

Günay Uslu

Homer, Troy and the Turks

Heritage and Identity in the
Late Ottoman Empire, 1870-1915

Homer, Troy and the Turks

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*Heritage and Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire,
1870-1915*

Günay Uslu

Amsterdam University Press

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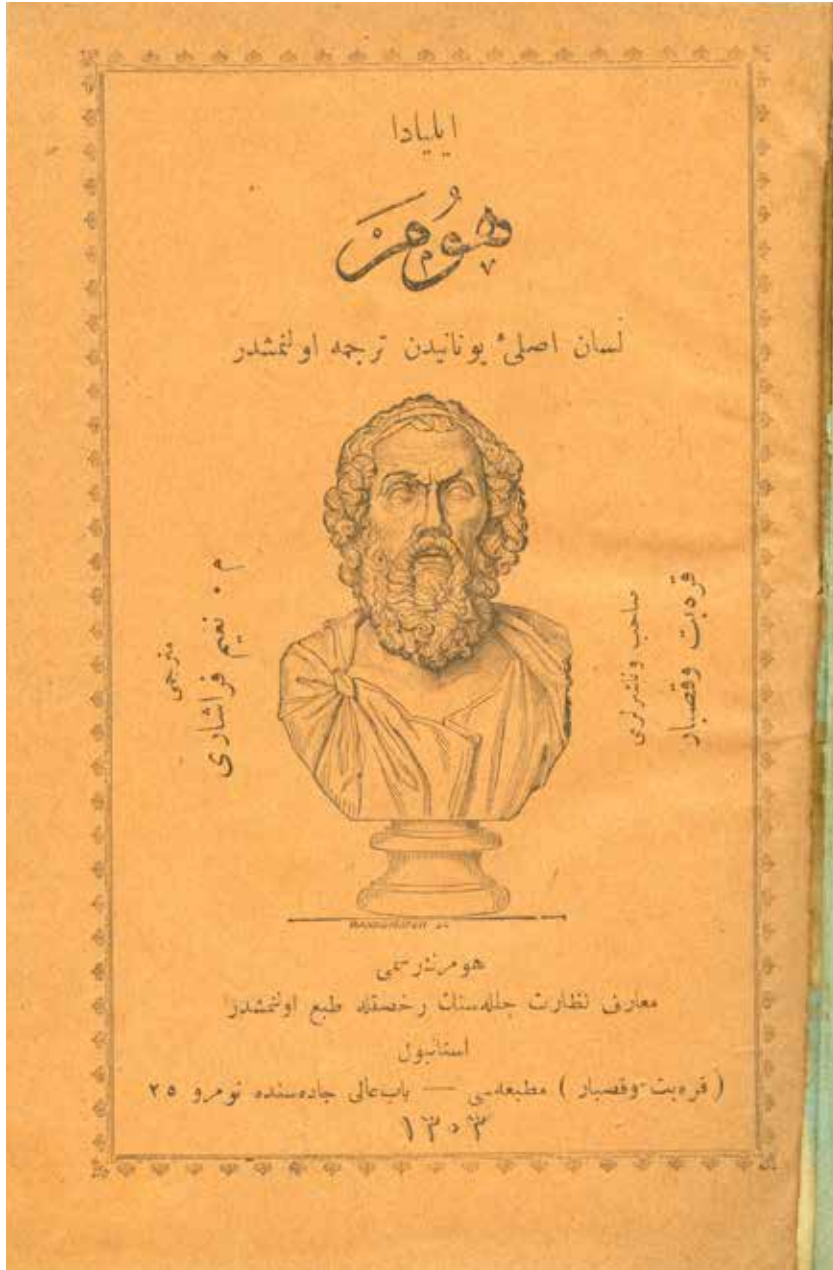
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Troy was situated near Çanakkale. Although in the past, Troy and both the siege and the war were thought to have existed only in the imagination, excavations in the surroundings have confirmed and supported the contents of the *Iliad*.
Na'im Fraşeri, Ilyada. Eser-i Homer (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886), preface, 7, translated from Ottoman Turkish

To Hans Polak

Figure 1 Frontispiece, Na'im Fraşeri, *Ilyada: Eser-i Homer* (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886)



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

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Figure 2 Historical map of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, 1792-1870



Source: Ward et al., *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas*

Preface and Acknowledgements

It was during an excursion to Istanbul and Troy with students of the University of Amsterdam's Master Heritage Studies course in 2006 that the idea for this study arose. The purpose of the excursion was to investigate the function of heritage in Turkey and the contribution this heritage could make in the debate surrounding the negotiations for Turkey's accession to the European Union. Although we expected to see many foreign tourists at the World Heritage Site of Troy, most of the visitors were Turkish. We were even more surprised when some of the Turkish visitors began informing us about the Trojan origins of the Turks and the heroic deeds of the Turks in the 'Last Trojan War' of 1915 (the Battle of Gallipoli). This suggested that Homer and Troy, the first *lieux de mémoire* of Ancient Greek civilization and a fundamental element in the collective identity of European nations, also formed part of Turkish cultural memory.

While Turks have been present in Europe since the Middle Ages, they are largely excluded from most European cultural histories, in which the Homeric epics occupy an exceptional place. Clearly, besides firing the European imagination, Homeric heritage has also inspired Turkish cultural traditions. Our excursion to Troy awakened an interest in the role of Homer and Troy in Turkey, his reputed homeland and the location of Troy. In a series of invaluable sparring sessions with Professor Pim den Boer, my curiosity developed into a set of ambitious research questions directed towards re-examining the function of Homeric heritage, with particular reference to the perspective of the Ottoman Empire. A Mosaic grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) provided the means to realize this project and enabled me to conduct research. I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Professor den Boer, for his infectious enthusiasm, ground-breaking perspectives and incisive guidance. I wish to express my gratitude to my second supervisor, Professor Frank van Vree, who gave me new insights and has been generously helpful in the complicated final stage of this research project. Without the unceasing support of my supervisors this research could not have been realized.

The present study relies for a large part on Ottoman documents found in the Ottoman State Archives and the library and archives of the Museum of Archaeology in Istanbul. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to librarian Havva Koç and museum director Zeynep Kızıltan for their support and assistance in finding and exploring these valuable documents. Deciphering Ottoman Turkish manuscripts and literature was a great challenge.

I am grateful to my instructor in Ottoman Turkish, Mustafa Küçük, for his remarkable patience and enthusiasm as I learned to read and interpret nineteenth-century Ottoman-Turkish texts. I am grateful too to librarian Selahattin Öztürk, of the ISAM (İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi) Library, who helped me search Ottoman-Turkish publications and articles relating to Troy and Homer in periodicals and newspapers in various libraries in Istanbul, such as the Atatürk Library, the Beyazit State Library and the ISAM Library in Istanbul. I am grateful to Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu for his invaluable support in finding precious sources, for connecting me with the right people and institutions in Turkey, and above all for cooperating in organizing a symposium, an exhibition and accompanying publications on the subject of this survey.

From December 2012 to May 2013, the Archaeology Museum of the University of Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Museum) hosted an exhibition titled *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey* featuring exceptional loans from Turkish collections and accompanied by an eponymous catalogue. As senior editor of that publication and one of the exhibition curators, I gained considerable insight and experience in how to make the subject of this PhD study appealing to a broader public. I immersed myself in the topic even further as a member of the organizing committee of the 'New Perspectives on Archaeology and Cultural Heritage in Turkey' symposium at Allard Pierson Museum in 2013, and connected and worked with leading scholars of the heritage of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, including Edhem Eldem, Zeynep Çelik, Wendy M.K. Shaw and Murat Belge. I would like to thank all those with whom I have had the pleasure of working on the symposium, the exhibition and the publications: Wim Hupperetz, Vladimir Stissi, Jorrit Kelder, Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, René van Beek, Floris van den Eijnde, Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu, Paulien Retèl, Marian Schilder, Steph Scholten, Gökçe Ağaoğlu, Rüstem Aslan, Mithat Atabay, Cem Utkan, M. Hakan Cengiz, Enis Tataroğlu (then director of the Turkish Tourist Office in the Netherlands), Uğur Doğan (then Turkish ambassador in the Netherlands), and the secretary of state of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey at the time, Özgür Özaslan.

I would like to thank the staff of Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens for granting me permission to explore the Schliemann Archive. I am most grateful to the staff of the Netherlands Institute Turkey (NIT) in Istanbul, who were helpful in various ways, in particular director Fokke Gerritsen. I also extend special thanks the Archive of the Heinrich Schliemann Museum in Ankershagen, in particular to Gerhard Pohlan, and Bijzondere Collecties of the University of Amsterdam.

Parts of this survey have been published previously. A version of the introduction appeared in 'New Perspectives on Archaeology and Cultural Heritage in Turkey,' a special edition of the Turkish art periodical *ST: Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları* (2013). An adaption of Chapter 1 was included in *Tijdschrift voor Mediterrane Archeologie* (2009) and in *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey* (2012), in which a version of Chapter 4 also appeared. Finally, many of the figures and captions in this survey also appeared in these publications and were incorporated in various exhibition materials and texts.

I would like to thank Ans Bulles for the careful editing of the English text, Charlie Smid for her critical reading and great support in the final stage of this venture and Sam Herman for editing the current published version. Others to whom I am indebted include Mirjam Hoijsink, Alja Schmidt, Geert Snoeijer, Saffet Gözlükaya, Alexander Bessem, Pieter Hilhorst, Friso Hoeneveld, Kazim Ayvaz, Huriye Ayvaz, Zeynep Ayvaz, Leonie van den Heuvel, Atilay Uslu, Meral Uslu, Tuncay Uslu and my parents, Fadime and Ata Uslu.

My greatest thanks go to my partner, Mehmet Ayvaz, and our children Rana and Kaan; thank you for your patience and encouragement.

Figure 3 The Road to Troy



Photo: Geert Snoeijer, 6 November 2012

Introduction

'Homer a native of Izmir. The city's gateway to culture': these words are emblazoned on the cover of the leading monthly *Izmir Life*.¹ The magazine's February 2008 edition formed a platform for prominent members of society to consider and reflect how to demonstrate Homer's fundamental importance to Izmir's identity: Turkey's third most populous city, located on the Gulf of Izmir (Aegean Sea). The ideas advanced here provide an insight into Izmir's appropriation of the Homeric heritage. The discussions focus on the importance of building monuments to Homer in the city, establishing academic and popular institutions for Homeric research and exploring the city's tangible Homeric heritage more intensively, such as Homer's caves and the Homer monument at the Yeşildere Delta, on which a quote attributed to Homer states: 'I was born in the lap of Izmir, where the Meles joins the sea' (Fig. 4).

The origins and date of birth of Greece's most famous poet, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, without doubt among the most influential literary works in the history of Western civilization, are uncertain. Neither is it clear exactly where and when the *Iliad*, describing the Trojan War, and the *Odyssey*, the story of the return voyage of the Greek hero Odysseus after the fall of Troy, were composed. Researchers place Homer and his works between the ninth and seventh century BC, while the idiom of the poems indicates Izmir (Smyrna) and Cyme in Turkey or the Greek island Chios as his birthplace.²

Homer's leading role in the marketing of Izmir is nothing new. Tourist leaflets published by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture have been pointing it out for years: *Izmir, Hometown of Homer*. Official (tourism) websites of the Izmir region emphasize Homer's Smyrnian origins and underscore the Anatolian identity of the Trojans. Troy's Anatolian identity is the subject of a popular dance performance *An Anatolian Legend Troy: A Dance Show from Its Native Land*, which attracts full houses. A square in the city of Izmir bears the name of Ancient Homer. The city hosts an annual Homer Festival, confers Homer awards on major Turkish poets, and has ambitious plans to construct a large monument to Homer in Classical style on Mount Pagos (Kadifekale), overlooking the Gulf of Izmir.³

1 Özsüpandağ Yayman, 'Izmirli Homeros, şehrin kültüre açılan kapısı.'

2 The dialect in the poems is a mixture of Ionian and Aeolian. These regions are situated in overlapping areas. Source: De Jong, 'Homer', 13; See also Kelder, 'The Origins of the Trojan Cycle', 16-19.

3 Dikmen, 'Izmir Homeros ile taçlandırılmalıdır.'

Çanakkale, where the archaeological site of Troy is located, is even more ambitious.⁴ Its popular Troy Festival has been a huge attraction for decades. The annual Homer reading event and poetry days are well known. The Trojan horse appears in various designs and forms, from poster to wooden effigy, all over the province of Çanakkale (Fig. 5). The Ancient geography of the north-west of this province, the Troad, with its famous heroes defending their city on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles, gloriously described in Homer's *Iliad*, acquired an even greater legendary and mythical status among the Turks in 1915 with the Battle of Gallipoli,⁵ when they defended the strait against the allied armies of the West in the First World War. In the modern landscape of the Troad the Ancient epic of the Trojan War and the modern legend of Gallipoli have become interwoven and the remains and signs of both stories are scattered all around the area a century after the latest defence of the Dardanelles.

The construction of a colossal modern museum near the archaeological site to house finds from the various excavations at Troy is part of this celebration. The reclamation and return of artefacts from Troy – many of which were removed illegally from the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century and dispersed around the world – is high on the political agenda of the Turkish government. In international newspapers Turkish officials have proclaimed: 'We only want back what is rightfully ours.' According to former culture minister Ertuğrul Günay, who calls Troy the 'Istanbul of Ancient ages,' 'Artefacts, just like people, animals or plants, have souls and historical memories' and 'When they are repatriated to their countries, the balance of nature will be restored.'⁶ In this context, 24 pieces of jewellery from Troy held by the American Penn Museum (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) were recently returned to Turkey. These artefacts received on indefinite loan will be part of the collection displayed at the new Troy Museum near the archaeological site.⁷

4 Troy became a Historical National Park in 1996; in 1998 the site was placed on the World Heritage List. Other historical heritage sites in the Çanakkale region also became National Parks, such as Ida Mountain (Kazdağı), a National Park since 1993, and Gallipoli, which became a Peace Park in 1973.

5 The Turkish name for the Dardanelles Campaign or Battle of Gallipoli is the Battle of Çanakkale. Çanakkale is the main town on the Asian side of the Dardanelles Strait, source: Broadbent, *Gallipoli*, 17.

6 Bilefsky, 'Seeking Return of Art, Turkey Jolts Museums.'

7 'Günay Heralds Return of Ancient Troy Artefacts.' For a critical view of the political dimensions of archaeology and the political, particularly nationalistic claims and use of antiquities by 'source countries' (countries where antiquities were and are found), see: Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?*

Homeric Heritage: Transformation, Reuse and Reclamation

Homer was already celebrated in Classical Antiquity. Over the centuries, Homeric heroes, their deeds and their motives, were honoured, reinvented, adopted and reworked. Alexander the Great himself identified with Homeric heroes and visited Troy. Homer's epics were studied in Greek in the Roman Empire. Both Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) and his adopted son Octavian Augustus (63-14 BC) traced their origins to the Trojan hero Aeneas, while in the time of Augustus, Rome's foundation was linked to the destruction of Troy. The Roman poet Virgil (70-19 BC) glorified this myth in his *Aeneid* and Troy became a destination for those wishing to pay homage at the remains of the legendary city.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, Homer continued to be studied in the centres of Greek knowledge in the east until the Eastern Roman Empire finally collapsed with the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453.⁸ Sentiment in mediaeval Europe favoured the Trojans, famed as glorious warriors, or, in the words of David Lowenthal, a leading authority in the field of heritage studies, 'history's quintessential losers.'⁹ For centuries European countries identified with Troy and traced their founders to the Trojan heroes to provide honourable and glorious ancestors.¹⁰ Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481) saw himself as the ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire (Kaiser-i Rum) and in his search for historical legitimacy he identified with the Trojans: 'we Asians.' In doing so, he joined the tradition of European countries tracing their founders to Homer's heroes (Fig. 6).¹¹

Transformation, reuse and reclamation characterizes Homeric heritage. In his famous study of *lieux de mémoire*, Pierre Nora analyses the construction and development of sites of national memory and key notions of national identity. *Lieux de mémoire* may be described as concrete or abstract places to which identity-defining memories have been attached and anchored. Nora's project is 'less interested in what actually happened than its perpetual reuse and misuse, its influence on successive presents; less interested in traditions than in the way in which traditions are constituted and passed on.'¹²

8 Den Boer, 'Homer and Troy,' 112-118.

9 Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 68, 74-76.

10 Recent publications on Trojan Legends: Shepard and Powell, *Fantasies of Troy*; Thompson, *The Trojan War*.

11 Ortaylı, *Tarihin Izinde*, 67-69; Rijser, 'The Second Round'; Spencer, 'Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance'; Harper, 'Rome versus Istanbul'; see also Harper, 'Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks'; Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, in Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 9.

12 Nora and Kritzman, *Realms of Memory*, introduction.

Hence, *lieux de mémoire* 'only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications.'¹³ From this perspective, the Turkish appropriation and identification with the 'patriot' Homer and the 'Anatolian' Trojans is not exceptional; it is characteristic of heritage. As Lowenthal maintains, heritage is a key ingredient when domesticating the past and using it for today's causes. He emphasizes the distinction between history and heritage: 'History explores and explains the past grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes.'¹⁴ Heritage is the chief focus of patriotism and a vital tool for tourism. Furthermore, Lowenthal notes that every manifestation of heritage excites a jealous possessiveness, since 'heritage is not any old past. [...] It is the past we glory in or agonize over, the past through whose lens we construct our present identity, the past that defines us to ourselves and presents us to others.'¹⁵ In this sense, the use of Homeric heritage (the poems, Troy, artefacts) as a tool with which to claim identity fits the general pattern.

Homer and Troy: European Identity

Heritage is closely connected with identity. Homer, who gave Antiquity its mythical ideology, is considered one of the founding fathers of European culture and therefore quintessential to the formation of European identity. Exploring the process of appropriation of Homeric heritage in Europe in his article 'Homer in Modern Europe,' historian Pim den Boer notes 'the misunderstanding, misjudgement, historical errors and distortions of Homer' and discusses the use and abuse of Homeric texts through the ages.¹⁶

However, until the eighteenth century it was Virgil rather than Homer who was more appreciated in Europe. This changed with the rise of primitivism and pre-Romanticism. Homer's simplicity of manners and his observations of nature rose in esteem.¹⁷

Early-eighteenth-century translations of Homer, by Madame Dacier (1654-1720) and Alexander Pope (1688-1744), affected the intellectual climate profoundly and ushered in a new appreciation of Ancient Greece. As Richard Stoneman shows in *Land of Lost Gods*, 'The Homeric taste was born. Homer encapsulated and prefigured the main trends of the Greek

13 Nora, 'Between Memory and History,' 7, 19-22.

14 Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, introduction.

15 Lowenthal, 'Heritage and History,' 29; Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, introduction.

16 Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *Pharos*; and Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*.

17 For a history of Homer's reception, see: Clarke, *Homer's Readers*.

Revival: consummate artistry, truth to nature, and a genius which rapt the beholder. To be Greek meant to exhibit a matchless simplicity and naturalness.' Ancient Greece represented the concepts of freedom, beauty and knowledge and Homer was the acme of Greek literary genius.¹⁸

In this intellectual climate, the geographical context of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* attracted travellers and scholarly members of newly founded antiquarian societies, such as the English Society of the Dilettanti (1734). The desire to visit the Troad with a copy of Homer to hand just to be close to that sublime world excited the minds of these travellers. In his *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), Robert Wood tells us that his travels to the eastern Mediterranean were stirred by his longing to read Homeric poems 'in the countries where Ulysses travelled and where Homer sung' in order to understand them better.¹⁹ Indeed, increasing interest in archaeology and the discovery of the geographical context of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* stimulated interest in Homer even more. Finally, during the nineteenth century Homer became the original master of European poetry.

Affection for Greece flourished among well-educated Europeans in this period. The Greek War of Independence (1821-1832) against the Ottomans stimulated an even greater interest in Ancient Greece. A personal identification with the classics transformed into a national identification and the study of the classics came under the influence of modern nation building. In this era of neo-humanism, characterized by the nationalization of humanities, Classical Greece laid the groundwork for the construction of national identities in European countries such as Germany, England and France. The identification of Europe with civilization and emerging cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century increased the appreciation of Homer and his heroes in Europe all the more. Homer became a powerful element in European education in a period in which the masses adopted nationalism.²⁰

Archaeology played a major role in the legitimization of national identities. In his groundbreaking work on the origins of archaeology, *The Discovery of the Past*, Alain Schnapp regards archaeology as a nineteenth-century invention.²¹ Scholarly interest in Antiquity – whether historical texts or material remains – had existed since Ancient times, irrespective of origin or

18 Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 171-176; Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 111-120.

19 Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, 19-21.

20 Den Boer, 'Neohumanism'; Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 177-181; for relevant work on the emergence and development of nationalism and mass democracy, see: Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*.

21 Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past*.

religion. By the nineteenth century, however, European interest in Antiquity was no longer just antiquarian or scholastic; it had become interwoven with a new understanding of history – which had developed from universal to national – and Western imperialism, with its ambitions of colonial expansion and cultural supremacy.²² Europeans had appropriated the role of inheritors of Antiquity, responsible for its study and preservation. The study of antiquities became the study of the origins of European civilization ‘presented as a new discovery and development, emerging out of Western European forms of scholarly knowledge.’ Hence, the development of archaeology and ideas were closely related to the political aims of nations and their ‘constructions of the European Ancient past in the Mediterranean world.’²³

In the nineteenth century, modern museums were instrumental in associating ‘civilization’ with Europe and in promoting of this idea.²⁴ Particularly after the 1840s, national identity became the focus of Europe’s museums. By the 1870s, museums in Europe’s capital cities were expanding further and more large-scale state-funded archaeological expeditions were being organized. Through narratives of the museums, Classical objects became national symbols and a fundamental part of the modern collective identity of nations. The desire to collect antiquities to stock the European museums reached new heights. Antique collections represented national power and influence.²⁵ Possessing Ancient objects meant being part of the narrative of the universal history of civilization, and above all, it implied the possession of ‘the idea they represented: civilization itself.’ This led to competition between European nations for the ownership of the material remains of Ancient Greece.²⁶

The ‘inherited’ remains of Classical Greece for which European museums competed were not in France, Germany or Britain: most lay on and under Ottoman soil. The Ottomans, however, were not exactly Europe’s favourites.

22 Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, 177, 150. For the development of a new understanding of history in the first part of the nineteenth century, see: Foucault, *The Order of Things*; for the study of universal history and national history, see: Bödeker, ‘The Debates about Universal History and National History’; for a critical treatise of the history of European expansion around the world and its ‘universal’ legitimizations, see: Wallerstein, *European Universalism*.

23 Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, 16, 25-29.

24 For the correlation between civilization and Europe, see: Den Boer, *Europa*; and Den Boer, *Beschaving*.

25 For the development and function of national museums and the relationship with constructions of national identities, see: Meijers et al., ‘National Museums and National Identity,’ 10-13; and Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the Past*. For the Ottoman context, see: Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*.

26 Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, introduction.

On the contrary, as the leader of the British Liberal Party, Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809-1898), who wrote several articles and books about Homer, once stated, ‘from the black day when they first entered Europe, [they have been] the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and, as far as their dominion reached, civilisation disappeared from view’: the Ottomans were described as ‘terrifying invaders.’²⁷ Considering themselves the legitimate claimants of Ancient Greece, European nations believed that they had to protect this heritage against the ‘barbarian’ inhabitants of these regions in the East, who could not have any historical relationship to Ancient sites and antiquities. European moral superiority justified intervention and the export of antiquities.²⁸

An important source for the Classical idea of the contrast between East and West, Orient and Occident, Asia and Europe was in fact Homer. In the history of Greek ideology the Trojan War played a significant role in the military conflicts with the East.²⁹ From a political perspective, it was crucial for this war to ‘be interpreted as a battle of East against West, Europe against Asia. Whoever undertook anything similar recalled the epic model.’³⁰ This principal idea of a contrast between East and West was expressed by Gladstone as follows: ‘A finer sense, higher intelligence, a firmer and more masculine tissue of character, were the basis of distinctions in polity which were then Achaian and Trojan only, but have since, through long ages of history been in no small measure European and Asian respectively.’³¹

The Longest Century of the Empire

The nineteenth century or the ‘longest century of the Empire,’ as the prominent Turkish historian İlber Ortaylı termed this tumultuous final century of Ottoman rule, was a turbulent and enervating era in which major transformations took place and the foundations were laid for crucial future developments and institutions.³² Once one of the most powerful

27 Gladstone, *The Turco-Servian War*, 9.

28 Bahrani, ‘Untold Tales of Mesopotamian Discovery,’ 126; and Toliaş, “An Inconsiderate Love of the Arts,” 71-73.

29 Wesselman and Gyr, ‘Ein ideologischer Ausgangspunkt Europäischen Denkens.’

30 Korfmann and Mannsperger, *Homer*, 8.

31 Quoted in Den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe,’ in *European Review*, 180. Medieval sentiment favoured the Trojans. For centuries legendary rulers and various individuals identified with Troy and traced their origins to the Trojan heroes. Until the eighteenth century Virgil was more appreciated. This changed with the study of Greek texts. In the eighteenth century, Homer rose in esteem and affection for Greece increased (see pp. 12-16 above).

32 Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*.

forces in the world, controlling much of Southeast Europe, North Africa and West Asia, the Ottoman Empire had fallen into disrepair and faced major internal nationalist movements and the aspirations of European imperial powers eager to take over their territory. Separatist movements were often supported by various Great Powers and resulted in huge territorial losses.

In the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, this fragmentation of the Empire reached new heights: vast European provinces were lost and the new hegemony of Europe proved a painful awakening as the Great Powers continued 'parceling out Ottoman territories and forcing its wishes on the world.' Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania became formally sovereign and Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under Habsburg administration. These territorial losses continued until the First World War.³³

The Ottoman Empire's weakness and its consequent political, economic and social malaise became a major issue on the international political agenda. European attitudes were ambivalent: on the one hand there was a consensus for maintaining the Empire and on the other, the various wars with the Empire and support of separatist movements stimulated its disintegration.³⁴

This weakness and disintegration was experienced acutely in the Ottoman Empire. Leading figures in Ottoman society sought ways to save the Empire with grand plans for modernization. During the Tanzimat (reorganization) era (1839-1876) the government explicitly adopted European values, the basic principles of the Enlightenment, and modernization became a state programme. With the Tanzimat edict of 1839, the Empire and Ottoman society set aside the heritage it had nurtured for centuries and entered a new age based on Western European values, a civilization with which it had been in conflict for centuries.³⁵

The main goal of this radical top-down programme of political reform promulgated by Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and carried out by his sons Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861) and Abdülaziz I (1830-1876) was to create a modern, centralized, unitary and constitutional state to restrain separatist movements and control power. This centralization of the state during the

33 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 59.

34 The so-called 'Eastern Question' was essentially about satisfying the national movements in the Balkans and the imperialist ambitions of the Great Powers without destroying the Ottoman Empire. While if the Empire did collapse, the question was how to divide it to avoid disturbing the European balance of power, see: Zürcher, *Turkey*, 38; see also: Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 32; and Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 56.

35 Tanpınar, *XIX. Asr Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 126-129; the Tanzimat period coincided with Europe's economic boom of the mid-nineteenth century.

Tanzimat period created a powerful bureaucracy. Many of the new bureaucrats attended European schools to learn Western languages and skills, which they passed on to successive generations of Ottoman students. These bureaucrats presented a new Ottoman identity, with a modern, Western outlook and lifestyle.³⁶

The nineteenth-century reforms and Westernization stimulated European cultural influences in Ottoman-Turkish art, literature and culture. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Empire experienced a cultural metamorphosis: Western political concepts, Enlightenment ideas, Ancient philosophy and history and civilization became a part of the Turkish intellectual patrimony.³⁷

Ottoman Reclamation of Classical Antiquities

Transformations in social, economic and political life triggered the search for change in Ottoman literature. In the 1850s, a new literary wave known as New Ottoman/Turkish Literature was closely connected with French literature.³⁸ Translations of eighteenth-century classics such as Fénelon's novel *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, philosophical dialogues by various French writers such as Voltaire (*Dialogues et Entretiens Philosophiques*), Fénelon (*Dialogues*) and Fontenelle (*Dialogue des Morts*) and poetry by La Fontaine, Lamartine, Gilbert and Racine engendered a lively interest in Ancient Greek history and mythology and triggered new translations.³⁹

The intellectual modernization, the improvement of public education, the rise of printing and publishing and innovations in Ottoman literature in the second half of the nineteenth century created a climate in which Western humanist philosophy and Classical Greek literature could penetrate Ottoman literature and shape the ideas of the intelligentsia of the late Empire period. New literary genres appeared; knowledge of Greek literature and tragedy increased and became a growing point of reference; in Ottoman

36 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 62-64; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 56-58, 66-68.

37 Renda, 'The Ottoman Empire and Europe'; for a general account of Ottoman modernization processes, see Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*; Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*; Shaw and Shaw, *A History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*.

38 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 2-4, 23; Budak, *Münif Paşa*, 289, 362-368, 397; Okay, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yenileme Döneminde Türk Edebiyatı'; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 244-254; Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Dersleri*, 59.

39 Baker and Saldanha, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 556; Toker, 'Türk Edebiyatında Nev Yunanilik'; see also Meriç, *Bu Ülke*, 115; Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 38-40; and Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 1-3.

painting and sculpture Greek mythology also became a significant source of inspiration.⁴⁰

Changes in society intensify the need for history. As Herman Lübbe, who introduced the concept of *'Musealisierung'*, emphasizes, the institutionalization of historical interest in the West is closely linked to the pace of modernization.⁴¹ The new Ottoman institutions which emerged in this era of modernization, such as the ministries of trade and commerce, health, education and public works, included a museum. Although antiquities had been collected for centuries, the Empire's first formal 'Collection of Antiquities' was established in 1846. By 1869, the Ottomans had published their first law on antiquities and established their now considerably expanded collection at the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun), which was presented as a product of progress and modernity.⁴²

Separatist movements in the Balkans and in Anatolia and the 'continuing territorial erosion' of the nineteenth century robbed the Empire of many of the ethnic groups that had formed part of its imperial identity for centuries. For the intelligentsia and the ruling elite, the Empire needed a new identity. In this process of cultural change and search for identity, 'the multiple layers of the land's history' were embraced and Ancient artefacts – *asar-i atika* in the bureaucratic jargon of the time⁴³ – were increasingly collected, preserved and displayed in the Ottoman Imperial Museum.⁴⁴

40 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 2-4, 23; Budak, *Münif Paşa*, 289, 362-368, 397; Okay, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yenileşme Döneminde Türk Edebiyatı'; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 244-254; Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Dersleri*, 59.

41 Lübbe, *Der Fortschritt und das Museum*, 16-19.

42 Çal, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri'; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 47; Eldem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern.'

43 Nineteenth-century bureaucratic correspondence, antiquities regulations and laws show how the Ottoman definition of antiquities changed. Early-nineteenth-century texts refer to antiquities as 'image-bearing stones' (*musavver taş parçası*) or 'old marble stones and earthen pots decorated with figures' (*eski suretli mermer taşları ve toprak saksıları*). In the 1820s, terms like 'ancient buildings' (*ebniye-i kadime asarı*) entered the administrative jargon. Later in the nineteenth century, antiquities were generally called '*asar-i atika*,' as well as 'the valuable produce of the [Ottoman] land of plenty.' The antiquities law of 1884 defined Ancient objects as 'all of the artefacts left by the Ancient peoples who inhabited the Ottoman Empire.' The Ottoman elite developed their vision of antiquities from stones without historical or artistic value to essential aesthetic and historical objects which were part of the Ottoman patrimony. Source: Çal, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri'; Eldem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern'; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 108-127; Ersoy, 'A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,' 204n17.

44 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 53-57; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 95; Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Essays*, 2.

Discovery of Troy

Fascinated by Homer and in search of the historicity of the *Iliad*, archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann (1822-1890) began excavating at Hisarlık on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ His excavations were some of the most extensive archaeological projects in the Ottoman territories. Schliemann carried out his famous excavations at a time when the Muslim cultural elite of the Ottoman Empire had already begun to appreciate the Classical heritage.

Following his first series of excavations (1871-1874), Schliemann claimed that he had discovered Homeric Troy and found what he hailed as Priam's Treasure, which he then illegally removed from the Empire. Schliemann's archaeological activities and his Trojan discoveries received global acclaim and were the toast of nineteenth-century Europe. They triggered an even more intense European appropriation of Homer.⁴⁶

Schliemann's research and excavations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and that of his successor Wilhelm Dörpfeld, revealed many impressive walls and an archaeological web of successive layers spanning a period of over four thousand years. It seemed that Troy had a long history of human habitation and that there was not one Troy, but many. At least ten.⁴⁷

New Heroes of the Dardanelles

The years prior to the First World War were turbulent and dynamic, and presaged the imminent ruin of the Ottoman Empire. Revolutions, coups and wars shook its foundations, leading to internal unrest and yet more territorial losses. Some of the principal events include the constitutional revolution of 1908 by the Young Turks (united in the Committee of Union and Progress, CUP)⁴⁸ and the end of the Hamidian regime, the counterrevolution of 1909, revolts in Albania, Kosovo and Yemen, the Ottoman-Italian War of 1911-1912, the coup of 1913 (consolidating the power of the CUP) and the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913.⁴⁹

The wars between the Balkan League (Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia) and the Ottoman Empire were particularly catastrophic for

45 Schliemann's biographies include: Schliemann, *Heinrich Schliemann's Selbstbiographie*; Ludwig, *Schliemann of Troy*; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*. On Schliemann's life in the Netherlands, see: Arentzen, *Schliemann en Nederland*.

46 Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 182; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 123.

47 Van Wijngaarden, 'The Archaeology of Troy in Prehistory.'

48 Members of this French constitutional movement called themselves Jeunes Turcs.

49 For an overview of the political and economical developments in this period, see: Zürcher, *Turkey*, in particular Chapters 7 and 8.

the Ottomans: almost all the Balkan territories were lost and the Empire was severely weakened. Although it was in no condition to fight a serious war, the Empire decided to back the Central Powers in October 1914 and so entered its final conflict.⁵⁰ Defending the Dardanelles against enemy attack was a major concern for the Ottomans during the First World War. In 1915, the Allied armies landed in an attempt to capture the Dardanelles, only to be held at bay in the Battle of Gallipoli, set against the heroic landscape of the Troad, now once again a legendary battlefield between East and West.

The Trojan War had introduced the first heroes of history. Trojan warriors, supported by the surrounding Anatolian peoples, had defended their country on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles against enemies from the west. More than 3,000 years later in the Battle of Gallipoli, Ottoman troops from all over the Empire held off the Western armies to defend the same area.

These latter-day Anatolian heroes of the Dardanelles managed to stop the enemy: the Battle of Gallipoli was an Ottoman victory. The principal hero of the Dardanelles was Ottoman commander Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), later known as Atatürk,⁵¹ first president of the Republic of Turkey (1923), who had already followed the trail of legendary figures such as Persian king Xerxes and Alexander the Great in 1913, in a military exploration of Troy.⁵² The Turkish defence of the Dardanelles was a seminal event in the growth of Turkish nationalism and the collective memory of the final years of the Ottoman Empire and the new Republic of Turkey. Today, the landscape of the Dardanelles is one of the most important *lieux de mémoire* for modern Turks.⁵³

Troy, Homer and the Turks

Homer has been the subject of a great deal of valuable historical research, as has the archaeology of Troy and in particular Schliemann and his archaeological activities in the Troad. Most research, however, relies on Western sources. Little attention has been paid to the archaeological concerns and interests of the Ottomans themselves,⁵⁴ to the Ottoman attitude towards

50 On why the Ottoman Empire joined the First World War, see: Zürcher, *Turkey*, 110-114.

51 Mustafa Kemal received his surname Atatürk from the Turkish parliament in 1934. In modern Turkish, Atatürk means 'Father of the Turks.'

52 Atabay, 'Balkan Muharebeleri Esnasında Mustafa Kemal'in Çanakkale Bölgesinde Yaptığı Faaliyetler'; Atabay and Aslan, 'Atatürk in Troy'; Kinross, *Atatürk*, 96-98.

53 Albayrak and Özyurt, *Yeni Mecmua*, preface; Kraaijestein and Schulten, *Het Epos van Gallipoli*; see also the numerous reports, accounts and anecdotes published in *Ikdam* between 3 November 1914 and 3 February 1916, collected in Çulcu, *Ikdam Gazetesi'nde Çanakkale Cephesi*.

54 Although the title of Jerry Toner's 2013 book *Homer's Turk: How Classics Shaped Ideas of the East* suggests an exploration of the views of the East, the book deals with the way Classical authors have been used to express Western ideas about the East.

Schliemann's archaeological activities and his relentless illegal export of artefacts.

Schliemann, and his successor Wilhelm Dörpfeld, faced Ottoman rules and directives and Ottoman authorities staffed by officials enthused to varying degrees by the Ottoman modernization programme. Many were part of the elite who had initiated the reforms or were the product of these intellectual modernizations and innovations. Schliemann had to deal with their archaeological concerns and interests, which did not always coincide with his own. In fact, Ottoman officials were appalled at the loss of Troy's principal treasures, exported illegally by Schliemann. They regarded Troy as 'the most eminent city of Ancient times'⁵⁵ and felt deceived. Public indignation ran high. The discovery of Troy and the subsequent archaeological research stimulated Ottoman interest in Homer and Troy. Various attempts were made to translate the *Iliad* into Ottoman Turkish, along with biographical notes on the poet, informative articles on Homeric literature and the topographical characteristics of Homeric locations on Ottoman soil.⁵⁶ However, this appreciation of Homeric epics and the appropriation of Troy's remains, contrasts with the passive role ascribed to the Ottomans in histories of archaeology and cultural history.⁵⁷

The present study suggests that the Ottomans were far more interested in Classical heritage, particularly Homeric heritage, than historians of archaeology have previously acknowledged. An analysis of Ottoman documents and literature reveals the extent of Ottoman-Turkish involvement and interest in Homeric heritage. This study relies largely on Ottoman sources, such as administrative, political and diplomatic documents relating to the excavations in Troy and found in the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul and the Imperial Museum Archives and Library in Istanbul, and on an analysis of Ottoman translations of the *Iliad* and various publications and articles relating to Troy and Homer in Ottoman newspapers and periodicals found in libraries in Istanbul.

55 Istanbul Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister/Istanbul Başbakanlık Arşivi (hereafter: IBA): I.HR. 250/14863 (1 and 2); 01/Ra/1288 (20/06/1871) and 10-11/Ra/1288 (29-30/06/1871).

56 The way Homer was approached, read and translated is not the main point of this study. Much has been written about Homer and the reception of Homer. However, little attention has been paid to the Ottoman-Turkish perspective. Since the archaeological activities in Troy stimulated the Ottoman interest in Troy and Homer, Chapter 4 briefly reviews literary interest in Homer in the Ottoman Empire and provides a cursory description of the reception of Homer at this time. For the reception of Homer from the late Antiquity to the present, see: Clarke, *Homer's Readers*; and Young, *The Printed Homer*. On Homer himself, see: Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*.

57 Eldem, 'Ottoman Archaeology in the Late-Nineteenth Century.'

As Donald Quataert notes in *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, discussing key developments in the later Ottoman period, the Empire played a vital role in European and global history and 'it continues to affect the peoples of the Middle East, the Balkans and Central and Western Europe to the present day.'⁵⁸ However, despite its crucial role, the Ottoman Empire is usually left out of most European cultural histories: in some it gets a passing mention, elsewhere it is ignored entirely. The narrative of the rise of Western academic archaeology has largely been written from 'one perspective only, and by silencing local voices.' Excluding local actors and neglecting Ottoman documents and history resulted in 'a biased presentation.' The revealing recent study *Scramble for the Past* upsets the conventional wisdom of archaeology by underlining interaction between East and West and inserting the Ottomans as 'major players of the game.'⁵⁹

In the present study, Schliemann's famous archaeological activities are viewed in the context of the history and development of the late Ottoman Empire. This research aims to reveal the Ottoman perspective and position in the history of the archaeology of Troy and to show interactions between the Ottomans and Western archaeologists, politicians and diplomats and the cultural and political frameworks in which they operated. It brings together the Ottoman and European experiences and traditions connected with Homer and Troy. The time frame of this study also brings West and East together: it begins in 1870, when Schliemann started his first excavations on Ottoman soil, and ends with a modern-day battle between East and West in the Troad, the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915, when Troy acquired a whole new dimension and became part of the heroic story of the Turks.

In addition to inspiring the European imagination, Homeric heritage also inspired Turkish cultural traditions. An examination of the Ottoman-Turkish appropriation of Homeric heritage provides an insight into the interpretation and the claims of ownership and offers a better understanding of the interplay between the awareness and presentation of cultural heritage and contemporary political and social developments.

Deciphering Ottoman-Turkish manuscripts is a huge challenge. For this research, I had the pleasure of examining a number of Ottoman articles and administrative, political and diplomatic documents. I translated parts of these texts from the Ottoman language into English to be included in this book. These translations are highlighted and framed in the main text of this research.

58 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, cover text.

59 Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*, 28-33.

Transliteration from Ottoman Turkish to modern Turkish is also a complex venture. On the advice of my highly professional Ottoman teacher and member of the staff of the Ottoman State Archives, Mustafa Küçük, I decided to stay as close as possible to the Ottoman spelling. This had consequences for the names of Ottoman sultans, officials and authors, such as Mehmed (Mehmet in modern Turkish), Izzeddin (Izzettin) and Galib (Galip). Yet, since modern Turkish deviates strongly from Ottoman Turkish, consistency on this matter was not possible. Following the example of the editors of *Scramble for the Past*, in some words and expressions I preferred modern Turkish, for instance: *bey* (*beğ* in Ottoman Turkish). The word *pasha*, on the other hand, has entered the English language. Therefore, I decided not to use the Turkish spelling (*paşa*).

The Ottomans used more than one calendar throughout the period of this study: the Islamic calendar based on a lunar year starting with the migration of the prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD, *Hicri*, and the Roman calendar, *Rumi*, based on a solar year, corresponding with the Julian calendar, yet starting in 622 AD. In this survey, I have first noted the dates of the Ottoman documents in Ottoman calendars (*Hicri*: shortened and *Rumi*: completely), followed by the Western date between brackets.

Chapter 1 of this research concentrates on the discovery of Troy. Chapter 2 shifts to the Ottoman perspective on the developments in Troy and deals with the intellectual climate of the late Ottoman Empire. Chapter 3 discusses the Ottoman involvement in the archaeology of Troy during the early 1880s and continual clashes between Ottoman authorities and Schliemann. Chapter 4 deals with the interest in Homer, Homeric epics and Troy in Ottoman Turkish literature. The final chapter discusses Ottoman interest in the excavations in Troy between 1885 and 1915 and the changing attitudes towards Troy and Homer during the First World War with the Battle of Gallipoli as the culminating point.

Although more research is needed for a thorough understanding of the Ottoman perspective, I hope this study will offer some insight into Ottoman Turkish attitudes towards and perceptions of Troy and Homeric heritage and the interaction with Western archaeological claims.

Figure 4 Homer Monument in Izmir, by Turkish sculptor Professor Ferit Özşen, erected in 2002



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Figure 5 Wooden horse built for the 2004 Hollywood movie *Troy* in Çanakkale



Photo: Günay Uslu, 6 November 2012

Figure 6 Sultan Mehmed II (c. 1480), portrait painted in 1943 by A. Süheyl Ünver (1898-1986)



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Figure 7 Sophia Schliemann wearing items from Priam's Treasure, c. 1874



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

I The Discovery of Troy

Schliemann and the Ottomans in the 1870s

In May 1873, Heinrich Schliemann discovered a large, spectacular cache of gold and silver jewellery, bronze bowls and cups, copper axes and other valuables at Hisarlık, a mound on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles in the Ottoman Empire. Schliemann announced that he had found the remains of Homeric Troy and called the precious finds Priam's Treasure (Fig. 8).¹ Schliemann's report of the discovery of Priam's Treasure published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg) on 5 August 1873, was hailed around the world and impressed scholars and the general public alike. The Homeric world had become tangible for an enthralled audience. Schliemann's discoveries triggered new interest in Homer and made him world-famous as the excavator of Troy.²

Schliemann smuggled many of the artefacts he found out of the Ottoman Empire. The illegal export of Priam's Treasure caused a scandal.³ Sources show that many in the Empire were appalled by the loss of these Trojan remains and the effect on Ottoman attitudes towards Classical heritage was profound. As Lowenthal observes, heritage is most valued when it is perceived to be at risk: 'threats of loss spur owners to stewardship.'⁴

1 The Question of '*ubi Troia fuit*'⁵

For centuries, European countries identified with Troy and traced their foundation to the heroes of Troy, providing them with an honourable and glorious ancestry.⁶ Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481) also identified with the Trojans and adopted the same European tradition, tracing the origins of the Turks to the Homeric heroes (Fig. 9).⁷ However, the actual

1 Part of this chapter, including figures and captions, appeared previously in Uslu, 'Schliemann and the Ottoman Turks,' and Uslu, 'Ottoman Appreciation of Trojan Heritage.'

2 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 123; Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 182.

3 Easton, *Schliemann's Excavations at Troia*, 22.

4 Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 24.

5 'Where Troy once was,' in Ovid, *Heriodes and Amores*, 1.1.53, pp. 14 and 15.

6 Recent publications on Trojan Legends: Shepard and Powell, *Fantasies of Troy*; Thompson, *The Trojan War*.

7 Ortaylı, *Tarihin Izinde*, 67-69; Rijser, 'The Second Round'; Spencer, 'Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance'; Harper, 'Rome versus Istanbul'; see also Harper, 'Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks'; Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, in Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 9.

setting of Homer's *Iliad* remained uncertain and had long been a subject of discussion and speculation. Was Troy just a legend or was Homer's *Iliad* based on fact? And if it really had existed, where was it located? Was Troy under a Greek and Roman city at the mound of Hisarlık, like most Ancient writers, including Herodotus and Xenophon, believed? Or was Troy situated somewhere between the Scamander and the Thymbrios, as claimed by local expert Demetrius of Scepsis (around 180 BC) and later repeated by Roman geographer Strabo (63 BC-AD 19)? Or was Troy in Alexandria Troas and Sigeum, both situated on the west coast of the Troad, as many scholars thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth century?

Gripped by the landscape of the Troad, the Dardanelles attracted Western scholars and travellers.⁸ In the seventeenth century, the first scholarly attempts were made to find the location of the events of the *Iliad*. In the early seventeenth century, the English traveller George Sandys identified the rivers Scamander and Simois. Erudite English traveller Robert Wood pioneered the topographical research of the Trojan question when he visited the Troad in 1742 and 1750. In his *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* published in 1769, Wood described possible changes in the topography over the centuries and laid the foundation for future research. Wood's work suggested that it might be possible to determine the location of Troy and the historicity of the Trojan War by field research, and prepared the way for the modern topographical research of the Trojan question.⁹

The Nineteenth Century

Uncertainty continued to surround the location of Homeric Troy into the nineteenth century, a period characterized by neo-humanism and an increasing national focus in the humanities. In many European countries, Classical Greece provided a reference for the new sense of national identity. As Europe appropriated the classics, appreciation of Homer and the identification with his heroes increased. Homer became a key element in the educational syllabus in Europe, which emphasized the study of Greek scholars and literature. Homeric heroes and heroines such as Hector, Achilles, Priam, Helen, Paris, Agamemnon and Odysseus offered a rich potential for identification, which made the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* perfect

8 For the various hypotheses concerning the site of Homeric Troy, see: Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 265-269; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 40-48; Cook, *The Troad*; and Lascarides, *The Search for Troy*.

9 Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War*, 37-40; Manguel, *Homer's The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 178-181; Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 174-176.

reading material in the classrooms of Europe's imperial powers and its newly founded nation-states in the nineteenth century.

Homer's impact on nineteenth-century educated Europeans was considerable. For prominent liberals, such as William Gladstone, Homer provided compelling moral lessons and offered a 'full study of life in every one of its departments.'¹⁰

Meanwhile, developments in archaeology and increasing implementation of innovative archaeological and geological methods in the nineteenth century made the issue of the topography of the plain of Troy even more fascinating. The desire to confirm the historical reality of the Trojan War and to prove the existence of Homer's locations and heroes preoccupied many minds.¹¹

By the second half of the nineteenth century, two principal sites had been associated with Homeric Troy: Pınarbaşı-Ballı Dağ and Hisarlık. Although a substantial group of scholars remained sceptical regarding the existence of the site, the majority of European intellectuals and travellers were convinced that the Homeric legends were indeed historical and believed that the first of these sites was the correct location. It was Jean-Baptiste Lechevalier (1752-1836), employed by the French ambassador to the Sublime Port from 1784 to 1792 Marie Gabriel Florent Auguste (Comte) de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817), who proposed Ballı Dağ near the village of Pınarbaşı as the site of Homeric Troy in 1785. Lechevalier identified the warm and cold springs at the top of the Pınarbaşı Çay as those described by Homer: these springs were the evidence for his hypothesis. In 1864, the Austrian consul on Syros, Johannes Georg von Hahn, excavated the site.

A few scholars supported the identification of the hill near the town of Çanak, known to the Ottoman Turks as Hisarlık (Place of Fortresses), as Troy.¹² Engineer Franz Kauffer, also employed by Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier in 1787, was the first to map Hisarlık. At the turn of the century, traveller and antiquary Edward Daniel Clarke identified Hisarlık with the Greco-Roman city of Ilium Novum, Roman New Ilium, but did not make any connection with Troy. It was Scottish journalist Charles Maclaren who identified the mound of Hisarlık as Homeric Troy in 1822. This met with little enthusiasm since Strabo had written that Homeric Troy and Ilium Novum were at two different locations. Finally, convinced that Hisarlık was the place to find Homeric Troy, Frank Calvert (1828-1908), an archaeologist who

10 Quoted in Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 181.

11 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 50.

12 Jähne, 'Heinrich Schliemann,' 330; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 57.

lived at the Dardanelles and who was a local authority on Trojan topography, carried out exploratory excavations at the mound, part of which his family actually owned, between 1863 and 1865.¹³

Frank Calvert was a member of a leading English expatriate family in the Dardanelles, which had acquired property in the region. Various Calverts served as consul in several countries during the nineteenth century, including Britain and the United States, the eastern Mediterranean and particularly the Dardanelles. Passionate about Homer and living in the setting of the *Iliad*, Frank Calvert soon developed a keen interest and a profound expertise on the topography of the Troad, which European visitors frequently made use of. Calvert excavated several sites, such as Hanay Tepe, Ophryneion, Coloniae and Pınarbaşı. During his investigations, he combined Ancient sources with modern scholarly methods and observations, along with his local knowledge. Indeed, Calvert was a pioneer of archaeological research in the Troad.

In 1863, Calvert abandoned the theory that Pınarbaşı was the site of Troy and decided to dig trenches on the eastern side of the hill of Hisarlık. This presumably convinced him that he had actually found the site of Troy. Yet, initially, Calvert made no important claims and his views were barely recognized. Moreover, he lacked the financial resources to excavate the complete mound of Hisarlık and his appeals to institutions such as the British Museum in 1863 to fund his excavations fell on deaf ears.¹⁴

This was the state of affairs in August 1868, when Schliemann first visited the Troad. Having made a fortune in business, the German Heinrich Schliemann aspired to the status of intellectual and scholar which archaeological research might provide. Settling the question of '*ubi Troia fuit*' was the perfect opportunity to achieve such fame.¹⁵

2 Heinrich Schliemann in the Troad

Johann Ludwig Heinrich Julius Schliemann was born in 1822, in Neubukow in the grand duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (Fig. 10). According to his own account, Schliemann's fascination with Homer and Greece began in early

13 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 39-41.

14 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 56; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 63, 72-85, 103, 105, 120; See also a recent biography of Frank Calvert: Robinson, *Schliemann's Silent Partner*.

15 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 54-57; Jähne, 'Heinrich Schliemann,' 330; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 110-117; letter from Calvert to Schliemann, 1 November 1868, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (110), 140; Van Wijngaarden 'Heinrich Schliemann'; Arentzen, 'Frank Calvert.'

childhood and his life's ambition had always been to one day to excavate Troy. At the age of fourteen, he began a five-year apprenticeship at a grocer shop. From there he launched a successful career in commerce. Until his late forties, he devoted his life to trade, making the money he needed to be able to realize his dream. Later, he studied archaeology in Paris. Using the *Iliad* as a travel guide, he examined the topography of the Troad and started excavations at Hisarlık. Finally, he discovered the legendary city of Troy.¹⁶

However, as his biographer David A. Traill argues, Schliemann's 'various accounts of his life diverge on a number of details, making it impossible to state the facts with certainty. More important perhaps than the details themselves is the clear evidence these discrepancies present of a cavalier attitude towards the truth.' Traill shows that misinformation about Schliemann has gained widespread acceptance and this may be traced to Schliemann's own accounts.¹⁷ Much of what we know about Schliemann is based on his diaries, his many letters and autobiographical forewords to his archaeological publications. Schliemann's life story and his archaeological achievements were full of contradictions and subject to debate during his lifetime, and they still are.¹⁸

What we know for certain is that Schliemann did indeed make a fortune in business, before retiring and taking up travel. Between 1864 and 1866, Schliemann visited Tunis, Egypt, Italy, India, Indonesia, China, Japan, America, Cuba and Mexico. Having seen the world, he settled down to study in Paris, focusing on Greek philosophy and literature, Egyptian philology and archaeology. He also attended meetings of scholarly societies and travelled to Italy and Greece. Learning from watching professional archaeologists at work, he carried out his own experimental excavations in Greece. After a stay in Athens, he set sail to Istanbul and from there to the Dardanelles to explore the landscape and potential locations.¹⁹

Soon after his arrival in the Dardanelles in August 1868, Schliemann began examining the plain of the Troad and carried out excavations at Ballı Dağ-Pınarbaşı. He concluded that this site was not significant enough to be Homeric Troy.²⁰ While there, Schliemann met Frank Calvert. He saw

16 Schliemann, *Ilios*, 5-8; Schliemann, *Ithaque*, 137, 162-164, 201.

17 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 19, 2.

18 Biographies of Schliemann include: Schliemann, *Heinrich Schliemann's Selbstbiographie*; Ludwig, *Schliemann of Troy*; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*; Döhl, *Heinrich Schliemann*. For Schliemann's life in the Netherlands, see: Arentzen, *Schliemann en Nederland*.

19 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, see in particular Chapter 3.

20 Schliemann, *Ithaque*, 162-168; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 51-54.

Calvert's excavations at Hisarlık and viewed his collection of precious antiquities.

This encounter, in which Calvert shared the results of his research at Hisarlık and his opinion that Homeric Troy was underneath Novum Ilium, is thought to have been crucial in prompting Schliemann to start excavating the hill at Hisarlık.²¹ For his part, Calvert greeted the wealthy tycoon's zeal with enthusiasm and saw it as a chance to settle the Homeric question.²²

By December 1868, Schliemann had 'quite decided to dig away the whole of the artificial mount of Hissarlık'²³ and had secured Calvert's 'hearty cooperation.' Indeed, Calvert supplied the necessary information about the topography of Hisarlık and offered extensive practical advice for the planned excavation. Moreover, Calvert implied that Schliemann had his consent to examine his part of the hill. As for the rest of the mound, the north-western half, he promised that he would use his 'influence with the other proprietor to allow the excavation.' Indeed he wrote to Schliemann that he had 'no reason to expect any serious difficulty in persuading him [the Turkish landowner].'²⁴

Schliemann asked Calvert, as an influential resident of the Dardanelles, to arrange a permit for him to excavate at Hisarlık.²⁵ However, Calvert's attempts were not successful. In fact, obtaining permission to excavate in this crucial, centuries-old Ottoman province turned out to be rather more complex.²⁶

The Troad: An Ottoman Realm

Ottoman dominion in this region dated back to 1350s. With the capture of Gallipoli on the European side, the Ottoman Turks gained control of the entire Dardanelles strait, the start of the Turkish presence in Europe.²⁷ Gallipoli emerged as the main Ottoman naval base in the 1390s and became especially significant in the reign of Mehmed II the Conqueror, who founded a town here (Kal'e-i Sultaniye) and built strong bastions for the defence of

21 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 54-57; Jähne, 'Heinrich Schliemann,' 330; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 110-117.

22 Letter from Calvert to Schliemann, 1 November 1868, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (110), 140.

23 Letter from Schliemann to Calvert, 26 December 1868, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (112), 141-143.

24 Letter from Calvert to Schliemann, 13 January 1869, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (113), 142-145; see also: Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 116-118, and Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 56-58.

25 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, 17 February 1870 (129), 161, 29 July 1870 (140), 174.

26 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 118.

27 Koprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 104.

the Dardanelles and recently conquered Constantinople around 1460.²⁸ It was in the Dardanelles that celebrated Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis created his first world map in 1513, worked out his two versions of *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Book of navigation) in 1521 and 1526, and created a second world map in 1528-1529.²⁹ Gallipoli retained its importance as a naval base until the construction of the Galata maritime arsenal in Istanbul in the first half of the sixteenth century.³⁰

In the second half of the seventeenth century the region caught the interest of Hatice Turhan Sultan, mother of the young Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV. This powerful Valide Sultan (queen mother) had the fortifications on both shores of the Dardanelles renovated and modernized. For an advanced defence of the strait she ordered the construction of two new fortresses at the entrance to the strait, Seddülbahir and Kumkale, between 1658 and 1660.³¹

In 1680, the provincial capital of the Dardanelles,³² Kale-i Sultaniye (in popular speech Çanak Kal'esi – Clay Castle), had a population of around 3,000 mainly Turks and Jews.³³ The town flourished in the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century most European countries had representatives there, as well as Iran and the United States.

Vessels passing through the strait were obliged to stop at Kale-i Sultaniye to present their papers and pay taxes. As a result, the local population enjoyed frequent contact with people from across the world. With its close links to the Western world, the town became a major commercial centre and a key market for local produce. Greek, Armenian and Jewish residents of this multiethnic Ottoman town ran small businesses tanning leather, and making rope, soap and jam. Most of the Ottoman Turks were armourers and shipbuilders.³⁴ While the inhabitants of the town could

28 Babinger, 'Kale-i Sultaniye.'

29 Soyulu, *Piri Reis Haritası'nın Şifresi*, 14.

30 Bostan 'Ottoman Maritime Arsenals.'

31 Babinger, 'Kale-i Sultaniye'; for research on the architectural patronage of Hatice Turhan Sultan and the two fortresses for the defence of the Dardanelles, see: Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders*.

32 Known to the Ottoman Turks as Cezair-i Bahri Sefid (the archipelago) until 1876, and later Biga province.

33 Babinger, 'Kale-i Sultaniye.'

34 According to the Ottoman General Census of 1881/1882-1883, the population for Kale-i Sultaniye consisted of 4093 Muslim females and 4225 males, 2532 Greek females and 2407 males, 432 Armenian females and 532 males, 766 Jewish females and 729 males, 19 Protestant females and 27 males, 125 foreign females and 167 males: see Karpat, *Ottoman Population*; Karpat, 'Ottoman Population Records'; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 266.

speak Turkish, they lived in separate quarters and often spoke their own languages.³⁵

According to Babinger, writing in 1890 in *Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the bastions on both the European and the Asian side were renovated again in 1887 and the town had a population of 11,000, with eleven large and several smaller mosques and four churches.³⁶

By the nineteenth century, Ottoman Turks ruled over the mythical landscape of the Troad and lived in the presumed setting of the *Iliad*. The Dardanelles, moreover, was a strongly fortified region and a crucial gateway to Istanbul. Obtaining permission to excavate here would not be easy and, indeed, the Ottomans kept Schliemann waiting a long time. But this did not stop him.

3 Schliemann's Confrontation with Ottoman Authorities

From 9 to 19 April 1870, Schliemann conducted excavations on the north-western corner of the hill without a permit and without approval from the two Turkish landowners. He explained this by saying: 'Knowing in advance that the two Turkish owners would refuse to give me permission I did not ask them.'³⁷

Although Calvert had already authorized him to dig on his part of the mound of Hisarlık, Schliemann wished to excavate the entire hill. He therefore proposed to buy the field outright, since possessing the property would release him from having to yield any potential finds to the landowners.³⁸ In a series of letters, Schliemann asked Calvert to buy the land from the Turkish owners for him as soon as possible and as cheaply as possible.³⁹ However, the two owners 'refused to sell the field at any price' and as Schliemann explains in *Troy and Its Remains* (1875), he was unable to continue his excavations in April 1870 'because the proprietors of the field [...] who had their sheepfolds on the site, would only grant me permission to dig further on condition that I would at once pay them 12,000 piasters for damages, and in addition they wished to bind me, after the conclusion of my excavations, to put the field in order again.' These demands were a major inconvenience for Schliemann.⁴⁰

35 Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. 3, 607, 727, 729, in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 15-16.

36 Babinger, 'Kale-i Sultaniye.'

37 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (131), 163-169; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 78.

38 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 128.

39 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, 14/26 April 1870 (133), 169-171, 2 June 1870 (136), 171-173, 25 August 1870 (142), 175, 12 March 1871 (150), 183-185.

40 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 58.

Schliemann's unauthorized excavations caused irritation among the Ottoman authorities. According to Calvert's letter to Schliemann on 20 July 1870, there was 'not much chance' of obtaining a permit since the government was 'very much opposed' to it. Schliemann had apparently boasted of his 'arbitrary proceedings and having acted without authorization' and according to Calvert they 'must suffer the consequences and get the firman when the government are in better humour.'⁴¹ Schliemann expressed regret for his harsh words to the minister of public instruction Safvet Pasha, on 31 August 1870.⁴²

Schliemann faced formidable obstacles attempting to obtain a permit to excavate. He commented around this time that the sultan would no longer give permission for excavations, since 'the Turkish government are collecting Ancient artefacts for their recently established museum in Istanbul.'⁴³

By the time Schliemann conducted his exploratory excavations at Hisarlık in 1870, Ottoman interest in antiquities was increasing and official involvement in archaeology was expanding significantly. In the nineteenth century, the Tanzimat reforms of 1839-1876, the Ottoman Enlightenment,⁴⁴ had created a new intellectual group mainly of civil servants with a keen interest in European culture and literature and a special regard for Greco-Roman artefacts.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, these same bureaucrats faced nascent nationalist movements in many parts of the Empire which were attempting with the support of various Great Powers to secede and threatened enormous territorial losses.⁴⁶

The Eastern Question

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire's weakness and the potential consequences of this developed into a major issue on the international political agenda.⁴⁷ European views on the subject were ambivalent. As historian Donald Quataert explains, 'through their wars and

41 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (139), 173.

42 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (143), 175-177.

43 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 59.

44 Ortaylı, *Osmanlı'yı Yeniden Keşfetmek*, 167.

45 Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 244-257; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 66; Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 94-108.

46 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 54-57.

47 The so-called Eastern Question: how to satisfy the various national movements in the Balkan and the imperialist ambitions of the Great Powers without destroying the Ottoman Empire, and if the Empire were to collapse, which was widely anticipated, how to divide it without disrupting the European balance of power. See: Zürcher, *Turkey*, 38.

support of the separatist goals of rebellious Ottoman subjects, European states abetted the very process of fragmentation that they feared and were seeking to avoid.⁴⁸

The significant role of international politics in the revolts against Ottoman rule became apparent during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830). Europe's admiration for Classical Greek culture instilled sympathy for the Greek rebels. This European sentiment in favour of the Greeks also related to a long anti-Turkish tradition and the expansion of Western European Great Powers at the start of the age of modern imperialism in Europe.⁴⁹

Support for the Greek rebellion reached a climax with the intervention of a combined British, French and Russian fleet at the Battle of Navarino in 1827. In the Treaty of London of 1830, the signatories acknowledged the sovereignty of Greece. This set a precedent for other Christian peoples in the Empire and encouraged European sympathy for new anti-Ottoman uprisings.⁵⁰

Tanzimat

To deal with the complexities of an 'increasingly unwieldy state with outdated systems of governance,'⁵¹ the Ottomans began to modernize the Empire. The main goal of those who supported these changes was to create a modern, centralized, unitary and constitutional state, as well as to dominate domestic rivals. The centralization of the state during the Tanzimat period created new relations between the state and its subjects and created a powerful bureaucracy.

Western administrative and technological skills were essential to achieve this. Knowledge about the West and European languages became increasingly important. Members of the bureaucracy attended European schools to learn Western languages and technical skills, and passed this knowledge on to the next generation of Ottoman students. These prominent bureaucrats were eager to create a new Ottoman identity with a modern or Western image and lifestyle.⁵²

Ottoman officials were also aware of the need for international support to defend the Empire's interests and that they could not rely on military means alone. Defence became dependent on diplomacy. It was not the military

48 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 56.

49 For a recent study on the history of anti-Turkish sentiments in Europe, see: Jezernik, *Imagining 'the Turk'*.

50 Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 67-70.

51 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, introduction.

52 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 62-64; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 56-58, 66.

but rather the civil ruling elite, especially the French-speaking diplomats, who became influential. As diplomatic influence became increasingly important, a provincial administration was created and expanded, making civil officials the leading elite of the nineteenth century.

Three diplomats and successive grand viziers symbolized this era of civil-bureaucratic hegemony and shaped the Tanzimat period: Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1800-1858), Keçecizade Fuad Pasha (1815-1869), and Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (1815-1871). These grand viziers were decisive in elaborating the reforms of the Tanzimat. This reform was no longer driven by the will of the sultan, but by bureaucrats who wrote decrees for the sultan to sign.⁵³

These changes resulted in various new institutions emerging during the Tanzimat period, such as ministries of trade and commerce, health, education and public works, as well as a museum.

The Imperial Museum

Since 1723, Hagia Irene, a former Eastern Orthodox church located in the outer courtyard of Topkapı Palace, had served as a depot for the sultan's collection of military equipment and as a place to store valuables. Yet a formal collection of antique objects was only started around 1846. Known initially as the Depository of Antiquities, in 1869 it was renamed the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun).

The order with which the Imperial Museum was founded in 1869 reveals the Empire's displeasure at European acquisitions of antiquities from Ottoman soil: 'the museums of Europe are decorated with rare artefacts taken from here.'⁵⁴

As the new museum took shape and disapproval of the export of artefacts grew, efforts to collect antiquities increased. Directives from the minister of public instruction Mehmed Esad Safvet Pasha (1814-1883), a prominent scholar and politician of the late Tanzimat period (Fig. 11), illustrate the formal attempts to promote the acquisition of Ancient objects. In 1869 and 1870, Safvet Pasha instructed governors of various provinces to collect antiquities and to send these to the museum in Istanbul. This decree received particular acclaim: the imperial collection expanded with artefacts sent from several provinces, including Salonica, Crete and Aydın. The Ottoman newspaper *Terakki* covered these shipments, reflecting growing public

53 Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 158-163.

54 Kocabaş, 'Müzecilik hareketi ve ilk müze okulunun açılışı,' 75; see also: Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 86.

interest in these efforts to collect antiquities. In 1871, the museum published its first catalogue.⁵⁵

In 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1876) was the first Ottoman monarch to pay an official visit to Europe. While in Vienna, he viewed the splendid collection of antiquities at Abrams Gallery. Sultan Abdülaziz was himself fond of literature, music and painting and it was under his rule that politicians and members of the elite promoted the appreciation of fine art and antiquities and the foundation of the Imperial Museum.⁵⁶

Securing the Possible Setting of the *Iliad*

This was the climate in which Heinrich Schliemann conducted his experimental excavations at Hisarlık, a time when the Muslim cultural elite of the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire had started to appreciate its Classical heritage. As we have seen, Schliemann's efforts to buy the field at Hisarlık were not successful and his requests to obtain permission to conduct excavations at Hisarlık were equally unproductive. At this point Schliemann reports that it was the director of the Imperial Museum, French scholar Anton Philip Dethier (1803-1881), and Safvet Pasha who were obstructing him: 'For reasons only known to them and in spite of all their previous foul dealing they want me now to take out a firman in a regular way, which will require at least two months.'⁵⁷

In a remarkable development, while Schliemann was trying to obtain an official permit, the Ottoman government acquired the land from the two Turkish owners on behalf of the Imperial Museum. Schliemann suggests that he played a decisive role in this transaction and that it was he who prompted Safvet Pasha to compel the proprietors to sell their land to the government.⁵⁸ However, it seems far more likely that the government organized the purchase in order to establish control over Schliemann's excavations. In reality, Schliemann was enraged at the Ottoman transaction, and told Safvet Pasha that he would not excavate 'without the security of owning the land.'⁵⁹

Schliemann's letter to Calvert illustrates the point: 'but the field must be my property and as long as this is not the case I will never think of commencing the excavations for if I dig on government ground I would be

55 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 228-232, 233; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 79, 84-87.

56 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 245; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 83-85.

57 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 86.

58 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 58-60.

59 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 84; Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 52.

exposed to everlasting vexations and trouble.’⁶⁰ In his letter to the American ambassador Wayne MacVeagh on 12 March 1871, he states ‘Joyfully will I give him [Safvet Pasha] any amount of previous metals I may discover and even twice the amount I may discover but never my life would I think of putting the spade to the ground as long as he retains the ownership of the field, which he purchased merely to wrong *me* and which he afterwards, on my representations, abandoned to me in the presence of several witnesses.’⁶¹ In fact Safvet Pasha had mentioned to Wayne MacVeagh that ‘he could not let’ Schliemann ‘have the land.’⁶²

The official correspondence concerning Schliemann’s request for permission to excavate at Hisarlık clearly shows this. In a letter to Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha on 19 June 1871, Safvet Pasha states that when preliminary investigation revealed that Schliemann had attempted to buy the land at Hisarlık, the governor of the Dardanelles was instructed to buy the field for the Imperial Museum (Fig. 11).⁶³

So the Ottoman government discovered the trial excavations at Hisarlık and acquired the land. The Ottomans were determined that Schliemann should not own the possible setting of the *Iliad*.

In his introduction to *Troy and Its Remains*, published in 1875, Schliemann states that Safvet Pasha ‘knew nothing about Troy or Homer’ when they met in December 1870. In addition he reports: ‘I explained the matter to him briefly, and said that I hoped to find there antiquities of immense value to science. He, however, thought that I should find a great deal of gold, and therefore wished me to give him all the details I could, and then requested me to call again in eight days. When I returned to him, I heard to my horror that he had already compelled the two proprietors to sell him the field for 600 francs, and that I might make excavations there if I wished, but that everything I found must be given up to him. I told him in the plainest language what I thought of his odious and contemptible conduct, and declared that I would have nothing more to do with him, and that I should make no excavations.’⁶⁴

On 29 June 1876, however, Schliemann expressed regret for his hostile remarks and begged a ‘thousand pardons.’ Whether he made his apology to obtain a new permit to excavate at Hisarlık or not, he declares in this

60 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, 12 March 1871 (150), 183-185.

61 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (151), 184-186.

62 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (150), 183-185.

63 IBA: I.HR. 250/14863 (1): 01/Ra/1288 (20/06/1871).

64 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 52.

letter printed in *The Times*, 'I regret it all the more as His Excellency Safvet Pasha has from the beginning till the end been the benefactor of my Trojan discoveries.'⁶⁵

Schliemann's Ottoman Counterparts

The Ottoman representatives with whom Schliemann dealt were well aware of the importance of the archaeological quest to find Homeric Troy.

Safvet Pasha was a key Tanzimat reformer with a respectable administrative career, serving as foreign minister six times. His speech on 20 February 1870 at the opening of the Darülfünun-u Osmani (Ottoman House of Multiple Sciences),⁶⁶ recently reorganized to serve modern science and technology, clearly shows him to be an enlightened politician. Safvet Pasha hoped that the 'support, respect and protection of people of science received during the first two hundred years of Ottoman history would continue another two hundred years' and stated that if good relations had been established with Europe's civilized nations and if Ottoman progress had paralleled the speed of progress of these nations, the situation in the Empire would have been quite different. Indeed, he identified the main cause of this Ottoman failure as 'the disconnection of the Empire with the civilized nations.' He explained that 'sciences based on intellect improve by interaction of ideas and through debate between scientists. This is how the civilized nations of Europe reached their state of progress.' Safvet Pasha argued that the Empire should become a truly civilized European nation and this would only be possible by taking reform 'seriously and sincerely' and by a 'total' adoption of European civilization, as he explained further in a personal letter in 1879. Only in this way, he believed, would the Empire be able to combat European interference and superiority; otherwise it risked losing its honour, rights and even its independence.⁶⁷

Safvet Pasha, who won his spurs in the salons of the leading Beşiktaş Science Society (Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi) in the first half of the nineteenth century,⁶⁸ was a major supporter of reform of the educational system

65 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 142-144.

66 Darülfünun (House of Sciences) was founded on 23 July 1846. However, the Medrese (Theological and Environmental School), founded in 1453, is regarded as the predecessor to the Darülfünun, which was renamed Darülfünun-u Osmani (Ottoman House of Sciences) on 20 February 1870. Darülfünun became Istanbul University in 1912. See Istanbul University, 'History.'

67 Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 209-211.

68 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 229-232; for the history of the Beşiktaş Science Society, see: Ihsanoğlu, 19. *YY. Basında Kültür Hayatı ve Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi*.

in the late Empire and founder of the lycée at Galatasaray in 1868, modelled after the French Lycée school. Galatasaray Lycée provided a modern Western secondary school curriculum. The students were instructed in French and various other Western and Eastern languages.⁶⁹ It seems unlikely that this leading partisan of the Tanzimat, proficient in French and with a keen appreciation of European culture, was unaware of Homer or the Trojan legends.

This is equally true of Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha: 'the last great reforming statesman of the Tanzimat' (Fig. 12).⁷⁰ He started his career at the Empire's Translation Office and built a respectable career serving as a diplomat in Vienna and London (1841-1844) and as foreign minister and grand vizier from 1857 until his death in 1871. It is hardly surprising that this fervent supporter of the Tanzimat reforms, a scholar and linguist with a noted career and knowledge of Europe, called Troy 'the celebrated city of Troy from Ancient times' and emphasized that the discovery of objects during the excavations would be of value to science. He also attached great importance to the preservation and public display of Troy's city walls, should they be discovered.⁷¹

Permission to Excavate for Troy

The American citizen Heinrich Schliemann presented a written application to this humble servant's ministry, in which he expresses his wish and requests permission to carry out excavations at his own expense in an open field in the district named Hisarlık, a territory located in the surroundings of Kal'e-i Sultaniye, where in his opinion the fortress of the famous dominion called Troy is situated. Mr Brown [the American ambassador] expressed and confirmed that the status of the aforementioned person is recognized by the embassy. The aforementioned person's permit will be on condition that the excavations are at his own expense, and, if Ancient artefacts surface during the excavations, half will be taken on behalf of the Imperial Museum and half will be left for him. If the city walls are discovered, their preservation as a whole and their public display are required.

Minister of public instruction Safvet Pasha to Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha: IBA: I.HR. 250/14863 (1): 01 Ra 1288 (20 June 1871), translated from Ottoman Turkish

69 For a history of Galatasaray Lycée, see: Sungu, 'Galatasaray Lisesi'nin Kuruluşu'; and Engin, *1868'den 1923'e Mekteb-i Sultani*.

70 Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 109.

71 IBA: I.HR. 250/14863 (1) and (2): 01, 10, 11 Ra 1288 (20, 29, 30 June 1871).

Submitting and presenting the memorandum from the Ministry of Instruction, about providing permission to Heinrich Schliemann, a citizen of the American government, to carry out excavations in the empty field in the district named Hisarlık, a territory located in the surroundings of Kal'e-i Sultaniye. The aforementioned person is of the opinion that the fortress of the most eminent city of Troy from Ancient times is situated in this field. With regard to the position of the aforementioned city in the written Ancient histories, if as he expects a number of artefacts may be discovered, these will be of value to scholarship (Fig. 13).

Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha to Sultan Abdülaziz: IBA: I.HR. 250/14863 (2): 10 and 11 Ra 1288 (29 and 30 June 1871), translated from Ottoman Turkish

It was through the mediation of John P. Brown, diplomatic agent for the United States in Istanbul, that Schliemann received permission to realize his dream of uncovering Homeric Troy.⁷² As the imperial decree of 30 June 1871 states – part of the Ottoman text is translated and quoted above – Schliemann would pay for his own excavations, including the costs of an Ottoman overseer. Furthermore, the decree ordained an equitable division of any antiquities discovered, half for the Imperial Museum and half for Schliemann. Finally, it included an arrangement for the preservation and public display of the city walls. This last clause worried Schliemann since he intended to demolish the many walls not belonging to the heroic age and this might cause new difficulties.⁷³

Despite his permit, when Schliemann arrived at the Dardanelles on 27 September he encountered new problems with Ottoman officials. This time the local governor, Ahmed Pasha, refused permission to dig since the official permit did not indicate the excavation area accurately enough. The governor wanted more detailed instructions from the grand vizier. Diplomatic support and a change of ministry eventually enabled Schliemann to start his first season of excavations on 11 October 1871. The campaign continued until 24 November 1871.⁷⁴ The second full season ran from 1 April to 14 August 1872 and his final season covered the period between 2 February and 14 June 1873.

On 31 May 1873 Schliemann found a treasure of gold and silver cups and vases and a spectacular collection of gold jewellery: an ornate headband, numerous rings, bracelets, earrings and diadems. Schliemann smuggled the

72 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 59.

73 Letter from Schliemann to Brown, 5 October 1871, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (156), 187-189.

74 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 59-61; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 87.

treasure out of the Empire. He called the ensemble of precious jewellery ‘Helen’s Jewels’ and had his wife Sophia photographed wearing them. The treasure included a gold cup with two handles: Schliemann saw a striking resemblance between this cup and the *depas amphikypellon* mentioned in the *Iliad*. He claimed this was proof that he had discovered the remains of Homeric Troy.⁷⁵ The finds soon became known as ‘Priam’s Treasure.’⁷⁶

4 Ottomans Claiming Trojan Artefacts

The items which were taken during the excavation at Hisarlık territory and smuggled to Athens by the American Schliemann, are there for the purpose of sale. Since the aforementioned person has refused to hand over the government’s share as required by the regulation, the director of the [Imperial] Museum, Dethier, should be sent to Athens immediately to file a formal lawsuit through the imperial embassy [in Athens].

Ministry of Public Instruction to the grand vizier: IBA: MF.MKT. 17/98: 23/M/1291 (12/03/1874), translated from Ottoman Turkish

By smuggling Priam’s Treasure out of the country Schliemann broke the agreement with the Ottoman authorities. He justified the illegal removal of the objects by saying that the Ottoman government had already broken the written contract (the permit of 1871) by issuing an additional decree in 1872, which had prohibited Schliemann from exporting any of his share of the Ancient objects. That decree – which expressed the Ottoman desire to stop the export of all antiquities found on their soil – had annoyed Schliemann considerably.⁷⁷

The Ottoman government held an internal inquiry into the smuggling of the treasure to discover how the ‘robbery’ had taken place, in particular ‘by whom, from which quay, with whose vessel, how often and on which date.’⁷⁸

75 For an overview of the excavations and finds of Schliemann during his excavations between 1871 and 1873, see: Easton, *Schliemann’s Excavations at Troia*. See also: Van Wijngaarden, ‘Heinrich Schliemann.’

76 Priam’s Treasure has been subject to debate since its discovery. The date of the discovery, the way it was taken out of the Empire, the context of the finds and the content of the treasure are disputed. For a recent treatise on the discovery and the smuggling of the treasure, including Ottoman sources: Aslan and Sönmez, ‘The Discovery and Smuggling of Priam’s Treasure’; Uslu, ‘Schliemann and the Ottoman Turks’; Uslu, ‘Ottoman Appreciation of Trojan Heritage.’

77 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 52-55.

78 IBA: MF.MKT.17/188: 11/S/1291 (30/03/1874).

Inquiries into Schliemann's operations, his helpers and his accomplices led to a purge of local administrators who were found to have been negligent and careless in the face of these illegal transactions. Meanwhile, Schliemann had become extremely unpopular with the Ottoman authorities: he was branded a liar and a thief (Fig. 14).⁷⁹

The Ottoman government was in no mood to let this pass. They claimed a share of Priam's Treasure and began legal proceedings to acquire it. The correspondence of the Ministry of Public Instruction addressed to the Bab-ı Ali, the Ottoman Sublime Porte, highlights the main goal of the lawsuit. Since Schliemann was unwilling to hand over the Ottoman share of the artefacts in Athens and the objects had been put up for sale, the director of the Imperial Museum was sent to Athens to institute legal action. In fact, the Ottomans were correct in assuming that Schliemann intended to sell his Trojan artefacts. Schliemann did try to sell the complete Trojan collection, including Priam's Treasure, to both the British Museum and the Louvre in September and October 1873, respectively.

The Ottoman Empire and Schliemann met in court in Athens in April 1874, where the Trojan collection was ordered to be impounded. However, Schliemann had transferred the objects to a secret location and they could not be found.⁸⁰ The Ottoman government, furious at this development and concerned about 'a possible sale of the entire collection or in parts, by Schliemann,' decided to publish a protest letter in prominent newspapers and periodicals in the Empire, as well as in Vienna, Berlin, Paris and London (Fig. 15).⁸¹ This course of action in the form of a published protest, in French, against a donation or sale of the Trojan treasuries, reflects the determination of the Ottoman government to retrieve the Trojan artefacts (Fig. 16).⁸²

Conflict is common to heritage; 'claims of ownership, uniqueness, and priority engender strife over every facet of collective legacies.'⁸³ The Ottomans took Schliemann's illegal actions as an affront: they had been robbed by an untrustworthy person.⁸⁴ Schliemann, on the other hand, believed that if the antiquities had gone to the Imperial Museum 'they would be forever lost to scholarship' and considered the Ottoman government ignorant.⁸⁵ To understand his position we have to take the Western bias against the Turks

79 IBA: MF.MKT.18/147: 09/C/1291 (24/07/1874); MF.MKT.18/97: 23/R/1291 (09/06/1874).

80 Trill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 124, 130.

81 First part of dossier; IBA: MF.MKT. 18/97: 23/R/1291 (09/06/1874).

82 Second part of dossier (dated 06/06/1874); IBA: MF.MKT. 18/97: 23/R/1291 (09/06/1874).

83 Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 234-236.

84 IBA: MF.MKT. 18/147: 09/C/1291 (24/07/1874); MF.MKT. 18/97: 23/R/1291(09/06/1874).

85 Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 52-55.

into account. Schliemann received significant diplomatic support when he abandoned his agreement with the Ottoman authorities. The point is illustrated by a letter written to Schliemann on 16 September 1873 by George Henry Boker (1823-1890), US minister in Istanbul between 1871-1875:

It would be worse than throwing away articles which you have discovered to permit any part of them to go into the absurd collection of rubbish which the Turks call their "Museum." [...] Of course, if you once get your treasures to America, they will be safe from Turkish pursuit. [...] You must understand that all which I have written above is unofficial and personal. If I wrote you as minister of the US, I should be obliged to use very different language, and to advise you to conform yourself to Turkish law [e]tc. But in my sympathy with you as a man of science, I cannot be guilty of the hypocrisy of giving you such advice, knowing that it would be better for the world of letters that you should re-bury the objects than to turn them over to the Turks.⁸⁶

The possibility that 'the Turks' might themselves be interested in Classical civilization clearly had not occurred to him. As John Pemble states in his *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*, the West 'judged and denigrated the Turks from a vantage point of political and moral superiority.'⁸⁷ As the famous nineteenth-century Egyptologist Sir John Gardner Wilkinson once asserted, the Turks were considered uncivilized: 'they are the only instance of a nation that has reached the zenith of its power and fallen again, without ever having become civilized.'⁸⁸

Battling prejudice, the Ottomans duelled over the Trojan treasures for a year. Schliemann described the legal conflict as 'a most bloody battle.'⁸⁹ Finally, the Ottomans were forced to settle for financial compensation of 50,000 francs from Schliemann, which was used to fund the construction of a new building for the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.⁹⁰ In the midst of a financial crisis, the Ministry of Public Instruction's letters to the grand vizier in 1875 show that the reason why the government gave up the 'lengthy and futile legal struggle' was the considerable expense involved.⁹¹

86 Letter from Boker to Schliemann, 28 June 1873, quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 167-169, 164.

87 Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion*, 228; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 168.

88 Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, 85-86; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 168.

89 Letter from Schliemann to Newton, 16 May 1874, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (243), 265-267.

90 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 299.

91 IBA: MF.MKT. 26/153: 26/S/1292 (03/04/1875).

The Empire's Financial and Political Problems

As historian Carter Vaughn Findley concludes, the Achilles' heel of the Tanzimat was money. The downward spiral of the Ottoman economy began with the failure of an attempt to centralize revenue collection and disbursement, just as free-trade treaties were being signed with the major European countries.⁹²

The economic expansion of the principal European states and the free-trade treaties drew the Ottoman economy with growing momentum into the capitalist system. This led to an expansion of Ottoman foreign trade. Nonetheless, as a leading expert on Turkish history, Erik Jan Zürcher, indicates, a key aspect of trade during the period of the Tanzimat was the large Ottoman trade deficit. The reforming governments faced considerable financial problems. After the Crimean War (1853-1856), European economic involvement in the Empire concentrated on loans to the Ottoman government. To meet the excessive cost of the Crimean War, the Empire started borrowing on European markets. These loans, as Zürcher points out, 'soon became a millstone around the treasury's neck,' since the Empire had to pay back double the amount it actually received, plus interest. The repayment of these loans became a major problem, 'debt servicing took up one-third of treasury income by 1870 and this percentage was rising fast.' Moreover, new loans were largely spent on interest and paying off earlier loans. During the critical economic crisis in the 1870s, the Ottomans became painfully aware of the Empire's economic weakness and its dependence on European loans.

In this period the Ottoman government also faced serious political problems. Increased pressure of taxation, due to the economic crisis of 1873-1878, culminated in revolts against the Empire in the Balkan provinces. The Ottoman suppression of these revolts, known as the Bulgarian Massacres, raised anti-Ottoman sentiment in Europe. The discussions about the Eastern Question led to the Andrassy Note of 30 December 1875, proposing extensive reforms in Bosnia-Herzegovina under foreign supervision. In February 1876, the Empire consented.⁹³ However, this turned out to be only the beginning of a political crisis that resulted in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878.

It was in this climate of political and financial chaos that the Empire gave up its Trojan claims and settled for an agreement. As Kamil Su implies in his work on the history of Ottoman museums, the Empire seemed about

92 Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 162.

93 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 63-66, 71-74.

to fall and so avoided any action that might antagonize foreign states.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, using the financial compensation to fund the construction of a new building for the Archaeological Museum demonstrates the continuing interest in creating an institution in which to preserve and present antiquities found on Ottoman soil.

Ottoman Antiquities Legislation

Schliemann's request for a permit, his excavations at Hisarlık and the illegal transfer of Priam's Treasure occurred at a time when the Ottoman opposition to illegal and indeed legal export of antiquities was growing. On 29 January 1869, the grand vizierate ordered the Ministry of Public Instruction to prepare detailed legislation for the examination and authorization of excavation permits.⁹⁵ Safvet Pasha informed British ambassador Sir Henry George Elliot 'that by a recently promulgated law, the excavation for export of antiquities is for the future prohibited throughout Turkish dominions.'⁹⁶ The first antiquities law (published on 13 February 1869) banned the export of all antiquities except coins.⁹⁷ As historian Edhem Eldem notes, this marks the start of a modern approach to the organization of Ancient objects and archaeological sites in the Empire.⁹⁸

By 1874, a second law was published to protect antiquities from European 'pilfering': 'for some time inside the [Empire] people from various countries have been collecting attractive and rare artefacts the protection of which needs to be kept in mind.'⁹⁹ Schliemann's illegal export of his Trojan discoveries in 1873 was the latest and most prominent of these acquisitions. The High Council of Education, worried about the continuing foreign acquisition of antiquities, pointed at Schliemann's illegal transport of the Trojan treasures: 'it has already been proved that Schliemann sent all the valuable and precious objects found at Hisarlık, by means of which it is possible to establish and set up several museums, to foreign nations without giving the Empire its share. [...] [A]ll attempts and the lawsuit to acquire

94 Su, *Osman Hamdi Bey'e kadar Türk Müzesi*, 27; See also Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 245.

95 Su, *Osman Hamdi Bey'e Kadar Türk Müzesi*, 37, 45; Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 243.

96 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 118, 310.

97 For further details of the regulation of 13/02/1869, see: Çal, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri.' The law is dated March 1869 in Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane*, 161; Young, *Corps de droit Ottoman*, 388; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 310.

98 Eldem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern,' 281-283.

99 *Rehnuma* quotes the writ of the grand vizier to the Sultan (*arz tezkeresi*) for the new law, from Topkapı Palace Archives (Maruzat Arşivi), in Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89.

the mentioned share have been futile and the claim of the state is lost.' This kind of robbery, in which objects were often 'dismantled and removed violently,' had to be avoided.¹⁰⁰ The law was passed in the year in which the Ottoman government and Schliemann met in court.

In the end, the Antiquities Law of 1874 could not prevent the ongoing export of artefacts to Europe and America. It contained too many loopholes and was too easily circumvented. In 1884, the law was revised and again in 1906 under the auspices of Osman Hamdi Bey, an Ottoman painter and architect and director of the Imperial Museum from 1881 to 1910.

5 Troy: A Protected Zone

With Priam's Treasure gone, the Ottoman government declared the site of Troy a protected area and banned all future excavations. When the Ottoman army began constructing military buildings at the hill of Dardanos in 1874, they soon received a warning from the Ministry of Public Instruction: the army should stay away from Troy. Furthermore, the order stated that if any antique objects were found during construction at Dardanos, the ministry should be notified and an official would be sent to investigate. To protect the area, the government instructed the local authorities to keep a careful watch for any secret or public excavations.¹⁰¹ When the British antiquary William C. Borlase (1849-1899) went to the Troad to view Schliemann's discoveries in 1875, he was not allowed to visit the site without an 'escort.'¹⁰²

As to Heinrich Schliemann, he was now *persona non grata*. Frederick Calvert, Frank Calvert's elder brother, urged Schliemann to avoid returning to the Empire 'until the matter will have been arranged or forgotten.'¹⁰³ The US minister in Istanbul, George Henry Boker, from whom the Ottoman authorities had demanded an explanation regarding Schliemann's actions,¹⁰⁴ also advised Schliemann not 'to return to Turkey until the whole affair has blown over.'¹⁰⁵ Pointing to the Ottoman anger at the loss of Priam's Treasure,

100 Su, *Osman Hamdi Bey'e Kadar Türk Müzesi*, 52-55.

101 IBA: MF.MKT. 18/94: 19/R/1874 (05/06/1874); IBA: MF.MKT. 18/147: 09/C/1291 (24/07/1874).

102 Borlase, 'A Visit to Dr. Schliemann's Troy,' 229; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 327.

103 Letter from Frederick Calvert to Schliemann, 23 July 1873, quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 169.

104 Letter from Schliemann to Boker, 16 September 1873, quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 175.

105 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, 29 July 1873, (215), 237.

he reported that many felt that he 'should be brought here in chains for punishment.'¹⁰⁶

Indeed, the Ottoman High Council of Education had decided that 'from now on there is no need and no possibility for Schliemann to do excavations and research' on Ottoman territory. He was 'only allowed to obtain pictures of future findings at the Imperial Museum.' All that was left for Schliemann was to publish.¹⁰⁷

The remaining Trojan artefacts were added to the collection of the Imperial Museum. Official plans were made for continuing excavations at Hisarlık in 1875, now on behalf of the Imperial Museum.¹⁰⁸ However, these excavations by the Turks did not take place. That same year – with drought and famine in Anatolia leading to widespread misery and agitation and making the collection of taxes impossible – the Empire was forced to declare bankruptcy following a major financial collapse. Moreover, the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1876 required the government's full attention. Troy was no longer a priority, although this did not prevent the authorities from sending officials there in 1876 to ensure that nothing illegal was going on and to buy antiquities from the local consul, presumably Calvert.¹⁰⁹

An Inoperable Permit

Having smuggled finds out of the country and having clashed publicly with the Ottoman government, there seemed little chance of Schliemann obtaining permission to resume excavating at Hisarlık. As Schliemann wrote in 1874, when the legal conflict was about to break: 'There can be no question at present of a continuation of the excavations.'¹¹⁰

However, he was determined to return to the Troad. As early as 29 June 1873, Schliemann asked Boker to help him make an arrangement with the Porte. He suggested that he excavate at Troy for another three months at his own expense for the exclusive benefit of the Ottoman government, 'but that on the other hand no claim can be made on me by the Porte for the antiquities I hitherto found.' He hoped that this would enable him to keep Priam's Treasure. Schliemann explained that he had made 'such liberal

106 Letter from Boker to Schliemann, 8 November 1873, quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 176.

107 IBA: MF.MKT.18/147: 09/Ca/1291 (24/07/1874); MF.MKT.18/97: 23/R/1291 (09/06/1874).

108 IBA: MF.MKT.18/147: 09/C/1291 (24/07/1874).

109 IBA: MF.MKT. 34/52: 23/S/1293 (20/03/1876).

110 'An die Fortsetzung der Ausgrabungen in Troia ist somit vorläufig gar nicht zu denken.' Letter from Schliemann to Brockhaus, 12 April 1874, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (242), 265.

proposals' because of his 'ardent wish to continue all my life the excavations on Turkish territory.' He needed Boker to help him 'to make friends again with the Turks.'¹¹¹ Meanwhile, he rejected the Imperial Museum's request for some of the owl-faced vessels that he had found.¹¹²

Following the legal settlement reached in Athens, Schliemann tried to obtain the support of the British government for a new application to excavate at Troy for the British Museum. However, this was not forthcoming. He even asked Gladstone to apply personally for a permit, but this request was also rejected.¹¹³

Schliemann's wish to resume excavations was fuelled by a controversy surrounding his claim to have found Homeric Troy. His Trojan antiquities were disputed and opinions differed as to their date and significance.¹¹⁴ Scholars such as François Lenormant (1837-1883), Charles Thomas Newton (1816-1894) and Frank Calvert believed that the artefacts did not belong to Homeric Troy, but rather to a period between 2000 and 1900 BC. Schliemann had a thousand-year gap to explain. He also had to explain major differences between his finds and those from Homeric sites in Greece.¹¹⁵ He needed to resume his work at Troy in order to shed light on these matters, and most of all to prove he was right to locate Homeric Troy at Hisarlık.

Schliemann reopened negotiations with Turkish officials in early 1876. In a letter to Queen Sophie of the Netherlands in 2 March 1876, he explains that he had been at Istanbul for two months 'for the purpose of getting a new firman, but encountered the very greatest difficulties.' Schliemann called on foreign ambassadors at Istanbul to put pressure on the Ottomans to grant him permission to excavate. As he later explained, he would never have been able to overcome the difficulties 'had it not been for the universal interest' his 'discovery of Troy excited and for the great enthusiasm the foreign ambassadors in Constantinople feel for Homer and his Ilium.' The ambassadors 'joyfully seconded' his efforts and 'by their conjoint pressure on the Turkish government' he had 'at last received the firm promise to get a new firman.'¹¹⁶

To obtain permission to resume excavations Schliemann needed to mend fences with Safvet Pasha. The Ottoman minister was reluctant to

111 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, 19 August 1873, (216), 237-239.

112 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, 29 July 1873, (215), 237.

113 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 178.

114 Letter from Max Muller to Schliemann, 11 February 1874, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel I*, (233), 252-254.

115 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 171-175.

116 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (8), 36-38.

grant Schliemann's request and declined to cooperate with him in any way. Besides the negative experience of his previous archaeological activities, Safvet Pasha was also 'much irritated' with the bad press Schliemann had given him in the preface of his recently published *Troy and Its Remains* (1875). Schliemann had described him as ignorant and only interested in gold.¹¹⁷

Perhaps this is why Schliemann excavated at Cyzicus, a Greco-Roman site in the province of Balıkesir, north-west Turkey, in April 1876. Schliemann stated that he had dug there as a favour to Rafet Bey, Safvet Pasha's son.¹¹⁸

Although his permit was authorized on 24 February 1876, Schliemann did not receive the firman until 5 May, after 'superhuman efforts' and not before he had 'suffered in Constantinople during the 4 months.' As he wrote to Gladstone on 8 May 1876: 'I have been for four months at Constantinople to get a new firman for Troy and I have had to battle with almost insurmountable difficulties. Two months it has cost me to persuade Safvet Pasha, the minister of public instruction, to send to the Sublime Porte the project of a new convention with me for Hissarlık. [...] At last he sent the project of our convention to the Sublime Porte, but it was rejected by the Council of State.' Following this, Schliemann changed tack and focused on getting the foreign minister, Reşid Pasha, to persuade the grand vizier to reject the Council of State's decision and order Safvet Paşa to grant the firman. Given his role in international affairs, Reşid Pasha would clearly be more sensitive to pressure from foreign diplomats in Istanbul than Safvet Pasha.¹¹⁹

Wiser from bitter experience, the Ottomans distrusted the prospect of foreign archaeologists excavating in their country. They were profoundly uneasy about Schliemann in particular. As a result, the new permit was far more detailed and complex than the first.

The Permit of 1876

Immovable property, such as buildings and temples, discovered during the investigation are not included in the division. Since these objects already belong to the state, the aforementioned person [Schliemann] will receive no part and shall not touch any aspect or part of these. These will be left in their original

117 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, 8 May 1876, (11), 40-43; Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 52.

118 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 141.

119 Letter from Schliemann to Gladstone, 8 May 1876, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (11) 40-43, (12), 42; Schliemann, *Troy and Its Remains*, 52.

form. [...] The state has the right to suspend Schliemann's activities and to cancel his authorization in the event of any inconvenience or legal issues, for example, if the aforementioned person [Schliemann] contravenes the law or this regulation during the period of excavation. [...] And if the state so requires, it has the right to excavate and examine the site itself or to order others to carry out excavations. [...] Monsignor Schliemann has no right to oppose this procedure. He is not authorized to take legal action if he suffers a loss or for any comparable claim or for any other reason. [...] An official appointed by the state will inspect the storehouse sheltering Ancient artefacts. [...] Discovered artefacts will be placed in the storehouse for protection after having been registered and correctly named in the inventory books by both parties and after having been signed by both parties. [...] Any movable objects found which are designated as divisible, will be apportioned by an administrator appointed separately by [the Ministry of] Public Instruction each month. [...] In the event of a conflict or dispute between the Empire and the aforementioned person, the courts of the Empire will decide on the matter.

Part of the permit of 1878. IBA: MF.MKT. 34/30: 28/M/1293 (24/02/1876), translated from Ottoman Turkish

The permit, part of which is quoted above, paid special attention to stone structures such as temples and other buildings. Schliemann was not allowed to claim any part of these since they 'already belonged to the state.' Any stone structures discovered during the excavations would clearly not be included in the division. Schliemann was forbidden to 'touch any aspect or part of it' and would 'receive no part of these.' The permit insisted that these 'will be left in their original form.' While the Ottomans clearly feared that Ancient structures might be taken out of the country, the clause also reveals a determination to possess and protect this heritage.

As to movable objects, 'since the aforementioned place [Hisarlık] is property of the Empire' the permit required that two-thirds of the artefacts be rendered to the state, leaving a third for Schliemann. While the first permit of 1871 stipulated an equal division of any discovered antiquities, this time the Ottomans were more insistent. The state had the right to claim any artefacts they considered necessary for the Imperial Museum: 'these objects must be transported to Der Saadet [Istanbul] every six months.' Evidently, the Ottomans did not intend to be passive in the selection of artefacts and claimed priority.

The safety of the artefacts was a major point. Schliemann was required to build a storehouse to protect the Ancient artefacts. This would be inspected by an official appointed by the state. The permit required that any artefacts

found be registered, and listed and signed for by Schliemann and the Ottoman authorities in inventory books before being placed in the storehouse for protection. Besides emphasizing the safety of the antiquities, the firman also stressed the need to control Schliemann's activities. An inspector appointed separately by the Ministry of Public Instruction each month would determine which objects were divisible. Presumably the Ottoman authorities could not trust an overseer who received a salary from Schliemann and wished to ensure a proper division and to leave nothing to chance.

Under the Antiquities Law of 1874, the permit remained valid for two years: Article 11 stated that a new authorization would then be required and it would not be possible to continue the excavation without this. Moreover, after two years, Schliemann would have to leave the built structures, in particular the city walls. In addition, the firman forbade Schliemann 'to claim the buildings constructed by him or the ground on which the buildings were constructed.'

Furthermore, the permit specifically stipulated the right of the state to suspend Schliemann's activities and to withdraw its authorization in the event of any inconvenience or any legal issues, if Schliemann broke the law or any regulations while excavating. To emphasize the authority of the Ottoman state, the permit stated its right to excavate and to inspect the site independently or to order others to carry out excavations.

Schliemann had no right to oppose any such measures and had no legal recourse to demand compensation for losses or any other claims or indeed for any reason whatsoever. Following their humiliation in court in Athens, the Ottomans were determined to safeguard their position and stipulated that in the event of a conflict or dispute between the Empire and Schliemann, the matter would be decided by the courts in the Empire.

While Schliemann was permitted to map the excavation site at Hisarlık, he was not allowed to cross the borders on the map. The permit was 'only valid for the territories pointed out on the map.' If he wished to excavate in uncharted areas he would have to file a new request.

The permit stated that Schliemann would be accompanied by at least 20 persons with a salary of 100 liras during the excavations. Arrangements and payments would be Schliemann's responsibility. The state had 'no responsibilities in this matter.' However, a supplementary resolution to the permit issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction on 22 June 1876, stated that the Ottoman overseer of the excavations would keep a 'constant' eye on Schliemann's employees.¹²⁰

120 IBA: MF.MKT. 38/61 (1): 30/Ca/1293 (23/06/1876).

Clash with the Local Authorities

Kadri Bey, restoration director and member of the staff of the Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Public Instruction, was initially appointed to oversee Schliemann's activities. However, the Ministry of Public Instruction reported that Kadri Bey's busy workload prevented him from visiting the Dardanelles.¹²¹ In the absence of an official overseer, Schliemann was assigned to Ibrahim Pasha, governor of the Dardanelles. In the event, Schliemann met with strong opposition from Ibrahim Pasha. He was not impressed by Schliemann or his permit.

When Schliemann arrived in the Dardanelles in early May 1876, Ibrahim Pasha ignored the permit, explaining that he had received no orders regarding the matter from the grand vizier.¹²² The Ministry of Public Instruction had communicated Schliemann's permission to carry out excavations at Hisarlık to the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid on the 4 May. Yet this notification was rather general and stated that no overseer had so far been appointed.¹²³

On 10 May 1876, a second message was sent to the province. This time it was more detailed and the local authorities were instructed to ensure that the stipulations of the permit were strictly observed.¹²⁴

Despite the government notice to the province announcing Schliemann's permit, Ibrahim Pasha continued to prevent Schliemann entering the site and stopped him building barracks and huts at Hisarlık.¹²⁵ Moreover, he appointed an overseer named Izzet Efendi, who turned out to be even more uncooperative. Izzet Efendi was ordered to ensure Schliemann's 'strict compliance with the stipulations of the permit.' According to the resolution of the Ministry of Public Instruction of 22 June 1876, Izzet Efendi had 'the qualities' and was 'also according to the local authorities capable of performing this job.'

Besides inspecting the excavations, Izzet Efendi was instructed to keep the key of the antiquities storehouse in his possession. Furthermore, he was expected to examine Schliemann's employees and if he suspected anything untoward, he was authorized to dismiss workers. A particularly unwelcome figure was Nicolaos Zaphyros Giannakes, who had served Schliemann in his first campaign of excavations and had played a significant role in the

121 IBA: MF.MKT. 36/137: 29/R/1293 (24/05/1876); IBA: MF.MKT. 38/61-1: 30/Ca/1293 (23/06/1876).

122 Letter from Schliemann to Déthier, 21 May 1876, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (15), 45.

123 IBA: MF.MKT. 36/23: 10/R/1293 (04/05/1876)

124 IBA: MF.MKT. 36/42: 16/R/1293 (10/05/1876).

125 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 142.

smuggling of Priam's Treasure. Because of 'his former misdeeds,' Nicolaos was 'regarded as suspicious by the state.' He was required to leave.¹²⁶ Izzet Efendi forbade Schliemann to make drawings of the objects he discovered and even ordered Schliemann 'to dismiss his own faithful servants and inspectors.' He insisted on selecting workers for Schliemann and also demanded that they be Turkish.

Schliemann wrote that Ibrahim Pasha had appointed Izzet Efendi simply to spite him. Izzet Efendi's sole aim was to throw 'obstacles' in his way and to 'vex' him. Although Schliemann paid Izzet Efendi's salary, this did not incline him to make things any easier for Schliemann. Izzet Efendi took his job seriously and made Schliemann's venture a misery.¹²⁷

By 29 June 1876, probably hoping to please Safvet Pasha and to reach a more flexible arrangement, Schliemann apologized for his previous hostile remarks, describing Safvet Paşa as the benefactor of his Trojan discoveries in a letter to *The Times*.¹²⁸

Even so, the local authorities in the Troad were of little help to Schliemann. On the contrary, they opposed and obstructed him. In the end, they made the venture completely impracticable. Schliemann wrote that he 'had encountered insurmountable obstacles with Ibrahim Pasha, current governor of the Dardanelles.' He suspected that Ibrahim Pasha felt frustrated that he had received a permit from the government which prevented the governor from admitting others who wanted to visit the site of Troy. 'Since these fermans no longer apply when the excavations resume, he impedes progress by imposing highly effective obstacles. For two months I fought against him in vain, and came here yesterday firmly resolved not to return to Troy before he has been replaced.'¹²⁹ Exasperated by Ibrahim Pasha's opposition, Schliemann left the Dardanelles early in July 1876 where he had been for two months without having carried out any excavation at all.

Schliemann held Ibrahim Pasha in low esteem and he hoped and expected that he would soon be replaced, since 'in Constantinople he is considered a

126 IBA: MF.MKT. 38/61 (1): 30/Ca/1293 (23/06/1876).

127 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (18), 47, 30 June 1876.

128 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 142-144.

129 'bei Ibrahim Pasha, dem Gegenwärtigen Gouverneur der Dardanellen, auf unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten gestoßen. [...] Da nun bei Wiederfortsetzung der Ausgrabungen diese *fermane* von selbst wegfallen müssen, so legt mir der Mann die furchtbarsten Hindernisse in den Weg um die Sache zu hintertreiben. Zwei Monate habe ich vergeblich gegen ihn angekämpft und bin vorgestern hieher zurückgekehrt [Athens], mit dem festen Entschluß nicht wieder nach Troia zu gehen ehe er nicht seine Stelle verloren hat.' Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (21), 50, 9 July 1876.

tremendous nonentity.¹³⁰ He felt that Ibrahim Pasha's position as governor was a mere 'farce.' Yet Ibrahim Pasha's tenure was clearly not an issue in Istanbul. After returning to Athens, Schliemann was strongly advised by Safvet Pasha to get on good terms with Ibrahim Pasha. And so Schliemann left for the Dardanelles 'in great haste.' Once there, however, Schliemann explains that he found 'Ibrahim Pasha enervated and determined to crush the project however he could. He was beside himself, and humiliated me in every possible way, treating me like a dog in the presence of the governors.'¹³¹

Nevertheless, Schliemann persisted. He appealed to Gladstone to put pressure on the Ottomans. In a letter dated 28 December 1876, Schliemann expresses his gratitude for Gladstone's 'powerful recommendation to Sir Henry Elliot, which has had the desired effect, the grand vizier having given to the governor general at the Dardanelles the strictest orders, not only not to throw obstacles into my way, but to render me every assistance and to give me every possible facility.' Even so, by the end of 1876, Schliemann decided that the region had become too unsafe to carry out excavations at the Troad.¹³²

Schliemann's permit of 1876 had proven ineffective. However hard he tried and despite his extensive lobbying, he could not resolve his problem with the Ottoman-Turkish authorities and so was unable to resume his excavations at Hisarlık in 1876. Moreover, insecurity in the region and mounting unrest in the Ottoman capital between May (the deposition of Sultan Abdülaziz) and August 1876 (the succession of Sultan Abdülhamid II) took its toll.¹³³

While the Ottomans kept their eye on Troy, Schliemann focused on other promising sites, such as Mycenae. Meanwhile, telegrams from the Ministry of Public Instruction to the province of Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid on 29 September 1876 and 18 November 1876 reflect the Ottoman preoccupation with Troy: the ministry wanted information about possible archaeological activities at Hisarlık, since 'there is a rumour that Schliemann has started excavations. [...] [I]f this is correct, since when and is there an official overseer present.'¹³⁴ Although Schliemann was focussing on Mycenae and

130 'er in Constantinopel als eine große nullite bekant [...] ist.' Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (21), 50, 9 July 1876.

131 'Ibrahim Pascha hocherregt und entschlossen, die Sache auf jede Weise zu zerschlagen. Er vergaß sich selbst und demütigte mich mit allen Mitteln so sehr, daß er in Anwesenheit sämtlicher Angehöriger des Gouvernements mich wie einen Hund behandelte.' Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (22), 51-53, 12 July 1876.

132 Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (33), 66, 20 December 1876.

133 See Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 109-124.

134 IBA: MF.MKT. 45/24: 01/Za/1293 (18/11/1876); IBA: MF.MKT. 43/81: 10/N/1293 (29/09/1876).

his extensive archaeological activities there, the authorities were obviously aware of Schliemann's continuing interest in Troy.

During the Russo-Turkish War (April 1877-March 1878) the Ottomans continued to monitor Troy. Even as the Russians approached the gates of Istanbul, the Ministry of Public Instruction still found time to inform Dardanelles province on 7 February 1878 that Schliemann had not received a new permit to excavate at Hisarlık and was planning to use the permit issued in 1876. Since Schliemann was preparing a visit to the Troad to view the site and assess the extent to which the war was affecting the region, the telegram also contained a request to the authorities to inform the ministry about conditions in the area.¹³⁵

The authorities had seen almost immediately that Schliemann's permit had expired and had determined that the Dardanelles was not a safe area.¹³⁶

6 Excavating in the Shadow of War

The late 1870s were a traumatic time for the Ottomans in many ways. After the financial crisis and provincial rebellions in the Balkans, on 24 April 1877 Russia declared war on the Empire. The Russo-Turkish War was a disaster. On 3 March 1878, the Ottomans signed a peace treaty at San Stefano (now Yeşilköy), only a few kilometres from Istanbul, already invaded by the Russians at the end of the war. This resulted in the creation of a large autonomous Bulgarian state under Russian protection, after nearly five centuries of Ottoman rule (1396-1878). The treaty recognized territorial gains and independence for Montenegro and Serbia. Romania, too, became independent and Russia annexed the Asian provinces of Kars, Ardahan, Batum and Doğubeyazit.

However, Austria-Hungary, Britain and Germany feared Russian domination of the Balkans and Asia Minor. This shared anxiety and the desire to prevent the destabilization of the European balance of power following a potential collapse of the Ottoman Empire led the Great Powers to convene a summit in Berlin. The Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878) was one of the last major conferences to settle a serious international problem in the period before the First World War.

¹³⁵ IBA: MF.MKT. 57/149: 04/S/1295 (07/02/1878).

¹³⁶ IBA: MF.MKT. 57/150: 06/S/1295 (09/02/1878); IBA: MF.MKT. 57/158: 23/S/1295 (26/02/1878); IBA: MF.MKT. 57/159: 25/S/1295 (28/02/1878).

In essence, the resulting Treaty of Berlin of 1878 was a revision of the Treaty of San Stefano. The principalities of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro remained independent, but Serbia and Montenegro had to be content with reduced territorial gains. Bulgaria remained autonomous and also gained less territory than recognized at San Stefano. Russia's Anatolian acquisitions were virtually unaffected. Another result of the treaty was Austria-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and British control over Cyprus, although these regions officially remained part of the Ottoman territory.¹³⁷

Although the treaty attempted to resolve the Eastern Question and to prevent the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which it was generally agreed would precipitate a major European conflict, the Berlin Congress ended up repeating the mistakes of the past: the creation of autonomous regions. The Empire suddenly held far less territory in Europe, while the European powers were now far more influential, effectively intervening and parcelling out Ottoman possessions.¹³⁸

Meanwhile, a couple of weeks after the Berlin Congress, Schliemann relaunched negotiations in Istanbul for an extension of his permit. This time the British ambassador to Istanbul, Sir Austen Layard (1817-1894) supported him.¹³⁹ Indeed, the Ottoman government was unable to resist diplomatic pressure and as Schliemann explains, he obtained the firman in the summer of 1878 'by the good offices of my honoured friend Sir A.H. Layard.'¹⁴⁰

The new permit was an extension of the earlier two-year permit. So Schliemann was still not allowed to claim any structures such as temples and buildings. These had to be left in place and in their original state. As to the movable objects, he had to hand over two-thirds of his finds to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Moreover, any artefacts found would be registered in inventory books and shelved in a special storehouse, the keys to which were kept by the Ottoman overseer. In addition, Schliemann was responsible for all the expenses of the excavation.¹⁴¹

137 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 73-76; Yasamee, *Ottoman Diplomacy*, 61-62; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 491.

138 Territorial losses continued, culminating in the First World War. Before 1850 the majority of the Ottoman subjects lived in the Balkans; by the beginning of the twentieth century only 20 percent of the Empire consisted of European provinces. Source: Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 54-57, 59; see also: Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 110-124, 205-207.

139 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 188.

140 Schliemann, *Troja*.

141 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 183, for the conditions of the permit, see: IBA: MF.MKT. 34/30: 28/M/1293 (24/02/1876); and IBA: MF.MKT. 38/61: 30/Ca/1293 (22/06/1876); on the continuation of the permit, see: IBA: MF.MKT. 57/158: 23/S/1295 (26/02/1878).

Excavations in 1878

Schliemann's new excavation started on 30 September 1878 and continued until 26 November 1878.¹⁴² His overseer was Kadri Bey, the Ministry of Public Instruction official.¹⁴³ He was appointed to control Schliemann's activities and to maintain 'the perfect protection of any artefacts found.' The province was instructed to support the representative in 'a correct way and to give him the necessary assistance.'¹⁴⁴ The first mention of Kadri Bey in connection with the archaeological activities at Hisarlık dates from 7 October 1878. It is a report on the excavation progress. According to this account Schliemann did provide Kadri Bey with the key of the storehouse, but was too busy to sign the inventory books. Since the permit required that the artefacts be registered and both parties sign, Kadri Bey wondered how he should manage this problem.

The Ministry of Public Instruction answered clearly: according to Article 29 of the Antiquities Law all artefacts should be registered, with the signatures of both parties, the excavation date and a description of the items in two inventory books. No exception to this rule was possible. The ministry ordered Schliemann to assign someone else to sign the inventory books on his behalf, to be approved by the American consulate and the local authorities. Furthermore, the directive ordered Kadri Bey to change the lock of the storehouse and ensure that there were only two keys: one of these had to be kept by Kadri Bey, the other was for Schliemann or his authorized representative.¹⁴⁵

The Ottoman authorities watched Schliemann's activities closely. The minister of public instruction in 1878 was a prominent statesman and a leading figure in the nineteenth-century Turkish-Ottoman Enlightenment, Mehmet Tahir Münif Pasha (1828-1910).¹⁴⁶ Münif Pasha did not hesitate to reply sharply to Schliemann's requests when necessary: 'Your rebukes are without foundation and contemptible.'¹⁴⁷ His letters to Schliemann reveal him to have been a capable administrator who could politely yet resolutely

142 Schliemann, *Ilios*, 50-51.

143 While no biographical information is available regarding Kadri Bey, in Peter Ackroyd's adventurous novel *The Fall of Troy*, Kadri Bey is the model for the energetic site manager.

144 IBA: MF.MFK.: 58/44: 6/L/1295 (04/10/1878).

145 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/52: 24/Za/1295 (22/10/1878).

146 Mermutlu, 'Multi-Perception of the Enlightenment Thinking in Nineteenth-Century Turkey.' For biographical accounts, see: Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*, 1347-1473; Duran, 'Mehmet Tahir Münif Paşa, Hayati, Felsefesi'; Budak, *Münif Paşa*.

147 'Vos reproches sont sans fondement et indignes,' Letter from Münif Pasha to Schliemann, 17 November 1878, Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens (B 78/620).

respond to Schliemann's requests to bend the rules or allow him to expand the excavation site. When Schliemann asked not to have to register all the artefacts found, for instance, Münif Pasha politely refused: 'As to your proposal to dispense with compiling and signing registers of excavated antiquities, I regret that I am unable to authorize this, since the law is dictated by a higher authority.' He subsequently advised that in this respect Schliemann could appoint a formal representative, in joint agreement with the local authorities in the Dardanelles and the American embassy, who could sign the registers instead of him.¹⁴⁸

Besides Schliemann, his overseer Kadri Bey also came under strict supervision. If Kadri Bey neglected to provide the government with information about progress in Troy, he would receive a serious reprimand within weeks. The correspondence of the Ministry of Public Instruction of 31 October 1878 demonstrates a keen concern that the terms of the permit be maintained and scrupulous attention paid to the preservation of Trojan artefacts. Kadri Bey was called to account whenever his attention lapsed. His superiors responded fiercely after they had 'received nothing else than just one piece of a writ' ever since he had left for Hisarlık. Moreover, the ministry immediately insisted on a detailed report of 'the undertaken activities, the amount of the discovered antique artefacts and their conditions, whether they are under lock or not.'

The government clearly wished to have a meticulous inventory of the Trojan antiquities. The same directive instructs Kadri Bey to stipulate the different strata in which the artefacts had been found in the inventory books, and the authorities also felt it 'necessary to mark the objects with the same number with chalk or paint.'¹⁴⁹

Schliemann had apparently communicated to the director of the Imperial Museum that the division of the artefacts would be scheduled for the beginning of December 1878. This was another reason for the authorities to reprimand Kadri Bey on his delayed report and to alert him to his duties, in particular the inspection, keeping an inventory and the protection of the Trojan antiquities. The ministry ordered Kadri Bey to assess which of the antiquities should be included in the division, since the permit stated that not all discoveries could be divided. This was obviously true for structures

148 'Quant à votre proposition de vous dispenser de dresser et de signer les registres de antiquités mises au jour, je regrette de ne pouvoir vous satisfaire, les prescriptions de la Loi étant formulées la dessus.' Letter from Münif Pasha to Schliemann, 21 October 1878, Schliemann Archive, Genadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens (B 78/574).

149 IBA: MF.MKT. 58/59: 04/Za/1295 (30/10/1878).

such as temples; Schliemann had no right to claim these. Kadri Bey was once again reminded of his duties and of his responsibility to inspect and to report the finds.¹⁵⁰

A telegram to Kadri Bey on 31 October states that 'you are ordered to report the nature of your services, how many artefacts have been found, and what happened to them.' When the authorities in Istanbul learned that Kadri Bey had taken his cousin to the Troad to assist him during the excavations, they warned him that this had not been well received. This particular cousin had acquired a bad reputation when he had worked at the Imperial Museum.¹⁵¹ Kadri Bey was ordered to avoid this kind of complication. The warning demonstrates that the authorities were extremely cautious and suspicious and clearly concerned that a person with a shady reputation was present at the site.¹⁵²

In addition to this official distrust, public opinion of Schliemann was equally critical. He appeared in Ottoman cartoons as a greedy opportunist (Fig. 17).¹⁵³ His request for a new permit was debated in the Ottoman press. On 6 August 1878, *Tercüman-ı Şark* newspaper stated: 'Hopefully this time Baron Schliemann will not smuggle the antique objects to Athens, so that our museum can also take advantage of it.'¹⁵⁴

Schliemann's finds at Hisarlık in 1878 included four valuable items: golden earrings, bracelets, pins and many small beads, often identical to earlier discoveries. Most of the season's finds were made in the last two weeks of excavation; three of the four treasures were found on 11 November. A collection of seashells at prehistoric occupation levels was another substantial discovery.¹⁵⁵

The division of the artefacts found in 1878 did not go smoothly. In fact Schliemann once again clashed with the Ottoman authorities. The government demanded that the division take place at Istanbul under supervision of an official other than Kadri Bey. However, Schliemann insisted that Kadri Bey represent the government during the division, since he considered him 'civilized' and 'reasonable.' Schliemann also insisted that Hisarlık was the

150 IBA: MF.MKT. 58/59.

151 So far no record that may provide additional information on this subject has been found.

152 IBA: MF.MKT. 58/58: 04/Za/1295 (30/10/1878).

153 *Hayal*, 31 Ağustos 1290 (12 September 1874).

154 *Tercüman-ı Şark*, 111, 19/Ş/1878 (06/08/1878), quoted in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 299.

155 Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, (4), 85-87; Letter from Schliemann to John Murray, 12 November 1878, in Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 184-187.

appropriate place to divide the artefacts. In the end, Schliemann got his way. The Ottomans yielded to pressure from British ambassador Sir Austen Layard and the division took place at Hisarlık.¹⁵⁶ As to the supervision, the Ottomans remained insistent. Although Kadri Bey continued to supervise the division, he was only allowed to carry out his work in strict cooperation with Dardanelles province.

In response to Kadri Bey's report informing the authorities that Schliemann was about to complete the excavation season of 1878, the ministry sent a telegram on 9 November 1878, ordering Kadri Bey to supervise the division, but only in the presence of two officials appointed by the province.¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile the province was ordered to oversee the division.¹⁵⁸ Evidently, the idea of letting the division take place under the auspices of Kadri Bey – whose salary was paid by Schliemann – did not sit well with the authorities. They clearly had their doubts about his loyalty.

The telegram of 9 November also gave Kadri Bey guidelines for the division of the Trojan artefacts. He was to make a list of the artefacts with a description of the 'type and shape of all objects,' specifying those intended for Schliemann. The list was to be made out in triplicate and signed and sealed by Kadri Bey, the two officials as well as by Schliemann. These lists would be confirmed by the local authorities. Kadri Bey then had to send one copy of the list with the Ottoman share of the Trojan artefacts to Istanbul.

As to Schliemann's share of the Trojan finds, the artefacts would be forwarded to the customs house at Kal'a-i Sultaniye together with a copy of the list. The directive stipulated that Schliemann's share could only 'pass the customs after regular customs handling.' Moreover, Kadri Bey was instructed 'to write to all persons it may concern to be watchful that nothing else passes the customs than the objects declared on the list.'¹⁵⁹

Finally, the directive discussed finds made after the lists were completed: 'it is not permitted to exclude these objects, whatever they are, from the division.'¹⁶⁰ The ministry sent an additional warning to the customs house of Kal'a-i Sultaniye to keep a sharp eye on the objects that Schliemann wished to pass through the customs, urging them to check the objects against the lists and 'in the case of export of any object that is not on the list, the customs officers who allowed this would bear the responsibility.'

156 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 185; on Sir Austen Layard in the Ottoman Empire, see: Kurat, *Henry Layard'ın İstanbul Elçiliği*.

157 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/63: 13/Za/1295 (08/11/1878).

158 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/73: 20/Za/1295 (15/11/1878).

159 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/73: 20/Za/1295 (15/11/1878).

160 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/63: 13/Za/1295 (08/11/1878).

Furthermore, the customs house was ordered to pay equal attention to the objects sent to Istanbul.¹⁶¹

Finally, in late November 1878 the Imperial Museum received its share of the finds. Twelve boxes filled with Trojan artefacts arrived safely in Istanbul and were added to the museum collection.¹⁶² This collection already included the remaining Trojan artefacts from Schliemann's first excavation season and gold items discovered and stolen by Schliemann's workmen, some of which were confiscated by the Ottoman police in 1873.¹⁶³

Schliemann had been collecting potsherds ever since the excavations in Mycenae in 1876. In order to include Trojan pottery in his collection, Schliemann asked Münif Pasha for some fragments of Trojan pottery soon after the official division. However, Münif Pasha refused to give Schliemann the pottery, which was already included in the Imperial Museum's collection. He handled Schliemann's request with care and diplomacy. Despite the museum's close ties with the Ministry of Public Instruction, he maintained a certain distance and replied: 'As to your proposal that you be given the Trojan pottery fragments, [...] since these objects belong to the Museum and are not at my disposal, I regret that I can not give them to you.'¹⁶⁴

Excavations in 1879

Schliemann planned to resume his excavations on 1 March 1879.¹⁶⁵ To enhance his credibility, Schliemann invited well-known scholars to participate in the excavations at Hisarlık. He had become increasingly accepted by the intellectual world as his scholarly status rose. In September 1877, Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), a pathologist from the University of Berlin and founder of the German Society of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, had enabled Schliemann to become an honorary member of that society. This gave Schliemann admission to the German intellectual world. Virchow, who had long been a close friend, would join the excavations in 1879.

Schliemann needed intellectual backing to secure his status in the world of scientific archaeology. Involving scholars of international standing might

161 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/68: 17/Za/1295 (13/11/1878).

162 IBA: MF.MKT.: 58/89: 03/Z/1295 (28/11/1878).

163 Fellmann, 'Die Schliemann-Sammlung und der "Schatz des Priamos,"' 46-48.

164 'Quant à votre proposition de vous céder les fragments de la poterie troyenne [...], ne pouvant disposer des objets appartenant au Musée, je regrette de ne pouvoir vous les accorder.' Letter from Münif Pasha to Schliemann, 21 January 1879 (B 79/52).

165 Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, (4), 85-87.

certainly help.¹⁶⁶ He offered them a good salary, travelling expenses, food and lodging.¹⁶⁷ For his excavation in the spring of 1879, Schliemann was joined by experts such as Virchow and Émile-Louis Burnouf (1821-1907), the latter a leading nineteenth-century Orientalist. Burnouf researched the arrangement of the excavated dwellings and prepared maps and plans of the site. He also worked on his astronomical and geodetic studies. Virchow studied the geology of the Troad, 'particularly the development of the Trojan plain, the river courses, springs, people, animals and plants.' In addition, Virchow also worked as a medical doctor and treated local inhabitants of the Troad.¹⁶⁸ Schliemann had also invited Assyriologists François Lenormant (1837-1883) and Archibald Henry Sayce (1846-1933) to join him at Hisarlık although they did not accept his invitation.¹⁶⁹

Kadri Bey continued to supervise Schliemann's archaeological activities at Hisarlık. The Ministry of Public Instruction informed the local authorities of the Dardanelles of Schliemann's imminent arrival on 25 February 1879, and asked the province to assist and support Kadri Bey with his work on location.¹⁷⁰

In April 1879, Schliemann applied to excavate tombs in the vicinity of Hisarlık, outside the assigned space. Despite pressure from diplomats urged on by Schliemann,¹⁷¹ Münif Pasha took a firm stand and maintained that the terms of the Antiquities Law would be maintained. Since the tombs were situated on private land, Schliemann had to obtain permission from the owners. Münif Pasha strove to proceed correctly in this matter and refused resolutely to bend the law.¹⁷²

As Schliemann explained to Gladstone, while his 1879 excavations 'produced less gold-jewels (I found only two treasures),' they resulted in 'discoveries of the greatest possible importance.' And he emphasized the role played by his experts: '[discoveries] which I could not have made without the assistance of the famous professor Rudolf Virchow of Berlin and Émile

166 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 191.

167 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 186.

168 Virchow, 'Erinnerungen an Schliemann,' 299-300.

169 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 186.

170 IBA: MF.MKT. 60/43: 04/Ra/1296 (26/02/1879).

171 Schliemann asked the British diplomat Edward Malet (1837-1908), who maintained close ties with Sultan Abdülhamid II, to help obtain permission to excavate tombs at Hisarlık. Correspondence between Malet and Schliemann reveals considerable efforts undertaken by Malet to persuade Münif Pasha. See letters from Malet to Schliemann: 3 April 1879 (B 78/250) and 6 April 1879 (B 78/259).

172 Letter from Münif Pasha to Schliemann, 21 January 1879 (B 79/52); 17 February 1879 (B 79/140); 3 April 1879 (B 79/249); 5 April 1879 (B 79/255).

Burnouf of Paris.¹⁷³ As with his findings of 1878, Schliemann attributed the treasures of 1879 to the Homeric stratum (Troy II). Schliemann believed that he had confirmed the identification of Priam's Troy with the second stratum.

Indeed, this stratum was the main focus of the 1879 excavations; Schliemann uncovered a significant section, including a major part of the fortification wall.¹⁷⁴ By the end of this season, Schliemann believed his mission was accomplished and that he would 'stop forever excavating Troy.'¹⁷⁵

On 21 May 1879, the Ottoman authorities ordered the supervisor to send the artefacts that had been found to Istanbul. The museum was particularly interested in the 'precious pottery' from Hisarlık.¹⁷⁶ Schliemann, however, wanted to include the Trojan pottery fragments in his collection and asked Layard's support. He was convinced that if the potsherd went to the Archaeological Museum, they would be 'forever lost to science.'¹⁷⁷ Schliemann still portrayed the Archaeological Museum in a negative light. As he explained to Layard, 'The Turkish Museum is anything but public and [...] the Trojan jewels are of no value to science as long as they remain in the hands of the Turks.'¹⁷⁸

The Ottomans, again, yielded to the pressure of the British ambassador and the ministry decided that the pottery remains would be left at the site. The millstones were also left there. If Schliemann was interested in these, he could include them in his collection.¹⁷⁹

New Excavations for Troy in Store

Although Schliemann felt that his work at Hisarlık was complete, new doubts arose. Virchow began to express doubts regarding the accepted theories about the Troad's geological formation. His conclusions contradicted Schliemann's view, noting that 'this plain is an old fiord, which has been filled by river-deposit.' In his opinion, a branch of the sea had covered the plain in prehistoric times.¹⁸⁰ Schliemann began considering a new excavation.

173 Letter from Schliemann to Gladstone, 28 May 1879, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (48), 77-79.

174 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 191.

175 Letter from Schliemann to Gladstone, 28 May 1879, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (48), 77-79.

176 IBA: MF.MKT. 62/139: 29/30/Ca/1296 (22/05/1879).

177 Letter from Schliemann to Layard, 15 May 1879, quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 192.

178 Letter from Schliemann to Layard, 22 January 1879, quoted in Allen, 191.

179 IBA: MF.MKT. 62/139: 29/30/Ca/1296 (22/05/1879).

180 Schliemann, *Ilios*, 676; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 192.

At the same time Calvert was digging at Hanay Tepe, a mound a few miles south of Hisarlık. Schliemann funded the excavations, in exchange for half of the finds. No gold objects were found, or any artefacts of artistic value, just a number of skeletons. Schliemann planned to ship his share to the Berlin Museum and persuaded Calvert to do the same. Schliemann had already decided to donate his entire Trojan collection to Germany.¹⁸¹ On 17 July 1879, the Ministry of Public Instruction ordered the customs house at the Dardanelles to clear the eight boxes filled with artefacts that Schliemann was 'intending to send to the German museum.'¹⁸²

However, the shipment to Berlin proved complex. Presumably prompted by his fear of having to share the discoveries with the Ottomans, Schliemann interrupted Calvert's careful packing of the skulls and ordered them to be shipped immediately in July 1879. However, a conflict between Schliemann and the German consul prevented the shipment from taking place until the autumn. As a result, some skulls were broken.¹⁸³ Calvert's share of the Hanay Tepe artefacts was shipped to Germany late in 1879.¹⁸⁴

Meanwhile, Calvert continued excavating at Hanay Tepe, still sponsored by Schliemann. Despite a warning from the governor, who had 'new orders from Cple [Istanbul] to stop the work at Hanay Tepeh,' Calvert continued his excavations until mid-March 1880.¹⁸⁵ Schliemann, on the other hand, spent his time working on a new book, *Ilios*, published on 10 November 1880 in German, British and American editions. After the publication, Schliemann became increasingly doubtful concerning the size of the settlement that he connected with Homer's Troy. So Schliemann and Calvert planned an extensive archaeological survey at various sites in the Troad area. Calvert would carry out the excavations, funded by Schliemann. These excavations had to be clandestine, since Schliemann's permit had expired. As Calvert explained to Schliemann on 10 November 1880,

... *pioneer* work should be undertaken now with not more than six men in the necropolis of Ancient towns – this I can do without attracting attention – this method will save you much time – by the results the most likely localities can be selected as no share will be given to the govt., I

181 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 192; Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 156-159.

182 IBA: IMF.MKT. 69/116: 27/B/1296 (17/07/1879).

183 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 202, 341.

184 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 337.

185 Letter from Calvert to Virchow, 15 January 1880, partially quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 195; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 199.

propose the proceeds should be shared by us equally. I give my time and knowledge, you the funds.¹⁸⁶

Obtaining a permit for such a large-scale survey was no easy matter. All the landowners had to be contacted and persuaded to make arrangements with the archaeologists.¹⁸⁷ In fact the Ottoman authorities had already been alerted to Schliemann's extended excavations in February 1879: on 18 February 1879, the Ministry of Public Instruction ordered the province to inquire into Schliemann's activities. The ministry wished to know whether the excavated lands were the property of the state or private estates. The ministry also wondered, 'if these lands are possessed by private persons, do the landowners agree to the excavations, and are there any objections against performing excavations.'¹⁸⁸

Nevertheless, Schliemann and Calvert's clandestine campaign continued until the spring of 1882. On the Ottoman side, however, no documentation has been identified showing any knowledge of these illegal archaeological activities. Meanwhile, Schliemann, now an honorary citizen of Berlin,¹⁸⁹ was determined to get a firman that would give him the right to explore the Troad plain. This time he relied on German diplomatic support. He appealed to the German chancellor, Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), to support him in obtaining a liberal permit that would allow him 'to make, simultaneously with the exploration of Troy, excavations on any other site in the Troad' he might desire. Bismarck's intervention had the desired effect: in October 1881 he received a new firman to excavate at Hisarlık, and on the site of the lower town of Ilium. Within a couple of months, Bismarck had 'obtained' the liberal firman. He was now allowed to explore the Troad, but on condition that excavations were carried out at one site at one given time and were made in the presence of a Turkish overseer.¹⁹⁰

Yet the conditions would turn out to be more strained than expected. It soon became clear that the Turks were less than enthusiastic about this extensive foreign venture on their soil, especially since it concerned the Troad.

186 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 207-209; Letter from Frank Calvert to Schliemann, 10 November 1880, quoted in Allen, 208.

187 Schliemann wrote to Calvert that he would have to make arrangements with all the landowners on 9 December 1879: quoted in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 345.

188 IBA: MF.MKT. 60/8: 25/S/1296 (18/02/1879).

189 Schliemann received his honorary citizenship on 7 July 1881.

190 Schliemann, *Troja*, 5.

Figure 8 Priam's Treasure

Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Figure 9 Michael Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*

Source: Topkapı Palace Museum, G.I.3

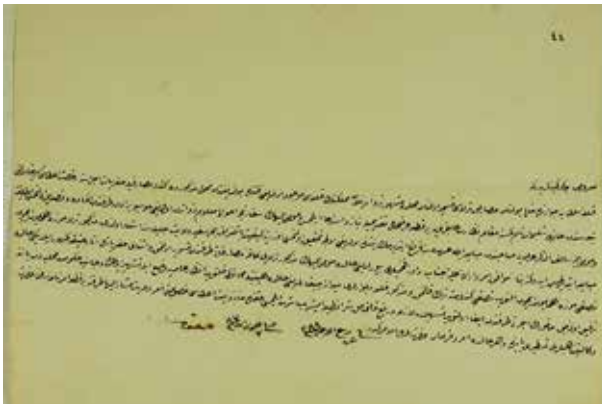
Michael Kritovoulos (c. 1410-c. 1470) dedicated his *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II. It describes the rise of the Ottoman Empire between 1465 and 1467 and includes a report on Mehmed II's visit to Troy in 1462.

Figure 10 Heinrich Schliemann, painted by Sydney Hodges, 1877



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Figure 11 Schliemann's permit in the Ottoman Archives division of the Prime Minister's Office at Istanbul



Source: Schliemann's permit, part 1, in IBA: I.HR. 250/14863-1: 01/R/1288 (20/06/1871)
Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

On 20 June 1871 Safvet Pasha, minister of public instruction, wrote to Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha concerning Schliemann's request to excavate at Hisarlık. Safvet Pasha emphasizes the importance of the discovery of Troy's walls, but was also wary of Schliemann. Before the official permit is granted, Safvet Pasha purchases the site on behalf of the Imperial Museum.

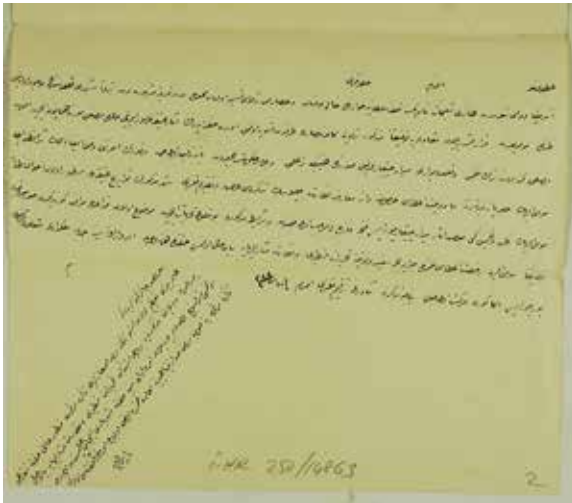
Figure 12 Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha, representing the Ottoman government at the Conference of Paris in 1856



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (1815-1871), Ottoman linguist, diplomat and leading politician of the Tanzimat period, was one of Schliemann's Ottoman counterparts. Here representing the Ottoman government at the Conference of Paris in 1856 which brought the Crimean War to an end.

Figure 13 Letter from Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha to the palace secretary of Sultan Abdülaziz



Source: IBA: I.HR. 250/14863 (2): 10 and 11/R/1288 (29 and 30 June 1871)

Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

Letter from Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha to the palace secretary of Sultan Abdülaziz (1830-1876) about Schliemann's request to excavate at Hisarlık. In this letter the grand vizier emphasizes the significance of the quest for Troy. He envisages major advantages to scholarship and the understanding of human development from the excavations and the possible discovery of city walls and artefacts. He then lays down conditions for the excavation, which are ratified by the palace secretary through royal decree (below left).

Figure 14 Report by Izzeddin Efendi on Schliemann's attempts to smuggle objects past Ottoman customs



Source: Ottoman Archives division of the Prime Minister's Office at Istanbul (IBA): MF.MKT.18/147: 09/C/1291 (24/07/1874)

Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

The Prime Ministry launched inquiries into Schliemann's operations in the Troad and the smuggling of Priam's Treasure. This report by the Ottoman official Izzeddin Efendi of 24 July 1874 provides detailed information about the smuggling of the objects from Troy. Schliemann worked strategically and efficiently. According to Izzeddin Efendi, Schliemann put the gold jewellery in a box and the small pieces in his own and his family's pockets and smuggled the objects to Athens in alliance with the Greek shipper Andrea. The report highlights Schliemann's Ottoman helpers and henchmen, among them Ottoman custom officers who allowed Schliemann to pass without searching or inspecting him.

Figure 15 Letter from the minister of public instruction

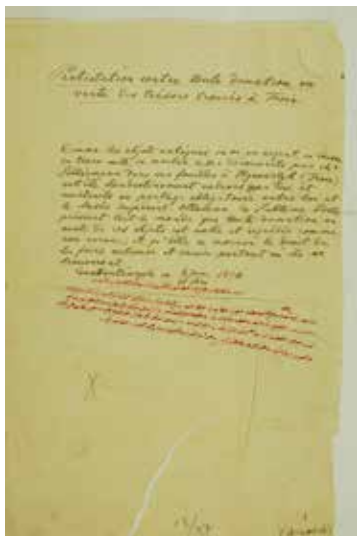


Source: Ottoman Archives division of the Prime Minister's Office at Istanbul (IBA): MF.MKT.18/97: 23/R/1291 (09/06/1874)

Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

According to the minister of public instruction, in a letter to the grand vizier, Schliemann was unreliable and had serious plans to sell the artefacts to others. Moreover, the American Embassy was unwilling to put pressure on Schliemann to cooperate with the Ottoman government. The minister emphasizes the need to publicize Schliemann's illegal activities by alerting the international press.

Figure 16 Draft of an Ottoman letter of protest, 6 June 1874



Source: Ottoman Archives division of the Prime Minister's Office at Istanbul (IBA): MF.MKT.18/97: 23/R/1291 (09/06/1874)

Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

Draft of the Ottoman letter of protest against a donation or sale of the Trojan treasuries by Schliemann, written on 6 June 1874.

Figure 17 Cartoon published in the satirical magazine *Hayal*, 12 September 1874



Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

Cartoon published in the satirical magazine *Hayal*, 12 September 1874 (31 Ağustos 1290).
Mrs Schliemann: 'You promised these to the Ottomans, and these to the Greeks. Now you tell me that you're promising these to the American ambassador. What will remain for us?'
Schliemann: 'Everything!'

Figures 18 and 19 Employees of the Imperial Museum in front of the Alexander Sarcophagus and the museum entrance in the late nineteenth century



Source: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*

II Classical Antiquities and Ottoman Patrimony

The Muslim Elite and Their Involvement with Classical Civilization

Despite the massive internal and external political, social and economic problems that the Ottoman Empire faced in the 1870s, the government still strove to maintain a grip on Schliemann's excavations. The Ottoman authorities refused to give him a free hand and kept tight control on Troy. By imposing strict terms on excavations and demanding prior rights to any Trojan artefacts found, they tried to strengthen and maintain their position in line with Ottoman ideas and aspirations regarding antiquities, museums and archaeology.

Aware of the value of antiquities and concerned for the preservation of Classical heritage, the Ottomans were increasingly keen to collect artefacts themselves. This led to an accelerated development of the Imperial Museum, so that Schliemann's next archaeological venture in 1882 occurred in a period in which the Ottoman Empire had entered a new phase of museology and archaeology.

The appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) as director in 1881 represented a decisive change for the Imperial Museum. For the first time a native-born Ottoman Turk held sway over the collection of the Imperial Museum. Indeed, it was mainly through Osman Hamdi's efforts that the Ottoman Turks became increasingly involved in archaeological excavations based on scientific method, and that the museum developed from a small collection into an institution with empire-wide ambitions.¹

1 Antiquities and Museum: Interests and Conflicts

As the Imperial Museum collection expanded, the confined space of the artillery depot was no longer sufficient to contain the Ottoman collection of antiquities. By the mid-1870s, a new and larger museum was needed. The prestigious Tiled Pavilion – built in 1478 under Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, the first building at Topkapı Palace – was selected as the new

1 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 92-98; Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış*, 1-4.

location for the antiquities collection, and soon work began on transforming this into a European-style museum. The early Ottoman architecture of the pavilion was adapted to make it look more like the neoclassical museums of the West (Fig. 20).²

A major effort was made to restore the Tiled Pavilion and transfer the collection in a responsible manner. A museum committee was established in 1877.³ This was charged with overseeing ‘the completion of the repairs to the Tiled Pavilion that [was] 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.’⁴ As its mandate shows, the museum was to be a place for public presentations, its mission being to organize antiquities and to attract visitors. Turkish-American art historian Wendy M.K. Shaw explains that even though ‘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.’⁵

Official correspondence reveals an understanding in Ottoman circles of the important role the museum played in defining the modern state. For the authorities the museum was ‘an essential institution of a civilized nation,’ ‘a school’ and moreover ‘the first place to visit for foreign dignitaries and travellers.’ From the correspondence it is clear that ‘it was the presence of the Imperial Museum that rendered the archaeological remains in the Empire a part of the Ottoman state’s cultural property, or, in the Ottoman bureaucratic vernacular, “the valuable produce of the [Ottoman] land of plenty.”’⁶

The opening of the new museum on 16 August 1880 was well attended. Grand Vizier Cenani Mehmed Kadri Pasha (1832-1884) appeared, and the minister of public instruction, Mehmet Tahir Münif Pasha (1828-1910), delivered the opening address. As well as being a prominent Ottoman

2 Shaw, ‘From Mausoleum to Museum,’ 430; Shaw, ‘Museums and Narratives of Display,’ 257; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 92.

3 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 251.

4 Su, *Osman Hamdi Bey’e Kadar Türk Müzesi*, 60-62; Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 251; English version in Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 92.

5 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 92-94.

6 IBA, 2348; (Dahiliye), 41355; (Sura-yi Devlet), 547; (Meclis-i Vala), 24685, in Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,’ 204n17.

statesman and reformer, Münif Pasha was a leading member of the literary and philosophical scene and a major figure in the nineteenth-century Turkish-Ottoman Enlightenment Movement.⁷ The salons in his mansion were instrumental in introducing Western ideas into the Empire.⁸

Münif Pasha's speech offers an insight into the way the ruling intellectual elite viewed museums, archaeology and antiquities. He noted that since museums presented 'the level of civilization of past peoples and their step-by-step progress, [...] from this, many historical, scientific and artistic benefits' could be obtained. He emphasized the Ottoman interest in antiquities and voiced his concern about the European exclusion of the Ottomans from Classical heritage: '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.'⁹

The Ottoman Empire and Europe: Conflicting Interests and Views

Münif Pasha's speech shows how the Ottomans viewed museums as symbols of progress.¹⁰ The Empire was attempting to balance modernity with heritage. The Ottoman claim to antiquities linked them to a cultural heritage they 'shared with Europe, thereby emphasizing the Empire's modernity.'¹¹ The speech reflects a desire to present Ottoman progress to Europe and to persuade Europeans to respect them as equals and as participants in a contemporary culture of which collecting artefacts was a part. So it was not Byzantine or Islamic heritage that took centre stage in the Tiled Pavilion, but Classical civilization, 'a shared patrimony for all European culture.' The display of the antiquities collection served as a symbol of the Tanzimat.¹²

7 Mermutlu, 'Multi-Perception of the Enlightenment Thinking in Nineteenth Century Turkey'. For biographical accounts, see: Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*, 1347-1473; Duran, 'Mehmet Tahir Münif Paşa, Hayatı, Felsefesi'; Budak, *Münif Paşa*.

8 Fuad, 'Münif Paşa'; Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 233; for bibliographical information on Münif Paşa, see: Budak, *Münif Paşa*.

9 *Vakit*, 11 Ramazan 1297 (17 August 1880); quoted in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 41; English translation in Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 93-97.

10 Pictures of several museums in photography albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II illustrate this notion. Apart from the artefacts and the public, these photographs emphasized 'the institution itself as a marker of progress,' in Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 144.

11 Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Essays*.

12 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 95, 156.

The cultural aspirations of the contemporary ruling elite focused primarily on presenting the Ottoman Empire as a modern state which valued and preserved its non-Islamic cultural legacy.¹³ Yet the Ottoman claim to antiquities was a complex issue. Münif Pasha complained that Europe treated the Empire unfairly, especially compared to its treatment of Greece. 'Today,' he said, 'if the Europeans spend vast sums to excavate in Greece, the finds are not taken to their countries but remain in Athens.'¹⁴ He believed the Ottoman government should follow a similar policy, which meant that Europe should respect the Ottomans as heirs to the cultures whose physical remains they collected. However, as Shaw aptly suggests, 'Ancient Greek heritage, underlying much of the Ottoman territories, had already been appropriated by Europe and incorporated into the nationalist patrimony of modern Greece.' Considering themselves the legitimate inheritors of Ancient Greece, European nations believed that their role was to protect this heritage against the 'barbarian' inhabitants of these regions in the East – the former rulers of Greece – who could not have any historical relationship to Ancient sites and antiquities.¹⁵

Yet the Ottomans ruled over Eastern Europe, Anatolia and Arab territories as they had been doing over the last few centuries and these provincial areas had always acknowledged the Ottoman state and the fundamental legitimacy of their rule. Although there had been uprisings, the rebellious peoples had never sought to leave the Empire. Since the sultan's position was beyond challenge, the Ottomans did not feel the need to justify their role as rulers or to claim the lands they had controlled for centuries. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, an economically, technically and

13 Ersoy, 'A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,' 187-207, 188, 190.

14 Greece was one of the first countries in Europe to place its cultural heritage in a legal framework. The Greek antiquities law of 1834 – drafted by the German legal historian Georg Ludwig von Maurer and the architect Anton Weissenburg – forbade the export of antiquities. The law stated that 'all antiquities within Greece, being works of the ancestors of the Greek peoples, are considered national property belonging to all the Greeks in general' (Article 61). It also stated that 'all ruins remaining on or underneath national land, on the bottom of the sea, rivers or public streams, lakes or swamps, or other archaeological artefacts, of any name, are the property of the State' (Article 62). However, 'those on private land or underneath, in walls or under ruins or lying in any other way, discovered after the existence of this law, half belong to the state' (Article 64). The Ottoman antiquities law of 1874, encouraged by Schliemann's illegal actions of 1873 (see Chapter 1 above), was mainly ignored and did not stop large-scale illegal expropriation of antiquities found in the Empire. For information on Greek legislation concerning antiquities, see: Petrakos, 'Ta Prota Chronia Tis Ellinikis Archaeologies'; Petrakos, *Dokimio Gia tin Archaialogiki Nomothesia*; and Sakellariadi, 'Archaeology and Museums in the Nation Building Process in Greece.'

15 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 93-96, 103.

militarily weakened Ottoman Empire faced a series of revolts by subject peoples who were inspired by the emerging nationalism and supported by the newly emerging nation-states of Western Europe.¹⁶ These nationalist movements among subject peoples of the Empire saw the Ottomans as ‘an imperial power that had imposed its governance on preceding peoples, usurping the land and the antiquities beneath.’ As these separatist ideas emerged, the local nationalists formed romantic visions of their historical past, which also involved laying an ideological claim to archaeological sites within their territories. In this new vision, Ottoman rule represented an ‘occupation’ of their land.¹⁷

Europe’s sense of moral superiority legitimized the export of antiquities from Ottoman lands and political intervention in local affairs.¹⁸ Indeed, the activities of European archaeologists justified European claims on Ottoman territories. By discovering the Ancient ‘heritage of Ottoman territories and including these artefacts in museums that used them to write European narratives of progress, they made the Ottoman claim to the Empire’s territories appear spurious.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the European desire to possess antiquities from Ottoman territories encouraged the Ottoman appropriation of Classical Antiquity. Collecting antiquities and ‘uniting them in the hierarchical, orderly world’ of their museum expressed the legitimate foundation of Ottoman rule over their empire while Europeans were ‘eagerly collecting trophies from recent colonial conquests.’²⁰

Gradually the Ottomans became engaged in a struggle to incorporate the region’s past into their imperial identity. Finding an appropriate imperial image to balance modernity with heritage was therefore a high priority.²¹ As the nation-states of the West had done, the Ottoman ruling elite reformulated the imperial Ottoman ‘dynastic history along nationalist lines,’ and made a point ‘to situate and secure this history’ within ‘a universal history of civilization as it was defined by the West.’²²

16 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 55.

17 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 105-108; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 26.

18 Bahrani, ‘Untold Tales of Mesopotamian Discovery,’ 126; and Toliai, “An Inconsiderate Love of the Arts,” 71-73.

19 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 105-108.

20 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 149.

21 Çelik, ‘Defining Empire’s Patrimony,’ in *Scramble for the Past*.

22 Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,’ 188, 190. For the nineteenth-century European tradition of linking Classical Antiquity with European civilization, see among others: Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*.

Inclusion or Exclusion

This Ottoman appropriation of Classical civilization took place at a time when European anti-Turkish sentiments were reaching new heights.²³ Rooted in a highly romanticized Hellenism, Europeans rejected the Ottoman part in their universal history of civilization. Meanwhile, by embracing the multiple layers of history in their empire, the Ottomans denied this cultural distance from Europe and so undermined these European assumptions.²⁴

This desire to be part of the narrative of civilization was clearly expressed in the Ottoman presentation at the Vienna International Exhibition in 1873 and in the accompanying scholarly publications: *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*; *L'Architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873), *Elbise-i Osmaniyye*; *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie* (Istanbul, 1873), and *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel* (Vienna, 1873).

These publications were supplements to the ethnographic, architectural and archaeological exhibits in the Ottoman presentation. The archaeological exhibits in particular, 'reflected an emerging concern in the Empire not only to view and present the antiquities through a historical depth of field that was shared with the West, but also to possess and protect them as an integral part of imperial property.'²⁵

The exclusion of the Ottomans from the European version of the Classical narrative frustrated many Ottoman Muslim intellectuals such as Münif Pasha, who had been greatly inspired by Ancient culture. Münif Pasha had an impressive scholarly record. His correspondence with Heinrich Schliemann reveals an erudite and sophisticated bureaucrat with a deep passion for archaeology and antiquities.²⁶ He appreciated the archaeological research at Troy, for instance, and recognized its exceptional importance for archaeology and for the Imperial Museum in particular, as he wrote to Schliemann: 'Indeed, the entire scholarly world recognizes the enormous value of your work, the results of which are of undeniable significance to archaeology. The ministry shares this view and expresses its thanks and appreciation for your successful completion of the archaeological investigation

23 Özdoğan, 'Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey,' 112.

24 Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Scramble for the Past*, 447.

25 Ersoy, 'A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,' 190.

26 See Münif Pasha's letters to Schliemann in the Schliemann Archive at Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens: Letters received by Schliemann (B) include: 21 October 1878 (B 78/574); 21 January 1879, (B 79/52); 17 February 1879 (B 79/140); 3 April 1879 (B 79/249); 20 June 1879 (B 80/432).

at the ancient city of Troy for the benefit of scholarship in general and our museum in particular.²⁷

Ottoman versus Greek Claims

Ottoman exclusion from Ancient heritage and contemporary Greek nationalist claims to be its sole proprietor placed Ottoman intellectuals in an undeniably complex position. This is illustrated in the writings of Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844-1912), an immensely popular Ottoman writer and publisher in his day, fluent in French, Persian, Arabic and Ottoman Turkish and probably also Greek.

Midhat Efendi felt it essential to distinguish clearly between the Greeks of his own day and Ancient Greeks. He praised the Ancient Greeks, wrote articles on Greek philosophers and adopted Aesop's fables in his novels, such as *Kissadan Hisse* (From tale to moral) in 1870.²⁸ However, in his 'History of Greece' (1882), inspired by the then controversial ideas of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) regarding the origins of the Greeks,²⁹ Midhat Efendi maintained that the inhabitants of modern Greece were of mixed origins, and had nothing in common with the Ancient Greeks.

He criticized modern Greek chauvinism, complaining 'the fact that in language of sciences and art many terms are adopted from Ancient Greek makes them even more arrogant. Such a degree of fanaticism makes one speechless. But in comparison with the books on sciences which exist today in Europe, it is fair to say that the libraries of the modern Greeks are quite empty. If the Greeks therefore persist in their fanaticism, they shall certainly not progress beyond their present level.'³⁰ This distinction between contemporary Greeks and Ancient Greeks made the exclusive Greek claim to Classical heritage appear spurious.

27 'En effet tout le monde savant ne peut [t] que reconnaître la grande utilité de vos travaux, dont le résultat est d'une importance incontestable pour la science archéologique. Le ministère partageant ces appréciations se fait un devoir de vous exprimer ses remerciements et sa pleine satisfaction de ce que vous avez mené à bonne fin les recherches archéologiques dans l'ancienne [sic] ville de Troie, pour le bien de la science en général et de notre Musée en particulier.' Letter from Münif Pasha to Schliemann, 20 June 1879 (B 80/432).

28 A Turkish version of Aesop's fables became available in Cyrillic script in 1851, see: Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?,' 49.

29 Fallmerayer in his 'Vorrede' to the *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*; see also: Leeb, *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer*; and Veloudis, 'Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer.'

30 *Kainat Kütübhane-i tarih* 1/14, 'Yunanistan' (Istanbul, 1298/1882), translated into English by Johann Strauss in 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 58-62.

2 Zeal for Civilization: Enlightened Ideas and Ideals in the Empire

It is hardly surprising that the cosmopolitan, well-educated Muslim subjects of the Empire felt aggrieved that their connection with antiquities which they perceived as the 'valuable produce' of their lands was being denied.³¹ For the Tanzimat, *sivilizasyon* and *sivilize* were essential principles. The powerful pro-Western statesman Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1800-1858), a key initiator and supporter of Tanzimat reforms, was convinced that 'the salvation' of the Empire lay in 'the way of civilization.'³²

Westernization and Tanzimat modernization gave a new prominence to the connection with Ancient Greece, the study of Greek literature and civilization. Ottoman Muslims began increasingly to focus on the intellectual heritage of the Ancient world. Greek philosophy and culture gained a new status, while Greek language and civilization began to occupy a more prominent place in Ottoman Turkish intellectual life.³³

Ancient history and civilization became popular among the Muslim elite. Münif Pasha's biographies of Ancient philosophers³⁴ written in the 1860s, for instance, were widely read by Muslim intellectuals at the time.³⁵

Münif Pasha's earlier work *Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye*, a translation of *Philosophical Dialogues*, a selection of dialogues by a variety of eighteenth-century French writers, such as Voltaire (*Dialogues et Entretiens Philosophiques*), Fénelon (*Dialogues*) and Fontenelle (*Dialogue des Morts*), was also successful.³⁶ In *Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye* Münif Pasha introduced the dialogue as a literary genre in which 'the Ancient Greeks had composed many famous works.'³⁷

31 IBA (Meclis-i Mahsus), 2348; (Dahiliye), 41355; (Sura-yi Devlet), 547; (Meclis-i Vala), 24685, in Ersoy, 'A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,' 204n17.

32 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 116; Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 48.

33 Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 47-49, 67.

34 Published under the title 'History of Greek Philosophers' in the periodical *Mecmua-i Fünun*, nos. 13 to 45; see Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 221; and Mermutlu, 'Multi-Perception of the Enlightenment Thinking in Nineteenth Century Turkey,' 177. Münif Pasha also published translations of Voltaire and Bossuet in periodicals *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis* and *Mecmua-i Fünun*. He also noted and partly translated works by Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, Fénelon, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Racine, Volney, Buffon, Fontenelle and Bossuet; see: Budak, *Münif Paşa*, 289, 362-368, 397.

35 Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 217-219.

36 Münif Efendi, *Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye*.

37 Münif Efendi, *Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye*, preface.

Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye is generally considered the first translation of Western literature into Ottoman Turkish and instrumental in introducing the Ottomans to the 'basic creeds of European Enlightenment' in Turkish. The chosen dialogues addressed themes such as change, enlightened absolutism advanced by philosophers, patriotism, religious tolerance, philosophical rationalism, freedom of speech, the benefits of education of women and hard work as opposed to passivity. These eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideas about society suited the later progressive Tanzimat environment of the Ottoman Empire. Since Ottoman reformers and the intellectual elite of the nineteenth century believed that the salvation of the Empire lay in modernization and reform, change was the central theme of the Tanzimat.³⁸

An institution which played a central role in the development of Ottoman intellectual activity was the Ottoman Scientific Society (Cemiyet-i İlmiye-yi Osmaniye), founded by Münif Pasha in 1860. The society's deliberately secular government-subsidized programme³⁹ – it admitted non-Muslims if they could speak Turkish, Arabic or Persian and knew at least one Western language (French, English, German, Italian or Modern Greek) – promoted scientific study by publishing books and organizing translations. The society provided teaching materials for a proposed university as well as sponsoring public lectures in natural science, geology, history and economics.⁴⁰

Possibly an even more effective instrument for the spread of Western scientific thought and enlightened ideas in the Empire was the society's journal, *Mecmua-i Fünun* (Journal of sciences), also founded by Münif Pasha. This was the first Turkish scientific journal in the Empire to offer a wide range of translations and original writing. Published between 1862 and 1867, *Mecmua-i Fünun* introduced popularized European science to the Empire and 'exerted a lasting influence on the generation that saw its first appearance.'⁴¹

38 Tanilli, 'Batı'dan Yapılan İlk Edebi Çeviri'; Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 234-239.

39 Religion and politics were excluded; see the first issue of *Mecmua-i Fünun*, July 1862 (Muharrem 1279), 2-13.

40 The society offered a reading room, access to European newspapers, a library of 600 volumes and free instruction in French, English and Western jurisprudence. See: Belin, 'De l'Instruction Publique,' 230, in Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 238.

41 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 238-241; Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 94; Baker and Saldanha, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 577; Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 219-221.

In this respect, it may be relevant to note that since the 1850s French had become the lingua franca in which educated speakers from the Empire's different linguistic communities communicated. Knowledge of Greek was also quite common in the Empire, particularly among non-Muslim Ottomans – although, the Muslim community was also accustomed to spoken Greek. Johann Strauss, an expert on Ottoman-Turkish history, emphasizes that a large number of Tanzimat intellectuals are thought to have known at least some Greek.⁴²

In the course of time, Greek became a kind of semi-official language. The official gazette of the Empire and several provincial newspapers, including that of Dardanelles province, appeared in both Greek and Ottoman Turkish in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴³ Indeed, the Greek letter from the governor of the Dardanelles, Mustafa Pasha, to Schliemann in 1882 confirms that Greek was not unknown to Ottoman officials. It shows that formal communication also took place in Greek.⁴⁴ Münif Pasha had presumably mastered Greek as well as French, German and English. In fact, his unpublished work 'Greek Words in Turkish, Arabic and Persian' demonstrates a profound interest in Greek.⁴⁵

Significantly, Münif Pasha's academic accomplishments were not the exception. In the nineteenth century many of the Empire's bureaucrats had impressive literary and scientific reputations and played a vital role in the intellectual scene of the Empire. Ahmed Cevded Pasha (1823-1895), for example, besides being minister of justice, was also an eminent historian and sociologist. He played a major part in drawing up the Empire's civil code (Mecelle). Similarly, a leading intellectual of the day, Ahmet Vefik Pasha (1823-1891), held top positions in the Ottoman political world, including the grand vizierate, minister of public instruction, and ambassador to Tehran and Paris. He translated plays by Molière, produced theatrical plays in the Western tradition and pioneered the first Western-style Ottoman theatre.⁴⁶ He was in close contact with Istanbul's Greek scene and was familiar with

42 Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?'; Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 212; Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 47.

43 Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 230.

44 Letter from Mustafa Pasha to Schliemann, 8 July 1882, Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, (BBB 431/89).

45 '*Türk, Arab ve Fârs dillerinde mevcud lûgaat-ı yunanîyye.*' See: Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 240, in Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 53.

46 For biographical information, see: Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar* 651-739; Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 67, 209-211, 249, 261; Yıldız, 'Adaptasyon Meselesi.'

the Greek language. His versions of Molière's plays included many Greek words and in his Ottoman Turkish dictionary *Lehçe-i Osmani* (1879) he noted the Greek origins of Turkish words and specified these systematically.⁴⁷ In his historical and geographical works, however, he emphasized pure Turkish and Turkism. He is considered one of the founding fathers of the Pan-Turkish movement.⁴⁸

Terceme-i Telemak

Another example of a work by a civil servant with a scholarly reputation is the translation of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* into Ottoman Turkish by the prominent statesman and grand vizier (in 1863) Yusuf Kamil Pasha (1808-1876).⁴⁹ *Les Aventures de Télémaque* – based on the *Odyssey* – is a mythical account of the travels of Telemachus, son of Odysseus. Francois Fénelon (1651-1715) wrote this didactic work with moral advice for King Louis XIV's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, in preparation for his accession. The first translation of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* into Ottoman Turkish was completed in 1859, although it was only printed three years later in 1862. In the period between its completion and its publication, *Terceme-i Telemak* formed an integral part of the reading material of the capital's artistic and intellectual scene, circulating in manuscript form in Ottoman salons. These private literary and philosophical conversation groups would gather in the *yalus* (Bosporus waterfront mansions) of the cultural and political elite.⁵⁰

Terceme-i Telemak was a huge success. The work was reprinted six months after its first publication in 1862, and again in 1867 and 1870.⁵¹ A second translation by another distinguished figure in the political and cultural arena, Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-1891), completed in 1869 and published in 1880, was also popular and was reprinted more than once.⁵²

The mythical story of the young prince Telemachus searching for his father – stirred by the love of his country and guided by his instructor Mentor who condemned war, luxury and egotism while emphasizing loyalty and brotherhood – was read in Ottoman schools and used in high school to teach prose

47 Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 51.

48 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 67, 209-211, 249, 261; Yıldız, 'Adaptasyon Meselesi,' 638-659.

49 Kamil, *Terceme-i Telemak*, published in 1862. A second edition was published a year later. For biographical information, see: Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*, 196-529.

50 On the reception received by of *Terceme-i Telemak*, see: Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 241-245; on the salons in Istanbul, see: 229-232.

51 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 177; Paker, 'Turkey,' 21.

52 Akün, 'Ahmed Vefik Paşa,' 154-155; Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 178.

composition.⁵³ It was on a par with the Ottoman classic ‘Princes’ Mirrors,’ including *Siyasetnâme* of the Selçuk vizier Nizam ül-Mülk (1092), the *Kutadgu Bilig* (1070) and the *Kabus Nâme* (1082).⁵⁴ Moreover, the Platonic ideals in *Télémaque* also reflected ideas in Islamic political treatises, and were easily understood by Ottoman readers.⁵⁵ As a novel, *Télémaque* was new. Ideals and ideas about the monarch and society were quickly imbibed in this form, which made the work especially popular in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In *Télémaque* the king was shown to be subject to the laws of the land and responsible for the happiness of its citizens. The work implicitly criticized absolute monarchy and defended the right of subjects, at least the elite, to participate in politics. Moreover, the author argued that parliaments were an essential aspect of monarchic government and protested against corruption and the expanded bureaucracy of Louis XIV. These enlightened ideas and subtle disapproval of the ruling system appealed to the critical younger generation of the Tanzimat: the Young Ottomans.

Young Ottomans

Ibrahim Şinasi Efendi (1826-1871), an Ottoman poet and journalist and prominent member of the Young Ottoman movement, considered *Télémaque* a superior work. He stated: ‘While on the surface, the work of the famous French author, Fénelon, entitled the *Adventures of Télémaque*, conveys the impression of being a romance, its true meaning is in the nature of a philosophical law which includes all the arts of government that have as purpose the fulfilment of justice and happiness for the individual.’ Indeed, *Télémaque* was influential in shaping the ideas of the Young Ottoman movement, which spearheaded political protest and became increasingly important in the years 1867 to 1878.⁵⁶

The Young Ottomans came from a generation that emerged after the reform ideals of the Tanzimat had already been translated into policies. Thanks to the efforts of the early Tanzimat reformers, the Young Ottomans grew up in a climate in which knowledge of Western society, civilization and languages was officially encouraged and enabled. However, this critical second ‘generation nurtured in the ways of the West,’ came to oppose the first-generation Tanzimat reformers, who were ‘quite blunt and merciless

53 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 177-179.

54 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 97; see also: Von Grünebaum, *Medieval Islam*; Alberts, ‘Der Dichter des Uigurisch-Turkischem Dialekt’; Prince Gurgan, *A Mirror for Princes*.

55 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 81, 242.

56 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 241-245.

in enforcing the political, social, and intellectual Westernization' of the Ottoman Empire. For the first time Ottoman society had an intelligentsia that criticized the government using the mass media. Young Ottomans accused Tanzimat statesmen and the new 'upper class' of adopting 'the most superficial parts of European culture' such as theatres, galas and liberal ideas about women.⁵⁷

Central themes of the new ideology were constitutional monarchy and Ottoman nationalism.⁵⁸ While adherents searched for a synthesis between Islam and enlightened European ideas and political systems, the movement was actually a product of the modernization of the Ottoman society, and at the same time a result of the Empire's instability and the interference of European powers in Ottoman affairs. All this gave rise to a powerful sense of patriotism among the intellectuals of the Young Ottoman movement. The Young Ottomans wanted 'reform for Ottomans, by Ottomans, and along Islamic lines.'⁵⁹

To get a better understanding of the way enlightened or so-called Western ideas were absorbed into Ottoman culture and the internal dynamics of intellectual life in the late Ottoman Empire, it is useful to sketch the innovations achieved by the Tanzimat, their underlying motives and the channels through which Western ideas entered Ottoman society.

European World of Ideas in the Empire

Interaction between European and Ottoman art and culture was not new. As art historian Günsel Renda notes, these cultures 'met in different geographies under different conditions and through the centuries the rulers and art patrons as much as the political, diplomatic and trade relations had a great role in the cultural exchange.' Cultural contact enhanced artistic and technical development in both directions.⁶⁰

Turquerie, a Western fashion inspired by Ottoman culture, emerged in Europe in the sixteenth century and continued to be popular in the nineteenth century. The style influenced European painting, literature, architecture and music, in particular opera. Famous operas on Turkish themes include Reinhard Keiser's *Mahomet II* (1693), Handel's *Tamerlano* (1724) and Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782).⁶¹

57 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 3-22, 114-116.

58 Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 164.

59 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 3-22.

60 Renda, 'Europe and the Ottomans'; Renda, 'The Ottoman Empire and Europe.'

61 Meyer, 'Turquerie and Eighteenth-Century Music'; for Turquerie, see also: Ribeiro, 'Turquerie'; Poulet et al., 'Turquerie,' 229; Theunissen, Abelman and Meulenkamp, *Topkapien Turkomanie*;

It was in the nineteenth century that European culture began to make a significant impact in the Ottoman Empire as a new mutual interest developed and European culture and art began to inspire the Ottomans. Ottoman-European cultural contact brought rich content to European and Ottoman art and culture alike. Examples of this interaction in the arts include work by Ottoman diplomat, art collector and patron Halil (Khalil) Bey (1831-1879). While in Paris in the mid-1860s, Halil Bey acquired work by major artists such as Ingres, Eugène Delacroix, Rousseau, Corot, Troyon and Daubigny for his art collection, and is even thought to have commissioned Gustave Courbet's *Les Dormeuses* and *L'Origine du Monde*.⁶²

Through their study of foreign languages the Ottoman political and cultural elite expanded knowledge in fields such as philosophy, mythology, literature, science, history and historiography.⁶³ As early as 1829, Ottoman students were already being sent to Paris for their education. These young men, including Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, father of Osman Hamdi Bey, brought back new ideas to the Empire. More students soon followed. In 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1838 several groups of students were sent to London, Paris and Vienna. As graduates of European schools, they returned to their country and took up teaching posts in the newly formed Military Academy. In addition to students being sent to Europe, the Academy also employed Western instructors to train pupils. In 1855, an Ottoman school was established in Paris to prepare Ottoman military students for exams at schools such as the *École Polytechnique*, the *École des Mines* and the *École Spéciale Militaire de Saint-Cyr*. In 1846, 1850, 1854 and 1855, civil service trainees were also sent to Europe for education. These 'early contacts of the army with the European world of ideas,' as Mardin states, 'had already created a self-sustaining cultural effervescence by the 1870s.'⁶⁴

The Translation Office of the Sublime Porte (1821) is considered the true 'nursery of Westernizing civil officials and writers.'⁶⁵ Its establishment, and the founding of a Translation Office of the Imperial Artillery (1834), addressed the need for more and better translators as contact between the Empire and the West intensified in the early nineteenth century. There was a perceived need to train Muslim subjects in foreign languages based on a strong Ottoman suspicion of Greek interpreters and their possible

for the role of the Orient in opera and its connection with Classical heritage, Europe versus Asia, East versus West, see: Bruls, *Ontvoering*.

62 Haskell, 'A Turk and His Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Paris.'

63 Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 47.

64 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 213-215.

65 Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 158.

disloyalty to the government following the Greek Revolution. By the 1840s, the translation offices had developed into the principal training facilities for young men entering governmental service. In fact, generations of statesmen, from ministers to grand viziers, were trained and launched their careers as graduates of these offices. Older generations, moreover, encouraged and supported young men to increase their knowledge of foreign languages.⁶⁶

As Lewis rightly notes, by then French in particular had become 'the talisman that made the clerk a translator, the translator an interpreter, the interpreter a diplomat, and the diplomat a statesman.' After all, the Ottomans faced 'an aggressive and expanding Europe.' As a consequence 'the positions of trust and decision inevitably went to those who knew something of Europe, its languages, and its affairs.'⁶⁷ In the 1850s, Western literature started to become more widely available. French books were read both by educated Muslims and non-Muslims in the Empire, while knowledge of French and German became more widespread among Muslim government officials.⁶⁸

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a new elite emerged from the translation offices and the embassy secretariats. Besides bureaucrats, this new ruling class included a new group of critical Muslim intellectuals. Almost all members of the influential Young Ottoman movement started their careers as clerks at these offices. Indeed, the Translation Office of the Porte developed a reputation as 'the opposition division' of the Ottoman government.⁶⁹

The opening of Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani (Galatasaray Imperial Ottoman Lycée) in 1868, based on the French lycée model, illustrates the changing atmosphere in the Empire at this time.⁷⁰ Galatasaray Lycée followed a modern Western secondary education syllabus. Students were instructed in French and various other Western and Eastern languages. Moreover, for the first time Muslim, Christian and Jewish pupils were educated in the same classroom. The establishment of a lycée demonstrates the government's

66 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 206-208, 212; Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 158; Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 210-213; Bilim, 'Tercüme Odası.' On translation activities see also: Aksoy, 'Translation Activities in the Ottoman Empire.'

67 Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 118.

68 Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?'; Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 212.

69 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 206-208, 212; Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 158; Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 210-213; Bilim, 'Tercüme Odası.'

70 On the history of the Galatasaray Lycée, see: Sungu, 'Galatasaray Lisesi'nin Kuruluşu'; and Engin, *1868'den 1923'e Mekteb-i Sultani*.

determination to provide Ottoman youth with a modern education regardless of religion or ethnicity. These efforts were in fact in line with the Tanzimat policy of egalitarian Ottomanism (Osmanlılık), which envisaged equality among Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion, to counter the separatist nationalists often supported by Western states, and to bind the subjects of the Empire.⁷¹

Galatasaray Lycée's influence on Ottoman society and beyond the Turkish sphere was significant. Its alumni became leading figures in the Empire's political and cultural arena and, later, in the Turkish Republic and other countries in the twentieth century. As Lewis notes, Galatasaray Lycée 'had no playing-fields, but not a few of the victories of modern Turkey were won in its classrooms.'⁷² Not only did many Ottoman grand viziers, ministers, governors and important members of cultural life graduate from Galatasaray Lycée, but prominent twentieth-century foreign statesmen as well. To list a few: King Zog of Albania, Mehmed Ali El-Abid, president of Syria, Yitzhak Ben Zvi, second president of Israel, Mirza Sadık Khan, Iranian minister of internal affairs, Konstantin Velichkov, Bulgarian minister of education.⁷³

A survey of these names provides an indication of the ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity within the Ottoman Empire, their wide-ranging cultural production, and especially their cross-cultural relations and cultural interaction. With this in mind it is possible to understand the disappointment felt among the Muslim cultural elite at being excluded from Classical heritage and above all the 'complex historic fabric of an empire.'⁷⁴

3 The Cosmopolitan Muslim Elite of a Multifarious Empire

Ottoman society included Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Sephardic Jews, Levantines, Slavs and other Eastern Europeans as well as the ruling Muslim Ottoman Turks. These subjects of various communities, professing different religions, speaking a variety of languages and using different scripts to write their languages all lived in the same empire. Meanwhile, to make matters even more complex, not all the Armenians spoke Armenian, some

71 For a general account of Tanzimat reforms and policies, Ottomanism, European pressure and criticism, see: Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 116; and Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 160.

72 Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 122.

73 See the official website of Galatasaray Lisesi: <http://www.gsl.gsu.edu.tr/>.

74 Eldem, 'Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography.'

preferred Ottoman Turkish; some Arabs were Christians or Jewish; the cultural language of the educated Bulgarians and Romanians was Greek; Phanariote Greeks or Greek-Orthodox Karamanlı spoke and wrote Ottoman Turkish; the Ottoman Turkish elite on the other hand, besides speaking Arabic, Persian, Ottoman and French, could frequently understand Greek as well; Sephardic Jews whose ethnic language was (Judæo) Spanish wrote in Hebrew, yet also in French and Turkish; while Persian was not an ethnic language, still it functioned as the cultural language of the Ottoman Turks; ethnic Albanian and Bosnian Muslims had their own mother tongue, but were also familiar with languages such as Greek, Persian, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Western languages; and then there were the Ottoman Turkish residents of Paris who published in French.⁷⁵

The cultural manifestations of the pluralist Ottoman society are difficult to classify: the literary activities of the various communities of the Empire were connected and interrelated. Strauss correctly emphasizes the complexity of categorizing the literary activity in the Ottoman Empire according to the concept of 'national' literature. Citing the tendency of modern historians to define literature as the 'production of one "nation" in one single language,' he notes that the literary genres which developed in the Ottoman context do not fit a nationalist paradigm, which may appear strange to those who are accustomed to the usual framework of 'national' literatures. He illustrates his point with the literary productions of the Turkish-speaking Greek-Orthodox (Karamanlı) community and the Turkophone Armenians. Their Ottoman-Turkish works do not fit within any national literary heritage.⁷⁶

As historian Edhem Eldem notes, 'even at a much more mundane level, if one were to study the basic dynamics of Ottoman society in the nineteenth century, a more demotic form of coexistence [...] would necessarily emerge at practically every level.'⁷⁷ But then, as Eldem rightly points out, the multiple identities within the Empire 'have been literally bulldozed into national uniformity by the simplistic and pragmatic discourse of the nation-state.'⁷⁸ In this way, the history of the Ottoman Empire paralleled that of other European empires, such as the Habsburg Empire.⁷⁹

The nineteenth-century polyglot capital of the Ottoman Empire 'was a fertile breeding ground for learned societies and scholarly journals,

75 On reading and literary activity in Ottoman Society, see: Straus, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?'; on publishing: Strauss, "Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute."

76 Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?,' 39.

77 Eldem, 'Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography,' 30-32.

78 Eldem, 'Greece and the Greeks in Ottoman History and Turkish Historiography,' 38.

79 Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*; Kann, *The Multiple Empire*.

published in a variety of languages spoken or used as lingua franca.⁸⁰ The Muslim political elite of the Empire was by far the most cosmopolitan group in the Empire. The intellectuals of the Tanzimat, including the Young Ottomans, managed to harmonize Western cultural values – which they had largely internalized – with Ottoman identity.⁸¹

Driven by the spirit of modernization, it was the Muslim elite of the Empire, especially the leading reformist statesmen, who took the initiative in establishing societies and journals. This is reflected in the list of founders and members of the forerunner of the Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye, the Encümen-i Danış (Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences), set up in 1850. In fact, all the prominent statesmen of the Tanzimat, reformist politicians and bureaucrats with literary and scientific reputations, were members of this academy, which was intended to prepare for the creation of a state university.⁸² The founders and members included people such as grand viziers Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Mehmet Emin Ali Pasha, Yusuf Kamil Pasha, as well as scholarly bureaucrats such as Cevded Pasha and Ahmed Vefik Pasha.

They also served as an example to the non-Muslim communities of the Empire. Inspired by this progressive promotion of intellectual development in Ottoman society, leading figures in the Greek community established a Greek Literary Society, whose honorary members included ministers of public instruction Safvet Pasha and Münif Pasha.⁸³

Connection with Greeks and Greek Lands

The cosmopolitan Muslim Ottoman-Turkish elite was intricately involved with the Empire's Ottoman-Greek communities and Greek territories. The first Muslim translator at the Translation Office of the Porte, Yahya Naci Efendi, the grandfather of later grand vizier and translator of Molière's plays Ahmed Vefik Pasha, was believed to have been a Greek-Orthodox convert. So too Osman Hamdi Bey's father, Grand Vizier Ibrahim Edhem Pasha (1818-1893). Born in the Greek-Orthodox village of Sakız (Chios), he survived the massacres of Chios as a child (1822). He was brought to the capital by

80 Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 212.

81 Edhem Eldem hesitates to describe the capital as cosmopolitan, since he sees the modernization processes in the Empire as rather superficial in character; the 'internalization' of the new cultural and social structures by Ottoman society was fairly limited. However, Eldem maintains that the Muslim political elite of the Empire may rightly be described as by far the most cosmopolitan group of the Empire. See Eldem, 'Batılılaşma, Modernleşme ve Kozmopolitizm.'

82 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 226.

83 Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 212-214, 218-221.

Hüsrev Pasha (at that time head of the Ottoman Navy, later grand vizier) and became a member of his household. In 1830, Hüsrev Pasha sent him to Paris, with three other boys from his family, to study military science under the protection of the Orientalist Amedeé Jaubert. After graduating in 1839, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha served in high-ranking administrative positions and even became grand vizier in 1877.

Besides converts with leading positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy, other members of these cultural and political circles included descendants of Muslim or Turkish families of Peloponnesus and other Greek lands. For example, the mother of the major Young Ottoman poet Namık Kemal was a descendant of the family of governors of the province of Morea. The poet Kazım Pasha (1821-1889) was originally from Konitsa. Likewise, the administrator and poet Giritli Sırrı Pasha (1844-1895) and his wife, Leyla Saz Hanımefendi (1850-1936), composer, poet and writer, belonged to families of Cretan Turkish origin. Muslim Cretans were able to speak and write Greek and translated Greek dramas into Ottoman Turkish.⁸⁴

Albanian Muslim Ottomans educated in Greek schools also mixed in intellectual circles. Among them the Fraşeri brothers, born in Frashër (now Albania) and educated at Zosimea, the Greek school in Ionina, then part of the Ottoman Empire. At Zosimea they mastered Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic, also French, Italian, as well as Ancient and Modern Greek. They served as Ottoman officials and lived in Istanbul much of their life.

The eldest of the brothers, Şemseddin Sami Fraşeri (1850-1904), was a celebrated figure in the Ottoman intellectual scene.⁸⁵ As a novelist, journalist, lexicographer and self-taught linguist, his contribution to the Turkish intellectual world is substantial. Besides translations of works such as *Les Misérables* and *Robinson Crusoe* into Turkish, he also published a French-Turkish dictionary in 1882, a Turkish-French dictionary in 1885, and a modern Turkish dictionary *Kamus-i Türki*,⁸⁶ in which he offered words from eastern Turkish to replace Arabic or Persian terms used in the Ottoman written language. This dictionary, which is still used in the

84 Strauss, 'The Greek Connection in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Intellectual History,' 56.

85 He is claimed by the Albanian nation as well as Turkey and is seen as one of the leading nation builders of these modern states. Şemseddin Sami's engagement with the Ottoman intellectuals in Istanbul and his contribution to the Ottoman-Turkish national identity, and, simultaneously, his role in the construction of the Albanian national identity are subjects dealt with in Chapter 4. See also: Bilmez, 'Sami Fraşeri or Şemseddin Sami?' His son Ali Sami Yen (1886-1951), a founder of Galatasaray Football, was connected to the prestigious Galatasaray Lycée in Istanbul and was the president of the Turkish National Olympic Committee between 1926-1931.

86 Sami, *Kamus-i Türk-i*.

Turkish Republic, laid the foundation for modern literary Turkish.⁸⁷ His scientific booklets on mythology, women, Islamic civilization, astronomy, geology, anthropology and the history of Islam are also worth mentioning. In addition, Şemseddin Sami published a major encyclopaedia (six volumes), *Kamus-ül Alâm*, containing information about Troy, Homeric heroes and locations.⁸⁸

His brother Na'im Fraşeri (1846-1900), a poet and writer placed in charge of the censorship department in Istanbul in 1882, is considered the first to have translated part of the *Iliad* into Turkish in 1885/1886.⁸⁹

While Ottoman society was pluralist and its culture was multiethnic, the various communities were interrelated and influenced each other continually. Account must be taken of this complex kaleidoscope of national identities within Ottoman society when discussing the Ottoman connection to Classical heritage and Ottoman claims to antiquities.

4 Osman Hamdi Bey: A New Era in Ottoman Archaeology and Museology

The appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) as director of the Imperial Museum in 1881 resulted from a growing Ottoman appreciation of antiquities as part of the Empire's heritage. The advent of an Ottoman-Turkish director reflects the contemporary desire to assume control over the antiquities as part of the Ottoman historical and cultural legacy.⁹⁰ When museum director Anton Déthier died in 1881,⁹¹ the minister of public instruction first planned to appoint another European director. This was cancelled at the last minute and Osman Hamdi was given the position instead. Prominent Turkish historian Mustafa Cezar points out that the government preferred an Ottoman Muslim. Osman Hamdi's influential father, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, may also have played a role in the decision.⁹²

87 On the role of Şemseddin Sami in Ottoman language reforms, see: Trix, 'The Stamboul Alphabet of Shemseddin Sami Bey'; and Levend, *Şemsettin Sami*. For a general account of Turkish language reforms, see: Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi*; and Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelisme ve Sadelesme Evreleri*.

88 Sami, *Kamus-ül Alâm*.

89 Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen.'

90 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 96.

91 Little is known about Anton Déthier, least of all about his influence on the development of Ottoman archaeology and the legislation; his role was clearly more important than the available information might suggest. See: Eldem, 'Philipp Anton Dethier.'

92 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 253-255.

Either way, the first Ottoman-Turkish director was appointed on 3 September 1881.⁹³ With the arrival of Osman Hamdi, a leading member of the late nineteenth-century cosmopolitan Ottoman intelligentsia, the government introduced a major figure in the contemporary arts and a man with modern ideas.

Background

Osman Hamdi belonged to the second generation of those nurtured in an environment already dominated by the spirit of the modernization. Born into a leading family and raised in a liberal and cosmopolitan environment, Osman Hamdi was a product of the modern age.⁹⁴

As we have seen, his father, Ibrahim Edhem Bey (later Pasha) was one of the first four Ottoman-Turkish students to be sent to Europe to study around 1829. Having studied metal engineering in Paris at the *École des Mines*, Ibrahim Edhem Bey returned to the Empire in 1839, where he held various high-level administrative posts in different government departments. Following a term as a military engineer, he became the French tutor to Sultan Abdülmecid I. In 1856 he was appointed minister of foreign affairs. In 1876, he served as ambassador to Berlin and subsequently to Vienna between 1879 and 1882. In addition he was grand vizier in 1877 to 1878 and minister of the interior from 1883 to 1885.⁹⁵

Raised in the most prominent cultural capital in Europe, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha had a thorough command of European politics, science and arts. He was known as an eminent statesman with a broad knowledge, reaching a wide public through his articles on subjects such as geology in scientific periodicals. He was also the leading figure behind the publication of the two major works on Ottoman arts, *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani: L'Architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873) and *Elbise-i Osmaniyye: Les costumes populaires de la Turquie* (Istanbul, 1873), mentioned above.⁹⁶

As president of the committee overseeing the Ottoman contribution to the Vienna Weltausstellung (International Exhibition) in 1873, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha appointed his son Osman Hamdi to organize the presentation,

93 IBA: I.D; 67168: 09/L/1298 (04/09/1881).

94 On Osman Hamdi Bey and this period, see: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*; and Rona, *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi*.

95 For bibliographical information on Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, see: Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*, 600-636; and Koç, 'Bir Belge Işığında Ibrahim Edhem Paşa ve Ailesi Hakkında Hatırlamalar.'

96 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 201-204.

enabling him to assist in collecting materials for the accompanying scholarly publications and to co-author *Elbise-i Osmaniye*.⁹⁷

Ibrahim Edhem Pasha occasionally brought his son on official journeys. In 1858, for example, Osman Hamdi was able to see Belgrade and Vienna. In Vienna he visited museums and saw works of art. This may well have encouraged him to urge his father to send him to study abroad.⁹⁸

In 1860, Osman Hamdi left to study law in Paris. Yet his interest in art prevailed and he started taking painting lessons at the studios of French Orientalists Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) and Gustave Boulanger (1824-1888) and began to paint in the Orientalist style. He also took courses in archaeology. He was in contact with other Ottoman students in Paris, who were mainly involved in the arts. These young men would later emerge as leading figures in Turkish art history.⁹⁹ Osman Hamdi displayed three of his early paintings at the Exposition Universelle (International Exhibition) in Paris in 1867. When Sultan Abdülaziz, the first sultan to travel to Western Europe, visited Paris in that year, Osman Hamdi was there to witness the event.

Having completed his studies in Paris, Osman Hamdi returned to Istanbul in 1869. He was married by then and brought his French wife and two daughters back with him. Soon after he arrived in Istanbul, Osman Hamdi entered government service and a year later he was in Baghdad, serving on the staff of the Ottoman Foreign Office.

Back in Istanbul he held various posts in the Foreign Affairs ministry. In 1876, he was director in charge of foreign language publications in Istanbul and a year later he was appointed to head the Istanbul 6 Municipal Office in Beyoğlu district, the city's so-called European quarter. He held this position until he became director of the Imperial Museum in 1881.¹⁰⁰

Director of the Imperial Museum

Under Osman Hamdi, the museum became 'a battleground for possession' of Classical artefacts.¹⁰¹ His role in the development of Ottoman archaeology is significant. It was thanks to his efforts that formal archaeological research and active collection of antiquities increased. While in Baghdad in his early

97 Ersoy, 'A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,' 187-191; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 98-100.

98 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 208.

99 These artists are Ahmed Ali Efendi (Şeker Ahmed Pasha), Süleyman Seyid and Ahmed Ali Halil (Khalil) Bey's stay in Paris corresponds also with Osman Hamdi's years in Paris. Ahmed Vefik Efendi (later Pasha) was also in Paris at that time; he lived in the same building as Osman Hamdi.

100 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 210; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 97-100.

101 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 108.

career, he carried out excavations and sent his finds to the capital. Later, as museum director, he made archaeology a state concern. In fact, it was he who conducted the first archaeological investigation by an official Ottoman team. Major excavations for the Imperial Museum included sites at Nemrut Dağı (1883), Sidon (1887) and Lagina (1891) (Fig. 21).¹⁰²

To document the Imperial Museum's archaeological activities, Osman Hamdi produced two illustrated volumes. These countered Europe's assumed proprietorship by the simple expedient of Ottoman participation.

The publication of the Ottoman investigation of Nemrut Dağı, where German archaeologists had planned to excavate, showcased Ottoman scholarship and emphasized the exclusion of the Germans from the expedition.¹⁰³ In *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*, Osman Hamdi published illustrations of the newly acquired sarcophagi from Sidon, highlighting their absence from European Museums. The luxurious publication included unique details of inscriptions and portraits, and colour plates based on traces of the original colours of the sarcophagi. Osman Hamdi produced the work in corporation with leading French academic Théodore Reinach (1860-1928) and in consultation with Ernest Renan (1823-1892), another prominent French scholar who specialized in the Ancient civilizations of the Middle East. The publication and this collaboration by the Imperial Museum's Ottoman director with French scholars brought attention to the Ottoman contribution to global scholarship and demonstrated the equality of Ottomans and Europeans in archaeological matters.¹⁰⁴

Osman Hamdi played a key role in overseeing the new antiquities regulation, *Asar-ı Atıka Nizamnamesi*, which came into effect in 1884. This new law made the Ottoman claim to antiquities more tangible, providing far stricter measures than the previous legal frameworks.¹⁰⁵

In addition to serving as director of the Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi was also closely associated with the School of Fine Arts, *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, which became involved in the urgent quest to create social awareness

102 During the Sidon excavation, Osman Hamdi and his team uncovered close to twenty sarcophagi. In fact, because of the number of artefacts brought to light in the excavations at Sidon, the need arose for a larger and more substantial museum building, which opened to visitors in 1891, see: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 257-262.

103 Hamdy Bey and Effendi, *Le Tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh*.

104 Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Une Nécropole Royale à Sidon*; See historian Ethem Eldem's comments on the publication, part of research material for an exhibition by Lebanese filmmaker, photographer and curator Akram Zaatarı the SALT Beyoğlu gallery in Istanbul in 2015: Eldem, 'The Royal Necropolis of Sidon.'

105 On *Asar-ı Atıka Nizamnamesi* see Chapter 3; Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış*, 1-4.

for archaeology and antiquities (Fig. 22).¹⁰⁶ In 1882, he was appointed director of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi. The school taught young Ottoman subjects the elements of aesthetics and artistic techniques in the Empire. Following the European tradition, the students learned to draw and sculpt by copying Ancient sculptures and friezes.¹⁰⁷

The Sultan and Antiquities Management

Osman Hamdi's rapid expansion of the museum in the years 1881 to 1910 took place under the auspices of Sultan Abdülhamid II, who reigned from 1876 to 1909. Abdülhamid II's focus was on religion. His ideal was a legal autocracy founded on the Islamic principle of justice.¹⁰⁸ The revival of traditional Islamic consciousness in the Ottoman Empire followed the huge territorial losses of the catastrophic Russo-Turkish War. The majority of Ottoman society was now Muslim, which spurred traditional Islamist ideas. By emphasizing Islamic values, Abdülhamid II also engaged with a growing Muslim reaction to the cultural Westernization generated by the reforms.¹⁰⁹

Abdülhamid II's legacy is ambiguous and his reign has been the subject of controversy. As Carter Vaughn Findley notes, Abdülhamid II is considered a 'bloodthirsty tyrant who massacred rebellious subject peoples, suppressed constitutionalism, and instituted a regime of internal espionage and censorship that left no one secure.'¹¹⁰ The Hamidean massacres of the Armenians between 1894 and 1896 were especially instrumental in forming this image of Abdülhamid II as a vicious, reactionary autocrat.

Until the 1960s, historians of the Turkish Republic also viewed him as 'a reactionary, who for a generation halted the regeneration of the Empire.'¹¹¹ Paranoia and suspicion were rampant in Abdülhamid II's reign. His mistrust and his desire to expand his authority over territory created an environment in which officials were encouraged to report about each other's activities. Fearing the Empire's military establishment, insecure and suspicious of his servants, Abdülhamid II was increasingly hesitant to leave his palace.

106 The institution of a school of fine arts by the Ministry of Public Instruction was discussed as early as 1873, see: *Hakayik-ul Vekayi*, 11/Ra/1290 (06 May 1873); serious plans existed to establish a school for archaeology in 1875 as well, see: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 244-248; Mansel, 'Osman Hamdi Bey.'

107 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 99.

108 Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 123.

109 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 79-83; Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 162-165.

110 Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 164-166.

111 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 76-78; Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 123-130.

He never visited any part of the Empire outside Istanbul, and relied on modern technology such as photography, trains and the telegraph, to control his empire. In contrast to the Tanzimat era, during his reign the palace secretariat became the most 'dreaded power centre' of the Empire, while the grand vizier's headquarters at the Sublime Porte became a remote place.¹¹²

Modern historians of Turkey, such as Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, tend to emphasize Abdülhamid II's reign as a continuation, or even culmination, of the Tanzimat and the benefits it brought to the Empire and its population.¹¹³ And Abdülhamid II's rule did indeed extend the programmes of the Tanzimat era in many ways. Technological reforms continued and many Ottoman students attended schools in Europe. While the sultan emphasized the Muslim, non-Western aspects of the Empire, he also attempted to modernize the army, the civil service, and the educational system along European lines.¹¹⁴

It was said of Sultan Abdülhamid II that he had little interest in Classical artefacts.¹¹⁵ The considerably understaffed antiquities administration, with only a handful of trained officials, may well have been the result of this lack of royal support for the antiquities management during the Hamidean era. Abdülhamid II often exchanged antiquities for Western support and gave objects as gifts to mark ties of friendship with European countries such as Germany or Austria. As Turkish-German economic, diplomatic and military ties strengthened in the 1880s, Germany benefitted from Abdülhamid II's largesse and his liberal attitude to profitable permits (Fig. 23).¹¹⁶

Yet while Abdülhamid II handed out Classical artefacts for political advantage, the new antiquities regulation of 1884, far stricter than the previous regulation of 1874, also came into effect in his reign. Moreover, the antiquities section of Abdülhamid II's photograph albums demonstrates a substantial interest in archaeology. His pictures of archaeological sites are exceptionally detailed and show overviews of entire settlements, as well as individual structures and details. These pictures form visual reports of the archaeological research at various sites. Photographs of Ottoman officials and local workers at the sites and pictures of the removal of valuable

112 Findley, *The Turks in World History*, 164-166.

113 Shaw and Shaw, *A History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 76-78; See also: Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 123-130.

114 Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 766.

115 Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 201; and Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 120-122.

116 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 117-121. Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 197-201; see also: Baytar, 'İki Dost Hükümdar.'

antiquities emphasized Ottoman interest, and even more their participation in the archaeological activity.¹¹⁷

Although the museum developed in a period in which the state was emphasizing its Islamic identity, rather than 'creating an easily acceptable cultural backdrop for the Empire,' the museum with its largely Helleno-Byzantine objects linked chiefly 'non-Islamic histories with Ottoman lands and national patrimony.'¹¹⁸ Since its focus was on Greco-Roman archaeology, the museum's Islamic arts section received no real encouragement during Abdülhamid II's reign and Osman Hamdi's tenure. Despite a state directive identifying the Islamic arts as one of the museum's six principal organizational units in 1889, Islamic antiquities only gained prominence after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908-1910 and the advent of Osman Hamdi's brother Halil Eldem as director of the Imperial Museum in 1910.¹¹⁹

117 Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Essay*, 3.

118 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 147, 172, 208.

119 Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, 'Interlude: Halil Edhem on the Museum of Pious Foundations'; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 147, 172, 208.

Figure 20 Display of the imperial antiquities collection in the Tiled Pavilion in the later 1870s



Source: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*

Figure 21 Osman Hamdi during excavations at Nemrut Dağı for the Imperial Museum in 1883



Source: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*

Figure 22 Istanbul School of Fine Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi), established in 1882. Photo, 1927



Source: Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu, 2013

Figure 23 Sultan Abdülhamid II and Kaiser Wilhelm II

Source: *L'illustration*, 22 October 1898

Growing Turkish-German economic, military and diplomatic ties in the 1880s paved the way for a greater tolerance of German archaeological activities in the Ottoman Empire and profitable permits. Left: Sultan Abdülhamid II (1842-1918), right: Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941).

Figure 24 View of the Substructural Wall at Troy in Schliemann's *Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy, 1882* (London, 1884)



Source: Schliemann, *Troja*, Plate 15 (55)

III A Closer Watch on Schliemann (1882-1885)

In October 1881, Ottoman authorities granted Schliemann a new permit to continue his excavations at Hisarlık. In a supplement to this firman, he later received permission to explore the Troad plain as well. This enabled him to carry out 'excavations on any other site of the Troad.' Schliemann's impressive ability to obtain diplomatic support for his ventures had once again yielded rich rewards. This time it was the intervention of the powerful German chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) that enabled Schliemann to obtain a permit under extremely liberal conditions,¹ as he profited from the increasingly close ties between the Ottomans and the German Empire in the 1880s.

Although the firman initially suggested flexibility and liberty, in reality Schliemann's venture was once again plagued by difficulties. Ottoman officials were loath to allow such an extensive undertaking on their soil. Schliemann's latest archaeological project coincided with a new phase in the Ottoman Empire's involvement with museology and archaeology.² With Osman Hamdi in charge, the Imperial Museum was expanding rapidly, the Ottomans were participating in archaeological research, and in 1884 a new antiquities regulation, *Asar-ı Atıka Nizamnamesi*, came into effect.

1 Profitable Political Conditions

The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was under constant threat. Faced with emerging nationalism among different communities in the Empire and under pressure from the Great Powers, the Ottomans were desperate to avoid the collapse of the Empire. Disturbing political movements in France and Britain, particularly after the Russo-Turkish War, made the Ottoman position even more insecure. France – the dominant partner of the Ottoman Empire in the late 1850s and 1860s – was strengthening ties with Russia, arch enemy of the Ottomans, which led to a breach in Franco-Ottoman relations. Britain's colonial intervention in Egypt and Cyprus, culminating in the occupation of Egypt in 1882, also had a negative

1 Schliemann, *Troja*, 5.

2 Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış*, 1-4.

impact on Anglo-Ottoman relations. These political developments created a profound Ottoman aversion to these powers.³ Meanwhile, Germany was making overtures to the Ottomans.

Although Germany's powerful chancellor Bismarck strove to maintain a neutral position in Asia Minor and believed that his government should not be drawn into Ottoman affairs,⁴ Germany could not resist the temptation to expand its economic and military influence in the Ottoman Empire. Another motive often expressed for German involvement in the Empire was to bring culture to the unenlightened Turks.⁵

From an Ottoman perspective, Germany was the least threatening of Europe's imperialist powers. This was the only Great Power without any evident interest in its partial or complete disintegration. Crucially, Germany was the only European power that had not colonized Muslim lands. Under these circumstances, Sultan Abdülhamid II adopted a positive attitude towards Germany's approaches. As a result, the Turkish-German economic, diplomatic and military ties were strengthened and Germany became the leading foreign influence in Istanbul from the 1880s until the First World War. Bilateral trade relations intensified and German commercial investments in the Ottoman Empire increased rapidly. Between 1890 and 1910 the German share in the Empire's trade increased from 6 percent to 21 percent.⁶ In military affairs, German advisers became the principal trainers of the Ottoman army and the Ottoman military elite adopted German military doctrines.⁷

Abdülhamid II maintained close ties with Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941). The Kaiser supported Abdülhamid II's Islamic politics and visited Istanbul twice, in 1889 and 1898. From the 1880s until the First World War, as bilateral relations intensified and ties between the two emperors became closer, German archaeologists had the opportunity to carry out a series of new excavations in the Ottoman Empire, often under favourable conditions. Germany's advanced diplomatic involvement allowed Ottoman officials to liaise closely with German museum bureaucrats, diplomats, scholars and politicians.⁸

Schliemann, who owed his earlier permits mainly to diplomatic pressure on Ottoman authorities, used the new opportunities to full advantage. Given the improved relationship between the Ottomans and the young German

3 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 81-83.

4 Schölgén, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht*.

5 On Kulturpolitik, see: Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, Chapter 7, in relation to the Orient: 102, 190-220, 237.

6 Birken, *Die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, 176.

7 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 82.

8 Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 200-202; See also Baytar, 'İki Dost Hükümdar.'

Empire, the Ottomans could not decline Bismarck's request in support of Schliemann's application for a new permit to continue excavating, or his endorsement of the latter's plan to explore the Troad plain extensively.⁹

2 The Excavations

Schliemann resumed his excavations at Troy on 1 March 1882. The focus of the season, which lasted until 21 July 1882, was the eastern half of the mound of Hisarlık. This was Calvert's land, which had been neglected until then. Excavation architects Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940), attached to the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), and Joseph Höfler (1860-1927) from Vienna accompanied Schliemann. To supervise the workmen at the site, Schliemann engaged three overseers. Two of the foremen were from Greece, and the third was Gustav Batthus, the son of the French consul at the Dardanelles.

Since this part of the country 'was infested by marauders and highway robbers,' Schliemann recorded that he had requested Hamid Pasha, the civil governor of the Dardanelles, to give him eleven gendarmes for security.¹⁰ However, according to a letter from the local authorities, these gendarmes were supplied not so much for Schliemann's safety, as for the security of the excavations and to ensure the regulations were observed.¹¹

Schliemann's loyal employee Nicolaos Giannakes was once again his purser. He hired approximately 150 labourers, mainly local Greeks, but also Sephardic Ottoman Jews and about 25 Ottoman Turks. While Schliemann was not especially keen on Ottoman officials, he waxed lyrical about the Turkish workmen: 'I would gladly have increased their number had it been possible, for they work much better than the Asiatic Greeks, [they] are more honest, and I had in them the great advantage that they worked on Sundays and on the numerous saints' days, when no Greek would have worked at any price. Besides, as I could always be sure that they would work on with unremitting zeal, and never need to be urged, I could let them sink all the shafts and assign to them other work, in which no superintendence on my part was possible. For all these reasons I always allotted to the Turkish workmen proportionally higher wages than to the Greeks.'¹²

9 Schliemann, *Troja*, 5.

10 Schliemann, *Troja*, 7.

11 Letter from Hasan Pasha to Schliemann, 22 April 1882 (B 88/253), Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens.

12 Schliemann, *Troja*, 10-12.

During the first season in 1882, unlike earlier years, Schliemann had two Ottoman overseers. The first appointee was the previous overseer Kadri Bey. Schliemann wanted to avoid complications caused by intrusive officials and through the intervention of the German Embassy, he managed to have Kadri Bey dismissed. Kadri Bey had not made things easy in the past, and so Schliemann organized 'a simple Turk' instead.¹³ The new overseer, Muharrem Bey, was appointed by the local authority. As usual, Schliemann paid his salary and provided his lodgings. However, this was not the arrangement with his co-inspector, Bedreddin Efendi, appointed and paid by the Ottoman government.¹⁴

Given the increasing Ottoman desire to control the export of antiquities as well as to collect them for their own museum, a second overseer directly under the government suggests a more deliberate Ottoman wish to control Schliemann's archaeological activities at the Troad. The Ministry of Public Instruction clearly had no intention to leave the inspection of the excavations at Troy to someone financially dependent on a foreign archaeologist, especially Schliemann, with his tainted reputation.

Growing public interest in the preservation of antiquities had led to a critical stance towards 'incompetent officials' at excavation sites, 'whose minimal salaries' were paid by foreign archaeologists. In a scathing letter published in the newspaper *Vakit* in 1880, the minister of public instruction was urged to abstain from appointing overseers 'who were completely incapable of managing such delicate undertakings.' The writer argued that 'if the official at the site were learned and attentive [...] he would do his best to secure the benefits of the Imperial Museum.'¹⁵

Although Muharrem Bey had already been appointed as overseer, the local authorities eventually decided that he was 'scientifically not competent enough' for the task. Considering 'the importance of the occupation and in order to give no room for misappropriation,' they asked the Ministry of Public Instruction by telegram on 22 April 1882 to appoint two 'experienced' officials 'capable of the science of antiquities' to inspect the activities at Troy.¹⁶

13 'einen schlichten Türken,' Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 313.

14 IBA: MF.MKT. 75/153: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882); See also letters from Hasan Pasha to Schliemann, 18 May 1882 (B88/320) and 1 June 1882 (B88/340), Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens.

15 *Vakit*, 01/Ca/1297 (11/04/1880), also published in Cezar, *Sanatta Battıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 286.

16 IBA: MF.MKT. 75/153: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882); MF.MKT. 75/155: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882).

The local authorities suspected Schliemann of hiding valuable discoveries from them. In fact they were right. Schliemann wrote to Virchow on 14 May 1882 that he had found some ‘pretty items,’ such as ‘a sling (or weight?) made of haematite, weighing 1,130 grams, as well as a trove of bronze items, including a remarkable large 3 inch wide ring, similar to our napkin rings, decorated so artistically [sic] that any Berlin goldsmith would have been proud had it been made of gold. Since I have done all this in secret, I cannot send you drawings, nor should you speak of it, lest they hear of it in Constantinople.’¹⁷

Following the request from the Dardanelles, on 15 May the Council of Education decided to send Bedreddin Efendi to the Troad. He was considered well-suited and the previously appointed overseer could assist him.¹⁸ Bedreddin Efendi was experienced and well able to supervise archaeological excavations. Moreover, he could communicate in French.¹⁹ Bedreddin Efendi would definitely not be standing on the sidelines.

For Schliemann, Bedreddin Efendi’s presence was especially provocative. The failure of the archaeological venture of 1876 had been largely due to the obdurate supervisor, and Bedreddin Efendi’s remit far exceeded this predecessor’s. Schliemann complained that Bedreddin Efendi was extremely uncooperative: ‘I have carried on archaeological excavations in Turkey for a number of years, but it had never yet been my ill-fortune to have such a monster of a delegate as Beder Eddin, whose arrogance and self-conceit were only equalled by his complete ignorance, and who considered it sole office to throw all possible obstacles in my way.’²⁰

Protecting Trojan Patrimony

It is noticeable that as soon as Schliemann met with any resistance on the Ottoman side, he considered it unwillingness, ignorance or deliberate obstruction. Viewed from an Ottoman perspective, however, it is possible to see that the authorities simply wanted to protect the Trojan patrimony. Yet

17 ‘hübsche Sachen [...] eine Schleuder (oder Gewicht?) von Haematitt, 1130 Gramm wiegend, auch einen ganzen Schatz von Bronzesachen, darunter ein höchstmerkwürdiger großer, 3 Zoll breiter Ring, ähnlich unseren Serviettenringen, der so Künstlich [sic] gearbeitet ist, daß er, wäre er von Gold, einem Berliner Goldschmied Ehre machen würde. Da ich alles dieses im Geheimen beiseite gebracht habe, so kann ich Ihnen keine Zeichnung davon schicken, muß Sie auch bitten, nicht darüber zu sprechen, damit man in Constantinopel nicht davon hört. Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 306.

18 IBA: MF.MKT. 75/153: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882); MF.MKT. 75/155: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882).

19 IBA: MF.MKT. 79/97: 12/Ca/1300 (21/03/1883).

20 Schliemann, *Troja*, 12.

Ottoman efforts to participate in the nineteenth-century European custom of claiming antique heritage and appropriating Classical civilization were clearly not recognized. Like many of his contemporaries, Schliemann was or preferred to remain ignorant of the political and cultural change resulting from the process of modernization and the new sense of identity in which the Ottomans embraced the different historical layers of the land.²¹

The increasing value of heritage ‘aggravates conflicts over whose it is.’²² Nurtured within a Western environment imbued with Hellenism prevailed and a dynamic appropriation of and identification Homeric heritage,²³ Schliemann also believed, along with many of his contemporaries, that this legacy belonged to Western civilization and had to be rescued from people who did not in their view have a share in this culture. By contrast, Turks – present in Europe for ages – saw themselves as a European power, especially after the Tanzimat with their Western sympathies. The Ottomans aspired to be included in Europe’s cultural history. Yet Europeans saw the Ottomans as the ‘other’: Europe’s fear of Ottoman imperial expansion through to the seventeenth century had transformed into a cultural prejudice against the Ottoman appropriation of Hellenistic heritage.²⁴

Schliemann’s opinion of the Ottoman Turks did not differ from the prevailing view in the West. While the Ottoman authorities considered the preservation of antiquities paramount, Schliemann saw Ottoman efforts to safeguard Trojan artefacts as an irritating obstacle, not the expression of an Ottoman appreciation of their heritage and a key aspect of a cultural policy in which their imperial identity formed part of the universal history of civilization.

The way Ottoman authorities claimed antiquities differed from the European manner. The dynamic appropriation of antique traditions, reinforced by education in Classical literature, and the use of Ancient heritage to establish a Western identity were less intense and occurred later in the late Ottoman Empire. In fact, the Ottoman drive to claim Classical civilization

21 For the process of the Ottoman appropriation of Classical heritage, see for example: Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 96; Çelik, ‘Defining Empire’s Patrimony,’ in *Essays*; Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism,’ 188, 190. On Ottoman appreciation of Troy, see: Kelder, Uslu, and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*, esp. Chapters 6.1, 7.2 and 7.3.

22 Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 234-236, 248.

23 Den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe,’ in *Pharos*; Moormann, ‘“The Man Who Made the Song Was Blind”’; Moormann, ‘“There Is a Triple Sight in Blindness Keen”’; Den Boer, ‘Neohumanism’; Den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe,’ in *European Review*; Den Boer, ‘Homer and Troy.’

24 Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, 455, 491.

was largely a response to the European desire to appropriate antiquities from Ottoman lands and to remove archaeological objects from the country, thereby excluding the Ottomans from the history of Western civilization.

Classical artefacts linked Western nations with the much vaunted Classical past. Owning these objects relayed a sense of superiority. By the same token, the Ottomans used the same artefacts to show Europe that Classical heritage was in fact autochthonous and more native to the Empire than to the West.²⁵

Strict Supervision

By sending an experienced second official who was financially independent of Schliemann, the Ottoman authorities were protecting Troy. Bedreddin Efendi took his responsibility seriously. He was cautious. He knew he was dealing with someone who had already smuggled antiquities out of the Empire and with whom the Ottoman authorities had fought a year-long legal battle. His distrust and inflexibility towards Schliemann was understandable. Bedreddin Efendi sent frequent warnings to his superiors expressing his suspicions. As Schliemann said, 'he had the telegraph to the Dardanelles at his disposal, and he used it in the most shameless way to denounce me and my architects to the local authorities.'²⁶

Bedreddin Bey did his work accurately and consistently informed the authorities about events at the site. He reported suspicious activity and research developments at the site as well as any discoveries. In fact he even illustrated his accounts with photographs of the new finds.²⁷ Contrary to Schliemann's opinion that he was continually accusing him and his circle, it seems that Bedreddin Efendi was merely trying to perform his job as well as possible and to meet the wishes of his superiors.

Schliemann, on the other hand, was determined to circumvent this intrusive official. When Schliemann started exploratory excavations at various sites in June 1882, he evidently tried to exclude Bedreddin Efendi, who did not accept this. On 26 June, the inspector warned the Ministry of Public Instruction of the situation: without having informed him, Schliemann was 'excavating a wide area,' whereby he 'divided his workmen in little groups' to 'excavate at various sites at the same time.' Although Bedreddin Bey 'warned him several times to inform him,' Schliemann resisted and refused to do so.

25 Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Scramble for the Past*; Shaw, 'Museums and Narratives of Display,' 258-260; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 171.

26 Schliemann, *Troja*, 12.

27 IBA: MF.MKT. 76/43: 22/B/1299 (09/06/1882).

In this way, Bedreddin Efendi reports, Schliemann was ‘obstructing him in the execution of his duty’ (Fig. 25).²⁸

The ministry took a firm decision. Schliemann was barred from carrying out exploratory digs. In addition to emphasizing strict observance of the Antiquities Law, the authorities also stressed that a supervisor should be present. Without the required supervision, Schliemann was forbidden to continue his excavations (Fig. 26).²⁹ The civil governor of the Dardanelles sent a written warning to Schliemann ordering him to stop acting illegally and that any excavation without Bedreddin Efendi present was out of the question (Fig. 27).³⁰

Schliemann was constantly looking for ways to explore tumuli in and around the Troad. Although his permit did not extend to the European side of the Dardanelles, in April 1882 he began digging on the Gallipoli peninsula clandestinely. Since Bedreddin Efendi had yet to arrive, Ottoman authorities only discovered Schliemann’s move a day and a half into the new excavations.³¹ He was told to stop his illicit activity immediately since this was a military area.³² With the arrival of Bedreddin Efendi, however, Schliemann was bound hand and foot.

Soon after his arrival, Bedreddin Efendi instructed the gendarmes who Schliemann thought were engaged to protect him, to keep an eye on his movements. Their loyalty towards Bedreddin Efendi infuriated Schliemann: ‘A Turk will always hate a Christian, however well he may be paid by him, and thus it was not difficult for Beder Eddin Efendi to bring all my eleven gendarmes over to his side, and to make so many spies of them.’³³

Bedreddin Efendi’s appeals to the Ottoman authorities ensured that Schliemann and Dörpfeld – who had been hired to produce accurate maps and plans of the site with surveying instruments – could not take measurements of any sort for another five months. When Bedreddin Efendi found out about the surveys, he reported this to Cemal Pasha, military governor of the Dardanelles. Cemal Pasha informed the Grand Master of the Artillery at Istanbul, Said Pasha, that he suspected Schliemann and his crew of using the excavations at Troy as an excuse to draw plans of the fortifications at

28 Archaeological Museum, Istanbul/Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Arşivi (hereafter: IAMA): K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 09/Ş/99 (26/06/1882).

29 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 16/Ş/1299 (03/07/1882).

30 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1535, MH no: unclassified, 18/Ş/1299 (05/07/1882).

31 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 220.

32 Hasan Pasha to Schliemann, 22 April 1882 (B88/253).

33 Schliemann, *Troja*, 12.

Kumkale, an important strategic spot in the Dardanelles. So Said Pasha decided that Schliemann should be forbidden to use the surveying instrument or even draw any plans at all.

Clearly, Bedreddin Efendi kept a close eye on Schliemann's excavations and warned the military governor of the Dardanelles several times when Schliemann disregarded the prohibition to take measurements and draw plans in secret. He even prohibited Schliemann 'from taking notes or making drawings within the excavations, and continually threatened to arrest' Dörpfeld and Höfler 'and send them in chains to Constantinople in case of their disobedience.'³⁴

Meanwhile, the Ottoman government was extremely pleased with Bedreddin Efendi's performance. He received compliments from the grand vizier for doing his work 'with such a great energy and effort.' Moreover, the grand vizier praised his 'extraordinary attention and cautiousness regarding the protection of the antique objects.'³⁵

Although Schliemann tried to have the ban lifted through diplomatic channels, this time the efforts of the German Embassy did not succeed. His letter to Richard Schöne (1840-1922), director of the German Royal Museums, illustrates the way Schliemann operated. On 23 July 1882, Schliemann asked Schöne 'Please ask His Majesty the Emperor to send a personal letter to the Sultan regarding Hissarlik, otherwise we shall never succeed.' Schliemann explained that this letter should include the information 'that the Grand Master of the Artillery is preventing me from measuring the depth of the walls of the Trojan houses, even to measure them with string, pretending that Hissarlik is too close to Kum Kale, although it is two hours away; that is why His Majesty should ask that the ignorant officer's silly objections be overridden and order that the Acropolis plain and outlying areas of Hissarlik be taken up immediately, if you did not do so we will never get out of here as long you are represented in Constantinople.'³⁶ Yet, these

34 Schliemann, *Troja*, 12-14.

35 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1534, MH no: unclassified, 11/N/1299 (27/07/1882).

36 'Bitte erlangen Sie von Sr Majestät dem Kaiser einen autographen Brief an den Sultan wegen Aufnahme der Pläne von Hissarlik, denn sonst kommen wir ja nie zum Ziel. [...] Daß mir aber jetzt der Großmeister der Artillerie aufs [sic] Strengste verbietet die in großer Tiefe liegenden troian Hausmauern abzuzeichnen oder gar mit einer Schnur zu messen weil er vorgiebt Hissarlik läge zu nahe bei Kum Kale, obwohl es 2 Stunden Wegs davon entfernt liegt; Daß daher Se Majestät bäte diese albernen Einwände eines unwissenden Officiers durch ein Machtwort zu beseitigen u Befehl zu geben daß es augenblicklich gestattet werde Pläne der Akropolis u der Unterstadt von Hissarlik mit dem Meßtisch aufzunehmen, wenn Sie's nicht so machen kommen wir niemals

‘Turkish objections,’³⁷ would be difficult to overcome. The Grand Master of the Artillery refused to cancel the prohibition.

In September 1882, Schliemann’s repeated messages to German diplomatic bodies in Istanbul and Bismarck’s intervention resulted in a limited permit. This allowed him to make new plans of areas below ground level. Measurements above the ground were prohibited. Schliemann considered the permission useless. Finally, after a personal meeting in November 1882 between the German ambassador and Sultan Abdülhamid II, Schliemann received permission to draw the plans. Dörpfeld was sent back to the Troad on 18 November to produce the main site plan for Schliemann’s new book *Troja*.³⁸

Results of the Season

Official correspondence reveals that before the actual division in Çanakkale in July 1882, a shipment with antique works and broken ceramic objects from Troy had already been sent to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. The pottery fragments were included in the museum collection and stored in the basement.³⁹

Early in July 1882, Osman Hamdi received a letter from the Troad. Schliemann informed him that he was bringing the season to an end around 12 July. He invited Osman Hamdi to join the conclusion (Fig. 28).⁴⁰ Bedreddin Efendi, however, suspected that this invitation was a trick. He wrote to the minister of public instruction that Schliemann’s invitation ‘was just one of his many plots’ to get the much-desired permission to take measurements and to make plans at the Troad. By meeting Osman Hamdi personally, he said, Schliemann was hoping ‘to persuade’ him to arrange permission. Furthermore, he implies that ‘another reason why Schliemann invited Osman Hamdi Bey’ was ‘that he wanted to avoid a division at Çanakkale as required by the Antiquities Law.’ Bedreddin Efendi believed that with Osman Hamdi present, Schliemann hoped to arrange the division of the antiquities at

aus der Stelle so lange Sie in Constantinopel durch [...] vertreten sind.’ Letter to Schöne, 23 July 1882, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (117), 144.

37 ‘Schwierigkeiten von dem [t]ürk.’ Letter to Crown Prince Bernhard, 23 November 1882, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (118), 144-147.

38 Schliemann, *Troja*, 12-15.

39 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, 05/07/1882; IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1535, 13/07/1882; See also: Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, letter from Schliemann to Virchow, 26/07/1882, (310), 328.

40 Letter from Schliemann to Osman Hamdi, IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 05/07/1882.

Hisarlık instead of at Çanakkale.⁴¹ In this way, Schliemann might circumvent a thorough inspection by the officials of the customs house at Çanakkale. Since Schliemann evidently succeeded again in secretly moving the most important finds to Germany, his assumption was well founded.

The Ottoman authorities in Istanbul were evidently alarmed by Bedreddin Efendi's warnings. To realize a proper division of the finds, secure the correct course of events in the Troad, and, in particular, to stop Schliemann from excavating at different sites at the same time, Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the minister of public instruction and an eminent historian, decided Osman Hamdi should go to the Troad. In his letter to Osman Hamdi, Mustafa Pasha emphasizes Schliemann's illegal activities. And so Osman Hamdi left for Troy. He preferred to divide the finds at the public sphere of the customs house in Çanakkale, where the actual division took place on 24 and 25 July 1882.⁴²

Osman Hamdi was accompanied by the assistant director of the Imperial Museum and a sculptor. This impressive delegation ensured that Schliemann could not dominate the division. In fact, the official claimed some important artefacts, which Schliemann was reluctant to give up: 'At the last moment, the director of the museum decided [...] to take a badly damaged yet highly desirable metope which we particularly wanted.'⁴³

Nevertheless, Schliemann managed to keep most of his best finds from the Ottoman authorities and found ways to ship them to Berlin. Despite Bedreddin Efendi's caution, he could not prevent valuable finds making their way to Schliemann clandestinely. This accounts for at least one of the two treasures found in 1882 – the one Schliemann talked about to Virchow.⁴⁴ As we know, Schliemann kept this treasure secret, hidden from the Ottomans, and made sure it was not part of the division. This entire cache was brought to Germany and catalogued in Berlin in 1902.⁴⁵

This also accounts for the bronze figurine he found and identified as the original or a copy of the Palladium. On 17 May 1882, Schliemann asked

41 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 19/Ş/1299 (06/07/1882).

42 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 02/N/1299 (18/07/1882); IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, 09/R/1299 (24/07/1882).

43 'Erst im letzten Augenblick kam der Direktor des Museums [...] um uns eine sehr verdorbene, aber doch brauchbare Metope, die wir gerne haben wollten, wegzunehmen.' Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, letter from Schliemann to Virchow, (310), 328.

44 Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 306.

45 Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 220-222; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 212.

Virchow to be discreet about this discovery; otherwise 'I may be seriously inconvenienced.⁴⁶ Since the figurine was broken into three pieces he was able to obtain it in the division with the Ottoman government. The three pieces, he explained, 'were covered with carbonate of copper and dirt, and altogether indiscernible to an inexperienced eye.'⁴⁷

Schliemann certainly enjoyed strong diplomatic backing: not only when applying for permits, but also when exporting objects illegally. The assistance of the Italian vice-consul at the Dardanelles, Emilio Vitalis, in the illicit shipment of the treasure to Berlin, is just one example of this support.⁴⁸ The Ottoman government's dragoman, Nicolaos Didymos, was another collaborator. On 19 October 1882, Schliemann informed Virchow that 'as the danger of losing his position and everything loomed, Didymos secretly took 21 large baskets of the finest antiquities to Athens (of which I took a few of those especially prized smaller items to Frankfurt).' Schliemann clearly knew how to persuade officials to support him. For the excavations of 1882, Schliemann promised Vitalis and Didymos German decorations in return for their help.⁴⁹ After intensive lobbying the two partners received their medals in January 1883.⁵⁰

Ottoman authorities simply could not match Schliemann's strategies and political tactics. Moreover, the Ottoman government lacked the international support Schliemann had gained for his venture. Schliemann was determined to leave no artefacts to the Ottomans at all. Concerning Trojan pottery, he told Virchow on 19 September 1883 that 'to give nothing to the Turks, [he] kept all the characteristic pieces separate and sent them ahead secretly.'⁵¹ Schliemann believed that he was saving the artefacts from the Turks, while the Ottomans were trying to protect Trojan heritage from Schliemann.

46 'kriege ich vielleicht schwere Unannehmlichkeiten.' Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 308.

47 Schliemann, *Troja*, 169.

48 Saherwala, Goldmann and Mahr, *Heinrich Schliemanns 'Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer'*, 99, 105, 227; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 212.

49 'Didymos [...] bei der drohenden Gefahr seine Stellung und sein alles zu verlieren, 21 große Körbe mit herrlichen Altertümern heimlich nach Athen geschafft hat, (von denen ich die Kleinigkeiten, die soviel bewundert wurden, mit nach Frankfurt nahm).' Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 334-336.

50 Trill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 226; Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 345; see also Schliemann's letters to Crown Prince Bernhard, 17 December 1882 and 26 January 1883, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (121), 147-150, (125), 152-154.

51 'um den Türken davon nichts abzugeben, alle mehr charakteristischen Stücke separat legte und heimlich fortschickte.' Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, (368), 374-376.

Schliemann deemed the excavation season of 1882 a success. Dörpfeld and Höfler had made significant progress in clarifying the stratigraphy of the site. They renumbered the six prehistoric strata and split the level above the burnt second stratum of Priam's Treasure in two. This was based on Dörpfeld's important discovery that the city wall of Troy II continued in a north-easterly direction after the fire. As a result, Troy II doubled in size.

Schliemann was immensely relieved by this discovery. After publishing *Ilios* in 1880, he had begun to doubt the extent of the stratum which he had connected with Homer. The size of the settlement in which he had found the treasures which he claimed belonged to Priam did not correspond with Homer's description. In fact, the settlement was too small to be Homer's Troy.⁵² Dörpfeld's discoveries solved that problem. As Schliemann explained to Gladstone on 3 May 1882, the architects had proved that the second stratum was 'a large city, which used Hisarlık merely as its acropolis and sacred precinct of its temples, as well as for the residence of its king and family. They have laid bare the ruins of two very large buildings in this city. [...] These walls have been burnt by a fire put on both sides; this is proved by their vitrified surfaces. [...] This large city [...] is no doubt the *Homeric Ilios*.'⁵³

However, Schliemann's relief was brief. Ernst Bötticher, a retired army captain, proved an implacable opponent to Schliemann with his alternative view of the ruins at Hisarlık. Bötticher claimed that Schliemann had not uncovered Homer's Troy or any city at all; Hisarlık was a necropolis. His theory gained increasing scholarly attention and acceptance. So Schliemann felt obliged to resume excavations in 1890.⁵⁴

Trojan Pottery

Schliemann wanted to acquire as many Trojan objects as possible. He had his eye on the pottery collection at the Imperial Museum. This would be a fine addition to his collected Trojan works. He communicated his wish to Osman Hamdi in July 1882. In his letter he formulated his request carefully, assuring him that he was only interested in 'worthless, broken and imperfect pottery.' Schliemann asked Osman Hamdi to sell these ceramic objects to him.⁵⁵

52 Schliemann, *Troja*, 1-3.

53 Letter from Schliemann to Gladstone, 3 May 1882, (116), Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, 142-144.

54 'Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 233-235, 279-282.

55 IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, 05/07/1882; IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1535, 26/Ş/1299 (13/07/1882).

Osman Hamdi was not impressed with the Trojan objects that 'had fallen to the museum's share of the finds from the excavations of the past few years.' In 1883, he complained to the Ministry of Public Instruction that after making an inventory, many objects in the museum's Trojan collection were not important or prestigious enough to exhibit. Indeed, as we have seen, the items which were part of the division were usually not the most valuable finds. Schliemann had already shipped these out illegally before the division.⁵⁶

Osman Hamdi informed the minister of public instruction, Mustafa Pasha, that many of the recently discovered artefacts were 'not of importance for the museum.' He suggested selling these to Schliemann in order to buy other antique works 'worthy to display.' As a museum director, Osman Hamdi was primarily interested in expanding the museum's antiquities collection with more objects suitable for presentation.

The minister of public instruction, perhaps alarmed by Schliemann's reputation, did not immediately follow Osman Hamdi's advice, but requested an itemized list of the objects which he wished to study first.⁵⁷

Determined to obtain the objects held at the Imperial Museum for his own Trojan collection, Schliemann called in the influential German diplomat Josef Maria von Radowitz (1839-1912) to mediate for him. In January 1884, negotiations with the Ottoman government resumed to buy the 'truly colossal collection of broken terracotta vessels which was part of their 2/3 portion of objects in 1879, 1878 and 1882' from the Imperial Museum.⁵⁸

A year later, on the expert advice of an official council, Ottoman authorities decided that the Trojan potsherds stored in boxes in the museum's basement were not valuable enough to preserve or to exhibit. Mustafa Pasha argued that no one else except Schliemann would be interested in these fragments. Finally, after the approval from the grand vizier and the palace, it was decided to sell the pottery to Schliemann.⁵⁹

Apparently the Imperial Museum and the Ottoman state attached more importance to the suitability of artefacts for display, although the financial and political crisis in the Ottoman Empire also played a part.

56 IAMA: K26/1, Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1536, 11/Ra/1300 (20/01/1883).

57 IAMA: K26/1, Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1536, 11/Ra/1300 (20/01/1883).

58 'wirklich kolossalen Masse zerbrochener Terrakotta-Gefäße, die sie auf ihrem 2/3 Anteil in ihren Teilungen mit mir, in 1879, 1878 und 1882 erhielt[en].' Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, letter from Schliemann to Virchow, 22/01/1884, (391), 391-396, 392.

59 IBA: I.D 75171: 19/B/1302 (04/05/1885); included in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 537-539, document 29.

Financial Limitations

Despite the desire to collect as well as to preserve and display Ancient objects, Ottoman authorities were seriously hampered by the Empire's financial weakness. The government had no budget to support archaeological ventures or to expand the museum's collection more robustly. Osman Hamdi's suggestion to sell the Trojan pottery in the museum's storage space in order to buy more suitable antiquities for display illustrates the Ottoman situation.

This financial impotence was frustrating for Osman Hamdi, as a critical letter to the minister of public instruction shows: the Germans were spending thousands of liras to excavate on Ottoman soil and to exhibit their finds in their museum in Berlin. 'As for the French,' he states:

... for the excavations that have been continuing for 17 years, 50,000 francs have been spent yearly. [...] It is regrettable that although in accordance with the new Antiquities Law, which requires that the discovered antique works have to be handed over to the Royal Museum, the works that have been discovered by the Germans in Didyma are left at the site to be transferred to the [Imperial] Museum. There is no possibility to acquire the necessary 100 liras for the transfer of these to Der Saadet [Istanbul].⁶⁰

The funding for the museum's new premises in 1891 illustrates how hard-pressed the Ottomans were for money. Since the Ministry of Public Instruction budget fell short, funds for a new hospital, the budget for unexpected government expenses and the budget of the provinces were diverted to the new museum.⁶¹ No state funding was available either for the Empire's first 'national' archaeological venture under the direction of Osman Hamdi. Thanks to the lobbying and the financial campaign launched by his father, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, a considerable sum was collected for the museum's first archaeological project.⁶² The government's financial predicament even prompted Osman Hamdi to donate his yearly salary to the construction of the museum's new premises in 1901, although the offer was not accepted.⁶³

60 This five-page memorandum no. 355 (24 Januari 1316/1900) in the Archaeological Museum Istanbul archive was partially translated in modern Turkish by Aziz Ogan. See: Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıldönümü*, 11-13.

61 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 275.

62 *La Turquie*, 7 April 1883, 20 April 1883, in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 315.

63 Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıldönümü*, 12.

3 The Ottoman Elite's Displeasure with the Ineffective Antiquities Law of 1874

The Empire's financial problems and its political weakness created opportunities for foreign archaeologists to undertake expensive excavations on Ottoman soil and to remove the objects they found from the Empire, legally or illegally. It also created situations in which foreigners such as Schliemann could buy artefacts from the Imperial Museum. The removal of antiquities by Western archaeologists infuriated the Empire's intelligentsia.

The antiquities law of 1869 and Safvet Pasha's order to collect antiquities of the same year show that the desire in Ottoman circles to possess these Ancient objects.⁶⁴ However, the law and the decree proved inadequate. They could not keep antiquities in the Empire. So the authorities resolved to take action. It was vital to protect artefacts from foreign acquisition. In a letter to the palace on the subject, the grand vizier stated 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.'⁶⁵

The Antiquities Law of 1874, prompted by Schliemann's illegal actions in 1873, was equally ineffective. Its vague wording and the absence of sanctions meant that large-scale illegal expropriation of antiquities from the Empire continued.⁶⁶ The excavations of Pergamon (Bergama) – where German railroad engineer, architect and archaeologist Carl Humann (1839-1896) played a major role – illustrates the general disregard for the law.

Through his consultancy work on railway and road routes for Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha, Humann had established valuable connections in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Moreover, by supervising the construction of roads in Asia Minor he became acquainted with the area, particularly the west coast. Backed by the director of the Imperial Museum in Berlin, Alexander Conze (1831-1914), Humann employed a cunning strategy to acquire the rights to the excavation site at Pergamon. First, Humann played down the potential of the site so that he would be in a better negotiating position with the Ottomans. Secondly, he did not publish the findings of 1878 until 1880. Meanwhile, flouting the antiquities regulation, Humann persuaded the Ottoman authorities to sell the property to him by secret treaty. He also convinced the Ottomans to sell their one-third share of the finds to

64 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89.

65 *Rehnuma* quotes the writ of the grand vizier to the Sultan (*arz tezkeresi*) for the new law, from Topkapı Palace Archives (Maruzat Arşivi), in Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89.

66 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 215; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 91.

the museum in Berlin for a small sum. Humann's efforts resulted in a huge amount of antiquities arriving in the German Museum of Antiquities in Berlin. These included the altar of Zeus, which was later reconstructed within the museum. Clearly Humann's deal with the Ottoman authorities was the result of corruption, and also of Ottoman bankruptcy.⁶⁷

At the same time, public displeasure and opposition to the large-scale export of antiquities to the West was also increasing. As the correspondence between Osman Hamdi and the director of the German Museum of Antiquities Alexander Conze in 1882, shows. To maintain good relations with the Imperial Museum, Conze informed Osman Hamdi that he had sent him a number of publications on the excavations at Bergama (Pergamon). Conze also wrote to Osman Hamdi that he would send him a plaster cast of an Apollo statue found at the site. In exchange for this Conze asked Osman Hamdi for a stone set into the exterior wall of the Bergama mosque. Osman Hamdi ignored Conze's request and replied that he would accept the plaster cast and, furthermore, that he requested copies of all the great statues of Bergama. Meanwhile, to secure the stone in question he sent a museum official to Bergama to remove it and add it to the Imperial Museum collection.⁶⁸

The Excavations at Nemrud Dağı

Presumably in reaction to Conze's plans to initiate new excavations at Nemrud Dağı⁶⁹ and Sakçagözü⁷⁰ – both located in south-eastern Turkey – in 1882, the Ottoman government decided to send Osman Hamdi and his associate Osgan Efendi to Nemrud Dağı to examine the site in 1883.⁷¹ Osman Hamdi's exploration of Nemrud Dağı was the first archaeological project supervised by the Imperial Museum. It was made possible, along with other imperial excavations in this period through the efforts of leading political figures such as Ibrahim Edhem Pasha (the foreign minister) and Izzet Bey (the director of the Post and Telegram Department), who launched a campaign to raise funds. Alongside various ministers, the boards of institutions such as Eastern Railways and Haydarpaşa Railways, as well as the Ottoman Bank supported the financial campaign. The appeal generated over 500 liras, a

67 Marchand, *Down From Olympus*, 93-95; Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods*, 290; Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of the Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 115; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 108-110.

68 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 109.

69 Presumably the tumulus and sacred seat of the first-century BC Commagene King, Antiochus I Epiphanes, a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1987.

70 The ruins of a late Hittite city (eighth century BC) were found here in 1883.

71 Recent publication on archaeological research in Nemrud Dağı: Brijder, *Nemrud Dağı*.

vast sum at the time, which enabled Osman Hamdi to implement his plan. To present the Ottoman archaeological enterprise on the European stage, the impressive discoveries at Nemrud Dağı were published in French with photographs and illustrations of the expedition and the huge first-century BC statues.⁷²

For the Ottoman elite it was important to undertake archaeological excavations, collect and preserve antiquities, and especially to protect objects from European acquisition. This fundraising campaign is a revealing illustration. The articles and reports in newspapers and journals emphasizing the importance of preserving and displaying antiquities reflect an increasing interest among the Ottoman intelligentsia in archaeology and museological practice, yet they also show the lack of resources and understanding in official bodies.⁷³ Given the Empire's straitened circumstances, the Ottomans could not hope to rival the efforts of the Europeans on whom they depended financially. Indeed, the Ottoman Empire, by now the 'sick man of Europe,' was in the unfortunate position of having no financial resources and no political power.

The outcry which followed each major loss of archaeological treasure prompted the enactment of stricter antiquities legislation. The need for a new antiquities law was the subject of a directive from the grand vizierate to the council of the Ministry of Public Instruction in November 1883. It stated that the regulation of 1874 had created a situation in which 'transport of rare and fine works to Europe' had continued freely. Moreover, in other countries the archaeologists were only allowed to export plaster casts of their finds, while the originals remained. The directive ordered that a new law should include a provision that only copies of artefacts be given to archaeologists excavating on imperial lands, and that the originals be stored at the Imperial Museum.⁷⁴

Soon after this decree, on 23 February 1884, a revised antiquities law came into effect, defining tangible Ancient heritage as imperial property.⁷⁵

72 Hamdy Bey and Effendi, *Le tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh*; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 109; Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 314-317; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 193.

73 See: *Ceride-i Havadis*, 122, 12/L/1277 (23 April 1861), *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, 40, 19/C/1281 (19 November 1864), *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, 81, 19/Ş/1281 (17 January 1865), *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, 86, 26/Ş/1281 (24 January 1865), Vakit, 1609, 01/Ca/1297 (11 April 1880), all cited in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 284-288.

74 Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 332; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 215; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 201.

75 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 110-113.

4 New Antiquities Legislation (1884): Ottoman Claim to Ancient Heritage

All of the artefacts left by the Ancient peoples who inhabited the Ottoman Empire, that is, gold and silver; various old and historical coins; signs engraved with informative writings; carved pictures; decoration; objects and containers made of stone and clay and various media; weapons; tools; idols; ringstones; temples and palaces, and old game-areas called circuses; theatres, fortifications, bridges and aqueducts; corpses, buried objects, and hills appropriate for examination; mausoleums, obelisks, memorial objects, old buildings, statues and every type of carved stone are among antiquities.⁷⁶

The new Antiquities Law, based to a large extent on the Greek antiquities law of 1834, began by defining antiquities.⁷⁷ The law declared that 'all types of antiquities extant or found, or appearing in the course of excavation or appearing in lakes, rivers, streams, or creeks,' belonged to the state. The law identified all antiquities 'as automatically part of the Ottoman patrimony.' The Ottoman Empire became the legitimate owner of all archaeological objects. While their removal or destruction was forbidden, the state had the right to confiscate private property for archaeological purposes. Archaeologists were not allowed to own the land and private persons could no longer possess antiquities 'without the government explicitly relinquishing that object.' The law also forbade the export of antique objects 'without the express consent of the Imperial Museum' and included instructions to limit such exports.

The law reflected an increased awareness of the historical and archaeological value of artefacts. The definition of antiquities demonstrates an improved understanding of archaeological artefacts and their relation to sites. Now the law prohibited the disturbance of archaeological sites: no construction was allowed within a quarter of a kilometre of an archaeological site and it was also forbidden to lift stones lying on the ground of such a site. This included 'taking measurements, drawing, or making moulds of antique stones as well as constructing scaffolding around ruins.'

In the wake of nineteenth-century nationalism, the Ottomans created a law with which they aspired to strengthen their claim to their territories by appropriating the artefacts left behind by those who had lived there before.⁷⁸

76 IBA: I.MMS. 78/3401:23/R/1301 (21/02/1884), translated by Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 111.

77 Letter from Schliemann to Humann, 7 February 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (326), 348-350; from Humann to Schliemann, 9 February 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (327), 350-352. See also note 264, above.

78 For a review of the dialectic of the law, see: Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 110-115.

Yet the Ottoman determination to keep antiquities in the Empire did not succeed. It was impossible to implement this stricter legislation effectively. While instructions for granting permits to archaeologists were followed, finds were often exported before they were registered in the excavation journals kept by the museum representative and the archaeologist, which the law required to be updated and signed daily. Moreover, Sultan Abdülhamid II's close ties with Kaiser Wilhelm II and Emperor Frans Joseph I often prompted him to circumvent the law and grant incidental permits. The practised diplomatic savoir-faire of Europe's archaeologists and classicists also played a major role in this circumvention of the law.⁷⁹ In the Troad, for example, Calvert ignored the new law and continued to scout clandestinely for potential archaeological sites.⁸⁰

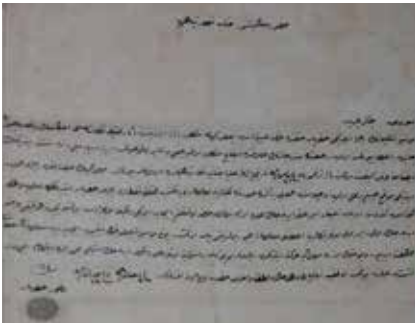
Nonetheless, the severity of the new law did act as a deterrent. It put many European archaeologists off excavating in the Ottoman Empire, including Schliemann. Calvert's attempts to convince him to reopen his excavations were fruitless. The new antiquities regulation prevented Schliemann from starting a new campaign at Hisarlık. He preferred Crete, at least for the time being.⁸¹

79 Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 102, 200-202; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 116-124.

80 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 215-219

81 'The Law on Antiquities'; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 217.

Figure 25 Letter from Bedreddin Efendi regarding Heinrich Schliemann



Source: Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: 26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 09/Ş/99 (26/06/1882)
 Photo: Günay Uslu, 2008

Schliemann tried to outmanoeuvre his exacting supervisor Bedreddin Efendi. When he started simultaneous exploratory digs at different sites in June 1882, he tried to exclude Bedreddin Efendi from these excavations. Bedreddin Efendi did not accept this. On 26 June, he warned the Ministry of Public Instruction. Bedreddin Efendi states that Schliemann was ‘obstructing him in the execution of his duty.’

Figure 26 The Ministry of Public Instruction strictly prohibited Schliemann from performing exploratory digs



Source: Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98,99,300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 16/Ş/1299 (03/07/1882)
 Photo: Günay Uslu, 2008

Besides emphasizing the strict observance of the Antiquities Law, the authorities also noted the requirement that an Ottoman supervisor be present. Otherwise Schliemann was forbidden to continue his excavations.

Figure 27 Letter from the governor of the Dardanelles, Mehmed Reşad, to the Ministry of Public Instruction



Source: Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: 26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1535, MH no: unclassified, 18/Ş/1299 (05/07/1882)

Photo: Günay Uslu, 2008

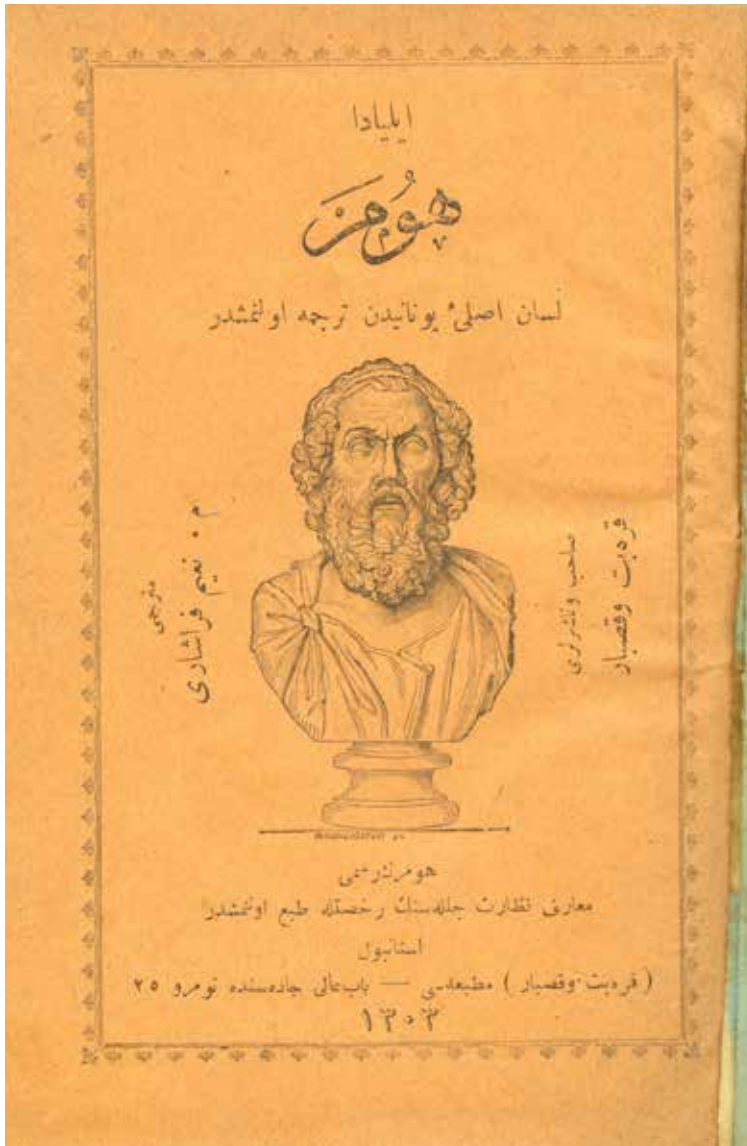
Letter from the governor of the Dardanelles, Mehmed Reşad, to the Ministry of Public Instruction, stating that Schliemann had been told to avoid illegal actions and that he could not excavate without his supervisor Bedreddin Efendi being present. Information about the transport of an Ancient find to Istanbul is also included in the letter.

Figure 28 Letter from Schliemann to Osman Hamdi Bey

Source: Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, (French) 05/07/1882
 Photo: Günay Uslu, 2008

Letter from Schliemann to Osman Hamdi Bey, director of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Schliemann informed Osman Hamdi that he was bringing the season to an end around 12 July. He invited Osman Hamdi to join the conclusion. Schliemann had his eye on the Imperial Museum pottery collection. He believed that these objects would be a fine addition to his Trojan collection. He made his request to Osman Hamdi in this letter, in cautious terms. He reassured Osman Hamdi that he was only interested in 'worthless, broken and imperfect pottery.'

Figure 29 Frontispiece, Na'im Fraşeri, *Ilyada: Eser-i Homer* (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886)



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

This is the first attempt to translate the *Iliad* into Ottoman Turkish. Na'im Fraşeri, born in Frashër (now in modern Albania), was a civil servant with the Ottoman Ministry of Education. His prose translation of the first book of the *Iliad* – a booklet of 43 pages – includes a fifteen-page foreword in which he introduces the *Iliad*, Homer and Troy in some detail.

IV Homer and Troy in Ottoman Literature

An Overview

Paris' betrayal [...] led to a war. Rulers of Greece and neighbouring regions, led by Agamemnon, [...] attacked Troy and besieged the town for ten years. After numerous and heavy battles during that period, they succeeded in conquering it by the trick devised by Ulysses.¹ Ulysses had ordered the construction of a huge wooden horse. In the horse's belly he had hidden a selection of the bravest soldiers. Then he sent the Trojans the message: 'We are leaving now for our countries, but we leave behind this wooden horse as a souvenir of the battles.' The Trojans pulled the horse into the town. [...] At nightfall the soldiers hidden in the horse's belly came out and let the other soldiers in as well. They destroyed the town and defeated and killed its citizens.

Agamemnon was the most eminent of the rulers of the Achaeans, the bravest was Achilles, the cleverest Odysseus and the most eloquent was Nestor. The greatest hero of the Trojans was Hector, the brave and unparalleled son of Priam, Aeneas was the most heroic prince after him.

Although repeatedly translated into European languages, the fact that these two famous, valuable and old works have still not been translated into the Ottoman language is a cause for grief. Therefore, I started at once to translate, print and publish, step by step, the aforementioned work from its original language.

Na'im Fraşeri, Ilyada. Eser-i Homer (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886), preface, 5-7, translated from Ottoman Turkish

As far as is known, no translation of the poems of Homer into Ottoman Turkish existed until 1885.² Na'im Fraşeri claims this in the preface to his translation of the first song of the *Iliad* (*Ilyada: Eser-i Homer*). Ottoman Turks may have known about Troy and Homer for centuries, but they had never felt a need to translate the poems into Ottoman Turkish until the nineteenth century. While Heinrich Schliemann's archaeological activities in Troy in the 1870s stimulated Ottoman interest in Homeric epics, the nineteenth-century modernizations, the progress in public education, the rise of printing and publishing and innovations in Ottoman literature also

¹ The author uses both the Latin and Greek names.

² Parts of this chapter, including figures and captions, appeared in Uslu, 'Homer and Troy in 19th-Century Ottoman Turkish Literature.'

created a situation in which Homer could enter Ottoman art, culture and literature.

Indeed, the literary importance of Homer's epics, the attempts to translate the *Iliad* into Ottoman Turkish, biographical notes on the poet, informative articles in Ottoman periodicals and newspapers on Homeric epic and the topographical characteristics of Homeric locations came at a time when Western literature and Ancient Greek and Roman literature were finding their place in Ottoman culture.³

For all the interest and enthusiasm, however, no single complete Turkish version of Homer's oeuvre had ever been produced in the Ottoman Empire. The new translators were pioneers and doubtless experienced all the frustration of the complexities involved. Interest in Homer flourished in the new Ottoman literary era, particularly from the 1850s to the second constitutional period (1908). However, to get a better understanding of the role of Homer in Ottoman literature and to position the rising interest among Ottoman intellectuals in Homeric epic in the late Ottoman Empire, it also is useful to examine early Ottoman interest in Homer and Troy.

1 Early Ottoman-Turkish Interest in the Homeric Epics

Ottoman Turks were no strangers to Troy, Homer and Homeric epic. In fact, Sultan Mehmed II, the conqueror of Istanbul (1432-1481), was greatly interested in Homer and Troy and his personal library at the Topkapı Sarayı includes a valuable Greek edition of the *Iliad* (Fig. 30).⁴ The collections of the libraries in Istanbul also include medieval Arabic manuscripts referring to the story of the Trojan horse and 'the tricks of sovereigns.' One of these manuscripts was completed in 1475, probably commissioned by Sultan Mehmed II.⁵

Mehmed II's desire to gain historical legitimacy by identifying with the Trojans is mentioned in Chapter 1. As Michael Kritovoulos's official chronicle states, Mehmed II praised Homer and admired the ruins of the

3 The way Homer was approached, read and translated is not the main point of this study. Much has been written about Homer and the reception of Homer. However, little attention has been paid to the Ottoman-Turkish perspective. Since the archaeological activities in Troy stimulated the Ottoman interest in Troy and Homer, this chapter briefly reviews literary interest in Homer in the Ottoman Empire and provides a cursory description of the reception of Homer at this time. For the reception of Homer from the late Antiquity to the present, see: Clarke, *Homer's Readers, and Young, The Printed Homer*. On Homer himself, see: Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*.

4 Mehmed II's library, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, G12.

5 Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen,' 282.

Ancient city on his visit to Troy in 1462. He identified with the Trojans and – referring to the conquest of Istanbul in 1453 – celebrated the victory of ‘us’ Asians over the descendants of the ‘Greeks, Macedonians and Thessalians and Peloponnesians.’⁶

The Turks probably knew about Homer before Sultan Mehmed II’s reign. They were certainly familiar with figures and events in Homeric literature. The epic stories of the heroic age of the Turkish tribe of the Oğuz that make up the *Book of Dede Korkut* include themes analogous to the Homeric poems. This collection about the morals, values, pre-Islamic beliefs and athletic skills of the Turkic people was transmitted orally for centuries before it was recorded, probably in the fifteenth century. The tale of the Oğuz hero Basat killing the cyclops-like Tepegöz – who had been terrorizing the Oğuz realm – is a creative adaptation of Odysseus’ struggle with Polyphemus.⁷ And the Alpamysh (*Alpamyş*) epic, which probably circulated during the Turkic Kaghanate as early as the sixth to eighth century in Central Asia, also includes Homeric themes.⁸

Interest in Homer and Troy is also apparent in later periods. The comprehensive seventeenth-century Arabic history *Camii’ d – düvel* (Compendium of nations) and the Ottoman-Turkish version *Sahaif-ül Ahbar* (The pages of the chronicle) by Ottoman astronomer, astrologer and historian Ahmed Dede Müneccimbaşı (1631-1702) identifies the Trojan War as the seminal event in Greek history and discusses the location and history of Troy.⁹

Another famous work touching on Troy is Mustafa ibn Abdullah’s *Cihannüma*. Known as Katip Çelebi (1609-1657), this celebrated Ottoman scholar’s abundantly illustrated volume on geography, topography, history and astronomy was based on a synthesis of Islamic and Western sources.

6 Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 181-182; on Sultan Mehmed II’s interest in the heroes of Classical Antiquity and his identification with the Trojans, see: Babinger, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve Zamanı*, 418-421; Yerasimos, ‘Türkler Romalıların mirasçısı mıdır?’, 69-71; Kreiser, ‘Troia und die Homerischen Epen,’ 282; Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 25-26; Rijser, ‘The Second Round.’

7 Bremmer, ‘Odysseus versus the Cyclops,’ 136; for a discussion of issues such as the time in which the stories were created or recorded, see: Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 94, 177-179; Lewis, *The Book of Dede Korkut*; and Meeker, ‘The Dede Korkut Ethic.’

8 For a detailed study on Alpamysh, see: Paksoy, *Alpamysh*; in relation to Homeric literature: Fattah, *Tanrıların ve Firavunların Dili*; and Meydan, *Son Truva’lılar*.

9 Ahmed Dede Müneccimbaşı was court astrologer to Mehmed IV (1642-1693). The Turkish version of *Camii’ d – düvel* is a summary translation by a committee led by the prominent poet Ahmed Nedim during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736): the Tulip Age in which arts, culture and architecture flourished. The work is based on Arab, Persian, Turkish and European sources. Roman and Jewish sources may also have been used for this universal history; see: ‘Ahmed Dede Müneccimbasi’; Kreiser, ‘Troia un die Homerischen Epen,’ 282.

The seventeenth-century work was printed in Istanbul in 1732. It includes a version of the story of Troy, probably based on a middle Greek/Byzantine narrative and written by Ebu Bekir ibn Behram ed-Dımeşki (d. 1691).¹⁰

Troy and Homeric characters appear again in *Tarih-i Iskender bin Filipos* (History of Alexander the son of Philip), published in 1838 and reprinted in 1877, and in an Ottoman-Turkish translation of Flavius Arrianus' (89-145/146 AD) *Anabasis Alexandrou*. After describing Alexander's arrival in Troy, the translator, probably George Rhasis, pays particular attention to the circumstances in which Priam, Achilles and Hector met their death and informs his readers about the enmity between the races of Priam and Neoptolemos. Presumably, the author was trying to make his narrative more accessible for an Ottoman audience. Since the edition was published in Cairo it remains debatable whether it actually reached Ottoman readers in the capital or other large cities of the Empire.¹¹

Another work on Ancient Greek history, including Homer and Troy, appeared soon after in Istanbul: *Tarih-i Kudema-yi Yunan ve Makedonya* (History of Ancient Greek and Macedonia), apparently written by Agribozı Melek Ahmed in the 1850s during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid.¹² With the publication of *Tarih-i Yunanistan-ı Kadim* (The Ancient history of Greece) in 1870, Istanbul's readers had ample opportunity to learn about Ancient Greek geography, people, authors, heroes and mythology in detail.¹³

Classical Philosophers in Ottoman Islamic Culture

The Ottomans also knew Homer through Medieval Persian and especially Arabic studies of Ancient works. It was through Arab interest in Classical Greek literature that much of Greek and Hellenistic philosophy and science had been preserved in Syriac and Arabic texts in the Middle Ages.

10 Mustafa b. Abdullah, *Kitab-ı Cihannüma li-Katib Çelebi* (Konstantiniye 1145/1732), 667-669, in Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen,' 282-289; Cihannüma was printed by the Ottoman Empire's first Islamic printing house, set up by İbrahim Müteferrika: 500 copies were printed. See: Çelebi, *Kitab-ı Cihannümâ li-Katib Çelebi*; and Sarıcaoğlu, 'Cihannüma ve Ebubekir b. Behram ed-Dımeşki – İbrahim Müteferrika.'

11 *Kitab-ı Tarih-i Iskender bin Filipos* (Cairo 10/Ra/1234) (03/06/1838) *Tarih-i Iskender bin Filipos* (Cairo 1294/1877); for an account of the original work, the identity of the translator and the circumstances under which the translation was made, and its reception, see: Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 23-35; and Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 203-207.

12 Melek Ahmed Agribozı, *Tarih-i Kudema-yi Yunan ve Makedonya*, Istanbul Üniversitesi, Nadir Eserler, TY=C1/2454 and C1/3454.

13 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 30-38; Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 140; Kayaoğlu, *Türkiyede Tercüme Müesseseleri*, 81.

Classical philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were considered important figures in Islam; they were perceived as legendary characters of an Islamic era. In the ninth century, some Arab scholars were even thought to prefer Aristotle to the Koran.¹⁴ And Plato, as the historian Dursun Ali Tokel notes, was considered a prophet by several Islamic scholars.¹⁵

As a part of, and, for a long time, as rulers of the Islamic world, the Ottomans had access to these medieval Arabic studies of Ancient Greek literature. Gradually, Ancient philosophy became a major part of the Ottoman political and cultural world and as historian Cemal Kafadar states, Classical figures such as Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen became the foundation of the Ottoman Islamic culture.¹⁶

Homer was known as the 'wandering poet' in the Muslim world. While poetry was not the focus of Arabic studies, Arabic translations included fragments and quotes from Homer, while biographies of Homer appeared in dictionaries and encyclopaedias. The influential Muslim philosopher Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) informs readers in his *Al-Muqaddimah* (Prolegomenon, 1377) that 'Aristotle, in his logic, praises the poet Umatırash [Homer].'¹⁷ It is widely accepted that Ibn Khaldun was a vital source of inspiration for Ottoman scholars such as Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) and Mustafa Naima (1655-1716).¹⁸

The Search for Change in Ottoman Literature

Although Ottoman Turks appear to have known Homer and Homeric themes and characters, no Ottoman-Turkish version of Homer's tales was produced until the nineteenth-century reforms and modernization. As Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, an authority on Turkish literature, explains, 'with the Tanzimat edict of 1839, the Empire and the society left a circle of civilization in which it had lived for centuries and declared its entrance into another civilization,' the Western European civilization it had confronted for centuries. The government explicitly accepted European values and the basic principles

14 Manguel, *Homer's The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 80-82; Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 38.

15 Tökel, *Divan Şiirinde Mitolojik Unsurlar*, 424.

16 On the antique origins of Ottoman political ideas, see: Kafadar, 'Osmanlı Siyasal Düşüncesinin Kaynakları Üzerine Gözlemler.'

17 Translated in Manguel, *Homer's The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 80; on Homer in the Islamic world, see: Manguel, *Homer's The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 80-89; and Kraemer, 'Arabische Homerverse.'

18 Lewis, 'İbn Khaldun in Turkey.' Katip Çelebi also knew Latin and translated Latin works into Turkish, in Tokel, 'Türk Edebiyatında Nev Yunanilik'; see also Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, 143.

of the Enlightenment and made modernization a state programme. These reforms and changes in political, economic and social life triggered a search for change in Ottoman literature.¹⁹

Nineteenth-century Ottoman literature – New Ottoman (Turkish) or Tanzimat Literature – interacted with Western literature.²⁰ In the second half of the nineteenth century, Ottoman writers adopted European literary forms. Educating the public in Western ideas was a major concern in the literary scene of this era, which was dominated by Tanzimat statesmen, civil servants and intellectuals proficient in different languages and educated in new Western-style schools. The authors of the New Ottoman Literature movement wrote for public instruction. The new Western-style literary genres such as novels, plays, philosophical dialogues and essays enabled new ideas to be introduced, and to be interpreted and discussed by the reading public.²¹

2 New Ottoman Literature: Educating the Public and Changing Perceptions

Helen, only eighteen years old, a prominent figure of her time, deserved to be described as the personification of love. Is it possible that the longing, the coquetry and entreats of a person deep in love, as Paris was, would not affect such a beauty that was wholly created of desire, fertility and affection? Would the laws of human nature allow this?

In his work, the Iliad, the leading poet Homer composed the poem about the historical [Trojan] war in the form of verses. I, a humble translator, had a strong desire to translate this story by retaining the original language of it as much as possible. No, it is not a disgrace! In my opinion it is more justified to strengthen a strong desire to improve public instruction than to remove the impetus.

Selanikli Hilmi, İlyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros (*Istanbul, 1316/1898-1899*), *introduction, z, yd, ye, translated from Ottoman Turkish*

19 Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 126-129; Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 24-25.

20 Historians of Turkish literature call the period between 1839 and 1923 the age of New Ottoman (Turkish) Literature or Tanzimat Literature. The proclamation of the second constitutional monarchy in 1908 is considered a turning point in this period with its radical political and cultural changes and its impact on literature. See: Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 9, 5-27; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, vii, 1. On the history of literature in the late Ottoman Empire, its various movements and leading figures, see also: Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*; Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel bir Bakış*; Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel*; Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel*; and Akyüz, 'La Littérature Moderne de Turquie,' 465-634; see also: Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 225-257.

21 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 25, 32.

As Selanikli Hilmi states in the preface to his translation of the first book of Homer's *Iliad*, the main purpose of Ottoman literary production following the Tanzimat edict was the improvement of public instruction (Fig. 31). This related fundamentally to the circumstances in which the reforms were introduced. It was a time of weakness and disintegration, and leading figures in Ottoman society hoped to save the Empire with wide-scale modernization. Authors of literary texts, as Inci Enginün points out, played a major part in disseminating Tanzimat principles to the population. Since the reforms were not based on a broad intellectual movement, writers hoped to contribute to a revival of Ottoman society. The literature of this period has a liberal dose of social relevance. Newspapers and periodicals served as a tool for education and the maintenance of modernization with a major impact on literary life and individual writers. The reading public had correspondingly high expectations of the press.²²

Despite the new era, press freedom continued to be extremely limited until 1908.²³ Nonetheless, as the modernizations were introduced, progress in public education and increased literacy were accompanied by a rapid expansion of the press.²⁴ The number of publications grew and periodicals and newspapers reached an ever wider audience.²⁵ Yet during the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1908) it became increasingly impossible to publish about political matters. Words such as republic, revolution, anarchy, socialism, constitution, equality, nation, justice, native, coup, freedom, bomb,

22 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 22, 25, 32; Kocabaşoğlu and Birinci, 'Osmanlı Vilayet Gazete ve Matbaaları Üzerine Gözlemler,' 101-103.

23 On the history of Turkish press, see: Topuz, *100 soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*; Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri*; Iskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Haraketlerine Bir Bakış*; Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*; Koloğlu, 'Osmanlı Basını,' 87; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyülü*, 194-196; Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 22, 25, 32; Kocabaşoğlu and Birinci, 'Osmanlı Vilayet Gazete ve Matbaaları Üzerine Gözlemler,' 101-103.

24 The increasing literacy was partly the result of public initiatives. State-sponsored schools at different levels emerged in the late nineteenth century. As a consequence, the literacy rate of the Muslim Ottoman population, which was about 2-3 percent in the early nineteenth century, increased to approximately 15 percent in the final years of the Empire. See: Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 169. For a comprehensive treatment of the progress in Turkish public education, see: Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*. See also: Iskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Haraketlerine bir Bakış*, 93-97; Engin, *1868'den 1923'e Mekteb-i Sultani*; Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 179-184; Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 202-216.

25 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 78. Before 1840, annually eleven books were published in Istanbul. By 1908, ninety-nine printing houses published 285 books, in Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*. For the rise of printing and publishing in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, see also: Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?,' 42.

explosion, strike and assassination were strictly forbidden.²⁶ Instead, newspapers and periodicals concentrated on technology, science, geography, history and literature.²⁷

Modern cultural life had gradually found a way into the main cities of the Empire, such as Istanbul, Izmir and Thessalonica. The changing cultural atmosphere triggered many discussions. Supporters and opponents formulated their views in prose, poetry, novels and plays. As Tanpınar explains, nineteenth-century literature was the product of an age of 'civilization struggle'.²⁸

Translations of French Neoclassical Works: New Perspectives on the Ancients

The creators of New Ottoman Literature drew inspiration from Western literature.²⁹ Various Western works of science, philosophy and literature were translated into Ottoman Turkish. The increasing openness to European culture was closely related to the establishment of institutions such as the Tercüme Odası (Translation Office, 1832), Encümen-i Daniş (Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1850/51), Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye (Ottoman Scientific Society, 1860) and various newspapers and periodicals in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁰

Many intellectuals – some connected to these institutions and others not – also translated Western works on their own initiative.³¹ Translation was a way of learning or practising a foreign language.³² Ottoman intellectuals

26 Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri*, 65.

27 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 78.

28 Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 16.

29 Although Western literature dominated, literary figures of the period did not abandon classic Turkish poetry, traditional popular literature or pre-Islamic Turkish literature. These traditional elements were also part of the new literature, sometimes providing inspiration and sometimes as source of criticism: Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 25-27.

30 Paker, 'Turkey,' 19-21.

31 It is generally agreed that the state contributed little to coordinate these translations. Literary production in this period was therefore highly diverse. Translators usually selected works to translate based on personal preference and popularity; their main concern was content rather than form or style. Yet institutions such as the Encümen-i Daniş and Cemiyet-i İlmiye-yi Osmaniye and the translation offices would also have been engaged in managing literary translations. See: Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 139-141, 263-266, 270-273; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 3; Strauss, 'Romanlar, ah! O Romanlar!'; Ortaçlı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, 244-254. For a detailed survey on Ottoman translation institutions, see also: Kayaoğlu, *Türkiyede Tercüme Müesseseleri*; Aksoy, 'Translation Activities in the Ottoman Empire.'

32 Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 263-265.

generally concentrated on the leading literary figures of the French neoclassical period, such as Racine, Molière, Corneille and La Fontaine.³³ So French literature and its various movements became increasingly influential.³⁴ Philosophical works were especially popular: Münif Pasha biographies of Ancient philosophers were particularly well regarded among Muslim intellectuals of the time.³⁵

Given the prominence of Ancient Greek and Roman themes in neoclassical works, the Ottoman taste for this genre gave Classical literature and Classical mythology a prominent place in Ottoman literature and arts, while intellectuals associated with the new literary movement frequently referred to Greek Antiquity in essays and prefaces to publications.³⁶

As major French neoclassical works entered Ottoman literature, readers gained an opportunity to widen their once overwhelmingly Islamic perspective on Classical authors. They began to compare Islamic perspectives with new Western perceptions. Ottoman readers came to see these works in a different light and to view the Ancients from a different angle.³⁷

This new perspective on Classical literature encouraged Ottoman writers to read and translate Ancient Greek authors further. One of the most popular Ancient Greek figures among Ottoman readers was Aesop. Many literary adaptations of Aesop's fables were published in this period.³⁸ Interest in Aesop's fables stemmed from the Ottoman focus on educating readers. The tremendous success of the translation of Fénelon's novel *Les Aventures de Télémaque* mentioned in Chapter 2 also related to the work's didactic

33 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 2-4; Budak, *Münif Pasha*, 289, 362-368, 397; see also: Okay, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yenileşme Döneminde Türk Edebiyatı.'

34 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 25-27; Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 263-266, 270-273; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 3.

35 Published in the 1860s under the title 'History of Greek Philosophers' in *Mecmua-i Fünun*, volumes 13 to 45; see Strauss, 'The Millets and the Ottoman Language,' 217-219, 221; see also Mermutlu, 'Multi-Perception of the Enlightenment Thinking in Nineteenth-Century Turkey,' 177; and Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 8.

36 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 2-4.

37 Has-er, 'Tanzimat Devrinde Latin ve Grek Antikitesi ile İlgili Neşriyat,' 100. This BA thesis is authoritative on the subject and is often quoted by scholars such as Tokar, 'Türk Edebiyatında Nev Yunanılık'; Demirci, 'Mitoloji ve Şiir'in İzinde Ahmet Midhat Efendi'nin Mitolojiye Dair Görüşleri'; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 2-4, 18; and Budak, *Münif Pasha*, 289, 362-368, 397.

38 Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?,' 50.

qualities.³⁹ The travels of Telemachus, son of Odysseus, were an education literally, and required reading in Ottoman schools.⁴⁰

The first translation of *Télémaque* into Ottoman Turkish (1859, printed in 1862) by the prominent statesman Grand Vizier Yusuf Kamil Pasha (1808-1876),⁴¹ was highly popular and influential among leading intellectuals.⁴² Yusuf Kamil Pasha's *Inşa* translation of Fénelon's novel – an ornate poetic prose style which dominated Ottoman literature at the time – was used in high school to teach prose composition.⁴³

A second translation by another distinguished figure in the political and cultural arena, Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-1891), completed in 1869 and printed in 1880, was also popular and reprinted more than once.⁴⁴ In contrast to the ornate prose style of the previous translation, this version of *Télémaque* was characterized by its stylistic simplicity. The author believed he had produced 'a literal and accurate' work in which 'every word would produce pleasure.'⁴⁵

Although Ancient philosophy played a major role in the Ottoman cultural world, Greek poetry and mythology were largely neglected. Apart from a few transpositions and adaptations into popular legend, Greco-Latin literature had no direct influence on Islamic or Turkish literature.⁴⁶ When Yusuf Kamil Pasha's *Terceme-i Telemak* appeared, it sparked a lively interest in Ancient Greek poetry and mythology which triggered translations of works on Ancient history into Ottoman Turkish.⁴⁷

Two other pioneering works also appeared in 1859: *Terceme-i Manzume* (Translations of verse), a selection of French poetry – La Fontaine, Lamartine, Gilbert and Racine – by the prominent intellectual Ibrahim Şinasi, and the famous *Muhaverat-i Hikemiye* (Philosophical dialogues) by Münif

39 This work is considered to be the first translation from Western literature. Strauss notes, however, that the first Ottoman-Turkish translations of Western literature appeared in the 1830s in Egypt: Strauss, 'Turkish Translations from Mehmed Ali's Egypt.'

40 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 177-179; Şemseddin Sami's translation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (often called the first modern English novel) in 1886 was also used in Ottoman schools; Strauss, 'Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?', 50.

41 Kamil, *Tercüme-i Telemak*. For biographical information, see: Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar*.

42 Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 241-245. See also Chapter 2, above.

43 Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 177; Paker, 'Turkey,' 21.

44 Akun, 'Ahmed Vefik Paşa,' 154-155; Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 178.

45 Paker, 'Turkey,' 21-23.

46 Tanpınar, *Yahya Kemal*, 119.

47 Tokar, 'Türk Edebiyatında Nev Yunanilik'; See also Meriç, *Bu Ülke*, 115; Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 38-40; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 1-3.

Paşa. These three volumes – strongly influenced by French literature – had a tremendous impact. They introduced new literary genres and set the tone for years to come with forms and ideas that shaped modern Turkish literature. Most of all, they ‘marked the awakening of interest in European classics.’⁴⁸

Knowledge of Greek Antiquity gradually increased and Classical authors became a point of reference in Ottoman literature. Classical authors came to influence and shape the ideas of the intelligentsia of the late Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹

As Western philosophy and Greek Classical works penetrated Ottoman literature, it might be true, as Mehmet Can Doğan remarks, that it was an interest in philosophy that directed and stimulated the attention of Ottoman intellectuals towards the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.⁵⁰ Indeed, literary innovations and new perceptions of the Ancient world created a climate in which Classical poetry and mythology could enter Ottoman literature. At the same time, Greek mythology also emerged as a major inspiration in Ottoman painting and sculpture.⁵¹

3 Mythology and Homer: Ottoman Reticence

According to Ancient tradition, the real originator of the Trojan War was the son of Priam, the king of the aforementioned city. When Paris was born, priests predicted that he would cause the downfall of his own country, whereupon Priam sent his own child to the mountains and left him with herdsmen. Paris grew up with the herdsmen in the mountains and became an excellent, brave man. Zeus or Jupiter,⁵² who according to Greek mythology was the ruler of the cosmos and the father of gods, goddesses and men, hosted a banquet one day and invited all gods and goddesses, except Eris, the goddess of strife. While the guests were enjoying themselves Eris came to the window, threw an apple into their midst, saying ‘for the most beautiful goddess.’ Because of this very apple of discord, which has been a saying ever since that time, the goddesses Hera, the wife

48 Baker and Saldanha, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 556.

49 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 23.

50 Doğan, ‘Modern Türk Şiirinde Mitolojiye Bağlı Kaynaklanma Sorunu,’ 124.

51 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 2-4; Budak, *Münif Pasha*, 289, 362-368, 397; see also: Okay, ‘Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yenileşme Döneminde Türk Edebiyatı’; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 244-254; Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Dersleri*, 59.

52 The use of the Roman names of mythological figures was more common in the Ottoman Empire, probably because of a better match with the Ottoman language, but also because of their popularity in Europe. See: Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 62.

and sister of Zeus, Aphrodite, the goddess of love and affection, and Athena, the goddess of wisdom and intelligence, started to quarrel.

In order to settle their dispute, Zeus gave the apple to his helper, the god named Hermes, and sent him with the three goddesses to Paris. Following the order he received, Hermes handed the apple to Paris; Athena promised Paris intelligence and wisdom, Hera property and treasures, Aphrodite offered the most beautiful woman in the world. Preferring and accepting Aphrodite's offer, Paris handed the apple to her. Because of this, Hera and Athena adopted the Greeks during the Trojan War, and Aphrodite the Trojans.

After a while Paris visited Menelaus, the king of Mycenae,⁵³ and was treated with the utmost respect and veneration in his palace. Menelaus' wife, named Helen, famous for her beauty and refinement, yielded to Aphrodite's temptations and used the facilities she offered to elope with Paris. And so, Aphrodite fulfilled her promise and the prophecy of the priests came true. Paris' betrayal of the respectful treatment and veneration increased the chill existing of old between the Greeks and the Trojans and led to a war.

Na'im Fraşeri, Ilyada. Eser-i Homer (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886), preface, 1-6, translated from Ottoman Turkish

In his preface to the *Iliad* Fraşeri summarizes the mythological characters and events that led to the outbreak of the Trojan War. This account is rather unique, since Greek mythology, with its gods and goddesses, demigods and supernatural heroes, played no particular role in the usual interests of Ottoman intellectuals. Not that Turks were unfamiliar with epic narratives; indeed heroic epics are perhaps the oldest genre in Turkish literature. However, apart from exceptions such as Katip Çelebi's *Tarih-i Frengi*, a seventeenth-century translation of the *Chronique de Jean Carrion* (Paris, 1548),⁵⁴ Greek and Roman mythology was unknown in Ottoman literature until the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ And this happened mainly through European literature inspired by the art and culture of Ancient Rome and Greece.

Educated Europeans had a special affection for Greece. Intellectual progress and the emergence of cultural nationalism, as well as the habit of seeing history as a linear advance of civilization and a superior European culture, all contributed towards the adulation of Homer in the nineteenth century. Schliemann's excavations at Hisarlık, his discoveries

53 The author confuses Sparta with Mycenae.

54 Tökel, *Divan Şiirinde Mitolojik Unsurlar*.

55 Gökçe, 'Yunan Mitolojisi ve Türk İslam Kültürü.'

and subsequent archaeological research made the Homeric world tangible and enabled this appropriation of Homer.

Homer became a source of both moral and political inspiration. Moreover, the rise of atheism and the scientific study of the Bible created a climate in which Homer and the Bible were seen in a common historical perspective. Greek Classical literature became a standard ingredient in European school programmes in the nineteenth century, with Homer as a fixed element in European education.⁵⁶

Mythology, Islam and Eastern Literary Traditions

The principal reason why Ottoman intellectuals treated Homer's pagan gods with circumspection – even in the enlightened late-nineteenth century – is closely connected with religion. Ottoman principles were incompatible with polytheism. Indeed, the long neglect of Greek literature, in contrast to Ancient philosophy, was essentially because Ancient mythology and Islam did not mix.⁵⁷

Although there clearly was an interest in Homer and Homeric literature in the late nineteenth century, the number of Ottoman translations came to no more than a few attempts; no complete Turkish version of Homeric literature was produced in the Ottoman Empire. The discrepancy between Ancient mythology and Ottoman religious scruple made Muslim intellectuals in the late Ottoman Empire cautious and hesitant to use mythology as a source.

The Ottoman Muslim world's intellectual dilemma, the contradiction between mythology and the religious truth of Islam, is similar to the clash of Homeric polytheism and Christianity in the first centuries of the Christian era. For many years Christian scholars tried to reconcile Homer's pagan literature with the religious truth of the Gospel and attempted to emulate Homer in their religion. As Manguel explains, 'For Christianity, the reading of the Ancient authors lent the new faith a prehistory and universality. For the Ancient world, it meant continuity and transmission of intellectual experience.'⁵⁸

Şemseddin Sami's search for an Ottoman equivalent for the term mythology is symbolic of the way in which the Ottomans approached this conflict. Şemseddin Sami was one of the first intellectuals to discuss mythology. In his work *Esatir* (1878), he explained that there is no equivalent for the word

56 Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*.

57 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikesi*, 195; Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 266.

58 On Homer and the Christian world, see: Manguel, *Homer's The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 60-68, 67.

mythology in Eastern languages. Taking the term *esatirü'l-evvelin* (tales of men of Ancient times) found in the verses of the Koran, he decided to use *esatir*. He emphasized the importance of knowing mythology, namely as a key to understanding Greek and Roman works and to comprehending Arabic scholarship.⁵⁹ In effect, as Kreiser points out, *esatirü'l-evvelin* represented a condemned tradition at odds with the words of the prophet Mohammed.⁶⁰

Sami's search for an acceptable term for mythology, his hesitant, circum-spect explanations and his cautious terminology reveal the unease felt with the unconventional place mythology occupied in Ottoman intellectual life.⁶¹

Without any previous literature about the pagan gods to rely on, Fraşeri had no works by predecessors on which to build. He commented on this neglect of Homer in the Islamic world. He noted that Muslims had their own Homer and Virgil, namely Iran's Firdevsi and Nizami: 'During the civilization of the Arabs, the Islamic community adopted some scientific writings from the Greeks, yet they did not favour Greek literature. This is why Islamic poets formed a separate caravan, in which the poets of Iran obtained a superior position.'⁶²

There is a sharp distinction between Western and Ottoman Muslim or Eastern literary tradition. Tanpınar drew attention to the difference by comparing the two major epics: the *Iliad* and Firdevsi's *Şehname*. He explained that the composition of the *Şehname* is comparable to the mural reliefs at the Palace of Sargon II and Trajan's column, while the *Iliad* is comparable to Classical Greek sculpture. As Tanpınar noted, 'in the *Iliad*, the whole Greek world, including the cosmos, the gods, the lives, the works and arts of the Greeks and Greek civilization are gathered in the narrative of one event. The story of the *Iliad* is an entity; details are disregarded or ingeniously integrated in the whole. The *Şehname*, on the other hand, is a rectilinear narrative that treats every detail with the same precision.'⁶³ This difference between the Western and Eastern traditions of composition was

59 Batuk, *Şemseddin Sami*, preface, in particular, 22-24. On the reception of mythology and Ahmet Midhat Efendi's efforts, see: Demirci, 'Mitoloji ve Şiir'in Izinde Ahmet Midhat Efendi'nin Mitolojiye Dair Görüşleri,' 104-106.

60 Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen,' 285.

61 Along with Şemseddin Sami and Ahmet Midhat Efendi, more and more Ottoman intellectuals of the era started to defend the importance of mythology. Literary works with mythological topics became increasingly noticeable; see Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen,' 286; and Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 103-112.

62 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 13.

63 Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 41.

an additional obstacle to the introduction of Homeric epics in Ottoman literature.

Yet the way Homer was perceived in modern Europe also differed in particular national and cultural environments. As historian Pim den Boer has stated, 'political groups and cultural affinities in national traditions' lay at the root of these different approaches. He notes that while Plato played a key role for the German '*Bildungsbürger*,' while British Utilitarians, Social Darwinists and Late Victorians and Edwardians nurtured Homeric ideals. In France, on the other hand, Homer was never a core source of identification. Associated with a bygone aristocratic society, Homer was not adored in France as he was in Britain or Germany. While Greek was taught in French schools, it did not have the same status as it had in Germany or Britain.⁶⁴

Since the French education system, French culture and literature were the dominant influence in the Ottoman Empire, presumably the Ottomans saw Homer from the French perspective, in which the identification with Homeric heroes was far less intense.

Another issue relates to the unsuitability of the Aruz metre of traditional Ottoman Divan poetry to the structure of Western poetry.⁶⁵ Ottoman authors faced serious linguistic problems when translating verse into Aruz or syllabic verse.⁶⁶ That explains why the attempts to translate the *Iliad* in the Ottoman era were in prose. Hilmi justified his use of prose by noting: 'A translation in verse would corrupt the poetical quality of the story.'⁶⁷

For all the linguistic and literary pitfalls and struggles, the reluctance to discuss mythology seems to have been the main reason why it took so long before Homer's epics were translated. When Selanikli Hilmi made his translation of the first book of Homer's *Iliad* almost ten years later, he was even more circumspect with mythological figures and events. Indeed, he avoided the word 'mythology' completely in the introduction to his translation. Moreover, he clearly worried about possible criticism of his work. While he emphasized the tremendous value of Homer and the *Iliad*, he did not feel confident about the reception his work would receive.⁶⁸ At the same time, as Kreiser points out, we must bear in mind that this work

64 Den Boer, 'Homer in Modern Europe,' in *European Review*, 179.

65 Aruz is the primary prosodic metre used in Divan literature.

66 The difficulty of translating verse into Aruz was much discussed. Gradually a consensus was reached: it was better to render narrative and dramatic verse in prose; in Paker, 'Turkey,' 20, 28. See also: Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 49. On the complexities of Aruz, see also: Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 10-12.

67 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*.

68 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*.

was published shortly after the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897.⁶⁹ His hesitation may also have related to the current climate.⁷⁰

Although both were ambitious and enthusiastic at the start, neither Fraşeri nor Selanikli Hilmi finished their work.⁷¹ They were in uncharted territory. As pioneers they doubtless experienced all the complexities involved. While Fraşeri chose to fill the gap and introduced, discussed and explained the gods, their actions and characteristics and their role in Homeric literature, Hilmi decided either to ignore them or to treat them as real figures.

His translation includes many inaccuracies. Besides ignoring the role of Aphrodite and many other gods and goddesses, he often confused the names of Homer's heroes. Furthermore, he placed Troy in the province of Izmir and stated that Paris stayed at Agamemnon's palace rather than with Menelaus.

In addition to his reluctance to deal with mythology, it was perhaps his awareness of his own shortcomings that led him to take an apologetic tone: 'I, a humble translator, had a strong desire to translate this story. [...] Hey, it is no shame!'⁷²

4 Homer and Troy in Ottoman Essays, Books, Plays and the First Translations (1884-1908)

The highly valued poet [...] expressed his people's sincerity and etiquette, customs and morality, all conditions and behaviours of men and women, of the rich and the poor. Taking an impartial look at Homer, we can say that Homer is a poet, a chronicler, a philosopher, a geographer, [...] a satirist.

Kevekbul' Ulum, 1, 16/R/1302 (3 January 1885), translated from Ottoman Turkish

With its heroic narration of ten years of siege and dispute, and the full explanation of situations connected with them, the Iliad is a most sublime and excellent product of poetical imagination, well-arranged and decorated. The Iliad is a reflection of a manifest patriotism and defence of honesty.

Na'im Fraşeri, Ilyada. Eser-i Homer (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886), preface, 1-6, translated from Ottoman Turkish

69 For a recent study in the Greco-Ottoman War of 1897, see Ekinçi, *The Origins of the 1897 Ottoman-Greek War*.

70 Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen,' 285.

71 Fraşeri completed an Albanian version of the *Iliad* in 1896: *Iliadh'e Omirit* (Bucharest, 1896).

72 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*.

Na'im Fraşeri (1846-1900) was born to an Albanian Muslim landowning family from Frasher in southern Albania.⁷³ Like other children of affluent Muslim families of the region, Fraşeri went to the famous Greek Gymnasium, Zossimea, in Ioannina, now in Greece. There he learned Ancient and Modern Greek, French and Italian. At home he spoke Albanian and Turkish and in addition he learned Arabic and Persian through private lessons. After graduating he moved to Istanbul and rose to a prominent position in the Ottoman bureaucracy. He served as a member and chairman of the Committee of Inspection and Examination (Encümeni Teftiş ve Muayene) under the Ministry of Public Instruction. The committee was responsible for censoring books and magazines before printing.⁷⁴ He died and was buried in Istanbul in 1900.⁷⁵

In the fifteen-page preface to his 43-page prose translation Na'im Fraşeri highlighted his own pioneering role. He was the first to translate the *Iliad*, explaining that there had as yet been no Ottoman Turkish translation of either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.⁷⁶ However, the former minister of education and leading proponent of Turkey's humanist politics in the 1930s and 1940s Hasan Ali Yücel⁷⁷ argued later that it was the Ottoman diplomat Sadullah

73 Na'im Fraşeri and his brothers Şemseddin Sami (1850-1904) and Abdil Fraşeri (1839-1892) were all Ottoman bureaucrats and members of the intellectual scene of the period. The Albanian Muslim community of the Joannina region were strongly committed to the multicultural Ottoman Empire, and at the same time they felt a patriotic devotion to Albania. Istanbul was the influential metropolitan cultural centre for Albanian leaders in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The dual loyalty of Albanians was not exceptional 'in the multinational Ottoman Empire with its multiple layers of self-consciousness, identity and loyalty' at the turn of the century. The nationalist policies introduced by the Young Turks in 1909 led to revolts and finally the declaration of the Albanian independence in 1912. See: Gawrych, 'Tolerant Dimensions of Cultural Pluralism in the Ottoman Empire,' 519, 521; and Trix, 'The Stamboul Alphabet of Shemseddin Sami Bey,' 264, 269.

74 A selection of publications by Na'im Fraşeri: *Kavaidi Farisiyye ber tarzi nevin* [Grammar of the Persian language according to the new method] (Istanbul, 1871), *Ihtiraat ve keşfiyyat* [Inventions and discoveries] (Istanbul, 1881), *Tahayyülât* [Dreams] (Istanbul, 1884), *O eros* [Love] (Istanbul, 1895), and *Istori e Şqipërisë* [History of Albania] (Sofia, 1899). On Na'im Fraşeri's Turkish and Persian publications, see: Kaleshi, 'Veprat turqisht de persisht te Naim Frashere.'

75 For biographical information on Na'im Fraşeri, see: Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 469. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir claims that Naim Fraşeri died in 1896. See also: Levend, *Şemsettin Sami*, 46; and Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 229-231.

76 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 13.

77 During Hasan Ali Yücel's ministry (1938-1946), 'Turkish Humanism' was the formal cultural policy; see: Karacasu, "'Mavi Kemalizm" Türk Hümanizmi ve Anadoluculuk'; and Koçak '1920'lerden 1970'lere Kültür Politikaları.' On 'Turkish Humanism'; see: Sinanoğlu, *Türk Humanizmi*. See also speeches and statements by Hasan Ali Yücel: *Millî Eğitime İlgili Söylev ve Demeçler*.

Pasha (1839-1890) who actually deserved to be called the first translator of the *Iliad* into Turkish. Sadullah Pasha translated ten couplets into two rhyming verses and a section in prose. Yücel cited the ten couplets in his *Edebiyat Tarihimizden* (From the history of our literature).⁷⁸ However, Sadullah Pasha's translation had never been published, which makes a final statement on the matter impossible. As Klaus Kreiser rightly argues, Na'im Fraşeri's printed work should be regarded as the first translation of Homer's *Iliad*.⁷⁹

An article published on 2 February 1885 supports Kreiser's conclusion. The anonymous author hoped that soon the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* 'will be translated into Turkish, so that we will not have to go without Homer's work any longer.' Before this first translation of the *Iliad* appeared, Ottoman-Turkish readers might broaden their knowledge of Homer through articles in periodicals. Between December 1884 and March 1885, for instance, three extensive articles appeared in the periodical *Keykebü'l Ulum*, including a biography of Homer, an introduction to his poems and a summary of the books of the *Iliad* (Fig. 32).⁸⁰

Almost a decade earlier a play inspired by the *Odyssey* had been produced by Ali Haydar (1836-1914). The verse comedy *Rüya Oyunu*, published in 1876/1877, was about a dream of Bey (Lord) of the nymph Calypso. While Bey believed himself to be in love with Calypso, the nymph was infatuated with Odysseus and waiting for his return. She told Bey that Odysseus had sailed away with Mentos and Telemachus. Although she could have stopped Odysseus, her love had prevented her. At the end of the play, Bey wakes up and writes down his dream to send it to an interpreter.⁸¹

Gradually Homer became a key point of reference in Ottoman literature. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, for instance, discussed Homer and his epics in his analysis of the birth of the novel in his work *Ahbar-i Asara Tamim-i Enzar* (Literary works: An overview, 1890).⁸² Discussing Herodotus' historiography, he described the transformation of ideas in Ancient Greece between the period of Homer and Herodotus, making an interesting connection between

78 Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, 297.

79 Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen.'

80 *Keykebü'l Ulum*, 01/Ra/1302 (19 December 1884), 59-65; 16/Ra/1302 (3 January 1885), 93-97 and 16/R/1302 (2 February 1885), 159-161.

81 Haydar, *Rüya Oyunu*. See also: Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 205.

82 Mithat, *Ahbar-ı Âsara Tamim-i Enzar (1307-1890)*, 28-40; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 134-136. *Ahbar-i Asara Tamim-i Enzar* (1890) is considered the first Turkish academic work on the history of the novel. On Ahmet Midhat Efendi, see also: Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 400-449.

Ancient Greek literary developments and contemporary Ottoman literary issues. In the period between Homer and Herodotus, Midhat Efendi explained, 'the ideas and perspectives of the Greeks' gradually changed, and in the end 'gods and goddesses, half heavenly and half earthly heroes' went 'out of fashion.' The followers of Homer and Hesiod, moreover, were mere imitators and never able to reach the level of their masters. Herodotus, on the other hand, represented new ideas and perspectives.⁸³

In 'Mitoloji ve Şiir' (Mythology and poetry), an essay published in 1890 in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, Ahmet Midhat Efendi returned to the subject of mythology and the role of Homer. He argued that mythological figures had once been real people, but had been absorbed into fiction through the work of Homer and his followers.⁸⁴

In 1881, in the introductory remarks to one of his plays, Namık Kemal (1840-1888), a leading figure in New Ottoman Literature who lived in Gallipoli (Dardanelles) during a period of exile in 1872, emphasized the strong influence of Homeric poems on Greek tragedy and the sculptures of the great Phidias.⁸⁵

Homer and the *Iliad* also received attention in a treatise on Troy published in the third volume of *Kamus ül-Alâm* (Dictionary of universal history and geography, 1891), written by Na'im Fraşeri's brother Şemseddin Sami Fraşeri (1850-1904).⁸⁶ Published between 1889 and 1899, this massive six-volume encyclopaedia dealing with important Ottoman and Islamic themes,

83 Mithat, *Ahbar-ı Âsara Tamim- Enzar (1307-1890)*, 36-38; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 38-40. Ahmet Midhat Efendi translated a part of Herodotus' *Histories* as well; see: Şerif, 'Tanzimattan Sonraki Tercüme Faaliyetleri,' 291. On innovations in Ottoman Poetry, see: Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 19-49, 233-257, 334-343, 430-438, 463-503, 535-541; Enginün, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 449-643; on mythology, mythological names and archetypes in Ottoman literature, see: Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 165-209.

84 Midhat Efendi, 'Mitoloji ve Şiir.' For an analysis of Ahmet Midhat Efendi's thoughts on mythology, see: Demirci, 'Mitoloji ve Şiir'in izinde Ahmet Midhat Efendi'nin Mitolojiye dair Görüşleri,' 103-121.

85 Kreiser, 'Troia und die Homerischen Epen,' 284; the introductory remarks appear in Namık Kemal's *Mukaddeme-i Celal* (Istanbul, 1888); See also: Kaplan, Enginün and Emin, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, 356. For biographical notes on Namık Kemal and his literary production and ideas, see: Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 312-400; on Greek tragedy in Ottoman literature, see: Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 137-166.

86 Sami, *Kamus-ül-Alâm*. In the second half of the twentieth century the Albanian government claimed the remains of the Fraşeri brothers, who had all died in Istanbul. The Turkish government refused to send the remains of Şemseddin Sami, because of his quintessential role in the Turkish language and culture, yet concerning Na'im and Abdil Fraşeri the Turks came round in the end and sent their remains to Albania. See Trix, 'The Stamboul Alphabet of Shemseddin Sami Bey,' 269.

personalities and countries as well as Western history and geography is a work of an exceptional calibre. As the author explained in his introduction, an encyclopaedia on current world history and geography was much needed in the Empire, since these disciplines were essential for the development of civilization. Rather than translate a Western encyclopaedia into Ottoman Turkish, since Western encyclopaedias focused on European issues and would therefore be incomplete, *Kamus ül-Alâm* brought Western and Eastern history and geography together.⁸⁷

The article on Troy outlined contemporary knowledge of Troy in the Ottoman Empire (Fig. 4), giving a history of Troy, a chronological list of Trojan rulers, the Trojan War, and archaeological developments in the region. Emphasis was placed on the location of the site being on Ottoman soil, mentioning both Greek and Ottoman designations: 'Truva or Troya, situated in the north-western part of Asia Minor, nowadays within the Province of Biga'; 'at the western foot of Mount Ida (that is to say Kaz) and along the river Xanti⁸⁸ (that is to say Menderes).'⁸⁹

A second translation by Selanikli Hilmi of the first song of the *Iliad* from the Greek into Ottoman Turkish appeared in 1898 or 1899: *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros* (The *Iliad* of the celebrated poet Homer).⁹⁰ While little is known about the author, the title page states that he was a member of the Committee of Inspection and Examination (Encümeni Teftiş ve Muayene), and so an Ottoman bureaucrat like Na'im Fraşeri. Hilmi's 61-page translation includes a fifteen-page introduction and the first book of the *Iliad* in two chapters: the first chapter (26 pages) is called 'Wrath! Violence!' and the second chapter (20 pages) is called 'Departure!'⁹¹ Compared to Fraşeri's translation Hilmi's work is unornamental, plain and almost completely stripped of the original epithets describing the Homeric figures. As a result, Hilmi's own interpretation dominates; by contrast, Fraşeri was more successful in relating the original story.⁹²

87 Sami, *Kamus ül-Alâm*, 14-16; Gawrych, 'Tolerant Dimensions of Cultural Pluralism in the Ottoman Empire.'

88 According to Homer, Scamander was called Xanthus by the gods and Scamander by men. The inhabitants of Xanthus in Asia were called Xanthi, in Lemprière, *Bibliotheca Classica*, 1533, and in De Roy van Zuydewijn, *Homerus Ilias*, 77, 423.

89 Sami, *Kamus-ül Alâm*, 1647.

90 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*.

91 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*, 1, 27.

92 Text analysis is not the purpose of this survey; the main focus is to trace, select and interpret significant information concerning the reception of Homer in, for instance, literary texts.

Despite the limitations of Hilmi's translation,⁹³ the work made an impact in literary circles. The leading intellectual of the time, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, who initiated the neo-Hellenist movement in the early twentieth century together with his contemporary Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoğlu,⁹⁴ expressed his high regard for Selanikli Hilmi's translation, noting that he had been 'tremendously touched' by the work. He had assumed that 'a Greek had produced the translation,' but 'after a long time [...] I understood that what I had been reading at that time was an incomplete Turkish translation of Homer's *Iliad*.'⁹⁵

5 Admiration for the 'Lord of Poets'

The aforementioned writer [Homer] and the great works the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are most repeatedly recited by respectful learned literary figures. This is why Homer is correctly remembered by his byname the Lord of Poets.

Kevkeb'ül Ulum, 01/Ra/1302 (19 December 1884), translated from Ottoman Turkish

Ottoman intellectuals evidently recognized the importance of Homer and were above all aware of the extraordinary position of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the history of literature. Fraşeri emphasized Homer's exceptional influence on later literary figures of various backgrounds in the preface to his translation. He informed Ottoman-Turkish readers that Homer's works were a 'breeding ground' not only for Ancient Greeks, but for Romans and subsequent European writers and poets as well. 'Famous poets such as Hesiod, Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles and the writer of comedies Aristophanes were all guided by Homer and tragedians in particular quoted the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* intensively.' Commenting on the Romans, he stated that they 'followed the Greeks in all fields, and therefore in literature as well. [...] Virgil deserves to be called the Homer of the Romans. His work the *Aeneid* is like a continuation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.' He drew attention to literary figures such as 'Horace, Tasso, Dante, Milton and the rest of old

93 Criticism of the title *Ilias*, veiled mythological figures, ignoring or confusing chief characters such as Agamemnon and Menelaus, or incorrect topographic information such as situating Troy in Izmir province instead of Biga. See Sevük, *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz*, 65; and Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 55-72.

94 On the neo-Hellenist movement in the Ottoman Empire, see: Ayvazoğlu, *Yahya Kemal; Karaosmanoğlu, Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*; Tevfik, *Esâtir-i Yunânîyan*; Ayvazoğlu, 'Neo-Hellenism in Turkey.'

95 Beyatlı, *Çocukluğum*, 100; Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 55.

and new European poets forming a caravan by following the preceding.' And, Fraşeri concluded, 'the leader of the caravan is Homer.'⁹⁶

Selanikli Hilmi's account of how Homer was received is even more sumptuous. He paid a glowing tribute to Homer as a poet 'who nourished the creation of art,' praising the *Iliad* as a source of inspiration 'for poets with the most venerable minds.' Emphasizing the respect of esteemed literary figures for the *Iliad*, he quoted Shakespeare and Rousseau as well as noting the tremendous appreciation Homer enjoyed among Ancient philosophers such as Aristotle.⁹⁷

Both Fraşeri and Selanikli Hilmi mention Alexander the Great's high regard for Homer. Legends about Alexander or Iskender are well-known in the Muslim world;⁹⁸ Alexander the Great was held high esteem in Ottoman culture.⁹⁹ Sultan Mehmed II's identification with Alexander is a case in point.¹⁰⁰ In line with this appropriation of Alexander, Fraşeri underscored that Alexander the Great was not a Greek, 'but a foreigner' to the Greeks.¹⁰¹

To show Alexander's deep admiration for the *Iliad*, Hilmi refers to Plutarch's description of Alexander's encounter with the Persian king Darius III in his *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*.¹⁰² After defeating the Persians, 'Alexander was presented a valuable desk of Darius as a present of the victory, to which, to mark his esteem, he uttered "I am even more happy with this present than the victory, since I very much needed such a precious attribute to store the book of the *Iliad* of the beloved poet Homer."¹⁰³

Having discussed Alexander's admiration for Homer at length, both translators turned to *The Adventures of Telemachus*. This is hardly surprising given the story's popularity among Ottoman Turks. Fraşeri pointed out that 'Fénelon's book *The Adventures of Telemachus* is an addendum to

96 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 10-14.

97 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*.

98 For a comprehensive survey of views about Alexander the Great in the Islamic world, see: Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the Great*.

99 The *Iskendername* (The book of Alexander) is one of the earliest surviving illustrated Ottoman manuscripts. Written by the poet Ahmedi in the fourteenth century, it tells about the heroic deeds and conquests of Alexander the Great. The epic poem plays a key role in Turkish culture. It also deals with geographical, theological, philosophical and historical matters and forms an early source for Ottoman history; see Unver, *Ahmedi-Iskendername*; Sawyer, 'Alexander, History, and Piety'; and Akdoğan, *Iskendername'den Seçmeler*.

100 On Sultan Mehmed II's identification with Alexander the Great, see: Babinger, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed ve Zamani*, 351-353; Janssens and Van Deun, 'George Amiroutzes and his Poetical Oeuvre'; Reinsch, *Critobuli Imbriotae historiae*; and Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*.

101 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 10.

102 Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*.

103 Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros*.

the *Odyssey*. Selanikli Hilmi praised Homer and suggested that Ottoman Turkish readers compare ‘the celebrated story *Telemachus* of Fénelon with the *Iliad*.’ Hilmi noted that ‘the comparison of these two works will give one the opportunity to appoint the difference between fantasy and reality,’ since *Telemachus* is ‘regarded as poetical imagination’ and Homer ‘describes an event by giving ethics, customs and beliefs a central position.’¹⁰⁴

The relation between the *Odyssey* and *The Adventures of Telemachus* was also remarked on in the periodical *Kevkeb’ül Ulum*. Readers were informed that many of the episodes in the story of *Telemachus* had their origins in ‘the *Odyssey*, the story of Ulysses’ return journey to his home island.’

In addition to the two major Homeric works, other poems attributed to Homer were also discussed: ‘According to Aristotle, Homer wrote other poems as well. As a matter of fact, one of them was called *Margites*.’¹⁰⁵ Fraşeri, however, believed that Homer was much too brilliant to be the author of other poems, such as *The Battle of Frogs and Mice*. ‘It is clear that,’ he states, ‘Homer who was used to invent and arrange important events, would never deign to write about such inferior matters. Therefore, there is no question about it that the aforementioned work is no more than an imitation.’

Fraşeri noted that ‘until now no other poet in the world had reached the level of Homer. He will always be the father of the poetry and the leader of the poets and the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* will always be distinguished among the rest of the verses.’¹⁰⁶ And *Kevkeb’ül Ulum* commented: ‘No poet has ever been able to match him.’¹⁰⁷

Preference for the *Iliad*

Troy was situated near Çanakkale. Although in the past Troy and both its siege and the war were considered to exist only in the imagination, the excavations in the surroundings have confirmed and strengthened the contents of the *Iliad*.

Na’im Fraşeri, Ilyada. Eser-i Homer (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886), preface, 7, translated from Ottoman Turkish

The city of Troy or Ilion, with strong and solid city walls, strengthened with many fortifications on the Asian shore [must be in the direction of the province of

104 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 12; Hilmi, *İlyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omros*.

105 *Kevkeb’ül Ulum*, 16/R/1302 (2 February 1885). For other poems attributed to Homer, see: Latacz, *Homer*, 15, and Manguel, *Homer’s The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 24.

106 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 9, 13.

107 *Kevkeb’ül Ulum*, 16/R/1302 (2 February 1885).

Izmir. Although history has not yet settled this issue, the natural requirements of the region have confirmed our idea].

Selanikli Hilmi, İlyas yahud şâir-i şehîr Omiros (*Istanbul, 1316/1898-1899*), *introduction, zel*, translated from Ottoman Turkish

The first Ottoman translations of Homeric literature concentrated on the *Iliad*. The excavations in Troy and the public interest this generated encouraged this bias. Both Fraşeri and Hilmi drew attention to the geographical location of Troy. Fraşeri also offered a brief account of the archaeological research at the site. In the 1890s, newspapers and periodicals began to pay increasing attention to the excavations at Troy, which 'had become famous thanks to Homer's epic.'¹⁰⁸

As articles published in *İkdam* and *Servet-i Fünun* show, Ottoman readers were well-informed about the excavations at Troy, not to mention issues such as the scholarly debate about the correct site (Ballı Dağ or Hisarlık), the prominent role of Frank Calvert and the latest archaeological research and results. Besides informative texts, the press also reported on visitors to the site and their background.¹⁰⁹ This shows a close involvement with the actual site of Troy, as discussed in the next chapter.

Besides a deep admiration for Homer and a preference for the *Iliad*, literary texts also provided biographical notes on Homer. Here an explicit connection was made between the celebrated poet and the city of Izmir.

6 Izmir (Smyrna): Homer's Hometown

Like many famous figures of Antiquity, Homer, too, was an illegitimate child. Because Cretheis, the daughter of Melanopus, gave birth to him on the banks of the River Meles in the vicinity of Izmir, she named him Melesigenes, which means 'Child of the River Meles.'

Kevkeb'ül Ulum, 01/Ra/1302 (19 December 1884), translated from Ottoman Turkish

Although his nationality, his time and his life story are veiled in mystery and ambiguity, there is a strong possibility that he was born ten centuries before Christ and two centuries after the Trojan war. His birthplace is the city of Izmir, his mother's name is Cretheis and his father is unknown. He got his byname 'Son

¹⁰⁸ *İkdam*, 19/Ş/1310 (8 March 1893).

¹⁰⁹ *İkdam*, 19/Ş/1310 (8 March 1893); *İkdam*, 3 Kanun-i-evvel 1313 (15 December 1897); *Servet-i Fünun*, 26, 25 Mart 1320 (7th April 1904).

of Meles' because he was born on the banks of the River Meles, which at that time ran near Izmir.

Na'im Fraşeri, İlyada. Eser-i Homer (Istanbul, 1303/1885-1886), preface, 7-9, translated from Ottoman Turkish

Where Homer was born has been much disputed. Seven cities claim to be his place of birth: Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodes, Argos and Athens. Nineteenth-century scholarship favoured Smyrna as Homer's native city.¹¹⁰ The biographical information in *Kevkeb'ül Ulum* and Fraşeri's preface both emphasize this possibility by referring to the legend that Homer's name was Melesigenes. In fact, they seemed quite convinced that 'their' eminent city of Izmir was where Homer came into the world. In all probability, the writers based their knowledge on previous biographies, particularly the *Life of Homer* by Pseudo-Herodotus, which declares Smyrna to be the birthplace of Homer and states that he was born 168 years after the Trojan War.¹¹¹

The biography of Homer in the *Kevkeb'ül Ulum* essay is quite detailed and focuses particularly on geographical aspects. It is generally assumed that Ottoman intellectuals were conversant with Classical Greek geography. In their translations of Ancient texts and other literary works, they usually marked the Classical sites within the Ottoman Empire.¹¹²

The author of the essay tells about Homer's childhood, his teacher's prediction of a bright future, Mentés' (chief of the Taphians in the *Odyssey*) invitation to travel with him by sea, his long journeys and visits to various places (locations in the *Odyssey*), how he researched as he travelled and composed poems based on his observations, how he went blind at Colophon, Mentor's care for him and how he got the name Homer in Cyme. On this point the author states that the blind Melesigenes went to Cyme to work as a bard and soon became well-known in the city. The senate was advised to take care of the blind poet, since his songs would bring great fame to the city. Yet one of the senators objected and apparently said: 'If we are going to give every blind person we met a salary, soon we will carry a convoy of the blind on our shoulders. [...] From then on,' the author resumes, 'the name Melesigenes disappeared and Homer, which means blind, replaced

110 Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer*, 372. See also Latacz, *Homer*, 25-27.

111 In this biography of Homer many episodes and figures of the *Odyssey* are incorporated in Homer's life, see: Manguel, *Homer's The Iliad and The Odyssey*, 29-32; and also Herodotus, *Vie d'Homère*. For the various Homer Vitae see also: Latacz, *Homer*, 23-30.

112 Yüksel, *Türk Edebiyatında Yunan Antikitesi*, 40.

it. Subsequently, the blind poet cursed Cyme and left for Phocaea. There, too, he was dogged by misfortune.'

The article goes on to discuss Homer's struggle with Thestorides, who recorded Homer's poems in exchange for bed and board and left for Chios. He persuaded people that the poems were his own and became famous on the island. Homer followed the 'thief' to Chios, but Thestorides 'ran off.' Regarding Homer's final years, the author remarks that he had a pleasant life in Chios and that eventually he was much beloved everywhere in Greece. Homer fell ill while at Ios, travelling from Samos to Athens, and finally died.¹¹³

Fraşeri concentrated on the 'Homeric question' after an introduction about Homer's mother, his education and the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He reviewed the fierce debates of contemporary scholars concerning Homer's identity, which of the epics may have been composed by Homer, and the historicity of the *Iliad*. Questions that occupied the minds of Homeric scholars in the nineteenth century included: Who was this influential poet Homer? Where did he come from? Was he alone? How many poets were involved in creating the poems? Was the *Iliad* based on a historical conflict, or was it only a product of the human imagination?¹¹⁴

Taking all views into consideration, Fraşeri concluded that Homer must have been a real person, a single poet who composed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by himself. He emphasized that although 'the life story and the conditions of the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* may be veiled, his existence could never be denied.' Fraşeri concluded in his introduction that 'it is not the name of Homer that gave the abovementioned famous works their reputation and fame; quite the reverse, the works made the author famous. Therefore, Homer is the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.'¹¹⁵

113 *Kevkeb'ül Ulum*, 01/Ra/1302 (19 December 1884).

114 For an overview of the results of Homeric scholarship in this time, see: Latacz, *Homer*, particularly 23-30. On the historicity of Homer, Troy and the Trojan War see also: Latacz, *Troy and Homer*; and Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War*. For a modern thesis that Homer never even existed, see West, 'The Invention of Homer.'

115 Fraşeri, *Ilyada*, 10.

Figure 30 Homer’s *Iliad* from Mehmed II’s library



Source: Topkapı Sarayı Museum collection, Istanbul, G12
Photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum Istanbul, 2012

Figure 31 Selanikli Hilmi, *Ilyas yahud şâîr-i şehîr Omîros* [The *Iliad* of the celebrated poet Homer] (Istanbul, 1898 or 1899)



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Hilmi made the second Ottoman-Turkish translation of the first book of the *Iliad*. Little is known about the translator; the frontispiece states that he was a civil servant at the Ministry of Public Instruction. Hilmi’s translation runs to 61 pages and includes an introduction of fifteen pages and the first book of the *Iliad* in two chapters.

Figure 32 Article in *Kevkebü'l Ulum*, including a biography of Homer, an introduction to his works and a summary of the *Iliad*



Source: *Kevkebü'l Ulum*, 3 January 1885, p. 93, in Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

Before the publication of the first translation of the *Iliad*, Ottoman-Turkish readers could learn about Homer from periodicals. Three extensive articles appeared between December 1884 and March 1885 in *Kevkebü'l Ulum*, including a biography of Homer, an introduction to his works and a summary of the *Iliad*.

Figure 33 Article on Homer and the Iliad in the third volume of *Kamus ül-Alâm* (1891)



Source: Kelder, Uslu and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*

This six-volume encyclopaedia published between 1889 and 1899 is an exceptional work on major Ottoman and Islamic themes, personalities and countries, as well as Western history and geography. The essay on Troy provides a summary of contemporary knowledge of Troy in the Ottoman Empire: a history of Troy, a chronological list of rulers, the Trojan War and archaeological developments in the region. Special attention is paid to Troy's location on Ottoman soil.

Figure 34 Construction of the new building of the Imperial Museum (1891)



Source: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*

V Homer and Troy during the Final Years of the Empire

Government efforts to protect antiquities increased rapidly in the years after the revised antiquities code came into effect in 1884, forbidding archaeologists to take original Ancient objects out of the Empire.¹ The Antiquities Law was made even stricter in 1907. Not only had it become difficult to obtain permission to excavate on Ottoman soil, visits to archaeological sites were also restricted; foreigners needed formal permission from the Foreign Ministry to visit historic sites and monuments.

1 Controlling Heritage and the Development of the Ottoman Museum

Authorities were on the alert for illicit excavations, yet guarding the Empire's Ancient sites was not easy. Foreign archaeologists were constantly trying to avoid the regulations in every possible way. Besides excavating without a permit, illegal removal of Ancient objects and attempting to arrange secret deals with senior officials and to purchase land near Ancient sites in order to excavate secretly all added to the pressing problems plaguing the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century.

Efforts to end these activities were made in various official communications, warnings, investigations, orders and decrees. Local bureaucrats, education commissioners, high school principals and teachers received requests from their superiors to watch out for illegal activities and to inform the government.² This is what happened when illegal excavations were spotted at Troy in 1886. According to a report filed on 28 October 1886, a group of Germans who had hoped to excavate and research at Troy without first obtaining permission were barred from the area.³

Reports of illegal excavations frequently resulted in Imperial Museum staff being sent to investigate and confiscate artefacts. These objects were

1 The new Antiquities Law was to a large extent adopted from the Greek law of 1834. See Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, Schliemann to Humann, 7 February 1890 (326), 348-350; Humann to Schliemann, 9 February 1890 (327), 350-352. See Chapter 2 above.

2 Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Scramble for the Past*, 460.

3 IBA: DH.MKT. 1415/45, 01/Ş/1304 (28/10/1886).

sent to the museum in Istanbul. Artefacts coincidentally found by locals also went to the museum. The government encouraged local people to protect sites and Ancient objects. Inhabitants of the Empire were enticed by monetary rewards to hand in finds to the government.⁴

Yet illegal excavations by Ottoman subjects were a recurrent problem. In March 1887, Ottoman authorities discovered illegal excavations by a group of locals at the mound of Çobantepe – or the tomb of Paris – near Pınarbaşı on the Ballı Dağ at the Troad. This tumulus had not yet been excavated. The finds were impressive, including a golden diadem, three thin golden fillets with decoration, fine strips of gold and fragments of a bronze mirror case and bronze bowls. The authorities secured the treasure immediately and included the finds in the Imperial Museum's Troy collection.⁵

Meanwhile the museum was becoming increasingly congested. The collection expanded even further following Ottoman excavations at places such as Sidon. Impressive Ancient objects, such as the stunning sarcophagus of Alexander the Great (fourth century BC) and the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women (fourth century BC), came to the museum in 1887. In fact, the latter – in the form of an Ionic temple with female figures standing between the columns – was recognized as a paragon of Hellenic culture and became the model for the new museum building, completed in 1891.⁶

The neoclassical style of the new museum building matched the tradition of European museums (Fig. 35). The style was chosen to express the function of the Imperial Museum, which had become an institution representing modern Ottoman cultural identity linked to Western civilization. The Ottomans had discovered the Hellenistic sarcophagi within the territories of the Empire, they brought them to the capital of the Empire and now they used them as a model for the Imperial Museum: so 'a form thought of as Western was shown to be local.'

Moreover, the Imperial Museum was devoted to archaeology and emphasized the concept of territory. The organization and presentation were based on archaeological sites, rather than the historical or art-historical narrative typical of Western museums.⁷

4 Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony,' in *Scramble for the Past*, 462.

5 Calvert, [Report]; Calvert, 'On the Tumulus of Choban Tepeh in the Troad'; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 218.

6 Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Une Nécropole Royale à Sidon*; See historian Ethem Eldem's comments on the publication, part of research material for an exhibition by Lebanese filmmaker, photographer and curator Akram Zaatari, in the SALT Beyoğlu gallery in Istanbul in 2015; Eldem, 'The Royal Necropolis of Sidon.'

7 Shaw, 'From Mausoleum to Museum.'

Meanwhile, the finds at Ballı Dağ had rekindled Schliemann's interest in Troy. He came back to the region on 24 April 1887. Far from receiving a festive welcome, his visit was definitely not appreciated: local authorities gave him a hard time.⁸ They insisted on seeing a formal permit, which he did not have, and refused to allow him to visit the site in light of his previous illegal activities. Ottoman officers watched the scholars accompanying Schliemann closely and obstructed their movement, causing great annoyance. In the end, Schliemann and his companions had to leave the region without even seeing the site at Hisarlık.⁹

In addition to triggering Schliemann's interest in Troy, the new finds also encouraged scholars and archaeologists who preferred Ballı Dağ as the site of Homeric Troy. Schliemann, who believed he had delivered sufficient proof that he had uncovered 'Ilios of the Homeric Poems' during his excavations of 1882,¹⁰ found his claim to have discovered Troy was once again a point of discussion.

2 Schliemann's Reputation under Fire

Schliemann's foremost opponent was Ernst Bötticher, a retired army captain and member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. He had been attacking Schliemann's interpretation of the site since 1883. Bötticher claimed that Schliemann's Homeric Troy – second stratum (Troy II) – was not a city at all, but a huge necropolis. The ashes, cinerary urns and half-burnt bones at Hisarlık mound were proof. Bötticher accused Schliemann and his associates Dörpfeld and Virchow of deliberately fostering an illusion by misrepresenting the site at Hisarlık.

His two books and numerous articles, reviews, pamphlets and letters published in various papers and journals made life difficult for Schliemann for years.¹¹ Bötticher's article in the Gesellschaft's *Correspondenzblatt* in July 1889, in which he presented more arguments for his burnt necropolis theory, left Schliemann in a state of shock. His associate Virchow's circle

8 IBA:HR.SYS.16/50,07/§/1304 (01/05/1887); Herrmann and Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 467.

9 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 218–220; Ottoman correspondence regarding Schliemann's visit at the Troad on 24 April 1887 is also discussed in Aslan, Sönmez and Körpe, 'Heinrich Schliemanns Ausgrabungen.' See in particular DH. MKT.1417/90,11/§/1304 (05/05/1887) and the memoirs of Carl Schuchhardt, *Aus Leben und Arbeit*, 143.

10 Letter from Schliemann to Gladstone, 3 May 1882, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (116), 142–144.

11 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 218–221.

dominated the Gesellschaft, so the inclusion of an article by Bötticher was an unexpected confrontation. Expressing his bitter disappointment about the matter, Schliemann wrote to Virchow:

I saw that Mr Ranke has placed the columns of his distinguished journal at the disposal of Captain Boetticher. Mr Ranke could not have insulted you more outrageously, knowing full well that you have worked with me at the site, that you have often lectured about this and have published serious articles. [...] You know that Boetticher has called you and the renowned expert on Ancient architecture Dr Dörpfeld, who spent five months working with me at Troy in 1882, forgers and deceivers. Have you fallen in with Mr Ranke? How could anyone with a rational mind accept such utter nonsense? Where was the city of the living when Hissarlik was a necropolis?¹²

Various learned societies were interested in Bötticher's publications and his theories gained increasing scholarly acceptance. Familiar with this academic threat, Schliemann exclaimed in 1886 'and most annoyingly, he gathers many proselytes.'¹³ He was right, Bötticher's ideas received a serious intellectual following, including the prominent archaeologist Salomon Reinach (1858-1932) of the Institut de France, who was close to the Ottoman government; Reinach had been charged by Osman Hamdi Bey to classify and catalogue the Imperial Museum collection.

In a paper delivered at the Tenth Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques in Paris in August 1889, Reinach offered a synopsis of one of Bötticher's recent critical articles. Schliemann realized that the credibility of his interpretation of the site at Hisarlik was losing ground and he faced serious rivals. He considered Reinach one of them: 'But I have an enemy here [at the Paris conference]; namely Salomon Reinach, director

12 'Ich sah dab Herr Ranke Hauptmann Boetticher, die Spalten seines wichtigen Correspondenzblatts zur Disposition gestellt hat. Unmöglich hätte Herr Ranke Ihnen einen gröbereren Schimpf anthun können, denn er weib ja dab Sie dort an Ort und Stelle mit mir gearbeitet, dab Sie viele Reden darüber gehalten und wichtige Schriften publiziert haben. [...] Auberdem weib er dab Boetticher Sie, sowie auch den bekannten vorzüglichen Archiktekten des Alterthums Dr Dörpfeld, der in 1882 fünf Monate lang mein Mitarbeiter in Troia war, als Fälscher und Betrüger dargestellt hat. Haben Sie sich denn mit Hernn Ranke überworfen? Wie kann er anders mit gesundem Menschenverstand einen so wahnsinnigen Unsinn aufnehmen? Wo war denn die Stadt der Lebenden, wenn Hissarlik die Feuernekropole war?' Letter from Schliemann to Virchow, 26 July 1889, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (293), 316-318.

13 'und das Aergerliche ist dab er gar viele Proselyten macht.' Letter from Schliemann to Fabricius, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (220), 235.

of the museum at Saint-Germain en Laye, who again defended a polemic by Captain D.E. Boetticher attacking Virchow, Dörpfeld and myself.¹⁴

These continuing attacks by Bötticher, who had never seen Troy, left Schliemann desperate. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, an authority on Ancient architecture, was also furious that Bötticher had called his plan *'Phantasiegebilde'* and that he had accused Dörpfeld and Schliemann of inventing buildings, temples and walls and 'turning the tiny chambers of the ovens into massive halls!'¹⁵

The damage to Schliemann's reputation and that of his associates was considerable and their integrity was under attack. Schliemann's efforts to silence Bötticher were ineffective. Dörpfeld and Virchow tried to force him to withdraw his accusations, but their attempts failed as well. Although Schliemann believed he had finished with excavating Troy forever after his efforts in 1882,¹⁶ he felt obliged to go back to Troy to silence his opponents and to answer his critics.¹⁷ In a letter to the German ambassador, Joseph Maria von Radowitz (1839-1912), about the situation, he wrote: 'There is no other way of defeating this incorrigible slanderer than to resume our excavation at Hissarlik as soon as possible and once we are established there to summon Bötticher to work there alongside us.'¹⁸

Determined to prove Bötticher's accusations wrong and his theories baseless, Schliemann made preparations for a final Trojan campaign in 1889/1890, including two conferences attended by prominent scholars and of course Bötticher.

3 The Final Encounter of Schliemann and the Ottomans in Troy

By September 1889, Schliemann had sent a request to Osman Hamdi Bey asking to resume excavations at Troy. Both Osman Hamdi Bey and Schliemann

14 'Einen Feind habe ich aber doch hier [a conference in Paris]; nämlich Salomon Reinach, den Direktor des Museums in Saint-Germain en Laye, der ach wiederum eine gegen Virchow, Dörpfeld and mich gerichtete Smachschrift des Hauptmanns a. D. E. Boetticher vertheidigte.' Letter from Schliemann to Humbert, 31 August 1889, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (296), 318-321.

15 'aus den kleinen Kammern des Verbrennungsofens grosse Säle hergestellt haben!' Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 14-16.

16 Letter from Schliemann to Gladstone, 3 May 1882, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (116), 142-144.

17 'Die Unmöglichkeit einsehend diesen furchtbaren Schmähschreiber auf andere Weise los zu werden sind wir entschlossen die Ausgrabungen in Hissarlik schleunigstmöglich fortzusetzen, und, nachdem wir dort eingerichtet sind, Bötticher aufzufordern unser Mitarbeiter zu werden.' Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 233-235, 279-282; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 220.

18 Letter from Schliemann to Radowitz, 13 September 1889, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (299), 322.

were at that time in Paris. Osman Hamdi Bey demanded a plan of the site that Schliemann proposed to explore and pressed Schliemann to respect the Ottoman antiquities code of 1884. Schliemann promised 'to submit to the new regulation, whereby the explorer has no right to any of his finds.'¹⁹

Giving up his finds to the Ottomans would be unprecedented for Schliemann, since all his previous archaeological enterprises had involved illegal shipments of items from the Empire. But soon the truth came out and his real plans were revealed: he had no intention of leaving the archaeological finds with the Ottomans; he meant to take the finds with him. Above all he was tremendously ambitious and strategic, and used diplomatic channels more effectively than anyone.

In a letter to Herbert von Bismarck (1849-1904), son of the German chancellor, Schliemann asked for help in obtaining permission to excavate and assured him that Berlin would be the beneficiary of everything he found.²⁰ Meanwhile, he also wrote to German ambassador Radowitz, asking for support in obtaining a permit and maintaining that Osman Hamdi Bey had already promised him the sale of his finds to the museum in Berlin.²¹ No evidence of any reference to this sale has been found so far. Possibly his assurance that the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum had promised to sell the objects may have been part of his strategy to gain diplomatic support for a permit as soon as possible.

His correspondence in February 1890 with Carl Humann (1839-1896), excavator of Pergamon and director of the Royal Museums in Berlin, suggests that Schliemann's statements about obtaining all his Trojan finds may have been little more than a strategic argument. Schliemann asked Humann to assist him in getting half the finds from the Ottomans. Yet Humann, while appreciating his 'youthful fire,' felt obliged to point out that the situation had changed in the Empire and it was not so easy to obtain antiquities: 'But I must add water to your wine. You know that the Turkish Antiquities Law, which is copied from the Greek, declares all antiques that are found to be state property and forbids their export.' Humann notes that exceptions were always possible. Although in principle only copies of artefacts were allowed to leave the country, with the support of Osman Hamdi Bey an exception might be made.²² Schliemann's communication with Osman Hamdi on

19 Quoted in Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 281.

20 Letter from Schliemann to H. von Bismarck, 11 October 1889, Schliemann, *Briefe*, 293.

21 Letter from Schliemann to Radowitz, 13 September 1889, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (299), 322, and 14 November 1889 (311), 331-333.

22 'Ich aber bin leider gezwungen, Wasser in ihren Wein zu gieben. Sie kennen das türkische [sic] Antiken-Gesetz, das auf dem Griechischen abgeklatscht, jede Antike, auch die künftig

13 September 1889, however, shows no sign of support. On the contrary, Schliemann even distanced himself from the finds.²³

Schliemann received his firman in late October and started excavating at the site in early November 1889. Osman Hamdi Bey sent Galib Efendi to observe for the Imperial Museum. As Osman Hamdi Bey pointed out, Galib Efendi was an excellent draughtsman who could assist Schliemann during the excavations.²⁴ The museum representative was responsible for protecting the finds, since only he was allowed to have the key of the store in which objects were kept. Eventually, another museum employee, Halil Bey, was appointed to represent the Ottoman authorities at Hisarlık and to keep the key.²⁵

Schliemann's main purpose was to determine the nature of the ruins of what he believed to be Homer's Troy once and for all, namely the second stratum. To back up his position, Schliemann requested academies in Germany, Austria and France to send delegates: independent scholars. Schliemann's first conference at Hisarlık in December 1889 was attended by George Niemann (1841-1912), a prominent architect and professor at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts; cartographer Major Bernhard Steffen (1844-1891), who had produced maps of Mycenae, came from the Academy of Berlin; Halil Bey; Frank Calvert; Dörpfeld; and, last but not least, Captain Bötticher himself. No French delegate was present. Although Schliemann had hoped to attract Reinach,²⁶ the latter was unable to come. The French Academy chose another specialist, but he could not make it to the conference in December.²⁷

At the conference Schliemann tried to prove to Bötticher that all the data 'conformed with the truth,' stating 'that all the ruins of buildings, gates, towers, and walls described in my book are accurately depicted in the plans and nothing in them has been falsified.'²⁸ Major Steffen and George Niemann signed the conference protocol in Schliemann's defence. This was

noch gefunden wird, für Staatseigenthum erklärt und eine Ausfuhr ganz verbietet.' Letter from Schliemann to Humann, 7 February 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (326), 348-350; letter from Humann to Schliemann, 9 February 1890 (327), 350-352.

23 Letter from Schliemann to Osman Hamdi Bey, 13 September 1889 (BBB 41/387), quoted in Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 281.

24 Osman Hamdi Bey to Schliemann, 13 November 1889, B 41/545.

25 See also: Letter from Schliemann to Radowitz, 13 September 1889, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (299), 322, and 14 November 1889 (311), 331-333; and Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 220.

26 Letter from Schliemann to Radowitz, 14 November 1889, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (311), 331-333.

27 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 220; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 281-283.

28 Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, letter to Virchow, 13 December 1889, 531; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 282-284.

a declaration confirming that the remains in the second stratum were of a town with a temple and halls. Yet this did not confirm Schliemann's claim that Hisarlık was Homeric Troy. Nor did it give dates for the stratum.²⁹ In the end – with great effort – Bötticher was persuaded. He acknowledged the protocol and retracted his accusations, but he did not sign. He also refused to make a public apology and left Hisarlık on 6 December.³⁰

Schliemann discovered two Greek inscriptions during that excavation.³¹ On 31 October, while digging under Schliemann's direction, Frank Calvert discovered a fourth-century necropolis at Hisarlık. However, since permission to excavate Ancient cemeteries in the Troad was difficult to obtain, this was kept a well-guarded secret.³²

Despite retracting his accusations at Hisarlık, once Bötticher left the site he resumed his criticisms of Schliemann. He resurrected his burnt necropolis theory and gained increasing scholarly acceptance, whereupon Schliemann resolved to host a second, larger international conference. He lost no time in inviting scholars and made preparations to resume excavations, which he launched on 1 March 1890.³³ Gradually, scholars arrived at the site. The participants of the second Hisarlık conference between March 23 and April 7 included Osman Hamdi Bey, director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum; his brother, colleague and future successor, Halil Edhem Bey (1861-1938); Carl Humann; Friedrich von Duhn (1851-1930), professor of Classical Archaeology from Heidelberg; Charles Waldstein (1856-1927), director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Wilhelm Grempler (1826-1907) from Breslau, a member of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory; and the French Near Eastern Archaeology specialist Charles L.H. Babin (1860-1932) and his wife. Frank Calvert, Virchow and Dörpfeld were also present (Fig. 36).³⁴

29 Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 221.

30 Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, letter to Virchow, 13 December 1889, 531; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 282-284; Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 15.

31 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 282.

32 Letter from Schliemann to Virchow, 31 October 1889 (549) and 14 November 1889 (553), in Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 522, 524-525; Schliemann to Frank Calvert, 22 January 1890, BBB 42/116; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 220.

33 Letter from Schliemann to Calvert, 6 March 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (331), 353.

34 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 284-286; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 221; Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 15.

Osman Hamdi's presence is striking. After twenty years of insolence towards the Ottomans, was Schliemann finally about to show respect for Ottoman involvement in Classical archaeology? Did he believe that it was appropriate for a prominent Ottoman figure to attend the conference and take part in interpreting the archaeology of Troy? Osman Hamdi Bey's invitation should be seen in perspective, since Schliemann's letter to Humann on 20 August 1890 shows that Schliemann invited him merely on Humann's advice since Osman Hamdi's attendance at the conference was needed to foster goodwill.³⁵ At any rate, it is obvious that Schliemann was now forced to take the Ottomans seriously and to involve them in his archaeological activities. The Ottomans accepted the invitation and sent their most senior archaeologist to Troy.

After discussing the excavation results and Schliemann's interpretations, the conference participants signed the protocol on 30 March.³⁶ This rejected Bötticher's theories and declared that Schliemann and Dörpfeld's plans were correct and that no sign of burnt corpses had been found at the site.³⁷ This was a relief for Schliemann; yet Bötticher – not invited this time – continued to attack Schliemann. Reinach was not convinced either.³⁸

Schliemann's Achilles' heel in his struggle with Bötticher was his failure to find a prehistoric cemetery at Hisarlık. His excavations starting in March concentrated on the search for a cemetery and on exposing all of the house walls of Troy II. Moreover, he wanted to identify the fortification walls of each settlement. To achieve these objects, he decided to excavate outside the centre of Hisarlık. But, instead of finding buildings of the second stratum outside the walls, Schliemann and Dörpfeld discovered impressive buildings and Mycenaean pottery in the sixth stratum (Troy VI). These significant discoveries played havoc with the stratigraphy of Hisarlık: if the sixth stratum was contemporary with Mycenae, the second city had to be dated much earlier. In fact, already in 1873, Frank Calvert had pointed out that the second stratum could not be later than 2000 BC. Calvert's view was vindicated.³⁹

The Mycenaean pottery of the sixth settlement undermined Schliemann's identification of the second stratum as Homeric Troy. As Carl Schuchhardt,

35 Letter from Schliemann to Humann, 20 August 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (351), 377-379.

36 The protocol text was published in Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, 325-326.

37 Letter from Schliemann to J. Francis, 10 June 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (339), 362-364.

38 Letter from Schliemann to Virchow, 30 August 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (350), 376-378.

39 Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*. 16-18; Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 286-288; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 221-226.

who was writing a book on Schliemann's excavations and who had visited the site, pointed out,

I witnessed only the beginning of work on the sixth city, but it was already apparent that its impressive stone buildings contained good Mycenaean pottery. Since this sixth stratum was contemporary with Mycenae, Dörpfeld regarded it as the Troy destroyed by Agamemnon. Schliemann was annoyed. He did not want to abandon the 'Palace of Priam' and the 'Treasure of Helen' from the second city and looked with displeasure at each stirrup jar that emerged from the earth.⁴⁰

Given Schliemann's particular interest in potsherds,⁴¹ Osman Hamdi and Halil Edhem Bey probably allowed him to take the potsherds found at the site.⁴² As he wrote to Humann, 'It was a great idea to invite Hamdy to the congress, and to be friendly and generous to the Mancar [supervisor]. So for example Hamdy told the Mancar to allow me to take everything I had found, saying that the museum did not need these things. With regard to the broken pottery and stone items the Mancar carried out his task honestly.'⁴³

Schliemann's words suggest that Osman Hamdi Bey and the overseer were willing to hand over artefacts to him. Yet the text of another letter from Schliemann concerning the discovery of a council chamber, which he identified as an odeon or a small theatre, shows a totally different Ottoman attitude. In this letter to Virchow on 30 May, Schliemann states that he found 'a beautifully preserved odeon with marble heads of Caligula, Claudius I, and the younger Faustina, all well-preserved and skilfully worked, as well as a marvellously sculpted lion. I will have to give the lion and the Claudius to the Turkish Museum, although the Turkish overseer has been ill in the Dardanelles for a long time now. The two others, however, I hope to rescue for science and for the benefit of the fatherland, but no word about this must get out; otherwise Hamdy will learn of it right away and not only cancel our firman at once but hang a suit on us too.'⁴⁴ Apparently, Osman Hamdi Bey was not as obliging as Schliemann had made him appear in his previous letter to Humann.

40 Schuchhardt, *Aus Leben und Arbeit*, 181, translated in Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 287.

41 Bloedow, 'Schliemann's Attitude to Pottery.'

42 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 288.

43 Letter from Schliemann to Humann, 20 August 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (351), 177-179.

44 Herrmann und Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 545-546; See also his letter to Bismarck on 22 July 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (347), 371-374.

Schliemann's communication with Alexander Conze (1831-1914), now secretary of the German Archaeological Institute, on 9 December 1890 is also revealing on this point. Telling him about his secret discovery of a treasure,⁴⁵ which he considered more valuable than his finds at Mycenae, he noted that he had secured the treasure from 'Türkei' and asked Conze 'do not reveal the secret to anyone.' Otherwise, 'it will be impossible to obtain a Firman.'⁴⁶ To Humann, moreover, he expressed his worry about the possibility that Osman Hamdi Bey might think he had secretly discovered valuable finds. In which case, 'he will not want to renew my Firman.'⁴⁷

Schliemann had promised to obey the Ottoman antiquities code. According to his permit he was bound by the requirements of the Antiquities Law. As he stated to Frank Calvert on 6 March 1890, he was allowed to excavate wherever he pleased 'in a circuit of two days journey in diameter. But, alas, as to the antiquities to be discovered I have to submit to the new règlements.'⁴⁸ Nonetheless, he did smuggle important finds to Athens. His principal strategy was to reward workmen who brought objects directly to him.⁴⁹ This tactic worked well. To get a reward, the workmen bypassed the Ottoman overseer and handed their finds to Schliemann directly, who smuggled them illegally to Athens with the help of Agis de Caravel, consul in

45 In his diary on 8 July Schliemann notes that his workman Demos discovered a major treasure: four axes of nephrite, four sceptre knobs of crystal, 50 pieces of crystal in the shape of large semi-circles and two round plaques of crystal, one iron sceptre knob, a large number of small gold objects, two clumps of bronze fragments with small gold trinkets. His biographer Traill is sceptical of the treasure. He maintains that it is quite remarkable that Schliemann, once again, found an important treasure close to the end of the season. He notes that Schliemann is inconsistent about the circumstances in which the treasure was found: Schliemann ignores Demos in his later reports and sometimes claims the presence of Dörpfeld, whereas Dörpfeld says nothing of the sort. Although Schliemann suggested that the treasure, known to scholars as Treasure L, was found at Troy II, the characteristics of the objects correspond more closely with Troy VI or VII: see Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 290-292; The objects are catalogued for the Schliemann collection in Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, and Götze, 'Die Kleingeräte aus Metall.' See also Easton, 'Schliemann's Mendacity,' and Schliemann's letters to Schöne, 9 October 1890, (356), 382-384, to Alexander Conze, 9 December 1890, (363), 388-391 and to Gustave von Göbler (1938-1902), the German minister of culture, on 13 September 1890 (353), 379-382, all in Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*.

46 'verraten Sie niemand das Geheimnis [...] wäre es ausgeschlossen, einen Firman zu erhalten.' Letter from Schliemann to Alexander Conze, 9 December 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (363), 388-391; see also his letter to 'Gustave Göbler, on 13 September 1890 (353), 379-382.

47 'wird er mir daher *nicht* meinen *Ferman* erneuern wollen.' Letter from Schliemann to Humann, 20 August 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (351), 377-379.

48 Letter from Schliemann to Calvert, 6 March 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (331), 353.

49 *Nationale Zeitung*, 30 January 1891.

the Dardanelles for Spain and Italy. In Greece, his brother-in-law Alexandros Castromenos collected the objects.⁵⁰

Using this method, Schliemann managed to smuggle the most beautiful and significant artefacts to Athens while the excavation continued from March to the end of July, among these were Treasure L.⁵¹ Apart from the treasure, he illegally removed a decorated silver vase, 17 cm in height and nine marble chests, including the marble heads and the lion he had found in the odeon. Although Schliemann was considering handing over the head of Claudius I and the lion to the Ottomans, he found a way to avoid this too.⁵² This is remarkable, since the Ottoman authorities in Istanbul knew about that discovery. In fact, in a telegram to Istanbul on 8 June, the overseer Galib Bey reported the discovery of 'an odeon and two marble statues.'⁵³ As Schliemann had noted in his letter to Virchow on 30 May,⁵⁴ perhaps Galib Bey's illness offered an opportunity to ship the chests.

Illegally exporting artefacts was nothing new for Schliemann. His previous shipments show clearly that he always managed to find a way to circumvent laws and supervisors and to find collaborators to organize illicit shipments. Moreover, he always treated his collaborators with great respect and made a serious effort to reward them for their help: helping Schliemann was profitable. This time he also commended A. de Caravel in letters to various prominent figures, calling him the saviour of Trojan antiquities, and even tried to arrange a German medal for his services.⁵⁵ The three heads are now in Berlin, but it is unclear what happened to the lion after it arrived in Athens.

The large amount of Mycenaean pottery which Schliemann discovered in the sixth stratum forced him, as Traill aptly points out, 'to think the unthinkable,' namely that it was not Troy II which was Homer's Troy but

50 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 288.

51 See Schliemann's outgoing letters: BBB 42/315, 42/352, 42/400 and 42/431, Schliemann Archive, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Athens; see also Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 288-192.

52 Treasure L, now thought to be in Moscow, and the heads in Berlin have been claimed by the Turkish government, since they were illegally removed from Turkish soil. Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 289, 301.

53 IBA: Y.PRK.MF. 1/12, 20/L/1307 (08/06/1890).

54 Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, 545-546

55 Saherwala, Goldmann and Mahr, *Heinrich Schliemanns 'Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer'*, 142-143; Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, Schliemann to Prince Bernhard of Saxe Meiningen, 16 June 1890 (340), 363-365; to Gustave von Göbler (1938-1902), 13 September 1890 (353), 379-382; Herrmann and Maab, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow*, letter from Schliemann to Virchow, 17 June 1890 and 8 July 1890, 548, 551.

in fact Troy VI.⁵⁶ In his letter to King George of Greece on 27 July 1890, he actually hinted at this conclusion; however, he did not explicitly claim the discovery of the real Homeric Troy. The credit for finding the correct Homeric Troy went to Wilhelm Dörpfeld.⁵⁷

Schliemann concluded his excavation at the end of July, having resolved to resume work in March 1891,⁵⁸ but poor health brought his plans to a halt. He died on Christmas Day 1890, before he had received his excavation permit and without finishing his life's work.

4 Finding Troy Once More: Dörpfeld's Excavations in 1893 and 1894

'Rest in Peace. You have done enough,' were Dörpfeld's moving words at Schliemann's funeral on 4 January 1891.⁵⁹ Dörpfeld took over the task that Schliemann had left. He wanted to settle the issue of the new Mycenaean discoveries of the sixth stratum. He published these new discoveries in *Troia und Ilion* (1902), particularly the remains of two large buildings, and cautiously proposed that this stratum may have been Homer's Troy. He explained that Troy VI 'contained the remains of two large buildings distinguished from the other buildings of the stratum by their dimensions, by the quality of their architecture and the strength of their walls. A plan of the layout of one of these buildings appears on page 59 of the report, revealing the form of a Greek temple or an old residential house, a Megaron.' He continued,

Have we found one or two temples erected in prehistoric times after the destruction of Homeric Troy over the ruins of Troy II? Or were these two major buildings which we had found the inner structures of a larger castle whose surrounding wall had stood further out and was yet to be discovered? Perhaps the previously discovered wall, which was hitherto presumed to be Greek, was the outer wall of Troy VI, a Mycenaean layer? If so, Troy II must have been much older than the Trojan War and would have to cede the honour of being Homer's Troy to Troy VI?⁶⁰

56 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 289, 288, 346.

57 On Wilhelm Dörpfeld, see: Goessler, *Wilhelm Dörpfeld*.

58 Letter from Schliemann to King George, 27 July 1890 and to Radowitz, 20 November 1890, Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II*, (349), 374-377, (357), 383-385.

59 Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 297.

60 'enthielt an jener Stelle die Reste zweier grossen Gebäude, die sich durch ihre Abmessungen, durch die Güte ihrer Bauweise und durch die Stärke ihrer Mauern vor den Bauten aller anderen

Only further excavations would provide an answer to these questions. Ottoman authorities also attached special importance to a clarification of the Trojan issue and a settlement of the questions concerning the strata raised by Schliemann's final excavation. After discussing these matters at a meeting of the Education Committee and reviewing the advantages excavations might bring for the Imperial Museum, the Ministry of Public Instruction and the grand vizier decided to grant Dörpfeld permission to resume excavations at Hisarlık. The palace secretary approved Dörpfeld's request on 23 August 1892. The permit was valid for a year, on condition that Dörpfeld and his team adhered to the Ottoman Antiquities Law. Moreover, excavations were only allowed in prescribed areas, and the archaeologists had to stay away from fortifications and security zones.⁶¹ Sophia Schliemann funded the excavations, since she believed it was her duty to enable her husband's work to be finished.

Dörpfeld's team included archaeologist A. Brückner, prehistorian R. Weigel and architect W. Wilberg. The discovery of the major fortification walls and strong constructions in the sixth stratum were a great relief. As Dörpfeld wrote, these discoveries substantiated the proof that Troy VI was Homer's Troy. They also showed that Troy II was prehistoric. In fact, the stratigraphy of the site was the main focus of the researchers and the purpose of the excavations carried out by Dörpfeld and his assistants. In the end, Dörpfeld identified nine separate cities, situated on top of one another; the first five lower cities belonged to the prehistoric era, the sixth stratum was classified as the legendary Troy of the Mycenaean period and the three upper layers were identified as late Greek and Roman.⁶²

The impressive walls of Troy VI, which invited comparison with the famous walls of Troy described by Homer in the *Iliad*, were a major reason for Dörpfeld

Schichten auszeichneten. Von dem einen dieser Gebäude konnte auf S. 59 des Berichtes ein Grundriss veröffentlicht werden, der die Gestalt eines griechischen Tempels oder eines alten Wohnhauses, eines Megaron, zeigte. [...] Hatten wir hier etwa einen oder gar zwei Tempel gefunden, die nach der Zerstörung der homerischen Burg Troja noch in vorhistorischer Zeit über den Ruinen der II. Schicht errichtet waren? Oder konnten die beiden gefundenen stattlichen Gebäude die Innenbauten einer grösseren Burg sein, deren Ringmauer weiter nach Aussen lag, und bisher noch nicht gefunden war? Sollte etwa eine der früher entdeckten, bisher für griechisch gehaltenen Mauern die Burgmauer dieser VI. oder "mykenischen" Schicht bilden? Und wenn dies der Fall war, musste dann nicht die II. Schicht viel älter sein als der trojanische Krieg, und musste sie nicht die Ehre, das Troja Homers zu sein, an die VI. Schicht abtreten? Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 16-18.

61 IBA: I.MF 1310/M-5 (1): 29/M/1310 (23/08/1892).

62 A great deal of research has been done on the stratigraphy of Troy and the layers have been rearranged through time, but this is not the subject of this thesis. For an overview of the history of the archaeology of Troy and its stratigraphy, see: Korfmann, *Troia*, and the series *Studia Troica*. See also Kelder, Uslu, and Şerifoğlu, *Troy: City, Homer and Turkey*, in particular Chapter 2.

to propose this stratum for Homeric Troy. The possibility that Homer's Troy was about to be positively identified enabled Dörpfeld to resume excavations the following year. The Ottomans decided to extend Dörpfeld's permit for another year. Moreover Kaiser Wilhelm II supported Dörpfeld and funded the excavations of 1894, which started in spring and lasted until mid-July.

The excavation team consisted of scholars from various scientific fields, among them architect W. Wilberg, prehistorian A. Götze and archaeologists H. Winnefeld and H. Schmidt. Museum staffer Ahmed Bey joined the team as supervisor and representative of the Ottoman state. The excavations focused on the sixth stratum, looking for more evidence. Dörpfeld's excitement regarding his discoveries is palpable in the excavation reports: 'Given the stately ruins, especially the beautiful retaining walls and the mighty castle wall, there is no longer any doubt: these are the walls and towers of which Homer sang, this was the castle of Priam.'⁶³

Finally, Dörpfeld clarified the size of Troy VI and convinced many scholars. He became the archaeologist who had decided the question of Troy.⁶⁴ Even Frank Calvert, who in an earlier period had dated Schliemann's second stratum to between 2200 and 1800 BC, was convinced. He announced that Dörpfeld had proved the sixth city to be Homer's Troy, and not the older, burnt second city.⁶⁵

This time the Ottoman authorities were dealing with an erudite partner with a serious reputation and scholarly experience. The Ottoman newspaper *Servet-i Fünun* emphasized Dörpfeld's reputation as an academic and reported his discoveries and the nine different settlements he had identified.⁶⁶ Dörpfeld acted in line with the regulations and handed in the finds he discovered at Troy. The most beautiful artefacts were included in the Troy collection of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Dörpfeld's priorities were different. He was not looking for the kind of recognition Schliemann had sought. His interest was

63 'Angesichts dieser stattlichen Ruinen, namentlich der schönen Stützmauern und der mächtigen Burgmauer, war kein Zweifel mehr möglich: das waren die von Homer besungenen Mauern und Türme, hier war die Burg des Priamos.' Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 19-23. See also Rigger and Van Wijngaarden, 'Troy VI and VIIa in the Late Bronze Age,' 32-34.

64 Nevertheless, in the course of time the discussion over which city should be associated with Homer's Troy would re-emerge. Dörpfeld's successor, Carl Blegen, held that it was impossible for Troy VI to be Homer's Troy, since an earthquake had destroyed that city. Troy VIIa, on the other hand, had been destroyed in a war. This led him to believe that Troy VIIa presented Homer's Troy. The discussion regarding the identification of Homeric Troy with both layers VI and VIIa is still not over. Traces of fire in Troy VI are seen as possible evidence of war. On whether Homer's *Iliad* has a basis in history, see: Latacz, *Troy and Homer*; Wood, *In Search of the Trojan War*; and Rigger and Van Wijngaarden, 'Troy VI and VIIa in the Late Bronze Age,' 32-35.

65 Calvert, 'The Discovery of Troy'; Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 228-232.

66 *Servet-i Fünun*, 25/Mart/1320, 26 (07/04/1904).

scholarly: 'Priam's castle has been restored to us and we have here a unique, highly significant ruin with which to study the earliest history of mankind.'⁶⁷

5 Overseeing Troy at the Turn of the Century

For all their positive experiences with Dörpfeld and his excavation team, the entrenched suspicion and caution of the Ottomans towards any activity at the Troad could not easily be assuaged. Dörpfeld's plans to explore tumuli in the surroundings, for instance, were rejected by the authorities. Although Dörpfeld emphasized the importance of these surveys, the Ottomans could not be persuaded.⁶⁸ They were suspicious. Ottoman documents demonstrate that visitors to the archaeological site of Troy were recorded. This was in line with the new regulations regarding foreigners, who needed formal permission to visit historic sites and monuments. Yet in addition to formal registration, it is remarkable that local officers were also instructed to observe 'the attitude and actions' of these visitors closely. It was not only difficult to get a permit to visit Troy at the turn of the century; once there, they were also closely watched.

In September 1894, for example, when the eminent British Admiral Edward Hobart Seymour (1840-1929)⁶⁹ visited the site together with the British ambassador, local authorities were secretly instructed by telegram to follow their movements closely.⁷⁰ Although this probably related to the visitor's military position and the strategic importance of Troy and the Dardanelles, the Ottoman attitude was no different when Dörpfeld and various scholars visited the site in 1902, 1903 and 1906. In line with the regulations, permission to visit the site was granted by the Foreign Ministry, the grand vizier and the Sublime Porte respectively and finally confirmed by the sultan. Meanwhile the authorities of Biga province were ordered to keep a close but inconspicuous eye on Dörpfeld and his companions during their visit. Should they 'detect any noticeable or suspicious act,' this had to be reported by telegram 'using a secret code.'⁷¹

67 'Die Burg des Priamos ist uns tatsächlich wieder geschenkt, und dazu besitzen wir in ihr einzigartige, hochwichtige Ruinenstätte zum Studium der ältesten Geschichte der Menschheit.' Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 25.

68 Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, 23.

69 He served as a Royal Navy officer in the Crimean War and became commander-in-chief of China Station in 1897.

70 IBA: Y.PRK-ASK 100/24: 12/Ra/1312 (13/09/1894).

71 IBA: I.HR. 376/1319/Z-9: 21/Z/1319 (31/03/1902); DH.MKT. 702/57: 7/S/1321 (05/05/1903); I.HR. 383/1321/S-03: 1/S/1321 (29/04/1903), DH.MKT. 1074/21: 21/R/1324 (28/05/1906).

As we have seen, this was general practice. There is a long list of people, from artists to politicians and travellers of various nationalities, whose visits and activities in Troy were recorded and reported to different ministries and departments of the Ottoman state.⁷² Newspapers, too, paid attention to visitors of Troy, and informed Ottoman readers about their identities and nationalities.⁷³

However, despite efforts to regulate and inspect activities at Troy, the authorities were unable to control the archaeological activities in the region. Frank Calvert, who had lived in the area for decades, knew the Troad better than anyone. Although Ottoman authorities had granted no official permits to excavate in Troy after Dörpfeld's excavations, Calvert managed to continue digging clandestinely at rich, mostly unknown sites around the Troad, such as Hanay Tepe and Tavolia nearby Karanlık Limanı. His private collection at Thymbra Farm, his family home, expanded tremendously around the turn of the century. Calvert kept his collection secret in order to avoid claims from the Imperial Museum. Witnesses reported that it was kept in a secret chamber which only he could enter, and it included numerous items from various historical periods. Thymbra Farm would serve as military quarters for the Ottomans during the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915-1916 (Fig. 37).

In 1900, Calvert donated nine acres of land at Hisarlık to the Imperial Museum. Clearly pleased by this gift, the Ottomans rewarded Calvert with the highest imperial honour. In 1905, he secretly sold part of his collection to Worcester Art Museum in Worcester, Massachusetts. Other artefacts were destroyed by the earthquake of 9 August 1912, but Frank Calvert had died in 1908 and did not witness that disaster.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, the Ottomans were working on the regional infrastructure in order to make travelling to Troy easier. In 1901 a pier was built in Karanlık Limanı harbour 'for the visitors of the ruins of Troy.'⁷⁵ Troy attracted Ottoman visitors such as İhtifalcı Mehmed Ziya (1866-1930), an expert on antiquities and a member of the Ottoman Committee for the Protection of Ancient Objects, who saw the historical sites at the Troad in 1909. His account of this visit reflects the vivid interest in the legendary stories of Troy and the Dardanelles, in mythology and Homer, but also in Herodotus and Strabo.⁷⁶

72 Here a selection: IBA: Y.PRK.ASK. 205/28:10/Ca/1321 (04/08/1903); DH.MKT. 763/25: 20/Ca/1321 (14/08/1903); Y.PRK.DH. 12/55: 20/Ca/1321 (14/08/1903); Y.PRK.ASK. 229/24: 13/R/1323 (17/06/1905); DH.MKT. 1060/80: 26/M/1324 (22/03/1906); DH.MKT. 1152/89: 28/M/1325 (13/03/1907).

73 *İkdam*, 03 Kanun-i evvel 1313 (15/12/1897).

74 In the 1930s Frank Calvert's family gave what remained of the Calvert Collection to Çanakale Archaeological Museum. In Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 231-245.

75 IBA: DH.MKT. 2512/102: 5/Ra/1319 (22/06/1901).

76 Ziya, 'Kale-i Sultanîye Sevahili,' in Avcı, ed., *Çanakale'yi yaşamak*, 245-262.

Homer and Troy within Ottoman Society in the Wake of the First World War

The neo-Hellenist movement, launched by leading intellectuals Yahya Kemal (1884-1958) and Yakub Kadri (1889-1974) in 1912, stimulated interest in Homer and Troy. The impressive *Esâtîr-i Yunaniyan* (Greek mythology) by Mehmed Tevfik Pasha (1855-1915), published in 1913, was a kind of manifesto of Ottoman neo-Hellenism. Homer received extensive treatment in this 762-page volume, a product of the zeitgeist of the progressive late Ottoman period (Fig. 38).⁷⁷

Adherents of the neo-Hellenist movement published articles extolling Classical Antiquity in newspapers and magazines and regarded Classical culture as an example for Turkish literature and arts. Critics of these neo-Hellenist ideas raised objections during the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. A cartoon by Sedat Nuri showing Yahya Kemal (1884-1958) in Ancient costume appeared in *Peyam-ı Edebi*, the literary supplement of the newspaper *Peyam*, on 26 January 1914. The sceptical text accompanying the cartoon derided Yakub Kadri as 'a neo-Hellenist poet, his work is unpublished, just like Homer he declaims' (Fig. 39).⁷⁸

Reports published in Ottoman periodicals made visiting Troy fashionable. A detailed travel account appeared in *Şehbal* in 1913, with illustrations (Fig. 40). This delightful piece explains that the best way to reach the ruins of Troy was by 'asking the drivers in Çanakkale to bring you to the place of Hisarlık. Upon leaving Çanakkale the coastal road will be followed. After one and a half hours, this road will take a curve to the left and go uphill. At that moment you will enter a quite beautiful pinewood. The panoramic view from the peak of the slope is very lovely. On one side the view of the city of Çanakkale and on the other side the panorama through the pine trees of the Dardanelles stretching like a blue ground, is astonishing. And one remembers all the civilizations that came here and have been destroyed.'⁷⁹

Not only the route to the ruins of Troy was painted in glowing terms, the author also devoted attention to the Trojans and the Trojan War. According to the writer, Cemal, the famous Trojan War was a battle between Greek city-states led by Agamemnon and 'the very important people who inhabited Troy, with other Asian people who were united to defend the country, led

77 Tevfik, *Esâtîr-i Yunâniyan*; and Ayvazoğlu, 'Neo-Hellenism in Turkey.'

78 Nuri, [cartoon]. For the neo-Hellenist movement in the Ottoman Empire, see: Ayvazoğlu, *Yahya Kemal*; Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*; Ayvazoğlu, 'Neo-Hellenism in Turkey.'

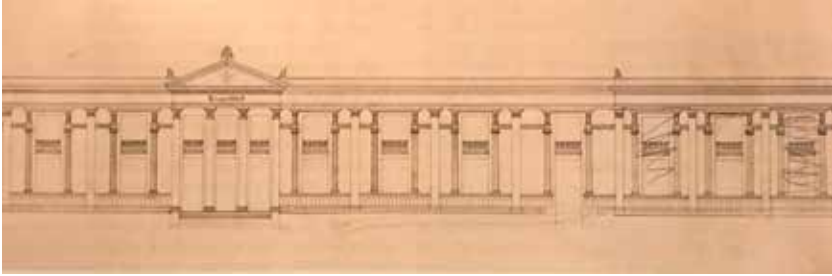
79 Cemal, *Şehbal*, 3/68, 394, 1 Kanun-i sani 1328 (14/01/1913).

by the celebrated Hector.' Again, the Asian origins of the Trojans were emphasized, which made Turkish identification with the Trojans easier.

After discussing the fall of Troy, the report highlights the development of the various settlements at the mound of Hisarlık and the discoveries made by the Ottoman army while digging trenches in preparation of the Ottoman-Italian War (1911-1912).⁸⁰ The author noted that these discoveries showed Troy to have been much larger than the mound at Hisarlık. The piece then discusses Heinrich Schliemann's excavations, 'who took a lot of objects with him, among them fairly precious weapons and vases.'

It concludes with a striking characterization of Troy as 'one of the historical treasures of our nation,' which demonstrates not only the appropriation of the history of the Empire's territories and its remains, but also the key position of Troy within Ottoman society in the wake of the First World War, a conflagration that brought an end to the Ottoman Empire.⁸¹

Figure 35 Original drawing of the façade of the main building of the Imperial Museum



Source: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*

80 The war between the Ottoman Empire and Italy is called the Tripolitanian War in Turkey and the Libyan War in Italy. It started in September 1911 and ended in October 1912. The Empire lost and Italy occupied the last Ottoman provinces in Africa; Tripolitana, Fezzan and Cyrenaica (together Libya). The Italians also captured the Dodecanese islands in the Aegean. The Ottoman-Italian War showed the Empire's political and military weakness; even more, it encouraged the Balkan provinces to combine and remove the Ottomans from Europe. This led to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. See: Zürcher, *Turkey*, 106-109.

81 *Şehbal*, 1 Kanun-i sani 1328 (14/01/1913).

Figure 36 Hisarlık Conference, 1890



Source: Collection of Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, in Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*
 Standing from left: Virchow, Grempler, Halil Bey, Schliemann, Edith Calvert, Dörpfeld, Madame Babin, Babin, Duhn and Humann. Seated: Calvert, Osman Hamdi Bey and Waldstein

Figure 37 Thymbra Farm served as military quarters for the Ottomans during the Battle of Gallipoli in 1915/1916



Source: Collection Çanakkale Deniz Museum
 Photo: Geert Snoeijer, 2012

Figure 38 *Esâtîr-i Yunaniyan* (Greek mythology) by Mehmed Tevfik Pasha (1855-1915), published in 1913

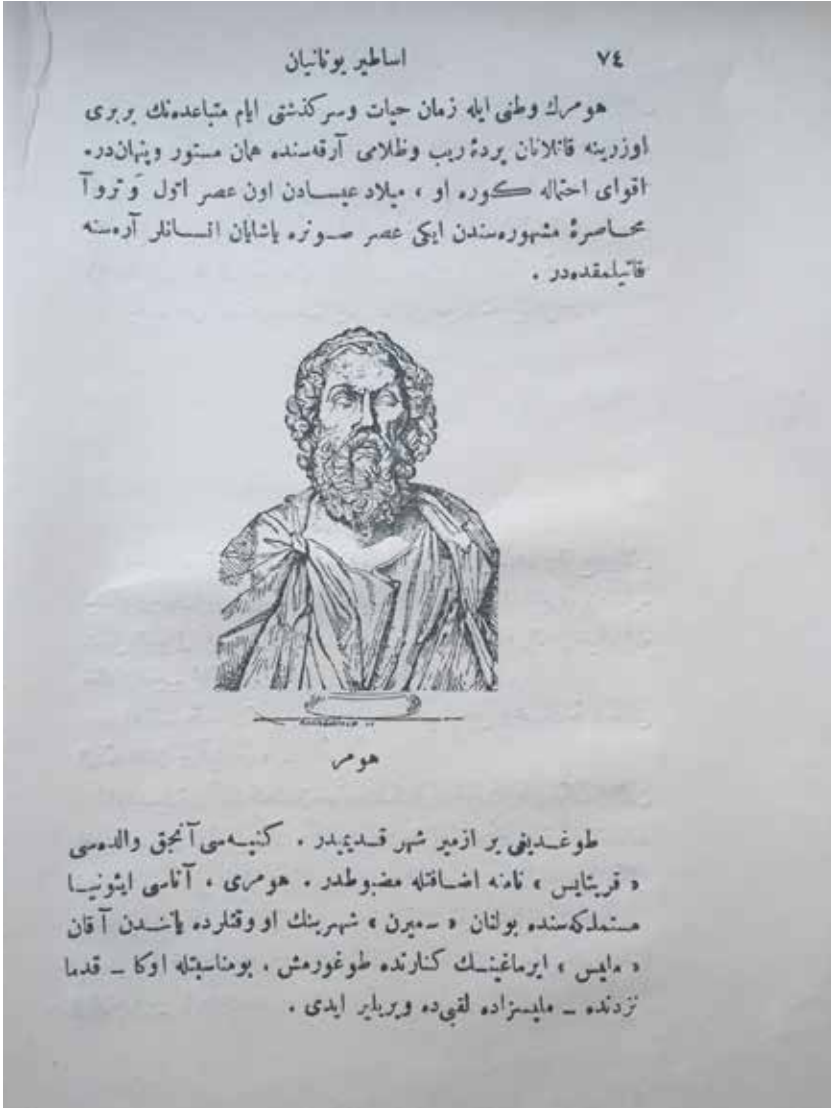


Photo: Günay Uslu, 2012

Greek mythology is discussed extensively in this book. This 762-page volume reflects the zeitgeist of the progressive late Ottoman period in which Homer and Greek mythology gained an increasing place in the Ottoman-Turkish intellectual world.

Figure 39 Sedat Nuri's cartoon of Yahya Kemal in Ancient costume in *Peyam-ı Edebi*, the literary supplement of the newspaper *Peyam*, on 26 January 1914



Photo: Günay Uslu, 2010

Two leading intellectuals, Yahya Kemal and Yakub Kadri (1889-1974), launched the Turkish neo-Hellenist movement in 1912. Adherents published articles about Classical Antiquity in newspapers and magazines and extolling Classical culture as an example for Turkish literature and arts. Critics of neo-Hellenist ideas were spurred by the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. In this critical cartoon, Yakub Kadri is 'a neo-Hellenist poet, his work is unpublished, just like Homer he declaims.'

Figure 41 Times War Atlas (1914)



Source: Bijzondere Collecties, University of Amsterdam

Epilogue of an Empire

The years prior to the First World War are considered the most turbulent, dynamic, yet also the most ruinous period in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Various revolutions, coups and wars took place, resulting in internal unrest and territorial losses. To name a few: the constitutional revolution of 1908 by the Young Turks (united in the Committee of Union and Progress, or CUP)¹ and the end of the Hamidian regime, the counterrevolution of 1909, revolts in Albania, Kosovo, Yemen, the Ottoman-Italian War in 1911-1912, the coup of 1913 (consolidating the power of the CUP) and the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913.²

Defending the Dardanelles and Gallipoli against enemy attack had become a major concern. The Italians had bombarded the Dardanelles in April 1912 during the Ottoman-Italian War. With the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) between the Balkan League (Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia) and the Ottoman Empire, the region became increasingly volatile. Now Bulgarian artillery was within reach of Istanbul. Gallipoli on the European shore of the Dardanelles was seriously vulnerable.

Faced with this depressing situation, on 25 November 1912, a young Ottoman officer who had distinguished himself in the Ottoman-Italian War was appointed head of operations of the army corps on the Gallipoli peninsula, the so-called Reorganized Forces for the Mediterranean Strait. He was Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), later known as Atatürk,³ first president of the Republic of Turkey (1923) and the leader of the Turkish War of Independence, which would begin soon after the end of the First World War with the capitulation of the Ottoman Empire.

Mustafa Kemal was the son of a customs clerk in Salonica (present-day Thessaloniki). He enrolled in the military primary and secondary schools in Salonica and Monastir and graduated from the Ottoman Military Academy in Istanbul in 1905. In 1907, he joined the constitutional opposition group Committee of Union and Progress and became a member of the inner circle of Unionist officers.⁴ The Committee of Union and Progress ('union'

1 The members of this constitutional movement in France called themselves *Jeunes Turcs*.

2 For an overview of the political and economic developments in this period, see: Zürcher, *Turkey*, in particular Chapters 7 and 8.

3 Mustafa Kemal received his surname Atatürk from the Turkish parliament in 1934. In modern Turkish Atatürk means 'Father of the Turks.'

4 Numerous books and articles have been written about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. For a selection of significant biographies: Kinross, *Atatürk*; Mango, *Atatürk*; Becker, *Atatürk en Turkije's weg*

referred to the unity of the Empire's ethnic peoples), aimed to re-establish the constitution and parliament of the First Constitutional Era of 1876-1878, which was achieved in 1908.⁵ The CUP was the dominant political power in the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918). Mustafa Kemal was to become the most important figure in the history of modern Turkey, yet his career started in the Dardanelles.

The Hero of Gallipoli

Having been appointed to defend the Dardanelles, the gateway to Istanbul, against a Bulgarian breakthrough, Mustafa Kemal took up his post at his new headquarters on the Gallipoli peninsula.⁶ While there, Mustafa Kemal visited the archaeological site of Troy in March 1913. To assess the threat of potential enemy attacks on Gallipoli he carried out a military survey. In the course of this military investigation, which is outlined by Mithat Atabay, historian and expert on Atatürk and his period in the Dardanelles, Mustafa Kemal followed the trail of the legendary figures who are traditionally held to have visited the Troad in earlier times, such as the Persian King Xerxes and Alexander the Great.

Tracing the footsteps of Alexander the Great, he crossed the Dardanelles Strait, visited to the Tomb of Achilles and the ruins of Troy. He investigated the locations and drew sketches in his notebook.⁷ Having evaluated the historical sites of the Troad, where the legendary Trojan War had taken place

naar Europa. See also short biographies in T. C. Genelkurmay Harp Tarihi Başkanlığı Yayınları, *Türk İstiklal Harbine Katılan Tümen ve Daha Üst Kademlerdeki Komutanların Biyografileri*, and Zürcher, *Turkey*, 384, and the memoirs and documents of Afet Inan, historian and one of Atatürk's adopted daughters: Inan, *Atatürk Hakkında Hatıralar ve Belgeler*.

5 With the reestablishment of the constitutional monarchy the atmosphere in the Ottoman Empire changed. The proclamation of the new press law in 1909, based on a French model (the Press Law of 1881), triggered this change all the more. An explosion of public debates on various ideological, intellectual and social issues characterizes the Second Constitutional Period. For an overview of the development of the Young Turk movement, its ideologies and political actions, in particular until the end of the First World War, see: Zürcher, *Turkey*, 85-133; Turfan, *The Rise of the Young Turks*; and Ahmad, *The Young Turks*. For a history of the Turkish press and its politics, see: Topuz, *100 soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*; Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri*; Iskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketlerine Bir Bakış*; Iskit, *Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*; Koloğlu, 'Osmanlı Basını,' 87; Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 194-196.

6 Mango, *Atatürk*, 191, 145-155. For a biography of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his appointment to Gallipoli, see: Becker, *Atatürk en Turkije's Weg naar Europa*, 126-134; Kinross, *Atatürk*, 54-59.

7 Atatürk's notebook dealing with the landscape of the Troad and possible strategies is at the Military Archives in Istanbul (Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı [ATASE]). See also Atabay, 'Balkan Muharebeleri Esnasında Mustafa Kemal'in Çanakkale Bölgesinde Yaptığı Faaliyetler.'

centuries ago, Mustafa Kemal concluded that an enemy would find it difficult to capture the Anatolian coast of the Dardanelles. He therefore decided that the main defensive lines should be deployed along the European coast.

This military survey of the Troad brought Mustafa Kemal to a historic decision and a military strategy which in a way laid the foundation for the success of the Ottoman army in the Battle of Gallipoli⁸ in 1915 and would earn him the title of hero of Gallipoli.⁹ Mustafa Kemal was to succeed where Hector had failed.

The First World War: A Glorious Ottoman Victory at the Dardanelles

The results of the Balkan Wars proved fatal for the Ottomans: almost all the Balkan territories were lost and the Empire was extremely weakened. While in no condition to fight a serious war, and preferring to stay out of it, the Ottoman government caved in to German pressure and anti-British sentiment, raised by the British requisition of two battleships which had been bought and paid for. Fearing isolation and already abandoned by France and Britain who were more interested in good relations with Russia which, in turn, collaborated with the Balkan states, the Ottoman Empire threw in its lot with the Triple Alliance in October 1914. With this the Empire entered its final war.¹⁰

Soon after, the Ottomans mined the Dardanelles and fortified the surroundings of Troy on the Asian shore of the strait. The Troad and the Gallipoli peninsula had become a war zone and in a little while the region would turn into a battlefield. The first indication of the British strategy to gain control of the Straits (the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus) was the bombardment of the outer forts on the Dardanelles by a British naval squadron in the Aegean on 3 November 1914. The order to bombard the outer forts of the Dardanelles came from the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill. He insisted that the best way to defeat the Ottoman Turks, and consequently the Germans, was to attack the Dardanelles and take Istanbul. However, the topography and the tides of the Dardanelles made it difficult to attack from the sea and from the land. As Mustafa Kemal had already observed, the hills of the Asian shore form a natural barrier. Moreover, the steep slopes of the Gallipoli peninsula and the narrowing

8 The Battle of Gallipoli is also called the Dardanelles Campaign. The Turks named the battles on the Dardanelles the 'Battle of Çanakkale.' Çanakkale is the main town on the Asian side of the Dardanelles Strait. See: Broadbent, *Gallipoli*, 17.

9 Atabay, 'Balkan Muharebeleri Esnasında Mustafa Kemal'in Çanakkale Bölgesinde Yaptığı Faaliyetler'; Atabay and Aslan, 'Atatürk in Troy'; Kinross, *Atatürk*, 96-98.

10 On the reasons why the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War, see: Zürcher, *Turkey*, 110-114.

width of the strait were important advantages for the Ottoman defenders. The narrowest points, furthermore, could easily and effectively be fortified. In addition, for all the weakness of the Empire, the artillery and mines of the Ottomans had been greatly improved.

The first of a succession of British and French attempts to attack the Dardanelles came in February and March 1915. The main attack was on March 18. A fleet of British and French warships steamed through the Dardanelles to engage the Ottoman Turks. One of the British battleships participating in the main attack was the HMS *Agamemnon*. The naval assault by the Entente powers failed and ended in a costly defeat and heavy losses.¹¹

Landings on Cape Helles and Arı Burnı (renamed ANZAC Cove shortly after the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps landed) on the tip of the Gallipoli peninsula on April 25 brought no breakthrough either. Actually, the tactics and strategy of the British and French forces during the landings, inspired by the Ancient Trojan War, are striking. For example, the collier SS *River Clyde*, carrying 2,000 soldiers, was used as a Trojan Horse: holes had been cut out to provide sally ports from which the soldiers would emerge onto gangways and then to a bridge of smaller boats connecting the collier to Cape Helles beach. However, the Ottoman defence was too strong and the Trojan Horse boat, as the Allied soldiers called it, became a death trap. George Pake, serving as a private in the British army wrote that the outcome was disastrous: 'Our boat then ran alongside the Trojan Horse boat, *River Clyde*. [...] I looked to my right and saw a sight I shall never forget – a very large number of French Legionnaires lying on their stomachs, all dead.'¹²

Eventually, the Allied troops were evacuated from the Dardanelles in January 1916; Churchill lost face.¹³ Mustafa Kemal, on the other hand, was promoted to full colonel during the battle.¹⁴ Although the Ottomans lost the First World War, from their perspective the outcome of the Dardanelles was a glorious victory; they had defeated their enemies and had written a new legend that would go down in history as the Impassable Dardanelles.¹⁵ As Patrick Kinross aptly notes, 'The British failure at the Dardanelles gave a momentary psychological lift to the Turkish people. For the first time

11 Broadbent, *Gallipoli*, 3-16, 23-35; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 118.

12 Broadbent, *Gallipoli*, 149;

13 James, *Churchill*, 85-94; for the Battle of Gallipoli, see: Moorehead, *Gallipoli*; Haythornthwaite, *Gallipoli*; Erickson, *Ordered to Die*; James, *Gallipoli*; Kraaijestein and Schulten, *Het Epos van Gallipoli*.

14 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 96-98.

15 'The Dardanelles are Impassable' is the common aphorism for the Turkish victory at the Battle of Gallipoli.

within living memory they had won a victory against a European power. There was life in the old Turk yet.¹⁶

News of Mustafa Kemal's successful defence of the Gallipoli peninsula began to spread. Politicians who visited the battlefield extolled his virtues in reports and speeches and his achievements were praised in the Ottoman parliament.¹⁷ In an interview in April 1918, Mustafa Kemal reported his war experiences and praised the spirit of the Ottoman soldiers during the Battle of Gallipoli. As he told journalist Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın (1892-1959), while the enemy were landing on 25 April he had commanded his soldiers: 'I am not ordering you to fight, I am ordering you to die.' He described the terrible circumstances in which the soldiers had to operate:

The distance of the opposing trenches was only eight metres, thus death was inevitable, inevitable. [...] Those at the first trench all fell without any one saved. And those at the second trench took their place. [...] They saw the dead, and knew that they would die too within three minutes, but showed not a glimpse of hesitation. No breakdown. This is a celebrated and astonishing example of the spiritual power of the Turkish soldier. Be sure that it was this great soul that secured the victory of Gallipoli.

Mustafa Kemal explained, although everyone was exhausted, the battle was a matter of honour: 'everyone believed that there was no rest before they had wholly driven the enemies into the sea.'¹⁸

Turks: New Heroes of Troy

After the many military losses of the previous years, this victory created a new sense of confidence and pride. The Trojans lost, but the Ottomans won the war at that legendary place. According to Ottoman politician and leading intellectual Celal Nuri İleri (1881-1938), if Homer had seen the victory of the Turks in the Dardanelles, even he would have turned his back on the legendary heroes of the Trojan War. In his essay 'Turks in Gallipoli and Homer,' published in 1918 in a special edition of the periodical *Yeni Mecmua*¹⁹

16 Kinross, *Atatürk*, 96-98.

17 Atabay, 'Osmanlı Meclis-i Mebusanı'nda Çanakkale Muharebeleri Konusundaki Görüşmeler.'

18 Eşref, 'Mustafa Kemal Paşa,' in *Yeni Mecmua*; and Eşref, 'Mustafa Kemal Paşa,' in *Çanakkale'yi Yaşamak*.

19 Confusion exists among scholars about the exact date of publication. Since the last article was delivered on 21 April 1918, it is probable that the special edition was published around May 1918, in Albayrak and Özyurt, *Yeni Mecmua*, 9-12, and Avcı, *Çanakkale'yi Yaşamak*, 9-12.

dedicated to the Battle of Gallipoli, 'Homer spoke' to the warriors of the Trojan War:

I have decided that from now on both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are not valid anymore. My main works should not be read anymore. Here, in the old country of Dardanos, [...] I witnessed such a glorious and honourable event, such a great war, such a marvellous defence; Oh famous warriors of Troy! Although your attacks are so brilliant, so lovely, they are dull compared to the struggles and efforts of the Turks, who shouted *Allahu Ekber Allahu Ekber!* and scattered the largest armies of the world [...] and forced the troops to flee, bewildered and ashamed. Oh, come all gods, oh, all the most prominent people from the epics, oh, men of Troy! Let us view the success of Gallipoli. [...] Due to my efforts, centuries later, your heroic story reached future generations. After a while, certainly another epic genius will give this praiseful panorama to the future. When that happens, both you and me, your poetical servant, Homer, will be forgotten.²⁰

This is a striking comparison of the Battle of Gallipoli with the Trojan War and a clear identification of the Turks with the Trojans, but now with a victory in the end.

In his novella *The List of Mustafa*, Ottoman writer F. Celaleddin (1895-1975) also urges Homer to change his epic and states 'Troy was imagination, Gallipoli is reality.'²¹ By contrast, Ihtifalci Mehmed Ziya connects various mythological figures from the *Iliad* with 'the noble and powerful Ottoman Turks,' who in his opinion 'proved themselves during the Dardanelles Campaign and deserve a respectful and glorious place in the dictionary of the eternal civilization of mankind.'²² Ibrahim Alaaddin Gövsa (1889-1949), poet, writer, psychologist, educator and politician, visited the Dardanelles during the battle on 19 July 1915. Inspired by the environment he wrote the poem 'The Tracks of Çanakkale – Passing the Dardanelles,'²³ in which he referred to Troy. Here is a short passage:

Above a heaven with stars and the moon
A wind through the strait, so sweet and balmy
On the coast a mysterious new Troy

20 Nuri, 'Gelibolu'da Türkler ve Homeros.'

21 Celaleddin, 'Mustafa'nın Hilesi (Küçük Hikaye),' and Avcı, *Çanakkale'yi Yaşamak*, 309-314.

22 Ziya, 'Kale-i Sultaniye Sevahili.'

23 Gövsa, 'Çanakkale İzleri – Boğazdan Geçerken,' in Albayrak and Özyurt, *Yeni Mecmua*, and Gövsa, 'Çanakkale İzleri – Boğazdan Geçerken,' in Avcı, *Çanakkale'yi Yaşamak*.

The world was cloaked in such an obscurity
As if I went through the cycle of mythology

It was not just Ottomans who compared the Battle of Gallipoli with the heroic Trojan War; as we have already seen, the British named their battleship after Agamemnon, the commander of the united Greek armed forces attacking the Trojans, and used military tactics inspired by the Trojan War. Diaries and memoirs of German war correspondents also demonstrate a great awareness of the heroic past of Troy and the Dardanelles. Paul Schweder, a German journalist, visited the region in 1916 and in his account of the Battle of Gallipoli he referred to the legendary Trojan War and its heroes.²⁴ The report of the German journalist Ernst Jäckh (1875-1959) of his visit to Gallipoli in 1915 includes a lively comparison of the battle with the Trojan War. He spent time with Mustafa Kemal and together they watched 'British warships over the hill where Achilles and Patroclus were buried.'²⁵

Homer introduced the first heroes of history. The Trojan warriors, supported by other Anatolian nations, defended their country on the Asian shore of the Dardanelles against enemies from the West. The fact that the battle took place in the heroic landscape of the Dardanelles as well as the East-West confrontation, led Ottoman Turks to experience the battle as a modern Trojan War. The Ottoman Turks were the new heroes of the Dardanelles; troops from all over the Empire fought for the defence of Anatolia.²⁶ The new heroes managed to stop the enemy. In their view, this made them even more heroic than the Trojans. In spite of the many human and financial losses – of both Ottomans and Allies – the victory at Gallipoli encouraged and raised the confidence of the Ottomans. This was a prelude to the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) led by Mustafa Kemal, who had made his name as commander during the Battle of Gallipoli. The Dardanelles campaign was a defining moment in Turkish history.

For all their success at the Dardanelles, the Ottomans lost the First World War. The Empire was forced to capitulate. By agreeing to the harsh Armistice of Moudros on 31 October 1918, the Ottoman Empire dug its own grave. The Armistice of Moudros marked the end of the Ottoman Empire. It was signed aboard the British ship HMS *Agamemnon*.²⁷

24 Schweder, *Im Türkischen Hauptquartier*.

25 Jäckh, *Der aufsteigende Halbmond*; Atabay and Aslan, 'Atatürk in Troy.'

26 Meydan, *Son Truvalılar*, 207-231.

27 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 133-143; on the HMS *Agamemnon*, see: Burt, *British Battleships*.

Remarkably, in the midst of the struggle of a collapsing empire and the moral damage suffered by society, a new *Iliad* anthology was published in 1918.²⁸

The meaning of Gallipoli for the Turks is comparable with the meaning of Verdun for the French or the Somme for the British. The Dardanelles campaign and its location is a historic site that carries a nation's memories, it defines the country's identity: a *lieu de mémoire*.²⁹ Indeed, Gallipoli played a key part in the development of Turkish nationalism and collective memory in the final years of the Ottoman Empire and with the rise of the new Republic of Turkey.³⁰

With the Dardanelles campaign Troy received a new dimension: it became a major component in the heroic story of a new nation, the Republic of Turkey, and its founder and first president, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who is reputed to have said to a retired colonel at the last battle of the Greco-Turkish War in 1922, the Turkish War of Independence: 'We avenged Troy' (Fig. 42).³¹

28 Ömer Seyfeddin's summary of the *Iliad* was published in instalments in the periodical *Yeni Mecmua* in 1918. Seyfeddin claimed that studying Homer's works was a precondition for writing. The collection of articles was published in 1927: Seyfeddin, *Iliade – Homere*.

29 On the concept of 'lieux de mémoire,' see: Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*; Prost, 'Verdun.'

30 Albayrak and Özyurt, *Yeni Mecmua*, preface; Kraaijestein and Schulten, *Het Epos van Gallipoli*; see also the numerous reports, accounts and anecdotes published in the newspaper *İkdam* between 3 November 1914 and 3 February 1916 collected in Çulcu, *İkdam Gazetesi'nde Çanakkale Cephesi*.

31 The statement is incorporated in Sabahattin Eyüboğlu's 1962 essay 'İlyada ve Anadolu.'

Figure 42 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk during the Gallipoli Campaign in 1915



Photo: Geert Snoeijer, 2012

Lieutenant-Colonel Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on lookout during the Gallipoli Campaign in 1915. Atatürk is here standing on the Dardanelles in the vicinity of Troy in a photograph taken by Major Haydar Alganer. The photograph is part of the collection of the Çanakkale Deniz Museum and the camera used is in the Çimenlik Kalesi Museum.

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