

**AFTERLIVES OF HAGIA SOPHIA: THE CHANGE IN THE  
OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS PRESERVING ANTIQUITIES  
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS**

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## ABSTRACT

### AFTERLIVES OF HAGIA SOPHIA: THE CHANGE IN THE OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS PRESERVING ANTIQUITIES IN THE LATE OTTOMAN AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS

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The history and ideology of preservation increasingly arouse interest in parallel with the rising importance of the cultural heritage and preserving it. Hagia Sophia is one of the monuments that comes to mind immediately when the cultural heritage of Turkey is mentioned. Both as a Byzantine and an Ottoman ecclesiastical and imperial monument, Hagia Sophia bears political and religious importance besides its artistic and architectural uniqueness, 1500 years after its construction. This study aims to expose the change in the official attitudes towards preserving antiquities in the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, through examining the ideological and physical approaches to Hagia Sophia.

In the Late Ottoman Period important leaps about two important components of cultural life, museology and archeology, were realized in terms of both preservation and exposition of the antiquities, besides the political, economical and judicial changes. Thus, the emergence of museological and archeological studies and related legislations in the Late Ottoman Empire Period and their development in the Early Republican Period are examined chronologically in this study. The reasons behind the changes in the usage of Hagia Sophia, from a church to a mosque and then to a museum, are researched in order to understand the ideology of the adaptive



re-use and its results while evaluating the impact and meaning of the afterlives. The selected time period is very critical because the changes occurring in the social and political life of the country, together with the change of the ruling power, paved the way for the present situation in Turkey.

**Keywords:** Hagia Sophia, Antiquities, Museology, Archaeology, Legislation.

## ÖZ

### AYASOFYANIN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİ: GEÇ OSMANLI VE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMLERİNDE ESKİ ESERLERİN KORUNMASINA YÖNELİK RESMİ TUTUMLARDAKİ DEĞİŞİM

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Kültürel mirasın ve onun korunmasının artan önemine paralel olarak korumanın tarihi ve ideolojisi artarak ilgi uyandırmaktadır. Ayasofya, Türkiye'nin kültürel mirası denilince hemen ilk akla gelen anıtlardan birisidir. Sanatsal ve mimari eşsizliğinin yanı sıra Ayasofya, hem Bizans hem de Osmanlı dini ve imparatorluk anıtı olarak yapımından 1500 yıl sonra hala politik ve dini önem taşımaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında Ayasofya'ya yönelik ideolojik ve fiziki yaklaşımların incelenmesi yolu ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne geçiş döneminde eski eserlerin korunmasına yönelik resmi tutumlardaki değişimin ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmıştır.

Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Döneminde, politik, ekonomik ve yasal değişikliklerin yanısıra kültürel hayatın iki önemli bileşeni olan müzecilik ve arkeoloji alanlarında eski eserlerin korunması ve sergilenmesi anlamında önemli atılımlar gerçekleşmiştir. Bu nedenle bu çalışma kapsamında Geç Osmanlı Döneminde müzecilik ve arkeoloji alanlarındaki çalışmaların doğuşu ve ilgili mevzuat çalışmaları ile bunların Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki gelişmeleri kronolojik olarak incelenmiştir. Ayasofya'nın dönüşümlerinin etkisi ve anlamı değerlendirilirken, kiliseden camiye ve daha sonra müzeye Ayasofya'nın

kullanımındaki deęişikliklerin arkasındaki nedenler, yeniden işlevlendirmenin ve sonuçlarının arkasındaki ideolojinin anlaşılması amacıyla araştırılmıştır. Seçilen zaman dilimi, iktidarın deęişimi ile birlikte ülkenin sosyal ve politik hayatındaki deęişikliklerin Türkiye'nin mevcut durumunun zeminini hazırlaması bakımından çok önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ayasofya, Eski Eserler, Müzecilik, Arkeoloji, Mevzuat.

To my precious Ali Berk

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage and its preservation have gained more importance lately, both in Turkey and the world at large. Hagia Sophia is one of the monuments that comes to mind immediately when the cultural heritage of Turkey is mentioned. Hagia Sophia is without doubt a very fascinating monument that has witnessed a long history and is still very important for different cultures, 1500 years after its construction. As a Byzantine ecclesiastical and also imperial monument, Hagia Sophia bears political and religious importance besides its artistic and architectural uniqueness. Without doubt, the impact of the monument is both immense and distinct. Therefore, as can be expected, there are innumerable studies and discussions on Hagia Sophia produced by broad range scholars.

Many of these studies concern mainly the architectural and artistic characteristics. To give an example, Natalia Teteriatnikov's book, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, İstanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute*, as can be understood from the title, focuses on the mosaics of Hagia Sophia which were uncovered and cleaned by the Byzantine Institute between 1931 and 1949. As revealed in the book, the restoration by the Fossati Brothers in the nineteenth century and the consolidation and cleaning by the Byzantine Institute in the twentieth century have been invaluable both for the preservation of the mosaics as well as the dissemination of information about them. (Teteriatnikov, 1998)

Similar to the documentation of the mosaics, the architecture of Hagia Sophia has also been extensively treated. Hence bringing together pertinent data concerning the afterlife of Hagia Sophia and discussing its restorations, adaptive re-uses and present-day secularism will help us to understand better the developments in the conservation practice and the meaning of the monument.

The aim of this study is not to duplicate previous studies on the history of Hagia Sophia. Rather it is aimed to expose the change in the official attitudes towards preserving antiquities in the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, through examining the ideological and physical approaches to Hagia Sophia. While doing this, the change in the perception and meaning of the monument through the ages will also be outlined in order to set legislative endeavors into context. The selected time period is very critical because the changes occurring in the social and political life of the country, together with the change of the ruling power, paved the way for the present situation of Turkey.

Hence, it is important to understand and analyze the ideological revisions in the cultural thought during the transition period from Empire to Republic in order to elucidate the policies of preservation and culture as well as their motives and projected or realized outcomes. Most basically, what were the general approaches in the Ottoman Empire towards preserving antiquities? How did the official attitudes and the perception towards architectural heritage change in the Republican era?

After the Introduction in the first chapter, the second chapter entitled **“Rising Awareness towards Antiquities in the Late Ottoman Empire”** concentrates on the reforms implemented after the Tanzimat Edict. The late Ottoman Empire period during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, witnessed the rise in the interaction

with western cultures and many progressive developments. After the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839, as a result of the change in Ottoman administrative policies, modernization was accelerated and institutionalization and legislative endeavors became more prominent in the period. Similar transformations occurred also in architecture and archaeology. Numerous new legislations were implemented and contemporary institutions were established within the official organizational framework in building and repairs of historical structures. Legislations on Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri*) dated 1869, 1874, 1884 and 1906 have since formed the basis of the present Turkish law concerning the preservation of cultural heritage in Turkey.

Museology, which became more widespread by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is another research line of this chapter. The chapter depicts how as a result of rising nationalism in Europe, archaeological researches had started in the Ottoman imperial territory also. In parallel with developments in archaeology, museology emerged as a new field and the first museum of the Empire, the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) was established in the mid-nineteenth century on the premises of the Church of Hagia Irene, which had been previously used as an armory (*cebehane*) after the conquest of İstanbul in 1453.

In the third chapter entitled “**The Official Attitudes towards Preserving Antiquities in the Early Republican Period**”, the focus is on the emergence of “culture policy” in parallel with “the new history thesis” of the Turkish Republic. The Turkish History Thesis, as an ideological extension of the War of Independence in the field of culture, was primarily constituted to illuminate the history of Turks and Turkey in order to challenge the validity of current historical notions concerning

Anatolia. Cultural assets were one of the most effective fundamentals for the expression and promotion of the new history thesis of the young Republic. In general, the thesis was based on the premise that every asset in the territory is a product of Turks. (Madran, 2002, 167) Hence research, promotion, preservation and restoration concerning these assets gained importance in the first decades of the Republican period. The chapter puts together an account of cultural reforms, legislative reforms concerning antiquities together with the ideology of approaches to archaeology and preservation in order to understand official attitudes towards preserving antiquities in the Early Republican period.

The fourth chapter entitled “**Hagia Sophia in between Political Powers: Afterlife of Hagia Sophia**” starts with a brief history of Hagia Sophia. Once known as the Church of the Holy Wisdom, Hagia Sophia is a former Byzantine church and a former Ottoman mosque in İstanbul. After the conquest of İstanbul in 1453, Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque. The building’s afterlife as the imperial mosque of Ottoman Empire continued for 481 years. In 1934, approximately a decade later the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, Hagia Sophia was secularized and has been continuing its afterlife as a museum. Today, as a museum, Hagia Sophia is still universally acknowledged as one of the great buildings of the world. Hence, as a case study, Hagia Sophia is an extraordinary example not only to understand its prominence as a pivotal monument in the history of art and architecture but also to explore the dynamics of continuity and change in the official attitudes towards antiquities with the change of power through different regimes in Turkey. Because of this the investigation of the cultural and ideological context of the respective restorations, adaptive re-use, the impact of Hagia Sophia’s secularization as a

museum are all discussed in this chapter in order to delineate the context for understanding the change in the meaning of the monument through its afterlives.

During the era both the program and the practice of preserving antiquities were treated in parallel with museology. For this reason, museological policies are attempted to be analyzed through examining the conservation process of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia by the Byzantine Institute in tandem with its secularization process followed by its transformation into a museum with the permission of the President of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The reasons behind the changes in the usage of the monument, from a church to a mosque and then to a museum, are researched in order to understand the ideology of the adaptive re-use and its results. Moreover, the change in the meaning of the monument while re-functioning is also probed to understand better the afterlife of the monument.

Today, both the academic and more popular interest in Hagia Sophia still continues and studies about the monument continue to increase without abatement. Perhaps more important, Hagia Sophia still bears a conspicuous role in contemporary political developments like the ecumenical controversy of the Greek Orthodox World or the east-west rapprochement such as the Alliance of Civilizations Project. The decades following the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a museum have witnessed several political endeavors with the aim of re-converting it into a mosque again like the petition campaign, which was launched by a group of university students in 1989<sup>1</sup>. More recently, news and heated debate about intentions of worship in the Hagia Sophia figured widely in the local press. According to a news portal, a group of Greek-born Americans belonging to the Greek-American Culture Association

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<sup>1</sup> [http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/GununYayinlari/S7s3Yen6fPS\\_x2B\\_HPJjPyfPEA\\_x3D\\_\\_x3D\\_](http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/GununYayinlari/S7s3Yen6fPS_x2B_HPJjPyfPEA_x3D__x3D_), 30 December 1989, last accessed on 3 September 2011.

brazenly announced that they intended to conduct a religious ceremony in the Hagia Sophia Museum during September, 2010<sup>2</sup>. Members of the group also threatened that they would attempt to conduct the worship services outside the museum in the event of not receiving permission. Upon this, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism officially declared that the request was denied. Minister Ertuğrul Günay further stated that people of any religion were free to worship by reading a prayer silently but publicized ceremonial worships would not be permitted in order not to encourage similar demands from other communities.

Today, nearly 1500 years after, Hagia Sophia still testifies to the tangled and interconnected histories of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, medieval Christianity, the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. Concluding remarks in Chapter 5 offer an overall assessment of all issues discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 with an emphasis on the meaning of Hagia Sophia's afterlives. In doing so, Pierre Nora's concept of *lieu de mémoire* (place of memory) which contextualizes the re-creation of memory is also utilized. Accordingly, the place (*lieu*) of memory is contrasted with the environment (*milieu*) of memory. The place of memory is described as the cultural appropriation of history into a space of communal memory. Thus the environment of memory is replaced by the place of memory as the imagined realm of cultural identity. Nora describes this replacement of environments of memory by places of memory as:

*“...moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, nor yet death, like sea shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded.”*  
(Nora, 1989, 12)

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/552322-ayasofyaya-ayine-geliyorlar>, 16 September 2010 Thursday, last accessed on 9 February 2011.

In the light of a similar assessment, the chapter concludes that the afterlives of Hagia Sophia may be better understood when their character as a place (*lieu*) or environment (*milieu*) of memory is exposed. The chapter also summarizes how the re-appropriations of Hagia Sophia were used for the political aims of the new ruling powers. Since the monument was first erected, its long life has witnessed continuous interaction with the changing milieu and audiences. Hence, Hagia Sophia has always been at the center of attention of the power, thus reflecting a political standing. Therefore it is elucidative to expose and examine the changes in the bureaucratic and ideological attitudes towards preserving and re-functioning of Hagia Sophia. The chapter underlines how analyzing both the process and outcomes of different attitudes in the cultural policies and preservation practice during the late decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century - which is a very critical period for the modernization of Turkey – should prove expedient for today while new and more contemporary approaches and policies are continually being sought in museology and conservation.

## CHAPTER 2

### RISING AWARENESS TOWARDS ANTIQUITIES IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The reform movements initiated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were implemented systematically by the 19<sup>th</sup> century and led to new official organizational measures in different sectors of the Ottoman Empire. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were few and limited preservation activities concerning movable antiquities except keeping some valuable artifacts in the state treasury. On the other hand, the maintenance of immovable antiquities was under the jurisdiction of the *vaqf* system. Furthermore, the esteem bestowed upon charitable and religious complexes as well as their expedience had ensured their continued maintenance and repair until the 19<sup>th</sup> century within the framework of their individual pious foundations. (Altınyıldız, 2007, 281)

After the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839, as a result of changes in administrative policies, modernization was accelerated; institutionalization and a new legislative framework became more widespread and conspicuous. The legislative movements, such as the series of reforms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, eliminated the inequalities in the outdated system of law, classified and redefined the missions of the government, improved visions for judiciary procedure and defined new missions for provincial organizations. (Tahiroğlu, 1985, 601)

Retrospectively speaking, this integration process in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire in general, and more significantly in İstanbul, has been perceived in different ways. Some historians have been critical of the dualistic naming of this



process as westernization or modernization. For instance, according to Eldem, the economic and social structure and cultural behavior of a large part of the Ottoman society, and especially the population of İstanbul, entered the modernization process inevitably, under the spreading influence of world capitalism. The adoption of a western model in administrative, legal and also social and economic spheres following the Tanzimat Movement by the Ottoman political elite has thus carried with it a model and program of change. With the help of the economic investments in infrastructure and service sectors, especially in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Western capitalism became increasingly integrated with the Ottoman Empire. Consequently most of the production and consumption patterns underwent a change and adaptation to respond to this process of ever increasing integration (Eldem, 1993, 13).

In parallel, similar “improvements” are observed in architecture and archaeology as well as the preservation of antiquities. Numerous legislations were implemented and new institutions founded for the building and repair of organizational structures. Legislations on Antiquities dated 1869, 1874, 1884 and 1906 (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri*) now form the basis of the present Turkish Law about the preservation of cultural heritage.

### **2.1. Attitude towards Antiquities in the Tanzimat Period**

However metaphorical it might seem, some historians claim the possibility of lowering the starting date for the preservation of antiquities and museology in Turkey down to Seljuks in the medieval era. Especially Eyice posits that the Seljuks

had applied fundamental concepts of museology by decorating the city wall surrounding the Konya Höyük (mound) with various engraved architectural blocks from different periods. The use of *spolia* in this manner secured their display and preservation. Leon de Laborde, the French explorer and engraver, included some engravings of the Konya city wall and gates which were decorated with reliefs in his book *Voyages en Asie Mineure et Syrie* which was published in 1837. (Eyice, 1990, 5)

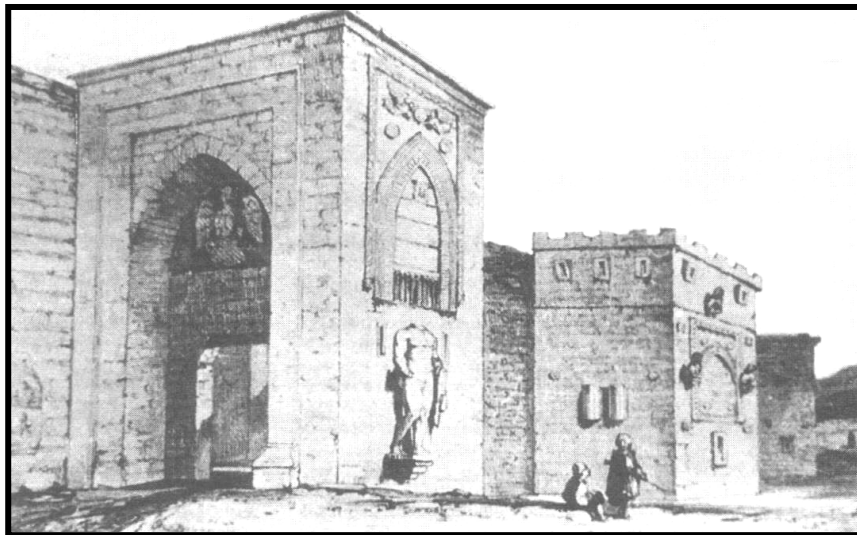


Figure 2.1: Konya City Walls, engraving by L. De Laborde, late 18<sup>th</sup> century. (Shaw, 2004, 34)

It is also possible to observe *spolia* in the early period buildings. As Ousterhout states several early period mosques embodied architectural elements from ancient and Byzantine buildings like columns, capitals, stringcourses, even re-used brick. (Ousterhout, 2004, 168) Shaw further states that the incorporation of relics from previous cultures in the newly constructed buildings continued in the Ottoman Empire and that Ottomans were truly interested in antiquities. Re-use of Roman and especially Byzantine sculptures and their appropriation in this manner, lead the

beholder to think that the new places in which they were displayed are an indication of the Ottoman imperial power (Shaw, 2004, 34).

Before the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict, the legislations of the period and the law codes (*kanunname*) did not have any clause for preservation or restoration. On the other hand, sultan decrees (*padişah fermanı*) involved many clauses for both new buildings and the restoration of monuments and their immediate surroundings. (Madran, 2002, 15)

The Tanzimat Edict, dated 3 November 1839, is commonly regarded as the first step of democratization in Turkish history. The goal of the edict was to help modernize the empire militarily and socially. The proclamation promised reforms such as providing life security, property and honor for all citizens, trial transparency, the abolition of bribery and tax evasion and reform of conscription. This civil awareness triggered the formation of general rules for the preservation of antiquities also.

It is worthy of note that especially since the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and in parallel with the emergence of the disciplines of archeology and art history, the cultures of the Pre-Turkish/Islamic period of the Ottoman territory gradually began to attract attention in Europe, whereby the first archaeological excavations and researches by Western countries were started within the same period.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological excavations and museum activities of the Ottoman Empire also took hold as a response to the transportation of antiquities by the Western states out of the

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<sup>3</sup> First archaeological excavations at sites such as Xanthos (1838), Halikarnassos (1856), Knidos (1856), Ephesus (1866), Troy (1870) and Pergamon (1877) began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and these initiated legislations for the preservation of antiquities by the Ottoman authorities. (Kültür Bakanlığı, 2003, 15-17)

Ottoman territory. This preventive reaction is evident in the first legislations for the antiquities of the period.

## **2.2. Legislations for the Preservation of Antiquities**

In this context, constituting new legal regulations for antiquities with the aim of solving the problems about antiquities and thus protecting the cultural assets of the country should be respected as an important milestone. Madran (2002, 20) specifies these first legal attempts as a policy aiming to get results in favor of the state.

### **2.2.1. The Regulation for Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) dated 1869**

The first legislation of the Empire on the preservation of antiquities was the Regulation for Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) dated 13 November 1869, which officially outlined the approach of the period towards antiquities. The Regulation consisted of seven clauses which start with the proclamation for permission from the Ministry of Education for archaeological surveys in the Ottoman territory. The 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> articles concerned the restriction of antiquities' transportation to foreign countries and permission for antiquities' trade in the Ottoman territory, except for coins. According to the 5<sup>th</sup> Article, the permission for archaeological surveys was limited to the antiquities under the soil while demolition and spoliation of existing antiquities were prohibited. Moreover the requests of foreign countries concerning the transfer and trade of antiquities were subjected to

the permission from the Sultan by the 6<sup>th</sup> Article (Çal, 1990, 13; Karaduman, 2004, 80) As a result, the regulation was an important leap in the preservation of antiquities in that it had provisions to prevent illegal archaeological excavations. However at this stage, it did not have any stated provision on immovable cultural properties.

### **2.2.2. The Regulation for Antiquities dated 1874**

The regulation dated 7 April 1874 is noteworthy because it contained the definition of “antiquities” in the Ottoman legislation system for the first time. Accordingly, “antiquity” comprises every kind of art work dating from ancient times. Within this definition, however, it is clear that only the Pre-Turkish/Islamic periods were taken into consideration as “antiquity” and eventually coins were included in the definition of antiquities. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Article of the regulation classifies the antiquities into two: coins and movable or immovable antiquities. (Akozan, 1977, 24) Many articles of the regulation were related with archaeological excavations and treasure-hunting and aimed to formulate general rules for these issues.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Article of the regulation which identifies undiscovered antiquities as “State Property” is a provision changing the status quo. However the 27<sup>th</sup> Article allocated one-third of the discovered antiquities to the head of excavation, one third to the state treasury and the remainder to the land owner, also giving permission to the head of excavation for the export of his share of findings. Çal states that the claims of European countries that considered exporting antiquities from Ottoman territories as a natural right, like a foreign policy, caused this step back (Çal, 1990, 14).

Moreover, three articles of the regulation concerned the preservation and restoration of monuments. The 6<sup>th</sup> Article focused on the assignment of officials for ancient monuments in the most appropriate situation, but there was no clear definition about which monuments were meant. The 14<sup>th</sup> Article prohibited excavations in sanctuaries, lodges, madrasas, tombs and aqueducts while the 35<sup>th</sup> Article proposed financial penalty and prison sentence for vandalizing immovable antiquities (Akozan, 1977, 26).

Yet, the 1874 Regulation could not prevent the illicit export of antiquities from the Ottoman territory to Western countries. The underlying reasons for this were mainly the lack of enforcement and a certain elusiveness in the regulation. Cezar states that the antiquities within the Ottoman territory had been depleting and were being exported illicitly before the Regulation for Antiquities dated 1874, thus the regulation should be considered as a progress in preservation. However it had a simplifying impact on the theft of antiquities in that it did not contain any provision prohibiting the removal of antiquities abroad (Cezar, 1971, 286). In this regard, Yegül states that most of the time, foreign missions had the chance to transfer two-thirds of the archaeological findings by purchasing the land on which excavation was carried out or even all, through political manipulations as in the example of the Pergamon Altar. The Pergamon Altar, a renowned monumental masterpiece of the Hellenistic Period, was re-erected by Carl Humann in the beginnings of the 1880s and constituted the focus of a new museum after being transferred to Berlin (Yegül, 2010, 88).

These developments created discomfort among Ottoman intellectuals and the local press. In *La Turquie*, dated 24 April 1872, it is explicitly stated that

although excavations in Ephesus were being carried out at full steam and a large number of ancient artefacts had been found, these were unfortunately being exhibited only at foreign museums. The lack of a Turkish supervisor in Ephesus excavations was criticized and also a more high profile attention was demanded from governmental authorities (Akin, 1993, 234-235).

### **2.2.3. The Regulation for Antiquities dated 1884**

Osman Hamdi Bey, who was the director of the Imperial Museum from 1880 until his death in 1910, played an important role in the emergence of archaeology, museology and preservation practice in the Ottoman Empire.

Osman Hamdi Bey focused on two major targets after he had been appointed as the director of the Imperial Museum. Firstly, he worked to eliminate the perception of the Ottoman Empire as a free store of antiquities or an open excavation area and tried to establish modern archaeology through the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Hence, he focused his efforts on the development of the museum into a scientific institution instead of being a mere depot. Secondly, he struggled to develop the notion of “preservation” (Eldem, 2004, 129-130). Accordingly, he led the way in formulating legislations with the aim of preserving antiquities and was personally a practitioner of these rules throughout his professional life. After becoming the director of the museum, the 1884 Regulation for Antiquities was one of the initial important actions he had launched.

The new regulation prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey entered into effect on 21 February 1884 and remained in force until 1973 with minor changes. The

regulation consisted of 37 articles in 5 chapters: “general provisions”, “trade of antiquities”, “excavations and researches”, “transportation and usage of antiquities” and “provisions for penalty” were the main clauses of the chapters. The first item of the regulation clarifies the definition of antiquities and gives specific examples such as engravings, ornaments, miscellaneous objects and containers made of stone, clay and various materials, weapons, tools, idols, ring stones, temples, palaces and old game areas, theaters, castles, bridges and aqueducts, human remains, embedded objects, tumuli, monuments, standing stones, souvenirs, old buildings, sculptures and all kinds of processed stone carvings as historical artifacts (Akozan, 1977, 26). Different from previous regulations, the historical value of cultural properties became more prominent, including immovable properties.

Furthermore, the inclusion of cultural assets that greatly varied within the official definition of antiquities is the salient indication of a far wider knowledge of archaeology than before (Shaw, 2004, 145).

The 4th and 5th articles which were related with immovable properties, embrace significant innovations. Individuals and communities were prohibited from demolishing historical buildings under their ownership by Article 4 and building, quarrying nearby antiquities, historical buildings, ramparts, bastions, baths and tombs and also re-using them were also prohibited by Article 5. Another important innovation concerned the excavation findings. Licensing for excavations was obligated by Article 7. Moreover, it was planned that all findings would become the property of the State by Article 6 and exporting any findings was prohibited by Article 8 (Akozan, 1977, 26).



Without doubt, this revised regulation for antiquities was competent to preserve antiquities, if properly implemented. It was also fully compatible with the antiquities laws which had been in force for 50 years in Italy and Greece. The Regulation for Antiquities dated 1884 constituted a new restriction for foreign explorers and archeologists who were accustomed to take artifacts from the Ottoman territory without much hardship or resistance in order to enrich their own national museums. Not surprisingly, many found solutions to ignore or circumvent the new regulation (Yegül, 2010, 88).

#### **2.2.4. The Regulation for Antiquities dated 1906:**

Turkey entered the Republican period with the Fourth Regulation for Antiquities, which was a revision of the Regulation dated 1884 and also remained in force between 1906 and 1973. This new regulation entered into effect on 24 April 1906 and designated all movable and immovable cultural properties as “state property”. Moreover, Turkish and Islamic Period artefacts were also taken under protection.

The new regulation gives the description of antiquities in more precision and detail, contains the description of movable and immovable properties one by one and also traditional dwellings were included in this definition of antiquities for the first time. Moreover, Turkish and Islamic Period artefacts were taken under protection and defined as state property with the 4<sup>th</sup> article of the regulation (Çal, 1990, 16-17; Akozan, 1977, 29).

Above all, the new regulation determines the ownership issue of antiquities more precisely than its predecessors and clearly states that the Ottoman Empire has the ownership of all antiquities which were exposed or existing on the state-owned or private individuals' lands and premises. The General Directorate for Museums is identified as the institution responsible for the assignment of all antiquities. It is noteworthy that 26 articles of 35 were related with the movable artefacts and archaeological excavations thus the concept of preserving immovable properties and related approaches did not sufficiently develop in the Ottoman Empire (Madran, 2002, 45).

#### **2.2.5. The Regulation for the Preservation of Monuments (*Muhafaza-i Abidat Nizamnamesi*) dated 1912:**

The regulation for the preservation of monuments entered into force on 28 July 1912 and remained in effect until 1973. It is also significant that this was the first legislation of the Ottoman Empire that had provisions regulating only the issues of immovable cultural properties.

The 1<sup>st</sup> article of the regulation gives the definition of immovable cultural property as “all kinds of ancient citadels (*kaleler*), bastions (*burçlar*), and all kinds of immovable properties of previous ages”. (Madran, 2002, 72) While the 2<sup>nd</sup> article prohibits the demolition of these properties, the 3<sup>rd</sup> article permits the demolition of some of those properties which are determined as necessary by the decree of a commission to be established in the future. The 4th Article of the regulation outlines the details about demolition procedures and states that after the approval of the case

dossiers, including plans, photographs and final assessment prepared by the commission, by the Ministry of Education, immovable properties may be permitted to be demolished partially or completely. The most unfavorable provision of the regulation is the 5<sup>th</sup> Article which legalizes the immediate demolition of ran-down historical buildings (Çal, 1990, 20-21; Madran, 2002, 72-73). In short, the regulation gave permission to municipalities for undertaking the demolition of precarious monumental buildings which necessitated being pulled down.

The Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Encümeni Daimisi*) had been established in 1915. After the foundation of the Republic, the government ratified the commission in 1925 and its founding members Kemalettin Bey, Halil Edhem (Eldem) and Celal Esad (Arseven) continued their memberships. The commission acted as the main advisory body in the preservation field until the foundation of the Superior Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*) in 1951 (Madran, 1996, 64; Akozan, 1977, 32).

The analysis of legislations reveals that Ottoman authorities aimed to create awareness towards antiquities besides extending the scope of preserving them through realizing revisions on regulations. The 1869 Regulation was an important leap that it had provisions to prevent illegal archaeological excavations and illicit transfer and trade of antiquities. On the other hand, the Ottoman legislation system introduced the definition of “antiquities” for the first time through the 1874 Regulation. Moreover, the 1874 regulation changed the ownership of undiscovered antiquities from private property to state property, which is an important step. Regulations for Antiquities dated 1884 and 1906 both start with the detailed

definition of antiquities including movable and immovable historical artifacts of all past civilizations. Different from previous regulations, these regulations highlighted the historical value of cultural properties including immovable properties. Moreover, it was also defined for the first time that all findings of the archaeological excavations become the property of the State and exporting any findings was strictly prohibited. Moreover according to the 1906 Regulation for Antiquities, Turkish and Islamic Period artefacts were taken under protection and defined as state property, for the first time. It is obvious that the Regulation for the Preservation of Monuments is an important leap in preserving immovable heritage. Although it was criticized for provisions permitting the demolition of some of immovable cultural properties which are determined as necessary by the decree of a commission, the regulation stayed in effect from 1912 till 1973.

### **2.3. The emergence of the museum in the Ottoman Empire: The Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*)**

European countries adopted museums as the most appropriate venue for the preservation of collected artifacts in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of the growing influence of historicism in Europe. The exhibition of Greek and Roman artefacts in the European museums was important to emphasize and promote the knowledge that European history had its roots in ancient Greek civilization. Moreover the exhibition of these artefacts of which a large part was brought from the territories of the Ottoman Empire was important from a different viewpoint for the Europeans. Hence, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that through this lineage,

European nations would gain the legitimacy to lay claim for the multi-cultural and multi-layered territories under the Ottoman rule, while exposing European power.

Contrary to the often stated assumption that the Ottoman Empire was not concerned with preserving and maintaining antiquities, there exists ample evidence of applications indicating respect for the ancient civilizations of the Ottoman Empire. Shaw emphatically asserts that the incorporation of historical buildings' architectural remains in the newly erected constructions should be regarded as one of the most rudimentary forms of collecting historical artifacts. When it is considered as a form of a collection and display, this conscious application is in fact very similar to the idea of display in the modern museum practices (Shaw, 2004, 26).

As already mentioned, it is known that the Ottomans kept many old works of art in the depots in order to protect them. Most of the artefacts which are now on display in the museums, were once kept in the underground store-rooms by the Ottomans. On the other hand, various weapons and fighting implements which were acquired throughout the Ottoman Empire period especially by means of seizure, had been stored in the Church of Hagia Irene. The Ottoman Imperial Museum was rooted in these collections housed at the Church of Hagia Irene which is located in the outer courtyard of the Topkapı Palace. The church had been continuously used as an armoury (*cebehane*) very soon after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

In 1730, the armoury was converted into a space of display not only for antiquated weapons but also for many of the relics that the Ottomans had inherited from the Byzantine state. In 1846, the Marshal of the Imperial Arsenal (*Tophane-i Amire Müşiri*) Ahmet Fethi Pasha established the Magazine of Antiquities (*Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika*) and the Magazine of Antique Weapons (*Mecmua-i Ešliha-i Atika*) in

the Church of Hagia Irene. Shaw explains how these spaces were not museums in the technical sense, but this changed in 1869 when the Grand Vizier Ali Pasha changed the name of the Magazine of Antiquities to the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) and appointed a school teacher - Edward Goold as its first director. That same year, the Minister of Public Education, Saffet Pasha officially ordered local governors to send artifacts to the capital (Shaw, 2007, 256; Cezar, 1971, 166-167). As a result, objects belonging to earlier periods discovered in various parts of Ottoman Empire began to be sent to İstanbul.



Figure 2.2: Hagia Irene Church, late 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Shaw, 2004, 22)

Later, an Austrian painter named Teranzio, worked as a keeper in the museum who was then succeeded by a German director, Anton Philip Dethier (Cezar, 1971, 168). It appears that under Dethier's administration, the museum was turned into a full archaeological museum. (Eyice, 1990, 7) As a result of his efforts to protect the collections from the moisture of Hagia Irene, the museum had been moved to the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) in 1877, which had been the residence of

the Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror (Su, 1965, 16; Cezar, 1971, 177). This move rendered the archaeological collections fully independent from the military collections, which would continue to play an important role in Ottoman and Turkish museums, but as part of separate institutions. In addition, during Dethier's directorship, the acquisition of antiquities was partially secured through the first Regulation for Antiquities dated 1874 (Cezar, 1971, 177).

A new era started in the Turkish museology during the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey who replaced Dethier (Cezar, 1971, 190). According to Shaw, the museum gained an ideological vision with the appointment of the first Ottoman director of the museum, Osman Hamdi (1842-1910) in 1880. Osman Hamdi Bey was born in 1842 as the oldest son of a high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrat Edhem İbrahim Paşa. He went to Paris to study law initially but he then turned towards painting as a result of his close interest in the arts and got lessons from Jean Leon Gerôme and Gustave Boulanger. Afterwards, he became one of the most important figures of Western style painting in the Ottoman Empire (Shaw, 2004, 122-123). In addition, he established the School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in 1882 and gave Ottomans the opportunity to receive training in the field of aesthetics and art techniques without having to go abroad (Shaw, 2007, 257).

One of the initial operations of Osman Hamdi Bey, after becoming the Imperial Museum's director, was the preparation of the Regulation for Antiquities in 1883, including provisions to prevent the illegal exportation of antiquities excavated by foreign archaeologists from Ottoman territories. In this regard, the Regulation for Antiquities dated 1884, terminated a deficit which derived from the previous regulations dated 1874 prepared by Dethier.

Osman Hamdi Bey scientifically classified the collection in the Tiled Pavilion, took in hand the archaeological artifacts stored chaotically and haphazardly and carried out projects for their proper registration, conservation and exhibition. He established the disciplines controlling archaeological investigations ongoing in the Ottoman territories and initiated the first Turkish excavations. Between 1883-95, Pergamum, Mount Nemrut, Sidon, and the Temple of Hecate Lagina, King Sidon Necropolis excavations were all carried out by Osman Hamdi Bey who rapidly and effectively enhanced the collections of the museum.



Figure 2.3: Osman Hamdi Bey in the Mount Nemrut Excavation. (Eldem, 2010, 122)

Shaw argues that Osman Hamdi used the museum as a means of expressing a collective Ottoman identity that would include classical Greek and Roman civilizations as part of its territorial heritage. This aim is revealed through his successful revisions of the Regulations for Antiquities dated 1884 and 1906, his



leadership of the first Ottoman archaeological excavations at Nemrut and Sidon, and his directorship of the Imperial Museum, which continued until his death in 1910. Thus the Ottoman museum narrative was rooted in a notion of territory, not of art, as a “metonym” for culture (Shaw, 2007, 258).

As a result of the increase in the number of artifacts that were exposed by archaeological excavations, especially the sarcophagi from the Sidon excavation, and collected from the provinces, a new building for the museum became necessary. In 1891, the collections were moved to a neighboring, purpose-built neoclassical building, initially called the Sarcophagus Museum, which was designed by Alexandre Vallaury (1850-1921) (Shaw, 2007, 258; Cezar, 1971, 200-201). While Western museums used the story of art history to extract and abstract artifacts from their geography and thereby render them as part of the Western heritage, the Imperial Museum revealed for the public that the Western identity was not imported. Due to their origins, these displayed classical works were more native to the empire than to the west (Shaw, 2007, 259).

The primary impetus leading to archaeological collecting was protection from the illicit European archaeological predations that were uncontrollably depleting what were newly perceived as treasures lying underneath the Ottoman soil. Due to this reason and not surprisingly, when the Council of State (*Sura-yi Devlet*) issued a directive formulating the structure of the Imperial Museum in 1889, departments devoted to Western or modern art were not included. Rather, the museum was divided into six parts: one for Greek, Roman, and Byzantine antiquities, a second for Assyrian, Caledonian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Hittite, and Himariote<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Ethnic Greeks in the Himarë region of Albania.

antiquities as well as works by Asian and African tribes; a third for Islamic fine arts; a fourth for ancient coins; and a fifth for natural history. The sixth department was the museum library (Shaw, 2007, 256).

The department of Islamic art opened at the Imperial Museum in 1891 on the upper floor of the new building. Collecting did not gain full momentum, however, until the Regulation for Antiquities dated 1906 began to prohibit the exportation of Islamic antiquities from the empire. When a third wing of the museum opened in 1904, providing enough room for all the antiquities still housed in the Tiled Pavilion to move to the main building, the Islamic collections were moved into the Tiled Pavilion, where they remained until 1914 (Shaw, 2007, 259) .

Moreover, the last decades of the Ottoman Empire witnessed the foundation of museum depots in major cities like Bursa, Konya, Antalya and Adana, under the designation of “Imperial Museum Branch”, to store and protect archaeological findings (Shaw, 2004, 234-235). Bursa and Konya Museum Branches were the initial regional museum depots founded in 1902. The Imperial Museum Bursa Branch (*Müze-i Hümayun Bursa Şubesi*), was founded in the courtyard of the Secondary School (*Mekteb-i Idadi*) and then in 1934 the collections were re-located to Yeşil Madrasa and opened to visitors. Imperial Museum Konya Branch (*Müze-i Hümayun Konya Şubesi*) was founded in a building within the garden of *Mekteb-i Sultani* and then in 1934 after the transfer of the collections to the Convent of Mevlana (*Mevlana Dergâhı*) the depot became converted into a museum (Çal, 1990, 799-846).

Osman Hamdi Bey died in 1910, ceding his place as administrator of both the Imperial Museum and the Academy to his younger brother, Halil Edhem (1861-1938). Halil Edhem remained as the head of the Imperial Museum until after it

became the İstanbul Archaeological Museum and had been joined by the Topkapı Palace; the latter was established as a museum in 1924. Halil Edhem played an important role in maintaining the collections of the Imperial Museum, operating the Fine Arts Academy during the difficult war years and developing an antiquities and restoration policy during the Early Republican period (Shaw, 2007, 260).

The years immediately after the Second Constitutional Revolution of 1906-1910 were characterized by a relaxation of restrictions concerning public expression, which resulted in numerous publications and new institutions for a modern state structure. Even during the troubled years in between the beginning of the Balkan Wars in 1912 and the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, new museums and collections came into being.

In 1910, the Ministry of Public Education established a commission to investigate the most suitable means for the preservation of Islamic and Ottoman arts, for the first time differentiating the religious from dynastic in the museum context. Following this endeavor, the Ministry of Pious Foundations was made officially responsible for the conservation of religious buildings, while the Imperial Museum was to house mosaics, tiles, and other removable ornament (Shaw, 2007, 261).

It should be mentioned here that two important institutions had already emerged in the Late Ottoman Period. In 1836, pious foundations were brought under the jurisdiction of a central state authority, The Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümayun*). On the other hand, in 1855, the regulation of urban life which had been the responsibility of *kadıns* was entrusted to the municipality (*şehremaneti*). Hence, as Altınyıldız suggests, urban administration as well as preservation broke loose from religious authority. Accordingly, the acts of building

and repairs would no longer be complementary concerns but separate acts, sometimes encroaching on one another. Urban development, performed by progressive municipal officials can be summarized as clearing operations and opening of roads, while on the other hand, the preservation of monuments was the urgent task of the conservative Evkaf Ministry functionaries, who tried to save them from being compromised or sacrificed. (Altınyıldız, 2007, 284)

The most noteworthy case of this conflict was experienced during the tenure of Cemil (Topuzlu) Pasha as Mayor, who was a modernizing urban administrator between 1912 and 1914 and then again between 1919 and 1920. He cleared the surroundings of Hagia Sophia, but his attempt to demolish Sinan's Hagia Sophia Baths was blocked. When Cemil Pasha removed a part of the cemetery which was in the way of the road that he widened from Sirkeci to Gülhane, he encountered the resistance of the Evkaf Minister Hayri Efendi. Moreover, when he also tried to remove a dervish convent and a tomb, he was vehemently blamed for abusing Islamic monuments and forced to resign (Altınyıldız, 2007, 285).

The reorganization of the Ministry of Pious Foundations following the 1908 constitutional revolution raised Kemalettin Bey to prominence as an architect and restorer. In this regard, Yavuz suggests that Kemalettin Bey's close relations with the leading authorities of *İttihat ve Terakki Partisi* probably fostered this productivity. After the dethronement of Abdülhamid II, in 1909, the *İttihat ve Terakki* organization became active in politics and started a comprehensive renovation and modernization campaign for all government agencies. In 1909, within the modernization process of the Ministry of Pious Foundations, Kemalettin Bey was charged with the restorations of *vaqf* buildings as the director of The Technical Commission for Construction and Repairs

(*İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*) that was established as a new department in 1909 within the Ministry. This commission for construction and restoration was responsible for the design and construction of new *vaqf* buildings and restoration of existing ones. Religious complexes like Sultanahmet, Fatih, Hagia Sophia, Yeni Cami and several other mosques and *mescits* were restored during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Period. These restoration projects supplied Kemalettin Bey with original resources about Ottoman architecture and became instrumental in developing his nationalistic conception of architecture. This government commission became a major architecture and engineering office and also trained young architects, engineers and craftsmen who zealously applied the national style of architecture throughout the country (Yavuz, 1981, 17).

To sum up this chapter, it may be asserted that the last years of the Ottoman Empire witnessed important progress in raising awareness towards antiquities and preserving them against illegal archaeological excavations, illicit transfer and trade, demolition or use as *spolia*. As a result of preservative and progressive attitudes of the Ottoman authorities led by pioneers like Osman Hamdi Bey, Halil Edhem Bey and Kemalettin Bey, Turkey inherited a legal basis in preserving antiquities which was compatible with the contemporary practice at the inception of the Republican Period.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS PRESERVING ANTIQUITIES IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

Once the dust settled after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the new government in Ankara became engaged in redefining the imperial institutions and planning new ones in line with the needs of the nation-state. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and the first president of the Republic, a deeper curiosity towards the history of the Turkish nation began to arise among intellectuals.

Among others, Tanyeri-Erdemir states that creating a nation-state from the fragmented remains of a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious empire was difficult and required carefully planning. Therefore the disciplines of linguistics, physical anthropology, folklore, history and archaeology were all utilized in the construction of an imagined national unity, a common language and a shared past (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 381).

In their capacity as spaces of heritage preservation and display, museums were also intended to play an important role in shaping the shared culture of the nation.

### 3.1. Cultural Reforms of the Early Republican Period

History and archaeology play a very important role in the creation process of a nation-state from the ruins of an empire that had a heterogeneous, multi-religious, multilingual and multicultural nation-state structure. During the nation-building process, the need for both defining a new “homeland”, geographically and historically, and concretizing concepts like the creation of a national identity, a sense of belonging and legitimacy channeled authorities to the material substances of archaeology (Ersanlı-Behar, 1996, 181-188).

History became the political center of nationalist projects as a consequence of rising nationalism by the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, archaeology generated the studies to explore the desired past that belonged solely to a nation and give possessive legitimization to it on specific grounds. Nation-states and archaeology were so intertwined that while archaeology was contributing to the legitimacy of states, rising nation-states helped consolidate the institution of archaeology, which is a profession having a significant importance for nationalist projects (Ergin, 2010, 24).

In parallel with the developments in professions like history and archaeology, in the creation of the nation-state, some major institutions were founded according to the guidelines of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The Society for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti*)<sup>5</sup> was founded on 15 April 1931 under the patronage of Atatürk as a result of studies conducted by him and the persons

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<sup>5</sup> Historians, bureaucrats and ideologists of the Early Republican Period, Yusuf (Akçura), Samih Rifat (Horozcu), Reşit Galip, Afet (İnan), Mehmed Tevhik (Bıykoğlu), Hasan Cemil (Çambel), Sadri Maksudi (Arsal), Şemsettin (Günaltay), Yusuf Ziya (Özer) and Vasfı (Çınar) were among the first members of the society (İnan, 1939, 243-245).

concerned with history in his immediate circle (İnan, 1939, 243). The first assignment of the society was to research Turkish history and to determine a historical thesis. Each member scholar was assigned to investigate a particular segment of the world history, which was related with Turkish history, by reading the literature, evaluating it and writing sections of the Outline of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları*). The manuscript which included discussions on China, India, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Aegean Basin, Italy, Iran, Central Asian Turkic states and the Ottoman Empire, was completed in 1930 (Inan, 1930 in Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 382). As stated by Tanyeri-Erdemir, this comprehensive study highlights an important feature of early Republican nationalism which was to create a common ground for all citizens of the newly established nation-state and as a result, this panoptic nationalism helped the intellectuals to imagine “Turkishness” as a general and cherished respect for all archaeological cultures. This study titled *The Outline of Turkish History* formed the basis for “the Turkish History Thesis” (*Türk Tarih Tezi*) and argued that the Turks were an ancient people whose original homeland in antiquity was Central Asia. These early Turks moved out of Central Asia through a series of migrations and inhabited different parts of the world. According to the thesis, Turks brought civilization to native populations in China, India, the Middle East, Northern Africa, the Balkans, some parts of Europe and the Aegean Basin and also Turks were direct ancestors of the Hittites and the Sumerians. Thus the theory allowed the Turks to claim their contribution in the development of Greek and Western civilizations and being the legitimate heirs of all past civilizations that existed upon the lands of the young Turkish Republic. The Turkish History Thesis was announced in detail at the First Turkish Congress of History in July 1932. The



congress lasted nine days and Atatürk, the President of the Turkish Republic, attended every session. This detail is very important in that it gives us an idea about the political and ideological importance of this congress and the thesis (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 382-383)<sup>6</sup>.

In the following year, Turkish archaeologists began conducting archaeological excavations, and the publication of several new archaeological journals succeeded them. In 1933, the Turkish Journal of History, Archaeology and Ethnography (*Türk Tarih, Arkeolojya and Etnografya Dergisi*) began to be published, and in 1937 *Belleten*, the official journal of the Turkish Historical Society followed. These journals provided a channel for the dissemination of contemporary excavation results. (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 384)

In 1935, the society was renamed as Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*). One of the important projects of the Society was providing financial and moral support for archaeological excavations, researches and publishing. Moreover, upon direct instructions from Atatürk, according to the Turkish History Investigation Society Preliminary Project (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti Avan Projesi*) which was prepared at the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1935, the following issues became leading principles in determining the policies related with developing national history and archaeology:

- 1) Finding, collecting, preserving and restoring all kinds of historical records, materials and monuments,

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<sup>6</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century thesis concerning nation and history are beyond the scope of the thesis for reasons being defended by the opposing parties and thus are not included in policy-making processes by the ruling power. Although the thesis gives an idea about the intellectual climate of the era, it should be noted that it is not directly incorporated into legislations concerning antiquities.

- 2) Taking measures by the government to protect uncovered historical artefacts scattered over the country from being stolen, sold, wasted, and ruined in time,
- 3) Making Turkish people the real owners, preserve the properties of their national history with the help of continuous, influential and popular publication in daily newspapers and journals under the control of the General Directorate for Press and Broadcasting (*Basın Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü*) and parallel with the informative campaign being carried out by Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) through the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) and party organs, under the close attention, pursuit and responsibility of Government authorities and municipalities.
- 4) Creation of collections of reproductions of antiquities and paintings existing at the museums and libraries whether in the country or abroad.
- 5) Transformation of Ankara, İstanbul, Bursa, Izmir and Edirne into “centers of antiquities and monuments” by collecting properties of particular periods and cultures in these cities.
- 6) Conducting archaeological and anthropological researches and discoveries with excavations in limited number, while planning to realise the ones like the foreign historical expeditions which were under the auspices of substantial wealth, in the future.
- 7) Organizing tours to important excavation and discovery sites whether in the country or abroad and study on the historical objects and monuments found.

- 8) Monitoring the works of the Government and the commissions assigned to implement these projects, in the presence of Government.
- 9) Cooperation with foreign scientific institutions, authorities and experts,
- 10) Providing cooperation with and support of Ministry of Culture. (Özgünel, 2010, 173)

Secondly, the alphabet and language reforms played vital roles among culture reforms realized after the foundation of Republic of Turkey. With the alphabet reform realized in 1928, Turkish gained for the first time an alphabet that removed the difference between pronunciation and notation and is suitable for its phonological structure (Tekin, 1999, 251).

Turkish Language Society was established on July 12 1932, with the name of the Society for the Study of Turkish Language in keeping with Atatürk's guidelines. Its founders, who were all members of the Parliament and well known figures of contemporary Turkish literature, were Sâmi̇h Rif'at, Ruşen Eşref, Celâl Sahir and Yakup Kadri. The aim of the Society for the Study of Turkish Language has been identified as unveiling the richness and beauty of the Turkish language and establishing the level of her worth among other languages of the world.<sup>7</sup>

As envisioned, the Turkish Language Society realized important studies on Turkish grammar, creation of Turkish words and Turkish dialects since its foundation and played an important role on the creation of national identity and belonging which was a primary purpose of early Republic period culture policy (Katođlu, 2009, 42-44).

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<sup>7</sup><http://www.tdk.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAAF6AA849816B2EF2858DA18F4388CDD>, last accessed on 14 June 2011.

Moreover, as a complementary reform, People's Houses (*Halk Evleri*) were established on 19 February 1932, under the patronage of Atatürk, in order to convey the reforms to the public better and to eliminate the cultural gap between the men in the street and the intellectuals. Çeçen quotes Atatürk's statement:

*“Social and Cultural Revolution have succeeded in our country by embracing the public through People's Houses”*

and states that Atatürk supported the People's Houses as a part of cultural reform of the young Republic (Çeçen, 1990, 5).

People's Houses activities were organized around two main premises: adopting social reforms of the young Republic and conducting cultural and artistic activities that would achieve modernization (Öndin, 2003, 39). Accordingly nine branches were established to achieve its tasks which were: Language and Literature Branch, Fine Arts Branch, Performance Branch, Sports Branch, Social Aid Branch, Public Classrooms and Courses Branch, Library and Publication Branch, Rural Branch and History and Museum Branch<sup>8</sup> (Turan, 1999, 207). Bozdoğan states that many people living in Anatolia were thus introduced to performances of theatre, classical music and art exhibitions as a result of People's Houses activities through these branches (Bozdoğan, 2002, 107-114).

### **3.2. Reforms in the Legislations for Antiquities**

Current legislations for the preservation of antiquities were The Fourth Regulation for the Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) dated 1906, and the

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<sup>8</sup> History and Museum Branches were assigned to cooperate with related authorities in establishing new museums instead of constituting archaeological museums in themselves. In 1943, there were 90 History and Museum Branches in existing 405 People's Houses, and they assumed great responsibilities for the development of preservation culture. (Madran, 2002, 154)

Regulation for the Preservation of Monuments (*Muhafaza-i Abidat Nizamnamesi*) dated 1912, when the Grand National Assembly was constituted on 23 April 1920. Besides, the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Encümeni Daimisi*) had been assigned to discuss the antiquities of İstanbul only (Madran, 2002, 95).

Just after the constitution of the Grand National Assembly, the Ministry of Religion and Vakfs (*Seriye ve Evkaf Vekaleti*) and the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Vekaleti*) were established by the Council of Ministers (*Heyet-i Vekile*). On 10 May 1920, as an initial attempt in favor of the preservation of antiquities, the Directorate for Turkish Antiquities (*Türk Asar-ı Atikası Müdürlüğü*) was established within the Ministry of Education that was renamed the Directorate for Culture (*Hars Müdürlüğü*) a year after. The Directorate for Culture was assigned for the preservation and monitoring of antiquities, preservation of libraries, identifying historical monuments and collecting documents of Turkish ethnography (Madran, 2002, 95; Arık, 1953, 7).

The regulation concerning the Antiquities and Museums (*Müzeler ve Asar-ı Atika Hakkında Talimat*) was the first legislation of the Ministry of Education in keeping with Atatürk's wish; it was published on 5 November 1922 and delivered to all major cities. The instructions were:

- All activities related with antiquities be conducted by the Directorate for Culture at the center and by Directorships of Education in the cities,
- Library units be established within museums,
- Museum catalogues be prepared by museum officers and experts,

- The Directorate for Culture be assigned for archaeological excavations,
- Export and import of antiquities be conducted according to the Regulation for Antiquities dated 1906 (Arik, 1953, 43-45).

Moreover, in 1924, a new regulation about “The Institution and Tasks for the Commission of Antiquities Composed in İstanbul” was accepted and with this regulation the rules of “The Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities” established in 1917, were revised and re-approved. As a result, the continuation of the “Commission for Preservation of Antiquities” was made possible. This was the first organizational institution of the Turkish Republic that was now directly deciding on and monitoring the preservation practice. Moreover, this institution was to become the precursor of the Superior Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*), that was founded in 1951 and empowered to take decisions about conservation activities and to determine the main policies about maintenance, repair, conservation and restoration of old buildings. Important architects, art and architectural historians of the period like Halil Edhem (Eldem), Celal Esad (Arseven) and Kemalettin Bey were the members of the Commission (Gülekli, 1948, 65-67; Madran, 2002, 98).

Halil Edhem (Eldem) and Celal Esad (Arseven) were dominant influential intellectuals in the fields of history, art, archaeology, architecture and preservation in the early years of the Republic. Besides their memberships in the commission, both became founding members of the Turkish History Society which searched to establish the roots of Turkish history in the pre-Ottoman past of Anatolia. For instance, Halil Edhem (Eldem) defended the preservation of city walls, firmly

standing against attempts to demolish them by claiming that Turkish repairs of previous periods made them more Turkish than Byzantine in his speech at the Congress of the Turkish Historical Society. Likewise, the architect Kemal Altan, who was also a member of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments, referred to the Hagia Sophia as “this crippled, aged historic monument that owes its lengthy existence to our maintenance and hence has become ours in essence.” (Altınyıldız, 2007, 288-292)

Moreover, in 1924, the Evkaf Ministry was closed down and its functions were transferred to the directorate of the same name. Kemalettin Bey was once more assigned as the director of its department of construction and repairs. Two important restorations of the initial years of the Republic that were ordered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and undertaken by this department under the leadership of Kemalettin Bey were the repair of the dome of Hagia Sophia (which still maintained its status as the foremost monument of İstanbul) and the restoration of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (Altınyıldız, 2007, 288).

Abundant evidence verifies the personal attention and care of Atatürk concerning the preservation of antiquities. The telegraph dated 19 February 1931, sent by Atatürk during his visit to Konya to İsmet İnönü who was the Prime Minister of the period, is as an important document that indeed did accelerate the preservation activities. During a technical visit, Atatürk visited several cities and especially the museums and monuments; he took expert opinions and considerations and wrote the telegraph:

*”During my last survey visit, I have also looked into museums and artefacts of ancient art and past civilizations at various cities.*

*1. I have visited the present museums in Bursa, İzmir, Antalya, Adana and Konya, other than İstanbul. Some of the works found so far*

*are being kept in them and partially classified with the help of foreign experts. However, there is a need to Professionals (Archaeologists), passionately, to be used in Museum Directorates and excavation works for scientific protection and classification of ancient civilizations' artefacts that are the unique treasures lying in almost every part of our country after their exposition in the future by us and for preservation of monuments which have become dilapidated as a result of continuous neglect of previous periods. So then, I think, it would be appropriate to designate a part of students that will be sent to abroad by Ministry of Education.*

*2. In Konya, there are some monuments that can be considered (counted) as real architectural masterpieces of eight hundred years ago' Turkish Civilization, although they are in a large destruction due to negligence continued for centuries. Particularly, Karatay Madrasa, Alaeddin Mosque, Sahip Ata Madrasa, Mosque and Tomb, Sırçalı Mescit and İnce Minareli Madrasa are in need of repair immediately and urgently. As the delay of this repair will cause entire destruction of these monuments, firstly I would like to get the evacuation of ones used by military and repair of all under the control of experts."*

K. ATATÜRK (Madran, 2002, 106; Gülekli, 1948, 84)<sup>9</sup>

Atatürk emphasized the importance of antiquities and monuments of both ancient and Turkish-Islamic periods of Anatolia in his telegraph. Moreover he demonstrated the necessity of experts in conservation and restoration.

Atatürk's statement above is very striking indeed in that he had such a comprehensive vision within the physical environment of the newly established Republic which had just emerged from the War of Independence and taken over the collapsed Ottoman economy that had hit the bottom. This was a many-faceted mission requiring investments despite the limited financial resources. Moreover referring to the cultural assets scattered all over the country, without distinction, as assets of past civilizations in the most general sense is also particularly worthy of note. In doing so, Atatürk underlined both being the heirs and owners of the all past civilizations with the territory of Republic of Turkey (Güven, 2010, 50).

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix I for the original text.



Almost immediately after the telegraph, preservation came on the agenda of the Republican government. According to the Decree of Council of Ministers dated 1 April 1931, a commission for the preservation of antiquities was established that was comprised of authorities belonging to relevant institutions. The following suggestions were reported by the new commission to the Council of Ministers:

- Preservation of antiquities should be managed from the central administration. Two bodies are necessary: Committee for the Preservation of Monuments (*Abideleri Muhafaza Heyeti*) should prepare conservation programs and the existing Directorate of Museums (*Müzeler Müdürlüğü*) should supervise the implementations.
- Monuments should be registered.
- There is a need for adequate financial resources for the conservation of antiquities. For this purpose, 200.000 TL for the budget of the General Directorate for Pious Foundations (*Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü*) and 100.000 TL for the general budget should be allocated. Moreover %0.5 of the Special Provincial Administrations' budget should be used for the preservation of antiquities.
- The Ministry of National Defence should empty out the monuments in-use.
- The Ministry of Culture should prepare publications for conveying the worth and importance of antiquities and the benefits of preserving them to people from any class.

As a result of this report prepared in 1933, the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments (*Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu*) was promulgated as the

most comprehensive reform to date in the official organizational structure of preservation in Turkey. While the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities, which was founded in 1917 had been mainly responsible for the antiquities of İstanbul, the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments was now responsible for the whole country divided into four main regions (with respect to antiquities organization) with centers in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Elazığ. The commission's work program was focused on five primary spheres of action: legislation, survey, restoration, documentation and publication (Madran, 2002, 108-109; Altınyıldız, 2007, 290).

In the beginning of the 1930s when the need for training more scholars for the future was recognized, promising students were awarded with government grants in order to be trained in archaeology, ancient history and also several other different professions at European universities. Distinguished Turkish scholars of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century such as Ekrem Akurgal (Archaeology), Halet Çambel (Archaeology), Jale İnan (Archaeology), Afif Erzen, Halil Demircioğlu (Prehistory) and Sedat Alp (Hittitology) stand out among these young scholars who were sent abroad. (Akurgal, 1999, 33-34; Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 384; Akyürek, 2010, 244)

In the mid-1930s the Ministry of Education issued the following decree to every school:

*“All historic works in Turkey attest to the creativity and culture of the Turkish race, even if they are referred to as Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, Roman, Byzantine or Ottoman. Denomination only designates periods. All are Turkish and hence it is the duty of all Turks to preserve them.”*

(Altınyıldız, 2007, 291)

This decree is noteworthy in the dissemination of Republican culture policy and its intention in shaping young generations' perception of Anatolian civilizations

and the preservation of their heritage; it also clearly summarizes the Republican ideology of preservation.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, museum depots in major cities like Bursa, Konya, Antalya and Adana, under the designation of “Imperial Museum Branch” were founded in the Late Ottoman Period. After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the increase in the number of both museum depots and museums should be noted. In 1924, Topkapı Palace, in 1926 Ankara Archaeological Museum (in depots of the Augustus Temple and Akkale of the Castle and some sections of Ethnography Museum), Ankara Ethnography Museum, İzmir Museum (in Hagios Lucas Church), Konya Museum (in the Convent of Mevlana (*Mevlana Dergâhı*)), Adana Museum (in Caferpaşa Madrasa), Antalya Museum (in Panaios Church), and also in 1934 Hagia Sophia Museum, Bergama Museum, Sivas Museum (in Gök Madrasa), Bursa Museum (in Yeşil Madrasa), Efes Museum, and Edirne Museum (in Dar-ül Sıbyani Madrasa of Selimiye Complex), Diyarbakır Museum (in Zinciriye Madrasa), Sinop Museum (Alaattin Madrasa) were founded (Ülgen, 1943, 24-27; Çal, 1990, 799-846).<sup>10</sup>

Among these, the Topkapı Palace Museum and Hagia Sophia Museum should be differentiated since the exhibition of the buildings, themselves was consciously intended. After the decree of the Council of Ministers dated 16 April 1924, the Topkapı Palace was the first to be converted to a museum. After a decade, the conversion of the Mosque of Hagia Sophia into a museum was also approved with the decree of the Council of Ministers dated on 24 November 1934.<sup>11</sup> After the

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<sup>10</sup> For more detailed information, see Çal, 1990, 799-846.

<sup>11</sup> Conversion of the Mosque of Hagia Sophia into a museum is studied in greater detail in Chapter 4.3. Secularism of Hagia Sophia: The Museum

Hagia Sophia, another Byzantine monument, the Chora Church was also converted into a museum in 1948 (Akyürek, 2010, 245).

After the foundation of The Ministry of Culture on 10 June 1935, cultural reforms and related activities which had been continuing under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education until that day now started to be conducted by the Ministry of Culture. On 22 September 1941, the Directorate for Antiquities and Museums reconnected to the Ministry of Education, assuming the tasks of arranging the activities of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments, administration of museums, providing the transfer of properties from religious lodges (*tekke*) and tombs (*türbe*) into museums, realizing researches and excavations in cooperation with the Turkish Historical Society, controlling the foreign institutions' excavations and conducting the registration and restoration of monuments (Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990).

This reconnection to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture and even the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has repeatedly been implemented until the present day depending on the internal distribution of the Council of Ministers. However the General Directorate has continued to specialize in the preservation of antiquities together with minor changes in the name.<sup>12</sup>

The Fourth Regulation for the Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) dated 1906 remained in force until the 1973 when the Antiquities Act Numbered 1710 was put in force and figured the preservation policy of both the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. The Act Numbered 1710 introduced the concept of "site" and

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<sup>12</sup> The name of the Directorate changed to "The General Directorate for the Historical Properties and Museums" in 1946. The Directorate was divided into two: "The General Directorate for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Properties" and "The General Directorate for Monuments and Museums" in 1989. Lastly after the Code numbered 4848 in 2003, "The General Directorate for the Cultural Properties and Museums" has remained as the present name.

preservation of sites. Today, the current legislation is titled “The Preservation of Cultural and Natural Property Act Numbered 2863”, which became valid in 1983 to replace the Antiquities Act Numbered 1710.

### **3.3. The Ideology of Approaches to Archaeology and Preservation**

Archaeology was already institutionalized in Turkey before the proclamation of the Republic. Numerous archaeological excavations led by European archaeologists were being conducted within the Ottoman territory during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Ottoman officials were also assigned to many excavations that were now being carried out as part of the westernization process of the Ottoman Empire (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 382). While a considerable number of archaeological objects had been assembled in the Tiled Pavilion since 1877, a modern museum (Sarcophagus Museum), had opened in 1891 with the initiative of Osman Hamdi Bey. Under the jurisdiction Osman Hamdi Bey and his successor Halil Edhem Bey<sup>13</sup>, the museum became enriched with many valuable artifacts and attained a prominent place among outstanding collections of Greek, Roman and Byzantine antiquities.

Upon the inception of the Republic, history, archaeology and language studies in Turkey gained momentum under the guidance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Whittemore claims that Turks became widely aware of the wealth of their historic

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<sup>13</sup> Halil Bey was the younger brother of Osman Hamdi Bey, (1861-1938) he was one of the most successful pioneers of Islamic archaeology and art history in Turkey. In 1889 he became the assistant director in the Imperial Museum, in 1892 he became Second Director and in 1910, after the death of Osman Hamdi Bey he became Director General of the Museum until 1931, when at the age of 70 he retired from his position. He was a member of the committee for the preservation of archaeological monuments and also deputy to the *Kamutay*, the Turkish Parliament (Mayer, 1939, 198).

inheritance as they arose to follow their great leader's urge to a new destiny. This national interest in their monuments was transferred to the larger interest of the far-reaching importance and comparative value of the objects discovered. (Whittemore, 1943, 164) Similarly, Tanyeri-Erdemir also states that the archaeological pursuits of the young Turkish Republic had a socio-political agenda of creating a national identity. Early Republican intellectuals considered it a prioritized duty to challenge the prejudice in some circles that Turks were "barbarians" contributing nothing to the civilized world. These intellectuals were determined to reinvestigate and rewrite the Turkish History (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 382).



Figure 3.1: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk inspecting the exhibition during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of Turkish History. (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 387)

In 1937 Atatürk made the Palace of Dolmabahçe subject to the Republic by presenting the Throne Room to the Turkish people for ever. In his presence, the second Historical Congress was assembled there between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1937, and an exhibition of original objects, casts, maps, diagrams and

photographs was organized to establish for the first time the antiquities of Turkey in a comparative chronology with the civilization of Egypt and as well as the Aegean (Whittemore, 1943, 164).

In this regard, while the First Congress aimed at creating a national history and national identity, the Second Congress aimed at an international audience and was designed to show that Turkey had become a modern nation with a proud history in 14 years, capable of investigating its own past. The designation of Dolmabahçe Palace as the venue of the Second Congress is significant in that it was the grandiose residence of the last Ottoman Sultans and had been converted into a museum very soon after the foundation of the Republic (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 385).

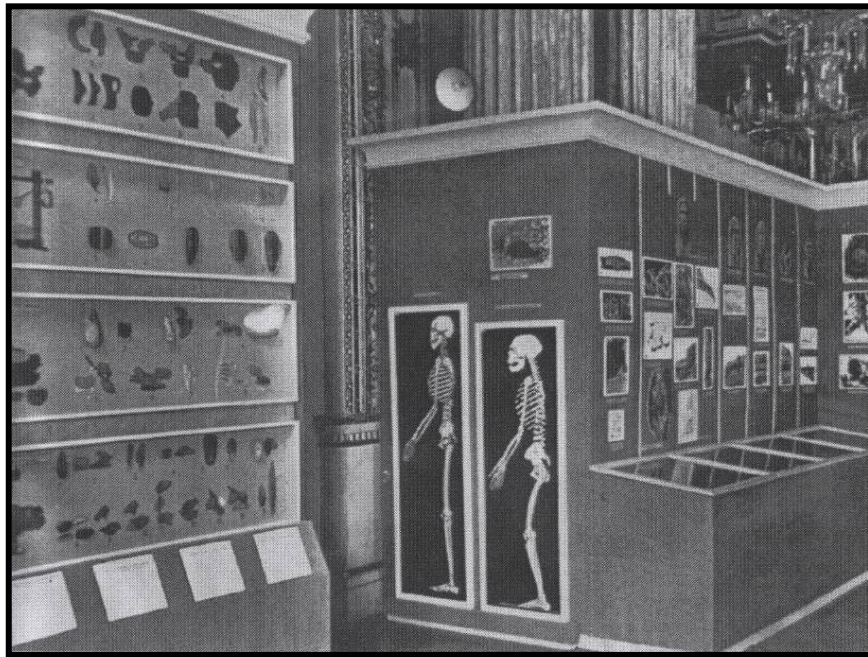


Figure 3.2: The exhibition prepared for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of Turkish History. (Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006, 387)

Among past civilizations of Anatolia, Hittite monuments in particular, began to occupy the attention of Turkish archaeologists increasingly after the

beginning of the Republic. In this regard, significant sites of Hittite culture in Lycaonia (Vilayet of Konya), in the south and northwest of Cappadocia (Vilayet of Kayseri), in the region from the northwest of Cappadocia to the Aegean Sea and throughout Southern Anatolia were brought to light and the meeting places of a host of related and unrelated languages revealed. On the other hand, the opening of Topkapı Palace to the public in 1924 brought to view the immense Ottoman Imperial Palace with its miscellany of architecture, furniture, arms, paintings, manuscripts, robes, embroidery, porcelain and jewels. Whittemore (1943, 166) claims that the director of the museum, Tahsin Öz<sup>14</sup>, recreated literally the scene of palace drama from the time of Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror to the days of Sultan Abdülmecit in his exhibitions.

Following the foundation of the Republic, the status of İstanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, was ceded over to Ankara which became the capital and the new symbol of the Republic and its new order. The modern architecture of the new capital was directly connected to the vision of Kemalist reforms. The pure and abstract forms of modernism, without any historicism, were explicitly convenient for the Republic, for emancipation from Oriental identity and participation in contemporary Western civilization (Altınyıldız, 2007, 281).

Therefore, the creation of modern Ankara represented the symbol of the liberation of Turkey from the Ottoman rule. Yet during building the new capital, its historical background was not destroyed or ignored. Starting from the later years of the War of Independence, a committee was charged with the preservation of antiquities and gathering works in a depot in Ankara. Due to the ongoing war, the

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<sup>14</sup> Tahsin Öz (1887-1973) the first director of the Topkapı Palace Museum.



fortress was chosen as the safest spot for the collection of a cultural museum. This depot, located in the Akkale Tower of the Ankara Fortress which comprised two small rooms with some glass cases and the museum was established in here in 1921 (Shaw, 2007, 264).



Figure 3.3: Ethnographical Museum, Ankara<sup>15</sup>

The Directorate of Culture and the Cultural Commission were instituted in 1925, with the mandate to “protect national culture and raise our youth within it.” The Minister of Education, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver took on the project of a museum and a committee, which was led by the renowned art historian and statesman Celal Esad Arseven first and then by Halil Edhem, began to plan the museum. The Ministry of Education acquired the site of the Muslim Cemetery in the Namazgah district of Ankara from the General Directorate of Pious Foundations in 1925. Thus a site of public worship was transformed into a space symbolic of national culture (Shaw, 2004, 29-32).

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<sup>15</sup><http://dundenbugunesehrim.com/images2/ankara/Eski/Eski%20Ankara%20Etnografya%20Muzesi.jpg>, last accessed on 20 August 2011.

After the completion of the Ethnographical Museum by the nation's premier young architect, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, its first director, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, began to assemble its collections, purchasing 1250 works in 1927. Atatürk toured the museum on April 15, 1928. Its public opening was held on July 18, 1930 (Shaw, 2007, 265,267).

Hamit Zübeyr Koşay<sup>16</sup>, with the assistance of the Directorship of Museums (*Müzeler Müdüriyeti*), as well as Dr. Krencker and Dr. Schede, surveyed and described all the remains of the citadel and the temple of Augustus and placed them on photographic record. The ruins of one of the largest Roman Baths of Asia Minor, in a part of the city known as Çankırıkapı, was excavated by the Department of Antiquities, aided by the Historical Commission. (Whittemore, 1943, 166)

In the meantime, the plans for an archaeology museum in Ankara had been realised. In 1930, the site of the former Bedesten (covered market) of Mahmud Pasha and the Kurşunlu Han (commercial inn) were suggested for a museum of ancient Anatolian history. In 1931, the German urban planner Hermann Jansen and the Hittitologist Eckhard Unger presented reports on the restoration of the buildings, and the Swiss architect Ernst Egli formulated plans for their renovation. The stores, houses, and lots surrounding the structures were purchased and leveled in 1939, giving the museum its current large garden and its spacious sense of existing outside of the urban fabric. The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, with exhibition halls located in the *bedesten* and offices in the *han*, finally opened in 1945-46. Following a route from prehistory to the Hellenistic era within the museum which was chronologically organized, the visitor gets the sense of a uniform historical

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<sup>16</sup> Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, (1897-1984), archaeologist and ethnographer, founder of the Ankara Ethnography Museum and Society for the Turkish History, General Director of Antiquities and Museums.

progression of peoples across all of Anatolia. (Shaw, 2007, 268) Moreover, the constantly increasing number of objects that were brought to Ankara from excavations throughout Anatolia was rapidly making the museum of the capital a place of recourse for students from different parts of the world (Whittemore, 1943, 166).

Furthermore, while studies on archaeological sites of ancient cultures were on the increase, scholarly curiosity about traditional Anatolian houses began to awaken also. Although Turkish mosques and palaces had been repeatedly documented, after the Republic, the private dwellings and especially the smaller modest dwellings of the country also started to be more appreciated and became subject to study under the auspices of the Government. Architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem, in seminars with his students of the Academy, traveled throughout Eastern Thrace and Anatolia, gathering surveyed plans and elevations as well as woodcarving, and frescoed walls and ceilings of this fast disappearing architecture far and wide from Edirne, İstanbul, Konya, Sivas, Diyarbakır and many other places.

Moreover, foreign scholars received gracious reception in Turkey and opportunities opened for them in their diversified fields of research under the auspices of the Turkish government.<sup>17</sup>

Although the government was engaged in the construction of Ankara as the center of the new nation in full force, the more familiar cultural history was in İstanbul. İstanbul was undergoing a change from imperial capital to a city that would play a secondary role in the country. As stated by Shaw, this change embodied the transformation of its major monuments from being representatives of the Ottoman

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<sup>17</sup> For more information about foreign archaeological studies in the first decades of the Republic, see Whittemore, 1943.

dynasty to representatives of the Republican nation. The converted museums (Topkapı Palace Museum (1924), Hagia Sophia Museum (1934), Chora Church Museum (1948) and Dolmabahçe Palace Museum (1952)) provided a new perspective to the religious and dynastic Ottoman past through the eyes of a secular Republic. By opening the Topkapı Palace to the public in 1927, immediately after the fall of the empire, the young Republic designated a new relationship with its citizens: rather than owning the treasures of the empire in the sultan's name, for the first time, the state could now be said to hold them in trust for the public. The conversion and secularization of Hagia Sophia from the empire's most important ceremonial mosque into a museum memorialized the Ottoman political power which was manifested with the conquest of the Byzantine Empire (Shaw, 2007, 269).

## CHAPTER 4

### HAGIA SOPHIA IN BETWEEN POLITICAL POWERS: AFTERLIVES OF HAGIA SOPHIA

Hagia Sophia is one of the outstanding monuments of the world, which is also registered in the World Heritage List since 1985, within the Historic Areas of İstanbul bear a unique testimony to both Byzantine and Ottoman civilizations. Hagia Sophia served as the major church of the Byzantine capital for many centuries; it was transformed into a mosque in 1453 and since 1934 has been serving as a museum.

#### 4.1. Hagia Sophia: The Church of Holy Wisdom

Today's Hagia Sophia Museum is primarily the construction of the Emperor Justinian but was preceded by two earlier buildings. The first church was begun in the reign of Constantine the Great and completed by Constantius. This first edifice was set on fire during the banishment of St. John Chrysostom, then patriarch, in 404. However, the re-dedication of the second church took place in 415, under Theodosius II. The second church was also set on fire, this time in the Nika riot of 532. Both of the two pre-Justinianic churches were basilicas covered with a timber roof (Kuban, 2010, 119; Mainstone, 1988, 109; Sezer and Özyalçiner, 2003, 37).

Emperor Justinian had appointed two scientists Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus to build this magnificent edifice. The construction started in 532, lasted five years and the church was dedicated in 537. After the collapse of its dome

in 557 following an earthquake, the dome was replaced, strengthened, and given more height. Isidore the Younger of Miletus, was called upon for these improvements. In the year 562, the doors of the church were opened once more (Mainstone, 1988, 9; Kuban, 2010, 124).

From an architectural point of view, Justinian's building may be described as a variation of a domed basilica. The general plan of the building comprises a rectangle divided into a large central nave and two side aisles while the central nave is covered by a colossal dome supported on the east and west by half-domes (Kuban, 2010, 120-121; Kırmıtayf, 2001, 9).

The present dome of Hagia Sophia represents three periods of reconstruction. Considerable damage has been inflicted on the monument by several earthquakes. In addition to its collapse in 557 after an earthquake, the dome was repaired in between 989 and 994 by Trdat, the Armenian architect who is well known to historians of both Byzantine and Armenian architecture because of his architectural accomplishments: he is credited with the repair of the dome of the Hagia Sophia, as well as with the construction of Ani Cathedral, one of the best known medieval monuments of the Caucasus. Trdat was in Constantinople when the dome collapsed; he made preparatory studies and undertook the beginning stages of the repair (Maranci, 294-295). In 1346, another earthquake severely damaged the dome, and this time, it was restored by Astras and the Italian Giovanni Peralta in between 1346 and 1353. The reconstructions following the collapses in 989 and 1346 were similar in that both consisted of making good the loss of parts and repairing the worst adjacent damage (Mainstone, 1988, 91-92; Sezer and Özyalçiner, 2003, 38).

In addition to the major reconstructions, comprehensive repair and restorations were also recorded. The first restoration of the church was undertaken in the second half of the ninth century, under Basil I (867-886). Some time in the succeeding periods, the four flying buttresses along the west façade were erected. In 1327, after the Latin occupation, the major repair and reinforcement were carried out throughout the church. The principal intervention at this stage involved the construction of new buttresses (Kırımtayf, 2001, 10; Sezer and Özyalçiner, 2003, 38). The first comprehensive restoration of the church was initiated in 1317 in the reign of Palaeologus, the second in 1573 by the architect Sinan and the third in 1847 under the Swiss architects Fossati Brothers (Mainstone, 1988, 102).

#### **4.2. Hagia Sophia after the Conquest: The Imperial Mosque**

The Turks conquered Constantinople on 29<sup>th</sup> May 1453 and on the next day Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror strode into the Church of St. Sophia to proclaim it as the Great Mosque of the city. Accounts of the triumphal entry into the city of Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror indicate that he rode directly to the church and ordered an *imam* to ascend the pulpit (*minber*) and make the declaration of Muslim faith (Emerson and Van Nice, 1950, 28). It was a customary Ottoman practice that the prayer be held in the most impressive monument of a newly conquered territory.

Speros Vyronis also states that Sultan Mehmed II did not approve the destruction of the buildings and their walls while allowing the treasures to be taken by his soldiers. The first monument which Sultan Mehmed II claimed was the great church of Hagia Sophia, the pivotal center of imperial sanctification in Byzantine

times, where he performed his first official act in the city: the Muslim prayer. By this gesture the Sultan Islamized the most famous church in Christendom where countless Byzantine emperors had been consecrated and crowned, and converted it into the central mosque of the city (Vryonis, 1991, 29).

After the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque in 1453, the building systemically became an Islamic building with the additions to the interior and exterior from all periods of the Ottoman Empire. Mehmed II attached only a few Islamic signs onto the pre-existing structure of Hagia Sophia, after emptying its relics, crosses and icons. He added the first two *minarets*, which signified that the building was now an imperial mosque, removed the bells from the bell tower and the cross was taken from the summit of the dome. To the mosque's interior was added a marble *minbar* and *mihrab*, which had to be placed at an angle since the apse of the church was not aligned with Mecca. The mosque was also associated with the conquest of Constantinople through its enormous *vakf*; Mehmed II dedicated all the income from shops and other property that fell to his share in the vanquished city for its upkeep (Necipoğlu, 1992, 203-204). Moreover, Mehmed II, the Conqueror assigned 13.000 gold coins from İstanbul's income for the repair of Hagia Sophia which had a dome partially collapsed before the conquest (İnalçık, 2007).

Soon after the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque, Mehmed II built the first *madrasa* in İstanbul immediately to the north of the narthex of the former church. Although this was closed after the completion of the Semaniye Madrasa of the Fatih Complex in 1471, it was reopened under Bayezid II, who established a *vaqf* for the madrasa and added a secondary school. Other significant structures outside



the main building are the sultans' tombs (Kırımtayf, 2001, 14; Kafesçioğlu, 2009, 21).

The conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque did not involve radical changes in its architectural and decorative program. Some of the figural mosaics were plastered over, but most of them remained untouched including the Virgin Mary and Child in the conch of the apse and Christ Pantokrator at the summit of the dome. Moreover unlike any other converted church in the newly conquered city, Hagia Sophia's name remained unchanged. Kafesçioğlu suggests that the reason was Hagia Sophia's immense symbolic significance and also presuppositions regarding the Byzantine past particular to this era (Kafesçioğlu, 2009, 20-21).

More than a century after the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque, Selim II undertook the first large-scale renovation of the building between 1572 and 1574. According to the *firman*s of Selim II, Sinan, the chief architect, was commissioned to build powerful buttresses to support the mosque and two new minarets in addition to the pair that he had repaired. Additionally, two Selimiye madrasas and a mausoleum were to be built in the walled-in space that had been cleared up around the mosque. As a consequence of Sinan II's death in 1574, however, the two madrasas were never completed but two minarets and the mausoleum he commissioned were built by Sinan on the order of his son Murad III (Necipoğlu, 1992, 207).

During the initial conversion into a mosque, following the removal of the ceremonial furniture, purification with rose water, and insertion in the apse of a *mihrab*, it was necessary to add a *minaret* for the call to the prayer. The call to the prayer for Muslim services which commenced within a few days of the fall of

Constantinople appears to have been made from a tower, partly of wood and probably of Byzantine construction, standing over the main entrance of the mosque. This tower seems to have been employed temporarily, pending completion of a taller minaret on the turret at the south side of the west window (Emerson and Van Nice, 1950, 39). The first minaret was then removed by the order of Selim II in 1573. The oldest surviving minaret, at the southeast, is an original construction of Mehmed II. The northeast minaret was later erected by Bayezid II, and that at southwest corner was begun to be erected in the reign of Selim II and completed by Murad III upon his accession to the throne. The latter also had the architect Sinan design another minaret at the northwest corner. (Akgündüz, 2006, 143,167)

Necipoğlu suggests that Selim II wanted Hagia Sophia to be associated with his own status and era. Therefore he transformed the building's image forever by deciding to build two additional minarets. Increasing the number of minarets around Hagia Sophia appears to have been intentionally decided to insinuate the competition with the Selimiye Mosque<sup>18</sup>, as the token of the interaction between Ottoman Islamic architecture and Hagia Sophia. Hagia Sophia inevitably influenced the architectural characteristics of Ottoman imperial mosques built after the conquest of Constantinople. On the other hand, as Necipoğlu indicates, Hagia Sophia also was reshaped to conform to Ottoman imperial mosques through the addition of four minarets and a royal mausoleum of Selim II built in a walled garden. Later on, a domed tomb for Murad III was also built and some minor repairs were carried out in the Hagia Sophia by Davud, Sinan's student, such as renewing the lead sheathing of the dome, repairing the *madrasa* rooms, dependencies, large doors, latrines, water

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<sup>18</sup> Selimiye Mosque was also built for Selim II in the old capital Edirne between 1568 and 1574.

conduits during the reign of Mehmed III. The domed tomb of Mehmed III was also built in the walled garden of Hagia Sophia by Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa upon the order of Ahmed I. This last construction was accompanied by repairs in the Hagia Sophia that included replacement of lead sheets covering the dome, renewal of glass panels and inscriptions, addition of the ceramic tile revetments, and painting of the sultan's royal tribune (*hünkâr mahfili*), *minbar*, *mihrab*, railings around the three galleries, the dome and half-domes. The remaining interior and exterior walls were white-washed. (Akgündüz, 2006, 193-196) As a result of this intervention, several of Hagia Sophia's figural mosaics, including the Pantokrator on the dome, became covered under the paint. Outside the main prayer space and beyond the congregation's field of vision, the figural mosaics were left untouched. Besides the four seraphim figures on the pendentives and the Virgin Mary and Child figure in the conch of the apse were the only untouched mosaics of the main prayer space. The tolerance of Prophet Mohammad, who had removed all the pagan idols and painted images inside the Ka'ba except for a representation of the Virgin with the Christ Child sitting on her lap, influenced the selective covering. The mosaics were covered selectively according to their relative visibility and acceptability from an Islamic point of view. As an evaluation of the renovation done in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in parallel with the political situation of the Empire during the reign of Ahmed I, Necipoğlu suggests that a new ethos and ideological orientation characterized by growing emphasis on a more dogmatic interpretation of Sunnite Islam was reflected through Hagia Sophia (Necipoğlu, 1992, 209-220).

During the reign of Mahmud I, Hagia Sophia was extensively renovated besides the whitewashing of all mosaics except the seraphim figures. Mahmud I

added several new dependencies to the building such as a library, a fountain (*şadırvan*), *imaret*, and a school for children (Kırımtayf, 2001, 16; Necipoğlu, 1992, 221).

The two fountains (*sebils*) in the courtyard of Hagia Sophia were erected at this time: the first in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Sultan İbrahim and the second in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another later building, built in the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, is the *muvakkithane* (Kırımtayf, 2001, 16).



Figure 4.1: The main prayer space of the Hagia Sophia Mosque. (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums Archives)

Beside these interventions, the second large-scale restoration of Hagia Sophia implemented after that of Sinan during the reign of Selim II, was the restoration of the Fossati brothers. Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, architects from Italian Switzerland, were assigned by Sultan Abdülmecid to preserve and restore the mosaics and the Mosque in between 1847 and 1849. Mainstone (1988, 102) specifies

the actual work undertaken during these years as the reconstruction of the most threatening parts of the church that included the rectification of a number of columns in the gallery exedrae, the installation of new ties in several places, and several changes at the level of dome base. The lead roofs were repaired and the dome was relieved of four heavy buttress arches, whose function was taken over by a double cincture of iron around its base. Thirteen columns of the *gynoecium*, which were inclining under the thrust of the great arches that supported the dome, were straightened. The Fossati brothers consolidated the dome and vaults, heightened the southeast brick minaret to conform to the other three, repaired the leaning columns, cleaned and recovered the mosaics except the seraphim figures, painting both the interior and stripped exterior (Kırımtayf, 2001, 19; Necipoğlu, 1992, 221).

Moreover, Whittemore writes that:

*“Under Fossati brothers supervision the mosaics of the Narthex covering the panels of the vaulted ceiling, the soffits of the arches, the lunettes over the doors leading into the Mosque, the crenellated borders which traced the ribs, and the acanthus scrolls which framed the windows had all been re-established. Plaster reinforcements and replacements and even metal wing cramps and nails had been used as local strengthening. Much of the work was simply reinforcement. Missing parts of designs were frankly copied in paint, and no resetting of the old mosaics was attempted. In the case of the mosaics in the lunettes and the soffits over the doors into the naos proper, however, and especially in the case of the lunettes over the Royal Entrance from the Narthex and over the door leading from the Southern Vestibule into the Narthex, the Swiss architects had covered the original designs with a layer of paint or a gold leaf. This way the only restoration removed by the modern investigators-no trace of earlier renovation appeared.”*

(Whittemore, 1938, 218)

It was also during the Fossati restoration that the eight colossal calligraphic roundels with radii of 8 meters each were created. Composed by the calligrapher Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi, these roundels were inscribed with the names of

*Allah, Muhammed*, the first four Sunni Caliphs, Hasan and Hüseyin in proclaiming Islam's power (Necipoğlu, 1992, 223). After the completion of the restoration, Sultan Abdülmecid issued a commemorative medal for the inauguration ceremony on 13 July 1849, which has his *tughra* on one side and inscription "Date of the repair of Hagia Sophia 1849" with an image of the mosque on the other side. In addition, an album of twenty five colored lithographs depicting the inner and outer spaces of Hagia Sophia was published by the Fossati brothers in 1852. (Necipoğlu, 1992, 224; Katipoğlu and Caner-Yüksel, 2010, 210)



Figure 4.2: The Hagia Sophia Mosque in 1855. (Diker, 2010, 415)

Following the earthquake of 1894, the building was closed for repairs, during which great zones of plaster were replaced and painted. Following this, the second intervention occurred after 1910. This was quite a while before the inauguration of the monument as a museum (Özil, 2001, 2).

On a larger scale, the urban transformation of İstanbul in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century closely affected Hagia Sophia. Following the disastrous fire in 1865, the Divanyolu was widened and at its eastern terminus, a small square was opened up to the southwest of Hagia Sophia. On the southern flank of the mosque, a tree lined street was created and subsidiary structures began to be removed around Hagia Sophia in accordance with the most advanced French notions that monuments should be freestanding in order to be seen properly (Nelson, 2003, 66).

#### **4.3. Secularism of Hagia Sophia: The Museum**

The foundation of the Republic of Turkey and the transfer of the capital to Ankara, were important turning points in the history of İstanbul as a result of the usage of all available resources of the country for the construction of Ankara as the new capital.

During the first decades after the foundation of the Republic, and while the new capital was building at Ankara, it was not surprising that İstanbul should have been abandoned to its ruined past. But the site of the former glory, which was defined by Whittemore (1943, 167) as the City of the East Romans, Tsar'grad to the Slavs, Miklagard to the Scandinavians, İstanbul to the Turks and Constantinople to the western world still reigned supreme. Respecting this, the Republican Government of Turkey, without delay, turned to honor it anew.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in between 1926 and 1927, two important restorations in the initial years of the Republic were ordered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and undertaken by the Directorate for Evkaf, under the leadership of

Kemalettin Bey, who was the director of its department of construction and repairs. These were the repair of the dome of Hagia Sophia (still regarded as the foremost monument of İstanbul) and the restoration of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. (Altınyıldız, 2007, 288; Tekeli and İlkin, 1997, 243; Diker, 2010, 108).

In 1933, ten years after the foundation of the Republic, Atatürk turned his gaze to İstanbul. Foreign city planners were invited to present their proposals for the urban development of the city. Among them, the proposal of A. Herman Elgötz was chosen. His plan included emphasizing the historical heritage of the city by creating preservation areas around major monuments and transferring the industrial areas away from the Historical Peninsula. Needless to say, however, the policy of the government was still primarily concentrated on the development of Ankara. (Kuban, 1996, 417)

In 1936, the French architect Henri Prost was invited to İstanbul, for planning the different districts of the city which began to be implemented in 1939. Prost's plans continued to constitute a basis for future development projects. Like Elgötz, Prost also supported the preservation of the historical fabric but he only dealt with the ancient and Byzantine heritage of İstanbul. Prost's main concern was correlating modernization with the preservation of the Historic Peninsula's silhouette. Therefore, he proposed the establishment of an archaeological park in the area covering Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace and the Hippodrome. He also limited the heights of the buildings in the walled city in order to preserve the silhouette (Kuban, 1996, 419). But then, his plan was criticized for privileging the Byzantine heritage of the city, since he designated the area encompassing the Hagia Sophia, the



Hippodrome, and Great Palace as “an archaeological park” and the environs of the land walls as “a protected zone” (Altınyıldız, 2007, 292).

As mentioned before, foreign scholars received gracious reception in Turkey in the Early Republican Period and ways opened for them in their diversified fields of research under the auspices of the Turkish government. Among them, Professor Emerson Swift of Columbia University studied the contribution of the Latins to the structural preservation of Hagia Sophia in İstanbul. Similarly, the Byzantine Institute of America also undertook, completed and published the most critical architectural survey of Hagia Sophia until then. Excavation conducted by Dr. Alois Schneider of the İstanbul Branch of the German Archaeological Institute in the western forecourt of Hagia Sophia in 1934-1935, set out to find the atrium of Justinian’s Church, but the search was crowned by a far richer reward in the discovery of remains of the basilica of Theodosius II (Whittemore, 1943, 168).

As mentioned earlier, the first scholarly study and restoration of Hagia Sophia in the twentieth century began with the efforts of the Byzantine Institute of America and the Dumbarton Oaks Field Committee. In 1931, Thomas Whittemore, the director of the Byzantine Institute received permission to uncover the mosaics of Hagia Sophia. The main concern of this project was to uncover and preserve the mosaics of the building. Whittemore characterizes this privileged task entrusted to him by the Turkish Government as:

*“the labor of delicacy and skill presently going forward  
with the aid of his assistants under the eyes of an eager world of  
connoisseurs and sympathizers.”*

(Whittemore, 1942, 170)



Figure 4.3: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk with Thomas Whittemore. (Milli Kütüphane, Atatürk Belgeliği)

With the permission of Atatürk and the decree of the Council of Ministers dated 7<sup>th</sup> June 1931, Hagia Sophia was closed to the public in 1931 for a while for conservation, before it was secularized and re-opened as a museum in 1934. The conservation project was directed by Thomas Whittemore and lasted until his death in 1950. Whittemore published his studies in the book titled *The Mosaics of Saint Sophia at İstanbul*<sup>19</sup> (Akgündüz, 2006, 498). After the work was completed to a large extent, the photographs taken during the project, copies, tracings and the publications of the mosaics were displayed in an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York 1944, generating a great interest in the monument abroad.

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<sup>19</sup> For more information see: Thomas Whittemore. *The Mosaics of Saint Sophia at İstanbul, The Mosaics of the Southern Vestibule, the second preliminary report on work done in 1933 and 1934*, Oxford University Press, 1936.

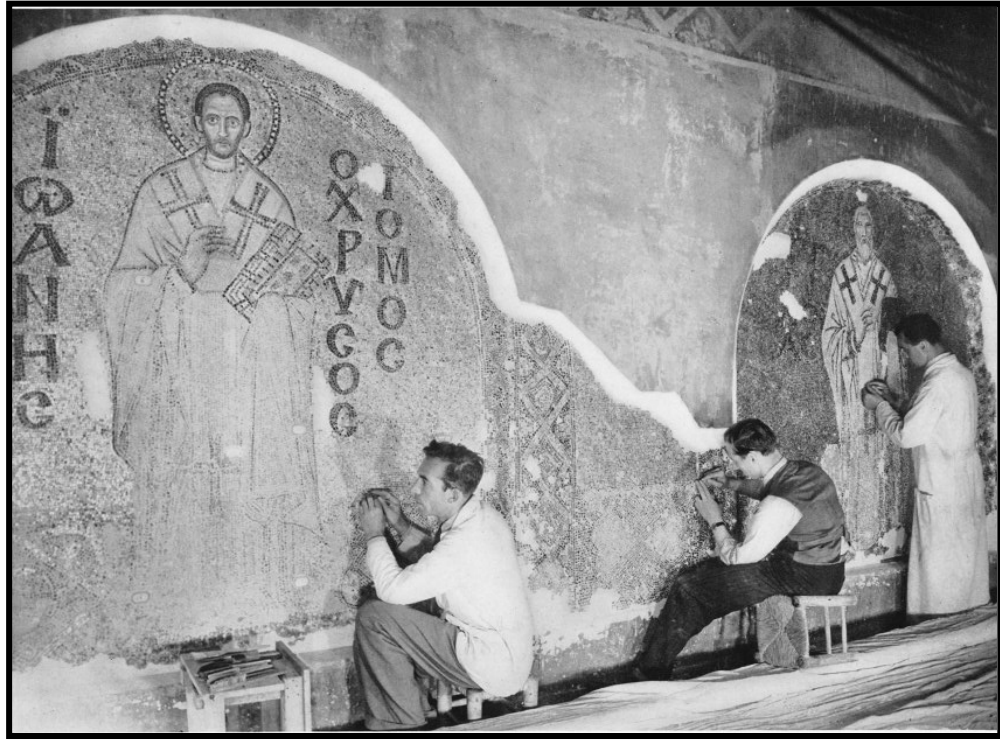


Figure 4. 4: The study of the Byzantine Institute of America. (Whittemore, 1942, 171) (Uncovering and preserving the mosaics of the Niches in North Tympanum Wall of the Great Arch, St. Ignatius and St. Chrysostum)

Not long after, on August 25, 1934, Aziz Ogan (1888-1956), the director of the İstanbul Antiquities Museums (*İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Müzeleri*) - the new name of the Imperial Museum - who also administered the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, received orders to convert the mosque to a museum. Aziz Ogan assigned a commission including scholars, to prepare a report on the intervention proposals to secure the original building during the conversion of the Hagia Sophia Mosque into a museum and the exhibition proposals of the new museum and its collections. According to the report, dated 27 August 1934, repair interventions involved the west façade of the building and the renovation of the degenerated wooden parts of three doors there. In the report it was also stated that although the mosaics of the building were mostly exposed, their restoration would be

carried out after the exposition of all mosaics in consequence of the completion of the scientific study that was being carried on by the Byzantine Institute of America. Moreover, within the scope of displaying selected artifacts from various museums and mosques in the Hagia Sophia Museum, the commission decided to exhibit the Byzantine artifacts in the outer narthex and the Ottoman artifacts in the gallery floor. (Akgündüz, 2006, 414-416; Diker, 2010, 113-114) However, it must be noted that this decision concerning the exhibition of the Turkish-Islamic artifacts in the galley floor has never been implemented.



Figure 4.5: The roundels (next to the Pergamene jar), lowered to the ground floor in 1935. (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums Archives)

Later on, the decision about the exhibition of artifacts within the museum was abandoned because the bigger artifacts would block the day light coming from the windows and occupied much space; while the transfer of the few smaller pieces would be difficult and risky besides their lack of noticeability. On the other hand, as

a result of the consideration of the ongoing excavation in the garden of Hagia Sophia, the display of the religious objects in the outer narthex and architectural pieces in the garden was proposed by the commission in another report dated 24 March 1935, in line with the decision on the designation of the garden for Byzantine artifacts (Akgündüz, 2006, 418-421; Diker, 2010, 117-118). The Hagia Sophia Madrasa and the shops surrounding the building, except for shops on the eastern facade, were also demolished according to this report and the Regulation for the Preservation of Monuments which permitted the demolition of some of cultural properties which were determined as necessary.

Moreover, the employment of an architect in Hagia Sophia, within the Museum, who possessed the knowledge of Byzantine culture and literature was advised particularly and the need for a budget of at least 15.000 Liras on a regular basis every year for the repair and restoration of the building were highlighted (Diker, 2010, 119). When these reports of the commissions are taken into consideration, it is clear that the preservation of Hagia Sophia was still a very high priority of the new Government but it is also understood that the Hagia Sophia was pushed forward as the church of Justinian.

At the time it opened, however, the Hagia Sophia Museum had no exhibits beyond the juxtaposition of the recently uncovered mosaics in the apse and the upper galleries with features that had been added during the Ottoman era, such as the *mihrab*, the *minbar*, the loggia of the *sultan*, six large calligraphic panels, and a verse from the *Quran* replacing the original Christ Pantocrator in the main dome.



Figure 4.6: The Hagia Sophia Madrasa in 1936, before its demolition. (Diker, 2010, 432)

As already mentioned, on 24 November 1934, The Council of Ministers decreed that the mosque of Hagia Sophia be turned into a museum because of its “historical significance”<sup>20</sup>. According to this proclamation, humanity would gain a new bastion of knowledge with the conversion of this unique monument. Nelson interprets this official confirmation of the building’s new status as a “monument” as the culmination of social and cultural processes that began decades before and one aspect of the secularization and modernization of Turkey that followed the end of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of the Republic in 1923 and the abolition of the caliphate in the next year. The following decade witnessed the outlawing of the *fez*

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<sup>20</sup> According to the decree: “...this is discussed in the Council of Ministers on 24 November 1934, and the conversion of Hagia Sophia Mosque into a museum is approved and accepted on condition that the buildings on the close surrounding of the mosque that are belonging to the evkaf be demolished and removed by the General Directorate for Evkaf (Pious Foundations), and the cost of expropriation and demolition of both other buildings and the mosque’s repair and protection be beared by the Ministry of Education.” (Akgündüz, 2006, 424) For more information see Appendix 2.

and the *turban*, adoption of the international calendar, conversion of the Topkapı Palace into a museum, translation of the Quran into Turkish and acceptance of the Latin alphabet. Moreover, in 1932, the call to prayer was chanted in Turkish for the first time from the minarets of the Hagia Sophia Mosque (Nelson, 2003, 68). However, three years later, Hagia Sophia opened as a museum on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1935 and Atatürk visited the museum subsequently (Akgündüz, 2006, 471).

There is ample evidence about the measures taken to create a monument and a tourist attraction: The museum directorate had removed the mosque's rugs and straw mats and the racks where visitors deposited their shoes before entering. A wooden pulpit was also transferred to Bali Pasha Mosque. Six of the inscriptions of Hagia Sophia Mosque were sent to the Turkish and Islamic Properties Museum (Dursun, 2011, 37). Moreover, the coffee shops in Hagia Sophia's courtyard were closed because they were "dirty" and limited permission was given to reopen only when they agreed to sell candy and postcards! Nelson suggests that the mosque of Hagia Sophia which was a living building was turned into an artifact of the past as secular modernism shaped the official aesthetic of the Turkish Republic during the 1930s. The reconstitution of the building as a museum and a monument represented a break from both its Byzantine and Ottoman past and marked its demise as a living, social organism. (Nelson, 2003, 68)

It may be supposed that reading the traces on Hagia Sophia gives clues regarding the transformation process for 160 years since the Tanzimat Period, which should be considered in context with the Fossati restorations. What was effective on the non-existent parts of Hagia Sophia's configuration: the arbitrary attitude of an uncontrolled western architect or following the course for Hagia Sophia's

transformation from mosque to museum, slowly and consciously? The profane Fossati effect on Hagia Sophia concealed the multi-layer history of Hagia Sophia and also complicated future interventions through interlacing with current museum use. Furthermore, Diker asserts that the absence of new propositions to understand this multi-layer history, while uncovering and cleaning mosaics, actually serves to preserve the dominant Fossati impact (Diker, 2011, 174).

Moreover, the subsequent interventions to Hagia Sophia remained loyal to the Fossati interventions and repeated the same approach without reviewing current principles about ornamentation. As a result of this, a “Fossati Period” has been created. According to Diker, the lack of a comprehensive proposal or simply unwillingness may have contributed to the adoption of the Fossati Period so that it has overshadowed all prior periods of a 1500 years old monument.



## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

Hagia Sophia, was by far the finest architectural product of Emperor Justinian's reign, at the time of its completion in A.D. 537. In addition to its structural accomplishments, the church was also spectacularly adorned with colorful figural mosaics and frescoes by successive Byzantine emperors, which visually document the progression of art and religious life in the Byzantine Empire. Today, nearly 1500 years after, the complex and interconnected histories of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, medieval Christianity, and the Ottoman Empire still linger through Hagia Sophia.

It is obvious that during these 1500 years, Hagia Sophia has soared far beyond what the original builders of the monument had predicted. Emperor Justinian had built the Church of Holy Wisdom as the court church of the East Roman Empire but the building survived as an imperial mosque: Hagia Sophia Mosque for approximately 500 years and after 1934, as a Museum: Hagia Sophia Museum. Afterlives of the monument housed disparate religions, nations, cultures and functions but also ultimately added new meanings to Hagia Sophia and glorified it.

Ousterhout suggests that there is a short leap from buildings to ideas in the study of architectural history and refers to Oleg Grabar's words: "*The true significance... lies not so much in the physical character of its forms as in the ideas suggested by the forms.*" Grabar's statement is an expression of a currently held approach to the study of Islamic monuments where architecture is viewed as an

expression of power (Ousterhout, 1995, 48). Ottoman domination and the Islamic presence were commonly expressed in the standard practice of transforming the church of a conquered city into a mosque, which is precisely what happened in the conversion of Hagia Sophia (Ousterhout, 1995, 60). Moreover, it is also obvious that the re-functioning and adaptive re-use of Hagia Sophia also assured its preservation. In lands that passed under Muslim domination as happened in the greater part of the Byzantine Empire, churches were usually converted into mosques, thus helping their survival (Mango, 1991, 41).

Not many monuments have experienced the significant urge for adaptive reuse in such different cultural and religious contexts as Hagia Sophia. The afterlives of the Parthenon, first as a church and then a mosque, the Great Mosque in Cordoba, and the Roman Pantheon as a church are renowned examples that immediately come to mind in parallel to the afterlives of Hagia Sophia, which was converted into an imperial mosque in 1453 and then into a museum in 1934 after having served as the patriarchal seat of Eastern Christendom for nearly a millennium (Necipoglu, 1992, 195). Symbolic meanings attributed to Hagia Sophia through the centuries and its outstanding architectural characteristics resulted in its successive adoption of change shaped by very different circumstances while preserving the original building. Because the afterlives of Hagia Sophia involve continuous interaction with the changing milieu and dialogue between past and present thus the layers of meaning, they have long transcended the specificity of the original context.

A Byzantine source suggests that before the taking of Constantinople by Mehmed II, the Conqueror, his grandfather Bayezid I had already nursed the hope of converting Hagia Sophia into his royal mosque. In 1453, Mehmed II fulfilled the

dreams of his grandfather and also his father Murad II who undertook an unsuccessful siege of the city in 1422. After the conquest, Mehmed II declared Constantinople as the new capital of his empire without changing its name whereby the official name “Kostantiniyye” continued to be used in Ottoman imperial documents and coins. Importantly, he also declared Hagia Sophia as the imperial mosque without changing its name. Shared architectural characteristics and a familiarity with Hagia Sophia’s imperial iconography were thus important factors that contributed to its preservation by Mehmed II who saw himself as the legitimate heir to the Byzantine emperors after conquering Constantinople (Necipoğlu, 1992, 196-197). In this vein, Kafesçioğlu also claims that Mehmed II had assured the circulation of many accurate images of himself in the European world as one of the earliest patrons of the Italian portrait medal which demonstrated his deliberate use of visual images to propagate his claims to power and to the imperial legacy of Byzantium. (Kafesçioğlu, 2009, 159)

Such an attitude is also obvious in George of Trebizond’s letter that he wrote to Mehmed II, the Conqueror in 1466:

*“No one doubts that you are emperor of Romans. Whoever holds by right the center of the Empire is emperor, and the center of the Roman Empire is Istanbul.”*

(İnalçık, 1969/1970, 233)

In other words, through their possession of the throne of the Caesars, Mehmed II and his successors regarded themselves as emperors of Rome and legitimate heirs to all the territories which the Roman and Byzantine emperors had formerly ruled. Therefore their ambition was to create a worldwide empire and a center for it by rebuilding, repopulating and raising Istanbul to the status of a vital economic and political metropolis (İnalçık, 1969/1970, 233-234). Moreover, there

was a basic continuity in the imperial iconography of the monument. The center of religious sanctity remained not only in the same geographical location, but in the very same building: Hagia Sophia, which became the central mosque of both the city and the empire. The ceremonial boulevard, The Divanyolu, was also largely the same as the Byzantine Mese, and the economic life, which was centered about this boulevard and on the shores of the Golden Horn, continued in the same sites with a similar rhythm. (Vryonis, 1991, 31)

Cultural appropriation of the Byzantine and also Classical periods by the Ottoman Empire, stemming from the ideology of being the continuation of the Roman Empire and reuniting Constantinople and Rome under a world empire unified by a single monarch and a single religion, ensured the preservation of Byzantine antiquities particularly, mostly through their reuse.

It is also possible to correlate this cultural appropriation with the perception of Byzantine antiquities in the Late Ottoman period. As described in Chapter 3, Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, architects from Italian Switzerland, were assigned by Sultan Abdülmecid to preserve and restore the mosaics and the Mosque between 1847 and 1849. During these years, the parts of the building that looked most threatening were reconstructed and the lead roofs were repaired. After the repair, the exterior walls of the mosque were also re-plastered, and the height of the brick minaret was increased to conform with the others. The documentation and preservation of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia by the Fossati brothers is significant because it clearly reveals an awareness of Byzantine art in parallel with the continuation of their ancestors' ideology among the Sultans of the Late Ottoman period. Throughout the afterlife of Hagia Sophia as an imperial mosque under the

reign of the Ottoman Empire, its architectural and mosaic decoration were preserved as the memory of its Christian and Byzantine past, which was still very much alive and thus fed the hope of future victories to come.

The thesis has shown that the rising awareness towards antiquities and archaeological studies in parallel with the curiosity towards the Byzantine and Classical civilizations among the Ottoman intelligentsia surged in Turkey in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a response to the growing general interest of Europeans in the Classical civilizations. Different than the Ottomans, the interest of European scholars in Anatolia, on the other hand, often went hand in hand with the idealization of Greece as the birthplace of western civilization and the recognition of anything pertaining to ancient Greek culture as the remnants of their glorious past (Erciyas, 2005, 181).

The first archaeological museum in Istanbul was opened in 1869 with the name Imperial Museum in Hagia Irene and after the appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey as the museum director, the museum and museology in Turkey developed rapidly. In parallel with these developments, legislative efforts were also accelerated during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, in line with Osman Hamdi Bey's foresight and outstanding endeavours. The Regulation for Antiquities dated 1884 and its revision dated 1906, were fully compatible with the Western antiquities laws, thus it remained in force until the 1970s and formed the foundation for the current approaches and legislations in preservation.

Ottoman authorities led by Osman Hamdi Bey aimed to expose a collective Ottoman identity and Ottoman territorial heritage including Classical Greek and Roman civilizations through the Imperial Museum. This aim is revealed through the

Regulations for Antiquities dated 1884 and 1906, which clarify the definition of antiquities including movable and immovable historical artifacts of all past civilizations. Different from previous regulations, these regulations highlighted the historical value of cultural properties including immovable properties. Moreover according to the 1906 Regulation for Antiquities, Turkish and Islamic Period artefacts were taken under protection and defined as state property, also. Thus the Ottoman museum narrative was rooted in a notion of territory instead of art and aesthetics.

Following the inception of the Republic of Turkey, history, archaeology and language studies gained momentum under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic. Thus Turkish scholars of the newly established Republic were assigned to reinvestigate and rewrite the Turkish History in order to fortify the creation of a nation-state from the fragmented remains of a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious empire. Only a year after the establishment of the Turkish Historical Society in 1931, The Turkish History Thesis was proclaimed in detail at the First Turkish Congress of History.

Due to the wealth of cultural heritage, archaeology became a centrepiece of the state's official ideology and a state project of the Early Republican Period, not unlike other countries engaged in the nation-building process. While studies on archaeological sites of ancient cultures were being conducted in increased numbers, the constantly rising number of objects that were recovered from excavations throughout Anatolia urgently necessitated new museums. Republican authorities who were aware of the importance of the museum, aimed to reinforce the legitimacy of the newly founded nation-state through opening museums all over Anatolia, from the

early years of the Republic onwards. Therefore the initial museums of the early Republican period were established as foci where consciousness of national history and culture were aimed. Hence, it appears that territoriality was a shared characteristic of both the Late Ottoman and Early Republican museological approaches.

Moreover this thesis has shown that there is continuity in the legal process for preserving and securing antiquities. In this respect, the 1906 Regulation for Antiquities and the 1912 Regulation for the Preservation of Monuments have remained in force after the foundation of the Republic. While the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Encümeni Daimisi*) which was established in 1917, had been assigned to discuss the antiquities of İstanbul only, the Republican authorities revised the Commission in 1924. Thus the continuation of the Commission which was the main advisory body in the preservation field was made possible. However, according to the revision by the Republican authorities, the Commission's area of jurisdiction was extended to cover the whole country.

As quoted in Chapter 3, Altınyıldız suggests that the Republican administrations did not always undertake extensive repairs of Byzantine and Ottoman monuments and perpetuated the dilapidated condition of İstanbul, since the ruins provided a convenient pretext for treating this architectural heritage with ambivalence. According to this view, although the cultural heritage of the Ottoman past was proclaimed as the national patrimony of the emerging Turkish state, supporting its claims over the inhabited land, the same heritage was kept at a distance, abandoned in wreckage, since it also represented a disowned past (Altınyıldız, 2007, 293).

Yet, based on this study, it may be said that official authorities of the newly established Republic possessed programmatic interest in the culture and history of past civilizations in Turkey despite the post-war conditions of the country and financial shortages. This thesis clearly shows that especially the conversion of Ottoman, Seljuk and Byzantine monuments into museums is very significant in that the material culture of these civilizations was aimed to be exhibited and taught to the public and the foreigners, besides highlighting the secular characteristic of the new nation-state.

Beginning with the conversion of Topkapı Palace into a museum, several churches, madrasas, mosques, schools followed suit and became converted into museums. The Republic of Turkey exhibited a visual narrative of national history to her own people through displaying antiquities gathered from all around Anatolia in these newly established museums. These museums also enhanced the promotion of cultural heritage concerning Anatolia through exhibiting these antiquities to Western countries. After the rediscovery and cleaning of the mosaics by Thomas Whittemore and his team from the Byzantine Institute of America within the same period, Hagia Sophia Mosque was also converted into a museum upon the orders of Atatürk.

After the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a mosque it was intended to display particularly the Sunite characteristic of the Ottoman dynasty besides the imperial power of the Empire. However the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a museum was an attitude emphasizing secularism. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Ethnographical Museum was built on the site of the Muslim Cemetery in the Namazgah district of Ankara in 1930. Hence, it is possible to see a similar attitude of



transforming a site of public worship into a symbolic space of national culture also here as in the conversion of Hagia Sophia.

Furthermore, based on this study, it may be claimed that dissemination of the outcomes of the conservation projects of the Hagia Sophia was important for both the Ottoman and the Republican authorities. Thus the results of both the Fossati restoration and the conservation of the mosaics by the Byzantine Institute of America were not only published but also presented in the exhibitions in western countries.

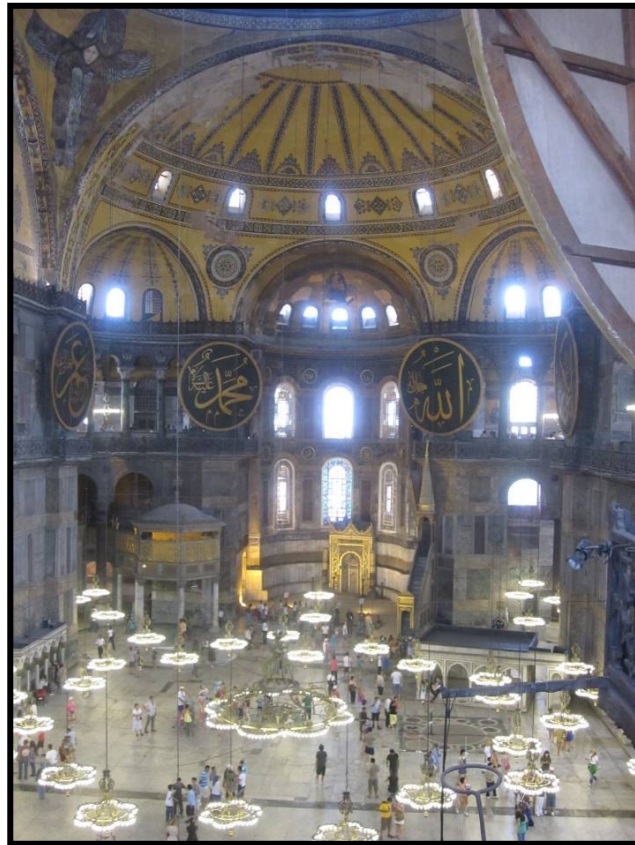


Figure 5.1: Hagia Sophia Museum. (Personal Archive)

It is clear from the research in this thesis that among the museums of the Early Republican Period, the Topkapı Palace Museum and Hagia Sophia Museum should be differentiated since the exhibition of the buildings themselves was

consciously intended. In this sense, both the Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia were living buildings and environments of memory since they were first erected but after their conversion into museums, they became objects of display and narratives of the secular state.

Based on the Hagia Sophia as a case study, the thesis has also demonstrated that the afterlives of monuments could be surprisingly ignored while re-functioning was secured. When this happens, the settings of memory become replaced by the objects of memory. Accordingly;

*“sites where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn. ...There are lieux de mémoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de mémoire, real environments of memory.”*

(Nora, 1989, 7)

From this viewpoint, memory and history appear to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is sustained by living societies; it is open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting. This is a crucial bond attaching us to the extended present which is anchored in tangible spaces, gestures, images and objects. On the other hand, history is the reconstruction of what is no longer existing, a representation of the past. Hence, memory is by nature multiple yet individual but history simultaneously belongs to everyone and to no one. A generalized critical history would no doubt preserve some museums and monuments but it would empty them of what would make them places of memory. These foci of memory are fundamentally the remains of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a later historical age that calls out for memory. Thus as Nora suggests, museums,

archives, cemeteries, monuments, sanctuaries, etc. are all places where memory is “somewhat ritualized” (Nora, 1989, 9-12).

In the spatial and physical sense, Hagia Sophia has been a native of İstanbul since the 6<sup>th</sup> century, so that it naturally became the focal point of social and ideological events. Even after its secularization and conversion into a museum in 1934 by officials of the young Turkish Republic, this did not change. It would not be wrong to say that Hagia Sophia changed from a “milieu” to a “lieu” of memory in the course of its long history. The original construction of Hagia Sophia had signified the triumph of Christianity over Paganism under the reign of Justinian; its second consecration as Mehmed II’s imperial mosque represented the victory of Islam. Its third conversion into a museum by Atatürk has been symbolizing the ideology of preservation of the new nation-state. Hagia Sophia Museum has been exhibiting both past civilizations and the Ottoman Empire and in particular the Byzantine Empire, in parallel with highlighted secularism.

Because of this accumulated multiple meaning, Hagia Sophia is also a symbol of the power of the secular state. This is why Kurdish dissidents set off a bomb inside the museum in 1994. At this point Nelson pointedly asks how many tourists bothered to find out what all this had to do with what they had come to see, *i.e.* Justinian’s Great Church? (Nelson, 2003, 77) Conversely, how many tourists visiting Hagia Sophia come to see merely Justinian’s Great Church? Hagia Sophia served as a church for 916 years between 537 and 1453 and as a mosque for 481 years between 1453 and 1934. Why then have the Ottoman period and the mosque phase of Hagia Sophia, as an afterlife of the monument, not been on display in the museum?



Figure 5.2: Tourists from different religions experiencing the wishing column in Hagia Sophia. (Personal Archive)

Today, with the number of approximately 3.000.000 visitors annually<sup>21</sup>, Hagia Sophia is one of the best-known and visited museums in the world. The visitors from different nations and religions are often curious about the rituals held in Hagia Sophia and many fall in line to experience the wishing column (also known as the perspiring column) which is an upright stone column with a hole in the middle covered by bronze plates at the northwest of the building. As seen in Figure 5.2, visitors of the museum are cherishing the memory of a tradition of Hagia Sophia, when the building was a milieu of memory.

The conversion Akdamar Church (Church of Holy Cross) into a museum is a relevant comparative case that may be mentioned in this context. This Church on the Akdamar Island of Van Lake, built by Gagik I, the Vaspurakan King, between the years 915 and 921, is of great importance for the Armenian people but it was

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<sup>21</sup> According to the visitor statistics 2.733.852 persons visited the museum in 2010, while in period of the first 6 months of 2011, the number visitors already increased to 1.569.662 persons. (The General Directorate for Cultural Properties and Museums Archive)

closed immediately after the Russian Invasion in 1915. In 2007, the Church was converted into a museum after being desolate for 95 years. In this respect, the building evolved from being a place of memory, back to a milieu of memory, after the religious ceremony held on 19 September 2010. Upon the proposal of the Governorship of Van, Ertuğrul Günay, the Minister of Culture and Tourism gave permission to perform a religious service in Akdamar Church once a year. When the Akdamar Church thus hosted a religious ceremony for the first time after 95 years and the building became a milieu of memory for Armenian people once more.<sup>22</sup>

Currently, both the Islamic parties and fractions in Turkey and the Christian communities keep striving to make Hagia Sophia a place of worship again. As mentioned in the Introduction, the public media and heated debate about intentions of worship in the Hagia Sophia have figured widely in the local press.<sup>23</sup> According to a news portal, a group of Greek-born Americans announced that they intended to conduct a religious ceremony in the Hagia Sophia Museum during September, 2010. However, the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism officially declared that the request was denied. On the other hand, an association named “Sürekli Vakıflar Tarihi Eserlere ve Çevreye Hizmet Derneği” brought their claims about conducting a prayer once a year during the Feast of Sacrifice (*Kurban Bayramı*) to court.<sup>24</sup>

It is obvious from these two claims that perceptions of Hagia Sophia among different communities differ widely. Different perceptions creep even into postcards to address different audiences. In the postcards that are sold at the shops around

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<sup>22</sup> <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25132803>, last accessed on 22 August 2011.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.haberturk.com/dunya/haber/552322-ayasofyaya-ayine-geliyorlar>, 16 September 2010 Thursday, last accessed on 9 February 2011.

<sup>24</sup> The General Directorate for Cultural Properties and Museum Archives.

Hagia Sophia, the Turkish and English labels written in the back are ironically different. (Figure 5.3) The Turkish description is mostly “Hagia Sophia Mosque” but the English one is “Hagia Sophia Museum” and sometimes “Hagia Sophia Church”. On another level, the academic and more popular interests and debates about Hagia Sophia show no abatement. Even the designation “Byzantine” is controversial and scholars clash over the use of the terms “Byzantine” or “Eastern Roman”.

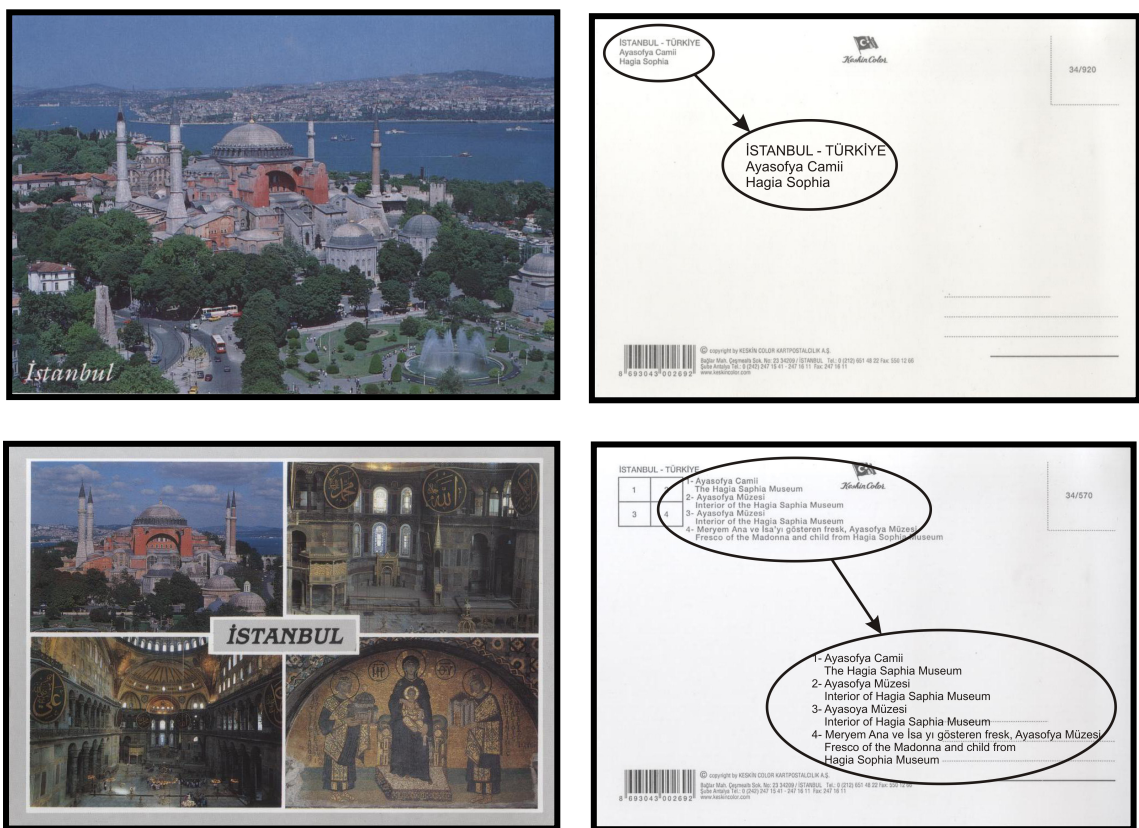


Figure 5.3: Postcards being sold around Hagia Sophia showing the difference between the Turkish and English labels on the back: Hagia Sophia Mosque, Hagia Sophia Museum, and just Hagia Sophia.

In both the light and shadow of controversial claims and perceptions, the Hagia Sophia remains an essential part of the modern city as a museum and an urban landmark located within the UNESCO World Heritage Site of “Historic Areas of

İstanbul”. Being part of a World Heritage site, this unique monument is protected by the Turkish Ministry of Culture. Several expert groups from UNESCO, World Monuments Fund and different universities are currently working on Hagia Sophia to unravel the secrets of its superb structure.

On a final note, it is impossible not to agree with Vryonis’s assessment (1991, 32) that both Constantine and Mehmed II appeared at turning points in the history of the Mediterranean world and played crucial roles in dramatic changes. Constantine bridged the late ancient pagan and the early Christian worlds: Mehmed II, the Conqueror presided over the worlds of a declining Byzantine Empire and rising Islam, and so by their actions in creating the super-city they displayed certain attitudes toward the cultures of the outgoing or declining worlds. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk may surely be added to this frame due to his leadership during the War of Independence against the colonial powers that led to the foundation the Republic of Turkey, modern inheritor of the declining Ottoman Empire. Atatürk ordered the secularization of Hagia Sophia and its conversion into a museum, with respect to both the Ottoman and Byzantine cultures. Adaptive reuse of Hagia Sophia as a museum secured its preservation and facilitated universal access for everyone from different religions and cultures. On the other hand, from a political point of view, the building also promotes itself as a secular benchmark of the Republic of Turkey. Thus, there is a distinct change in the ideology behind the decisions of transforming Hagia Sophia into a mosque in the Ottoman Period and into a museum in the Republican Period. Ottoman Sultans were aiming to establish parallels between themselves and Byzantine Emperors like Constantine and Justinian as their legitimate heirs. On the other hand Republican authorities were aiming to create

channels for dissemination of the national identity and culture of the newly founded nation-state and also highlighting the secular characteristic. Eventually, the symbolic content and historical message of Hagia Sophia penetrate the layers of historical accumulations and different attitudes through its afterlives that constitute the legend of the building. Hence any legislation that does not take this layered identity into account can not do justice to this unique monument.



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## **APPENDIX-1:**

### **Telgraf**

#### **Başvekil İsmet Paşa Hazretlerine**

##### **(Original Document)**

Son tetkik seyahatlerimde muhtelif yerlerdeki müzeleri ve eski sanat ve medeniyet eserlerini de gözden geçirdim.


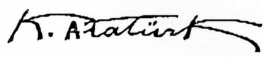



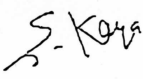




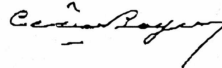



1.İstanbul'dan başka Bursa, İzmir, Antalya, Adana ve Konya'da mevcut müzeleri gördüm. Bunlarda şimdiye kadar bulunabilen bazı eserler muhafaza olunmakta ve kısmen de ecnebi mütehassısların yardımıyla tasnif edilmektedir. Ancak memleketimizin hemen her tarafında emsalsiz defineler halinde yatmakta olan kadim medeniyet eserlerinin ilerde tarafımızdan meydana çıkarılarak ilmi bir surette muhafaza ve tasnifleri ve geçen devirlerin sürekli ihmali yüzünden pek harap bir hale gelmiş olan âbidelerin muhafazaları için Müze Müdürlüklerine ve hafriyat işlerinde kullanılmak üzere (Arkeoloji) mütehassıslarına kat'i lüzum vardır. Bunun için Maarifce harice tahsile gönderilecek talebeden bir kısmının bu şubeye tahsisi muvafık olacağı fikrindeyim.

2.Konya'da asırlarca devam etmiş ihmaller sebebiyle büyük bir harabi içinde bulunmalarına rağmen sekiz asır evvelki Türk medeniyetinin hakiki mimari şaheserleri sayılacak kıymette bazı mebanî vardır. Bunlardan bilhassa Karatay Medresesi, Alâeddin Câmîi, Sahip Ata Medrese Camii ve Türbesi, Sırçalı Mescit ve İnce Minareli Cami derhal ve müstacelen tâmire muhtaç bir haldedirler. Bu tâmirin gecikmesi ve âbidelerin kâmilen indirasını mucip olacağından evvelâ asker işgalinde bulunanların tahliyesinin ve kâffesinin mütehassıs zevat nezaretiyle tâmirinin temin buyurulmasını rica ederim.

K. ATATÜRK

## APPENDIX-2:

### The Decree of the Council of Ministers Dated on 24 November 1934 concerning the Conversion of Hagia Sophia Mosque into a Museum:

T.C. BAŞVEKALET Kararlar Müdürlüğü Sayı: 2/1589		 BAŞBAKANLIK CUMHURİYET ARŞIVI	
<b>KARARNAME</b>			
<p>"Maarif Vekilliğinden yazılan 14/11/934 gün ve 9404 sayılı tezkerede: Eşsiz bir mimarlık sanat abidesi olan İstanbul'daki Ayasofya Camiinin tarihi vaziyeti itibarıyla müzeye çevrilmesi bütün Şark alemini sevindireceği ve insanlığa yeni bir ilim müessesesi kazandıracığı cihetle bunun müzeye çevrilmesi, çevresindeki evkafa ait dükkanların yıktırılması ve diğerlerinin de evkafça istimlak edilmesi suretiyle güzelleştirilmesi ve tamiri ve daimi muhafzası masraflarına karşılık da evkafça bu sene ve gelecek seneler bütçelerinden muayyen bir para ayrılması hakkında bir karar ittihazi istenilmiş ve Evkaf Umum Müdürlüğünden yazılan 7/11/934 gün ve 153197/107 sayılı mütalanamede, bu camiin Bizanslardan kalma bir eser olması hasebiyle hiç bir vakfı olmadığı ve her ne kadar cami olduktan sonra Sultanlar ve Halk tarafından bazı gelirler bağışlanmışsa da bunlardan aşar olarak bağlanan sultan gelirlerinin kaldırılmış olduğu ve halk tarafından bağlanan gelirler ise kuran okumak ve buna benzer belli ve nerede olursa olsun yapılabilir dini emekler için olup müzeye çevrilmesi ve korunması için verilecek bir geliri bulunmadığı ve şimdiye kadar tamiri, gelirine bakmadan diğer vakıflarla bir arada yapılagelmekte olan bu bina cami olmaktan çıkınca artık buna da imkan kalmayacağı ve bütçelerinin bugünkü vaziyeti herhangi bir yardıma da yol bırakmamakta olduğu ve çevresindeki yapılardan evkafa ait olanları yıkmak ve kaldırmak elden gelirse de ötekine berikine ait olanların Evkafça satın alınmasına imkan bulunmadığı bildirilmiştir.</p>			
<p>Bu iş icra vekilleri heyetince 24/11/934 te görüşülerek, camiin çevresindeki Evkafa ait binaların Evkaf Umum Müdürlüğünce yıktırılarak temizlettilmesi ve diğer binaların istimlak, yıkma ve binanın tamir ve muhafzası masrafları da Marif Vekilliğince verilmek suretiyle Ayasofya camiinin müzeye çevrilmesi tasvip ve kabul olunmuştur.</p>			
24/11/934			
REİSİCUMHUR			
			
Bş. V. 	Ad. V. 	M.M. V. 	Da. V. 
Ha.V. V. 	Ma. V. 	Mf. V. 	Na. V. 
İk. V. 	S. I. M. V. 	G. I. V. 	Zr. V. 

### APPENDIX-3:

#### Chronology of Important Events Mentioned in the Thesis

1730	The armory in the Church of Hagia Irene was converted into a space of display
1836	Foundation of The Ministry of Pious Foundations ( <i>Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümayun</i> )
1839	The Declaration of the Tanzimat Edict
1846	Establishment of the Magazine of Antiquities ( <i>Mecmua-i Asar-ı Atika</i> ) and the Magazine of Antique Weapons ( <i>Mecmua-i Esliha-i Atika</i> ) in the Church of Hagia Irene
1847-1849	The Restoration of Hagia Sophia by Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati
1855	Foundation of the municipality ( <i>şehremaneti</i> )
1869	Change of the name “the Magazine of Antiquities” to “Imperial Museum” ( <i>Müze-i Hümayun</i> )
1869	The 1 <sup>st</sup> Regulation for Antiquities
1874	The 2 <sup>nd</sup> Regulation for Antiquities
1877	Transfer of the museum to the Tiled Pavilion ( <i>Çinili Köşk</i> )
1880	The appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey as the director of the museum
1882	Establishment of the School of Fine Arts ( <i>Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi</i> )
1884	The 3 <sup>rd</sup> Regulation for Antiquities
1891	Some collections were moved to neighboring Sarcophagus Museum & The department of Islamic art opened at the Imperial Museum
1906	The 4 <sup>th</sup> Regulation for Antiquities
1908	The Declaration of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Constitutional Revolution
1909	Foundation of the Technical Commission for Construction and Repairs
1912	The Regulation for the Preservation of Monuments ( <i>Muhafaza-i Abidat Nizamnamesi</i> )
1915	Establishment of the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities ( <i>Asar-ı Atika Encümeni Daimisi</i> )
1923	Establishment of the Republic of Turkey

- 1924 The Repair of the Dome of Hagia Sophia by the Department of Construction and Repairs under the Leadership of Kemalettin Bey
- 1925 Approval of the continuation of the Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities
- 1928 The Alphabet Reform
- 1931 Foundation of the Society for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti*)
- 1931-1950 The rediscovery and cleaning of the mosaics by Thomas Whittemore and his team from the Byzantine Institute of America
- 1932 The First Turkish Congress of History & Announcement of the Turkish History Thesis
- 1932 Foundation of the Turkish Language Society
- 1932 Foundation of the People's Houses (*Halk Evleri*)
- 1934 Conversion Hagia Sophia Mosque into a Museum  
Foundation of Several Museums in Anatolia
- 1934-1935 Excavation conducted by Dr. Alois Schneider of the İstanbul Branch of the German Archaeological Institute in the western forecourt of Hagia Sophia (the discovery of remains of the basilica of Theodosius II)
- 1937 The Second Turkish Congress of History & Announcement of the Turkish History Thesis
- 1951 Establishment of the Superior Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*)