

for interpretation make them precursors of the modern museum. Like the modern museum, the House of Weapons created a central site in which the collection of objects with symbolic significance gave a political message. The incorporation of spolia into the walls of various types of structures also served one of the functions of the modern museum—to display objects to a viewing public who would understand the messages implied. Whereas in the modern museum visitors have labels and guidebooks to construct exhibitional narratives, in these premodern collections myth, legend, and tradition provided the contextual frameworks for the objects on display.

2 Parallel Collections of Weapons and Antiquities

During the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman museum developed out of the collections in the House of Weapons, renamed the Military Storehouse (*Harbiye Anbarı*) in 1839. Thus the collections remained on the grounds of the Topkapı Palace; all but one would remain there until the end of the empire. This location played an important role in emphasizing the imperial nature of the collections, their relation to the state, and their potential audiences.

The importance of the museum's location came not so much from the immediacy of the royal family but from its proximity to the empire's administrative offices. In 1853 the royal family felt the need for more modern accommodations and moved to the Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosphorus. The Topkapı Palace came to house the family and staff of the previous sultan. Although demoted to a secondary palace, it retained its importance as the home of the Prophet's holy relics, which the sultan visited ceremonially on the fifteenth day of the holy month of Ramazan every year. During these visits, he passed by the developing museum and heard requests concerning its upkeep and development.

More important, although the royal family's residence moved, the administrative center of the empire, the Sublime Porte (*Bab-i Ali*), remained just down the hill, across from the main gate to the Gülhane Gardens, where it had been since 1654 (see map 2).¹ The proximity of the administrative center ensured that as the panoply of Ottoman museums developed, they would become familiar to an administrative elite whose Europeanizing palates would be most likely to savor the new institution. As a result of increased centralization during the nineteenth century, not only did administrative jobs grow in prestige, the education necessary to participate in the bureaucracy shifted dramatically from one laden with Arabo-

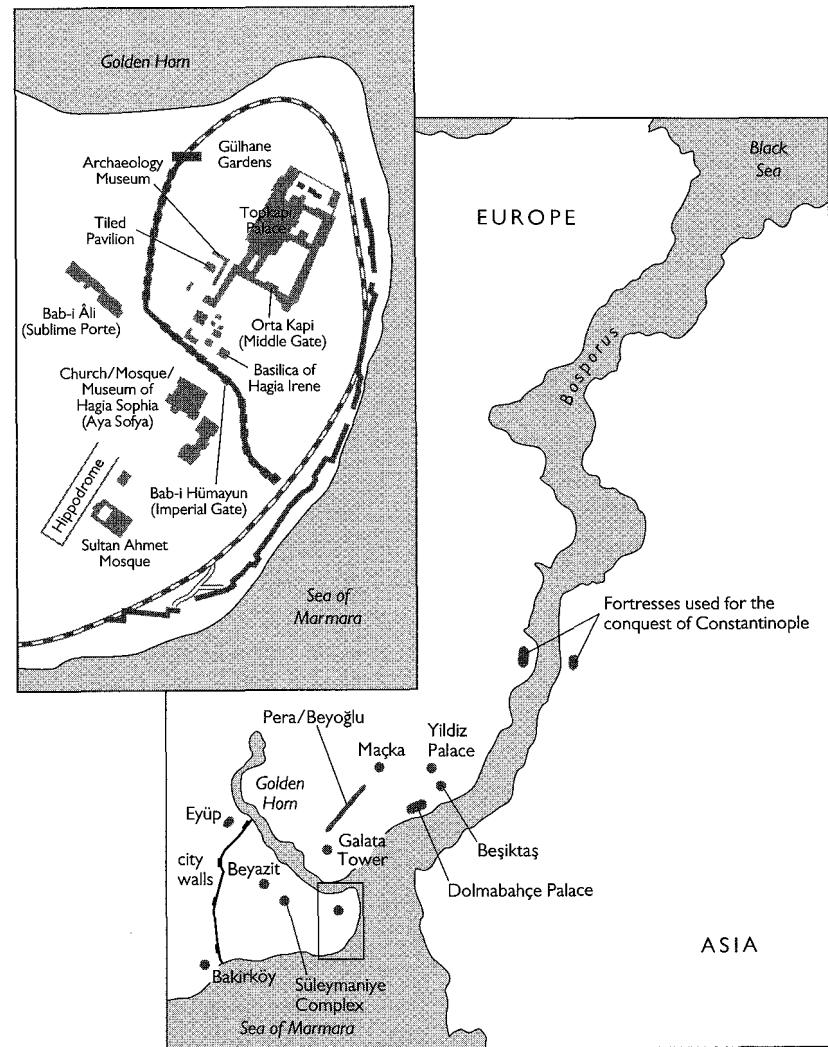
Persian literature and etiquette to one founded in Western languages and practices. Keen on cultivating their interest in poetry and the arts, administrators maintained their ties with European culture in part through the nearby museum.²

In addition to these Ottoman visitors, the collections seem to have been accessible to elite European travelers who wrote about the site in conjunction with visits to the defunct palace. The location of the museum provided a well-guarded environment for the collections and ensured that a visitor would be constantly reminded that they signified the taste and power of the Ottoman dynasty that owned, assembled, and displayed them.

Unlike in Europe, where modern museums often emerged from the princely cabinets, or *wunderkammern*, kept by Renaissance nobility, Ottoman museums emerged from collections that had been outside of the range of interest of earlier private imperial collections. Although Mehmet the Conqueror had studied Italian and wanted to participate in many aspects of Renaissance culture, the collections formed during his reign differed considerably from the collections of his contemporaries, most notably the Medici in Florence. Whereas their collections focused on the valuable and the antique and were placed on private display, there is little evidence that Mehmet the Conqueror was interested in his collections for private contemplation or admiration.

THE MAGAZINE OF ANTIQUE WEAPONS

From its inception, the Ottoman museum stood in the transitional zone between an Eastern empire and the impetus of Europeanization. Its founders and first directors were either European or Ottoman citizens with extensive experience in Europe that colored their perceptions and projections of Ottoman identity. While for many years protomuseological collections filled the former Church of Hagia Irene, they functioned in modes that were antithetical to the premises of exhibition of the European museum. As such, they functioned as relatively autochthonous institutions. Once these collections became more museological, they immediately bore the stamp of European institutionality. In 1846 Ahmet Fethi Pasha, the marshal of the Imperial Arsenal (Tophane-i Amire Müşiri) in the Ministry of War, designated the rooms around the atrium of the former Church of Hagia Irene to house two collections owned by the sultan. He thus established the Ottoman Empire's first conscientious museological presentation of imperial collections. From that moment on, each Ottoman museum en-



Map 2. Schematic map of İstanbul

tered into a negotiation between its imported format and its nationalist content.

Before his tenure as marshal Ahmet Fethi Pasha had served as ambassador to Moscow in 1833, to Vienna in 1834–36, and to Paris in 1837–39. During this last appointment, he visited London as the official representative of the Ottoman Empire at the coronation of Queen Victoria. He re-

turned to the empire in 1839 for the coronation of Sultan Abdülmecid and to marry the new sultan's younger sister. On his return to Constantinople, Ahmet Fethi Pasha contributed to establishing several modern institutions designed to bolster the Ottoman economy. Among these, he established new steel factories that would carry the empire into the industrial age. He also founded the Beykoz porcelain factory whose goods were emblazoned with the famous insignia Product of Istanbul (*Eser-i İstanbul*). As modern, European-style institutions, the steel and porcelain factories played an important role in the systematic revolution taking place in the empire. Ahmet Fethi Pasha's familiarity with modern modes of organization not only informed the radical change he led in industry but also influenced his subsequent involvement in Ottoman museums.³

As marshal of the Imperial Arsenal, Ahmet Fethi Pasha was in charge of the Military Storehouse, which still contained the collections of the House of Weapons. The earliest archival document that mentions the collections proposes that a space be designated for the arrangement of historical weapons and various objects already in the storehouse, where a museum for the arrangement of antiquities "depicting human and animal forms" already existed.⁴ Thus by 1846 a small collection of antiquities had already joined the older collection of weapons and had already been on display. This display became official, however, only under the auspices of the new collections.

Ahmet Fethi Pasha organized the collections by dividing the space of the former church into two parts. To the right of the atrium, a marble portal inscribed with the words "Mecmua-i Asliha-i Atika" (Magazine of Antique Weapons) led to a collection of disused weapons and armor, already stored in the armory. Opposite this portal, a portal inscribed with the words "Mecmua-i Asar-i Atika" (Magazine of Antiquities) led to an assortment of works from the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods, unearthed from various parts of Constantinople and the empire, which had previously lacked an appropriate space for storage or display. Displays in the atrium forged visual links between the two collections. These collections diverged in location and ideological function in about 1880 but until then served similar ideological ends through conceptually separate yet physically intertwined exhibits.

Like earlier assemblies of objects, the primary audience for the new collections was the ruler and selected guests. Although the church-museum of Hagia Irene would eventually become a site visited by many foreign and native tourists, the initial audience for the collections was initially none other than Sultan Abdülmecid. Soon after his first visit, a chamber suppos-

edly in the style of Louis XIV was built in the narthex of the church as a place of rest for the sultan on subsequent visits.⁵ It was for his satisfaction that the museum emphasized the most glorious moments of Ottoman history surrounded by the multifarious relics of conquest. The Europeanesque style chosen to decorate the chamber of the sultan underscores the desire of the ruler to partake in a European ritual of collection and display. In his museum alcove, he acquired an Occidental context in which to relax and contemplate the history of his forebears.

Certainly, the collections did not solely serve princely pleasure. However, in the absence of visitor records, it is difficult to imagine the experience of visiting these early collections or the range of people who had access to them. Ottoman officials of the Sublime Porte were expected to contribute to the collections, so it seems quite likely that they constituted the primary audience. They did not, however, publicly record their visits to the collections. In contrast, several foreign travelers wrote about their visits. The famous French novelist Gustave Flaubert and the playwright Théophile Gautier visited the city in 1851 and 1852, respectively. Their accounts provide the earliest descriptions of the displays. The French archaeologist Albert Dumont came to İstanbul in 1868 to catalog the antiquities collections of the nascent museum. Similarly, the German classicist Anton Déthier, who would become the second director of the museum, described the antiquities collections in 1872. Together, these descriptions provide considerable information concerning the display strategies in the dual collections.

The spaces of the Magazine of Antique Weapons carefully framed specific episodes in Ottoman history to their best advantage while marking the passage of archaic institutions in a glorious—but distanced—history. The artillery collections were located in the vestibule, the main body of the church, and the apse; mannequins depicting the Janissaries graced the gallery; and the atrium served as a transitional space between the antiquities of war and the antiquities of culture, located in the Magazine of Antiquities (fig. 3).

The visitor entered the former church through the vestibule, where the disorder of heaped kettle drums and cooking pots of the Janissaries reminded the viewer that the corps had been abolished twenty years earlier and that its possessions had become mere curiosities. Flaubert briefly described the exhibit hall after this entryway:

Nice hall of arms with a dome, vaulted, with simple naves of fusillages in a bad state; on the ceiling, in the upper story, ancient arms and of an inestimable value, damasquined Persian caps, coats of arms, for the most part communal, huge Norman two-handed spears. . . . The sword

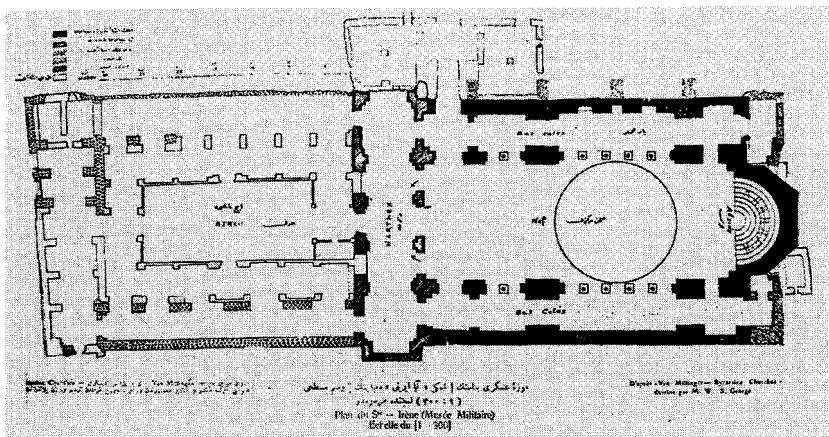


Fig. 3. Basilica of Hagia Irene, ground plan [Sermed Muhtar]

of Mohammad, right, large and flexible like a whalebone, the scabbard covered with green leather; everybody took it and brandished it, except for me. They also showed us, under glass, the keys of cities taken by the sultans. . . . [A]ll the fantastic and heavy artillery of the past.⁶

The only object available to touch was the sword of Mehmet the Conqueror, which visitors were presumably encouraged to pick up, playfully pretending to be the great sultan. The sword thus became the focal point of the exhibit.

Gautier's description, confirming many of Flaubert's observations, attempts to contextualize the exhibit in a contemporary Ottoman political milieu: "Quantities of old halberds, cases of arms, antique cannons, and curiously shaped culverines recall Turkish strategy before the reforms of Mahmoud."⁷ In the main body of the church, he continues, "the wide walls [were] lined in close mosaic, with medieval and modern armor of every form and description. Breastplates, helmets, coats of mail, suits of chain armor, battle-axes, maces, scimitars, pikes, though arranged in symmetric order, blend in a strange confusion with tens of thousands of rifles from America which point upward in great stacks from the floor."⁸ By juxtaposing the collections of historical and modern artillery in the church nave, the museum bound the memory of the classical Ottoman military to a simultaneous reminder of recent military modernizations.

Gautier points out that the arrangement of these weapons in rosettes classified by type mimicked the arrangements of the French artillery museum, which may indeed have influenced Ahmet Fethi Pasha's techniques of display. The artillery exhibit would thus have acted as a sign of Ottoman

progress in the realm of exhibitionary practices as well as in that of the military. Also, the placement of arms in rosettes may have reflected the late-nineteenth-century development and increasingly prominent display of the Ottoman coat of arms (*Arma-i Osmani*), designed by an Italian artist during the reign of Mahmut II. This coat of arms featured the exalted crown of the sultans, topped by the official seal (*tugra*), flanked by tomes symbolizing Islamic and modern law, and surrounded by old and new symbolic armaments. Like the museum display, the coat of arms emphasized the continuity of old traditions alongside new reforms. As Selim Deringil points out, however, "the fact that it bristled with weaponry is of course indicative of the actual weakness of the state relative to its peers."⁹ Similarly, the symbolic emphasis on military collections during this period may have served as psychological compensation for the actual military weakness of the empire.

As a well-known French intellectual, Gautier would have been an excellent candidate through whom the Ottomans could advertise their Occidentalizing activities, as exemplified by the existence of a museum and by the display strategies of the objects within it. However, in his search for an exotic Oriental empire, Gautier was distinctly unexcited about this exhibit of modern weapons, noting with some disappointment that the Ottomans seemed more interested in this portion of the museum than in the historical displays closer to the architectural apse, for him the crowning glory of the exhibit. Beneath a gold mosaic cross that remained from the Byzantine period, he reports having seen

the sword of Mehmet II, a straight blade on which an Arab inscription in gold letters gleams upon the blue damascening; an armlet inlaid with gold and constellated with two discs of gems that belonged to Tamerlane; an iron sword, much dinted, with a cross-hilt, formerly belonging to Scanderberg the athletic hero [and in] glass cases . . . the keys of conquered cities; symbolic keys just like jewels, damascened with gold and silver.¹⁰

The choice of the apse as the focal point for the display emphasized the meaning produced by using the former church as a museum. The apse became transformed from an altar to Christ, memorialized by the mosaic cross that to this day remains visible in the apsidal conch, to an altar to empire, secularly sanctified by the military relics below. The three main relics signified three powerful historical figures: the armor of Timurlane, the Mongolian invader of Anatolia under Beyazit II's rule, represented subsequent reunification of the empire; the armor of İskender Bey, leader of the Albanian revolt of 1443, represented Ottoman power in Europe;

and, most important, the sword of Mehmet the Conqueror represented the preeminent victory of the Ottomans over the Byzantines, already highlighted by the very site of the museum. Nearby, the keys to conquered cities underscored the extent of Ottoman dominion, as each key represented a city wall that had been crossed in battle.

These exhibits remained in place despite the museum's closure during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, when the former church reverted from a museum to an armory. The author Ahmet Midhat recalled that when, as a young recruit, he had been sent to this armory to be fitted with arms, piles of unidentified historical weapons lay in disorder near the modern Henry Martini rifles being distributed to soldiers.¹¹

Although the museum remained closed for three decades, former attorney general of the United States, Edwin Grosvenor, was able to visit the exhibits that remained in it (fig. 4). The descriptions and photographs in his work correspond closely with the writings of Flaubert and Gautier, indicating that the museum changed very little during the decades it was closed. It is highly unlikely that the exhibits of a closed museum would have been altered. Those discrepancies that exist in the descriptions probably result from their having seen different parts of the museum or their having chosen to emphasize different aspects. The most notable addition mentioned by Grosvenor is, "in suggestive proximity and equally mute, the bell of Sancta Sophia and the kettles of the Janissaries."¹² He includes a picture of the bell, positioned in front of a fence of muskets and flanked by spiked maces. Its presence beside the relics of the Janissaries emphasized the process through which the Ottomans had aided in the conquest of Constantinople and simultaneously referred the Janissaries to an equally defunct place—the museum—in the annals of history. This small display represented metonymically the overall program of the museum, juxtaposing church and sword, as Grosvenor interprets it, mute and paralyzed and under the surveillance of the Ottoman museum.

Grosvenor indicates that the display in the apse had not changed since midcentury and also describes the displays immediately surrounding the central exhibit. Flanking the apse, the visitor could see the "knightly weapons of the Crusaders and the machines of war of Alexios I Komnenos." (The knightly weapons mentioned here may be the same as the two-handed Norman spears mentioned by Flaubert.) Historical helmets stood guard over the valuable military relics featured in the apse. Like the relics of the heroes featured in the apse, the helmets stood proxy for anonymous soldiers who had fought for the glory of empire.

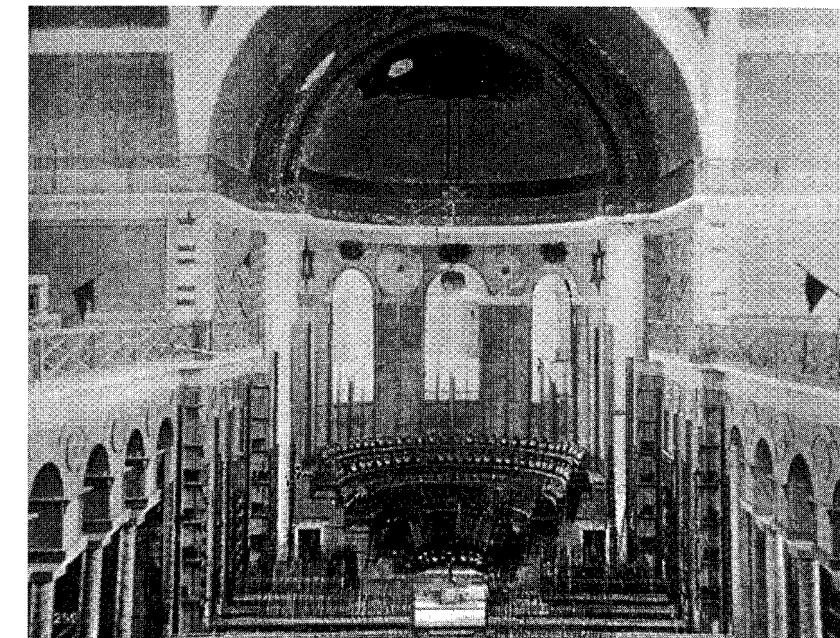


Fig. 4. Apse of the former Church of Hagia Irene, as the Magazine of Antique Weapons, ca. 1890 [Grosvenor]

A carefully formulated history informed the arrangement of these collections and led the visitor through a controlled narrative of the Ottoman legacy. The display of the military collections used the existing church architecture to emphasize the production of empire through military conquest. In the apse secular relics displaced the sacred relics that had represented dominion in the eighteenth-century House of Weapons. This shift coincides with the increasingly secularist writing of Ottoman history after the Tanzimat. Whereas earlier historians had focused on religious justifications for Ottoman power, a new generation began to downplay sectarian differences and situate Ottoman history in relation to external events, such as the French Revolution.¹³ Reformists often emphasized modern modes of thought that favored a secular scientific understanding of the world over old-fashioned theological ones. The empire may not yet have been ready to construct a model of this transition from the theological to the secular with the use of Islamic spaces, but it could do so effectively using defunct Christian ones.

DISPLAYING THE JANISSARIES

While the historic armor and weapons displayed in the church nave articulated the might of the Ottoman Empire and the modern weapons testified to its progressive trajectory, the Janissary mannequins in the gallery embalmed the romantic and glorious history of the empire in the spatial interstices of the defunct church. When the sultan visited the collections in 1847, he was particularly delighted by the Janissary mannequins displayed there.¹⁴ Indeed, the mannequins would eventually become the lynchpin of the entire museum display, summarizing the glorification of the past covalent with its dismissal from the trajectory of the future affected by the museum. If the eighteenth-century Ottoman museum acquired a prison-like quality through the exclusion of the public gaze, its nineteenth-century heir realized this carcereal potential by producing actual bodies to imprison in the liminal space between myth, history, and memory.

Considering that Sultan Mahmut II had controversially abolished the Janissary orders only a quarter of a century earlier, it is startling that their representation should have played a large part in the exposition of Ottoman heritage undertaken by the museum. Without question, the Janissaries had once served a central role in the growth and maintenance of the Ottoman state. It would have been impossible to construct a believable visual narrative of Ottoman military glory without creating a venue through which the Janissaries would be included in the historical legacy. The Magazine of Antique Weapons thus needed to create a means through which it could simultaneously celebrate the achievements of the Janissaries and emphasize, even exaggerate, their passage into distant historical memory.

Ahmet Fethi Pasha probably got many of his ideas for the Magazine of Ancient Weapons from the museums he saw in Europe, some of which had opened quite recently. The Tower of London armory display, for example, had been renovated in 1837, the very year of his visit. As part of the official fanfare for the coronation, the tower was probably an important destination for visiting ambassadors.¹⁵ There Ahmet Fethi Pasha would have seen equestrian figures and knights represented, as a British guidebook explained, “in effigy” by mannequins displayed throughout the Tower Museum.¹⁶ The armor they wore had been abandoned a century and a half earlier; the display of these mannequins revived a nearly forgotten history so that it could be re-collected and reframed in the public eye of the nation. In contrast, the mannequins in the former Church of Hagia Irene wore costumes outlawed only twenty-four years before the opening of the new exhibits. Unlike the historical figures brought to life in the Tower of Lon-

don, not enough time had passed for people to have forgotten the Janissaries. If the British figures seemed to incarnate ever powerful ghosts from the past, the still mannequins of the Janissaries emphasized their recent death.

The historical proximity made their display into a type of embalming rather than a type of homage, akin to the production of wax effigies after the French Revolution. During the Revolution, Madame Tussaud produced wax effigies not only of heroes, such as Marat, but also of enemies, such as the king and queen, their doctor, Robespierre, and several Jacobins. The representation and display of these enemies of the state as if they were alive heightened the violence of their demise.¹⁷ Similarly in the Ottoman Empire, the mannequin effigies of rebellious soldiers violently cut down in the 1820s became memorialized as the loyal forces of the early empire, yet their presentation emphasized their historicity. The use of anthropomorphic sculptures as historical representations suggests just how distant from iconoclastic Islamic mores the Ottoman military had become. Their representation not only marked the Janissaries’ passage into history, but also the passage of the traditional Ottoman order—Islamic, Turkic, and imperial—that they had once defended.

By 1852 the mannequins had been moved from the former church to a new site, called the Ancient Costumery (*Elbise-i Atika*). This new location, in the tent warehouse across from the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet (often called the Blue Mosque) on the Hippodrome, emphasized their passage into history more clearly than their placement in the former church. Close to the site of their bloody abolition, this alternative site served as a monument to their demise at the same time that it celebrated their rich history. No records remain to indicate why the mannequins were moved from one site to another. Those in charge of the collection were probably interested in creating a locational reference for the collection so as to make the political agenda of their display more transparent. Moreover, the new site brought the collection to a spot in the city close to the palace but more accessible and thus more appropriate for a public venue (fig. 5).¹⁸

Each of the one hundred forty mannequins wore the costume of a particular rank in the Janissary corps, of an official at the Ottoman court, or of an old-fashioned artisan. New costumes for the mannequins were sewn in Vienna, but original weapons were used to arm them. The mannequins were arranged in small vignettes depicting Janissaries in mundane situations. For example, the Janissary manning the entrance stood roasting corn, and one grouping inside showed a Janissary playing a lute as his companions listened. The latter is described by Gautier:

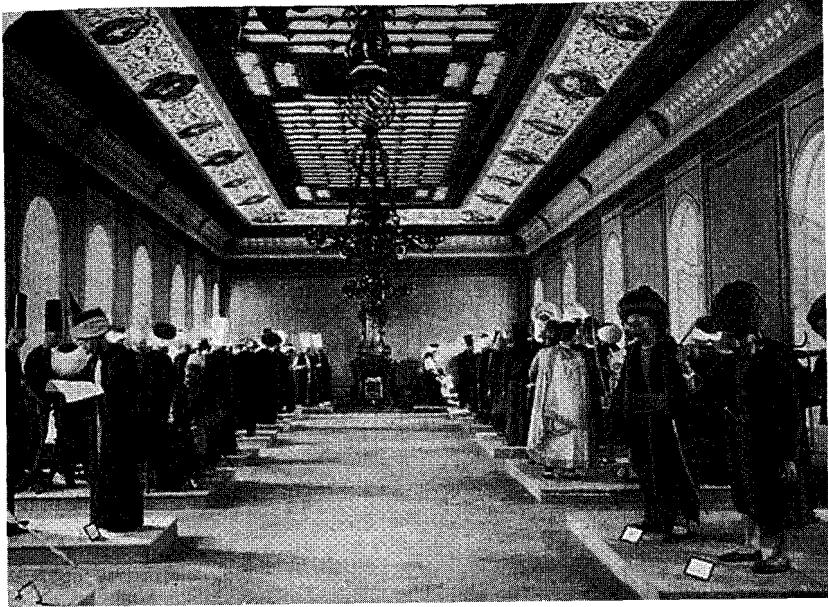


Fig. 5. Janissary Museum, ca. 1880–1916

This Janissary brigade private seems a jolly rascal; a type of ferocious fraternity resides in his forcefully rendered characteristics accentuated by a long mustache; one sees that he would be capable of humor during murder, and he sits with a the nonchalant posture of a member of a privileged corps for whom all is permissible: legs crossed, one over the other, he plays his *saz* . . . for charming the loiterers of his group.¹⁹

In front of the Janissary mannequin was a table displaying old coins, which also temporalized him as a figure taken out of the past. Though the soldiers had arms, they were depicted at rest and disempowered. The mannequins were designed to instigate a recollection of the past but to avoid any dioramic reconstruction of either the might of the Janissaries or the violence of the Auspicious Event.

In glass cases the length of the hall “were collected, like types of antediluvian animals at the museum of natural history, the individuals and races suppressed by the *coup d'état* of Mahmut II.”²⁰ The mannequins represented not only the defunct military orders but also other old forms of dress outlawed for adult males in 1829. As Gautier points out, the mannequins, situated between the world of two-dimensional images and the three-dimensional world of the living, acquired a “cadaverous aspect” that allowed them to indicate the passage of old ways into time immemorial.

It is only twenty-seven years since the massacre of the Janissaries took place, yet it seems as though it were a hundred, so radical is the change that has been worked. . . . The old national forms have been destroyed, and almost contemporary costumes have become historical antiquities. When looking through the glass at these mustached or bearded faces. . . . One feels a strange sensation. . . . [I]n seeking a transition from the statue to the living being, one encounters the cadaver.²¹

The display did not differentiate the mannequins by century but by function, as if the sartorial practices of the military and of civilians alike had remained constant before the eighteenth century. Later periods were only represented in the collection by members of the corps trained by the Comte de Bonneval in the 1730s and by depictions of contemporary military personnel designed to contrast with the historical displays. Through Gautier’s interpretation of the museum, it becomes clear that it produced a memorial to a flattened past that conflated disparate events, such as the Auspicious Event and the dress reform, to create a space of memory in stark opposition to a modernized present. Much as nineteenth-century Orientalist practices constructed a detemporalized Orient, the Ottoman Empire used these galleries to construct a temporally neutral Other out of its own past.²²

The mannequins returned to the galleries of the former Magazine of Ancient Weapons sometime before 1868. As with their first move, the reasons for this one are unclear. Several Hellenistic funerary steles accompanied their display in the new location, transferring the reference to their demise formerly inferred by the site on the Hippodrome to an actual grave marker.²³ The transition to the site of the dual collections also created a single museological unit through which the state could begin to express a relatively holistic vision of its heritage and its vision for the future as bolstered by that heritage.

The dual collections in the former church were not the only venues through which the Ottoman government expressed its increased consciousness of the power of display. Perhaps the clearest expression of the use of Janissary mannequins as a mode of nationalist expression comes from their temporary function in the imperial exhibit at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. While most records of Ottoman participation in world’s fairs focus on economic and trade ramifications, it used the fairs as symbolic venues as well. In 1893 state council members disputed the wisdom of sending Janissary mannequins to the exposition lest they remind Christians of earlier conflicts between East and West. The official commissioned to package and send the mannequins explained that

this would not pose a problem, as the Ottoman state had abolished the Janissary corps and thereby had reached the same level of civilization as Europe. It had an army dressed in modern fashion, which proved its modern countenance. Furthermore, images of the Janissaries were omnipresent in Europe, and the mannequins were seen by every foreign visitor passing through Istanbul, where they were not considered objectionable. In the final decision on this matter, the mannequins were declared not to be dangerous, because historical mannequins were on display in the historical museums of all countries. Moreover, mannequins displaying modern military dress would also be included in the display to ensure that the Janissary mannequins would be relegated visually to the annals of history.²⁴ Twelve Janissary mannequins stood as both guards and hosts for visitors entering the Ottoman exhibit at the exposition.²⁵ They also played a central role in the Ottoman pavilion of the 1900 Paris World Exposition.²⁶ Irrespective of the site of their display, Janissary mannequins served to remind the viewer of the glorious past of the Ottoman state while also forcing the viewer to acknowledge the separation of that imperial past from the future produced through the reforms of the nineteenth century.²⁷

Whether displayed alongside ancient weaponry, among displays of defunct sartorial practices, or independently, Janissary mannequins acted as bifurcated signs for a glorious past as well as a modernizing present. Like the institution of the museum itself, the mannequins stood between their referent and the present represented via their display.

THE RISE AND ROLE OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND HELLENISM

The collection in the Magazine of Antiquities closely resembled the production of a modern present through the display of an antiquated past evinced by the Magazine of Antique Weapons and the various displays of Janissary mannequins. As in these latter exhibits, the collected antiquities bore more value as signs for participation in European practices than as aesthetic or historical artifacts. This becomes eminently clear on examination of the archaeological practices that allowed for the collection of antiquities in a centralized depository in the imperial capital.

The sudden interest of the empire in local archaeology emulated the rising interest in nationalist archaeology evident in Europe. From the Celts in France to the Vikings in Scandinavia, the archaeological study of the achievements of prehistoric peoples laid the groundwork for the construc-

tion of autochthonous ancient ancestors for modern nations. Preceding modern ethnic divisions, the identification of such exalted forefathers proved invaluable in the ideology of national identity formation, historical pride, and unification in much of Europe.²⁸

Perhaps more important, the sudden onset of Ottoman collection came in response to increasing European interest in archaeology on Ottoman territories stemming from several congruent interests that came to a head in the mid-nineteenth century, among them biblical archaeology and Hellenism. Although generally considered divergent branches of nineteenth-century archaeological practice, from the Ottoman perspective, both involved Ottoman territories and signified similar originary and thereby proprietary narratives constructed by Europeans about Ottoman lands.

Archaeology provided a new, modern method through which Europe could link its own heritage with that of the biblical Near East through material cultural remains. The territories of the empire included the regions in which biblical events were believed to have taken place: Egypt, Mesopotamia, and, most important, Palestine. Medieval scholars had hoped to link northern and western Europe to the recorded history of the Near East as well as the classical world by inventing imaginative lineages that identified biblical characters as the founders of early kings of European nations.²⁹ Similarly, modern biblical scholars hoped not only to prove the veracity of biblical stories through scientific methods exercised on Ottoman lands but also to establish a right to rule in the lands that formed much of the basis for European heritage.

Before the modern era Protestantism had mythologized the Holy Land, transforming the physical pilgrimage of Catholicism into a metaphorical pilgrimage of the soul and rendering its real spaces unimportant. With increased opportunities for travel and a growing interest in positive modes of knowledge, Europeans became increasingly interested in the narrative accuracy and the historical veracity of sites used for pilgrimage yet often justified by little more than legend and tradition. (Ironically, as travel to Palestine and Israel has become, yet again, difficult because of regional fighting, the Orlando Holy Land Experience, which opened early in 2001 and is led by Protestant American interests, has revived the notion of localizing pilgrimage into a series of symbolic sites divested of their contemporary realities.)

The desire for narrative accuracy was not only a requirement of the positivist ethos of the nineteenth century, it also came in direct response to new challenges to the literal interpretation of the Bible. The publication, in 1859 and 1871, of Charles Darwin's two treatises on evolution, *On the*

Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection and The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex, led biblical scholars to attempt to develop scientific modes of defense for biblical history. Darwin's theories threatened the biblical worldview by suggesting not only that the history of the earth was much longer than that suggested by the Bible but also that man was not the center of the universe, only a random result of millions of years of arbitrary mutation. Evolution recast the geography of humankind from a predestined narrative of greatness that began in the Garden of Eden and resulted in Europe to one that followed the life patterns of primates.³⁰ As the debate about the chronological veracity of the Bible in the face of developing evolutionary theories grew during the nineteenth century, the excavation of Near Eastern cities provided material evidence for cultures mentioned in the Old Testament.³¹ Biblical archaeology became of the utmost importance in mooring faith back in the geography of the Near East. Perhaps as important, archaeologists could use popular interest in biblical studies to finance their archaeological projects.³²

In 1865 the British Palestine Exploration Fund set out to map the region and to determine the true sites of biblical events. As the fund explained in its prospectus,

No country should be of so much interest to us as that in which the documents of our Faith were written, and the momentous events they describe enacted. At the same time, no country more urgently requires illustration. The face of the landscape, the climate, the productions, the manners, dress, and modes of life of its inhabitants differ in so many material respects from those of the Western world, that without an accurate knowledge of them it is not too much to say the outward form and complexion of the events and much less the significance of the records must remain more or less obscure. Even to a casual traveler in the Holy Land the Bible becomes, in its form, and therefore to some extent in its substance, a new book. . . . Much would be gained by obtaining an accurate map of the country; by settling disputed points of topography; by identifying ancient towns of Holy Writ with the modern villages which are their successors. . . . A work is urgently required which shall do for the Holy Land what Mr. Lane's "Modern Egyptians" has done for Egypt—describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites, and language of the present inhabitants. . . . Many of the ancient and peculiar customs of Palestine are fast vanishing before the increasing tide of Western manners, and in a short time the exact meaning of many things which find their correspondences in the Bible will have perished.³³

The fund thus saw modern Palestine as a living example of biblical history and yet also as a blank slate on which it could draw an ancient topography. The behaviors of local peoples were perceived as modeling those of Europe's biblical ancestry, as Europeans imagined the local people—Muslim, Jewish, as well as Christian—were unchanged during the intervening millennia of political and geographic upheaval. Indeed, they saw the investigation of the contemporary Near East not simply as a topographical map but as a chart for lost times—a chart that would make real the Bible, thus reducing the threat that evolutionary theory posed in suggesting the fictive nature of biblical narratives.

The Palestine Exploration Society, founded in New York in 1870, added the defense of the Bible to the program of illustration promoted by its British predecessor.

The work proposed by the Palestine Exploration Society appeals to the religious sentiment alike of the Christian and the Jew. . . . Its supreme importance is for the illustration and defense of the Bible. Modern skepticism assails the Bible at the point of reality, the question of fact. Hence whatever goes to verify the Bible history as real, in time, place, and circumstances, is a refutation of unbelief. . . . [T]he Committee feels that they have in trust a sacred service for science and for religion.³⁴

Like the British Palestine Exploration Fund before it, this American archaeological society saw Palestine as a site of living history, in which the past and the present could merge in a single body of knowledge.

Not all biblical archaeology, of course, was undertaken in Palestine. Like the lands of the eastern Mediterranean, European archaeologists divested the region near the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers from its modern inhabitants. While since the tenth century this region's inhabitants had referred to the region as Iraq, by the mid-nineteenth century Europeans had increasingly made use of the modern term Mesopotamia (derived from ancient Greek) to differentiate between the region's pre-Islamic history, affiliated with European heritage, and the Islamic present, which had superseded it. As Zainab Bahrani points out, modern historians continue to identify the two non-Muslim groups of the region, Greeks and Jews, as the primary links between modern and ancient cultures, excluding the regional legacy of the Islamic world from the construction of Western Civilization.³⁵

As biblical archaeology used scientific methodology to make the Bible as positivistically credible as evolutionary theory, it also lent credence to a

biblically based interpretation of history that saw successive empires—Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic Greek, and Roman—transferring the center of power and creativity westward from the Near East to Europe. Along the same lines, in the 1880s the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius developed a diffusionist chronology for human civilization that placed the dawn of civilization in the Near East. Although this view was highly controversial, it appealed to many Christians as an affirmation of the biblical view of world history threatened by Darwinian thought.³⁶ Moreover, it supplied a link between the ancient Near East and the West while relegating that link to the second millennium B.C., after which the modern Near East had declined and left its full inheritance first to ancient Greece and then to western Europe and North America.³⁷ This Eurocentric interpretation of history, in turn, became the premise for the organizational strategies of many universal survey museums. Moreover, as Trigger points out, “a view of prehistory which saw the Western European nations rather than the Arab peoples as the true heirs of the ancient civilizations of the Near East helped to justify Europe’s colonial interventions in that region.”³⁸

An even greater impetus to archaeological activities in the empire was the rise of Hellenism in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An important aspect of Hellenism was its political incarnation, philhellenism, and the international support that it garnered for the Greek War of Independence (1821–32). Numerous American, British, and German Hellenophiles joined the war effort of the 1820s, including probably the most illustrious among them, Lord Byron. In 1832 Greece wrested its independence from the Ottoman Empire. According to the narrative of philhellenism, after nearly two millennia of imperial rule—first under the Byzantines and then under the Ottomans—a newly defined Greek nation could reunite with its glorified ancient heritage and, led by monarchs of German and Danish ancestry, revive the traditions that had inspired western Europe to greatness. Yet Hellenism had to be invented in Europe as the cornerstone of Western Civilization before it could be imported to Greece as a nationalist movement. A combination of the real and imagined culture of the ancient Greeks became, in various guises, a heritage to which all could lay claim. While within Greece archaeology served an “ethnogenetic” function whereby “the tracing of the antiquity of the ethnic constituent of a present nation restores a pseudo-historical sense of continuity and legitimizes the present,” outside Greece as well the ancient past could serve any number of modern claims to cultural hegemony via participation in ancient traditions.³⁹ Moreover, the construction of ancient Greece, through texts as well

as artifacts, as the site of the childhood of Europe served to disassociate the modern inhabitants of Greece from their local archaeological heritage and lent even more credence to the European imperial project.

Had Europe never discovered, invented, rediscovered, and reinvented the ancients for changing political and philosophical needs and tastes over the course of the past half millennium, the shared culture of the civilization in which we live would be remarkably different. Before embarking on a study of how the Ottoman Empire came to adopt one of the end results of this obsession with the ancients—that of the collection and organization of their material remains—it is essential to consider, if only briefly, the processes through which Europeans began to use ancient Greek artifacts as emblems of modern identity. Hellenism became a pan-European endeavor that spanned the course of many centuries and found varied forms of expression in different countries.

In Italy people began to excavate archaeological artifacts as early as the fifteenth century. In the early sixteenth century Raphael became the first legal inspector general of antiquities.⁴⁰ By the seventeenth century several members of the British aristocracy had burgeoning collections of Greek and Roman antiquities.⁴¹ Although an awareness of ancient Greek and an appreciation for the classics had been a staple of Western education since the Renaissance, “until the late eighteenth century, most educated [western] Europeans regarded their culture as Roman and Christian in origin, with merely peripheral roots in Greece.”⁴² However, in the face of the growing strength of France in the late nineteenth century and its self-styled affiliations with the Roman Republic, associations with ancient Greece began to appear as a mode of cultural resistance in both Germany and Britain.

The publication of Johann Winkelmann’s *History of Ancient Art* in 1764 revitalized Europe’s peripheral interest in Greek art through the classics. More important than his actual interpretations of individual works, his analysis suggested a utopic world that could be seen and even reconstituted outside of Greece through the aesthetics of ancient works of art. The aesthetic observations he made became models for the political ideals that ancient Greece was supposed to represent. He was the first to conceive of art as a national-cultural product and thus began a tradition through which the display of art in national museums could signify national success and progress.⁴³

As Suzanne Marchand explains, “the elective affinity Germans of the late eighteenth century discovered between themselves and the supposedly noble, naive Greeks became a constantly recurring motif” as Hel-

lenism became an integral part of the Prussian educational system in the early nineteenth century, even despite some local opposition to the adoption of a foreign national culture.⁴⁴ By idealizing both domains, Germans came to conflate modern Germany with the ancient Greek world. By the end of the nineteenth century, for example, the archaeologist Ernst Curtius could justify large-scale archaeological expeditions to Greece by simply explaining that “Germany has herself inwardly appropriated Greek culture.”⁴⁵

Similarly, in England ancient Greece became a model for nineteenth-century citizens. An 1826 guidebook to the British Museum even suggested that England could itself be ancient Greece reborn. As Inderpal Grewal points out, “Greek art was interpreted as validating and inscribing English values. . . . Classicism was believed to be the apotheosis of all art forms, one that was seen as part of the European heritage. It stood as proof of the superiority of the West over the barbaric East; as such it presented one more reason for the civilization of the East through European colonization.”⁴⁶ As in Germany, the aesthetics of ancient art suggested political and cultural models for contemporary emulation. Ancient statues came to represent not a foreign culture but a modern and local one. Hellenism eventually spread back to France where, in claiming to have given birth to the art museum as a public institution, that country proclaimed itself the inheritor and embodiment of classical civilization.⁴⁷

Aside from encompassing the patrimony of the modern Greek nation, the European gaze on the continuity of Greece in its locational exile in western European cultural traditions permitted classical archaeology to develop as the supposedly “neutral” center of the history of art.⁴⁸ This ideological need for the ancients played a vital role in informing the disciplines of architecture, archaeology, and art history, which worked in tandem to unearth and to analyze the aesthetic remains of the ancients for the consumption and elucidation of the modern world. As Stathis Gourgouris points out, the rise of Hellenism coincides with the rise of Orientalism. Its discourse produced a just, logical, and dominant image of the West in opposition to the lascivious, curious, and dominable East. Thus it provided a means of producing a beloved, idealized self for the colonial Other.⁴⁹ The construction of an imaginary Orient was well mirrored by the construction of an equally imaginary ancient Greece: much like Jerusalem, however, Winkelmann and the German intellectuals who shared his romantic, Protestant traditions felt no need to experience Greece as a true location. As Richard Jenkyns explains, “To the German mind, Hellas became a sort of heavenly city, a shimmering fantasy on the far horizon.”⁵⁰ As the disci-

pline of Orientalism developed, it similarly depended on absence: “It allowed the European to know the East better than those who actually lived there could. The fact that Sacy, Renan, and others could do this without setting eyes on the regions they studied only reinforced the message that the European’s power of the East was justified by their knowledge of it.”⁵¹ The simultaneous invisibility of the counterutopic East and the utopias of Jerusalem and Greece that resided within it produced the equally protean, equally undefinable but mirror images of East and West on which both the narratives of Hellenism and Orientalism relied. The physical counterparts to these imaginary utopias—modern Greece and Palestine in contradistinction to the Ottoman Empire—all had to contend with constructing identities in an era from which they were epistemically excluded.

If, as Gourgouris suggests, “colonial mastery is implicated within a scopic economy,” Europe art-historically colonized the past of ancient Greece even as it encouraged the formulation and institution of Greece as a modern nation.⁵² Greece may have gained independence from the Ottoman Empire, but it did so only under the guidance of European monarchs who had refashioned themselves as ancient Greeks and thus shunted aside the more fragmented histories and assorted progeny of the ancients.

Indeed, without the extensive theorization and imagination of ancient Greece already under way in Europe, the directors of modern Greece’s national cause would have had a hard time resurrecting ancient Greece as a symbol for the modern state and might have chosen other primary tropes for unification. The Greek Renaissance of the 1770s depended heavily on the direct translation of French Enlightenment texts and thus translated the neo-Hellenic image produced by the European Enlightenment into a neo-Hellenic image for modern Greek culture. Whereas in Europe ancient ruins only signified a romantic past, for Greeks they came to delineate a symbolic present. Ancient monuments became ready-made national symbols culled from the past but given content via Europe.⁵³

In light of the important symbolic role of antiquities in Europe and in Greece, what was the Ottoman Empire to make of the considerable collection of Hellenistic antiquities lying under its own soil? On the one hand, the appropriation of these statues as a part of the national patrimony could represent the Ottoman Empire as integral to the cultural heritage already on display in the museums of Europe. On the other hand, these very statues had been adopted as national symbols by a newly independent province—the existence of which served as the concrete representation of “civilization in predetermined confrontation with [Ottoman] barbarism.”⁵⁴ The Ottoman Empire could not simply appropriate the ancient Greek past

in the footsteps of its European counterparts, in part because its history actually did bear the remains of that legacy, physically and politically. Although the empire could not adopt the symbolism of classicism or Hellenism, it used the collection and display of antiquities to create symbolism out of the very act of possession.

Europe's affinity with ancient Greece left the newborn nation of Greece in an awkward double bind. Identifying ancient Greece as the "childhood of Europe," Winkelmann gave the patrimony of Greece to western Europe, leaving only more modern sites of heritance to the modern Greeks. Michael Herzfeld suggests that "the West supported the Greeks on the implicit assumption that the Greeks would reciprocally accept the role of living ancestors of European civilization." As Greece tried to nationalize its archaeological narrative, he continues, "unlike their European patrons, the Greeks were not seeking a return to a Classical *past*; they were instead seeking inclusion in the European *present*.⁵⁵

Ironically, the situation was not very different in the Ottoman Empire, from whose lands many material treasures of the Greco-Roman and biblical pasts emerged. Like modern Greece, the late Ottoman Empire (as well as modern Turkey) sits in an ambiguous position: "neither wholly 'us,' those who practice academic research, nor entirely 'them,' those who are practiced upon."⁵⁶ However, whereas Europe cast modern Greeks and the modern inhabitants of Palestine alike "in the role of living ancestors for European civilization," the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey (as well as modern Arab nations) received no role at all.

In contemporary historiography the legacy of classical and biblical archaeology has been meted away from the Republic of Turkey (the chief heir to the cultural legacy of the Ottomans) and given to Greece and Israel, respectively. Consider, for example, the unintended double meaning of Stephen Dyson's critique of classical, as opposed to anthropological, archaeology: "While young Turks in anthropological archaeology have been slaying their ancestors, the dutiful in classical archaeology have been worshiping theirs."⁵⁷ Turks have been written out of the story of rediscovering the ancient world via the modern to such an extent that the fact that the historical Young Turks were indeed fighting classical archaeology rarely surfaces in rewriting the historiography of the discipline. Indeed, in this sense the conflation of ancient Greece and the modern nation-state has been successful. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, it was the Ottoman Empire in which Europeans traveled to access both regions. It was the Ottoman Empire whose laws had to be circumvented to export antiquities, and

it was the bureaucrats of the Ottoman Empire who had to be tricked into acquiescing. While both ancient Greece and the Holy Land had long been imagined as shining utopic visions, their production as physical locations and their subsequent cartographic and archaeological exploration coincided with the very material growth of European colonialism. As Ian Morris explains, "If philology gave western academics the tools to possess ancient Greece and to trace a line of power from it, archaeology took the matter one step further. By filling national museums with Greek statues and vases, governments could show their commitment to Hellenism and their civilized status, and also the strength of their power over ancient Greece"⁵⁸ and, I would argue, the Holy Land to which Britain would soon lay claim.

The dual nature of the biblical and Greek heritage for Europe was not lost on Ernest Renan, a French intellectual of the late nineteenth century who was as contemptuous of Constantinople as he was laudatory of Athens and Jerusalem. "If there is such a thing as one miraculous history, there are at least three," he wrote. "Judea's lot was religion, Greece's truth and beauty, Rome's might."⁵⁹ Clearly, that Rome was not Constantinople. In a letter of 1865 he writes:

Constantinople is certainly a marvel in its way. It is the city of painters and the picturesque. Its ensembles are without equal in the world. But this is all. With the exception of Saint Sophia and one or two Byzantine remains, there is not a single beautiful building, nothing which bears analysing, bad taste carried to its extreme; everything is made to satisfy an ephemeral caprice and for show. . . . This city appears to me like a city of monkeys, a sort of perpetual capital, founded by this worthy Constantine, for ignominy, intrigue, and baseness.⁶⁰

As a prime theorist of nationalism, Renan without a doubt promoted a hierarchy of nations, in which the Ottoman presence because of its Islamic nature acted as poison for the histories of its territories embedded in the miraculous. The ultimate contrast, for him, against the Islamic absence of reason, which he expounded in his 1883 lecture, *L'Islamisme et la science*, was "the Greek achievement, that is to say science," which would "continue forever," along with the "mark of Israel [that] will be eternal."⁶¹ How could the Ottoman Empire respond? Beyond Namik Kemal's extensive defense against the lecture, what could the empire do on a public stage?⁶² Archaeology allowed the empire to use the vocabulary of Europe's cultural capital in order to re-vision its position in relation to that capital and thus in relation to culture defined as European. In the words of Frantz Fanon, "to speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp

the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization.”⁶³ Archaeology was the syntax that let the Ottoman Empire assume—take for granted—its participation within Europe and thus to respeak and in so doing unravel the narratives of its civilization.

Whereas biblical archaeology provided a narrative of scientific legitimacy for Christian conservatives in Europe, Greek antiquities provided an entrée into the birth of Europe. Much as “many Greek intellectuals were as keen as those in the West to promote a Hellenist reading of antiquity, which gave Greece a special place in Europe,”⁶⁴ members of the Ottoman elite hoped to become acknowledged as a seminal site for European culture rather than be excluded from the narratives of its supremacy. Moreover, an association with ancient Greece would link the empire with modern science and distance it from the narrative of irrationalism associated with religion, particularly Islam, which had not entered a secular phase, in contemporary European discourse. If, as one archaeologist suggests, “archaeology, especially in its modernist form, has been formed on the premise of a sense of loss, its subject matter conceived to be the recovery of tradition and a sense of community in contrast to the feeling of disenchantment for the world in which they live,”⁶⁵ then for the Ottomans, the archaeological recovery of a Greek past could compensate for the modern Ottoman loss of power. Moreover, it could recast the tropes of modernity being borrowed from Western Civilization within a new originary mythology for the empire.

As in Greece, this fascination with the ancient world ran the risk of perpetuating the Ottoman reliance on Western approval of their use of Greek heritage. The ways in which the Ottoman Empire used its practices of archaeology and museum display served to allay this risk, constructing instead a peculiarly non-European mode of speaking the Greek past into an Ottoman territorial present.

Still a primary locus of Orientalist fascination, the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century was attempting to reconfigure its identity as congruent with European practices and institutions. The collection of antiquities and the development of a museum to house them played a symbolic role in representing the new cultural aspirations of the Ottoman state. The Greco-Roman heart of European civilization, the neoclassical architecture of humanism, became usurped as indigenous to Ottoman territory and entered a parallel construction of Helleno-Byzantine heritage. On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire used its a priori ownership of Helleno-Byzantine antiquities to include itself in the club of nations that traced their cultural heritage to the ancients and thus constructed a shared expe-

rience of “Western Civilization.” On the other hand, it displayed its qualifications as a modern European state through its possession of a contemporary cultural institution like the museum.

Between the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth, the modes through which the Ottoman Empire expressed the value of archaeological antiquities traced an ambivalent path between the simultaneous assimilation of European values and the growth of nationalist consciousness. Soon after the establishment of the dual collections in the armory, antiquities stole the center stage of the Ottoman museum from military memorabilia. Thereafter Helleno-Byzantine artifacts formed the backbone of the Imperial Museum enterprise. The collection of the material remains of other cultures—such as the Hittites, Assyrians, or Phoenicians—could have, at least in part, marked the new interest in local subterranean material culture. It did not. The collection of non-Greco-Roman artifacts from Ottoman lands would have emphasized the links between the Ottoman Empire and the East, at a time when many Ottoman statesmen were coming to regard their empire as geographically European.⁶⁶ The collection of the artifacts of other Anatolian peoples was as yet tangential to the primary task of collecting Helleno-Byzantine artifacts that could capitalize on the actual and symbolic value of their Greco-Roman counterparts in European imaginings, writings, and collections since the eighteenth century. Perhaps just as important to the collections ultimately included in the Ottoman Imperial Museum was timing: by the time antiquities gained cultural and political value in the empire, many of the ancient antiquities from Eastern territories, such as Ninevah and Egypt, had already left the empire. When, near the turn of the century, major non-Greco-Roman finds—such as the Ishtar gate of Babylon, discovered by Robert Koldeway—came to light, they did not fit with the existing collections of the Imperial Museum, which already emphasized the empire’s Greco-Roman heritage.

This issue of timing was perhaps convenient, as the primary goal of the museum was to render the empire closer to Europe. As Frederick Bohrer points out, “Assyrian and other nonclassical antiquities . . . embody particularly the exotic. For the more strongly we cling to the Greco-Roman tradition as that of our distant forebears, the more we delimit other antique cultures as foreign.”⁶⁷ The collection and display of Helleno-Byzantine artifacts from Ottoman territories showed Europe that the empire was a primary repository of the heritage claimed by the Occident and thus automatically interjected the empire into a collective, pan-European experience of cultural memory. Moreover, by controlling the acquisition of archaeo-

logical goods, the Ottomans effectively regulated European access to a heritage that many European nations claimed.

For the first time in the empire, heritage became inextricably linked to the land rather than to government or religion. Anything that had been produced on Ottoman soil eventually was incorporated into the Ottoman legacy, much as the histories of all peoples having lived on Turkish soil would someday enter the historical narrative of the Republic of Turkey. This process began with the collection of Helleno-Byzantine artifacts. By adopting the practice of collecting these artifacts, the Ottoman Empire attempted to acquire the cultural capital, and the cultural heritage embedded in that capital, that Europe claimed through the ownership and appreciation of such works. Through laws, excavations, publications, and museum displays, the valuation of antiquities began to express a hybrid Ottoman national identity, at once belonging to and in conflict with the sultan and at once part of and in opposition to Europe. This identity became increasingly tied to Ottoman territories and to the objects that had been made on those territories, as can be seen in the successive antiquities laws of 1876, 1884, and 1906 discussed in later chapters.

THE EARLY YEARS OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN OTTOMAN TERRITORIES

The general interest in particular pre-Turkic Anatolian and Thracian cultures became increasingly concrete with the growth of antiquities collection and the development of formal archaeology over the course of the nineteenth century and its predilection for ancient Greek artifacts. In 1784 the French ambassador to Constantinople, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, sent an agent to Athens with an official permit allowing him to draw and make casts of antiquities, indicating that the Ottoman government already kept track of European interest in antiquities. However, the comte's interests far surpassed the permission he had received. He instructed his agent, "Take everything you can. Do not neglect any opportunity for looting all that is lootable in Athens and the environs. Spare neither the living nor the dead."⁶⁸

In 1800 Lord Elgin's similar disregard for Ottoman possession of antiquities coupled with his interest in the Parthenon marbles led to one of the earliest conflicts between a European collector and the Ottoman state. In that year Lord Elgin, acting consul of England to Constantinople, assembled a team of artists to aid him in documenting the architecture and

sculpture of the Athens Acropolis. As soon as they had set up their scaffolding to take casts of the monuments, the military governor of Athens attempted to curtail their activities by declaring all military installations—including the Acropolis—closed to foreigners. Lord Elgin successfully circumvented this order through an appeal to the sultan. The original decree issued by the sultan is missing, but the Italian translation sent to Elgin's team remains. According to this decree,

the said five artists dwelling in that place shall be employed in going in and out of the citadel of Athens which is the place of observation; or in fixing scaffolding around the ancient Temple of the Idols, or in modeling with chalk or gypsum the said ornaments and visible figures; or in measuring the fragments and vestiges of other ruined buildings; or in excavating when they find it necessary the foundations in search of inscriptions among the rubbish. . . . And that no one meddle with their scaffolding or implements nor hinder them from taking away any pieces of stone with inscriptions and figures.⁶⁹

Although classical scholars in Europe had only recently begun to incorporate the practice of archaeological collection into the study of the ancients, this directive suggests that the Ottoman government already had a good idea of the types of activities in which they might be interested. The ability of collectors to make models and take measurements on Ottoman territories depended on explicit permission from the central government. Although no law prohibited the export of antiquities, there was still a need to receive permission for their removal. If Ottomans had not recognized a value in antiquities, the removal of the carved stones would have carried no more meaning than the removal of clods of dirt and would have elicited no concern. Even with the permission granted by the decree, Lord Elgin's team encountered local resistance and was only able to affect the large-scale export of the Parthenon's friezes by bribing local officials with cut glass and firearms.⁷⁰

Like the Parthenon marbles, the Aigina sculptures left the empire under contested circumstances. In 1814 an excavation team led by the British traveler C. K. Cockerell set out to collect marble antiquities from the island of Aigina, south of Athens, without permission from the central government. They worked at night, telling the locals who tried to keep them away that they had decrees permitting their work. As they uncovered marbles, they immediately loaded them on to a ship waiting in the harbor. Thus when local officials laid formal claim to the antiquities, they were easily removed from the empire before officials could confiscate them.⁷¹ Although not governed by express legislation, the excavators were aware

that their actions were not sanctioned. Once the marbles had been exported from the empire, French, Bavarian, and English agents chased the shipment around the Mediterranean as each nation sought the marbles as a physical manifestation of their archaeological and territorial power.⁷²

The value that had begun to be associated with antiquities was expressed not only through obstacles to their export but also through their use as gifts to Europeans. As early as 1838 Sultan Mahmud II gave a group of reliefs from Assos to King Louis-Philippe of France as a gesture of friendship.⁷³ Even after the institution of increasingly strict antiquities laws, such personal gifts from the sultan to European monarchs would continue to underscore the right of the ruler to dispose of the goods of the country at will, thus using them to attest his personal ownership of the Ottoman territories and their products.

With the establishment of the Magazine of Antiquities in 1846, the Ottoman government declared its interest in and appreciation for antiquities through an institutional format learned from Europe and thus legible to it: the museum. The founding document of the dual collections defined the antiquities neither in terms of their periodization nor in terms of their historical or aesthetic value but in terms of their appearance—as “depictions of humans and animals, and other various antiquities.”⁷⁴ Presumably the objects collected were valued not so much for their historical or cultural worth but for the political significance they gained through European appreciation.

At these early stages of museological presentation in the Ottoman empire, terminology provides insights into Ottoman perceptions of the developing institution. The term *mecmua* means both “collection” and “magazine,” much as it did in nineteenth-century English. The word has no inherent implication of exhibition. However, the document cited above that established the new display spaces refers to them as *müze*, or museum. While at times some other terms, such as *numunehane* (sample-house) or *müzehane* (museum-house), were occasionally—and apparently arbitrarily—used to refer to the museum, this word adopted from French remained the primary reference for the new institution. The use of *numunehane* is of particular interest, as it suggests that the Ottoman understanding of the museum was more as a space of erudite sampling and organization than one of display.⁷⁵ However, its use seems to have been exceptional. As for the term *müzehane*, it seems to refer to the museum as institution more than to the specific physical museum building and collections. The Ottomans could have adopted a word from the existing language, much as the Arabs adopted the word *mathaf* as a locus for valuable

and rare objects, or they could have continued to use the term *mecmua* to refer to the developing institution. That they ultimately chose neither of these options indicates that the museum was perceived as an institution to be learned from existing European examples and adapted to Ottoman needs. Still, that the collections were not yet designated as a museum suggests that even in Ottoman eyes they still lacked some of the attributes that such an institution would require.

The collection of antiquities by Ottoman officials increased slowly after the establishment of the Magazine of Antiquities. In 1847 a governor in the province of Jerusalem sent sketches of “reliefs on antique marble” and attempted to identify them historically. In addition to making such reports to the capital, he arranged for the collection of antiquities around Jerusalem in a local storage area. Similarly, officials in Aleppo sent a list of works to the capital that cited ceramics, statues, and coins that had been found in that province.⁷⁶ When the French traveler Maxime de Camp tried to acquire a statue in Aydin in 1850, local officials confiscated it. He was only able to make a plaster cast once it was in the burgeoning antiquities collection in the capital.⁷⁷ In June 1851 a functionary of the Ministry of Public Works sent the statuette of a nymph found at Seisibil in Crete to Constantinople. In March of the same year, an inscribed stone was reported found at Varna (in modern Bulgaria); the following year, when the German traveler Heinrich Petermann passed through, he could only find a copy of the inscription written on the wall of the café, as the piece had been incorporated into the imperial collections.⁷⁸ These incidents suggest that a mechanism for the collection of antiquities may have been established in conjunction with the institution of the magazine and also indicate that officials sent to various parts of the empire had received instructions concerning the centralized collection of antiquities.

By this time Europeans had grown accustomed to the practice of requesting official permission to excavate and export antiquities. For example, on hearing of the traveler Charles Fellows’s tour to Lycea on the island of Rhodes, the trustees of the British Museum tried to arrange for a decree that would help in the export of sculptures. Denied permission at first, by 1841 he was allowed to remove “the sculptured stones, lying down, and of no use, at a place near the village Kinik.” In the absence of any mechanism to stop him, Fellows took this as a license to excavate and remove an entire temple to the British Museum.

Similarly, when C. T. Newton applied for a decree to excavate the Halicarnassus mausoleum in Bodrum in 1852, his permission was slow to arrive, so he began exploring in 1855 without a permit. After determining

the foundations of the mausoleum (and digging through the dirt floors of two homes in the process), he was still very eager to remove the lion sculptures embedded in the Bodrum castle walls that had initially spurred him to ask for the decree. Instead of granting him permission, however, the local commander received orders to remove the lions that Newton had requested (fig. 6) and to send them to the Imperial Museum. As I discuss in chapter 3, the exhibition of these lions in the Imperial Museum would become symbolic of Ottoman control over antiquities. Nonetheless, the nascent possessiveness of the Ottoman government over antiquities was still erratic: only one year later Newton received permission to excavate at Didima and exported twelve statues to the British Museum. Similarly, the Ottoman government gave the railway engineer John T. Wood free rein to export any antiquities he might find during his excavations at Ephesus.⁷⁹

When archaeologists failed to follow the stipulations of excavation and export permits, the Ottoman government often stood in the way of their activities. When Newton applied for a decree to permit his excavations in 1869, he learned that the Ottoman government was upset that the British Museum had never given it any of the duplicate statues found at the excavation of Cyrene by Smith and Porcher. To help Newton obtain the new decree, the British Museum returned some of the sculptures and gave a small collection of vases and figurines to the Imperial Museum.⁸⁰ Such an exchange implies that the value of antiquities was perceived as interchangeable. Excavation did not serve to contextualize artifacts in a historical framework but to acquire beautiful pieces with which to decorate museums.

By the time Heinrich Schliemann excavated Troy in 1870, the Ottoman government had established a consistent pattern of granting foreigners permission to excavate at their own cost provided that half of the antiquities found would go to the Ottoman government. In similar arrangements, the Russian excavator Ispandoni and the English excavator Kastos were each granted half of their finds. In contrast, when imperial subjects happened on valuable antiquities, common practice seems to have allotted them a reward of one-third the value of the find.⁸¹ Although Turkish sources do not cite either practice as an officially legislated law, the visiting archaeologist Albert Dumont made reference to both in 1867, indicating that they were well known among European archaeologists.⁸² When Schliemann broke such an agreement and secretly exported all of his finds to Greece in 1874, the Ottoman government used the court system to sue him for its half of the Trojan antiquities and received monetary compensation. Although Schliemann was able to receive additional per-



Fig. 6. C. T. Newton with Hellenistic lion sculptures at Halicarnassus [Stoneman]

mits for excavation, the museum always hired armed guards to watch his sites and excavation teams.⁸³

Museum catalogs rarely mentioned how objects arrived in the museums of western Europe. The politics of acquisition becomes neutralized by the production of legends about real archaeologists, such as Lord Elgin and Heinrich Schliemann, as well as through the glamorization of the archaeologist in film. From the 1932 Hollywood horror film *The Mummy* to the 1981 *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, archaeologists recover the hidden past of civilization in exotic and dangerous third world lands.⁸⁴ Such public narratives divest museum objects of their geographic heritage, so that once in the museums objects of ancient art lose any connection to the physical world and context from which they have been exhumed. Invested with modern interpretations of the ancient world and divested from their physical origins, ancient sculptures have in large part become the cultural property of western Europe.

DISPLAY STRATEGIES IN THE MAGAZINE OF ANTIQUITIES

A 1910 account relating the foundation of the Magazine of Antiquities suggests that the collection was used as an institution for the indirect rep-

resentation of the sultan. It relates that as Sultan Abdülmecid was hunting in the outskirts of Istanbul, his horse stumbled on some inscribed stones. When Abdülmecid learned that these gilt inscriptions commemorated none other than Constantine, founder of the city, he commanded that they be removed to a place of honor, as such a name should not be left in the dust.⁸⁵ The earliest catalogs of the museum collections, published many years later, in 1869 and 1871, show no records of such stones. While these stones may not have been real, the story symbolizes the initial function of the magazine to link the contemporary ruler with the power of antiquity, as embodied in objects.

The growing European interest in the antiquities found on Ottoman soil spurred the Ottoman government to shift the modes through which it collected and appreciated ancient works. Thus the government began to encourage the active collection of antiquities by provincial officials and to sanction the collection of antiquities in the capital. As members of the elite sent objects to the magazine, those in charge of the collection placed them haphazardly, extending the role of the military storehouse to antiquities. No acquisition records were kept at all until 1850. Between 1850 and 1869, when the first director was appointed to the collections, the few records that were kept mentioned little other than the year of acquisition, the province from which the object was acquired, and sometimes the name of the donor. At this stage the magazine functioned as a private collection for the pleasure of the sultan, with no pretense to public edification. In viewing the collections, the sultan could frame himself as a European monarch, with new types of interests absent from the lives of earlier sultans. The specific contents of the collection were irrelevant to their primary function—to display the sultan as a modern, or at least Europeanized, ruler through the fact of his collection of antiquities.

Flaubert and Gautier had remarkably little to say about the small antiquities collection. Flaubert summarized it briefly: "There is also at the palace a museum of antiquities: a statuette of a comedian with a masque; a few busts, a few pots, two stones with Egyptian characters."⁸⁶ Gautier seemed slightly more impressed by the small collection: "Of particular note, to be taken as a sign of progress: there are assembled in the courtyard that precedes the ancient church of St. Irene, transformed into an arsenal, and which is part of the palace, diverse antique objects: heads, torsos, bas-reliefs, inscriptions, tombs, the rudiments of a Byzantine museum, which could become curious through the addition of daily discoveries."⁸⁷ Although the collection was quite new, it was shown to these European visitors as a sign of the cultural modernization and Westernization of the em-

pire. Unimpressed by the modern displays of weapons, Gautier mentions the Magazine of Antiquities not with admiration for the objects within but as a "sign of progress"—the very reason for its institution. The implication of progress through the identification with antiquities holds an irony that exposes the primacy of form over content in the quest for the modern.

The first catalog of the Magazine of Antiquities, compiled in 1868 by Dumont, provides an invaluable record of the early display strategies of the collection. The deficiencies he perceived illuminate his expectations for the Ottoman museum as much as they describe the actual displays in it. Whereas he expected an antiquities collection organized according to taxonomic typology and strictly sequestered from other types of collections, he instead found a mix of objects whose display failed to address the tenets of art historical identification, labeling, and order in vogue in Europe.

The statues, inscriptions, and bas reliefs in the halls of St. Irene are displayed with no order; many, hidden by objects that have no relation to archaeology, can only be examined unsatisfactorily. . . . [The] [m]obile labels, very easy to move, only give the vaguest information about the origins of objects found outside of Constantinople. One can only wish that the Ottoman Porte will find a European archaeologist to classify all these antiquities.⁸⁸

Responding to the absence of internal cohesion he perceived in the display, Dumont chose to organize his article according to a typological categorization that he saw as appropriate for the collection. Nonetheless, his description provides an idea of what types of objects were located in which parts of the former church. The magazine consisted of a large closed hall with glass cases; an exterior courtyard to the right of the entryway; the gallery, which housed the museum of the Janissaries, as well as some antiquities; and the courtyard preceding the entrance to the museum. The exterior courtyard had only one antiquity, a sarcophagus attributed to Phedre and Hypolite. Other antiquities—including the head of the serpent monument from the Hippodrome, two colossal heads of Medusa, statues of Venus and Diana, Roman portrait sculptures, and several relief panels—were housed primarily in the closed hall of the magazine. A few funerary stelae were displayed alongside the Janissary mannequins in the gallery. These funerary stelae shown in conjunction with the Janissary mannequins, as well as the placement of sarcophagi outside of the museum, seem to have augmented the overall program through which the two collections acted in conjunction. The main exhibit hall, however, seems to have contained a haphazard selection of antiquities with an independent exhibitionary logic based on contents, not on preexisting typologies.

Dumont's description serves as a rudimentary guide to the spaces of the magazine. Déthier's brief description, published in the same year, pays more attention to the provenance of the works in the collection but gives no indication of their arrangement. He describes the room devoted to the collection of antiquities as full to overflowing with "a sarcophagus brought from Salonica with depictions of Hypolite brought in for its protection . . . four inscriptions from Dreros on Crete, a large bronze disk depicting the Phoenician goddess Astarte brought from Lampsacus, and . . . [of particular importance] a piece of a relief from the Mausoleum depicting Amazons." He continues: "In the same section there are a group of inscriptions in cuneiform that were sent by Midhat Pasha from Baghdad, four stones with inscriptions that have been understood to not be hieroglyphs brought from Hama as a gift from Sabri Pasha, a bronze statue of Hercules, a bronze statue found in pieces in Tarsus and among them inscriptions stemming from the Byzantine protective corps of the Princes Got and Bauvacier."⁸⁹

This wide variety of provenances suggests that even before formal orders had been distributed to the provinces, progressive members of the Ottoman elite were already eager to participate in the formation of an imperial antiquities collection in the capital. In particular, the participation of Midhat Pasha, one of the prime reformers of the Tanzimat, in the collection of antiquities underscores the drive toward Westernization that fueled the formation of the early collection. The early inclusion in the museum collection of one of the friezes from the Bodrum mausoleum underscores the nascent interest in removing antiquities from sites in order to preempt European acquisition efforts: this panel was probably one of the works that had been recovered from Newton.

Although Dumont's primary interest was in the archaeological collection, the proximity of the antiquities and the military collection made it impossible for him to entirely ignore the weapons pervading the building. As often as not, items in the poorly documented antiquities collection were partially hidden behind military objects or mannequins of Janissaries. Dumont indicates that about one-third of the antiquities were located not in the section set aside for antiquities but in the Janissary gallery. Initially posited as separate entities accessed through opposing portals, the two collections instead intertwined to produce the covalent meanings implicit in the museum's agenda.

Dumont interpreted what he saw as the museum's shortcomings as the best efforts of novice collectors and curators. Yet these apparent failures point to the differences between his (European) approach to the collections and that of its Ottoman owners. To Dumont's chagrin, the labels that occa-

sionally accompanied the antiquities only mentioned provenance insofar as the objects came from various regions in the empire. For the Ottomans arranging the exhibit, unlike for Dumont, the ownership of these objects, rather than their accurate situation in a narrative of classicism, was of primary importance. For the Ottomans, these antiquities acted less as relics of antiquity than as signs of modernity, signaled by participation in the act of collecting antiquity that already consumed intellectuals in the West. They did not seek to produce a representative or encyclopedic sampling of ancient art. They did not propose to construct the type of taxonomically complete collection that contemporary European and American museums craved. Rather the eclectic collection in their possession marked their control over these antiquities, particularly when juxtaposed to symbols of military dominion. As Gautier had inadvertently surmised, for the Ottomans, the primary function of the magazines was to serve as a sign of progress, not a reference for erudition.

The program of linking contemporary lands to Helleno-Byzantine pasts was central to the initial program of the dual military and antiquities collections. Sarcophagi placed strategically around the former church reinforced the relationship between the military collections and the Byzantine heritage of the city suggested by the commingling of the artillery and antiquity collections. The sarcophagi exhibited immediately outside the church building underscored the themes of antiquity and artillery played out in the collections. Gautier reported, "Near to the church, two or three porphyry sarcophagi, decorated with the Greek cross, which must have contained the corpses of emperors and empresses, deprived of their damaged lids, collect water from the sky."⁹⁰ These had been discovered only a year after the institution of the collection, in the second courtyard of the palace, and were soon moved to the exterior of the former church. Dethièr reports that a number of sarcophagi were also located in the courtyard between the two marble portals.⁹¹ In 1892 Grosvenor recognized these sarcophagi as imperial. He identified the three sarcophagi outside the church as belonging to Emperor Theodosius the Great, Constantius II, Saint Helen (removed from her tomb in Rome), and Saint Helen's son the emperor Constantine.⁹² As for the sarcophagi in the atrium, they were now accompanied by the chain (fig. 7) designed by the Byzantines to close off the Golden Horn to invaders but circumvented by the Ottomans. The kettle drums of the Janissaries stood in front of the sarcophagi, again layering the intertwined themes of cultural and military domination.

Even before visitors to the collections entered the defunct church, they were greeted by sarcophagi identified with the chief characters in the his-

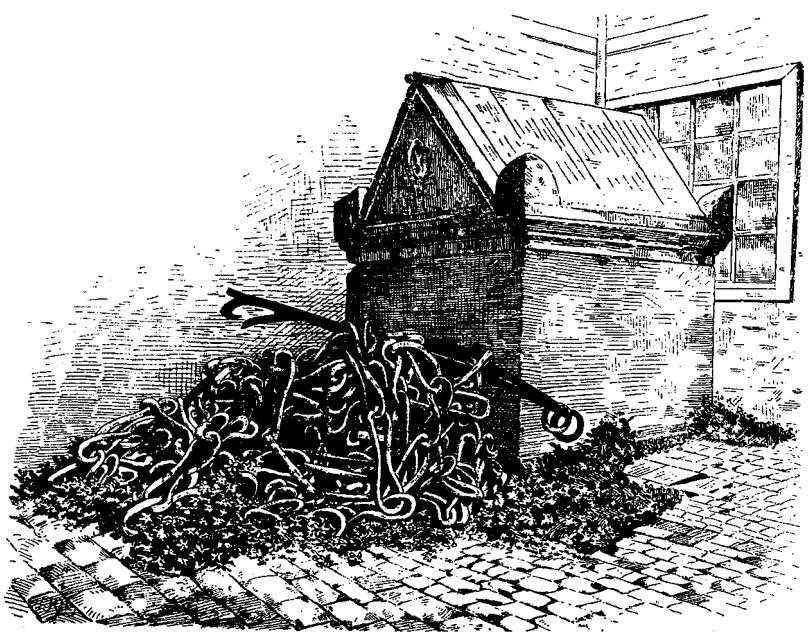


Fig. 7. Chain commemorating the conquest of Constantinople, on display in the atrium of the former Church of Hagia Irene [Mordtmann]

tory of the city. Although the accuracy of the attributions is questionable, these sarcophagi constructed a conceptual frame for the display. Byzantine sarcophagi in the museum's atrium represented the physical death of the Byzantine rulers, just as the chain lying before the sarcophagus represented the metaphorical death of their empire. This atrium, located between a collection of weapons and a collection of antiquities, visually delineated the military and cultural processes through which the Ottoman Empire had laid claim to preceding cultures. Nearby, the bell of the former Church of Hagia Sophia lay dormant, again testifying to the imperial changing of the guard. Thus the museum told a story claiming participation in European culture through a remote history of possession and conquest. Even without the taxonomic guise that Dumont desired, the collection of antiquities in this context served to represent the state primarily to foreigners, who at the very least became aware of the empire's nascent attempts to establish modern institutions symbolic of European-style modernity. The absence of such a taxonomic or scientific focus in the collections served to underscore the ideological objectives of the museum—

not to gain power through the ownership of universal knowledge, but through the possession of history and its territories.

Under a single roof, the Magazine of Ancient Weapons and the Magazine of Antiquities represented the state by displaying a military history of imperial conquest alongside a shared heritage with the West, represented by Helleno-Byzantine antiquities. The museum thus incorporated these past civilizations into the Ottoman in two complementary guises—through the relics of military conquest and through the symbols of cultural adoption.

In Europe the appreciation and collection of Greco-Roman antiquities followed centuries of intense interest in classical studies, particularly philosophical and philological. In contrast, intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire did not become aware of the ancient world until their increased contact with western Europe in the late eighteenth century. While the Ottoman interest in the classics would never rival that in Europe, the education of Ottoman subjects in France led to an increased awareness of both classical writings and their path of transmission through medieval Arabic sources. In conjunction with a newfound interest in the classics, popular journals began to publish articles discussing ancient thinkers and their philosophies. To maintain the guise of Islamic propriety, they often emphasized that ancient knowledge had only been maintained through Arabic translations of scientific texts.⁹³ The adoption of Helleno-Byzantine antiquities as part of the Ottoman patrimony, literally emergent from Ottoman lands and communicable to Europeans only by permission of the Muslim state, paralleled the idea that the scientific knowledge that had led Europe to greatness relied on its passage through Islamic texts. Similarly, the possession of Hellenistic antiquities relied on its passage through the Islamic territories of the Ottoman Empire and reframed European reliance on the East in a secular context.

Increased contact with Europe during the nineteenth century made elite members of the Ottoman government aware of the importance of Greco-Roman artifacts to the cultural practices of Europe. The Ottoman adoption of the Greco-Roman legacy, an ideological tool for Greek independence, subverted its original use: it transformed Hellenism into a means through which the Ottoman Empire could partake in the Western heritage and at the same time declare its territorial sovereignty.

The museum thrust the public representation of the Ottoman Empire into a modern time frame demarcated by the very act of collection and the strategies of display. No matter how jarring a visitor such as Dumont found the disorder of objects, Ahmet Fethi Pasha did not feel the need to create a taxonomy for the objects in the museum, except for classifying the two col-

lections in opposition to each other. Although after his extended stay in Europe he was probably conscious of the organizational strategies of European museums, his purpose was to impress the museum audience with the fact of Ottoman ownership rather than to participate in the positivist ordering of knowledge in vogue in Europe. The superficial emulation of the museum institution allowed it to produce a spatial discourse that contextually transcribed the Greco-Roman past already incorporated into the European heritage. In forging continuities between Ottoman and European histories, Ahmet Fethi Pasha followed a trend seen among historians of the Tanzimat, who were interested in linking the history of the empire with the events of European history. The spaces of the museum in the former Church of Hagia Irene participated in this framework for Ottoman history, situating it both in a Turkic tradition—that of Mehmet II, Timurlane, and İskender Bey—and in a European one—that of a Hellenistic and Byzantine heritage.

The meanings invested in the spaces of the museum at the former Church of Hagia Irene developed over the course of its existence, increasing in complexity with the addition of new objects that allowed for the more explicit exposition of political themes in the guise of suggestive histories. During the early years of the dual collections, the Ottoman government learned how museum display could produce specific visions of history for a visiting audience. As they expanded their museums, they would incorporate this knowledge into programs of display planned from the inception of each museum.

3 The Rise of the Imperial Museum

After the initial efflorescence of the dual collections in the former Church of Hagia Irene, the archaeological antiquities came to the fore as the military antiquities received less attention and finally, in 1877, were closed to the public. Why did the Ottoman museum shift its attention from a military to a Helleno-Byzantine heritage at this juncture? There were two primary reasons. First, the new constitution enacted soon after Sultan Abdülhamid II acceded to the throne allowed for broader inclusion of cultures under the Ottoman umbrella, which could be facilitated by an emphasis on antiquities. Second, the celebration of military history after the loss of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877 would have touched on the fresh wounds of incipient powerlessness, whereas an appeal to the distant past, embodied by antiquities, could construct new ways of incorporating a European identity into the empire without chafing against the recurrent concerns of politics and war. By framing the Ottoman relationship with Europe in a cultural guise, the museum created a new type of space in which to argue issues of territoriality and policy. To do so, it used a new language of archaeological ownership that could circumvent the recent memory of humiliating military defeat.

THE HELLENO-BYZANTINE HERITAGE IN THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM

The upsurge in the importance of antiquities began well before the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. During his visit to Vienna in 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz visited the Abras Gallery, where he saw a large collection of antiquities. This is the activity that the French journal *L'Illustration* chose to depict in its article on the sultan's sojourn (fig. 8).¹ Although we cannot know

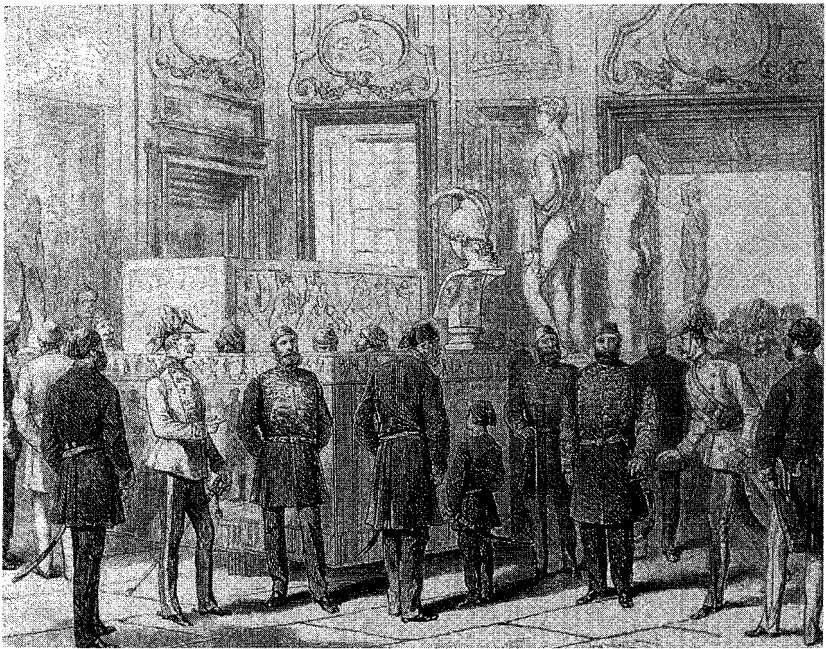


Fig. 8. Sultan Abdülaziz visiting the Abras Gallery in Paris [*L'Illustration*]

whether this was a definitive moment in the sultan's decision to support the institution of the Ottoman Imperial Museum and to enhance its collections, the image suggests that Greco-Roman artifacts were one of the main signs of European civilization to which the sultan was exposed in Europe. The use of this image in the report on his visit also suggests the symbolic nature of his adoption of European customs: wearing Western dress, he participated in the very European activity of museumgoing, as if to expunge the image of the supposedly foreign, mysterious, and threatening Oriental empire that he ruled and thereby represented.

The Ottoman interest in antiquities began to accelerate soon after Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Europe. In 1869 Grand Vizier Ali Pasha renamed the Magazine of Antiquities the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümeyun*), with consequences both for the subsequent arrangement of the institution and for legislation concerning the collection of objects to be housed in it. Both words of the new title bear significance in relation to the museum's developing functions. As an "imperial" museum, the institution became representative of the entire empire as a conglomeration of various territo-

ries metonymically represented by antiquities. *Müze* implied new cultural functions similar to those of European museums. As an institution participating in the supposedly universal science of archaeology, the new museum marked the state as a participant in an international elite culture. The word "museum" also implied an educational function similar to that of European museums: it was a place where the public—in this case, the Ottoman elite and foreign tourists—could learn about state power through the appreciation of antiquities in a carefully orchestrated setting.

As if to underscore the educational subtext of the new institution, it was the minister of public education, Safvet Pasha, who took the first step toward the official consolidation of Ottoman antiquities efforts. In conjunction with the announcement of the new museum, he issued a memorandum to various regions of the empire—Aydin, Sarihan, Adana, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Trablusgarb, Salonica, and Crete—in which he requested the careful packaging and transportation of all antiquities to the capital. Rather than rely on donations as the Magazine of Antiquities had, the new museum would actively seek new acquisitions by making use of the Ottoman administrative network. The governors of distant provinces, particularly Salonica and Crete, were among the most avid respondents, eager to send antiquities to the capital at every opportunity.

The recent events in Greece may have made these governors aware of their precarious position as provincial administrators in territories that might soon break off from the empire. Thus they hoped to collect antiquities as a sign of their imperial possession of these territories, much as European nations asserted their dominion through collections acquired in colonial territories. Using the administrative network for the acquisition of antiquities underscored the role of the centralized state and asserted that the appropriate location for the ancient history of all Ottoman territories was in the capital—not in provincial sites and certainly not in foreign collections. Thus the interest in antiquities became a venue through which the central government could assert its territorial rights at the moment of conflict. Provincial administrations, in turn, could respond with a show of allegiance in which the control of antiquities became a sign of cooperation.

Safvet Pasha instructed local governors that they should acquire "any old works, otherwise known as antiquities, by any means necessary, including direct purchase." His reference to the underground discovery of "a grave in the form of a lid made of stone and a sarcophagus surrounded with writing and also images of people and animals made of stone" indicates that the directive was spurred by an already mounting interest in antiquities throughout the empire. This directive served as the first attempt

to construct an empirewide policy for the handling of antiquities. In it Safvet Pasha suggested that the person preparing an object for transport should take note of its condition, the location of its discovery, and the value placed on it locally. The item should then be purchased, packaged, and sent to the growing museum collection in the capital.²

Although Safvet Pasha's involvement in the issuing of such a significant edict clearly suggests an educational intent behind the institution of the museum, even the Ottoman elite was only recently coming to understand and participate in the cultural practice of antiquities acquisition. Safvet Pasha's first edict failed to attract the attention of regional governors. It was only after he sent out a second missive in 1870 that regional governments began to send shipments of antiquities.³ During these years, the press became active in popularizing the idea of antiquities collection among the elite. The newspaper *Terakki* reported on the museum's acquisition of statues from across Marmara and from Tekirdağ in 1869 and 1870.⁴ These early reports indicate that an effort was under way to inform the educated public about the state's nascent policies of antiquity acquisition.

The antiquities entered the Imperial Museum under the directorship of E. Goold, who had recently been appointed to the newly established post. The appointment of Goold, a teacher at the Galatasaray Lycée, underscores the link between the two institutions as establishments designed to educate the same elite group of Ottoman students. Goold emphasized the intimate relationship between the project of public education and the mission of the new museum in the latter's 1871 catalog, dedicated to the grand vizier Ali Pasha, one of the Tanzimat reformers. Goold wrote, "The foundation of the Imperial Museum of Constantinople as an annex to the new development of public education is due to the intelligent initiative of Your Highness."⁵ In keeping with the egalitarian and progressive ambitions of the Tanzimat, the Imperial Museum was designed to serve a new class of citizenry with a new relationship both to historical heritage and to the state.

What, precisely, was the museum to teach? In his directive to the provinces, Safvet Pasha defined the museum in the artillery storehouse as resembling those in Europe. Similarly, the directive stipulating the establishment of the museum begins with a reference to museums in Europe: "It is not right for a museum to not exist in our country when the museums of Europe are decorated with rare works taken from here."⁶ The museum was established to lay claim to Ottoman territories through objects

that emerged from the land. Ironically, the founders of the museum used the emulation of a European institution to counteract the physical incursion of Europe onto Ottoman territory. Through asserting its ownership of antiquities, the empire could reaffirm symbolically its control over its territories. Moreover, the museum would teach its visitors to be European through their participation in the European cultural practice of aesthetic appreciation: they too would have a museum "decorated" with antiquities. With its new name, Imperial Museum, its focus was not on these antiquities but on the concept of empire that the antiquities could represent. In shifting its designation from "collection" to "museum," the institution acquired the bivalent task of glorifying the empire through the metonymic devices of antiquities and situating that empire as part of Europe through the practice of their display.

One of the first tasks the museum undertook was the first complete inventory of its collections. Goold attempted to identify all the objects in terms of what they represented and the period in which they were most likely produced. Although the original inventory filled 288 pages, the list was abridged for publication. Goold's 1871 catalog enumerates only 147 of the objects that were exhibited in the museum at that time, with ten illustrations by Limonciyan, an Armenian member of the museum staff. It fails to provide a clear provenance for most of the antiquities but describes each at length and notes its donor. Most of the citations refer to donations prompted by Safvet Pasha's 1869 decree. Among them are donations from Carabella Effendi, assistant to the governor general of Tripoli of Barbary; Ali Riza Pasha, assistant to the governor general of the province of Africa; Salih Efendi, lieutenant in the Imperial Marines; Abdurrahman Pasha, governor (*mutasarrif*) of Menteş; Sabri Pasha, governor of Salonica; and Kostaki Pasha Adossides, governor of Lasit on the island of Crete.⁷

The inclusion of artifacts from such a wide variety of locations suggests a relationship between the capital and the provinces that was constructed through the transportation of antiquities to the capital. The catalog reflected the provenance of the objects in the museum only by reference to the donor, so that each official who participated in the quest for antiquities acted as a link between the territory under his command and the capital. Each official who sent antiquities became a participant in the practice of collection and thereby performed an act symbolic of his allegiance to the state. Each province came to be represented in the collection through antiquities that had been located in it. The appropriate place for valuable antiquities was neither at its site of origin nor in European collections nor in

corporated in new structures but rather in the Imperial Museum. Thus the museum came to designate Ottoman territories much as European museums that garnered their collections from colonial territories used artifacts housed in their capital cities to underscore imperial possessions. In effect, the museum allowed the Ottoman Empire to mimic exhibitionary colonial institutions of much younger European empires.

As museum director, Goold also engaged in some archaeological activities. In July 1869 he was sent to the ruins of Kyzikos on the peninsula of Kapıdağ and brought back a number of antiquities. His activities were reported in short newspaper articles, indicating that there was an attempt to bring the museum to the attention of the public.⁸ In Trablusgarb and Bursa, Carabella Efendi eagerly excavated and sent everything he found, ranging from antiquities to whalebones, back to the museum. Thus from the first years of its institution the museum actively participated in the removal of artifacts from their sites and in their centralized collection. While at this point archaeology served simply to accelerate the process of acquisition, it would later evolve into a program designed to foil the colonialist subtext of European collection.

With the death of Ali Pasha in 1871, Sultan Abdülaziz appointed Mahmut Nedim Pasha to the post of grand vizier in an attempt to wrest control of the government from the men of the Tanzimat.⁹ Mahmut Nedim Pasha immediately fired all of Ali Pasha's staff, including Goold. He also eliminated the post of museum director and hired a painter named Teranzio to watch over the collection without giving him an official title. The closing of the museum at this stage marks its importance vis-à-vis the reforms of the Tanzimat, perceived as threatening the stability of the empire and the absolute control of the monarch. The museum was important enough as an institution embodying the aims of the Tanzimat to warrant closure. Only a year later, Mahmut Nedim Pasha lost his position to one of the primary Tanzimat reformers, Midhat Pasha.

Under Midhat Pasha's administration, the new minister of education, Ahmet Vefik Efendi, an ardent supporter of the Tanzimat and a fan of French culture, quickly reestablished the museum. He appointed the German Anton Philip Déthier museum director, in which post he served from 1872 until his death in 1880. Since 1847 Déthier had been working on various antique inscriptions in the environs of Istanbul, which he published in 1864.¹⁰ Unlike Goold, who had no qualifications to run the museum other than being European, Déthier had studied history, classics, philology, archaeology, and art history at Berlin University.

THE ANTIQUITIES LAW OF 1874

One of Déthier's first accomplishments as museum director was the establishment of new legislation for the regulation of antiquities trafficking. Although the new law was ostensibly designed for Ottoman protection, it essentially legalized much of the antiquities export that for so many years had been periodically and erratically interrupted and discouraged. In contrast to the 1869 edict, which emphasized the internal procedures for the recovery of antiquities, the first antiquities law, issued in 1874, primarily addressed foreign nationals. The law was written "in response to the insufficiency of the decree concerning antiquities that was established in conjunction with the institution of the Imperial Museum, and . . . that for some time inside of the [empire] people of various countries have been collecting attractive and rare works the protection of which needs to be kept in mind."¹¹ The simultaneous publication of the law in both French and Ottoman ensured its universal accessibility, while its content underscored the still ambivalent nature of the empire's museum enterprise.

As the mode of appreciation for antiquities shifted to a European-style institutional framework, their value became expressed in terms of protection. Just as Europeans had justified their tactics of antiquities acquisition as precautionary measures against Turkish negligence, the Ottomans justified their new laws as precautionary measures against European pilfering. The establishment of a museum of Ottoman antiquities did not simply denote the internal adoption of a European institution and the cultural practices invested in it. Rather the collection of antiquities in the Imperial Museum strengthened resistance to the incursion of European cultural practices, including the unauthorized collection of antiquities.

Ironically, the relationship between the Ottoman state and European archaeologists inverted the relationship between the strategic use of space by a landowner and the tactical use of space by a temporary invader postulated by Michel de Certeau.¹² Although the Ottomans owned the land in question, they did not pay attention to sites until the incursion of Europeans, who thus had the opportunity to set up the boundaries and rules of archaeologically significant spaces and established localized control over them. Through its enactment of legislation, the Ottoman government failed to reestablish strategic control over the territories and antiquities in question; they could merely tactically maneuver in the spaces already chosen, mapped, and exhumed by Europeans. Their maneuvers may have limited the number of antiquities that Europeans were able to take from Ot-

toman soil, but their failure to institute archaeological programs to compete with the European usurpation of land made them repeatedly concede the strategic upper hand.

The new law provided only a brief definition of an antiquity: "Every type of artifact that remains from the past is among antiquities. There are two types of antiquities: (1) coins and (2) all other kinds of works that can or cannot be carried."¹³ This definition is not only remarkably short, it presents a very odd categorization. For the first time in the empire, it mentions coins as antiquities, valuable in a historical sense rather than in a monetary or metallurgic one. While the European practice of archaeology had in part grown out of the study of numismatics, in the Ottoman Empire the consideration of ancient coins as visual evidence to be collected, organized, and analyzed only came in conjunction with the adoption of the practice of archaeology.¹⁴ However, unlike antiquities, coins had always been perceived to have value. The inclusion of coins as a separate type of antiquity may reflect the shift in the type of value that the government was trying to assign to them.¹⁵ Reevaluated as artifacts, coins would become more valuable for their historicity than for their fungibility. Indeed, before long a numismatics collection would become a small department in the growing Imperial Museum.

Other antiquities were simply defined as old objects that could or could not be carried. In the event that they could be carried, they could be collected and exported. If not, they de facto belonged to the state, as did land. This unusual categorization for antiquities suggests that the idea of Ottoman territory extended only to the land itself, not to the portable objects on or in it. Unlike the British concept of the treasure trove that had been adopted for the collection of archaeological artifacts in the mid-nineteenth century, the royal title to the land was not interpreted to extend to treasures beneath it. Much as the people living in the Ottoman empire had not yet acquired citizenship, the objects on and in the land had not yet become implicitly Ottoman.

The law showed more concern for the ownership of antiquities after their discovery:

Wherever antiquities are undiscovered (lying upon the ground), they belong to the state. . . . As for the antiquities that are found by those with research permission a third belongs to the excavator, a third to the state treasury, and a third to the landowner. If the excavator and the landowner are the same, this person will receive two-thirds of the finds and the state shall receive one-third. . . . The division of antiquities will occur according to the desire of the state and according to the nature or

the value [of the finds]. . . . The state is responsible for the preservation of sites that cannot be moved and for the appointment of an administrator to such sites.¹⁶

The law required the permission of landholders to excavate on their land and prohibited the excavation of public places of worship, roads, and cemeteries.

Despite the accelerated development of the Imperial Museum during these years and the increased concern over control of the antiquities trade, the first antiquities law was designed to propagate and legitimate much of the ongoing export of antiquities. The laxity of the law was exacerbated by the many exceptions allowed by the sultan's personal directives. For example, in 1879, when the French attempted to export antiquities they had excavated on the island of Semadirek thirteen years earlier, they appealed the law prohibiting the wholesale removal of antiquities from the empire. The sultan granted the French consul's request that the pieces become a gift from the empire to the French government, and the law was effectively circumvented.¹⁷

In the tradition established by Goold's partnership with Carabella Efendi, Déthier continued to hire a number of agents in various provinces to collect antiquities for the museum. In Salonica a Greek man named Yuvanaki; in Bandırma, the Armenian Takvor Aga; and, after 1874, Dervish Hüseyin of İstanbul aided in augmenting the museum's acquisitions. The staff associated with the museum was in large part Greek and Armenian, not Jewish or Muslim. When the assistant director, Limonciyan, resigned in 1880, he too was replaced by a Greek, Nikolaki Ohani Efendi. Although the museum was designed as an institution that would aid in educating the predominantly Muslim Ottoman elite to become European, it was initially operated almost exclusively by foreigners and by members of Ottoman Christian minorities.

In part this restriction was built into the skills considered desirable for work at the museum. When an antiquities school was proposed in 1875, its guidelines stipulated that entering students already know French, Greek, and Latin well enough to translate them into Turkish—skills that Christian, rather than Muslim or Jewish students, would be likely to have already acquired. An article in the newspaper *Sark* applauded the notion of training Ottoman subjects as archaeologists but complained that this restriction in particular would unduly restrict the applicants: "The point of studying Greeks, Romans, and various peoples is to become a scholar. People will want to attend the school not because they already are scholars but because they wish to become scholars."¹⁸ With abnormally rigid prerequi-

sites and requiring year-round ten-hour workdays compensated with an unusually small stipend, the plans for the school were poorly conceived and the school never opened.¹⁹

Although the museum had not yet begun to sponsor its own full-fledged archaeological expeditions, the collection had long since been expanding beyond the capacity of its marginal spaces in the armory. With the acquisition of eighty-eight cases of antiquities from Cyprus in 1873, the museum needed a larger building. Although Déthier considered the construction of a new museum, this was deemed too costly. In its stead, the Tiled Pavilion—built in 1478 as the first building of the Topkapi Palace—was chosen as a less expensive venue for housing the antiquities collection. Arrangements for the transfer of the building from the personal treasury of the sultan (*Hazine-i Hassa*) to the Ministry of Education began in 1873. In 1875 repairs and remodeling began to transform the pavilion so that it could “preserve and display the beautiful works that Europeans value highly.”²⁰

The museum administration hired a European architect by the name of Montrano to transform the pavilion that had architectural characteristics reminiscent of central Asian styles into a European-style museum. Originally the front of the pavilion was composed of a portico facade of fourteen narrow columns and was entered from staircases underneath the frontal arcade. To facilitate entry of museum pieces as well as visitors, a two-part staircase was added to the front of the pavilion and the original stairwells were made into coal depots. All original wall stoves were covered, chimneys were removed, and some windows were shut off. Tiled niches were covered by wood frames and shelving. Much of the glazed brick architecture was plastered over.²¹ The early Ottoman architectural legacy of the building was physically toned down to make it look more like a European neoclassical museum building that would be an appropriate venue for the display of Hellenic artifacts.

A museum commission was established in 1877 to oversee “the completion of the repairs to the Tiled Pavilion that [were] being made into a museum, the transport of the antiquities and coins already in the collection to the new space without being damaged, to conserve antiquities outside of the museum in their present state, to make a path for excavation and research, to make the museum into a place of spectacle that [would] attract everybody’s attention, and to categorize and organize the existing works.”²² For the first time, this document makes reference to the museum as a place of public spectacle, with a mission to attract visitors, not merely to exist for the glory of the sultan, and to organize antiquities, not

merely to house them. Although the collection had become a museum in 1869, it was only after its move to the Tiled Pavilion that it acquired the didactic functions that distinguish a museum from a collection. This was quite common for collections in Europe. For example, whereas the Louvre had been open to the public since 1793, the British Museum had severe restrictions on the number and physical appearance of its visitors through much of the nineteenth century; its doors opened to the public daily only in 1879.²³

In 1873 newspapers reported that Minister of Education Cevdet Pasha and Déthier were planning for the museum to open to the public.²⁴ The newspapers expressed the hope that more space would allow for better organization and for public access and would provide information about the antiquities through the publication of catalogs in both Turkish and French.²⁵

The constitution of the commission suggests that the museum was designed to attract European visitors more than Ottoman subjects beyond the limited elite audience already working at the Sublime Porte. In addition to the museum’s director, Déthier, the commission included two Armenian members of the museum staff (a guard, Köçeoğlu Kirkor Efendi, and the administrator of coins, Sebilyan Efendi), one Muslim-Turkish member of the education board (Mustafa Efendi), two Levantine (Europeans living in the Ottoman Empire) bureaucrats (Messrs. Mosali and Delaine), and the Ottoman chief of the Sixth Municipality (Osman Hamdi). Although the museum was located in the first—predominantly Muslim and commercial—district of the city, the only municipal chief to participate in the commission was that of the sixth district—the primarily European district of Istanbul, including Pera.²⁶ The spectacle designed so near the palace seems to have been a day trip deemed more appropriate for tourists than for locals.

Indeed, the museum was conceived as an advertisement for the changing aspirations of the Ottoman state. Münif Pasha, then minister of education, spelled out the objectives of the new museum in a speech delivered at the museum’s opening, on August 17, 1880.

The opening of a museum in Istanbul similar to those in other civilized countries was the hope of our progressing nation. We are all thrilled by the elimination of this deficiency—a great work of our royal sultan—which serves as an example of the devotion and care spent on the expansion and development of institutions that are traces of civilization, efforts worthy of monarchs.²⁷

His speech suggests that, as before, the primary value of the museum resided in its similarity to European institutions. As a sign of civilization, the museum redefined the relationship of the empire both to Europe and to history.

Münif Pasha pointed out that the museum drew parallels between the Ottoman world with two separate civilizational references. On the one hand, the institution allowed the empire to participate in the traces of European civilization, measured by the appreciation of antiquities. On the other hand, it served as an atlas to earlier civilizations that had lived on Ottoman soil:

There is no need to go on at length about the benefits of such museums. They show the level of civilization of past peoples and their step-by-step progress. From this, many historical, scientific, and artistic benefits can be obtained. Everybody knows the great effects of archaeology on European Civilization.

What were these great effects of archaeology? To reify national identity. To gain historical depth and transform this into material wealth. To justify possession—and then to claim it. To produce a determinative narrative of progress and thus to ensure the hierarchical position of modern Europe in relation to the narrative of history. If archaeology could do this for Europe, what could it not do for the Ottoman Empire?

Not only did the new museum serve as a link between the previous civilizations of the empire and the Ottoman present, the experience of methodical progress evidenced in their artifacts was designed to project an indigenous example of progress for the Ottoman Empire. For the most part, progress in the nineteenth-century empire was conflated with Europeanization, and the primary debates concerning progress considered how technology could be adopted without cultural bastardization. The museum implicitly provided an alternate interpretation of progress. As the artifacts showed, progress was not simply a European prerogative but was native to Ottoman soil. In fact, the progress of cultures to which Europe traced its own roots stemmed from Ottoman territory.

In the past, we did not appreciate the value of antiquities. Among the Europeans, a few years ago an American took enough antiquities from Cyprus to fill an entire museum. Today, most antiquities in European and American museums are from the stores of antiquities in our country.

Thus the speech emphasized the idea that Europeans had built their progress on objects native to Ottoman soil, made by civilizations native to

Ottoman lands. To take those objects away would perhaps reduce the imbalances of progress between East and West that they represented.

An intellectual ploy commonly used to defend Westernization suggested that European progress, based on knowledge of the classics, relied on texts and sciences that had been studied in the Islamic world during the Middle Ages in Europe, where they had been forgotten. Similarly, by emphasizing the reliance of Europeans on Ottomans in the arena of antiquities, the minister of education reclaimed the patrimony of those antiquities. In light of contemporary debates, he implied that the oversight of previous generations with regard to antiquities was analogous to the European disregard for classical texts during the Middle Ages.

The speech proposed two primary roles for the new museum. It was to provide instruction on the idea of historical progress through its displays, and it was charged with counteracting the European usurpation of material culture that was beginning to be seen as rightly Ottoman. The museum would simultaneously educate Ottomans about progress and teach Europeans a new respect for the empire:

Until now, Europeans have used various means to take the antiquities of our country away, and they did this because they did not see an inclination toward this in us. For a long time this desire has been awakened among Ottomans and recently even a law was passed concerning antiquities. Since the foundation of the Imperial Museum is the greatest example of this, we can now hope that the Europeans will change their opinions about us.

Even if today the Europeans spend vast sums to excavate in Greece, the finds are not taken to their countries but remain in Athens.

Since every part of the Ottoman nation was once full of antiquities that belonged to the civilized peoples who lived here, if these had been valued in time, İstanbul would have the greatest museum in the world. Nonetheless, many antiquities have been collected and valuable things were among the things that were found.

As a result of negative experiences in the past, the Ottomans had learned the value of the antiquities they would now collect in the museum. The museum would thus physically showcase their progress to Europeans, who would learn to respect the Ottomans as equals and as participants in a contemporary culture that collects, as well to respect them as heirs to the cultures whose artifacts were being collected. Just as Europe readily accepted Greece's claim to its own heritage, Münif Pasha hoped that they would

learn to see the Ottoman Empire as a descendant of the ancients in its own right.

The minister's speech ended by emphasizing the physical connection between the site of the museum and the antiquities to be housed within:

Even this building that we are in today is an antique. This building, among the great works of Mehmet the Conqueror and a fine example of the architecture of that period, is very suitable to this purpose.

Although many historians today consider the use of the Tiled Pavilion an arbitrary choice based on the availability of space, clearly it could not have been the only empty building suitable for housing a museum. Indeed, the minister's speech suggests that it was a carefully considered site, chosen to forge links between the apogee of Ottoman glory brought to mind through the conquest-era architecture, the glories of past civilizations as evidenced in their art, and the progress of the empire evinced by the very establishment of a European-style museum.

Nonetheless, the modifications made to the building served to erase many of the signs that marked it as "Oriental," such as elaborate tilework and wall stoves. While the history denoted by the building was central to its significance as a museum, it was perhaps equally important to render the structure less distant from European models of how a museum should look. Moreover, the choice of an early Ottoman building with frontal columns—the only building of its kind in Istanbul—may have made an obtuse reference to the neoclassical style often chosen for European museums. The visual link between a distinctly Eastern-Ottoman building and a type tied to classicism would only have underscored the inherent links between Ottoman and classical civilizations that the museum was designed to emphasize.

Anton Déthier died in 1881 without having the opportunity to curate the exhibits of the new museum building. The ministry of education asked the German consulate to help it find a new European director, and the museum began to negotiate with Doctor Millhofer of the Berlin Museum. However, before his contract could be written, the son of the vizier Edhem Pasha, Osman Hamdi, was hired instead. Osman Hamdi's biographer, Mustafa Cezar, suggests that the Ottoman administration was beginning to see the development of the museum under Abdülhamid II as an act of God and therefore felt the need to hire a Muslim rather than a Christian as its director.²⁸ Although the desire to hire an Ottoman subject may have been couched in such religious terms common to the era of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the selection of an Ottoman director suited the contemporary

drive to assume control of antiquities as part of the Ottoman historical and cultural legacy.

OSMAN HAMDI AND THE EFFLORESCENCE OF THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM

The growth of the the Imperial Museum as a barometer of Ottoman cultural self-perception and projection, from a small collection into an institution with empirewide implications, depended to a great extent on the efforts of a single man who embodied many of the intellectual aspirations of his age. Educated as a lawyer and an artist in France, Osman Hamdi took on the roles of painter, educator, museum administrator, legislator, and archaeologist in his native land. Through his instrumental role in bringing many new cultural activities to the Ottoman Empire, Osman Hamdi laid sturdy foundations for the subsequent maintenance of antiquities as a measure of the patrimony and sovereignty of the country. His work framed and guided the self-image of the empire through its museological project.

Osman Hamdi did not arbitrarily fall into the position of museum director from a background of anonymity. Rather his position as the eldest son in an important bureaucratic family gave him the many educational and familial advantages that led him to direct one of the prime signifying institutions of the late empire. His father, Ibrahim Edhem, was born in the Greek Orthodox village of Sakiz. After being captured as a prisoner of war during a village revolt, he was sold as a slave to the chief naval officer, Kapitan-ı Derya Hüsrev Pasha, then head of the Ottoman Navy, who would also soon serve as vizier to the sultan. Lacking his own family and children, Hüsrev Pasha raised several children who had been bought as slaves or orphaned. In 1829 four of his children, including Ibrahim Edhem, were among the first Ottoman students sent to France to be educated. After studying metals engineering in Paris and Vienna, Ibrahim Edhem returned to the Ottoman Empire, where he served in several official posts—as an army engineer, as the French tutor of Sultan Abdülmecid, and, briefly in 1856, as minister of foreign affairs. He served as ambassador to Berlin in 1876 and to Vienna between 1879 and 1882. While his tenure as vizier to the sultan in 1877–78 was relatively brief, he left the position in the sultan's good graces. After serving as minister of the interior between 1883 and 1885, he retired in İstanbul. Ibrahim Edhem's close relations with the royal family, as well as his appointment in various departments of govern-

ment, paved the way for his son to have the connections and education necessary to construct a new attitude concerning the arts in the empire.

Osman Hamdi was born in 1842 and grew up in a household that was both well integrated into the imperial bureaucracy and one of the most Western-oriented families in the country. He was brought up as an Ottoman, loyal to the Ottoman state, but the many letters to his father written in French suggest that he probably spoke French at home. Nonetheless, of İbrahim Edhem's four sons, Osman Hamdi was the only one to pursue an education in France. By following this family tradition, he was well suited for a variety of positions in which his fluency in French culture would serve as an asset. His brothers served the state in various capacities but did not play a central role in reformulating the empire as a European state. While his brother Mustafa became a customs agent and his brother Galip İbrahim became the first Ottoman numismatist, his youngest brother, Halil (Edhem), followed in Osman Hamdi's footsteps as assistant director at the museum after 1892 and as director of the museum after the latter's death in 1910. He later played a significant role in the transition of Ottoman cultural institutions in the Turkish Republic and served as a member of parliament from 1923 until his death in 1935.

In 1860 Osman Hamdi traveled to Paris to study law. However, he soon decided to pursue his interest in painting instead, left the law program, and trained under the French Orientalist painters Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) and Gustave Boulanger (1824–88). A member of the royal family, Şeker Ahmet Pasha, joined him in Paris two years later to study with the same artists, and presumably the two men became friends. At the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle, Osman Hamdi exhibited three paintings. None seem to have survived, but their titles—*Repose of the Gypsies*, *Black Sea Soldier Lying in Wait*, and *Death of the Soldier*—indicate typical Orientalist subjects befitting a student of Gérôme and Boulanger. During his stay in Paris, Osman Hamdi married a Frenchwoman and had two daughters with her. They accompanied him to Istanbul when he returned in 1869. The following year he was sent to Baghdad as part of the administrative team of Midhat Pasha, who would later become an important reformer of the Tanzimat. After a one-year stint in Baghdad, Osman Hamdi returned to serve in the Office of Foreign Affairs associated with the palace.

Osman Hamdi's interest in the arts became closely tied to his father's high-level administrative positions in 1873, when the latter served as head of the commission for the Ottoman delegation to the Vienna International Exposition and made his son commissioner for the exhibit. Osman Hamdi aided in the collection of materials for two books that his father published

in association with the delegation: the *Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani*, published simultaneously in French as *L'architecture ottomane*, and the *Elbise-i Osmani*, published in French as *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*. The former work consisted of a compilation of fourteen plans and elevations of Ottoman architectural styles through the centuries. The latter consisted of forty-two plates by the Istanbul-based photographer Sebah of regional costumes throughout the empire. Whereas the former emphasized the historical virtuosity of the Ottoman architectural tradition, the latter emphasized the breadth of the empire's territories. Many of the costumes pictured in the book were brought to the exhibit in Vienna. Despite Osman Hamdi's efforts, the costumes remained in Vienna. Osman Hamdi's work in Vienna was not only his first experience in constructing collections with which to represent the Ottoman state, it was also his first experience arguing for the retention of objects as symbols of Ottoman identity. It also changed his personal life: while in Vienna, he met another Frenchwoman, who accompanied him to Istanbul and changed her name to Naile on his separation from his previous wife. The nationality of his wives underscores Osman Hamdi's close personal identification with the Western world even as he professionally represented Ottoman interests.

After his return to Istanbul, Osman Hamdi was appointed to several positions in the Department of Foreign Affairs. With the deposition of Abdülaziz in 1876, he became the director in charge of foreign-language publications in Istanbul. The following year he was appointed director of the Sixth Municipality. On September 3, 1881, he left this post in order to receive his appointment as museum director.²⁹ Osman Hamdi used his position as museum director to develop the museum and to rewrite the antiquities laws, to create nationally sponsored archaeological expeditions, and to institute a school of the arts.

While Osman Hamdi endeavored to retain archaeological antiquities in the country, he quickly recognized the need to create local appreciation of such works. In 1882 he instituted and became director of the Academy of Fine Arts (Sanai Nefise Mektebi), which provided Ottomans with training in aesthetics and artistic techniques without leaving the empire. Like students in France, the students of the new school were trained to draw and sculpt by copying ancient sculptures and friezes. Thus the school created a new artistic elite with an intellectual investment in the collection and maintenance of antiquities.

Throughout his professional career as museum and academy director, Osman Hamdi continued to paint in the style of his teachers, Gérôme and

Boulanger. Both of these artists favored the depiction of Orientalist subjects using luminescent light and clear lines evocative of a warm and exotic Middle Eastern climate. In their use of colorful costuming and intricate architectural settings, Osman Hamdi's paintings reflect a particularly strong influence from the paintings of Gérôme.³⁰ However, whereas Gerome presented a romanticized, salacious East with a deceptively transparent realism, Osman Hamdi adopted the style of his master to represent a glorified and dignified vision of Ottoman heritage. If his works resemble the Orientalist vision of his masters in the timelessness of his settings, they also offer a contrast in that this timelessness enhances the Ottoman image while providing a subtle commentary on his own role as the mediator of the empire's artistic heritage.

Osman Hamdi made no direct reference to the museum in his paintings: he did not depict museum spaces, nor did he attempt to contextualize antiquities in ancient sites. While his works often situate him in an imaginary Ottoman past, they also serve as an allegorical representation of his efforts at the Imperial Museum. He often seems to have chosen his subjects with reference to the experiences of his day job as museum director. In examining the cultural implications of the new museum, his paintings become documents of its director's hopes, intentions, and frustrations in relation to the projects in his charge.

While the trope of the painter in Oriental garb was common to many Orientalist artists, Osman Hamdi's liminal identity as both an "Oriental" and a participant in European cultural practice gives this use of self-portraiture an irony not lost on the artist as he repeatedly depicted himself in the idyllic serenity of the Ottoman past. His interest in costume charades was already clear when he was in charge of the Ottoman exhibit at the 1873 Vienna exposition. There, as part of the festivities, he removed his Western-style clothes in favor of a romantic view of himself as the quintessential Ottoman (fig. 9).³¹ Since the eighteenth century, shifting costume had been one of the primary games of identity and identification played by Europeans with an interest in the Orient. As an Ottoman, Osman Hamdi chose to wear the sign of his nation as a European activity, in effect taking back the clothes of othering that such playfully exotic costumes represented.

Osman Hamdi's Oriental garb is particularly significant in light of the Ottoman displays at the exposition. Unlike many other displays of foreign cultures shown at European exhibits, the Ottoman display did not showcase the colonial power of European nations.³² Rather it served primarily as an advertisement for Ottoman goods. The cultural aspect of the display,



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Fig. 9. Osman Hamdi in Oriental garb at the Vienna Universal Exposition, 1873 [Cezar]

including Osman Hamdi's costume exhibit, served to familiarize Western audiences with the traditions of a foreign nation while maintaining control of that history. At the same time, however, by adopting the tropes of colonialist representation that were dominant at world expositions, the Ottoman Empire began the practice of representing its past as an ethnographic Other, both within and outside the empire. In particular, the designation of national costumes that spanned the empire helped to define a visual identity for a nascent concept of Ottoman allegiance. Even though such costumes had been outlawed with Sultan Mahmut II's dress reform of 1826, they came to represent Ottoman identity as a historicized and exotic entity for international consumption. Like the Janissary and military mannequins exhibited in Chicago, by dressing every day in a frock coat, Osman Hamdi exhibited his modern interests and education; by donning period dress for the camera, he took control over the place of the Oriental within an Occidental frame.

Similarly, Osman Hamdi's usurpation of European practices, such as painting, to cultural self-representation established his control over a visualization of historical memory. Unlike the characters in the paintings of European Orientalists, Osman Hamdi's subjects were never engaged in bloodshed, nor were they languid spectators in a glorious environment. Rather they tended to be scholars, musicians, merchants, or people praying, washing, or socializing—active in their own lives, neither lasciviously on display nor embroiled in battle. In many of his paintings, scenes appear to show slices of life, snapshots of distant and indeterminate times. The opacity of the stories into which paintings lead the viewer begs a symbolic reading of the images.

Although he had a French education, always dressed in European clothing, and led a Westernized lifestyle, Osman Hamdi unfailingly chose to represent himself in his paintings in anachronistic Ottoman garb. In the early piece *The Painter at Work* (fig. 10) he depicts himself painting his wife, who reclines fully clothed on a divan with her back turned to him, contemplating the view outside. In direct contrast to the European Orientalist trope of a nude woman exposed to the artist outside the picture frame, his model does not present herself physically or mentally either to the painter or to the viewer. Not only do both characters in the painting wear traditional Ottoman garb, they live in palatial apartments decorated in an anachronistic style. In real life Osman Hamdi and his family wore European-style clothing and lived in a wood frame house just outside of Istanbul. One might ask whether, in adopting the atemporalizing effects of European Orientalist painting in his self-portrait, he accepted the conven-

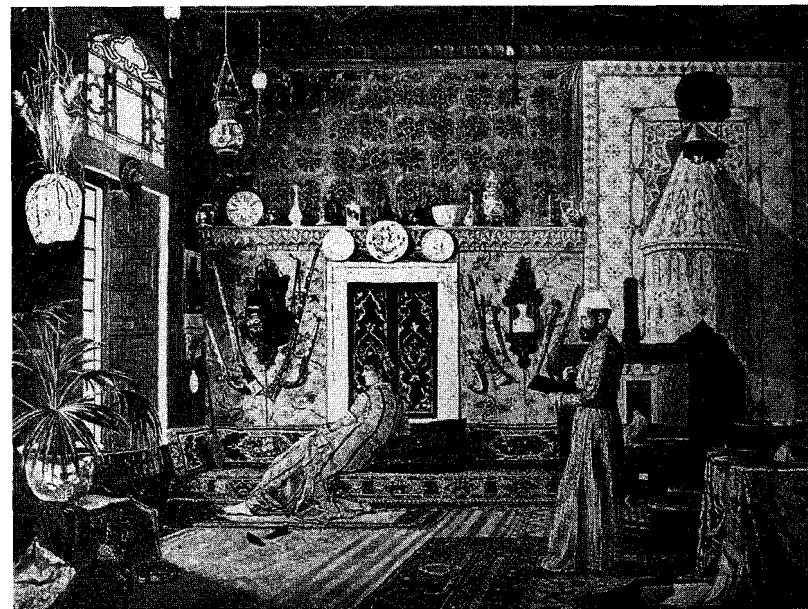


Fig. 10. Osman Hamdi, *The Painter at Work* (n.d.) [Cezar]

tions for depicting the Orient and thereby acceded to the European vision of the Orient; whether he romanticized the Ottoman past in portraying himself with self-conscious anachronism; or whether he used the historicizing tropes of Orientalist painting to suggest a new way of looking at history in the Orient.

This question has implications not simply for Osman Hamdi as a painter but for his vision as director of the Imperial Museum project. In the painting he works in a space not merely anachronistic but also somewhat museum-like. Ceramics line the shelf on the rear wall, which is also adorned with artillery arranged around two display shelves, one of which holds a wrapped dervish headpiece. Here Osman Hamdi presents himself as both a painter and a collector—his real occupations—projected into an anachronistic Ottoman time and space even as he engages in a European activity. The juxtaposition reveals a consciousness of his liminal position, both as an individual and as the director of an institution that, in his own words, had “the privilege of living in a state of perpetual crossing.”³³ In repeatedly presenting himself as an Ottoman in his self-portraits, Osman Hamdi simultaneously adopts the image of the timeless Easterner as the strongest mode of denoting his Ottoman self and incorporates his daily Europeanate practices into a redefined Ottoman identity.

As Linda Nochlin notes, "It might be said that one of the defining features of Orientalist painting is its dependence for its very existence on a presence that is always an absence: the Western colonial or touristic presence."³⁴ In other words, Orientalist painting produced a voyeuristic space by allowing the viewer to enter secretly to observe a forbidden scene—an irony not lost in its frequent depiction of Oriental harems. The word "harem" does not, after all, mean a space of wanton luxury and women but rather the forbidden or private spaces of the traditional Islamic home.

In contrast to the exposure of the harem theme common in colonial-era representations of the East, Osman Hamdi's painting does not offer access to or conquest of secret spaces as does Delacroix's *Women of Algiers*, winner of the French Salon competition in 1834, four years after the French conquest of Algeria.³⁵ In Hamdi's painting, which takes us into the private space of his own home, the woman faces away from us. We as viewers of the scene may be sneaking up on the artist and observing him but in a sense are denied access to both figures, whose faces we cannot see. Osman Hamdi's model poses instead for the Ottoman artist who, in effect, comes to control the action of the scene.

As Nochlin notes, "Gérôme's Orientalist painting managed to body forth two ideological assumptions about power: one about men's power over women; the other about white men's superiority to, and hence justifiable control over, inferior, darker races."³⁶ If the former was not of great concern to Osman Hamdi, the latter clearly was. While his painting may reinforce the trope of female passivity against male activity, it passes this activity to the hand—literally, the skilled and painting hand—of the Oriental rather than the Occidental artist. If Delacroix's work expressed French colonial power by exposing the hidden and private spaces of the Orient to the colonizing gaze, Osman Hamdi's work refused to give that power to the Occidental artist or, for that matter, archaeologist. One might compare this transfer of power from the Occidental to the Ottoman painter to the dynamic between the powerful male hero and the passive female heroine in classical Hollywood cinema. In her germinal feminist critique of classical cinema, Laura Mulvey argues that "in-built patterns of pleasure and identification impose masculinity as 'point of view'" for the viewers of films.³⁷ As such, through a combination of scopophilia—pleasure in viewing the passive female character—and narcissism—identification with the active male character—the viewer comes to possess the female object of desire through the active onscreen possession of the male protagonist. Furthermore, the realist conventions of classical film "portray a hermetically sealed world which unwinds magically, indifferent to the presence of the audience, producing for

them a sense of separation and playing on their voyeuristic fantasy."³⁸ Similarly, in European works of Orientalist painting, the knowledge that the Western male artist—Delacroix, Ingres, Gérôme, Boulanger, or any of the other artists who reveled in exposing the Oriental harem—provided scopophilic access to Eastern women and passed this visual conquest on to the painting's audience.³⁹ Working in the same realist tradition as classical film, "part of the strategy of an Orientalist painter like Gérôme is to make his viewers forget that there was any 'bringing into being' at all."⁴⁰

By eliminating the moment of voyeurism and using the painting as a window, the artist gives the scene to the viewer. In positing an Ottoman painter depicting a clothed model, Osman Hamdi stole back that act of conquest by reinserting an Ottoman actor, the painter, into the scene. While the gender hierarchy remains intact—the woman is still a passive object of the man's vision and depiction, as well as the repository of all that is private and owned by culture—the doubled sense of othering that comes about from the imperialist gaze of Orientalist painting is negated.

With Osman Hamdi at the helm, the Imperial Museum developed from an almost arbitrarily assembled collection of antiquities into an institution capable of representing developing state ideologies. While he retained his role as museum director and school administrator until his death in 1910, the administrative, archaeological, and legislative activities of his first ten years as museum director set the stage for the subsequent development of the museum. Seen together, such efforts highlight Osman Hamdi's interest in framing the archaeological museum as a nationalist Ottoman enterprise and his recognition of the need to develop a place for the museum in the public psyche.

One might ask why, at this juncture, antiquities were able to play such a pivotal if subtle role in the expression of Ottoman identity. Among other reasons for practicing archaeology, the archaeological historian Bruce Trigger suggests that nations might adopt the practice "to enhance the group's self-confidence by making its success appear natural, predestined, and inevitable, to inspire and justify collective action, and to disguise collective interests as altruism."⁴¹ Indeed, European archaeologists came to the empire to make their claim to Ottoman territories appear natural. By uncovering the Helleno-Byzantine heritage of Ottoman territories and including these artifacts in museums that used them to write European narratives of progress, they made the Ottoman claim to the empire's territories appear spurious.

While the 1874 law was a step in opposition, its very weakness pointed to the difference between the discourse about antiquities on Ottoman ter-

ritories and that of countries with similar treasures that attempted to restrict the export of antiquities. The antiquities legislation of both Greece and Egypt were (at least on paper) more restrictive than the 1874 law. The Olympia Treaty of 1874 between Germany and Greece made official the already highly restrictive attitude of the Greek government toward the exportation of antiquities.⁴² In Egypt, French interests tried to restrict antiquities export as early as 1835.⁴³ However, despite the establishment of an antiquities storehouse in Cairo, politics soon forced the donation of the nascent antiquities collection to Archduke Maximilian of Austria. By 1858 the French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette, acting in the official post of conservator of Egyptian monuments attempted to curtail all unauthorized excavations by establishing an antiquities service museum.⁴⁴

Why was the development of antiquities legislation so much more adamantly restrictive in Greece and Egypt? As in the Ottoman Empire, foreign archaeologists in these countries were eager to procure antiquities for European museums. While in both cases Europeans often saw their own claim on local heritage as stronger than local, nationalistic patrimonies, hegemonic European discourse still constructed a binding relationship between Greek and Egyptian territories and the artifacts found on archaeological sites in them.

In contrast, the Ottoman Empire was considered an imperial power that had imposed its governance on preceding peoples, usurping the land and the antiquities beneath. The ancient Greek heritage underlying much of the Ottoman territories had already been appropriated by Europe and incorporated into the nationalist patrimony of modern Greece. As the former colonial master of Greece, the Ottoman Empire was implicitly divested of this heritage. Similarly, the growth of local nationalisms in Egypt and Mesopotamia localized ideological claims to archaeological sites. This staking out of cultural territory, first by Europeans and then by local national projects, was as much a part of the initial strategic nature of the European archaeological project as the physical staking out of sites and removal of objects. Just as the first antiquities law only allowed the Ottomans to tactically maneuver in spaces set aside by Europeans, the subsequent Ottoman adoption of the Hellenistic legacy could only allow for a tactical manipulation of the boundaries of civilization and culture already requisitioned by Europe.

Like colonized nations gaining their independence, Ottomans had to fight against the supposed objectivity of the scientific practices of archaeology and reinsert their presence into the narrative of civilization that this science helped to write. As Frantz Fanon pointed out, "For the native, objectivity is always directed against him."⁴⁵ While the Ottoman Empire was

never colonized, the fight against objective truths produced by early archaeological practice here was similar to that required by the processes of cultural decolonization—to construct a viable competing narrative for knowledge already deemed objective and thus absolute.

Archaeological activities helped to justify European hopes of imperial possessions in previous Ottoman territories. Europeans often disguised their activities of antiquities collection as a form of altruism without political motivations. In light of this, Ottoman archaeological expeditions responded to the European incursions in order not only to reclaim artifactual rights, but, more important, territorial ones. Thus the development of the museum and the legislative practices associated with it spoke not only verbally in the language of heritage and history but also physically in the language of conquest and territory.

9. Didier Maleuvre, *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 14–16.
10. Quoted in Margaret S. Drower, "The Early Years," in T. G. H. James, ed., *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1882–1982* (London: British Museum Publications, 1982), 10.
11. Niel Asher Silberman, *Digging for God and Country: Exploration, Archaeology, and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land, 1799–1917* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 72.
12. Donald Preziosi, ed., "Art as History: Introduction" and "The Art of Art History," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 21–30, 507–27.
13. Necipoğlu, "Life of an Imperial Monument," 204.
14. Gustave Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, et byzantines*, vol. 1 (Constantinople, 1912–14; rpt. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1966), 361.
15. Liz James, "'Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard': Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople," *Gesta* 35:1 (1996): 12–20.
16. Necipoğlu, "Life of an Imperial Monument," 199.
17. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, II, 393.
18. Richard Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods: The Search for Classical Greece* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 217–18. The British ambassador to the empire, Lord Stratford Canning, sent twelve of the seventeen relief panels to the British Museum in 1846. The rest remain in the collection of the İstanbul Archaeology Museum.
19. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, II, 393–406.
20. Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Hakkında," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 1:1 (April–May 1978): 5–7.
21. Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 44.
22. A full discussion of such practices would require a separate study, but it might include the recognition of saints, common in Turkish folk Islam but foreign to traditional Islam. One practice of folk Islam involves tying pieces of fabric to a tree or bush growing in a location believed to be particularly auspicious. One such location is the acropolis of the city of Bergama (Pergamon), which today functions as a tourist site. It is difficult to ascertain whether the site retained its religious significance since antiquity or whether these practices have become associated with that site in more recent times.
23. M. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris, 1780–1826).
24. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, I, 359.
25. IAMM, letter from Conze to Osman Hamdi, March 1, 1882; Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, III, 573–78.
26. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, I, 471–96.
27. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 46–47.
28. Jean Ebersolt, *Mission Archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1921), 25.

29. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 175.
 30. Richard Clogg, "The Byzantine Legacy in the Modern Greek World: The Megali Idea," in *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Brookfield: Variorum, 1996), 257.
 31. Michael Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1989), 208.
- ## CHAPTER 2. PARALLEL COLLECTIONS OF WEAPONS AND ANTIQUITIES
1. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 2:511.
 2. Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 13–21.
 3. Tahsin Öz, "Ahmet Fethi Paşa ve Müzeler," *Türk Tarih, Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi* 5 (1948): 1–6.
 4. İstanbul Prime Minister's Archives (IBA) İrade-i Dahiliye 6662, 27 Zulkida 1262/November 16, 1846.
 5. *Takvim-i Vakai* 292 (1261); Muhtar, *Müze-i Askeriye-i Osmani, Rehber*, 28.
 6. Gustave Flaubert, *Oeuvres complètes: Voyages* (Paris: Société des Belles Lettres, 1948), 2:331.
 7. Ibid., 331. Flaubert's use of the name "Mohammad" in reference to the sword may cause confusion with the sword of the Prophet, which had also once been kept in the former church. Other sources ascertain that this was the sword of Mehmet the Conqueror, not that of the Prophet, which was probably kept with the collection of holy relics kept in the Apartments of the Mantle of the Prophet (Hirkai Saadet Dairesi) in the Topkapı Palace.
 8. Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople*, ed. Jacques Huré (İstanbul: Editions Isis, 1990), 256.
 9. Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35:1 (January 1993): 7–8.
 10. Gautier, *Constantinople*, 231.
 11. Ahmet Midhat, "Askeri Müzesine Ziyaret," *Sabah* (May 2, 1910): 1.
 12. Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1900), 2:478–79.
 13. Arıkan, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tarihçilik," 1584–87.
 14. Öz, "Ahmet Fethi Paşa ve Müzeler," 7.
 15. John Hewett, *The Tower: Its History, Armories, and Antiquities* (London: Master General and Board Ordinance at the Tower, 1845), xi. At this time military museums were still relatively rare. Among the most famous ones in Europe, the Austrian Army Museum opened to the public in 1891, and the Museum of the Army in Paris consolidated several collections in 1905. For more information, see J. Lee Westrate, *European Military Museums: A Survey*

- of Their Philosophy, Facilities, Programs, and Management (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1961).
16. Hewett, *The Tower*, 39–40.
 17. Marina Warner, "Waxworks and Wonderlands," in Cooke and Wollen, *Visual Display*, 181.
 18. Muhtar, *Müze-i Askeriye-i Osmani, Rehber*, 30.
 19. Gautier, *Constantinople*, 276.
 20. Ibid., 278.
 21. Ibid., 282.
 22. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 96.
 23. Albert Dumont, "Le Musée Sainte-Irene à Constantinople," *Revue Archéologique* 18 (1868): 238–67.
 24. IBA Y.MTV 76:36 (7.9.1310/March 25, 1893)
 25. Chicago Fair Illustrated/*Sığago Sergisi* 2 (July 23, 1893), 24.
 26. "Le Pavillion Ottomane," *L'Exposition de Paris de 1900* (Paris, 1901), 2:137–38.
 27. See also Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 154–64.
 28. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 149.
 29. Ibid., 33.
 30. Silberman, *Digging for God and Country*, 3–9.
 31. Mogens Trolle Larsen, *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an Antiquie Land, 1840–1860* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 157–65.
 32. P. R. S. Moorey, *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1991), 2–4.
 33. Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, *Our Work in Palestine* (New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, 1873), 12–17.
 34. Roland de Vaux, O.P. "On the Right and Wrong Uses of Archaeology," in James A. Sanders, ed., *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 67.
 35. Zainab Bahrani, "Conjuring Mesopotamia," in Lynn Meskell, ed., *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1998), 165–66.
 36. N. A. Silberman, "Promised Lands and Chosen Peoples: The Politics and Poetics of Archaeological Narrative," in Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett, eds., *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 255; Moorey, *A Century of Biblical Archaeology*, 18.
 37. Ian Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21.
 38. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 156–61.
 39. Kostas Kotsakis, "The Past Is Ours: Images of Greek Macedonia," in Meskell, *Archaeology under Fire*, 51–52.
 40. Frederick Hartt, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1989), 624.
 41. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 38.

42. Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 1–2.
43. Suzanne Marchand, *Archaeology and Hellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 7–10.
44. Ibid., xviii.
45. Ibid., 82.
46. Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 108.
47. Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 4.
48. Kotsakis, "The Past Is Ours," 52.
49. Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*, 139, 151.
50. Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 13.
51. Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 20.
52. Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*, 129.
53. Ibid., 52, 147.
54. Ibid., 72.
55. Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 50.
56. Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 11.
57. Stephen Dyson, "Complacency and Crisis in Late-Twentieth-Century Classical Archaeology," in Phyllis Culham and Lowell Edmunds, eds., *Classics: A Discipline and Profession in Crisis?* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989), 215; quoted in Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 35.
58. Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 25.
59. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Politics Ancient and Modern*, trans. Janet Lloyd (London: Polity Press, 1990), 186.
60. Lorenzo O'Rourke, *Renan's Letters from the Holy Land: The Correspondence of Ernest Renan with M. Berthelot while gathering material in Italy and the Orient for "The Life of Jesus"* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1904), 208.
61. Vidal-Naquet, *Politics Ancient and Modern*, 189.
62. Namık Kemal, *Renan Müdafaaînamesi* (Paris: Calman Lévy, 1883).
63. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 17.
64. Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 23.
65. Michael Rowlands, "The Politics of Identity in Archaeology," in George Clement Bond and Angela Gilliam, eds., *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power* (London: Routledge, 1994), 133.
66. Hanioglu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 10.
67. Frederick Bohrer, "The Times and Spaces of History: Representation, Assyria, and the British Museum," in Sherman and Rogoff, *Museum Culture*, 198.

68. W. St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the Greek War of Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 58; quoted in Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 24.
69. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 172–73.
70. Christopher Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles: Should They Be Returned to Greece?* (New York: Verso, 1997).
71. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 185.
72. St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 203–7; quoted in Morris, "Introduction: Archaeologies of Greece," 25.
73. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, 2:3.
74. IBA İrade-i Dahiliye 6662 (27 Zilkade 1262/November 16, 1846).
75. IBA İrade-i Hususiye 1311.M/8.
76. İlber Ortaylı, "Tanzimat'ta Vilayetlerde Eski Eser Taraması," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncıları, 1985), 1599.
77. Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncıları, 1985), 1597.
78. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, 1:xi.
79. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 216–26.
80. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, 2:117.
81. Ortaylı, "Tanzimat'ta Vilayetlerde Eski Eser Taraması," 1599.
82. Dumont, "Le Musée Sainte-Irene à Constantinople," 238.
83. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 271–80.
84. Ella Shohat, "Gender and Culture of Empire," in Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar, eds., *Visions of the East: The Orient in Film* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 33–35.
85. *Servet-i Funun* 984 (1 Nisan 1326), 347.
86. Flaubert, *Oeuvres complètes*, 331–32.
87. Gautier, *Constantinople*, 256.
88. Dumont, "Le Musée Sainte-Irene à Constantinople," 237.
89. Déthier, *Bogaziçi ve İstanbul*, 42.
90. Gautier, *Constantinople*, 256.
91. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique*, 21.
92. These sarcophagi were removed to the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1916 (Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique*, 24).
93. Hanioğlu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 13–15.

CHAPTER 3. THE RISE OF THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM

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3. Letter to the Imperial Museum, cited by Halil Edhem in his preface to Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, I, xiii.
4. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batiya Açıls ve Osman Hamdi* I (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür ve Eğitim, Spor, ve Sağlıklı Vakfı Yayıncılık, 1995), 232.

5. E. Goold, *Catalogue explicatif, historique, et scientifique d'un certain nombre d'objets contenus dans le Musée Imperial de Constantinople, fondé en 1869 sous le Grand Vezierat de Son Altesse A'Ali Pacha* (Constantinople: Imprimerie A. Zellich, 1871), 1.
6. Rezan Kocabas, "Müzecilik hareketi ve ilk müze okulunun açılışı," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi* 21 (June 1969): 75.
7. Goold, *Catalogue explicatif*; Eyice, "Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Hakkında," 1598.
8. *Terakki* 200 (3 Cumadaevvel 1286/August 11, 1869); *Terakki* 363 (2 Rebiülevvel 1287/June 1, 1870).
9. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, 2:153.
10. P. A. Déthier and A. D. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis von den aeltesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre Christi 1453* (Vienna, 1864).
11. Rehnüma: *Müze-i Hümayun* (İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1319/1902), ii, quoting the writ of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan (*arz teskeresi*) for the new law, from the Topkapı Palace Archives (Maruzat Arşivi).
12. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 35–38.
13. *Asar-e Atika Nizamnamesi* (İstanbul: Asır Matbaası, 1322/1874), 2.
14. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, 104.
15. John Carman, *Valuing Ancient Things: Archaeology and Law* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 45–55.
16. Tevfik Temelkuran, "Ülkemizde Göttürülen Tarih ve San'at Hazineleri, İlk Eski Eserler Nizamnamesi," *Belgelerler Türk Tarihi Dergisi* 5:27 (December 1969): 72–73.
17. Ibid., 71–72, citing IBA Hariciye İrade 17050 (6 Sefer 1296/ January 30, 1879).
18. Şark 388 (15 Safer 1292/ March 23, 1875).
19. Kocabas, "Müzecilik hareketi ve ilk müze okulunun açılışı," 76–77; Cezar, *Sanatta Batiya Açıls ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 243–45; II, 515–16.
20. Kocabas, "Müzecilik hareketi ve ilk müze okulunun açılışı," 78.
21. Tahsin Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Önarımları," *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 (January 1949): 68–71.
22. Cezar, *Sanatta Batiya Açıls ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 258.
23. Kenneth Hudson, *Museums of Influence* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 22.
24. *Hakaik ül-vakai* 961 (23 Cumadaevvel 1290/July 18, 1873).
25. *Ruzname-ye Ceride-i Havadis* 2359 (13 Zulkida, 1290/ January 2, 1874); and *Başiret* 1123 (14 Zulkade 1290/January 3, 1874).
26. Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 34.
27. *Vakit* 1735 (11 Ramazan 1297/August 17, 1880); also quoted in Cezar, *Sanatta Batiya Açıls ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 241–42.
28. Cezar, *Sanatta Batiya Açıls ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 253.

29. *Ibid.*, 196–225.
30. Roger Benjamin, ed., *Orientalism: Delacroix to Klee* (Sydney: Thames and Hudson, 1997); Lynne Thornton, *The Orientalists: Painter-Travelers* (Paris: Poche Couleur 1994).
31. Osman Hamdi, *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873*, Ouvrage Publié sous le patronage de la Commission Imperiale Ottomane par l'Exposition universelle de Vienne (Constantinople: Imprimerie du Levant Times & Shipping Gazette, 1873).
32. Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Expositions, and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
33. Mendel, *Musées Imperiaux Ottomans*, I, ix, quoting the *Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite*, iv.
34. Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 45.
35. For a discussion of *The Women of Algiers*, see Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 190–92.
36. Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 45.
37. Laura Mulvey, "On *Duel in the Sun*: Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,'" *Framework* 15–17 (Autumn 1981): 12–15.
38. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16:3 (Autumn 1975): 16–18.
39. For an extensive survey of Orientalist paintings, see Benjamin, *Orientalism*.
40. Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 37.
41. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 15.
42. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, 84.
43. A. Khater, *Le régime juridique des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1960), 127–49.
44. Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 39. See also Donald M. Reid, "Nationalizing the Pharaonic Past: Egypt 1922–1952," in James Jankowski and Israel Bershoni, eds., *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 127–49.
45. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 132.

CHAPTER 4. THE DIALECTIC OF LAW AND INFRINGEMENT

1. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, 93–95.
2. IAMM letter no. 4, 1882.
3. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, 193.
4. Cezar, *Sanatta Bati'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 314; Osman Hamdi and Ozgan Effendi, *Le tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh* (Constantinople: Imprimerie F. Loeffler, 1883).

5. *Tercuman-i Sark* 111 (19 Şaban 1295/August 6, 1878), cited in Cezar, *Sanatta Bati'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 298.
6. *Vatan* 1748 (24 Ramazan 1297/August 30, 1880), cited in Cezar, *Sanatta Bati'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 310.
7. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism*, 201; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "The Museum Island in Berlin," in Gwendolyn Wright, ed., *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art), 67–71.
8. Cezar, *Sanatta Bati'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, I, 329.
9. IBA Meclis-i Mahsus İradeler 3401 (4 Rebiülevvel 1301/January 2, 1884).
10. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, 98.
11. *Ibid.*, 80.
12. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 136–49.
13. IBA Y.MTV 10:26:17.2.1300:5 (December 28, 1882).
14. Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, "The Geographical Exploration of the Holy Land," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (July–December 1972): 90.
15. IBA MV 1:56, 1302.Cumada al-ahir.17/April 3, 1885.
16. Silberman, *Digging for God and Country*, 193–94.
17. "Asar-i Atika," *Tercüman-i Hakikat* 3883, 25 Haziran, 1891.
18. "Asar-i Atika," *Servet-i Funun* 151 (20 Kanunsani 1309/ February 1, 1894), 336.
19. "Asar-i Atika," *Servet-i Funun* 106 (11 Mart 1308/March 23, 1892), 31.
20. "Asar-i Atika," *Servet-i Funun* 161 (31 Mart 1310/April 12, 1894), 70; "Asar-i Atika *Servet-i Funun* 168 (19 Mayıs 1310/ May 31, 1894), 191; "Asar-i Atika," *Servet-i Funun* 202 (12 Kanunsani 1310/ January 24, 1895), 320.
21. "Asar-i Atika," *Servet-i Funun* (11 Subat 1308).
22. "Müze," *Servet-i Funun* 57 (2 Nisan 1308/April 14, 1892), 69, 74; "Vienna Müzesi," *Servet-i Funun* 103 (18 Subat 1308/March 3, 1893), 394, 397; image of Apollo Gallery in Louvre, *Servet-i Funun* 143 (23 Eylül 1309/October 5, 1893), 61.
23. "Asar-i Atika," *Servet-i Funun* 222 (1 Haziran 1311/ June 23, 1895), 213.
24. IBA İrade-i Hususiye 74:28.M.1314/ July 9, 1896; and Y. MTV 355:83, 14.2.1314/July 25, 1896.
25. Temelkuran, "1884 Eski Eserler Nizamnamesi," 74–76.
26. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany*, 102.
27. IBA MV 35:23, 1305.2.18/November 4, 1887.
28. IBA MV 36:57, 23 Sefer 1306/October 29, 1888.
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