895 in order to develop and enrich the Imperial Museum, where he was assigned as director. He conducted his first archaeological researches around Ayvalık and Bergama. Due to the fact that Osman Hamdi was very successful in this research that was conducted in order to discover the burial vaults, allowance was granted from the budget of the state to the Imperial Museum Administration.<sup>288</sup> After these first research projects, Osman Hamdi started his excavations in the Mount Nemrut. He then conducted excavations at Saida between 1887 and 1888, and at the temple of Hekate in Lagina between 1891 and 1892.<sup>289</sup> Besides these famous excavations, he also worked in the necropolis of Myrina, Kyme and Aiolia, and he brought the artifacts that he found in these ancient sites to the Imperial Museum.<sup>290</sup>

The first excavation conducted by Osman Hamdi was the project of the Mount Nemrut. Before his assignment to the directorship of Imperial Museum, Professor Sister had discovered King Antiochus's tomb and other archaeological relics in this site. Afterwards, Dr. Puchstein investigated this archaeological site and made a report which caused a group from the Berlin Museum to be sent to the Mount Nemrut under the direction of Carl Humann. On the other hand, aware of the importance of these relics, the Ottoman government decided to send Osman Hamdi and Oskan Efendi (a lecturer in the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul) to make investigations and gather necessary

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<sup>287</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.273.

<sup>288</sup> Epikman, p.6.

<sup>289</sup> Cezar, 1995, p. 273-277.

<sup>290</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.308.

information about the site.<sup>291</sup> Osman Hamdi had also followed up the researches conducted in Mount Nemrut before that time; he even had sent Oskan Efendi for preliminary research for not to be outdated by the subject. After this preliminary research, Osman Hamdi took the road with Oskan Efendi in April 1883. Firstly, he investigated some archaeological settlements in İzmir-Aydın region, and then by giving the responsibility of the Menemen excavations to Bedri Bey, he moved to İskenderun, and then to the Nemrut Tumulus to conduct the excavations.<sup>292</sup> The financial support of the excavation was solved by İzzet Pasha and the Minister of Interior Affairs by creating a fund. The money collected in this fund aimed to support excavations at different antique sites of Anatolia and in the Mount of Nemrut. In addition, some institutions of the Empire, such as the Ottoman Bank, the Eastern Railway Authority and the Haydarpaşa Railway Authority also campaigned to provide financial assistance. At the end of Mount Nemrut excavation, Osman Hamdi and Oskan Efendi published *Le Tumulus de Nemroud Dagh*<sup>293</sup>; and the plaster copies of the colossal sculpture artifacts were taken and brought to Istanbul.<sup>294</sup>

This excavation conducted in the Nemrut tumulus had some important consequences. First of all, Osman Hamdi gained a reputation in the international scientific world as an archaeologist; and the Ottoman Empire gained a generator and creative position in the archaeological researches. Moreover, Osman Hamdi claimed the right on this archaeological site on behalf of his country and the Imperial Museum of the Empire. The next step about the subject would be the claim of right on all the ancient sites lying on the Ottoman territories.<sup>295</sup>

On the other hand, one of the most important excavations of Osman Hamdi was the Saida excavations. Through the sarcophagus brought from this

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<sup>291</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.273.

<sup>292</sup> Gerçek, p.113.

<sup>293</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.274.

<sup>294</sup> Gerçek, p.113.

<sup>295</sup> Eldem, 2004, p.131.

excavation, the Imperial Museum was enriched and the necessity of constructing a new museum building emerged. This Ottoman Museum started to become famous in foreign countries as well.

The adventure of Saida excavations started in 1887 when the land owner Mehmet Şerif Efendi discovered a gate filled with soil in his arable field, close to Antic Saida settlement in Aya location. Mehmet Şerif Efendi applied to the local authorities for an excavation permit, and informed lieutenant colonel Sadık Bey about the discovery. Sadık Bey immediately went to the field in order to verify the findings, and after seeing the existence of two sarcophagi he enounced the situation to Naşid Pasha, the governor of the Syria province. In addition, Sadık Bey assigned the Gendarmerie Esat Efendi as supervisor in order to protect the sarcophagi found in these pits, and Naşid Pasha interrupted the excavations until the chief engineer of the province Beşara Efendi arrived. Beşara Efendi who arrived to the antic city on 15 March 1887 uncovered seven cemeteries each of which with a sarcophagi. Due to the attention of Beşara Efendi, none of the objects and sarcophagi was destructed. After the excavations, Beşara Efendi drew up a report about the studies and discoveries and sent this report to Naşid Pasha. After reading the report written by Beşara Efendi, the Ottoman Sultan, who was interested with the development of the museum, gave the mission of excavation and discovery of the monuments at Saida to Osman Hamdi Bey.<sup>296</sup>

After being acquainted with the existence of the necropolis discovered by chance, Osman Hamdi started to read Ernest Renan's book *Mission Archæologique de Phénicie*, and realized that the region where Saida was located already gave rise to important discoveries.<sup>297</sup> Osman Hamdi immediately left for Saida with Dimosten Baltacı Bey, another officer of the museum. He started his journey on April 18, 1887 from Istanbul and arrived at Saida on April 30, through Izmir. His mission was to carry away the artifacts securely to Istanbul by seaway. As a result, after intense working hours, the

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<sup>296</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey, Theodore Reinach, *Une Necropole Royale A Sidon*, Paris, 1892. (Tıpkı Basım, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları), pp. I-II.

<sup>297</sup> Mansel, p.296.

shipment of the sarcophagi was accomplished on June 20, 1887.<sup>298</sup> Osman Hamdi sent a copy of the inscription written in Phoenician alphabet on the sarcophagus of King Tabnit to his companion Ernest Renan. The translation of the inscription was sent back to Osman Hamdi via telegraph.<sup>299</sup>

The Sultan appreciated the result of the first season of the excavation. He sent an edict that ordered Osman Hamdi to continue the excavations in the next season. Moreover, he decided to give a 1200 Lira reward to the land owner Mehmet Şerif Efendi, and ordered to the construction of a special building to exhibit all the sarcophagi together.<sup>300</sup> Makridi Bey continued the Saida excavations in the second season.<sup>301</sup> The directory of Makridi Bey in Saida excavations was caused by a series of events. Makridi Bey, who was the commissary in the Baalbek excavations conducted in the name of Emperor Wilhelm II between 1900 and 1902, heard that some important relics and artifacts were found by smugglers in the ancient settlement of Saida; and he immediately reported this situation to Osman Hamdi Bey. Then Osman Hamdi gave the task of removing these artifacts to Makridi Bey who completed his mission successfully.<sup>302</sup>

The most important discoveries of the Saida excavations were the sarcophagi namely “The Sarcophagus of Alexander”, “The Sarcophagus of Crying Women”, “The Sarcophagus of the King Tabnit”.<sup>303</sup> Through these sarcophagi the names of Turkish archaeologists began to be heard for the first time in Europe. The excavations conducted in Saida by Osman Hamdi and then his advisors and the publications prepared as a result of these studies were very important that they are still undertaken and published by the scholars. Through Osman Hamdi’s great success, Turkish Archaeology has come within the international scientific arena.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> O. Hamdi, Reinach, pp. 116-117.

<sup>299</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.275.

<sup>300</sup> O. Hamdi, Reinach, p. 112.

<sup>301</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.275.

<sup>302</sup> Aziz Ogan, “Th. Makridi’nin Hatırasına”, *Bellekten*, Cilt: V, 1941, pp. 165-166.

<sup>303</sup> Batur, A., 1993, p.308.

<sup>304</sup> Ortaylı, 1990, p.24.

Among other excavations conducted by Osman Hamdi Bey for the Imperial Museum, the excavation of the temple of Hekate of Lagina located in Muğla played an important role. Some information was taken place in the newspapers published in 1890 about the discovery of large marble artifacts in Milas-Gümüslük location whereupon Osman Hamdi started his excavations in 1891 in this antique settlement.<sup>305</sup> Osman Hamdi transported the ornated parts of the temple to the museum in 1891. Chamonard was also present at the Lagina excavation.<sup>306</sup> Furthermore, at the Menderes-Manisa region, near Söke, some researches were conducted at different times and important relieves were discovered and were divided up between Ottoman, London and Berlin Museums.<sup>307</sup>

Generally, many excavations were conducted on behalf of the Imperial Museum under the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey. For instance, Osman Hamdi's son Edhem Bey who was an architect conducted the excavations of Tralles under the supervision of his father. Edhem Bey noted that three sculptures were discovered by working men who were using some stone and marble pieces of Tralles antique settlement while restoring a mosque which had collapsed because of an earthquake. These sculptures were sent to the museum by Naili Bey, the Director of Education of Aydın.<sup>308</sup> On the other hand, another important figure of Osman Hamdi's family, his brother Halil Edhem Bey attended to the excavations of Sidamara in 1909 and Alabanda in 1905. Makridi Bey conducted the excavations of Rakka, Boğazköy, Alacahöyük, Akalan, Langaza, Rodos, Taşoz and Notion.<sup>309</sup> The importance of these excavations was that they were the first national excavations conducted in the name of the Ottoman Imperial Museum.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Gerçek, p.120.

<sup>306</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.276.

<sup>307</sup> Dolunay, p.4.

<sup>308</sup> Epikman, p.7.

<sup>309</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp. 278-283.

<sup>310</sup> Ekrem Akurgal, Osman Hamdi'den Günümüze Değın Eski Eserler Sorunumuz", *I. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi, Bildiriler*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 31.

Again during the directorship of Osman Hamdi in the Imperial Museum, foreign archaeologists also continued to conduct excavations. For instance, J. Garstang, who was a professor from Liverpool University, conducted excavations in Sakçagözü, P. Gaudin in Yortan, Theodor Wiegand in Priene and Didyma, Gautier in Kadeş, and Scheil in Iraq-Mahmudiye.<sup>311</sup> If these excavations are examined in detailed, it could be seen that Turkish officers were on the scene. For example, Osman Hamdi, as an assistant, attended partly to the excavations of Sakçagözü conducted in 1907, 1909 and 1911. Naili Bey, the director of İzmir superintended to the Yortan excavations. Bedri Bey who was a museum director attended the Iraq-Mahmudiye excavation that was monetarily supported by Abdülhamit II and conducted by Scheil.<sup>312</sup> In brief, besides the excavations conducted by Osman Hamdi and other Turkish archaeologists, an officer was usually assigned to the most of the foreign excavations. Such precautions could be considered normal in an era during which the Ottoman Empire was intensively exposed to European smuggling of old artifacts.

Osman Hamdi was always in contact with Western archaeologists during his directorship in the museum. One of the most significant foreign archeologists conducting excavations in Anatolia at the time was Heinrich Schliemann. Unfortunately, no document was found regarding the communication between Osman Hamdi and Heinrich Schliemann. However, it has been understood from the writings of Heinrich Schliemann that he got the excavation permit from Osman Hamdi by means of the German Ambassador Von Radowitz in 1889. Osman Hamdi sent one of the officers of the museum, Galip Bey, to the Schliemann's Troy excavations as commissary.<sup>313</sup> Considering Heinrich Schliemann was the chief ancient artifact smuggler from the Ottoman lands, it is understandable why Osman Hamdi exercised

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<sup>311</sup> Demirsar, pp.13-14.

<sup>312</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.280-283.

<sup>313</sup> Ufuk Esin, "19. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Heinrich Schliemann'ın Troya Kazıları ve Osmanlılarla İlişkileri", in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi Sempozyumu 17-18 Aralık 1992*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993, p. 187.

supervisory control in this excavation. The questionable part is how Schliemann could still obtain an excavation permit after all his documented smuggling activities. This fact could be explained with the need of Ottoman Empire to have good diplomatic relations with the Germans.

In summary, the artistic nature of Osman Hamdi Bey also affected his archaeological activities. He brought his delicate approach that he reflected in his paintings to his archaeological studies. As a result, the material or the object always stood in the forefront as in his paintings; and he tried to analyze all their features. Being aware of the fact that these objects were reflecting the cultural history of a society, he tried to bring these artifacts, which belonged to all time periods and were discovered in the Ottoman lands, to the Imperial Museum. In other words, he secured a central control on all the antique artifacts; and created a system in terms of archaeological excavations that led predominance over the European archaeological activities. Furthermore, he presented these artifacts to the world of science by writing reports about the excavations and charging foreign scientists to prepare the catalogues of these objects.

### **3.6. Osman Hamdi Bey's Contribution to the Ancient Monuments Law**

As it was mentioned above, Osman Hamdi, while exercising the duty of the directorate of the imperial museum, started to conduct archeological excavations personally and he gained an important position in the history of archeology as the banner holder of the Turkish archeologists. However, European archeologists also continued their practices in the Ottoman territories in that period. Concerning the statements of Remzi Oğuz Arık, the periods, in which Osman Hamdi was the director of the Imperial Museum, was an era when the great foreign industry invading our cities. After this economic invasion that ambitious people having unsatisfied feelings of questioning and

curiosity were coming to do research of the ancient imperial territories in order to bottom the history by exceeding the framework of their own geography.<sup>314</sup>

In the presence of this situation, Osman Hamdi was one of the most sensitive intellectual who reacted against the European old artifact smuggling. This reaction could be observed from a letter written by Osman Hamdi to the Ministry of Education. In this letter, Osman Hamdi made a point of the excavations conducted by the foreign archaeologists especially in Baghdad-Mosul provinces where most of the artifacts were smuggled until 1842 due to the indolence of the Ottoman bureaucrats. Most of the ancient relics discovered in that area by foreign archaeologists were transported to European countries; and although many artifacts were found in these excavations, few insignificant objects were left to the Imperial Museum and they were not regarded as worthwhile to be exhibited in the museum. Moreover, he added in his letter that excellent artifacts were exhibited in the European museums.<sup>315</sup> As a result, Osman Hamdi Bey published two regulations concerning the ancient monuments, which would be the basis of the ancient monument law of Turkey. These two regulations dated to 1884 and 1906 are important as the first attempts of the realization of the protection of the cultural inheritance of Turkey.<sup>316</sup>

The most important aspects of these regulations, introducing important rules concerning the period in which they had been prepared, was its composition preventing the smuggling activities and compromises of the ancient monuments. Moreover, they declared all ancient monuments as the state property. In other words, these regulations discouraged the smuggling activities of foreign archeologists conducting excavations in the Ottoman territories became more difficult.

On the other hand, these regulations were violated most of the time by foreign archeologists both illegally and legally. The legal way was taking the

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<sup>314</sup> Arık, p.2.

<sup>315</sup> Su, pp.20-21.

<sup>316</sup> Cezar, "Osman Hamdi Çok Yönlü Bir Kültür ve Sanat Adamıydı", in *Hürriyet Gösteri*, Sayı: 119, (Ekim, 1990), p.6.

will of the Ottoman Sultan. Therefore, Osman Hamdi Bey had to take due precautions: Theodor Wiegand, who was the director of the German Archeology Institute of Istanbul between the years of 1899-1911 and the founder of the Berlin Bergama Museum, was a close friend of Osman Hamdi Bey. In spite of their friendship, Osman Hamdi Bey acted with deliberation against the excavation activities of T. Wiegand in Priene, Didyma and Miletus, in terms of protecting the ancient monuments. This deliberate attitude can also be examined by analyzing a letter of Marie Wiegand, wife of T. Wiegand, written to her mother in April 1, 1905. In this letter, Marie Wiegand underlined the close friendship of her husband Theodor and Osman Hamdi Bey. However, she accentuated that with regard to the issue of the ancient monuments, Osman Hamdi became more and more austere. She also reported that Osman Hamdi advocated state ownership of all archeological findings in Turkey, as it was in Greece. Moreover, in this letter, she said that all the excavations had been directed by him and, he demanded a lot of new requirements in them. By this letter, one can clearly analyze that Osman Hamdi was so determined to protect the ancient monuments of Turkey.<sup>317</sup> Like Wiegand, Carl Humann also stranded in front of the protectionist attitude of Osman Hamdi Bey. In his letter addressed to Heinrich Schliemann, Humann pointed out that, before Osman Hamdi Bey, according to the articles of the first old artifact regulations, they could be able to take almost two-third of the findings but by him all of these advantages were disappeared.<sup>318</sup> Similarly, Heinrich Schliemann, who he had the imperial edict for doing excavations from Osman Hamdi Bey, was suffered from protective measures of Hamdi Bey.<sup>319</sup> Concerning the fame of Schliemann about the biggest smuggling of the ancient monuments in the Ottoman territories, this appointment to control him made by Osman Hamdi

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<sup>317</sup> Nur Akın, "Osman Hamdi Bey, Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi ve Dönemin Koruma Anlayışı Üzerine", *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi/Sempozyum, 17-18 Aralık 1992*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993), pp. 236-237.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Esin, 1993, p. 187.

Bey can be accepted as a due and important precaution in terms of wielding the supervision initiative about the archeological findings.

There were also many other foreign researchers conducting the archeological excavations in the Anatolian territories besides the researchers mentioned above. Both Mustafa Cezar and Aziz Ogan<sup>320</sup>, presented the lists of these excavations in their works. Here, the highlighted point is that he kept his countdown and sent some commissaries in order to supervise the excavations made by foreign scholars.<sup>321</sup> While analyzing these excavations in details, one can observe that in some phases of the excavations conducted by Garstang in 1907, 1909, and 1911, Osman Hamdi Bey also lent assistance. Similarly, Naili Bey, the director of National Education in İzmir, supervised the Yortan excavation of 1901. Although the directorship of the Mahmudiye excavation in Irak sponsored by the personal treasury, *hazine-hassa*, of Sultan Abdülhamid II, was offered to French archeologist Scheil in 1893, this excavation was also controlled by one of the officers of the museum, Bedri Bey.<sup>322</sup> In this aspect, one can argue that except the excavations conducted by Osman Hamdi himself, or other Turkish archeologist, in almost all archeological research done by foreign archeologists, one official was present to supervise them. For an empire experiencing the smuggling of the ancient monuments in its territories by the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, this situation can be accepted as an ordinary and normal measure.

On the other hand, the smuggling of the ancient monuments to the foreign countries was not only realized by the foreign archeologists. By pressure of foreigners, or diplomatic corps visiting the Ottoman Empire over the Ottoman Sultan, many monuments had been given abroad. In this context, Osman Hamdi Bey did his best in order to prevent the circulation of the ancient monuments to the foreigners. An anecdote from the Istanbul visit of Kaiser Wilhelm, can exemplify this effort: When the emperor came to Istanbul, he naturally wanted to visit the imperial museum. At first, Osman Hamdi and other intellectuals who had showed great efforts in terms of protecting the old

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<sup>320</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp. 215-283; Ogan, 1938, pp. 8-39.

<sup>321</sup> Demirsar, pp.13-14.

<sup>322</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.280-283.

artifacts of the empire were concerned about this visit; because it was well-known that this period was an era when the old artifacts of the empire were given to the foreign visitors as presents through the Sultan's will. Hence, Osman Hamdi said to Münir Pasha who was a high official under the Sultan's direction that he would have made away with himself in the situation of giving away the sarcophagi of Alexander which was discovered by him and had repercussions in the Western world. Moreover, he did not settle for these words, and tried to prevent such a situation by enclosing the sarcophagi with wood and rush; and told to the Kaiser that the relic was in reparation.<sup>323</sup>

On the other hand, unfortunately the old artifacts discovered in the Ottoman territories continued to be smuggled and transported to the foreign countries despite the presence of such a conscious person and the protective regulations introduced by him. A speech of Abdülhamit II is enough to explain the situation regarding the old artifact issue<sup>324</sup>: "I could trick some of the European ambassadors with Osman Hamdi's broken marble and plaster pieces". The point of fact that comes in to the picture is that the Sultan was still unaware about the historical importance that these artifacts represented. During a time period when the Ottoman Empire was facing great difficulties, the Sultan's solution was being on good terms with the Europeans. The Sultan whose aim was to engage in a confederation with the European states tried to negotiate with those people in respect of old artifacts; and this situation was guarding the Europeans' interests. As a result, benefiting from the situation the Europeans continued to transport the old artifacts from the Ottoman Empire to enrich their museums; and the regulations of ancient monuments could not be reduced to practice in some situations. On the other hand, despite everything, Osman Hamdi became the initiator of protective policies, succeeded in protecting most of the artifacts in spite of the all abuses, and prepared such an effective regulation that would remain in force also in the Republican era of Turkey.

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<sup>323</sup> Taha Toros, "Çok Şeyin Sığıldığı Bir Hayattan Sayfalar", in *Hürriyet Gösteri*, Sayı: 119, (Ekim, 1990), pp.10-11.

<sup>324</sup> Madran, Önal, p.177.

### 3.7. Osman Hamdi Bey and the Academy of Fine Arts

Another important breakthrough realized by Osman Hamdi Bey at the end of the nineteenth century was the foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in the Ottoman Empire. Being aware of the fact that saving the artifacts from the destruction, founding and developing a museum was not possible without an interest towards the art and its works in a society, Osman Hamdi attempted to institutionalize this school in order to educate and inform the individuals in arts and in its different branches. The opening of such a school also meant the foundation of an academy for the first time in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, Osman Hamdi who wanted to adopt his country to the changing conditions of the world broke new ground by caring also the next generations.

On the other hand, although it was Osman Hamdi who realized this task, it was not him that had launched the idea. The idea of founding an architecture school had been suggested by Architect Abdülhalim Efendi for the first time in 1834. Even though this suggestion had been offered to the Sultan Mahmut II, it had not been realized.<sup>325</sup> Similarly, in 1877, there had been an order from the sultan concerning the foundation of a school aimed to provide education in the field of painting and architecture, this will could not be realized because of the outbreak of Ottoman-Russian War in 1877. Consequently, the idea of such a school was realized by Osman Hamdi in 1883.<sup>326</sup>

Before presenting the artistic fields and the activities of the academy, it will be more convenient to analyze the role and the activities of two art branches in the nineteenth century: the architecture and painting, which would be the major departments of the academy.

To start from the architectural developments, there were important changes in terms of architectural activities in the Ottoman Empire in the

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<sup>325</sup> Zeki Sönmez, “Sanayi-i Nefise Kurulurken Türkiye’de Mimarlık Ortamı”, in *I. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi, Bildiriler*, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1992, p. 154.

<sup>326</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.442-443.

nineteenth century. In other words, new kinds of architectural styles appeared with different uses and aesthetic orientations on which the flux of foreign architects to Istanbul had a great impact. New techniques as Neo-Greek, Neo-Baroque, Rococo and new materials were included in the Ottoman architectural activities. Among the foreign architects who came to the empire, the Italians were at the first place. In brief, Ottoman architecture was deeply influenced by Westerners. From that time not only the structures as mosques, *medrese*, *han* or public baths but also new types of structures began to enrich the cities in the empire. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the Second Constitutional Period, an eclectic period in the architectural sphere existed in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>327</sup>

Similarly, some changes were also observed in the architectural education. The dissolution that was seen in all employments of the Ottoman State from the beginning of the nineteenth century also affected the Office of the Imperial Architects (*Hassa Mimarları Ocağı*). Even though persons had been enrolled to that place in respect of their abilities and in accordance with specific rules, exceptional assignments came up. Although it became obligatory for the members of the Office of the Imperial Architects to continue to the Imperial Engineering School (*Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun*)<sup>328</sup> in order to develop their occupational knowledge for a while, the expected result could not be obtained. As a result, until Osman Hamdi Bey's attempts, the architectural activities were conducted by the foreigners or by the minority architects that had been educated in foreign countries.<sup>329</sup>

If painting is taken into consideration, it could be observed that the miniatures were at the first place in the Ottoman artistic life until the administrative reforms of 1839. Besides the current painting styles, the painting education was enrolled in the curriculum of the Harbiye School found in

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<sup>327</sup> Sönmez, p. 154-155.

<sup>328</sup> The institution the last name of which was the "Topçu Harbiye Mektebi", was found in 1793 by selim III. The most famous teacher of the school was Ihsak Efendi. Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, Cilt:1-2, İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1939, p. 325.

<sup>329</sup> Sönmez, p. 153.

1834.<sup>330</sup> On the other hand, the art of painting in a Western style began to penetrate in the Ottoman Empire cultural life through accepting the Western techniques, especially the military ones. In this context, the development of the art of painting started with the adoption of such courses as the perspective and design studies in to the curriculum of the Imperial Engineering School.<sup>331</sup> However, these courses were mostly related with technical drawings, not with artistic painting.

Osman Hamdi who was trying to adopt his country to the changing conditions of the world was aware of the fact that the courses of painting given in such educational institutions as the Military School (*Harbiye Mektebi*) and the Imperial Engineering School did not provide an artistic education at a high level quality. For this reason, he realized the necessity of founding an institution including fine arts education that would be very beneficial for the brilliant next generations like the Western counterparts. Furthermore, he aimed to indoctrinate the interest and the love of fine arts both through the museum and this new institution to the individuals of the Ottoman society among which this interest was absent until that time. The reasons of founding the Academy of Fine Arts were well expressed by Osman Hamdi Bey with an official letter presented to the Sultan. In this letter that was published in Osman Ergin's book *Maarif Tarihi*<sup>332</sup>, Osman Hamdi argued that his own generation who were the descendants of brilliant artisans was not even able to protect the old and new artifacts; and he questioned what had happen to this artisans. According to Osman Hamdi, the art of a country was both its riches and its power. The history of a country could not descend to the oncoming generations in the absence of artistic works. A country could arise through its constitutions and work of arts. According to Osman Hamdi however, these work of arts were being destructed instead of protection and restoration; in order to prevent such destructions, a special institution that provide necessary information about the fine arts must be found. One of the interesting points in this letter written by

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<sup>330</sup> Demirsar, p.15.

<sup>331</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.442.

<sup>332</sup> Ergin, 1977, pp.1119-1122.

Osman Hamdi is that he rather frequently mentions about the importance of Turkish art that could be interpreted as this letter was written in a nationalist sense. Osman Hamdi has noted that Turkish people were very talented in artistic works from the beginning, and they should be educated in Turkish institutions instead of foreign countries in order to contribute to the real formation of Turkish arts.

Consequently, Osman Hamdi accomplished his purpose; and he achieved the opening of the Academy. The construction process was carried out as soon as possible; and the Academy arose consisting of five classrooms and one atelier.<sup>333</sup> The first building of the Academy of Fine Arts was the current “Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi” the architect of which was A. Vallaury. While constructing this building in the Neo-Classic style, Osman Hamdi tried to emphasize that this institution would be the castle of the classical art.<sup>334</sup> Moreover, if the perception of the period towards the artifacts is considered, he was the one who had the courage to place some nude sculptures in the niches of the front of the building.<sup>335</sup>

During the process of the construction, Osman Hamdi accomplished another important matter about the academy which was the selection of the lecturers.<sup>336</sup>

After finishing initial steps about the foundation of the academy, this new institution started its educational activities in 3 March 1883 with the name of “Academy of Fine Arts”, or originally “Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi”.<sup>337</sup> It consisted of four main departments, architecture, sculpture, painting and calligraphy. The courses on architecture were given by the famous European and Levantine architects, Alexandre Vallaury and August Jasmund.<sup>338</sup> The department of sculpture which aimed to educate qualified sculptures for the

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<sup>333</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.452.

<sup>334</sup> Aptullah Kuran, “Mimarlıkta Yeni-Türk Üslubu ve Osman Hamdi Bey”, in *Hürriyet Gösteri*, Sayı 119, (Ekim,1990), p.32.

<sup>335</sup> Şinasi, “Müzelerimiz ve...”, p.114.

<sup>336</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.453-455

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası, Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2002, p.41.

future was put in the schedule of the Academy; and named as art of engraving. The reason of this name change was to prevent reactionary acts that could come from the Islamic Ottoman society. On the other hand, this academy also provided education in the art of painting. As painters graduated from military schools existed in the Ottoman cultural milieu, it aimed to educate not only military but also the civilian population of the empire. The first civil painting academy had been established by French artist Guillemet in 1874 as a private atelier, however, this academy was short lived. Hence, Osman Hamdi founded the department of painting in the academy in order to educate civil citizens of the empire who would give professional work of arts in the future. Another important branch of art to be educated in this academy was the gravure. Osman Hamdi added this branch in the curriculum as a separate department. Being aware of the actual and future needs of the Ottoman Empire, he aimed to fill the need of artisans in the case of increasing development of illustrated papers and magazine publication.<sup>339</sup>

Administrative structure of the academy was as colorful as the departments. Yervant Oskan Effendi was both the director of the internal affairs of the Academy and the teacher of painting. Salvator Valeri, Warnia Zarzecki, and Painter Adil were other academic staff of the painting department. Alexander Vallauray and Philippe Bello were the teachers of architecture department.<sup>340</sup>

The Academy where famous teachers formed the academic staff was placed under the Ministry of Commerce.<sup>341</sup> The reason of this connection is analyzed by Mustafa Cezar. The first explanation is depending on the information that was quoted by Halil Edhem Bey. According to Halil Edhem, because Osman Hamdi was a close friend of Raif Pasha, the Minister of Commerce of the period, the academy was connected with this ministry. On the other hand, the second approach figures on an official letter signed by Sait

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<sup>339</sup> Cezar, 1987, pp.22-24.

<sup>340</sup> Adnan Çoker, *Osman Hamdi ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1983, p. 21.

<sup>341</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.445.

Pasha, the Grand Vizier of the time. In this letter, although it was stated that such institutions were subordinated with ministries of commerce in other countries except France; and added that although the Imperial Museum was subordinated with the Ministry of Education, the Academy of Fine Arts would be subordinated with the Ministry of Commerce.<sup>342</sup> On the other hand, although other countries except France were taken into consideration while establishing the administrative structure of the Academy, the regulation of the Academy was prepared in accordance with the institution in France.<sup>343</sup> at the beginning of the regulation, the tasks and the responsibilities of the administrative officers and explications of the courses to be educated in the Academy were taken place. In the continuing part, the responsibilities of the lecturers and the students, the application formalities, the requirements of attendance and some information about the exams were explained. In the last clauses, it was stated that every year an exhibition of fine arts would be realized with the approbation of the assembly.<sup>344</sup> This clause that took place in the regulation of the newly found Academy was effectuated at the end of the 1884-1885 semesters; and annual exhibitions started to be arranged in order to denounce the end of the academic activities of each year.<sup>345</sup>

This attempt was realized with the great efforts of Osman Hamdi Bey also received negative comments. Osman Hamdi was criticized because of the fact that he employed especially the European or non-Muslim Turks as lecturers in the Academy.<sup>346</sup> In addition, the students were not sent to abroad for education in fine arts.<sup>347</sup> Actually, if the reason that why Osman Hamdi aimed to establish such an academy in the Ottoman Empire is taken into consideration, it could be understood that the strategy that he followed was well adopted for a purpose. First of all, maybe no student were sent abroad for

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<sup>342</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.445.

<sup>343</sup> Gerçek, p.114.

<sup>344</sup> Cezar, 1995, pp.448-451.

<sup>345</sup> Oğuz Arsal, *Modern Osmanlı Resminin Sosyolojisi (1839-1924)*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000, p.76.

<sup>346</sup> Demirsar, p.16.

<sup>347</sup> Arsal, p.74.

art education, however, instead of it, lecturers from foreign countries or non-Muslim Turks that had get in touch with art in the Western style were brought in to the Academy. Secondly, Osman Hamdi did not imagine an art concept that was fully under western influence; his main purpose was to develop a Turkish art style. Hence, the new generation should have learned the art techniques from the foreign lecturers; however they should have performed their artistic skills under the impact of their native environment.

If such critics are left aside, the most important point to be emphasized is the great success of Osman Hamdi Bey who was very conscious about what this academy could bring to the Ottoman society. The artisans who educated in this academy would both keep pace with the modern world with their own artistic products, and would be aware about the importance of the artifacts, and would go on the way of protectionism of these artifacts. As seen from this aspect, Osman Hamdi deserves to be honored instead of being criticized. The attempt of Osman Hamdi that was realized in such period when the Ottoman State was in a struggle of modernization is admirable.

To sum up, the foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts opened a new era in Turkish cultural life. According to the information obtained from the Education Yearbooks (*Maarif Salnameleri*), the first students were graduated from this institution in 1888. Later, this academy was moved in the new building in Cağaloğlu in 1917. On the other hand, the old building has been altered as the current building of “Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi”; and the artifacts belonging to the Hittite, Assyrian, and Egyptian cultures began to be displayed in this building.<sup>348</sup>

### **3.8. Osman Hamdi Bey and the Exhibitions**

One of the most important activities that marked the nineteenth century cultural life was the national and international exhibitions the main contributors of which were England and France. Both the economic aspects such as the

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<sup>348</sup> Ogan, 1947, p. 13.

market research, industrialization and the cultural aspects such as the representation of different cultural models were among the reasons of these exhibitions.<sup>349</sup> According to Semra Germaner, these exhibitions played a crucial role in terms of establishing a contact between European and non-European cultures and local arts.<sup>350</sup> The most important feature of these exhibitions that was related with our subject was the expression that was developed upon the East. The mysticism and the glory of the East, Eastern colors were used while representing the exhibition constructing; and the eastern world that was seen as an exotic culture was revealed to the Westerners.<sup>351</sup>

The Ottoman Empire participated in the London Exhibition of 1851 firstly. On the other hand, while the period of Osman Hamdi Bey is taken into consideration, two important international exhibitions are standing out. The first one was the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and the second was the Vienna Exhibition of 1873.

The distinctive feature of the 1867 Paris Exhibition was the participation of Sultan Abdülaziz. Another important side was that at the same years, Osman Hamdi Bey was also in Paris for his education. According to Belgin Demirsar, Osman Hamdi's work of arts must have taken place in that exhibition, because a medal was given to him by reason of exhibition.<sup>352</sup>

On the other hand, the exhibition that Osman Hamdi personally dealt with and was assigned in the name of the Ottoman state was the exhibition of Vienna in 1873. As being assigned as the chief superintendent officer, Osman Hamdi made great effort on the pre-exhibition activities. He dealt with the preparation of the products to be transported to Vienna, and the construction of exhibition stands. Moreover, he successfully took the necessary precautions to prevent the occurrence of any damage to the precious products in the course of their transportation exhibition.<sup>353</sup> Osman Hamdi had also another contribution

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<sup>349</sup> Batur, A., 1995, p. 299.

<sup>350</sup> Semra Germaner, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ve Kültürel Sonuçları", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Cilt: 16, Sayı: 95, (Kasım, 1991), p. 289.

<sup>351</sup> Batur, A., 1995, p. 302.

<sup>352</sup> Demirsar, p.6.

<sup>353</sup> Cezar, 1987, p.12.

to that exhibition. During the exhibition, Osman Hamdi's father Ibrahim Edhem Pasha was the Minister of Public Works and the head of the exhibition preparation committee. At the beginning, although it was thought to participate in the exhibition only with the Fountain of Ahmet III as the representation of Ottoman architecture, finding presentation unsatisfactory, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha suggested to prepare a traditional Ottoman costume collection also. As a result, his suggestion was accepted; and two books were prepared involving two groups of work of arts to be exhibited. At that point, Osman Hamdi had a great contribution in the process of both the preparation of these books, and the arrangement of the stands. The two great works, of which Ibrahim Edhem Pasha was the initiator, were namely *L'architecture Ottomane* and *Les Costumes Populaire de la Turquie*.<sup>354</sup> The former work appeared as the first study dealing with the history and the theory of the Ottoman architecture. On the other hand, the second work that was prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey and French artist and researcher Victor Marie de Launay describes the Ottoman local costumes in a typological framework. In that work which aimed to introduce the Ottoman costumes, different costumes coming from everywhere of the Empire were dressed to different persons among which Osman Hamdi, Ibrahim Edhem and Ahmet Mithat took place, and they were photographed by Sebah et Joallier.<sup>355</sup> Two hundred different original costumes that have been compiled in this book served to the emergence of a new collection in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, this work could also be evaluated as a scientific study in terms of its catalogues that were prepared via photograph technique.

In summary, the exhibition of Vienna in 1873 resulted in success with the contribution of Osman Hamdi Bey who was the commissary of the exhibition in the name of Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha also played an important role in terms of achieving the Ottoman participation to the exhibition in the best way by preparing two great works. The efforts of Ibrahim Edhem Pasha not only show his interest and affection

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<sup>354</sup> Altun, p.803.

<sup>355</sup> Gerçek, pp.241-242.

into the art, but also his dream to introduce and represent his state in the best way in foreign countries.

### 3.9. Concluding Remarks

According to Mustafa Cezar, artisans are generally interested in the fields of arts that they are exercising. Due to their desire to be adherent to their artistic works with full concentration, they do not spare too much time to other activities; and this characteristic of the artisans could affect their discipline in administrative affairs. However, Osman Hamdi was an exception at that point; because he did not only remain as a dedicated administrator, he also conducted his scientific and cultural studies with his artistic products.<sup>356</sup> He was also one of the most successful painters in the nineteenth century.<sup>357</sup> At that juncture, the connective identity of Osman Hamdi stands in the forefront. In other words, he connected the arena of the fine arts and the science. Moreover, he acted in a systematic way, he exactly planned his activities, and he compelled the existing conditions.<sup>358</sup>

The most important performance of Osman Hamdi was bringing the museum prototype that consisted of a small collection of artifacts to a modern institution which had connections in the country-wide. Doubtless that European

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<sup>356</sup> Cezar, 1990, p.4.

<sup>357</sup> Besides being an archaeologist and museologist, Osman Hamdi was one of the leading painters of the nineteenth century. The main themes in Osman Hamdi's paintings were man and woman portrayed with historical costumes and depicted in historical architectural places. The majority of his works consisted of these figurative compositions and portraits. (Tunalı, p. 166) Osman Hamdi depicted the figures in a very realistic way. Taking into consideration the details in his paintings, İpek Duben emphasized his passion of object. For her, Osman Hamdi's approach on painting was the "photographic reality". (İpek Duben, *Türk Resmi ve Eleştirisi*, 1880-1950, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, pp. 37-39) Like the Orientalists, Osman Hamdi used the Islamic and Eastern architecture, costumes and objects in his paintings; however, he represented a different approach from the orientalism that was dominant in the Western art. Contrary to the Western Orientalists who especially focused on the weak points of the Eastern culture such as desolation, savagery, and poverty, Osman Hamdi tried to reflect Eastern civilization with its physical beauties as the architectural richness, the cultural assets and values of his country. (Cezar, 1990, p.7) Some of the most famous paintings of Osman Hamdi were "Ab-ı Hayat Çeşmesi", "Kaplumbağa Terbiyecisi", "Silah Satıcısı", "Şehzade Türbesinde Derviş" "Mihrab" and "Rahle Önündeki Kız". These paintings and other Works of him are taking place in many local and foreign museums and collections at the present date.

<sup>358</sup> Pasinli, 1990, p.25.

experience influenced Osman Hamdi's forthcoming museological activities. Osman Hamdi was acknowledged about the classification and exhibiting methods while visiting the European museums, and he must have been concerned about the artifacts transported from the Ottoman Empire when he visited these exhibitions. However the distinctive feature of Osman Hamdi Bey from his contemporaries was that he tried to do something in this aspect; he was always looking forward. His aim and responsibility as the museum director was to gather together all the historical and artistic artifacts discovered in the Ottoman territories under one umbrella that was the Imperial Museum. Until that time, a small museum had been established in the empire, however, most of the archaeological excavations were being conducted by the foreigners, and most of the artifacts were being shipped to abroad both in legal and illegal ways; and authorized man educated in scientific arena were not existing in the Ottoman soils. Osman Hamdi, however, carried out the construction of a museum, which was a cultural institution, in a period that the Ottoman Empire weakened due to the hard economic conditions and also that the meaning and the function of which were unknown yet. For him, the construction of a new museum building, small reparation or the classification of an old artifact was equally important activity in the Ottoman cultural life; therefore, he paid attention to every detail.

On the other hand, he confronted with great difficulties among which financial straits were at the first place while realizing his mission. For both the archaeological and museological studies, allowances granted by the state were required; and in order to get such allowances some bureaucratic formalities should have been solved. First of all, the approbation of each agency should be taken as the grand-vizierate, the ministry of education and the state council from which the approbation would be granted.<sup>359</sup> During this process, Osman Hamdi spent great efforts in order to convince related agencies. Indeed, the effect of these efforts as the construction of a new museum or an academy of fine arts was a great success in a period when the Ottoman Empire's financial

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<sup>359</sup> Gerçek, p.118.

situation was very bad. In order to realize this achievement, Osman Hamdi voiced at different times both the sultan and the grand-vizierate by sending written statements that were emphasizing the importance of the science of old artifacts as a special branch of art. He also gave examples of the European museums to show that the development of the museums which were the only places where the cultural properties were displayed meant the development of the state. Furthermore, he did not only settle for convincing the top-level agencies, but also he sent statements about the importance of ancient relics and the necessity of their protection to the provincial officers by making use of his father, Ibrahim Pasha's position as the Minister of Internal Affairs.<sup>360</sup>

On the other hand, his position as an archaeology researcher also played an important role in bringing the museum in the high levels of the Ottoman cultural life. Osman Hamdi conducted important excavations in Anatolian, Syrian and Lebanese territories. The artifacts found through these archaeological excavations are still enriching the exhibition halls of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. Moreover, Osman Hamdi also published reports about the findings discovered in the excavations for the sake of presenting them to the world of science.

In brief, at the end of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, both educational reforms and excavations conducted by the Turks had a great contribution to Turkey's scientific and cultural sphere. Thanks to Osman Hamdi Bey, the Ottoman Empire gained an archaeology museum and a rich library under this institution, an academy of fine arts, and two regulations concerning the protection of old artifacts.

In other words, realizing such attempts in the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire, where both financial problems of the state and insensitivity to old artifacts broke out, were wondrous achievements. Ultimately, both the name of a Turkish archaeologist was perceived in the Western world and the museum took a new meaning as the symbol of Westernization through Osman

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<sup>360</sup> Epikman, p.5.

Hamdi's great efforts.<sup>361</sup> His successful side was his ability of management. Through being a successful bureaucrat both in the fields of museology and archaeology, he succeeded in the face of many difficulties. To give an example for his qualification, he employed people according to their abilities in order to get the best efficiency.<sup>362</sup>

The cultural institutions established by Osman Hamdi Bey were also appreciated by Europe, and he was rewarded with many medals, brands and honorary degrees. Medals were given to Osman Hamdi in 1898 by the Athenian French School, in 1904 by the Berlin Friedrich Museum, and in 1908 by the Spain Oviedo University. On the other hand, he had his honorary degrees from the universities of Oxford and Pennsylvania. In his latest years, the gold medal of "Science and Art" of the Bavaria Kingdom was given to him as present. Osman Hamdi was also member of many foreign institutions. For instance, he was a member of *Institute de France*, the institutes of the science of old artifacts in Berlin, London, Vienna, Boston and Philadelphia; he was the honorary member of the English Architectural Academy; and correspondence member of the Austrian Museum of Fine arts.<sup>363</sup> It could also be understood from the telegraphs of congratulation which were sent in 1906 from the European scientists and institutions for his 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his directorship of the Imperial Museum that Osman Hamdi who had many contacts in foreign countries was an appreciated person. On the other hand, on the Ottoman side, Abdülhak Şinasi criticized that Osman Hamdi did not get what he deserved in the Ottoman Empire at that point. In his article, he says: "It was a shame for the period mentality that Osman Hamdi was not remembered in his own country at that date; the official bureaus of the empire and the press rested in silence; the palace and the ministry of education did not remember". Through these words, Şinasi gave expression to his affliction about the situation.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Özdoğan, 2006, pp. 51-52.

<sup>362</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.215.

<sup>363</sup> Epikman, p.8.

<sup>364</sup> Şinasi, "Bizde Müzeciliğin...", p.293.

Osman Hamdi Bey did not only contribute to the cultural life of his own period, but he also made contributions to the forthcoming generations; for instance to Halil Edhem Bey, an expert on numismatics, who would become the new director of the Imperial Museum after his decease. He also guided other important personalities of Turkish archeology as Aziz Bey who conducted the Ephesus excavations, or Tahsin Öz who became the director of Topkapı Museum for a while.<sup>365</sup>

After working over many years with an everlasting energy, Osman Hamdi died on February 24, 1910 in his waterside house at Kuruçeşme while he was dealing with arrangements to open the first pictorial museum in the Ottoman Empire. His decease figured both in the periodicals and newspapers in Istanbul and in the medium of foreign countries which also shows that he was an appraised person by the Europeans. Edhem Eldem, in his article, provides a good example about the European reaction on his decease<sup>366</sup>: “With the Osman Hamdi Bey’s decease, the Ottomans have lost their greatest painter and their greatest specialist of antiquities. Had there not been Halil Bey to take the succession of this venerable figure, this could have opened an incurable wound in the heart of the nation (Ümmet)”.

His funeral was undertaken with a great ceremony and was buried in the garden of his lovely villa at Eskihsar. This house has been opened as a museum in 1987 through the cabinet decision; and two anonymous Seljuk tombstones have been put up on the resting place, and his epitaph has been inscripted to another stone.

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<sup>365</sup> Ortaylı, 2005, p. 170.

<sup>366</sup> Eldem, 2004, p.121.

## CHAPTER 4

### MONUMENT LAWS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: 1800-1906

#### 4.1. Introduction to the Regulations of Ancient Monuments

Old artifacts are properties that have been descended from ancient times and are limited in number and that either have or might have a historical, artistic or archaeological value.<sup>367</sup> These artifacts represent the connection between the past and present as the remains of history. In order for a society to understand current conditions and happenings, it is necessary to recognize the past, the stages of which could be seen in old inscriptions, artistic artifacts and architectural monuments. The most apparent components that show the pace to pace development of humanity are the historical and cultural properties that were extended to present.<sup>368</sup> Hence, the ancient monuments, or in a general use the cultural properties carry great importance both for societies and for humanity.

According to Mehmet Özdoğan, there are two ways to be interested in the past. The first way is the approach of considering these relics as “unique artifacts” that might lead quantitative evaluation of rare artistic works. At that point, the enrichment of private museums and collections becomes important rather than the knowledge. This approach leads to the damage of antique relics. The second approach looks at these artifacts as sources of information; each obtained evidence will pass this information to the oncoming generations. The support of museums and protective laws is necessary to realize the transfer of knowledge.<sup>369</sup> Being considerable sources of knowledge in the process of revitalization and investigation of the past, the artifacts play an important role in the growth of society’s aesthetic values and in the education of the

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<sup>367</sup> Mumcu, p.50.

<sup>368</sup> Ertürk, p.30.

<sup>369</sup> Mehmet Özdoğan, “Arkeolojide Çağdaşlaşma ve Türk Arkeolojisini Bekleyen Tehlikeler”, *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi Sempozyumu 17-18 Aralık 1992*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993, p.198.

community both with the information obtained from them and visually. To preserve cultural properties means preserving the information that they include. Therefore, to save and protect these artifacts are duties to humanity. These sources of information become stagnant data if they are not examined scientifically. Thus it is important to protect this wealth, to extract the knowledge within and present it to the scientific society.

The attitudes of the cultures towards the material and moral values that have been created in previous periods differ in time. These attitudes could be evaluated either as positive as in protection and improvement or as negative as in destruction of the values.<sup>370</sup> In different time periods, different societies used these old assets as tools to claim their legitimacy on the lands on which they were living. In addition they connected to the old societies that created the assets to their cultures. On the other hand they sometimes destroyed these monuments either on purpose or unconsciously. However, one must consider that being the owner of the artifacts is not enough; the primary issue must be to protect these assets well enough and to pass them to on coming generations. Because of this reason, the adequacy of ancient monument's regulations will be beneficent for a society. Otherwise, the defects and deficiencies in the regulations will result in the loss of the mentioned benefits.

In order to understand Turkey's current approach to the issue of the protection of cultural artifacts and to solve its deficiencies, it is necessary to analyze the Ottoman Empire point of view when protection concept was first discussed. Although the Ottoman Empire practiced the protection issue differently than current applications, the first attempts were realized through museological studies and protective laws. Being a warehouse of antiques, Turkey faced serious destruction and smuggling activities; because of this fact the concept of ancient monument regulations must be taken into consideration systematically.

With its current definition, the Ancient Monuments Law is the sum of codes which both define and set the guidelines which would be followed if

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<sup>370</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.1.

there is to be a right or lawful act concerning the old artifacts or their places. The Ancient Monuments Law also defines the way public organizations which by their organizational functions deal with old artifacts are conducted and the scope of such organizations.<sup>371</sup> As a special branch of law the aim of the Ancient Monument Law is to place the properties that concern it under special protection and to exclude them from the jurisdiction of commodity law. Determining which property was to be referred as an old artifact and defining the time interval which would be used for deciding the age is the basic problem faced.<sup>372</sup> The first criterion to be taken into account is the archaeological, artistic and historical value of the artifacts. Concerning the qualification for “oldness”, it would be objectionable to put a time limitation. Current artifacts should also be evaluated regarding their historical values in the future.

In relation with the concepts and problems mentioned above, both the Ottoman Empires’ and other states’ behaviors have differed in time, due to the fact that the relation between the artifacts and individuals have pursued a chequered course with the impact of several factors as the condition of life, traditions, beliefs, and individual likings.<sup>373</sup> Sometimes conflicting behaviors were observed in the same time period.

Before analyzing the Ottomans’ approach towards ancient monuments, it would be worthwhile to examine Europe, where the concept of “Ancient Monument Law” came into existence.

It is possible to date the origin of Ancient Monument Law back to the Roman Period. Due to the fact that practices about the subject were dispersed and paradoxical during the Roman Empire and the subsequent periods, a systematic ancient monument law could not be argued about. Beginning from 300 B.C., with the influx of Greek antique artifacts to Rome, the society’s appreciation towards the aesthetic value of these artifacts was developed, whereupon the protective measures began to be adopted. Approximately in 50

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<sup>371</sup> Bilge Umar, Altan Çilingirođlu, *Eski Eserler Hukuku*, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Döner Sermaye İşletmesi, 1990, p.4.

<sup>372</sup> Mumcu, p.47-48.

<sup>373</sup> Madran, 1986, p.503.

B.C., some judicial regulations regarding the protection of ancient monuments began to appear. These regulations included general laws as the protection of city's beauty and special historical buildings. In the course of time, along with the emergence of some destructive traditions a more drastic struggle began in respect of protection. However, the protection of artifacts belonging to all periods of history and the Ancient Monument Law began to develop following Renaissance<sup>374</sup> when archaeology as a discipline emerged.<sup>375</sup> In other words, the development of archaeology had a great impact in the progress of Ancient Monument Laws.

Greece was the first state which established its own Ancient Monument Law that was implied by a bureaucratic organization. After a few years declaring its independence, Greece published its 114-Clause regulation. According to this law dated 1834, the state was the owner of all portable artifacts in its territories. Half of the buried treasures found in the excavations belonged to the state; the state also had pre-emptive right on the second half. The old artifacts that were handed over to private agencies by the state began to be preserved as "Helen National Property". The destruction of these properties via alterations was also prohibited. The listing of the old artifacts belonging to private agencies was a praiseworthy practice. The control of the state over the importable artifacts was the same as for the portables.<sup>376</sup> Rich with historical and cultural properties, Greece prohibited the transportation of old artifacts abroad since 1835. The Europeans who were the inheritors of Greek civilization respected this decision of the Greeks.<sup>377</sup> Although England, France and Germany were the leading archeological countries in archaeological excavations, much more time was needed for the implementation of an Ancient Monument Law in these countries.

In England, the "Monuments Protection Act" that included the protection of sixty-eight different old artifacts was published in 1882. From

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<sup>374</sup> Mumcu, p.53-55.

<sup>375</sup> Arsebük, p.66.

<sup>376</sup> Mumcu, p.64.

<sup>377</sup> Akın, p.234.

1913 to 1953, important appositions were made to this law. In France, the act of protecting the ancient monuments began more lately than England. After the revolution, many old artifacts were destructed due to revenge the ancient regime. Therefore, the revolutionary government founded “Commision des Monuments” in 1790 and 1792. After that time, an affection and interest towards the old artifacts increased in France; and the movement of museology appeared. Moreover, starting with the French expansion to Egypt, which had an important place in the history of archaeology; many important artistic and old artifacts were brought to Paris. The Napoleonic wars, during which Bonaparte removed notable art masterpieces to Paris, had also contributed to the development of French museum. In the following years, activities of protection continued. As a result, the year 1840 became a milestone for France regarding the Ancient Monument Law. Until that time, the state and public corporations had restrictions on the possession of their properties including the old artifacts, whereas private agencies were left on their own good intentions about the issue. When the deficiencies of this procedure were understood, an expropriation in historical and aesthetical terms was launched. As a result, the attorney Rousse was charged with setting a project of ancient monument law which was codified in 1887.<sup>378</sup> According to the law, an old artifact was protected by the law if it was enlisted. For instance, a building that was classified could not be destructed, restored or changed without the permission of the Ministry interested in fine arts. For the violators, there were sanctions that were not punitive in character, but related with damage claims. The portable old artifacts discovered through excavations were the properties of the landowner, and the private agencies had unlimited benefit on them. However, these properties could be purchased compulsorily.<sup>379</sup>

Finally, considering the German approach towards the issue, it could be seen that each German state shown concern for the protection of old artifacts, the law concerning this issue did not come into effect before July 16, 1902.

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<sup>378</sup> Mumcu, p.58-59, 63-64.

<sup>379</sup> Feridun Akozan, *Türkiye’de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teşkilatı ve Kanunlar*, İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayını, No: 47, 1977, p.4.

This law defined old artifacts perfectly and it was the combination of Italian and French legal regulations.<sup>380</sup>

While the ancient monument laws were applied in European countries towards the end of the nineteenth century, the first code applied by the Ottoman Empire was in 1869. However, until that time many important treasures of the empire had already been carried to foreign countries. Understanding this plunder, one must examine the approach of the Ottoman state towards the old artifacts until 1869.

In the nineteenth century, there was a small group that was interested in antiquities and their protection. Mostly, political affairs were overshadowing the cultural ones. The Ottoman bureaucracy did not display concern in respect of discovering and evaluating the old artifacts; as a result many cultural treasures of Turkey were smuggled and decorated the museums of Europe until the second half of the nineteenth century. It was only after the declaration of Tanzimat in 1839 that some protective measures were included in the Ottoman Empire.

To understand the legal arrangements concerning ancient monument protection, it is necessary to distinguish two different attitudes first of which was the legal arrangement before the Westernization process. Given that the Ottoman State was in theocratic structure, the social life was ordered by the rules which were framed by Islamic canon law until the mid- nineteenth century. The existing regulations of that period, during which a modern codification movement was not present, did not include regulations related with structuring, protection and restoration. The provisions about structuring and protection of monumental environment took place on Sultan's *firman*s sent to *kadi*, *subaşı*, *mimarbaşı*, and *sancak beyi*.<sup>381</sup>

Regarding the values named as portable and importable cultural properties in the present day, the provisions of canon law (*fıkıh*) were applied in the Ottoman Empire. However, the canon law was only dealing with the

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<sup>380</sup> Mumcu, pp. 59-60.

<sup>381</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.14-15.

portable properties that had no owner. According to the canon law books, portable historical artifacts were only the objects that had not an owner. Two types of procedures were implemented on such objects regardless of wherever they were found. If the discovered object had a symbol about Islam, or a symbol of “Kelime-i Şahadet”, this object would be ownerless. The finder of the object was to announce the situation; if the owner could not be found then one of the followings was done. If the finder was rich, the finding was given to a poor person. Contrary if the finder was poor then the finding was either left to him or given to the state treasury. The findings with signs of other religions or sovereigns were treated differently. One fifth of such findings were reserved for the state treasury, the rest was given to the assigned owner of the land by the sultan. The inheritors of the assigned land owner or the state treasury, in case where the inheritors were also deceased, received the share if the land owner was deceased. In case where the land was neither owned by an owner nor by the state one fifth of the finding was reserved for the state treasury, and the rest was left to the finder. However, this was not the case for foreigners. If a foreigner was excavating with the permission of the sultan, then they were granted the share which had been promised.<sup>382</sup>

On the other hand, the importable cultural properties belonged to the state, endowed institutions or to private agencies. The state or the individuals had unlimited authority of use over these assets. Only the properties belonging to the endowed institutions were under special guarantees due to specific conditions of the endowed institution. If the land had not been reserved for soil working, or had not been owned by an individual, it would have been open to public use.<sup>383</sup>

As understood from the fikh provisions, the legal situation of the old artifacts had been denoted as ownerless portable assets. No provision had existed about the importable cultural properties. This environment, where importable ownerless artifacts without owners that could have belonged to

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<sup>382</sup> Hüseyin Karaduman, “Belgelerle İlk Türk Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi”, *Belgeler*, Cilt: XXV, Sayı: 29’dan ayrı basım, 2004, p.74-75.

<sup>383</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete...* , p.15.

either of three parties could be destructed easily, created negative conditions for old artifacts. On the other hand it is obvious that portable objects could simply be owned. That is; the state had limited claim on these artifacts or the state did not claim to be the owner of these properties completely. In addition, the provisions of the canon law did not give importance on the matters that could prevent old artifact smuggling.

The canon law provisions that had existed before the Tanzimat period fell short of the changing conditions and needs of the period in the course of time. As the other institutions of the Empire, the juridical institution began to change with the impact of Europe; and a codification movement was initiated. Among all aspects of the Tanzimat, one of the most important one was the juridical one. The juridical reforms Tanzimat represented the transition from arbitrariness to juridical organization.<sup>384</sup> As a result of this development, the regulations regarding the situation of old artifacts emerged.

Before the publication of first Ancient Monuments Regulation, there were two important legal decisions to be mentioned about the subject. The former was the 133<sup>rd</sup> clause of the Criminal Code dated to 9.8.1858. This clause being punitive in character<sup>385</sup> was the only legal dictum which was directly related with old artifacts until 1869.<sup>386</sup> According to this clause, the destruction of charity buildings and decorated monumental buildings were prohibited and individuals that violated the clause would be punished.<sup>387</sup>

Other than the Criminal Code, the Land Code of 1858 undertook the issue of portable old artifacts. These objects were defined as the stray old-new coins, weapons, vessels, and ring stones found anywhere. The rules of ownership for these objects were as follows: Regarding old artifacts that carry Islamic signs and treasures hidden following the conquest of Constantinople, if the land owner claimed the ownership of the objects that were found, the

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<sup>384</sup> Hıfzı Veldet, “Kanunlaştırma Hareketleri ve Tanzimat”, *Tanzimat*, İstanbul: M.E.B. Yayınları, No: 3273, 1999, p.139.

<sup>385</sup> Karaduman, 2004, p.75.

<sup>386</sup> Mumcu, p.68.

<sup>387</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.16.

findings were left to him. If the land owner did not claim ownership or the land belonged to nobody, the finder announced the situation in order to find the owner. After it was agreed that nobody claimed to be the owner of the findings the objects were left to the finder. According to the land code, other clauses were presented regarding old artifacts that have signs of foreign sovereigns and that were buried before the conquest of Constantinople. According to these clauses if the land owner claimed ownership, the findings were left to him. Otherwise, one fifth of the objects were left to the state and the rest was given to the former owner or to his inheritors. If the land belonged to nobody, the state claimed the findings. Moreover these clauses applied only to Ottoman citizens; if foreigners were to find such treasures they were not given any shares.<sup>388</sup> To sum up, the clauses regarding the old artifacts in the Land Code are related with the phenomenon of “sharing” and “ownership” rather than “protection”. The basic theme of the clauses were how the findings would have been shared and to whom they would have belonged. Claiming the ownership to an old object was very easy according the law, so the Land Code of 1858 did not bring anything new on the subject. Furthermore, this code includes only the matters of portable artifacts that were undertaken in two dates as before and after the conquest of Constantinople. Descriptions of old artifacts according to whether they carry (bear) Islamic signs or signs of foreign sovereigns and criteria regarding ownership were very similar to the Canon Law introduced before the Tanzimat Period.

To sum up, the declaration of Tanzimat in 1839 provided the formation of general rules in terms of protection as in several fields. However, the regulations of ancient monuments brought up at the end of the 1860s, were a reaction of the state to protect itself against European originated cultural plunder that became more and more ruthless.

The nineteenth century was an era when the European excavation activities increased in the Ottoman lands. The archaeological interest of Europeans increased in the 19<sup>th</sup> century simultaneously with the development

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<sup>388</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.16.

of museology in Europe.<sup>389</sup> Financing of the excavations conducted by the Europeans was being supported by capital owners. From the 1870s, these excavations began to be financed by the state, and as a result, these activities turned in to an international competition. The warships of the states began to be included in the transportation of ancient artifacts.<sup>390</sup> During this period, the two most competitive states were Germany and Britain for enriching their museums.<sup>391</sup> Europeans claimed that the Ottomans would not be able to protect the artifacts anyway.<sup>392</sup> The words of Heinrich Schliemann are the best that reflect the European approach: “*Instead of yielding the finds to the government ... by keeping all to my self, I saved them for the science. The entire civilized world will appreciate what I have done*”.<sup>393</sup> With their predatory attitudes, Europeans claimed right on the treasures lying in the Ottoman’s lands. This approach could be named as “culture plundering”. European’s mission was to save these ancient artifacts for the sake of scientific world and to bring these artifacts in their museums. In order to realize this task, they resorted to all legal and illegal ways. Consequently, these European policies caused a disadvantage for the Ottomans.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, due to the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, the old artifacts were mostly being transported to foreign countries consciously. This circumstance caused big annoyance both within the museum administration and the public. In the former years of Ottoman news printing, this importunity could also be observed on the articles written about museums and old artifacts.<sup>394</sup> The necessity of taking precautions was brought up by the newspaper *Ceride-i Havadis*, an important publication of the period presenting articles about the

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<sup>389</sup> Karaduman, 2004, p.74.

<sup>390</sup> Akin, p.237.

<sup>391</sup> Shaw, p.160.

<sup>392</sup> Akin, p.234.

<sup>393</sup> Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey”, in Lynn Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, London & New York: Routledge, 1998, p.115.

<sup>394</sup> Akin, p.233.

archaeological activities conducted in Ottoman territories.<sup>395</sup> In the *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis* dated Jan. 17, 1865, the matter of old artifact export was touched on explicitly. This article suggested that the sultan should order a prohibition for the transfer of old artifacts and also that; old artifacts discovered prior or later to the prohibition should be collected in Istanbul following that date. The reason behind this suggestion was the belief that the old artifacts transported to foreign countries were enriching European museums. Furthermore, the necessity for a big museum complex was emphasized and with the old artifacts flowing in from different parts of the empire it was expected that this museum would be as rich as its' European counterparts, even surpassing them.<sup>396</sup> Likewise, newspapers in foreign languages published in the Empire, mentioned similar topics. For instance, in an edition of the newspaper *La Turquie* dated to 1872, two years before the implementation of 1874 regulation, the export of our artifacts was mentioned in an article, and the lack of a commissary in Ephesus excavations was complained about. Moreover, it was demanded that Edhem Pasha intervened this situation.<sup>397</sup> All these articles are important documents in terms of showing the deficiencies of the system about the protection of old artifacts. Finally, as a response of these critiques, the regulation of 1869 was published.

#### **4.2. Regulation of 1869**

The year 1869 witnessed two important developments in the Ottoman cultural life. It was a period during which the idea of constructing a new museum by collecting and arranging the old artifacts reappeared. Until that period the small museum formed by Fethi Ahmet Pasha in the Hagia Irene Church had been like a depository of old artifacts in overall picture. The first requirement for developing the museum was to increase the flow of the artifacts to that place. In order to achieve this goal, the basic necessity was to

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<sup>395</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.20.

<sup>396</sup> Karaduman, 2004, p.74.

<sup>397</sup> Akın, p.234.

put the archaeological excavations and the trade of old artifacts in order. For this purpose, the first ancient monument law of the Empire was codified in 1869.

For many years, it was thought that the 1874 Code was the first regulation of the Ottoman government regarding old artifacts. Some scholars like Nur Akin, Kamil Su, Aziz Ogan, and Sümer Atasoy have been among the proponents of this issue.<sup>398</sup> However, Ahmet Mumcu published an article in 1969 that includes the first ancient monument law of the Ottoman Empire. In his article, Ahmet Mumcu by using a historical document has noted that the Law of 1874 was mentioned as the new regulation, whereas the Law of 1869 was undertaken as the regulation began to be implemented in 1285.<sup>399</sup>

The emergence of the first regulation was related to old artifacts' investigations conducted by English researcher John Turtle Wood. The excavation authorization had been given to Wood provided that one of twosome objects found in the excavations of antique settlements in the environs of Ayasuluğ and Gavurköy would be given to the Imperial Museum. In February 1868, an officer, Hekim Ismail Pasha, who had knowledge about the course of state mechanics, was assigned to the governorship of Aydın Province. A mandate about the extension of John Turtle Wood's authorization of excavation for the fourth time was sent to Hekim Ismail Pasha via the instrumentality of the English Consulate. The governor of the province upon obtaining information about Wood's activities of transporting old artifacts abroad by railway contacted Monsieur Edwards, commissary of the Aydın Railroad, in order to obtain detailed information. In the response letter, an inventory in a rough estimate about the amount of transported artifacts was given. Understanding the seriousness of the problem, Hekim Ismail Pasha wrote a letter to the Prime Vizierate, and offered solutions that included the prohibition of unauthorized excavations, charging an officer besides researchers, and taking half, one-third or one-fourth of the artifacts for the

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<sup>398</sup> Akin, 1993; Su, 1965; Ogan, 1938; Atasoy, 1984.

<sup>399</sup> Karaduman, 2004, p.73.

museum instead of one of twosome. In addition, the main point emphasized by the governor was the fact that foreign researchers were not returning the twosome objects which were also extremely scarce goods; and if this situation were to continue, all valuable artifacts would be transported to foreign countries. This document was sent to the Prime Vizierate, than to the Bureau of Public Works, and at the end a summary of the document was sent to *Heyet-i Umumiye*. In the document that was sent to *Heyet-i Umumiye* a summary of the subject and some decisions were taken place. The suggestion of the governorship was denied on the ground that the appraisal of shared artifacts would not be possible due to the fact that the value of the artifacts was not known. Instead of sharing the findings, it was suggested that government investigations on places where old artifacts were expected to be found was to be done and that the excavation system and expenses were to be evaluated and a written report prepared by a specialist was to be presented to the province. Finally, the *Heyet-i Umumiye* after evaluating these suggestions and opinions came to a decision that would actually compose the clauses of 1869 regulation. Until the publication of regulation, the excavation permit of John Turtle Wood was put off.<sup>400</sup>

After all these developments the first ancient monument law of Turkish history consisting of an introduction part and seven clauses was published in newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* dated on 13.2.1869. In the introduction part of the regulation, the importance of the old artifacts was emphasized, and it was complained that although these kinds of artifacts were great in number in the Ottoman lands, the museum in Constantinople could not reach at the adequate level. The main reason for this was the fact that twosome (identical) artifacts were rarely found and that the existing practice of the period regarding the excavations which stated the abandonment of one of the twosome old artifacts to the Ottoman Museum was generally violated. In other words, the insufficient requirements for obtaining the excavation permit caused the destitution of the museum as compared with the European counterparts. Hence, the Sultan

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<sup>400</sup> Karaduman, 2004, pp.76-79.

ordered the codification of the procedures of the old artifact researches, completion of the deficiencies of the museum by the Ministry of Education and allocation of necessary amount to the budget of the Ministry with a new system. Furthermore the processes regarding the exhibition, recording and authorization of old artifacts were to be dealt with.<sup>401</sup>

The first and second clauses of the regulation aimed to regularize old artifact researches. According to the clauses, the explorers who wanted to make researches in the Ottoman lands should get authorization from the Ministry of Education first. The researchers who received the permit from the state would not ship the findings to other countries. If there was a demand within the empire, these researchers would have the permission to dispose these objects to the state.<sup>402</sup> However, in the fourth clause, the coins were exempted from the prohibition of transport. According to the third clause, the artifacts found in a person's own property would be left to the land owner.<sup>403</sup> Finally in the last three clauses, the objects to be searched were limited only with the artifacts below the ground. On the other hand, it was prohibited to dig up or damage the importable artifacts lying over the ground. The ones who dared damage these monuments would be penalized by law. When the old artifacts were demanded by the foreign countries, the Sultan would evaluate the question and make a decision, in other words this demand would depend on his special permission. Lastly, the persons who had knowledge about the old artifact researches and excavations and proved their knowledge to the Ministry would be given the excavation permit from the Ministry of Education. The wages and expenses of these employees would be paid from the budget.<sup>404</sup>

In the evaluation of these clauses both some positive developments and negative matters are standing out. The founding of a museum in the European standards was among the aims of the Ottoman intellectuals of the period. The

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<sup>401</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p. 21.

<sup>402</sup> Gerçek, p.265.

<sup>403</sup> Günay Paksoy, "Bazı Belgeler Işığında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kültür Mirası Politikası Üzerine Düşünceler", *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi Sempozyumu 17-18 Aralık 1992*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993, p.207.

<sup>404</sup> Karaduman, 2004, p.80.

requisite of this aim was to prevent the old artifact smuggling in order to enrich the museum. The first two clauses of the 1869 Regulation were the solutions brought to the smuggling problem. The provision of taking permission from the Ministry aimed at the prevention of unauthorized excavations, and referred to the desire of forming a protective order. The prohibition of the old artifact transport became an important measure, however, the purchase and sale of the artifacts was still allowed. The principle of selling artifacts to the state on demand was an early example of the right of priority of the state with regard to purchasing artifacts that would appear in the following regulations. On the other hand, it is interesting that the coinages were exempted from the prohibition. The fact that coinages were not accepted as old artifacts, were vastly found throughout the Ottoman Empire and the difficulty in controlling these small artifacts might be the reasoning behind this exemption. The third clause of the regulation that gave the right of possessing the old artifacts found in individual's own estate has its roots in the Canon Law decisions. At this point, the fact that the old artifacts were still not seen as state property can be pointed out. The findings were under the ownership of private agencies, and the state had only pre-emptive right on these objects. While giving the power of usage to individuals, this clause might lead to unwanted results. Due to the lack of the clause, the foreigners acquired old artifacts from the peasantry, who had limited knowledge of the importance of such material, simply by persuading them to sell. The only clause related with importable old artifacts was the fifth clause through which the 133<sup>rd</sup> clause of the Penal Code was referred. In accordance with state administration, the Sultan was the authority that would determine the demands of old artifacts coming from the foreign countries. With this flexible decision, which was in the sixth clause, the execution of the second clause became open to question. As a result, the foreigners carried away many old artifacts through the permission of the Sultan. Finally, giving the excavation permit to the individuals who proved their knowledge on the subject could be evaluated as normal in a period when a scientific archaeology did not exist in the Ottoman Empire. However, at the

present day, giving excavation permit to non expert individuals is not a proper way in archaeological studies.

Even though the regulation of 1869 had some deficiencies, there were examples showing that it was tried to be implemented until 1874. For instance, it was understood from a document dated to 1871 that Monsieur Rati who was a teacher in the Athens French School applied for excavation and research in antique settlements of Priene, Miletos, and Heraklia. Before realizing the excavation, Monsieur Rati was informed about his responsibilities. The basic requirement was taking legal authorization for each antique settlement and also taking the allowance of the land owner. Moreover, he was reminded that he could only make research in the first year, and he could not export the findings. In addition, an officer would accompany Rati during his excavations.<sup>405</sup>

The second example could be given from the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann in Troy. It has been understood from the letters of Schliemann about the excavations that he firstly tried to buy the land where he wanted to excavate, although he negotiated the price, he could not own the land because the government bought it.<sup>406</sup> In that circumstance, the second clause of the regulation was put into practice, in other words, state intervened in the situation by using its priority of purchasing.

In sum, as signalized in the introductory part of the regulation, this legal arrangement was executed for two basic objectives. The former was to constitute an Imperial Museum that was aimed to become at the same level with European counterparts. On the other hand, the second aim was to remove negative conditions emerged from foreign researchers' smuggling activities conducted by transgressing existing rule. Taking cognizance of two problems, the Ottoman intellectuals awakened. It is doubtless that Hekim Ismail Pasha played an important role in this process. By getting detailed information about the problem, he transmitted his solution oriented suggestions to concerned authorities.

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<sup>405</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, pp.21-22.

<sup>406</sup> Esin, 1993, p.185.

Hüseyin Karaduman is perfectly correct in stating that this regulation shows the concerns of the Ottoman Empire that suffered from European's old artifact smuggling activities against which they found solutions in prohibiting old artifact transport to abroad except coinages. However, this prohibition became open to question due to the power given to the Sultan as a result of theocratic understanding. Moreover, it was a regulation defending private ownership that gave up the possession of artifacts to the land owner and excavator who had an official permit.<sup>407</sup> According to Ahmet Mumcu, this code of rules diminished disadvantages of the Canon Law existed before.<sup>408</sup>

To sum up, although the regulation of 1869 was rustic and not detailed, and also it was in a character of only organizing archaeological researches, it was the first regulation directly related with ancient monuments.

### **4.3. Regulation of 1874**

The regulation of 1874 was declared at a time when Anton Dethier was the director of Imperial Museum and Suphi Pasha was the minister of education. Written by Dethier and being formed of thirty six clauses, the regulation included a preliminary title, four chapters and conclusion parts.<sup>409</sup> This code of rules aimed to regularize and order the archaeological excavations and to protect the old artifacts discovered in these excavations. Contrary to the 1869 regulation, the new regulation addressed to foreign researchers. Although it seemed to have been protecting the Ottoman rights on antiquities, it facilitated the transportation of Ottoman antic relics.<sup>410</sup> It would be beneficial to examine carefully the clauses of the regulation in terms of understanding Ottoman approach towards ancient monuments.

The first two clauses of the regulation involve the definition of old artifact. All the objects descended from ancient times would be regarded as old

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<sup>407</sup> Karaduman, 2004, pp.82-83.

<sup>408</sup> Mumcu, p.69.

<sup>409</sup> Ogan, 1938, p.3.

<sup>410</sup> Shaw, pp.109-110.

artifacts that would be classified in two groups as coinages and other artifacts.<sup>411</sup> The deficient point in these clauses was that an exact definition of old artifact and a time limitation was not given. Moreover, while considering old artifacts in two groups, a division of portable and importable relics could not be seen.

A very controversial clause of the regulation was the third one which specified that wherever they were found, all artifacts would belong to the Ottoman state. However, it did not provide any explanation how the undiscovered artifacts would belong to the state.<sup>412</sup> On the other hand, one-third of the objects found through permitted excavations would be given to state, the second one-third to finder, and last one-third to land owner. If the old artifacts were found in the land of the excavator, two-thirds of the objects would be given to the land owner, and one-third to the state.<sup>413</sup> The provision of the clause was already in a character of affirming the old artifact smuggling. In the consequent process of the regulation, thirty-two statues of sixty-four found in Miletos excavations were sent to Paris to enrich the Louvre Museum. The decision of the third clause stating that one-third of the objects should be given to the land owner was used by the foreigners in their own interests; the foreigners mostly bought the share of the land owners in exchange of a small cost. Furthermore, the last one-third part of the artifacts belonging to the state was either sold to foreigners as payment or offered to foreigners as presents by authorities. The donation of the Zeus altar to the Germans was a good example of this situation. It is thought that the feeling of a political duty to Kaiser and the construction of the railroad affected the abandonment of the altar.<sup>414</sup> This regulation that was expected to solve the smuggling problem was briefly incompetent.

In order to prevent negative consequences of the clause, the Committee of Education that was associated with the Ministry of Education, whose duties

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<sup>411</sup>Yıldırım, Martal, p.1099.

<sup>412</sup>Mumcu, p.70.

<sup>413</sup>Ogan, 1947, p.8.

<sup>414</sup>Kundakçı, p.1089-1090.

were arranging the laws and regulations about the museum and giving excavation permits, made modifications in the clauses of the 1874 regulation to prohibit smuggling of all artifacts to foreign countries. According to the new clauses, all artifacts discovered on the ground belonged to the state. All findings of authorized excavations done on the Ottoman territories were to be taken to the state property regardless of whether the subjects were of Ottoman Empire or foreign citizens. On the other hand, two-third of the objects found in private properties should be given to the state, and one-third to the land owner. In other words, the researcher could not participate in sharing; he could only get the photographs and plaster replicas of the relics. The land owner, on the other hand, could not sell and transport the findings; he could carry away the findings if the museum required the photographs and plaster molds of the objects.<sup>415</sup> However, these modifications were never promulgated. Even the prohibition of transport of old artifacts could not be proclaimed to foreigners in order not to displease them.<sup>416</sup> Despite all negative aspects, it was important that the deficiency of the regulation was noticed and some modifications were tried to be made, having such a mentality was also worthy. The only positive sanction of the third clause was that all old artifacts began to be respected as properties of the state. This determination took place in all legal regulations included the Republican era.

In the 1874 regulation, the part following the fourth clause was almost entirely about archaeological excavations and treasures. This part of the regulation can be examined in two main chapters. The first chapter included the requirements for conducting researches and archaeological excavations and procedures to be applied as the expenses of the excavation or supervising issues. On the other hand, the second chapter dialed with sharing of the objects, export and import of the old artifacts.<sup>417</sup>

In the first part regarding the obligations of the excavators, some basic rules were stated expressly. First of all, the country property could not be

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<sup>415</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.287.

<sup>416</sup> Atasoy, p.1461.

<sup>417</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete..*, p.25.

excavated without official permission and land owner's allowance. Those who acted against that inhibition would be subjected to cash penalty from five to hundred Ottoman gold, or with penalty of imprisonment from three days to ten days. In addition, the objects found by these excavators would be impounded. If the land owner affirmed that he met with a loss, this loss would be retrieved. The excavations conducted by the authorized excavators would be controlled by the Ministry of Gendarmeries in Istanbul, and by the local government officials in provinces in order to check whether the process of excavation was appropriate to the regulation or not. The permanent observers were given over to remote provinces by the government. The excavations would be broke up by the Ministry of Education if any disadvantageousness was observed in the researches; and no one could claim charge due to the intermission. The excavation permit would be valid maximum two years; in the deadline it would be necessary to take extension in order to continue the excavations. Moreover, the excavation permit could not exceed the borders of a village or town. Researchers should mapping to get the authorization. The researchers with official permission could not take two permits at the same time and endorse over another person.<sup>418</sup>

The second part of the regulation including clauses about sharing of the artifacts and procedures that would put in practice after discoveries were undertaken beginning from twenty-fifth clause. According to these rules, artifacts found incidentally or through excavations should be enounced to local authorities in ten days if there was not an officer in the excavation. Otherwise, at a valuation of one-fourth of the state interest in artifacts pecuniary penalty would be given. The state authorities would adjust the distribution of the artifacts. In a situation of lack decision, instructions would be received from the Ministry of Education via telegraph. In respect of artifacts that were unrealizable to divide, two experts would be assigned by the government and

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<sup>418</sup> Nurettin Can, *Eski Eserler ve Müzelerle İlgili Kanun Nizamname ve Emirler*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948, p.1-3.

the finder of the objects; if these two persons could not agree, a third valuator would be charged by the state as a referee to give the final decision.<sup>419</sup>

The second most controversial clause of the regulation was the thirty-second. This clause was about the transportation of the artifacts to abroad. According to the clause, wherever they were found, both coins and other old objects that would be transported to foreign countries should be listed and sent to Ministry of Education; and they would not transported to foreign countries without official permission. If it was needed by the museum to buy some artifacts, their cost would be paid after taking the allowance of the owner.<sup>420</sup>

In respect of old artifact transportation, some clauses took place in the regulation related with customs affair. Customs exemption would be valid for both domestic transportation of old artifacts and for the artifacts coming from abroad to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>421</sup> However, all the artifacts overtook from smuggling through customs would be confiscated in the name of the Sultan.<sup>422</sup>

In the 1874 regulation, there were only three clauses, which were 6<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 35<sup>th</sup> related with the protection and repair of importable ancient monuments. According to the 6<sup>th</sup> clause, an officer would be assigned by the government to guard immovable sanctuaries and other buildings that were excellent and found in possessed lands. At that point, it is important that the necessity of protecting importable artifacts was acceded by the state for the first time. However, it was also an extremely inadequate clause because it only included monuments existed in the owned lands, and it also limited the definition of “old artifact building” with a very relative concept as “being excellent”.<sup>423</sup> Probably the artifacts having historical value were eluded in this clause. However, the way to determine these “excellent” buildings remains obscure. Moreover, it is very controversial to protect these monuments only by sending an officer.<sup>424</sup> On the other hand, according to the 14<sup>th</sup> clause, the

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<sup>419</sup> Mumcu, p.70-71.

<sup>420</sup> Ogan, 1938, p.4.

<sup>421</sup> Gerçek, p.269.

<sup>422</sup> Yıldırım, Martal, p.1100.

<sup>423</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.25.

<sup>424</sup> Mumcu, p.71.

excavations could not be conducted in sanctuaries, dervish lodges, madrasahs, cemeteries, canals and public places.<sup>425</sup> Being mentioned mostly about religious buildings, this clause did not undertake monuments that could belong more ancient times. Furthermore, the damages caused by archaeological excavations could not have been prevented that was normal in such a time when scientific archaeology did not exist. The last clause related with importable ancient monuments was the 35<sup>th</sup> article that included the procedures to be implemented in case of destruction of buildings existing in both public and private places. The individuals who damaged the environment would be punished according to the clause 133 of the Penal Code.<sup>426</sup> In other words, along with the amends and money penalty, the penalty of imprisonment from one month to one year could be imposed on destructive persons. As a result, it could be asserted that these three clauses were not enough to protect thousands of importable old artifacts and monuments existed in the Ottoman lands.

In the last part of the regulation, a chapter called as the “Official Admonition” (“Tenbih-i Resmi”) took place. In that part, it was cited that many marbles with inscriptions and relief were dogged up and broiled in limekilns; and it was demanded to prohibit stone taking and aggrieving from antique ruins through the measures taken by provinces’ governorships. However, the deficient point in that request was that it only contained ancient ruins, dwelled settlements and buildings were exempted from the rule.<sup>427</sup>

Aziz Ogan blamed Anton Dethier for having a great impact on the clauses of 1874 regulation that were to be the disadvantage of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>428</sup> Although it was Dethier who wrote the clauses of the regulation, it was not him that enacted the law. The regulation was needed to be negotiated and admitted first in the *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif* and then in the Council of State, therefore, Dethier was not responsible in inuring the regulation. The main figures who approved the 1874 regulation were intellectual persons of the

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<sup>425</sup> Can, p.2.

<sup>426</sup> Gerçek, p.275.

<sup>427</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.26.

<sup>428</sup> Ogan, 1947, p.8.

period as Ahmet Cevdet, Saffet Pasha employed at the Ministry of Education. Thus the adoption of 1874 regulation by such highly esteemed council has to be questioned. The necessity of prohibiting old artifact transport to foreign countries was being emphasized in the articles of newspapers since the declaration of 1874 regulation; and the public was also aware about the foreign smuggling activities. Thus, the administrators of the period had great faults on this subject.<sup>429</sup>

On the other hand, Kamil Su connected the reason of flexibility of the clauses to the situation of the Ottoman Empire during that period. While losing its political reputation, the Ottoman Empire was also in debt. “That period was an age of currying favor awfully to the foreigners by granting all sorts of concession through Sultan’s firman”.<sup>430</sup> Alternatively, Halit Çal explained the negative aspects of the regulation with under distinguishing the concepts of “old artifact” and “museology” at that period.<sup>431</sup>

The regulation of 1874 was implemented not to prevent completely the smuggling of historical artifacts, therefore, the activities of foreign archaeologists continued almost as before. It is possible to follow the enforcement of the regulations through the excavations conducted until 1884. For instance, during the period when 1874 regulation was in effect, the utmost old artifact smuggling in the Ottoman lands was realized by German researcher Heinrich Schliemann. The most interesting and maleficent aspect of this happening was that although Schliemann carried off the Troy treasures to abroad, he could get authorization again from the Ottoman State. Another example could be given from the remains of Koyuncuk where Hormuzd Rassam conducted archaeological excavations. In 1881, Rassam took nearly all the objects that he found in this archaeological site. From 707 pieces of findings, the Englishman took 684 pieces, and gave up 23 pieces to the

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<sup>429</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.286.

<sup>430</sup> Su, p.23.

<sup>431</sup> Halit Çal, “Osmanlı Devletinde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Sayı: XXVI, Ankara, 1997, p.392.

Ottoman government.<sup>432</sup> In brief, foreign researchers in the Ottoman lands derived benefit from disadvantageous clauses of the regulation; and they enriched their museums as mentioned in the first chapter which refers to it.

In conclusion, although 1874 regulation was much more detailed than the 1869 regulation, it was an excavation code in character rather than having a protective tone.<sup>433</sup> In other words, as the 1869 regulation, it could not proceed to be a regulation regarding only archaeological values; again fields, the buildings and importable artifacts were not heeded. Moreover, archaeological artifacts that stood in the forefront did not include the artifacts dated to Turkish-Islamic Period.

The two most controversial clauses of the regulation namely 3<sup>rd</sup> and 32<sup>nd</sup> were used by the foreigners for their own museum's sake. By the compulsion of European states and mediation of Anton Dethier, the Ottoman Empire went one step backward from 1869 regulation.

However, the positive aspects of the regulation must also to be taken into consideration. As compared with the previous regulation, a more comprehensive definition of the old artifact was given. In addition, the archaeological excavations were grilled if the conducted studies were appropriate to the procedures displayed in the regulation that meant supervision began to play an important role though it was not satisfactory.

The impact of the regulation could be best observed in museum exhibitions. The number of artifacts increased with the impact of 1874 regulation; and the museum was moved from the Hagia Irene Church to the Tiled Pavilion in 1875.

The deficiencies of the regulation were tried to be ameliorated, however, this correction did not come into effect. Finally the attempts to form a new regulation started in 1883.<sup>434</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> Su, p.21.

<sup>433</sup> Çal, , p.392.

<sup>434</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.288.

#### 4.4. Regulation of 1884

The regulation of 1884 that was declared in order to fill the gaps of previous regulations; and that was prepared as a reaction to the looting of Westerners, has a special place in the history of the Turkish Ancient Monuments Law.

Both the newspapers and the *Meclis-i Maarif-i Kebir* were claiming especially changing of the third clause of 1874 regulation that had created big problems.<sup>435</sup> The regulatory statute of 1884 was negotiated and acceded in the *Meclis-i Mahsus-ı Vükela* (the Cabinet Council). The Grand Vizier, the Ministers of War, Gendarmerie, Estates, Public Works, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Navy; and the Under-Secretary of Grand Vizierate, Chief of Council of State and Vice Chairman, the Mayor of Customs, the General Director of Palace Registers, and the Mayor of Istanbul were among the members of the committee that accepted the new regulation.<sup>436</sup> As a result, being formed of seven chapter and thirty seven clauses, the ancient monument law of 1884 was composed. In the abstract, this regulation included general decisions, penal provisions and aspects of old artifacts commerce.<sup>437</sup>

New regulation brought some changes into the Code of 1874. The first modification could be observed in the initial part of the regulation that introduced a more exact definition of old artifact all kinds of which were included compared to the previous regulation.<sup>438</sup> According to this description, portable artifacts as gold, silver, old coinages, tablets with inscriptions, engraved drawings, all kinds of potteries made of terra cotta or other material, jewels, jewel stones, weapons, sculptures and also importable monuments as temples, palaces, antic theatres, obelisks, aqueducts, bridges, stones with inscriptions, pillars, public buildings, and finally mounds that were understood to be covering buried inanimate and objects began to be respected as old

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<sup>435</sup> Çal, p.393.

<sup>436</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.297.

<sup>437</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.41.

<sup>438</sup> Shaw, p.145.

artifacts.<sup>439</sup> Due to the fact that old artifacts consideration had remained as an open-ended question in the previous regulation, Osman Hamdi Bey explained the notion of “old artifact” personally by giving concrete examples.<sup>440</sup> A similar approach was seen in Germany at the end of 1870’s.<sup>441</sup> The main point of this definition was the fact that both the portable objects and importable monuments were included in the property of the state through being examined as old artifacts differently from the 1874 regulation. This change in the provisions could be interpreted as the Ottoman state ceased to be interested only with the material and aesthetic value of the artifacts; they also attached importance to other monuments in order to understand ancient cultures.

One of the most important clause of the regulation was the third one whose different feature was that more wide determinations were stated about the artifacts found or would be discovered in the Ottoman Lands.<sup>442</sup> According to the law, all kinds of artifacts found in the lakes, sea, rivers, streams, and soil would belong completely to the state.<sup>443</sup> The private agencies would not have right to destroy the ancient artifacts found in their personal lands through their personal decisions. The necessary decisions and precautions would be taken by the state.<sup>444</sup> In that clause, the main concept to be emphasized was the “state property”, which would also take place in the Ancient Monument Laws during the Republican Era. This concept was not an interference to the private ownership; it only signaled that property owners had not unlimited authority to use the artifacts; and they had to observe legal restrictions.

Another noteworthy aspect of the regulation was the prohibition of diversifying not only the old artifacts but also the ancient buildings. In other words, modifying, destructing and damaging importable artifacts as ramparts, towers, and public baths was prohibited. Moreover, setting limekilns within

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<sup>439</sup> Gerçek, p.270.

<sup>440</sup> Çal, p.393.

<sup>441</sup> Shaw, p.146.

<sup>442</sup> Mumcu, p.73.

<sup>443</sup> Can, p.6.

<sup>444</sup> Gerçek, p.271.

250 meters of these remains and using the architectural elements of the remains in construction works were also restrained.<sup>445</sup>

In the regulation, the matters regarding archaeological excavations, and the import and export of the artifacts took place between the clauses six and thirty two. Although the clauses on these matters were similar to those of the regulation of 1874, some additional and more exact resolutions were also introduced. First of all, the requirements of conducting an excavation were stated. The first requirement was obtaining the consent of the land owner if the land to be excavated was possessed by private agencies. If the land owner refused the request, expropriation would be carried out. The second necessity was taking the official excavation permit. Without this authorization, nobody could excavate for the old artifacts, export or own these objects even partially. The transportation of old artifacts to abroad was definitely forbidden. All the artifacts to be discovered through official permissions would belong to the state; and researchers would have only the right of taking molds and pictures of the findings. On the other hand, the findings of the researchers without permission would be confiscated by the state. Besides the state owing all the artifacts, the excavators would not have the chance to take any gratification. The only exception would be applied to the objects found incidentally in case of construction works conducted in possessed lands. In such a situation, half of the artifacts would be given to the land owner. However, the state would have the full right to decide which objects would be preserved on behalf of the museum and which would be given over to property owners. Furthermore, the state would also have the right of pre-emption over these artifacts left to the land owners.<sup>446</sup> According to Ahmet Mumcu, the reason behind the enactment of this law was to prevent the damage of the artifacts found in construction sites and excavations conducted by chance.<sup>447</sup> Finally, in order conduct some researches and archaeological excavations of old artifacts, it was necessary to

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<sup>445</sup> Can, p.6-7.

<sup>446</sup> Gerçek, p.271.

<sup>447</sup> Mumcu, p.74.

take the opinions of the imperial museum administration and the approbation of the Council of Education, than the authorization from the Sublime Port.<sup>448</sup>

These clauses of the regulation show that the state had full dominance over antiquities. The concept of the “state property” could be observed almost in each clause related with provisions of archaeological excavations and researches.

Another important characteristic of the regulation was the fact that the Ottoman government took notice of recording the artifacts. The quantity and type of the artifacts would be recorded in two inventories that would be given to the researcher and the Council of Education.<sup>449</sup>

On the other hand, in the chapter related with the provisions of research, it was noted that the authorization of research would be given by the Ministry of Education; and that the applicants should prepare and transmit a map, which would be drawing boundary of the area that was going to be excavated within a limit of ten kilometers, to the amenable offices.<sup>450</sup> The necessity of drawing a map of the excavation area, which was the first requirement for getting the excavation permit, was an important development in terms of scientific archaeology. Subsequently, the controlled mapping would become a standard component of the permission for archaeological excavations. It could be said that while including this demand in to the regulation, the Ottoman Empire might have began to perceive the old artifacts as historical, scientific findings rather than the objects having only aesthetical value.<sup>451</sup>

There were three criteria taken into consideration by the authoritative in the process of examination of the excavation applications. Firstly, it should have been understood that the research project would not have been harmful for the monuments, and for the interests of the persons. Secondly, as it has been mentioned above, the consent of the land owner must be taken. Lastly, researcher must have paid the caution money that was indicated by the

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<sup>448</sup> Akozan, p.24.

<sup>449</sup> Gerçek, p.272.

<sup>450</sup> Akozan, p.27.

<sup>451</sup> Shaw, p.146.

directorship of the museum. In this respect, tax amounts that were taken by the Ministry of Education were given in the 18<sup>th</sup> clause of the regulation. If it was understood that the permit holders had acted in accordance with the regulations at the close of the excavations, the caution money would be paid back.<sup>452</sup>

Having full liability upon the excavations, the Ministry of Education would also decide the duration of the research projects. The excavation permits would be given utmost for two years. However, if an extension was requested by the researcher, time extension would be possible only for one year. If a disadvantageous condition was observed by the state, the excavation would be stopped temporarily with the direction of Ministry of Education. As it had been taken place in the previous regulation, an informed officer whose expenses would be paid by the researcher was charged in order to control archaeological sites.<sup>453</sup>

Some measures were also adopted to prevent the smuggling activities of the foreign archaeologists. For this purpose, researchers could not conduct excavations in more than one archaeological site; and also he would not have the authority to give or sell his license to another person.<sup>454</sup>

The matters of transportation of old artifacts were determined between 28<sup>th</sup> and 32<sup>nd</sup> clauses. According to the decisions, the transportation of the objects within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, and importation of the artifacts would be exempted from customs duty. These articles especially emphasized requirement for obtaining official permission from the Ministry of Education while returning the artifacts abroad, and moving them from one place to another within the Empire. Moreover, these artifacts would be recorded and given to official agencies. If the museum demanded, these relics would be sold by the state.<sup>455</sup> For the artifacts that were going to be sent to foreign countries, the official permission would be given by the Ministry of Education in accordance with the commentary of the Museum Directorship. On

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<sup>452</sup> Gerçek, p.272-273.

<sup>453</sup> Can, pp.8-9.

<sup>454</sup> Gerçek, p.274.

<sup>455</sup> Mumcu, p.74.

the other hand, the artifacts that were caught on their way of transportation to foreign countries by the excavators without official permission would be confiscated on behalf of the museum.<sup>456</sup>

Finally, in the last chapter of the regulation, some penalties that could be considered effective in such a period were taken place. These penalties could be summarized as indemnifications or monetary penalties, and penalty of imprisonment. Monetary penalties would be imposed in case of law breaking occurred in the transportation of old artifacts and also in case of loss of these artifacts. On the other hand, penalties of imprisonment that could be from one month to one year would be imposed again in case of loss these antiquities. The controversies that might occur about the decisions would be examined in civil courts.<sup>457</sup>

The last clause of the regulation determined that the Ministry of Education defending the consistent imposition of the regulation instead of Sultan's arbitrary imposition would be responsible in the imposition of decisions. Actually, this approach shows the gap between the Ministry and the Sultan, and the process of transition from the monarchic organization that recognized the Sultan as the owner of the Ottoman lands to the constitutional monarchy in which citizens were being represented by a government.<sup>458</sup> Regulation of 1884 caused some opposition in European countries. Some foreigners compared this regulation with Draconian Laws; and they wrote articles by taking aim at Osman Hamdi.<sup>459</sup> For instance Ernest Renan criticized this regulation in a very negative way<sup>460</sup>:

This law, a sad proof of the infantile ideas that are formed among the Turkish government in scientific matters, will be remembered as an ill-fated date in the history of archaeological research... In actual fact, these unfortunate measures, which have just been codified, have been implemented already for two or three years and have brought the greatest damage to archaeological and epigraphical studies.

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<sup>456</sup> Gerçek, pp.274-275.

<sup>457</sup> Akozan, p.28.

<sup>458</sup> Shaw, p.157.

<sup>459</sup> Cezar, 1995, p.297.

<sup>460</sup> Eldem, 2004, p.132.

He finished his words by annotating The Marquis de Noailles's opinion:

The Marquis de Noailles (the French ambassador in Constantinople) is right in qualifying the new decree as a most unfortunate event for all sciences pertaining to history and archaeology.<sup>461</sup>

Ernest Renan criticized the new regulation by giving an example from Palmyra campaign where the archaeologists confronted with some difficulties in obtaining photographs. However, his main concern was the vastness of the Ottoman lands to which the regulation was applied. Due to the fact that Ottoman lands covered a vast area including treasures belonging diverse cultures as Greek, Syrian, Mesopotamian, all the artifacts would be transported to the Ottoman Imperial Museum that was defined by Ernest Renan as "museum housing a jumble of objects". However, it is evident that he did not take into consideration Osman Hamdi's great success. Osman Hamdi made many important contributions to the museum as ordering the exhibitions and compiling catalogues. Moreover, some European countries as Italy and France brought similar exact rules in their own old artifact regulations that they supported intensively.

On the other hand, Otto Benndorf also mentioned this regulation in his letters. According to Benndorf, the conservatives of the Empire were willing to give up all treasures to Austria. On the contrary, the bureaucracy of the Empire was looking to get all the findings for the museum. The leading figure of the process was Osman Hamdi Bey who was educated in Paris and fortunately was the director of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Similarly Carl Humann in his letter to Heinrich Schliemann complained about the activities of Osman Hamdi. He gave an example from the 1874 regulation which had served foreigners' interests. In the excavation of Pergamon, one-third share of the objects had been given to the foreigners through the directory, and this share turned into two-third with the permission of the grand vizier. However, these

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<sup>461</sup> Eldem, 2004, p. 132.

practices were valid before Osman Hamdi and the Imperial Museum did not exist.<sup>462</sup>

The main claim of the Europeans never changed: “saving the artifacts for the sake of the science”. Both thinking their science superior and considering themselves as the possessors of the artifacts, Europeans opposed to such regulations. However, archaeology was an act of collecting for them; they were in a competition for enriching their museums during the nineteenth century. On the other hand, Osman Hamdi refuted Europeans conceptions with his scientific publications and Imperial Museum exhibitions. Although some drastic opposition appeared, Osman Hamdi did not retreat.

As a result, through the implementation of the 1884 regulation, Osman Hamdi Bey became the savior of old artifacts by ameliorating the deficiencies of 1874 regulation. The strategy of Osman Hamdi Bey was depending on two basic concepts: the “promotion” and “protection”. The first step of Osman Hamdi’s “protection” strategy was realized in 1884 with the ratification of the new regulation that was prepared and offered by him.<sup>463</sup>

It is interesting that the protective measures of Osman Hamdi Bey reflect that he was slightly influenced from his father Edhem Pasha. The English archaeologist Hormuzd Rassam connected with Edhem Pasha and Grand Vizier to take the permit for getting back to the excavations in Mesopotamia which had previously been interrupted by the Crimean War. Edhem Pasha said that this permit completely depended on Sultan’s decision, and added that anyhow an Ottoman-English agreement needed to be compiled. According to Rassam, this agreement suggested by Edhem Pasha resembled the one signed between Germany and Greece. According to this agreement, the Imperial treasury had the right to protect all findings. On the other hand, English archaeologists would only have the right to take the copies of the artifacts; and both the English and Ottoman intellectuals would have the right of publication. Although this project of Edhem Pasha was never applied, it

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<sup>462</sup> Akin, p.236.

<sup>463</sup> Eldem, 2002, p.129 and 131.

became a source of inspiration to his son Osman Hamdi Bey for preparing the regulation of 1884.<sup>464</sup>

In summary, this new regulation was codified by making radical changes on the previous regulation. The different aspects of the regulation could be summarized with few words. First of all, differently from the previous regulations, the Code of 1884 began with an exact definition of the old artifact that included the products of all cultures that did not exist currently. Furthermore, besides being the first regulation to prohibit definitely old artifact transportation to foreign countries, it stated expressly the most important principle that gave the proprietorship of the artifacts absolutely to the state. In other words, it emphasized the fact that the Ottoman Empire was the sole owner of the treasures discovered within Ottoman lands. This principle that introduced “state ownership” has endured up until now.

In addition, by allotting two-third share of the objects to the state and one-third to the land owner, it eliminated the excavator’s obtaining of the old artifacts. It tried to prevent the smuggling of artifacts by exercising supervisory control on the excavations conducted by the foreigners. Moreover, the excavations conducted without official permission were accepted as abuse and these types of studies were involved in punitive sanction. In this way, the smuggling of artifacts was a little bit prevented. However, this regulation was also violated by the Europeans, because they were receiving the support of the consulates and diplomatic agencies. Moreover, the museum was understaffed and each archaeological site could not have been watched over.

This regulation had also some deficiencies. For instance, this regulation did not bring the new policies towards the condition of importable old artifacts. According to Halit Çal, in order to provide the new measures to protect these monuments, an inventory of the relics had to be determined firstly.<sup>465</sup> Moreover, although this regulation gave an exact and detailed definition of old artifacts, the relics belonging to all time periods were not overrated. During the

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<sup>464</sup> Eldem, 2004, p.131-132.

<sup>465</sup> Çal, p.393.

nineteenth century, it was the artifacts of Greco-Roman period that were given primary importance as result of European impact. Most of the excavations conducted by the Europeans were classical excavations; and the artifacts belonging to these periods were at the first rank in Imperial Museum exhibitions.

Although some deficiencies still existed, Osman Hamdi's effort in bringing the law into action is praiseworthy. The effects of the regulation could be best observed in museums exhibitions that were enriched with the impact of protective laws. In other words, old artifacts began to flow to Constantinople from throughout the empire with the implementation of 1884 regulation.<sup>466</sup> In the nineteenth century, the moving in of the museum to a larger and more complex building is another important indicator of the execution of ancient monument law.

#### **4.5. Regulation of 1906**

The regulation of 1884 reached its widest expression with the 1906 Code of Ancient Monuments which also became effective during the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey in the Imperial Museum. The effects of two regulations namely 1884 and 1906 could be best observed in Istanbul Archaeological Museums where ninety percent of the exhibited artifacts were found through archaeological excavations. The regulation of 1906 was formed in order to supply the deficiencies of previous regulations. Other reasons were the increase in the number of excavations during that period, and the emergence of educated personals. As a result, this new code that included six main chapters and a final *Ahkam-ı Müteferrika* appeared as a mature form of early regulations.<sup>467</sup>

The first chapter of the regulation provided information about the Imperial Museum that was the responsible mechanism of old artifacts.

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<sup>466</sup> Arık, 1953, p.3.

<sup>467</sup> Ogan, 1938, pp.6-7.

According to the regulation, a permanent commission that was consisted of museum director, his assistant, and two persons would be set. The decisions taken by this commission would be affirmed by the Ministry of Education. This task was given to the local administrators in the provinces. The members of the commission would perform the duties of museum directorship; however they would be connected with the directorship of Istanbul Museum mainly.<sup>468</sup> The local administrators of Ministry of Education would be responsible from the local museums. These administrators would supervise archaeological activities of the province and inform the commission. The most important feature of these clauses was the fact that for the first time the museum was defined as an institution having some functions.<sup>469</sup>

The basic difference from the previous regulations could be seen in the fourth clause of the 1906 Code. The artifacts belonging to the Islamic period were also placed in the status of old artifacts. In other words, for the first time, this kind of artifacts took place in the Ancient Monument Law at the beginning of the twentieth century. This development could be considered as a positive innovation in the Ottoman conception of historical and archaeological artifacts.<sup>470</sup> The moving cause of this innovation could be analyzed with the political atmosphere of the empire during that time. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Sultan Abdülhamit II emphasized the heritage of Islam in order to unite the subjects of the empire and Muslims in foreign countries against European imperialism. As a result, Islamic artifacts became important both in juridical and museological areas as well as the Greco-Roman artifacts. The artifacts of Islamic period were taken place in museum exhibitions.

Furthermore, as could be observed from the fifth clause, the old houses were also taken into consideration in this regulation as historical relics.<sup>471</sup> Another innovation brought by this regulation was to correct the deficiency taken place in the fourteenth clause of the 1884 regulation. In other words,

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<sup>468</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.43.

<sup>469</sup> Shaw, p.168.

<sup>470</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.43.

<sup>471</sup> Çal, p.393.

instead of giving half of the artifacts found by chance to the land owner, monetary gratification was decided to be given to land owner. Moreover, the domestic purchase and sale of the artifacts that were possessed by the private subjects began to depend on permission.<sup>472</sup>

Besides the positive aspects of the regulation, some negative practices continued. For instance, though the concept of ancient monuments seemed more comprehensive in this regulation, it showed big differences from the term “Ancient Monuments” used by the French. In other words, as in previous regulations, the Code of 1906 could not present a “cultural properties” concept in the proper sense. Especially, it showed concern only with the archaeological portable or importable artifacts in terms of protection.<sup>473</sup> In addition, contrary to the expectations, smuggling practices continued. However, the smuggling of old artifacts tried to be prevented through this regulation until 1973 in Turkey. The main reason of this fact could be explained with weakness of Turkey’s cultural policies.<sup>474</sup>

As compared with the Ottoman regulations, the Ancient Monument Law of 1973 had some differences. For instance, it was designated that the excavation permit would not be given to the members of embassies. The importance of this decision could be best understood when the suffering of the Ottomans from the consulates who acted in improper exploitation during the nineteenth and twentieth century is taken into consideration.<sup>475</sup>

To sum up, during the reform period of the Ottoman Empire, four ancient monument regulations became effective. The last two regulations were the products of Osman Hamdi Bey. Especially the last one was more comprehensive and accepted by the Turkish Republic; and it endured until 1973. The difficulty of forcing the official mechanism to form new regulations

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<sup>472</sup> Hüseyin Karaduman, “Eski Eser Yasalarında Özel Müzeler, Koleksiyonculuk Ticaret ve Müzayedeler”, *Kuruluşunun 150. Yılında Türk Müzeciliği Sempozyumu III Bildirileri (24-26 Eylül 1996- İstanbul)*, Ankara, 1997, p.8.

<sup>473</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete...*, p.45.

<sup>474</sup> Yıldırım, Martal, p.1102.

<sup>475</sup> *Eski Eserler Kanunu*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1973, p.12.

and laws could be best observed through the fact that although the regulation of 1906 had some deficiencies, it remained in effect until 1973.

#### 4.6. Concluding Remarks

The protective policies towards ancient monuments and artifacts are in relation with social structure, aesthetic values, and artistic trend of current periods. These policies differ in time with the impact of different protection perceptions in diverse societies. While in modern communities, educational functions, being the criterion of comparison and examination, and being scientific sources take place among the reasons of protecting ancient monuments<sup>476</sup>; in recent dates other reasons affected protective policies in relation of current perspectives of the “old artifact” conception. As a result, with the increase of interest and emphasis given to the old artifacts, almost all societies introduced their own Ancient Monument Laws.

The Anatolian lands hosting different cultures for many centuries, carries rich historical and artistic artifacts’ treasures belonging to these various cultures. Thus the Ancient Monument Law has a great importance especially for Turkey. Protecting and preserving these monuments substantially is the primary liability of the state. On this account, the principle of “protecting the artifacts and monuments with historical and cultural value is a state duty” was established in the 1961 Constitution in the Turkish Republic. On the other hand, this matter was expressed in the 1982 Constitution as follows.<sup>477</sup> “State provides the protection of historical, cultural and natural values and assets. For this purpose, it takes supportive and encouraging measures. The restrictions that are imposed on the assets which are subject to private ownership, helpings and exemptions that are going to be granted to rightful owners are enacted”. In order to catch the gist of these established legal principles during the twentieth

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<sup>476</sup> Cevat Erder, *Tarihi Çevre Kaygısı Tarihine Giriş*, Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınları, 1971, pp.1-3.

<sup>477</sup> Umar, Çilingiroğlu, p.2.

century, it is necessary to look up to the nineteenth century when the first attempts were realized.

The attitudes towards the old artifacts' protection differed beginning from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the Republican Era in relation with the radical changes observed in juridical, administrative, and economic sphere of the Ottoman Empire. Since the making of some assets like sculpture and portrait was prohibited in Islam, in the countries that followed Islamic tradition the development of plastic arts was prevented. This phenomenon could be the reason of negligence to which the treasures of antique period in Turkey were subject to over centuries.<sup>478</sup>

Today, there is a substantially established definition of old artifacts; however, it was a new concept for the Ottoman Empire. In the course of time, the intellectuals of the empire began to be more and more conscious about the importance of the protection these artifacts. This protective expression shows both the awareness of the intellectuals and the reflection against European smuggling.

In the Ottoman Empire, both with giving away old artifacts to the foreigners through Sultan's wills and with smuggling of the artifacts to abroad by the foreigners, many historical treasures were transported to European countries where most of these artifacts are enriching the museums presently. In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire did not only observe passively the smuggling of old artifacts but also thousands of handwritten manuscripts from the mosques.<sup>479</sup> Even when such unfavorable circumstances occurred, some intellectuals who were interested in ancient relics appeared. They made important contributions to the fields of museology and Ancient Monument Law with their conscious efforts. In addition, again with their insistent efforts, three ancient monument regulations were published during the nineteenth century.

The first regulation of the Empire, which was brief and included general decisions, dated back to 1869. Then Anton Dethier, who was the director of the

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<sup>478</sup> Mumcu, p.65.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid., p.65.

museum, introduced a regulation in 1874 that was also not too effective. Although these two regulations had many deficiencies as edging towards private ownership<sup>480</sup>, they were important paces in terms of systemizing archaeological activities.

On the other hand, Osman Hamdi Bey invalidated the regulation of 1874 by considering it insufficient; and he prepared a new regulation that was published in 1884. According to the clauses of the regulation, all kinds of old artifacts existing, discovered or would come to light in the Ottoman territories by excavations would be entirely at the peril of the state. Furthermore, the transportation and export of the artifacts would be definitely forbidden. In other words, two important concepts stepped in namely “government property” and “export prohibition”.

The 1884 regulation was the product of Osman Hamdi’s works. There is no doubt that his positions as an archaeologist and museum curator played an important role in his attempts. Moreover, his education in the law school contributed in his ability to create this regulation.

The Ottoman Empire met with “old artifact” and “protection” concepts through portable artifacts that could be understood from the fact that the first three regulations included decisions mostly about portable artifacts all of which were belonging to Pre-Turkish-Islamic period. No legal arrangement was made regarding Turkish-Islamic period products as miniatures, gravures, ceramic tiles, and porcelains having both historical and artistic values.<sup>481</sup> In such a case, Western researchers and archaeologists had a great impact. The protective policy of the Ottoman Empire emerged as a reaction to the smuggling activities of the Europeans our ancient relics that were mostly dating to Pre-Islamic period.

On the other hand, the protection of importable old artifacts was secured by endowed institution. In other words, the empire was completely focused on archaeological objects.

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<sup>480</sup> Karaduman, 1997, p.5.

<sup>481</sup> Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e...*, p.32.

The fourth regulation of the Ottoman Empire published during the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey in the Imperial Museum dated to 1906. Having very similar clauses to 1884 Law, this new regulation remained in effect until 1973 when the first ancient monument law of Turkish Republic was published in order to supply the deficiencies of early regulations. It is evident that Osman Hamdi Bey formulated an excellent regulation that remained in effect until 1973.

The regulations remained in effect from 1869 regulation to the present day aimed to protect cultural properties, define their status of possession. In this context, the state tried insofar as to be prohibitive, controller by imposing sanctions.<sup>482</sup>

In respect of the implementation of these regulations, the first three codes failed. Among the reasons of their failure, external coercions and capitulations existed. Until Osman Hamdi Bey's period, the archaeological excavations in the Ottoman territories had been conducted by the Westerners. As archaeology was born in Europe, qualified researchers in the field were also appeared in the West. On the other hand, there were not educated and experienced persons in the research of old artifacts in the Ottoman Empire. This fact resulted in lack of cultural consciousness. Moreover, because of the fact that the lack of a cultural policy in a western way did not exist in the Ottoman state, many ancient relics were devastated by the Ottoman subjects. For instance, while some artifacts were being given to foreigners, some archaeological relics were being broiled in limekilns.<sup>483</sup> However, even such negative demonstrations took place, the attempts of the Ottoman Empire realized through regulations and museological studies are admirable.

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<sup>482</sup> Karaduman, 1997, p.14.

<sup>483</sup> Arsebük, p.71.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

The Westernization of the Ottoman Empire started in the eighteenth century, and reached its peak by the nineteenth century. Following the declaration of administrative reforms in 1839, the Ottoman Empire witnessed fundamental changes and developments. These changes and developments first appeared in Ottoman military organization, and then expanded to the political, economic, judicial, and educational spheres; and they had impacts on cultural and scientific areas among which museological and archaeological studies played an important role.

The departure of this thesis is based on the assertion that both museological and archaeological studies were affected from the Ottoman Westernization process during the nineteenth century, and were considered as signs of Westernization / Modernization by the Ottoman bureaucracy and intelligentsia.

Both museology and archaeology were imported from the West, and were adapted to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Western states, chiefly France and Britain, had both direct and indirect roles in the development of museological and archaeological studies within the Ottoman Empire.

The West indirectly affected the development of museological and archaeological studies of the empire through the Ottoman ambassadors and students who were sent to major European cities for diplomatic and educational purposes. The Ottoman ambassadors' first contact with Western science and culture started with their visits to the scientific and cultural institutions of the major European cities. According to the Ottoman ambassadors' accounts, the European museums were among these institutions. On the other hand, Ottoman students met Western science through the European educational institutions. The Western systematic education system contributed to the enlightenment of the Ottoman students in terms of scientific, cultural, artistic, and administrative

spheres. The first Ottoman students in Europe were educated completely in military fields in accordance with the Westernization attempts of the empire. However, the scope of their education broadened following the Tanzimat reforms; because the Ottoman bureaucracy recognized that military reforms were not enough in achieving the Westernization goal. Thus, Ottoman students began to be educated in different fields such as law, engineering, and art departments.

In brief, both the Ottoman ambassadors and students might have been influenced from the cultural, scientific, and educational institutions of the West during their stay in the Western countries; and they contributed to the establishment of similar institutions in their country when they returned. The Ottoman students, as well as being well educated in Europe, became more aware of the importance of scientific and cultural affairs; and they served in various fields of the empire such as administration, education and art; and they became the intelligentsia of the empire. Osman Hamdi Bey, the founder of Turkish archaeology, and a great pioneer in the museological studies, was the key figure who confirmed this assertion.

Another indirect influence of the West was the establishment of some Westernized educational and administrative institutions in the Ottoman Empire during the reform period. Through the Westernized educational institutions, which first began to be found in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman students had the opportunity to meet with Western science and languages. Similarly, the founding of the printing press in the eighteenth century led to the emergence of first newspapers within the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Through the publication of newspapers, both museological and archaeological news began to be announced to the public. In terms of administrative reforms, the founding of Ministry of Education, which was imitated from the West as other ministries of the empire, also affected the archaeological and museological studies; because all the educational, museological and archaeological affairs were centralized in the ministry. In

addition, judicial developments of the Westernization process led to the emergence of first Ottoman Ancient Monuments Law.

On the other hand, the West directly affected the museological and archaeological studies through its archaeologists and museum directors. In other words, the Ottoman intellectuals met archaeology through European explorers; and met a more scientific museology through European museum directors. Here, it will be appropriate to summarize in chronological order the development of Ottoman museology and archaeology within the frame work of Westernization process, and emphasize once more the key figures' contribution to this development.

In my opinion, the stimulus which led to the emergence of first Ottoman museum in the first half of the nineteenth century was the will of the Ottoman bureaucracy to establish a modern structure which would be a symbol of Westernization. Consequently, the Hagia Irene Church was arranged as an Armament Museum by Fethi Ahmet Pasha. The first Ottoman Museum was composed of military objects, this could be related to the fact that the first Westernization movement appeared in the military field. In the following process, Hagia Irene Church was divided in to two sections as *Mecmua-i Esliha-i Atika* (collection of old weapons) and *Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika* (collection of old artifacts) which were composed of historical weapons, Islamic and Byzantine custodies, and old artifacts belonging to the Greco-Roman periods. These collections might have been used to symbolize some historical facts which were important for the Ottoman history. For instance, historical weapons might have been used to remind the Ottoman victories in the wars; Byzantine custodies the conquest of Istanbul and the rule of the empire over its Christian subjects, and Islamic custodies might have been used to emphasize the dominance of the Ottoman Empire over the Islamic world. Finally, the Greco-Roman antiquities might have been used to symbolize the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire. In the course of time, the collection of these antic relics became the most popular section of the museum in

accordance with the increase of Europeans' archaeological explorations within the Ottoman territories.

Europeans, who were deeply interested with Greek and Roman civilization since the Renaissance, started to come to the Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century, and the number of European explorers and archaeologists increased in the nineteenth century. The biggest old artifact shipping began with the removal of Egyptian antiquities during Bonaparte's expedition, and the removal of Lord Elgin's marbles from Greece. Then European researchers and archaeologists began to smuggle the antic relics of Greek and Roman civilizations of the Anatolian lands and Greece in order to enrich their museums. After the mid-nineteenth century by the name of Biblical archaeology, their exploration area expanded to Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia. In other words, the newly formed Western states searched the roots of their civilization firstly in the Greek Civilization, and then in more archaic Mesopotamian civilization. As a result, the antiquities of both civilizations were removed and shipped to European museums; and these artifacts were used to emphasize the superiority of the West in the history of civilization.

The archaeological activities of the European states caused the lost of many important historical treasures, but the interest of the Europeans also led to good results for the history of archaeology. For instance, many scientific associations and publications appeared in the Western world in the nineteenth century as a result of great discoveries of the Europeans in the Ottoman lands. Both associations and publications led to the emergence of a more scientific archaeology. Moreover, some special branches as Egyptology, and Mesopotamian archaeology, appeared in the Western scientific world, and some departments such as prehistory and archaeology were opened in the European universities. As a result, specialization in archaeology emerged. Furthermore, more scientific and systematic methods such as stratigraphy, chronology, and typology were introduced in the archaeological excavations.

On the other hand, the Ottomans, who were the rulers of the territories in which the civilization raised, were not interested with the antiquity and its remains, and they did not try to investigate the ancient cultures lived in their lands once upon a time. However, as the Europeans' smuggling activities increased in the empire, the Ottoman figures became more interested with the antiquities of the ancient Greco-Roman civilizations; and they began to compete with the European states for the ownership of the artifacts. The Ottoman bureaucracy might have seen these artifacts as signs of modernity and Westernization; because the antiquities of Greco-Roman period, which was regarded as the origin of Western civilization, were discovered in the lands under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, for the Ottomans, displaying these artifacts in the Ottoman museums might have given the chance to the Ottoman bureaucracy to symbolize its Westernization.

Both the European and Ottoman interest in the ancient Greek and Roman antiquities had impacts on the Ottoman Museum. After the mid-nineteenth century, the armament collection lost its importance; and the Greek-Roman collections became more important. Moreover, as the European states supported their archaeologists both financially and morally, and European explorers shipped these artifacts to Western countries in order to enrich their national museums; the Ottoman bureaucracy might have needed to make some attempts in the museum. As a result, the change arrived to the Ottoman Museum in 1869. From that time, the museum began to be called as the "Imperial Museum"; and a European director was assigned to the museum most probably for developing the museum collections as its European counterparts. Moreover, museological and archaeological affairs were committed to the Ministry of Education. These developments can be interpreted as the inclusion of museological affairs to the Ottoman bureaucratic organization. In the same year, the first Ottoman Old Artifact Regulation was promulgated; and the second regulation in 1874. These developments could be related with Ottoman response to the European states' intervention to the archaeological affairs in the Ottoman lands.

The attempts of the Ottoman bureaucracy mentioned above were important. However, the most considerable progress in the museological studies was realized by Osman Hamdi Bey. With his appointment as the director of the Imperial Museum, the Ottoman museological studies began to compete with the European Museums. From that time, not only the collections as in the previous period, but also the scientific organization of the museum signaled the Westernization of the museum. Moreover, Osman Hamdi Bey also became a pioneer in Turkish archaeology; he conducted archaeological excavations, and brought many artifacts from these excavations to the museum. While enriching the museum collections, he also tried to protect undiscovered artifacts of the Ottoman Empire. Through his efforts, two old artifact regulations, which completely prohibited the old artifact smuggling, were promulgated during his directorship. Finally, Osman Hamdi Bey also recognized the role of education, and he opened an Academy of Fine Arts. According to him, people who were more conscious about the importance of fine arts would appear in the Ottoman society, and they would contribute to the developments of Ottoman arts. In brief, Osman Hamdi Bey played an important role in the development of archeology and museology in the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, some paradoxical circumstances also appeared in the development of museological and archaeological studies in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, although the Ottoman intelligentsia tried to enrich the Imperial Museum collections and to prevent the old artifact smuggling activities through the publication and implementation of Ancient Monuments Laws, many old artifact were still given to foreign ambassadors or bureaucrats as gifts through the Sultans' will.

Then, what was the reasoning behind such regressions regardless of the efforts made for advancements? There may be various answers to this question and it would be appropriate to mention them as follows.

First of all, the primary obstacle preventing Ottoman museology from advancing was the fact that old artifacts were handed out as gifts by the Sultan in order to keep relations good with the European states. The economic distress

of the empire was the secondary obstacle. European states made huge investments both for the advancement of museology and for carrying out archeological studies in the Ottoman territories. Other than these, some private associations also supported these studies. No such huge economic support was given to the Ottoman Empire. The only support was realized through personal efforts of intellectuals limited in number pushing state mechanisms, such as Osman Hamdi; who is mentioned in the Osman Hamdi chapter. While, in Europe, these studies were carried out with great state support, they were left to intellectuals' personal efforts in the Ottoman Empire. Other than the reasons mentioned above, the lack of education might be the reason of not being able to establish the importance of old artifacts and their need for protection. Although, advancements were made in sending students to Europe and integrating European educational institutions to the Ottoman Empire, such efforts spreaded out to a long period of time. Furthermore, the graduation of or return of people who were educated in cultural fields such as Osman Hamdi to Ottoman land dates to late periods.

Lastly, the lack of a historical consciousness might be mentioned among the reasons of obstacles met through the advancement of archeology and museology. This lack of historical consciousness can be traced in Ottoman history writing. Until the nineteenth century traditional Ottoman history writing was not in a scientific sense since it was based on legends and rumors, it focused solely on events ignoring causality and it was introverted. The Westernization efforts also affected the Ottoman history writing. Especially, beginning with the nineteenth century, a scientific transformation can be seen in the Ottoman history writing. Examination of historical documents and study of foreign history started with this period. This transformation became more important in the half of the nineteenth century. However, when the topic is evaluated from the point of view of archeology and museology, the focus on these topics were lately delivered. When Europe is examined it can be seen that the works of antique Greek writers were studied since the Renaissance. Taking into account the early studies of Europe on these cultures, the Europeans' great

interest in Greco-Roman artifacts and effort to transfer them to European museums must be the result of their historical consciousness.

To sum up, archeology and museology in the Ottoman Empire are imported studies from the West, and both fields played an important role in the Ottoman Westernization process. Both direct and indirect effects of the West resulted in advancements in these fields. The foundations of archeology and museology in the Turkish Republic were established in the nineteenth century by the Ottoman Empire, although, contradictory events with above mentioned possible reasons happened on the course. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic such studies became part of the government politics with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and accelerated in both fields.

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## APPEDICES

### APPENDIX 1

#### EXAMPLES FROM CABINET OF CURIOSITIES



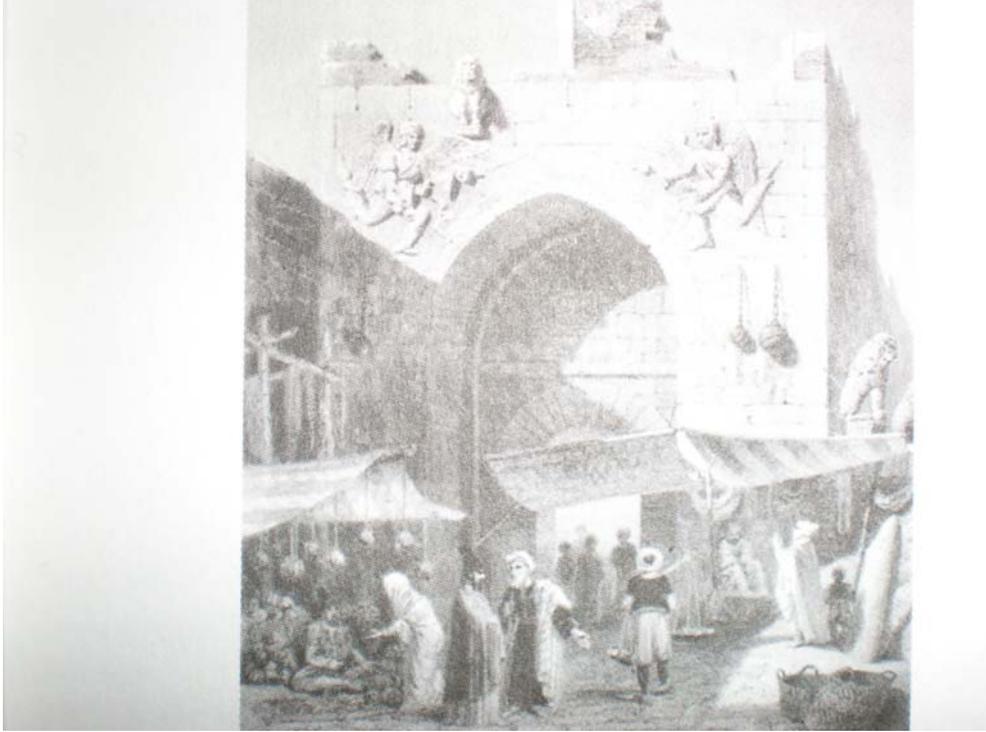
Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November 2008.

APPENDIX 2  
SOME EGYPTIAN, GREEK and ROMAN OBJECTS FROM HANS  
SLOANE'S COLLECTION



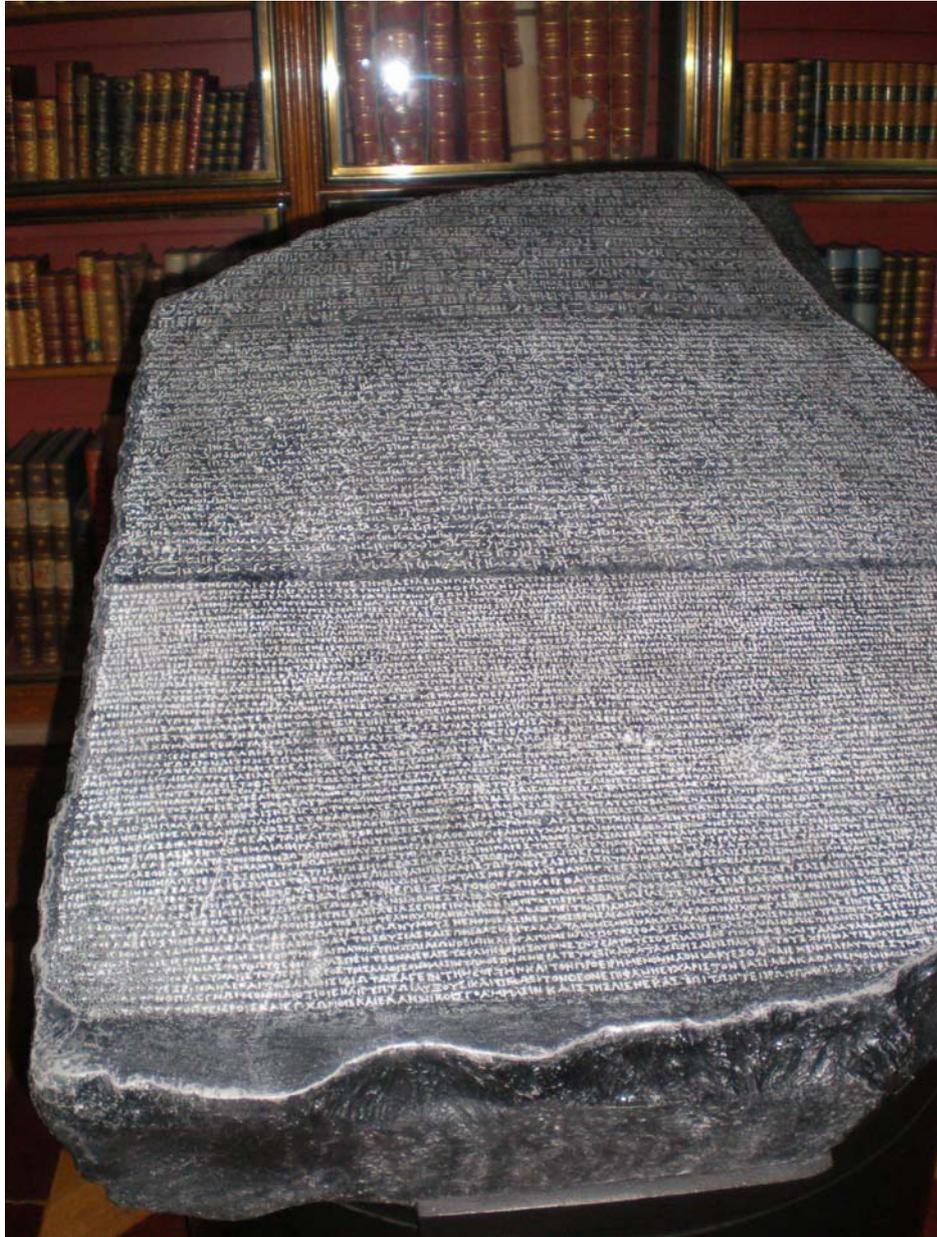
Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November 2008

APPENDIX 3  
SPOGLIA METHOD DURING THE SELJUQID PERIOD



Source: **Ali Artun**, *Müze ve Modernlik, Tarih Sahneleri-Sanat Müzeleri I*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, p. 21.

APPENDIX 4  
THE ROSETTA STONE



Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November 2008

APPENDIX 5  
PARTHENON MARBLES



Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November, 2008

APPENDIX 6  
PARTHENON MARBLES



Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November 2008

APPENDIX 7  
PERGAMON MUSEUM



Source: [www.romanviridi.com](http://www.romanviridi.com) (Europe, Berlin), November 2008

APPENDIX 8  
CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM MESOPOTAMIA



Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November 2008

APPENDIX 9  
THE GREAT WINGED BULL FROM NĪMRUD



Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, London-British Museum, November 2008

APPENDIX 10  
ISTANBUL ARCHAEOLOGY MUSEUM



Source: Photograph taken by Selin Atlıman, Istanbul, June 2007.