

The Parthenon, Pericles and King Solomon:

A case study of Ottoman archaeological imagination¹

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Abstract:

What makes Athens different from other multi-layered cities absorbed into the Ottoman Empire is the strength of its ancient reputation for learning that echoed across the Arabic and Ottoman worlds. But not only sages were remembered and Islamized in Athens, sometimes political figures were too. In the early eighteenth century a mufti of Athens, Maḥmut Efendi, wrote a rarely studied *History of the City of Sages (Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema)* in which he transforms Pericles into a wise leader on a par with the Qur'anic King Solomon and links the Parthenon mosque to Solomon's temple in Jerusalem.

Keywords: Ottoman Athens, Parthenon mosque, Maḥmut Efendi, Evliyā Çelebi, Islamic geography, Ottomanization

It is rare to find an early eighteenth-century Ottoman historian writing at book length about Greek antiquity. Ottoman writers usually confronted the history and monuments of the pagan past not directly but at one remove, since the process of Islamization had been preceded by Christianization. There is little surviving evidence of Ottoman engagement with the pre-Christian material past, since Christians had already done the gradual work of absorption, rejection and adaptation by the time of the Arab conquest of the Middle East. This is true for seventh-century Syria and Palestine, and also for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia and the Balkans.

At the time of its conquest in 1456, Athens was a Christian city whose ancient monuments and myths had been reworked and reinterpreted for over a millennium. When Meḥmet the Conqueror ascended the Athenian acropolis in 1458, the ancient temple of Athena known to us as the Parthenon was a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Athens. And it had already served as a church for roughly a thousand years. In 447 BC, construction began of a temple dedicated to Athena Parthenos on the Athenian acropolis. This building was remodeled for use as a church probably in the

¹ I am grateful to the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for their generous funding of my research, including a grant that has made possible selected translations from Maḥmut Efendi by Thomas Sinclair. I thank Gülçin Tunalı for a copy of her thesis; and have benefitted from discussions with Garth Fowden, Thomas Sinclair and Banu Turnaoglu.

fifth century AD, and converted to a mosque most likely on the occasion of Meḥmet's visit in 1458. Anyone who visits the acropolis today will be struck by singularly classical appearance of what we see, a representation of the past made possible by the destruction of the post-classical evidence from the 1840s onwards, when it was widely considered acceptable to privilege one period so radically at the expense of all others. In recent generations architects, archaeologists and historians have devoted considerable effort to understanding the Christian Parthenon.² It remains to explore how the Ottomans physically re-worked the Parthenon and, above all, imaginatively re-cast the histories of Athenian monuments in order to make them their own.

In a separate monograph, I consider the complex reasons why the Parthenon mosque has occupied such a cultural blind spot from the nineteenth century onwards.³ What I will focus on here is one episode in the Ottomanization of the Parthenon's history as portrayed by a member of the local 'ulemā' named Maḥmut Efendi, who wrote over a generation after the more famous Evliyā Çelebî's visit to Athens in 1667. Maḥmut Efendi is a largely unknown figure. He describes himself as a native of central Greece with family in Athens, and relates that he studied in Istanbul and became mufti of Athens in 1698. This we know from the few comments he makes about himself in his history of Athens entitled *Tarih-Medinetü'l-Hukema*, or *History of the City of Sages*, which he began writing in 1715.⁴ Today the unique manuscript of Maḥmut's history survives in the Tokapı Palace Library. How it arrived there and what impact it made, if any, is not known. It was briefly discussed by Cengiz Orhonlu

² See C. Bouras, *Byzantine Athens 10th – 12th Centuries*, trans. E. K. Fowden (Abingdon-on-Thames 2017), 146-54; T. Shawcross, 'Golden Athens: Episcopal Wealth and Power in Greece at the Time of the Crusades', *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453: Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks*, in N. G. Chrissis and M. Carr (eds), (Farnham, Surrey 2014) 65-95; A. Kaldellis, *The Christian Parthenon: Classicism and pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge 2009); R. Ousterhout, "'Bestride the very peak of heaven": The Parthenon after Antiquity', in *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present*, in J. Neils (ed.), (Cambridge 2005) 317-24; M. Korres, 'The Parthenon from Antiquity to the 19th Century', in P. Tournikiotis (ed.), *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times* (Athens 1996) 136-61; R. A. McNeal, 'Archaeology and the Destruction of the Athenian Acropolis', *Antiquity* 65 (1991) 49-63.

³ For a partial discussion, see E. K. Fowden, 'The Parthenon Mosque, King Solomon and the Greek Sages', *Ottoman Athens: Archeology, topography, history*, in M. Georgopoulou and K. Thanasakis (eds), (Athens forthcoming 2017).

⁴ *Tarih-Medinetü'l-Hukema*, Tokapı Sarayı Emanet Hazinesi no: 1411 (hereafter TMH). For the date and circumstances of composition, see TMH 2b; on his family background in Athens, Chalcis and Thebes, see TMH 267a.

in 1972⁵ and was in 2013 the subject of a dissertation by Gülçin Tunalı, whose partial transcription and translation of short sections are extremely useful, if tantalizing.⁶ Part of my purpose in discussing one episode in Maḥmut's history is to draw attention to a source that deserves an edition, translation and thorough study of its socio-historical, political and literary context and significance. My focus in this short contribution is much narrower and is aimed at what I call Maḥmut's 'archaeological imagination', as part of my wider concern with Muslim responses to ancient monuments, particularly the Parthenon.

Maḥmut's work, written in a flowery and allusive style, seems not to have been widely disseminated – whether it enjoyed success as a text to be read aloud is simply not known. Given the fact that Maḥmut was educated in Istanbul, where he had tried and failed to procure a permanent position before returning to Greece to take up a position among the local Ottoman elite,⁷ we may infer from his ambitions that he would have aspired to a wide public for his history. While he does not state explicitly what his intended audience was, he offers a social context for his work when he remarks that it was at a *meclis* that he was encouraged to write his history.⁸ He might have settled for more local educated circles, although no evidence for even that has so far been discovered. Maḥmut does, though, provide a fascinating clue to his Athenian social context when he thanks two learned Greek contemporaries in Athens – Papa Kolari and Papa Sotori, reasonably identified by Tunalı as the well-known abbots of the Kaisariani Monastery, Theophanes Kavallares and Gregorios Soteris – for their

⁵ Cengiz Orhonlu, 'The History of Athens (Tarikh-i medînetül hukema) Written by a Turkish Kadi', *Actes du II^e Congr s International des  tudes du Sud-Est Europ en (Ath nes 7-13 Mai 1970)*, vol. 2, (Athens 1972), 529-33, and Cengiz Orhonlu, 'Bir T rk kadısının yazdığı Atina Tarihi' [The History of Athens written by a Turkish *kadı*], *G ney-DoĖu Avrupa Arařtırmaları Dergisi* [Journal of South-East European Studies], 2/3 (1973/4), 119-36.

⁶ See G. Tunalı, 'Another Kind of Hellenism? Appropriation of Ancient Athens via Greek Channels for the Sake of Good Advice as Reflected in *Tarih-i Medinet 'l-Hukema*' (PhD diss.), Ruhr Universit t Bochum 2013, especially 1-2 and 32-43 on Maḥmut's biography and his method of composition; 27-32 for a broad description of Maḥmut's 'intellectual horizons'.

⁷ TMH 266b-267a. 'The addiction to *fetvas* in Athens was my fate' (267a, tr. Sinclair): Maḥmut seems to have resigned himself to life as the *m ft * of Athens, whose climate and manners he appreciated.

⁸ TMH 2b. On the role of the *meclis* in the transfer of knowledge between the early modern capital and provincial cities, see H. Pfeifer, 'Encounter after the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Damascus', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 47 (2015) 219-39. Her investigation of social and intellectual exchange between Arabs and Turkish-speaking Ottomans might be profitably transposed onto Christian and Muslim exchanges in the Ottoman provincial cities of Rumeli, for which the compositional setting of Maḥmut's history presents occasional, if meager, evidence.

help in translating Greek, Latin and ‘Frankish’ histories for him.⁹ In her dissertation on Maḥmut’s *History* in its historiographical context, Gülçün Tunalı has compared the outlines of Maḥmut’s work and another history by Gregorios Kontares entitled *Old and highly beneficial histories of the celebrated city of Athens*, published in Venice in 1676, a work which draws heavily on classical Greek texts to write the history of Athens from its founder-hero Theseus to the first Christian Athenian, Dionysios the Areopagite.¹⁰ As Tunalı points out, it is possible to detect Maḥmut’s reliance on Kontares (thanks to his abbot-translators) through the striking similarities in the historical figures Maḥmut includes. The one episode examined here exemplifies how the history Maḥmut produced was not simply a cut-and-paste anthology of sources translated into Ottoman Turkish, but a synthetic and in many ways original work.

Maḥmut has a broad historical vision. Not only does his history of Athens stretch from Adam to the late seventeenth century, but his method is complex: he integrates classical authors, eye-witness observation and local information, articulating his material through a Qur’anic perspective infused with the traditions of Arabic and Ottoman geographical writing that associates topography and monuments with kings and prophets.¹¹ In describing Athens and its monuments, Maḥmut shared with Evliyā Çelebî an interest in sages. Evliyā associates many sites in Athens with philosophers - figures such as Aristotle, Galen, Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato, who peopled Arabic philosophical discourse well into the Ottoman period. Evliyā even imagines the philosophers of Athens and Baghdad in effortless, telepathic communication – a vignette that encapsulates the Graeco-Arabic translation movement to which Ottoman culture was heir.¹² This may have been Evliyā’s own, rather delightful, literary confection. But Evliyā does not write only about philosophers, he also brings Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (as Süleymān and

⁹ TMH 2a. For his impressionistic representation of the languages and periods of his sources, see also TMH 2b and 4a-5a.

¹⁰ Gregorios Kontares, *Ιστορίαι παλαιαὶ καὶ πάνν ὀφέλιμοι τῆς περιφήμου πόλεως Ἀθῆνης*, (Venice 1675). Tunalı, ‘Another Kind of Hellenism?’, p.78-82.

¹¹ Tunalı, ‘Another Kind of Hellenism?’, p.124-126 suggests ways in which Maḥmut ‘Ottomanizes’ ancient Greek history and examines his technique by closely examining his treatment of Theseus (126-143), Alexander (143-160) and Constantine (160-172), case studies of what she calls Maḥmut’s ‘Ottomanization’ of ‘foreign cultural units’ (124).

¹² Evliyā Çelebî, *Seyāhatnāme*, ed. R. Dankoff, S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı et al., 10 vols. (Istanbul 1996-2007).

Belkīs) into his description of Athens. Again, this taps into the longstanding Arabic tradition of associating great buildings with Solomon and his queen. In Athens, the enormous temple of Olympian Zeus became for Evliyā the Throne of Belkīs, a palace built for her by Solomon on their honeymoon.¹³ Evliyā also mentions that the precinct was used in his own day as an open-air mosque, bringing together his characteristic interests in current circumstances and foundation myths.

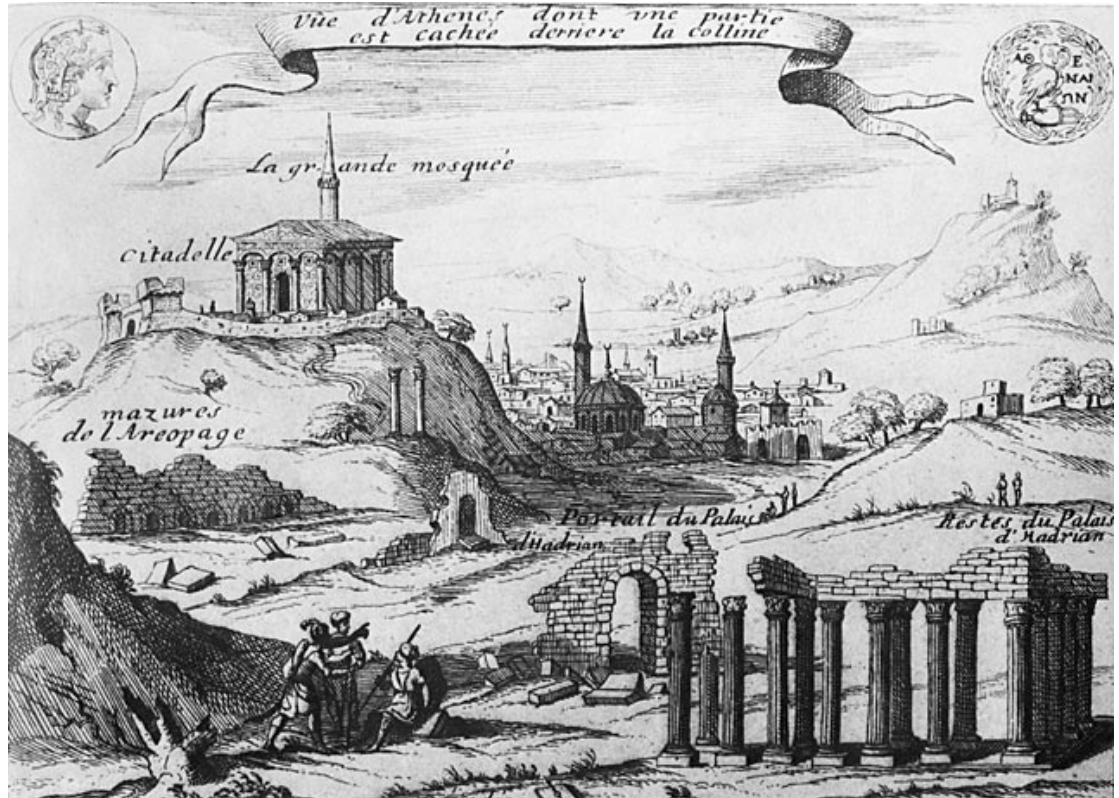


Fig. 1 View of Ottoman Athens, roughly contemporary with the visit by Evliyā Çelebî in 1667. In the foreground are the columns of the Olympieion, identified here as the Palace of Hadrian and mentioned by Evliyā as an open-air mosque. Both Evliyā and Maḥmut Efendi associate the structure with Belkīs, the Qur’anic Queen of Sheba. ‘Vue d’Athènes dont une partie est cachée derrière la colline’. Engraving in P. Jacques-Paul Babin, *Relation de l’état présent de la ville d’Athènes, ancienne capitale de la Grèce, bâtie depuis 3400 ans, avec un abrégé de son histoire et de ses antiquités* (Lyon 1674). Photo credit: Archaeology of the City of Athens. Digital Edition, National Hellenic Research Foundation. (http://www.eie.gr/archaeologia/En/chapter_more_8.aspx).

Like Evliyā – though showing no direct debt to him – Maḥmut Efendi too mentions the Throne of Belkīs in Athens. Whether Evliyā had been the first to associate the ancient temple with Süleymān and Belkīs, or simply related stories he

¹³ On Muslim interpretations of the Olympieion, see E. Cohen, ‘Explosions and Expulsions in Ottoman Athens: A Heritage Perspective on the Temple of Olympian Zeus’, *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, forthcoming; and Fowden, ‘The Parthenon Mosque’, forthcoming 2017.

had been told on his visit, the identification clearly survived at least a generation after him. And Maḥmut brings Süleymān into his history of Athens in association with other buildings as well, including the Parthenon. It is not only in the Islamic geographical tradition that one finds the insertion of legendary kings and prophets into historical narrative. Christian chroniclers since Eusebius were accustomed to multiple chronologies and their colorful cast of rulers and sages. Many chroniclers, such as John Malalas in the sixth century, had preferred a scheme of history with nodal points such as Creation and the Flood into which great figures such as Nimrod, Moses, Alexander, and Constantine were fitted. Compiled in the sixteenth century, the *Biblion Historikon* by Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monemvasia is one such history that was constantly re-worked and widely read in Ottoman Greece. Whether such Christian schemes available through local informants would have fed into our Ottomanized histories of Athens has yet to be investigated, but what is striking about Maḥmut when compared with Evliyā and the Byzantine tradition is his focus on two Athenian figures – the hero Theseus and the statesman Pericles – who were *not* found among the usual ancient kings and prophets. It is to Maḥmut's treatment of Pericles, famous as the builder of the Parthenon, that I will now turn.

The passage of greatest interest comes in Maḥmut's account of Pericles' attempts to justify the construction of a new temple to the Athenian taxpayers. The Athenian statesman is depicted in consultation with the assembled 'right-thinking learned men in a council'.¹⁴ In a speech put into the mouth of Pericles, he argues that the new temple in Athens would be as great as Süleymān's in Jerusalem, and like it would attract admiration and pilgrimage.

In noble Jerusalem the sainted Süleymān (greetings be to him) has built a rare, valuable temple, and all, high and low, are desirous of going to worship in it. However, the Greek population of Rumeli, which is extremely far away, has formidable difficulties in reaching [Jerusalem] to worship in the temple. But we must construct an outstanding and magnificent temple, unsurpassed in quality. Its walls should be of pure white marble. The roof that will rest on the walls should be supported on beams of white marble too, and indeed so also should its ceilings and substructures be constructed of white marble.

¹⁴ TMH 124a: ḥükemā felofosarlı cem' eyledi.

Our region will acquire learning and religious knowledge. Most of its population [already] has a pious insistence on asceticism and on worship.¹⁵

As we have seen, because Greek philosophers had retained a reputation (however vague) in the Islamic world, they could easily be fitted into an Ottomanized history of Athens. But to incorporate a statesman whose place in the history of Athenian democracy was normally of no particular interest to Byzantine or Muslim writers required a different creative effort on Maḥmut's part. His solution is to raise Pericles to the level of a pious king addressing 'right-thinking learned men in a council'. And it is not only that Pericles is worked into a universal monotheist narrative. His temple is treated not merely as a monument to admire as an artefact, but as a magnificent structure that attracts pious behavior.¹⁶ The comparison of Athens with Jerusalem, and the suggestion that the new temple would provide a substitute shrine, may make us think of the many surrogate pilgrimage shrines that from the early Islamic period sprang up all over the Muslim world for those who could not perform the Meccan *haji*. But more than this, I suggest that Maḥmut – who had studied in Istanbul before returning to Athens as its mufti – was bringing the Parthenon into the charmed world of other great monotheist buildings such as the Ḥaram al-Sharīf complex in Jerusalem and, above all, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which had become venues of desired association, but also of competition, for rulers who would emulate and even try to surpass Süleymān, the greatest monotheist king, sage, prophet and builder. Elsewhere in his *History*, Maḥmut explicitly compares the Parthenon mosque with Hagia Sophia. Referring to

¹⁵ TMH 124b. tr. Sinclair. Tunalı, 'Another Kind of Hellenism?', 126 notes that 'Mahmut Efendi mentions Pericles in the section on the building of the Parthenon with terminology belonging specifically to Ottoman culture. If some charitable building such as a fountain or mosque was built, a verse specifying the date of the building and the name of the person who funded the charity were written at the entry gate'.

¹⁶ Especially at TMH124a-129a Maḥmut pulls the classical Parthenon into Islamic sacred history with the use of Qur'anic precedents and Ottoman terminology, but he also taps into Islamic legendary lore surrounding Süleymān in order to heighten the magnificence of Pericles' achievement. Maḥmut's detailed attention to recording the dimensions of the marble blocks used in constructing the new temple, the circumference and number of its columns, and the beams upholding its ceiling is reminiscent of both Biblical and legendary narratives surrounding the construction of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, further enhancing the comparison between Pericles and the wise king. I thank the member of the CIEPO audience who drew attention to the parallel Biblical demonstration of Solomon's greatness through meticulous enumeration. I discuss Maḥmut's fusion of Ottoman concepts and classical Greek history at much greater length in my book, *The Parthenon Mosque* (in preparation).

the citadel mosque at the time of its bombardment by the Venetians he notes that “the temple, the noble, richly decorated mosque, had become similar to Ayāşofya”.¹⁷

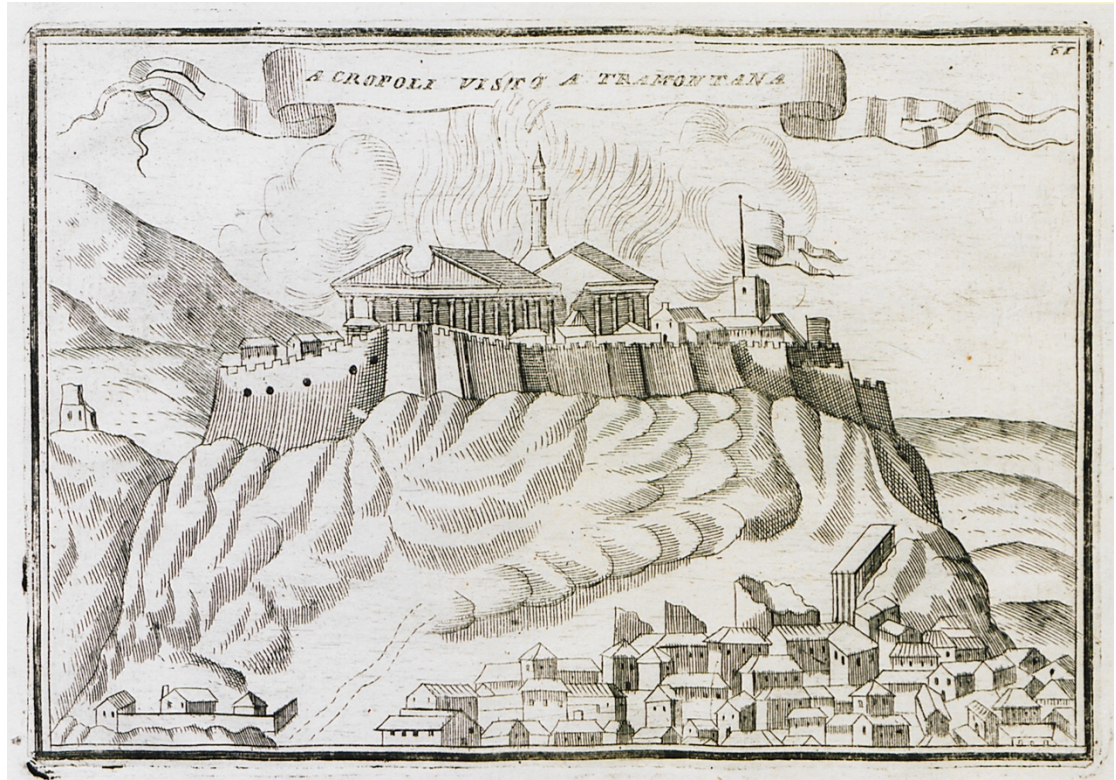


Fig. 2 Vincenzo Coronelli, “Acropoli visto a Tramontana”, in Vincenzo Coronelli, *Citta, Fortezze, ed altri Luoghi principali dell’Albania, Epiro e Livadia, e particolarmente i posseduti da Veneti*, vol. 4 (Venice 1688) of *Stati della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia in terra-ferma, divisi in cinque parti*. Photo credit: Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, Travelogues (www.travelogues.gr)

¹⁷ TMH 133a, tr. Sinclair: ‘In the year 1098, during the Venetian attack, Venetian shells hit the artillery store within the great temple [ma‘bed] built within the citadel: it was on account of the artillery store that the Venetians shelled the temple. The temple, the noble, richly decorated mosque, had become similar to Ayāşofya. Seven hundred Muslims, men, women and children, who were inside it at the time, died when the temple, the mosque, was demolished.’ See also Tunali, ‘Another Kind of Hellenism?’, p. 59.

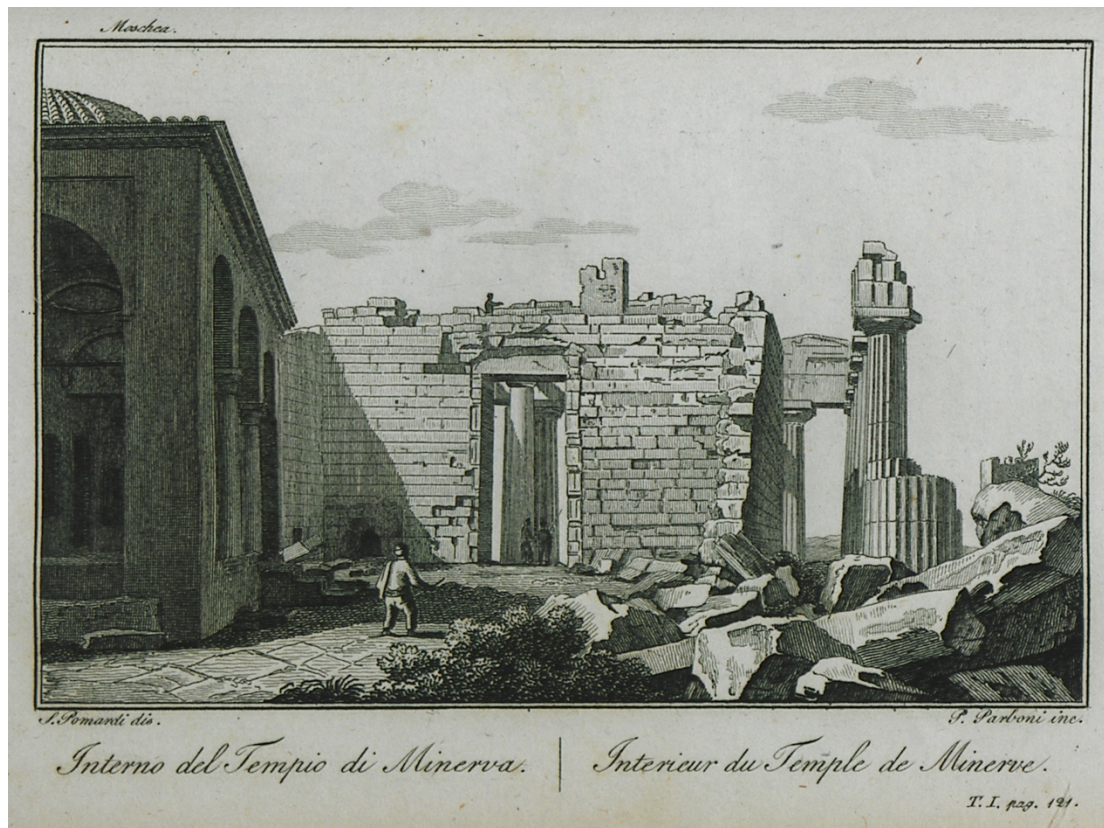


Fig. 3 After the Parthenon's bombardment in 1687, a second mosque was built of reused materials, and oriented on Mecca, inside the ruined shell. Simone Pomardi, "Interno del Tempio di Minerva", c.1804. In Simone Pomardi, *Viaggio nella Grecia fatto da Simone Pomardi negli anni 1804, 1805, e 1806*, vol. 1 (Rome 1820). Photo credit: Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, Travelogues (www.travelogues.gr).

The paradigmatic king and prophet Solomon had a habit of appearing at times when a strong authority was needed to bolster political claims in regions where the presence of the past still hung heavily about. The Umayyad dynasty in Syria, for instance, reinforced its political claims and architectural reformulations with overt Solomonic associations. The Umayyad architectural legacy has been understood as a process of absorbing, rejecting and reformulating artistic and architectural language and forms inherited from the Graeco-Roman tradition as it had evolved in Christian Greater Syria.¹⁸ The material process was accompanied by recast legends and a Qur'anization of space in which the prophet-king Solomon was given a lead role. Umayyad reconfigurations of the symbolic urban spaces that became the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem, for example, or the Great Mosque in Damascus, illustrate how early Muslims adapted the late antique built environment and re-interpreted it with

¹⁸ N. Rabbat, 'Politicising the Religious: or How the Umayyads Co-opted Classical Iconography', in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds), *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed: Continuity and Change*, (Turnhout 2015) 95-104.

figures from the Qur'anic imaginary in order to assert their own ownership of these cities.¹⁹ And the Umayyads were just the beginning.

In terms of size and political importance, Maḥmut's seventeenth-century Athens cannot be compared with seventh-century Damascus, one of the most important cities in late antique West Asia that became the Umayyad caliphal capital. *Constantinople* not Athens was, of course, the necessary showcase of power where the Ottomans played the Umayyads, so to speak, in their quest to reformulate and rival the culture they supplanted. Well-known are the Solomonic ambitions of Meḥmet II and Süleymān I, expressed in both titulature and architecture: Meḥmet's adoption of Haghia Sophia, which had been Justinian's answer to Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, and Süleymān's creation of a new imperial mosque. But Athens still retained its hazy prestige – it was, after all, the City of the Sages. We should not underestimate the power of this reputation when combined with the omnipresent monumental past in a city where ancient buildings had been constantly adapted within the living urban fabric. It was precisely in a space so enlivened by shades of a celebrated past and surviving wondrous structures that competition with the past was bound to be most intense and that Solomon's magical powers were required to impress Islamic tradition more deeply into the Athenian landscape. The synthesizing descriptions of the Athenian built environment by Evliyā and Maḥmut belong precisely to this competitive process of memory production designed to serve present circumstances.

To conclude, I would like to emphasize two points. Firstly, the composite nature of Maḥmut's history that operates in multiple registers, both historical and mythical, to produce a remarkable example of Muslim creative engagement with the Hellenic past. And secondly, a topic not developed here but which should be noted, namely the simultaneous existence of multiple histories clustering around a single monument, the Parthenon, known today exclusively as a monument to classical Athens, the birthplace of democracy. In seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Athens, the interpretations of the Parthenon and other monuments proposed by local

¹⁹ For Jerusalem, see G. Necipoğlu, 'The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleymān's glosses', *Muqarnas*, 25 (2008), 17-105 with extensive bibliography; and for Damascus, see N.m Khalek, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam*, (New York 2011), and F. B. Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden 2001), both with extensive bibliographies.

Muslims, Christians and visiting European antiquarians both overlapped and diverged. These multiple urban histories of Athens belong to the wider discussion of the ‘Ottomanization’ of cities and monuments, a many-phased process that responded to evolving notions of how the material past should be understood in the present.²⁰

In Athens the ‘Ottomanized’ landscape represented by Evliyā and Maḥmut has been largely forgotten. Maḥmut’s work, long neglected as a seeming pastiche of legends and geographical topoi, is overdue for detailed philological as well as historical-contextual investigations. Future study of the *Tarih-i Medinetü’l-Hukema* may make it possible to understand more about Maḥmut as part of wider historiographical trends, as his work shares ambitions of both universal histories that embraced the ancient world inherited by the Ottomans, but also local history writing that collaborated with local Christians to exploit Greek, Latin and ‘Frankish’ sources. Such work will need to be as sensitive to the intersections of Greek history and Islamic culture as Maḥmut himself, a Muslim native of Rumeli best remembered poring over a seventeenth-century anthology of ancient Greek historians with his fellow Athenians, the abbots Gregorios Soteris and Theophanes Kavallares, in order to make the history of Athens intelligible to his *meclis* circles.

²⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu has discussed the processes of Islamization and Ottomanization, and the differences between these two, in the context of Hagia Sophia: G. Necipoğlu ‘From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Kostantiniyye: Creation of a cosmopolitan capital and visual culture under Sultan Mehmed II’, in *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 years of a capital, June 5 - Sept. 4, 2010, Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Istanbul*. Exhibition catalogue. (Istanbul 2010) 262-78, and G. Necipoğlu, ‘The life of an imperial monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium’, in R. Mark and A. Ş. Çakmak (eds), *Hagia Sophia from the age of Justinian to the present* (Cambridge 1992), 195-225. Later Ottoman views of antiquities have been explored by W. M.K. Shaw, *Possessors and possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Berkeley 2003), and E. Eldem ‘From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869’, *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, in Z. Bahrani, Z. Çelik and E. Eldem (eds) (Istanbul 2011), 281-329. See also G. Akyürek, ‘Mid-nineteenth Century Ottoman Re-discovery of Constantinople: New Practices of Seeing Architecture of the City’, forthcoming, who has explored the popular Ottoman press in the mid-19th century in order to discuss changing attitudes to and uses of ancient material in the urban fabric of the Ottoman capital.