THE BYZANTINE HERITAGE OF ISTANBUL: RESOURCE OR BURDEN?

A STUDY ON THE SURVIVING ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE HISTORICAL PENINSULA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PERCEPTION, PRESERVATION AND RESEARCH IN THE TURKISH REPUBLICAN PERIOD

by

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Abstract

This thesis aims to examine the current state of the Byzantine architectural heritage of Istanbul and, more specifically, the factors responsible for the ideological and physical approach to Byzantine ecclesiastical monuments during the Turkish Republican Period. A comprehensive examination of the current situation has shown that politics and nationalism, religion and urban development in the Historical Peninsula are the principal factors and conditions that have affected the Byzantine monuments throughout the twentieth century. These issues are first treated individually in order to determine their impact on the perception of Byzantine heritage in general and the state of preservation of its monuments in particular. The above discussion is complemented with an enquiry into the fate and condition of individual structures during the twentieth century. As the intention, however, is not to produce an inventory or an architectural survey of the existing structures, the sample group of buildings chosen as representative examples are twenty former Byzantine churches, fourteen of which now function as mosques, five as museums, and one as a church. Rather than presenting detailed historical and architectural descriptions, the final section focuses on the varying states of ownership, responsibility, preservation and maintenance of these buildings mainly through an assessment of the projects and research undertaken, but also of the obstacles presented to such works and their resulting visual outcome. The principal aim is to demonstrate that all the above mentioned factors are inter-connected and should be considered in future restoration and maintenance works. Finally, some recommendations to improve the current situation of the Byzantine architectural heritage of Istanbul will be provided.

Özet

Bu tez, İstanbul'un Bizans dönemi mimari mirasının günümüzdeki durumunu, daha açık bir deyişle, Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Bizans'ın dini yapılarına ideolojik ve fiziksel yaklaşımlara yol açan unsurları incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Güncel durumun kapsamlı bir araştırması, politik görüşler ve milliyetçilik, din ve Tarihi Yarımada'daki şehirleşmenin yirminci yüzyıl boyunca Bizans yapılarını etkileyen faktörler olduğunu göstermiştir. Çalışmanın ilk bölümünde, bu sözü geçen konular, genel olarak Bizans mirasının algılanması ve yapıların korunma durumları üzerindeki etkilerinin belirlenmesi amacıyla tek tek ele alınacaktır. Bu tartışma, yapıların yirminci yüzyıldaki yazgı ve durumlarının araştırmasıyla tamamlanacaktır. Bununla beraber, asıl maksat varolan Bizans yapılarının bir envaterini ya da mimari yüzey araştırmasını sunmak olmadığından dolayı, örnek olarak seçilen yapı grubu, günümüzde ondört tanesi cami, beş tanesi müze ve bir tanesi kilise olarak kullanılan yirmi Bizans kilisesinden oluşmaktadır. Bu son bölüm, ayrıntılı mimari ve tarihi tanımlalar vermek yerine, temelde yürütülen proje ve araştırmaların, bunun yanında bu çalışmalarda karşılaşılan engellerin ve görsel sonuçlarının bir değerlendirilmesiyle yapıların farklı mülkiyet, sorumluluk, korunma ve bakım durumları üzerinde yoğunlaşacaktır. Başlıca amaç, yukarıda bahsedilen unsurların birbiriyle bağlantılı olduklarını ve ilerideki restorasyon ve bakım çalışmalarında göz önünde bulundurulmaları gerektiğini göstermektir. Son olarak, İstanbul'un Bizans mimari mirasının günümüzdeki durumunun geliştirilmesi için bazı öneriler sunulacaktır.

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1. Introduction

The Byzantine churches of Istanbul have not suffered from inadequate scholarly attention. During the last century a number of surveys have been produced, most notably by Alexander Van Millingen (1912), Thomas Mathews (1971 and 1976) and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener (1977; Turkish transl. 2001). Despite the more recent contributions of Süleyman Kırımtayıf (2000) and John Freely and Ahmet Çakmak (2004), the first three remain our basic reference tools for the study of Byzantine churches in Istanbul. Several monographs have appeared on important historic structures such as Hagia Sophia, Kariye Camii and Bodrum Camii, while articles on a number of lesser known structures in scholarly journals have contributed to our knowledge of the Byzantine architectural heritage.

The purpose of this study is not to duplicate previous efforts of surveying and presenting the Byzantine architectural heritage in Istanbul's Historical Peninsula. Rather it is aimed at approaching the topic from a different angle which focuses on the state of preservation of Byzantine churches in Istanbul through an analysis of several factors (political, economical, social, etc.) that are essential in understanding the role of these structures in public discourse and perception. It is sometimes, if indirectly, suggested that the poor physical state of many buildings is due to the perception of Byzantine heritage as a heritage of an "other". If and how far this has played a significant role in the Turkish approach to the Byzantine churches, both in terms of discourse as well as restoration projects, will be discussed herein.

We will start this discussion with a history of our knowledge of Byzantine buildings and topography of Constantinople throughout the Ottoman period. This will be

helpful to understand the unequal relationship between “local” and “foreign” interest and research into this heritage. Van Millingen wrote his influential book(s) at a time when foreigners feared that the historical monuments might be damaged in an approaching war and the unclear future of Istanbul in a dissolving multi-ethnic empire. This allows us to understand not only part of his motivation, but also to anticipate the incisive changes after a decade-long period of wars after that date. The period of focus of this study is the Republican Turkish period (after 1923) in which, as we will see, a different approach to these historical monuments develops.

We will start (Ch.2.1.) with the factors which have been identified as instrumental in the understanding of the fortunes of Byzantine structures in Republican Turkey. These include politics and nationalism which have different effects at the beginning and end of the period covered; the changing urban topography in the light of periods of economic progress and stagnation; and the factor of religion, unavoidable as most of the churches under discussion are now mosques. Having presented this as a framework for further discussion, we will (Ch.2.2) continue with the research, restoration, and excavation projects conducted after 1923. This will also include a discussion of the role of Turkish scholars in Byzantine studies, which will be treated in the light of a general underdevelopment of this discipline in Turkey. Given that modern Turkey inherited so much of the Byzantine architectural heritage, and most prominently that of its capital, the paradox of the underdevelopment of Byzantine studies in Turkey will be explained.

In chapter three we will present a concise survey of the buildings included in this work. In the light of more comprehensive studies available, this work will not focus

on the architectural history of the structures in question, but on the history of the maintenance of the buildings, including alterations and restoration projects undertaken in the twentieth century. Given the prevalent absence of proper documentation of such works, our discussion will be limited to what can be determined. The conclusion will clearly identify the problems and, where possible, offer recommendations as to how to improve the present situation, in order to generate *opportunities* from *problems*.

One could argue that this thesis should have really been divided into a number of separate individual studies: the architecture of Byzantine Constantinople; the impact of nationalism on cultural heritage; the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey; Byzantine archaeology in Istanbul; restorations of Byzantine churches in Istanbul; the destruction of cultural heritage in Istanbul, etc. Yet this approach would not allow us to grasp the bigger picture as far as the preservation of the Byzantine architectural heritage is concerned. The key objective of this thesis is to demonstrate that all these are interconnected.

1.1. The History of Our Knowledge of the Architecture and Urban Topography of Byzantine Constantinople from Petrus Gyllius to Van Millingen

With its prominent historical topography and monuments, the Byzantine city of Constantinople has long been a popular subject of study. Although more recent publications have changed their direction from the traditional concern of reconstructing the topography of the city towards a wider perspective aiming at tracing its urban development, our present knowledge would be impossible without the works of early scholars like Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius; 1490-1555). It is with him that the scholarly study of Constantinople is most often considered to have begun. An alliance between Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66) and the French king Francis I (r. 1515-47), who had ordered Gilles to search out and purchase Greek manuscripts for his new Fontainebleau library, had made his excursion to Constantinople possible. His long stay (1547-1551) enabled him to explore the Ottoman capital and compare his observations with the evidence of ancient writers. Gilles was the first Western scholar stepped in the Renaissance Humanist tradition to have studied the city in light of ancient records. While earlier visitors had described Constantinople in detail, Gilles' goal was to produce an accurate topographical and historical description of the city's monuments. (Byrd 2002:1, Wunder 2002:92-102)

His two monographs written in Latin, *De Bosporo thracio* (On the Thracian Bosporus) and *De topographia Constantinopoleos de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor* (The Topography of Constantinople and its Antiquities) were first published posthumously in 1561 in Lyon by his nephew Antoine Gilles. This final product was

a description of Constantinople that walked the reader through the ancient city and its monuments, whose measurements were provided. As many other western observers, he decried the changes that had been made since the Ottoman conquest. The next step was taken by another French scholar, Charles Du Fresne Du Cange (1610-1688), who in 1680 published his *Constantinopolis Christiana*. Never having actually travelled east, he had compiled his work from the Byzantine texts that were available at the time and categorized them into a large folio. Just like Gilles, his main concern was topography and the assemblage of ancient testimonia (Mango 1995:1-2). Only in the nineteenth century, with contributions of scholars such as Jules Pargoire, Jean Ebersolt, Alexander Van Millingen, and Raymond Janin, more knowledge of the Byzantine capital would become available to considerably supplement Gilles' and Du Cange's works. This has much to do with a renewed interest in things Byzantine emerging in that period.

While Renaissance curiosity maintained some interest in Byzantium, since it was in Constantinople that the classical heritage had been largely preserved, it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that Byzantine studies in Europe really flourished, going hand in hand with the collection and exhibition of original Byzantine manuscripts. Eighteenth-century rationalism, however, reversed this trend, for the Enlightenment identified the Byzantine Empire with religiosity, superstition, and corruption. A romantic passion for the middle ages then inspired many nineteenth century architects to borrow from Byzantium, but interest in the medieval architecture of the East never took root in the West in quite the same way as the passion for Gothic. Despite its Ancient Greek roots and Roman imperial traditions,

Byzantium's eastern and thus exotic affiliations appealed to few. Bullen (2003:7-8) further explains the discomfort with Byzantine art and culture as follows:

> "Whereas the Gothic was 'Christian' through and through, Byzantium and Byzantine art were perceived as regressively primitive and childlike. Furthermore they carried associations with modern Greece, Russia and the Balkans, all of which were despised as uncultured and undeveloped by many people in the nineteenth century. Although Byzantium was the cradle of the most primitive and 'pure' forms of Christianity, it also carried within it the seeds of excess, decadence and depravity."

Edward Gibbon, author of the much read late eighteenth century *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, was "disappointed" by the Hagia Sophia's "irregular prospect of half-domes and shelving roofs: the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of simplicity and magnificence; and the scale of dimensions had been much surpassed by several of the Latin cathedrals. But the architect who first erected an aerial cupola, is entitled to the praise of bold design and skilful execution." (Gibbon 1994: 595-6) Lord Byron, although enthused by its romantic history, was unimpressed by the building itself upon visit in 1810. When Julie Pardoe published her *Beauties of the Bosphorus* in 1838, Hagia Sophia was not one of them, although she had gained admission twice, risking her life while disguised as a male. When the book was reissued in 1874, Hagia Sophia was included and described as "strikingly majestic", which Bullen (2003:110) attributes to the shift in taste during the nineteenth century.

In his study of attitudes of nineteenth century travellers to Thessaloniki, Mazower (2002:91) comes to a similar conclusion what regards a novel interest in the Byzantine past:

> "Western taste was changing – an increasing appetite for the medieval past, for Genoa, Venice and the Italian city states, which spread slowly to the Levant – and foreign scholars like Bury, Texier and Charles Diehl also played their part. The first architectural surveys of Byzantine remains were published, and the field of Byzantine studies emerged as a separate domain of research."

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the idea of what exactly constituted Byzantine architecture was still extremely vague. In Germany it was believed that tenth and eleventh century churches of the Rhineland were "Byzantine", which was also used to describe some medieval churches of southwest France, or round-arched churches of Saxon or Norman origin in Britain. Only through the excavation and documentation of structures in Greece, Asia Minor, and Constantinople a clearer picture of the divisions between Byzantine, Ottonian, Norman, or Romanesque work emerged. Nineteenth century politics, however, further increased the remoteness of Byzantine culture, since the unstable political situation made Constantinople a difficult city to visit. With some notable exceptions, the authorities made Hagia Sophia inaccessible to casual visitors. Western travellers thus sought Byzantine art and architecture in the easily accessible Ravenna, Venice, or Sicily, and many of the most outspoken champions of Byzantium had never visited Greece, Turkey, or Constantinople. It was only by the mid-nineteenth century that Byzantium, previously dismissed as "negligible" began to take a prominent place in the understanding of post-classical art and architecture of Europe. In 1847 Friedrich

Wilhelm of Prussia commissioned the architect Wilhelm Salzenberg to go to Constantinople to make a visual record of Hagia Sophia, an enterprise published in 1854 as *Ancient Christian Architecture in Constantinople*. An extremely significant contribution to Europe's knowledge of Byzantium, it remained a standard reference work for the rest of the century. Salzenberg's study of the then very dilapidated structure had been faciliated by a restoration under way during his time of visit, with the scaffolding allowing him to make detailed drawings. The restoration works had been commissioned by the young Sultan Abdülmecid in 1846 from the Swiss Fossati brothers. Contemporary commentators spoke of the Sultan waiting until the more conservative Muslims departed for pilgrimage to Mecca before entrusting such a delicate task to the hands of foreign employees which, in passing, had not even been trained in the restoration of ancient buildings. When Gaspare Fossati accidentally discovered the mosaics in the vaults, painted and plastered over after conversion to a mosque in 1453, the Sultan reportedly hardly believed that his predecessors could have concealed such beautiful work. He ordered the non-figurative mosaics to be exposed, restored and strengthened where necessary. Figural depictions were at first exposed but then plastered again, with instructions by the Sultan that the new covering should be such that could easily be removed in the future. Under the title *Aya Sofia as Recently Restored* Fossati published a set of lithographs in 1852 in London. Both publications were to play a crucial role in the knowledge of Byzantium in the West. (Bullen 2003:8,13,27-28;31)

In the 1850s, John Ruskin's account of San Marco and other Veneto-Byzantine buildings (*The Stones of Venice*) focused British minds on Byzantium. In 1846 Robert Burford exhibited a huge panorama of Constantinople in London's Leicester

Square. In Edward Freeman's *History of Architecture* (1849) a newly prominent role was given to Byzantium, although he saw it as "Oriental" and "alien". As he had neither visited the Hagia Sophia he described, nor even the Byzantine churches in Italy, he was very dependent on Couchard's *Selection of Byzantine Churches in Greece* (1841-2) for Byzantine details. In 1858 William Burges, who was later to play an important part in the Byzantine-influenced mosaic decoration of London's St. Paul's cathedral, published an enthusiastic account of his *Architectural Experiences at Constantinople*. (Bullen 2003:109-111,135)

Next to Constantinople, Mazower (2002:91) stresses that the role of Thessaloniki in the popularization of Byzantine architecture in the West should not be underestimated. It was not in the now widely accessible independent Greece but in Ottoman Europe that the greatest concentration of art and architecture from this epoch survived:

> "For those making the trip to Athos, Salonica was a natural jumping-off point, or a place to recuperate. As for Salonica itself, its churches, wrote the scholarly Tozer in 1869, 'are of the greatest value for the history of art'. This was, for the time, a novel view, and he cited recently published studies of Byzantine architecture in support of it. [...] The guidebooks echoed this new view and by 1890, one stressed that there were to be found there 'a group of Byzantine constructions of a richness which equals and even surpasses in certain respects the buildings of Constantinople'."

Although he had been commissioned by the French government to survey the monuments of Greece and Asia Minor as early as 1834, it was only in 1864 that Charles Texier's *Byzantine Architecture* was published simultaneously in English

and French. His reports sent back to the government, then published in the form of a book, proved to be highly influential. Not anymore the Byzantium of Italy, the work dealt exclusively with very early Byzantine architecture and decoration in the East. The explicit purpose of *Byzantine Architecture* was, in the words of the British co-author R.P. Pullen was to "fill up a gap that exists in the history of early Christian art" and to challenge the view that Gothic was the only acceptable form of Christian architecture. One year later, Fernand de Dartein's *A Study of Lombard Architecture and the Origins of Romano-Byzantine Architecture* opened with plans of Hagia Sophia. (Bullen 2003:84) Alexander Van Millingen's book *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912) was the first effort to produce an academic survey of the 22 then known Byzantine churches in Istanbul in the twentieth century (Čurčić 1997:280). Born in Istanbul in 1840, he had studied history, theology and classical philology in England. After returning to the city he concentrated his studies on the historical topography of Byzantium and his works were published in the annals of *Elinikos Filologikos Silogos Konstantinopoleos*, an organization established by the Greek community in Beyoğlu (Işın 2003:8).

Millingen's first major work on the topography of Byzantine capital, *Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* was published in 1899 in London. This work investigated the land and sea walls of the city and was supplemented by drawings and photographs. *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. Their History and Architecture* was published in 1912. This study was mainly based on D. Pulgher's book *Les anciennes eglises Byzantines de Constantinople*, which had been published in Vienna in 1878. In *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, Millingen focused on the surviving Byzantine churches of the city and supported his

descriptions and observations with the drawings of Ramsay Traquair of the University of Edinburgh's Department of Architecture. Besides the topographical history and monuments of Byzantine Constantinople, he also published another book on the city for a rather general audience in 1906. In *Constantinople* he described the daily life and cultural pattern of Istanbul. (Işın 2003:9)

Despite their age, Van Millingen's scholarly publications still remain cited and used today. Reviews of these books dating from before World War I provide us with more insight about the context in which Van Millingen's pioneering studies were produced and how works like his were received by the learned community worldwide. The *English Historical Review* (Bury 1900:545) was sure that Van Millingen's first book would "take its place as the chief authority on that part of Byzantine topography which it covers, and will prove of the utmost value to students of the eastern empire. [...] Much of the material which he furnishes and many of the identifications which he demonstrates were already accessible in Mordtmann's 'Esquisse Topographique' (1892); but that book was so unfortunately arranged that, like an ill-made lantern, in obscured its own light." Van Millingen's second book was received with similar enthusiasm in the same journal (Dalton 1913:355) a decade later, when it was judged that "even without St. Sophia" - which Van Millingen had omitted with reference to publications by Salzenberg, Lethaby, Swainson, and Antoniadi - "*the Byzantine Churches of Constantinople* is a storehouse of information, and must for a long time remain the standard work upon the subject."

The reviews also stress that comprehensive research undertakings were often obstructed by local factors, such as "the suspicious nature of the authorities, who

often hinder investigation through fear that the student is a seeker after hidden treasure revealed to him by his knowledge of ancient literature", as the *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* (H.O.D. 1900:187) had assumed. When then a book on "the forbidden church" (Dalton 1913:354) of St. Eirene was published in 1913 by Britain's *Byzantine Research and Publication Fund*, with an introduction by Van Millingen, the *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (A.L.P 1913:115) had noted that "[p]ermission to enter it has always been obtained with some difficulty, and neither time nor facilities have been accorded for serious examination. A fortunate combination of circumstances, succeeding the advent to power of the Young Turks, enabled the researches to be carried out upon which the present book is based. They lasted for five months during the year 1910 [and] were coincident with restorations to the fabric".

On the timeliness of Van Millingen's second book, the *English Historical Review* (Dalton 1913:352) had eventually noted in 1913 that it was not only because of "sudden disasters of earthquake, fire, [...] or religious fanaticism" that the surviving churches' process of decay might be accelerated, but because of the threats of war becoming more imminent: "At the moment like the present, when the destinies of Constantinople are more than usually obscure, it is a subject for congratulation that the surviving churches are now all accurately recorded." But not only observations on the historical context in which such studies were undertaken provide us with great insight. Also the detail, with which the reviewers comment on Van Millingen's work, including criticism, suggests that already by that time knowledge of Constantinopolitan architecture and topography was relatively widespread.

The historical topography of Byzantine Istanbul had become a very popular subject among the scholars of nineteenth century Orientalists as well. Aiming at rediscovering Byzantium, the city was a subject of study for many other scholars. Among these, *Byzantinai Meletai topographikai kai historikai* (1877) by Alexandros G. Paspatis, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (1892) by Andreas David Mordtmann, and *Etude sur la topographie et les monuments de Constantinople* (1909) by Jean Ebersolt are worth mentioning[1]. This tradition is continued in the early twentieth century by scholars such as Isaac M. Nomidis, Mehmed Ziya, and Celal Esad [Arseven].

As has been presented in this chapter, the increase of our knowledge of Byzantine architecture and topography of Constantinople mainly depended on scholars from abroad. Nonetheless, discussions about what constitutes this architecture continued in the nineteenth century. In 1912 Van Millingen wrote his *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, which was to become the main reference for a long time. It was written at a time, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when the fate of the monuments in the event of war was unclear. This is the starting point for our observations on the twentieth century.

[1] Ebersolt's other works on the subject include *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (1921), which represents the results of his archaeological investigations in Istanbul in 1920, *Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople* (1921), which studies the relics kept in the churches in Constantinople before the Latin conquest in 1204, *La Grand palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Ceremonies* (1910), which aims at reconstructing the imperial palace in Constantinople based mainly on literary evidence, and *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople. Etude topographique d'aprés les Cérémonies* (1910).

2. Istanbul's Byzantine Heritage in the Twentieth Century

2.1. Factors and conditions

2.1.1. Architectural Preservation in the Context of Urban Development Policies in Twentieth-century Istanbul

The foundation of the republic and the transfer of the capital to Ankara marked a turning point in the history of Istanbul. Almost all the resources of the government were being used for the construction of the new capital, leaving little interest in investments for developments and reconstructions in Istanbul. When the city remained in a deserted and impoverished state after the allied forces of the World War I left, Haydar Bey, the first mayor of the Republican Era, was able to conduct some small-scale reconstruction projects with limited resources. The most significant of these projects was the rebuilding of the Bayazıd Square. In 1930, according to the new law on municipalities; the functions of the mayor and governor were united in Istanbul, placing the city under the direct control of the central government. In 1933 three foreign city planners were invited to Istanbul to present their proposals for the urban development of the city. Among three, the proposal of Hermann Elgoetz was chosen. Elgoetz's plan included emphasizing the historical heritage of the city by creating preservation areas around major monuments and transferring the industrial areas from the Historical Peninsula. However, the policy of the government was still concentrated on the development of Ankara and Istanbul was not a priority. (Kuban 1996:417-9)

In 1936 also the French architect Henri Prost was invited to Istanbul. He prepared plans for different districts of the city which began to be implemented in 1939. After

later revisions by Turkish architects and planners, Prost's plans continued to constitute a basis for future development projects in the city. Like Elgoetz, Prost also supported the preservation of the historical values, albeit, significantly, he only regarded the ancient and Byzantine heritage of real archaeological significance. Prost's primary concern was to combine modernization with the preservation of Istanbul's historical silhouette. Therefore, he proposed the establishment of an archaeological park in the area covering Hagia Sophia – Great Palace – Hippodrome. He also limited the heights of the buildings in the walled city in order to preserve the historical silhouette, while not being concerned with the preservation of historical quarters' old fabric. It was during the mayorship/governorship of Lütfü Kırdar (1938-49) that Prost's plans began to be implemented. The reconstructions regarding the Historical Peninsula in this period include the creation of Eminönü square, the restoration and revitalization of some historical monuments, and the organization of the great palace gardens as public parks. (Kuban 1996:419-22; Angel 1992)

When the Republican Party, founded by Atatürk, lost the elections in 1950 to a new government a new period for Turkey began. Lead by the new Prime Minister Adnan Menderes from 1950 to 1960, the new government would mark a new period for the urban development of Istanbul as well. The early 1950s in Istanbul coincided with the uncontrollable population growth resulting in the occupation of municipal and state lands where the scores of immigrants built their shanty dwellings. Unable to cope with this rapid growth, the city began to suffer from inefficient infrastructure and the government was no longer able to fulfil the needs of the newcomers. Menderes began the "reconstruction" of Istanbul with the aims of modernizing and beautifying it. However, the population continued to increase at an alarming rate and

the results of Menderes' reconstruction program were destroyed historical quarters, unprofessionally restored old mosques, and the construction of new ones of bad taste. Because modernization was attempted simply by building new apartments and cars, the historic houses of Istanbul lost their prestige and were left to the newcomers by their owners moving to the newly developing areas. (Kuban 1996:423,425; 430)

One of the most destructive of Menderes' plans for the Historical Peninsula was the construction of two large boulevards, Millet Caddesi ("Avenue of the Nation") linking Aksaray with Topkapı and Vatan Caddesi ("Avenue of the Motherland"), completely wiping out the historical areas along their path. Both avenues ended at Aksaray Square that was constructed on the site of the Forum Bovis. These two large avenues allowed the traffic of Thracian Turkey directly into the old city. Therefore, the road between Aksaray and Bayazıd, which is the route of the old Byzantine *mese* between the Forum Tauri and the Forum Bovis, had to be widened to carry all this traffic. In order to open a coastal road between Sirkeci and Bakırköy, the Marmara shore was filled up and in some parts the sea walls were torn down. (Kuban 1996:426-428) Also parts of the land walls were sacrificed for the Millet and Vatan boulevards. Çeçener (1995:102) finds that making these roads so wide was a mistake, and although a suggestion was made to have the road pass under the walls through a tunnel in order not to destroy them, the resources and consciousness for preservation in 1957 were not enough to implement such proposal. Çeçener also states that at that time the walls in this area were in-between or behind buildings, and therefore were not properly documented. They were not documented either before the demolition and disappeared rapidly together with many Ottoman structures and early twentieth century buildings. All together, Kuban (1996:430) reports the number

of 7289 buildings, including historical monuments, demolished in the implementation of Menderes' designs.

Akyürek (2001:29-30) states that Byzantine buildings that were still being used at the beginning of the twentieth century and still could have been saved until recently now only remain in engravings or photographs and that these losses coincide with the construction/destruction activities already in the first half of the twentieth century. An example for these is the Byzantine building known as Odalar Camii in Karagümrük, which was still being used as a mosque at the beginning of the twentieth century but has now disappeared completely. It had been built in in the seventh century and, uniquely, over rooms located north of Aetios cistern in today's Müftü street and was probably a part of a monastic complex, together with the neighbouring Kasım Ağa Mescidi and a covered cistern. It was given to the Catholics in 1457, converted into a mosque in 1640, and remained derelict after the fire of 1919. In 1935 the rooms in the cellar were cleaned by Schatzmann revealing frescoes in three layers. The building was connected to the Istanbul Archaeological Museums in the 1940s and a guard was set aside. In the 1960s it was then occupied by illegal settlements and soon completely disappeared. From the beautiful frescoes belonging to the last period of Byzantium, one piece depicting St. Mercurios is now at the Archaeological Museum, documenting the greatness of our loss. (Eyice 1993-4:2-8)

Other Byzantine buildings in the Historical Peninsula have gone through similar stages of destruction. The Balaban Ağa Mescidi in Beyazıd was completely demolished during a road construction in 1930. The Sekbanbaşı İbrahim Ağa Mescidi in Fatih was demolished during the enlargement of the Atatürk Boulevard in

1943. The Beyazıd churches disappeared with very little documentation during the construction of the new buildings for the Istanbul University in 1947. The remains of a Byzantine chapel close to the Etyemez Tekkesi Mescidi in Cerrahpaşa were destroyed during the construction of the Social Security Hospital in 1957. The remains of the southeastern part of the Church of St. Polyeuktos in Saraçhane were damaged partly during the construction of Haşim İşcan overpass in 1965. The remains of the church of Beyazıd D were destroyed during the construction of an additional building for Istanbul University in 1971. The remaining walls of the Toklu Dede Mescidi uphill from Balat were demolished completely during a house construction in 1980, and the remains of the church of Hodegetria were partly damaged during a digging by the DSİ (State Water Works) in 1981. (Öztepe 2001:130)

Starting from the 1950s, population pressure became the defining factor in urban development and policies. Since then, the population of Istanbul grew tenfold to maybe up to 15 million at present. This growth had a preliminary peak in the 1980s, when 65% of housing was provided by *gecekondu* developments.[2] This affected not only typical *gecekondu* areas outside the centre, but neighbourhoods in the Historical Peninsula as well. An important step in this period was Turkey's signing of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1983.[3] Two years later UNESCO included four zones of the Historical Peninsula

[2] In its initial stage the *gecekondu* was a shantytown, but at present is also used for apartment complexes, which had been illegally built, and mostly had shantytowns as predecessors

[3] The institutionalizing of architectural conservation had already started a century earlier. The 1873 "Regulations on Antique Works" allowed some limited preservation of heritage. These regulations were revised in 1906 but the major interest of the Ottomans was the archaeological remains, as religious monuments were maintained by their own endowments. In 1924 a Commission for the Conservation of Historical Works (*Muhafaza-ı Asar-ı atika Komisyonu*) was set up to serve as an advisor for the preservation of Turkish and pre-Turkish monuments in Istanbul. The most significant

on the World Heritage List: 1) the Sultanahmet Archaeological Park, 2) the Süleymaniye mosque and area, 3) the Zeyrek mosque/Pantokrator church and area, and 4) the city walls. Moreover, UNESCO specified that all areas in the historic peninsula be regarded as a "support zone" for these four core areas. However, only in 1995 these areas were officially designated "conservation areas" – a plan then revised and amended after the disastrous earthquake in 1999 (Macit 2005:3) – and only by 2003 "conservation oriented development plans" were prepared, although already planned two decades earlier.[4] (Kocabaş 2006:116-7) This was due to the Historical Peninsula being a low priority for the 1980s mayor Bedrettin Dalan, the first elected mayor of the newly formed "Greater Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality" (IBB), who saw infrastructural development, particularly for motorized traffic, as the main urgency. In a project that came to be known as "the Tarlabaşı demolitions" 1100 nineteenth-century buildings (more than a quarter of which were inscribed as historical monuments) in the Beyoğlu district were sacrificed for a four-lane highway. (Kocabaş 2006:116-7) He made his position clear when he said:

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project in the early years of the Republic is the restoration and conversion of Ayasofya into a museum with the decision of Atatürk. In 1951, the "Superior Council of Monuments" (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*) was founded and given the responsibility for the listing and classification of all historical monuments and controlling their restorations. Although its control was not sufficient enough, the council was able to protect many historical monuments and had a long struggle with the reconstruction program of Menderes in Istanbul. (Kuban 1996: 434;440)

[4] Two decades later, the joint committe of UNESCO/ICOMOS has a rather negative assessment of the developments since the inscription in 1985. In the April 2006 report (= Michelmore 2006) "significant threats to the site have been identified, including demolition of Ottoman-period timber houses, the poor quality of repairs and excessive reconstruction of the Roman and Byzantine Walls, the potential negative effects of the construction of the Marmaray Rail Tube Tunnel and Gebze-Halkalı Surface Metro System, and damage to the structure and mosaics of Ayasofya (Haghia Sophia), partially due to earthquakes. Since 1993, concerns have been expressed over the legislative arrangements, conservation plans and the effectiveness of organisational relationships between decision-making bodies responsible for the safeguarding of World Heritage." Turkey, threatened with the consequence of the site being taken off the list, was given two years to improve the current situation.

> "Istanbul is a city of 2500 years and it possesses more than 3000 historic buildings. If nearly one hundred of them constitute an obstacle to the construction of a major transport artery to serve national and international trade, they must be demolished. We do not share the protectionist views which prevent development". (cited in Kocabaş 2006:116-7)

For an outlook onto twenty-first century, however, Kocabaş (2006:124) is fairly optimistic:

> "[A]fter many years of inertia the planning system and culture has begun to change as a result of the impact of new policy drivers. Political complacency about conservation and deprived neighbourhoods has been eroded by the earthquake threat and the threatened world status of the historic city. [...] Since the 1980s, the balance between development and conservation has shifted several times under varying economic, social and political conditions. In the context of a rapidly changing planning agenda and related pressures for institutional change, the issues of the appropriate balance for Istanbul's historic core has once again moved to centre stage. In March 2004 the citizens of Istanbul elected Dr. Kadir Topbaş as their fifth Mayor. He is an architect and of the same political party as the Prime Minister. He has the powers and the opportunity to take conservation planning to a new level as part of a process of preparing the city for both the next earthquake and its likely future role as the EU's largest city."

In summary, we can discern at least three different phases in terms of how the architectural heritage in the Historical Peninsula was affected by urban development policies. In the Early Republican Period Istanbul, as a whole, suffered from a lack of interest and thus lack of investment on the part of the state. Significant is that the

urban development plan commissioned from the French architect Prost first proposed a protection zone round Sultanahmet; a proposition only taken up much later. After the 1940s extensive development plans by Menderes were drawn up with little regard to the protection of the historical heritage. Population pressure emerged as the defining factor in future urban strategies. Parts of the walls and archaeological remains (Beyazit churches, Forum Bovis) were sacrificed for the new infrastructure. The formerly Byzantine Toklu Dede Mescidi and the Odalar Camii completely disappeared. This pattern continued in the 1980s under mayor Dalan. After this point, and in connection with the UNESCO designation of Istanbul as a World Heritage Site, a gradual process of re-thinking has been triggered. With a greater awareness, also among the population and in coalition with the media, it is to be hoped that in the future the architectural and archaeological heritage of the Historical Peninsula will take its place in the urban development plans as a key factor and one of the major priorities.

2.1.2. Ideology and Cultural Heritage

When the Ottoman Empire fell apart, its successor states exhibited little hesitance to rid themselves of much of the material heritage this period of "enslavement" had left them with. This legacy of the "other" was best represented by the mosques built in the - depending on territory - up to five centuries of domination by a foreign ruler. Following the Ottoman retreat the mosques not left to the remaining Muslims were either re-used or, most often, destroyed. This is, of course, not an isolated case. The relationship between nationalism and historical preservation has been particularly intimate, as noted by Ashworth (1990), appropriated to the case of Turkey by Bartu (1999:41): "Nation-states have been forged by nationalist interpretations of the past, and what is considered to be "heritage" is largely determined by these interpretations."

Early Republican Turkey was clearly no less nationalist than its new neighbours, but the situation was in some regards different. Unlike the Ottoman heritage in Southeast Europe, we should not expect that the Byzantine heritage of the new state would have become much of a *politicon* in the interwar years. This "disinterest" was due to several factors:

1) Republican Turkey understood itself as a clear breach with the empires whose territories it inherited. Unlike most of its neighbours, a modernist anti-historicism dominated much of the Early Republican Period. Both the Ottoman and Byzantine empires were considered entities that belonged to the past and deserved no real consideration in the designs that the Kemalists had in mind for their "new" country.

2) Istanbul, identified with everything that was wrong with the country the Kemalists envisioned, was abandoned at the expense of a new capital, Ankara, which was supposed to embody the new spirit of a modern Turkish nation. Thereby, until the 1950s, little consideration was given to matters of urban development and architectural innovation or renovation in Istanbul; all efforts were concentrated on Ankara.

3) Much of the Early Republican Period politics was dominated by strongly anti-religious sentiment, which went against the beliefs most of Turkey's population. From this perspective it may be suggested that the Byzantine churches, used as mosques (if not in ruins), were not a priority subject of discussion among Kemalist policy-makers. That Atatürk took the Hagia Sophia, until 1929 one of the city's main mosques (and religious symbols), away from the believers and had it turned into a museum is a prominent exception, but only supports this argument. It was not converted into a museum because it was an originally Byzantine monument, but most likely because it was that monument of the city which attracted most international attention. At the same time, the power of the secularist state towards the representatives of Islam could be demonstrated with this step clearly running against their interests.[5]

The negative assessment of either Ottoman and Byzantine pasts, as well as the shift of interest from Istanbul ("the city of the past") to Ankara ("the city of the future") is

[5] For a recent study on the Republican Period Hagia Sophia see Akgündüz et al. 2006.

best illustrated by a paragraph from "La Turquie Kemaliste" (No. 47,1943:38-39), a propaganda journal intended for a foreign audience:

> "The average visitor who has spent a few days rushing from Hagia Sophia to the Great Walls and quickly around the old Hippodrome goes home to tell the folks about Turkey. He is no better equipped than the stay-at-homes who get their ideas out of novels about the sultans. For in Istanbul he has probably [...] concentrated exclusively on the relics of a past now intentionally forgotten by the average Turk, who looks ahead to better days. He who really wants to know the Turkey of today and tomorrow should take the first train for Ankara."[6]

The second half of the twentieth century, however, partly brought changes to this situation. The new (this time elected) governments did not share Mustafa Kemal's anti-religious and anti-Ottoman opinions to the same degree. This gradually resulted in a new confidence with the Ottoman past (culminating in a phenomenon described as "Ottomania" toward the end of the century) and a renewed confidence among religious groups, which were no longer blamed for the backwardness of the country. In addition, the late interwar years had brought reprisals against Turkey's non-Muslim subjects, embodied in the so-called "wealth tax". The anti-Greek sentiment peaked in open aggression when in 1955 a violent mob raged through Istanbul's Pera quarter and destroyed and looted shops, churches, and flats, accompanied by murder, forced circumcision, and rape.[7] At that point also Istanbul's Orthodox churches became a target of this aggression. As most of them were still mosques, former Byzantine churches were spared destruction. That was the only reason why St. Mary

[6] Cited as translated in Bozdoğan 2001:67.

[7] For two recent accounts on these events, see Vryonis (2005) and Güven (2004).

of the Mongols, together with Hagia Eirene - the only Byzantine churches never turned into mosques - were both attacked (see Vryonis 2005). In the second half of the century, the tensions between Turkey and Greece, with which the Byzantine heritage came to be identified, were responsible for the uneasiness with which the subject was approached (see also Chapters 2.2 and 2.3). In politics, the Byzantine architectural heritage of Turkey became the counterweight to similarly derelict Ottoman monuments in Greece.

But even if early Republican Turkey may have not been very interested in its Byzantine heritage, this does not mean that it was fully ignored by historians. Affronted by some Balkan historians' claims that much in the Ottoman Empire was actually based on a Byzantine precedent, Fuat Köprülü (a later Prime Minister) wrote a famously defensive essay in 1931 denying that Byzantine institutions had any influence on Ottoman institutions, which conversely were to be regarded as Seljuk, Persian, or Central Asian in origin.[8] This reaction may explain, according to Berktay (1991:111; also 108-113; translation by author), why

> "a country, which after 1935 established chairs for Sumerian, Hittitian, Sanskrit, Chinese, Latin, Greek, Hungarian, Russian, Arabic, and Persian at the University of Ankara, was never in the position to establish an appropriate tradition for Byzantine studies. A country, which had inherited the core territories of the Byzantine Empire, should really have produced leading Byzantinists in every generation, but there was lack of which."

[8] Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. Some observations on the influence of Byzantine institutions on Ottoman institutions. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999.

A different situation emerged after the 1980s with the rise of political Islam.[9] For its proponents Istanbul, the capital of the once glorious Ottoman Empire, became a key symbol of the Islamic revival, and for them the "real" history of the city started with the conquest of Constantinople. These developments culminated in the mayorship of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, now prime minister, in the 1990s. The Islamist party proposed to build a mosque and Islamic cultural centre in Taksim square, the old centre of Constantinople's western-looking Christian communities, with the idea to "have a sense of being in an Islamic city. When we gradually bring out the historical and cultural centre of our city, tourists, who visit Istanbul will understand that they are in a city populated by Muslims."[10] The Taksim mosque controversy took place at a time when the party announced that they would demolish Byzantine city walls, with the blunt explanation "We do not want a Byzantine Istanbul." It should, however, be mentioned that not everyone in Turkish politics shared this interpretation. A week later, the Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, held a press conference in front of the city walls, stressing their historical value. (Bartu 1999:39-42) The general secretary of Erdoğan's Welfare Party then declared that "those Istanbul walls that are intact should be protected, but the ones that are lying in rubble should be cleared away", quotes Bora (1999:50-1), further elaborating on the subject:

> "The mayor added that those who disagreed with this statement were "on the side of the enemy" and to defend the walls was "to defend Byzance. We do not want an

[9] In the 1970s it had been a complaint of the nationalist-conservative intelligentsia that the urban elite found the funds for conducting international culture and art festivals, but not the money for the celebration of the conquest (Bora 1999:53). By 2006 the fall/conquest of Constantinople in 1453 is simultaneously publicly celebrated in Turkey and decried in Greece, marking a resurgence of re-idenfication with past empires once neglected in the construction of nationalist narratives.

[10] A travel agent, cited in Bartu (1999:42), however, remarked that tourists coming to see the Islamic heritage will visit the Historical Peninsula and not Beyoğlu, but maintained that tourists anyway come to see the Byzantine and Christian heritage and not the mosques.

> Istanbul in Byzantine appearance." Referring to alleged destruction of mosques in western Thrace (where the Muslim minority live in Greece), he said in December 27, 1994, *Milliyet*, "I will respect their houses of prayer only as much as they respect ours."[11] This reduction of the cultural heritage of Istanbul to something that could be used as a diplomatic weapon in negotiations with neighboring countries received much reaction, and was widely interpreted by the secular media to show that under WP administration Istanbul would lose its chance of becoming a world city."[12]

As we have seen, different political climates resulted in different attitudes toward the Byzantine heritage, or cultural heritage as a whole. Policy-makers of the early Republican period were not much interested in the representation of this heritage, but neither in the nearer Ottoman past. In the political disputes of the 1950s to '70s the Byzantine heritage came to be associated with the adversary Greece. After the 1980s, coinciding with the rise of political Islam in Turkey, the Ottoman heritage became a symbol for this movement. Focused on the Islamic character of the city, the Byzantine heritage was seen as the remains of the pre-Muslim Istanbul, which had already been conquered long ago and was not regarded as a part of the identity of the city.

That the Byzantine churches dealt with in this thesis now mostly function as mosques can hardly be overlooked at first sight. As the matter of conversions of churches into mosques has attracted considerable interest among scholars, it also merits a brief

[11] This juxtaposition of Byzantine monuments in Turkey and Ottoman monuments in Greece in terms of protection issues is also not an isolated case, as exemplified by the agenda of discussions in the 2004 meeting of Greek and Turkish ministers of culture. (cf. The Hellenic Radio: News in English, April 1, 2004. www.hri.org/cgi-bin/brief?/news/greek/eraen/2001/01-04-30.eraen.html)

[12] Metin Sözen, a professor of architectural history, declared in the newspaper *Hürriyet* in December 1994, that it was in fact the Byzantine walls which had led UNESCO to include Istanbul in the world heritage list. (Bora 1999:51)

explanation in this section; also because the fact that 14 out of 20 buildings[13] included in this thesis function as mosques to this day will have to be considered as a crucial factor (and obstacle) in future restoration projects, because one will have to deal with overlapping historical layers as well as past and present functions.

The main advantage of these conversions was that they helped preserve structures that date back as far as the fifth century until the present day. The disadvantage was that during this process a variety of changes were made to the buildings for liturgical purposes, thereby altering their architectural and artistic features. Structurally, the buildings have been left in more or less the same shape. In almost all cases (except sometimes when turned into *mescids*, prayer houses, which do not require these), minarets have been added to the western corners of the buildings. The *mihrab* (prayer niche) could very often be accommodated in the existing apses, while sometimes also new niches were carved into the wall. Sometimes also unwanted windows were covered up, and columns replaced with stronger piers. The more incisive changes, and consequent losses, however, resulted from the removing of mosaics and frescoes, the reason being the ban of figural depictions in Islamic visual culture. In some cases Byzantine decorations were simply covered over with plaster, under which they luckily sometimes survived until today. In the twentieth century it was possible to remove the plaster and exhibit the mosaics, whereby former mosques (Ayasofya, Fethiye, Kariye) could be turned into museums. However, other mosques (e.g. Vefa Kilise Camii) have fragments of mosaics still preserved under the plaster.

[13] Concerning their original number, Janin (1969) has preserved the names of as many as 485 churches and 325 monasteries located in Constantinople. Mango (1975b:11) states that over 500 churches and monasteries existed in the city throughout the Middle Ages. More recently, Karaca (cf. 1995:21, and ref.) has argued that only some 60 survived into the period after the Ottoman conquest. This low number can be explained by the fact that already in the late Byzantine period, after the devastating Latin conquest, many structures, including such prominent monuments as the church of the Holy Apostles, had fallen in disrepair; also because the dramatically decreased population could not finance their upkeep.

These remain covered because the buildings still function as mosques (whereby mosaics or frescoes cannot be de-covered) and the removal of the plaster often later painted with Ottoman decorative motifs would destroy one historical layer.

Although Kırımtayıf's 2001 book on the converted churches of Istanbul does not live up to the expectations he sets in the preface, some helpful basic information is provided. Following Kırımtayıf (2001:2-3), when Istanbul was repopulated newcomers were settled either in existing or in new quarters, which were then developed by "heroes" of the conquest. Given a home in the quarter, they were then expected to provide a mosque or mescid to function as the core of the neighbourhood.

> "[If], however, there was a Byzantine edifice in a convenient location, it was only practical to convert it for this purpose rather than constructing a new building. St. Sophia had the honor of being the first church converted into a mosque. [...] Aside from Ayasofya, the only other outstanding church that was converted into a mosque supported by a waqf during the reign of Mehmet II, was the church of St. Theodore [=the present Vefa mosque]. The reign of Bayezid II differed somewhat from that of Mehmed II in respect to the conversion of Byzantine buildings. Probably due to the increased population of the capital and the existence of newly established mahalles, each with its own masjid or mosque, it was now generally the more impressive Byzantine churches that were converted by viziers or other dignitaries [...]. In the succeeding periods the conversions slowed down even more, with the formation of new mahalles coming almost to a standstill. Nevertheless, a few buildings underwent conversion because they were now surrounded by a mainly Turkish population."

Kırımtayıf (2001:5) then also suggests a nobler motive for the conversions: "Likewise, when a church had fallen into poor condition and was in need of repair, it would be turned into a mosque so that it might survive for generations to come. The basic reason for the survival of most of these structures is, in fact, that they were given a new function which assured their being kept in good repair." As he, however, fails to provide historical evidence for this suggestion, the idea that the conversion of churches into mosques may also have been influenced by concerns over architectural preservation can be discarded.

According to Ötüken (1979:71), during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451-81) twenty churches were converted into mosques, while during the reign of his successor Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), sixteen. These buildings continued to function for different purposes such as mosque, mescid, *tekke* (Dervish lodge), *imaret* (soup kitchen for the poor), or for storage. These buildings, with their new functions, were given new names as well. Ötüken (1979:82-4) categorizes these new names under eight groups: in the first group, the original names of the buildings were Turkicized, such as Hagia Sophia/Ayasofya, Chora/Kariye; the buildings in the second group were named according to their new functions, but with reference to their old purposes, such as Kilise Camii (Church Mosque) and Manastır Mescidi (Monastery Mescid); thirdly, some buildings were given the names of Ottoman patrons who sponsored the conversion, as is the case with the Mesih Paşa Camii (Myrelaion); buildings named after the persons related to the new institution constitute the fourth group such as Molla Zeyrek Camii (Pantokrator) or Fenari İsa Camii (Constantine Lips); in the fifth group the buildings were named according to their new functions as we see in Eski İmaret Camii (Pantepoptes); the ones named in order to

commemorate a historical event, such as the Fethiye ("ode of conquest") Camii (Pammakaristos) are included in the sixth group; the seventh group is based on the characteristics of the buildings such as the Bodrum/Myrelaion ("cellar"), Küçük Ayasofya ("small Hagia Sophia"), and Odalar ("the rooms") mosques; and the buildings in the last group took the names of the neighbourhoods that they were located in, as is the case with the İsa Kapı Mescidi and the Kefeli Mescidi.

Although not explicitly mentioned by Kırımtayıf, we know that churches were also not only converted when they fell into disrepair and disuse by a Christian population that had left the quarter (as in the case of the Fethiye Camii, which was taken away from its congregation). Kiel (1985:167), however, protests how these confiscations have generally been portrayed in nationalist historiographies:

> "There is one aspect of the Ottoman behaviour towards the Christian church which, in our opinion, has received too much attention and has been used too much to illustrate this behaviour in general, whereas we are here clearly confronted with an exception. [...] In various writings these confiscations have been used to illustrate a presumed Ottoman desire to stamp out Christianity as an organized and institutionalized religion. This is definitely not correct. Had the Ottomans really had this in mind it would have been far more efficient to outlaw the church, close churches and monasteries and to execute a few bishops and abbots etc. [...] They were strong enough to force through such an action and would have saved themselves a lot of trouble of the kind they came to face in the time of decline (18th-19th century). [...] The confiscation of churches [...] took place in towns conquered by force of arms. The laws of war of most societies, including ours, recognize, or at least tolerate the practice of taking booty. In such conquered towns the Islamic state

> confiscated one or a few churches, usually the most prominent, and transformed them into mosques for the use of the Muslim garrison placed in such a settlement. [...] Such church-mosques were usually associated with the conquest of the town and symbolized the victory of Islam. Hence they were called 'Fethiye Cami' or: 'Mosque of the Victory.' Their significance was primary political rather than religious. [The] other churches of the town were usually left to the Christians. Yet the feeling must have remained among the Muslims of the town that they could exercise some sort of right over such churches as subsequent history suggests."

As has been demonstrated, the conversion of churches into mosques remains a disputed topic, the psychological effect of which still echoes in the representations of history today. As a consequence, it is a factor of how this heritage is approached in the future, but an in-depth discussion of historical matter concerning the nature of these conversions cannot be the subject of discussion here. What is significant, however, is that the monuments now represent several historical layers, which will need to be considered in future restoration efforts as well.

2.2. The Development of Byzantine Studies in Turkey, the Contribution of Turkish Scholars to the Field, and Problems in the Process

Despite location and possibilities, the contribution of Turkish scholars to the study of Byzantine history and art has been limited. Yerasimos (1999:389) has, in fact, noted that Byzantinists perceive Turkey as a country which obstructs their studies. Berktay (1993:251) even suspected that "our only Byzantinist with international recognition [Semavi Eyice], in spite of all the seriousness and prestige of his work, in fact appears to not like Byzantium all that much", which he concluded from Eyice's article in the first issue of the magazine *Istanbul*, in which he called for the preservation and restoration of old monuments, but did not suggest a single Byzantine monument, while lamenting the disappearance of "Turkish Istanbul" and "Turkish values".

In Turkey, if compared to the situation in Europe, Byzantine history has appeared fairly late as a discipline.[14] The first publications on Byzantine topics by Turkish scholars in the early twentieth century were targeted at a rather popular audience, with subjects like the Byzantine monuments in Istanbul, Byzantine–Turkish relations, and the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans. (Necipoğlu 1999:37) The first Turkish scholar to publish on the Byzantine buildings was Celal Esad

[14] Already in the late Ottoman period a few attempts at the writing of a history of Byzantium were made. That these often presented the empire in a bad light must be understood from the negative assessment of Byzantium by western scholars, who had mostly been the sources of the late Ottoman authors in question. Marx, for example, had characterized the Byzantine Empire as "the worst state"; an assessment then followed by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Celal Nuri, on the other hand, claimed it to be imperative to study Rome and Byzantium if one is to study Ottoman history, as the latter could only partially be understood without the former. For a discussion of these sources, see Ursinus (1986, 1987, 1988).

Bey.[15] His work *Constantinople, De Byzance à Stamboul* was first published in French in 1909, and was later translated into Ottoman Turkish and published in 1912/3.[16] Another contribution by him was the *Plan archéologique de Constantinople, Byzance et Stambou*l (1908/9?)[17]. Also Kolağası Mehmed Raif Bey wrote about the historical monuments of the Sultanahmet area (published 1916/7) and the churches converted after the conquest.[18] Mehmed Ziya Bey, a member of the committee for the preservation of antiquities, published a monograph on the mosaics of Kariye in 1908, and in 1920 the first (and only published) volume of his major work on Byzantine and Ottoman monuments in Istanbul.[19] The famous Republican period historian Fuat Köprülü also dealt with Byzantine history on some occasions. Best-known is his book on the influence of Byzantine on Ottoman institutions (1931)[20]. A Byzantine history book for children was published by Reşat Ekrem [Koçu] in 1934[21]. Charles Diehl's *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin* was translated into

[15] [Arseven], Celal Esad. Constantinople, De Byzance à Stamboul. Paris : H. Laurens, 1909.

[16] [Arseven], Celal Esad. Eski İstanbul, abidat ve mebanisi: şehrin tesisinden Osmanlı fethine kadar. İstanbul: Muhtar Halit Kitabhanesi, 1328[1912]. This book was later also published in Latin alphabet; Eski İstanbul. İstanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı Kütüphanesi Yayınları, 1989.

[17] [Arseven], Celal Esad. Plan archéologique de Constantinople, Byzance et Stamboul. Istanbul: Yalamari, 1908/9

[18] Raif, Mehmed. Sultanahmet Parkı ve Asar-ı Atikası. İstanbul: Asar-ı Atika Külliyatı:2, 1332 (1916-17). His work on the converted churches, *Bedelfeth cevami-i şerifeye tahvil olunan kenais*, was not published.

[19] Ziya, Mehmed. Kariye camii şerifi. İstanbul: İkbal Kütüphanesinin tarihi ve sanayi kitapları, 1326 ; İstanbul ve Boğaziçi, Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Asar-ı Bakiyesi. İstanbul: Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi Neşriyatı no. 84, I, 1336 [1920]; in the Latin alphabet İstanbul ve Boğaziçi, Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Ölümsüz Mirası. İstanbul: Bika, 2004.

[20] Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat. Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında bazı mülahazalar. İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1931; Some observations on the influence of Byzantine institutions on Ottoman institutions. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999.

[21] Koçu, Reşat Ekrem. Bizans tarihi (Şarki Roma İmparatorluğu) 395-1453. İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1934.

Turkish in 1937 by Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu and again in 1939 by Cevdet Yularkıran[22]. The first volume of A.A. Vasiliev's *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin* was translated in 1943 by Arif Müfid Mansel[23]. However, the original contributions of Turkish scholars in the areas of art and archaeology remained very limited and the research on the historical topography and buildings of Istanbul was mainly carried out by foreigners. (Eyice 1973:379-81)

Arif Müfid Mansel, then the assistant director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, was the first Turkish scholar to conduct research on a Byzantine monument. He excavated the ruins of the Balaban Ağa Mescidi in 1930 and published his results in the following years.[24] One of the major excavations of these early years was in Küçükçekmece, a suburb of Istanbul, where the Byzantine Rhegion palace was excavated between 1940 and 1948 during three campaigns. The work was conducted under the supervision of Aziz Ogan, director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, and A.M. Mansel and the findings were subsequently published by the excavators.[25] In the 1940s A. Ogan also published on the buildings of Kilise Camii, Fethiye Camii and Kariye Camii.[26] Meanwhile, the remains of

[22] Diehl, Charles. Bizans İmparatorluğu Tarihi. Çeviren T. Bıyıklıoğlu. İstanbul: Vakit, 1937; Bizans İmparatorluğu Tarihi. Çeviren Cevdet R. Yularkıran. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1939.

[23] Vasiliev, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich. Bizans İmparatorluğu Tarihi. Çeviren Arif Müfid Mansel. Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1943.

[24] Mansel, Arif Müfid. "The Excavation of the Balaban Ağa Mescidi in Istanbul." The Art Bulletin XV, 3 (1933):210-229; "Balaban Ağa Mescidi Hafriyatı (1930)." Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnoğrafya Dergisi II (1939): 49-73.

[25] Ogan, Aziz. "Regium Hafriyatı." Belleten III, 11-12 (1939): 437-445; Ogan, Aziz and A.M. Mansel. "Rhegion-Küçük Çekmece hafriyatı, 1940-41 çalışmalarına dair ilk rapor." Belleten VI, 21-22 (1942): 1-36; Ogan, Aziz. "Region-Küçük Çekmece hafriyatı ve Region sarayı." III. Türk Tarih Kongresi (1943) zabıtları (1948): 537-543 ; Mansel, Arif Müfid. "Les fouilles de Rhegion prés d'istanbul." Actes du Vie Congrés Int. d'Etudes Byzantines - Paris 1948. (1951): 225-260.

[26] Ogan, Aziz. "Bizans mimari tarihinde Istanbul kiliseleri ve mozaikleri." Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi V (1944): 103-115; "Aya Maria Pammakaristos–Fethiye Camii." Belleten XIII (1949): 271-305;

Byzantine buildings discovered during the construction activities in Istanbul were also being supervised by the Archaeological Museums. The most significant example of these was the remains of three churches and cisterns found during the construction of the new building of the Faculty of Science and Letters of the Istanbul University in the Beyazıd area. These discoveries, which have now physically disappeared, were examined and published by Nezih Fıratlı of the Archaeological Museums.[27] (Eyice 1973: 382-4) The Byzantine remains found in a similar way during the construction of the palace of justice in Sultanahmet were published in several articles by Rüstem Duyuran in the early 1950s.[28] (Eyice 1973: 382-5)

After Hagia Sophia became a museum, the directors were also involved in excavations and publications related to the Byzantine monuments. The first director of the museum, painter Ali Sami Boyar, contributed to the field with his paintings of the building as well as an article and a brochure.[29] The second director of the museum was Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu, who conducted excavations in the area between Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene.[30] Ramazanoğlu's efforts in the handing over of the buildings of Hagia Eirene, İmrahor, Bodrum, Fethiye, Fenari İsa and

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"Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii." IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi 1948 (1953):407-415; with V. Mırmıroğlu. Kaariye Camii eski Hora manastırı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1955

[27] Fıratlı, Nezih. "Découverte de trois églises byzantines à Istanbul." Cahiers archéologiques V (1951): 163-178.

[28] Duyuran, Rüstem. "İstanbul Adalet Sarayı inşaat yerinde yapılan kazılar hakkında ilk rapor." İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı V (1952): 23-38; "İstanbul Adalet Sarayı inşaat yerinde yapılan kazılar hakkında ikinci rapor." İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı VI (1954): 3-17; "İstanbul Adalet Sarayı inşaat yerindeki yeni kazılar." Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi VI, 2 (1956): 34.

[29] Boyar, Ali Sami. "Aya Sophia." La Turquie Kemaliste 41(1941):13-21; Aya Sophia and its history. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943.

[30] Ramazanoğlu, Muzaffer. Sentiren ve Ayasofyalar Manzumesi (L'emsemble Ste Irène et les diverses Ste Sophie). İstanbul: Üniversite Matbaası, 1946; "Ayasofya ve Aya İrini'de yapılan kazılar." Örnek I (March 1947): 9-10; "Neue Forschungen zur Architektur-Geschichte der Irenenkirche und des Komplexes der Sophienkirche." Actes du VI^{e} Congrés d'Etudes Byzantines (Paris 1948) (1951): 347-357.

Kariye to the administration of Ayasofya Museums are also worth mentioning. Feridun Dirimtekin became the third director of the museum in 1955 and has published widely on the various Byzantine monuments of the city including the Marmara and Haliç walls, Tekfur and Blachernae area, Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene.[31] (Eyice 1973:388-392)

For the restorations of converted Byzantine churches in Istanbul, the General Directorate of Museums or the Pious foundations (*vakıflar*) was the responsible institution. The early examples of these restorations include the first repairs of Fethiye mosque in the 1940s, the almost complete rebuilding of Hirami Ahmet Paşa mosque, and repairs on the Zeyrek mosque, Tekfur Palace, the Golden Gate, Çemberlitaş, and Kıztaşı. However, as noted by Eyice (1973:396) and lamented by many other scholars, only a few of these restorations were published.[32]

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[31] Dirimtekin, Feridun. Fetihden önce Marmara surları. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Derneği: 10, 1953; Fetihden önce Haliç surları, İstanbul: İstanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1956; "Fouilles entreprises dans la partie septentrionale de Tekfursaray." Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni 123 (1952): 25-29; "Tekfursarayı şimalinde yapılan kazı." İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı V (1952): 42-50; "Ayvansaray (Blachernae) deki İmparator sarayları bölgesinde yapılan kazı hakkında özet." Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi IX, 2 (1959): 18-31; "14. Mıntıka (Blachernae), Surlar, Saraylar ve Kiliseler, Fatih ve İstanbul." Fetih Derneği Dergisi I, 2 (1953): 193-222; "Ayasofya Baptisteri." Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi XII, 2 (1983): 54-75; "Le Skeuophylakion de Sainte Sophie." Revue des Etudes Byzantines XIX (1961):390-400; "Ayasofyanın şimalinde Vezir bahçesi denilen yerde bulunan bur hipogée." İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı X (1962):30-36 and 109-115; "Le local du Patriarcat à Sainte Sophie." Istanbuller Mitteilungen XIII-XIV (1963-1964): 113-127; "L'église Sainte Iréne." III Corsi di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina III (1956): 41-45; "Ste Irene." V. Türk Tarih Kongresi Tebliğleri Ankara 1956. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1960. 303-310; "Les fouilles en 1946- 1947 et en 1958-1959 entre Sainte Sophie et Sainte Iréne à Istanbul." Cahiers Archéologiques XIII (1962): 161-185; "Découverte d'une fresque de la Vierge à Istanbul." Cahiers Archéologiques X (1959): 307-310; "Etyemez'de bulunan bir Ste Vierge freskosu." Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi VIII, 2 (1968): 39-44.

[32] Altan, Kemal. "Fethiye Camii." Arkitekt 8 No: 10,11 (1938): 296-299; Duyuran, Rüstem. "A propos des premiers travaux réparation de Yedikule-Le Château des Sept Tours." Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni 208/209 (1959): 21-24; "Yedikule'nin restorasyonuna başlarken." Arkitekt XXVII, yıl 4, 293 (1958): 151-155; Bilge, Aygen. "Çemberlitaş ve Kıztaşı'nın onarımları." Mimarlık 72/8, sayı 106 (1972): 54-64.

The major initiative that introduced the Byzantine studies to the Turkish universities was the launch of courses on Byzantine art and history in the 1940s. Steven Runciman was invited to teach at the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul University at the newly established Byzantine certificate program between 1941 and 1944, but only one student, Semavi Eyice, graduated under his supervision, with a thesis on Küçük Ayasofya. Runciman's courses were taken over by Hope-Johnston until 1948/9, when the university decided to develop the program. In 1950 Philipp Schweinfurth from the University of Berlin started to teach Byzantine art and history with the assistantship and translations of Eyice until his death in 1954.

Eyice, having completed his specialization in 1952 with a doctoral thesis on the Byzantine period buildings of Side, then became the first Turkish scholar to teach in the Byzantine art program at Istanbul University. (Eyice 1973:408-10; Necipoğlu 1999:37; Ötüken 2003:78) Ödekan (1999:391), who studied Byzantine art under Eyice, noted that at that time Byzantine studies were not really accepted, and Eyice himself had had problems in getting permissions for the participation in excavations. It is to these kind of realities that Ödekan attributes her choice not to continue working in this field.

The program of Byzantine art at Istanbul University first functioned under the chair for Art History and in 1963 became an independent chair under the direction of Eyice.[33] After the administrative changes introduced to Turkish universities in 1982,

[33] Until 1973, 62 theses on Byzantine art and archaeology were prepared. This is a considerable number, but the problem seems to be that these graduates did not continue to work in this field. For the titles of these theses see the bibliography in Eyice 1973: 417-20. For Eyice's publications on Byzantine art, see Eyice 1973: 421-28.

this chair system was changed and the Byzantine Art program became a subdivision of the Department of Archaeology and Art History. Interestingly, Byzantine art history is still better represented than Byzantine history per se at history departments, where there is no separate chair for them, but the content is taught within courses of medieval history. At Istanbul University the courses of Byzantine history were given by Fikret Işıltan who, with several translations of authors like George Ostrogorsky or Steven Runciman but also original sources like Niketas Choniates, has made a great contribution to the study of this field in Turkey.[34] He was succeeded by Işın Demirkent, who concentrated on the history of the Crusades and published on the topic.[35] At Ankara University Byzantine history was taught by Şerif Baştav, a former student of the Hungarian Byzantinist Gyula Moravcsik. Besides his work in Byzantine political history, Baştav has also published the translation of a sixteenth century Greek chronicle on Ottoman history.[36] At present Melek Delilbaşı is teaching and researching on medieval Balkan and Byzantine history at the same university.[37]

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[34] Işıltan's translations include: Honigmann, Ernst. Bizans devletinin Doğu sınırı: grekçe, arabca, süryanice ve ermenice kaynaklara göre 363'den 1071'e kadar. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1970; Ostrogorsky, Georgije. Bizans Devleti Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1981; Runciman, Steven. Haçlı Seferleri Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986; Choniates, Nicetas. Historia: (Ioannes ve Manuel Komnenos devirleri). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995.

[35] Demirkent, Işın. Urfa Haçlı Kontluğu Tarihi. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1990-1994; Mikhail Psellos'un Khronographia'sı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992; Haçlı Seferleri. İstanbul: dünya yayıncılık, 1997; Ioannes Kinnamos'un Historia'sı (1118-1176). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001; Niketas Khoniates'in Historia'sı, 1195-1206: İstanbul'un Haçlılar tarafından zaptı ve yağmalanması. İstanbul: Dünya yayıncılık, 2004

[36] Baştav, Şerif. 16. Asırda yazılmış Grekçe anonim Osmanlı tarihi: giriş ve metin, 1373-1512. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1973; Bizans İmparatorluğu tarihi: son devir (1261-1461) Osmanlı Türk-Bizans münasebetleri. Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1989.

[37] Delilbaşı, Melek. "Selanik ve Yanya'da Osmanlı Egemenliğinin Kurulması." Belleten LI/199 (1987): 75-106; "Greek as a diplomatic language in the Ottoman chancery." Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon. (Athens, 1993): 145-153; "The Via Egnatia and Selânik (Thessalonica) in the 16 th Century." The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule (1380-1699), Edited by: Elizabeth Zachariadou, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 67-84; "1564 Tarihli Mufassal Yanya Livasi Tahrir Defterine Göre Yanya Kenti ve Köyleri." Türk Tarih Kurumu Belgeler Dergisi XVII/21 (1997): 171-223; "Türk Tarihinin Bizans Kaynakları." Cogito (Sonbahar 1998): 339-351; "Bizans'tan Osmanlı Fethine Selanik (Thessaloniki)." Toplumsal Tarih XIX/112 (Nisan 2003): 90-93.

At Istanbul's Boğaziçi University's history department, Byzantine history courses were included in the curriculum when Nevra Necipoğlu joined the faculty. Her studies are concentrated on the social and economic history of the late Byzantine Empire and Byzantine-Ottoman-Italian relations.[38] (Necipoğlu 1999:37-8)

At present, Byzantine art courses are offered at seven universities, but only four of which (Hacettepe/Ankara, Ege/Izmir, Anadolu/Eskişehir, and Istanbul universities) offer graduate programs, and only two, Hacettepe and Ege, offer doctoral programs in Byzantine art. (Ötüken 2003:78)

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An important development in the field of Turkey assuming a more active role as host of international meetings was the workshop "Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life" held in April 1999. Organized by the History Department of Boğaziçi University and the Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, it was the first (and only) international conference on Byzantine topics in Istanbul since the 10th International congress of Byzantine Studies in 1955.[39] In 2001, the first

[38] Necipoğlu, Nevra. "Ottoman Merchants in Constantinople During the First Half of the Fifteenth Century." Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 16 (1992): 158-169; "Economic Conditions in Constantinople During the Siege of Bayazid I (1394-1402)." Constantinople and its Hinterland, Eds. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron (Aldershot, 1995); "Byzantines and Italians in Fifteenth-Century Constantinople: Commericial Cooperation and Conflict." New Perspectives on Turkey 12 (Spring 1995): 129-143; "Byzantine Monasteries and Monastic Property in Thessolonike and Constantinople During the Period of Ottoman Conquests (Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries). " Osmanlı Arastırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies 15 (1995): 123-135; "Bizans Istanbul'unda Gündelik Hayat Üzerine Notlar." Istanbul Armağanı, 3: Gündelik Hayatın Renkleri (Istanbul, 1997): 59-64.

[39] The conference of 1955 was organised by a team including Arif Müfid Mansel, Feridun Dirimtekin and Semavi Eyice. According to Eyice (1998:109-10), the idea had not received much attention and the preparations were not taken seriously. The book that would be distributed to the participants was written by himself and published as *Istanbul-Petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs*. However, in spite of all the efforts, the events of September 6-7 took place a few weeks before the conference and caused a negative atmosphere. It was poorly attended and the articles presented were

Byzantine/Eastern Roman Studies National Committee was established under the (governmental) Turkish Historical Society, and admitted to the *Association internationale des études Byzantines* as the 37th member in the same year. Already represented at the 20th International Byzantine Studies Congress in Paris in 2001, Turkey was, however, only represented by three scholars, which Ötüken (2003:79) explains with that many scholars were not able to secure financial support. On the work of the committee, Necipoğlu (2003:75) had noted in 2003 that since its inauguration no actions had been taken. By 2006 she herself featured as the general secretary of the committee, where moreover some familiar names could be found: Semavi Eyice, Işın Demirkent, Melek Delilbaşı, İlber Ortaylı, Yıldız Ötüken, Ebru Parman, Alpay Pasinli, and Hülya Tezcan.

By 1999 Necipoğlu (1999:39), however, was still not very optimistic that rapid progress in the development of this field is to be expected; the reason for which she sees in three barriers:

1) the linguistic barrier, as the knowledge of ancient languages (Greek, Latin) is necessary for research in this field, but a proper training in these languages is, as of yet, not realistically achieved in Turkey. Kuban (1992:56), however, points out to that this is not only a problem in Byzantine studies in Turkish academia, maintaining that there is no Turkish scholar active in the international arena, who is specialized in Roman, Byzantine, Christian, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Russian, Balkan, Iranian, or Chinese history and language, and would thereby have the linguistic skills to

published by the ministry of education in a volume edited by Eyice. (X. Milletlerarası Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi Tebliğleri = Actes du X. Congrès international d'études byzantines: İstanbul, 15-21.IX.1955. İstanbul: Commitée d'organisation du X. Congrès international d'études byzantines, 1957.)

enrich the knowledge of the Turkish past by the use of sources other than the Ottoman ones.

2) the material barrier, that is, the lack of properly equipped libraries for research in this field. That the American Byzantinist Kenneth Snipes donated his library to the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT), and that the recently established Anatolian Civilizations Institute has been donated a portion of the library of the late Steven Runciman, are recent developments that could be considered a positive impetus against this shortcoming.

3) an ideological barrier, which has led to a "perpetual denial of the Byzantine heritage in Turkey and the parallel neglect of Byzantine studies. Thus, the strongest blow to the development of Byzantine history in this country has been struck by the nationalistic currents prevailing in Turkish historiography."

Yerasimos (1999:384) believes that this problem lies in a the modern, nationalist reading of the Byzantine Empire as Greek and the Ottoman Empire as Turkish that now we are having difficulties overcoming this mentality. Tanyeli (1999:377) holds that the real conscious encounter with Byzantium takes place only after the conquest, with Köksal (1990:378) appending that the problematic relationship Turkey-Byzantium is a development of the twentieth century. The turning of Ayasofya into a museum is seen as somewhat problematic in this regard by Köksal (1990:380-1), as this step externalized the building from what is understood us "our culture", which the Ottomans did not.

Berktay (1993:240-1;247;249) identifies the problem in that the Turkish national state inherited a historical geography that did not match the presumed heritage of the nation. The result of a "strict and wrong" perception of history was a rejection of the richness of Turkey's cultural heritage outside the Turkish-Islamic axis. "Before all, we still have not given up conquering the lands that we inhabit over and over again." As an example for this attitude, Berktay mentions that the publication of a Turkish journal called "*Konstantiniyye Haberleri*" (Constantinople News) was banned because of its name (see also Altan 2004). Next to more obvious improvements (finances, staff, archives, etc.), he therefore holds that it would require a "mentality revolution" to better the state of preservation of cultural and historical heritage.

Özdoğan (1999:196-7,202), however, insists that there is no discrimination towards the Byzantine architectural heritage, and that the destructions are due to uncontrolled urbanization and a general lack of consciousness for the importance of protection of cultural heritage. He in fact maintains that the historical layer that suffers the most is the Ottoman, because it is the uppermost layer. He, however, concedes that, earlier, the Turanist section, who welcomed connections with the Sumerians and Hittites but not the possible impacts of other pre-Turkish Anatolian cultures, used every opportunity to voice their reject of excavation and repairs of Greco-Roman and Byzantine sites by governments and scientists.

Kuban (1992:54) equally believes a "half hidden enmity towards Byzantium" to be responsible for the "destruction of the historical identity of Istanbul". This identity could, as Berktay (1999:250) wrote, also not be fully understood without Byzantium, and mentions the rhythm of the imperial mosques in the Historical Peninsula,

beginning with Hagia Sophia as a witness to the fact that it is not possible to understand the Ottomans without understanding Byzantium, whereas the conical domes and high gates of the Seljuks live in a "different cultural climate"; a fact to which some architectural historians still do not admit. Kuban (1992:55), much in the same vein, deplores that Turkish history books are still not able to provide an interpretation of the historical significance of the end of Byzantine Empire without drifting into chauvinism.

2.3. Excavations, Restorations and Research

While in the previous chapter the subject of excavations has already been briefly dealt with, yet only in connection with the involvement of Turkish scholars, in the following pages more generally excavation and restoration projects undertaken by foreign and/or Turkish scholars, invariably going hand in with research thereupon published, will be discussed. For this, we will shift the beginning of our examination back to the last years of the Ottoman period.

After destructions caused by a large fire in 1912, the area between Sultanahmet and Marmara Sea was studied and excavated by Theodor Wiegand in 1918 and published in 1934.[40] In 1921 Robert Demangel and Ernest Mamboury of France, the latter a painting teacher at the Galatasaray high school, were beginning to excavate and research the slope extending towards the shore to the east of Hagia Sophia and Topkapı Palace covering the Mangana area. The excavation continued in three seasons until 1923, but because there were no exact results from the research of the Hodegetria baptistery, the researchers decided to not publish their findings yet. The political situation then did not allow the work to continue and further excavation plans were cancelled. After ten years, in October 1933, with new permissions granted, some complementary soundings were made.[41] The British, led by Stanley Casson, then excavated in the Hippodrome area in 1927/8.[42] Excavations by the

[40] Mamboury, Ernest and Theodor Wiegand. Die Kaiserpalaste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmar- Meer. Berlin/Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1934.

[41] Demangel, Robert-E. Mamboury. Le Quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople. Paris : E. de Boccard, 1938.

[42] Casson, Stanley-D.T. Rice. Preliminary Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927. London: Pub. for the British Academy by H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928. The second report was published by the authors in 1928

German Archaeological Institute at the west of Hagia Sophia in 1934-5 under Alfons Maria Schneider revealed the portico and parts of the Theodosian Hagia Sophia.[43] In 1937 the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace was excavated for two months under the direction of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums by their general director Aziz Ogan, assistant director Arif Müfid Mansel, and Theodor Helmuth Bossert, with participation of a group of students of Istanbul University. As this excavation was in fact aimed at finding prehistoric artefacts, the Byzantine basilica discovered was not adequately studied, and the excavated area was filled up again.[44] In collaboration with the Archaeological Museum, the German Archaeological Institute, in 1942 and 1950 and under the supervision of Sedat Çetintaş, excavated the church and frescoes of the church of Hagia Euphemia, the palace of Lausos, and the area between the İbrahim Paşa Palace and Firuzağa mosque, where some seats of the Hippodrome were found *in situ*.[45] In excavations led by J.H. Baxter (St Andrews University) in 1935-38 and 1952-54, parts of the Great Palace and its mosaics were revealed.[46] (Akyürek 2001:29-30, Tezcan 1989:26-7, Whittemore 1943:165;168, Eyice 1973:381)

[43] Schneider, Alfons Maria. Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul. Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1941

[44] Bittel, Kurt. "Grabung im Hof des Topkapı Sarayı." JDAI 54 (1939): 179-182; Ogan, Aziz. "1937 yılında yapılan Topkapı Sarayı hafriyatı." Belleten 4 (1940): 318-335; Bossert, Helmuth Theodor. "İstanbul Akropolünde üniversite Hafriyatı." Üniversite Konferansları, İstanbul 1940, 206-232.

[45] Schneider, Alfons Maria. "Grabung im Bereich des Euphemiamartyrions zu Konstantinopel." Archaeologischer Anzeiger. 58 (1943): 255,289; Naumann, Rudolph-Hans Belting. Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und Ihre Fresken. Berlin: Mann, 1966; Dolunay, Necati-Rudolph Naumann. "Divanyolu ve Adalet Sarayı Arasındaki Araştırmalar." İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı 11-12 (1964): 19-22; Duyuran, Rüstem. "First Report on Excavations on the Site of the New Palace of Justice at Istanbul." İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı 5 (1962): 23-38, "Second Report …", İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı 6 (1963): 74-80.

[46] Rice, David Talbot. "Excavations by the Walter Trust (St. Andrews) on the Site of Great Palace." Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi (1956): 11.

In addition to these individual projects, a prominent place in the twentieth century study and restoration of Istanbul's Byzantine monuments is taken by the Byzantine Institute of America, founded in 1930 by Thomas Whittemore with the prime purpose to fund his own archaeological projects. Of these, the best known is the uncovering of the mosaics at Hagia Sophia, for which he had obtained permission from Atatürk. A survey of the monument was begun by Robert Van Nice in 1937. After World War II, Ernest Hawkins and Paul Underwood began to work on the Kariye, Fethiye, and Fatih mosques. Upon Whittemore's death in 1950, Underwood was appointed Field Director in order to provide continuity for the work in Istanbul, culminating in his 1966 work on Kariye, but also sponsoring the fieldwork of Megaw on Fenari İsa, Zeyrek, Fethiye, and Kariye. In 1962 the Byzantine Institute eventually officially ceased operations in the field, continuing under the banner of Dumbarton Oaks. The period from the early 1960s to the mid-70s may be rightfully called the "golden age" of field work at Dumbarton Oaks, when of 20 projects in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans six were in Istanbul, including both van Nice's and Whittemore's work at Hagia Sophia (developing into the 1967 publication *Saint Sophia in Istanbul, an Architectural Survey*), and also the projects at Saraçhane, which started in 1964 under the direction of Martin Harrison and Nezih Fıratlı, and at Kalenderhane, where Cecil Lee Striker and Doğan Kuban began work in 1966. (Constable 1983:172) Most of the results of these works were, however, published only after the 1980s, coinciding with a resurgence of interest in Byzantine Constantinople.[47] The reasons for this "golden age" having seemingly come to an end after the 1970s are not clear, but explanations have been offered by both Yerasimos and Kuban.

[47] The full references to these titles can be found in the bibliography.

Yerasimos (1999:394-5), who positively commented on the amount of studies published between the 1950s and ‘70s, suspects this to have been due to permissions to conduct research not being granted anymore. Otherwise, he believes, they would have continued their work, as there was still a lot of interesting material to study. As a possible reason for a conflict having arisen from these restorations, he refers to a book by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, who complained in one of his numerous works that in the 1930s and ‘40s western researchers and excavators had demolished minarets and other liturgical equipment from the converted churches, and expresses his pride that these were rebuilt by “us” afterwards. Yerasimos connects this with that at some point the supportive policy in terms of restoration of Byzantine buildings stops, but is unclear about the exact circumstances.

Kuban (1999:391) also noted that in the 1970s still “many Byzantinists came from America, Dumbarton Oaks did research in Anatolia and published books. The Hagia Sophia in Trabzon was restored; they walked around those mountains and hills and wrote volumes of books.” That the last 30 years have been “unfruitful” in this regard, he attributes to a “strict policy of nationalism” and a “Greek/Turkish, Muslim/Orthodox” conflict evolving after the 1970s when the policies changed after “that kind of people” came into government and thereby into the Ministry of Culture. He notes that such conflicts did not yet exist in the 1950s and ‘60s, when Turkish scholars like Eyice or himself were active on an international level.

* * *

As a general trend in the newer literature, Necipoğlu (2001:4) believes to have noticed is the shift away from the static perspective that once dominated the field towards a concern with the urban development of Constantinople. Mango's *Le développment urbain de Constantinople* (1990) focused on the early centuries of the imperial capital, Magdalino's *Constantinople Médiévale* (1996) on the middle Byzantine period. Kidonopoulos' study of 1994, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328*, was themed on construction and restoration activity in Palaelogian Constantinople, and Eyice's *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi: Istanbul'da Palaiologoslar Devri Anıtları* (1980) focuses on a period which, in term of scholarship produced, still lags behind that of the early and middle Byzantine city. Recent research, such as *The Golden Gate in Constantinople: a Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I* (1999) by Jonathan Bardill, *The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate* (2000) by Cyril Mango, and *The Commercial Map of Constantinople* (2000) and *The Porticoed Street at Constantinople* (2001) by M.M. Mango, has also shed light on the processional way, colonnaded streets, and the public spaces. Concern with the urban development of the city, as Necipoğlu (2001:4-5) concluded, has therewith superseded the traditional concern with its topography. Nonetheless, individual monuments - with studies based on material as well as textual evidence - continue to occupy the architectural historians of Byzantine Constantinople.

The excavations in one of the most significant secular Byzantine monuments of the city, the Great Palace, has yielded more information on the building and its related structures, as well as the very well preserved floor mosaics. The results of these studies have been published by various scholars such as *Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople* (1995) and *The Palace of Boukoleon* (1997) by Mango,

Istanbul: the Great Palace Mosaic. The Study of its Exploration, Preservation and Exhibition 1983-1998 (1997) by Werner Jobst, Behçet Erdal and Christian Gurtner, and *Palatium Magnum. Exhibition of the Excavation Finds. Area of the Great Palace* (2002) by Vera Bulgurlu. The survey around the Blachernae Palace conducted by Ken Dark and Feridun Özgümüş have been included in the second volume of their book *Istanbul Rescue Archaeological Survey 1998-2004*, complementing Mehmet İ. Tunay's *Byzantine archaeological findings in Istanbul during the last decade* (2001). The walls have been a subject to publications such as *Byzantine Fortifications: an Introduction* (1986) by Clive Foss and David Winfield, *Physical Evidence Revealed During the Cleaning and the Excavations of the Outer Wall of the land Walls of Constantinople* (1999) by Ahmet Ersen, and *Recent Work on the Land Walls of Istanbul: Tower 2 to Tower 5* (2000) by Metin and Zeynep Ahunbay. The water works of the Byzantine city have been studied by Mango in *The Water Supply of Constantinople* (1995) and by James Crow and Alessandra Ricci in *Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: interim report on the Anastasian Long Wall* (1997). (Dark 2005: 168-9)

The Byzantine churches of the city have been studied in much more detail mainly due to their state of preservation. Besides the general surveys dedicated to the ecclesiastical buildings of Constantinople, restoration and excavation projects have generated more accurate and in-depth publications. One of the most significant of these excavation projects have been the one in the sixth century church of St. Polyeuktos, commonly known as Saraçhane. Martin Harrison's work *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul* (1986) has compiled the results of the excavations and the findings in two volumes. Another extensive project has been conducted for

Kalenderhane Camii by Striker and Kuban and the results have been published in detail as *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (1997). Striker has also worked in the church of Myrelaion and has published *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* in 1981. The newest publications on the church of St Sophia are *Hagia Sophia* (1988) by R.J. Mainstone, and *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (1991) edited by R. Mark and A.Ş. Çakmak. Probably the most well known Byzantine church in the city after Hagia Sophia, Kariye Camii or St. Savior in Chora, is also one of the best-documented buildings. Underwood's *Kariye Djamii* (1966-75) and Ousterhout's more recent publications such as *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (1987) and *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (2002) are results of long lasting projects on the building (Dark 2005:167,170). In his *Master Builders of Byzantium* (1999), Ousterhout has also offered an alternative approach to the study of monuments from the perspective of their builders. Rather than following the traditional narrative of Byzantine architecture, Ousterhout makes use of the material evidence and his own experience in order to explain the structures and the work of their builders (Mathews 2001:86). More recently, also MA students at Istanbul's technical universities have taken the Byzantine heritage as a subject for their theses (Eryazıcı 1992, Öztepe 2001, and Özkan 2005).

In terms of future projects, Akyürek (2001:29-30) noted that at present the possibilities for conducting systematic scientific excavations in the built-up area of the Historical Peninsula are very limited. The only ongoing excavation at his time of writing was that in the courtyard of the Four Seasons Hotel in Sultanahmet by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Other than that, he holds that many finds still

surface during construction works, in the process of which they are usually damaged. For example in 2000, a Byzantine substructure revealed during the demolition of an old building and the construction of a new one in Sirkeci where the Ankara and Ebusuud streets join, was built over by the new building. In 1993, during a building construction in Pulcu Sokak (Kocamustafapaşa), floor mosaics probably belonging to a late Roman villa were partly destroyed, the remaining ones were taken to the museum, and the building where these large mosaics were found disappeared. A few years ago, during a construction to the west of Hagia Sophia some substructural walls that were thought to stand in relation with Hagia Sophia were found. Ironically, they were built over in the construction of the "St Sophia Hotel".

The most recent development in the Byzantine archaeology of the city has been the unexpected findings during the construction of Yenikapı metro station. The excavations, launched in 2004, are under the supervision of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums and conducted by Cemal Pulak of Texas A&M University and Istanbul University. So far, besides the Ottoman layers, remains of a church and a city gate, parts of the Theodosian harbor and Constantinian walls, eight underground graves, and eight sunken ships were revealed. As a result of these findings, the preservation board of Istanbul has decided to implement a museum station project similar to the one in Athens. (TDN 2006; Doyduk 2006; Şatır 2006) Considering both the area it covers and the unique value of the revealed material, the Yenikapı excavations will undoubtedly constitute a major source for the future work on the ancient topography of the city. The findings encountered at the area where the station will be built have in the end changed the direction of the whole project in spite of the concerns voiced by the company conducting the construction.

3. The Buildings

3.1. Typology and General Overview

Among the structures that comprise the Byzantine architectural heritage in Istanbul, a group of churches was identified as a sample that could be studied in comparison, thus allowing us to draw generalizations leading to more valid conclusions. This sample was further narrowed down to those twenty structures that survive as a whole, and not only in ruins of archaeological remains that would require an active sense of imagination and/or expertise for their original state to be reconstructed. An exception was made for two prominent structures: the Imrahor mosque (St. John of Studios) which, although in ruins, is largely preserved and would be a key object for future projects, and the Saraçhane site, now an archaeological park containing the the remains of St. Polyeuktos, which holds a most prominent place among the churches of the early Byzantine capital and, located in a central part of Istanbul, is also more visible in the city's daily life than many other better-preserved churches.

Among the churches not included in this survey are eight buildings which only survive in ruins or are built over with modern buildings; half of which could not be identified with an original name (Acem Ağa Mescidi/Theotokos in Chalkoprateia, Sulu Manastır/Monastery of the Peribleptos, Ayakapı Church, Sinan Paşa Mescidi, Boğdan Sarayı, İsa Kapi Mescidi, Mangana churches, Hagia Euphemia).[48] Another case is the the church of St. Andrew in Krisei, now the Kocamustafapaşa mosque, which has been so much altered during and in the centuries after the conversion that only in very few features its past as a church can be discovered. Among the secular

[48] For more detailed information and bibliography on these ruins see Müller-Wiener (2001).

structures (or remains of which) not included in this survey are the Land Walls and fragments of the Sea Walls, two large subterranean cisterns and several smaller ones; three enormous reservoirs; an aqueduct; palaces (the Great Palace, the Blachernae complex including Tekfur Sarayı, Lausos, and Mangana), a section of the Hippodrome and several monuments from the *spina*; and fragmentary remains scattered throughout the Historical Peninsula.

Before treating the individual structures in chapter 3.2, a brief overview which will allow for the categorization of the surviving churches will be given. From this, several conclusions of a general nature will be drawn regarding the Byzantine heritage of Istanbul as a whole.

Dating

Six of these twenty churches were founded in the early period, that is, between the fourth and ninth centuries (Sancaktar Mescidi, İmrahor Camii/St. John of Studios, The Church of St. Polyeuktos, Küçük Ayasofya/Sts. Sergios and Bacchos, Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene). Eight of them (Atik Mustafa Camii, Fenari İsa Camii/the Church of the Theotokos *tou Libos*, Bodrum Camii/the Church of the Myrelaion, Eski İmaret Camii/the Church of Christ Pantepoptes, Zeyrek Camii/the Church St. Savior Pantokrator, Gül Camii, Hirami Ahmet Paşa Camii/St. John the Baptist in Trullo, Kalenderhane Camii/Church of Theotokos Kyriotissa) date from the middle period, that is, from between the ninth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Some of these churches received later additions and one of them, the Kariye Camii or Saint Saviour in Chora was completely remodelled, and was therefore in this

counting included in the late period. The remaining churches belong to (or are tentatively dated to) the late period (Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa, Fethiye Camii/Church of Theotokos Pammakaristos, Kariye Camii/St. Savior in Chora, Kefevi Camii, Manastır Mescidi, Vefa Kilise Camii), that is, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Location

The structures are scattered throughout the whole Historical Peninsula, but we find a special concentration (eleven buildings) in the northeast, in the triangle Fener-Edirnekapı-Ayvansaray and surrounding areas in the northern third of Fatih municipality. Most of these churches date from the late period, which can be explained through the urban focus having shifted to this area, the thirteenth district of Constantinople, since the eleventh century when the imperial palace was moved to Blachernae, of which we can still see remains around the land walls.

Current Function

Only one of the twenty churches in my survey is still used as a church. This is the thirteenth century church of St. Mary of the Mongols in Fener. The other Byzantine church never converted into a mosque is Hagia Eirene, which, due to its location in Topkapı palace, was used for other purposes during the Ottoman period. Fourteen of the twenty churches in my survey now serve as mosques. Most of them were converted soon after the conquest of Constantinople, in the late fifteenth and early

sixteenth centuries, while only one – the Kefeli camii – was converted in a later period, the seventeenth century.

Three of the churches previously used as mosques now function as museums. The total number of Byzantine churches turned into museums is - officially - five, but only three are opened to visitors on a daily basis (Hagia Sophia, Fethiye Camii, Kariye Camii). Hagia Sophia functions as a museum since 1935. The Fethiye and Kariye mosques were both officially turned into museums in the 1940s. Before the title of "European Cultural Capital 2010" was awarded to Istanbul in April 2006, the organizing committee promised that Aya Irini will be opened as a museum before 2010. For now, Aya Irini is only opened for special events and exhibitions. The remaining "museum", the church of St. Studios Monastery/Imrahor Camii can be visited only by appointment with the Ayasofya directorate, under which these converted church-museums operate.[49]

Ownership and Legislation

A large number of the historic buildings and monuments in the Historical Peninsula, including the converted churches, are owned by the General Directorate of Pious Foundations (*vakıflar*). Therefore, the Pious Foundations have a significant role in their restoration and maintenance. As noted in the 2006 UNESCO/ICOMOS report (Michelmore 2006:9,28), the quality of the restorations conducted by this institution is generally low and includes major interventions to the historic character of the

[49] Next to the churches, there are also secular buildings from the Byzantine period now functioning as museums: the Yerebatan cistern in Sultanahmet, the Great Palace Mosaic Museum, and the Tekfur Sarayı, which will after the current restoration be transformed into a museum. For now, Tekfur Sarayı can be visited with special permission of the Ayasofya museums directorate.

buildings. Also Kiel (et al. 2001:6), notably a historian of Ottoman art and architecture (and writing of restorations of Ottoman buildings), subscribes to this assessment, even speaking of "catastrophic" results of "restorations" (which he puts in quotation marks) by the *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*. In his assessment, this is due to the fact that these restorations were undertaken by architects without the consultation of art historians. One should certainly add that the architects in question are not properly, if at all, trained in conservation techniques.

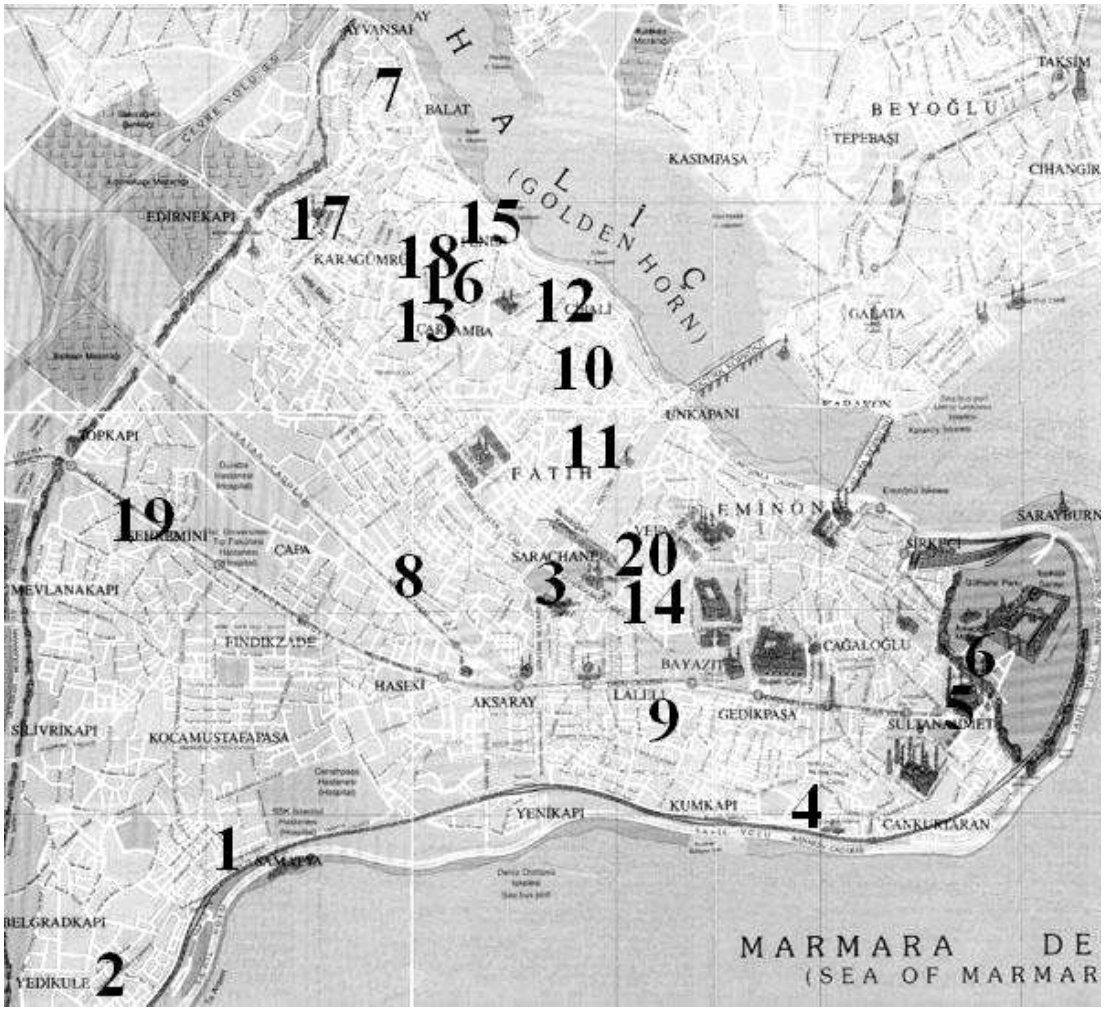
The restoration and repair works on the historic monuments are under the control of Regional Protection Boards, which functions according to the regulations established by the Supreme Protection Board in Ankara. Until recently the Historical Peninsula was under the responsibility of the Protection Board No.1, but with the addition of new regional boards, it is now under Board No.4, together with Zeytinburnu that covers the area beyond the city walls. However, changes in this system are expected with the new provisions planned. As also stated in Michelmore (2006), the historical heritage of the Historical Peninsula suffers from "problems of coordination and lack of information sharing" among the authorities responsible. Among the recommendations given in the same report, the one concerning the establishment of a World Heritage Conservation Unit by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism seems to be a promising idea to solve these problems enabling a better monitoring of the sites. In addition, with the new conservation legislation issued in 2004, the municipalities have been given a more enhanced role in the conservation and maintenance of historical heritage and the recent development following this legislation has been the establishment of a Historical Environment Conservation Directorate by the Fatih

Municipality and a Conservation Bureau by the Eminönü Municipality aiming at monitoring and managing the historical properties in the areas they cover.

Our State of Knowledge of These Structures

The Zeyrek, Kariye, Kalenderhane, Ayasofya, and Bodrum mosques are the monuments that have benefited from major restoration and research projects, which, consequently, made available comprehensive monographs. With a fair amount of knowledge about the other churches available, a few structures remain little known and little researched, and the only sources of basic information are the general surveys, foremost the works of Müller-Wiener, Van Millingen, and Mathews. Among these little-known buildings included in this survey are the Hirami Ahmed Paşa Mescidi/St. John the Baptist in Trullo, Kefeli Camii, Manastır Mescidi, Eski İmaret Camii, and the Sancaktar Mescidi.

3.2. Catalogue



1. Sancaktar Mescidi
2. İmrahor Camii
3. St. Polyeuktos (Saraçhane)
4. Küçük Ayasofya
5. Ayasofya Museum
6. Aya Irini
7. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii
8. Fenari İsa Camii
9. Bodrum Camii
10. Eski İmaret Camii
11. Zeyrek Camii
12. Gül Camii
13. Hirâmi Ahmet Paşa Camii
14. Kalenderhane Camii
15. Kanlı Kilise, Moğol Kilisesi
16. Fethiye Camii
17. Kariye Camii
18. Kefeli Camii
19. Manastır Mescidi
20. Vefa Kilise Camii

1. Sancaktar Mescidi, Sancaktar Hayreddin Mescidi

Byzantine name: Unknown

Current use: Mescid

Location and urban context: The building is located on a slope in the Samatya neighbourhood in-between two streets (the one to the north being the Tepadar Sokak), and accessible from both. The Samatya quarter boasts a few fine examples of nineteenth century timber houses, but the immediate surroundings of the building date from the second half of the twentieth century.

Description: The building has a Greek-cross plan covered with an octagonal roof, out of which the minaret projects. The arms of the cross have been shaped by triple-arched barrel vaults. The semicircular apse is located at the end of the eastern arm.

Due to the fact that the apse of the building was constructed in a different way from the rest, Van Millingen has suggested that a secular building was later converted into a church. However, the apse was eventually dated to an earlier period than the main church by Pasadaios (see Mathews 1976: 231).

History: This modest structure has been variously identified and dated by different scholars. The building was first identified by Paspates (1877) as a part of the fourth century Monastery of Gastria. According to this identification, the monastery was founded by St. Helena in the early fourth century. Janin (1969) agreed with Paspates on the identification but dated the current structure to the eleventh or twelfth century. Pasadaios (1965) and Mathews (1976) also agreed with the identification, but dated the building to the fourth to sixth century respectively. However, Müller-Wiener (1977/2001)[50] suggests a dating to Palaeologean period according to the construction technique of the building with its cross-shaped interior and octagonal exterior. It was converted into a *mescid* by Hayreddin Efendi during the reign of Mehmed II.

Projects: It was damaged in 1894 by an earthquake and remained in ruins for some time. Repaired in 1973-5 by the General Directorate of the Pious Foundations, it was re-opened as a mescid in 1976. The building has neither been excavated nor studied in detail. Therefore the problems concerning its dating and identification remain unsolved.

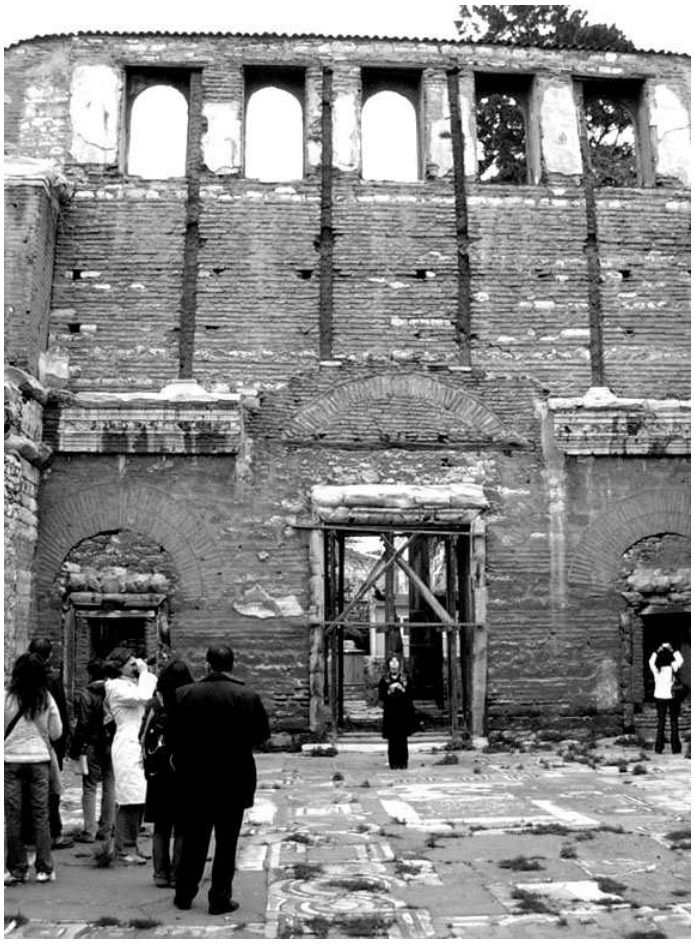
[50] Müller-Wiener's work has been published first in German in 1977. The work henceforth referred to with exact page numbers will be the Turkish translation of 2001.

Current State: Due to later alterations and repairs the structure has lost its original appearance to a large degree. Although it is in a fairly good physical state, its present condition hinders any attempts made to identify the former Byzantine church.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Paspates 1877:354-7; Van Millingen 1912:268-71; Pasadaios 1965:5-55; Janin 1969:67-68; Mathews 1976:231; Müller-Wiener 2001:194-5; Öztepe 2001:13; Freely and Çakmak 2004:35.

2. İmrahor Camii, İmrahor İlyas Bey Camii



Byzantine name: St. John of Stoudios

Current use: Museum

Location and urban context: The structure is located in the low-income Yedikule neighbourhood of Fatih municipality, overlooking the Sea of Marmara. It is a freestanding building with a courtyard, closed off from the street by a wall, and a cistern to the south.

Description: The church is the only surviving basilica in the city. Built with three naves and galleries, the church was originally entered through an atrium, which was later used as the courtyard of the mosque and a graveyard. An ablution fountain was also added in the middle of the courtyard during its usage as a mosque. The five portals to the eastern end of the courtyard open to the narthex with three bays. The main area of the church is reached through the five doors of the narthex. The plan of the main area is a three aisled basilica and six of the original columns that separated the aisles have been preserved. The apse is semicircular from the interior and three-sided on the exterior. The crypt located in the eastern end of the church was probably right below the altar. The partially preserved floor of the building was decorated with *opus sectile* with animal figures and scenes from classical mythology. To the south of the church is the cistern, which probably served a monastery located above it.

History: The monastery and the church were founded by the consul Studius in the second half of the fifth century and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The monastery became an important religious center in the city, especially in the ninth century when Theodore the Studite, who was a significant leader in the struggle against iconoclasm, became the abbot. During his time, the monks of the monastery produced numerous manuscripts and icons. After the early tenth century, the monastery discontinued its oppositional stance against the imperial authority and became an institution supporting the emperors, who sometimes used the monastery for detaining prisoners. In the eleventh century three former emperors, Michael V Kalaphates (r. 1041-42), Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057-59), and Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071-78), were also sent into exile into the monastery. Some parts of the monastery's relics were removed during the Latin conquest in 1204, whereupon the

monastery was abandoned. It was rebuilt in 1293 by Constantine Palaeologos, brother of the emperor Andronikos II (r. 1282-1328). St. John of Stoudios regained its status as the most important monastery in the city at the end of the fourteenth century until the Ottoman conquest. The monastery continued to function for some time after the conquest and the church was then converted by the *imrahor* (chief equerry) İlyas Bey during the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512), who granted the land. Evidently, the buildings of the monastery disappeared following the conversion. Damaged by fire in 1792, the mosque was rebuilt in 1802, and was eventually abandoned after the earthquake in 1894.

Projects: The first investigations at the site were conducted by the Russian Archaeological Institute in 1907-13 under the directorship of B. Panchenko. During this work, the original floor pavement and the crypt beneath the sanctuary were revealed and limestone reliefs of the sixth century were discovered. The results of Panchenko's investigation were published in the journal of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Istanbul (*Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*) in 1909, 1911, and 1912. Later surveyed by Van Millingen and Ebersolt, plans for the building were published in surveys by both scholars in 1912 (*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture*) and 1913 (*Les églises de Constantinople*). The site was badly damaged by a fire in 1923 and was left in ruins since then. A new survey was conducted in 1942 by Rudolf Naumann of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, with the work concentrated on the substructure walls. The study of the building was resumed by a team of Turkish scholars in the 1980s, and later by Urs Peschlow. The results of Peschlow's study were published in an article in 1982 in the *Jahrbuch der*

Österreichischen Byzantinistik. In 1998, the site was surveyed by Ken Dark and Feridun Özgümüş during their rescue archaeology project in the city, revealing new evidence, and the building was photographed in detail for the first time. All of the previously unrecorded sculptural and architectural fragments were documented during this survey. Dark and his team also conducted a detailed inspection on the wall surfaces of the structure and recorded new evidence including ornamental brick crosses on the nave walls and a Byzantine pendant cross symbol painted in red paint on the narthex wall. The preliminary results of this project covering the areas of Kocamustafapaşa and Yedikule were published in 1998.

Current state: Although being the earliest surviving Byzantine church in the city and one of the most significant monastic complexes of Constantinople, the building is now in a poor physical state. The columns on the left side of the nave are supported with steel beams because of the cracks. Nominally a museum under the directorate of Ayasofya Museums, it is, however, only accessible with special permission and is enclosed by a wall. Because there is no roofing above the building, the monument is severely threatened by the elements and urgent precautions are needed to stabilize the walls and preserve the remaining *opus sectile* floor.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Panchenko 1909:136-52, 1911:250-7, 1912:1-359; Van Millingen 1912:35-61; Ebersolt and Thiers 1913:2-18; Janin 1969:430-40; Mathews 1971:19-27; Mathews 1976:143-58; Mango 1978:115-22; Peschlow 1982:429-34; Thieme

1985:291-308; Dark and Özgümüş 1998:10-11; Müller-Wiener 2001:147-52; Öztepe 2001:74; Freely and Çakmak 2004:65-72.

3. St. Polyeuktos (Saraçhane)

Current Use: none

Location and Urban context: The site is located in the Saraçhane area, just off Atatürk Boulevard, and in the vicinity of the aqueduct of Valens. The archaeological remains are in a park closed off from the public by a fence but visible from all sides.

Description: Although only the substructures remain, the basic plan of the church could be drawn during the excavations. The main area of the building has a square plan with a narthex at the west end and a rectangular apse-platform at the east end. The atrium is located to the west of the building and its marble pavement partly survives. The main area of the church was separated by two colossal foundation walls that formed the nave and side aisles. The building was probably roofed by a system combining barrel and cross vaults. The church also had a drainage system carrying rainwater from the roof. To the north of the atrium a series of substructures

were revealed which were interpreted by the excavator as the remains of the baptistry. The interior of the church was elaborately decorated. The walls were ornamented with marble revetments, and the surfaces of the vaults were covered with mosaics. During the excavations, numerous fragments of marble revetments were unearthed. The finds related to the interior decoration of the building also include six fragments of inlaid columns, a large quantity of mosaics on plaster pieces, and marble pavement mosaics.

History: The inscriptions on two of the marble blocks recovered during the construction were eventually identified as parts of a poem preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* compiled in the early eleventh century. This poem was written in honor of the Byzantine princess Anicia Juliana and consists of two main parts; the first praising the princess and the second describing the church. According to the poem in *Palatine Anthology*, the princess Anicia Juliana built a church on the site of an earlier one and dedicated the edifice to the martyr saint St. Polyeuktos, whose relics were brought to Constantinople in the early fifth century. The church is also mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, as being on the processional route to the church of the Holy Apostles. The building was dated to 524-27 based on the evidence derived from the poem and other historical sources. For the later additions and alterations on the church, very scarce evidence was found indicating an accumulation of deposit until the tenth century. Therefore, it is not clear whether the church remained in use or not. However, it is mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* in the early tenth century and it was evidently accessible to the editor of the *Palatine Anthology* by the end of the same century. The atrium of the church continued to be filled with debris during the late tenth and eleventh centuries. The substructures located to the north of the atrium

were transformed into a cistern in the twelfth century and the atrium itself began to serve as a cemetery. Eventually, the church fell into ruins in the early thirteenth century and the site was abandoned. It was plundered during the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and many pieces of nicely carved architectural sculpture were taken to Venice, Barcelona, Aquileia, and Vienna.

Projects: The site of St. Polyeuktos was discovered in 1960 during the levelling works in the area around the new city hall of Istanbul, in which a number of marble blocks were found. Permission for the excavations was granted in 1964 and the work was initiated by Dumbarton Oaks and the Istanbul Archaeological Museum under the directorship of Dr. Nezih Fıratlı and Martin Harrison. After the six seasons of excavations, the majority of the finds recovered were kept on the site in a large storage room, while selected artefacts were taken to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. The preliminary reports were published annually by Fıratlı and Harrison in the Dumbarton Oaks Papers 19-22 (1965-8). The final results of the excavations were published in great detail in two volumes by Dumbarton Oaks and Princeton University Press. The first volume, *Excavations At Saraçhane in Istanbul: the Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones and Molluscs* by Harrison was published in 1986. The second volume, on pottery, written and drawn by J.W. Hayes came in 1992 and featured an extensive catalogue of the pottery and glass pieces covering the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. The publications about the site also include Harrison's *A Temple for Byzantium, The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace Church in Istanbul* (1989), which is an account of the significance and investigation of the site by its excavator. Besides conducting the excavations in great care and detail, the excavators of

Saraçhane have produced valuable publications on both architecture and small finds that will be made use of by the future researchers.

Current state: The remains of the church are located in a public park, the excavated area is surrounded by a fence and some of the architectural sculpture is scattered around the park. However, the fence has not been able to protect the remains from damage; a large amount of garbage was dumped in the area and the foundations of the church are under the threat of destruction due to the fact that they are completely exposed to elements and human intervention. During the visit made for this study in June 2006, a team from the municipality was cleaning the garbage accumulated in the trenches. As being a thoroughly excavated and studied Byzantine monument in the city, the site of St. Polyeuktos deserves urgent precautions before the remains completely disappear, as well as signage indicating its significance and history.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Mango and Sevcenko 1961:243-47; Harrison and Fıratlı 1965:230-36, 1966:222-38, 1967:273-78; 1968:195-216; Mathews 1971:52-55; Harrison 1986; Harrison 1989; Hayes 1992; Müller-Wiener 2001:190-2; Freely and Çakmak 2004:75-9.

4. Küçük Ayasofya

Byzantine name: The Church of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos

Current Use: Mosque

Location and urban context: It is located inside the sea walls on the Marmara shores, not far from the tourist area at Sultanahmet. The railroad passes between the south wall of the church and the sea walls. The building is located between the railway lines and Küçük Ayasofya Caddesi, from where it is accessed.

Description: The church, which is the only remaining part of a former monastery complex, was built in an innovative plan of an irregular rectangle with an octagonal core, sometimes described as a double-shell church. The narthex is located on the west side and the half-hexagonal apse projects out on the east. The irregularities of

the plan might be partly due to the fact that it had to be built between two structures, the Palace of Hormisdas and the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul. The octagonal core of the building is covered by a pumpkin dome, which is divided into sixteen sectors. Richly carved column capitals and entablature have been preserved inside the building. The original interior decoration of the church has not survived except for the frieze consisting of a long carved inscription honouring the emperor Justinian and St. Sergios.

History: The church is one of the most important monuments of the city. It was built by the emperor Justinian (r. 527-65) after he was enthroned and moved to the Imperial Palace, at a time after 527 and before 536. The edifice was dedicated to two martyr saints Sergios and Bacchos and was erected at a place between the Palace of Hormisdas and the earlier church of Sts. Peter and Paul. According to Mango (1972: 191; 1975: 388), the dedication of the edifice to martyr saints and its location in the palace can be explained by the work of John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. In this work, it is recorded that a monastery was established by the empress that housed more than five hundred Monophysite refugees, who were placed in a martyrium in Constantinople. Therefore, Mango has suggested that the church of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos was built to serve this purpose. However, this was not accepted by Krautheimer (1974: 253) and Mathews (1974: 24), who argued that there was no certain proof in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. The church and the monastery played an important role as being visited by the emperor, annually, and as the place where one of the most distinguished intellectuals of Byzantium, John VII the Grammarian began his carrier. The church was converted into a mosque in the early sixteenth century by Hüseyin Ağa who added a portico, a *medrese*, and a minaret to the

building. However, the present *medrese* and the minaret are recent constructions. Hüseyin Ağa's *türbe* was built to the north of the building.

Projects: Küçük Ayasofya began to be threatened by external factors already by the late nineteenth century, when the railroad tracks were laid immediately next to it. Repairs on the building have been undertaken in 1937 and 1955, when also the minaret, partly destroyed in 1936, was rebuilt. The level of damage became more serious during the establishment of the Kennedy Boulevard in the 1950's; due to the changes in the water level, the lateral walls of the building leaned and fractured. The situation worsened with the earthquake in 1999. The cracks in the dome furthermore caused the building to be affected by dampness. Due to the damage caused by natural disasters and environmental changes, especially the earthquake of 1999, Küçük Ayasofya mosque became more vulnerable. The building was being affected by the rainwater and humidity coming through the cracks in the dome. Therefore, it was included in the Watch List of World Monuments Fund in 2002, 2004, and again in 2006. After the publication of the list of 2002, the Municipality of Istanbul, the Ministry of Culture, and the Pious Foundations prepared a plan for the restoration of the building. However, and to the surprise of the team, original marble floors, decorations, and tombs were uncovered already in the earliest phase of the work, which necessitated the temporary interruption of the works until a new project could be prepared. This new situation caused serious disagreements between the municipality and the architect in charge, as well as much negative criticism from experts. They claimed that the restoration of the building was being conducted in a hurry due to pressure of local authorities fearing plans of conversion into a church or a museum. As a result, the architect, Mehmet Alper, resigned from the project and

the municipality is planning to conclude it by the end of this year. Meanwhile, because the international experts were not allowed to observe the restoration process, the building remained listed on the WMF list in 2004 and 2006.

Current state: The building was closed to the public until very recently due to ongoing restoration works. As deplored in the 2006 report of ICOMOS/UNESCO, the recent restoration has caused extensive interventions on the monument including the insertion of micropiles underneath the structure. This *ad hoc* approach was seen as evidence of a lack of coherent conservation vision. The committee recommended that the State Party (Turkey) should provide prior notice for future restoration projects on such major buildings.

Signage: A small plate at the entrance (in Turkish) mentions that the building is a converted Byzantine church.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:62-83; Gurlitt 1912:18-20; Ebersolt and Thiers 1913:21-51; Brooks 1924:600, 676-84; Underwood 1948:64-74; Feld 1968:264-69; Janin 1969:451-55; Mathews 1971:42-51; Mango 1972:189-93; Krautheimer 1974:251-53; Mathews 1974:22-29; Mango 1975a:385-92; Eyice 1978; Arpat 1985:34-40; Grossmann 1989:153-59; Bardill 2000:1-11; Müller-Wiener 2001:177-83; Öztepe 2001:16; Freely and Çakmak 2004:129-36; Erdem 2005; Alper 2005; Michelmore 2006:26-7.

5. Ayasofya Museum

Byzantine name: Hagia Sophia

Current Use: Museum

Location and urban context: The building is accessed from Sultanahmet square/park, which it shares with the Sultanahmet mosque, together with which it dominates this central area of the old town. The surroundings have partly been cleared, while most of the immediate houses have been renovated, most often for tourist purposes.

Description: Hagia Sophia is a domed basilica reached through an outer and inner narthex on the northwestern side, which were originally preceded by an atrium to the west. The atrium in this area has not survived but the trench left open from the 1935 excavation by A.M. Schneider can be seen. The remains here were identified by the

excavator as the entry to the previous Theodosian church. Five doors from the atrium allow the entrance into the exonarthex, which is divided into nine bays with transverse arches. From the exonarthex, five doors lead into the inner narthex, which again consists of nine bays formed by transverse arches. The decoration of the inner narthex, consisting of multicoloured marble revetments and mosaics, has been preserved. The nave is entered through nine doors from the inner narthex the one in the middle being the largest Imperial Gate used only by the emperors and their associates. Above this gate is a late tenth or early eleventh century mosaic panel representing the emperor Leo VI the Wise kneeling before Christ. The other non-figural mosaics of the narthex date from the Justinianic period. At the southern end of the narthex is the porch known as the Vestibule of the Warriors, which was used by the late Byzantine emperors for entering the church. The mosaic above the doorway of the porch shows the Blessed Virgin with the Christ child on her lap. She is depicted as receiving two emperors, Constantine presenting to her a model of the walled city of Constantinople and Justinian offering a model of the church of Hagia Sophia. This panel was revealed during the restoration project of the Byzantine Institute and is dated to the reign of Basil II (late tenth/early eleventh century).

The nave is rectangular in plan and is covered by a massive dome, which rests on pendentives and four massive piers. To the east and west of the central dome are smaller semi domes. The apse, semicircular from the interior and three-sided from the exterior, is located on the eastern wall. During the conversion into a mosque the apse was reoriented according to the direction of the *mihrab* and *minber*. The side aisles are separated from the central area of the nave by colonnades. Above the side aisles and the narthex are the galleries. The largest mosaic decoration preserved in

the nave is located in the apse and it represents the Blessed Virgin with the Christ child on her knees. A figure of the Archangel Gabriel has also survived underneath the arch that forms the apse. Another mosaic decoration dates from the mid-fourteenth century and is located on the soffit of the eastern arch. It shows the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and the emperor John V Palaeologos. The niches at the base of the north tympanum are ornamented with mosaic figures of the Church Fathers, St. Ignatius the Younger, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Ignatius Theophorus of Antioch. In the eastern pendentives are the mosaic figures of the six-winged seraphim probably dating from the middle of the fourteenth century. The eight large wooden plaques hanging from the piers are Ottoman-period decorations from the Fossati restoration representing the sacred names of Allah, the Prophet Mohammed, the four caliphs, and the first imams. The inscription on the dome is from the same period as well and is a quotation from the Koran.

The galleries above the nave were constructed with a similar plan as the aisles below. A door located at the southern end of the west gallery reaches to the two rooms of the Patriarchal Palace. However, these rooms are not open to visitors. The mosaics surviving in the galleries include a figure of the emperor Alexander from the early tenth century; an eleventh century composition showing the empress Zoe, her third husband Constantine IX Monomachus (r. 1042-55), her son Michael IV, and Christ in the middle; an early twelfth century panel representing the emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118-43), his wife empress Eirene and son Prince Alexios; and a Deesis mosaic from the second half of the thirteenth century.

The four minarets located on four corners of the structure date from different periods;

the southern one was erected by Mehmed II in the fifteenth century, northern one by Selim II in the late sixteenth century, and the last two by Murad II a few years later. The last two minarets were erected by the famed Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan who was in charge of the restoration of the building as well.

History: The church is the most important Byzantine structure in the city and undoubtedly one of the most celebrated monuments in world history. The site of Hagia Sophia was formerly occupied by two earlier churches, the first one dating from the second half of the fourth century and the second from the early fifth century. The present building of Hagia Sophia was constructed between 532 and 537 by the emperor Justinian I, when the older church on the site burnt down during the Nika Riot. The construction of the church was initiated immediately after the riot by the architects Isidoros of Miletus and Anthemios of Tralles. The impressive dome of the building collapsed after an earthquake in 557 and was subsequently replaced by a taller one. The dome was again affected by earthquakes in 859 and 989 and was partly rebuilt. The Great Church was plundered during the Latin occupation. Following the reconquest of the city by the Byzantines, it was restored during the reign of Andronikos II. The building served as the Cathedral of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople until the Ottoman conquest, it was converted immediately after Mehmed II took the city. Henceforth known as Ayasofya Mosque, it continued to function as a mosque until 1934 when it was secularized by the Republic of Turkey and converted into a museum.

Hagia Sophia has been subject to numerous restorations and repairs since its construction. Other than the addition of a *mihrab*, a *minber*, and a minaret, no radical

changes were introduced during the conversion. A *medrese* was established next to the mosque by Mehmed II. The second half of the sixteenth century brought significant changes when Mimar Sinan was commissioned by Selim II (r. 1566-74) to restore the building. Sinan added the Sultan's lodge and built the tomb of Selim II to the southeast of the mosque. In the early seventeenth century tombs of other sultans were also constructed in the same area. Another restoration project was commissioned by Mahmud I (r. 1730-54) in 1739, which included the construction of an ablution fountain, a Koran school, a soup kitchen, and a library. The most extensive restoration of Hagia Sophia in the Ottoman Period was conducted between 1847 and 1849 by the Swiss architects Gaspare and Guiseppe Fossati, who were invited by Abdülmecid II. Due to the worn-out condition of the building, their primary work concentrated on strengthening of the dome, vaults and the columns. During the revision of the interior in 1848, they accidentally discovered the Byzantine mosaics under the plaster. The decorations were cleared with the order of the Sultan and documented by the Fossati brothers. After the documentation and the consolidation of the mosaics, the figural motifs were covered again while the ornamental ones were left exposed. In 1852, the lithographs depicting the interior and exterior of the building were published by Gaspare Fossati in honor of the Sultan.

Projects: The first scholarly study and restoration of Hagia Sophia in the twentieth century began with the efforts of the Byzantine Institute of America and the Dumbarton Oaks Field Committee. The main concern of this project was to uncover and consolidate the mosaics of the building. With the permission of Atatürk, Hagia Sophia was closed in 1931 for a while for conservation before it was secularized and

reopened as a museum in 1934. The project was directed by Thomas Whittemore and lasted eighteen years. After the work was completed to a large extent, the photographs taken during the project, copies, tracings, and the publications of the mosaics were displayed in an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York 1944, generating a great interest in the monument. Meanwhile the architecture of the building was studied by Robert van Nice and Thomas Emerson between 1937 and 1941. Their work was resumed after the World War II and the results were first published in *Saint Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (1965). Archaeological investigations were conducted by K.J. Conant, W. Emerson, R.L. Van Nice, P.A. Underwood, T. Whittemore, E. Hawkins, R.J. Mainstone, and C. Mango. The surroundings of the building were excavated by A.M. Schneider and F. Dirimtekin, revealing evidence on the earlier churches on the site. A project initiated by A. Çakmak produced a computer-based structural modelling of the building. On the basis of this modeling prepared in 1989 at Princeton University, a new restoration process began in 1995.

Hagia Sophia was listed in the annual list of World Monuments Fund as one of the 100 most endangered sites in 1996 and 1998, reportedly in order to secure funds for continuous work.

Current state: The monument is one of the busiest tourist attractions of the city. Due to its fame, significance and its central location in the Historical Peninsula, it receives large crowds every day. As a result of its immense size and age, the preservation and maintenance of the monument must become a priority. This includes repairs to the damage to the structure and mosaics of Hagia Sophia partially

due to earthquakes.

Signage: A plate outside the building gives information about its history both in Turkish and English.

Bibliography: Van Nice 1935; Whittemore 1942:168-171; Van Nice 1950:28-400; Emerson and Van Nice 1950:28-40; Mango and Hawkins 1965:113-151; Cutler 1966:27-35; Mainstone 1988; Mark and Çakmak 1992; Teteriatnikov 1998; Nelson 2004.

6. Aya Irini

Byzantine name: Hagia Eirene

Current Use: Museum accessible with special permission; also used for special events.

Location and urban context: The building is located in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace complex, to the south of Hagia Sophia. To the West of the building, just across a trench with excavation remains, a group of shanty houses were put up against the surrounding walls. From the east of the building the archaeological museum is reached.

Description: The building is a domed basilica with an apse at the eastern end and a gallery surrounding the main area. The main area has a rectangular plan covered by a

large dome carried by four massive barrel vaults and a large drum. The side aisles are separated from the nave by three pairs of piers and columns between them. The galleries are located above the northern and southern aisles and the narthex and are reached by a wooden staircase built in Turkish times. The atrium is located to the west of the building. The entry to the building is from the western end of the north aisle through a porch that was built in the Ottoman period. The semi-dome of the apse and the bema arch are covered with mosaics dating probably from the eighth century. The synthronon, consisting of three rows of seats and two doors on either side, is the only original example in the city that has been preserved.

History: Although there is no information about the appearance of first church that occupied the site of Hagia Eirene, it is known that it was enlarged by the emperor Constantius (r. 340-61) in the mid-fourth century and was the most important church of Constantinople until Hagia Sophia was erected. With the completion of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene preserved its significance and was administered by the patriarchate in Hagia Sophia as a part of the same complex. The first building phase of the present structure dates to 532 during the reign of Justinian, when the emperor decided to rebuild the churches of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene after they were destroyed during the Nika Riot. Soon after its construction, the atrium and a part of the narthex were damaged by a fire and consequently repaired in 564 by Justinian. The third phase of reconstruction dates from the eighth century when the building was severely damaged by an earthquake in 740. The church was rebuilt some time after 753, during the reign of Constantine V (r. 741-75). During this construction, the basilical plan of the building was preserved on the ground level but the galleries were built with a cross-domed plan. There is no information regarding the condition of the

church during the Latin occupation. After the Byzantine reconquest, it was included in the property of Hagia Sophia. After the Ottoman conquest, Hagia Eirene was not converted into a mosque. It was incorporated in the Topkapı Palace complex and used as an arsenal with an enlargement during the reign of Ahmed III in the early eighteenth century. After being repaired in 1800, it was converted into a museum for antiquities by Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61). From 1869, the establishment was called 'Müze-i Hümayun', the imperial museum. The collections of antiquities were taken to the Çinili Kiosk in 1880 and the building served as the armaments museum until the beginning of the twentieth century. The building was included in the administration of Hagia Sophia Museums in 1939.

Projects: The surroundings of the building were excavated by M. Ramazanoğlu and F. Dirimtekin in 1946-47 and 1958-60. During these excavations, a series of corridors were discovered to the south of the building, together with a courtyard and a stair ramp. The round building found to the northeast was identified as the skeuophylakion. However, the excavation conducted by Dirimtekin did not yield much information due to the uncontrolled stratigraphy. The results of Ramazanoğlu's studies were published in 1951 and Dirimtekin's in 1962. In 1955 and 1956, Hagia Eirene was repaired by the Ministry of Pious Foundations under the directorship of C. Tamer. This repair work is mentioned in Tamer's 2003 publication, *İstanbul Bizans Anıtları ve Onarımları*, without giving any details while focusing more on photographical documentation. The atrium of the building was surveyed by P. Grossmann who published his results in 1965 in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 15, while the narthex was studied by C. Strube and included in the publication of 1973, *Die Westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in Justinianischer Zeit:*

Architektonische und Quellenkritische Untersuchungen. A more detailed study of the building was conducted by U. Peschlow and his findings on the architecture were eventually published in the 1977 book *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul: Untersuchungen Zur Architektur*. In 1992, during a fire with an unknown cause, the wooden staircase inside the building that leads to the galleries and the balcony were burned down. Following the fire, a new project was drawn and the damaged parts were rebuilt within two years under the directorship of Hagia Sophia Museums. During this project, the doors and the columns were cleaned and the lead covering of the dome was replaced with a new one. This repair work is shortly mentioned by E. Yücel, then the director of the Hagia Sophia museums, in the 7th Museum Salvage Excavations Seminar, annually held and published by the Ministry of Culture.

Current state: Although the building is in a rather good condition and located in the centrally tourist area, access to it is limited. It is under the administration of Hagia Sophia Museums and can only be visited for a fee with special permission from the directorate. During normal times it is closed to public and only opens for events such as concerts and art exhibitions.

Signage: A plate outside the building gives information about its history.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:84-105; George 1913; Ramazanoğlu 1951:232-35; Dirimtekin 1962:161-85; Grossmann 1965:186-207; Mathews 1971:77-78; Strube 1973:106-17; Peschlow 1977; Yücel 1996:190; Tamer 2003:192-208.

7. Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii, Hazreti Cabir Camii

Byzantine name: Unknown

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The structure is located in the Ayvansaray neighbourhood on the northwestern edge of Fatih municipality, close to both the Golden Horn and the Theodosian walls.

Description: The church has a simple cross-in-square plan. Three apses project on the eastern end of the building. The arms of the cross and the four small rooms located at the corners of the cross are covered by barrel vaults. The original dome of the building must have been higher and pierced with windows. Later alterations include a wooden porch, the dome, a wooden entrance replacing the narthex, the windows and the shrine that was previously an apsidal chamber to the right of the

bema. The interior was completely plastered covering all the original surfaces. The shrine of Cabir ibn Abdullah, who is believed to be a Muslim warrior killed in one of the sieges of the city, is located on the southeast corner bay. The cant moulding that surrounds the north, west, and south arms is the only original decoration remaining inside the building. The frescoes, discovered in 1956 on the southern exterior wall of the building by the Byzantine Institute of America, have now disappeared. This area where the mosaics were found is interpreted as a parekklession added at a later date and has not survived.

History: Four different suggestions have been made concerning the identification of the church. In 1912, it was identified as the church of Sts. Peter and Mark by Van Millingen, who also suggested that the building represents an important stage in the evolution of Byzantine church architecture. According to Van Millingen (1912:194), the structure portrays the transition from the simple cross-domed type to the four-column or cross-in-square type and belongs to the tenth century. His suggestion was also accepted by Ebersolt (1913). Eyice (1955:66) has then identified the building as the St. Thekla, who was the eldest daughter of the emperor Theophilos (829-42). A more recent suggestion was made by Aran (1977) who identified the church as the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian mentioned by Russian travelers. However, in these last two identifications the archaeological evidence does not support the literary sources.[51]

The church was converted into a mosque by the Grand Vizier Koca Mustafa Paşa in the early sixteenth century during the reign of Bayezid II. It was repaired after the

[51] For a more detailed discussion on the identification of the building see Mathews and Hawkins 1985: 125-34.

fire in Balat in 1729. Severely damaged in an earthquake in 1894 it was restored some time before 1906, undergoing radical modifications. The mosque was restored again in 1922, when also the baptistery bowl was taken to the Archaeological Museum.

Projects: In the arcade along the south exterior wall of the church, early fifteenth century frescoes were found in 1956 by the Byzantine Institute of America. The frescoes depicting the Archangel Michael and the saints Damian and Cosmas remained intact under a wooden screen after their discovery and were able to be seen. However, they were completely covered during the restoration conducted by the Pious Foundations in the 1990's. Other than the unpublished restorations and the discussions on the dating and identification, no scholarly studies have been conducted on the building.

Current state: Although the structure does not preserve much of its historical appearance, especially on the interior, it appears to be well taken care of. It is surrounded by a garden, which makes it possible to view the structure from all sides. However, the modern restorations and repairs have severely diminished its historical character and hindered attempts at precise identification or detailed study.

Signage: There is information next to the entrance (in Turkish) on the history of the mosque, focusing on the Ottoman period, while also mentioning that it is a converted church.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1906:191-95; Eyice 1955:66; Aran 1977:247-53; Mathews 1976:15; Hawkins 1985:125-134; Theis 1995:59-64; Kırımtayıf 2001:78-81; Müller-Wiener 2001:82-3; Freely and Çakmak 2004:172-4.

8. Fenari İsa Camii, Molla Fenari İsa Camii

Byzantine name: The Church of the Theotokos *tou Libos*

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The building is located in the Vatan/Emniyet neighbourhood of the Fatih municipality, along one of the area's three main thoroughfares, the Vatan (or Adnan Menderes) boulevard, on the corner with Halıcılar caddesi. Unlike most other Byzantine buildings it thus enjoys a fairly exposed position. In the surrounding area little of historic value remains due to fires and urban development. Modern construction has encroached the building to the north.

Description: The earliest part of the church dating from the tenth century had a cross-in-square or four-column type with five apses. The additional apses belong to the lateral chapels opening to the eastern corner bay of the naos and had independent entrances as well. To the west of this earlier building is the narthex with a central bay leading to the porch. The late thirteenth century south church has an ambulatory plan. Originally, the church had seven arches of which six remain on the eastern wall. The side chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist is located along the south side of the church. Besides the obvious structural elements, attractive Late Byzantine brickwork on the apse of the south church is preserved. In the interior we find remains of capitals and stone-carved mouldings.

History: The structure is a double church with the northern, earlier part dating from 907. This part was built by Constantine Lips (died 917), an officer of Leo VI (r. 886-912) and Constantine VII (r. 912-59). Constantine Lips dedicated his church to the Theotokos of Lips and the establishment also included a convent and a hospice for travellers. Ruined during the Latin occupation, the monastery complex was re-founded by the empress Theodora, the wife of Michael VIII Palaeologos (r. 1259-82). During the re-construction of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, a second church to the south of the old one, an outer narthex, and a chapel to the south of the new church dedicated to St. John the Baptist were added. Intended as mausoleum, some members of the Palaeologan family were buried in this chapel including the empress Theodora herself, her sons Constantine and Andronikos III, princess Eirene of Brunswick, and Princess Anna of Kiev.

The church was converted into a *mescid* in the late fifteenth century by Alaettin Ali, a member of Fenari family. At this time, no significant changes were made to the building and, according to Ousterhout (2000), "all [was] rather awkwardly adapted to function as a mosque". The only alteration was the placement of a *mihrab* in the apse and the erection of a minaret to the southwest corner of the exonarthex. However, the building was then severely damaged by a fire in 1633, which also destroyed nearly half of the city. The restoration in 1636 brought several radical modifications. The columns inside were replaced with pointed arches, wall decorations were removed and plastered, a *minber* was added, the lead roof was replaced with a tiled wooden one, and the domes were rebuilt with rectangular window openings. Later in the seventeenth century the north church was transformed into a *tekke* by Imam Şeyh İsa el-mahvi, hence the "İsa" in the present name.

Projects: The building remained derelict for more than a decade after it was damaged by the fire of 1917. It was examined by Brunov in 1924 who concluded that the building was of a five-aisled plan and proposed the first reconstruction of the church (see Brunov 1926:219 and 1927:265). In 1928 the site was visited by Theodore Macridy and excavated by him the following year. During his work, the ashes and the leftovers from the fire were cleaned, the plaster on the walls was removed, and some soundings were made under the bema of the south church. A significant finding during this excavation was the marble icon of St. Eudocia, which is now displayed in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Macridy also reached some contradictory conclusions regarding the date of the church, whose earliest construction phase was re-dated to the sixth century. The full report of Macridy's excavation was published only in 1964 in the 18th volume of the Dumbarton Oaks

Papers. The building was left in ruins until 1960 when the Ministry of Pious Foundations started a restoration project, which was later continued by the Byzantine Institute of America under the leadership of A.H.S. Megaw. During the course of this project, a small-scale excavation was also conducted by Megaw. The soundings revealed no earlier findings, as Macridy previously suggested, and the building was definitively dated to the early tenth century. Mango and Hawkins contributed to Megaw's study as well, with a discussion on the sculptural findings and frescoes in the building. As a result of these actions in the 1960s, the church of Constantine Lips received considerable scholarly attention with articles on the monument appearing in Dumbarton Oaks Papers 17 (1963), 18 (1964), and 22 (1968). Following the restoration, the building was re-opened for Muslim worship. Another restoration in 1989-90 cleaned much of the interior. Ousterhout (2000), remaining unclear about which of the renovations, writes that a "gallery was inserted into the south ambulatory, cutting into the Late Byzantine masonry. Remnants of the mosaic setting bed that once decorated tombs have disappeared from the niches of the south naos." In a 1999 article the newspaper Hürriyet criticized the "Molla Fenari İsa Ilim Kültür ve Hizmet Vakfı" (Molla Fenari İsa Science, Culture and Service Foundation), established as a sub-foundation of the Pious Foundations, for some very unfortunate interventions carried out in the 1990s. Cross-shaped reliefs on the columns, untouched during the Ottoman period, were covered with cement. Domes cracked in some places were also covered with cement. This foundation has been in conflict with the city's cultural heritage preservation board, who demanded that additions like a toilet and a cement-built library be removed. In the same article it is also mentioned that in the last 50 years the building was repeatedly subject of looting, with antique valuables sold to buyers abroad.

In 2004 the building was the subject of a doctoral dissertation (*The Monastery tou Libos. Architecture, Sculpture, and Liturgical Planning in Middle and Late Byzantine Constantinople*) by Vasileios Marinis of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Current state: The building is under the care of the Molla Fenari İsa İlim Kültür ve Hizmet Vakfı. In terms of its historical appearance, however, it looks far from adequately maintained. Especially the exterior is threatened by pollution due to its location immediately next to a busy road (and around 2-3 meters below the road level). It should also be noted that exterior is the only part of the building that preserves something of its original form; as the interior has been changed severely as a result of the restorations mentioned above.

Signage: A plate providing information on the history of the mosque, including some information on its Byzantine history, was put up by Fatih municipality in October 2000.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:122-37; Brunov 1926:217-36; Brunov 1927:257-86; Megaw 1963:333-371, 1964:279-298; Macridy 1964:253-277; Mango and Hawkins 1964:299-315; Mango and Hawkins 1968:177-84; Mathews 1976:322-23; Hürriyet, June 30, 1999; Ousterhout 2000; Kırımtayıf 2001:47-50; Müller-Wiener 2001:126-131; Freely and Çakmak 2004:174-8; Marinis 2004.

9. Bodrum Camii, (Bodrum) Mesihpaşa Camii

Byzantine name: The Church of the Myrelaion

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The building is located on a marble-paved terrace between the Sait Efendi Sokak and Mesih Paşa Caddesi in the Eminönü district's Lâleli quarter. An isolated historic structure, it is surrounded by multi-storey commercial buildings from the late twentieth century. A cistern, once serving the palace of the founder, is accessible from an entrance opposite the structure and now used as an underground shopping complex ("Mirelion [sic] Bazaar") mainly catering to a Russian clientele, as is most of the area.

Description: The monastic church was erected on a terrace located above a fifth century Rotunda. The palace of Romanos Lekapenos must have been located along

the eastern wall of this terrace and the substructure of the Rotunda was transformed into a cistern. This monastic church represents one of the earliest cross-in-square plans in Constantinople. It is a two-storied structure consisting of the main church at the terrace level and the substructure below, which was built to elevate the church to the level of the palace and had a separate entrance. The church was built entirely of brick and the substructure of rough ashlars and brick. On the interior, the main apse is at the eastern end and is surrounded by smaller side apses. Today the building is entered through a door on the west wall of the narthex and the central door in the narthex leads to the naos. The rectangular narthex is divided into three bays. The superstructure of the building is carried by four piers that have replaced the original columns. The substructure, which was converted into a funerary chapel by the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of fourteenth century, has a rectangular naos with three aisles and a barrel vaulted narthex. Alongside the south wall of the naos and in the bema were found tomb chambers. Only one of the frescoes decorating the bema has survived.

History: The Myrelaion monastery was founded by Romanos Lekapenos (r. 919-44) between 920 and 922. According to some sources, the emperor transformed his residence into a monastery, below which also six of his family members were buried. Also his new palace was built next to it. Severely damaged by fire in 1203, it was remodeled around 1300 and its substructure was converted into a funerary chapel.

It was converted 1501/2 by the governor of Egypt, Mesih Ali Paşa, a descendent of the Palaelogean dynasty who later became a higher minister in the Ottoman court, whereby a stone minaret was erected on the southwest corner. Little is known about

its history during Ottoman times, but only minor changes must have been made, possibly after a fire in 1783. The name "Bodrum" refers not to the geographic origin of the "patron" but to the Turkish term for "basement" or "cellar", which can still be seen when approached from the south.

Projects: After the mosque was damaged by fire in 1912 it remained in ruins. The first excavations of the site were conducted by David Talbott-Rice and Theodore Macridy in 1930-31 and the results were published in *Byzantion* 8 (1933). In 1964-5 the building was heavily restored by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. During the "disastrous" (Ousterhout 2000) restoration 90% of the building's original masonry was replaced with new concrete bricks. The restoration however, was aborted before completion, leaving the church without windows, doors, floors, or roofing, while no record was kept of the alterations. Any observations of the architecture must therefore be checked against photographs that antedate the restoration. In 1965 the building was studied and excavated by Cecil Striker (ARIT) and Rudolf Naumann (German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul). The project also was the subject of Striker's doctoral dissertation which was later published in 1981 as *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul*. Striker's excavations of the substructure eventually confirmed the dating of the church to the tenth century. While the 1960's restoration was abandoned before completion, the building was subsequently re-restored in the late 1980's to a more satisfying appearance in order to be returned to its function as mosque in 1987. For this purpose a wooden anteroom was added. There is virtually no original surface left on the building. It is one of the "least fortunate survivors" (Ousterhout 2000) of the most significant buildings of Constantinopolitan history. A restoration in the 1980s converted the rotunda -

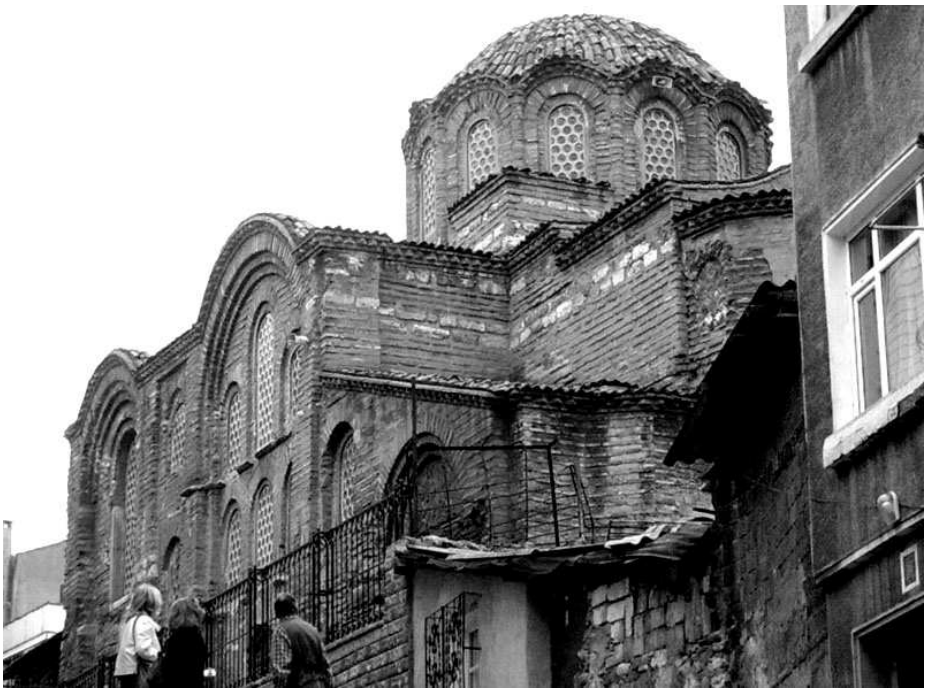
converted into a cistern when the palace was built in the tenth century - into a subterranean shopping mall.

Current state: The building seems to be in a good physical condition, both from the interior and exterior. The 're-restoration' project in the 1980's has made it possible to observe the building with an appearance much closer to its original. However, the long history of restorations and alterations must still be kept in mind when examining the structure. The underground cistern can be visited as well and in spite of its current usage, represents interesting sculptural details.

Signage: There is information (in Turkish) on the building's history on the inside.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:196-200; Talbott-Rice 1933:151-76; Striker 1966:210-15; Naumann 1966:135-39; Striker 1981; Gates 1995:250-251; Tunay 1996:14-18; Ousterhout 2000; Kırımtayıf 2001:33; Müller-Wiener 2001:103-7; Tamer 2003:176-182; Freely and Çakmak 2004:178-84.

10. Eski İmaret Camii, İmaret-i Atik Camii



Byzantine name: The Church of Christ Pantepoptes

Current Use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The Eski İmaret Camii is located in the one of the Fatih district's low-income neighbourhoods, Cibali, between Haydar İmareti Sokak and Kıyak Sokak, accessible from both. Though, in principle, within walking distance of Zeyrek, it is not easy to find and thus also not likely to receive many visitors. Despite its unattractive surroundings, the building preserves its historic appearance to a higher level than most Byzantine structures in the city, and views can be afforded from three sides.

Description: The building, which is regarded as one of the most meticulously built

churches of the Byzantine capital, has a standard cross-in-square plan covered by a dome. It is entered through a double narthex and ends with a triple apse in the east. Three doors from the narthex open to the oblong planned naos. The original columns supporting the superstructure have been replaced by piers during Ottoman use. The original interior decoration only partly remains in the form of sculpted cornices and doorframes. The building has an attractive exterior with decorative brickwork consisting of blind niches, Greek-key and swastika patterns, and medallions.

History: This monastic church was established shortly before 1087 by Anna Dalassena, mother of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118), who retired to the monastery around 1100. It was taken up by Benedictine monks from Venice during the Latin occupation. However, this traditional identification of the building was challenged by Mango in an article of 1998, in which he proposes a completely different location for the Church of Christ Pantepoptes and adds that Eski İmaret Mosque should be identified with another Byzantine church. After the Byzantine re-conquest, the church and the monastery continued to function until the Ottoman conquest, after which it functioned as the soup kitchen (*imaret*) of the Fatih Mosque for some time; hence the present name. It was converted into a mosque at a later date and was enlarged in the first half of the eighteenth century. The minaret erected during the conversion has not survived, except for the remains of its foundation. It was damaged by a fire in 1918 and the monastery gradually disappeared due to intensive construction activities in the area.

Projects: During the restoration in the 1970s, the arches on the southern façade that were cut in the previous interventions, were restored back. Eski İmaret mosque is one

of the least studied and documented Byzantine monuments in the city. The only scholarly publications on the site are the general surveys and the two more recent articles by Cyril Mango (1998) and Robert Ousterhout (1991-2). The building also suffers from an unscientific restoration conducted in 1990, which resulted in the lowering of the ground level in order to solve the moisture problem. The interior of the mosque was also completely repainted during this renovation conducted by the locals.

Current state: Despite its isolated location in a low-income neighbourhood, the building's exterior appears well maintained and preserves its historical appearance to a high degree, especially what concerns the decorative brickwork. Although the interior has lost its original decoration except for some sculptural details, the monument, as being a significant edifice of the eleventh century, deserves more scholarly attention.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:212-18; Ebersolt and Thiers 1913:171-82; Brunov 1931-32:129-44; Janin 1969:513-15; Mathews 1976:59; Ousterhout 1991-92:47-56; Mango 1998:87-88; Kırımtayıf 2001:57-60; Öztepe 2001:39; Ousterhout 2000; Müller-Wiener 2001:120-22; Freely and Çakmak 2004:204-7.

11. Zeyrek Camii, Molla Zeyrek Camii

Byzantine name: The Church of St. Savior Pantokrator

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The structure is located in the Fatih district's Zeyrek neighbourhood, just off Atatürk Boulevard. It is accessible from the road leading up from the terraced social security services complex built in the 1960's as an attempt for contextualism with the historic houses of the area, some of which are being restored as part of a larger preservation project for the neighbourhood. To the west there is a square with a small building housing a youth education center, in whose cellar an Ayazma is located. To the east there is a pricey restaurant ("Zeyrekhane") affording a pleasant view over the surroundings. It is one of the more accessible and easy to find structures, raised above street level and with domes visible from afar,

and with the historic fabric of the neighbourhood it is also one of the most popular Byzantine structures among visitors.

Description: The earliest part of the building, the south church, is used as a mosque at present. It is entered through an exonarthex and a narthex, and has a four-column type plan; making the building the largest example of this type in the city. It is covered by a ribbed central dome and ends with a triple apse at the east. The original marble pavement, the doorframes, and the marble revetment decoration of the apse have largely been preserved. The north church is a smaller version of the same plan with a dome carried on a high drum. Only traces of mosaics and the carved cornice have survived from the original decoration. The central chapel has a nave without aisles. It is covered with two domes and ends with a single apse in the east.

History: This building complex, originally part of a monastery, was constructed between 1118 and 1136. The present structure consists of two churches and a funerary chapel. The earlier building, the south church, was founded by the empress Eirene, wife of John II Komnenos (r. 1118-43), together with the additional buildings of the monastery (a hospital, a home for the elderly, a bath) and dedicated to Christ Pantokrator. After the death of the empress, a second church dedicated to Panagia Eleousa was built by the emperor John Komnenos to the north of the earlier one. After the completion of the second church, the two buildings were united with a funerary chapel in the middle dedicated to the Archangel Michael, which would serve as a mausoleum for the members of the Komnenian family, and later for some members of the Palaeologoi. In the twelfth century the monastery became an independent institution. However, it continued to be employed by the Komnenian

emperors as an imperial monastery. The establishment also housed a valuable collection of icons and relics. The monastery was plundered by the Latins in 1204 and because it was in the area conceded to the Venetians, it was used by them until the recapture of the city. During the Palaeologan period, emperor Andronikos II (r. 1282-1328) used the monastery to imprison the opponents of his anti-unionist policies as well as a burial site for the imperial family. Shortly after the Ottoman conquest the church was converted into a mosque by Molla Zeyrek Efendi and was also temporarily used as a *medrese*. The mosque was repaired after a fire in the eighteenth century but the library of the monastery burnt down in 1934. According to Ousterhout (2000) Zeyrek represents "the largest and most significant monument in the city to survive from from the Middle Byzantine period. [...] Stylistically, the building marks a critical point in the development of Byzantine architecture, as it shifts from monumentality toward complexity as the primary mode of visual expression."

Projects: Limited restorations and excavations were undertaken in the 1950's and 1960's, whereupon the middle church was reopened as a mosque. In the 1950's the floor mosaic of the middle church was discovered, then cleaned and stabilized by the Byzantine Institute of America. In 1960 Megaw started investigating the building and published its architectural sequence in 1963 in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963). A restoration in the 1960s undertaken by the Pious Foundations not only was "poorly documented" (Ousterhout 2000) but made alterations to the original historic form by raising and simplifying the roof, giving it a high sloping shape, while obscuring a variety of irregular surfaces and partially or completely blocking numerous windows. Following a survey of the building in 1995-96, a restoration

project was initiated by Robert Ousterhout, Zeynep Ahunbay, and Metin Ahunbay. With the permission of the Directorate of Pious Foundations the first phase of restoration started in 1997-98, and the building was subsequently listed on the World Monuments Watch list of endangered sites of world culture in 2000. Due to political reasons the restoration was halted between 1998 and 2001. Another problem was the lack of access to the south façades of the building, where there are (partly illegal) dwellings, including the home of the imam in the Byzantine courtyard to the southwest. Largely concentrated on the exterior, work has resumed since then. The weighty and leaking concrete roofs have been replaced with more historically accurate lead sheeting laid over a bedding of clay. Damaged areas of the brick masonry on the eastern façade have been restored as well.

Current state: Recently partially renovated, the building is still in need of much work and the newly restored exterior is in contrast with the interior of the building. Because the building was in a ruinous condition, the restorations were evidently concentrated on the roof and exterior in order to prevent further damage. However, the present situation is far from being complete and is rather confusing, especially when compared with the older photographs. The future projects, which are reportedly taken over by the municipality, will continue on the interior. The conservation of the east façade of the building was evaluated by the UNESCO/ICOMOS committee and included in the 2006 report. Due to the fact that the project was supported by scholarly investigations, the result is regarded as of high quality. However, the committee adds that the future interventions "should not be downgraded by a desire for excessive speed." (Michelmore 2006:27)

Signage: There is a plate next to the entrance with basic information about the building in English and Turkish. There is no signage to the mosque, but the visitor can follow the signs reading “Zeyrekhane”. The structure is accessible through contacting its Imam, who offers a tour of two of the complex’s church halls for a small consideration.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:219-42; Underwood 1956:299-300; Megaw 1963:335-64; Ousterhout, Ahunbay and Ahunbay 2000:265-70; Ousterhout 2000; Ahunbay and Ahunbay 2001:117-32; Ousterhout 2001:117-32; Kırımtayıf 2001:51-55; Müller-Wiener 2001: 209-215; Michelmore 2006.

12. Gül Camii

Byzantine name: Unknown

Current Use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The building is located in the Ayakapı quarter of Fatih district, on the Golden Horn, and close to the Fener-Balat area.

Description: Gül Camii is a domed basilica built over a vaulted basement and the main area has a Greek-cross plan. The dome covering the central area and the pointed arches supporting it belong to the Ottoman period as the gable walls of the cross arms and the western wall. The southwest corner of the building is also an Ottoman construction as well as the wooden porch that has replaced the narthex. The nave is reached through a triple archway and is flanked by galleries. The majority of

the interior has been plastered and eighteenth century Ottoman paintwork is still visible. The triple apse projects from the eastern wall of the building and the central part must have been rebuilt by Ottomans.

History: The dating and identification of this building has been a subject of controversy. Originally, it was identified as the church of St. Theodosia, which is also the Byzantine name of a gate in the vicinity. Based on the account on the life of the iconodule martyr St. Theodosia and later sources, the church was first identified by Gilles and Gerlach in the sixteenth century, and by the beginning of the twentieth century it was dated to the ninth century by Van Millingen (1912). However, Schafer (1973), based on the construction technique, suggested that the church belongs to a later date. According to this study, three major building phases were determined and dated the structure to the late eleventh-early twelfth century identifying it as the Monastery of Christ Euregetes. In an article published a few years later, Aran (1979), although accepting Schafer's identification, suggested an earlier date.

There are different suggestions for the conversion date of the church as well. According to Ayvansaray, it was not converted until the reign of Selim II. However, the Ottoman records indicate that the date of conversion must have been earlier, around the end of the fifteenth century. It was almost completely rebuilt by Murad IV following the destruction of earthquakes. During this construction the appearance of the church went through significant changes; the dome was replaced, the western corner and the northwestern and southwestern vaults were reconstructed. The mosque was restored in the early nineteenth century by Mahmud II.

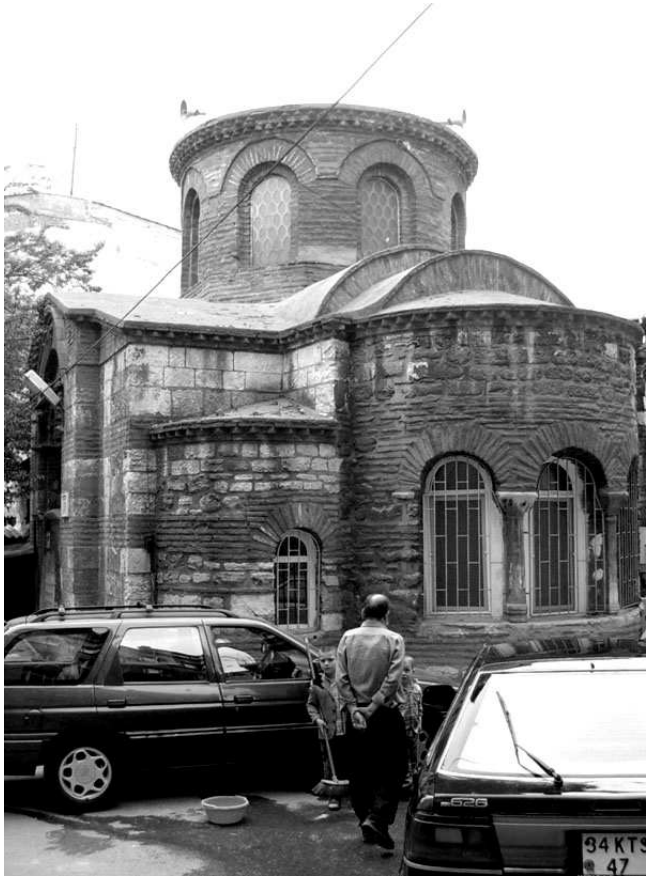
Projects: The building has been a subject for H. Schafer's dissertation which was later published in 1973 as a monograph called *Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels*.

Current state: Although well maintained and kept clean, the building has lost both Byzantine and Ottoman characteristics as a result of modern restorations. As Mathews emphasizes in his 1976 study, it is pretty hard to distinguish between the Ottoman and Byzantine constructions on the monumental structure.

Signage: Fatih municipality has put up a plate with basic information (two sentences, mentioning that the building was originally a twelfth-century Byzantine church) in October 2000.

Bibliography: Pargoire 1906:161-65; Van Millingen 1912:164-82; Ebersolt and Thiers 1913:113-27; Brunov 1929-30:554-60; Schafer 1973; Mathews 1976:128-9; Aran 1979:221-228; Kırımtayıf 2001:82-7; Müller-Wiener 2001:140-43; Freely and Çakmak 2004:220-26.

13. Hirâmi Ahmet Paşa Camii



Byzantine name: St. John the Baptist in Trullo

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The building is located on Koltukçu Sokak in the Çarşamba neighbourhood in the north of Fatih municipality. The advantage of its location is that it is just a few meters from the larger and better-known Fethiye mosque/museum, and just north of the Fener area. The structure is surrounded by apartment buildings on all sides. Views on its façade can be afforded from three sides. Unlike most church-mosques, no minaret has been added.

Description: This small cross-in-square church is believed to date from the twelfth century. The arms of the cross are barrel vaulted. The triple apse of the church is semicircular both from the interior and exterior. The columns supporting the superstructure have been replaced by piers during Ottoman times. The building also has two barrel vaulted apsidal chapels. The elevation is enlivened by bands of brick and stones, the latter being cut in large dimensions, which is already rather uncommon for the period it was built in and probably belong to the twentieth century restorations.

History: Little is known of the church's Byzantine history and it was tentatively identified as the church of St. John the Baptist in Trullo. However, it is known that when the Patriarchate was moved to the neighbouring Pammakaristos monastery in 1456 it came to be used by several nuns who remained there. The nuns left the church in 1586; hence it was not converted immediately after the conquest, but only in the 1590s by Hirami Ahmet Paşa.

Projects: It was renovated by the Ministry of Mosques in the 1960s. This restoration included rebuilding the vaulting of the narthex and re-opening the windows that were closed before. The frescoes, which were visible before, disappeared. In the Ottoman period the original columns and capitals were replaced with piers, which then were again replaced with ancient (or ancient-looking) columns and capitals at a later point. The restoration process was not adequately documented and much evidence was lost. Mural paintings in the dome date from the Ottoman period. The building has been the subject of an MA thesis by Matthew Savage, who is now continuing his research

on the same topic for his dissertation at the University of Vienna. The findings and results of this study are not available yet.

Current state: The static of the building was stabilized by (turquoise-coloured) metal beams running through the columns into the walls. The structure appears to be in good condition. More recently, white plastic-framed windows have replaced whatever was there in previous times in the apse-area. Öztepe (2001:54) also notes that the stonework and the material used in the restoration of the exterior walls are not consistent with the original appearance of the building. Although the structure stands in contrast with the surrounding apartment buildings, it still preserves its Byzantine characteristics, and due to its location close to two other significant Byzantine monuments, the Fethiye and Kariye museums, could be a focus for future restoration efforts.

Signage: Fatih municipality has put up a plate with basic information (two sentences, mentioning that the building was originally a twelfth-century Byzantine church) in October 2000.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1906:201-6; Mathews 1976:159; Kırımtayıf 2001:61-2; Müller-Wiener 2001:144-6; Savage 2001; Öztepe 2001:54; Freely and Çakmak 2004:227-31.

14. Kalenderhane Camii

Byzantine name: Church of Theotokos Kyriotissa

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: This building is one of the rare structures located in an attractively historical environment, and without being encircled by modern apartment complexes. Adjacent to the west side is a large reconstructed late Ottoman timber house, while to the north we find a part of the aqueduct of Valens. Between the church and the aqueduct is the area excavated during the Kalenderhane restoration, accessible to the public. The entrance to the church is at Kalender Camii Sokak (or also via a small path via 16 Mart Şehitleri, leading toward the Süleymaniye complex), near the busy Vezneciler street behind the Istanbul University's Faculty of Letters and Sciences.

Description: The main church has a cross-domed plan flanked by aisles. The cross arms are covered by barrel vaults and the main area by a central dome, which belongs to the original building together with its drum. The bema has a rectangular plan and to the south of it is the diakonikon. The diakonikon consists of a square room and a hall opening to two apsidal chapels, known as the Francis Chapel and the Melismos Chapel. To the west of the main church are the narthex and the exonarthex. Inside the main church, examples of original architectural sculpture have been preserved. The interior of building is also elaborately decorated with polychrome marble revetment, of which almost 40% still survive. Frescoes and mosaic decorations were uncovered as well during the excavations. One of the mosaics depicts the Presentation of Christ from the sixth century, which is the only surviving example surviving in the city from the pre-iconoclastic period. The fresco representing the Virgin holding the child Christ was found in the diakonikon and dated to the twelfth century. Another fresco showing the Kyriotissa is above the door of the narthex and belongs to the Palaeologan period. The fragment of a thirteenth century mosaic of the Archangel Michael was discovered. The other fragmentary decoration belongs to a fresco portraying the cycle of the Life of St. Francis from the early thirteenth century during the Latin period. The only remaining decoration in the main church is the fragments of Dormition of the Virgin on the upper part of the north wall. The majority of these decorative findings were removed and are now displayed in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

History: The building was identified as the church of Theotokos Kyriotissa and dated to the thirteenth century after the excavation and restoration project conducted

between 1966 and 1978. The present building was constructed on the remains of an earlier church. According to the results of the excavations, the architectural sequence of the building was determined in detail. The earliest church on the site, the North Church, was built in the second half of the sixth century parallel to the Aqueduct of Valens. In the late seventh century another church, the Bema Church, was erected to the south of the North Church. The North Church, except for its apse, was demolished at some time between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and the Bema Church in the twelfth century. The Main Church, which is the building preserved today, was constructed on this empty area provided in the late twelfth/early thirteenth century. Soon after its construction, the church was taken over by the Latins. After the reconquest of the city, it was restored and decorated during the Palaeologean period.

Converted into a mosque during the reign of Mehmed II, it served as a mevlevihane for the Kalenderi dervishes, hence the name. It was repaired in 1746-7 and again in 1854-5 after a fire.

Projects: After repairs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was abandoned until the 1960s, when excavations and restorations began. These were undertaken between 1966 and 1978 by the Dumbarton Oaks Institute and Istanbul Technical University under the directorship of Cecil L. Striker and Doğan Kuban. Following the successful restoration it was reopened as a mosque. The findings, also putting an end to debates over the identification of the building, were published in 1997 as a comprehensive monograph called *Kalenderhane in Istanbul : the buildings, their history, architecture and decoration*. The preliminary results of the project also

appeared in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 22 (1968), 25 (1971), and 29 (1975). The excavations revealed that the site included remains of a Roman bath on western part of site and that an early Byzantine church (sixth century) was demolished when the present church was erected. Also mosaics and frescoes were found during the excavations.

Current state: As a result of the comprehensive restoration and excavation project, the building has regained an appearance much closer to its original when compared to the other Byzantine churches in the city. Both on the exterior and the interior Kalenderhane preserves some of the characteristics of the former Byzantine church, and its easily accessible location is another advantage for the visitor.

Signage: Plate next to the main entrance provides information about the building's history.

Bibliography: Striker and Kuban 1967:267-71, 1968:185-93, 1971:251-58, 1975:306-18, and 1997; Müller-Wiener 2001:153-8; Freely and Çakmak 2004:235-44.

15. Kanlı Kilise, Moğol Kilisesi

Byzantine name: Church of the Panagia Mouchliotissa

Current Use: Church

Location and urban context: The church is located in the district of Fatih, quarter of Fener, overlooking the Golden Horn from a steep slope. It is surrounded by the streets of Firketeci and Tevkii Cafer Mektebi, and is close to the fomer Fener Greek High School.

Description: The church's plan is a domed quatrefoil with a narthex to the west. The dome was originally placed on four semi-domes, however, during modern alterations, the southern side of the building has been replaced by an addition to the narthex eliminating the southern semi dome. The new additions also include a belfry,

a porch in front of the narthex, new buildings in the courtyard, and a high wall surrounding the building.

History: Panagia Mouchliotissa is the only Byzantine church in the city that is still in use for Christian worship. It was founded or rebuilt around 1282 by the illegitimate daughter of the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos (r. 1259-82), Maria Palaelogina. She was sent to marry the grand khan of the Mongols, Hulagu, in 1265, but as the khan died when the princess was still on her way, she was married to his son, the new khan Abagu. Maria stayed in Persia for fifteen years and was forced to return to Constantinople when her husband was assassinated. Following her return to the capital, she established the church and a convent dedicated to the Panagia Theotokos Mouchliotissa and became a nun there.

After the Ottoman conquest, Mehmed II issued an imperial decree giving the local Greeks the right to keep the church. In the following years, the church functioned as the main church of the region. It was damaged by fires in 1633, 1640, and 1729.

Projects: Other than the surveys of earlier scholars Gurlitt (1912), Van Millingen (1912) and Brunov (1927-8), the building has not been studied in detail. It was repaired at the beginning of the twentieth century and again in 1955. The building has more recently been subject to an article by Tolga Uyar (2004) in which he focuses on the history, architecture and decoration of the church.

Current state: The building is surrounded by a high wall making an adequate view difficult. The exterior is plastered with a dark red paint hiding the original brickwork.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Gurlitt 1912:36-7; Van Millingen 1912:272-79; Brunov 1927-28:509-20; Mathews 1976:366-7; Müller-Wiener 2001:204-5; Freely and Çakmak 2004:256-8; Uyar 2004:99-109.

16. Fethiye Camii

Byzantine name: Church of Theotokos Pammakaristos

Current use: Mosque and museum

Urban context: The building is located on Fethiye Kapısı sokak (branching off Fethiye caddesi) in Fatih municipality's Çarşamba quarter, a little uphill from Fener. The immediate surroundings are not completely built-up so views can be afforded.

Description: The main church was of the ambulatory type ending with a triple apse in the east and a narthex to the west. The square shaped naos is covered by a dome. The parekklession added in the early fourteenth century was entered through a two storied and domed narthex, and had a four-column plan. The brick and stone work on the exterior of the parekklession is a significant example of the elaborate building activities during Palaeologan period in the capital. The chapel is reached through a

narthex and has a cross-in-square plan with the cross arms covered with groin vaults. The mosaic decoration of the parekklession is contemporary with its construction date, early fourteenth century.

History: The building consists of three parts; a main church, a parekklession, and an ambulatory. The main church was built by the brother of emperor Alexios I Komnenos, Adrian-John and his wife in the late eleventh and/or early twelfth century. Apparently destroyed temporarily, it was rebuilt by the Byzantine general Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchoniates at the end of thirteenth century. After his death his wife added the parekklession to the south as a funerary chapel to her husband. The last Byzantine additions date from the late fourteenth century and include a side aisle to the north side of the main church and an exonarthex.

After the Ottoman conquest, in 1456, the church became the seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate when the Church of the Holy Apostles was demolished. It served this function until 1568, when it was taken from the Christians and converted into a mosque during the reign of Murat III. It was named Fethiye to commemorate the conquests of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Most of the interior walls were torn down during this process to gain more space. The apses of the main church were replaced by the present triangular domed projection. Damaged by a fire in 1740, the mosque was repaired in 1845-6.

Projects: In 1936-8 the mosque was restored by the General Directorate of Religious Endowments. In 1950, the Byzantine Institute initiated a project in order to uncover the frescoes in the parekklession. First, a survey was conducted to determine the

condition and exact locations of the surviving decoration. Eventually they were partly uncovered in the following years. In 1958, a more comprehensive restoration project was begun. The interior was completely stripped of the plaster revealing the Ottoman architectural alterations that made possible an accurate reconstruction of the original building. While the parekklession had been united with the main church during the conversion, the restoration of the Byzantine institute reinforced the division and transformed the parekklession into a museum after a restoration in 1960, having exposed and cleaned its mosaics. The main church remains in use as a mosque.

Current state: While the part used as a museum is in an excellent condition, the condition of the part functioning as a mosque is rather disappointing. This part does not preserve its original appearance of the interior and is apparently not well maintained. This complete contrast between two different parts of the same structure, which can be explained by the fact that they belong to different institutions, is rather confusing, especially for a first time visitor, who might easily think that the monument consists only of this small section. In order to avoid this, and more importantly, to preserve the monument as a whole, the mosque part should be taken care of as well.

Signage: Next to the mosque entrance a sign (in Turkish) has been put up by Fatih municipality in October 2000. Inside the museum are two large plates informing about history and architecture of the building in Turkish and English.

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:138-63; Underwood 1956:298-9, 1960:215-9; Megaw 1963:367-71; Mango and Hawkins 1964:319-33; Hallensleben 1963/64:128-93; Schreiner 1971:217-48; Kırımtayıf 2001:63-7; Müller-Wiener 2001:132-5; Freely and Çakmak 2004:264-9.

17. Kariye Camii

Byzantine name: St. Savior in Chora

Current use: Museum

Location and urban context: The church is located in the Edirnekapı neighbourhood of Fatih municipality, in the vicinity of the Theodosian landwalls. It is surrounded by nineteenth and twentieth century wooden houses. In 1974, with the efforts of the Touring and Automobile Association to rehabilitate the decaying residential area around Kariye Museum, a project was initiated in order to improve the appearance of this important area and the living conditions of the local inhabitants. The façades of twelve houses in Bostan Sokak were repaired and painted without introducing any structural changes to the interiors of the structures. Two of

the houses were bought by the TAA and rebuilt. Within the same project, the local fountain was repaired; the streets and the square in front of the museum were cobbled. One of the houses was transformed into an open-air café. The garden of the Kariye mosque was cleaned, trees and flowers were planted and access around the building was allowed by paved paths. The association donated money for the restoration of the roof of the museum. The owners of the historic houses were also given advice on improving their buildings. Although the restoration of the houses has sometimes been criticized, Kariye Camii is one of the few buildings discussed here blessed with the charms of a "historic" quarter. The project overall had a very good impact on the neighbourhood, whose inhabitants were pleased with the improved physical conditions, and visitors appreciated the new cleanliness and order in the area.

Description: The main church was built with a Greek-cross plan reached through an inner and outer narthex to the west, bordered by a parekklesion to the south and a corridor to the north. The walls of the inner and outer narthexes are decorated with fourteenth century mosaics reflecting the artistic revival of the Palaeologan period in the capital. The parekklesion that served as a funerary chapel is also decorated with finely preserved frescoes depicting the themes of life and death.

History: The church was founded in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries by the mother in law of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081-1118), Maria Doukaina, and was remodelled in the early twelfth century by her grandson, Isaac Komnenos. However, the archaeological evidence goes back to the sixth century. The monastery was abandoned or damaged during the Latin occupation. The present form of the building

dates from the early fourteenth century. This extensive rebuilding and redecorating program was the effort of the grand *logothete* and scholar Theodore Metochites between 1315 and 1321. Metochites played a significant role in the cultural revival during the reign of Andronikos II and died in the Monastery of Chora in 1332.

The Chora monastery was converted into a mosque by the grand vizier Atik Ali Paşa in the early sixteenth century. The mosaics and frescoes of the church were plastered over during the conversion, and a minaret was erected to the southwestern corner. The additional buildings of the Ottoman period, such as the *medrese*, *tekke*, and *imaret* have not survived; neither have the buildings of the previous monastery.

Projects: In the late nineteenth century the building began to attract visitors and became to be known as the 'Mosaic Mosque' because of its interior decoration. The first scholarly study of Kariye was by Fedor Shmit of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Istanbul in the early twentieth century. His monograph of the building, *Kahrie-Dzami* was published in 1906. After the building was secularized and became a museum in 1945, the Byzantine Institute of America and later the Dumbarton Oaks Center of Byzantine Studies started an extensive project under the directorship of Paul Underwood in 1948 in order to proceed with the work of uncovering the mosaics and frescoes of the building. Upon successful completion of the project in 1958, the building was opened to public as a museum attracting large quantities of visitors. The project of the Byzantine Institute also included a two-season excavation campaign, conducted by George H. Forsyth from the University of Michigan and Paul Underwood from the Byzantine institute in 1957, and by Mr. And Mrs. Oates from the Trinity College in 1958. The investigation focused on the apsidal complex and its substructures, and the area between the nave and parekklession. As a result,

six successive Byzantine construction phases were determined. The excavation results were published in the Dumbarton Oaks Papers in 1957-8 by Oates. The outcome of Underwood's project was published in three volumes in 1966 as *The Kariye Djami*. Part of the success of this restoration project in a remote area of the old town is due to the surroundings of the building having been renovated in the 1970s under the direction of Çelik Gülersoy.

Current state: After almost 50 years, the building is now in need of a conservation project to solve problems caused mainly by humidity. The Kariye Museum was included in the World Monument Fund's Watch List for 2004 because of the "changes in the levels of humidity and rising ground water have resulted in the weakening and deterioration of plaster surfaces, which is exacerbated by the leaching of salts that have left destructive efflorescence on the frescoes."[52] However, the building represents one of the good examples for restoration in the city, and also the project conducted in the surrounding historical neighbourhood allows a more satisfactory visit.

Signage: A plate on the outside provides information about the church.

Bibliography: Shmit 1906:257-79; Van Millingen 1912:288-331; Hawkins 1960:102-7; Underwood 1966; Janin 1969:531-38; Hjort 1979:201-89; Oates 1960:223-31; Ousterhout 1985:117-24; Ousterhout 1987; Ousterhout 2002; Müller-Wiener 2001:159-63; Freely and Çakmak 2004:269-77.

[52] See http://wmf.org/html/programs/watchlist2004.html

18. Kefevi Camii, Kefeli Camii

Byzantine name: Unknown

Current use: Mosque

Location and Urban context: The structure is located on Draman caddesi, a main thoroughfare halfway between the Kariye and Fethiye museums, in the Salmatomruk neighbourhood in the north of Fatih municipality. The building can be looked at from three sides.

Description: The structure has a rectangular plan terminating with a semicircular apse. It was built of alternating courses of stone and brick and is covered by a wooden roof.

History: Almost nothing is known about the building's Byzantine history and different identifications have been brought forward by different scholars. While it was also suggested that the church belonged to the monastery of St. John Prodromos, Van Millingen believed it to be not the church but the refectory of the ninth-century Monastery of Manuel. His identification was rejected by Palazzo, who published his study on the building *Deux anciennes églises dominicaines à Stamboul, Odalar Djami et Kefeli Mescidi* in 1951. Grossman (1966:241-9) studied the building in detail and dated the structure to the ninth century based on the masonry. Mathews (1976:257), however, believes it to be from the Palaeologean period.

When the Ottomans took the Crimean port of Caffa (Kefe) in 1475, reportedly 700 Genoese families were deported to this depopulated quarter of Istanbul consequently named "Kefe mahallesi". Along with another nearby church, the building was assigned to the Roman Catholic Dominicans, who dedicated it to St. Nicholas. Freely and Çakmak also mention that it was used by Gregorian Armenians at the same time. The origin of its former congregation has been preserved in the mosque's name when the building was converted in 1629/30, thereby relatively late.

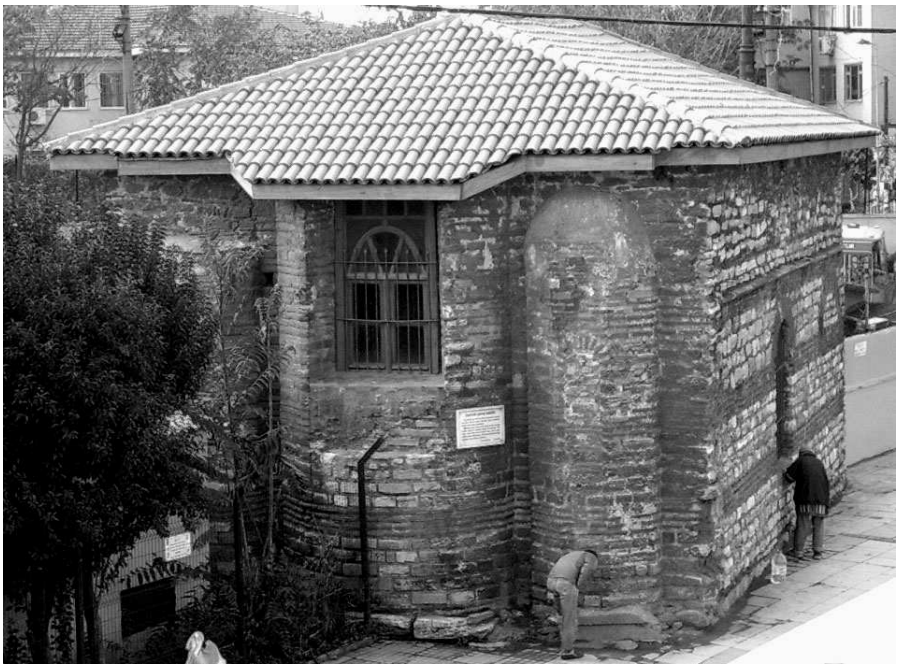
Projects: The mosque survived a large fire in 1919, when a great part of the neighbourhood was destroyed. Pictures from the 1920s reveal that the façade with Byzantine-period brickwork was covered with plaster in previous times. Ruins of the monastery are said to still have been visible until the 1960s when new construction in its immediate surroundings started. The building was studied in detail by Grossmann in the 1960s. In the 1970s the building was renovated by the Pious Foundations and the seventeenth-century minaret repaired.

Current state: While some of the historic appearance survives on the exterior, the interior has preserved little of its Byzantine past. The present state of Kefeli Camii sheds very little light on the confusing history of the former church and further studies are needed in order to solve these problems.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Palazzo 1951; Grossman 1966:186-207; Mathews 1976:257; Kırımtayıf 2001:68-70; Müller-Wiener 2001:166-8; Darnault 2004:70-74; Freely and Çakmak 2004:285-7.

19. Manastır Mescidi



Byzantine name: Unknown

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: It is located in a bus terminal to the south of Millet Caddesi in Fatih municipality.

Description: It is a rectangular structure with a narthex that leads to the naos with a triple arcade from the west. The naos ends with a triple apse at the east. The central apse has six sides from the exterior and was penetrated with a large window during the Turkish use of the building. Further studies on the building have suggested that it was a basilica with vaults. The present roof of the building is a recent construction.

History: There is no information about the history of the building. It was tentatively identified as the thirteenth or fourteenth century Chapel of the Thotokos by Paspates (1877). According to this identification, the church was built on the place of an earlier one by Phocas Androules, who was a court official under Andronikos II. Although there is not much evidence to support this, Paspates' suggestion was accepted by Van Millingen (1912) and Janin (1969).

It was converted into a mosque during the reign of Mehmed II by Mustafa Çavuş. The minaret was not added during the conversion. A wooden one was erected in later repairs but it does not survive today.

Projects: The building was re-opened as a mosque after a restoration by the IETT in the 1950s. The mosque was excavated and studied by Pasadaios (1965), during the construction work on the Millet Caddesi. He made some soundings in the site and suggested a more complicated plan for the church as a vaulted basilica.

Current state: The building with its present appearance bears little evidence of its Byzantine past. It is now in an isolated location within the bus terminal of IETT and partly on the sidewalk.

Signage: On the façade facing the street a sign (in Turkish) has been put up by Fatih municipality in October 2000.

Bibliography: Paspates 1877:376-7; Van Millingen 1912:262-64; Ünsal 1963:10; Pasadaios 1965:56-101; Janin 1969:319,336,544; Eyice 1980:26-8; Kırımtayıf

2001:44-6; Öztepe 2001:69; Müller-Wiener 2001:184-5; Freely and Çakmak 2004:288-90.

20. Vefa Kilise Camii; Molla or Malta Şemsettin Camii; Kilise Camii

Byzantine name: Unknown

Current use: Mosque

Location and urban context: The church is located in the low-income Vefa neighbourhood in the immediate vicinity of the Süleymaniye complex, but still not too easy to track down. Best recognizable by the red brick minaret, its exact location is the corner of the small Tirendaz and Kâtip Çelebi streets, both cornering on the larger Vefa caddesi. Though not as immediate neighbours of the mosque, the neighbourhood has preserved a good number of historic timber houses.

Description: The building is entered through an exonarthex consisting of five bays, two of which are covered by domes and three with barrel vaults. The mosaic

decoration of the domes depicting the ancestors of Christ, which were dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, have only partly survived in the southern dome. The narthex is reached through a central door with a marble frame flanked by two columns. The main church has a four-column plan, however the original columns have been replaced with piers during the Ottoman period. The cross arms are barrel vaulted. The apse is located at the eastern end and projects to the exterior with five sides.

History: Information about the history of the building is limited. Petrus Gyllius wrongly identified it as the church of St. Theodore. The core of the building dates to the eleventh century with later additions in the early fourteenth century. It was then converted to a mosque during the reign of Mehmet II by Molla Gürani. A ribbed red brick minaret was added, fitting much better with the late Byzantine exterior than the grey stone minarets of other converted churches. Probably also during this conversion, the windows in southern and northern walls were bricked up.

Projects: The building was studied by M.I. Nomides in 1937/38, but the results of this work were published by Mango only in 1990 as "*The Work of M.I. Nomides in the Vefa Kilise Camii, Istanbul*". Beneath the (Palaeologean) outer narthex vaulted tombs were discovered. The outer narthex mosaics were partly uncovered, but they have never been properly studied. In 1979 the mosaics were whitewashed covered again. Only the south dome's mosaics, dated to end of thirteenth century, are uncovered and visible. The figural representations (including emperors), however, have been badly painted or plastered over, while the remaining non-figural decorative work is exposed. In the main dome we also find decorative mosaics in the

window niches, while the paintings on dome and apse appear to be from the end of the Ottoman period. Ousterhout's remark that "the conservative Islamist community has made the building virtually inaccessible" could not be confirmed during my visit to the church, when the Imam proudly pointed to the "gold" mosaics of Byzantine origin in the south dome.

Current state: Although the façade retains much of its historic appearance, the interior has suffered from uninformed refurbishment. The space north of the prayer hall has been transformed into a toilet, sporting a quite majestic entrance via a stone doorway topped by a molded lintel flanked by two columns with Byzantine capitals whose sculpturedness is partly concealed with plaster. Much of the interior is painted over in white and green, including some relief panels left of the entrance.

Signage: None

Bibliography: Van Millingen 1912:243-52; Mathews 1976:386-7; Mango 1990:421-9; Ousterhout 2000; Kırımtayıf 2001:28-31; Müller-Wiener 2001:169-71; Freely and Çakmak 2004:207-10.

4. Conclusion: The Future of Istanbul's Byzantine Heritage - Perspectives, Chances, and Obstacles

We have seen that present problems regarding the preservation of the Byzantine heritage of Istanbul have multidimensional pre-histories. It was at least to a certain degree the antagonism between the modern states of Turkey and Greece associated with the modern interpretations of nationalism and the identification of the Byzantine heritage as "Greek" that obstructed the development of Byzantine studies in Turkish universities. As has been mentioned, the few art historians that were trained in Byzantine studies, even if initially enthusiastic, did not continue their work on the subject due to certain obstacles. This situation ultimately led to a lack of scholars in Byzantine architectural history that would have constituted the critical mass of experts needed to assess the quality or historical authenticity of the so often-criticized restorations undertaken by the Pious Foundations or the Municipality of Istanbul referred in the previous sections. Presumably, local experts would have also formed a counterweight to the dominance of foreign scholars in this field. It should be stressed, however, that in the field of Byzantine history, archaeology, and also art history an appreciable amount of Turkish scholars have been, and are recently more active. Their contributions, however, have often gone unnoticed as many publish their research in Turkish. They are also less present at international conferences than their western colleagues due to more limited opportunities offered at Turkish public universities. This situation, stemming from local shortcomings, is not a feature confined to Byzantine scholarship in Turkey but affects other disciplines as well.

The second key problem is the lack of awareness of the importance of protection of cultural heritage and inadequate training in its conservation and management. This is exemplified even today in the disastrous reconstruction of the Land Walls and the *ad hoc* restoration of Küçük Aya Sofya, both major monuments of World Heritage. Unlike sometimes supposed from the outside, it is not only the Byzantine heritage that suffers from this situation. Except for the demolitions in the course of "urban development", many of the destructions mentioned have not been committed by state bodies but by individuals, including the effects of "illegal urbanization". The failure of the responsible institutions herein is that they evidently did not establish effective mechanisms to halt such losses. Eyice (1990:43) has further lamented a disorganization in-, and lack of communication between the different institutions responsible for the preservation of these monuments. One particular problem is the fragmentation in ownership over, and responsibilities for the historical heritage: the walls, cisterns, and aqueducts, for example, are the responsibility of the metropolitan municipality, while most mosques are the responsibility of the Pious Foundations, others that of the Ayasofya Museums. Other historical assets (both existing monuments as well as finds surfacing in excavations) fall under yet another responsibility, that of the Archaeological Museums. Kiel (et al. 2001:6) believes that a further problem lies in the organization of restorations in Turkey, which are, at least in case of the Pious Foundations' restorations which he speaks of, led by architects, and mostly without consultation of art historians. His recommendation for improvement is as follows:

> "As art historians we should try to find better mechanisms to protect the monuments of the past against good-intentioned but ill-advised restorers. This, though, may require a major change in the organization of restorations in Turkey. Persons more

> qualified to judge should play a more important role in the process of decision-making when dealing with restorations and maintenance. Why should art historians not have a say in guarding Turkey's rich patrimony?"

Less diplomatic is the recommendation given by Michelmore (2006:39-40) in a very recent report prepared for UNESCO/ICOMOS:

> "The mission was concerned that current restoration work to the city walls (which is to include the restoration of the Byzantine palace buildings of Tekfur Saray and Ayvansaray) is so destructive as to severely compromise their authenticity if allowed to continue. It therefore recommends that all work should be halted until training in the conservation of ruined monuments to international standards has been provided and the current proposals have been revised."

While a better monitoring of present and future restoration projects can be recommended at any rate, we also have to accept the fact that much of what could have been saved is now irrevocably lost. While an extensive preservation policy covering the whole of the Historical Peninsula as a kind of "Museum City" is, at this stage, not entirely feasible, one should instead, as already suggested by Mango (1993:64) and Akyürek (2001:32) focus on certain "islands", where the density of historical fabric is higher. These should be equipped with stricter laws and, significantly, better control, so that they both be preserved as well as integrated into the life of the city.

The existence of a large number of Byzantine monuments may sound impressive to the casual visitor, who gets to know this heritage through its most prominent

representatives, the Hagia Sophia, Kariye, Fethiye, or Kalenderhane mosques. But many other buildings have been altered so much during their centuries-long existence that they are sometimes hardly representative of their original character or not attractive enough to really draw wider interest (as, for example, the Kefeli Mosque or the Sancaktar Hayrettin Mescidi). Therefore, it becomes apparent that priorities must be identified. In terms of the "islands" Mango suggested, the northwest section of the Historical Peninsula appears a logical choice. In recent years also the Fener-Balat project, concerned mostly with the conservation of these historic quarters with residential fabric from the nineteenth century, has put this area into the spotlight, and an eventual revitalization of these quarters, which until recently were slums, is in sight. In connection with the Byzantine monuments in that region (Kariye, Fethiye, Gül, Hirami Ahmet Paşa, Atik Mustafa Paşa mosques, St Mary of the Mongols church, Blachernae area and Tekfur palace) this area should be the prime target of a more comprehensive upgrading, including proper signage on the monuments themselves, as well as the establishment of walking routes between the sights in this maze of streets. The presentation of the history and character of individual monuments by way of proper signage on them would be, in any case, a potentially rewarding effort that could be achieved at almost no expense.

Other monuments outside this area suggest themselves as logical candidates for future attention. Among these, prominently, is the İmhahor Camii, formerly St. John of Stoudios, the only preserved basilical church in Istanbul and, dating from the mid-fifth century, also its oldest standing Christian building. Located at the outer edge of the walled city, it is not a location which many would visit to see the unassuming ruins of a church. Thereby, next to adequate restoration efforts, additional

programming (museum?) must be made for such building which, if not taken care of in the near future, will be lost.

In other cases, chances for a proper representation of monuments, with the ultimate aim to generate interest among passers-by, have not been fully used. The Saraçhane archaeological site, the remains of the church of St. Polyeuktos, for example, realizes little of the once-voiced ambition to make it an "archaeological park". With no signage at all, and polluted with trash, this site in a very central area of the Historical Peninsula looks more like an haphazardly abandoned excavation or even construction site. This is a lost chance because much more could have been achieved with very little resources: a few plates to inform the public what it is that they see; a few light-bulbs that would illuminate the site after dark; and a cleaning troop that, at least once in a while, removes the trash that people throw into the trench of this site of which most probably do not even know what it represents due to lack of signage. If people knew more about the significance of such remains, and one makes the effort to explain to them why this structure was important in the history of the city, they might not only appreciate it but also develop a degree of respect and, ultimately, a higher awareness for the value of cultural heritage.

Although much of this study has conveyed a rather pessimistic picture, it should be noted that, particularly since recent years, many positive development are taking place. More specialized educational programs at universities have been created (MS program in restoration and preservation of historic monuments at the Middle East Technical University/Ankara, MA program in Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management at Koç University/Istanbul, MA program in Preservation of

Cultural Heritage at Kadir Has University/Istanbul), new research institutes have been founded (Anatolian Civilizations Institute/ACI, Istanbul Research Institute; both in Istanbul). This is not solely due to threats by UNESCO to place the monuments of World Heritage in Istanbul in the list of World Heritage in danger. Indeed, among governmental institutions certain changes in mentality can be discerned and the media is assuming an increasingly active role. With cultural tourism having become a very powerful sector in recent decades, the importance of historical monuments and their preservation are also increasingly understood as a resource that needs to be protected.

In the near future, a key event in this regard will be the year 2010, when Istanbul will figure as the "Cultural Capital of Europe". After initial enthusiasm, also more "critical" opinions have been voiced over the expectations of how Istanbul's multi-cultural heritage will be represented. Akif Emre of the Yeni Şafak newspaper, for example, has stated both during a panel and in his own column (Emre 2006) that bringing out the Byzantine heritage of the city would result in "problems" regarding the Islamic identity of the city, and if "Europe" would expect such display, this could result in a problematic situation and must be reconsidered. Other voices have insisted on the multi-layered nature of Istanbul's heritage and that none of the historical layers – Byzantine, Ottoman, or modern – can legitimately claim a more prominent place. It is still to be hoped that in the course of the preparations for the year 2010 yet unexploited resources will be activated and new initiatives developed.

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