A LONG-NEGLECTED PAST BETWEEN THE ROMAN AND OTTOMAN: A RE-ASSESSMENT, VALORIZATION AND RE-PRESENTATION OF BYZANTINE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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This research seeks to investigate the re-assessment, valorization and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey through the current practices of preservation and presentation. Byzantine cultural heritage is an important part of the cultural continuity of Turkey. It survives in a variety of cultural and geographical contexts, as well as within different scales of settlement, building typology and cultural strata.

The preservation and valorization of cultural heritage for a particular period of the past is only possible by its adoption by the societies it influences. An efficient narrative and representation of cultural heritage is the strongest way to ensure the adoption of the past. A shared past and values make the adoption process easier for society, however, without cultural and religious links with the Byzantine civilization, it is clear that Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey has been neglected for decades, perhaps centuries.

With this in mind, we might justifiably claim that Turkey's Byzantine past can be labelled as 'long-neglected' when trying to examine how Byzantium is understood

and treated in Turkey, and also how it is represented in the literature. Although interest in Byzantium has increased over recent decades, the study of its cultural heritage, however, has featured less in the archaeological investigations, academic studies, and conservarvation practices when compared so far to the Classical, Seljuk, and Ottoman periods.

The core of the present research is based on the current physical conditions and uses of Byzantine structures and their remains, and involves a comprehensive literature survey as well as a series of field studies in Turkey and other countries to examine current conservation and presentation practices. Various factors affecting attitudes towards Byzantine heritage and its understanding (e.g. historical, ethnic, socio-cultural, religious, educational, economic, the role of the mass media) are examined in detail. Following this, Byzantine cultural heritage is classified in four groups according to geographical context, settlement scale in terms of location, and archaeological characteristics. These groups are: Byzantine cultural heritage in urban settlements and archaeological settings; Byzantine cultural heritage in rural settlements and archaeological settings; Byzantine cultural heritage in individual archeological sites; and Byzantine cultural heritage as part of cultural landscapes.

The selected case study areas within these groups were visited and analyzed according to determined criteria linked to ‘state of preservation’ designated after preliminary analyses, and a set of criteria for ‘state of presentation’, fixed according to recognized international documents. The particular evaluations of each case are presented at the end of the analyses. In addition, the current state of Byzantine heritage in the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean is also examined Chapter 4, on a comparative basis, to provide an objective viewpoint for attitudes towards Byzantium in Turkey.

The dialogue between society and heritage needs to be established and strengthened, so as to provide a better understanding and interaction with the past, before its presentation to and adoption by wider audiences. In this context, the necessity of

constructing ‘meaning’ from the past and establishing a narrative are key factors. It is thus crucial to produce high-quality knowledge on Byzantium and its heritage, determine how this content should be used/presented, and identify the stakeholders of this process, so that the preservation, valorization, and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage can be disseminated ever more widely and efficiently.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage; Byzantium/Byzantine; Conservation; Representation; Valorization.

ÖZ

ROMA İLE OSMANLI ARASINDA İHMAL EDİLMİŞ BİR GEÇMİŞ: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ BİZANS KÜLTÜR MİRASININ YENİDEN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ, DEĞER KAZANDIRILMASI VE SUNUMU

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Bu çalışma Türkiye'deki Bizans kültür mirasının, güncel koruma yaklaşımları ve sunum yöntemleri üzerinden yeniden değerlendirilmesi, değer kazandırılması ve sunumu üzerine öneriler geliştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bizans kültür mirası, Türkiye'deki kültürel sürekliliğin önemli bir parçasını oluşturmaktadır. Çeşitli kültürel ve coğrafi bağlamlarda var olan Bizans kültür mirası, farklı yerleşim ölçekleri, yapı tipleri ve kültürel katmanlarda gözlemlenebilmektedir.

Geçmişin bir dönemine ait kültürel mirasın etkin bir şekilde korunabilmesi ve değer kazandırılması onun ancak toplum tarafından anlaşılması ve sahiplenilmesi ile mümkündür. Bu da o dönemin ve kültür mirasının etkin bir şekilde anlatılması ve sunulması ile mümkündür. Ancak, Türkiye'de Bizans kültür mirası, günümüz Türk toplumunun bu uygarlık ile ortak dini ve etnik bağları veya kültürel değerleri olmadığından uzunca bir zaman ihmal edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'deki Bizans kültür mirasına yaklaşımı etkileyen tarihi, etnik, sosyo-kültürel, dini, eğitimsel ve ekonomik faktörler ve medya/kitle iletişim araçlarının rolü bağlamında detaylı bir şekilde tartışılmıştır.

Türkiye'deki Bizans algısı ve literatürdeki çalışmalar incelendiğinde, Bizans dönemi uzun zaman 'ihmal edilmiş' bir geçmiş olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Yakın geçmişte, Bizans dönemine ilgi ve çalışmalar artmış olup arkeolojik alanlardaki kazılarda Bizans döneminin öne çıktığı araştırmalara rastlamak mümkündür. Fakat, literatürdeki çalışmaların koruma uygulamalarındaki karşılığı sınırlıdır. Bilimsel araştırmaların yoğunlaştığı bölgeler ve kentler ve Bizans yapılarının bugünkü kullanımı ve fiziksel durumu, bu çalışmadaki odak noktaların belirlenmesinde temel faktörleri oluşturmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Bizans kültür mirası bulunduğu coğrafi bağlam ve yerleşim özelliklerine göre sınıflandırılmış ve dört ana grupta incelenmiştir: kentsel yerleşimlerdeki Bizans kültür mirası; kırsal yerleşimlerdeki Bizans kültür mirası; arkeolojik alanlar; ve kültürel peyzaj alanlarındaki Bizans kültür mirası. Bu ana gruplar altında seçilen örnek alan çalışmaları üzerinden koruma ve sunum uygulamaları belirlenen kriterlere göre analiz edilmiş ve her bir grup için özgün değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır. Türkiye'deki yaklaşımları daha objektif ortaya koyabilmek amacıyla, Doğu Akdeniz ve Balkanlarda Bizans kültür mirasının bulunduğu ülkelerdeki benzer örnekler incelenmiş ve karşılaştırmalı olarak sunulmuştur.

Bizans kültür mirasının daha iyi anlaşılması, sahiplenilmesi ve sunulması için toplum ve miras arasındaki diyaloğun oluşturulması ve güçlendirilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu çerçevede, Bizans ve kültür mirasına dair bilgi, anlam ve içerik üretilmesi, bu içeriğin hangi araçlarla nasıl kullanılacağı ve sunulacağı, bu sürecin paydaşları ve hedef kitlesinin belirlenmesi, Bizans kültür mirasının korunması ve değer kazandırılması için oldukça önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kültürel Miras; Bizans; Koruma; Sunum; Değer Kazandırma.

to my beloved son, Mahir

"*Dünyanın dışına atılmış bir adımdın sen…*"

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party)

ANAMED: The Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations

CHP: *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party)

GABAM : The Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies

GEEAYK : *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu* (The High Council of Antiquities and Monuments)

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property)

TÜBİTAK : The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey

TÜİK: *Türkiye İstatitik Kurumu* (The Turkish Statistical Institution)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Byzantine Empire was the real successor of the Roman Empire and left a great legacy and hundreds of cultural heritage sites to the lands that it ruled. Byzantine culture reveals itself in two different ways: first in terms of their culture and physical environment, which can be observed through the architecture and urban topography of the Byzantine cities. The second way relates to the governmental structure and organizations developed to maintain the empire, including law, economics and politics. Thus, the civilizations that followed inherited the legacy of the Byzantine Empire, although they did not recognize it completely, as well as the societies who lived with or within the Byzantine Empire and learned from them.

However, understanding the legacy of Byzantium and approaches towards the Byzantine past can be challenging. Averil Cameron notes that "For most historians, Byzantium is an absence". She explains that the understanding of Byzantium for most Europeans, except Greeks and other Eastern Orthodox communities, is mostly negative and the word Byzantium evokes concepts that can be typified as "exotic and (probably) bureaucratic and even corrupt".[1] Obviously, the understanding of Byzantium and its legacy is more complicated for Muslim-Ottoman and Muslim-Turkish societies. Interactions between Byzantine and Ottoman societies had already started before the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. The influences of Byzantium on the Ottoman Empire, i.e. culture, architecture, politics, administration, have been discussed by several scholars and will be introduced in Chapter 2. Differences between the two cultures were also obvious – ethnic, religious and socio-cultural

[1] Cameron 2006, 3.

values, and thus tensions between the Byzantine and present Turkish culture reflects these differences.

The diverse attitudes towards Byzantium, in terms of cultural and educational policies, conservation strategies and applications, and also public perceptions of the Byzantine legacy, require detailed analysis. Factors affecting these attitudes, and the results of them, can be observed by examination of the material culture of Byzantium. The material culture that the Byzantine Empire left in modern Turkish lands is a rich one, expressed through the examination of different building types, urban patterns, architectural organizations, works of art, etc. The architectural heritage of the Byzantine period is visible on several different levels, including archaeological remains within urban and rural settlements and archaeological sites (neglected or maintained), and reused buildings within urban settlements. Considering their physical condition, many Byzantine cultural heritage sites are neglected, except for the ones in use. The conservation issues depend on particular conditions, but the discriminative approaches towards Byzantium and its heritage in conservation and presentation strategies require explanation. The understanding and experiencing of Byzantine cultural heritage is also affected by these approaches. The adoption of cultural heritage is only possible by understanding and interacting with them, as Helaine Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles have noted:[2]

> Cultural heritage requires memory. It is not enough for things and monuments to exist on a landscape: in order to be cultural heritage, they must be remembered and claimed as patrimony, even their original meaning is lost or poorly understood. In this sense cultural heritage is always, to some degree, intangible. For tangible and intangible cultural heritage to have meaning and potency, the heritage must be active, dynamic, used, and performed, rather than existing inert and static.

Thus, the meaning of Byzantium and the values that Byzantine culture heritage represent for Turkish society should be analyzed in order to determine issues of conservation and presentation. Interactions with audiences from different backgrounds and cultural heritages are critical in terms of understanding and

[2] Silverman and Ruggles 2007, 12.

interpreting the past. Within this context, cultural heritage sites should be preserved and presented to ensure dialogues between past and present.

1.1 Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This research is not a documentation of Byzantine heritage, but rather a corpus of contextual research. It comprises the architectural history of Byzantium and a critical review of conservation approaches and representations of Byzantine heritage. The main objective is the production of 'high-quality' knowledge, constructing a real meaning of the past, and establishing a narrative on Byzantium – all geared towards improved understanding and adoption.

Studies on Byzantium within the disciplines of history, art history, history of architecture, archaeology, and the conservation of cultural heritage in Turkey and abroad are extensive. Within the field of architectural conservation, these mostly focus on specific periods, sites, building types, including descriptions, documentation, and conservation proposals. To reveal an overall understanding of Byzantium, and the conservation/representation problems of its cultural heritage from a wider perspective, any discussion needs to be non site-specific and not be tied only to significant periods or building types. This requires a comprehensive approach and detailed research. The impact of the imagery and meaning of Byzantium, for different societal groups, on the preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage has not been examined in detail, and this present research is rare in investigating attitudes toward Byzantium and the reasons for them in cross-cultural/cross-geographical contexts, and current practices of preservation and presentation through extensive case studies. This research, therefore, is expected to contribute to the literature on several fronts: its wide content on Byzantium, and how it is understood and adopted in Turkey, the theoretical framework on which the research is constructed, and also the methodology adopted for analyzing Byzantine cultural heritage features in Turkey.

The preservation and valorization of cultural heritage for a particular period of the past is only possible by being adopted by society. An efficient narrative and representation of cultural heritage is the strongest way to ensure the adoption of the past. However, Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey has been neglected for a long time, due to historical, socio-cultural, ethnic, religious, economic, political and pragmatic factors. These factors have influenced policies of education and tourism, and have controlled the economic levers behind the preservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites. In particular, educational environments are critical for the creation of awareness about past cultures and promoting understanding of heritage. Tourism policies and investments in the preservation of archaeological remains to the widest possible range of audiences are uncoordinated, and Byzantine remains in particular suffer from neglect in most ancient cities. Thus, this research aims to investigate the reasons behind the long neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey and discuss the re-assessment, valorization, and representation of it by analyzing current practices in conservation and representation through selected cases.

To date, the Byzantine Empire has been studied and investigated, in terms of its history, politics, art, and architecture, by eminent national and international scholars. A comprehensive literature review will be discussed later, but it is noticeable that, until quite recently, Byzantine cultural heritage sites have not been a focus of interest, and, indeed, have been excluded in archaeological investigations and conservation applications, except for certain monumental structures, or if relevant to specific cultural, religious and economic factors. There are several reasons for this exclusion and neglect, but the underlying issue is the problem of the adoption of the Byzantine past and heritage in Turkey. A shared past and values make the adoption process easier for society, however, without religious, ethnic or cultural links with Byzantium, the Byzantine cultural heritage cannot be widely adopted, and may even be cast aside generally. Even more seriously, the Byzantine past and its cultural heritage may be exposed to negative attitudes, other than negligence and ignorance,

as a result of the deliberate misinterpretation of Byzantine history and bias against Byzantine culture and heritage.

The results of these attitudes can be observed in the conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within different parts of Turkey. Of course, there are also very well-maintained and appreciated Byzantine structures, and the reasons for this vary according to different factors which will be explained in the following chapters. Preeminently, the Church of St. Sophia and the Kalenderhane Mosque (Church of Theotokos Kyriotissa) can be exemplified as well-maintained Byzantine monuments, explained by the fact that they are in use as places of worship today. They were converted into mosques in the Ottoman period, with St. Sophia becoming a museum in the Republican period before resuming its role as a mosque again in 2020 (Figs. 1.1, 1.2). Contrasting with these famous buildings, the Boukoleion Palace and the Hippodrome in central İstanbul have been in ruins for centuries, despite their monumental scale; the Byzantine remains in the Sultanahmet Archaeological Park also suffer from considerable neglect (Figs. 1.3, 1.4, 1.5). However, in recent decades one may point to increased interest in Byzantium and its heritage, particularly in terms of archaeological research. Understandably, therefore, the Byzantine period and its cultural heritage sites is seen in this present research as 'the long-neglected' past.



Figure 1.1. İstanbul, the Church of St. Sophia re-converted into a mosque, 2020.



Figure 1.2. İstanbul, Kalenderhane Mosque, 2015.



Figure 1.3. İstanbul, Boukoleion Palace, 2020.



Figure 1.4. İstanbul, the Hippodrome, 2020.



Figure 1.5. İstanbul, Sultanahmet Archeological Park, 2020.

As indicated, after protracted neglect and lack of conservation projects, archaeological investigations, and concerted academic interest, in the last decades the number of Byzantine studies has increased in the literature. The Byzantium-Early Islam (BYZeIS) Project (2008) is a significant international study aiming to increase public awareness in the importance of the cultural heritage of Byzantium and Early Islam within the wider Eastern Mediterranean region. This project has now been published as *Byzantium-Early Islam Cultural Heritage Management: Shared Experience Beyond Boundaries*, representing the work of a range of scholars. In it, Ufuk Serin's chapter reveals the problems in understanding, adoption, and interpretation of Byzantium and its heritage in Turkey, and has been very inspiring for this present research.[3] The overall project has been a fruitful resource for the approaches and focal points of this present study.

Naturally enough, Byzantium has also been the subject of research projects, archaeological excavations, graduate and academic studies in Turkey. Various research institutes supporting Byzantine studies have been established in recent years; the number of research projects has been increasing and there is great potential

[3] Serin 2008.

and a reservoir of knowledge waiting to be discovered. National universities and their relevant departments, graduate studies programs supervised by expert academics, and specific research institutes for Byzantine studies, or which involve Byzantine studies, include GABAM (The Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies), ANAMED (The Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University), and the Boğaziçi University Byzantine Studies Research Center, all of which contribute to the development of research activities and sharing environments for Byzantine specialists. TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) is a governmental organization providing funds for the research projects of Turkish scholars, but it currently has only nine projects based on Byzantine studies on its database.[4] In addition to TÜBİTAK, various state universities also support and sponsor academic research under the Coordinate of Scientific Research Projects. Of the major state universities leading the way in education and research in Turkey, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul Technical University, the Middle East Technical University, Istanbul University, and the Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts currently have research projects looking at Byzantine art, archaeology, architecture, and history.[5] Examining the range of graduate studies (mainly masters' theses and dissertations), there are many researches within the database of the Council of Higher Education in Turkey, covering a wide range of fields, including history, art history, archaeology, archaeometry, anthropology, architecture, history of architecture, conservation of cultural heritage, fine arts, ancient linguistics and cultures, and museology.[6] However, considering the great diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within urban/rural settlements and archaeological areas, the number and scope of studies

[4] URL-1 (retrieved 21.06.2021).
[5] 'Byzantine' and 'Bizans' are the keywords used in the database research. For the projects at Boğaziçi University, see URL-2. For the projects at Istanbul Technical University, see URL-3. For the projects at Middle East Technical University, see URL-4. For the projects at Istanbul University, see URL-5 (retrieved 21.06.2021).
[6] URL-6 (retrieved 21.06.2021).

involved with the conservation of Byzantine heritage, its understanding and representation, is limited.

Theoretical frameworks and approaches towards Byzantium are central for the evaluation of the present studies. The Byzantine past of modern Turkey can be problematic and subjective in terms of the interpretation and representation processes in any medium, i.e. literature, art, cinema, architecture, etc. Thus, a comprehensive study investigating the different attitudes towards Byzantium and its heritage, and also the drivers behind them, are essential to understand and evaluate the present situation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey within the various, geographical, and cultural contexts.

Major international charters and documents underline the important concepts and conservation approaches for cultural heritage sites, with an emphasis on all periods and contexts. In the light of this emphasis, concepts such as historical and cultural continuity, cultural significance, those values defining the significance of cultural heritage sites, and the authenticity and interpretation of the past, will all be highlighted as important themes within this present research. The interpretation of these concepts and approaches in Turkey, considering the cultural, historical, ethnic and religious backgrounds, is challenging, especially in terms of Byzantium and its heritage. Therefore, one of the main focuses of this study is based on concerns for the understanding, interpretation and adoption of Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage as they relate to the modern nation.

The present conditions of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey will be examined in this present work in terms of their states of preservation and presentation, as reflected through selected examples. This research is conducted on the basis of several different analyses which focus on the historical, socio-cultural, and architectural backgrounds of Byzantine cultural heritage sites from a critical perspective. Beyond that, to create an objective point of view, it is important to examine the factors affecting conservation strategies and representation methods pertaining to Byzantine cultural heritage sites, i.e. location, stratification, state of conservation, period/civilization to which they belong, socio-cultural context, and

economic and cultural expectations. As such, this research topic is both comprehensive and challenging for Turkey. The reasons for this complexity and challenge can be summarized as issues of diversity, and difficulties in classification and identification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, determination of the criteria to analyze and evaluate them, and efforts in proposing the holistic approach necessary for tackling the research topic effectively. Thus, this study is also expected to contribute to the Byzantine studies' literature in Turkey in terms of its theoretical framework and comprehensive approach for the re-assessment, valorization and representation of its Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

Within the scope of this work, the criteria for the selection of Byzantine cultural heritage sites are defined in such a way as to provide a comprehensive framework for Byzantium and its heritage in Turkey. There are different approaches towards defining the chronology of the Empire, but for our purposes the periodization of Byzantium is fixed according to the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.[7] Thus there are three periods: Early Byzantine (between 324-330 CE and 565 CE), Middle Byzantine (565-1204 CE), and Late Byzantine (1204-1453 CE). Specific cultural heritage sites have been selected to this end, and each case study area is examined according to its own characteristics, chronology and specific conditions in order to clarify the current situation affecting Turkey's Byzantine cultural heritage and the reasons behind its neglect over the past decades and centuries. However, we make clear that not all Byzantine remains and buildings suffer while sites from other, previous, civilizations are being well maintained. What stands out as crucial therefore within this research, via documentation, analysis and evaluations of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, is to realize not only their physical condition, but also their significance for the nation's historical and cultural continuity.

In this context, the first group for analysis is defined as 'Byzantine cultural heritage

[7] Kazhdan *et al.* 1991, vol.1, 345. Jonathan Shephard's *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire* is also a much respected source and he describes (2008, 26, 30, 42) the periods as: Earlier Empire (500-700 CE), Middle Empire (700-1204 CE); and Later Middle Ages (1204-1492 CE).

sites in urban settlements'. İstanbul/Constantinople, understandably, is the main setting for this section, as the capital of the Empire for centuries. The city is investigated by looking at its Byzantine city walls, churches (St. Sophia, St. Eirene, Chora), its open and closed cisterns (the Basilica Cistern/Yerebatan Sarnıcı, the Cistern of Theodosius II/Şerefiye Cistern, the Nakilbent Street cistern, the Sultan Cistern, the Mokios cistern/Fındıkzade Çukurbostan Parkı, the Aspar Cistern/Çarşamba Çukurbostan Parkı, and the Aeitus Cistern/Karagümrük Stadı), as well as the harbor of Theodosius II. After visiting the sites, each is assessed according to fixed criteria for states of preservation and presentation.

Iznik/Nicaea is the next setting, representing the leading provincial center and also the imperial capital for a period (1204-1261). İznik's major Byzantine cultural heritage sites are represented as surviving examples in two groups: city walls and Byzantine churches (St. Sophia, Koimesis, St. Tryphon).

Each group of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Istanbul and İznik is first briefly introduced in terms of its historical and archaeological features, history of research, excavation, and conservation works. Following this, the current situation and analysis of the selected sites, and evaluations, are explained.

The second group for analysis comprises 'Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements'. The primary concern here is the level of integration between the Byzantine remains and their rural settlements. There are two basic approaches when looking at rural settlements with archaeological areas: continuity of co-existence and integration (physical, socio-cultural, economic). Major sites investigated include Iasos/Kıyıkışlacık (Muğla), Herakleia-Latmos/Kapıkırı (Muğla), Elaiussa-Sebaste/Ayaş (Mersin), and Aizanoi/Çavdarhisar (Kütahya). Villages relocated within certain distances from archaeological sites were also visited (e.g. Geyre/Aphrodisias and Stratonikeia/Eskihisar). The villages comprising Binbirkilise and Değle/Madenşehri provide a specific example, representing the two highlighted attitudes (both co-existence and integration) and generating a comprehensive discussion about conservation attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites in

rural settlements. For example, Madenşehri is still inhabited and includes significant Byzantine-period remains within it rural landscape, while, on the other hand, Değle is now abandoned and relocated due to several factors. Furthermore, Binbirkilise is significant on account of its number of Christian churches and other Byzantine structures, including residential buildings, tombs, and cisterns.

Similar to the previous section, a brief historical and archaeological description, research history, excavation and conservation backgrounds, are introduced first. Following these is an analysis of the current conditions of Binbirkilise's Byzantine remains, presented through its Byzantine churches and residential buildings, based on the criteria of the states of preservation and presentation prepared specifically for this analysis. Finally, evaluations of each criterion are discussed.

The third part of our study involves 'Byzantine cultural heritage sites in archaeological areas', involving an examination of the conservation and representation priorities in multi-period archaeological areas to reveal the present conditions of Byzantine remains and attitudes towards them. Demonstrably, the monumental structures of the Hellenistic and Roman periods attract public attention more than Byzantine structures do, for reasons of scale and ornamentation. Thus, they are considered as sites of cultural heritage with more potential for cultural tourism and income generation. Beyond these economic expectations, increasing interest in Classical periods and their remains in the archaeological studies of the 19th century and later, led to Byzantine structures being neglected, or even in some cases demolished. Obviously, there are also historical, religious and political factors lying behind this exclusion and neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, and these issues will be covered in Chapters 2 and 3.

The regions of Anatolia are settings for many significant archaeological sites, dating to different periods and with a rich and diverse stratigraphy. There are ancient cities where Byzantine strata dominate, such as Korykos in Cilicia and Dara in further to the East. However, multi-period archaeological areas are many, and various types of co-existence of Byzantine structures with those of earlier periods are observable. In

this section, the case studies are selected according to stratification and multicultural identity of sites, the number of researches, excavations and surveys conducted there, and the historical, architectural and religious significance of the Byzantine period. In particular, Ephesus and Ayasuluk are looked at to analyze the states of preservation and presentation of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites they include. The Byzantine period of Ephesus has been examined since the 1960s, and the literature on it is extensive, including its history, archaeology, architecture, and conservation. A site of pilgrimage until medieval times, Ephesus is of huge interest still, with its architecture, urban topography, cultural strata, and religious significance. Its two churches of St. John and St. Mary, as well as the 'Grotto of the Seven Sleepers', are examined as Christian pilgrimage sites, using the same approach as previous sections of our research here: an introduction, brief historical and archaeological descriptions, and history of the research, excavation, and conservation. Analyses of the current conditions, again based on the criteria of the states of preservation and presentation prepared specifically for this group, are presented, along with evaluations of each criterion.

The final group for analysis is defined as 'Byzantine cultural heritage sites designated as cultural landscape'. Cappadocia represents the only region in Turkey generally accepted as being a cultural landscape that includes significant examples of Byzantine art and architecture. The morphology and landscape of the region is peculiar in terms of its geographical and settlement formation, topography, and material. Cappadocia is clearly significant for its scope and diversity of religious buildings and art dating to the Early and Middle Byzantine periods. Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Cappadocia are observed in a variety of contexts, such as underground cities, rock-cut settlements and churches, and churches set in remote valleys. In particular, this section investigates the underground city of Derinkuyu and the rock-cut churches in the Ihlara Valley, looking at their states of preservation and presentation based on criteria determined specific to Cappadocia. Brief introductions to the archaeological and historical backgrounds of the sites are also provided.

The understanding of the heritage is closely related to the narrative, both written and visual, in respect of current conservation/representation policies and approaches, and determined values that should be preserved and presented. Thus, this research also aims to evaluate Turkey's Byzantine cultural heritage from a critical perspective, and to propose methodologies for constructing 'meaning' in terms of the Byzantine past, as well as to establish a narrative for its adoption by society. Additionally, appropriate representation tools, environments, and activities are underlined, to foster public awareness and provide satisfactory information for visitors from different backgrounds.

1.2 Methodology

The methodology of this doctoral research includes several stages planned in detail, namely: a literature review in two parts (the theoretical framework, and analyses of Byzantium and its heritage); a classification of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey based on multiple criteria; determination of the criteria of the states of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage based on preliminary analyses and international documents/charters; field surveys in different parts of Turkey and abroad; and on-site analyses and evaluation of selected sites in different groups. Questionnaires were prepared to investigate public understanding and the adoption of Byzantine heritage, but, unfortunately, this process could not be undertaken due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Each of the above stages pursued in this research will be explained in depth.

This research inevitably requires a comprehensive literature review, including the history, art, and architecture of Byzantium, together with political, socio-cultural, ethnic, and religious aspects of the empire. The literature on Byzantium is extensive and includes various resources – ancient and modern/contemporary – as well as archaeological excavation reports, etc. The literature review undertaken here is in two parts: the first creates a theoretical framework for the study, with the other based on the history, archaeology, and conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage in

Turkey, focusing on the selected sites; ignored and overlooked sites were also researched. Literature on conservation, interpretation, and representation of cultural heritage/archaeological sites, international charters and documents, as well as national laws and regulations, was also examined to construct a theoretical research framework for Chapter 2. The literature review for the second group ('Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey) provides a general framework for Byzantine studies in national and international contexts, and the areas where the studies and publications are concentrated, is at the beginning of Chapter 3.

The literature review may be seen to include five groupings: ancient sources, travelogues, basic modern sources/publications, the history of archaeological excavations, and visual documents (maps, drawings, illustrations, photographs, engravings, etc.). The background of Byzantine studies and research, which will be examined in Chapter 2, is dated back to the 17th century, starting in Europe. The themes of history, architecture, culture, and theology of the Byzantine Empire have been studied by different scholars in various contexts. There is currently an extensive written, printed and digital archive consisting of modern sources (travelogues, books, articles, maps, documentation of Byzantine art and architecture) and also reports of archaeological excavations. However, the ancient sources should also be emphasized, comprising the accounts and chronicles of the Byzantine period. These represent the primary sources for investigating and understanding Byzantium.

In the 19th century, the interests of travelers led them to explore the archaeological areas to see, document (and remove) antiquities. Their travelogues provide valuable written and visual information about archaeological cities, including Byzantine strata, and these are reviewed in this research to introduce selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites. These explorers include Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Charles Texier, Edwin John Davis, William John Hamilton, William Martin Leake, and Léon de Laborde. As mentioned, their writings provide us with physical descriptions of archaeological sites and monuments, many of which include what we classify today as Byzantine cultural heritage sites; several have detailed drawings and maps. These

visual and written documents provide valuable information for an historical analysis of Byzantine archaeological sites and monuments across several centuries.

Modern scholars, of course, have contributed to the literature by translating and interpreting some of the ancient sources, as well as producing new material of their own. The increasing scope of documentation and research on Byzantine settlements and buildings at the end of the 19th century was remarkable. In the 20th and 21st centuries, the field of Byzantine studies has also opened out, and many books, articles, research projects (in a variety of media and formats) have appeared. Today, Byzantine culture benefits from an extensive literature based on its history, theology, philology, art, architecture, etc., and the present survey has resulted in a comprehensive theoretical framework for our research, including important concepts and attitudes relevant for analysis and evaluation of Turkey's Byzantine cultural heritage. The scholars who are referenced in this study and their prominent studies are presented in detail at the beginning of the third chapter.

Considering the diversity and wealth of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey, the grouping and definition of them is challenging. However, 'archaeology' provides the key for examining Byzantine cultural heritage sites in this study, as Byzantine strata exist as archaeological layers, with the exception of adaptive reuse projects involving certain monuments/buildings, i.e. converted Byzantine churches and Tekfur Sarayı/Palace of Porphyrogenitus, Blachernae. There are different approaches to the classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey, taking into consideration the diversity of sites in terms of geographical setting, architecture, periodical differences, etc. Thus, multi-criteria classification is more helpful in revealing the explicit features of each site and define them more fully. As well as the differences in topography, the diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage and its context is striking in terms of its stratification with earlier or later civilizations, its architectural characteristics, building scale and typology, significant events, and current use/condition. This diversity enriches the classification parameters, meaning that each criterion has its significance in the definition of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. In the present study, the geographical contexts of Byzantine cultural heritage

sites, and their archaeological backgrounds, are considered primary factors in the classification process. Furthermore, the definitions of heritage sites will be augmented with significant secondary specifications, such as stratification, key periods and events, and the current use and physical condition of the remains. In addition, the social and cultural environments of the sites where a specific Byzantine cultural heritage feature is located, as well as other factors affecting the existence and sustainability of the Byzantine past in terms of its public understanding, identification, and appreciation, will be assessed. Thus, within these contexts, Byzantine cultural heritage sites are classified in four groups, i.e. elements of Byzantine cultural heritage in (1) urban settlements, (2) rural settlements, (3) archaeological areas, and (4) the cultural landscape.

Obviously, it is impossible to include all Byzantine cultural heritage sites, and therefore the selection of which sites to include in this research is paramount. For this, the literature review in the field of Byzantine studies steers the case selection process, together with concerns to involve as diverse a group of examples as possible. However, different parts of Turkey and several sites abroad were visited to make the site selection as relevant as possible (Fig. 1.6). The criteria for case selection are explained for each group, and the selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites are briefly introduced within their historical and archaeological backgrounds. The critical analysis of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of their states of preservation and presentation is the core of this research, and a systematic approach has been adopted to assimilate all the case studies within their different groups. The criteria related to the states of preservation and presentation are shown specifically for each group of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in four categories, i.e. good, average, poor, and in ruins. The determination of the criteria of the analysis of states of preservation is based on preliminary studies on site, as well as a general review of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in each geographical context as explained above. It is not possible to define common criteria for all cultural heritage sites, as this analysis must be site specific and consider the significant characteristics of each location. Nevertheless, our criteria have been defined to create a general framework for the

general evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban and rural settlements, archaeological areas, and within the cultural landscape.

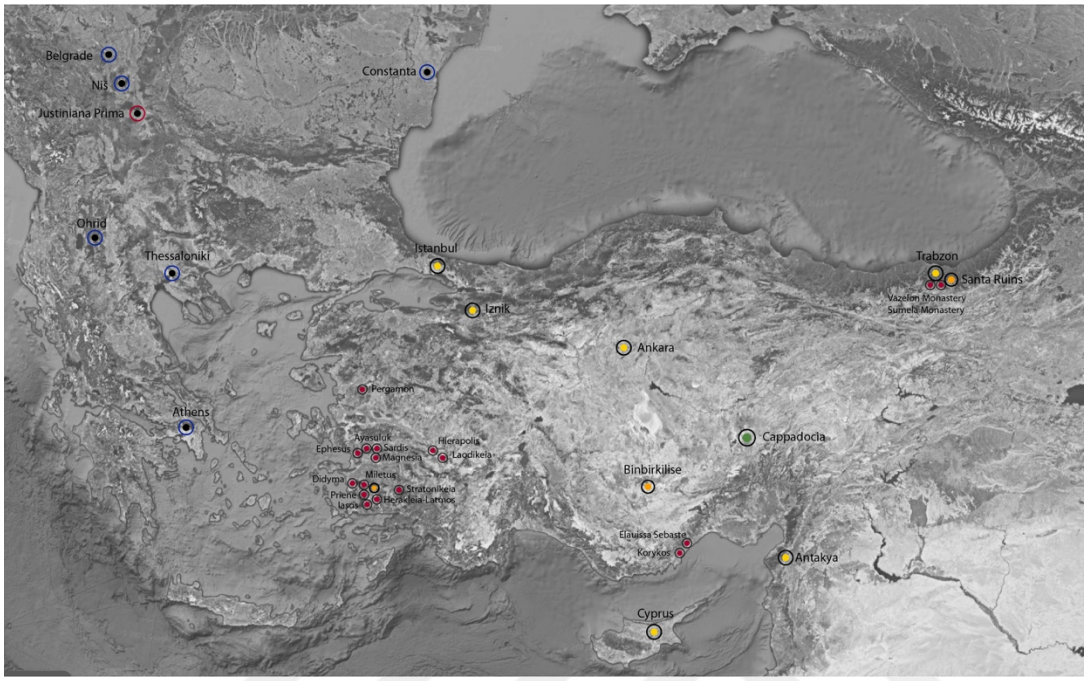


Figure 1.6. Map showing the visited sites and cities, 2020 (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved 10.08.2020).

Each of our groups has more than one site, and thus each criterion is detailed and explained specific to its particular case. The criteria for state of presentation is determined based on the 'ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites', published in 2008. This charter explains the definitions, requirements, and objectives, including the key principles of interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites, i.e. 'to facilitate understanding and appreciation; communicate the meaning; safeguard the tangible and intangible values; respect the authenticity; contribute to the sustainable conservation; encourage inclusiveness and develop technical and professional guidelines'.[9] Four of these principles were primarily chosen in this present research for the analysis of the state of presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in each group in three different states (good, average, and poor), however content was adapted specific to

[9] See ICOMOS 2008b, 3-8.

each classification. The determined criteria for each classification are expressed in Table 1.1. The selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites were visited and documented by simple drawings, mapping, and photographs, and then assessed according to the preferred criteria and explained in detail (Chapter 3). The overall evaluations of the analyses are expressed using color codes in the relevant Tables, and indicated as either good, average, poor, or in ruins for 'state of preservation', and good, average, or poor for 'state of presentation'. Subsequently, each criterion was evaluated and the observations and inferences explained.

The above approach was systematically applied in all the selected sites under the four groups.

Table 1.1 Criteria used to determine the states of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey

Criteria for the state of preservation			
Structural condition	Spatial integrity and impact	Visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details	Past interven-tions/conser-vation projects
Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements			
Structural Condition and Integrity	Authenticity and Impact of Byzantine Remains	Understanding of Byzantine architec-tural/urban context within rural landscapes and their integration	Past Interven-tions/ Conservation Projects/ Archaeological excavations
Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements			
Structural Condition and Integrity	Authenticity and Impact of Byzantine Remains	Understanding of Byzantine architec-tural/urban context within archaeologi-cal areas and their integration	Past Interven-tions/ Conservation Projects/ Archaeological excavations
Byzantine cultural heritage sites in archaeological sites			
Structural condition and spatial integrity	Authenticity and impact of Byzantine art and architecture	Understanding of Byzantine architec-tural/environmental context as a part of cultural landscape and their integration	Past Interven-tions/ Conservation Projects/ Archaeological excavations
Byzantine cultural heritage sites within cultural landscape			
Criteria for the state of presentation			
Access and understanding	Information sources	Attention to setting and context	Preservation of authenticity
Byzantine cultural heritage sites within cultural landscape			

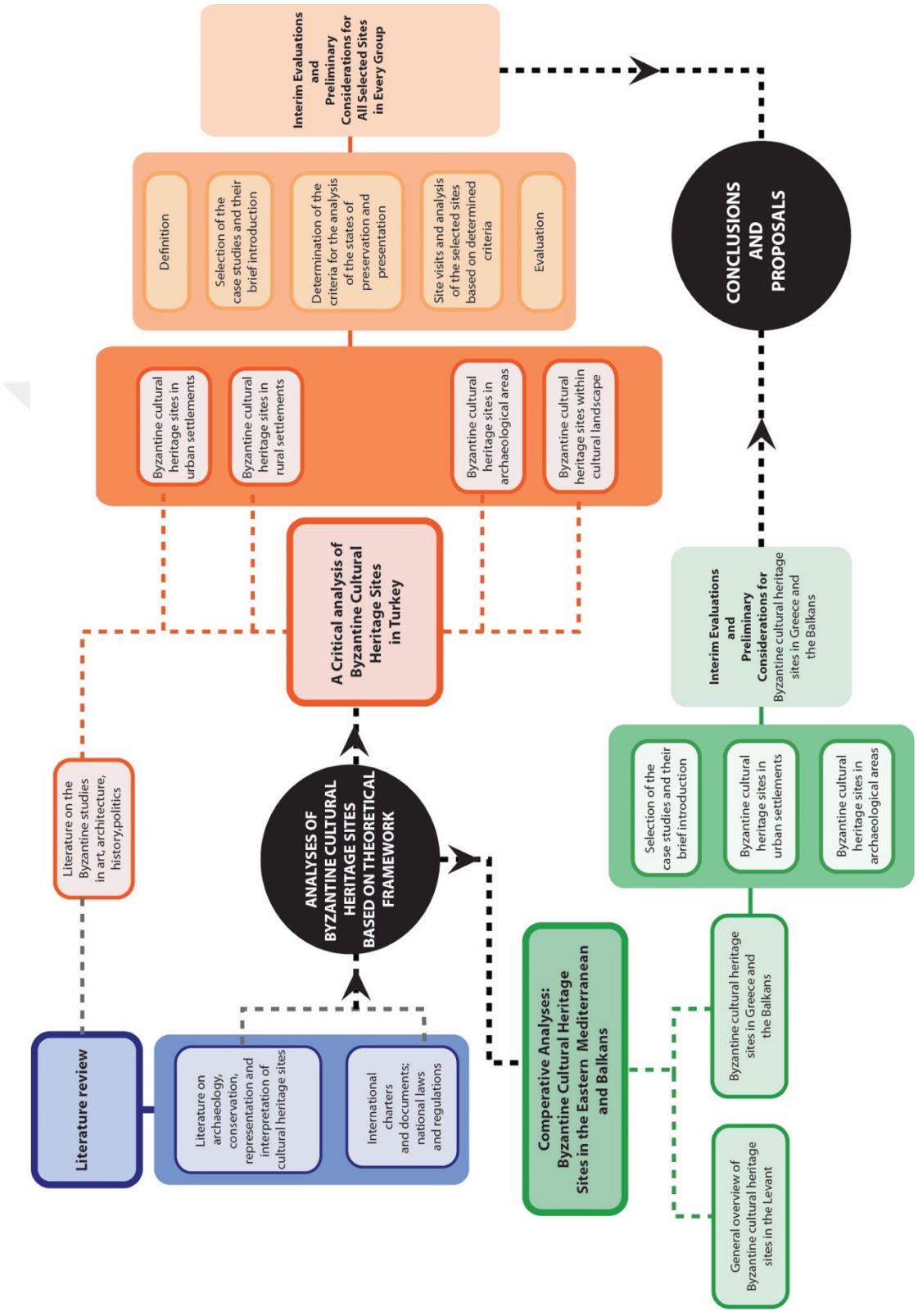
A comparative analysis between Turkey and other countries with Byzantine cultural heritage sites is the next phase of this research. The Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans are the focus here, as the Byzantine Empire dominated these regions over the centuries of their long-lasting rule. In can also be said that these countries share no common values with Byzantium in the present day. Key Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Eastern Mediterranean were overviewed based on a review of the literature and evaluation. These lands were lost by the Byzantine Empire to Arab and Persian incursions in the 6th and 7th centuries, and therefore the Byzantine cultural strata in these regions are limited in comparison to Turkey (and also Greece and the Balkans).

For purposes of comparative analyses, certain Balkan sites were visited by the present author during the course of the research and on-site investigations were conducted to understand and evaluate current conservation and representation practices there. The purpose of these comparative analyses was to reveal any different attitudes in countries whose approaches towards Byzantium are based on common values – religious, cultural, ethnic. These analyses of urban settlements and archaeological areas in different Balkan countries were undertaken using a similar approach to that adopted for the examination of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey.

Interim evaluations of preliminary considerations after analysis of current conservation and representation practices at Byzantine cultural heritage sites, in both Turkey and Balkan regions, form the basis of our concluding remarks and proposals in the final chapter (Chapter 5). This chapter, based on a further review of the research and remarks on each of the preceding chapters, focuses on ‘meaning’ in terms of the Byzantine past and ways of establishing a narrative for the better understanding and adoption of Byzantium and the preservation of its heritage.

Lastly, an overall presentation of the methodology and structure of our research process is the following table (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Phases of the present research.



1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This doctoral research consists of five chapters. The first presents an introduction explaining the reasons for the selection of this research topic, its drivers, aims, and methodology. The Byzantine Empire dominated the territories now belonging to Turkey (and abroad) for centuries and left cultural heritage sites in great diversity within different cultural and geographical contexts. Although Byzantium and its heritage comprise important parts of the historical continuity and multi-cultural identity of present-day Turkey, the Byzantine world is understood, interpreted, and approached through many different lenses, which reflect in different ways, positive and negative, on the preservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Byzantium and its past and heritage have not been a major focus of interest, over a long period, indeed we have often referred to as the 'long-neglected past'. Thus, the motivations and aims of this present research can be looked for within this context. Neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in comparison to earlier or later periods is argued for, taking into account current levels of preservation, presentation, and understanding.

Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist in various physical conditions and different geographical and socio-cultural contexts and it is not possible to include them all. Thus a classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is paramount, and the case studies for each classification had be selected with care so as to provide comprehensive analyses and evaluations. The methodology adopted for this, therefore, includes the creation of a theoretical framework and the classification and investigation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of their states of preservation.

Given the diversity and complexity of the research, creating a theoretical framework offered a challenge, and Chapter 2 explains the processes of interpretation, presentation, and conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey. It includes three sub-sections, moving from general to Byzantine-specific discussions. We start with the conceptual framework, introducing the important concepts of the

research (such as 'other', interpretation, valorization, cultural significance, cultural identity, historical continuity/timeline.). These concepts form the basis of any definition, and cover the role of Byzantium and its heritage within the historical, cultural, and social backgrounds of modern Turkey. The conceptual framework also includes value assessments in terms of conservation. Value assessment is a universally accepted methodology for analysis and decision-making processes, and can be applied to the conservation and representation of cultural heritage sites and be used in determining sites for inclusion on UNESCO's 'World Heritage List'. Accordingly, those conservation values are examined here to determine their application to Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Following this, the various concepts and definitions derived from international charters, documents, recommendations, and legislation at national level are discussed (including the legal background of conservation laws in Turkey from the late Ottoman period onwards. In so doing, it is possible to evaluate the development of the concepts outlined, their definitions, and the interventions sanctioned for cultural heritage sites over the last one hundred years or so.

In this context, definitions relating to cultural heritage sites as laid out in Law no. 2863 are important for the identification and classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Beyond these regulations at national level, international charters and documents are also examined for relevant concepts and principles. For example, the Carta del Restauro (1931) and The Charter of Venice (1964) reflect contributions from previous eras, and attitudes towards multi-period heritage sites. The Burra Charter (1999) is an essential document for concepts linked to cultural significance and public awareness. The Nara Document (1994) focuses on the concept of authenticity, central for any analysis and evaluation of both conservation and presentation. Above all, the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008) is our primary source for the comprehension and definition of principles of interpretation and presentation.

All the above documents are assessed in the current research to create a basis for our analysis and evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage.

Lastly, the role of archeology is emphasized: Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the main exist as archaeological areas, with the exception of those monuments reused in (mostly) urban settlements. Therefore, examining the role of archaeology in the conservation of cultural heritage sites and representation, and the 'revival of the past', is in the foreground of this present research.

After tackling the conceptual framework, it is helpful in terms of elaborating attitudes towards Byzantium and its heritage to examine our understanding of the concept of 'cultural heritage' and the attitudes influencing the conservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites in Turkey. Obviously, there are different factors that affect the interpretation, conservation, and presentation of cultural heritage sites, including cultural, social, religious, economic, political and pragmatic considerations. Before focusing on Byzantine cultural heritages sites, exploring the concept of cultural heritage, independent from those civilizations, or specific periods, that cultural heritage sites belong to, will hopefully provide more objective and comprehensive perspectives about Turkish attitudes. In this section, general problems (political ideologies/issues, gaps in law, economic and other restrictions, expectation, lack of public awareness resulting in negligence, ignorance, destruction or inappropriate interventions) encountered during conservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites are aired.

Turkey has many cultural heritage sites that constitute its multi-cultural past: these date to different periods, at varying scales and in different historical, cultural, and social and geographical contexts. Our discussions on conservation attitudes in Turkey are supported by similar cross-regional examples in similar conditions. Additionally, political ideologies and the impacts of nationalism and cultural expectations are discussed in detail, especially for the period after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in the 1920s. The new state sought a new national identity, which resulted in nationalist ideologies interpreting a fabricated history of Turkey, with biased education policies that had a bearing as well on cultural heritage studies and archaeology. Finally, attitudes to conservation at Turkish cultural heritage sites can be summarized in the thoughts and concerns of İlhan Tekeli, which include: (1)

generating a healthy public consciousness about history, and understanding the historic and cultural continuity of the surrounding environment; (2) those conservation approaches that are based on nationalist perspectives, leading perhaps to ignorance of some periods; (3) conservation of cultural heritage sites depending on a value-based approach; (4) and the use conservation as a potential for cultural tourism.[10] These four themes are elaborated, with other studies and researches, and the findings evaluated in the net section in the course of our analyses of current practices of conservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

Attitudes towards Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey is the final piece in our theoretical framework. This aspect is crucial to posit any reasons behind different attitudes and interpretations of Byzantium in the history of Turkey over the decades and centuries. The basic factors affecting the interpretation, conservation, and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites can be classified primarily as historic, ethnic, socio-cultural, religious, economic, and educational. Any discussion, however, into the backgrounds of these factors is more complicated. One would seem to have to start from the first confrontations between Byzantine and Seljuk/Ottoman societies, and then reflect on these confrontations in terms of the construction of the 'image', of the Byzantine legacy in varied ethnic, socio-cultural and religious contexts in modern-day Turkey. The importance of educational policies is also emphasized, based on their impact on constructing the notion of Byzantium and its legacy. Thus, these three factors are viewed as connected to each other: they call for a comprehensive literature review, as well as an interpretation and evaluation of their historical contexts.

Moving one, economic factors affecting the conservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites are identified, linked as they are to the potential for re-use, adaptive re-use, and cultural tourism. Also, the role of the mass media (written, visual, virtual, etc.) should be analyzed, with its importance in terms of

[10] Tekeli 1988.

representing Byzantium and communicating the discourses of politicians and public figures. This is seen as a key point in the comprehension of reasons of and for public attitudes, understanding decision-makers, and analyzing current approaches to Byzantium. What is intended in this section is a comprehensive review and evaluation of Byzantine literature and those problems specific to Turkey about Byzantine understanding. Chapter 2's final section presents an interim evaluation and synthesis of its preliminary considerations.

Chapter 3 is based on a critical analysis of Byzantine cultural heritage sites and current practices in conservation and presentation in Turkey through selected examples. The concepts and approaches examined in Chapter 2 guides the discussion into the next. We begin with a classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites; the different factors/features affecting this process are explained. As emphasized above, the classifications are based on multi-criteria approaches to reveal significant features of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, involving comprehensive examples and not undervaluing any of them. Each factor is explained in terms of its importance to arrive at a classification of Byzantine cultural heritage based on the literature and the preliminary analysis of this research. As mentioned above, including all Byzantine cultural heritage sites was out of the question, but representational key sites have been selected for comprehensive analysis and an evaluation of the understanding, conservation, and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey, under the relevant tenets of our discussions in Chapter 2. The next step was to assess the current state of research and literature on Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Literature on Byzantium is extensive, and many leading scholars have contributed to our extensive knowledge on the Byzantine Empire – art, architecture, history, theology, politics, etc. In the context of this present research, however, we have restricted ourselves to theoretical studies on the preservation/presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, excavation reports, and evaluations of on-site applications (including museums and digital environments). This section was also key in determining the case-study sites.

As indicated above, there are several different approaches to the classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey, taking into consideration the diversity of sites, topography, archaeology and chronology. As well as differences in geographical settings, the diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage, and their contexts, is remarkable in terms of their relationships with earlier or later civilizations, architectural characteristics, building scale and typology, significant eras and events, and current use/condition. This diversity widens our classification parameters, meaning that each criterion has its dimension in terms of defining Byzantine cultural heritage sites. As stated previously, classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites can be based on very many parameters, but for this study we have limited ourselves to geographical context and archaeological background, which are considered as the primary factors in the classification process, although definitions of heritage sites will be clarified with significant, secondary specifications, i.e. stratification, significant eras/events, and current use/condition. In addition, social and cultural environments of the wider site, and other factors affecting the existence and sustainability of the Byzantine past, in terms of perception, identification and appreciation, are not overlooked.

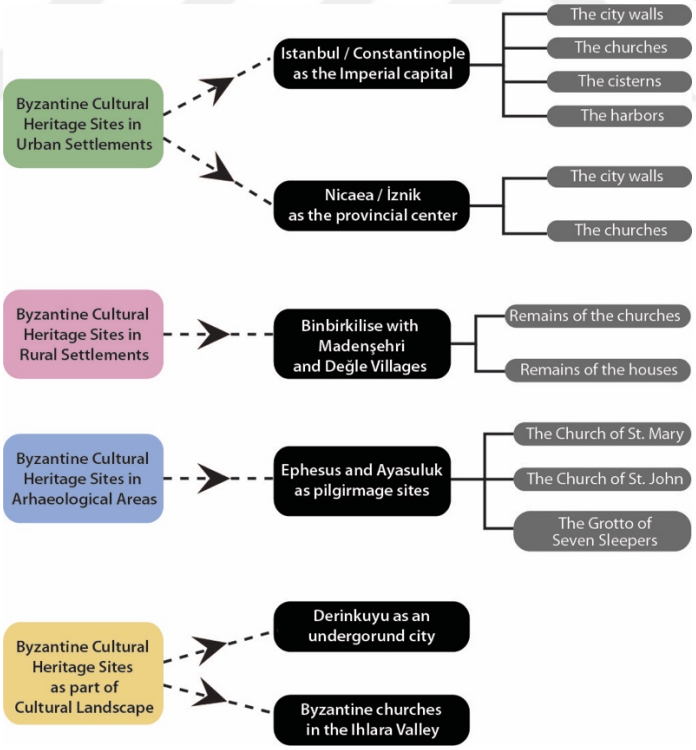
Within the above orbit, Byzantine cultural heritage sites are classified as:

- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements and archaeological settings
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements and archaeological settings
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in individual archeological sites
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites as part of cultural landscapes

Within these main groups selected examples are taken and investigated. As outlined, the criteria for the examination of Byzantine cultural heritage sites are determined as: the understanding of Byzantium, conservation problems and their reasons, and the states of preservation and presentation (criteria for states of preservation and presentation were created specifically for each group, as explained in the

methodology section – Chapter 3). The general approach for the determination of case studies is based on representing as many examples as possible so as to present a wide discussion and examination of the problems of conservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites at a manageable scale. At the beginning of sub-sections which include the case studies under different groups, the definition of each category is expressed and interpreted within the scope of this research, based on national laws and international documents. The criteria and principles of the selected cities and building types are defined in detail and are specific to each section. There are essentially five main locations determined as primary research areas; however, there are sub-groups created under the main study areas for detailed analyses, and these are based on building typology, archaeological characteristics, current use, historical, architectural and religious significance, and landscape (with any particular topography). The study areas and their sub-groups are presented in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 Table showing the selected case studies featured in Chapter 3.



Following the comprehensive analyses of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in different geographical contexts in Turkey, Chapter 3 concludes with interim evaluations and preliminary considerations on the selected sites.

Chapter 4 examines approaches towards Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. This comparative analysis between Turkey and other countries, focusing on attitudes towards Byzantium and its heritage as cross-cultural and cross-geographical examples, are also important to deepen the research and provide a more objective and comprehensive discussion. In particular, study and analysis of such cross-cultural relations and interactions, within ethnic, social-cultural and religious contexts, has provided an additional point of focus for this doctoral research. Understandably, knowledge and definitions of material culture have come from the perspectives of their times, and according to different points of view, and their relations with public understanding of past cultures and heritage; this is as valid for Byzantium as any other culture.[11] There are countries in the Eastern Mediterranean that have no shared values in ethnic, socio-cultural, or religious ways with Byzantium in the present day, but their lands formed part of the Byzantine Empire in previous centuries, and thus they also contain Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Considering the present cultural identities and social structures of these countries, Byzantines can be looked on as 'others' too, as they are in Turkey. Accordingly, the examples in these countries are discussed in terms of their understanding of Byzantium and the present physical conditions and conservation/representation approaches of the features of their Byzantine past.

Balkan lands – such as Greece, Crotia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia – share common values with the Byzantine Empire and the religious structures that have survived date to the Byzantine period, with very many still in use as churches. By so doing, the cultural identity of the Balkan region readily adopts its Byzantine past, in the sense of ethnic and religious values. Our research, therefore, looks at the definition of

[11] Hodder and Hutson (2003, 3-4, 6) highlight attitudes in producing knowledge of past civilizations. Such an approach holds true for Byzantium, its history, and culture.

cultural heritage, associated decision-making processes, and any national/international partners involved in the assessment and preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Balkans, specifically Greece, Macedonia, and Serbia. As mentioned, all these countries were visited by the present author to assess conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements and archaeological areas; the selected sites are compared with the similar examples in Turkey.

The final chapter (5) explains the research findings. The conclusions in the first part of the chapter represent an overall re-assessment of the interim evaluations and preliminary considerations finally reformulated as 'Summary Assessment and Main Consideration' from Chapters 2-3. The whole theoretical discussion on the research and analyses of current levels of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey exposes that the pivotal reason for the neglect of Byzantium is that it has not been adopted by Turkish society today. Thus, constructing 'meaning' from the past and accordingly establishing a narrative for Byzantium and its heritage is proposed, which will lead, hopefully, to the better, understanding, interpretation, and adoption of Byzantium, including increased dialogue and interaction between heritage and society.

To this end, our researches extend to discussions and explanations of key characters and concepts needed to achieve this – a 'meaning' of Byzantium: society, stakeholders, aims and objectives, methodology, the required tools, the possible results, and shared and interactive environments.

CHAPTER 2

INTERPRETATION, PRESENTATION AND CONSERVATION OF BYZANTINE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims to examine the understanding of the Byzantine Empire and its heritage through analyzing historical, ethnic, socio-cultural, educational and economic factors, as well as the role of mass media. Before this essential examination leading this doctoral research, those concepts determined as critical for the re-assessment, interpretation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage will be explained through the national and international literature, legal basis, charters, documents, and theories.

Byzantine cultural heritage is the main topic of this doctoral research, so it is better to start with what cultural heritage is. The concept of 'cultural heritage' corresponds to many types of heritage in different geographical or cultural contexts, scale and form, including artworks, monuments, groups of buildings, historic urban areas, archaeological sites, natural sites, cultural landscapes and intangible values.[12] In such a variety, cultural heritage keeps the connection between the past, present and

[12] There is a range of conventions and charters devoted to the concept of cultural heritage concept: the UNESCO Convention (The Hague), 1954; the Venice Charter, 1964; the Paris UNESCO Convention on the protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972; the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage and Amsterdam Declaration, 1975; Recommendations Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, 1976; the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, 1987; the International Charter for Archaeological Heritage Management, 1990; the UNESCO Draft Medium Term Plan, 1990-1995; Recommendation no. R (95) 9 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies, 1995.

future[13]; it also provides a basis for cultural continuity to be transferred to further generations.[14]

Throughout history, the concept of cultural heritage has been indicated in ancient codes, edicts and charters.[15] The meaning and scope of that concept were extended and re-interpreted due to changing paradigms and theories discussed in the conventions by international organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS or ICCROM over the last half century. These new extensions and theories affected applications, both in conservation and valorization, as well as in the representation of cultural heritage within any context in which it appears.

Considering the universal definitions and classifications of cultural heritage, depending on its specifications, that make it worth preserving, cultural heritage is classified as tangible and intangible heritage. On its official website, UNESCO defines 'tangible cultural heritage' as "buildings and historical places, monuments, artefacts, including objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture"; and 'intangible heritage' as "traditional festivals, oral traditions, oral epics, customs, ways of life, traditional crafts, etc.", that emphasize the cultural identity and also diversity of a society, civilization or geography. Beyond that classification, cultural heritage sites exist in different geographical, socio-cultural contexts, differentiated according to architectural characteristics, the place/geography where it is located, and construction technique/use of material, as indicated by international regulations and committees.[16]

[13] Ashworth *et al.* 2007, 3. They consider 'heritage' (referring to tangible and intangible heritage), whereby identifying the past is interpreted according to the demands of present. Thus 'heritage' is a concept which corresponds to an environment providing interaction between past and present.

[14] The aim of conservation and sustainability of cultural heritage areas is explained as a means to understand and examine the historical, cultural, social and architectural characteristics of cultural heritage as represented in the present day, and also to transfer knowledge of these subjects to further generations in the literature. See some sources, e.g. Lipe 1984, 2; Tekeli 1988, 22.

[15] Jokilehto 2005. Jokilehto assembled many documents, starting from the 6th century (Antiquity, Theodoric the Great) until 2004 (ICOMOS UK Cultural Landscapes), indicating definitions of cultural heritage over time and approaches towards it.

[16] For detailed information, see URL-7 (Last access: 29.11.2020).

In this chapter, there are essential concepts and attitudes, leading to the general understanding and adoption of Byzantine cultural heritage. The first part of this chapter, 'The Conceptual Framework', includes three sections that will clarify the concepts, the laws and regulations corresponding to these concepts, and 'archaeology', in terms of their specific relevance to Byzantine cultural heritage, in order to examine, interpret and represent it. In the second part, attitudes towards cultural heritage, ideologies, and conservation approaches in Turkey will be discussed – not specifically for the Byzantine cultural heritage but to understand the general framework. Finally, in the third part, the attitudes and factors affecting the understanding, conservation, interpretation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage will be discussed.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is crucial for this research, so as to understand how one might deal with any specific area of Turkey's past and thus comprehend and interpret the existing Byzantine cultural heritage in the country. Public understanding of any cultural heritage site is related to the meaning behind it, as well as the concepts upon which it is constructed and represented.[17] The concepts or approaches can be temporal regarding the changing political, economic or cultural situations or expectations. In this section, essential concepts, definitions, as well as national and international regulations or charters, will be explained in order to clarify the approach of this doctoral research. The necessary definitions related to cultural heritage studies will be explained through the national laws, international charters, and any regulations declared by the international institutes, such as ICOMOS, ICCROM or UNESCO. In addition, the interpretation, cultural significance, cultural identity, historical continuity/timeline, and the value assessment are among the

[17] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 20. Shanks and Tilley explain temporality of meaning by referring to Adorno. They state that material culture has no constant meaning, and it can be defined under certain circumstances. For a detailed discussion on this topic, see Adorno 1973, 52-57.

critical concepts discussed in this chapter. These concepts are crucial if we are to define, understand and address the geographical, historical, and cultural context of Byzantine cultural heritage, as well as to re-assess and represent it. Beyond the concepts, definitions, laws and international charters or regulations, the role of archaeology has a particular part to play in helping to examine Byzantine cultural heritage, and for this reason it will be discussed in a different section. Thus, the backbone of this research depends on a comprehensive, theoretical evaluation and interpretation of past and current discussions about cultural heritage issues, with regard to its understanding, interpretation and representation. Of course, potential conflicts resulting from cultural, practical, or other factors will need to be considered when it comes to creating the basis for discussion and evaluation within this study.

The first concept to examine is that of 'other', as it is vital to identify and provide a setting for the Byzantine Empire and its legacy. The Byzantines, obviously, are not considered as 'us' – meaning that they do not belong to Turkish culture and history. The reasons for this claim will be discussed in the following sections, but first, the concept of 'other' should be grasped well. Alison Mountz explains the notion as: [18]

> The term 'other' serves as both a noun and a verb. By placing one's self at the center, the 'other' always constitutes the outside, the person who is different. As a noun, therefore, the other is a person or group of people who are different from oneself. As a verb, other means to distinguish, label, categorize, name, identify, place and exclude those who do not fit a societal norm. In geographic terms to other means to locate a person or group of persons outside of the center, on the margins. 'Othering' is the process that makes the other. 'Othering' is the work of persons who discriminate, and it has also been the work of social scientists and philosophers.

Given this explanation, the 'other' represents an opposite side and does not come across necessarily as a friendly word. Obviously, 'other' can always apply to a specific group with a common basis – such as religion, ethnicity, ideology, or gender. The concept of other or 'otherization' is not a valid discussion when it comes to

[18] Mountz 2009, 328. She also goes on to explain how the concept derived in a post-colonial approach: "A number of scholars in recent decades developed the notion of the 'other' as an epistemological concept in social theory. Postcolonial scholars, for example, demonstrated that colonizing powers narrated an 'other' whom they set out to save, dominate, control, civilize, and/or extract resources through colonization."

Byzantine legacy. There were always 'others' for Byzantine society too, meaning each nation had its dynamics and culture. These dynamics and cultures determine the definition of 'other', and also how we may approach this concept. Specific to this research, the broken relationship between the Byzantine Empire and Turkish society will be examined in detail in the sections '2.3.1: Historical Factors', and '2.3.2: Ethnic, Socio-Cultural and Religious Factors'.

'Interpretation' of cultural heritage sites is one of the basic concepts in the scope of this research, and it may be explained as the re-creation of the knowledge or data needed to comprehend and translate, in a more profound sense, matters to do with experience and understanding. Furthermore, it is directly fed from a 'spirit of place', referring to the context of cultural heritage.[19] The translation of prior knowledge or remains could have scientific or political motivations behind it,[20] affecting the narrative and representation. To clarify the relation between interpretation and representation of cultural heritage, ICOMOS emphasizes the concept of interpretation in different documents, such as the Burra Charter, highlighting 'cultural significance', and the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, i.e.:[21] "**Article 1.17** Interpretation means all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of a place."

Interpretation refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage sites. These can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site, and directly related

[19] Interpretation of archeology and cultural heritage was covered in detail by Tilden 1977, 3-11; Cleere 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 8, 14, 22, 103-115; Hodder *et al.* 1995, Hodder and Hutson 2003, 4-5, 160-164. However, for basic definitions and approaches, see Tilden 1977, 4, 8; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 21-22; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 161, 190.

[20] The parameters affecting the interpretation of archaeology, i.e. from political bases or subjective approaches, see Hodder and Hutson 2003, 166; Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 5; Serin 2017, 72. Archaeology can also be considered as a present-day science but dealing with the past. See below, pp. , 24-30. As stated by Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge, the past can be interpreted according to the demands of the present day. Thus, changing present-day social, economic or cultural conditions can also affect interpretation and conservation processes.

[21] ICOMOS 2013a, Article 1. 17.

off-site installations, educational programs, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself.[22]

One of the primary purposes of the interpretation is to provide a dialogue between the "object" and the interpreter by evaluating and reproducing the current situation or data.[23] Also, the methodology defines how to translate and represent the results, so as to make them simple, understandable, but also ensure they have an intellectual depth. In this perspective, "interpreter" can be the reader of an historical narrative, or the final research report, participant/listener at a conference, or a visitor to a cultural heritage site. Accordingly, interpretation can be represented in various ways: oral, written, visual – indicating that it should address different senses and satisfy in terms of understanding and internalization. The parameters affecting the interpretation process, and its various outcomes, can be described as the accessible physical or written data, the depth of the research, the time, the identity of the interpreter, the aim and content of the study or research, and the archaeological or architectural context of the heritage or socio-cultural parameters of politics.[24] Moreover, Freeman Tilden defines interpretation as an art or science, which affect the approach towards the interpretation process and its outcome[25]. Art and science are different disciplines, and they both have distinctive criteria to evaluate an object, site, or any data.

Additionally, the motivation of the interpretation is to bridge the past to the present,

[22] ICOMOS 2008b, 4.

[23] Tilden 1977, 8, 11; Shanks and Hodder 1995, 31. Shanks and Tilley also note that "Archaeology becomes a personal confrontation with the past, ultimately it is based on a longing for a dialogue with the past, getting beyond the objects to their human creators, being in their presence." So, archaeology, which involves architectural remains and artefacts, is an environment providing a dialogue between humans and the past.

[24] Factors and criteria affecting the interpretation process of cultural heritages sites have been examined by many scholars, i.e. Tilden 1977, 5, 9; Lucas 1995, 37, 41-44; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 5; Silverman 2011, 1-49, Serin 2017, 76-77.

[25] Tilden had a different perspective, underlining that approaches can change according to the characteristics of the object/artifact; if it is an artwork or scientific object the process and the results of the interpretation process may change (1977, 26).

which are always interacting with each other,[26] as well as triggering different and new perspectives, or providing a basis for further research in a holistic approach.[27] In that way, re-thinking and evaluating analyses on current knowledge, archaeological remains, artefacts, or any type of material culture, make the understanding of the past and context easier and shape the approach of the researcher. Freeman Tilden expresses the importance and impact of interpretation with this quotation:[28] "Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection."

Considering this statement within the context of cultural heritage, Freeman Tilden underlines that protection starts with interpretation, thus improving understanding and making it more profound. Following on from this, better understanding simplifies the appreciation of heritage; and appreciation of heritage can be understood as an adoption of the past. Thus, adopted past or heritage leads to the assumption that it is worth protecting. On the other hand, interpretation is about analyzing or generating the meaning again, and the meaning can change in accordance with the social, cultural, economic or political reasons, the field of study, or the current needs of the society, as well as the characteristics of the interpreter.[29] In fact, the impact of the interpretation of heritage reveals itself in different phases of the conservation and representation process in practice.[30] In addition, the aims and specifications of an historical narrative are expressed by Shanks and Tilley as following: [31]

> The aim is to break ideological coherence -historical continuity which denies difference and ambiguity, fills an empty lime of the past with coherent, consoling narrative, ties the past to an immediate coherence. This is not to deny that real

[26] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 7-9; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 10, 242, 245.
[27] Tilden 1977, 32, 40.
[28] Tilden 1957, 38. Tilden quotes from the *Park Service Administrative Manual*, writing expressed that he firmly agreed with this statement.
[29] For the characteristics of the interpreter, see Tilden 1977, 8; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 196. Shanks and Tilley 1992, 19; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 166, 170, 236-237, 242; Eldem 2013, 69; Serin, 2017.
[30] However, in theory diverse perspectives and historical narratives on Byzantium, and its tangible/ intangible heritage are based on different interpretations of its past.
[31] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 19.

> historical continuities or traditions exist but it is to recognize that archaeology as production of text or narrative is not identical with the past. The production of history through the practice of archaeology is included in the realm expressed. Narrative is not restricted (and cannot be) to the perspective within which the people of the past viewed themselves. It necessarily includes the narrator's or the archaeologist's point of view. So, all textual production has the character of a judgement.

Because even scientific discourses or findings lead to the interpretation of heritage, the process is open to subjectivity; and, furthermore, it is related to the personal point of view and background of the visitor, and how the meaning is understood or evaluated according to individual knowledge and experience.[32] Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson redefine 'meaning' as making sense of the situation, and continue:[33]

> We start with the idea of meaning as making sense of a situation. We have chosen the word 'sense' to highlight the contribution of the physical, bodily senses. When something makes sense, we might not be able to explain why. We simply sense it, often without conscious reflection. We often become fully conscious only of the things that don't make sense (things that our body cannot make sense of) or things that make sense to us for the first time or in a new way. The 'situation' that we attempt to make sense of can be many things – an action, a conversation, a text, an object, a field of objects, etc. Since meaning is always of something, the differences between these varieties of situations are not trivial; we will try to illuminate them along the way.

Also, they underline that the reason of sense cannot always be well defined, and the understanding can vary, affecting judgments or approaches, as Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley express by referring to the previous publications: [34] "It has been argued that the work done by archaeologists is not neutral, self-contained or objective. Interpretation of the past is affected by the present 'ideology' – a point of view related to present interests."

Ideology, cultural background and exposed doctrines about the past inevitably influence present judgments and approaches. The balance between experience, ideology, culture and scientific data is crucial for a more holistic approach in terms of understanding cultural heritage sites. Thus, the objectivity of the interpretation, as

[32] Tilden 1977, 3, 8, 10; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 196.
[33] Hodder and Hutson 2003, 157.
[34] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 14.

well as other areas of cultural heritage studies, e.g. surveys, historical analyses and conservation, are critically based on the analysis of the resources, be they physical, visual, or written sources.[35]

Valorization is another crucial concept when it comes to discussing the scope of this research. Salvatore Lorusso and his colleagues, for example, view the 'valorization of cultural heritage' from the perspective of the 'enhancement of cultural heritage', as deriving from Article 6 of the *Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage*, published in 2004 by the Italian Ministry of Culture.[36]

> Enhancement consists in the exercise of the functions and in the regulation of the activities aimed at promoting knowledge of the cultural heritage and at ensuring the best conditions for the utilization and public enjoyment of the same heritage. Enhancement also includes the promotion and the support ofconservation work on the cultural heritage.

This concept originates from a particular understanding of 'value', so the purpose should be the determination of values, elaborating them, and representing them efficiently, with the objective of preserving and transmitting cultural heritage. The report entitled *Assessment of Historic Built Area Governance System in Italy* underlines the importance of coordination between preservation and valorization. Valorization of cultural heritage requires the promotion of it through creating relevant interactive environments for the understanding, experiencing, and representation of heritage sites, via educational and cultural events, etc.

Cultural heritage studies are multi-dimensional discussions, following on from the definition of cultural heritage itself and its extensions, such as cultural identity or cultural significance. In addition, a cultural heritage site represents a specific period of the historical continuity of the place where it is located, which may well involve other concepts to consider, if relevant, that might lead to a better understanding. The historical timeline is also essential to create the objective and comprehensive

[35] Shank and Tilley 1992, 7-8; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 190.

[36] The Code was issued as Legislative Decree No. 42, 2004. See also Lorusso *et al*. 2016, 60-61. There are different approaches and interpretations of 'valorization' as applied to cultural heritage in the literature, but this definition is the most applicable for this present research.

knowledge for cultural heritage sites, as being informed about the periods and characteristics of the past is vital to understand the whole perspective.[38] Bernard Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto define the time phases for cultural heritage sites, be they single buildings or historic towns, as follows:

- The first phase, resulting in the creation of the object.
- The second phase, extending from the end of the creation phase to the present time.
- The third phase, associated with the perception of the monument in our consciousness at present.[39]

Each period for cultural heritage sites, in every geographical context, is a permanent part of the historic timeline of a particular area. Furthermore, cultural heritage sites can be considered as the representatives of the memory of the place; so, they are irreversible. Additionally, the historic timeline also represents the continuity of a place. Analysis of historical continuity provides a better understanding of cultural heritage sites in terms of their architectural, cultural, social and economic characteristics, not only in a particular period but also in different periods. Understanding the different periods in the historical continuity of a place provides a basis for a comprehensive comparison.

Furthermore, the historical timeline and historical continuity should be discussed in relation to the cultural interactions between different civilizations, even the time or place that they live in could intersect, or not. Obviously, earlier civilizations influence their successors in various ways, i.e. art, architecture, law or culture, without generalizing.[40] Different cultures diffuse into each other by learning,

[38] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 16.
[39] See, Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 16.
[40] For an interpretation of cultural continuity and how cultures are derived in association with the past, see Hodder and Hutson 2003, 8; for the types of interaction between different cultures, see Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge 2007, 11; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 6. There are several studies examining the Byzantine influence on other civilizations. For Byzantine influence on Ottoman institutions, see Vyronis 1969/70, 254-258; for an opposing argument, see Köprülü 2014, 41-165; on architecture, see Vyronis 1969/70, Ousterhout 1995, 53-60; Ousterhout 2004, 167-168; on the Balkan

experiencing and interpreting knowledge, and people use or reproduce knowledge according to their culture and needs.[41] Together with the knowledge acquired from the past and currently produced, each culture and civilization will define their place as a value in the historical continuity of specific geography. Henry Cleere emphasizes cultural heritage as a 'cultural resource', and currently, researchers or visitors learn from cultural heritage sites or artefacts as a way of discovering the past and interpreting it, for example how previous civilizations learned from their predecessors.[42]

As mentioned above, the concept of cultural heritage has been defined and discussed in different charters and documents over the last decades. However, here Turkey's current conditions, the legal framework of cultural heritage and the necessary definitions, must also be investigated to discuss the recent position and attitudes towards the cultural heritage of past civilizations, and specifically the Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. At this point, the conservation approaches that are founded on a legal basis and international charters, as well as strategies and methodology related to the analysis and assessment of cultural heritage are critical for creating a comprehensive point of reference, not only for Byzantium but also the heritage of other civilizations.

Cultural heritage in urban, rural, or archaeological contexts is directly related to cultural identity, which is defined based on the evaluation of archaeological, historical and cultural studies, considering various impacts and the appropriation/adoption of past identity or identities.[43] Obviously, this does not mean that societies have to 'adopt' all the past civilizations, who settled on the lands they live in, as part of their identity. When examining earlier civilizations and their strategies for settling in a specific area, we can see that the selection of a place is an

Peninsula and its culture, religion and law, see Vyronis 1969/70, 256; Sarkic 1992, 147-154; Vryonis 1999, 39, 41; Pantelić 2016, 1-3, 7-9, 22.

[41] Hodder and Hutson 2003, 6.

[42] Cleere 1984, 125-128.

[43] Kristiansen 2005, 27; Özdoğan, 2006, 36; Jones, 1997, 1.

intended strategy taking into account 'livability', vitality, sustainability, and security.[44] Therefore, civilizations may have settled in the footprints and remains of the settlement sites of previous civilizations, and may have used their structures based on their original functions or by re-functioning them; they may also have opted to live close to existing settlements. It should be noted that different civilizations or societies could live in the same area, close to each other, and not always in peace, but also in times of war and other difficulties. Nevertheless, living close or together can trigger interactions between different cultures that also affects cultural sharing and identity. Actually, interaction is not limited to culture, behaviour or daily life: people learn from each other, and the impact of the 'other' shows itself in architecture, politics, law, etc.[45] Considering architectural heritage, as a result of this close relation or settling strategy, older settlements were turned into multi-period sites, where the layers of different civilizations can be observed, not only in the built environment but also in the material culture. This characteristic makes these regions remarkable in terms of cultural diversity and wealth, as well as historical and architectural continuity,[46] and this cultural diversity has been experienced in urban and rural areas, archaeological sites, cultural landscapes, and even in single buildings.

2.1.1 Value Assessment in Conservation

This section posits value assessment in conservation as a principle, because it is one of the primary methods for analyzing and defining cultural heritage sites. In the scope of this study, Byzantine cultural heritage sites can fall within different value types, so a general understanding of value assessment and value types will assist the

[44] The formation of a settlement and criteria considered during site selection are mentioned in several sources. For one the earliest sources on specifications of cities in terms of topography, climatic conditions, natural sources and security, see Vitruvius, 2005, 12-21. For a recent source on the formation of cities and site selection, giving a comprehensive review also of early sources, see Rkywert, 1988, 41-71.
[45] See n: 16.
[46] Jokilehto, 2002.

classification of Byzantine cultural heritage and assist understanding of conservation approaches.

Discussions on the past, culture, and cultural heritage all require a platform created by various paradigms, doctrines, discourses, or social and political authorities. Judgments about the history or specific instances of cultural heritage can be subjective, due to the changing values and representations of the past.[47] The concept of 'value' related to cultural heritage studies was first discussed by Alois Riegl in the 19th century. Riegl states that the understanding of monuments is related to the values ascribed to them.[48] Thus, 'values' lead to defining monuments within a systematic approach. Riegl argues the concept of value by starting to criticize the notion of 'art value' and 'historical value' in Austria. Riegl's approach is to interpret the current value types for the monuments of his time and elaborate them so as to better define the monuments. To this end he classifies values as 'memory' related, including age value, historical value, intended-commemorative value and present-day values including, use-value, art value and newness value.[49] Following on from this, value types, classifications, and discussions on value assessment in conservation are elaborated, which will be examined in this section.

Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley claim that public appropriation of the past and objectivity are possible in parallel with the values, which enables comparison, evaluation and understanding, as well as helping to determine meaning and significance. As indicated above, the concept of cultural heritage covers both tangible and intangible heritage, each bringing different case-specific parameters. When it comes to the preservation of cultural heritage, which is a challenging process due to various cultural, political, economic and practical reasons, the value assessment process needs to offer a sound methodology to define the characteristics and significance of the cultural heritage in question. The value-led approach is also

[47] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 48.
[48] Riegl 2015, 49.
[49] Riegl classifies and explains these types of value in detail (2015, 67-102).

described in 'World Heritage Resource Manual', with the participation of international authorities in the conservation of cultural heritage, such as UNESCO, ICOMOS or ICCROM.[50] It is quoted as an approach to the preservation and management of cultural heritage sites.

Obviously, various factors will affect the cultural heritage preservation process, such as the nature of the heritage itself, ideology, economic benefits, the potential for transformation or reuse, and various socio-cultural factors that can be considered as part of the value assessment practice.[51] Given the process, methodology, and the factors affecting cultural heritage preservation, the preservation model should be well defined and also well organized. However, the quality, intellectual and scientific backgrounds of the responsible institutions or people in charge become critical, because they steer the destiny of cultural heritage sites, or how they are preserved, valorized, and ultimately represented. Thus, their approaches and conservation/representation strategies constitute the future of cultural heritage, including physical and cultural sustainability, as well as public understanding. In the case of Turkey, decision-making mechanisms to do with the conservation process are generally governmental organizations, or non-governmental organizations, consisting of conservation experts, architects, urban planners, art historians, and, of course, politicians. Nevertheless, they have to follow the regulations and international charters accepted worldwide, while working on cultural heritage sites. As a result, discussions on value assessment processes and the responsible institutions are looked at in the following section, 'National and International

[50] ICOMOS 2013b, 9, 25-28. In the second chapter of this manual, approaches to heritage conservation and management are examined and expressed with examples. There are two approaches introduced: the conventional approach and the 'value led' approach. For detailed information, See below, pp. 24-28. Also, see Hodder 1995, 141-145, for explanations of value-committed archaeological approaches.

[51] There are several parameters affecting value assessment of cultural heritage sites. Hermann summarizes the general approach in conservation process and also the factors behind them (2005, 30-31). Eldem notes the economic expectations from cultural heritages sites (2013, 69). For the re-use/re-function of historic buildings specific to Byzantine cultural heritage sites, and strategies relating to them, see Ötüken 1979, 71-85; Kırımtayıf 2001; Serin 2008, 211; Akyürek 2010, 206.

Regulations', as the whole process is led by the laws, international charters, and operational guidelines determined by ICOMOS and UNESCO.

> **Article 1.2** *Cultural significance* means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric*, *setting*, *use*, *associations*, *meanings*, records, *related places* and *related objects*. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.
>
> **Article 5.1** *Conservation* of a *place* should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others.

The criteria for value assessments are based on the characteristics of the site, type, location, surrounding environment, and mostly on the value judgment and political stance of the country on whose territory the cultural heritage is located. Consequently, political value comes to the forefront, since politicians constitute the dominant group in the decision-making process when it comes to conservation.[52] Indeed, this is a very problematic issue, as the concept of 'value' is already subjective, and liable to change in reference to different factors.[53]

As mentioned above, multi-period heritage sites are the consequences of historical continuity, and they can be observed as parts of urban settlements, rural settlements, and also archaeological areas. For these types of heritage sites, conservation and representation can be complicated, as can the value assessment process itself, meaning that some elements are exposed to discriminatory selection during the process, although they all should be respected. Clearly all the elements or interventions dating to different periods must be well documented and analyzed. Furthermore, the decision of what is worth preserving is directly related to what is worth showing or exhibiting. At this point, the current political situation, location, and context of the heritage site, as well as the cost of conservation, could affect the decision process and result in the neglect of some periods of the past among the

[52] Mason 2002, 8, 11,14.
[53] Lipe 1984, 2; for the value-based approach and its consequences in Turkey, see Tekeli 1988, 20.

others. All of these decisions must be the result of in-depth research and study relating to the specific cultural heritage site.

Cultural heritage researches are scientific and societal studies in every step of the process. Although subjective judgments, or bias in favor of past cultures, still exist, scientific points of view must be objective and uncoupled from any particular theories or experiences of individuals.[54] However, having said that approaches towards different cultures must be objective during conservation from beginning to end, in some cases, ideological, economic, cultural or religious factors may well affect value assessments, decisions, or strategies. To avoid this, multi-period heritage sites, and attitudes towards the remains of different periods, were indicated in different charters and recommendations. Specific to Byzantium, the factors of value assessment underlined in this paragraph will be briefly reviewed for a better analysis of the process, generating, as it were, a pre-discussion of the attitudes towards Byzantium and its heritage.

2.1.2 Concepts and Definitions Derived from International Charters and Documents and Legal Regulations at the National Level

Cultural heritage sites or artefacts are under the protection of national laws and international institutions in many countries. For Turkey, the history of conservation, its theory and regulations, go back to the end of the 19th century. Throughout the last century, different attitudes towards cultural heritage, or laws on the conservation of cultural heritage, have been introduced, re-interpreted, and changed many times.[55] In this research, recent national laws, international charters and theoretical approaches will be examined, along with their consequences in terms of conservation practices and applications. It is also essential to understand the problems of definition

[54] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 8, 12.
[55] Madran 2002, 1-28; Madran and Özgönül 2005, 80-102.

of Byzantine cultural heritage and the classification of Byzantine cultural heritage in this research.

The legal regulations generated by the Ottoman Empire from the 19th century and later, when archaeological researches began, that relate to historical monuments, archaeological areas or artefacts will not be discussed here in detail. However, the first two regulations entitled "Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi" issued in 1869 and 1874, provided guidance in terms of how archaeologists or scholars should treat archaeological remains, removing them for themselves or their country only in compliance with current law.[56] However, these laws were not enough to preserve the archaeological heritage from the smuggling and unauthorized movement of archaeological remains.[57] Approaches towards archaeological studies and remains were thereafter clarified in law, together with the development of museology in the Ottoman Empire. Preservation and display of archaeological remains and artefacts came about following the initiatives of Osman Hamdi Bey.[58] In the Early Republican Period, attitudes towards the past and its interpretation were influenced by political and social struggles or expectations, which were reflected in education, the development of preservation, and also further legal regulations.[59] Different governmental institutions, such as GEEAYK[60], were established and became

[56] *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* was the first regulation of the Ottoman Empire that defined a policy for ancient arts and cultural heritage. For the original text, see *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (1869 and 1874). The regulation was originally published in *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1869. The text was previously introduced and discussed by Hüseyin Karaduman. His article also includes the related issue of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and its transcription using the Latin alphabet. See, Karaduman 2004, 73 87. The original text of the *Asar-Atika* issued in 1874 can be found in the Ottoman Archives; see BOA. A.} DVN. MKL. 12-5. For some of the recent sources examining the legal framework of cultural heritage in the Ottoman period and afterwards, see (for recent studies), Madran 2002, 14-28; Çal 1997, 391-400; Şimşek and Dinç 2009, 101-127; for strategies in archaeology and museology of the Ottoman Empire in respect to this law, and interpretations on its reflection, changes and results, see Çelik 2016, 66-67.

[57] Madran 2002, 14-28.

[58] Madran 2002, 29-33; Özdoğan 2006, 56-58; Özdoğan 2008, 17, 22.

[59] For the reflection of political and social struggles or expectations on education, see İnan *et al.* 1931, Özdoğan 2008, 35-37; Arı 2010, 849; Durak 2013; Eldem 2013, 71; Çayır 2014, Taşkın and Şimsek 2017, 1535.

[60] *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu* (The High Council of Antiquities and Monuments) was established in 1954 as an autonomous institution responsible for cultural heritage

responsible for cultural heritage issues, right from the survey phase to the end of restoration, as controller or project owner. The important thing was that GEEAYK was an autonomous system, independent from politicians, and the governmental institutions assigned the members of conservation councils. There are two basic laws on the conservation of cultural heritage, Law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (*2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*)[61] of 1983, and Law no. 5366 on the Preservation by Renewal of Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties and Maintaining its Usage (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*)[62] of 2005. Other (legislative) decrees and laws, such as Law no. 6306 on the Transformation of the Areas Under at Risk of Disaster (*Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi ile İlgili Kanun)*[63], were also initiated that have secondary influences on conservation or cultural heritage implementations. Accordingly, the latest law, no. 5226[64], is aimed at determining (1) the necessary definitions, operations, and activities, as well as (2) the roles, responsibilities and structure of organizations making decisions regarding the principles and applications of cultural and natural property.[65] Beyond this law, there are international documents declared by UNESCO and ICOMOS, which deal with the concepts and definitions regarding cultural heritage studies. 'Recommendations on the Historic Urban Landscape' (2011) explains the critical principles mostly compiled from the older international documents.[66] Additionally, ICOMOS Turkey clarifies the concepts and

in Turkey until the 1980s. After that, the various Regional Conservation Councils took over responsibilities based on the new legal regulations.

[61] Law no. 2863 was issued first in 1983, and the latest version was published in 2013.

[62] Law no. 5366 was issued in 2005.

[63] Law no. 6306 was issued in 2012.

[64] The reference number for the 'Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property' was changed in 2004 to no. 5226.

[65] The first law for cultural and natural assets was issued in 1973, and is known as the 'Law on Antiquity' (*Eski Eserler Kanunu*). The current reference number for Law no. 2863 is now no. 5226, on the 'Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property' (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*), first issued on 23 July 1983, after it was published in *T.C. Resmi Gazete*.

[66] Recommendations on the Historic Urban Landscape were issued in 2011 by UNESCO. For the whole document, see https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf (retrieved 25.07.2019).

updates the definitions pertaining to the conservation of cultural heritage in the 'Architectural Heritage Conservation Charter' (2013).[67] Consistent with this law and the ICOMOS Turkey Architectural Heritage Conservation Charter, the key definitions in respect of the present doctoral research are:

- Cultural property (*kültür varlığı*): is defined as the movable or immovable property that is located on the ground, underground or underwater, and dated to the prehistoric or historical era, (1) which is related to science, culture, religion and fine arts, or (2) has a cultural and scientific value that has had to do with social activity in prehistoric or historic times.
- Cultural heritage (*kültürel miras*): is defined as the tangible and intangible property reflecting changing values, religion, knowledge, and traditions of individuals. The concept of cultural heritage includes all environmental factors originating from interactions between human and space.
- Architectural heritage (*mimari miras*): is the common property of individuals, existing as a single building or group of buildings. The architectural heritage should be preserved with its unique features, all values of different type and scale, according to integrated conservation rules.
- Site (*sit*): is defined as (1) cities, or their remains, that reflect the social, economic or architectural characteristics of the built environment, or (2) those areas where cultural property lies within a dense pattern, and which have witnessed the important events of the past, or have been the settings for social life, and have natural characteristics; they are both to be preserved.
- Conservation (*koruma*): is defined as the conservation, maintenance, repair, restoration and re-functioning processes associated with immovable cultural property; and the conservation, maintenance, repair and restoration of movable cultural property.

[67] ICOMOS 2013c. The ICOMOS Turkey Architectural Heritage Conservation Charter was declared in 2013, against various laws and regulations relating to the conservation of cultural heritage in Turkey which threatened cultural heritage sites. The aim was to provide a better and comprehensive understanding and approach.

- Conservation area (*koruma alanı*): is described as an area to be preserved on account of its immovable cultural and natural property within an historic environment.
- Evaluation (*değerlendirme*): is defined as the display, exhibition, arrangement, utilization and publicity of cultural and natural property by the use of scientific methods.
- Archaeological site (*ören yeri*): is defined as areas which (1) have existed since prehistoric times, (2) have significant and homogenous topographic features, (3) are remarkable in historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social and technical ways, (4) are partially constructed, and (5) including cultural property resulting from human interaction with nature.

In addition to the general definitions and framework of cultural heritage studies, as well as legal and practical aspects of conservation, there are other concepts and definitions clarified in the following resolutions according to new discussions on international platforms, regulations and paradigms. In the scope of this research, some concepts require particular emphasis in order to understand and clarify the classification of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey.

- Urban site (*kentsel sit*): [68] is defined as those areas where cultural and natural elements (landscape, settlement pattern, buildings, gardens, walls, etc.) exist together, and this co-existence makes it also more valuable, in terms of architectural, local, historical, aesthetic and artistic characteristics, than in isolation.
- Archaeological site (*arkeolojik sit*): [69] is defined as those settlements or areas that include cultural property reflecting previous civilizations' social,

[68] This concept was first defined in Decree no. 419 in 1996 by the Ministry of Culture. The recent decree on urban sites is no. 720, published in *T.C. Resmi Gazete* of the Republic of Turkey in 2006. For more detailed information, see URL-8 (retrieved 22.09.2020).
[69] This concept is defined in Decree no. 658, published in *T.C. Resmi Gazete* of the Republic of Turkey in 1999. For more detailed information, see the decree in URL-9 (retrieved 22.09.2020).

economic and cultural characteristics, located on the ground, underground or underwater.

- According to this resolution, archaeological sites consist of four different groups:
    - 1st degree archaeological sites: these have to be preserved with no changes, except for scientific studies on conservation.
    - 2nd degree archaeological sites: these are also conservation areas where only scientific studies on conservation are allowed, and the conservation and usage principles are determined by regional conservation councils.
    - 3rd degree archaeological sites: these are open to new development following the conservation and utilization decisions of the councils.
    - Urban archaeological sites (*kentsel arkeolojik sit*): entailing the co-existence of those areas containing cultural property as defined in the 6th article of Law no. 2863 of 1983, and urban fabric needing to be preserved.
- Rural site (*kırsal sit*): [70] this concept is not yet clearly defined in any law or decree in Turkey, but discussions on rural architectural heritage have been on the agendas of ICOMOS symposia and conferences since the 1970s, and the European Council has proposed recommendations and decision texts since the 1980s. Accordingly, the definition of rural sites can be taken as those rural settlements linked to archaeological areas, or having cultural property, or falling indirectly within urban and archaeological sites.
- Cultural landscape:[71] Cultural landscapes are defined as the "combined works of nature and of man", according to the *Operational Guidelines for the*

[70] Rural sites and conservation strategies have been discussed at many international symposia and conferences. For detailed information, decisions, texts, charters, regulations, and resolutions, see, Madran and Özgönül 1999; for the legal framework and its development, responsible institutions and organizations, see Madran 2002; Madran and Özgönül 2005, 80-102; Durukan 2004, 11-90; for national and international documents and laws related to the conservation of cultural heritage sites in rural areas, see Eres 2013, 458-461.
[71] UNESCO 2019, 83.

Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The areas designated as 'cultural landscape' may be explained as those "illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal."

Enactment of these concepts, definitions and conservation policies is a determined movement by the government to preserve the cultural heritage. However, the current definitions or policies are not enough to clarify all cultural heritage types or their needs. Each case may express unique characteristic in terms of architectural, artistic or historical value, or physical condition, stratification, state of preservation, etc. In addition, new conservation theories and developments in science, technology and interpretation, trigger new concepts, approaches and principles, as well as bringing about the reinterpretation of current concepts, charters and regulations.[73] Essentially, these regulations and resolutions draw on international charters and conventions, but the origin of these cultural heritage studies and the legal requirements stem from the 'Charter of Venice' of 1964. The Republic of Turkey accepted this charter and its theoretical and practical doctrines in 1967, via a decision of GEEAYK (no. 3674).[74]

Even though cultural heritage sites or cultural/natural properties are defined and classified by law, this does not mean that the law covers all types or features. In particular, multi-period heritage sites and their conservation and representation principles are still ambiguous due to changing priorities, delicate and subjective understanding, or interpretations. Thus, the international charters, decisions and approaches, which also constitute the theoretical basis of the subsequent regulations or laws in many countries, should be examined and interpreted to analyze

[73] Erder 1977, 169.
[74] GEEAYK accepted the Charter of Venice in Decision no. 3674 in 1967. For the interpretation of the Decision on the legal practice of conservation in Turkey, see Durukan 2004, 69.

hypothetical attitudes towards multi-period or multi-layered heritage sites, and understand any exclusion or adoption.[75]

The value and significance of cultural heritage sites of past civilizations are underlined by international organizations, such as ICOMOS or ICCROM, which are the leading authorities in terms of conservation disciplines. These organizations have declared several charters or regulations, which identify and discuss the main issues, problems, and conservation proposals. The oldest is the 'Carta del Restauro', agreed in 1931 in Athens.[76] This charter notes that all architectural elements of any period, presenting the past and the art of cultural heritage, must be preserved; none can be excluded for any reason.[77] Even if the main concern refers to a single building, a general approach towards historical layering should be adopted. In this context, another essential charter is the 'Charter of Venice' of 1964.[78] This underlines that traces of previous periods must be respected, as they are part of an historical continuity and represent cultural property. For instance, Article 11 of the Venice Charter states:

> The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.

Furthermore, Article 3 notes that cultural property must be preserved as an historical document, and this can be interpreted as meaning that if any cultural layer is ignored, it results in a misleading history of the cultural heritage. Since the declaration of the Charter of Venice, approaches towards cultural heritage have changed in terms of

[75] For international charters on conservation practice and their impact, see Erder 1977, 167; Madran and Özgönül 1999.
[76] Carta del Restauro was declared in Athens in 1931, and is known as the oldest charter on conservation theory and practice. For the whole charter, see URL-10 (retrieved 20.09.2020).
[77] See the related conclusions, i.e. nos. III, IV and VI, in URL-11 (retrieved 20.09.2020).
[78] For a detailed examination of this charter, see Erder 1977, 167-190; Jerome 2014, 3-8.

conservation processes all over the world. Cultural heritage is no longer just an historic document, but a symbol of a rich cultural history and also a knowledge resource.[79] Beyond being the source of knowledge, cultural heritage is also considered as being in itself a cultural resource, correlated to the values defining heritage as well.[80] This approach makes sense to help enrich the impact of cultural heritage, with respect to its potential indicators as a resource for cultural continuity. During the conservation process, this definition should be considered when deciding strategies for preservation and representation, as heritage sites are tangible links to past cultures, as well as data reserves for future processing and interpretation.

The Burra Charter is a comprehensive document clarifying preservation processes, taking into account previous charters and documents from a broader perspective. This charter emphasizes the concept of 'cultural significance', which is regarded as a keyword relating to different cultural periods or layers:[81]

> **Article 1.2** Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.

Cultural significance is an important concept when it comes to understanding, evaluating and representing cultural heritage sites. Considering the criteria defined in the related article, objective and detailed analyses and interpretations are essential to determine the significant characteristics of cultural heritage sites. This leads to a comprehensive and efficient process in conservation and representation of cultural heritage sites. The Burra Charter also notes that the conservation of cultural heritage should be free from political, ethnic or ideological considerations; instead, cultural heritage should be represented from an objective point of view and interpreted with

[79] Özdoğan 2006, 15, 28, 43.

[80] See the approach of Lipe on values for cultural heritage, 1984, 2-8.

[81] As indicated in this section, the Australian Burra Charter is very important in terms of definitions, such as cultural significance and its approach towards value assessment. For a case-specific examination of value-based management of indigenous cultural heritage in Australia, and the interpretation of the Burra Charter, see Buckley and Sullivan 2014, 35-42.

all its layers and components contributing to the architectural and social history of a nation as well as to universal culture. This is the only possible way to preserve and present the cultural significance of heritage.

'Authenticity' can be considered an important concept in the understanding of cultural heritage sites, their significance, and the values worth preserving. The Nara Document on Authenticity states that:[82]

> Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity

The document entitled 'The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites' (2008), focuses on how cultural heritage sites can be interpreted and represented to provide continuity in shared knowledge. It is relevant to mention here that 'interpretation' and 'presentation' in terms of cultural heritage were first examined in 'The Ename Charter', defining basic principles and notions [83] A further noteworthy concept, 'public awareness', is considered a primary goal for the interpretation of cultural heritage. The representation of all periods of the past from an objective point of view is of crucial importance to foster and encourage public awareness. These few charters discussed here are only a few examples among many others.[84] However, it must be noted that none of these is enough to clarify the

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[82] ICOMOS 1994 (Article 9).

[83] ICOMOS 2004. The Ename Charter has been revised several times, most recently in 2005; see URL-12 (retrieved 20.09.2020).

[84] There are other charters and doctrinal texts accepted by ICOMOS beyond the charters discussed in this section, including: The Declaration of Amsterdam (1975); Historic Gardens – The Florence Charter (1982); the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas – The Washington Charter (1987); the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990); the Charter on the Protection and Management of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (1996); the Charter on Built Vernacular Heritage (1999); the International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999); Principles for the Analysis, Conservation and Structural Restoration of Architectural Heritage (2003); ICOMOS Principles for the Preservation and Conservation-Restoration of Wall Paintings (2003); the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Routes (2008); Joint ICOMOS-TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes (2011); the Valetta Principles for the Safeguarding

critical issues of understanding the exclusion or adoption of specific cultures and their conservation and representation methodology, and they do not define a common approach on what should be done precisely. All the articles and concepts examined here are open to discussion and individual interpretations. In order to be able to propose a comprehensive approach, this subject should be studied and analyzed in detail in different cases. As well as these regulations, there are other factors which have long influenced the conservation process, i.e. where there are differences about approaches to single buildings, urban contexts, cultural landscapes, and archaeological sites. These cases, of course, vary according to location, preservation, the state of layering, interactions with the current environment, geographical and cultural contexts, as well as current socio-political requirements and the legal framework.

2.1.3 The Role of Archaeology

In the scope of this study, archaeology has a prominent role in terms of the special characteristics of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. Archaeology will therefore be examined in detail as a discipline to understand, interpret and generate knowledge about the past, and also as a tool to aid the representation of past cultures. Archaeology can be considered as the fundamental science dealing with the past, and archaeological research is an action of the present day.[85] Its goal is to understand and

and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (2011); The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (2014); Principles for the Conservation of Wooden Built Heritage (2017). See also Madran and Özgönül 1999 for an extensive compilation of these international documents.

[85] The field of archaeology is too extensive to cover in this research. However, primary sources related to the interpretation of cultural heritage sites, including archaeological areas and their conservation strategies, are examined to support this research. Byzantine cultural heritage sites are classified on the basis of archaeology in this research. Thus, clear definitions, concepts and approaches in archaeological studies will be examined to strengthen the methodology and approach of this doctoral research. For the characteristics and development of archaeological studies, definition of archaeology, and interpretation of archaeological data, see Hodder 1984, 25-31; Hodder 1995, 1-5; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 7, 27, 243. Also, for some contemporary debates in the field of archaeology see Hodder 2001, 1-13; and for the development of archaeology in Europe in the 19th century, see Diaz-Andreau 2007, 1-26.

examine the past, historical facts, artefacts, and intangible or tangible indicators that have a strong influence on the present.[86] The primary data of archaeological research is material culture, including architectural heritage, in different cultural or geographical contexts or layers, and artefacts.[87]

Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley have indicated that the narrative of the materials from an archaeological site connects past to the present via the political interpretation of it, meaning that it is not sufficient to understand the raw data in itself, but it needs to be interpreted and 'translated'.[88] Archaeology also searches for meaning in the historical remains from a critical perspective: representation of the past is crucial to create public understanding, question, complete and update the current data on the history, and also foster public awareness.[89] There are, as we know, different approaches, interpretations and methodologies in archaeological studies and representation, and some of these will be examined in this study.

Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley go on to define archaeology as a social practice, beyond its scientific nature, which indicates the relationship between people and their daily lives in the past, and its interpretation from the perspective of society today. In addition, they define what archaeology should be as:[90]

> [An] historical discipline producing a description of what happened in the past, a science of human behavior, a science of 'culture process' or a science of the traces of the past themselves in the archaeological record. Concern has also been focused on ideological distortion of the past for present purposes.

These two scholars explain the role of archaeological processes as:[91]

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[86] Kaiser 2005, 99, 101, 113; Silberman 2005, 249, Özdoğan 2006, 78.

[87] The material culture of past civilizations is the main source of archaeological studies for obtaining data; for some examples on this topic, see Hodder and Hutson 2003, 4, 13; Casella and Fowler 2005, 1; McNiven and Russell 2005, 213.

[88] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 243. For tensions between politics and archaeology, see also Kohl 1998, 240.

[89] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 45, 49; Casella and Fowler 2005, 1.

[90] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 8.

[91] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 108. See also Serin (2017, 78) on understanding Byzantium through archaeological works.

- the hermeneutic of working within the contemporary discipline of archaeology,
- the hermeneutic of living within contemporary society as an active participant, put broadly, gaining knowledge of that which is to be human, to interact and participate with others and to be involved in struggles about beliefs and social and political values,
- the hermeneutic of trying to understand an *alien culture* involving meaning frames radically different from his or her own,
- hermeneutics involved in transcending past and present.
- hermeneutics involved in transcending past and present.

'Alien culture' is a critical concept in the evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. As Ufuk Serin (2008), following Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley, has stated, 'alien culture' (within the scope of this study) can be interpreted as 'Byzantine culture', and an understanding of the relation and interaction between the past and present is involved within archaeological studies.[92]

Archaeological researches are based on the findings and evidence from archaeological areas that represent past cultures in different states, which means that finds from diverse cultures in the past can be observed separately, integrated within settlements, at the level of individual buildings or materials, or in various states of preservation.[94] During fieldwork, past civilizations and their material culture are

[92] Serin (2008, 224) explains this approach as: "… understanding the relation between past and present; understanding alien cultures involving different meaning frames (in this case Byzantine); understanding the contemporary society (as an active participant involved in its beliefs, social, cultural, and political values); and understanding the contemporary discipline of archaeology that draws meanings from the past for the present." Also, see Ergin (2010, 26, who underlines perceptions of non-Turkish heritage and 'alien' culture. The concept of 'other' and 'alien culture' are similar approaches taken to evaluate those cultures that are unfamiliar or that have values different from those of contemporary society. However, 'other' may have polarizing connotations for public understanding.

[94] Hodder and Hutson (2003, 4) claim that the concern of archaeology is to get data from "finding objects in layers and other contexts", so that meaning and history can be interpreted.

exposed for interpretation, so as to understand their origins and historical contexts.[95] Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley opine that 'archaeological fieldwork is based on a visual metaphor of knowledge', continuing that:[96]

> [The] traces of the past are observed and recorded. But an observed past is a problematic past. It is based on commodified spatial time, archaeology is conceived as observation of objects of the past separate from the viewer, a past locked into its own time. Hence the objectivity, of fieldwork – the objectivity of conceptual detachment, non-involvement. However, there is an obvious paradox: excavation does involve 'the past'; it destroys it. This link between destruction and observation is just accepted, sometimes mitigated through planning and sampling, but often it is forgotten.

Beyond representing a stratigraphy of cultural heritage sites, the factual data from archaeological sites, and their visual impact reflecting the past, make cultural heritage sites more attractive and easier to understand than written text.[97] Thus, approaches to archaeology within the context of conservation are more complicated; one of the reasons is that many factors affect perception and interpretation of cultural heritage during the conservation process. As mentioned above, value is a changeable concept, and the circumstances of archaeology are uncertain, especially at those sites containing different periods of the past in different states of preservation. When it comes to the representation of specific cultures, among the others located in the same area, different criteria occur. For example, Neil Silberman and many other scholars state that economic expectations based on cultural tourism affect conservation and representation at archaeological areas, resulting in an emphasis on monumental

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[95] As Hodder argues (1984), the past is interpreted via archaeological data, needed to learn more, during archaeological excavations. In addition, he states that "excavation must be valued as an interpretive experience rather than a technique."

[96] Shanks and Tilley 1992, 22-23. Considering Hodder's statement in the previous footnote, Shanks and Tilley emphasize that excavations destroy the past in order to observe it. How Byzantine strata in archaeological areas, during excavations and fieldwork, are affected by such 'destruction' will be examined in this study. It should be noted that this attitude towards Byzantium due to several parameters is not specific to Turkey.

[97] Hodder (1995, 10) writes that: "For many people, one of the most fascinating aspects of archaeology is that it straddles the gulf which separates the arts from the sciences. More specifically, it brings together the 'softer' humanities and social sciences with the 'harder' physical and natural sciences. The underlying reason for this link is the dual character of material culture. The artifacts studied by archaeologists tell us about history but not in the language of the historian. The archaeologist deals in things and not words."

structures, or those structures with a 'monument value', in Alois Riegl's terms.[98] Other factors, such as valorization or the re-use of cultural heritage sites, are also determinants for the conservation and representation of cultural properties at archaeological sites.

Additionally, archaeology is also in close association with social, cultural, and political expectations, and is an important part of the social context of its local landscape.[99] General categorization in archaeology is based on the periodic characteristics of each site, i.e. prehistoric, ancient or medieval. Ken Dark defines archaeology as the 'science of society' in what he describes as the 'new archaeology' approach, which is a similar discourse to that of Michael Shanks and Chris Tilley[100]. In archaeological science and research, many different theories and approaches have developed since the 19th century, i.e. processual archaeology, post-processual archaeology, behavioral archaeology, and others have originated based on different factors or interpretations at different times.[101] For instance, after World War II, the objectivity of archaeological studies was lost in terms of theoretical and political basis due to new theories or priorities, which also had a bearing on the conservation of cultural heritage[102]. Considering all these, social and cultural contexts, as well as political perspectives, inevitably influence how archaeology is analyzed, evaluated, documented, interpreted and represented.[103] Therefore, different approaches have developed in response to the needs of different areas of archaeological studies.

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[98] Silberman 1995, 259; Cleere 1989, 10. In addition, Serin argues this topic as it applies to Byzantium and its heritage with reference to Sodini (1993) and Rautman (1990) in her paper (2017, 71). Such scholars emphasize that monumental structures within archaeological areas seem to receive preferential treatment specifically to attract more tourists, using their cultural and monumental value. Riegl discusses 'monument value' in *The Modern Cult of the Monument* (2014, 67-84).

[99] Trigger 1984; Casella and Fowler 2005, 2-4; Özdoğan 2006, 10, 17, 77.

[100] Dark 1991, 21-22; see also Trigger 1984, 367 for 'new archaeology' and how it developed.

[101] Archaeological theories and approaches are not the main focus of this study. For detailed information, explanations, and expansions of these different theories, see, e.g., Hodder 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Hodder *et al.* 1995; Schiffer 1996; Meskell 1998, 1-12; Hodder and Hutson 2003.

[102] There are several studies on the changes in archaeological studies since World War II. For some sources on this topic, see Veit 1989, 35-56; Kaiser 2005, 99; Kristiansen 2005, 23-24.

[103] For a comprehensive look at political, ethnic, social, and economic environments on the basis of developments in archaeological studies, see Trigger 1984, 355-370. See also Kristiansen 2005, 23.

The main reason for the strong link between the past and present in archaeological studies is the need to include the 'human factor'. Archaeology seeks for the past in terms of the human scale, the spaces in which they lived or worshipped, the walls they built, the materials they produced or used, the artworks they created to represent themselves, and their culture. Thus, trying to understand the past conditions and imagine them through archaeological data or experiences fires the curiosity of not only researchers, but also wider audiences, and makes the adoption of the past easier.[104] Subsequently, new approaches in research and representation methodology occurred in archaeological studies. The significant paradigm reflecting the daily life and practices of the past within the present, with different methods to revive and represent history, is 'experimental archaeology'.[105] Actually, this approach has the potential to foster public awareness and empathy by making people part of the representation of the past. Therefore, archaeology is considered one of the most reliable tools bonding people to the past, whether it is a part of their culture or not.

However, the past and the present are not in harmony all the time, or for all cases. This is because, not just the period, but also the people, culture, or civilizations will have changed, and this affects the perception of the past. The cultural origin of the past may not attract public or scientific attention in relation to the social, cultural or religious formations of the current society. For a more in-depth discussion, the adoption of the past, or cultural heritage, should be examined to understand the relation and conflicts between changing identities. Archaeological studies and representations of the past can be evaluated, as displays of older cultures and their identities that no longer exist. However, this does not mean that current social and cultural identities of those visiting cultural heritage sites, or living close to them, can appreciate or interpret from an objective perspective. Ethnicity, age, education level,

[104] Hodder and Hutson 2003, 33.

[105] Coles (1973, 13-18) defines experiential archaeology: "The term experimental archaeology is a convenient way of describing the collection of facts, theories and fictions that has been assembled through a century of interest in the reconstruction and function of ancient remains. If methods and approaches in experimental archaeology are of interest, see the whole book.

ideology and religion, can all affect the experience and understanding of an archaeological site.[106]

Cultural heritage, including archaeological sites, may be exposed to selective attitudes for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, somehow, political and economic considerations come to the fore in terms of conservation and representation proposals. The adoption of the past is directly related to the way it is taught, translated and represented; likewise, the exclusion of the past or selected past is related to the same factors. Having cultural heritage sites of older civilizations, their narrative and representation; emphasis on their preservation; discourses of political authorities, historians, archaeologists or conservation experts on cultural heritage sites, all affect, positively or negatively, the adoption or exclusion of past civilizations and their heritage. Necessarily, the political ideologies are extremely influential in terms of archaeological research and cultural studies, or selecting which archaeological sites or monuments should be protected.[107] However, if it were possible to ignore the political ideology or considerations, what would be the criteria for the preservation and representation of cultural heritage sites? What reasonings or approaches influence the appropriation or exclusion of the past?

Beyond the classifications emphasizing methodology, there are other interpretations for archaeological approaches based on the political past. Bruce Trigger summarizes these approaches in three categories: nationalist, colonialist and imperialist, in what is considered as one of the pioneer studies dealing with the impact of political contexts on archaeological studies.[108] Each of these approaches expresses its ideology in different conditions and practical responses, and sometimes overlap.[109]

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[106] Meskell 1998, 1-2; Casella and Fowler 2005, 2; Erder 2007, 206.

[107] Tekeli exemplifies the impact of political motives on the conservation of cultural heritage sites. He claims that if the political approach of a government is close to 'nationalism', then the cultural heritage sites of the Hittites, Ionians, as well as Christians, can be excluded (i.e. in comparison to the Turkish or Islamic heritage); for more information (*idem.* 1998, 21). For international examples and approaches supporting this claim, see Lipe 1984, 2-5; Insoll 2005, 191; Kaiser 2005, 99; Kristiansen 2005, 27; Silberman 2005, 249.

[108] Trigger 1984, 358-368; Diaz-Andreau 2007, 4-10; see also Silberman 2005, 250.

[109] Meskell 1998, 3.

Discriminating attitudes towards a specific culture's heritage sites can be affected by these approaches to underline or promote the selected past. Different approaches in archaeological studies, as well as at cultural heritage sites, are developed according to the current agendas of the responsible organizations, based on political, economic, cultural, or other motives. In this way, all of these different approaches represent the needs or facets of the 'present'. As Ian Hodder quotes from George Orwell: [110] ". . . Who controls the past', ran the Party slogan, 'controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.' And yet the past, though of its nature alterable, never had been altered. Whatever was true now, was true from everlasting to everlasting.'"

The conflict between the present and the past is mostly affected by changing political, ethnic, social, and religious conditions. Sharing the common land, culture or memories make identities unite, because they involve each other.[111] It is not necessary to live together in the same century to observe this interaction; the tangible and intangible traces of previous cultures, the architectural heritage and works of art, all help the society that follows to understand, evaluate, or, perhaps, retain, through interpreting them in the light of older cultures. However, encounters with previous cultures and their heritage appear in different ways, raise different approaches to understand and interpret the interactions. Throughout the world, there are many examples of overlapping or intersecting cultures in peace or war; defeated by the 'other', assimilated by the 'other', or always in some form of challenge with the 'other'. Thus, attitudes towards the heritage of the 'other' are central to any discussions analyzing similar situations in Turkey through the lens of Byzantine cultural heritage.

[110] Hodder (1984, 25) begins his paper with this quotation from George Orwell's *1984*. For the quotation, see Orwell 2008, 31.

[111] Interactions and the integration of different cultures are examined in several studies, and, of course, the means of interaction and how and when different civilizations affect each other vary. In addition, geography, religion, ideology, and ethnicity, can all change interaction and adoption processes. For an example of ethnicity and religion in the Arabian Gulf, see, Potts 1998, 189-199; Insoll 2005, 193; for the Lebanon, see Naccache 1998, 147-149; for emerging archaeological approaches related to ideologies, see Trigger 1984, 355-370; Diaz-Andreau 2007, 5-10. Interactions and integration between Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman societies will be assessed in the following sections.

2.2 Attitudes Influencing the Process of Cultural Heritage Preservation in Turkey

When investigating attitudes towards cultural heritage in terms of conservation and representation, numerous reasons and considerations emerge in different parts of the world. Cultural heritage sites in different geographies and cultures bring different discussions on understanding, conservation, and representation issues. The main concern is to sustain cultural heritage sites for future generations and maintain them as 'cultural resources', as William Lipe and Henry Cleere argue.[112] In other words, it is possible to propose that cultural heritage sites are knowledge resources for the understanding and interpretation of history.[113] Obviously, cultural heritage sites face risks which threaten their existence and integrity, if they are unable to be preserved and represented on the basis of case-specific analyses and factors. The major threats to the sustainability and comprehensibility of cultural heritage are neglect, exclusion, ignorance, and damaging actions, and these are related to attitudes towards cultural heritage sites in the spheres of public and scientific activities. Differences in attitudes towards cultural heritage are not always unfavorable; of course, there are clear and exemplary cases.

On the one hand, attitudes towards, and interpretation of the past can change due to cultural issues, which can be related to hostilities between two different cultures, conflicts and wars, or religious dissociation, as well as that past's influence on the

[112] Lipe defines cultural heritage sites as a 'cultural resource', stressing "… the universal role that the material culture environment plays in providing cultural continuity and perspective, and hence linking the past, present and future within the experience of any given human generation." For more on this, see Lipe 1984, 2-8). Cleere also has a similar point of view, but he continues on the same discourse by considering cultural heritage sites in terms of 'cultural resource' (984, 125-126). Tekeli states that conservation should be based on transferring cultural values and indicators for future generation (1988, 22). Feilden and Jokilehto write (1999, 14) that: "The aim of conservation is to safeguard the quality and values of the resource, protect its material substance and ensure its integrity for future generations."

[113] Özdoğan underlines the importance of cultural heritage sites as resources that provide information about the past. He defines unexamined cultural heritage sites as 'the dead information stack'. In addition, he notes the necessity of transforming cultural heritage sites into a pool of 'scientific knowledge', crucial for the sustainability of 'public memory' (2006, 11, 15, 28, 43).

present day. On the other hand, attitudes can differ because of political conflicts and conjecture as well as economic reasons. However, in some cases, cultural heritage sites from a significant period are interpreted and presented by reconstructing the past for cultural and political benefits, such as the example of Macedonia-Greece, with the Hellenic past of Macedonian territories influenced by different paradigms and philosophical movements.[114] In that regard, questions such as 'Who owns the past?' and 'Whose heritage is this?' emerge.[115] For instance, in Saudi Arabia, a Muslim country that includes many sects, religious identity and expectations come to the fore.[116] The impact of religious identity, and also its fragmentation, can be observed in the history of Lebanon, which also includes a Muslim population of more than fifty percent, but in two different sects, but with a large Christian community currently as well.[117] Looking at Lebanese history, we see a multi-cultural past, with long-lasting imperial periods, being ruled by other nations, triggering, understandably, debates on national identity discussions, never underestimating the political conflicts and wars in these regions throughout the ages.[118] Accordingly, these conflicts or changes in social, cultural and religious stability reflect interpretations of history and the narratives of it created.

Political conflicts and wars also leave their traces in the Balkan Peninsula, which has a dramatic history, including massacres, shifting regimes, socio-cultural ethnic and religious clashes, all manifesting in the interactions of various civilizations and their conflicts.[119] Given the more recent past, incorporating the last 150 years, ethnic and

[114] Political conditions and approaches affect the conservation of cultural heritage strategies as well as the adoption of a particular period in the past. The tension between the (Northern) Republic of Macedonia and Greece concerning the heritage of Alexander the Great is still a fragile issue, see Brown 1998, 68-86 and Kotsakis 1998, 44-67. See also Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 11.

[115] McNiven and Russell look at the appropriation of the past relating to the indigenous populations of Australia on the basis of colonial archaeology (2005, 181-210). See also Trigger 1984, 360-363 for a brief examination of colonial archaeology.

[116] Insoll 2005, 191-207.

[117] Naccache 1998, 147.

[118] Naccache 1998, 147-149.

[119] Balkan history is an extensive topic and is not in the main framework of this research. However, geographically, the Balkan peninsula is very close to Turkey, and in the past both Byzantine and Ottoman empires ruled this territory; thus there are common values in the cultural, ethnic, and

nationalist ideologies have shaped the cultural and political discourses and actions in the Balkans in general, as they have for the rest of Eastern Europe. Ideologies have led to much destruction, both in terms of the physical environment and public understanding.[120] After domination by the Ottoman Empire, states fought for their liberty and independence with respect to the nationalist ideologies that were pervasive among Balkan states at the end of 19th century.[121] As a result, these states gained their independence, emphasizing their cultural and national identities in part by archaeological researches. However, unfortunately, in some cases, this meant the destruction of the monuments and traditions left behind by the previous rulers, even extending to architectural, cultural and religious legacies.[122] Obviously, these attitudes have their consequences, and while trying to underline or create a "new" identity, or revive their "old" features, ignorance or eradication of the vestiges of the "other" is a loss to be expected. Such examples are multiplied in different contexts and approaches throughout the world, such as the violent Nazi policies towards the archaeology and ideological attitudes of "others", essentially geared at destroying the identities of cities, neighborhoods, buildings, and culture of the Jewish people. Other examples include the destruction of selected aspects of the cultural

religious backgrounds. Only by exploring the relationships between the various pasts of the present-day states in the Balkan peninsula can we understand the different approaches that developed in neighboring geographies. Balkan history since Byzantine times is examined in different sections in respect to this doctoral research. First, it should be noted how the political, ethnic and religious parameters shaped the approaches towards the past; the situation in the Balkan Peninsula is mostly based on these parameters. Kohl and Fawcett underline the political manipulation in the countries with several examples (2005, 3-4). For the characteristics of Balkan society in the Ottoman period, see Vucinich 1962; for the nationalist movement and national states in the Balkan region generally, see Karpat 1997, 329-359; Kaiser 2005, 101-14; Ortaylı 2006, 34-35; for the reflection of the Ottoman past in the present-day Balkans, and attitudes towards Ottoman remains, see Chapman 1994, 120-126; Hajdarpašić 2008, 716-734.

[120] It is important to understand the nationalist ideology and its reflection on the society, especially in the Balkan Peninsula. For a general overview on nationalism and archaeology, see, Trigger 1984, 358-360; Kohl 1998, 223-230; Trigger 2005, 266-273; for an examination of nationalism and how it affected archaeology and cultural heritage in the Balkan region, see Kasier 2005, 100, 106; Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 3, 9, 13; for attitudes towards the Ottoman past and its heritage in Balkan Peninsula related to the nationalist ideology; see Hajdarpašić 2008, 715, 719; Hartmuth 2008, 695, 701; Philloui 2008, 662.

[121] Karpat 1997, 329-359. Also, for the development of nationalist ideology and its reflection on the states and on archaeology, see Kohl 1998, 23-33; Diaz-Andreau 2007, 5-6, 63, 64.

[122] Kaiser 2005, 107; Hajdarpašić 2008, 716-734; Hartmuth 2008, 701, 703.

architectural heritage in Bosnia, together with the loss of many common heritage sites of the former Yugoslavia, as well as the current conditions, conservation and representation issues relating to the Ottoman cultural heritage in Greece, or interactions in several countries with indigenous populations, whose cultural identities and heritage face a variety of threats.[123]

Within the scope of this present study, the nationalist approach identified above will be brought to the fore when identifying problems of conservation of cultural heritage. National identity is a solid concept for people, along with religion, and these two are complementary notions when it comes to understanding the identity of a community. Beyond that, national identity, and the emphasis put on it, takes on a political leverage in terms of acts and discourses:[124]

> National awakening is associated with political movements which were directed towards the construction of independent nation-states or for more autonomy within such states. Throughout most of the world archaeology has played and continues to play a critical role in the creation of national identities essential to these projects.

Accordingly, 'identity', as revealed in national, ethnic, religious, social, or gender issues is the critical value that communities need to protect[125]. Back to nationalism, this is a very speculative term, particularly when used in association with cultural heritage, as the latter is universal and its value cannot be limited to concepts of nationhood or the religion of a single community or society. Unfortunately, discriminatory selectivity can be seen with all types of cultural heritage sites, mainly because of nationalist perspectives, along with other factors covered in this

[123] This represents a summary of attitudes towards the heritage of 'others' in the different parts of the world. For the Balkan region, see Chapman 1994, 120-126; Rieldmayer 1995, 7-11; Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 12; Hajdarpašić 2008, 716-734; Özdoğan 2008, 36; for Nazi archaeology, see Silberman 2005, 251; for indigenous cultures in America and Australia, see Smith 2004, 17-21; McNiven and Russell 2005, 181-210.

[124] Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 12.

[125] For a general approach to identity as related to archaeological studies and cultural heritage, see Shennan 1989, 1-23; Meskell 2005, 1-2, 4, 9; for case-specific interpretations of cultural identity in different regions, see Hassan 2005, 200-216; Insoll 2005, 191 (Arabian Gulf); Kotsakis 2005, 43-67 (Greece and Macedonia); Knapp and Antoniadou 2005, 13-37 (Cyprus).

section.[126] Additionally, this issue is not limited to specific geography, but is a common problem in heritage conservation. In relation to this, the attitudes influencing the conservation of cultural heritage in Turkey will be examined.

Anatolian territories had been settled by many civilizations over the centuries, each leaving its own heritage, and, accordingly, this geographical region needs to be interpreted with all its cultural wealth as a whole.[127] The diversity in the cultural heritage of the rich past of the lands of present-day Turkey is remarkable. This diversity, including outstanding monuments and cities of past civilizations, has attracted both local and foreign researchers and archaeologists since the 19th century.[128] Indeed, foreign scholars have contributed much to the determination and documentation of the archaeological sites and the artefacts found within them. It cannot be overlooked, of course, that these same archaeologists were able to transfer artefacts, and even complete monumental buildings, such as the Altar of Zeus from Pergamum, back to their own countries as a result of flaws in regulations, a lack of legal inspections, or underestimation of the value of the cultural heritage by the government of the time.[129] The legal framework of the history of conservation and the current definitions and explanations have been outlined in the previous section, "2.1.2. Concepts and Definitions Derived in International Charters, Documents and Recommendations and Legal Regulations at National Level", and all decisions on project/planning and conservation applications are expected to be processed according to current law. However, conservation principles and applications in

[126] Tekeli states four different approaches towards cultural heritage sites; one of them, the nationalist approach, is examined in *Attitudes Influencing the Process of Cultural Heritage Preservation in Turkey* (1988, 20).
[127] For a detailed historical background of Anatolian lands, see Aktüre 1994, 2018; Akurgal 1978, 1998; Kuban 1965, 1973. Erzen (1998, 165) notes that Anatolia is like a folded grifted maze and has a strong memory as the brain that keeps a rich and deep fund of knowledge.
[128] Özdoğan 2006, 33; Özdoğan 2008, 64. See also Eyice 1976, 453-456 for archaeological studies specific to the Byzantine cultural heritage.
[129] For the original text, see *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (1869 and 1874). Some of the recent sources on the effects of these laws on archaeology and cultural heritage studies are: Bilsel (2000; 2012, 1-28); Madran 2002, 14-28; Özdoğan 2008, 23; Radt 2010, 195-197.

Turkey are open to discussion and sometimes even go against the law as the result of a lack of clarity, gaps in definition, and lack of supervision.

Concerning the conservation of cultural heritage, several factors have to be take into account, including ideologies, the social and cultural conditions shaping political perspectives of the past and past civilizations, and public attitudes towards cultural heritage. The Republic of Turkey was established after long wars and struggles for the nation. The Ottoman Empire was a multi-national empire mostly comprised of Turkish populations, and the nationalist movement accelerated its disintegration process from the end of the 19th century.[130] The nationalist ideology, especially after the Tanzimat period, triggered the search for a national identity. The ideology of Turkism was adopted and promoted by the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) during the second Ottoman Constitutional Monarchy after the Balkan wars. Thus the consolidation of a nation, and a history based on Turkism, was first debated within the framework of the status quo of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century.[131]

Meanwhile, the process of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire accelerated following several wars and riots. Finally, after the Ottoman Empire was no more, several countries occupied Anatolian territories and the Turkish Republic established itself in a chaotic period that witnessed victory in the Independence War of 1919-1922. Individuals and society need a strong and confident identity through which to represent itself, so this nascent state had to strengthen its existence as a new Turkish land, and it was thus vital to establish a strong Turkish identity in close association with past civilizations and focusing on its archaeology, rightly seen as significant in

[130] To examine the Ottoman population in terms of demographic and social specifications, see Karpat 1985; and also, Ortaylı 2006, 10, 49.

[131] For a detailed examination of the construction of a nation, and the search for national identity in the context of 'Turkism' in the Ottoman Empire and the role of the Committee of Union and Progress, see the following: Gökalp 1972, 1976; Küçük 1985, 1007-1024; Ortaylı 1988, 1999; Karpat 1995, 28-29; Yetim 2008, 71-84; Semiz 2014, 217-244.

the history of Anatolia.[132] The shaping of this necessary new identity appeared as a result of different reforms in the Early Republican period. Above all, it was the reforms in education that were key to the creation of a strong identity and the adoption of a "fabricated" history for this newly established republic.[133] The Turkish History Thesis is a result of this approach during the Early Republican period. Many historians and researchers came together to re-produce the history of Anatolia, and their studies turned into a textbook taught in schools.[134] According to the Turkish History Thesis, the Turks were to be associated with the early civilizations of Anatolia, whereas, from the perspective of Orientalist scholars of the West, and some local scholars, the Ottoman Empire, and even the Turkish Republic, was a continuation of the Roman Empire.[135] Related to this thesis, the Turkish Republic was to reshape its history by linking itself to the very early settlements of Anatolia, i.e. the 'Hittites and Sumerians', and fostering awareness of this historical association. Accordingly, this thesis was introduced into school curricula in Turkey.[136] Such a position was seen as acceptable from the political viewpoint of the time to create a

[132] For a general evaluation of the use of archaeology to create or strengthen national identity, see Diaz-Andreau and Champion 1996, 3; Kohl 1998, 223-246; Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 9, 12, 13; Silberman 2005, 257; for the impact of nationalism on archaeological studies and the construction of a new Turkish identity, see Özdoğan 2006, 58-59; Özdoğan 2008, 35-37, Akyürek 2010, 208; Ergin 2010, 14-16; Eldem 2013, 71; Çayır, 2014, 41. Also, Özdoğan uses the concept of 'nationalist archaeology' to explain archaeology as a tool for the legitimization of 'identity' based on archaeological evidence. See, Özdoğan 2006, 54-55. Furthermore, Mango notes the concept of 'nationalist ideology' and its reflection on archaeological studies (1999, 407).

[133] Coupeaux examined Turkish historiography from the Early Republican period and the teaching of history – including its goals, ideologies, approaches, and political conditions. His analysis on the teaching of history in the Turkish educational system is valuable in terms of understanding the early approaches and development so far (2006). Another important concept in his book is where he states that "if human beings want a new future, he or she must seeks for a new history, which we can call the 'discovered past', through both archaeology and the present.' Thus, his discourse on the 'discovered past' supports the claim that we must look at the "fabricated history" of the Turkish Republic in terms of its establishment, and the need for a strong past in Anatolian lands (2006, 22).

[134] Coupeaux 2006, 39-40; Özdoğan 2008, 35-37. The book *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* also known as the 'Turkish History Thesis' was published by İnan *et al.* in 1931.

[135] İnan *et al*. 1931; Ortaylı 2006, 44-45.

[136] İnan *et al.* 1931; see also Engin 1934, 164-172; Köksal 1999, 381 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos 1999); Coupeaux 2006, 17-18, 31-32, 36; Özdoğan 2006, 59; Özdoğan 2008, 36; Ergin 2010, 21; Eldem 2013, 71; Taşkın and Şimsek 2017, 1535; Çayır 2014, 10. Mango also states that the Hittites, Sumerians, and Phrygians – and their heritages – were preferred in the light of Kemalist doctrines in the Early Republican period.

strong identity. However, at the same time, it can give rise to misunderstandings about Anatolia's past, with its rich history; previous civilizations are reasons for being proud to live on this land. Furthermore, the founder of the new Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, underlined the importance of past civilizations in Anatolia in his communication to İsmet İnönü: [137]

> In forthcoming years, due consideration should be given to the discovery, scientific preservation and classification of those works of ancient civilizations that are spread over almost all of our country. Much more attention should be paid to the protection of those monuments which were negligently abandoned, and, accordingly, many more students should be encouraged to take up archaeology.

The nationalist approach may have affected policies in education, history and culture within the new Turkish state. As a result, this approach, inevitably, came to the fore in the areas of cultural heritage and archaeology in Turkey. Not to be overshadowed by previous civilizations, even if the Turks were successors to the Ottomans, they looked to this nationalistic stance to strengthen and honor their national identity, which was only to be expected, having a wealth of archaeological heritage sites in their territories.[138] Although Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's instructions were aimed at the development of archaeological studies, the progress of displaying heritage and supporting archaeological education abroad for a growing younger generation, in the later periods of the Republic, there were more hostile attitudes towards cultural heritage, without little concern to sustain its existence.[139] Notably, during the administration of Adnan Menderes, who was prime minister of the Republic of Turkey between 1950-1960, the demolition of architectural heritage sites was

[137] *Türk Tarih arkeologya ve Etnografya dergisi 1 (1933), 3*; as cited in Serin 2008, 218.

[138] For the use of archaeology on the basis of nationalist ideology, see Trigger, 1984, 358-360; Diaz-Andreau and Champion 1996, 3; Kohl 1998, 223-238; Trigger 2005, 277; Ergin 2010, 13-14; see also Coupeaux 2006, 22, 24; Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006, 391, the transformation of archaeological findings seen as pride in the newly constructed national identity.

[139] In the Republican period, archaeological studies were important to legitimize the new Turkish identity as well as to respect the past civilizations and their heritage, on the orders of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. To understand Mustafa Kemal's approach towards archaeology and cultural heritage sites in Turkey, see Whittemore 1943, 164; Özdoğan 2006, 14, 58-59; Özdoğan 2008, 19-22, 37; Akyürek 2010, 207; Güven 2010, 49. See also Copueaux 2006, 15 for the use of past civilizations as the ancestors of Turks to legitimize their existence in Anatolia.

interpreted as a movement of 'Turkization' in Istanbul.[140] Together with these political decisions and strategies that ignored the architectural heritage of previous civilizations, the conservation and presentation of cultural heritage became a problematic issue because of the nationalistic attitude towards cultural heritage, a lack of public awareness about the history, heritage and preservation, and educational problems.

İlhan Tekeli indicates four different approaches to the conservation of cultural heritage in Turkey.[141] These approaches were highly significant and, indeed, are still valid in Turkey today, even though he first introduced them almost thirty years ago.[142] However, notwithstanding this, they insufficient to cover all the issues related to the conservation of the cultural heritage, mostly because there are case-specific factors driving the processes of conservation and the representation of cultural heritage sites.

The first parameter focuses on generating a healthy public awareness of historical details and understanding the traditions and cultural continuity of the surrounding environment, something that was also addressed by Mehmet Özdoğan.[143] This seems logical and objective, in terms of promising to deliver an holistic understanding of history and examine the interrelations between history and the built or natural environment. Indeed, traces of this multi-cultural history are visible all around us. Turkey comprises cultural heritage sites of great diversity in terms of historical periods, archaeological stratification, architectural type/specifications, use of material, urban topography, landscape, etc. Thus and inclusive approach at every stage of the conservation process and representation strategy is seen as making sense in terms of effective analysis and confronting and adopting both history and heritage

[140] Akpınar 2015a, 56-84. The concept of 'Turkization' was used in Akpınar's studies and translated as 'Türkleştirme'. There are several sources that refer to 'Turkification' in the same meaning and which will be reviewed in the following sections.
[141] Tekeli 1998, 20-21.
[142] For a recent review, see Serin 2008, 210.
[143] Özdoğan 2006, 39.

in a fuller and more objective way. However, all these needs long-term planning, including cultural, social, and educational investment. Society has to be ready to interrelate with its cultural heritage in a comprehensive way, so as to make such an approach effective and sustainable.

The second parameter, according to İlhan Tekeli, although aiming to identify a national identity, has a limited perspective for the conservation of cultural heritage as the ideology of nationalism cannot include the whole history of a nation. Essentially, representation of cultural heritage sites from a nationalist point of view does not need to cover history in its entirety; the primary purpose is to underline the promoted national identity and selected past to support the claim to a "fabricated" history.[144] As a result, the aims and perspectives of conservation narrow and become eclectic, leading to new ideologies – such as Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.[145] This latter was the ideological movement of the 1970s in Turkey supported by nationalist and conservative political groups, and its claim was the integrity of nation and religion in Turkey.[146] Thus, emphasis in discussions on cultural heritage had another perspective in addition to nationalism, i.e. religion. In fact, such an ideology would

[144] "Fabricated history" means a newly created history according to political, social and cultural conditions, as well as other demands of the time. For a more in-depth discussion on this issue, and the primary sources for nationalism and the creation of communities and the connotations, see Hobsbawm and Ranger 2000; Anderson 2006; Gellner 2006. For similar approaches specific to Turkey, see Coupeaux 2006, 22. Özdoğan also states that history can be twisted or interpreted according to political conditions, but, actually, the past cannot be changed (2006, 16-17). For a general evaluation on the use of archaeology to create or strengthen national identity, see Diaz-Andreau and Champion 1996, 3; Kohl 1998, 223-246; Kohl and Fawcett 2005, 9, 12, 13; Silberman 2005, 257; for the impact of nationalism on archaeological studies and the construction of a new Turkish identity, see Özdoğan 2006, 58-59; Özdoğan 2008, 35-37, Akyürek 2010, 208; Ergin 2010, 14-16; Eldem 2013, 71, Çayır 2014, 41.

[145] 'Turkish-Islamic Synthesis' focuses on the history of Turks, underlining their origin from Asia and Islamic backgrounds, and adopts a "humanist" approach. It was lately derived than the Turkish History Thesis, and it was against some discourses in this study. Turkish-Islamic Synthesis prefers to emphasize Islamic background and geographical origin of the Turks which is different from Turkish History Thesis on relating Turks with the Hittites and Sumerians to legitimate their existence in Anatolian geography since the very beginning. For a detailed examination of the 'Turkish History Thesis' and the 'Turkish-Islamic Synthesis', see Coupeaux 2006, 54-77 According to Coupeaux, İbrahim Kafesoğlu was the pioneer scholar dealing with the 'Turkish-Islamic Synthesis'. See Copueaux's (2006, 63-66) comments and evaluation of this issue. For an understanding of the tendencies leading to the formation of the 'Turkish Islamic-Synthesis', see Arai 1992.

[146] Güvenç *et al.* 1991; Güvenç, 1994 and Coupeaux 2006, 54, 56-57.

have a triggering impact on creating the 'other' in the context of cultural heritage. Such nationalist or religious attitudes may give preference to the Islamic heritage – basically Seljuk and Ottoman.

The third parameter that İlhan Tekeli states is a value-based approach, but the value-assessment should not represent a specific period. The risk is that there can be future misunderstandings on those past civilizations that are, or are not, conserved, according to the value criteria of the period when the conservation works were conducted. As noted in the related section of this chapter[147], value assessments of cultural heritage consist of various factors, and they can also be manipulated within a pragmatic perspective in accordance with the economic, cultural, social, or political benefits. Value assessment also defines a systematic approach: underlining value criteria can be considered as an objective methodology since it is based on scientific data and analysis. However, in some cases 'value' cannot be enough to create an objective point of view for cultural, social, or political worth.

The last of Tekeli's parameters is the use of conservation as a potential for cultural tourism, and, in this case, the main goal is economic benefit. In the main, the potential for cultural tourism can be considered an advantage in terms of finding funds or financial support for the conservation and management of cultural heritage. However, if tourism and economic benefit are the main goals, then the risk of inappropriate interventions occurs for cultural heritage sites, especially archaeological ones. Obviously, economic expectations can threaten cultural heritage sites in both urban and rural areas. Nevertheless, the reason for the emphasis on archaeological sites is the selective approach taken as to what will be conserved, exhibited, and represented, bearing in mind the interests of the public or the intended visitors. Moreover, one of the risks is the re-functioning of historic buildings or the re-use of structures in archaeological areas,[148] as, in some cases interventions go

[147] See above, pp. 42-45.

[148] See the examples and reviews on the re-functioning of historic buildings and the converted churches in İstanbul, e.g. Ötüken 1973; İnalcık 1990, 4-5; Kırımtayıf 200;, İnalcık 2015, 47-48; for the Ertokuş Caravanserai, see Doğan 2010, 231-251 and Demirci, 2018; for the Sultanahmet Prison,

beyond their initial requirements and scope and they obscure or change original structures. Additionally, economic expectations can often influence the quality and extent of any interventions, which can be exemplified as a transformation or revival of an historic town, or the re-functioning of an historic building. Inevitably, economic expectations bring commercial activities, and cultural heritage sites can turn into places where the past is consumed in a different context. However, at times, objectivity, authenticity and intellectuality can be questionable regarding the manner of conservation and representation. On the other hand, another risk is exclusion from cultural tourism strategies depending on different priorities. Consequently, these four parameters just outlined are still valid for Turkey's conservation practice, at least to a certain extent.[149] Obviously, the most comprehensive parameter is the first, which basically incorporates the other three. Still, the value assessment system, the third parameter, has found greater acceptance at an international level through the charters and regulations adopted by international organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM, dealing with cultural heritage issues.[150]

İlhan Tekeli summarizes the above-mentioned different attitudes towards cultural heritage in Turkey from the point of view of the responsible organizations or decision makers. Nevertheless, cultural heritage studies, their understanding and sustainability, have a socio-cultural dimension too. It is a complicated and also problematic issue due to the lack of public awareness of history and culture of those previous civilizations who settled in Turkey, the historical environment, legal obligations, religious issues, and educational inefficiency.[151] It is related to the adoption of the past and 'heritage' without bias, as well as attitudes generally towards cultural heritage sites. Thus, these attitudes should be examined in detail to understand how they developed and the differences in relationships between

which was converted into a hotel, see Akın 2008, 6-8; for the re-use of structures in archaeological areas, i.e. the Aspendos Theatre in Antalya, see Eskici *et al*. 2015, 36-42.

[149] Serin (2008, 210-211) also agrees with Tekeli and discusses the issue.

[150] Feilden and Jokilehto 2002, 18-21. See also Orbaşlı 2008, 38-47.

[151] Erder 2007, 205-20. Serin also underlines these issues (2008, 213-216, 219-222).

Turkey's heritage phases – Prehistoric, Classical, Late Antique, Medieval, Seljuk, Ottoman and Republican. Another aspect affecting the difference in behavior or adoption is the location and context of the cultural heritage and its association with present-day settlements. Living in or close to an historic building changes the impact on the local population, as they are exposed to cultural heritage sites in terms of seeing and experiencing, even if they do not know them in detail.[152] As a result, they can foster public awareness and become a part of cultural memory. As indicated in this study, the differences in geographical context is one of the parameters impacting on public attitudes or conservation approaches towards cultural heritage sites; for example, the understanding of a cultural heritage site as part of urban archaeology can be different from archaeological sites in rural areas in terms of the corresponding dynamics of the context in which the cultural heritage is located.

Another paradigm for cultural heritage sites in Turkey is that if they are not symbolic structures of a significant period, such as the church of St. Sophia in Istanbul (Ayasofya Müzesi), or have less significance for cultural tourism, such as Trajan's Temple at Pergamon, or lack political, religious or economic value, as, e.g., the Tomb of Süleyman Şah, then there is an overall tendency towards neglect due to lack of education and awareness of the importance and significance of cultural heritage sites.[153]

The Byzantine past can be considered as having been overlooked, among others, taking into account this problematic framework of cultural heritage studies and the adoption of the past outlined above. Before explaining the reasons for these problems

[152] Lipe 1984, 4.

[153] There are several sources on the Church of St. Sophia in terms of architecture, theology, art, etc; for its significance generally, see, e.g. Whittemore 1938; Cameron 1956, Mainstone 1988; Kleinbauer 1999; Nelson 2004. For the architectural specifications and restoration works in the Temple of Trajan, see Nohlen 1999; Radt 2010, 239-249. For detailed information on the Tomb of Süleyman Şah, see Afyoncu, 2015. The Tomb of Süleyman Şah differs from others as it played a significant role in Turkish history and is considered as part of the Islamic heritage. In Syria, and under threat during the war, Turkish politicians and the media strongly argued for the protection of the tomb and proposed to relocate it. Reactions and discussions in the media were intense and extended; see URL-13, URL-14, URL-15 (retrieved 25.07.2019).

of conservation and representation regarding the Byzantine cultural heritage, it must be emphasized that this attitude is not specific to Byzantine cultural heritage sites: there are also issues regarding certain aspects of the Ottoman and Seljuk past as well.[154] For instance, notwithstanding the wide adoption of the Islamic heritage, based on religious issues and Turkish nationalism, there are graffiti on the walls of the Topkapı Palace (Fig.2.1) and neglected Turkish baths, even one built by the famous architect Sinan (Fig.2.2), to be seen in the historic centre of the capital. Thus, damage and neglect are not always related to the cultural origin of heritage sites. This situation is mostly associated with a lack of public awareness about cultural heritage sites, or, in some cases, an almost total lack of basic knowledge about the significance and importance of many sites. It seems as if a majority of the population does not know how to behave, respect, or adopt these remains representing the past. As well as these individual instances of deliberate neglect, or letting heritage sites decay by themselves, there are occasions where well-meaning interventions during conservation actually cause damage to historic buildings, such as at the Atik Valide Mosque in Üsküdar, Istanbul (Fig.2.3), even though such actions contravene Law, no. 2863 of 1983.[155] Unfortunately, legal restrictions cannot prevent inappropriate applications contrary to the spirit of the place, which severely damage the understanding of heritage and its authenticity.

[154] Duru 1999, 367; Özdoğan 2008, 46; Serin 2008, 220; Akyürek 2010, 212. Duru underlines the importance of Byzantine studies and the objective of using an understanding of Byzantium as a way to understand Turkish culture and our history. He also emphasizes how Byzantium and its history is undervalued by many people, including scholars. Özdoğan laments the demolition of the Byzantine strata of archaeological sites and how Byzantine monuments have lost their identity during conservation process. This, he says, is not because of the exclusion or ignorance of Byzantium, but rather that it is a problem linked to archaeology and conservation in Turkey due to urban growth and tourism. Serin has a similar point of view and she also highlights the poor condition of the Seljuk and Ottoman heritages.

[155] For the construction of a dormitory around the Atik Valide complex, a concrete structure was built just next to the *tekke* building and caused serious damage to the historic structures. Also, the courtyard is covered with a glass surface which obstructs the original view of the courtyard walls, and, unfortunately, there have been damaging interventions to the interior space.



Figure 2.1. İstanbul, A-B Inner wall separating Gülhane Park and the Harem of the Topkapı Palace, Interior part of the citadel of the Topkapı Palace; C - Entrance of Gülhane Park and the Archaeological Museum, 2018. (Y. Saluk)



Figure 2.2. İstanbul, Ayakapı Bath, 2019.



Figure 2.3. İstanbul, The Atik Valide Complex Health Center, after and before restoration, 2015.[156]

As seen in the above few examples among many others, in some cases Turkish society regards certain historic structures as surfaces to be used for promoting their names, feelings, or ideas. Another approach towards cultural heritage sites in Turkey sees them as nothing more than opportunities for financial benefit, by converting them for other uses. Historic buildings and buildings in the city center are also destroyed on account of their land value, and new buildings replace them. However, and perhaps worst of all, an argument can be made for the possibility that elements of Turkish society as a whole lack objective opinion about what cultural heritage is, or how they can participate in any responsibility for its preservation. However, visitors or those living among or near sites of cultural significance can contribute towards sustainability and conservation, as well as fostering public interest and raising awareness of the existence, context, and historical timelines of heritage sites.

[156] The restoration project and its consequences for the Şifahane building of the Atik Valide complex were much criticized in the Turkish media, i.e. see some of the links (the image used here is taken from the first): URL-16, URL-17, URL-18 (retrieved on 26.07.2019).

2.3 Attitudes towards Byzantium and Byzantine Cultural Heritage in Turkey

This research aims to illustrate the current conditions of the Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey, along with the circumstances behind these conditions, and provide a better understanding and adoption of Byzantium. Thus, the reasons or ideology behind approaches towards Byzantium, and how these are reflected within the processes of conservation or representation, should be well understood. Given the four parameters towards cultural heritage in Turkey as set out by Tekeli, Byzantium, and the attitudes towards its heritage, can be included within his second parameter, which is based on nationalist ideology.[157] Obviously, İlhan Tekeli's discourse is not enough to clarify and examine approaches to this topic and the reasons behind them. Thus, the factors affecting attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage will be examined in a series of themes – historical, ethnic, socio-cultural, educational, and economic. In addition, current approaches and the role of the media will also be discussed. Before this detailed examination however, the value of Byzantium and its cultural heritage as a resource of knowledge, and the importance of representing this knowledge from an objective point of view, will be explained, together with a discussion on the general framework of attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey, using comparative examples from neighboring countries.

> Knowledge does not start from perceptions or observations or the collection of data or facts; it starts, rather, from problems. One might say: No knowledge without problems; but also, no problems without knowledge. But this means that knowledge starts from the tension between knowledge and ignorance: No problems without knowledge – no problems without ignorance. For every problem arises from the discovery that there is something amiss within our supposed knowledge; or, viewed logically, from the discovery of an inner contradiction in our supposed knowledge, or of a contradiction between our supposed knowledge and the facts; or, to be more accurate, from the discovery of an apparent contradiction between our supposed knowledge and the supposed facts.[158]

Our knowledge of Byzantium is generated from research environments by

[157] See above, pp. 71-74.
[158] See Popper 1972, 65.

interpreting findings, documents, and remains. Obviously, researchers have different backgrounds, cultural, or ethnic origins, and have a level of knowledge of Byzantium, interpreted according to their individual points of view. For this reason, approaches to Byzantine studies and interpretations of Byzantine life and culture can vary, based on these backgrounds. These research environments can include experts from different professions, i.e. archaeologists, architects, or art historians, and, of course, these men and women will propose many and differing theories. Questions including: 'What is the point of Byzantium or Byzantine history for today's countries that contain elements of Byzantine cultural heritage?', or: 'How can our knowledge of Byzantium and its legacy be generated and transferred to wider audiences?', can be answered, and these answers then be applied in different ways. In this section, the differences between the methods of generating and transferring knowledge relating to the Byzantine Empire will also be discussed.

The aims and methodology involving the conservation and representation of the Byzantine cultural heritage can vary depending on many factors – the skills of the researcher, context, and expected contribution of the study, impact, cultural, social and religious context, and the education level of the regions in which the Byzantine cultural heritage is located. On the one hand, the Byzantine past can be considered as an 'excluded' past in Turkey, a claim that stems from a lack of Byzantine specialists in different fields, such as historians, archaeologists and architects, which has resulted in a dearth of research and publications for decades. Further results include the neglect of heritage and conservation/representation practices, leading to problems of understanding and approaches towards Byzantium that we can find among public and governmental authorities.[159] On the other hand, there are scholars, such as Engin Akyürek, who argue that Byzantine cultural heritage and Byzantine archaeology have not been deliberately excluded since the establishment of the

[159] The previous lack of specialists in Byzantine studies in both national and international research environments is underlined by different scholars. However, in recent years, together with the establishment of new research institutes specific to Byzantium, the numbers of researchers has increased, as well as events based on Byzantium and its cultural heritage. See, e.g., Eyice 1998, 113; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack, 2008, 15; Serin 2008, 221.

Republic – they were just not cultural priorities.[160] However, for Europe, which had also been settled by the Roman Empire, even after its division, understanding of, and interest in, the Western and Eastern Roman Empire is appreciable, varying on religious and language backgrounds.[161] In present-day Turkey, there is no cultural, ethnic, or religious link to Byzantium, and the reflection of this situation can be observed in archaeological studies, conservation and representation practices, formal education in history and literature, and even in popular culture and media discourses.[162] Furthermore, Jale Erzen notes that Seljuk, Ottoman, and Turkish authorities had to play down the significance of Byzantium, even though the Byzantine Empire was the ancestor of their culture. Indeed, in the Republican period, referring to the Byzantine Empire in Turkish art history or architecture was considered as a betrayal of 'Turkishness'.[163] This is an assertive discourse, but at the same time it is an important observation in terms of the understanding and adoption of Byzantium. Alternatively, Cyril Mango defines Turkey as the direct successor of Byzantium due to its geographical context, and asks a provocative question to be argued against a backdrop of cultural, social, political and religious conditions in Turkey today:[164] "Is it possible to expect that Turkey can objectively preserve its heritage, which includes a wealthy and diverse background from the Hittites to the Ottomans?"

Uğur Tanyeli has a different point of view and asks another question to do with

[160] Akyürek 2010, 208. See also Eyice 1973. Ödekan notes that significant interest in Byzantine archaeological studies started in 1937 (1999, 385) (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999). Furthermore, Özdoğan also states that Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not selected with any discrimination during conservation and archaeological research. Ottoman heritage also seems to suffer as much as the Byzantine heritage (2008, 46). For an opposing argument, see Erzen, 1998, 165; Mango 1998, 9; Belge 1999, 395; Köksal, 1999, 385 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999). Erzen laments that Byzantium is sentenced to exist only as art in ruins, and as part of museum culture.

[161] Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 4, 7.

[162] This opinion will be discussed in detail in the folllowing sections, See below, pp. 67-119.

[163] Erzen 1998, 165.

[164] Mango 1998, 9.

defining the relationship between Turks and Byzantines: [165]

> It would be useful to look at how our relationship with Byzantium is shaped in history, rather than looking as if it were a natural situation. *Is it perceived as a natural situation that we are really heirs to the inheritance?* Maybe, we should also talk about this issue. Is our relationship with Byzantium natural or not?

They are both valid questions in any discussion on Byzantium and its heritage, and obviously, they both have the same concern about a general understanding of Byzantium and the conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. In addition, Tanyeli relates the present-day understanding of Byzantium with the common history of the Byzantines and Turks and the lack of researches on this topic.[166]

However, in recent years, interest in Byzantium has increased, as evidenced by the growth in undergraduate and graduate education programs at universities, the promotion of research institutes in universities and organizations, and conferences and workshops held in Turkey on the theme of Byzantium.[167] Such attempts began in Europe and the United States before Turkey, and therefore examining attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey, it is necessary to look briefly at the origins of Byzantine studies in academia, literature, and at conservation practices, throughout Europe, as well as Turkey, for a better understanding. Although Byzantine Studies in Europe started in the 17th century, the valorization of the

[165] Tanyeli 1999, 374 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999).
[166] Tanyeli 1999, 375 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999).
[167] Events organized by the Boğaziçi University Byzantine Studies Research Center include: the conference 'Byzantine Studies in Turkey: New Research, Alternative Trends', 18-19 March, 2016; the Byzantine Studies Research Center Seminar Series-1, 5-6 May, 2017; the conference and exhibition 'A Byzantine City in Anatolia: Amorium', 15-16 December, 2017; Byzantine Studies Research Center Seminar Series-2, 4-5 May, 2018; Byzantine Greek Summer School, 9-27 July, 2018 and 8-26 July, 2019. Events organized by the Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies include: the International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul and its Immediate Surrounding in Ancient and Medieval Times, 7-8 December 2016; the Turkey-Greece Byzantine Archaeology Workshop, 8-9 September, 2019. Events organized by Koç University ANAMED include: Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond, Picturing a Lost Empire: An Italian Lens on Byzantine Art in Anatolia, 2018. In addition, the 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies is scheduled to be held in İstanbul in 2022.

Byzantine Empire and contextual discussion was also affected by the Enlightenment period in the 18th century.

However, Byzantine studies were especially encouraged in Europe and North America in the 19th century, and spread throughout Europe, especially Austria, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, and Russia. Thus, a growth in interest in Byzantium resulted in an increasing number of research centers and among researchers in Europe.[169] Studies of the Classical era and Greek manuscripts greatly assisted the later translation of those Byzantine manuscripts written in Greek. At that time, however, Byzantine studies were limited to philological and theological studies; cultural and architectural researches developed later, beginning with the artworks.[170]

When it comes to the architectural heritage of the Byzantine Empire, there were studies that examined and documented the monumental structures of Byzantium.[171] However, the establishment of research institutes and published journals were important milestones for further work, with certain universities offering courses dealing with Byzantium, and many congresses were arranged before World War II.[172]

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[169] Necipoğlu 2003, 72-77; Talbot 2006, 37; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008 3-20; Chondragiannis 2017, 14, 18, 39; Akyürek 2018, 49-51. See also Voltaire 1994 (firstly in 1764), 357-360, for 18th century discussions on religion. For 19th century approaches towards Byzantium from the perspective of 'Romanticism', see Kazhdan and Constable 1982. See also Chondrogiannis 2017, 22-24. For a general evaluation on Byzantine studies in Europe, see Eyice 1998, 104-105; Mango 1999, 406-407.

[170] Mango 1998, 7; Necipoğlu 2003, 72-77; Talbot 2006, 26; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 6, 10; Akyürek 2010; Eyice 2012, 28.

[171] Eyice 1973, 375-423; Eyice 1976, 453-469; Talbot 2006, 3 4; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 10; Akyürek 2010, 206; and Eyice 2012, 28. Some of the earliest studies on Byzantine art and architecture include: Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, 1883; Choisy, *L'art de batir chez les Byzantins*, 1883; Lethaby and Sawinson, *The Church of Santa Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Buildings*, 1894; Arseven, *Constantinople, De Byzas a Stamboul*, 1909; Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, 1909; Jerphanion, *Une Novelle Province de L'art Byzantin: Les eglises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 1925-42; the 'Tabula Imperii Byzantini' project founded by Prof. Herbert Hunger within the Austrian Academy of Science, 1966, among many others.

[172] The first journal for Byzantine Studies, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, was founded by Karl Krumbacher in Munich in the 1890s. Currently there are other well-respected academic journals for Byzantine studies, such as *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Byzantinoslavica, Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Jahrburg der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, *Vizantijskij Vremennik*. See, Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, Ševčenko 2009, 51-52, Akyürek 2010, 206; Eyice 2012, 30. Mango also states that departments of Byzantine history and philology were established in universities at the end of the 19th century, and that specialist journals on Byzantine

Today, the major event is the "International Congress of Byzantine Studies", held every five years, with the most recent one being held in Belgrade in 2016.[173] Currently, Byzantine studies stand as an academic discipline placed in some universities as a research program, or are included in bachelor programs. There are institutes in the United States and Europe that provide scholarships for enthusiastic young and senior researchers, providing an international research environment of significant cultural and intellectual diversity.[174]

However, focusing on Turkey, since the Republican Period, Byzantine studies has never really been popular. Istanbul University is the pioneer of the Byzantine studies in Turkey since the 1950s. The work of Semavi Eyice must be underlined – for his extensive researches and educational activities on Byzantium, as well as for the many scholars he has encouraged in their careers. Yıldız Ötüken and the team at Hacettepe University have also been major contributors to the development of Byzantine studies since the 1970s. Nevertheless, in recent decades, three research institutions have been established: GABAM and ANAMED, within Koç University, and the Byzantine Studies Research Center of Boğaziçi University. These are considered encouraging attempts to support researchers in the field of Byzantine studies by providing fellowships, training, education programs, workshops, congresses, and comprehensive exhibitions on Byzantium.

The Byzantine Empire has been examined by many scholars in different fields, it being one of the enduring empires in world history and itself the successor to the great legacy of the Roman Empire. It had been a Christian-Orthodox entity since its

studies arose at that time also (Mango 1998, 7). See also Maguire 1998, 28-29 for the development of Byzantine studies since the 1940s. For academic organizations involved in Byzantine Studies, see Eyice 1973, 375-423; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 5; Ševčenko 2009, 50, 53; Eyice, 2012, 31.

[173] See URL-19 (retrieved 25.07.2019).

[174] Talbot 2006, 26-27, 38-41; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 17; Akyürek 2010, 212. Some examples of research institutes include: Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Institute, Mary Jaharis Center Byzantine Art and Culture, American Research Institute, University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, Koç University ANAMED, etc. Also, see Baydar 2019, 70-73, for an overview of the Bibliopera Libraries, which have Byzantine collections in Beyoğlu/İstanbul.

beginning, and the common language was Greek in terms of its literary culture.[175] In European history many civilizations or newly established states had their origins related to the Roman Empire and benefited from its great history, i.e. a wealthy cultural heritage, political power and geographical dominance, innovations in architecture and urbanism.[176] Furthermore, the adoption of the Roman past to strengthen political power and dominance can be seen in the history of the Ottoman Empire and Russia, although relatively senior and powerful states.[177] When examining the history of the Roman Empire according to the framework of this research, there are certain crucial events that stand out; one is Constantine's leaving Rome and establishing his new capital (324-330 CE) – Constantinople; the next is the division of the empire at the end of the 4th century, and the third is the collapse of the Western Roman Empire at the end of the 5th century.[178] These facts are milestones in the establishment and rise of the so-called 'Byzantine Empire'. However, European lands were ruled by different kings and states that led to the inception of the Holy Roman Empire (962-1806) in the following centuries.[179] The political history of Europe is not the primary concern of this research, but the critical point is that the Holy Roman Empire, consisting of different feudal states, considered itself as heir to

[175] Runciman 1931, 17, 27, 28; for a detailed examination of religion in the Byzantine Empire, see 108-135; Vasiliev 1952, 43; Kazhdan and Constable 1982, 1; Eyice 1998, 97; Vryonis 1999, 37-38; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 3; Mango 2016, 19, see also the map showing language distribution in the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, 20-21; Cameron 2016, 2; Ostrogorsky 2017, 25; Sarris 2015, 72; Chondragiannis 2017, 13-14. For extensive information on cultural, social, and religious researches into Byzantine society, see Cameron 2016; for Orthodox society, see 115-138.

[176] Talbot 2006, 25; Eyice 2012, 28.

[177] For the Ottoman approach towards the Byzantine legacy in terms of political power, see İnalcık 1958, 68-79; İnalcık 1996, 29; İnalcık 2009, 110-112; Turan 2011, 21; Özbaran 2014, 100-101; Ortaylı 2018, 78. For the Russian approach towards the Byzantine legacy as a political power, via the Greek-Orthodox community living in Ottoman lands, see Mango 1998, 7; Turan 2011, 22.

[178] For a more detailed examination of the division of the empire, see Gibbon 1907a, 107-108; Delilbaşı 1999, 339; Sarris 2002, 128; Gregory 2005, 95; Greatrex 2008, 222, 241-242; Goldsworthy 2009, 264-282; Norwich 2013a, 98-99; Ostrogorsky 2017, 49; for the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, see Norwich 1997, 36-56; Delilbaşı 1999, 339; Goldworthy 2009, 11-12; for a debate on the reasons and timeline of the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, see Ermatinger 2008, 55-73.

[179] Until the Holy Roman Empire, Germanic and Frankish rulers adopted the legacy of Rome and dominated European lands. There are several sources examining the political conditions, kingdoms/states in Europe after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, e.g. Browning 1980, 4; Ostrogorsky 1999, 58; Fernie 2008, 39, 45-46; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 16; Stollberg-Rilinger 2018, 3-5, 10-16.

the Roman Empire and adopted its past and legacy[180]. Conversely, the Eastern Roman Empire, basically Roman, sustained itself and kept its Roman legacy as a true heir of the Roman Empire.[181] Moreover, during the reign of Justinian I (527-565 CE) certain territories were regained that had been lost during the reign of the Western Roman Empire in the Balkan Peninsula, resulting once again in a united empire.[182] This narrative had, and also needed, differing perspectives from the Byzantine and also the Holy Roman Empire. In that context, the Holy Roman Empire claimed their rights on the Roman past, since its establishment and in the following centuries, to strengthen this claim and break how the Eastern Roman Empire was perceived.[183] Hieronymus Wolf, a German Scholar, was the first to use the term 'Byzantine' for the Eastern Roman Empire in the 16th century, and since then it is referred to commonly as 'The Byzantine Empire' or 'Byzantium' in the academic literature.[184] All this should be considered in terms of the adoption of the Roman Empire's past and its legacy. This attitude occurred centuries later after the Holy Roman Empire, during the establishment of current Romania, when it was known as Wallachia and Moldavia in the Ottoman period. However, in the 19th century this region was renamed as Romania and based its history on the Roman Empire. Even today, sculptures indicating the Roman past of the country stand as a representation of its Roman heritage (Fig. 2.4). Beyond the emphasis on their Roman identity, there is the

[180] The establishment of the Holy Roman Empire started with the crowning of Charlemagne in 800 CE. For the policy of Charlemagne and his approach towards the Roman legacy, see Ostrogorsky, 1999, 58; for the Byzantine point of view on this new empire in the West, see Ostrogorsky, 1999, 58.
[181] Ostrogorsky 1999, 58.
[182] Justinian I (AD 527-565) had many objectives in his long reign. However, here, his passion to reunite the Western part of the empire, especially Rome, is argued. Norwich defines him as "the last truly Roman Emperor to occupy the throne of Byzantium" (1997, 83). For some sources on Justinian's policy towards the West, the Balkan Peninsula and Rome, and some of his achievements, see Norwich 1997, 68-70; Ostrogorsky 1999, 57; Evans 2000, 136-151; Gregory 2005, 119-148; O'Donnell 2008; 216, 218, 263, 278, 282-285; Louth 2008a, 109.
[183] For the strategy of the adoption of the Roman past and the interpretation of this approach, see Jones 1997, 129-135; for the attitude of the Holy Roman Empire towards the Roman legacy and Byzantium, see Ortaylı 2002, 19; Ortaylı 2018, 65-66.
[184] Ortaylı 2002, 19; Fernie 2008, 39; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 4; Whittow 2009, 134-135; Sarris 2015, 43-44; Chondragiannis, 2017, 16-17. The citizens of the Byzantine Empire never called themselves 'Byzantines' – they were Romans; see Eyice 1998, 94; Mango 2008, 9.

monument known as the Tropaeum Traiani, representing the Roman victory (and also massacre) in the Dobrudja region in Romania.[185] Anca Serbanescu states that the Tropaeum Traiani and Trajan's Column in Rome are contradictory examples documenting the dramatic origin of the Romanian people. Given the wars between Dacia and Rome in its history, and these monuments dedicated to the victories of Rome and its persecution of the conquered region, Romania's approach related its past and pride in its Roman origins seems contradictory.



Figure 2.4. Constanta, the Monument of Romulus and Remus, 2017.

The adoption of the Roman past, and constructing a cultural identity based on it, is exemplified by many states and empires. However, the situation of its true heir, the Byzantine Empire, is more complicated in terms of the adoption and understanding of its heritage. Obviously, the present-day conditions of the Byzantine cultural heritage, and public attitudes or conservation/representation approaches, change according to where the Byzantine cultural heritage site is located, and its historical, religious, cultural, or political context in the past and present day. However, the focal

[185] Tropaeum Traiani is also known as the Adamclisi monument in Romania. For some interpretations of the scenes on the monument, see Speidel, 1971, 75-78; for an examination of the Tropaeum Traiani, earlier studies on it, and its contribution to the sustainable development of tourism in the region, see Serbanescu 2018, 121-137; for the history and specifications of the monument, the relation between it and Romanian history, and archaeological studies on it in Romania, see Mitrovici 2015. For detailed information, see also Miclea and Florescu 1980.

point clarifying the understanding of Byzantium, and approaches towards its heritage, is the specific knowledge that is based on the physical remains in an urban, architectural or archaeological context, and the date produced, which is synthesized from site analyses, archival research, documentation, academic studies, etc. The integrated knowledge on Byzantium gathered by archaeologists, architects, historians, or conservation experts can be reflected in the conservation and representation strategies of Byzantine cultural heritage. Correspondingly, and not limited to Byzantium, the objectivity and scientific value of knowledge foster public awareness and create an atmosphere with a sustainable harmony between public and historic environments.

After a brief introduction to the origin and development of Byzantine Studies as an academic discipline, and attitudes towards the Byzantine past and heritage in the broader region, the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey will be examined from the Late Ottoman period. Engin Akyürek notes the Ottoman attitude towards the remains of Byzantium as following:[186] "The Ottomans never considered the remains of the Byzantine era as the remains of a hostile civilization and did not pursue a policy to destroy them, as the presence of many Byzantine remains in the former Ottoman lands verify."

Considering this appropriative approach towards Byzantium and its heritage, the production of knowledge related to the history, culture and architecture of the Byzantine Empire can be expected. The Ottoman Empire and its citizens had interacted with Byzantine society in terms of cultural, social and architectural issues in the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman periods, and their attitudes towards Byzantium and its heritage was tolerant in general and not destructive. However, it is true that Byzantium and its material culture suffered in certain regards from the nationalist approach in the 19th century.[187] In the following centuries, there was no

[186] Akyürek 2010, 206. Also, Ousterhout defines Early Ottoman policy towards Byzantine culture as "more integration rather than domination" (1995, 60).
[187] Ousterhout 1995; Necipoğlu 2003, 72-77; Akyürek 2010, 206; Eyice 2012, 28.

'Byzantium', but its heritage and legends remained, and this non-existent, subliminal, civilization was affected by the nationalist movement and its reflections. The archaeological areas, including the Byzantine remains, were excavated and documented by foreign, mostly European, scholars and travelers, and not by Ottomans, in the 19th and early 20th century; the same is true also for the rural settlements and cities.[188] Balancing this, Mehmet Özdoğan underlines Western interests in Hellenistic and Roman archaeological sites within the Classical Archaeology context throughout Europe.[189] Consequently, it can be noted that the study of Byzantine remains was not a priority in terms of research topics at that time.

However, a group of Ottoman intellectuals was interested in Byzantium and published books on the subject, mostly within historical contexts, but also giving architectural and urban references.[190] Unfortunately, not all the publications were tolerant, objective or positive, and the Byzantine past within Ottoman regions had to face its share of negative representation.[191] The understanding and interpretation of Byzantium, and its tangible and intangible heritage have been addressed and narrated

[188] Archaeological researches were conducted by foreign scholars in previous Ottoman territories and present-day Turkish lands in the 19th and also the 20th century. There are many archaeological sites that have been excavated and documented by foreign researchers. Information on excavations, the responsible researchers, and excavation dates, can be found on the website of the Ministry of Culture in Turkey. For some sources on these foreign researches into Byzantium, see, e.g., Eyice 1973b, 375-378; Eyice 1976, 453-469; Eyice 1999, 29, 32, 35; Akyürek 2010, 206. For Western archeologists and their research interests in the Ottoman era, see Madran 2002, 28-29; Özdoğan 2006, 34, 56 and Özdoğan 2008, 32-33. Among the archaeologists who worked in Anatolia were Joseph Strzygowski, James Theodore Bent, Gertrude Bell, William Ramsay, and Gillaume de Jerphanion.

[189] Özdoğan 2006, 34, 51.

[190] Ottoman intellectuals interested in Byzantium include: Arseven 1909, Mehmed Ziya 1908, 1920; Celal Esad 1909; Celal Nuri 1913, 1917; Köprülü 2014; Altınay 2014. For an extensive evaluation, see Cephanecigil and Akın 2010, 35-37, and Kılıç Yıldız 2011, 63-80. The monograph *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmanî* by Montani, Launet, Edhem Pasha and Sébah (1873) is considered the first on the history of Ottoman architecture, and the impact of Byzantine buildings or forms of Ottoman architecture is emphasized in the study. For recent reviews of *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmanî*, see Yazıcı 2003, 12-19; Cephanecigil and Akın 2010, 31-32; Durmuş and Öymen Gür 2017, 107-131.

[191] Representations of Byzantium differed from time to time in the past, as well as its effects on public attitudes towards Byzantium. However, in this study the negative representation and interpretation of Byzantine history and architecture is examined to understand its impact and reflections on Byzantine cultural heritage. There has been extensive research on the perception and architectural historiography of Byzantine heritage; see Kılıç Yıldız 2011, 65-66; Kılıç Yıldız 2013, 178-179. For Byzantine historiography in the Late Ottoman period, see Ursinus 1999, 352-360, 361-366.

within different perspectives since the late Ottoman period. The works of these scholars and their attitudes will be examined in the following section in a more detailed manner; they also represent the changing understanding and approaches towards the Byzantine Empire and its legacy in that period and thus occasionally the representations or historiographic information they offer are far from objective.

Objective knowledge and a comprehensive approach should provide an holistic understanding, and without it the existence of Byzantine cultural heritage cannot be grasped well and can be exposed to selective attitudes and neglect due to political issues, ideologies, as well as cultural movements, under changing circumstances. Considering the vast geographical region occupied by the Byzantine Empire, including present-day Turkey, Greece, Serbia, Macedonia, and Romania, each country must face its past, including its Byzantine legacy, in its own way. For this reason, objectivity and an holistic approach are critical to understand and evaluate the Byzantine past and cultural heritage.

Attitudes towards Byzantium and the current conditions and utilization of the Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey will be examined here, based on theoretical analysis, the existing conditions of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, highlighting the background reasoning and conservation applications, and their results, so far. As emphasized, attitudes towards cultural heritage represent a challenge for Turkey. Nevertheless, Byzantine cultural heritage deserves particular attention, in terms of analyses and identification, interpretation, and representation of the problems faced. The current situation of Byzantium in Turkish society will be discussed at the end of this section. However, before that, previous attitudes towards Byzantium, the narrative of its past, and representations of Byzantine cultural heritage also need to be analyzed well, bearing in mind that the Byzantine Empire has left traces of its heritage in over a vast region covering most of present-day Turkey.

Consequently, Turkey has great potential in terms of the richness and diversity of the Byzantine cultural heritage sited in different geographical and cultural contexts, expressing different characteristics of construction techniques, materials and plan

typology. However, Byzantine cultural heritage sites are mostly abandoned and neglected, especially in rural areas. This situation is also valid for urban settlements, too, for different reasons. Even in Istanbul, the capital of Byzantium, Byzantine structures are suffering from neglect and under threat of destruction due to urban growth and urban planning strategies, as has occurred in previous decades.[192] Given the existence of Byzantine cultural heritage within rural and urban settlements in Turkey, the local populations are exposed to the Byzantine past every day, thus it is expected that society should be aware of the significance of Byzantium and its remains as part of the historical and cultural continuity of present-day Turkey. On the other hand, archaeological areas, including Byzantine structures, even those overlapping rural areas, face different kinds of problems in terms of understanding and interpretation, due to conservation and representation strategies. Examining the current condition of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey calls for comprehensive research, and those factors affecting understanding, interpretation and conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage will be carefully defined and discussed in this dissertation. This analysis leads the rest of the research, which was conducted during first-hand field studies involving elements of Byzantine material culture, as well as looking at public and scientific attitudes and their reflection on representations of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

2.3.1 Historical Factors

The history of Byzantium is closely related to Turkish history, based initially on commercial relations through Silk Road, and then closer interactions after the Battle of Manzikert (1071).[193] In reality, interaction and integration between the Byzantine

[192] Özdoğan discusses this topic in terms of the tension between contemporary life and cultural heritage sites (2006, 21-22, 28-30). Also, see Akyürek 2001, 29-40; 2003, 94-97; Akpınar 2015, 85-90.

[193] Vryonis, 1971, 69-70, 143-144; Beihammer 2017, 6-21, 28-31, 133-134, 155-161. Beihammer has a comprehensive review on Seljuk-Byzantium relations from the Byzantine point of view (there is also a focus on the Battle of Manzikert, referring to several sources). See, too, Duru 1999, 369-370.

Empire and Turkish, Seljuk and Ottoman society were based on the coming together of two civilizations with different cultures and religions. It should be remembered that during the extensive imperium of Byzantium in Anatolia, there was a considerably long period when the Turkish/Muslim and Greek/Orthodox societies co-existed.

The city of Constantinople was established in the 4th century, on the site of ancient Byzantion, as a new Christian city within the Roman Empire.[194] Byzantion was a Greek colony, located very advantageously in terms of geographical, natural and economic factors.[195] Placed on a hill offering clear lines of sight, the city had good defensive capabilities and access to commercial routes, which provided substantial economic benefits. Byzantion became 'Constantinople', and from its very beginning represented the characteristics of Roman cities, Rome itself above all, with regard to urban planning and the built environment.[196] Anatolia was already under the control of the Roman Empire, and witness for a long period to Rome's rule of this vast expanse of Anatolian territory. As a result of ruling these lands for more than ten centuries, the Byzantine Empire developed its own architecture, urban forms, and general culture – its way of life.[197] However, over that long period, the Byzantine Empire had to face many threats, wars, disasters and invasions.[198] Notable among these were the frequent incursions of Seljuks, Persian, and Arabs from the east, and Avar attacks from the west: all had the effect of weakening the Empire from time to

[194] For the establishment of the new Christian capital of the Roman Empire, see Gibbon 1906a, 89-91; Foord 1911, 5; Mango 1985, 13-22; Krautheimer 1987, 41-42; Cameron and Hall 1999, 206; Bassett 2004, 17; Gregory 2005, 56-60; Bardill 2012, 28; Norwich 2013a, 56-60. For governance policies in comparison to Rome, see Ostrogorsky 2017, 33-35.

[195] Krautheimer 1987, 41-42.

[196] For Constantine's approach towards urbanism and his building program for Constantinople, see Mango 1985, 23-36; Krautheimer 1987, 43-49; Cameron and Hall, 1999, 297-298; Gregory 2005, 60-64; Bardill 2012, 153. For the urban development of Constantinople in the Medieval period, see Magdalino 2013.

[197] Ousterhout (1995, 48-62) examines the continuity and overlap in Byzantine and Ottoman architecture, referring to several examples.

[198] The Byzantine Empire, of course, had to face a barrage of wars, attacks, and invasions. For the Persian, Arab and Avar attacks see, Foss, 1977, 68, 71; Cameron, 2008, 64; Ostrogorsky 2017, 86-115. For the Latin invasion, see Runciman, 1933, 54, 93, 124; Gregory, 2005, 278-281; Ostrogorsky, 2017, 387-416. For the Ottoman-Byzantine relations and the sieges, see n. 172.

time.[199] The eastern and southeastern parts of Anatolia had also been controlled by Arabs for some periods, and this was the first step to an eventual introduction to Islam.[200]

It was the Battle of Manzikert that represented a turning point in the history of the Byzantine Empire, with the Seljuk Turks starting their rule of Anatolia as a consequence of capturing the Byzantine cities in this region.[201] After that war, the process of the Islamization of Anatolia began, affecting the cultural, religious and demographic structure of Anatolia beyond its political consequences.[202] In that period, the Seljuk Turks, and other eastern civilizations, were not the only threats to Byzantium. Latins were coming from Rome, in the guise of a Papal army sailing to the Holy Land and Jerusalem, for political, religious and economic reasons.[203] Gradually relations and alliances between Constantinople and Rome were severed, and the former fell victim to the Latin army in the beginning of the 13th century. Byzantium had previously suffered when the Latins occupied Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade (1204).[204] Thus Constantinople became the target of not only Muslims but Christians too, on account of its strategic location, economically and politically, being a spiritual and religious center of Christianity.

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[199] Runciman 1933, 40; Foss 1977, 68, 71; Vikan 1998, 11.

[200] For a detailed discussion on the Islamic-Byzantine frontiers and conquests, see Haldon and Kennedy 2006; 79-116; Kennedy 2006, 133-143; Eger 2015, 246-264.

[201] Runciman 1933, 52; Vryonis 1971, 69-103; Eyice 1988, 11-12; Ousterhout,1995, 51; Sevim and Merçil 2014, 7-8; Turan 2014, 7-8, 11-12. See Cameron (2008, 44) for a map showing the Byzantine Empire under the rule of the Komnenian dynasty and the lands captured by Seljuk Turks. One of the key consequences of the Battle of Manzikert was the actual capture of the Byzantine Emperor, Romanos Diogenes, discrediting the power of Byzantium throughout Anatolian lands; politically it was highly disadvantageous for the Empire. See Turan 2010b, 176 for relations between Alp Aslan and the Byzantine Emperor Romanos Diogenes. For other interpretations on this topic, see Browning 1991, 122; Beihammer 2011b, 160-161.

[202] Vryonis 1975b, 57-71; Ousterhout 1995, 51. Also, see Vryonis 1971, 351-402 for the detailed process of Islamization in Anatolia with respect to cultural, political, economic, and social references defining the common order in that time.

[203] For a comprehensive evaluation of the Crusades from the Byzantine perspective, see Charanis 1952, 123-134.

[204] Runciman 1933, 54, 93, 124; Hodgman 1948, 226; Ousterhout 1995, 51-52; Gregory 2005, 278-281; Ostrogorsky 2017, 386-386.

Consequently, the Byzantine Empire was caught between aggressors, on both western and eastern fronts, and was even forced to move its capital to Nicaea during the Latin invasion, and the Empire lost its power to a great extent.[205] The situation was ominous: interactions between Byzantine society and the Turks had started and steadily progressed, owing to the occupation of Anatolia by the Seljuks, while pressures from the Latins had forced a withdrawal of the imperial administration to Nicaea. It was not until 1261 that the Byzantine army could re-conquer Constantinople. Furthermore, the last quarter of the 13th century was the period of the Anatolian principalities. One of the these, *Osmanoğulları Beyliği,*[206] came to the forefront for Byzantium because of its location and political power in comparison with the others,[207] and soon the Byzantine Empire lost some of its important cities, such as Nicomedia and Nicaea, following the Ottoman incursions and the administration found itself cut off in Constantinople.[208]

Besides being the Byzantine capital, with its religious significance, the strategic and economic advantages of Constantinople made the city a target for the Ottomans. After the Fourth Crusade, the Byzantine Empire was unable to retrieve its lost greatness due to the loss of its important cities, political strategies, internal problems, and a decrease in population.[209] Thus, under these circumstances, it can be assumed that the Byzantine Empire endured its weakest period. Constantinople was also besieged several times but never captured, until 1453, when Mehmet II took the city after a long siege.[210]

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[205] For a detailed examination of the Latin invasion and the new capital of Byzantium at Nicaea, see Ostrogorsky, 2017, 387-416; Gregory, 2005 289-297. See also Angold 1999, 257-278; 2008, 731-742; Eyice 2004, 183, 190-191.

[206] *Osmanoğulları Beyliği* is the Turkish translation of the Ottoman Principality.

[207] Eyice 1988, 14-15; Ousterhout 1995, 52.

[208] Runciman 1933, Eyice 1988, 14-15; Gregory 2005, 274.

[209] For the Byzantine Empire after the Fourth Crusade and its impact on society, see Gregory 2005, 282-298.

[210] The conquest of Constantinople has been studied and interpreted of course by many scholars from different perspectives. For one of the pioneers of this topic, see Runciman 1965; for the accounts of Doukas on the conquest of Constantinople, see McCullough 1998, 363- 374; Nicol 2009, 455-484; Norwich 2012, 342-361; for extensive information on the war strategies, the politics of Byzantium,

After the city of Constantinople was taken, the impact of the Ottoman domination and the conquerors' attitudes towards the built environment in Byzantium, and the interaction between the two cultures, must be examined in an interrelated perspective, as attitudes towards other cultures or heritage are directly related to the level of respect held for the 'other', and any understanding and adoption of them. The Byzantine Empire and culture were absorbed by the Ottoman Empire in time. However, Ottoman treatment of the Byzantine heritage differed in the early and late Ottoman periods in terms of attitudes towards architectural heritage, literature, and historiography.[211] In the beginning, the Ottoman policy was based on integration rather than domination after the conquest, and interactions between the two civilizations took place not only in cultural terms but also with regard to architecture and the urban structure.[212]

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the city under the siege, and the conquest, see Nicolle, Haldon and Turnbull 2007; Ostrogorsky 2017, 523-527. For a general evaluation of the conquest and the previous studies on this topic, see Angold 2012, 1-25, and for the histography, topography, and military studies of the conquest, see Philippides and Hanak 2011. See also Zweig 2018 for a literary narrative of the conquest. For the national sources of the conquest of Constantinople, see Tursun Bey 15th century (referring to İnalcık 1977); İnalcık 1954, 123-132; Uzunçarşılı 1988, 408-429; Ortaylı 2009, 107-118; for the reasons for the conquest, see İnalcık 1953, 345-354. See also, İnalcık 1990, 1-23, for the Islamic background of the conquest of Constantinople. For a different point of view on the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, see Ševčenko 1999, who examines the political, economic and social conditions that prepared the way for the end of the Empire, based on historical sources from the Late Byzantine period. In addition, he argues the Byzantine intellectuals' point of view about the process of the collapse of the Byzantine Empire.

[211] For attitudes towards the built environment and the reconstruction of Constantinople after the conquest, see İnalcık 1988-89, 215-225; for the continuity in architecture and building materials, see Ousterhout 1995, 48-62; Tanyeli 1999, 377. Ödekan gives an architectural interpretation of the Church of St. Sophia in the buildings of the Architect Sinan (1999, 379) (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999). For the first interactions between the Muslims and Constantinople, and the interactions between the Ottoman and Byzantine societies, see Kılıç 2013, 34-47. For the changing perceptions of Europe and the Ottoman Empire, see Kılıç 2013, 61-71. For Byzantium and its representation in history, written from different perspectives, such as nationalism or Orientalism, and for Ottoman intellectuals studying Byzantium and its heritage in the Republican period, see Kılıç 2013, 176-204.

[212] Ousterhout 1995, 48-62. In the early periods of the Ottoman Empire, the similarities between Byzantine architecture and Ottoman architecture could be observed in terms of building materials and construction techniques. On the other hand, considering the built environment in Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Constantinople, Ottoman urban composition was quite similar to Byzantine urban structure, such as the relation between the palace and the great church/mosque of Hagia Sophia (Kuban 2006). Multi-layered buildings occurred, not specific to Constantinople, resulting from the building of Ottoman structures on top of Byzantine remains or foundations, i.e. the Damat İbrahim Paşa Palace was constructed on the remains of the Hippodrome and very close to the Euphemia Church and Palace of Antiokhos (Müller-Wiener 2001).

In the early periods of the Ottoman Empire, the attitudes towards Byzantium and its culture were not hostile, but at the same time its pride in this conquest of this Christian capital was obvious. The overthrow of Constantinople was considered a serious threat to the Christian world,[213] thus tensions between the latter and the Ottoman Empire continued, represented mainly by uneasy relations between Catholics and the Ottoman Empire. The Greek community, however, continued to live in Constantinople and Anatolia, and interactions between the former Byzantines and Ottoman society also continued. A detailed discussion about this issue will be presented in the following section.

Although attitudes to, and understanding of, Byzantine culture during the period of the Ottoman Empire were not hostile, in later centuries this was to change for several reasons. The situation was difficult, of course; in reality the Byzantine Empire no longer existed, only its architectural heritage, art and culture could be observed at that time.[214] As Şule Kılıç (2013) notes, Byzantium was represented as a corrupt and somewhat disgraced civilization in terms of moral decay in daily life, architectural style, and other manifestations, not only in the Ottoman literature but also abroad in European literature and political writings.[215] Michael Ursinus draws attention to Karl Marx's description of the Byzantine Empire as 'the worst state' (*der schlechteste Staat*).[216] Steven Runciman gives us Edward Gibbon's views in the latter's famous

[213] Norwich 2012, 361; Angold 2014, 84-118. Angold examines Western reactions after the conquest in a wider sense.

[214] Mango examines the statues in Constantinople, including superstitions about them that they 'were inhabited by maleficent demons' related to Pagan beliefs (1963, 53-75). For an evaluation of offensive attitudes towards Byzantium, see Kılıç 2013, 109, 111, 178-179.

[215] Kılıç (2013) compiled the writings of some Ottoman intellectuals, such as Ahmed Mithat, Celal Nuri 1912-13; Ahmet Refik, Celal Esad, and Mehmet Ziya 1920, 2004, representing Byzantium in different ways as a part of her doctoral research. See also Ursinus 1999, 352-360, 361-366. As underlined in the text, European attitudes towards Byzantium are not so different than the attitudes in Turkey. European intellectuals were also unenthusiastic and also not objective enough to examine and interpret the Byzantine Empire and its legacy. To understand the perception in Byzantium in the West, see Runciman 1976, 103-110; Mango 1998, 7; Duru 1999, 370; Ursinus 1999, 361-362. At this point, it is important to be aware of how the Ottomans were mentioned in the Byzantine historical sources - as former Byzantine lands were occupied by Seljuks and then Ottomans for centuries. Thus the opposite side of Ottoman-Byzantine relations is worth considering in order to examine the interaction between these two societies. For more information, see Delilbaşı 1999, 339-351.

[216] Ursinus 1999, 361.

'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire', in terms of the political, cultural and intellectual environment in Europe, or 'The West', as follows: [217]

> Still more, Gibbon was affected by the intellectual climate of his time. To the eighteenth-century gentleman of education, the personal qualities that seemed most admirable were those of the Romans in the great days of the Republic. The intellectual and artistic achievements of Greeks should be appreciated; but, to a good Roman, the Greek character was to be mistrusted. Virgil, Cicero and Cato had all played their part in this, and Virgil's influence was particularly persistent. He was the one classical writer continuously read in the West throughout the Middle Ages; and the messianic tone of his Fourth Eclogue gave his works the rank almost of Holy Writ. His readers, warned by him of the perfidy of the Greeks, felt justified in disliking the Greeks of their own times, the *Byzantines*; and their dislike was enhanced by envy of the wealth of Byzantium and by deepening schism between the churches of Eastern and Western Christendom. Indeed, as Gibbon himself noted, by the fifteenth century it was widely believed that the Turks, the *Turci*, were the same people as the Trojans, the *Teucri*, and that their capture of Constantinople was just revenge for the Greek capture of Troy some two and half millennia previously. Gibbon smiled at the notion, but his own attitude was not far different.

Steven Runciman continues, with citations from Voltaire, Charles Louis de Secondat Montesquieu and G.W. Firedrich Hegel, to argue the understanding and representation of Byzantium by Western intellectuals:

> There exists another history more ridiculous than the history of Rome after the time of Tacitus; it is the history of Byzantium. This worthless collection contains nothing but declamations and miracles.[218]
>
> …
>
> The history of the Greek Empire is nothing but a tissue of rebellions, sedition and treachery.[219]
>
> …
>
> The Byzantine Empire and "its general aspect present a disgusting picture of imbecility; wretched, even insane, passions stifle the growth of all that is noble in thoughts, deeds and persons.[220]

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[217] Cited from Runciman 1976, 105-106. Duru also has a similar point of view and he states that French or Italian historians considered Byzantium as 'the house of plots', probably because they were Catholics.

[218] Runciman 1976, 106. For the original source, see Voltaire 1769, chapter 5.

[219] Runciman (1976, 106) states that the chapters Montesquieu devotes to the history of the Byzantine Empire are written with dislike and disdain, and he continues that he, "finds it puzzling that a polity so corrupt and so riddled with organic defeats should have managed to survive for so many centuries." For the original source, see Montesquieu 1734, the last four chapters. See also Erksan 1998, 117.

[220] Runciman 1976, 106-107. For the original source, see Hegel 2001, 353-358.

Consequently, Ottoman intellectuals reading these damning texts on Byzantium may have been affected, of course, contributing to their political and ideological approaches towards Byzantium and its legacy, as well as their cultural and social background. Here is an example of a negative representation of Byzantium by Celal Nuri, using Edward Gibbon and Voltaire as his primary sources:[221]

> Byzantium offered tangible evidence of moral decay. Like cholera, Byzantine corruption contaminated the Ottoman Empire... The Turks did not capture the Byzantine Empire; on the contrary, the Byzantines captured the Turks. In addition to Arab and Persian influences, the Ottoman Empire became the heir of the corrupt Byzantine Empire... Ottoman Turks inherited their infamous capital. The disease and moral decay which had caused the decline of the Byzantine Empire, now contaminated the Ottoman Empire, and thus the same reasons that brought about the collapse of the Byzantine Empire affected the Ottoman Empire. Being heir to Byzantium was the main reason for Ottoman decline. From this point of view, the decline of the Byzantine Empire still continues.[222]

Byzantium was compared with the Classical, Greek, and Roman periods, being heir to the Roman Empire. It was heavily criticized and considered more 'oriental' than the other empires. However, this unfavorable impression began to change with some intellectuals such as Mehmed Ziya, Celal Esad, and Ahmed Refik, when they began to study Byzantine history at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. They underlined the value and importance of Byzantine culture and architecture in their studies.[223] For example, Ahmet Refik Altınay emphasizes the importance of the Byzantine past for the Ottoman Empire and he considers Byzantium as a part of Ottoman history and its national identity.[224] As Şule Kılıç states, Ahmed Refik's

[221] Kılıç 2013, 190. For an understanding of Gibbon's approach towards Byzantium, see Runciman 1977; Haarer 2010, 10.

[222] This English translation was taken from Kılıç's doctoral research. For a detailed examination of this text and its interpretation, see Kılıç 2013, 178-179. For the original source, see Celal Nuri 1912-13, 386-387.

[223] See Mehmed Ziya, Celal Esad 1909, Arseven 1989, and Altınay 2012. See also Kılıç 2013, 127-175, for an extensive analysis of the Byzantine narrative by these three Ottoman intellectuals regarding their several studies and a recent interpretation of them. See also Kuban, 1969, 18-20 for an evaluation of Celal Esad Arseven, his ideology and approach towards the past.

[224] "*Bizans şehri, umum Osmanlılığın payitahtı olması nedeniyle de nazarlarımızda büyük bir kıymeti haizdir. Tarihimizin en parlak, en debdebeli sayfaları Bizans'ta geçmiştir...*" Altınay 2012, 14. Also, the historical or cultural integrity between the Byzantine Empire and Ottoman Empire is underlined in recent sources, see Duru 1999, 367.

approach is more about integration of Byzantine, Ottoman and Islamic history rather than the exclusion of Byzantium, in contrast to several Ottoman historians.[225] Mehmed Ziya and Celal Esad, other Ottoman intellectuals researching the Byzantine past and heritage, focused on Byzantine Constantinople.[226] Their publications were significant in terms of understanding the Byzantine city pattern and buildings in comparison to Ottoman Istanbul. Thus, in the late Ottoman period, such studies emphasize the impact of Byzantine past and heritage on Ottoman culture and architectural identity. Furthermore, the understanding of Byzantium has started to change into more nuanced discourses in Europe as well. Cyril Mango supports this fact by exemplifying the situation in Russia; a Russian intellectual defines the Byzantine Empire as "miserable Byzantium", and considers that the reason for the underdevelopment of Russia was the adoption of elements of Byzantine culture and the acceptance of Orthodox Christianity in the 1830s. However, when it comes to the 1900s, Russian intellectuals define Byzantine culture as "pure and wealthy", and they claim that the Byzantine Empire defended eastern Europe from 'barbarian' attacks and preserved Ancient Greek culture, so it deserves to be examined.[227]

When it comes to the Republican period, there appear to be no negative individual attitudes towards Byzantium and its heritage. At the beginning, especially, it was

[225] Kılıç notes that Ahmed Refik has a different point of view in terms of the impact of Byzantine history on the Ottoman Empire and the importance of their integration (and integration with each other). She interprets the narrative of Byzantium in the work of several Ottoman intellectuals, including Ahmed Refik (for more information, see 2013, 115-117). For the original source, see Altınay 2012, 9, 14. Here are some parts of the original text: "*Halbuki biz Osmanlılar için Bizans tarihini layığıyla bilmeğe, bu tarihin bütün sayfalarını büyük bir dikkatle tetkik etmeğe büyük ihtiyaç var. Çünkü Osmanlı saltanatı Bizans toprağında kurulmuş, Osmanlı adet ve ananesine Bizanslılar'ın büyük tesiri olmuştur. Bizans imparatorlarının asırlarca idare ettikleri topraklar, Bizans halkının beraber yaşadığı unsurlar (esaslar) şu anda sevgili vatanımızda mevcut.*" And "*Osmanlıların en büyük felaket sebeplerinden biri de topraklarına, yurtlarına bağlı olmamalarıdır. Yurda bağlılık, vatan toprağını ekip biçmekle, vatan kıymetini takdir etmekle, geçmişini yüceltmekle mümkün olabilir. Bize bu yüce hisleri ancak Bizans, Osmanlı ve İslam tarihleri kazandıracaktır.*"

[226] See Mehmed Ziya 1920, 1928; Celal Esad 1909, 1989. For a detailed analysis of the studies of these two scholars and their contribution to the reconstruction, representation, and understanding of Byzantine Constantinople, see also Kılıç 2013, 147-175.

[227] Mango 1998, 7. Norwich also underlines the importance of the Byzantine Empire in terms of defending European lands from the attacks coming from the East and West and preserving the Ancient Greek culture, Latin literature, and Roman law (2013a, 27).

considered as part of an historical continuity of Anatolia. During this period, attitudes towards Byzantine heritage also changed in accordance with the changing ideologies and cultural or political agendas of the state. In the first years of the Republic, Byzantine archaeology was not included in those excavation programs that were aimed at identifying the main areas for archaeological study.[228] As emphasized in the previous sections, archaeological studies in this period were based on the prehistoric and pre-classical periods to support a new Turkish identity.[229] In this period, Byzantine archaeology was not excluded intentionally, but there were no specific studies on Byzantium.[230]

However, there are different opinions on the attitudes towards Byzantium and its past, which argues the exclusion of Byzantium or the contrary situation.[231] The nationalist approach and policies in the early Republican period, as underlined in the previous sections, were determinative in creating a strong Turkish identity, something that was reflected in educational policies as well; thus the claim about its impact on the understanding of Byzantium and attitudes towards its past and heritage in an exclusionary manner is considerable. Another strong claim on the exclusion of the Byzantine past by the newly founded Turkish Republic is the appropriation of Byzantium and its legacy by Greece, which has been in a fragile relationship with the Republic of Turkey since World War I and the resultant collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the Independence War.[232]

In the following decades, the foundation of the national and international research and archaeological institutes, and the increasing number of archaeological

[228] Akyürek 2010, 208.
[229] Akyürek 2010, 207-208. See also above 30-31.
[230] Akyürek 2010, 208. For the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey, see also Eyice 1999.
[231] See above, pp. 79-84.
[232] For the adoption of the Byzantine past by Greece and its reflection on the narrative of modern Greek history, see Mango 1984, Katsaridou and Biliouri 2007. Kılıç Yıldız states the impact of the appropriation of Byzantium by Greece on the approaches of the Turkish Republic towards Byzantium and its past (2011, 65; 2013, 119-122). See also Coupeaux, 2006, 261; Ergin, 2010, 22. For a better understanding of Turkish-Greek relations and the tension between these two nations, there are several studies of note, e.g. Gürel 1993; Millas 2002; Kalelioğlu 2009, and Sonyel 2011.

excavations and researches on the cultural heritage of different civilizations conducted by Turkish and foreign scholars, provided opportunities to gather more information and documentation of cultural heritage sites and remains of different civilizations.[233] When examining the excavation reports published by the Ministry of Culture, information on the Byzantine remains is accessible, but also very limited, unless related to monumental Byzantine structures.[234] Following this, the discussion will be how Byzantine cultural heritage is conserved and represented in archaeological areas, which is also a legitimate discussion for Byzantine cultural heritage in any context.

In conclusion, changing policies or ideologies, cultural, social, or ethnic priorities inevitably affected the understanding, interpretation and representation of Byzantium and its heritage from time to time. Additionally, there are opposing arguments about Byzantium in the same period. The present-day situation of the understanding of Byzantium and its heritage is not entirely different, and it reflects on how knowledge of Byzantium is interpreted and represented. Current approaches will be discussed under the heading '2.3.5. Current Approaches and the Role of Mass Media'.

2.3.2 Ethnic, Socio-Cultural and Religious Factors

Approaches and understanding of the Byzantine Empire and its heritage are inevitably affected also by ethnic, socio-cultural, and religious factors. These are treated together as all are strong parameters that go towards creating the 'identity' of

[233] Akyürek 2010, 209. For a detailed examination of foreign researches on Byzantium in Turkey, see Eyice 1976; Eyice 1998, 104-106; for Byzantine studies in Turkey since the late Ottoman period, see Kılıç Yıldız 2011, 63-80. Some international research and archaeological institutions established in Turkey are: the German Institute of Archaeology, 1929, the British Institute of Archaeology, 1947, and the American Research Institute in Turkey, 1964. National research institutes in Turkey include: ANAMED, 2005, the Byzantine Studies Research Center in the Boğaziçi University, 2015, and the Koç University Stavros Niarchos Foundation Center for Late Antique and Byzantine Studies (GABAM), 2015.

[234] Ötüken 2003, 78-79. The Ministry of Culture has published excavation and survey reports since 1980, see URL-20 (retrieved 25.11.2020)

an individual, as well as a public identity.[235] Beyond that, identity, including ethnic, socio-cultural, and religious backgrounds, also defines the 'other', determines behavior towards 'others', and understanding of the 'other'. Thus, in this section, interactions between the Byzantines and Turks will be examined from the Medieval ages, not only related to their ethnic origin but also with regard to religious and socio-cultural contexts, to examine attitudes towards Byzantium, the Byzantines, and their cultural heritage in the present-day.

Starting from the first interactions between Byzantine and Turkish societies, the levels of communication, the common environments these two societies shared, and the reasons that brought them together, changed throughout the centuries. As Murat Belge, Orhan Duru and Murat Baskıcı strongly underlined, it is crucial to learn and understand the Byzantine Empire, its history, culture, ethnicity, daily life, and habits, for a better and more in-depth understanding of Turkish culture and patterns.[236] On the other hand, Cyril Mango notes that the Ottoman Empire was influenced not only by the culture of the Byzantine Empire but the many different cultures under its rule, and present-day Turkish identity formed from the contribution of all.[237] Given all the approaches towards the history of the Ottoman Empire and also Turkey, the Byzantine Empire is a definite part. The citizens of present-day Turkey met the *Rum*, or Greek-Christian, communities living in the Anatolia (including İstanbul) since the Byzantine period.[238] Thus, the understanding of the Byzantines from today's perspective refers to the Greek-Orthodox community, which is a sensitive topic due to the political and religious challenges in Turkey.

[235] Akpınar underlines the role of ethnicity in urban identity (2015a, 59, 62-63, 71).
[236] Baskıcı 1998, 9-10; Belge 1999, 400; Duru 1999, 367.
[237] Mango 1999, 405. Furthermore, Tanyeli states that the Ottoman Empire turned into a cosmopolitan one after the conquest of Constantinople (1999, 376) (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999). See also, Turan, 2011, 13.
[238] The Greeks, of course, were in Byzantion, and also generally in Anatolia, before the founding of Constantinople. This section outlines interactions between Byzantine society, including mostly the Greek-Christian community, and the Turkish-Muslim society; for this reason, the religious and ethnic origin of the Byzantine society is stressed.

Although Byzantines and Turks had encountered each other earlier than the 11th century, the Battle of Manzikert and the conquest of Constantinople were the breaking points of Byzantine-Turkish relations, and these relations need to be well examined with respect to the political, economic, cultural, and social conditions. There were, of course, relations with Turks long before the Battle of Manzikert, both temporary (sellers and buyers) and permanent inhabitants of Anatolian regions. Thus they had a long history together. The interactions, conflicts and relationships will be examined, but before that, it is crucial to examine questions such as: "Who are the Byzantines from today's perspective?" and "Who do the Turkish people call Byzantines?". These are essential questions to help us understand Byzantium and its society as seen by present-day Turkish society, and also their definition of the 'other'. Tanyeli says that contemporary Turkish society in reality is encountering 'Rum' society, meaning there was no Byzantine society as such, and the heir to their legacy was the group referred to as 'Rum'.[239] (The origin of the word 'Rum' comes from Roman, and is used for those who lived in Roman lands.[240])

Furthermore, the Seljuk state is called "The Sultanate of Rum" in the literature, the Anatolian region was known as '*Rum diyarı*' (Lands of Rum), and the emperor was also called '*Sultanı Diyarı Rum*', '*Sultan-ı İklim-i Rum*', and *'Kayser-i Rum*'.[241]

[239] Tanyeli 1999, 375 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999).

[240] For a detailed examination of the word 'Rum' and its etymological analysis, see Babinger 1964, 766; Savvides 1984, 95, 102; Eyice 1999, 94; Shukurov 1999, 265-269; Cameron 2006, 6; Kafadar 2007, 7; Özbaran 2014, 42; Tülüce 2016, 136-138. See also Turan 2014, 45, 348. For the geographical coverage of *Rum* populations, see Özbaran 2002, 23-29.

[241] Sümer notes that Anatolian Seljuk states were called Selâcıka-ı Rûm (Selcûkıyân-ı Rûm) in the historical sources (2009, 380-384). The Encyclopedia Britannica defines 'the Sultanate of Rum' as: 'Seljuq: ... their Anatolian domain as the sultanate of Rum. Though its population included Christians, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians and Iranian Muslims, Rum was considered to be "Turkey" by its contemporaries.' Ibn Battuta who was a well-known Algerian traveler in Medieval times, describes Anatolia in his accounts dated to the 1330s as: *barr al-Turkiyya al-ma'rûf bi-bilâd* al-Rûm ('The Turkish land known as the lands of Rum') (Kafadar 2007, 9; Turan 2011, 19). The literature on Seljuk studies is quite extensive, e.g. Langer and Blake 1932 define the Seljuk state as 'the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum' and the rulers as 'the sultan of Rum'; Cahen (1998, 2001) defines the Seljuk state as 'the Seljukid Sultanate of Rum' and the society as 'the Seljukid Rum'; Kinoshita (2009) refers to 'the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum'; Roche (2009, 135-153) defines the Seljuk people as 'the Seljuks of Rum'; Yalman (2011) in her doctoral thesis refers to the buildings of 'the Sultanate of Rum', specific to the reign of Ala-al-Din Kayqubad. See also Yalman (2012, 151-186), who describes the Sultan Alaaddin

Alexander D. Beihammer states that the Seljuks inhabited the Roman lands and were also heirs to their identity.[242] In the Ottoman period, this perception did not change and the Ottoman emperors, starting from the Mehmet the Conqueror, were considered as the rulers of Roman lands.[243] To conclude, '*Rum*' did not define an ethnic or religious origin in the beginning; it was referring to the people who lived in the lands that belonged to the Roman Empire in the past. However, the meaning of *Rum* altered in time, and from the current points of view, Rum refers to a Christian-Greek minority.

Given the Byzantine-Turkish relations, it should be noted that these two different societies had their definition for the concept of 'other'. Accordingly, the word 'Turkish' and its connotations for Byzantine society had its own dynamics and parameters according to the Byzantine point of view, which is the same for Turkish society in terms of the word 'Byzantine' and its connotations. Thus, an examination of the Byzantine sources and perspectives, together with their Turkish equivalents, on socio-cultural, political and economic interactions, will provide an objective point of view. Firstly, the history of the Anatolian regions and its capital, focusing on the fault lines of these two societies is necessary for a better understanding of present-day approaches to the Byzantine past and its legacy. Uğur Tanyeli writes that the relationships between different communities are formed according to the relationship patterns they used to have.[244] This means that communities reflect their habits, behaviors and communication styles during interactions with different communities. In fact, habits, behaviors and communication styles can vary for every individual. Still, there are cultural codes of societies that are shaped according to their ethnic

Keykubat as a 'Rum Seljuq Sultan' and a universal ruler. See also Erksan 1998, 116; Tülüce 2016, 138.

[242] Beihammer 2017, 39.

[243] İnalcık 1958, 68-79; İnalcık 1996, 29; İnalcık 2009, 110-112; Moustakas 2011, 218-221; Özbaran 2014, 100-101; İnalcık 2015, 50-51; Ortaylı 2018, 78. İnalcık also states that Mehmet II proclaimed that his throne was İstanbul, which explains his approach towards the Byzantine Empire, he claimed it. According to İnalcık, Mehmet II adopted the 'throne region' concept, corresponding to the Roman notion of imperial authority (1969/70, 233-234).

[244] Tanyeli 1999, 375 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999).

origin, religion, or social environment. Specific to the Byzantine-Turkish relations,[245] especially Christian-Muslim religions, there is no ethnic or religious common base between these two societies. They did have commercial or social relations from the 7th century, however interactions, social and economic relations, and their shared environments, all changed in the 11th century.[246]

The cultural, ethnic and religious frameworks of the Anatolian region under the rule of the Byzantine Empire should be discussed, as Anatolia represented the main frontier for Byzantine-Turkish relations. From today's perspective, we refer to Byzantine-Turkish relations, but the definition of 'Turk' was a complex issue in that time. The Byzantine Empire and its society were faced with different communities coming from the east and west, including Huns, Göktürks, Khazars, Avars, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans, Mongols and Tatars, as well as Seljuk Turks and Turkmens. In the literature these are commonly called 'Scythians'.[247] Interactions with these societies varied according to political, economic and social conditions. Some groups were direct invaders into the Byzantine Empire, some were commercial partners and neighbors.[248]

[245] Today's Turkish society are citizens of the Republic of Turkey, but in this section the ethnic, socio-cultural and religious factors are examined through the relations with Seljuk Turks and Turkmen nomads, as well as Ottoman society.

[246] The commercial relations between the Byzantines and Turks via the Silk Road were emphasized in several studies. For the first interactions in the context of Christian and Muslim, or Byzantine and Turk, communities, see Duru 1999, 369; Kennedy 2006, 79-116 (Chapter VIII); Beihammer 2011a, 18; Beihammer 2011b, 599; Eger 2015, 246-264; Beihammer 2017, 5. The 11th century represented a breaking point, and Byzantine-Turk relations are divided into two parts: before and after the Battle of Manzikert. After the Byzantine Empire was defeated by the Turks, the political conditions also changed, and this new situation could have affected relations between Byzantine and Turkish societies. For sources on the relations between Turks and Byzantines after the Battle of Manzikert, see, e.g., Vryonis 1969/70, 261; Vryonis 1971, 134; Vryonis 1975b, 51; Beihammer 2017, 6-21, 28-31, 133-134, 155-161, 387.

[247] Shukurov 2016, 30. See also Moravscik 1983.

[248] An in-depth look at relationships and interactions with all these ethnic groups is beyond the scope of this research, however, interactions and confrontations with Seljuk and Ottoman societies are specifically examined in this section. For a comprehensive reading on relations with other ethnic groups, and for Mongol attacks, see Beihammer 2017, 394; for Avar, Arab and Persian attacks, see Runciman 1933, 40; Foss 1977, 68, 71; Vikan 1998, 11; Ostrogorsky 2017, 86-115. Duru gives an interesting example and notes that having your hair cut like Huns for Byzantines was a trend for a while during the reign of Justinian I (CE 527-565) (1999, 369).

Additionally, in this section Seljuk Turks and Turkmen nomads are examined in terms of their social, cultural, political and economic relations. It should be noted that Ottoman society also included different ethnic groups, and for this reason it is not possible to discuss certain types of Byzantine-Turkish relations. Thus, in many sources, these relations and societal classifications are based, mostly, on ethnic origin and religious identity.[249] Cyril Mango's discourse should be considered as strengthening this approach. He emphasizes that religion is one of the most significant factors for differentiating cultures.[250] Given the ethnic diversity in the Byzantine Empire, as Spheros Vryonis notes, Byzantine society consisted of a Greek majority, but also Armenian, Georgian and Syrian Orthodox communities, mostly Greek-speaking Christians, as well as a Jewish core.[251] So, ethnic diversity in Byzantine society is apparent, but the Orthodox Christian bond was a strong component of this multi-ethnic society. Turkish groups also arrived from diverse regions in terms of ethnic origins, classified as 'Central Asia', bringing as well their 'hybrid society' into Anatolia.[252]

[249] There are several sources dealing with the social, ethnic, and religious structures of Byzantine society, and also their interrelations with Turks and Muslims (and others), indicated in the text. For a comprehensive view, see following sources: Vryonis explains Byzantine society according to differences in ethnic origin. In his research he finds Greeks, Armenians, Georgians and Syrians living in Byzantine lands, but they are mostly Greek-speaking Christians. So, he clarifies that even if their ethnic origin was different, language and religion provided a common basis for Byzantine society (1971, 462 and 1975b, 57). Tülüce examines Seljuk-Byzantine relations in detail and makes explicit the demographic structure. He classifies Byzantine society in three different groups: people with Greek origin, people with other ethnic origins, but who adopted the Hellenistic culture, and those who were Orthodox-Christians (2016, 31-34). Baskıcı notes that every human being, who was an Orthodox and speaking Greek, was accepted as 'Byzantine' (2016, 40). Shukurov notes the societal differentiation in Asia Minor as 'Christian-Greek' and 'Muslim-Turk', and also indicates the parameters as 'homeland' and 'ethnicity' (2016, 3-4, 11). Beihammer also has a similar approach and defines the division as 'Byzantine Christians' or 'Roman-Christians' and 'Turkish Muslims'. So, considering these approaches, on examining Byzantine society together with newcomers/settlers to Anatolia, we see they are mostly based on ethnic and religious differences and identities (2017, 387, 394).

[250] Mango 1999, 405; Mango, 2008, 37-38. Also, Vryonis notes that the discussion on Byzantine-Turkish relations was conducted on the basis of being a Christian or Muslim (1971, 461).

[251] Cahen 1968, 64-66; Vryonis 1969/70, 261; 1975b, 57; Mango 2008, 19-37; Baskıcı 2016, 35-39; Beihammer 2017, 52.

[252] Vryonis 1969/70, 261; Ödekan 1999, 380 (Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999); Turan 2010, 45.

Consequently, Asia Minor's multi-ethnic character flourished, and a range of cultural changes and interactions began in parallel with Turkish progresses in Anatolia, associated with the Seljuk occupation as well as with the movements of Turkmen nomads into the wider region.[253] Seljuks captured cities and introduced their culture, while nomad strikes and their impact on the transformation of settlements and daily life were other challenges for Byzantine Anatolia. Thus, obviously, the Turkish attacks, conquests and progress in Anatolia changed the cultural, ethnic, social, religious, and urban framework. According to Speros Vryonis, these Turkish and Turkmen nomadic advances amounted to ethnic migrations resulting in the gradual 'Turkification' of Anatolia,[254] which advanced in parallel with Islamization.[255]. Regional Turkification and Islamization was a long and also complicated process, as these relations and changes/developments were not always established on a friendly or peaceful basis. During the Turkization (or Turkification) process of Anatolia, Rustam Shukurov summarizes the changes as a depopulation of the conquered areas and Islamization of the Greeks under Turkish rule; the economic decline of the Byzantine Empire and the depletion of human resources; and defines the major problem between the Turks and Byzantines as

[253] Beihammer notes the multi-ethnicity in Asia Minor (2017, 387). For more information, and changes in demographic structure and settlements, see Vryonis 1969/70, 261; 1975b, 57; Beihammer 2011b, 599; Eger 2015, 279; Baskıcı 2016, 40; Shukurov 2016, 3-4, 7. For the effects on religion generally, see Runciman 1993, 1-2; Vryonis 1971, 134-288; 1975b, 58, 60; Beihammer 2011b, 600, 614-617; 2017, 36, 394; Eger 2015, 311; Baskıcı 2016, 165; Shukurov 2016, 3-4, 8. For effects on military and administrative issues, see Vryonis 1971, 134-288; 1975b, 60; Beihammer 2017, 51-52. For the Seljuk invasions and their impact on Byzantine lands in Anatolia, see Cahen 1968, 66-72; Angold 1977, 40-44; Vryonis 1969/70, 261; 1971, 103-133; Turan 1980, 74-76; 2010a, 48-50; 2010b, 300-304; Beihammer 2011b, 601; 2017, 74-80; Tülüce, 2016, 54. For victories against Byzantium, see Turan 2010b, 199-203, 231-236. For nomadization and nomadic attacks in Anatolia, and their consequences for social structures and settlements, see Vryonis 1969/70, 261; 1975b, 51-52; Turan 2010b, 239-241; Beihammer 2011a, 21; Eger 2015, 265-271, 311. For interactions between the nomads and settlers, see Eger 2015, 279, 310. For a general examination on how Byzantine settlements changed after Seljuk and nomadic attacks, see Vryonis 1971, 134-288. For Anatolian Seljuk cities, interpreting Byzantine urban structure, and early Turkish urbanism, see Özcan 2010, 273-290.

[254] Vryonis 1975b, 57.

[255] The Islamization of Anatolia has been examined by several scholars from different perspectives. Vryonis looks at religious conversions and stresses in Anatolia after the Turkish-Muslim conquests (1971, 285, 351-402). See also Beihammer 2017, 33-39.

characterized by political, religious and ethnic rivalry.[256] For example, in Byzantine literature, Seljuk or Turks were represented as 'barbarians' or 'enemies' because of the many wars and invasions, and their progress in Anatolia was expressed as destructive, disruptive and devastating.[257] Actually, these adverse expressions are not confined to the ethnic origins of the newcomers, 'Seljuks, Turks', 'Muslims' are also described in a similar way in the works of Byzantine researchers based on 11th and 12th century.[258] However, Byzantines and Turks were not always at war, they got used to living together and cultural, social, and economic relations became closer and more integrated over time.[259] Byzantine and Turkish society began interacting more closely from the 11th century, reflected in a range of different dynamics, such as marriage, family ties, religious conversion, commercial activities, political co-operation, as well as the provision of military assistance to each other.[260] The interactions between Turks and Byzantines in different environments are considered as reciprocal cultural exchange, and Vryonis defines this cultural exchange as a functioning reality.[261] However, although these reciprocal relations and interactions created a synthesis of different cultures, Byzantines appear to have adopted the

[256] Shukurov 2016, 3-4; see also Vryonis 1971, 351-402, 403-414 for conversions to Islam in Anatolian lands and economic changes.

[257] The oldest and primary historical source on Byzantine-Seljuk relations, conflicts and wars, is the 'Alexiad' by Anna Komnenos from the Imperial dynasty. In this source, Turks are called Barbaric Persians or Barbarian Turks (as cited by Tülüce 2016, 67, 69). Laoui writes that the Byzantines thought that they were surrounded by 'barbarians' (2012, 73). Tülüce notes the representation of Turks in Rum historiography as 'the enemies', and Seljuk Turks as 'barbarians' (2016, 31-33). Also, Beihammer and Shukurov state that Seljuk Turks were considered as 'invaders' or 'barbarians' in Rum historiography (Shukurov 2016, 27; Beihammer 2017, 68-69). See also Vryonis 1971, 285 and 1975b, 55; Tülüce 2016, 54.

[258] Beihammer 2011b, 600.

[259] Turan 2010b, 123.

[260] The interaction and progressing relations between the Byzantine and Turkish populations were based on different dynamics. For marriages and affinity, see Duru 1999, 372; Baskıcı 2016, 40; Shukurov 2016, 58, 221-222. Baskıcı notes that it was forbidden to marry Jewish people in the Byzantine Empire, but marriage between Byzantines and Muslims was possible. See also Shukurov, 55-56, 58, 221, 222. For military assistance and political co-operation, see Duru 1999, 372; Tülüce 2016, 45. For religious conversions, see Duru 1999, 372. Necipoğlu examines the commercial activities of Ottoman merchants in Constantinople in the 15th century, referring to Badoer's account book; she notes that there was even *kadı* in Constantinople for conflicts between Byzantines and the Ottomans (1999, 235-244).

[261] Vryonis 1999, 40.

other's culture more than the Turks were to do.[262] Adem Tülüce defines the relationship dynamics between Byzantines and Turks from the position of a Turk as following[263]:

- As a sympathizer and subject to Byzantine society, based on friendship, or being part of Byzantine society, assigned to a civil or military duty.
- As an opponent and traitor, based on hostility and being part of Byzantine society, but also the supporter of an attempt to take control in some way.

Obviously, even an ideology or status quo can change, and social, cultural, or economic lives become integrated. The inhabitants of Anatolia, both Christians and Muslims, learned to live together. Coinage from medieval times can be considered as examples of their integrated life and cultural exchange, and we have coins displaying Christian symbols and Greek letters on the reverse and Islamic symbols and Arabic lettering on the obverse.[264] Such multi-cultural features are common in Anatolia, and there are several examples corresponding to the different cultures, religions, and states. Anatolia, therefore, had always been a multicultural region, and its reflection in art, architecture, and coinage is tangible. Such integrated relations and interactions between the Byzantine Empire and the Seljuk State can be seen on the 12th-century coin in Figure 2.5; additionally, it can be interpreted as a symbol of respect between these two civilizations.

[262] Ödekan notes that these two societies lived together in the capital and in other Anatolian regions, mixing in part their cultures (1999, 379). Some scholars claim that the Byzantines even lost their culture, or that at least it was weakened, while adopting the culture of the Muslims and Turks. See also Vryonis 1969/70, 261; 1975b, 57-58, 60; Shukurov 2016, 3, 7, 8, 216, 380.
[263] Tülüce 2016, 34.
[264] Shukurov exemplifies this situation, referring to a Greek coin of Amir Ghazi. He states that 'it displays Christ on the reverse, and, although Grecized, a purely Muslim official title and name on the obverse.'



Figure 2.5. A coin from the 12th century depicting the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel I Komnenos on the obverse, and the name of the Seljuk Sultan Kılıç Arslan on the reverse (URL-21, retrieved 21.05.2019).

Obviously, a degree of interaction as well as integration was inevitable after the two civilizations started to co-exist, despite their various conflicts. Tanyeli defines the relationship between the Byzantines and the Seljuks as symbiotic at the beginning, but he goes on to say that this model relationship broke down after the Ottoman regime turned into a cosmopolite empire.[265] Thus, this relationship resulted in a synthesis of cultures and learning from each other, and the continuation of Byzantine traditions, political and educational models, and cultural elements, can be observed in the Seljuk and Ottoman states.[266]

Beyond cultural, commercial and political interactions, religious confrontation can be considered as the great fault line between these two different societies. As stated in the previous section, the Byzantine Empire was Christian-Orthodox from its inception and this gave it its strong religious identity in that sense. Inevitably, the religious doctrines and culture of the Byzantine Empire affected both societies as a result of interaction during periods of occupation or in terms of commercial relations. Interaction and adaptation were not just one-sided, thus while Anatolia was converting to Islam, Islamic culture was enriched in part from the Christian culture. Given the history of the Byzantine Empire, Slavs and Turks especially have been

[265] Tanyeli 1999, 376.
[266] Adıvar 1955, 61-7; Hourani 1991, 133; Ortaylı (2002, 19-20; 2006, 44-45).

studied in terms of their various impacts, and vice versa.[267] When looking at Byzantine impacts on Islamic culture, however, it is noticed that the latter adopted relatively little of the former.

In summary, Muslims avoided much of the Christian ethos, but was happy to adopt Christian scientific and philosophical elements, appreciating its Hellenistic history.[268] Conversely, the Slavic culture borrowed much in the way of religious dogma from the Byzantine faith, as well as all of the culture of Byzantium[269]. From the opposite perspective, the Islamization process of Anatolia may be seen as the strongest challenge for Byzantine society. Culture, religion, and the nature of the settlements started to change in the Byzantine Empire, and, in time, even the Christian lords in Anatolia turned to Islam, and this strengthened its impact generally on the Christian-Byzantine citizens of the country.[270] Through the conversions of Christians into Islam in the first three centuries after the 11th century, Muslims absorbed the lifestyle of the Byzantines. However, some scholars, such as Shukurov, interpret the influence of the Ottoman Turks on the Byzantines as the apparent corrosion of Byzantine civilization, referring to a period later than the first interactions of Byzantines and Turks.[271] Especially after the conquest of Constantinople, of course, the political equilibrium changed overnight in terms of

[267] Vryonis 1999, 39-41.

[268] Interactions and interpretations of Byzantine Christian culture and Islamic culture were examined by Vryonis (1999, 42-43). However, he underlines the difference of Syrian Hellenism in the Christian culture and indicates its specific position in Hellenism.

[269] For Byzantine impact on the Slavic culture, and also Russia, see Vryonis 1999, 42-43; Meyendorf 1993, 45-60.

[270] For references to the Islamization of Anatolia, see n. 195 and n. 248. Beihammer examines the process of Christian lords turning to Islam (2011b, 614-617).

[271] Vryonis (1969/70, 262) explains the changes and evolution of the Turks, and Islamic culture, before the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula, and underlines the differences between the interactions of Christians and Muslims in Anatolia and the Balkan regions. He explains these differences based on the three centuries when Turks lived with Christians in Anatolia before moving on to the Balkan regions. He also indicates the absorption of Byzantine culture, but notes that there have been no attempts to clarify all the details about this issue (1971, 444). However, interactions and influences between these two different religions and cultures have been examined in different periods, and they are referred to in this section. Shukurov interprets interactions between Byzantines and Turks by referring to a later period, indicating the Ottoman Empire, stating that Byzantine culture was affected in a negative way by the Ottoman Turks and their culture (2016, 3, 8).

the dominant religious ideology.[272] Mehmet the Conqueror believed that there must be a single state and single religion ruling the world.[273] While Konstantinos Moustakas states that the Ottoman rule after the conquest was tyrannical, Halil İnalcık stresses the openness policy of Mehmet II towards the Byzantines and his strategy for repopulating and reconstructing the city based on recalling those Greeks and Armenians who had fled Constantinople and Anatolia.[274] According to the literature, the Ottoman Sultans considered themselves as the protectors of the Orthodox Church; they felt some form of duty of care to these faithful, and there was no discriminative attitude towards Greeks in the reign of Mehmet II.[275] The latter appointed Ghennadios Scholarios as Patriarch to administer to the religious needs of the Greek (*Rum*) population, both within Constantinople and beyond, thus showing the respect Mehmet II had towards Christianity and the Christian community in his capital and his lands generally. He guaranteed 'their lives, possessions and the practice of their religion' via the protection of the Islamic state.[276] However, this did not mean that Christians from different ethnic origins and Muslims always shared equal human rights, taxes, and commercial opportunities: in following periods non-Muslim communities were often treated very differently.[277]

When looking at the religious contexts of interactions between Byzantines and Turks, it is appropriate to look closely at the notion of 'holy war' in terms of Turkish conquests throughout Anatolia. As a result of the expansion of the Islamic states after the rise of Islam, the Muslims moved forward into Anatolia not only for political or economic reasons. These conquests were also based on an ideology of 'holy war' on

[272] Runciman 1993, 1-2.
[273] İnalcık (2009, 110-111) explains the ideology of Mehmet II by referring to a letter from G. Trapezuntios and citing from J. Languschi in the 15th century. Also, see Ortaylı 2018, 78.
[274] Moustakas 2011, 215. See also İnalcık 1967, 215, 219; 1969/70, 235-236. İnalcık states that Mehmet II assigned lands and houses to Greeks to bring them back to Constantinople. See also İnalcık 2015, 43-44, for attitudes towards captives after the city fell. The same author informs that Mehmed II placed Byzantine prisoners inside the city, but after a while ordered that they be executed, for fear of rebellion.
[275] İnalcık 1969/70, 236-239.
[276] İnalcık 1969/70, 234; 1996, 217; Ortaylı 2002, 20.
[277] Runciman 1993, 4-7; İnalcık 1969-70, 234.

behalf of Islam.[278] Some scholars put forward that the ultimate conquest of Constantinople had as much a religious motivation behind it as political and economic reasoning. According to Islamic beliefs, Constantinople was a sacred place and thus had to be conquered,[279] and thus the impetus for the conquest of Constantinople was based on the religious and political motives of Ottoman emperors. They besieged the city on several occasions, looking to gain political power and advantage by turning the Christian-Byzantine capital into an Ottoman one ruled by Muslim[280]. Given the religious significance of Constantinople and the existence of the Christian Empire that ruled this city and Anatolia, the Byzantines could be considered as enemies who had to be defeated in the name of Islam as well as for the glory of the Ottoman Empire. This claim alone can be looked at as a reason for the negative understanding of Byzantium for present-day Nationalist-Islamist environments. Furthermore, examining the literature, there are discourses that perceive the Ottoman Empire as a continuation of the Roman Empire, or underline the deep-rooted relations between the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. For example, Albert Hourani states that 'Ottoman Turks can be considered as the Romans of the Islamic world', referring to the political structure, while İlber Ortaylı writes that Turkish society is heir to Rome – a form of Muslim Rome.[281] Salih Özbaran makes

[278] For an interpretation of the expansion of Islamic states and their movement towards Anatolia, see Duru 1999, 369. For the idea of 'Holy War' see, İnalcık 1990, 1-3; Beihammer 2011a, 20; 2017, 389; Shukurov 2016 5. See also Darling 2000, 133-163 for the context of 'Holy War' in the Ottoman Empire, via an historical and comparative approach.

[279] Surely, the reality of the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad's (p.b.u.h) is open to discussion, but they are still considered as the sacred words, examples, and doctrines for Muslim society. In the context of this research, it should be noted that Constantinople is considered as a sacred place from to this hadith: "Konstantinniye muhakkak fethedilecektir. Onu fetheden emir ne güzel emirdir. Onu fetheden ordu, ne güzel ordudur." (Verily, Constantinople shall be conquered, its commander shall be the best commander ever and his army shall be the best army ever.) For an examination of the importance of the conquest of Constantinople for the history of Islam through the analysis of the hadiths, see Kulat, 2001, 5; Fleming 2003, 69; Koçyiğit 2007, 45.

[280] See Eroğlu 2004, 89-101; Hammer 2008, 161-163; Uzunçarşılı 2011, 389-390.

[281] Hourani 1991, 133; Ortaylı 2002, 19-20; for another interpretation of this discourse, see Özbaran 2004, 45.

it clear that such discussions, relating Muslims or Turks to the Roman Empire, can be viewed as provocative for those with nationalist or Islamic views.[282]

Consequently, these ideologies or beliefs create the concept of 'other'. At the beginning of this section, it is emphasized that identity, including ethnic, socio-cultural and religious backgrounds, also defines the 'other' and determines behavior and understanding about it. Given the historical background of the Byzantine-Seljuk, Byzantine-Ottoman, and Christian-Muslim relations in Anatolia and Constantinople, the reasons behind the attitudes towards the Byzantines or their legacy can be understood, but they all are open to discussion. In this section, the tension, interaction and common environments between the Byzantine Empire and Turks since the medieval times are examined through reciprocal perspectives. In the present day, the 'non-existing Byzantines', or the *Rum* community are the 'others' for Turkish society. However, it is not specific to the *Rum* community, other minorities are also considered as 'other' for religious, ethnic, or cultural reasons, and it does not always mean that the concept of 'other' includes hostile connotations. Plainly, the Byzantines define the 'other' from their perspective, as explained at the beginning of this chapter.[283] Therefore, these two concepts basically refer to the 'others' in Byzantine society. Uğur Tanyeli notes the concept of 'other' changes for the Byzantines and Turks and remarks about the contradictions and uncompromising situations between these two different approaches.[284] In addition, Adem Tülüce notes that the concept of 'other' for the Byzantines did not have a specific definition; it could change over time. Thus the Turks were seen as the 'others' at the beginning, but this does not mean that they were always viewed in a similar way by the

[282] Özbaran 2004, 44.

[283] See above, pp. 8-9. Laoui (2012, 71-97) examines the concept of 'other' for Byzantium and explains it via two different concepts: 'stranger' and 'foreigner'. Learning about the approach of Byzantines towards 'other' can provide a different perspective for the consideration of Byzantine society and its legacy in terms of 'other' for Turkish society. See also Tanyeli (199, 375), who notes that 'other' in Byzantium is defined based on cultural and religious differences. Vasilakeris (2013, 68) opines that the Byzantines and their heritage are the others for those who accept the Ottomans as their ancestors and the Byzantines as their enemy.

[284] Tanyeli 1999, 375.

Byzantines.[285] In Turkey's case, the approach towards the 'other' is similar: it has ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. However, the claim about the creation of the 'other' by 'reflexive nationalism' is a persuasive discourse when it comes to evaluating the situation in Turkey, as well as the religious motives behind the nature of 'other'.[286]

Given the ethnic, socio-cultural and religious factors examined in this section, the reasons for the negative understanding of Byzantium, as well as the hostile attitudes and discourses towards the Byzantines and their legacy, can be summed up within Nationalist and Islamist ideologies. However, they are not the only reasons; the other factors examined in this chapter inevitably affect each other. Finally, it is worth mentioning a recent journal article that will help us summarize the understanding of Byzantium within the framework of this section. The journal *Toplumsal Tarih* had a special issue on Byzantium in 2013 that including the article "Bizans'tan Türkiye'ye Kalan Miras: Tanıdık Yabancı". The Byzantine Empire and its legacy are defined as a 'familiar stranger' (tanıdık yabancı) in this issue, and this definition indicates an accurate understanding of Byzantium from the current Turkish perspective.[287] Koray Durak and Anestis Vasilakeris write that the Byzantine image in the minds of the researchers in this research topic is homogenous. They claim, too, that Byzantines are considered as enemies to be beaten, and Constantinople was a citadel that had to be conquered by the Turkish society. They support their claim that Byzantium can be seen as the 'familiar stranger' by asking: "Is Byzantium, which has no place in yesterday's or today's dominant understanding of history, representative of the world we deny?" In addition, they underline that Byzantium neither fits with the modernization project of the Republic and its nationalist, secular and positivist

[285] Tülüce 2016, 16.
[286] Tanyeli (1999, 386) notes that reflexive nationalism is specific to the Anatolian region and different from nationalist approaches of France, Germany or Sweden: "[The] nations in Anatolia define themselves through expressing what they are not. They say 'I am not', and underline their victimization because of the 'other'."
[287] Toplumsal Tarih 2013, 229.

vision, nor any understanding of history based on Turkish rights and Islam.[288] However, discourses and discussions on the role of Byzantium as a 'familiar stranger', and the exclusion of its heritage, are still valid.

2.3.3 Constructing the Image of the Byzantine Legacy: The Role of Education

Interactions with the past and past cultures are not compulsory, and the awareness of cultural heritage is also affected by a lack of communication and even the curiosity for the past. However, the critical question is: In what kind of environments can we communicate with, learn, understand, and discuss the history of previous cultures and their heritage? Certainly, visiting archaeological sites or historic buildings for touristic or leisure purposes provides a basis for interaction between the cultural heritage and people, but it is an optional activity. The important thing is creating or triggering curiosity for the past based on a comprehensive approach involving educational and cultural policies. A shared environment for all, without distinguishing gender, economic, social, or religious situations is a learning environment that arguably provides the strongest possibility to come face to face with history and ancient civilizations, without neglecting their integration within present-day culture or cultures.

Consequently, schools are the primary places to instill an awareness of history, culture and heritage, which can be evaluated within art, archeology, and architecture. However, educational planning is a process that is directly influenced by political agenda and ideology.[289] Hence, if the education strategy includes a proper and effective approach towards past cultures and their heritage in school curricula, interaction and awareness can start in childhood. Thus, the teaching of history and

[288] Durak and Vasilakeris 2013, 53.
[289] Apple 2003, 1, 3, 7.

its contents should be discussed so as to understand how the Byzantine past is taught since the establishment of the Republic.

First of all, the current school curricula and teaching approaches to ancient history from cultural, archaeological, and also social perspectives should be examined. Ancient history was taught before the Republican period, but the priorities in education have changed in the process following the establishment of the Republic.[290] The discipline of history and archaeology is not just about learning the past, but also understanding and interpretating the identity of past civilizations; thus these disciplines were used to justify the existence and strengthen Turkish identity in the curricula, not just in primary schools but also in the following phases of education.[291] This strategy was linked to the Turkish past and to the early civilizations of Anatolia, which resulted in an emphasis on certain ones, such as Hittites and Sumerians.[292] Admittedly, there are adopted past cultures as well as ones that were excluded, which are crucial to understanding current political, social, religious, and ethnic contexts, as well as the development of urban planning and construction technology in architecture.[293] Obviously, this newly defined and imposed identity is critical, as the link between the current Turkish state and its historical background is presented from a subjective point of view in the curricula. The reason for this subjective approach is not specific to Turkey, where governments direct educational systems in efforts to impose national culture and identity in terms of official, present-

[290] The teaching of ancient history was in the curricula since the Early Republican period. Taşkın and Şimşek state that ancient history was important for the understanding of local history and also tourism potential (2017, 1534-1535). See also Sayar 2011, 767-777.
[291] The ideas of creating and strengthening the newly established Republic's Turkish identity, and its reflections on educational strategies, were discussed in the previous sections. See above, pp. 68-70 and n. 128, 129, 133. See also İnan *et al.* 1931; Özdoğan 2008 35-37; Arı 2010, 849; Eldem 2013, 71; Taşkın and Şimsek 2017, 1535.
[292] Köksal 1999, 381 (in Kuban, Köksal, Ödekan, Tanyeli, Yerasimos, 1999); Özdoğan 2008, 35-37; Eldem 2013, 71; Çayır, 2014,10; Taşkın and Şimsek, 2017, 1535. Mango writes that the Hittites, Sumerians and Phrygians, and aspects of their heritage, were preferred due to Kemalist doctrines in the Early Republican period. In addition, he continues that he remembers his Turkish history and literature lessons on account of their strong emphasis on Turkish identity; Turkish history was taught as the history of Hittites and Sumerians with no indications of Byzantium, the Ottoman Empire, or Arabic origins (1999, 403).
[293] Taşkın and Şimsek 2017, 1535.

day, ideologies.[294] Thus discourses about history and Turkish identity are similar in various text books approved by the Ministry of Education based on a central education policy.[295] The basic principle for teaching the history of the new Turkish Republic is to support the nation-state ideology and instill pride in the nation, being Turk, which is defined as a community coming from Middle Asia from a very limited perspective.[296] However, Turkish identity is not reduced to ethnicity; it is intensified by Islam and has gained a strong religious context as well.[297] This approach is related to nationalist ideology and also a Turkish/Islamic synthesis, leading public awareness and behavior. Thus, being a citizen of Turkey needs a common basis on ethnocultural or ethnoreligious identity approved by the wider population and being a part of 'us', as defined in the school textbooks.[298] Actually, this form of fixed definition to impose a national identity is dangerous, risking passionate and nationalist generations, resulting in both creating the 'other' and the exclusion of it, as well as hostile attitudes towards other cultures and ethnic groups.[299] The strategy of creating a national identity to be proud of may be reasonable and understandable since the establishment of the Republic. However, even 95 years later, presenting Turkish identity, ethnic origin, or even language, from a superior position to other cultures which were integrated and helped generate each other, is a problematic issue.[300] There was an apparent discriminative approach towards certain other

[294] Çapar 2006, 475-483; Durak 2013, 90. See also Apple 2003.

[295] Çayır completed comprehensive research and examined the textbooks of the History, Turkish, Citizenship and Religion courses (2014, 9).

[296] As discussed in the previous section, the ethnic origin of the Turks is complicated. The communities that settled in Anatolia were mostly nomads, and nomads were mostly Turkmen. However, there are different ethnic groups included within the communities that are generalized as 'Turks'. See, Çayır 2014, 10-11..

[297] Durak 2013, 90-91; Çayır 2014, 13-14, 25, 30.

[298] Durak 2013, 90-91; Çayır 2014, 19-21.

[299] For the discussion of the creation of 'other', see 102-104. Furthermore, despite the subjective approach in school textbooks, Çayır indicates that statements underlining the ethnical and cultural diversity in Turkey without underestimating them are rare (2014, 31): "*Milletimiz içinde farklı inanç ve düşüncelere sahip olanlar vardır. Ancak bu farklılıklar, millet olmamızı ve kaynaşıp bütünlük içinde yaşamamızı engellemez. Çünkü biz, aynı tarih, vatan, kültür ve ülküye sahibiz.*" (Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 5, Doku, 118)".

[300] For the Turkish educational system's underlining of the superiority of Turks, see Durak 2013, 90-91; Eldem 2013, 71; Çayır 2014, 41. Çayır defines this problem as "*üstün kültür inancı ve insanlığın*

cultures and emphasis placed on 'superior' concepts related to Turks. However, after the educational reforms of 2004, Çayır writes that the clear discrimination between Turkish culture and the 'other' was over. However, the stress on Turkish identity, culture, and language is still evident.[301]

In the present-day situation, the teaching of history is based on Turkish history, and the older civilizations, e.g. the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, are excluded or have a limited place in the syllabi in high schools and middle schools.[302] Consequently, this approach makes the historical and cultural narrative of Turkish society incomplete, due to the lack of cultural, social and ethnic relations with non-Muslim groups and minorities, as well as neglecting the Byzantine legacy since the Seljuk period. In addition, the perception of Turkish identity is reduced to a single ethnicity – being a Turk – and religion – being a Muslim.

When it comes to Byzantium, this culture has a limited place in history courses, and the significance of Byzantium is reduced to its monumental structures, such as the Church of St. Sophia or the Church of Chora, and teaching Byzantium generally ends with the period of Justinian I (527-565 CE).[303] Furthermore, the underestimation of the Byzantine Empire in Europe is another discussion issue; the Western Roman Empire seems to prevail, rather than the Byzantine Empire in Europe, something that can be seen in the current school curricula. Jeffrey *et al.* examine this situation and the reasons as follows: [304]

> For the English-speaking world of the twenty-first century or the world of western Europe in general, Byzantium is something of a black hole, a shadowy force if known at all, unlike the empire of West Rome whose physical remains are a conspicuous and very real reminder of its former presence. At its most basic this difference in

ortak kültür mirasına saygının ihlali", which means "the belief of the superior culture and the violation of the respect to the common cultural heritage of the humanity". For example, the Turkish language is expressed in the textbook as following: "*Dünyada kulağa en ziyade letafet bahş olan lisan, İtalyanca ve Rumcadır diyenler var. Lakin tecrübe edenler teslim ve itiraf ederler ki dünyada kulağa en hoş gelen ve anlamayanları bile meftun ve hayran eden bir lisan varsa o da İstanbul'da ve devletin büyük şehirlerinden tekellüm olunan Türkçe'dir. (Dil ve Anlatım 10, MEB, 48.*".

[301] Çayır 2014, 41.

[302] Durak 2013, 90-9; Eldem 2013, 71.

[303] Coupeux 2006, 281-283; Serin 2008, 221; Durak 2013, 91.

[304] Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 4.

> perception reflects the linguistic and cultural – as well as political – divisions between eastern and western Europe that grew up in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, when the east was predominantly Orthodox and with a literary culture based on Greek whilst the west was Roman Catholic with a Latin literary culture: at some points an impermeable barrier could be said to have been in place between the two. In modern times this separation is still visible in many areas. It has also been reflected in the curricula at secondary and tertiary levels of education, where Byzantium has been given a very small place indeed, although classicists (albeit often grudgingly) would admit that without the intervention of Byzantine scribes no texts in ancient Greek would have survived to the present day. Byzantium has been of esoteric interest only.

The reasons behind this are again related to cultural and also political differences throughout European lands, because confrontation with the past, and its interpretation, is inevitably influenced by the historical facts to which they are exposed. The situation in Turkey, not surprisingly, is no different. Actually, the initial expectation, in Turkey's case, is dealing with Byzantium in terms of historical, social, cultural, and also architectural ways from a different perspective, as the Byzantine Empire originated in the regions of present-day Turkey, and left behind it both its tangible and intangible cultural heritage across the centuries, which is still observable and appreciable. However, the Byzantine past of Anatolia generally has been excluded to a greater extent compared to the Prehistoric, Hellenistic, and Roman eras, although this does not necessarily mean that these other periods, in certain areas, have always been well researched, understood, and preserved. Each period has its own challenges and difficulties in terms of research and the conservation process. In addition, there are other factors, such as the physical conditions of remains/sites, their accessibility, and the need for specialists to conduct research activities affecting studies and investigations at these sites.

As underlined, the educational environments and school curricula are quite efficient in creating a common understanding of selected histories; they directly form ideas and approaches linked to how previous civilizations are taught and represented. The Byzantine Empire stands in a different position to other civilizations, primarily because they were the rulers of Anatolia when the Turks, following the Battle of

Manzikert (1071 CE).[305] Thus the first interactions between Seljuk Turks and Byzantine society started from the 11th century, as examined in the previous section.[306] The Byzantine Empire needs to have been better analyzed and taught to appreciate the development of Turkish history, culture, demography, art, and architecture, as some Turkish scholars underline.[307] However, our understanding of the Byzantine Empire and its legacy is strongly affected by the nationalist ideology imposed on school curricula, starting at primary level.[308] The prevailing discourse in school textbooks on the subject of Turkish identity, excluding other ethnic groups and religions other than Turks and Islam, produces a definite attitude against different cultural origins, especially the concept of Byzantium. Ètienne Coupeux summarizes the attitude towards Byzantium in textbooks as mostly based on exclusion from the historical narratives or maps, and writes that the interrelations of Turks and Byzantines are avoided.[309] Unfortunately, the history of this previous and long-lasting Anatolian empire is represented through Turkish history from a limited perspective and includes wrong or misleading information.[310] The Byzantine Empire is not considered as a part of the history of Anatolia – it is like an 'outsider'.[311]

The Byzantine Empire is still represented in a way as a threat to Turks and their lands; even though that empire has vanished.[312] This approach can even cause students to consider Byzantium as hostile, resulting in a lack of respect for any aspect of Byzantine heritage. Furthermore, the Byzantine Empire is more often than not

[305] See above, pp. '2.3.1. Historical Factors', 91-101.
[306] See '2.3.2. Ethnic, Socio-Cultural and Reigious Factors', above 101-115.
[307] Eyice 1998, 113; Baskıcı 1998, 9-10; Belge 1999, 400; Duru 1999, 367.
[308] Durak 2013, 90-91;
[309] Coupeux 2006, 281-282.
[310] Durak 2013, 92. Durak exemplifies the false information in the school textbook as: "After the division of the Roman Empire, the Eastern Roman Empire was named as Byzantium", which is totally wrong.
[311] Coupeux considers the exclusion of Byzantium from Anatolian history and this reductive approach in the history education as a loss. He states that history courses include just a review of the significant events of Turkish and Muslim history. In this context, the superiority of Turks is underlined, the Arabs were trivialized, and the use of 'empire' in reference to Byzantine and Roman states is avoided (2006, 287).
[312] Durak 2013, 93.

depicted as inadequate and devious, unsuccessful in its rule and with unhappy citizens, whereas the outstanding characteristics of Turks are underlined by criticizing Byzantium.[313] The relations or interactions are defined through the wars between the Byzantine Empire and the Seljuk State or the Ottoman Empire. What remains, therefore, is this reductive approach, underestimating the cultural sharing and interactions in many different ways between Muslim and Christian societies, with their ethnic diversities.[314] As underlined, although Turkish lands and the ancestors of the Turks share much in the way of a common past with the Byzantine Empire, the prevalent attitude is breaking the link with the Byzantine Empire and refusing notions of cultural integration with the Byzantines.

Another fact leading to the exclusion and undervaluing of Byzantium and its material culture is the lack of experts who chose to study Byzantine art, architecture and archaeology in Turkey, especially in terms of the conservation and representation of the Byzantine cultural heritage.[315] Undoubtedly, this is also related to the teaching approach since primary school level – what is needed, clearly, is that curiosity should be stimulated and subjective discourses and misleading accounts of history avoided. Given that there are also other factors affecting the understanding and interpretation of the past, particularly Byzantium, at least our educational environments should be objective and provide healthy learning and discussion fora, without bias or political ideology. The results will be more Byzantine experts in different disciplines, who deal with the Byzantine past and Byzantine cultural heritage – re-assessing, interpreting, valorizing, preserving, and presenting. Undergraduate studies of Byzantium began at Istanbul University in the Republican period, and, notably, the contributions of Semavi Eyice towards the development of this research area have been exceptional. Hacettepe University should also be acknowledged for its

[313] Durak 2013, 91-93.
[314] Ousterhout 1995, 51-52; Durak 2013, 92. See also '3.3.2. Ethnic, Socio-cultural and Religious Factors' above 77-92.
[315] The lack of Byzantine specialists is highlighted in several studies. See Eyice 1998, 113; Jeffreys, Haldon and Cormack 2008, 15; Serin 2008, 221.

pioneering work on Byzantine studies. Obviously, graduate programs on Byzantine Studies are crucial to produce Byzantine specialists. Aykut Köksal states that the departments of Byzantine art in universities have lost their identity and for a period turned into 'Medieval Art' departments in the past.[316] Semavi Eyice is of a similar opinion, noting that Byzantine art was a specific department, and he conducted his studies within it for almost twenty years, until the Higher Education Council reduced the periods of Byzantine art course.[317] In addition, Ayla Ödekan writes that attitudes towards Byzantium and Byzantine studies were cautious and distant in the 1960s;[318] while Stefanos Yerasimos comments that Byzantine studies were restricted in Turkey in the past. Thus, these attitudes could result in researchers being reluctant to, or refraining from, undertaking Byzantine studies.[319] Today, there are departments of Byzantine art within art history faculties at various universities, i.e. Istanbul, Hacettepe, and Akdeniz, and despite many challenges in terms of Byzantine studies in higher education and graduate studies, there is a committed body of motivated scholars contributing to the development of Byzantine researches in Turkey, and the range of study fields has been widening recently.

Proposing problems in educational systems and strategies is often given as a reason for all kinds of difficulties and setbacks, but in our case it is a valid argument and decisive in terms of the direction of the subject for future generations. Because the scientific facts or findings, even ideologies and doctrines, belong to the specific views are taught or imposed directly or indirectly in the schools. In social sciences, especially in history, cultural studies, or archaeology, the discourse and its scientific value are directly related to the professors' or teachers' political or religious point of view, as well as the enforced information in school textbooks.[320] The problems of understanding and indirect messages in school textbooks have been examined in

[316] Köksal 1999, 387.
[317] Eyice 1998, 113.
[318] Ödekan 1999, 392.
[319] Yerasimos 1999, 389.
[320] There are recommendations in school textbooks as to how the subject should be taught and which events/concepts should be emphasized. Çayır (2014) included these recommendations in his book.

detail by scholars.[321] Considering the current issues on the understanding of Byzantium and the respect for its heritage, the discourses and doctrines on history, religion and ethics may be the reason for this exclusion of Byzantium, and the development of a negative understanding of its culture and heritage. The differences in religious, ethnic and cultural contexts are represented as reasons for the disagreements, conflicts, or wars, which are kept fresh in students' minds. In addition, Christianity is exposed to 'anti-propaganda' in schools to promote Islam, and Byzantium was a strong Christian-Orthodox empire with a leading religious identity in the past.[322] Consequently, hostile attitudes towards Christianity may also affect attitudes towards Byzantium beyond its cultural identity. However, having an objective doctrine on relations between the Byzantine Empire and Seljuk and Ottoman society, or at least fair discussions on Byzantium, can lead to a fuller understanding and respect for its heritage, as the first stage towards preservation.

2.3.4 Economic Factors

The economic value of cultural heritage sites is an essential consideration during the assessment process. In this section, the economic value of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, potentials and difficulties will be examined. Cultural heritage sites are considered as a resource for economic benefit in two different ways. The first is based on using cultural heritage sites as an attraction point for cultural tourism, which can provide income to the national economy. The second involves re-functioning existing historic buildings for commercial, cultural, or educational purposes.[323] In

[321] Such as Coupeaux 2006; Durak 2013; Çayır 2014.

[322] Çayır states that Turkish identity is based on being both Turk and Muslim, thus he exemplifies discourses on religion and Turkish courses against other religions, sects, and ethnic origins (2014, 13, 25, 31-33).

[323] See Orbaşlı 2002b, 2. Hutter explains the contribution of cultural heritage-based tourism revenue by exemplifying Italy, 1997, 4-5. Also, for other examples from different parts of the world, see Koboldt 1997 57-58; Dredge 2004, 406-407; Viu, Fernández and Caralt 2008, 361; Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009, 2-3; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, 56. Bianchi reviews the economic impact on tourism development, 2018, 88-102. For a general evaluation of the economic potential of heritage-based tourism, see Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, 3-4, 20. For discussions exemplifying the economics

both cases, economic planning of the preservation, maintenance, presentation, and transformation is crucial. David Throsby summarizes how and for what purposes interventions can be considered for cultural heritage sites or objects:[324]

- The preservation or protection of an item of heritage from destruction or demolition.
- The conservation or maintenance of an item of heritage in its present state.
- The restoration of an item of heritage to some former state.
- The renovation of an item of heritage to some new state.
- The improvement or enhancement of an item of heritage, for example, through adaptive re-use.

Based on David Throsby therefore, conservation and maintenance of cultural heritage sites or cultural property require an economic basis and support. However, all of these factors can be considered as investments for future benefits from cultural heritage sites, which provide for overall tourism revenue and the re-use or re-function of historic structures. These concerns for economic benefit inevitably influence archaeological excavations, conservation studies, re-functioning criteria, and the decision-making processes involving these activities raise complex issues.[325]

Archaeology has been one of the primary disciplines used for examining previous cultures and civilizations since the Early Republican period, and the practice has been affected by political and economic factors beyond the cultural and scientific. Obviously, nationalism has been a widespread ideology, and its reflections on archaeological studies and excavation processes are to be expected. Edhem Eldem

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of the re-functioning, re-use, and conservation of historic buildings, see Peacock 1995, 190; Hutter 1997, 7; Koboldt 1997, 57; Pignataro and Rizzo 1997, 91-106; Throsby 1997, 19. Beyond these, Ashworth and Turnbridge note 'economic justification' of cultural heritage within two common reactions: the first is based on not taking responsibility in an economic way for the conservation of cultural heritage and considering this as a cultural activity; the second is considering cultural heritage sites overall as an economic resource. For more, see Ashworth and Turnbridge 2000, 20-21.

[324] Throsby (1997, 18, 19-24) examines the regulations needed in the process of conservation of cultural heritage in respect to its economic planning and strategy.

[325] Mossetto 1994, 81-96; Hutter 1997, 9; Throsby, 1997, 13.

states that various governments forced archaeological excavation teams to focus on those areas which have economic potential and research these sites accordingly.[326] This has meant that archaeological studies have been directed according to the cultural and economic needs of the present day. Archaeology, therefore, has become a science obviously involved with clarifying and re-interpreting the past in the present day, but also a tool to reveal what is required to be seen or visited.[327] In this case, the need to visit an archaeological site or any historic building within current urban settlements can be based on cultural, religious, or political purposes.[328] So expectations of annual visitor numbers are often determinative factors in terms of archaeological studies and how to represent or exhibit a site.[329] Increases in the numbers of visitors trigger future economic expectations and goals, which can result in more activities or funds for archaeological excavations with respect to the cultural demands of visitors.[330] Statistics on visitor numbers to cultural heritage sites give an idea of the tendencies and interests, and these sites are also promoted in the media by referencing statistics. Thus, such promotion or emphasis on specific sites can affect governmental attitudes towards archaeological studies and cultural heritage sites, and demands can be made on giving priorities and providing funds to research, document, conserve, and exhibit specific heritage sites.[331] The most visited sites, that also provided 50% of tourism revenues over the last ten years, are: Ephesus, Hierapolis and Cappadocia, as archaeological sites, the Topkapı Palace, the Church of St. Sophia, and the Mevlana Museum in Konya (this according to the statistical

[326] Eldem 2013, 69.
[327] For archaeological studies dealing with the past, but in terms of today, see Hodder 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1992, 7, 27, 243; Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, 42. Eldem (2013, 19), defines archaeology as a tool for the needs of today, in terms of being seen and visited.
[328] For tourism motives, see Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009, 7-10; for the political use of the past, see Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, 44-46.
[329] For an economic modelling of the use of cultural heritage sites based on visitor numbers, see Koboldt 1997, 58-65; and Peacock 1995, 201 for the relation between the preservation of the past and visitors who pay to see the remains and representations of the past.
[330] For statistical data for tourism revenues related to visitor numbers in Granada, see Viu, Fernández and Caralt 2008, 362; Eldem 2013, 70.
[331] Boniface (2003, 28-29) examines the representation of cultural heritage sites, including political and economic motives, from the perspective of 'the presenter' (2003, 28-29). See also Eldem 2013, 70 for interpretations specific to Turkey.

data from 2013, and unchanged in 2017).[332] When it comes to the economic reflection of cultural heritage sites, increases or decreases in the number of visitors directly affect the country's tourism revenues. However, rises in the number of visitors inevitably drive economic expectations.[333] Analysis of visitor profiles is crucial to our understanding of why people visit, and whether these reasons are related to aspects of historical, cultural, religious or ideological factors. Through such analysis, it is possible to distinguish dedicated visitors to cultural heritage sites or those seeking out celebrated sites that are advertised or suggested. The aim of investment in archaeological areas or museums, including conservation, representation and exhibition of the material culture of previous civilizations, is to provide economic benefits in the long term. Thus the decision-makers, or responsible agencies and institutes, need to consider visitor expectations and reasons for visiting as well. There are different classifications of visitor profiles, based on those who visit for cultural purposes, and, basically, five different groups can be mentioned:[334]

- Visitors who have a determined purpose; they know what they want to see and learn.
- Visitors who are happy to see the general setting, without particular purpose or expectation.
- 'Explorers' who develop their interests during visits.
- Visitors with limited interests in cultural heritage sites, result in few and short visits.
- Random visitors.

A further scholar proposes three different groups: highly motivated experts; highly motivated but not focused on particular sites; and those who visit sites if they notice any particular attraction point.[335] The last group is the most common of the three:

[332] Eldem 2013, 70; see also URL-22 (retrieved 27.11.2020).
[333] Koboldt 1997, 58-65; Eldem, 2013, 70.
[334] McKercher and Du Cros 2002, 144. See also Boniface 2003, 17-19; Su, Bramwell and Whalley 2018, 33, for other interpretations of relations/interactions between visitors and cultural heritage sites.
[335] See the booklet by Du Cluzeau 2000, see also Öter and Özdoğan 2005, 127-138.

informed visitors know where to go and what to see. However, their numbers are limited, but the rest tends to visit archaeological remains of buildings of classical date, which are more attractive in terms of scale and architectural characteristics.[336] Another opinion suggests that site visits can be motivated by a desire to discover an 'alien culture', representing 'differentness'.[337] Thus representation strategies or conservation priorities may be affected by economic concerns to increase the number of visitors. Furthermore, the number of visitors to museums is lower than in archaeological areas and cities, even though they belong to the same period or city.[338] Actually, museums are more comfortable environments in which to wander, present targeted information, and most have different departments and spaces. At this point, it is understood and noted that *in situ* experience and interaction with cultural heritage sites or artifacts is preferable to the museum experience.

Furthermore, attendances in museums also differ, as do expectations at archaeological sites. Clearly visitors prefer some museums rather than others, even they are in the same city or located very close. For instance, almost 2,000,000 visitors came to the Topkapı Palace Museum and the St. Sophia Museum in 2017. However, the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, which is quite close to these two other museums, had around 300,000.[339] Similarly, the Acropolis Museum in Athens had 1.5 million visitors in 2019, while the Byzantine and Christian Museum had less than 200,000.[340] According to these data, describing with confidence attitudes towards specific periods is not possible, but heritage sites and museums linked to (more) adopted periods had the highest numbers, or at least were first in the attendance tables. However, these data about visitor numbers, which are also reference points for tourism revenues, explain the extensive maintenance of the Church of St. Sophia, while the Church of Polyeuktos is totally neglected. Obviously, national and

[336] Serin 2008, 218-219.
[337] Boniface 2003, 5.
[338] Eldem 2013, 70; Öter and Özdoğan 2005, 127-138.
[339] URL-23 (retrieved 20.02.2020)
[340] URL-24, URL-25 (retrieved 20.02.2020)

international visitors and their preferences also differ. The domestic tourists in Turkey respect the Ottoman past and relics indicating Islamic identity, and they are willing to visit these places. However, there are more international tourists coming to Turkey to visit archaeological areas linked to Prehistoric, Hellenistic and the Roman era, as well as Byzantine churches, especially St. Sophia or Chora, due to their importance to Christianity and also their architectural significance.

Considering Byzantine cultural heritage in this context, there are different perspectives in terms of representing cultural tourism attractions and for providing economic benefits. Admittedly, St. Sophia occupies a unique position among the Byzantine structures of not only Constantinople but of the whole country. Current physical conditions and the state of preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage should be examined to analyze the possibilities of its economic contribution. Unfortunately, cultural property from the Byzantine period (324 CE-1453 CE) was mostly abandoned, except for the monumental structures and transformed churches. Obviously, Byzantine cultural heritage within urban settlements is an indicator as to how the monumental structures were transformed. In that sense, they are luckier than the Byzantine structures in rural settlements and archaeological areas. Being located within the urban fabric offer particular potential for being noticed, yet it can also be a threat because of the contemporary needs of cities and urban growth. Historic areas or buildings can be first in line for demolition when a city needs to expand, especially if they cannot be re-used according to the current needs of the city. As underlined above, the Byzantine cultural heritage has been exposed to neglect, or was renounced as cities changed.[341] Current ideologies and conservation policies, therefore, are not

[341] There are several examples of demolition and neglect of Byzantine remains during applications of new urban planning since the Ottoman period. One of the earliest examples is to the seawalls between Sirkeci and Yedikule. During the construction of the railway, starting from Sirkeci, parts of the Byzantine city walls were demolished in the 19th century (Tozoğlu 2017, 1-24). Another example is the Polyeuktos Church at Saraçhane. In the scope of the new urban planning of İstanbul, new boulevards were constructed on the historic peninsula and Beyoğlu: the Ataturk Boulevard was driven through the Polyeuktos Church, which was already in ruins. The remains of the church are still there and some of its remains can be seen embedded within the concrete walls on the north part of the boulevard. Istanbul is not the only victim of such works, the Byzantine structures in Ankara also suffered from the urbanization process: i.e. St. Clement's Church (Serin 2014, 65-92).

the only reasons; most of the Byzantine buildings have been neglected for centuries, so, probably, it seemed logical on economic grounds to destroy those remains that cannot be maintained or preserved properly. After the Byzantine Empire collapsed, most of the churches in a good state of preservation were transformed into mosques or, more recently, museums. However, palaces and the residential fabric disappeared due to lack of use – they could not be transformed according to changing culture and daily life in cities. In rural areas or archaeological areas, there are other threats, problems, and financial restrictions affecting conservation processes related to Byzantine cultural heritage.



Figure 2.6. Istanbul, Yenikapı, the model in the Yenikapı Marmaray Station, representing the layers of the Theodosius Harbor, 2017.

As well as rural areas, today Byzantine cultural heritage is still at risk in cities. A very recent example is the Yenikapı subway station – known as the Theodosian Harbor in the Byzantine period. National and international companies worked together to complete the construction of the station. However, unsurprisingly, the remains of ancient harbor slowed down the construction process. There were many wrecked

ships, harbor walls, and even a small chapel below ground, all discovered during construction work. These remains were documented and replaced, but some were neglected. However, the architectural remains of the Byzantine harbor have been given no more than a limited exhibition space, which is far from adequate (Fig. 2.6). Presumably, economic factors to do with a functioning station had a bearing on this, resulting in a limited presentation of these revealing features of the past.

Economic factors, which include the investment costs for conservation, as well as benefits and maintenance costs of cultural heritage sites after the conservation process, are fundamental in leading the lifecycle of cultural heritage projects. This is valid for all types of cultural heritage no matter what civilization to which it refers. However, together with other factors, it seems that Byzantine cultural heritage has to merit any investment and justify itself, facing any negative propaganda; it has to justify whether it is worth its cost and if it promises any kind of future revenues and profits.

2.3.5 Current Approaches and the Role of the Mass Media

In the context of the discussion on the exclusion or neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey, based on historical, ethnic, socio-cultural, religious, educational, and economic factors, the role of media has to be examined to understand the current approaches towards Byzantium and its heritage. This can be looked at in three different parts:

- Byzantium in the cinema
- Byzantium in literature
- Discourses of politicians or public figures and media coverage

In relation to film and literature, before assessing the presentation of the Byzantine Empire, one needs to refer to the way the Roman Empire is viewed. The Roman Empire, of course, has been the subject of countless films, documentaries and other treatments on account of its vast historical significance: history, architecture,

urbanization, social structure, conflicts, cultures, etc.[342] Obviously, films serve to reflect the interpretation of particular events or individuals, and use the visual attraction of Roman buildings and city backdrops and landscapes. The Roman Empire and topics relating to it are still subjects of great interests for stage and screen. In contrast, the Byzantine Empire has never had quite the same appeal as the western Roman Empire.[343] Giovanni Scognamillo writes that the Byzantine Empire was first treated by cinema in France, with the film *L'agonie de Byzance* of 1913. It focuses in the main on the misfortunes that befell the Byzantine Empire and does not underline Byzantium's glorious history.[344] At this point, the understanding and representation of the Byzantine Empire in Europe is also related to the analyses of the attitudes towards Byzantium in cinema. When examining the representation of the Byzantine Empire in Turkish cinema, we can see that corruption, moral decay, conspiracies and intrigues are strongly underlined, whereas, in contrast, Turkish heroism and nationalism are promoted.[345] The Byzantine Empire is mostly represented as the broken, dishonored, tyrannical and wild. In addition, the emperors of the Byzantine Empire are represented as cruel intriguers, unfit to rule, while the Byzantine people are unhappy and disillusioned with the prevailing emperor and status quo. At this point, the Turks arrive as heroes to save the Byzantines and right all the wrongs of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium is portrayed as the enemy of the Turks, and the wars and conflicts are always highlighted between these two sets of protagonists. Beyond the representation of Byzantium as a tyrant state, in films of the 1950s and 1960s, Turks are depicted as a poor, peasant class, much oppressed,

[342] For cinema, e.g..: *Julius Caesar* (1953, Joseph L. Mankiewicz), *Ben-Hur* (1959, Lewis Wallace; 2016, William Wyler), *Spartacus* (1960, Stanley Kubrick), *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964, Anthony Mann), *Gladiator* (2000, Ridley Scott), *Rome: Engineering an Empire* (2005, Christopher Cassel); *Pompeii* (2014, Paul W. S. Anderson). For TV series, i.e.: *Rome* (2005-2007); *Rome: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (2008), *Spartacus* (2010-2013), *Roman Empire Reign of Blood* (2016-2018).

[343] For the (limited) examples of international productions based on the Byzantine Empire, see, for example, *Theodora* (1921, Leopoldo Carlucci), *Byzance* (1964, Maurica Pialat), *The Last Roman* (1968, Robert Siodmak), *Rise of Empires: Ottoman* (2020).

[344] Scognamillo 1998, 155.

[345] Scognamillo 1998, 155, 158; Kitapçı Bayrı 2013, 78-79.

in contrast to the wealthy and heartless Byzantine citizens;[346] they are, of course, never an honorable enemy, but always conspiring and intriguing, and represented as dominant, if not evil, characters. Another factor stressed is the Christian identity of the Byzantines and religious differences are emphasized to strengthen the hostility between Byzantine and Turk. As examined here in section 2.3.2, 'Ethnic, Socio-cultural and Religious Factors', underlining religious identity is transformed into religious abuse throughout the media.[347] There are many instances in films of deviation from historical facts and period contexts, i.e. soldiers are shown in white tunics with red crosses – not Orthodox Byzantine soldiers, but crusaders and doing disservice alike to Byzantine soldiers, crusaders, members of religious tariqa, and Roman Catholics.[348]



Figure 2.7. Left: *Kahpe Bizans*, 2000; Right: *Bizans Oyunları: Geym of Bizans*, 2016.

[346] For cinema: *İstanbul'un Fethi* (1951, Aydın Arakon); *Karaoğlan: Bizanslı Zorba* (1967, Suat Yalaz); *Bizans'ı Titreten Yiğit* (1967, Atilla Arcan); Battal Gazi Destanı (1971, Atıf Yılmaz); *Fatih'in Fedaisi Kara Murat* (1972, Natuk Baytan); *Battal Gazi'nin Oğlu* (1974, Natuk Baytan).
[347] The discussion so far is based on the personal observation and interpretation of cinema and the previous studies of some scholars. See Scognamillo 1998, 155-158; Kitapçı Bayrı, 2013, 78-81.
[348] Scognamillo 1998, 157; Kitapçı Bayrı 2013, 80.

All these attitudes observed in the representation of Byzantium can be considered as 'othering' of the Byzantine Empire and its culture. Examining more recent films produced in Turkey reveals that current attitudes are still anti-Byzantium and based on subjective criticism. A well-known example is *Kahpe Bizans* – an unflattering name for Byzantium (Fig. 2.7). [349] Considering the meaning and connotations of the film's name of the film, it triggers a negative bias towards the Byzantine Empire and its culture. Although a comedy, it is not hard to see that the choice of names and representation of the Byzantine characters in the film might generate negative perceptions of Byzantium. Another film representing the Byzantine Empire is *Bizans Oyunları: Geym of Bizans*, the title also referring indirectly to Byzantine intrigue (Fig. 2.7). [350] In both films, the Byzantine Empire is represented, both state and society, as corrupt and risible.

Beyond these two comedy films, there is an important production on the conquest of Constantinople – *Fetih* 1453.[351] In contrast to the two comedies just referred to, *Fetih* 1453 deals with real historical facts and characters, with the city of Constantinople shown in a 3D-reconstruction of the Late Antique city.[352] In the film, the hippodrome is still active, and the emperor lives in the Great Palace. However, when the city of Constantinople was conquered, the ruling dynasty living at the time in Blachernae Palace, and the city was not as magnificent as represented. However, the spiritual tone, the religious motivation of the Sultan and the city's inhabitants, the skills and intellect of Mehmet the Conqueror, are strongly emphasized. Nevertheless, the

[349] *Kahpe* is an argot word which has different meanings, but here it means 'treacherous'. This adjective is used to underline conspiracy, betrayal, and intrigue in the Byzantine Empire. *Kahpe Bizans* was first screened in 2000, directed by Gani Müjde. At this point, a video game entitled *Byzantine: The Betrayal* can be referenced, produced for Microsoft in 1997. The emphasis on 'betrayal' in terms of Byzantium is a negative one and its connotations are also unwelcome. It seems clear that the Byzantine Empire, and its legacy, are negatively assessed and unbalanced in the eyes of the mass media, almost 500 years after its collapse.

[350] *Bizans Oyunları: Geym of Bizans* was first screened in 2016, again directed by Gani Müjde.

[351] *Fetih* 1453 was released in 2012, directed by Faruk Aksoy.

[352] Kitapçı Bayrı (2013, 81) notes the high production values of the film, and also refers to the inaccurate information on, and representations of, Byzantium and Constantinople, particularly its digital reconstruction of 15th-century Medieval Byzantium.

Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449-1453), and the senate as represented as having to rely on assistance from Catholic Rome to avoid the Ottoman conquest. In addition, the Byzantine rulers appear arrogant and incapable of fighting the siege; they appeal for Latin aid and conspire to enlist Prince Orhan against Mehmet. Ultimately, the film may be said also to reflect the nationalist and Islamic ideologies of the Ottoman Empire and Turks by humiliating the Byzantines. The same attitude can be observed in the TV series *Mehmed: Bir Cihan Fatihi.*[353] High production values were employed for this series but it cannot be said to have been a critical success. The main aim was to glorify the Ottoman Empire and Mehmet II, with the Byzantine Empire being made to look weak and corrupt. In all productions, naturally enough, tensions between Christians and Muslims are emphasized, but in these instances Turks and Muslims are represented as superior, more tolerant, and, on the whole, more admirable as characters.[354] These films have a subjective viewpoint in terms of the representation of the Byzantine Empire and are problematic, as cultural media products, such as films, books, etc., have a significant impact and audience profiles are varied. It is not possible to control understanding of represented history, culture, and ideology, as it changes according to the ethnic, religious, and cultural background of the audience, as well as to political or social ideology. Thus, it is easy to manipulate society by using these media tools. Here mention must be made of recent Netflix series *Rise of Empires: Ottoman*. This production differs from the others, it is more in the manner of a documentary, including many international and native scholars whose fields are Ottoman or Byzantine studies. Its significance is that it can be seen as an attempt at an objective interpretation of the Byzantine Empire, the Emperor Constantine XI and the war between the Byzantines and Ottomans. The episode underlines that the Byzantine Empire is heir to the Roman Empire and they defended their legacy against the

[353] *Mehmet: Bir Cihan Fatihi*, March-May 2018, 6 episodes, director Cevdet Mercan.

[354] The interpretation of the production was based on a personal interpretation from an academic perspective. Kitapçı Bayrı (2013, 81-82) has published an extensive review of *Fetih 1453*, writing that the film reflects the new ideology of 'Ottomanism'.

Ottoman army. Thus, after many productions denigrating the Byzantine Empire and its society, and misleading audiences with unclear historical information, a program based on scientific researches and interpretations by experts is encouraging in terms of a more objective and comprehensive representation of the Byzantine Empire.

Buket Kitapçı Bayrı examined the background to representations of Byzantium in Turkish cinema between the 1950s and 1980s, and she writes that it was affected by military, political, and economic factors within the country.[355] In fact, it is still today possible to claim that the Byzantine legacy and cultural heritage are also affected by political conjecture. The status quo, it seems, has hardly changed and this can be addressed now.

Given the literature on the Byzantine Empire and its history, Kitapçı Bayrı examines the epics of Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu entitled *Battal Gazi Destanı.* These were adapted into films, promoting Turkish ethnicity, Islam, and the heroic stories of Battal Gazi against the Byzantine Empire and its soldiers.[356] Obviously, the Byzantine Empire was corrupt, and the moral decay and tyrannies of the empire were underlined[357]. Representations, however, are not all like this; there are well-known writers in Turkey who use the Byzantine Empire, its history, buildings and myths in their novels, for example Ahmet Ümit and Zülfü Livaneli. *İstanbul Hatırası*, by Ahmet Ümit, is a remarkable detective novel,[358] with each chapter beginning with a short story about a particular place and a significant person in the history of Istanbul, with these short stories providing the clues to the fictionalized crimes and events taking place in the city. In the book, the Byzantine past of Istanbul is an extended period, and four chapters start with a clue related to the Byzantine Empire,[359]

[355] Kitapçı Bayrı 2013, 80.
[356] Kitapçı Bayrı 2013, 78-80. *Battal Gazi Destanı* was also published in a comic book version.
[357] Kitapçı Bayrı (2013, 79) claims that Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu was influenced by C. Diehl, A. Rambaudor Aşıkpaşazade, and their depictions of the Byzantine Empire and reasons for negative interpretations in epics is based on this fact.
[358] Ümit 2010. İstanbul Hatırası was also published in English, 'A Memento for İstanbul'.
[359] Chapter 1: Sarayburnu, King Byzas; Chapter 2: Çemberlitaş, also known as the column of Constantine I; Chapter 3: The Golden Gate: Theodosius II; Chapter 4: St. Sophia: Justinian I.

beginning with the king Byzas and ending with the architect Sinan. In the denouement, the detectives reach the sculpture of Atatürk in the Fatih district. The book is valuable in terms of triggering the curiosity of readers about the Byzantine Empire, its buildings, and the significant events in the Byzantine past, based on objective historical information.

Another example is *Konstantiniyye Oteli*, by Zülfü Livaneli.[360] This tells the story of the Nika Riots during the reign of Justinian I (527-565 CE), and the story of the Emperor and Empress Theodora integrated with the story of the main character and place of the novel. The references to the Byzantine past of present-day places offer a fresh perspective in terms understanding Byzantium from the point of view of a local victim of these notorious riots.

It is clear that the written media and other sources – fiction, documentary, and factual – are all important in helping to bring events before a broad range of audiences. For this reason, representations of Byzantium are central to any learning and understanding of the Byzantine Empire.

The final part of the discussion on factors influencing approaches towards Byzantium and its heritage is based on the discourses or strategies of politicians and public figures to do with the Byzantine Empire and its legacy. These can reach a broad audience and spread quickly through social media tools on the Internet. We know that a single post on social media can turn into a phenomenon – posted by anyone – so impact areas expand now with more extensive developments of communication. Of course, politicians can affect conservation and representation strategies; they can even be the decision makers behind conservation processes or applications. Thus, they can both influence the understanding and adoption, or exclusion, of Byzantine culture and its heritage.

When examining the Turkish media and the posts in social media tools, the understanding of the Byzantine Empire and its culture is generally negative,

[360] Livaneli 2015.

corrupted, or in some way insulting. The actors behind these biases are from different professions or ideological groups. However, interestingly, when some event or individual faces derision or criticism, this is often linked to being a 'Byzantine' or a supporter of the Byzantine legacy (Fig. 2.8). This attitude should be examined in a detailed manner, as the visual, written, or social media may drive public thinking or behaviors and create public opinion for a particular ideology very easily by using these tools.

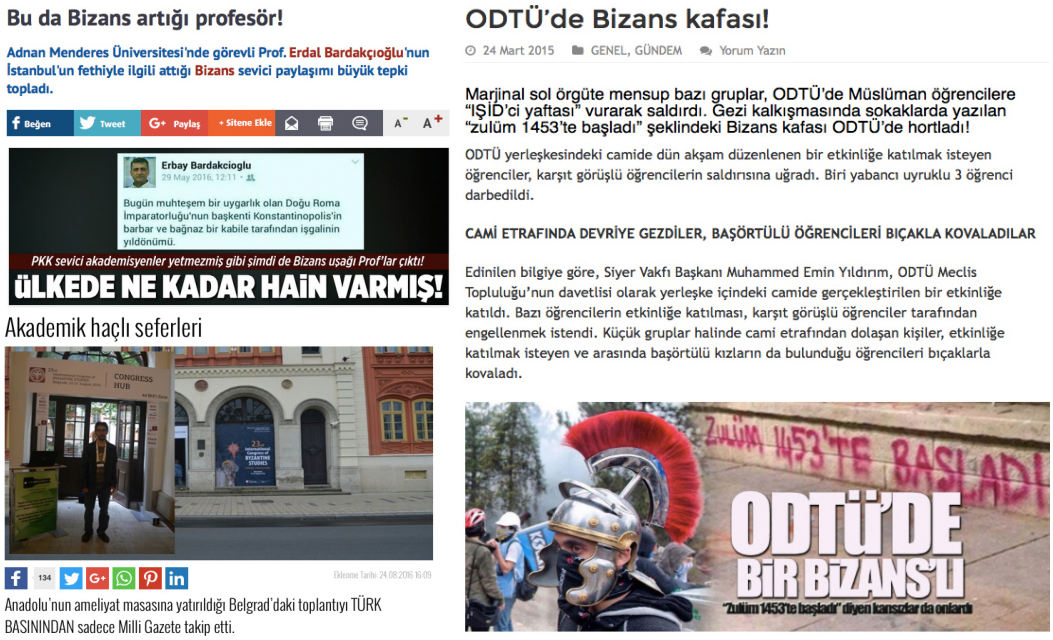

Figure 2.8. The understanding of Byzantium in Turkish media through several examples.[361]

As exemplified in the figure above, the genre of the representation of Byzantium in Turkish media is not welcoming. Anything related to Byzantium evokes negative feelings or is considered a threat to Turkish society. Under these circumstances, the attitudes towards the Byzantine past or its heritage cannot be expected to progress positively. When something is declared as a dangerous, undesirable, or to be

[361] Above left: The professor who 'tweeted' about the conquest of Constantinople by blaming the Ottoman Empire and praising the Eastern Roman Empire. He was labelled as the 'professor who is a Byzantine remnant!'. Bottom left: The academics who attended the Byzantine Congress in Belgrade are styled 'Crusaders', and the event as 'The Academic Crusades'. Right: An activist student is referred to as 'a Byzantine in METU'. See URL-26, URL-27, URL-28 (retrieved 12.02.2018)

excluded, using the term ‘Byzantine’ is an intended strategy to create negative public opinion. However, the selection of the word ‘Byzantine’ is not a coincidence in Turkey to discredit a person, an event, or an ideology. If something or somebody is called ‘Byzantine’, there will be an expected public reaction; and exposed to this kind of attitude, the scorning of Byzantium may result in the further neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage and lack of respect by the public.

Nevertheless, while there is an apparent negative representation of Byzantium in the media, neglect of Byzantine structures, or improper interventions, is criticized in the visual and social media and national press. What results is an apparent two-faced attitude, with inconsistent complaints about lack of interest in or the maintenance of Byzantine structures.

What, then, is the real attitude towards Byzantium? Despite this dilemma, how can respect for the Byzantine Empire and its heritage be expected as well as appropriation and preservation? Given the previous discussions in this section about the exclusion of the Byzantine Empire and its heritage, it becomes easier to understand and evaluate the ideological background of these hostile attitudes.

The discourses and slogans of politicians, leaders, and directors in governmental institutions can affect public opinion and lead to mass actions as they are the leaders and role models of specific areas of society; their words and deeds are supported and inevitably create opposing arguments. Particularly with regard to the Byzantine Empire, its culture, legacy and heritage, those politicians supporting Nationalist or Islamic ideologies can use Turkey’s Byzantine past, specifically in İstanbul, as election strategies. For example, considering the recent local elections in Turkey, there were two assertive candidates from two parties, one a social democrat (CHP), the other adopting the main political ideology (AKP). During the campaigns before

the mayoral elections held on 23 June 2019, the president of Turkey, who is also leader of AKP, said in the events of the celebration of the conquest of Istanbul:[363]

> However, I have a request for you. It is Istanbul, not Constantinople. Some want to see Istanbul as Constantinople. We have 22 days against those who want to see it like this. We have to reach all our brothers and sisters day-and-night to show them exactly where this place came from after 22 days. We need to tell them the truth.

This was 22 days before the mayoral elections, and implied in this statement is that voters supporting the CHP candidate want to see Istanbul as Constantinople, the city of the Byzantines.[364]

In the 1994 local elections, *Refah Partisi* (the Welfare Party) conducted its election strategy linked to the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul and the resurrection of the Ottoman spirit in the city.[366] The slogans and promises at the time highlighted this second conquest of Istanbul, and were firmly against the Byzantine legacy in the city.[367] Ayfer Bartu notes the Welfare Party spokesperson declaring that 'We do not want a Byzantine Istanbul!' and also their intention to demolish the city walls of Istanbul,[368] Similarly, Tanıl Bora cites from the general secretary of the Welfare Party, who emphasized the anti-propaganda of Byzantium and its monuments: "Those Istanbul walls that are intact should be protected, but the ones that are lying as rubble should be cleared away." Tanıl Bora continues*:* "The mayor added that those who disagreed with this statement were "on the side of enemy" and that to defend the walls was as "to defend Byzance. We do not want an Istanbul in Byzantine appearance".[369]

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[363] See the original text: "*Fakat benim sizden istirhamım var. Burası İstanbul, burası Konstantinopol değil, burayı böyle görmek isteyenler var. Böyle görmek isteyenlere karşı 22 günümüz var. 22 gün sonra burasının nereden nereye geldiğini ortaya tam manasıyla koymak için gece demeden gündüz demeden, tüm kardeşlerimize ulaşmamız lazım. Onlara bu gerçeği anlatmamız lazım*." For the whole version, see URL-29 (retrieved 17.07.2019).

[364] The president of Turkey said "I want you to slap these Byzantine leftovers harshly, who want to turn İstanbul into Constantinople!"

[366] Bartu 1999, 41-42; Bora 1999, 48-49.

[367] Bartu 1999, 41-42; Kitapçı Bayrı 2013, 82. See also Çakır 1994, 188-189.

[368] Bartu 1999, 42. Duru (1999, 367) also defines the request to demolish the walls instead of preserving them as the illiteracy of the mayor.

[369] Bora 1999, 50.

These are just a few of many similar, however, the critical thing is there are supporters of these political figures who adopt these ideologies as theirs. It is important, therefore, to consider the influence of these kinds of attitudes towards Byzantium and how they affect the understanding, adoption, and conservation of the Byzantine cultural heritage, not only in Istanbul but and also Turkey more widely.

Recently, the museum status of the Church of St. Sophia has changed into a mosque again, as it was during the Ottoman period. Thus discourses on this conversion are based on anti-Byzantium attitudes and the revival of the spirit of the 'conquest' in 1453. There are many offensive posts and news against the legacy of Byzantium in social and mass media in Turkey. A group of people even considers that the Church of St. Sophia's being a mosque again now removes the curse of Mehmet II based on the deed of trust of his pious foundation (*Fatih Vakfiyesi*). The arguments of the politicians and decision-makers of the government support such hostile attitudes towards the Byzantine legacy. All this serves to indicate how negative attitudes towards Byzantium, and discussions about how Byzantine cultural heritage sites are assessed, interpreted and preserved, are repeated over different decades.

To sum up, there is a visible reaction and negative understanding of the Byzantine period and its culture in Turkey. Content relating to the representation of the Byzantine Empire in different media can change, however, films about Byzantium, or including the Byzantine period, still criticize and denigrate Byzantine culture and heritage. The Byzantine Empire is pointed to as a target. The details linked to the representation of Byzantium are mostly weak as regards the architecture, culture, intellectual background, and even costumes and appearance.[370]

Furthermore, in contrast to the epics of Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, historical and detective novels do emphasize the Byzantine Empire, its history, culture, and buildings. Offering an objective point of view in the visual or written media on Byzantine culture can help prevent many prejudices. It is neither possible, nor ethical,

[370] Scognamillo (1998, 155-156) states that the Byzantine Empire was just included as 'décor', and 'target' through a chauvinist approach.

to try and control or intervene in the social media posts of individuals; everyone using social media platforms is free to express personal ideas, thoughts and ideologies. However, the important thing is not to trigger hostility and ill-feeling towards Byzantium (or toward any particular culture and civilization) and to avoid 'othering' of the Byzantine culture and heritage through cinema, books, news, and political strategies. It should not be forgotten that the Byzantine Empire, or any of its former citizens, do not exist: Byzantines and Turks lived together for centuries and learned from each other. Byzantine culture is a part of Turkish or Ottoman culture, and it is ultimately beneficial to no one to treat the Byzantine Empire as an 'enemy', and instead attitudes should reflect appreciation, adoption and valorization, and preservation. The influence of the media and, the statements of decision-makers, are understandable for their clear tendencies towards the exclusion or neglect of the Byzantine Empire and its heritage, as well as for their fostering of negative understanding in public opinion.

2.4 Summary Assessment and Main Considerations

After a comprehensive discussion about the attitudes towards Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey, there are several concepts, approaches, and factors arrived at which influence the understanding, conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. These considerations are summarized and classified below:

- The impact of politics and ideologies: from nationalist to Islamic approaches
- The impact and contribution of laws, regulations and international documents
- The policies affecting urban and rural areas
- The tensions between urbanization and cultural heritage sites
- Differences in cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds affecting the adoption of Byzantium and its heritage
- Economic expectations and cultural tourism; the transformation of Byzantine structures

- The role of archaeology and archaeological researches related to Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage
- The factors affecting the understanding and representation of Byzantium

In this section, these considerations will be summarized, together with the diagrams that posit critical concepts, approaches and thresholds. These diagrams are the summary of the factors discussed in this chapter in terms of methodology, attitudes, and inputs of the decision-making process in conservation and understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. Different factors are now coming to the forefront, with some interrelated or triggering others. Admittedly, there are some intersections of these factors that provide more precise determinations for the analysis of current conditions, conservation, and representation strategies for the Byzantine cultural heritage from a critical perspective.

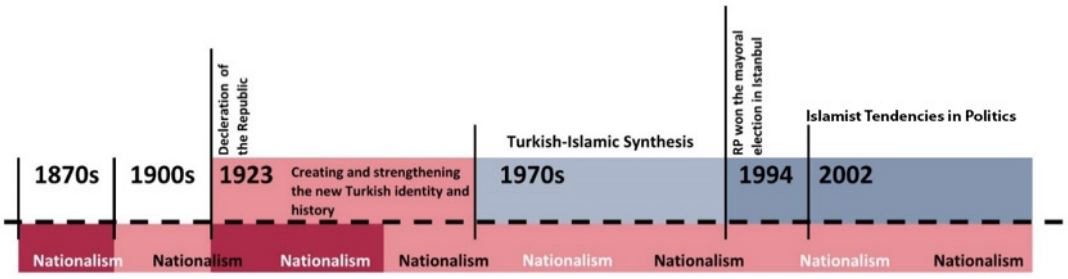

Figure 2.9. Graphic expressing the political regimes and ideologies dominating Turkey.[374]

The first has to do with the impact of ideology and politics on cultural heritage sites, particularly those dated to the Byzantine era (Fig. 2.9). Examining the history of Turkey since the establishment of the Republic, nationalism has had a significant role in political strategies.[375] In the following decades, Islamic ideology arose first as the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.[376]Following that, those political parties adopting Islamic ideology took control in the municipalities and governments.[377]

[374] This graphic is prepared based on the discussions above, pp. 73-74, 119-120.
[375] See above, pp. 66-70.
[376] See above, p. 72 and n. 139.
[377] See Bartu 1999, 41-42 and Bora 1999, 48-49, 51 for their election strategies and discourses about Ottoman and Byzantine pasts and remains. There are many publications on the political dimension of Islam, and the political parties adopted this ideology; but in the context of this study, the following

Examining the general politics after the declaration of the Republic, the emphasis on national identity was clear. The creation of the new state demands a strong national identity, which is fed from Anatolia's past. As a result, this nationalist approach was adopted by governmental organizations to underline the Turkish state and identity in urban politics, educational politics, or archaeological studies, which are highly active in terms of any understanding and preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey[378]. The impact of the dominance of nationalist ideologies in education may appear in the long-term outcomes, as students who are taught according to the curricula determined under nationalist or religious backgrounds will be the researchers, scientists, decision-makers or managers of the very diverse spectrum of governmental/non-governmental organizations that have to deal with cities, architecture, planning, conservation of cultural heritage, and archaeology. Furthermore, proper implementation and regulation form part of the politics related to ideologies, as well as the national level political situation. More broadly, too, the impact of international agreements, principles, and charters must be taken into account in terms of conservation laws and implementations in Turkey. When reviewing the past, development of awareness to do with cultural property and the need to preserve it date back to the late Ottoman period. Following that, the laws, regulations, definitions, and principles of conservation and presentation have been defined in national and international documents. The development of the various laws regarding conservation of cultural heritage sites, and the laws affecting them, are shown in Figure 2.10, together with the first international documents and the more significant charters with a bearing on this study.

sources provide further information about politicized Islam in Turkey, the rise of Islamist parties such as *Refah Partisi* and *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, and the concepts they adopted, see, for example, Çınar 1997, 23-40; Dağı 1998; Gülalp 1999, 22-41; Yavuz 1997, 63-82; Yıldızoğlu 2015.

[378] See above, pp. 66-70.

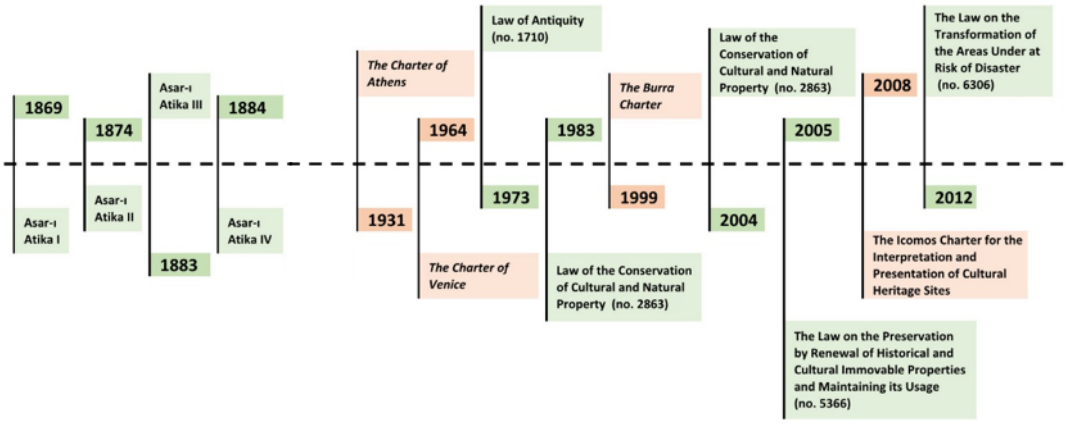

Figure 2.10. Development of the Turkish legal regulations regarding the conservation of cultural heritage, and the international charters affecting them

The conservation laws issued since the late Ottoman times do not indicate the conservation approach or methodology in a detailed manner. They mostly clarify the definitions, organizational structures and procedure affecting the examination, conservation, and any interventions to cultural heritage sites. It is apparent that they do not include any terms such as 'Turkish heritage', 'Ottoman heritage', or 'Islamic heritage' within the law. Thus, the laws do not focus on any specific period or cultural heritage group; in other words, they were not issued for the conservation or sustainability of specific cultural heritage sites; this means that some strategies or priorities are considered while the decisions are taken. Nur Altınyıldız examined the conservation of cultural heritage problems specific to Turkey over periods of decades, referring to the changing policies in urbanization and conservation as well as the ruling governments. She discusses approaches towards Byzantine monuments, current physical conditions, interventions, and results. The same researcher also states that Byzantine cultural heritage was not considered as part of the 'national heritage', according to a report of the Conservation Committee of Monuments (*Anıtlar Koruma Komisyonu*) which indicates that:[379]

> According to the report of the Conservation Committee of Monuments, although Byzantine structures are not part of the national heritage of Turkey, the success of defeating the Byzantines become more valuable, and it contributes indirectly to the national pride considering the level of development of the Byzantine civilization.

[379] *Anıtlar Koruma Komisyonu*, Altınyıldız 1997, 46.

> Byzantine citadels, churches converted into mosques, aqueducts, cisterns, obelisks, etc., reveal that the Turks defeated very strong and powerful rivals who built each of these buildings as examples of their power and advances in civilization.[380]

While the conservation approaches and interventions were influenced by the nation-state ideology, and emphasizing Turkish identity in the early Republican period, the definition of nationality has changed since 1940. According to Altınyıldız, national architecture not only included cultural heritage sites built by the Turks, but also refers to the concepts of being 'local' and 'locality'. Thus, there was no discrimination in the analysis of cultural heritage sites as to whether their conservation was merited or not.[381] Monuments from the period of Mehmet II were to be conserved to glorify the victory of the Turks on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul in the 1950s, while, on the other hand, although the Byzantine Empire, and its legacy and material culture, were honored by the mayor, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, in the same period, there were no initiatives to conserve and feature Byzantine structures.[382]

These ideologies and policies have led to various implementations in terms of the preservation or destruction of cultural heritage sites located both in urban and rural settlements. These implementations may have been carried out on a legal basis, or use the lack of clarity on the limits and definitions of cultural heritage sites in the legal regulations. However, the importance of cultural heritage sites and the need to preserve them are essential to maintain links between the past and the present. The existence of cultural heritage sites, and the way the past is conserved, represented

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[380] Altınyıldız (1997, 46) looks at the period between 1923-1938. See the original source, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1935, 17. The original text is translated by the author, the original is: "*Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu'nun raporuna göre, Bizans yapıları ulusal mirasın parçası olmamakla birlikte, Bizans uygarlığının gelişmişliği, Türklerin onları yenerek elde ettikleri başarıyı daha değerli kılmakta ve ulusal gurura dolaylı da olsa katkıda bulunmaktadır. "Bizanstan kalma kaleler, kiliseden çevrilmiş camiler, su kemerleri, sarnıçlar, dikili taşlar v.s. bunların her birini yapan adamların medeniyette ilerleme kuvvetlerini gösterdiği gibi Türklerin bunları alt ederek yerlerini alabilmek için ne çetin savaşlara mecbur olduklarını ve onları nasıl yendiklerini anlatır.*"

[381] Altınyıldız 1997, 71.

[382] Altınyıldız (1997, 72, 73) discusses this contradiction, referring to the speeches of the mayor and Henri Prost. Prost (1948a, 112; Prost 1948b). states that Turkish buildings have priority, given the limited budget, and this seems reasonable to him.

and transferred is critical in terms of understanding how a nation approaches past civilizations and their heritage. Attitudes towards past cultures/heritage within present urban or rural communities may provide clues to current cultural identities and ideologies. Obviously, these attitudes, and the reasons for them, differ in urban and rural areas, as well as the threats and potential upsides that should be considered.

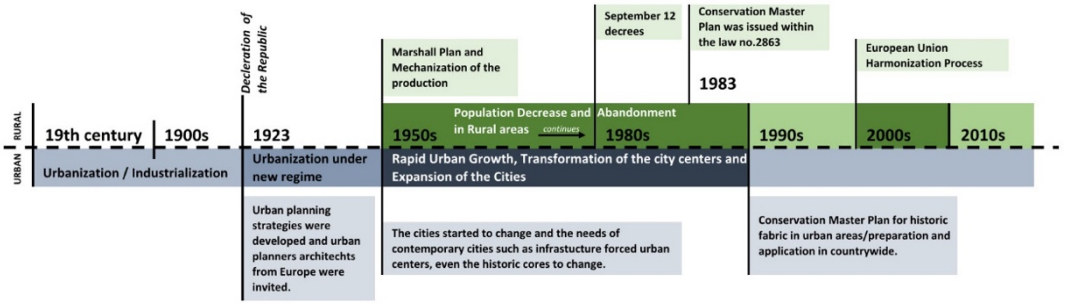


Figure 2.11. The thresholds affecting urban and rural areas in terms of urbanization, population, abandonment, and conservation. [383]

The destiny of a cultural heritage site is, unfortunately, related to the approach/ideology of decision-makers and responsible governmental organizations. Cultural heritage sites are real parts of cities and their roles within any planning strategies could be easily manipulated before Law no. 2863 was passed, stipulating that there must be a conservation master plan for those cities/city centers with cultural heritage sites.[384]

The policies, including planning, development, maintenance, and also conservation strategies of current or historic settlements, should be examined to reveal their effects on Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements. The prevailing and dominant ideology and political situation shape cities and rural areas and dictate how they are going to be transformed. Considering the main focus of this study, urbanization, policies affecting rural areas, and conservation strategies should be assessed together.

383

384 The conservation master plan was outlined first in Law no. 2863 (Article 17) and extended in 2004 within Law no. 5226.

After the declaration of the Republic, cities were replanned, reconstructed, or expanded, with planning proposals prepared by local or foreign urban planners and architects.[385] Thus, in that period, the cities were considered as representatives of a newly established Turkish Republic, worthy of regeneration or expansion.[386] These ideologies and approaches can be easily observed and exemplified through the urbanization and conservation history of Istanbul as the former capital, and Ankara as the new capital.

After almost the first 30 years following the declaration of the Republic, the rebuilding of cities in terms of the ideology of the government was continued in the following decades. One of the significant periods was the 1950s, when Adnan Menderes, who was prime minister in that period, conducted major activities in urbanization, especially in Istanbul[387]. Many scholars agree about the ideological and political backgrounds to these urbanization movements in the 1950s[388]. İpek Akpınar highlights the quotation of Adnan Menderes in her study to strengthen her claim on the nationalist ideology behind the urbanization movement in the 1950s. "Istanbul's reconstruction is the story of a triumph parade. We are, once more, going to conquer Istanbul." [389] Behind this ideological background and emphasis on Ottoman heritage, the general attitude has been to include the "beautification of the city, creation of modern system of roads for better traffic and restoration of the mosques".[390] However, many cultural heritage sites, including Ottoman heritage, have suffered from these urbanization activities.

[385] Bilsel (2011, 45-48; 2015, 496, 513-514); Akpınar 2014, 59-92; Altan, Akpınar and Kaya 2015, 558-560. For the Prost plan, see Bilsel 2015, 514-520; Gül 2015, 540-543.
[386] Akpınar, 2014, 59; Altan, Akpınar and Akay, 2015, 558.
[387] Akpınar (2010b; 2014, 59-92; 2015a, 56-84; 2015b; 85-90); Bilsel 2015, 523-524; Boysan 2004, 23-31; Ertem and Altunel 2011, 61-79; Gül (2015, 549-550; 2016, 98-100); Yavuz 1981, 25-26.
[388] Altınyıldız 1997, 85; Boysan (2004, 23-31; 2010, 81-82); Akpınar and Bilsel 2015, 523; Gül 2015, 549-550.
[389] Akpınar 2015a, 56. See also Altınyıldız 1997, 92.
[390] Akpınar (2015a, 56) refers to the speech of the prime minister, Adnan Menderes. Ertuğrul (2015, 484) also quotes this approach in his paper examining the restoration history of Istanbul; see also Bilsel 2015, 524; Gül 2015.

In fact, the approach was not entirely different than in the past. Cities, especially capitals, have always been representatives of state authority and also identity. In the past, when emperors took cities, construction/reconstruction was a policy adopted to transform the city to reflect the new rule and its culture, belief, and power. This attitude was also evident when rule changed to another emperor. There are many buildings or urbanization activities from the Byzantine and Ottoman periods that exemplify this emphasis on a new ruler in the city, and the desire to develop it.[398] However, this process inevitably included the demolition/destruction of existing structures in some cases. Notably, in the mid 20th century, cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Iznik were already multi-layered settlements, and contemporary urbanization posed threats to certain historical structures that could not be utilized according to the construction and conservation approaches of governmental authorities. The main concern is how the Byzantine structures were affected as well as many other heritgae sites from different periods by the policies in the 1950s. Beyond the priorities given to Ottoman structures and demolitions due to the constructions on an urban scale, there were simple repairs applied to some Byzantine structures, as the 1955 Byzantine Studies Congress was to be held in Istanbul.[399] Nur Altınyıldız defines these interventions as 'superficial', nevertheless some conservation of Byzantine structures continued after the congress.[400] However, the conservation needs of the city walls were debated over as they were not being utilized,[401]

[398] The Ottoman emperors and sultans commissioned the building of mosques with their names. One of the earliest examples is the Orhan Gazi Mosque (1331); the tradition continued in Istanbul after the Ottomans took the city. Imperial mosques were constructed in several places in the city, such as the Fatih Complex (1463-1470), the Süleymaniye Complex (1550-1557), and the Blue Mosque (1609-1620).
[399] Altınyıldız 1997, 93.
[400] Tamer 1995, 97; Altınyıldız (1997, 94) states that Emin Ali Çavlı, a writer who interested himself in history, claimed that Byzantine structures were considered more important than Turkish architectural works. According to Çavlı, the restorations of the Marble Tower and Yedikule were too expensive, and there were no financial resources for a Turkish mosque. However, this argument is debatable.
[401] Altınyıldız 1997, 94-95.

In the 1990s, the 're-conquest' of Istanbul became a slogan again during the local elections to revive the Ottoman spirit in the city.[402] These attitudes created again a sense of the 'other' in the city and revived the notion of vanished 'rivals', detracting from the Byzantine heritage. Ayfer Bartu underlines the discourses of the ruling party and their intentions to demolish the city walls of Istanbul.[403] Yet the central policy was not necessarily the overlooking and neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage in Istanbul, but, as underlined, the primary concern was a revival of Ottoman and Islamic identity of the city. Tanıl Bora explains this policy with a quotation from the mayor in 1994: "The walls are a historical presence; of course, we have to protect them. But we should first restore and bring light to Islamic monuments; only after that, will we repair the walls."[404]

Until the 2000s, the changing ideologies and political situation reflect on cultural heritage sites in terms of risks to them and/or their potential in a number of directions, according to the cultural origin of the sites. Nationalist or Islamist approaches underline Ottoman/Turkish identity and their structures, rather than Byzantine remains, in other words, the Christian heritage. In 2006, the conservation of cultural and historical values became prominent due to UNESCO statements on the risks to cultural heritage. Subsequently, there were several implementations to preserve and represent the past of Istanbul. Ünsal briefly summarizes these implementations in terms of the restoration of some of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman structures, under the slogan "*Medeniyetlerin Beşiği İstanbul*" (the Cradle of Civilizations), and the revival of examples of Turkish and Ottoman civil architecture in the urban space.[405] Ertuğrul lists the comprehensive and extensive conservation projects applied after 2002, which does include significant Ottoman and Byzantine structures, i.e. *külliye*, the Church of Sts. Sergius Bacchus (Küçük Ayasofya Cami), and the

[402] See above, pp. 70-71.
[403] Bartu 1999,42. Duru (1999, 367) also says the request to demolish the walls, instead of preserving them, was due to the illiteracy of the mayor.
[404] Bora (1999, 48-49, 51) also writes about the transformation of Istanbul into an 'Islamic city' after the elections.
[405] Ünsal 2011, 58; Ertuğrul 2016, 491.

Church of Chora (Kariye Müzesi).[406] It is uncertain whether the selection of the buildings was based on the Islamic ideology of the ruling party at the time. Many of the Byzantine structures were indeed in ruins and in need of conservation and better representation, as they still are. However, this does not necessarily mean that there was a specific attitude based on the deliberate exclusion and neglect of the heritage of the Byzantine Empire since the time of Turkey's Early Republican period. Clearly, nevertheless, Byzantine cultural heritage sites have not been a priority, with some exceptions.[407]

Moreover, there were sharp discourses and speeches by certain important politicians against the Byzantine Empire and the conservation of their heritage,[408] and these could have been directly responsible for the exclusion of the Byzantine heritage in extensive conservation strategies. However, the monumental structures that are in use, such as converted churches, are, at least, maintained and preserved. Furthermore, there have been partial interventions to the city walls of the Byzantine period in cities such as Ankara and Istanbul; and the remains of Tekfur Sarayı, thought to be part of the Palace of Blachernae, were restored and converted into a museum (Figs 2.12, 2.13). However, Tekfur Sarayı is a rather an unrepresentative example when discussing attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of its conservation and presentation, and the arguments over city walls will be examined in detail later.

[406] Ertuğrul 2016, 493.
[407] For the ideological, religious, and economic factors , see the examples discussed below, pp. 239-251.
[408] See above, pp. 136-139.



Figure 2.12. İstanbul, Tekfur Sarayı, a photograph from the 1940s (URL-30, retrieved 23.02.2020)



Figure 2.13. İstanbul, Tekfur Sarayı after restoration, 2020.

There are many diverse opinions by experts of cultural heritage, history of art, and architecture, about the conservation project of the Blachernae Palace, and the new function of this Byzantine structure is also open to discussion.[409] The refunctioning of a cultural heritage site as a museum can be looked on as positive in many cases.

[409] Many scholars, such as Ahunbay, Akyürek and Tanyeli, agree that restoration of the Palace of Blachernae was unsuccessful, based, among other things, on the use of unsuitable materials against the 'spirit of the place' and the period. For further information see URL-31, URL-32 (retrieved 17.11.2019)

However, the contents of the museum and its relationship to the historical and cultural contexts of the cultural heritage site should also be considered when deciding upon the new function and its content.

Examining the history of the palace, there is no certain information about its first construction, but it is thought that the palace was constructed between the 10th and 14th centuries due to its architectural and material characteristics.[410] It was renovated also in the 13th century during the Palaiologan period, together with the Palace of Blachernae. This building was used as an imperial residence.[411] After Constantinople was taken by the Ottomans, the palace fell into disuse, and in the 16th century this building was used as a shelter for animals. By the 18th century it was in use as a workshop for ceramics and glassworks until a fire in the 19th century; after that, only the glass workshop was in operation until the mid 20th century.[412] Today, the Palace of Blachernae is an exhibition space for ceramic tiles and glass, basically reflecting Ottoman culture and the building's function during the Ottoman period, with different media tools and exhibition materials (Fig 2.14). Thus, there is a cultural dilemma: a Byzantine structure is used as a museum, but representing another culture. However, also featured is a 3D model of the land walls and the nearby surroundings, including cultural heritage sites from different periods. This is the only feature related to the Byzantine cultural heritage inside the museum apart from the building itself (Fig 2.15). This approach can be interpreted as an example of the discriminative attitude towards Byzantine identity and the underlining of the dominance of Ottoman culture, rather than 'origin' and 'spirit' of place.

[410] Müller-Wiener 2001, 244.
[411] Müller-Wiener 2001, 244.
[412] Müller-Wiener 2001, 245-246.



Figure 2.14. İstanbul, Tekfur Sarayı and the exhibition of Ottoman-period tiles, and the digital and physical installations, 2020.

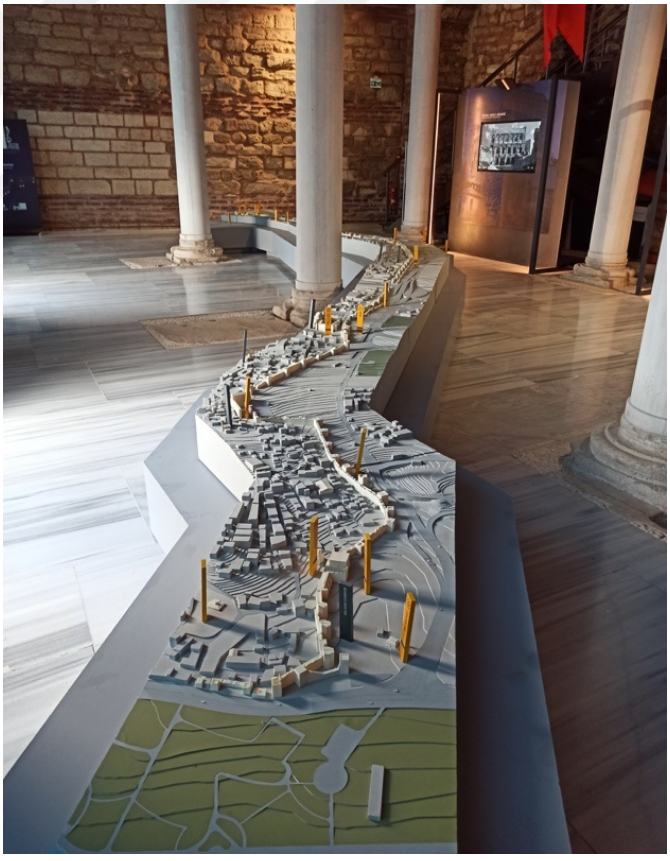


Figure 2.15. İstanbul, Tekfur Sarayı and its model of the Byzantine city walls and environs, 2020.

After a brief review of the impact of policies and ideologies exemplified in Istanbul as urban settlements and their effect on cultural heritage sites, the problems and potential of rural settlements and cultural heritage sites will be investigated. When examining rural settlements, obviously, their social, cultural, and economic dynamics will differ from those of urban settlements, and the reflection of these differences can be observed in the conservation of cultural heritage sites. As summarized in Figure 2.11, the populations of rural settlements started to decrease after the 1950s due to the industrialization and development of cities. The changing economic conditions in agriculture and the development of industries in city centers resulted in wholesale immigration from rural areas to cities[413]. The loss of these populations transformed rural settlements into desolate places; some used only seasonally, and others completely abandoned. The desolation of rural settlements and loss of their inhabitants brought risks and threats not only for the rural heritage, but also for those archaeological sites existing within, or near, rural settlements. These risks are exposure to natural difficulties, weather conditions, vandalism, negligence, or destruction. Besides, lack of public interest and awareness, loss of interest towards research, and survey about these archaeological sites can be considered secondary results of the desolation and abandonment of rural settlements.

The population of the cities is higher than the rural settlements and this can also be evaluated as the higher number of potential visitors or audiences of cultural heritage sites. In other words, the number of people who are exposed to cultural sites is greater than for rural settlements. Additionally, the motivations behind visits to Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural and urban settlements are also different. The main difference is that Byzantine buildings or remains in urban areas are more in evidence than those in rural areas. Local authorities are the responsible organizations for the conservation of cultural heritage sites, and sites in urban areas tend to be more visible, accessible and utilizable within a comprehensive conservation project. The

[413] The reflection of this immigration phase, and the observable results in urbanization and threats to cultural heritage sites, were discussed in the 'Urban Settlements and Archaeology' section. For a general review on rapid urbanization and urban sprawl, see Tekeli 2015, 208-212.

situation in archaeological sites in rural settlements is different: these cultural heritage sites can be difficult to find and unknown to a major part of the population unless they are turned into museums. It is mainly only locals and intentional visitors who come to see these cultural heritage sites and interact with them. Nevertheless, the potential for transforming these places into cultural tourism centers is considered as a resource, and initiatives for excavation, conservation, and representation may be more supportable. Thus, the correct parameters should be determined and employed for finding financial resources to conduct conservation projects and the subsequent phases, such as presentation and maintenance.

The impacts of cultural, economic and political motives and ideologies affecting cultural heritage sites include both advantages and disadvantages for specific cultural strata, such as the Byzantine levels. These motivations and ideologies also reflect the understanding and attitudes of decision-makers behind conservation processes at cultural heritage sites. Of course, public attitudes and understanding also have their own parameters.

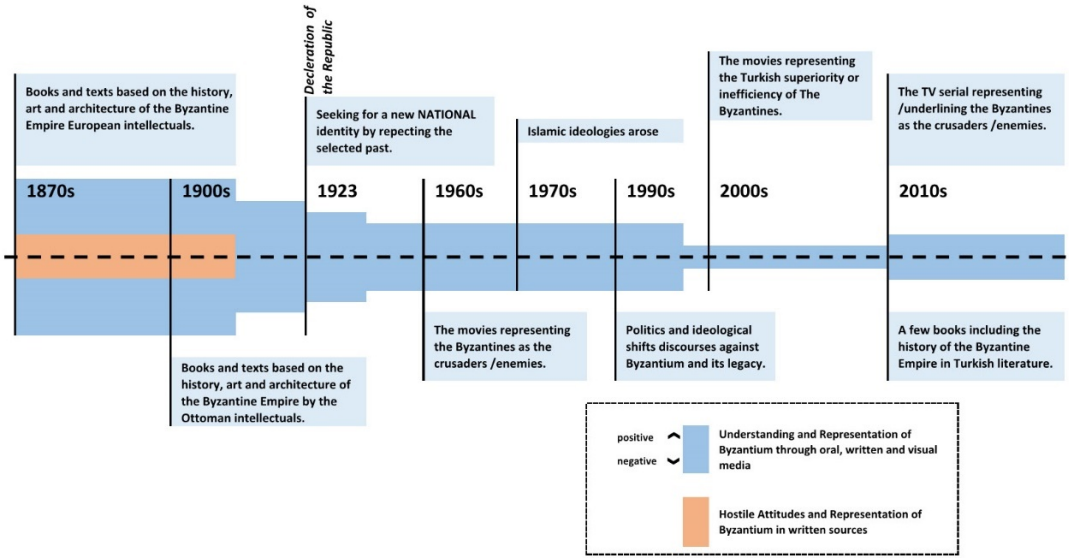


Figure 2.16. The changes and thresholds affecting understanding and representation of Byzantium.

Representation of Byzantium in literature or various media tools, discourses and policies of leading politicians inevitably affect the understanding of Byzantium and

attitudes towards its heritage. The graphic below indicates the changes and thresholds of understanding and representation of Byzantium in positive and negative manners (Fig. 2.16).

The detailed examination of understanding and representation of Byzantium since the 19th century was given in the previous sections. In the 20th century, given the changing in understanding and interest to Byzantium, the impact of nationalism and Islamist ideologies was evident which also continue in the 21st century. Dominant ideologies inevitably affect any kind of media tools. In fact, this situation can be interpreted as the interaction between public understanding and the approaches of authorities towards Byzantium. On the one hand, the authorities responsible for cultural heritage sites may respond to the expectations of the majority in the society. On the other hand, the authorities may lead to public understanding about Byzantium and its heritage with their discourses, actions or policies.

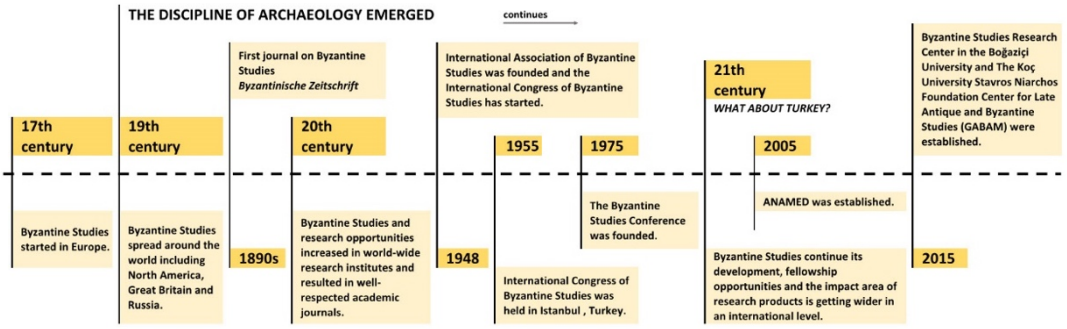


Figure 2.17. Research opportunities and development of scientific studies and archaeology of the Byzantine Empire.

Byzantine research generally and its development is another of the factors affecting the understanding, awareness and adoption of Byzantium and its heritage (Fig. 2.17). Looking at the history of the Byzantine studies, a case can be made for saying that interest in the Byzantine Empire started in the 17th century, and the number of studies and researches increased together with the development of the discipline of archaeology in the 19th century. Today, an increasing number of research opportunities and institutes supporting Byzantine studies has resulted in more publications and research projects in different fields of study, although the content,

methodology, and the perspectives on Byzantium, vary, with different disciplines, changing socio-cultural and political conditions, and religious dimensions.

The role of education in terms of the understanding and adoption of Byzantium is crucial. As underlined in the previous sections, preservation of a particular period's heritage is only possible by means of its adoption. The content of primary education courses should comprise all historical periods equally, and provide materials for a better understanding of them all, including on-site activities, leading to a true interaction with the past. Course content and curricula should be independent from cultural and political ideologies. The necessity of courses to create awareness in objective history, Turkish archaeology, and the preservation of cultural heritage is clear. Following on from this, higher education and graduate studies should be developed and supported to educate and prepare more specialists for Byzantine research.

Byzantine studies in Turkey have a crucial place within researches, associated with its archaeology, history, art, and architecture. As mentioned earlier, the 1955 International Congress of Byzantine Studies was an essential event for the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey, but, unfortunately, Byzantine research and the conservation of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites have been affected by various current ideologies, policies and practices in both rural and urban areas. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that there are increasing numbers of graduate researchers from Turkish universities in Turkey with interests in Byzantium, and this is being reflected in the growth of research institutes since 2000. Such universities and institutes are now supporting ways of generating more data and instigating projects across different disciplines which are essential for creating public awareness of the Byzantine Empire and its legacy.

In conclusion, let us reiterate the various parameters affecting the understanding, preservation, and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. The basic parameters affecting the public understanding and interpretation of Byzantine cultural heritage are:

- Socio-cultural, religious, ethnic values of Turkish society.
- Educational policies for the relevant courses in primary education including the historical and archaeological backgrounds of present-day Turkish lands.
- The image of Byzantium and its legacy in mass media and social media reflecting the dominant ideology.

The practicalities affecting the conservation, valorization, and representation of Byzantium can be summarized as:

- Current ideologies and politics bearing on urbanization or ruralization policies.
- Lack of definition and attitudes towards cultural heritage sites, especially for multi-period cultural heritage sites, in national conservation laws and policies.
- Economic expectations and tourism policies in cultural heritage sites that include Byzantine elements.
- Lack of expertise in the conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.
- Lack of public awareness and interest in the Byzantine Empire and its cultural heritage.

Given this overview, future critical analyses and evaluations of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, in different geographical, cultural, and historical contexts, will provide a comprehensive framework for the conservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

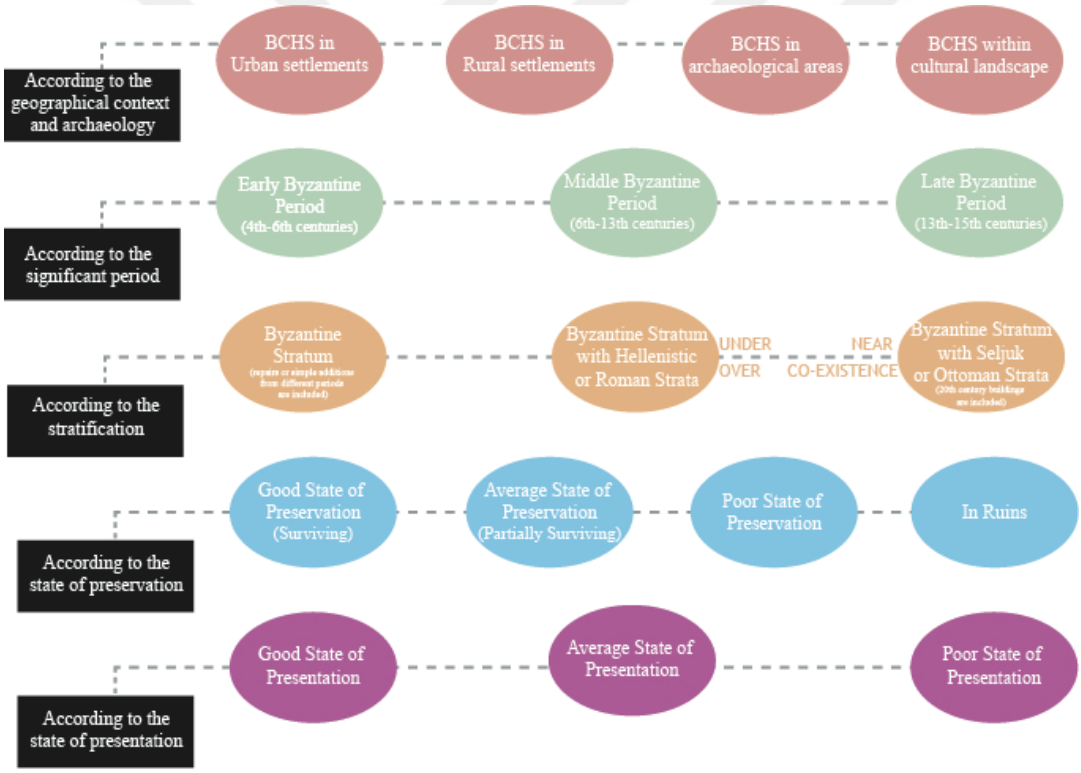
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CONSERVATION AND PRESENTATION OF BYZANTINE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TURKEY: CURRENT PRACTICES

This chapter posits the diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey and the critical analysis of them in terms of conservation and presentation conditions or strategies. This critical analysis will also be conducted through some important concepts, such as understanding, experience, interpretation, interaction, and appreciation of Byzantine cultural heritage. The discussions and analyses in this chapter are crucial to clarify certain conservation and representation problems of Byzantine cultural heritage sites related to the understanding of Byzantium, adoption generally, the interpretation of, and attitudes towards Byzantium. The strategies and proposals will be determined according to this chapter's final considerations of their comprehensive evaluation.

The presence of country-wide Byzantine cultural heritage sites with different architectural characteristics, scale, or significance, is a great advantage in the conducting of this research. However, having Byzantine cultural heritage sites does not necessarily mean the ability to know, understand, value, and preserve them. The current state of research and Byzantine cultural heritage sites in literature provide a perspective to discuss the contribution or contrast of level of research and conservation applications in site. Interaction with Byzantine cultural heritage sites and the quality of, and reasons for, these interactions will also be examined to discuss the adoption and interpretation of Byzantium and its legacy. The possibilities of, and the environments in which we meet and experience Byzantium and its heritage are, of course, central. Impacts and reflections of these interactions and experiences, and the understanding and adoption of Byzantium, are related to how Byzantine cultural heritage sites are represented and preserved. Understanding of the past and heritage will change according to the cultural and educational backgrounds of the intended

audience, and it is, indeed, subjective. In particular, education and the role of the mass media are fundamental in terms of how society understands and reacts. In addition, it will shift according to the original function and also to the current use of heritage sites: any dialogue between heritage and audience is affected by present conditions. Thus factors affecting these experiences should be defined and analyzed well; and for this reason, the study areas must be selected wisely and represent the diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey to provide an holistic discussion that can reveal current practices of conservation and representations of them.

Table 3.1 Classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey, according to different parameters.



Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey exist in different geographical, cultural, and economic contexts. For this reason, multi-criteria classification is more efficient for underlining each specific characteristic of selected heritage sites. Given the diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey, different classifications are possible that will optimize any analysis based on the determining factors.

Classification of study areas is necessary to define and distinguish context, identify problems, and ensure better analyses of different cases. Admittedly, the discussion cannot include all the sites and structures from the Byzantine period; therefore selected sites will be analyzed in terms of conservation and representation. The determining factors of Byzantine cultural heritage sites are also crucial for their definition, and analysis. These factors and any subgroups are shown in Table 3.1.

The first and primary classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is based on geographical context and archaeological characteristics. The role of archaeology was examined in detail to define and understand the existence/co-existence of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within the current settlements, and Byzantine cultural heritage sites within archaeological areas. Byzantine structures and Byzantine strata of multi-period cultural heritage sites have been the subject of archaeological researches as well as cultural heritage studies. Thus, the integration of these two disciplines is considered crucial to this chapter to examine the methodology, approaches, and strategies of conservation and representation. Therefore, according to the geographical context and archaeological characteristics of case study areas, four basic groups are determined:

- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements and archaeology
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements and archaeology
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in archeological areas
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites within cultural landscape

Additionally, the significant periods, stratification, state of preservation and presentation, are the factors needed to classify case studies and strengthen the definition and understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Defining significant periods of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is essential to understand and examine the architecture or urbanization of Byzantium in terms of construction techniques, uses of materials, and ideologies. Periodization of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is a critical issue because there are different opinions and borderlines to do with dividing and defining each period. However, in this study, the

periodization of Byzantium is fixed according to the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* and set as follows:[414]

- The Early Byzantine Period begins with the foundation of Constantinople (324-330 CE) and ends with the death of Justinian I (565 CE).
- The Middle Byzantine Period begins with the death of Justinian I (565 CE) and ends with the Latin invasion (1204 CE).
- The Late Byzantine Period begins with the Latin invasion of Constantinople (1204 CE) and ends when Constantinople was taken by the Ottomans (1453 CE).

Stratification of Byzantine cultural heritage is also considered a crucial factor because its existence within the strata of the culture of previous and following periods affects the understanding and experience of cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, the interpretation of multi-period heritage sites should include all the values of different cultures to produce comprehensive and objective conservation and representation strategies.

The state of preservation and presentation are essential factors for examining the current situation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. In addition, these criteria will also be the basis of the analysis of Byzantine structures in determining any problems of conservation and representation, based on the data discussed in the previous chapter. This analysis is also essential to help reveal the potential of Byzantine cultural heritage sites for a better understanding, interaction, and adoption of the Byzantine past of Turkey.

Under these groups are determined subgroups and specific places/structures that help us to understand, evaluate and discuss the current state of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, as related to the proposed factors/parameters that will be introduced in the

[414] Kazhdan *et al.* 1991, vol 1., 345. It should be stressed that there is no consensus about the exact borderlines between particular periods, and there are different opinions about their beginning and end. However, these periods are defined according to the Dictionary, but also taking note of selected events related to the scope of this research.

following sections. Selection of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey that best examine the problems, strategies, interventions, and potential for conservation and representation is not an easy task. For this reason, different criteria specific to each group are determined, and these are essential either for defining Byzantine cultural heritage sites or providing descriptions of which factors are to be considered when examining and evaluating these sites. Some of these criteria are based on quantitative information, such as geographical context, significant periods, and stratification, but some have to be defined based on case studies.

Byzantine cultural heritage sites can be classified in precise and detailed ways, considering all the parameters and the criteria provided in Table 3.1. Considering existing Byzantine cultural heritage sites, case studies are chosen depending on site, single building scale in urban settlements, site scale in rural settlements, and site and single building scale in archaeological areas. The different specifications are explained. The reasons for this selection can be summarized as:

- Single buildings from the Byzantine period in urban settlements are generally monumental structures, and they are still in use but with different functions.
- The remains of the Byzantine structures which still exist at ground level or under the surface.
- The peripheries of ancient Byzantine cities are still observable from their city walls, or their remains in some cases, and they define site-scale heritage sites.
- Byzantine cultural heritage sites in or near rural settlements are mostly in ruins for several reasons, which will be examined in the following sections. For this reason it is hard to provide examples of Byzantine cultural heritage sites on a single building scale; thus, Byzantine cultural heritage sites will be examined as site-scale archaeological areas.
- The main discourse of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in archaeological areas is a perceived underestimation of Byzantine structures in terms of Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman provenance. Hence the remains of the Byzantine period will be evaluated on both a single building and site scale, according to the case-based situations in archaeological areas.

To conclude, the selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites will be examined based on their geographical context. However, before this examination the current state of research and literature review about Byzantium and its cultural heritage will be briefly introduced. In addition, they will be elaborated according to their significant periods, stratification, function, and states of preservation and presentation. Each group will be explained, including the definition of the section, methodology, introducing the criteria that will be considered during analysis, the definition of the selected cultural heritage sites; brief information will also be given to describe the analysis of cultural heritage sites, and a general evaluation for each.

3.1 Current State of Scholarship

The current state of scholarship in Byzantine studies provides a perspective on the discussion of the contribution, and contrasts between levels of research and the conservation and representation applications for cultural heritage sites. Byzantine studies include many different fields – history, philology, art history, archaeology, architecture, and so on. There have been many scholars who have contributed to the development of this research area via publications, research projects, archaeological excavations, graduate studies, etc.

Modern interest in Byzantium may be said to have begun in 17th-century Europe, and approaches towards the Byzantine Empire, and contextual discussions, were influenced by the dynamics of the 18th century. The impact of the development of archaeology in the 19th century is obvious, and there are several major publications on Byzantine art and archaeology dating from this time.[415] In the 20th century, the acceleration of Byzantine Studies, all over the world, can be traced through the

[415] Some of the scholars who worked on Byzantium in the 19th century include Alexander Van Millingen, Charles Texier, Josef Strzygowski, and many more.

literature and great scholarship on Byzantium produced by many researchers in many different fields.[416]

The Byzantine topography of Turkey (primarily Istanbul and Anatolia) was examined by foreign scholars during the occupation of former Ottoman lands after World War I. After the declaration of the Republic, interest in archaeology rose exponentially. Foreign scholars came to Turkey to settle after World War II and were employed in the universities. Steven Runciman, for example, gave classes in Byzantine art at Istanbul University in the 1940s. For a decade, Byzantine art was taught by foreign scholars, before Semavi Eyice took over in the 1950s. Since then, Byzantine studies in Turkey has been developing significantly, mostly by the efforts of Turkish scholars. Interest in Byzantium has been increasing in Turkey since the second half of the 20th century, and today the scope of researches into Byzantine history, archaeology, art history, etc., is being extended and the number of studies rising.

In this section, our primary consideration will be those studies and publications that describe and focus on former Byzantine cities and archaeological areas in Turkey. A second consideration will be to look at those researches/publications dealing with the conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Of course, the literature on Byzantium and its heritage is extensive, and it is not possible to include them all within this synthesis. As well as this extensive literature, there are many graduate studies, master theses and doctoral dissertations on the Byzantine Empire and its heritage in the fields of history, archaeology, art history, history of architecture, architecture, and conservation. Our the main goal here is to reveal tendencies within the periods of research activity, and the sites/locations/areas concentrated on.

[416] To cite just a few of these scholars: Alice-Mary Talbot, Alexander Kazhdan, Clive Foss, Cyril Mango, George Ostrogorsky, John Haldon, Paul Magdalino, Semavi Eyice, Speros Vryonis, and Steven Runciman.

The first group in this study involves Byzantine cultural heritage found in urban settlements. Former Byzantine cities, the capitals/provincial capitals, featured include: Istanbul/Constantinople, Ankara/Ancyra, Iznik/Nicaea, Trabzon/Trebizond, and Antakya/Antioch. These major centers represent the most significant ones within the Byzantine period. Istanbul and Iznik will be examined in greater detail in terms of the states of preservation and presentation of their Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

Istanbul/Constantinople is the outstanding model – being the capital city of the Byzantine Empire for centuries – and the numbers of studies on urban topography, art and architecture of the Byzantine Empire are greater than the other cities/regions. The heritage of the city is divided into major phases: Early, Middle, Late, and Post-Byzantine. There are pioneer researchers for each phase.[417] We may begin with Pierre Gilles (1490-1555) and his *The Antiquities of Constantinople* – the pioneer study on Constantinople. The urbanization and different phases of the city have been investigated and documented in the literature. The city's walls, churches, cisterns, and other buildings were examined with reference to their architectural characteristics, construction techniques, and periods and use of materials. Of course, the Church of St. Sophia traditionally occupies a central place in Byzantine studies. The literature on this extraordinary edifice is exhaustive, and includes many studies, contextual and architectural, focusing on different values and specifications.[418]

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[417] To cite a few of these scholars and their works: Cyril Mango – *Le Développement Urbain de Constantinople*, and *Byzantium the Empire of New Rome; Byzantine Architecture*; Doğan Kuban – *İstanbul Bir Kent Tarihi Bizantion, Konstantinopolis, İstanbul*; Paul Magdalino – *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, *Ortaçağda İstanbul Altıncı ve On Üçüncü Yüzyıllar Arasında Konstantinopolis'in Kentsel Gelişimi*; Richard Krautheimer – *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics – Rome, Constantinople, Milan; Early Byzantine and Christian Architecture*; Thomas Matthews – *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener – *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (*İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topoğrafyası 17. Yüzyıl Başlarına Kadar Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-İstanbul)*.

[418] From the vast bibliography on St. Sophia, led by Thomas Whittemore's restorations and studies, e.g. his *The Mosaics of St. Sophia*, we can cite Robert Mark and Ahmet Çakmak – *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present*; Rowland J. Mainstone – *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure, and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*; Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi and Claudia

The provincial centers of the Byzantine Empire were also studied and published by many scholars, recording their history, urbanization, art, and architecture. Byzantine Ankara/Ancyra has been examined by several scholars, in terms of its buildings, urban development, and how the fabric has changed over time.[419] Iznik was another provincial center and also a former capital city of the Byzantine Empire for a time.[420] For this reason, it has also a significant place in the history of the empire and has been investigated from different perspectives. Trabzon/Trebizond was the greatest city of the Pontos region, including in the Byzantine period; it has played a significant role in Byzantine history, especially in the 13th century, as, after the Latin invasion of Constantinople, Alexius I Comnenus (1204-1022) moved there and established the Trebizond Empire.[421] Several key publications on the Byzantine period of this city are available to us.[422] Lastly, Byzantine Antakya/Antioch (Antioch on the Orontes) was important within the context of the history of Christianity in Anatolia: the Church of St. Peter is considered one of the earliest in Anatolia.[423]

Barsanti – *Santa Sofia di Constantinopoli: L'arredo marmoreo della Grande Chiesa giustinianea*; and recently Natalia B. Teteriatnikov – *Justinianic Mosaics of Hagia Sophia and Their Aftermath*.

[419] To cite a few of these scholars and their works: Clive Foss – *Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara*; Semavi Eyice – *Bizans Dönemi'nde Ankara* and *P. Guillaume de Jerphanion ve Ankara Kalesi*; Ufuk Serin – *Ankara and the Temple of Rome and Augustus in the Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish Periods* and *Bizans Ankara'sı ve Kaybolan bir Kültür Mirası: St. Clement Kilisesi*.

[420] Alfons Maria Schneider and Walter Karnapp have studied Byzantine Nicaea (Iznik) and their publications are amongst our earliest sources, i.e. *Die Stadtmauer von İznik (Nicaea)* and *Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea*. Foss has examined the Byzantine history and architecture of Nicaea (Iznik) in works such as *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (with Jacob Tulchin). Other books of his include contributions on Byzantine Nicaea and city walls, in, i.e., Işıl Akbaygil, Halil İnalcık and Oktay Aslanapa (eds) *Iznik Throughout History* (a collection of contributions by various scholars on previous civilizations and rulers of the city and its history, architectural heritage and culture.

[421] Kazhdan 1991, v.3, 2112.

[422] Anthony Bryer and David Winfield have conducted extensive research in the area, now published as *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, which includes other cities in the province as well as Trebizond itself. Another of Bryer's works, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, is now considered one of the pioneer studies on Byzantine times within this city. Antony Eastmond edited *Byzantium's Other Empire: Trebizond*, a synthesis of recent research on Byzantine Trabzon, including its history, urban development, buildings and artworks.

[423] Wallace-Hadrill 1982. Hugh Kennedy has examined the Byzantine period of Antakya in his study *Antioch: from Byzantium to Islam and Back Again*, in which he reveals the political and cultural contexts between the 6th and 13th centuries. A. Asa Eger is one of the most recent scholars to work on Byzantine Antioch, especially its medieval period; his publications include *(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch: Urban Transformations from the Early Islamic to the Middle Byzantine Period* and *The*

Looking in general at the literature covering former Byzantine cities, it is apparent that studies have mostly concentrate on Istanbul. The production and interpretation of knowledge on Byzantium is well established, as are now the many discussions on the preservation of Byzantine monuments and archaeological sites in the city. Iznik and Ankara have not been overlooked, rightly, and these centers are also studied as important provincial and military bases in their own right. There are more studies on the Byzantine period and monuments of Iznik than Ankara, but Ankara has attracted a greater number of studies relating to the conservation of its Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Studies of the other major Byzantine cities, such as Antioch and Trebizond, are rarer. Studies on the conservation of Byzantine heritage are fewer in number. On-site applications and their reports have been published, as well as theoretical studies on how to preserve and present Byzantine heritage sites.[424] Current archaeological investigations and conservation applications linked to monuments and sites include such projects as the Museum Hotel in Antakya and the Church of St. Sophia and the Sümela Monastery in Trabzon.[425]

Within the scope of this study, archaeological areas are examined in two different groups. The first looks at Byzantine cultural heritage within rural settlements; their coexistence is observed in different ways, i.e. the physical, socio-cultural, and economic integration between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and rural settlements. The second group involves those villages that have been relocated to preserve

Islamic-Byzantine Frontier, Interaction and Exchange Among Muslim and Christian Communities, with particular emphasis on cultural exchange and conflict in Antioch and its urban development.

[424] The works of Roberts Ousterhout, Zeynep Ahunbay and Metin Ahubay on conservation processes at the Pantokrator Monastery can be highlighted here, although its restoration was completed by the Directorate of the Foundation. Zeynep Ahunbay (1994) has also discussed the conservation problems and proposals for the Byzantine city walls and other cultural heritage sites in Istanbul. Nur Altınyıldız (1997) is another scholar studying the conservation problems relating to historic environments, including many references to important Byzantine cultural heritage sites within Istanbul. Ufuk Serin's *La citadella di Ankara dopo de Jerphanion. Problemi di conservazione e proposte per il recupero urbano* is noteworthy for tackling Ankora's conservation problems. Gül Asatekin, Asuman Türkün, Zuhal Ulusoy and Mehmet Tunçer have studied the urban development of the historic city center of Ankara and its conservation plans and strategies. Additionally there are several doctoral researches on the conservation of Byzantine heritage available in the literature.

[425] The details of these conservation projects and discussions are not included within the context of this section.

cultural heritage sites and conduct archaeological investigations. Research on Byzantine cultural heritage sites within rural settlements mostly concentrates on archaeological remains rather than rural heritage or integration; this relates to the archaeological excavations conducted at these sites. However, in recent years, the conservation of rural settlements and archaeological remains is now being studied, especially in graduate researches (master's theses and doctoral dissertations) within the graduate programs focused on conservation of cultural heritage studies at different universities.[426] Archaeological areas that include Byzantine strata within rural settlements are currently being investigated by scholars from different disciplines.

In this study, a selection of these heritage sites is made and one examined. The history of settlements located along the Aegean coast dates back to periods earlier than Byzantine times, and there are many ancient cities in that region.[427] Consequently, a number of archaeological research projects, excavations and surveys are concentrated on the Aegean shores. There are also important excavations and investigations focusing on Cilicia, i.e. Herakleia-Latmos/Kapıkırı, Iasos/Kıyıkışlacık, Stratonikeia/Eskihisar (in the Aegean region), and Elauissa-Sebaste/Ayaş in the Cilicia region, further down the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean.[428] In this context, the excavation reports and publications are our

[426] See some of examples, e.g. Ebru Harman Aslan (2016) – *Arkeolojik ve Kırsal Mirasın Birlikte Korunabilirliği*; Damla Yeşilbağ (2019) – *Archaeological Sites in Their Rural Settings: Strategies for the Integrated Conservation of Iasos-Kıyıkışlacık*; Aslı Hetemoğlu (2019) – *Interpretation and presentation of the Byzantine Heritage at 'Herakleia and Latmos'*.

[427] Akurgal, 1978.

[428] Some examples of the literature relating archaeological areas with Byzantine heritage sites and rural settlements in the Aegean region include Doro Levi's *Iasos Kazıları*, one of the key works on the archaeological remains of Iasos. Ufuk Serin's research on Iasos includes *Early Christian and Byzantine Churches at Iasos in Caria: An Architectural Survey*, *Iasos'daki Erken Hristiyan ve Bizans Kiliseleri*, and *Some Observations on the Middle Byzantine Church Outside the East Gate at Iasos*, and these latter are pivotal in terms of the examination, documentation, and comprehension of the Byzantine churches of this ancient city. Rafaella Pierebon Benoit is another scholar investigating the historical background and development of Iasos and Kıyıkışlacık (*From Iasos to Kıyıkışlacık: A History Yet to Be Written*). Annaliese Peschlow-Bindokat has conducted extensive research on the site, published as *A Carian Mountain Landscape Herakleia on the Latmos City and Environment*, which deals with the multiperiod archaeological remains and their documentation. Urs Peschlow has contributed a chapter on 'Mount Latmos' in *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia From the End of*

basic sources for the documentation of archaeological sites and investigations covering different periods there. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey has published these excavation reports on their website since 1980.[429]

As well as the investigation of archaeological remains in these cultural heritage sites, their Byzantine heritage and relationships to associated rural settlements provide different research topics. It appears, therefore, based on the literature and current research activities, that the key archaeological areas and their Byzantine remains have been well examined and documented following archaeological investigations. However, the numbers of studies focusing on the co-existence of the archaeological and rural heritage, and their integrated conservation and presentation strategies, are limited. Thus, without a theoretical approach, or preliminary conservation projects, on-site applications for the better preservation of the remains of the Byzantine and other periods, and holistic implementations for the representation of the rural and archaeological heritage, cannot be assessed.

After examining archaeological areas within rural settlements, the next objective is to assess those archaeological areas that include Byzantine strata within their multiperiod characteristics. In this context, the situation and understanding of Byzantine structures in relation to the buildings from the earlier periods are critical factors. Considering the scale of the buildings, use of materials and ornamentation, Byzantine structures are not as 'attractive' as those monumental structures of the Hellenistic/Roman periods commonly found within archaeological sites.[430] Arguably, this may be disadvantageous not only for conservation decisions and site development, but also for visitor understanding; this will be looked at further in 3.4,

The Late Antiquity Until the Coming of The Turks (edited by Phillip Niewöhner). Zeynep Mercangöz (1990, 1992) has also examined the Byzantine churches of Kapıkırı and around Lake Bafa. E. Equini Schneider has published comprehensive works such as *Elaiussa Sebaste I. Campagne Di Scavo 1995-1997* and *Doğu ile Batı Arasında Bir Liman Kenti Elauissa Sebaste*, on the archaeological findings and remains dated to different periods of the ancient city.

[429] URL-33 (retrieved 12.03.2021).

[430] Serin 2008, 213.

'Archaeological Areas', in terms of the reflection of these differences on conservation strategies and representation priorities.

As underlined above, archaeological investigations and surveys in Turkey mostly focus on western Anatolia – in particular the Mediterranean region. Caria, Lycia and Lydia are accepted as the richest of these ancient regions, judging by the number of researches conducted there and the background of archaeological excavations. From the literature, various comprehensive studies and publications exist on the ancient cities located in these regions, e.g. Troy, Bergama, Hierapolis, Ephesus, Miletus, Priene, Sardis, and Didyma.[431] There are also ongoing investigations at these cities, revealing new information on the historical continuity of these sites and others (e.g. Laodikeia and Stratonikeia) based on recently discovered archaeological remains. However, examining the past archaeological investigations and excavation reports, we frequently observe the removal of Byzantine strata of multi-period heritage sites by national or international scholars, indicating that they are less 'valuable' or 'attractive' than the Hellenistic and Roman structures. And while this discriminative attitude originated in the 19th century on archaeological sites, similar attitudes still

[431] Clive Foss is one of the leading scholars dealing with the ancient cities of Anatolia and their architecture. His books on Ephesus, Sardis, and the Caria and Lycia regions, e.g. *Ephesus after Antiquity: Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* and *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis (Archaeological) Exploration of Sardis Monographs*, *The Coasts of Caria and Lycia in the Middle Ages. A Preliminary Report* present the history and architecture of these cities and regions and different cultural periods. Additionally, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* takes twenty cities from Byzantine Asia and examines them within their specific geographical, cultural and political contexts; and in *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* Foss looks a little wider at Byzantine cities and structures in Asia Minor. Ortwin Dally and Christopher Ratté have a significant book examining the archaeological areas and cities of a specific period of Anatolia – *Archaeology and the Cities of Late Antiquity in Asia Minor*. It is also appropriate to mention here the work of George M. A. Hanfmann, Marcus L. Rautman, and also Ratté, and all of whom undertook archaeological excavations and research activities in the Caria and Lydia regions, especially Sardis. Pergamon and its multi-layered cultural landscape was added to the World Heritage List in 2014, as were Hierapolis and Pamukkale in 1988. The archaeological explorations were run by Wolfgang Radt between 1979-2006, followed by Felix Pirson. There are comprehensive resources available examining Pergamon as a Hellenistic kingdom, with its urban and architectural features. The Byzantine phase is a key component of the historical continuity of the city, and in this context Radt's *Pergamon: Antik Bir Kentin Tarihi ve Yapıları* is one of our basic sources. One of the most significant aspects of Byzantine studies at Pergamon is the Byzantine residential fabric, considered as one of the earliest examples in Asia Minor. Klaus Rheidt's study *Die byzantinische Wohnstadt (Altertümer von Pergamon. Die Stadtgrabung)* is an essential read. Also notable is the work by Vincenzo Ruggieri on Caria and Lycia, e.g. *La Caria Bizantina* and the article 'La Licia Bizantina'.

existed during 20th-century archaeological excavations. When examining the archaeological excavation reports published by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, information on the remains and findings dating to the Byzantine era is less than for the Classical periods.[432] However, recently, Byzantine specialists are included in the archaeological excavations and Byzantine strata are examined and preserved much more than in past decades.

Cappadocia's cultural landscape features last in our classification of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey. Although a singular region in terms of its geological formation, landscape, settlement, and building formation, it also played an important part in the history of Christianity, as reflected in its Early Christian and Medieval Byzantine period remains, i.e. its settlements, above and below ground, its religious spaces, frescoes, and various other features. The unique churches, monasteries and underground cities of Cappadocia were examined by several scholars in the 20th and 21st centuries.[433] Resaerchers also investigated the paintings and frescoes in the cave churches and monasteries of Cappadocia, examining them in great detail to reveal meanings, narratives, and symbols of Christianity. Conservation issues in relation to these sites have also been assessed.[434] In addition, recently the City University of New York has established a website – 'Documenting Cappadocia' – offering a visual

[432] URL-33 (retrieved 12.03.2021).

[433] Guillame de Jerphanion has been a pioneer in the study of Cappadocia; with Marcell Restle also playing an important part in research in the same region in the 20th century – his work *Byzantine Wall Paintings is Asia Minor* is an essential source for the rock-cut architecture and wall paintings of central Anatolia (specifically Cappadocia). Other scholars who have examined Cappadocia include: Gianluca Bertucci, Roberto Bixio, Mauro Traverso – *Le Città sotterranee della Cappadocia*; Lyn Rodley – *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*; Robert Ousterhout – *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* and *Visualizing Community Art Material Culture and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia*; Tolga Uyar – *Art et Société en Pays de Rum: Les peintures byzantines du trezième siècle en Cappadoce*; *Thirteenth-Century 'Byzantine' Art in Cappadocia and the Questions of Greek Painters at the Seljuq Court*.

[434] To cite a few scholars and their works on Cappadocian wall painting we have: Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords*; Robin Cormack – *Byzantine Cappadocia: The Archaic Group of Wall Paintings*; Maria Andoloro – *Rock Paintings of Cappadocia: Images, Materials and State of Preservation*.

representation of much of the rock-cut architecture and wall paintings of the region, as well as a database for researchers.[435]

When examining the conservation of Byzantine heritage in archaeological areas and within cultural landscapes, the numbers of studies are noticeably scarcer. However, the conservation applications in these archaeological areas are limited to monumental structures, in terms of their repair or partial reconstructions. We have to acknowledge, however, that examples of conservation interventions on Byzantine structures in multi-cultural archaeological areas are rare compared to the work done on remains from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Nevertheless, there have been ongoing conservation studies at several archaeological areas, with Ephesus featuring as one of the significant examples of heritage conservation.[436] Other sites are represented in the literature, examining conservation approaches towards Byzantine heritage and applications in archaeological areas, such as Hierapolis and Herakleia.[437]

Lastly, a large-scale research project, Tabula Imperii Byzantini (TIB), merits a mention in this section.[438] This project was founded by Prof. Dr. Herbert Hunger of the Austrian Academy of Science; it was announced at the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Oxford in 1966. Within the scope of this project, the former Byzantine lands were divided into eighteen core regions, each assigned to scholars who were experts in the Byzantine periods and those particular regions (Fig. 3.1) (Table 3.2). The publications of this project provide detailed information about these regions in terms of their history, archaeology, urban topography, and monuments. It is an ongoing project and it is expected that it will eventually provide

[435] URL-34 (retrieved 12.03.2021).
[436] See some examples on this topic, e.g. Sabine Ladstätter – *Efes'in Arkeolojik Alanlarındaki Konservasyon Stratejileri*; Martha Demas – *Ephesu*s (in *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region*).
[437] To cite but two examples: Albert Distelrath – *Yerleşim ve Yaşam Alanı Olarak Ören Yeri Herakleia (Latmos) İçin Bir Koruma Konsepti*; Annapaola Zaccaria Ruggiu – *Hierapolis di Frigia.*
[438] URL-35 (retrieved 13.03.2021).

comprehensive resources on the Byzantine past and settlements in Anatolia, Syria, and the Balkans.

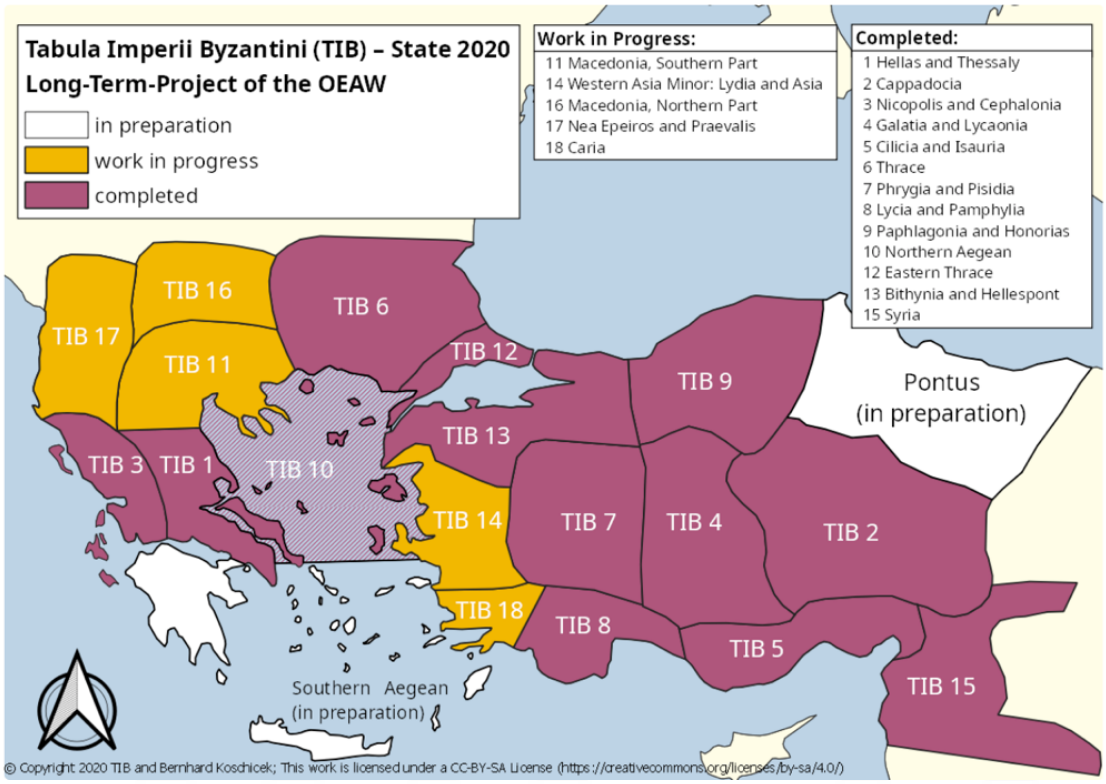

Figure 3.1. Current state of the Tabula Imperii Byzantini (URL-36, retrieved 13.03.2021)

Table 3.2 Publications of the Tabula Imperii Byzantini.[463]

Number of volumes	Title of the volume and publication date	Scholars
TIB1	Hellas and Thessalia, 1976	Johannes Koder and Friedrich Hild
TIB2	Kappadokien, 1981	Friedrich Hild and Marcell Restle
TIB3	Nikopolis and Kephallēnia, 1981	Peter Soustal and Johannes Koder
TIB4	Galatien and Lykaonien, 1984	Klaus Belke
TIB5	Kilikien and Isaurien, 1990	Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper
TIB6	Thrakien, 1991	Peter Soustal
TIB7	Phrygien and Pisidien, 1990	Klaus Belke and Norbert Mersich
TIB8	Lykien and Pamphylien, 2004	Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Friedrich Hild
TIB9	Paphlagonien and Honorias, 1996	Klaus Belke
TIB10	Aigaion Pelagos (North Aegean), 1998	Johannes Koder, Peter Soustal, and Alice Koder
TIB11	Macedonia (South)	In progress
TIB12	Ostthrakien (Eurōpē), 2008	Andreas Külzer
TIB13	Bithynia and Hellespontos, 2020	Klaus Belke
TIB14	Western Asia Minor: Lydia and Asia	In progress
TIB15	Syria, 2014	Klaus-Peter Todt and Bernd Andreas Vest
TIB16	Macedonia (North)	In progress
TIB17	Nea Epeiros and Praevalis	In progress
TIB18	Caria	In progress

[463] This information is gathered from the website of the project. See URL-37 (retrieved 13.03.2021) for other publications.

As we have seen, the Byzantine past, and its archaeology, architecture and art, have been examined in detail over the last century and there are comprehensive sources, books, maps, photographs, etc., that have been produced as the fruits of extensive archaeological excavations, doctoral research, and large-scale research projects. In recent years interest in Byzantium and its heritage has increased considerably, as has the scale of research. However, we have also seen that this theoretical knowledge, the documentation of Byzantine remains and archaeological areas, and the increasing corpus of research, has not always been matched by corresponding enquiries into conservation approaches and strategies. Before studies and proposals for the preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, Byzantium and its heritage should be more fully understood, appreciated, and transmitted objectively via different visual, written, and digital media and tools. This background understanding will lead to comprehensive conservation and representation approaches for Byzantine cultural heritage sites in their various geographical and cultural contexts, and also their different stratifications; this, in turn, will make it possible to observe more applications, both on and off site, linked to the evaluation and conducting of conservation projects and the representation of Byzantium and its heritage.

3.2 Urban Settlements and Archaeology

3.2.1 Definitions

The first group covers Byzantine cultural heritage sites located in urban settlements. Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements are examined here on both a site and single building scale, according to building type. For site scale examinations, Byzantine cultural heritage sites can be considered as a part of an ‘urban’ or ‘archaeological’ site. These concepts are defined both in national regulations and international charters of ICOMOS.[464]

[464] ICOMOS 2013c.

> Urban site: Urban sites are the areas where cultural and natural environmental elements (buildings, gardens, vegetation, settlement textures, walls), which have architectural, historical, artistic, and local characteristics, and whose values increase due to their coexistence and integrity, are located together.
>
> Archaeological site: These are the areas where the cultural assets of the ancient civilizations that have survived from Prehistoric times to the present are located above ground, underground or underwater, and reflect the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of the period in which they survived.

However, the term 'urban archaeological site' fits better when defining case study areas examined on a site scale. This concept is defined in Decree no. 658 as:[465] [The] co-existence of the areas, which have cultural property as defined in the 6th article of Law no. 2863 of 1983, and the urban fabric which needs to be preserved.

These cultural heritage sites are part of the physical contexts of cities, but the main question is, 'Are they visible, experienceable, and understandable?' They belong to the remote past of a present-day city, and also another culture that is not very close to the culture of present-day inhabitants in terms of ethnic origin/religion. However, Byzantine structures and their remains are still observable, and citizens live with and among them. Apart from the local population, specific visitors and researchers intentionally come to see and interact with Byzantine cultural heritage sites. For example, the cities that were once important centers of the Byzantine Empire, such as Istanbul, Ankara, Iznik, and Trabzon, still have the remains of the Byzantine Empire within their current urban fabric. In some cases, Byzantine structures are evident and open to interaction, but in some instances, they are underground, and neglected as memories of a 'hidden past'. These remains can be observed on a site or single building scale, but in different states of preservation and presentation.

[465] This concept is defined in Decree no. 658 and was published in *T.C. Resmi Gazete* of the Republic of Turkey in 1999. For more detailed information, see URL-38 (retrieved 27.11.2020)

3.2.2 Case Study Areas and Criteria of Assessment

The former Byzantine cities were settled after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and transformed again and again in different periods. Thus, the identification and interpretation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in present-day conditions can be difficult for several reasons which will be discussed. Obviously, the cities indicated in the previous section – Istanbul, Ankara, Iznik, and Trabzon – are quite different than how they appeared after their initial foundation, and subsequent transformations, during the Byzantine period. There are now different cultures, buildings and landscapes of later civilizations constructed on the remains of the Byzantine Empire. As a result, the cultural and architectural contexts of cities have changed: each building or monument has its own spirit and meaning in its peculiar temporal, geographical, cultural, and natural setting. Thus Byzantine cultural heritage sites were parts of the contexts of their period. Today, we see, experience, and understand them in different, and mostly more complex, urban contexts. Vasilakeris explains that Byzantine buildings and their remains have lost their interpretability because they are broken into their original contexts.[466] On the one hand this is correct, as Byzantine buildings and their remains are out of their contexts, and have turned into representatives of the Byzantine past. On the other hand, cultural heritage sites can be transformed into parts of current urban contexts for sustainable conservation, integrated within contemporary daily life. To sum up, Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements exist in different conditions, which may be defined and exemplified as:

- City/castle walls and their remains: Istanbul, Iznik, Kütahya, Ankara.
- Byzantine structures that are still in use but have been converted into mosques or museums: St. Sophia in Istanbul, St. Eirene in Istanbul, St. Peter in Antakya, the Yerebatan Cistern in Istanbul.

[466] Vasilakeris 2013, 70.

- Remains of Byzantine structures at ground level (preserved or in ruins): Hippodrome, Boukoleon Palace, Blakhernai Palace, the Church of Polyeuktos, Istanbul, the Church of the Koimesis, Iznik.
- Remains of Byzantine structures underground: the Great Palace, the Church of Euphemia, Istanbul.
- Harbors of Constantinople, remains of Byzantine harbors at Yenikapı, Sirkeci, and Kartal in Istanbul.
- Cisterns in Constantinople: Aeitus, Philoxenos (Binbirdirek Sarnıcı), Theodosius (Şerefiye Sarnıcı), Nakilbent Street cistern, Istanbul.

This variety in Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements triggers a complex and multi-dimensional discussion and the need for analyses to clarify conservation and representation issues. In this section, the attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites will be examined through building typology, as present-day urban settlements are complex in terms of historical continuity, urbanization, and building density. Thus, any analysis or evaluation on a site scale will not provide an efficient and precise examination of the attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements in particular. As a result, the examined Byzantine structures/remains will be city walls, churches, harbors, and cisterns. The reasons for the selection of case studies can be explained as:

- City walls and churches are the most apparent building types and examples of Byzantine architecture that can still be observed in present-day urban contexts.
- City walls are multi-period structures, i.e. they were constructed in different periods, including the Roman and Byzantine eras. However, they were repaired, changed, damaged, and preserved both during the Ottoman and Republican periods. Thus it is possible to observe and examine, both on site and from archival documents, details of Byzantine architecture, construction techniques, the use of materials, and the different attitudes towards Byzantine city walls after the Empire collapsed.

- Byzantine churches existing in the present-day urban settlements were constructed in different periods in the Byzantine era; and details of Byzantine architecture in different periods and geographical contexts, construction techniques, and materials can be observed in the churches. Additionally, after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, most of the churches were transformed into mosques, although some did disappear over time or fell into ruins. Thus the later additions and repairs or the transformation/preservation of churches can be seen and examined, both on site and through relevant archival documents.
- Examination and evaluation of the harbors of Istanbul provide significant data, and they are also critical for Byzantine archaeology in urban settlements; thus harbor remains, their discovery, research, documentation, and preservation processes well merit analysis.
- The Byzantine cisterns were significant, underground structures, and those remaining in Istanbul are crucial for our understanding and examination of the architectural characteristics of water supply structures within the Empire. The cisterns and their remains are still observable within the dense urban fabric of Istanbul, and their present use, condition, conservation, and representation require study.

All these building types will be examined in Istanbul, as the former Byzantine capital, as well as the provincial centers of Iznik and Ankara. Involving each Byzantine cultural heritage site in selected cities is not possible in our quest to examine the adoption and understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage sites and their conservation and representation issues. Each city, especially Istanbul, is extremely complex and challenging, but this section aims to create a comprehensive and objective evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements by analyzing as diverse a set of examples as possible. Thus, before the general evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements, the degrees for defining the states of preservation and presentation, and their contents, will be explained within the scope of this research. Table 3.5 presents four classified states

of preservation: good, average, poor, and in ruins; these are determined according to structural condition, spatial integrity and impact, visibility of Byzantine architecture details, and past interventions.

After clarifying the state of preservation and its criteria, presentation is another crucial criterion in terms of analysis and evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey. Presentation is closely related to how cultural heritage sites are interpreted. The 'ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites', published in 2008, defines necessities, objectives, and criteria for this purpose. According to this charter, interpretation and presentation are considered as 'part of the overall process of cultural heritage conservation and management'. Therefore, the main principles of interpretation and presentation are defined in this charter: 'to facilitate understanding and appreciation; communicate the meaning; safeguard the tangible and intangible values; respect the authenticity; contribute to the sustainable conservation; encourage inclusiveness and develop technical and professional guidelines.'[467] Thus, considering the current state of Byzantine cultural heritage sites and attitudes towards Byzantium, four of these principles are primarily chosen as the basis of the evaluation of the current presentation practice of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey, and these are determined as good, average, and poor state of presentation; these different states are explained in Table 3.6.

Before introducing preservation and presentation criteria, the methodology of using and expressing them should be explained. The criteria are the same for the case studies selected in the sections on 'Urban Settlements and Archaeology', 'Rural Settlements and Archaeology', and 'Archaeological Areas', but their contents differ and are rewritten according to the current state of the areas selected. Codes have been determined to identify the states of preservation and presentation for the case study areas in urban settlements, and a 'u' (urban) in front of the abbreviation of the

[467] For more information about the principles and objectives, see ICOMOS 2008b, 3-8.

criterion refers to the geographical context of the selected examples. These codes given in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 will be used in the evaluation of the case studies, so as not to repeat the same concepts frequently.

Table 3.3 Codes for the criteria of state of preservation for 'Urban settlements and archaeology'.

Criteria of state of preservation	Code for good state of preservation	Code for average state of preservation	Code for poor state of preservation	Code for in ruins
Structural condition	uSC1	uSC2	uSC3	uSC4
Spatial integrity and impact	uSI1	USI2	uSI3	uSI4
Visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details	uVU1	uVU2	uVU3	uVU4
Past interventions/conservation projects	uPC1	uPC2	uPC3	uPC4

Table 3.4 Codes for the criteria of state of presentation for 'Urban settlements and archaeology'.

Criteria of state of presentation	Code for good state of presentation	Code for average state of presentation	Code for poor state of presentation
Access and understanding	uAU1	uAU2	uAU3
Information sources	uIS1	uIS2	uIS3
Attention to setting and context	uASC1	uASC2	uASC3
Preservation of authenticity	uPA1	uPA2	uPA3

Table 3.5 Criteria for defining different degrees of state of preservation.

	Good state of preservation	Average state of preservation	Poor state of preservation	In ruins
Structural Condition (uSC)	The structural system is stable. No structural cracks or damage in load-bearing elements or dislocation of the load-bearing elements can be observed. Material integrity is observable. (uSC1)	There are some cracks but the load-bearing elements are stable. Material integrity is observable, but some elements have lost some materials from the surface. (uSC2)	The structural elements are about to collapse or are partially collapsed. There are structural cracks in load-bearing elements and material integrity is lost on a large scale. (uSC3)	The structural elements are totally collapsed. Material integrity is totally lost. The remains of the building(s) can be seen on ground level and elements of the building(s) are scattered. (uSC4)
Spatial Integrity and Impact (uSI)	There is no distinct change in the spatial organization or it is mostly preserved based on the first planning of the building(s). Visibility and experiencing of the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period is possible. If the function of Byzantine cultural heritage site has changed, there can be additional interior elements, but done in such a way as to respect the original Byzantine architectural details. (uSI1)	There are some changes in the spatial organizations or additions in the interior or outside of the building, or structure, due to the new function or repair. Visibility and experiencing the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period is partially possible. (uSI2)	The original spatial integrity, impact and visibility and experiencing of the spaces are mostly changed. (uSI3)	There is no spatial organization or impact to provide understanding and evaluation, as the Byzantine cultural heritage site has mostly collapsed or disappeared. (uSI4)
Visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details (uVU)	Byzantine architectural details such as the building materials and construction techniques specific to the Byzantine Empire, and/or ornamentations, are visible, both in interior spaces and facades. They have not been overly affected during conservation or re-functioning of Byzantine cultural heritage site. (uVU1)	Byzantine architectural details are partially visible in the interior space or facades. There are some additions/repairs covering these details during the conservation or re-functioning of the Byzantine cultural heritage site. (uVU2)	Byzantine architectural details have mostly disappeared or been damaged in the interior spaces or facades, and/or Byzantine architectural elements, materials or techniques were changed during the repair or conservation process. (uVU3)	The building(s) has lost its architectural details. Only fragments of the building are visible to identify it as a Byzantine cultural heritage site, but the total impact of the Byzantine architecture is lost. (uVU4)
Past interventions/conservation projects (uPC)	There were past conservation projects/repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain in the Byzantine cultural heritage sites. The buildings or remains of the buildings were respected during the conservation/repair works. Even if the function has changed, the Byzantine cultural heritage sites represent the Byzantine architectural details and spatial features substantially. (uPC1)	There were past conservation projects/repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain in the Byzantine cultural heritage sites. However, there were some interventions affecting the understanding of the Byzantine cultural heritage site in a negative manner, such as plastering the interior surfaces, simple additions, and/or changes in spatial organization, but they are reversible. (uPC2)	There were past conservation projects/repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain in the Byzantine cultural heritage sites. However, the original spatial features, architectural details and function of the Byzantine cultural heritage site are not completely respected. There are some interventions affecting the understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage site in a negative manner such as changing the spatial organization and impact with improper materials and planning. Or, there were no conservation projects/repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain. (uPC3)	There were no conservation projects/repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain. In some cases, the boundaries of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are defined, but neglected. However, in other cases the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are totally neglected and there are no initiatives to define the place or preserve. (uPC4)

Table 3.6 Criteria to define different degrees of state of presentation.

	Good State of Presentation	Average State of Presentation	Poor State of Presentation
Principle 1 **Access and Understanding** **(uAU)**	An efficient and accessible physical environment to present the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites was provided for various audiences of different cultural, social, religious backgrounds. Personal experience on- and off-site is possible to increase public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding. (uAU1)	Access to Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited. The on-/off-site presentation is insufficient to express the significance and importance of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Presentation tools and activities or personal experience, and increasing the public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding should be developed. (uAU2)	Byzantine cultural heritage site is not accessible and there is no off-site presentation for varied audiences. There are no activities or environments for personal experience and increasing public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding. (uAU3)
Principle 2 **Information Sources** **(uIS)**	There are written, visual and digital sources to inform on Byzantine cultural heritage sites. These sources were published or prepared as results of comprehensive and multi-disciplinary researches on cultural heritage sites and their environments. Visual reconstruction and digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites prepared according to archaeological, architectural and historical data is accessible or is being planned. (uIS1)	There are written, visual or digital sources, but the quantities of these are insufficient to enable exploration and understanding. The accessibility or diversity of language of the sources are limited or there are language restrictions. Comprehensive and multi-disciplinary researches about cultural heritage sites and their environments are in progress. Visual reconstruction or digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist. (uIS2)	The written, visual, and digital sources are not enough to enable exploration or understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. There are no scientific studies and excavations about Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Visual reconstruction and digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist. (uIS3)
Principle 3 **Attention to Setting and Context** **(uASC)**	The interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites consider all aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site are respected. The natural environment and landscape around cultural heritage sites are considered in its interpretation and presentation. (uASC1)	The interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore some aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site are not respected or only some of them are underlined. The visual or physical relation or continuity between cultural heritage sites and their natural surroundings and landscape is weak. (uASC2)	The interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore almost all aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site are not respected. The natural environment and landscape around cultural heritage sites are ignored in its interpretation and presentation. (uASC3)
Principle 4 **Preservation of Authenticity**[468] **(uPA)**	The interpretation and presentation program respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, material and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, feeling and spirit and other internal and external factors. Obviously, it is not possible to respect all tenets, but at least respecting the form and design, materials, technique, spirit, feeling, context and setting are important to preserve the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. (uPA1)	The interpretation and presentation program respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, materials, technique, but repairs or the new function with its necessities and additions that depend on it break the impact of the spirit of the place. However, architectural details, spatial and material characteristics are respected. (uPA2)	The authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is not respected in any aspects or the site is neglected. The architectural, spatial and materials characteristics are not clear due to neglect of site or improper interventions. The current situation of cultural heritage sites is not representing the Byzantine past and identity from an objective point of view. (uPA3)

[468] The basic tenets of authenticity considered in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites are based on Nara Document (ICOMOS 1994).

3.2.3 Istanbul/Constantinople: The Capital of Byzantium

Istanbul is a specific and significant example of the analysis of Byzantine cultural heritage in terms of conservation and presentation. Constantinople had been the capital city of the Byzantine Empire for more than 1000 years and after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire the city became the capital of the Ottoman Empire for 470 years. In the Republican period, Istanbul has always been a significant cultural and economic center of the country, but not in the Republic's first decades. Thus, the city continued to be settled and transformed with significant and monumental buildings dating to different periods of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires and faced serious urbanization projects and constructions since the 1950s. Kuban states that Istanbul is the memory of the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman civilizations that has influenced other civilizations. The distinctive marks of the long history and culture of the city are still visible in city-scale or single building scale, as well as in the institutions and architectural and urban forms. There are elements of historical continuity and interactions between different civilizations. Kuban also emphasizes that an understanding of Istanbul without Byzantium is impossible, as the Ottoman culture adopted Byzantine culture – in terms of urban topography, architecture, cultural elements, and politics.[469] Thus, any attempt to erase the Byzantine memory of the city, and the remains of the Empire, also threatens Ottoman culture and its existence within the city.[470] In the present situation, Istanbul is the most populous and developed city in terms of economic, cultural, social, and urban facilities. It has a very crowded, dense, and complex urban fabric. All of these factors can also be interpreted as threats to cultural heritage sites. For example, historic areas of

[469] Kuban 2010, 19.

[470] Kuban provides examples of the physical remains of Byzantine and Ottoman cultures fixed in the contemporary city and highlights the importance of preserving them. According to him, the Ottoman Empire substituted for the Byzantine Empire, but did not imitate it (2010, 18-20).

Istanbul, some of which are listed as World Heritage Sites, are known to be in danger of 'population pressure, industrial pollution, and uncontrolled urbanization'.[471]

For this reason, the conditions, visibility, conservation, and representation attitudes towards not only Byzantine cultural heritage but all of them are critical. Thus, some of the problems discussed for Byzantine cultural heritage sites can also be valid for Ottoman, industrial, and modern cultural heritage sites in Istanbul. However, only selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites will be examined here in order to analyze their understanding, conservation, and representation. To start with, therefore, the Byzantine history of Istanbul should be briefly mentioned, with a particular emphasis on the events and details that affected city planning, architecture, and the cultural heritage sites of this extraordinary city.

Constantinople/Istanbul was established as the Christian Emperor Constantine's (324-337 CE) capital between 324-330 CE.[472] This period featured the construction of the city walls, to define the boundaries and protect the city. The first layout of the city was as a Greek town, connected to the Via Egnatia and with improvable port facilities on the 'Golden Horn'. At the same time, many buildings, such as the churches and imperial palace, were constructed, and the Hippodrome enlarged.[473] In the 4th century, new harbors (the 'Julian Harbor' and the 'Harbor of Theodosius') were built in the southern part of the city. In the 5th century, Emperor Theodosius I (379-395 CE) enlarged the city with new walls, which still survive.[474] The period of Justinian I (527-565 CE) is also notable for its major construction activities.[475] This was the era of great civil unrest, the 'Nika Riots', which resulted in the destruction of many buildings in Constantinople.[476] The urban topography of the city in the

[471] For more information, see URL-39 (retrieved on 27.11.2020).
[472] Millingen 1899, 15-39; Krautheimer 1987, 42-43; Kuban 2004, 28; Bardill 2012, 28. For more information about the establishment period of the city, first planning, and building program, see also Krautheimer 1987, 41-67.
[473] Krautheimer 1987, 43-47; Bassett 2004, 22-36; Bardill 2012, 154-155.
[474] Müller-Wiener 2001, 288; Magdalino 2007, 211-215.
[475] Evans 1996; Kuban 2004, 98-108.
[476] Procop. *Aed*. I 20-24.

medieval period mostly includes religious structures such as monasteries and churches. However, attacks by Avars, Persians, Arabs, and Bulgarians, and several natural disasters, should be mentioned as important events affecting urban topography and buildings.[477] The Crusades, until the Fourth, were also important factors for Constantinople, with Crusaders stopping at Constantinople *en route* for Jerusalem. However, the Fourth Crusade targeted Constantinople, and it resulted in the invasion and sack of the city by the Latin Crusaders.[478] Thus, the capital was moved to Nicaea between 1204-1261 under the rule of the Laskarid Dynasty. The city was retaken and became the capital again in 1261, ruled by the Palaiologos Dynasty until Mehmed II conquered the city in 1453. Undoubtedly, the urban topography and architecture had changed in the last two or three centuries of the city, starting from the Latin invasion to the end of the Empire. The impact of the loss of power of the Byzantine Empire was not limited to Constantinople, but many cities and lands were also lost to the Turks in Anatolia. After the Ottomans took Constantinople, Byzantine culture and background started to change, but it was also reinterpreted in the Ottoman architecture.

Specific to Byzantium, Istanbul has great potential, but unfortunately, the Byzantine past and its remains are not well emphasized, and finding financial resources for the conservation of Byzantine structures, except for significant buildings such as St. Sophia, is difficult compared to the funds acquired for Ottoman structures. Zeynep Ahunbay notes that Ottoman structures have priority in terms of conservation, and previous layers are undervalued in recent conservation projects. Ahunbay also notes that allocating resources for the conservation of mosques, madrasahs, and dervish lodges, even if their remains have already disappeared, is preferable rather than providing them for Byzantine structures.[479] However, this enthusiasm for the conservation of cultural heritage sites somehow does not extend to the Byzantine

[477] Mundell Mango 2000, 198-205; Magdalino 2007, 1-111; Kuban 2010, 37-38.
[478] Charanis 1952, 123-134; Kuban 2010, 38.
[479] Ahunbay 2013, 59-60.

period, and the reasons for this are often debated. Approaches to the issues regarding Byzantine cultural heritage sites were examined in the previous chapter, and thus, after this brief Byzantine history of Istanbul, the current practices of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites can be examined in relation to the City's walls, churches, harbors, and cisterns.

3.2.3.1 The City Walls of Istanbul

3.2.3.1.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

The first discussion about the preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites may logically focus on Istanbul's famous city walls. The conservation problems facing them, of course, merit independent and comprehensive research. Nevertheless, within this present research, their states of preservation and presentation, and their impact on understanding generally, and the role of the walls as part of the Byzantine cultural heritage will be discussed.[480]

The present walls, date from the 5th century, and are the latest circuit to enclose the Byzantine Constantinople. The first walls, known as the 'Constantinian Walls', were built during the 4th-century foundation of the city. Alexander Van Millingen describes the place and physical features as following (Fig. 3.2):[481]

> "The new land wall, we shall find, crossed the promontory along a line a short distance to the east of the Cistern Moikus on the Seventh Hill, the Tchoukour Bostan, west of Avret Bazaar, and of the Cistern of Aspar at the head of the valley between the Fourth

[480] There are several dissertations concerning the conservation of the land and sea walls in different contexts in Istanbul. Durusoy Özmen (2019) examined the land walls as an 'urban void', and discussed their conservation in this context. Semiz (2014) studied the sea walls of the Golden Horn and the Marmara seashore, focusing on their historic and landscape values and conservation proposals; Baş Bütüner (2010) defined the city land walls as 'urban fissure', and examined their reconceptualization within the urban milieu of Istanbul.

[481] Millingen 1899, 8, 16-17, 22, 24-25, 27; Krautheimer 1987, 46; Bardill 2004, 122-123; Mango 2004, 24-26; Turnbull 2004, 5-6; Kuban 2010, 31-34.

and Sixth Hills (the Tchoukour Bostan on the right of the street leading from the Mosque of Sultan Mehmet to the Adrianople Gate)."[482]



Figure 3.2. Map of Byzantine Constantinople, including the three circuits of city walls constructed in different periods (Millingen 1899, 19).



Figure 3.3. The approximate location of the walls of Constantine within present-day Istanbul. This image, prepared by the author, is the result of overlapping Millingen's map on a modern aerial photograph, taken from Google Maps, of the historic peninsula.

[482] Millingen 1899, 16-17, refers to the ancient writers and texts, such as Zosimus and *Notitia Dignitatum accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitane et Laterculi Provinciarum*. He stresses that when the *Notitia* was written, the enlargement of the city by Theodosius (408-450 CE) was very recent and the city was referred to in terms Constantine's rule.

Unfortunately, Constantine's walls have completely disappeared, and there is nothing left but the descriptions in ancient sources about their approximate siting and architectural features. It is also unclear whether the first construction of the walls by the Sea of Marmara was actually initiated by Constantine, or their actual siting or length.[485] Figure 3.2 presents a map showing the three different walls of the city, including the earliest constructed before the arrival of Constantine; this map may give an idea about where to seek for the remains of Constantine's walls (Fig. 3.3).

According to Alexander Van Millingen's map, the land walls of Constantine enclose the area between the Unkapanı Bridge and south of the Yenikapı meeting area, including the present-day Cerrahpaşa neighborhood, and partially the Fatih district. This map does not indicate the particular siting of the walls but considering other studies on the walls, it is possible to propose and investigate approximate locations.[486] The walls of Constantine define the city's boundaries, even when the city expanded in the following centuries and the walls of Theodosius became the new boundary. The area between the walls of Constantine and those of Theodosius was occupied by green spaces and sparse buildings.[487] The walls of Constantine still existed when Theodosius's walls redefined the boundaries of the city, but they disappeared in the following centuries. Wolfgang Müller-Wiener notes that large parts of the walls were damaged by the earthquake of 554 CE, and that the city walls at the Golden Horn and some other areas had collapsed in the 9th century.[488] Unfortunately, no detailed information has come to light on how and when the walls disappeared.

[485] Müller-Wiener 2001, 312.
[486] Millingen 1899,19; Turnbull 2004, 5.
[487] Kuban 2004, 28.
[488] For primary sources about earthquakes in the 5th century, see Jo. Mal. *Chron.*, 14-22; Marcell. Chron., 447-1. For the English translation of the chronicle of Marcellinus, see Cooke 1995. For primary sources on the earthquakes of the 8th and 9th centuries, see Thphn. *Chron.*, AM 5970 and Cedrenus, 2, 173, B. For modern accounts examining these primary sources for Constantine's walls, see Millingen 1899, 8-25; Müller-Wiener 2001, 288, 293; Bardill, 2004 122-124.

The present walls in Istanbul were first constructed by the order of Emperor Theodosius II (398-450 CE).[489] These walls are very significant today and are considered an essential part of the urban landscape, regarding their scale and architectural features. When the history of the walls is examined, the first planning of the walls also had different phases; there were later interventions to repair or consolidate the walls resulting from the several earthquakes, sieges, and wars in the Byzantine period and later.[490] Significantly, the series of earthquakes seem to have begun a few decades after the first construction and damaged the walls seriously.[491] The walls were repaired and consolidated after the severe earthquakes of the 5th, 8th-11th, and 14th centuries, and also following the Avar and Arab attacks of the 7th and 8th centuries.[492] Beyond the repairs, some parts of the walls were reconstructed, or new sections were added in a different type of construction technique dated to later periods.[493] The latest repairs of the walls in the Byzantine period were dated to the 13th and 14th centuries, after the city was retaken from the Latins.[494]

The construction techniques and materials of the city walls are crucial to understanding the periodization of the walls. The first walls of Theodosius II include three layers – the main (inner) walls (width: 4.8 m, height: 11 m), front (outer) walls (width: 2 m, height: 8 m), and ditch (width: 18 m) (Fig. 3.4). There are 96 towers (approximate height: 19 m), in a polygonal or rectangular shape, located approximately every 75 m. The wall texture of the 5th-century walls is significant,

[489] Millingen 1899, 8, 40-44; Müller-Wiener 2001, 288; Kuban 2004, 47-64; Turnbull 2004, 7.
[490] For the land walls, see Müller-Wiener 2001, 286-295, 301-307. For the walls of Blachernae, see *ibid.* 308-311. For the walls at the Golden Horn and the sea walls on the Sea of Marmara, see *ibid.* 312-19. See also Kuban 2010, 49.
[491] Millingen 1899, 33-45; Dirimtekin 1953, 2; Eyice 1994, 441; Müller-Wiener 2001, 288, 293; Turnbull 2004, 7.
[492] Millingen 1899, 45; Müller-Wiener 2001, 286, 288, 293-294; Turnbull 2004, 8-9; Kuban 2010, 47, 57.
[493] Turnbull (2004, 7-8) notes that the walls of the Blakhernae district were constructed during the reign of Heraclius (610-641 CE) in the 7th century. Leo V (813-820 CE) then added the outer wall of Blakhernae. Some repairs were major ones which could be distinguished from the first construction. See also Kuban 2010, 47-49.
[494] Müller-Wiener 2001, 293.

being constructed of limestone blocks and five rows of brick.[495] The walls of Blachernae enclosed the independent settlement just beyond the city, and the walls of Theodosius and the Golden Horn joined these fortifications in the 5th century. However, these walls collapsed after the Avar attacks of the 6th century, and the Emperor Heraclius (610-641 CE) then constructed new ones, approximately 450-500 m in length and consolidated with 13 rectangular towers. Emperor Leo V (813-820 CE) constructed new walls after the Bulgarian attacks of the 9th century, in front of the older walls of the Blachernae district.

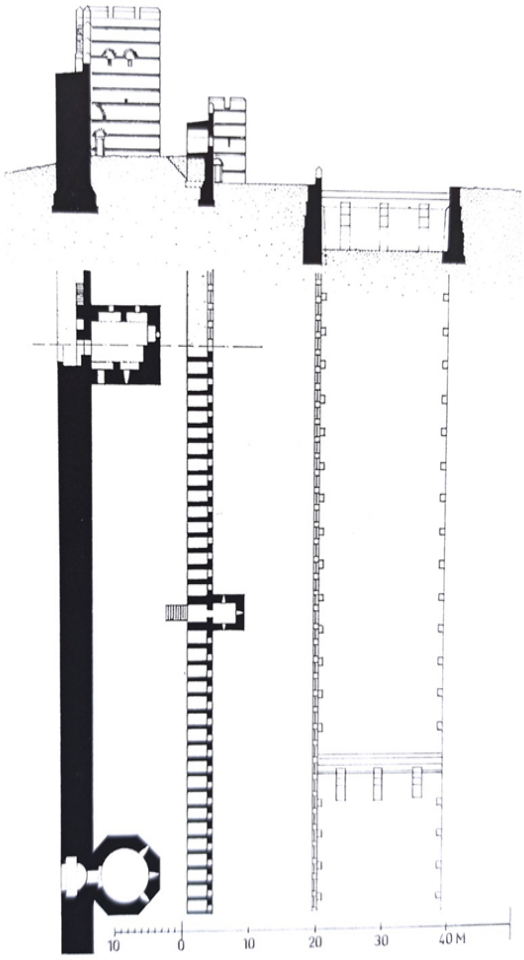

Figure 3.4. A partial plan and section of the wall representing the inner wall, outer wall and ditch (Müller-Wiener, 2001, Fig. 326).

[495] Kuban 2004, 53-64.

The walls at Blachernae and the dungeons of Anemas were rebuilt during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus to secure the area, and which was then used as an imperial residence. Accordingly, the fortifications consist of three different periods: the walls of Heraclius, Leo, and Manuel I Comnenus. Apart from the construction of new walls in different periods, the repairs of the walls and the reconstructed parts can be distinguished by their different features, and, overall, the city walls of Constantinople represent a multi-period structure, still standing to this day, to be discovered, understood, and preserved.

During the siege of Constantinople by the Ottomans, the walls were seriously damaged; they were repaired on the orders of Mehmet II after the city was taken and the city walls thus defended the Byzantine capital until 1453, and then defined the limits of the Ottoman capital subsequently. The walls remained important for the Ottomans, and their maintenance and repair were always under consideration. Thus there has always been a sensitivity towards protecting this defensive feature, for many different reasons, and for their preservation and representation – a powerful symbol of the Ottoman capital's repute.[496]

3.2.3.1.2 History of Research, Excavation, and Conservation

The notion of the walls' cultural value, and limits on building near/next to them, were defined in imperial decrees, such as the one in the 18th century, during the Ottoman period. In this context, the main concern was not primarily the conservation of the walls, but the experience of visitors to the city in the late Ottoman period.[497] Until

[496] A detailed analysis of the interventions to preserve the city walls in the Ottoman period is not a primary objective here. For further researches on this topic, see, e.g., Semiz 2014, 43-61.

[497] Ottoman archival documents, such as Waqfiyes (*Vakfiyeler*), *Kadı sicilleri, Mühimme Defterleri*, provide information about approaches to the city walls in terms of repairs, new construction, and their understanding. Güreşsever Cantay (2016, 63-77) translated some of the documents to examine the restoration works to the Ottoman architecture. For example, the decree of Ahmet III on the citadels and city walls of the Empire, including Istanbul, and his concerns about nearby constructions and representation of the walls, is an important document for understand sensitivities towards them. This decree can be found in *Mühimme Defterleri* 130, page 379 (*Evasıt-ı Şaban 1134/m. Haziran 1722*): "*Bütün kaleler ve özellikle Saltanat merkezi ve Hilâfet şehri olan "Allah bütün âfetlerden koru*sun"

the 19th century, the walls were maintained, but afterward, the walls were neglected as a result of the reorganization of the military system of the Ottoman Empire, construction of industrial buildings along the seashore after the Industrial Revolution, and following urbanization strategies.[498] At the end of the 19th century, the walls were still important parts of the urban landscape of Istanbul, a city that has been developing for centuries as the Ottoman Empire's capital, and then as one of the most important cities in the Republic of Turkey. The first conservation master plan, prepared in the 1930s, included the walls.[499] However, increasing urbanization activities, that began in the 1950s, still represent a severe threat to the existence and

İstanbul Suru üzerinde bina yapmak, ağaç dikmek eskiden beri yasak olduğundan başta mezkur sur Saltanat merkezi ve Hilâfet ülkesi'nin çevresini örttüğünden, üzerinde bina ve ağaç bulunması, muhtelif ülke ve köşelerden gelen hrıstiyan memleketleri elçilerinin ve halkının küçük görme, alay ve devlet adamlarımı ayıplamalarına sebep olacak kötü bir durum olduğundan, çeşitli fermanlarımla yasak olunmuşken, kısa bir süreden beri, seferlerin devamından dolayı bazı kimseler fırsat bulup yer yer binalar ve barakalar yapmış ve diğerleri de birbirini görerek artmış olup Ahırkapı'dan Yedikule'ye kadar, surlar üzerinde baraka, oturacak yer ve kafesler koyup bağçe ve ot kurutma yerleri yapıp, meyveli-meyvesiz ağaçlar dikmiş, niceleri dahi mecralarını eskiden yapılan bu işe ayrılan özel büyük mecralara akıtmak ve bağlamak kendilerine büyük masraf olacak düşüncesi ile, ve kalenin yıkılmasına sebeb olacaklarını akıllarına getirmediklerinden kale duvarlarının diledikleri yerinde delikler açıp mecrala- rını akıtmaları ile, çirkefleri asıl kaleye sızıp kalenin yer yer bazı bölümlerinin yıkılmasına, bazı bölümlerinin de yıkılmak üzere hale gelmesine sebep olmaları ile bu durumun önlemesi ve surun tamiri ve bundan sonra bu güne kadarki kötü durumu meydana getiren yakışıksız işlerden korunması, devletin önemli işlerin- den olduğundan ve saltanat namusumun gerektirdiklerinden olduğundan, siz ki, yukarıda belirtilen kişilersiniz, açıklanan mahallere varıp, yukarıda yazılı oldu- ğu üzere, eskiden beri oturulan evlerden maada, kale duvarı üzerinde meydana getirilen barakalar, oturacak yerler ve kafesler ve bağçe ve ot kurutma yerleri ve ağaçların hepsini yıktırıp, bozdurup, söktürerek ve ana mecradan başka sonradan kale duvarında açtıkları delikleri dahi gizlice ve kolaylıkla açılmayacak şekilde gereği gibi örttürüp kapattırarak bir tekinin bile şimdi olduğu gibi kalmasına hiç- bir şekilde izin vermekten kaçınınız. Bundan böyle ehliyetli adamlar tayini ile kontrolü kararlaştırılmış olup şöyle ki; bundan sonra Ahırkapı'dan Yedikule'ye kadar sur üzerinde ihdas olunan binalar, ağaçlar ve diğerleri sahiplerinin korunması için yıktırılmayacak, söktürülmeyecek ve yahut sonradan açılmış mecralar- dan biri kapatılmayıp olduğu gibi bırakılacak olursa azarlanırsınız. Ve bundan sonra araştırma uzun sürmez düşüncesiyle ferman-ı hümayunumdan yasaklanan durumlardan birinin yeniden meydana geldiği duyulacak ve öğrenilecek olur ise zaman geçirilmeden çok şiddetli ceza ile sahiplerinin cezası verileceği ve bina- sının yıkılacağı ve arsasına devletçe el konulacağı kesinlikle kararlaştırılmış ol- duğunu da sahiplerine güzelce ilân ederek duyurmanız ve bu mühim emirden ayrılmaya asla rıza ve müsamaha göstermemeniz hususunda ulu emrim çıkmıştır. Buyurdum ki..." Similar concerns about Byzantine structures, and the negative impact (due to their ruined state) on foreign visitors, were referred to in a report by the Ministry of Culture in 1935 (page 17).

[498] For changes to the Ottoman military system, see Sakaoğlu, 2007, 35. For the construction of industrial buildings along the shores, see Köksal 2005, 14. For the later urbanization of the city, see Altınyıldız 2014, 284-285. See also Semiz 2014, 37.

[499] Semiz 2014, 38.

sustainability of the walls, a topic that still causes controversy.[500] Thus, the walls have had to face different risks and conservation problems than other cultural heritage sites, resulting from the rapid urban development of Istanbul.

The urbanization of the city basically covers interventions from road networks and transportation systems. The need for new roads and transportation facilities are driven by increasing population numbers, industrialization, and urban sprawl generally around the city walls. Transportation reforms have always been crucial to improve city standards, simplify daily life, and increase opportunities for commercial activities. Especially for capital/metropolitan cities, transportation networks and efficiency have always been essential to make cities work and provide livable environments. However, such interventions, i.e. new road networks and transportation systems, and today's understanding of modernist/contemporary urbanization, can be criticized for the impacts they have for cultural heritage sites, as these sites are generally under threat from urbanization and ready to be sacrificed. Interestingly, such sacrifices of the past, and remains of past cultures, is not limited just to the last century. One of the earliest examples is the partial destruction of the Byzantine city walls for the railway construction that took place in the late 19th century.[501] According to the initial planning, the railway was to pass through historic neighborhoods, and some buildings had to be demolished, as well as some parts of the city walls. Ahmet E. Tozoğlu notes that the Sultan's approach towards the planning of the route and the likely possible destruction: [502] 'In many sources, as rumor has it, it is often stated that when the Sultan was asked for his orders

[500] See above, pp. 146-148.
[501] On the construction of Sirkeci Station, see Tozoğlu 2017, 1-24. In terms of Istanbul, one of the first applications of the rail system, the tramway connecting Galata to Karaköy, was in the second half of the 19th century. Tozoğlu defines the impact of the tramway on the urban fabric: "It can be said that the historical topography of Istanbul was challenged as never before by the simultaneous arrival of trams, underground and intercity railways, infrastructures that would shape the urban topography for decades."
[502] Ahunbay 1994, 76; Tozoğlu 2018, 8.

concerning the design of the route, he replied decisively, 'The railway must come to Istanbul, even it has to pass over my own back'.

Obviously, the main concern was to develop the city in terms of transportation, which leads to many other possible benefits for the city. Similarly, constructing new roads and thoroughfares for better traffic flow has been a development strategy open to all governments/municipalities. Apart from these planned construction activities, rapid and unplanned urbanization and industrialization, causing intensive immigration from rural areas to cities, have turned into threats to cultural heritage sites in the urban settlements.[503] These were manifested in the form of a housing crisis and slum areas,[504] and resulting in squats and illegal housing implementations.[505] In Istanbul the population considerably increased in the 20th century, and correspondingly the suburban settlements spread outside the city walls. New openings were constructed within the city walls, often demolishing them to connect the new suburban areas to the city center. Demolishing city walls which define the old limits of historic cities is common for urban expansion, with the walls becoming peripheral to the historic core and the modern/contemporary city. Walls lose their function – security and impermeability – in the present day. Thus, their dysfunctionality can lead to the destruction of walls unless there are regulations protecting cultural heritage sites. The intentions of the former mayors of Istanbul prove this argument: Cemil Topuzlu[506] intended to demolish those walls in ruins to 'beautify' Istanbul; very fortunately this proposal was thrown out.[507] Abdullah Çavlı, a Turkish journalist/writer, questioned the necessity of preserving the walls, as, in his view, the walls offer no benefits, and any restoration works would only interfere with the historical traces.[508]

[503] For a general review on rapid urbanization and urban sprawl, see Tekeli 2015, 208-212. For immigration to Istanbul, see Akpınar 2015a, 61-63, 68-69.
[504] Akpınar 2015a, 60.
[505] For population statistics and illegal housing, see Arlı 2015, 267-268, 277.
[506] Mayor of Istanbul between 1912-1914, and 1919-1920.
[507] Altınyıldız 1997, 49.
[508] Altınyıldız 1995, 95.

The present condition of the walls is critical and there are many different conservation problems, which will be examined. Obviously, the Byzantine city walls in Istanbul enclose a significant part of the city compared to other Byzantine cities. These great walls, although still standing, are, of course, now incomplete and have been exposed to different threats related to the growth of the city and transportation projects since the 19th century. The construction of new thoroughfares has also affected the sea walls, as well as the land walls. Kennedy Avenue was constructed in front of the sea walls and followed their routes and remains/traces along the coast of the Sea of Marmara. The diversity of the wall textures and fragments in this direction is remarkable in terms of urban texture and how they co-exist with other buildings, how they interact with pedestrians, the landscape they create in front of the walls, and how they demonstrate the state of preservation of the walls.

Large sections of the city walls are not in a good state of preservation – some have already disappeared, some are about to collapse, while others are neglected. However, there were previous conservation projects concerning them. 1985 was a critical landmark for Istanbul, with four zones being registered as the 'Historical sites of Istanbul' in the UNESCO World Heritage List: the Sultanahmet urban archaeological site, the Süleymaniye conservation area, the Zeyrek conservation area, and the great land walls.[509] Accordingly, conservation projects were prepared for both the land and sea walls by the municipality and conservation specialists. A conservation master plan for the land walls (1987) was also prepared, including a determined conservation zone and height limits on surrounding buildings; the walls were also included in the subsequent plan for the historical peninsula as a whole (1990).[510] Some of these interventions to preserve the walls found favor, but some

[509] The World Heritage List for Istanbul includes: the Sultanahmet urban archaeological site (Topkapı Palace, St. Sophia, St. Irene, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, the Hippodrome), the Süleymaniye conservation area (Süleymaniye Mosque and surroundings), the Zeyrek conservation area (Pantokrator Monastery/Zeyrek Kilise Camii, and surrounding streets), the conservation area of the Land Walls in Istanbul (located on the west side of the city between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara, and close environment, e.g. Blachernae Palace).
[510] Durusoy 2019, 370-373.

were criticized. For example, these new conservation proposals did not cover the walls' nearby surroundings and landscapes.[511] Preservation repairs were undertaken on the walls/towers at Zeytinburnu, Silivrikapı, along the 10. Yıl Avenue, but these were only partial interventions. However, the recent restoration works to the walls are not without controversy. Anestis Vasilakeris notes that the restorations to Byzantine walls conducted by the municipality in the 1980s were neither very detailed nor comprehensive. Zeynep Ahunbay agrees by demonstrating that not enough clearance was allowed when building the highways and landscape design for proper conservation and better visual experience.[512]

In the 1990s, Zeynep Ahunbay and Metin Ahunbay conducted conservation projects on the land walls, but these could not be completed due to changes in the municipal administration. However, the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul also conducted conservation projects on some parts of both the land and sea walls in the same period.[513] In the 2000s, there were interventions such as constructing new buildings on the sea walls along the Marmara shores and restoration to some buildings on the sea walls, such as the former French Prison.[514] Such interventions and partial conservation works continued in the following years. In addition, workshops and researches were conducted to elaborate and discuss conservation approaches towards the city walls.

The Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul ran a workshop to re-assess sustainable conservation and utilization criteria in 2013. The report prepared at the end of the workshop included taking into account the urban dynamics affecting the land walls,

[511] Durusoy 2019, 368-372.
[512] Vasilakeris 2013, 69. See also Altınyıldız 1997, 50; Ahunbay 2013, 58. Prost proposed that no construction should be allowed up to 500 m from the city walls. See also Duranay *et al.* 1972, 77; Semiz 2014, 67.
[513] M. Ahunbay and Z. Ahunbay 1994, 79, and Semiz 2014, 67-68. Some of the repaired wall fragments in this period are: the Belgrad Gate, the Silivri Gate, and the Mevlevihane Gate (on the land walls), the walls dated to the period of Leon V (813-820) at Ayvansaray, and their environs, the walls between the 1st and 6th towers on the land walls, the Golden Horn sea walls (between Ayakapı and Balat), and the Sea of Marmara walls (between the Sarayburnu-Ahırkapı Lantern and Ahırkapı-Kumkapı).
[514] Semiz 2014, 67.

preservation of the public spaces around the land walls, preservation of the cemeteries around the land walls, the relationship between the land walls and surrounding residential areas, and defining the cultural and urban areas of the land walls.[515] Beyond this workshop, the 'Monitoring Report on the Conservation Problems of the Land Walls of Istanbul as a World Heritage Site' discussed the results of these partial conservation applications, stating that the lack of comprehensive conservation approaches thus far has put the authenticity and integrity of the walls and their environs at risk.[516] The report goes on to list these threats to the authenticity and integrity of the walls:

- The partial conservation/regeneration projects, such as Sulukule and Ayvansaray, have damaged the present cultural landscape.
- Incorrect approaches to the restoration and reconstruction of the land walls, the Palace of Porphyrogenitus (Tekfur Sarayı), and the Dungeons of Anemas, threaten the authenticity and integrity of the walls.
- The Urban Park project is a threat to the existence of the historical gardens (*bostan*) near Yedikule. Preservation of the historical gardens and the landscapes of the walls should be considered as part of any projects linked to the preservation of the walls.
- The fact that site management plan is not considered an obligatory for the preservation of the walls .[517]
- Allowing speculative real estate investments in conservation areas within the national, legal regulations is considered a threat to world heritage sites.
- The fact that there are contradictions between the principles defined in the conservation master plan of the Historical Peninsula and the construction projects provided within Law no. 5366 and Law no. 6309 conducted at the world heritage sites, including the land walls. These applications are also

[515] *Tarihi Yarımada Kara Surları Çalıştayı Raporu*, 2013, 12-18.
[516] Çorakbaş, Aksoy and Ricci 2014, 3, 5-6.
[517] For the 'Site Management Plan' of the Historic Peninsula when this report was prepared, see URL-40 (retrieved on 27.11.2020). For the latest version, see URL-41 (retrieved on 27.11.2020).

against the criteria defined in UNESCO's 'Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention'.[518]

However, although seeking a consensus on preserving the city walls and determining the values, significance, risks and threats, there is currently no homogenous, comprehensive strategy and approach towards the Byzantine walls, in terms of conservation, representation and experience. Consequently, there are still different fragments of walls in various conditions, states of preservation, and presentation.

3.2.3.1.3 Current Situation and Analysis

According to the criteria determined for the evaluation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, the analyses of different sections of the walls are listed as:

- The remaining walls and towers. This group covers the free-standing wall fragments repaired or preserved. These wall fragments or towers do not co-exist with any later structures. They lost their integration with the rest of the circuit due to later urbanization applications and collapse, yet these remains and towers still exist and represent the Byzantine past of the city, referring to specific construction techniques and material. The construction materials and wall textures vary, and include marble, brick and limestone; the use of *spolia* is significant. These wall fragments are structurally stable and have been subject to past repairs and conservation projects. The marble tower near Yedikule (Fig. 3.5) and the sea walls at Yenikapı are some of the examples of this group (Fig. 3.6, 3.7, 3.8). In particular, the remains of the sea walls at Yenikapı are significant in demonstrating the physical relationship between the walls and the sea. These wall sections are mostly observed in uSC2, uSI2,

[518] Çorakbaş, Aksoy and Ricci 2014, 3-11. Law no. 5366 on the 'Preservation by Renewal of Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties and Maintaining its Usage' (*Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Taşınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun*) was issued in 2005. Law no. 6306 on the 'Transformation of Areas at Risk through Disasters' (*Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi ile İlgili Kanun*) was issued in 2012.

uVU1, uVU2, uPC3 when defining the state of preservation, and uAU2, uIS1, and IS2, uASC2, or uASC3, uPA2.



Figure 3.5. The Marble Tower, 2020.



Figure 3.6. The remains of the sea walls at Yenikapı, 2020.



Figure 3.7. The remains of the sea walls at Yenikapı, south view, 2020.



Figure 3.8. The remains of the sea walls at Yenikapı, north view, 2020.

- The remains of the walls and towers. This group refers to the wall fragments that have survived, but mostly with serious structural problems and threat of collapse. These walls have maintained their positions as a periphery of the neighborhood and face the main thoroughfares and highways. Fully understanding these sections in terms of their role as marking the periphery of the historic core is problematic, as the 10. Yıl Boulevard runs right in front of the walls. In addition, Highway O-1 also forms a break between the city walls and the rest of the city. The land walls comprising this group run from Yedikule to Ayvansaray (i.e. those at Silivrikapı, Mevlanakapı, Topkapı, and Edirnekapı), to the sea walls of the Golden Horn. However, the land walls also include other fragments that will be examined. These sections are mostly classified as uSC3, uSI2, uSI3, uVU2, uVU3, uPC3, uPC4, in terms of defining the state of preservation, and uAU2, uAU3, uIS1, uIS2, uASC3, uPA3, from the point of view of presentation (Figs. 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14).



Figure 3.9. The remains of the land walls near Yedikule, 2020.



Figure 3.10. The remains of the land walls at Zeytinburnu, 2020.



Figure 3.11. The remains of the land walls at Mevlanakapı, 2020.



Figure 3.12. The remains of the land walls at Edirnekapı, 2020.



Figure 3.13. The remains of the land walls at Topkapı, 2020.



Figure 3.14. The remains of the sea walls at Balat, 2020.

- Repaired towers and gates of the land walls. There were partial conservation projects conducted on the city walls of Istanbul, representing significant examples of conservation attitudes towards the Byzantine remains of Istanbul. Two towers are in a good condition and were repaired/partially reconstructed within the land walls between Topkapı and Edirnekapı. One of

these is the tower, including its gate, which is thought to be the very one Mehmet II used when entering the city, thus giving it its name 'Fetihkapı'. There is also an inscription on the gate to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the conquest of the city[519] (Figs. 3.15, 3.16). On both sides of the gate inside the walls there are statues of janissaries (Fig. 3.17). The other tower is that of 'Uluabatlı Hasan the Martyr', the soldier who was the first to raise the Ottoman flag here during the conquest of the city (Fig. 3.18). An inscription explains the importance of the tower for Ottoman history (Fig. 3.18). These remains are mostly classified as uSC1, uSC2, uSI2, uVU2, uVU3, uPC2, uPC3, in terms of state of preservation, and uAU1, uIS1, uIS2, uASC2, uPA3, in terms of state of presentation.



Figure 3.15. The gate and tower of 'Fetihkapı' at Topkapı, 2020.

[519] URL-42 (retrieved 27.11.2020).



Figure 3.16. . A further view of the gate and tower of 'Fetihkapı', showing the inscription, Topkapı, 2020.



Figure 3.17. The janissaries guarding 'Fetihkapı', Topkapı, 2020.



Figure 3.18. The tower of 'Uluabatlı Hasan the Martyr', Topkapı, 2020.

- The remains of the land walls existing with their gardens. This group includes those wall fragments remaining with their gardens outside the walls. These sections can be found between Topkapı and Yedikule, and represent significant examples showing three layers of walls. The ditches are currently used as gardens of various kinds, and as such these areas form part of the urban landscape of Istanbul, providing clear views to help observe, understand, and experience the walls. Unfortunately, these wall fragments with their gardens are now not in good structural condition, with the towers and walls being mostly in ruins and state of collapse – significant structural cracks can be seen in the walls and towers. The continuity of the walls is maintained, but the material integrity is lost. Nevertheless, there are partially repaired and reconstructed sections within this area, mostly classified as uSC2, uSC3, uSC4, uSI3, uVU3 or uVU4, uPC3, in terms of state of preservation, and uAU1 and uAU2, uIS1 and uIS2, uASC2, uPA2, in terms of state of presentation (Figs. 3.19, 3.20).



Figure 3.19. The land walls (inner and outer circuits) and the gardens between Zeytinburnu and Topkapı, 2020.



Figure 3.20. A view including 10. Yıl Boulevard, the land walls and the gardens, Zeytinburnu, 2020.

- The remains of walls integrated with other buildings. This group refers to those wall fragments where new buildings were constructed on top of or next to them. The co-existence of the walls and the later structures, which are mostly the results of the unplanned urbanization in Istanbul, is problematic, either because access to them is impossible, or they have been incorporated into the foundations and basements of large buildings. Examples of this group are mainly to be found in the sea walls at Sirkeci, Samatya, Balat, and Cibali (Figs. 3.21, 3.22, 3.23). Additionally, there are single-storey commercial buildings on or next to the walls, which also offer open spaces for customers at Sirkeci, Samatya, and Balat (Figs. 3.24, 3.25). These wall sections are mostly classified as uSC2 or uSC3, uSI3, uVU3 or uVU4, uPC3, in terms of state of preservation, and uAU3, uIS1 and uIS2, uASC3, uPA3, in terms of state of presentation.



Figure 3.21. Examples of new buildings integrated with sea walls, Samatya, 2020.



Figure 3.22. Examples of new buildings integrated with sea walls, Cankurtaran, 2020.



Figure 3.23. Apartments constructed on sea walls, Balat, 2020.



Figure 3.24. Commercial buildings constructed on or next to seawalls; a-b) Samatya; c-d) Cankurtaran, 2020.



Figure 3.25. Commercial buildings constructed on or next to seawalls, Balat, 2020.

- Walls partially conserved. This group refers to those walls which have been repaired or reconstructed. The applications are debatable in terms of architectural identity and material characteristics (Fig. 3.26). The representation of the walls and cultural heritage experience is often unclear and it can be difficult to comprehend the feel and spirit of the Byzantine past. There are many different wall textures, and in some parts the brick and stone courses are discontinued in the repaired parts (Fig. 3.27). Thus, even though these repaired sections are in better structural condition and stable, they are still classified as uSC1 or uSC2, uSI2 or uSI3, uVU3, uPC2 or uPC3, in terms of state of preservation, and uAU2, uIS1, uASC2 or uASC3, uPA3, in terms of state of presentation.



Figure 3.26. Some examples of partial repairs and wall conservation: a) Mevlanakapı; b) Samatya; c-d) Yedikule; e) Ayvansaray; f) Edirnekapı, 2020.



Figure 3.27. Examples of different construction techniques and materials in the land and sea walls after repair/conservation: a-b-c) Mevlanakapı; d) Silivrikapı; e) Topkapı; f) Yedikule; g-h) Silivrikapı; i-j) Topkapı; k-l) Yenikapı; m) Silivrikapı, 2020.

3.2.3.1.4 Evaluation

The current situation of Istanbul's city walls is classified and analyzed in six groups; each group is explained and analyzed in terms of current physical state (preservation and presentation) and interaction with its surroundings. A total overview of the city walls is presented in Fig.3.28, indicating important locations and wall fragments in different conditions. In addition, an evaluation of the analysis for each group of walls

is summarized, with the codes of state of preservation and presentation. in Tables 3.7 and 3.8.



Figure 3.28. Overview of the analysis of the city walls. (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved 10.08.2020).

Table 3.7 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of Istanbul's city walls.

	Structural Condition				Spatial Integrity and Impact				Visibility and Understanding of Byzantine Architectural Details				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects			
	Good State of Pre. uSC1	Average State of Pre. uSC2	Poor State of Pre. uSC3	IR uSC4	Good State of Pre. uSI1	Average State of Pre. uSI2	Poor State of Pre. uSI3	IR uSI4	Good State of Pre. uVU1	Average State of Pre. uVU2	Poor State of Pre. uVU3	IR uVU4	Good State of Pre. uPC1	Average State of Pre. uPC2	Poor State of Pre. uPC3	IR uPC4
The remaining walls and towers (The Marble tower and Sea walls at Yenikapı)																
The remains of the walls (Land walls between Yedikule and Ayvansaray)																
Repaired towers and gates of the land walls (between Topkapı-Edirnekapı)																
The remains of the walls existing with the gardens (Land walls between Topkapı-Yedikule)																
The remains of the walls integrated with other buildings																
The walls that were partially conserved																

Table 3.8 Summary of the analysis of the state of presentation of Istanbul's city walls.

	Acces and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. uAU1	Average State of Pre. uAU2	Poor State of Pre. uAU3	Good State of Pre. uIS1	Average State of Pre. uIS2	Poor State of Pre. uIS3	Good State of Pre. uASC1	Average State of Pre. uASC2	Poor State of Pre. uASC3	Good State of Pre. uPA1	Average State of Pre. uPA2	Poor State of Pre. uPA3
The remaining walls and towers (The Marble tower and Sea walls at Yenikapı)												
The remains of the walls (Land walls between Yedikule and Ayvansaray)												
Repaired towers and gates of the land walls (between Topkapı-Edirnekapı)												
The remains of the walls existing with the gardens (Land walls between Topkapı-Yedikule)												
The remains of the walls integrated with other buildings												
The walls that were partially conserved												

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation can be listed as:

- The criterion of 'structural condition' of the city walls is assessed as 'average state of preservation' and 'poor state of preservation', except the wall fragments that have been repaired or reconstructed. Thus, there are some cracks in the wall fragments in the average state of preservation, but the load-bearing elements are stable. Material integrity is observable, but some

elements have lost some materials from their surfaces. In the wall fragments that in a poor state of preservation, the structural elements are about to collapse or have partially collapsed. There are serious cracks in load-bearing elements, and material integrity is lost on a large scale.

- The criterion of 'spatial integrity and impact' of the walls is assessed as 'average state of preservation' and 'poor state of preservation'. In those wall fragments in an average state of preservation, there are some changes in the spatial integrity and/or additions due to repairs or co-existence with later structures. Later buildings constructed on or next to the walls affect the walls' spatial and architectural features, and also impact on them as they change the scale and function of the walls and break the link from the rest of the wall circuit. Visibility and experience of the spaces as originally planned in the Byzantine period is partially possible. In wall fragments of average state of preservation, the original spatial integrity, impact, visibility and experience of the spaces have mostly now been changed as a result of later repairs and additions. Additionally, the collapsed parts of the walls have been replaced with new buildings which create a disconnect with the integrity of the wall circuit.
- The criterion of 'visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details' is assessed in different groups. In wall fragments in a good state of preservation, certain Byzantine architectural details, i.e. ornamentation, and building materials and construction techniques specific to the Byzantine Empire, are visible within the wall texture. Even if the walls are not structurally stable, or have partially collapsed, it is still possible to observe the materials and construction techniques. These sections have not been very much affected by conservation treatments or subsequent re-function of the Byzantine cultural heritage site. In those wall fragments in an average state of preservation, the Byzantine architectural details are now only partially visible within the wall texture, following additions or repairs that now cover these details and made during the conservation or construction of new

buildings nearby. In those wall fragments in an average state of preservation, the Byzantine architectural details have now mostly disappeared, or been damaged, and these can be identified in the remains of the wall texture.

- The criterion of 'past interventions and conservation projects' is assessed mostly as being in a 'poor state of preservation'. There are two main reasons for this assessment: 1) there have been no conservation projects, repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain the walls/fragments; 2) There have been past conservation projects, repairs and interventions to preserve and maintain the city walls, however the original spatial features, architectural details, and the impact of the works, were substituted with partial conservation projects, instead of comprehensive projects for the whole circuits, or the use of unsuitable materials and planning.

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of presentation can be listed as:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is assessed as being average or poor. The access to these Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited or impossible. The on-site and off-site presentation is insufficient to express the significance and importance of the site mainly because of rapid urbanization and the road building in the areas near the walls. To help remedy this, presentation tools and activities, as well as the benefits of personal experience and increased public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding, should all be developed.
- The criterion of 'information sources' is assessed as being in 'a good state'. The city walls of Istanbul have been described and documented since the medieval times in detail. Modern and contemporary sources also provide comprehensive information about the city walls, including their visual illustrations, drawings, photographs, and history of the repairs and interventions in different periods. Furthermore, digital sources, 3D reconstructions and videos, have now all appeared and provide a better understanding and representation of the city walls. However, there should be

further representation strategies, both on- and off-site, to use these information sources more efficiently.

- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' is assessed as being in 'a poor state', but some fragments of walls may be classified as being in 'an average state'. For those wall fragments in a poor state of presentation, the lack of interpretation and presentation is the major problem in terms of experiencing the site, and understanding the setting and physical, historical and architectural contexts of these monuments. The presentation of the walls is ignored, together with almost all aspects of their cultural and social values and environmental significance. The natural environment and landscape around these cultural heritage sites are also hard to discern and understand in terms of their co-existence with the walls. For those wall fragments in an average state of presentation, of which there are fewer than the remains in a poor state of presentation, experiencing the site and understanding the contexts of the setting – physical, historical and architectural – are only partially possible. Only increases to accessibility and visibility can remedy this.
- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' is assessed as being mostly in 'a poor state'. In this study, 'authenticity' is based on its definition in the Nara Document as follows:

> Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity.

- The current authenticity levels of the city walls are not respected because of the diverse historical periods, construction techniques, and architectural characteristics that are not presented in a way that is based on adequate and objective sources on-site. In addition, there are some fragments of walls that have been neglected and not in good condition. The architectural, spatial, and

material characteristics are not clearly understood due to neglect and/or inappropriate interventions (Figs. 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.27).

3.2.3.2 Byzantine Churches

3.2.3.2.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

Byzantine churches are the other visible and significant remains of the Byzantine Empire within Istanbul. There are many churches, constructed in different periods and urban settings during the Byzantine period, which are currently used for various purposes and are in different condition. These churches also have different backstories in terms of conservation, repairs, valorization, and presentation; in addition, being dated to different periods, they reflect specific construction techniques, use of material, and architectural organization. This variety is an advantage in helping the examination of different attitudes towards Byzantine churches. Obviously, it is impossible to include all the Byzantine churches in this chapter (Fig. 3.29), and we will focus on the churches of St. Sophia, St. Eirene, and Chora, as examples to examine conservation/representation problems, as well as historical and architectural significances.



Figure 3.29. A map indicating the locations of the Byzantine churches converted into museums, mosques, or now in ruins. (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved 10.08.2020).

After the Ottomans took Constantinople, most of the churches were turned into mosques,[520] the most significant example being the Church of St. Sophia. Mehmed II converted St. Sophia into a mosque and maintained the buildings within the *wakf* system in the Ottoman Empire, which was crucial for sustaining the existence of Byzantine structures through Ottoman lands.[521] For example, the Church of St. Sophia and the structures annexed to this building and the *wakf* were maintained in

[520] İnalcık 1990, 4-5; Ötüken 1977, 71-85; Kırımtayıf 2001 and İnalcık 2015, 47-48.
[521] İnalcık 2015, 61-62.

better condition in the Ottoman period.[522] Of course, by no means all of the Byzantine churches were transformed and preserved; some disappeared or were demolished due to natural disasters or neglect during the Ottoman period.[523] We learn from Zeynep Ahunbay that the maintenance of Byzantine structures was down to the individual respect and understanding of Ottoman society.[524] Converting churches brought them into daily contact with Ottoman society through religious activities, and local populations got used to living with these Byzantine structures in their neighborhoods. However the *wakf* system began to change from the beginning from the 18th century, with its organization and authority completely reformed after the Tanzimat Edict of 1839.[525] The direct impact of the broken *wakf* system on the Byzantine structures is not within the scope of this study, yet it should be noted that the maintenance of Byzantine churches was affected by this change, as was other *wakf* property in the Ottoman Empire. In the Republican period, some of the Byzantine churches (that were operating as mosques at that time) turned into museums.

Byzantine churches also suffered from neglect, rapid urbanization, interventions, and natural disasters; these date between the Early Byzantine and Late Byzantine periods and some exist, in different functions and conditions, to the present day. Süleyman Kırımtayıf has listed the surviving Byzantine churches that were converted into mosques (19) and those destroyed or in ruins (20).[526] He also notes that two Byzantine churches, St. Irene and St. Mary of the Mongols, were never used as mosques[527]. The present-day conditions of the Byzantine churches in terms of current function, physical state, and World Heritage status are given in Table 3.9.

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[522] Ahunbay 2013, 58.
[523] The Church of the Holy Apostles is an example of a church that disappeared during the Ottoman period.
[524] Ahunbay 2013, 58.
[525] Alkan (2007, 70-76) examines the corruption of the *wakf* system. See also Bayartan 2008, 159-160. For the legal and historical background of *wakfs* in the Ottoman Empire, see Köprülü 2005, 294-307; Bayartan 2008, 160-172.
[526] Kırımtayıf 2001, 7-109. See also Ötüken 1979.
[527] Kırımtayıf 2001, 4.

Table 3.9 Some of the Byzantine churches in Istanbul in different urban setting, function, and construction period.

Church	Construction Period(s)	In use/ abandoned /ruined	Current function	World Heritage status
The Church of St. Eirene (Aya İrini Müzesi)	4th c., 6th c.	In use	Museum	in WHL
The Church of St. Sophia	4th c., 5th c., 6th c.	In use	Mosque	in WHL
The Church of Euphemia	5th c.	In ruins	-	in WHL
Studios Monastery	5th c.	Abandoned	-	-
The Church of St. Polyeuktos	6th c.	In ruins	-	-
The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus	6th c.	In use	Mosque	in WHL
The Church of the Chora (Kariye Müzesi)	8th c.	In use	Mosque	in WHL
Myrelaion Monastery (Mesihpaşa Bodrum Camii)	10th c.	In use	Mosque	-
Pantokrator Monastery (Zeyrek Kilise Camii)	12th c.	In use	Mosque	in WHL

Byzantine churches were faced with different attitudes and interventions, both in the Ottoman and Republican periods, in terms of current use and situation.[528] Three groups can be identified: 1) churches converted into mosques; 2) churches converted into museums or exhibition venues; 3) churches, or their remains, in ruins. As noted, most of the Byzantine churches have been used as mosques since the Ottoman period, except for St. Sophia, St. Eirene, and Chora, until the very recent past. These three churches were converted into museums in the Republican period; however St. Sophia and Chora have been converted into mosques very recently. Thus, these

[528] See some examples, Özgümüş 2001; Özgümüş, Ermiş, Yılmaz 2017.

churches are hypothetical examples when discussing general understanding and attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements in reference to the discussion in the second chapter. The Church of St. Eirene will be the third example in this section – the only church that serves as a museum. Thus differences between attitudes, circumstances, and impacts of very recent transformations of Byzantine churches, as well as their state of preservation and presentation, can be examined in a broad context.

The Church of St. Eirene

The oldest of selected churches selected is St. Eirene (Fig. 3.30), built during the reign of Constantine I (306-337 CE), and becoming the city's first cathedral.[529].After St. Sophia was constructed, both buildings became cathedrals. In the 6th century, St. Eirene was seriously damaged in the Nika Riots of Justinian I (527-565 CE)[530], and the emperor then had the church rebuilt on a larger scale.[531] Wolfgang Müller-Wiener notes that the church suffered from fires and earthquakes between the 6th-13th centuries and was repaired many times. St. Eirene was included within the property area of St. Sophia after the city was retaken from the Latins in 1261. When the Ottomans took Constantinople, St. Eirene was included in the Palace of Topkapı complex and used by Christian attendees to the palace. It was later turned into an arsenal and functioned as such until the 19th century. The church was first used as a museum in the 19th century on the orders of Sultan Abdülmecid I (1839-1861), and remained one until the beginning of the 20th century. Archaeological research was conducted on St. Eirene in the 20th century, and in 1949 it was added to *Ayasofya Müzesi* (the Church of St. Sophia).[532] However, today, the church is a part of Topkapı

[529]Socr. *h. e.* 2 16. See also Müller-Wiener 2001,112. According to the ancient sources there was an older but smaller church used as the patriarchate of Constantinople place of St. Eirene.
[530] Procop. *Pers.* 1.2; Chr. Pasch. 621 B. For more information on the Nika Riots, see Kaldellis 2010, 136-144.
[531] Procop. *Aed.* 1 2,13. Also, see, Millingen 1912, 84-105; Müller-Wiener 2001, 112. For more on the transformation of the church, see Millingen 1912, 91-103.
[532] For more on the transformation of the church, see Millingen 1912, 91; Müller-Wiener 2001, 112-117. For the conservation project in the 20th century, see Tamer 2003, 192-207.

Palace (Museum) since 2015 and these buildings were assigned to Directorate of National Palaces (*Milli Saraylar)* by the order of the presidential decree no. 44.[533]



Figure 3.30. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, 2019.

The Church of St. Sophia

The Church of St. Sophia (Fig. 3.31) is considered a masterpiece of Byzantine architecture, supposedly with a construction start date during the reign of Constantine I (306-337 CE), but completed and consecrated in the period of Constantine II (337-361 CE).[534] The first church had a basilica plan scheme with a gable roof, but there is not enough extant information to allow for a description of the architectural organization and spatial characteristics of the first church. According to the primary sources, this church was ruined at the beginning of the 5th century, and the construction of the new church started in the period of Arcadius (395-404 CE) and completed in the period of Theodosius II (408-450 CE).[535] The

[533] URL-43, URL-44 (retrieved 27.11.2020)

[534] Cedrenus I 498 B; Chr. Pasch. 544 B. See also Müller-Wiener 2001, 84.

[535] Socr. *h.e.* 1 16; Cedrenus I 498 B; Chr. Pasch. 544 B; the first construction phases of the churches are indicated in these primary sources. See also Chr. Pasch. 572 B; Cedrenus 1 589 B for the consecration of the church in the 5th century. For an historical background of the church, see also Muller 1949, 18-33; Downey 1959, 37-41; Armstrong 1967, 8; Müller-Wiener 2001, 84-85; Necipoğlu 2015, 63-75.

church of St. Sophia also collapsed during the Nika Riots of Justinian I (537-565 CE), and rebuilt by order of the emperor.[536] The riots were devastating events threatening the rule of Justinian I, thus rebuilding the city's cathedral in a more significant way was crucial in helping him reclaim his power in the empire; the construction was completed in under six years, and the church was consecrated in 537.[537]



Figure 3.31. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia, 2019.

The Church of St. Sophia has a square-shaped plan covered by a central dome supported by arches between the piers and half domes from the east and west. There are also four pendentives as transition elements on four huge piers rising at the corners of the square in the central space. There are also two aisles and galleries covered by vaults around the nave.[538] The building materials of the great church of the city were brought from different parts of the empire. The architectural

[536] Krautheimer 1987, 47, 50; Müller-Wiener 2001, 85.
[537] For more information on the architectural characteristics of St. Sophia since the first construction, see Millingen 1912, 2-3, 21, 23; Downey 1950, 262-266; Krautheimer 1965, 153-157; Guidobaldi and Barsanti 2004; Kuban 2010, 131-137; Dark and Kostenec 2019, 1-22. For the mosaics and building materials, see Casson 1934, 634-640; Whittemore (1938, 218-226; 1942, 169-171); Krautheimer *ibid*. 157-158; Majeska 1978, 299-308; Oikonomidès 1985, 111-115. For the illumination, see Schibille 2014, 43-95.
[538] For the structural system and plan organization of St. Sophia, see Krautheimer 1965, 153-156.

significance was evident in terms of the scale of the building, architectural details, ornamentation, and illumination.

Since it was rebuilt in the 6th century, the church has suffered from several earthquakes, and the dome collapsed and rebuilt. In addition, during the period of Iconoclasm the mosaics were removed and/or plastered over. Thus, St. Sophia has undergone much in the way of repair over the centuries, with the ornamentations and architectural details renewed under different emperors.[539] After Mehmet II took Constantinople, he converted the church into the great mosque of the city and established a *wakf* for the mosque.[540] St. Sophia was again repaired many times during the Ottoman period; minarets and tombs were added around the church.[541] In the Republican period, there were conservation projects and interventions to repair the buildings, and archaeological investigations were conducted focusing on the major buildings.[542] In 1934 the great church was converted into a museum by a presidential decree of M. Kemal Atatürk, and instigated a new era for research, conservation attitudes, and representation of the church and its cultural identity.[543] On July 10, 2020, a further presidential decree (no. 2729) ordered that St. Sophia should be converted into a mosque once more.

The Church of the Chora

The Church of the Chora (Fig. 3.32) is a later work than St. Sophia and St. Eirene. Like the others, there were previous structures in the place of the current church, which was part of a monastery complex located in rural area of Constantinople. The remains/foundations of the previous structures date to the 6th century, with major church reconstructions in the Comnenian period (11th century). The present church, however, is the result of additions and interventions dated to the 14th century during

[539] For more information, see Müller-Wiener 2001, 86-90.
[540] Müller-Wiener 2001, 91; İnalcık 2015, 61-62.
[541] Müller-Wiener 2001, 91-93.
[542] Müller-Wiener 2001, 94. For more on the restoration and repair history of St. Sophia based on archival documents, see Diker, 2010. See also Tamer 2003, 208-236.
[543] Müller-Wiener 2001, 94; Diker 2010, 112-115. See also Ahunbay 2015, 86-91 for the problems of conservation.

the period of Theodore Metochites (1316-1321 CE). The marble ornamentations, reliefs, mosaics, and murals were completely renewed in this period. The Chora is a significant building due to its multi-period historical background, construction techniques, and interior mosaics. The recessed brick technique was used to construct the walls of the church, a highpoint in Byzantine construction technique of the 11th century.[544]



Figure 3.32. Istanbul, the Church of the Chora, 2019.

The church was converted into a mosque in the 16th century, with significant conservation/repair phases occurring in the Ottoman period, starting from the 18th century. Further conservation and maintenance of the church was necessary after the church became part of the overall St. Sophia museum complex in 1948, and this conservation process continued until 1959. Subsequently there have been several intervention/conservation projects conducted for the preservation of the church.[545]

[544] For a detailed examination of the recessed brick technique, see Ousterhout 1999, 173-175.

[545] For the historical background of the church, see Millingen 1912, 288-305; Ousterhout 1987, 11-36; Teteriatnikov 1996, 188-207; Müller-Wiener 2001, 159-163; for the 16th century situation of the Church of the Chora, see Ousterhout 1985, 117-124; for the architectural specifications of the church, see Millingen 1912, 305- 321; Ousterhout 1987, 37-141; 1996, 26-30; 2000, 242-243.

Like St. Sophia, the presidential decree of 20 August 2020 (no. 2840) saw the Chora church reconverted into a mosque.

Given the historical backgrounds of these featured churches, there are common issues affecting their conditions, and common attitudes to how they should be preserved and utilized, the main one being:

- Natural disasters (earthquakes, fires, etc.) affected the churches and threatened their physical existence.
- Attacks and looting resulted in the collapse of the churches and the loss of valuable artworks and materials.
- Converting the churches into mosques (or other uses) in the Ottoman period resulted in changes to the interior space and space use; several additions included new buildings, minarets, tombs, and places for ablutions.
- When the churches were damaged, or in poor condition, there were frequent interventions to repair and preserve in both Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

Going beyond past interventions and attitudes to these Byzantine churches, their present conditions and functions will be evaluated according to the determined criteria and considering the urban contexts in which they are located. Differences in conservation and representation will be explained, taking into account economic and cultural expectations, as well as the impact of urbanization and its several pressures.

3.2.3.2.2 Current Situation and Analysis

- **The Church of St. Sophia:** This is the most significant of Byzantine architectural works, not only because of its cultural value, works of art, and architecture, but also in terms of its spiritual and religious value. According to visitor statistics, it was the most visited museum in Turkey in 2019, and

For the conservation background of the church, see Gülersoy,1986; Müller-Wiener 2001, 162; Tamer 2003, 142-152; Kariye, Bir Anıt, 2010.

over the last five years it has never dropped below the third most visited museum in the whole country.[546] Of course, this means also a significant amount of tourism revenue for the country. However, the high number of visitors also means significant wear and tear to a building that has no overall management plan to preserve it. For this reason, cultural heritage management decisions must be adequately in place to preserve the building from the negative impacts of cultural tourism in terms of St. Sophia's use as a museum. However the church's status was rechanged into that of a mosque in July 2020, with the name 'The Hagia Sophia Grand Mosque' (*Ayasofya-i Kebîr Câmi-i Şerîfi*). This conversion inevitably required changes to the interior space and decoration. For example, there are many unique mosaics in St. Sophia, including Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, angels on pendentives, Christian saints, as well as Byzantine emperors and other members of the Imperial family. Such artworks are not allowed in Islamic places of worship, and thus how to cover these mosaics and paintings in the interior space was a priority. According to the public announcement of the spokesman of the presidency, the solution was to be sets of movable curtains in front of the mosaics, and the original floor would be covered by carpets.[547] When visiting the building now, after its reversion to a mosque, several changes are apparent:

- The entrance to the building was from the west façade when it was a museum, but now it is from the south façade, where are to be found the mosaics of Justinian offering up St. Sophia and Constantine offering up the City of Constantinople to the Child Jesus (Fig. 3.33). However these are no longer visible on account of the tetragonal white curtain in front of them. Even though vestibule is not a place of worship, the mosaics are covered (Fig.

[546] Visitor numbers to the *Ayasofya Müzesi*: 2016 = 1,437,405; 2017 = 1,892,250; 2018 = 2,930,224; 2019 = 3,727, 361 (URL-45, retrieved 27.11.2020).
[547] URL-46 (retrieved 22.09.2020)

3.34). This curtain can be opened and closed remotely; it seems always to be kept open although it is not necessary to cover the mosaics here.



Figure 3.33. Istanbul, the vestibule mosaic in the Church of St. Sophia (URL-47, retrieved 22.09.2020).



Figure 3.34. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia, the vestibule mosaic and the screen inserted after the re-conversion to a mosque in 2020.

- Similarly, the mosaics above the entrance to the narthex are covered by a white semi-circular curtain, although the narthex is not a place of worship (Fig. 3.35).



Figure 3.35. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia; the semicircular curtain covering the mosaics above the entrance to the narthex, 2020.

- The mosaic in the half-dome of the apse is also covered with sections of moveable white curtains (Fig. 3.36).

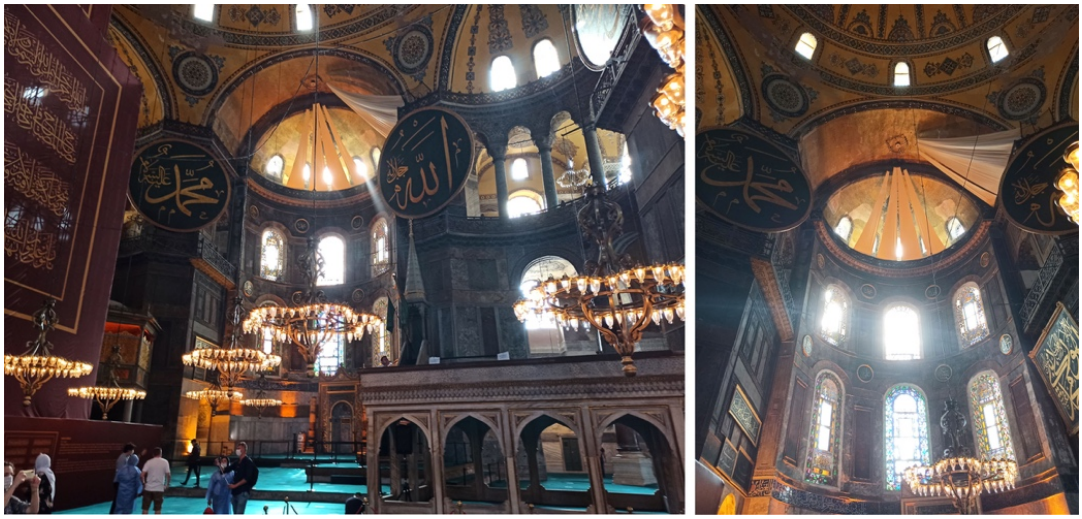

Figure 3.36. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia, the curtains in the apse, 2020.

- There is a scaffolding installed in the interior space for the conservation of the mosaics and ornaments on the walls. There are many mosaics in this part above eye-level, and it is unclear so far to see how they will be covered after the conservation project is completed (Fig. 3.37).



Figure 3.37. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia, scaffolding inside the church, 2020.

- The aisle on the east is separated for women to pray; the aisle on the west is currently closed to visitors, or worshippers, as it is used as an access area to reach the scaffolding (Fig. 3.38).



Figure 3.38. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia: aisles left – women's praying space; right – access area, 2020.

- The galleries are also closed to visitors and worshippers, as there are currently ongoing conservation projects at this level.
- There are two layers of felt laid under the carpet to preserve the original flooring (Fig. 3.38, 3.39).

Looking at these interventions to reconvert *Ayasofya Müzesi* into a mosque, it is clear that they are reversible and have not harmed the building physically. However, now the understanding of the space, and the experience inside the building, has changed since the recent period when it was independent of any singular religious identity. Of course, the decision to (re)convert St. Sophia into a mosque, as occurred after the conquest of Constantinople, is controversial in terms of its cultural identity as a Byzantine cultural heritage site. Thus, the state of preservation of the church is classified as uSC1 and uSC2, uSI2, uVU1 and uVU2, uPC1, and the state of presentation as uAU2, uIS1 and uIS2, uASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.39. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia, the carpet over the original flooring, 2020.

- **The Church of St. Eirene**: This is the oldest Byzantine church in the city, and is located within the precincts of the Topkapı Palace: it is also the only remaining church to remain now as a museum. St. Eirene does not receive as many visitors as the *Ayasofya Müzesi* and *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* according to 2019 statistics. However, considering the increasing number of visitors in recent years, the appeal of the church is clearly growing.[548] Its location between St. Sophia and the *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* is a great advantage in terms of its accessibility. There are some remains dated to the Byzantine period, most probably the Hospital of Sampson, on the west side of the church, and these also provide an archaeological site to visit and experience in the city centre; however, access is currently restricted (Fig. 3.40).



Figure 3.40. Istanbul, the remains of the Hospital of Samson, 2020.

The building is structurally stable, and the construction technique and materials are visible and understandable (Figs. 3.41, 3.42, 3.43). The use of *spolia* in the columns, column bases and capitals is also apparent. There is a

[548] Visitor levels: 2016 = 39,033; 2017 = 49,908; 2018 = 77,888; 2019 = 71,926.
URL-48 (retrieved 25.09.2020).

wooden floor in the apse and a staircase in the narthex, both alien to the architectural materials and details of the church (Fig. 3.44). There is a mosaic exhibition in the courtyard of the church, but it is currently closed to visitors: the church is partially under restoration. Unfortunately, there are pigeons nesting inside the church – in the walls and around the dome. A large net has been placed at the level of the galleries in the nave to collect pigeon droppings and feathers. Although a speaker system in the southern gallery emits a specific frequency that mimics a sparrow hawk to scare the birds pigeons, it obviously does not do the trick (Fig. 3.45).

It is not possible to enter the nave of the church now and experience the interior space, however still functions as a museum and will remain one after the restorations are complete, unless otherwise decided. The building provides, in a way, a powerful exhibition of Byzantine religious space, with its architectural details, construction techniques, and range of materials. The state of preservation of the church is classified as uSC1 and uSC2, uSI2, uVU2, uPC2, and the state of presentation, as uAU2, uIS1 and uIS2, uASC1, uPA2.



Figure 3.41. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, the apse and dome, 2020.



Figure 3.42. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, the main entrance and the aisles, 2020.



Figure 3.43. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, architectural details from the interior space, 2020.



Figure 3.44. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, wooden floor and staircase, 2020.



Figure 3.45. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, the net inside the church to collect pigeon droppings and feathers; the red rectangle indicates the device to scare off the birds, 2020.

- **The Church of the Chora:** At the time of this present analysis, this building is still a museum, although it was decreed a mosque again in August 2020. The visitor numbers are greater than to St. Eirene, even though the church is located at the edge of Byzantine Constantinople, and within a very dense urban fabric.[549] The neighborhood around the church, and its density, should be considered when trying to understand how to approach and deal with the building: its urban context is clearly different from the other churches examined in this group. St. Sophia and St. Eirene are located in the historic core of the city, however, Chora is very close to the land walls of Edirnekapı and surrounded by residences.

  The mosaic works in the building are magnificent, and remain now mostly in the narthex and the naos (Figs. 3.46, 3.47). The building represents a unique exhibit of Byzantine art and architecture (Fig. 3.48). There is an ongoing conservation project for the building, and thus there are protective elements in place and the facades are enclosed (Fig. 3.49). The scale of the building is considerably smaller than St. Sophia, and, considering the decision to reconvert it into a mosque, the details and results of the interventions

[549] Visitor numbers: 2016 = 67,867; 2017 = 58,304; 2018 = 109,786; 2019 = 200,173; URL-49 (retrieved 25.09.2020).

necessary for the transformation are subjects for further studies. Accordingly, the state of preservation of the church is classified as SC1, uSI1 and uSI2, uVU1 and uVU2, uPC2, and the state of presentation as uAU2, uIS1 and uIS2, uASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.46. Istanbul, the Church of the Chora, a view from the interior showing some of the mosaics and architectural details, 2020.



Figure 3.47. Istanbul, the Church of the Chora, some of the mosaics in the vaults and dome in the narthex, 2020.



Figure 3.48. Istanbul, the Church of the Chora, views from the interior, 2020.



Figure 3.49. Istanbul, the Church of the Chora, exterior view of the church and the ongoing conservation project, 2020.

3.2.3.2.3 Evaluation

The Byzantine churches are surely the most remarkable and visible heritage sites remaining from the centuries of the Byzantine Empire, together with the city walls. As well as the churches examined in this section, there are many other churches from the Byzantine period now converted into mosques or concealed underground. The archaeologists Aziz Ogan and Helmuth Bossert discovered a Byzantine church dated to the 5th century in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, refilling the area

after the archaeological excavations were completed.[550] Doğan Kuban reveals that the earth and debris, including capitals, ceramics, building fragments, that was removed from the excavations around the Church of St. Theotokos (*Kalenderhane Camii*) were carelessly dumped into the Sea of Marmara, exemplifying the levels of ignorance in terms of Byzantine strata in urban archaeological studies.[551] The researches here on Byzantine churches, including the archaeological excavations conducted on them, does not pretend to represent comprehensive documentation, or preservation and presentation accounts. Rather, in this section, different attitudes in terms of re-function, preservation and presentation, with the urban dynamics affecting the research, conservation and representation of churches, were examined using selected examples. General evaluations of current conservation and representation practices relating to Byzantine churches can be summarized as (Tables 3.10 and 3.11):

Table 3.10 Summary of analysis of state of preservation of selected Byzantine churches in Istanbul.

	Structural Condition				Spatial Integrity and Impact				Visibility and Understanding of Byzantine Architectural Details				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects			
	Good State of Pre. uSC1	Average State of Pre. uSC2	Poor State of Pre. uSC3	IR uSC4	Good State of Pre. uSI1	Average State of Pre. uSI2	Poor State of Pre. uSI3	IR uSI4	Good State of Pre. uVU1	Average State of Pre. uVU2	Poor State of Pre. uVU3	IR uVU4	Good State of Pre. uPC1	Average State of Pre. uPC2	Poor State of Pre. uPC3	IR uPC4
The Church of St. Sophia																
The Church of St. Eirene																
The Church of the Chora																

[550] Müller-Wiener, 2001, 74. See also Ogan 1940, 318-335.
[551] Kuban, 2010, 31.

Table 3.11 Summary of analysis of state of presentation of selected Byzantine churches in Istanbul.

	Access and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. uAU1	Average State of Pre. uAU2	Poor State of Pre. uAU3	Good State of Pre. uIS1	Average State of Pre. uIS2	Poor State of Pre. uIS3	Good State of Pre. uASC1	Average State of Pre. uASC2	Poor State of Pre. uASC3	Good State of Pre. uPA1	Average State of Pre. uPA2	Poor State of Pre. uPA3
The Church of St. Sophia												
The Church of St. Eirene												
The Church of the Chora												

Conclusions regarding analysis of state of preservation:

- The criterion of 'structural condition' is evaluated as a basically good state of preservation, but some architectural elements are also assessed as average. These Byzantine churches are transformed buildings, so they are in use and maintained. Furthermore, there were conservation projects conducted or partial repairs undertaken in these churches, which explain why these buildings are in good structural condition. There are no severe cracks, or damage to load-bearing elements; material integrity is mostly there, but the loss of materials from the surface is also observable.
- The criterion of 'spatial integrity and impact' is evaluated as an average state of preservation. There are some changes in the interior space of St. Sophia and Chora, and there are also exterior additions, such as minarets and tombs resulting from use as mosques in the Ottoman period. These additions and changes are considered as a part of the historical timeline and continuity of the structures. When all of these churches were used as museums, the ability to experience the building/spatial organization of the Byzantine period was partially possible, even though there were additional features of ornamentation and furnishing. St. Eirene still maintains its spatial integrity and impact, it being independent of any architectural emphasis, due to its function as a museum.

- The criterion of 'visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details' is evaluated as average in terms of preservation. The architectural elements, ornamentation, and artworks are visible in the interior space, and the construction technique and materials are also observable in the facades. While they were used as mosques, except for St. Eirene, the interior spaces had to alter, and the mosaics be covered. Today, the problem is the same: the features still exist, but they are now covered after the status of two museum-churches changed. Some parts of the mosaics have disappeared over time, and they are exhibited in their current state.
- The criterion of 'past interventions and conservation projects' is mostly evaluated as average in terms of preservation. Considering the churches past history, there have been several phases of conservation projects, repairs, and also interventions to preserve and maintain the building; these were crucial to sustain the physical existence of these churches. Some of these interventions, however, especially in the interior spaces and the exterior additions to the building/complex, effect the understanding of the site in terms of their Byzantine heritage. This does not mean that later additions or interior changes should not be respected; their existence and integration within Byzantine cultural heritage sites now have a bearing on the representation of the site.
- This criterion as applied to St. Sophia is evaluated as 'a good state of preservation', because it has a particular emphasis since the dawn of the Ottoman period in terms of its preservation and maintenance.

Conclusions of the analysis of the state of presentation are:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is evaluated as an average state of presentation. All of the churches are in use, and it is possible to visit and experience the buildings. However, experiencing the churches as a museum or as a mosque is entirely different in terms of their understanding. Converting a museum building, which also represents itself as an exhibition space, into a mosque may hinder the understanding of its cultural identity,

and the covering of Byzantine artworks and architectural details inside cannot be anything other than unfortunate: the 'spirit of the place' may elude the visitor. Clearly, in-and off-site representation tools should be developed to provide a better understanding and a comprehensive and objective representation of Byzantine churches in the contemporary urban context.

- The criterion of 'information sources' is evaluated as both good and average in terms of the state of presentation, as there is much in the way of ancient sources and modern sources available to assist in the examination of the history, architecture and art of these evocative Byzantine churches, as well data on past interventions and spatial transformations. There is also a wealth of visual material, including illustrations and drawings of the churches; digital versions and models, within the overall context of Byzantine Constantinople, are also available via the Internet. Thus, diverse sources provide comprehensive information on these and other Byzantine churches, even though it may not be possible to acquire extensive information about the historical and architectural backgrounds of these buildings from actual on-site experiences.
- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' is assessed as average in terms of the state presentation, except for St. Eirene. St. Sophia and Chora are at risk of losing their cultural values having lost their independent position from any dominant religious identity (Fig. 3.50). Thus the interpretation of these Byzantine churches may be problematic due to the emphasis on a particular period. St. Eirene, however, is still a museum and open to visitors, but there is no comprehensive information about its historical and architectural background except for some information signage at the ticket office and an information board inside (Fig. 3.51).



Figure 3.50. Istanbul, the Church of St. Sophia, signage on the building; left: the name of the church after the recent conversion; right: a panel with the *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammed (p.b.u.h) about the conquest of Istanbul, installed when the building was a museum, 2020.



Figure 3.51. Istanbul, the Church of St. Eirene, information signage on the history of the church at the ticket office and inside the building, 2020.

- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' is assessed as average in terms of state of presentation. Interpretation and presentation of the churches respect the authenticity of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites regarding the preservation of works of art, building elements, and spatial organizations partially. However, there have been changes and additions to the interior spaces of the churches since the Ottoman period due to new functions; these

changes may affect experiencing the spirit of the place and the understanding of the Byzantine art and architecture. Especially considering the recent conversion of St. Sophia and Chora, preservation of authenticity is a crucial discussion to have.

3.2.3.3 Byzantine Cisterns

3.2.3.3.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

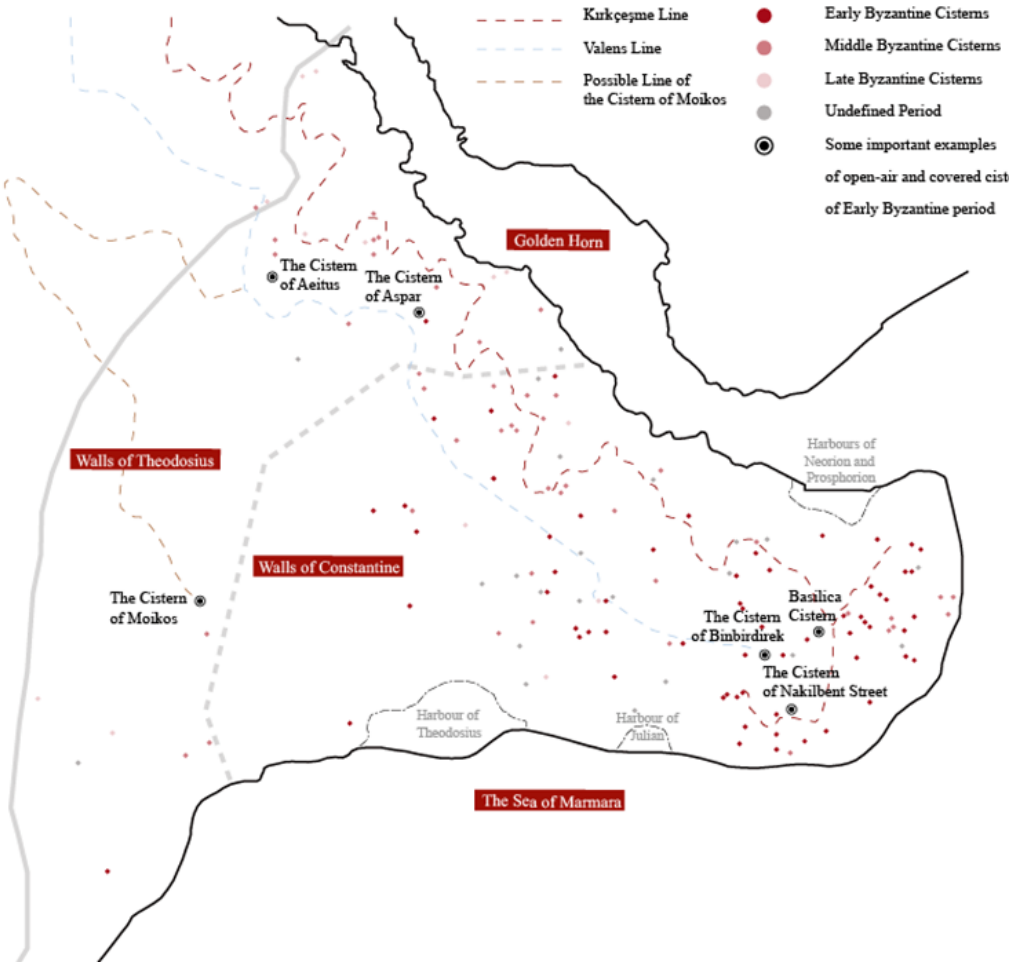

Figure 3.52. Map indicating the water channels and cisterns from different periods (reproduced after Crow et al. 2008, map 12 and Altuğ, 2013, Appendix B).

The water supply of the Byzantine cities was provided via water channels and aqueducts that fed open or underground cisterns (Fig. 3.52). [552] In this section, the cisterns constructed in the Byzantine period, their common characteristics concerning construction techniques and architectural details, and their past and present urban contexts, will be examined. Factors affecting their preservation, current conditions and state of preservation and presentation will also be evaluated.

The cisterns were used as the water reservoirs of Byzantine Constantinople, where the water was collected via channels and aqueducts.[553] It should be noted that most of the cisterns are substructures of Byzantine buildings that no longer survive.[554] Taken together, these water supply systems provide valuable information about the lost heritage of Byzantium. Some of these cisterns were constructed in the city's first planning, while some were built for differing functions as part of a Byzantine structure and then converted into cisterns in later periods.[555]

Considering the urban structure of Istanbul, the cisterns are unique examples of Byzantine architecture. They mostly remained underground, with many now in ruins from disuse, or new structures have been constructed over them. However, there are still accessible cisterns which have also been conserved and used for different functions, such as the Şerefiye and Binbirdirek cisterns. Even today there are still cisterns containing water, such as the Basilica and Şerefiye cisterns; however, most are now filled with earth and rubble.[556] There were different types of cisterns according to their superstructure, construction period, and the number of column

[552] See the main sources about Byzantine cisterns, e.g., Forchheimer and Strzygowski, 1893; Janin 1943, 1950; Müller-Wiener 2000, 277-285. For the water supply systems of Constantinople, including routes of water channels and water networks generally in the city, see Mango 1995, Bono *et al.* 2001, 1325-1333; Crow *et al*. 2008, 25-87; Kalkan 2010, 152-186. For research into the water supply system of Constantinople, see Crow *et al*. 2008, 2-4, and 9-23; Altuğ 2013, 2-4. For the architecture of water channels and aqueducts, see Crow *et al*. 2008, 89-108.
[553] Eyice 1989, 3-14; Ousterhout 1996b, 46.
[554] Ousterhout 1996b, 46.
[555] Among the first were the Binbirdirek and Pantokrator cisterns. Examples cisterns converted from other buildings include the one southeast of St. Eirene (possibly the infrastructure of the Hospital of Sampson) and the Myrelaion cistern. See Ousterhout 1996, 165; Altuğ 2013, 186-187; 246-247; 330-331; 350-351.
[556] Altuğ 2013, 39, 182-185; 210-211.

rows. These data are gathered from the primary sources in literature, surface and on-site analysis, and archaeological excavations. Studies seem to have begun in the 16th century to identify the cisterns according to their construction period, and also to clarify their architectural details and construction techniques.[557] The cisterns retain their original names, as indicated in the primary sources, by their significant architectural features, or by their present location. Researching the cisterns today is far from easy, due to the limits of accessibility, safety problems, and insufficient information. However, given the literature, there are different classifications to help understand and classify them (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12 Some of the Byzantine cisterns in Istanbul according to their superstructure and construction period.

Criterion	Type	Examples
Superstructure	Open	Mokios (1), Aspar (2), Aeitus (3)[558]
	Covered (underground)	Basilica Cistern (1), cistern at Nakilbent Street (2), cistern of Binbirdirek (Philoxenus) (3), the Cistern of Theodosius II (4); the Bonos Cistern (5)[559]
Construction Period	Early Byzantine	The Cistern of Theodosius II (1), the Cistern of Cağaloğlu (2), the Cistern of Studios (3), the Sultan Cistern (4)[560]
	Middle Byzantine	The Cistern of Pantokrator (1), the cisterns on Ibadethane Street (2), the Cistern of Unkapanı (3), the cistern on Kariye Camii Street (4)[561]
	Late Byzantine	The Cistern of the Church of Hagios Andreas (Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii) (1); the Marble Tower cisterns (2); the cistern under Paraclession at Chora (3)[562]
	Undefined	The cistern at Tarakçı Cafer Street (1), the cistern at Harikzadeler Street (2)[563]

[557] Altuğ 2013, 2-3.
[558] Altuğ 2013, 386-387 (1); 400-401 (2); 444-445 (3);
[559] Altuğ 2013, 194-195 (1); 214-215 (2); 246-247 (3); 250-251 (4); 382-383 (5).
[560] Altuğ 2013, 250-251 (1); 258-259 (2); 372-373 (3); 382-383 (4).
[561] Altuğ 2013, 350-351 (1); 430-433 (2); 440-441 (3), 452-453 (4).
[562] Altuğ 2013, 366-367 (1); 370-371 (2); 449-450(3).
[563] Altuğ 2013, 270-271 (1); 308-309 (2).

In this study, the criteria of the superstructure and construction period are considered to provide a definition of the cisterns. According to the previous studies, there are 71 cisterns from the Early Byzantine Period, 48 from the Middle Byzantine Period, 12 from the Late Byzantine Period; 27 further cisterns cannot be dated.[564] In addition, there are some common issues in the construction of Byzantine cisterns that should be introduced. The cisterns mostly have rectangular or square-shaped plans, and were constructed according to urban topography, taking into account water levelling. Covered cisterns may have columns in single, double, triple, or multiple rows of columns to support the ceilings, which were vaulted or domed structures.[565]

Considering the numbers and locations of the cisterns as shown in Figure 3.55, there is an excellent network of cisterns under the present urban fabric of Istanbul, indicating that the city still has important Byzantine layers, despite the urban development that has been going on for centuries. However, visitor experience to the cisterns is limited by several factors which will be examined; current conservation and presentation practices will also be examined through selected examples to follow.

The underground Byzantine cisterns are no longer used for their original function but are now museums and exhibition sites, storage units and basements of new buildings, restaurants and social spaces; some, however, remain underground and neglected. Some open Byzantine cisterns have become recreational areas and sports fields. The motives and objectives for converting the cisterns are different from other Byzantine structures in the city. The cisterns are specific examples of Byzantine architecture and not strong representatives of Byzantine cultural identity and any related ideology. They were constructed for a particular purpose – to provide essential water – but they were not part of daily life as such for the average citizen. Thus the cisterns of Istanbul have not collected memories of Byzantium around them as much, of course, as the religious and administrative buildings and residences. In

[564] Altuğ 2013, 46.
[565] Ousterhout 1996. See also Altuğ 2013, 52.

the Ottoman period most of them were abandoned, so they also played little part in daily life. Today some of the underground cisterns preserve their spatial integrity and organization, as well as their architectural details, and they were subsequently reused, both by the state and private sector, basically for economic expectations. This is evident in Istanbul, where economic motives drive transformation of historic monuments as cultural buildings (museums/exhibition spaces) and multipurpose spaces for functions and meetings of all kinds. As mentioned, the open cisterns also function as urban recreational spaces, as part of the current urban fabric.

3.2.3.3.2 Current Situation and Analysis

In this section, selected converted underground and open cisterns are examined according to criteria related to preservation and presentation, namely: the Basilica Cistern (*Yerebatan Sarnıcı*), the Cistern of Theodosius II (*Şerefiye Cistern*), the cistern on Nakilbent Street, and the Sultan Cistern. There are two others are also referenced here: the Binbirdirek Cistern and the cistern on Soğukçeşme Street. The Binbirdirek Cistern is currently used for events, such as wedding ceremonies, although it is under restoration, and the cistern on Soğukçeşme Street is a restaurant (*Sarnıç*).[566] These two cisterns are not fully included in this group, however, as they could not be visited and examined. The open cisterns within the 'Historic Peninsula' will be assessed here also: the Mokios Cistern (*Fındıkzade Çukurbostan Parkı*), the Aspar Cistern (*Çarşamba Çukurbostan Parkı*), and the Aeitus Cistern (*Karagümrük Stadı*) (Fig. 3.53).

[566] Presently closed because of the Covid-19 pandemic.



Figure 3.53. Map indicating the locations of the selected cisterns within the 'Historic Peninsula'. (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved 10.08.2020).

- **The Basilica Cistern (Yerebatan Sarnıcı):** The Basilica Cistern is among the well-known examples of Byzantine monuments, being the largest constructed in the 6th century[567]. Today it functions as a museum/exhibition space and its reuse means many visitors and recent interventions to provide circulation, lighting, ventilation, and other services. Such reuse as a cultural space is an efficient and suitable way to visit, experience, and understand a

[567] See Forscheimer and Strzygowski 1893, 54-55; Müller-Wiener, 2000, 283-285; Crow, 2008, 277; Kalkan, 2010, 170-174; Kuban, 2010, 95; Altuğ, 2013, 194-195.

Byzantine cistern – with its spatial authenticity and architectural details; the building itself becomes part of the exhibition.



Figure 3.54. Istanbul, the souvenir shop at the entrance to the Basilica Cistern, 2020.



Figure 3.55. Istanbul, the Basilica Cistern, showing the walkways for visitor circulation, 2020.

The entrance to the cistern is on Yerebatan Street, southwest of St. Sophia. The vestibule space at the entrance includes the souvenir shop (as well as a curious 'throne', where visitors can don a costume, unrelated to, Byzantine culture and have a souvenir photograph taken) (Fig. 3.54). There are

walkways constructed above the water level to enable circulation between the columns (Fig. 3.55). The interior space is dark and it is impossible to see all the architectural details: only the areas around the 'Medusa' heads are better illuminated (Figs. 3.56, 3.57). There is an ongoing conservation project inside the cistern, meaning that part is closed to visitors (Fig. 3.58).



Figure 3.56. Istanbul, the Basilica Cistern, 2020.



Figure 3.57. Istanbul, the Basilica Cistern, illumination of the 'Medusa' heads, 2020.



Figure 3.58. Istanbul, the Basilica Cistern, showing the area currently closed for conservation project, 2020.

The cistern is structurally stable, and it is possible to understand its spatial characteristics – the height and depth of the space, architectural elements, etc. The dark and the humidity strengthen a real sense of being inside a water supply structure; indeed lack of light in some places makes it difficult to locate oneself and see around. Given these conditions, the state of preservation of the Basilica Cistern is classified as uSC1 and uSC2, uSI2, uVU2, uPC2, and the state of presentation as uAU2, uIS2, uASC1, uPA2.

- **The Şerefiye Cistern:** This monument is also known as the Cistern of Theodosius II and was constructed in the 5th century. It has a rectangular plan scheme and 32 columns. It contains water, like the Basilica Cistern, and functions today as an exhibition space.[568] It is located on the corner Dostluk Yurdu Street, Boyacı Ahmet Street, and Piyer Loti Streets. A contemporary building has been constructed above the cistern as an entrance space (Fig

[568] Altuğ 2013, 250-251.

3.59). The area around the building was also landscaped, and an open space provided in front of it.



Figure 3.59. Istanbul, the entrance building to the Şerefiye Cistern, 2020.

The illumination inside the cistern is very good, and every detail of the Byzantine monument is visible. A platform has been installed above the water level to provide circulation between the columns (Fig. 3.60). Each column is stabilized with seven steel rings, and the structural system is also strengthened with steel tie-rods (Fig. 3.61). These interventions, however, detract from the original structure in terms of visual experience; there is currently also a slide show projected onto a wall, presenting old pictures of some of Istanbul's historic buildings.



Figure 3.60. Istanbul, the staircase and platform constructed for visitor circulation within the Şerefiye Cistern, 2020.



Figure 3.61. Figure 3.64. Istanbul, the Şerefiye Cistern, showing the columns and supporting rings, 2020.

The cistern is currently open to visitors for nearly two years, and provides an intimate environment in which to experience this Byzantine underground cistern, showing well its architectural details, construction technique, and materials. It must be said, however, that the need to use seven steel hoops for each column is questionable. Given these conditions, the state of preservation of the Basilica Cistern is assessed as uSC1, uSI1, uVU1, uPC2, and presentation is assessed as uAU1, uIS2, uASC1, uPA2.

- **The Nakilbent Street cistern:** This is a 5th-century cistern, located under a two-storey building east of the Hippodrome, featuring two rows of columns, nine to a row. Seven of these columns were repaired in the Ottoman period and reinforced with bricks around them.

  This underground cistern has been restored and turned into an exhibition on the Hippodrome and the city's Byzantine past; the building above the cistern

is currently the Nakkaş carpet shop (Fig. 3.62). [569] The structural components of the cistern are stable, and the architectural details and elements are visible (Fig. 3.63). The exhibition is directly related to the Byzantine past of the nearby surroundings, and this promotes a general awareness of Byzantium, its architectural remains, and its culture (Fig. 3.64). As with the great churches that have been converted to museums, management plans and regular maintenance and preservation programs should be put in place for this important cistern. Given these conditions, the state of preservation of this complex is assessed as uSC2, uSI2, uVU2, uPC2, and presentation uAU1, uIS2, uASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.62. Istanbul, the Nakkaş carpet shop with a display banner featuring the cistern, 2020.

[569] See Casson 1928, 23; Kalkan 2010, 181-182; Altuğ 2013, 214-215.



Figure 3.63. Istanbul, interior of the Nakilbent Street cistern, 2020.



Figure 3.64. Istanbul, the current exhibition within the Nakilbent Street cistern, 2020.

- **The Sultan Cistern:** This cistern was constructed in the 6th century, and a *tekke* was constructed above in the Ottoman period; there have been interventions to restore it in both the Ottoman and Republican periods[570]. This

[570] Forchheimer and Strzygowski 1893, 62-63; Altuğ 2013, 384-385.

cistern, located on Ali Naki Street, very close to the Aspar Cistern, is partially underground and partially facing the street (Fig. 3.65).



Figure 3.65. Istanbul, the Sultan Cistern viewed from the street, 2020.

The cistern is currently managed by an independent entrepreneur and hired out generally for weddings and other events. Such uses, making the cisterns available and part of urban activities, can be viewed as positive; another benefit is that maintenance is assured. Nevertheless, such uses inevitably demand certain changes and interventions.

Normally, the venue can accommodate 300 guests, and, as such, a number of changes have had to be made to the cistern's interior (Fig. 3.66). The interior space has been provided with a great deal of equipment and furniture, with only a small service space divided from the main space by a thin wall (Fig. 3.67). Lighting is via a system of different illumination options, depending on the function; smoke/fog machines have also been installed for events (Fig. 3.68). Thus this cistern survives in good condition, but the experience and understanding are completely different. The state of preservation of the

cistern s assessed as uSC1, uSI2, uVU2, uPC2, and presentation as uAU2, uIS3, uASC2, uPA2.

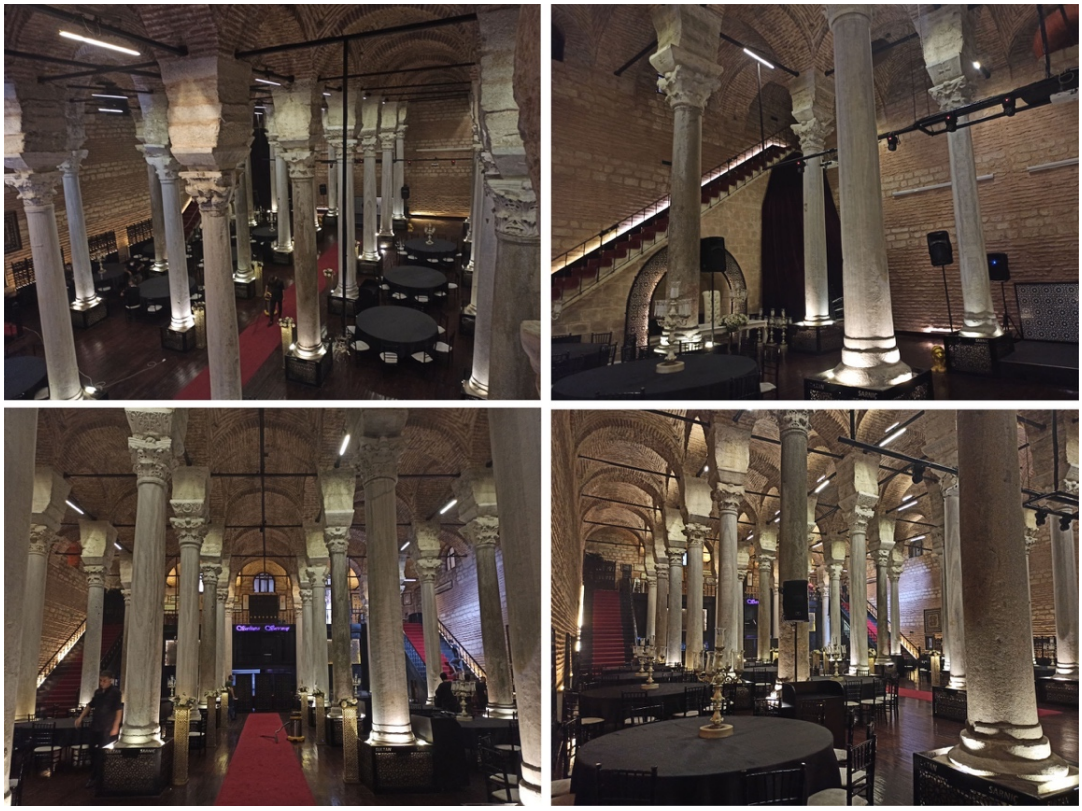

Figure 3.66. Istanbul, the Sultan Cistern, interior view, 2020.



Figure 3.67. Istanbul, the Sultan Cistern, showing furniture and service area at the entrance, 2020.



Figure 3.68. Istanbul, the Sultan Cistern, interior view of the cistern during an event, 2020.

Istanbul's open cisterns are larger in scale and define urban voids after it they ceased their original functional, and thus their transformation processes, as well as their understanding and experience, differ from those of the underground cisterns described above.

- **The Mokios Cistern (Fındıkzade Çukurbostan Parkı):** This cistern was constructed in the 5th century as one of the largest open cisterns on the Historic Peninsula. It is thought that it was filled by means of a channel leading off the Aqueduct of Valens. In the Byzantine period, probably the 8th century, the cistern ceased its function and was transformed into an agricultural area that continued in use into the Ottoman period.[571] From 2010 this area was turned into a park for public use (Fig. 3.69) and is now surrounded by low-rise apartments and narrow streets (Fig. 3.70).

[571] Forchheimer and Strzygowski 1893, 159-160; Crow *et al*. 2008, 132; Altuğ 2013, 386-387.



Figure 3.69. İstanbul, Fındıkzade, aerial view of the park (image taken from Google maps 25.09.2020).



Figure 3.70. Istanbul, the Mokios Cistern, general view, 2020.

The ground level of the park is below street level, and two large ramps reach into the park, which features now picnic areas, playgrounds and sports facilities, mostly enclosed by the remaining walls of the cistern. Unfortunately, there are also structures inside and car parking areas that affect the visibility of the remaining walls. The walkway in the park is close to the walls, and this provides an opportunity to understand the scale of the walls, observe the construction technique, and note the materials used. All there is to provide information is an ‘info-obelisk’ giving the historical

background of the area and its past role as a Byzantine cistern. The walls are presently covered with steel mesh to prevent the collapse of fragments and materials (Fig. 3.71). Given the current condition of the cistern, its state of preservation is classified as uSC3, uSI3, uVU4, uPC4, and presentation as uAU3, uIS3, uASC2, uPA3.



Figure 3.71. Istanbul, the Mokios Cistern, the walls of the cistern around the park, 2020.

- **The Aspar Cistern (Çarşamba Çukurbostan Parkı):** This cistern was also constructed in the 5th century, although the water supply channel to it is not clearly known. It functioned as an open cistern until the 8th century and was

then turned into an agricultural area.[572] In 2012 it was rearranged as an urban park for public use, including picnic areas, playgrounds, sports facilities, a service building for the Metropolitan Municipality, and a car parking area (Fig. 3.72). The park is surrounded by low-rise apartments and streets.



Figure 3.72. İstanbul, Çarşamba, aerial view of the park (image taken from Google maps 25.09.2020).

The park's ground level is below that of the street level around, and access is via two large ramps, like the Mokios Cistern. The remaining walls encircle the park but are not very visible (Fig. 3.73); neither are they in good structural condition and have mostly been covered by steel mesh to prevent the collapse of fragments and materials. There are some remains of domes and traces of superstructure on the walls, not observed on the Mokios Cistern (Fig. 3.74). The simple 'info-obelisk' has been relocated, temporarily it is hoped, to a restricted area in the park (Fig. 3.75), and thus there is no accessible

[572] Forchheimer and Strzygowski 1893, 158-159; Altuğ 2013, 400-401.

information on the historical background of the area. Nevertheless, the sense of scale and height of the cistern walls are discernible. Given the current condition of the cistern, its state of preservation is classified as uSC3, uSI3, uVU4, uPC4, and presentation as uAU3, uIS3, uASC2, uPA3.



Figure 3.73. Istanbul, the Aspar Cistern and its walls around the park, 2020.



Figure 3.74. Istanbul, the Aspar Cistern and its remaining walls, 2020.



Figure 3.75. Istanbul, the Aspar Cistern, showing the current location (2020) of the ‘info-obelisk’.

- **The Aeitus Cistern (Karagümrük Stadı):** This cistern was constructed in the 5th century and was supplied from the water channels of the Aqueduct of Valens. It held as great a capacity of water as the other open cisterns.[573] It ceased being used as a cistern and from the 16th century became an agricultural area also. In the 20th century it began a new life as a football pitch, before being enlarged into a proper stadium (Fig. 3.76).



Figure 3.76 İstanbul, Edirnekapı, aerial view of the stadium (image taken from Google maps 25.09.2020).



Figure 3.77 İstanbul, the Aeitus Cistern, general view, 2020.

[573] Forchheimer and Strzygowski 1893, 48-49; Janin 1943, 85-115; Müller-Wiener 2000, 278; Crow *et al.* 2008, 128-131; Altuğ 2013, 444-445.

The ground level of the field is lower than the street level, and the area is enclosed by low-rise apartments on the north, east and south, and the main road is on the west side (Fig. 3.77). The remains of the cistern walls are still visible, but they cannot be understood or identified (Fig. 3.78). The area is now occupied by club buildings and facilities, the pitch, and exercise areas, and thus only very limited parts of the remaining walls are visible. The site's 'info-obelisk' can be found today on Fevzi Paşa Street, with its considerable volumes of traffic (Fig. 3.79). As with the other examples, the experience of the cistern is based on its sense of scale, not, unfortunately, on the remaining walls, construction technique, and materials. Given the current condition of the cistern, its state of preservation is assessed as uSC3 and uSC4, uSI4, uVU4, uPC4, and presentation as uAU3, uIS3, uASC3, uPA3.



Figure 3.78 İstanbul, the Aeitus Cistern, general view, 2020.



Figure 3.79 İstanbul, Aeitus Cistern, the 'info-obelisk' on Fevzipaşa Street, 2020.

3.2.3.3.3 Evaluation

As we can see from the current condition and analysis of the open cisterns, they now represent considerable voids in the urban fabric and have mostly lost their architectural elements, except for sections of walls and their construction details. This, at least, would seem to ensure the future of the remaining walls and the fact they have not been exploited is a positive (the city's urbanization process has affected development around these areas). These open cisterns, however, now find themselves caught up in a nexus of a very dense urban fabric and wide, busy boulevards, and their imposing walls offer no information on their pasts and historical contexts. General evaluations of current conservation and representation practices relating to Byzantine churches can be summarized as (Tables 3.13 and 3.14):

Table 3.13 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of selected Byzantine cisterns in Istanbul.

	Structural Condition				Spatial Integrity and Impact				Visibility and Understanding of Byzantine Architectural Details				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects			
	Good State of Pre. uSC1	Average State of Pre. uSC2	Poor State of Pre. uSC3	IR uSC4	Good State of Pre. uSI1	Average State of Pre. uSI2	Poor State of Pre. uSI3	IR uSI4	Good State of Pre. uVU1	Average State of Pre. uVU2	Poor State of Pre. uVU3	IR uVU4	Good State of Pre. uPC1	Average State of Pre. uPC2	Poor State of Pre. uPC3	IR uPC4
The Basilica Cistern (*Yerebatan Sarnıcı*)																
Th cistern of Theodosius II (*Şerefiye Sarnıcı*)																
The cistern at Nakilbent Street																
Sultan Cistern																
Aeitus Cistern (*Karagümrük Stadyumu*)																
Mokios Cistern (*Fındıkzade Çukurbostan Parkı*)																
Aspar Cistern (*Çarşamba Çukurbostan Parkı*)																

Table 3.14 Summary of the analysis of the state of presentation of selected Byzantine cisterns in Istanbul.

	Access and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. uAU1	Average State of Pre. uAU2	Poor State of Pre. uAU3	Good State of Pre. uIS1	Average State of Pre. uIS2	Poor State of Pre. uIS3	Good State of Pre. uASC1	Average State of Pre. uASC2	Poor State of Pre. uASC3	Good State of Pre. uPA1	Average State of Pre. uPA2	Poor State of Pre. uPA3
The Basilica Cistern (*Yerebatan Sarnıcı*)												
Th cistern of Theodosius II (*Şerefiye Sarnıcı*)												
The cistern at Nakilbent Street												
Sultan Cistern												
Aeitus Cistern (*Karagümrük Stadyumu*)												
Mokios Cistern (*Fındıkzade Çukurbostan Parkı*)												
Aspar Cistern (*Çarşamba Çukurbostan Parkı*)												

Conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation are:

- The criterion of 'structural condition' for the underground cisterns is evaluated as good in terms of state of preservation. These cisterns were reused after comprehensive conservation projects, and thus their structural systems are stable. However, the structural condition of the open cisterns in terms of preservation state is evaluated as poor, as the walls have partially collapsed and have lost their material integrity.
- The criterion of 'spatial integrity and impact' for the underground cisterns in terms of state of preservation is assessed as only average, as there have been changes and additions to the interiors due to new functions. The spaces can be experienced in their entirety, but the impact of being in a transformed cistern with a different function rather than an actual cistern is not the same. The same criterion, spatial integrity and impact, for open cisterns in terms of preservation state is assessed as poor, as they have lost their entire spatial impact and been turned into recreational areas.
- The criterion of 'visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details' for the underground cisterns in terms of preservation is evaluated as

average. It is possible to observe and understand the Byzantine architectural elements inside the cisterns, but interventions to them for new functions compete with the original structure, i.e. the Şerefiye Cistern. Additionally, illumination problems affect the understanding and visibility of Byzantine architectural details, i.e. the Basilica Cistern. The same criterion ('visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details') for the open cisterns in terms of preservation is evaluated as in ruins: the wall surfaces can hardly be seen or understood, and the walls have mostly lost their material integrity, making it difficult if not impossible to understand their details.

- The criterion of 'past interventions/conservation projects' for the underground cisterns in terms of preservation is evaluated as average. There have been conservation projects for these cisterns to preserve and reuse them. However, some of these interventions have affected the understanding and impact of the space and visibility of Byzantine architectural details, i.e. added equipment and facilities and illumination systems, however these are reversible. This criterion is evaluated in terms of being in ruins for the open cisterns, as there are/were no conservation projects or repairs to preserve and present them and their spatial and architectural characteristics.

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of presentation are:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' for the underground cisterns in terms of presentation is evaluated as good. All are accessible, with later additions of stairs, but a complete understanding of space and architectural and historic significance is impeded by the lack of adequate on- and off-site presentation. This criterion is evaluated for the open cisterns as poor: they *are* accessible at least, but they have lost their architectural and spatial contexts.
- The criterion of 'information sources' for the underground cisterns in terms of presentation is assessed as average. There are written and visual sources on the history and architectural characteristics of the cisterns, however, with the exception of simple leaflets, they lack representational tools, both on- and

off-site, to help visitors understand and explore the cisterns. This criterion ('information sources') for the open cisterns in terms of presentation is assessed as a poor. There are simple, stand-alone information units presenting the historical background of the cisterns, but nothing further to help understand their urban context and original spatial characteristics in the Byzantine period.

- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' for the underground cisterns in terms of presentation is classified as both good and average. The converted underground cisterns in this study are in good condition, and they still retain their spatial integrity and the architectural details of the Byzantine period. Additions to interior spaces, such as furniture/equipment, or the concept of souvenir shops, may distract attention; however, the spatial impact is strong in the current conditions and provides a fair experience of the cisterns. This same criterion for open cisterns in terms of presentation is assessed as a poor, as they have lost a great deal of their spatial impact and identity. Nevertheless, these cisterns have been transformed into open areas, parks, and sports areas, and something of the original scale of the constructions remains; this is considered essential of course.
- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' for the underground cisterns in terms of presentation is classified as average. The new functions and necessary interventions have mostly respected the authenticity of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites, along the lines of the Nara Document[574]. The experience in the cisterns includes physical factors such as spatial scale, architectural details, the overall dimensions, and sensorial factors – illumination levels, humidity, odors, acoustics, touch, etc. This criterion for open cisterns in terms of presentation is assessed as poor: in some instances, they have lost their spatial impact and identity, and have been completely transformed into public spaces with various activities.

[574] ICOMOS 1994, Article 13.

3.2.3.4 Byzantine Harbors

3.2.3.4.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

The Byzantine harbors of Istanbul are specific to the city and merit inclusion in the present study on the current practice of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements. Considering the recent developments in the archaeology of harbors, this section will focus on their discovery, archaeological excavations, documentation, conservation processes, and their present state.

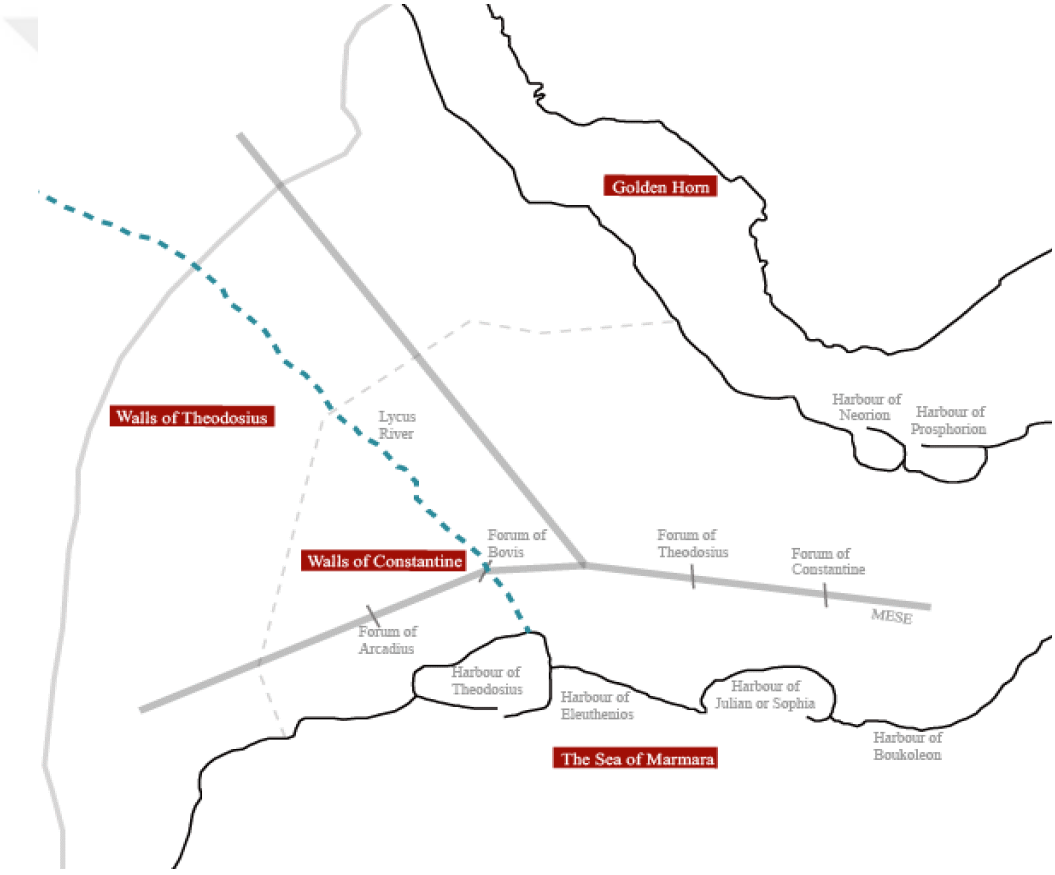

Figure 3.80 Map indicating the harbors on the Sea of Marmara and the Golden Horn (after Magdalino 2007, 213).

The city has had many harbors of different scales to facilitate the commercial/military activities appropriate as the capital of the Byzantine Empire

(Fig. 3.80). [575] The Harbors of Neorion and Prosphorion on the Golden Horn, and those of Julian and Theodosius on the Sea of Marmara are thus considered here as being important harbors of the city. Many have silted up over centuries, or been closed and occupied as a result of the development of the city in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods.[576] Thus, these interesting and important sites have in some instances been covered up for centuries: archaeological areas waiting to be discovered.

The discovery of several harbors came about during infrastructure projects on the Historic Peninsula. In terms of large infrastructure projects, it is clear that they will have different impacts and results on the context of urban archaeology and research. Infrastructure projects in archaeological areas provide potential for investment to excavate large urban areas in or near city centres. These archaeological investigations require adequate funding and time to complete all the phases – the actual excavation, the documentation, and any conservation. Infrastructure projects, of course, can mean risks to a site's cultural heritage, i.e. loss and destruction, or highlight underestimation of cultural heritage sites. Of course, each situation must be examined according to the individual factors involved, and there are several case studies that may be referred to.[577] Ultimately, urban infrastructure projects, especially those involving substantial works below ground, provide opportunities to reach deep archaeological sequences.

Our present research involves current conservation attitudes and representations of the Byzantine cultural heritage, i.e. it is aimed at understanding the broad spectrum of attitudes and behavior towards archaeological remains of the Byzantine Empire, considering the current conditions and urbanization strategies of those areas where

[575] For more information on the city's harbors, see Mango 1985, 37-50; Müller-Wiener 1998, 6-21; Müller-Wiener 2000, 56-63; Magdalino 2007, 209-226; Kuban 2010, 21, 71.
[576] Mundell Mango 2000, 199, 204-206.
[577] These conditions/factors can change according to the characteristics of the finds and architectural remains. As seen in Chapter 2, there are different cultural, economic, political, and religious factors affecting approaches to the evaluation of cultural heritage sites, and these will affect conservation and representation strategies to differing degrees.

the Byzantine remains are located. The harbors selected will therefore be discussed in this context.

In recent years, a Byzantine harbor in Yenikapı (the Harbor of Theodosius I), and another in the Kartal district were revealed during the construction of the 'Marmaray' subway. This subway project provided an opportunity to analyze Byzantine remains revealed during large-scale excavations.[578] In practice, the archaeological investigations and excavations were restricted, and activities were limited at Yenikapı, Kartal and Üsküdar to rescue excavations.

Priorities during these excavations are not always related to budget or the importance of the archaeological finds – the sites are located in very dense urban fabrics, and extending the borders of an excavation area is not easy.[579] Such archaeological studies in urban settlements, therefore, often remain limited due to the dynamics of cities and budget or legal restrictions. Excavations for the Yenikapı and Sirkeci subway stations were scheduled before construction started because as these areas were, of course, within the historic core of the city, inside the city walls.[580] Marmary station at Kartal, was different, however, with construction starting and then when finds were discovered the archaeological investigations began, revealing artefacts and architectural remains from the Byzantine period[581].

[578] For the excavations and finds, and related financial issues, associated with the Harbor of Theodosius at Yenikapı, see Sayar 2019, 46-50; Çelik and Son, 2019, 38-45. For the excavations and finds from Kartal, see Asal *et al.* 2019, 30-37.
[579] Asal *et al.* 2019, 37, who identify impacts on current urban fabric of archaeological investigations through the Kartal Marmaray excavations.
[580] Asal *et al.* 2019, 31. For the Sirkeci station, see Kızıltan, 2015, 362-364. Yenikapı will be examined in this section.
[581] The Kartal archaeological excavations were published in *Toplumsal Tarih* no. 308. See also Asal *et al.* 2019, 30-37.

3.2.3.4.2 Current Situation and Analysis of the Harbor of Theodosius II at Yenikapı

Given the recent discoveries of the harbors and archaeological excavations, the harbour of Theodosius II at Yenikapı should be examined to determine the state of preservation and presentation.

The area where Yenikapı station is planned is a well-known Byzantine harbor, in fact, the largest. This was, therefore, a real opportunity to reveal, analyze and exhibit a Byzantine harbour in the middle of the city: its visitors would be passengers using the Marmaray line, and they could experience the Byzantine past and structures in the city where they live. Very likely, of course, the daily passengers through Marmaray, will not be particularly interested in archaeological sites, or are too busy to pause long enough to examine them, but they can still, at least, have their attention drawn, and be exposed to them.

Analysis of the whole process, including discovery, research, excavation, documentation and conservation of the finds at Yenikapı will serve to better understand and interpret the current situation. This research aims to investigate the critical analysis of Byzantine cultural heritage, but Byzantine structures or heritage areas do not always only include Byzantine strata. Yenikapı station is a critical example in different aspects as the site was planned, of course, as a transportation hub. Shortly after, however, the construction area became an archaeological site in a very dense urban area.[582] Additionally, the site demanded an interdisciplinary research process due to the characteristics of the finds.

The site was already known as the largest Byzantine harbor - the great 'Harbor of Theodosius', on the Sea of Marmara.[583] One of the significant discoveries during the archaeological work at Yenikapı was a flotilla of medieval shipwrecks in different

[582] Kızıltan 2015, 338.
[583] For the Harbor of Theodosius, see, e.g., Müller-Wiener 1998, 8-10; Dirimtekin 1953, 8; Kocabaş (2012, 66-71; 2015, 1-35); Kızıltan 2015, 229-341; Sayar 2019, 49-50.

layers of the harbor, together with various objects, terracotta pots and amphorae from the Byzantine period. Other significant discoveries included architectural remains, i.e. the harbor walls, a small chapel, and wooden decking in a different layer. Thus the archaeological investigations at Yenikapı station provided an excellent opportunity to examine the different layers of the Byzantine harbor and its medieval shipwrecks, as well as adding to the historical background of the city of Istanbul.[584] During the excavation the finds were documented, and some of them moved to the archaeological museum; some objects were reburied to preserve them, including the architectural remains.[585] Architectural firms were invited to tender for the urban design of the Yenikapı excavation area, under the project name 'The Invited Procurement of The International Architectural Concept Project of Yenikapı Transfer Point and Archaeopark' (*Yenikapı Transfer Noktası ve Arkeopark Alanı Uluslararası Mimari Avan Projesi Davetli Hizmet Alımı*), and eleven architectural offices participated. First place in this competition was shared by three firms, based on the decision of the international selection committee, but, unfortunately, there designs were not realized.[586] Eventually, after lengthy excavations, construction of the station buildings and track was completed, but the only outcome of the extensive archaeological studies of the largest harbor of the Byzantine Empire is a modest exhibition in the station building (Fig. 3.81). The harbor remains hidden, and all the layers and architectural remains revealed during the excavations were buried to preserve them, after documentation (Figure 3.82). Although there is a permanent exhibition on the Yenikapı excavations, and the artefacts from the site, in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, feeling and understanding absorbed in a museum cannot be the same as when experiencing cultural heritage sites in their original contexts. On-site exhibitions and experiences provide an understanding of scale and spatial impact, together with the actual architectural remains and artefacts: such experiences

[584] Kızıltan (2015, 341-362) examined the timeline of Yenikapı in detail.
[585] Kızıltan 2015.
[586] Altan, Akpınar and Akay 2015, 596.

lie at the heart of understanding the historical and geographical contexts to which the remains belong.

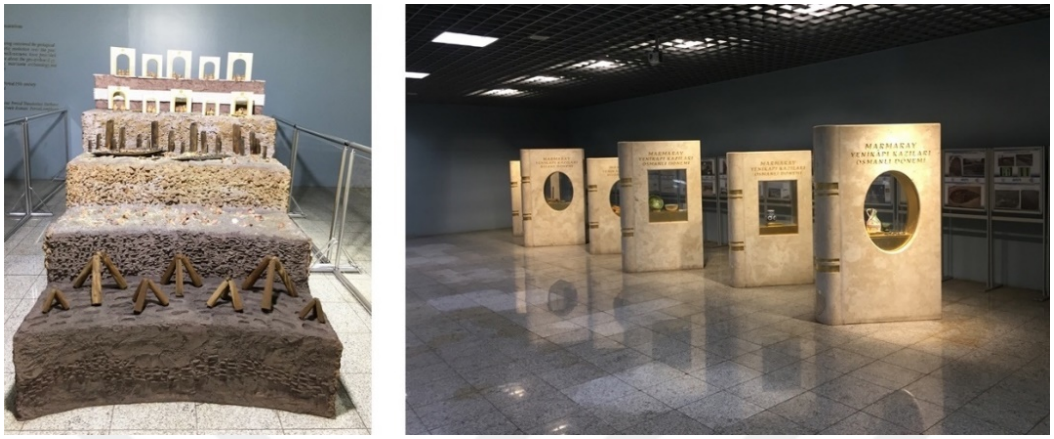

Figure 3.81 Istanbul, the exhibition of the Yenikapı excavations, representing the layers and artefacts found in the Byzantine harbor at Yenikapı Station, 2017.



Figure 3.82 Istanbul, Yenikapı Station, the excavation area covered with earth and now neglected, 2019.

3.2.3.4.3 Evaluation

The state of preservation of the remains of the harbor of Theodosius II could not be analyzed completely because the architectural remains and piers were left underground after the excavations were completed and the station building constructed on the site. However, some of the artefacts and items from the wrecks were removed to be conserved. From the exhibitions inside the station and the

Istanbul Archaeological Museum it is, nevertheless, possible to provide an analysis of the state of presentation, and the states of preservation and presentation are summarized in Tables 3.15 and 3.16.

Table 3.15 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of the harbour of Theodosius II at Yenikapı in Istanbul.

	Structural Condition				Spatial Integrity and Impact				Visibility and Understanding of Byzantine Architectural Details				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects			
	Good State of Pre. uSC1	Average State of Pre. uSC2	Poor State of Pre. uSC3	IR uSC4	Good State of Pre. uSI1	Average State of Pre. uSI2	Poor State of Pre. uSI3	IR uSI4	Good State of Pre. uVU1	Average State of Pre. uVU2	Poor State of Pre. uVU3	IR uVU4	Good State of Pre. uPC1	Average State of Pre. uPC2	Poor State of Pre. uPC3	IR uPC4
The remains of the harbor of Theodosius II at Yenikapı																

Table 3.16 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of the harbour of Theodosius II at Yenikapı in Istanbul.

	Access and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. uAU1	Average State of Pre. uAU2	Poor State of Pre. uAU3	Good State of Pre. uIS1	Average State of Pre. uIS2	Poor State of Pre. uIS3	Good State of Pre. uASC1	Average State of Pre. uASC2	Poor State of Pre. uASC3	Good State of Pre. uPA1	Average State of Pre. uPA2	Poor State of Pre. uPA3
The remains of the harbor of Theodosius II at Yenikapı												

Conclusions of the analysis of the states of preservation and presentation:

- The criterion of ‘structural condition’ could not be evaluated because the remains are not visible; they were reburied. The criteria of ‘spatial integrity and impact’, ‘visibility and understanding of the Byzantine architectural details’ and ‘past interventions/conservation projects’ are assessed as ‘in ruins’. It is not possible to understand, identify and evaluate the spatial integrity, impact, architectural details, or the construction techniques used for the walls of the harbour, there being no visible remains. There was no strategies in place to preserve and present the harbor on-site.
- The criteria of ‘access and understanding’ and ‘information sources’ are assessed as average in terms of the state of presentation. There is no access to the area of the harbor on the site, but there are interventions to present the historical background, strata, and artefacts – both on- and off-site in

exhibitions and displays. The criteria of 'attention to setting and context' and 'preservation of authenticity' are evaluated as 'poor' in terms of the state of presentation. The area of the harbor has, of course, been transformed into a subway station, through which many hundreds of passengers pass every day. The modest on-site exhibition display, however, is hardly able to convey the scale, location, depth and strata of the former harbor. (As noted previously, there is also the exhibition in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.) However, representing the harbor and its artefacts on-site would provide a better environment in which to experience the authenticity of the site.

3.2.4 Provincial Centers: Nicaea/Iznik

Istanbul, as the Byzantine capital for centuries, obviously deserves particular attention when it comes to the examination of current conservation and representation practices of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey. However, the provincial centers of the empire were also important cities, where the reflection the Byzantine identity in architecture and urbanization can be analyzed and evaluated. The examination of provincial centers is important to understand the common, and also city-specific, factors affecting any conservation and representation practices. Thus the discussion of attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage in urban settlements cannot be limited to Istanbul, and, following our review of elements of Istanbul's Byzantine cultural heritage sites classified according to building type, Nicaea (Iznik) will now feature as the second panorama of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements: beyond being a provincial center, Nicaea was also the capital of the Byzantine Empire during the Latin invasion of Constantinople (1204-1261). Nicaea/Iznik is significant, among other things, for examining Byzantine topography and cultural heritage within the present urban fabric, yet it retains its Roman and Byzantine characteristics in terms of existing buildings, urban planning, and observable construction techniques and materials. The scale of the city is not extensive, and experiencing it as a whole is easier than other cities, such as

Istanbul or Ankara. In this context, the historical backgrounds of Iznik will be introduced, followed by a review of the states of preservation and presentation of the walls and the churches, evaluated according to the criteria defined in the first part of this chapter.

Iznik has hosted many cultures, in some periods simultaneously, throughout its history, and today it is a multi-layered city with cultural heritage sites dated to different periods. The city has a geographically advantageous position, located on the eastern shore of Lake Iznik, known as *Lacus Askania* and *Askania Limne* in ancient times; it was also very close to major trade routes and Constantinople.[587] For these reasons, the city has attracted the attention of travelers and researchers for centuries.[588] According to some historical sources, the first settlements at Iznik began before the Hellenistic era, with the region called Bithynia, after the Greek colonists, the Bithynians, who migrated from Thrace. The first name of the city itself, it seems, was Helikore, before being changed to Antigonia by Antigonus Monothalmos. Later, after various wars and attacks, the city was rebuilt as Nikaia, and known as Nicaea in the literature.[589] In the Hellenistic period (300-30 BCE), the city was the capital of the kings of Bithynia, and it was also an important centre during the Roman Empire.[590]

There were several significant events in the history of Nicaea in the Byzantine era, including the First and Seventh Ecumenical Councils (325 CE and 787 CE), both important in terms of the history of Christianity. The Emperor Constantine I (324-337 CE) participated in the meeting of the First Ecumenical Council, making the city a religious center in that period.[591] The Seventh Ecumenical Council was important

[587] For the history of Nicaea, see Schneider and Karnapp 1938; Abbasoğlu and Delemen 2003, 189-197; Angold 2003, 27-55; Mango 2003, 305-312; Peschlow 2017, 203-204; Şahin 2003, 3-22.
[588] For travelers to Nicaea and travelogues that include the city, see Lowry 2003, 135-174.
[589] Str. 12.4.6., 12.4.7. For a history and description of the city, its buildings and urban planning, see also French 1967, 50-100; Eyice 1988, 3; Şahin 2003, 5-6; Taylor 2007, 254-255.
[590] Eyice 1988, 4-7; Şahin 2003, 6-12; Taylor 2007, 255-256; Aktüre 2018, 63.
[591] Eyice 1988, 9; Foss 1996a, 7-8; Chadwick 2003, 89-100, Taylor, 2007, 256, Aktüre 2018, 681-683.

for bringing an end to the first period of iconoclasm (730-787 CE) in the Byzantine Empire.[592] Beyond its religious significance in Byzantine history, was always important strategically, in terms of its defensive role in protecting the capital and the wider region of Bithynia.[593]

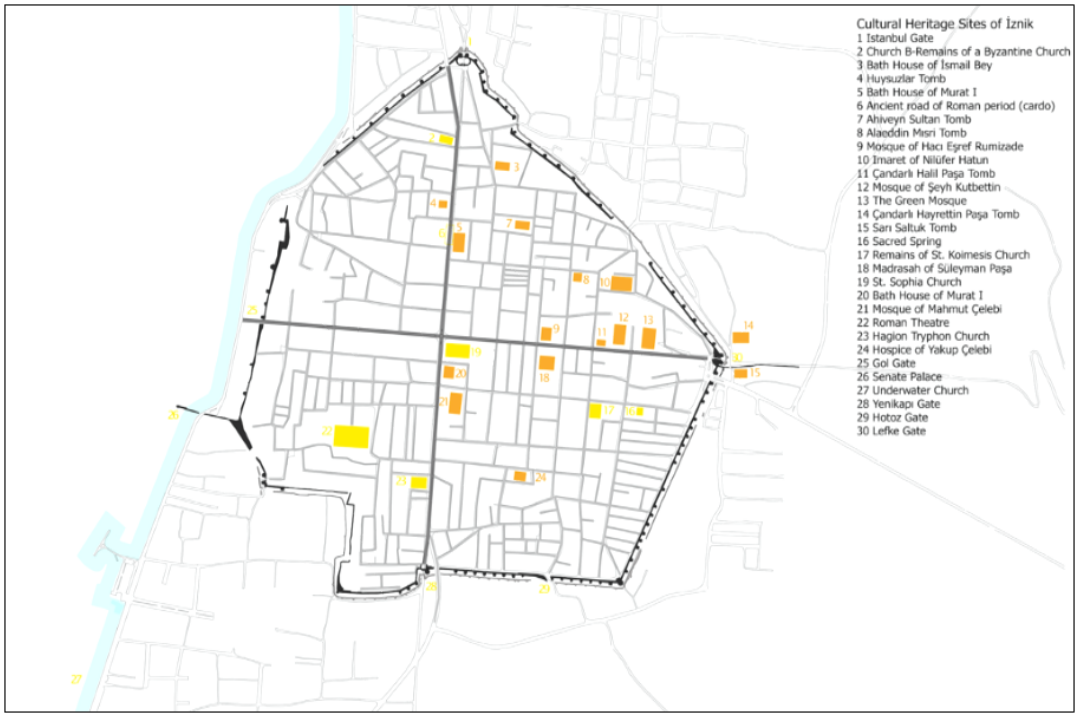

Figure 3.83 Map of Iznik, showing the major cultural heritage sites dated to different periods (after Schneider and Karnapp 1938).

In the last quarter of the 11th century, the Turkish population in Anatolia began to increase after the Battle of Manzikert (1071), thus posing a threat to Nicaea.[594] In the late 11th century, the city came under Turkish domination for a short time and was the capital of the Anatolian Seljuk state. However, the city was later taken back by the Crusader army and left under Byzantine administration[595]. The Fourth Crusade proved a turning point in the history of the city, with the Byzantine capital being

[592] For the Seventh Ecumenical Council and the end of the First Iconoclastic Period, see Angold 2003, 27; De Maffei 2003, 109-113.
[593] Angold 2003, 27-28.
[594] Angold 2003, 29-30.
[595] Eyice 1988, 12-13; Foss 1996b, V-148; Merçil 2001, 16-17; İnalcık 2003, 59; Aslanapa 2003, 223; Demirkent 2003, 121-122; Aktüre 2018, 693.

moved to Nicaea during the Latin invasion of Constantinople (1204-1261)[596]. The Ottoman principality, which was established near Iznik in the 13th century, again threatened the city,[597] and in 1331 it was captured by the Ottoman army after a long siege, and the Turkish period began in the city.[598] Although the dominant architectural and urban texture in Iznik is Roman and Byzantine, many buildings were constructed under Seljuk and Ottoman rule in the city, and new cultural strata were added to Iznik's multicultural identity (Fig. 3.83).

As we can see in the map of the city (Fig. 3.83), the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are important parts of the historical continuity of Iznik. The Byzantine city walls still enclose the city, even though the city has expanded beyond them. The grid plan of city reflects the continuity of urban planning of Nicaea in Roman times, and the main axes of the city still function as they were in the Roman/Byzantine periods, but at a higher ground level (no. 6 in Fig. 3.83).[599] The major Byzantine churches, or their remains, are still observable within the present urban fabric. These remains still being significant, the current situations regarding the preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites will be examined using Iznik's city walls and churches as the visible architectural remains of the Byzantine period.

3.2.4.1 Nicaea's City Walls

3.2.4.1.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

The city walls of Nicaea were constructed/repaired over different periods, rendering them as multilayered as those of Constantinople. Strabo notes that the city walls around the city had four great gates, which could be seen from the gymnasium

[596] For more on this period, see Angold (1999, 257-278; 2008, 731-742); Eyice 2004, 183; 190-191; Gregory 2005 289-297; Ostrogorsky 2017, 387-416.
[597] Eyice 1988, 14-15; Foss 1996b, V-149; İnalcık 2003, 59-83.
[598] Aslanapa, 2003, 223, İnalcık, 2003, 78.
[599] Peschlow 2017, 204-206.

located in the city centre.[600] These walls were constructed in Hellenistic times, when the city was first established; however no sections of these historic walls remain today. The earliest walls that still exist are dated to the 3rd century CE; these originally were five kilometers in length and stood to a height of nine meters.[601] Examining the construction technique of the walls, we find a wide and mortared rubble core with four rows of Roman bricks visible on the surface and clad with fieldstones; the circuit had approximately eighty towers projecting from the walls, up to thirteen meters high.

Of the four main gates mentioned by Strabo, three, happily, still exist: the Istanbul Gate (north), the Lefke Gate (east), and the Yenişehir Gate (south). The 'Lake Gate' (west) has now disappeared (Fig. 3.84). The gates were the weakest points of the walls, necessitating a double system of defense that can be observed in the surviving ones. There were two rows of walls in the gates and two projecting towers, with an enclosed space to create a buffer zone between the inside and outside walls.[602] The outer circuit was constructed in the 13th century during the reign of the Emperor John (1222-1254). This outer circuit is shorter and less thick than the main walls, and located on the edge of an old ditch; a later moat was dug around the outer circuit.[603]

[600] Str. 12.4.7.
[601] Schneider 1998, 437; Foss 2003, 249-250.
[602] Schneider and Karnapp 1938, 19-27; Foss 2003, 251.
[603] Foss 2003, 259.



Figure 3.84 Nicaea's city gates: a) the İstanbul Gate, 2017; b) the Lefke Gate, 2020; c) the Yenişehir Gate, 2020; d) the remains of the 'Lake Gate', 2020.

The construction materials of the walls are basically brick and stone of different textures, and the use of *spolia* is a very significant feature in the appearance of the walls. Large blocks are to be found at the base of the walls and smaller pieces of stone, as *spolia*, are clearly visible within the wall texture in different parts of the circuit (Fig. 3.85). The common wall texture comprises alternating rows of brick and stone (rubble stone or cut stone), but there are more massive brick (or stone) parts around the circuits, which were mostly repaired parts after the first construction (Fig. 3.86). The changes in wall texture represent repairs/rebuilding to the walls, and these will be looked at in this section.



Figure 3.85 Iznik, examples of spolia in the walls between the Yenişehir and Lefke Gates, 2020.

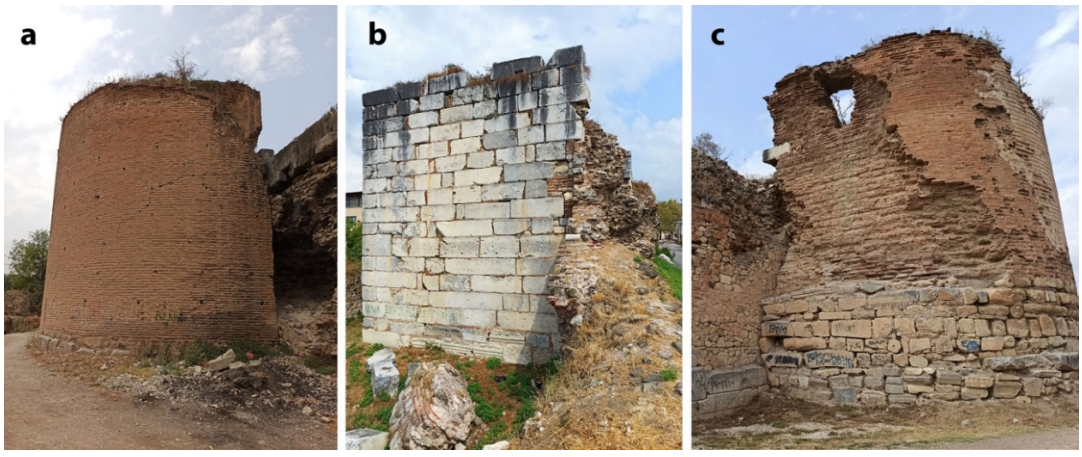

Figure 3.86 Iznik, some examples of the towers constructed in different building materials: a) tower between the Yenişehir and Lefke Gates; b) tower between Istanbul Gate and the lake; c) tower between the Istanbul and Lefke Gates, 2020.

The architectural characteristics, construction techniques, and the use of materials are key to unlocking the walls' secrets; Foss lyrically emphasizes their significance:[604]

> For over a thousand years, the massive and colorful Roman walls of Nicaea successfully defended the city. The skill of their planners and the solidity of their construction enabled them to survive all attacks in the turbulent age that stretched from Antiquity to Ottoman times. The walls still follow the circuit laid out in the 3rd century AD, but constant repair, rebuilding and improvement have brought many changes to their appearance. They stand as a palimpsest where the entire medieval history of Nicaea can be read, where the hopes and ambitions of Emperors are preserved in stone. The largest monument of the city, they witness the power of Rome and the determination of Byzantium that allowed the life of Nicaea to continue uninterrupted into modern times.

As Foss informs us, these walls are memories of the Byzantine past and its emperors, surviving all manner of danger and natural disaster. The walls, repaired and rebuilt at different times, resulted in interventions represented by major changes. There were significant earthquakes in 352, 365 and 368 CE, i.e. in the first century after the walls were constructed: there are no written records of the impact of these on the walls.[605] A further huge earthquake in 1065 was devastating, with the walls suffering greatly, mostly to the long, eastern sections, and requiring repairs undertaken in recessed brick technique (Fig. 3.87). [606] These repairs altered the texture of the walls, with the surfaces now half brick, half mortar, and strengthened with wooden beams.[607]

Major repairs to the walls of Nicaea were needed mostly to repel the Arab attacks of the 8th century and later. The first significant rebuild was in the period of Emperor Leo III (717-741 CE), after the Arab attacks of 727 CE. The northern part of the walls around the Istanbul Gate were repaired extensively.[608] In the 9th century, Michael III (842-868 CE) again strengthened the walls against attacks by the Arab armies. New, more durable, towers, almost identical to their predecessors, were

[604] Foss 2003, 249.
[605] Foss 2003, 251. See also Adatepe and Erel 2006, 142-144.
[606] Foss 2003, 254-255.
[607] Schneider and Karnapp 1938, 40-43; Foss 2003, 254.
[608] For repairs to the walls in the period of Leo III (717-741), see Schneider 1938, 439; Foss and Windfield 1986, 143; Foss 2003, 252

inserted between the existing towers.[609] Further extensive damage to the walls occurred at the siege by the soldiers of the First Crusade in the 11th century, when the city was under Turkish rule. After a long siege, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118 CE), again took control of the city and had the walls repaired.[610] Manuel Comnenus (1143-1181 CE) also repaired the walls along the lake in the time of the Second Crusade.[611]



Figure 3.87 Iznik, a repaired tower showing the recessed brick technique, 2020.

Nicaea became the capital of the Byzantine Empire after forces of the Fourth Crusade captured Constantinople (1204 CE) and the walls underwent a further significant phase of strengthening and repair. Two dominant, square towers were constructed within the southern circuit, with reused materials and brick, during the reign of the Emperor Theodore Lascaris (1204-1222 CE) (Fig. 3.88).[612] The walls and towers

[609] Schneider 1938, 441; Foss 2003, 253-254.
[610] Foss 2003, 257.
[611] Foss 2003, 258. See also Ermiş 2009, 285.
[612] Foss 2003, 258-259. See also Foss and Windfield 1986, 82, 85-86, 95-97 and Ermiş 2009, 285.

were raised in the Lascarid period and an outer circuit was constructed with rubble stone.[613] In the 13th century, the Palaiologan Period (1261-1453 CE) witnessed further works, i.e. to the walls and towers along the lake.[614]



Figure 3.88 Iznik, the tower constructed by Theodore Lascaris in 1208 at the southwest corner of the circuit, 2020.

Nicaea was besieged by the Turks in 1306, necessitating still more attention to the walls; and then, ultimately, the city surrendered to the Ottomans in 1331. Since the days of the Ottomans, these famous walls have been mentioned in the travelogues and accounts of hundreds if not thousands of travelers to Nicaea between the 14th and 17th centuries.[615]

As mentioned, the walls of Iznik are still to be seen and have preserved their original layout and strata to a large extent, however they are not in good condition. The housing area has expanded outside the walls and there are now many breaks and passageways for the access of pedestrians and traffic.

[613] Schneider and Karnapp 1938, 16-18; Schenider 1938, 442; Foss and Winfield 1986, 83; Foss 2003 259.
[614] Foss 2003, 260. See also Foss and Winfield 1986, 83; Ermiş 2009, 288.
[615] Foss 2003, 260-261. Seaa also Ermiş 2009, 288.

3.2.4.1.2 History of Research, Excavation, and Conservation

After this brief historic background, a summary is that the present situation finds the walls representing significant characteristics, different periods, and occupying a certain urban area, all involving (partly) two circuits of walls and a moat between them. The spatial impact and experience of the walls promise much, but the present states of preservation and presentation raise issues that need to be addressed, including the conservation processes and initiatives so far.

In 1988, Iznik was declared an 'historical urban site' by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the Conservation Council of Cultural and Natural Property of Bursa. Subsequently, a conservation master plan for Iznik, including some limits for construction inside the city walls, and also some urban development of the city, was prepared in 1990.[616] However, the conservation projects, including those for wall maintenance, were limited. In 2014, Iznik was included in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List,[617] and in the same year there were some initiatives by the municipality for the preservation and repairs of the walls, starting with the gates.[618] However, these interventions were not comprehensive and did not include the walls as a whole.[619] Furthermore, the city area was expanded, resulted in more passages for pedestrians and vehicles connecting the historic center and outer neighborhoods. The tension between the new buildings constructed on the periphery of the city and the walls is obvious, as the walls are not visible at some points, or hidden between the buildings. There have been no comprehensive conservation projects that include the whole circuit; nor any sustained efforts at representation of the walls. The Lefke Gate was recently restored and the İstanbul Gate is now receiving attention at the time of writing. Thus, there are different fragments of the walls in different conditions and states of preservation and presentation.

[616] Altun, 1998, 356-357.
[617] URL-50 (retrieved 29.09.2020).
[618] URL-51, URL-52, URL-53, URL-54 (retrieved 29.09.2020).
[619] URL-55 (retrieved 29.09.2020).

3.2.4.1.3 Current Situation and Analysis

- Independent remains of the walls and towers. This grouping covers the free-standing wall fragments that are not a good condition; these wall fragments or towers do not co-exist with any structures constructed later and they have lost any integration with the rest of the circuit due to the opening of new roads and the collapse of the walls; the wall fragments in this grouping are lakeside (Fig. 3.89), located on the traffic island and have become part of the landscape. Thus, these parts of the walls are mostly determined as uSC3, uSI3, uVU3, uVU4, uPC4 in terms of state of preservation, and uAU3, IS2, uASC2, uPA2, uPA3 in presentation.



Figure 3.89 Iznik, remains of the walls, lakeside, 2020.

- Remains of walls and towers. This grouping refers to the wall fragments that have survived, mostly with serious structural problems and threat of collapse. Most of the walls can be included in this group. There are serious cracks to the towers and they have partially collapsed and lost their upper parts (Fig. 3.90, 3.91). The walls have also partially lost their surfaces and the wall cores are visible (Fig. 3.92); the upper parts of the walls have now collapsed. Large stone blocks have been placed on top of the remaining walls (Fig. 3.93). Despite this, these walls have preserved their form and layout and still stand to mark the periphery of the historic heart of the city, notwithstanding the occasional gaps that allow connectivity in and out of it (Fig. 3.94). Thus, these wall sections are mostly classified as uSC2, uSC3, uSC4, uSI2, uVU2, uVU3,

and uPC4 in terms of preservation; and uAU2, uIS2, uASC3, uPA2 for presentation.



Figure 3.90 Iznik, the towers at the southeast corner of the circuit, 2020.



Figure 3.91 Iznik, the towers on the south and east circuits, 2020.



Figure 3.92 Iznik, wall fragments between the Istanbul and Lefke Gates, 2020.



Figure 3.93 Iznik, east circuit, showing large stone blocks on top of the walls, 2020.

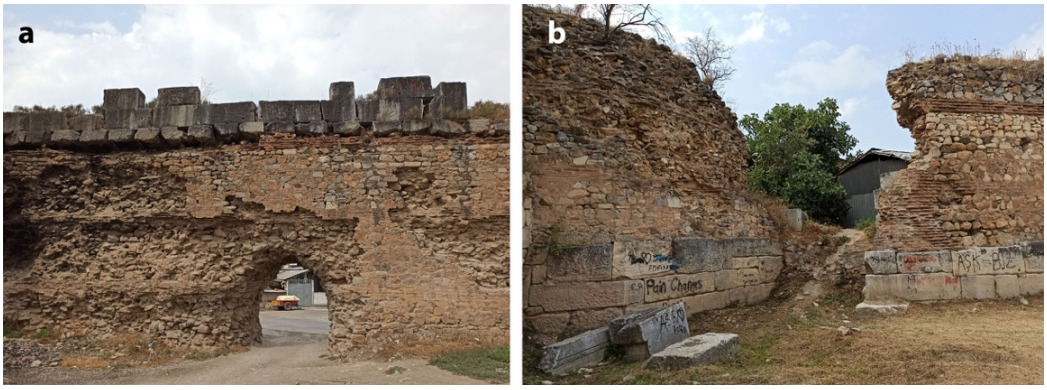

Figure 3.94 Iznik, gaps/passages within the walls: a) southeast part of the circuit; b) near the Istanbul Gate, 2020.

- Wall remains integrated with other buildings. This grouping refers to the wall fragments where new buildings have been constructed on top, or next to them. The co-existence of the walls and the later structures is due to housing requirements inside the walls, and various workshops constructed near them (Fig. 3.95); in these areas the walls are neither visible nor accessible. Examples of this grouping can be observed near the Lefke, Yenikapı, and Istanbul Gates. In terms of condition, these parts of the walls are mostly assessed as uSC2, uSI3, uSI4, uVU3 and uVU4, uPC4 in terms of preservation, and uAU3, uIS2, uIS3, uASC3, uPA3 in presentation.

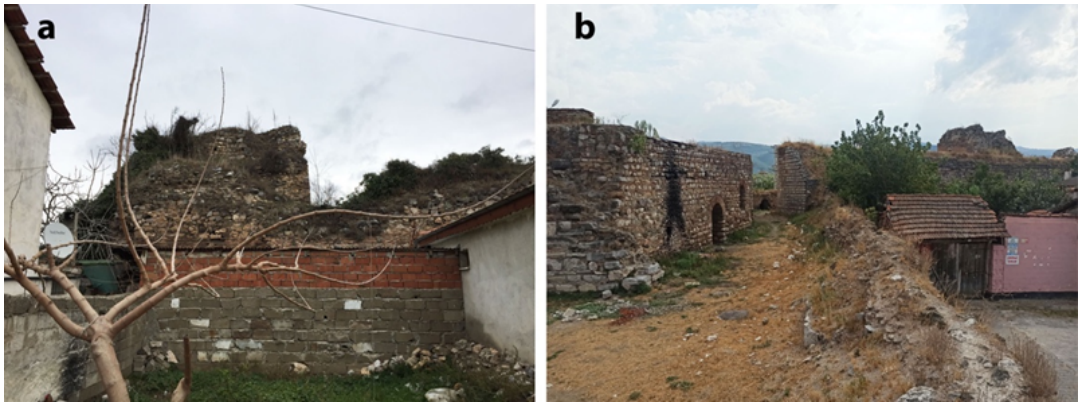

Figure 3.95 Iznik, wall fragments integrated with other buildings: a) near the Lefke Gate; b) near the Yenişehir Gate, 2020.

- Partially conserved walls. This grouping refers to sections of walls that have not been repaired/reconstructed. As with Istanbul, there has been no comprehensive conservation project including that has included the whole wall circuit, and thus the partial interventions undertaken to date are controversial in terms of architectural identity and material characteristics. Today there are many different wall textures that influence the understanding and experience of the walls (Figs. 3.96, 3.97, 3.98). Considering their condition, these parts of the walls are mostly assessed as uSC1, uSC2, uSI2, uSI3, uVU3 and uVU4, uPC3 for state of preservation, and uAU2, uIS2, uASC2, uPA3 for presentation.



Figure 3.96 Iznik, an example of partially conserved wall near the Istanbul Gate, 2020.



Figure 3.97 Iznik, an example of a partially conserved wall near the Lefke Gate, 2020.



Figure 3.98 Iznik, examples of partially conserved walls between the Yenişehir and Lefke Gates, 2020.

- The gates. This grouping includes the four main gates and describes their present conditions individually.
    1) The Istanbul Gate is located on the north side of the city and there is an ongoing restoration project associated with it, limiting access to the area (Fig. 3.99). However in previous years it was possible to see and experience the three main elements of the gate and observe its different construction techniques and architectural details (Fig. 3.100). Features include two masks carved on the stones both sides of the inner section (Fig. 3.101). The main element of the gate is the massive brick construction with its upper relieving arches and 'triumphal' arch of cut stones below. The inscription on the arch is dedicated to the emperors by

the then governor, Varius Plancus[620]. The ground level has risen over the centuries and changed the height of the arches (Fig. 3.100). The outer element is constructed with a decorative framework of brick and stone, and is narrower than the main gate (Fig. 3.102). The state of preservation of this gate is assessed as uSC2, uSI2, uVU1, uVU2, uPC2, and its presentation as uAU2, uIS2, uASC2, uPA1.



Figure 3.99 Iznik, the great Istanbul Gate under restoration, 2020.



Figure 3.100 Iznik, the Istanbul Gate, 2017.

[620] Ermiş 2009, 289.



Figure 3.101 Iznik, the two masks on the Istanbul Gate, 2017.



Figure 3.102 Iznik, the outer element of the Istanbul Gate, 2017.

2) The Lefke Gate is located on the east side of the city and restoration work has been recently completed. Its features include another 'triumphal arch' and inscriptions: one dedicated to the Emperor Hadrianus (on the architrave) and other to Varius Plancus, the same as that on the Istanbul Gate[621] . The use of *spolia* in the construction of the gate and the reliefs within the walls are significant (Fig. 3.103). After the restoration of the gate and its adjacent walls it is now possible to see and experience the gate with its different elements, construction techniques, and architectural details (Fig. 3.104). The gate and its walls are now structurally stable after restoration and the state of preservation is now assessed as uSC1, uSI2, uVU1, uVU2, uPC2, and the state of presentation as uAU2, uIS2, uASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.103 Iznik, showing the spolia in the construction of the Lefke Gate, 2020.

[621] Ermiş 2009, 289.



Figure 3.104 Iznik, the Lefke Gate, 2020.

3) The Yenikapı Gate is located to the south of the city, although it now lacks some parts of its walls and towers defining the gate. This gate also consists of three elements, and there are towers to secure the space between the outer and inner circuits (Fig. 3.105). There is also a 'triumphal arch' in this gate, constructed of Roman ashlar blocks (Fig. 3.106). There is an inscription on the gate of the inner element.[622] The diversity in the construction techniques of the walls around the gate is

[622] Şahin 1979.

significant, although some of the walls and towers have collapsed and there is fallen masonry around the site. The wall fragment next to the inner element has been repaired, but the rest of the gate and its surrounding walls fragments and towers are neglected (Figs. 3.105, 3.106). The state of preservation of this gate is assessed as uSC1, uSI2, uVU2, uPC3, and presentation as uAU2, uIS2, uASC2, uPA2



Figure 3.105 Iznik, general view of the Yenişehir Gate from south and east direction, 2020.



Figure 3.106 Iznik, the ‘triumphal arch’ of the Yenişehir Gate, 2020.

4) The Lake Gate is located on the west side of the city but it has been demolished; there are still some remaining walls and towers around it, and these are accessible, however the vestiges of the structure are hardly discernible due to the vegetation and buildings around (Fig. 3.107). A road has been constructed between the lake and the walls, and many new buildings constructed around the wall on the lake side; this development probably explains why this part of the city walls has mostly disappeared. There is also further gate on the lake side, known as the South Lake Gate. The state of preservation of this gate is assessed as uSC4, uSI4, uVU4, uPC4, and presentation as uAU3, uIS3, uASC3, uPA3.



Figure 3.107 Iznik, the remains of the walls and towers near the Lake Gate, 2020.

- The ditch. This feature consists of an excavated area between the inner and outer circuits, and it is still possible to walk along it between the main gates (İstanbul, Lefke, Yenişehir, and on to the lake) despite some interruptions. Although two extents of the wall circuits are no longer completely standing along this route, it is still possible to get a good understanding of the spirit of the place and experience both the inner and outer walls, and their towers. Overall it is a significant experience within the overall context of Iznik. No assessment is made here of the states of preservation and presentation, however the major role of this ditch/moatway must be stressed in terms of the presentation and experience of the city's walls generally, including their scale and architectural details (Fig. 3.108).



Figure 3.108 . Iznik, views from the ditch/moatway: a) between the Lake and Yenişehir Gates; b) between lakeside and the Istanbul Gate; c-d) between the Istanbul and Lefke Gates, 2020.

3.2.4.1.4 Evaluation

The current situation of the city walls of Iznik is thus classified and analyzed in six groups, and then with each gate analyzed individually within its grouping. Tables 3.17 and 3.18 offer an evaluation summary of the analysis of each group of walls, with the codes indicating states of preservation and presentation.

Table 3.17 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of the city walls of Iznik.

	Structural Condition				Spatial Integrity and Impact				Visibility and Understanding of Byzantine Architectural Details				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects			
	Good State of Pre. uSC1	Average State of Pre. uSC2	Poor State of Pre. uSC3	IR uSC4	Good State of Pre. uSI1	Average State of Pre. uSI2	Poor State of Pre. uSI3	IR uSI4	Good State of Pre. uVU1	Average State of Pre. uVU2	Poor State of Pre. uVU3	IR uVU4	Good State of Pre. uPC1	Average State of Pre. uPC2	Poor State of Pre. uPC3	IR uPC4
Independent remains of the walls and towers																
The remains of the walls and towers																
The remains of the walls integrated with other buildings																
The walls that were partially conserved																
Istanbul Gate																
Lefke Gate																
Yenişehir Gate																
Lake Gate																

Table 3.18 Summary of the analysis of the state of presentation of the city walls of Iznik.

	Access and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. uAU1	Average State of Pre. uAU2	Poor State of Pre. uAU3	Good State of Pre. uIS1	Average State of Pre. uIS2	Poor State of Pre. uIS3	Good State of Pre. uASC1	Average State of Pre. uASC2	Poor State of Pre. uASC3	Good State of Pre. uPA1	Average State of Pre. uPA2	Poor State of Pre. uPA3
Independent remains of the walls and towers												
The remains of the walls and towers												
The remains of the walls integrated with other buildings												
The walls that were partially conserved												
Istanbul Gate												
Lefke Gate												
Yenişehir Gate												
Lake Gate												

Conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation of Iznik's city walls:

- The assessment of the criterion of 'structural condition' of the city walls includes all states of preservation. The repaired parts of the walls and towers are in good structural condition, and there are no cracks or damages to the load-bearing elements in their current situation. The wall fragments that are

in an average state of preservation have some cracks and loss of material. In the wall fragments assessed as being in a poor state of preservation, the structural elements are about to collapse or have partially collapsed; there are also serious cracks in the load-bearing elements, and material integrity is lost to a large degree. In addition, there are areas where the remains of the walls and the towers are in ruins, with their structural elements and materials having totally collapsed and now lying scattered on the ground.

- The criterion of 'spatial integrity and impact' of the walls is assessed as being in an 'average' or 'poor' state of preservation. In the wall fragments classified as 'average', there are some changes to the spatial integrity and/or additions due to the repairs/co-existence with later structures. Workshops have been constructed very close to the city walls and thus interaction with the walls in these areas is limited (Fig. 3.109). Visibility and experience of the walls as planned in the Byzantine period *is* possible, but the walls are not now at their original height and scale because of deterioration/collapse. Additionally, some of the collapsed parts of the walls have been replaced with new buildings, or roads constructed through them, which interrupt our understanding of the them, and also their and integrity.



Figure 3.109 . Iznik, some workshops near the walls, 2020.

- The criterion of 'visibility and understanding' of the Byzantine architecture details is assessed for each of the different groups. For those wall remains in a good state of preservation, many Byzantine architectural details (building

materials, use of *spolia*, etc.) and construction techniques specific to the Byzantine Empire are still visible, with these areas of wall accessible to a large extent. Fortuitously, the gates still preserve much of their architectural characteristics and spatial organization; the inscriptions can be appreciated on the gates and walls. Even where the walls are not in good condition, it is possible to identify construction techniques and materials used during an excursion around the walls. For wall fragments in an average state of preservation, the Byzantine architectural details are now only partially visible within the wall texture, as a result of additions or repairs that now obscure these details, brought about by conservation and/or the construction of new buildings.

- The criterion of 'past interventions and conservation projects' is assessed mostly as 'poor' in terms of preservation' or 'in ruins'; the lack of a comprehensive conservation project specifically for the walls is to blame. There are areas with partial interventions and conservation projects, and these are assessed as 'average' in terms of the state of preservation.

Conclusions of the analysis of the state of presentation:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is assessed mostly as 'average' in terms of the state of presentation; there are also elements categorized as 'poor'. The surviving walls and towers of the inner and outer circuits, and the gates, are accessible and easy to follow. However, there are interruptions because of streets, houses, workshops, etc., constructed next to, or near the walls; overgrown vegetation is also an issue. Security problems, including unstable towers and wall remains, and areas close to the walls being rubbish-strewn and desolate, all affect the experience of the walls. Above all, there are no on- or off-site presentation tools to convey the significance and importance of these historic walls. Such presentation tools and activities to promote personal experience and increase public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding generally of the walls, should be developed.

- The criterion of 'information sources' (contrasting with presentation tools as describe above) is assessed as 'average'. The great city walls of Iznik have been described and documented in written and visual sources in detail since medieval times. Modern and contemporary sources also provide comprehensive information about the city walls, including their visual illustrations, drawings, photographs, and the history of repairs and interventions in different periods. A recent digital reconstruction of the city during the Byzantine period is now online, and this is an important attempt to represent Byzantine Nicaea with its significant buildings.[623] However, there needs to be further representation strategies, both on- and off-site to use these information sources efficiently.
- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' is assessed as 'average', with the exception of certain wall fragments assessed as 'poor'. In relation to these poor sections, the lack of interpretation and presentation of the walls is the major problem impeding experience of the site and understanding the setting and physical, historical and architectural contexts. The poor assessment is based on neglect of the walls and the need for comprehensive conservation project and presentation strategies. The natural environment and landscape around the cultural heritage sites are also not easy to see and understand in terms of their co-existence with the walls. In the wall fragments assessed as average in terms of presentation, the experience of the site and understanding the setting (i.e. the physical, historical and architectural contexts) is partially possible as the walls mostly preserve their original form and layout. Thus, understanding the setting of the walls, the scale of the city, its architectural contexts across the many periods, as well as absorbing the construction technique and materials used, are all possible.
- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' is assessed as 'poor to average' in terms of presentation, in the light of the current definition of 'authenticity'

[623] URL-56 (retrieved 29.11.2020).

based on the Nara Document. Although the walls are not in a good state of preservation in general, experiencing them, and all their various layers, is possible. The ditch/moatway provides a special area in which to understand and evaluate the walls, the diversity of construction techniques and materials used, and the scale of the walls. However, there seems that no attempt has been made to present the historical periods, construction techniques, architectural characteristics by means of on- or off-site representation tools. The Lefke Gate differs from the rest of the walls in terms of presentation, in that the area is designed for the visitors, however there are no sources of information on-site. An assessment of presentation of the Istanbul Gate after restoration must wait for its completion.

3.2.4.2 Byzantine Churches

3.2.4.2.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

The city walls of Iznik are the major monumental remains of the Byzantine period, but the churches are also important to understand and interpret Byzantine Nicaea in terms of its historical, religious, and architectural contexts. The only standing church now is St. Sophia, located at the intersection of two main roads connecting the gates of the walls; the others are in ruins and only their remains can be seen today (Fig. 3.110). Nicaea was for long an important religious center for the Byzantine Empire. Works by the scholars Clive Foss and Urs Peschlow have examined the Byzantine Churches here and presented their history, architecture, and interventions following earthquakes and other vicissitudes since their first construction.[624]

[624] Foss 1996a, 97-117; Peschlow (2003, 201- 218; 2017, 204, 209-215).



Figure 3.110 . Map indicating the locations of Iznik's Byzantine churches or their remains (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved 10.09.2020).

As Clive Foss and Urs Peschlow note, St. Sophia and the Koimesis are significant examples of Byzantine churches constructed in the Early Byzantine (324-565 CE) and First Iconoclastic periods (730-787 CE) in Nicaea[625] St. Sophia was converted into a mosque in the 14th century, and today it includes an exhibition hall/museum area open to all visitors. The Koimesis, unfortunately, is in ruins and only wall remnants are visible at ground level. Other remains are from 11th- and 13th-century churches, i.e. St. Tryphon and a few for which we have no names (labelled as A, B, C, etc.): these are in similar condition as the Koimesis.[626] The remains of St. Sophia, the Koimesis, and St. Tryphon have been selected to examine their states of preservation and presentation; St. Sophia being the only example to have preserved

[625] The periods are defined according to the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. See Kazhdan *et al.* 1991, vol. 1., 345 and vol. 2, 975-976.
[626] Peschlow 2003, 208-217.

its spatial organization, despite some additions, changes and repairs; the Koimesis is significant for its ornaments, mosaics and architecture, despite its state of collapse; St. Tryphon, although in ruins and neglected today, is located on the main road and accessible.

The Church of St. Sophia

St. Sophia was the cathedral church of the city (Fig 3. 111).[627] Urs Peschlow notes that it could date from the mid 5th century, as its construction technique and proportions are very similar to the basilica of St. John Studios in Constantinople.[628] Of special significance is that the Seventh Ecumenical Council took place here in 787 CE, and Foss informs us that more than 300 bishops and hundreds of priests gathered in the church; the Empress Irene attended the Council that ended the First Iconoclastic period.[629]



Figure 3.111 . Iznik: a) south facade of St. Sophia; b) west facade and entrance, 2020.

The church has a rectangular plan; a narthex (now removed) was in front of the west wall. There are two colonnades separating the aisles from the nave and the apse is

[627] Foss 1996a, 101, 104; Peschlow 2017, 209.
[628] Peschlow (2003, 203; 2017, 209). Opinions different on the first construction of the church; for more information, see Gurlitt 1913, 60; Brunov 1925, 479; Ülgen 1938, 55; Schneider 1943, 14; Möller 1994, 46-48, 63. See also Ermiş 2009, 48-49.
[629] Foss 1996a, 101. See also Maffei 2003, 109.

semi-circular inside and three-sided outside.[630] There are regular ashlar blocks at the lower parts of the outer walls and the upper parts were constructed with brick. The interior features, rubble stone, brick, and *spoila* in the construction of the walls (Fig. 3.112). The apse includes a synthronon (Fig. 3.113), and the original floor mosaics can be seen in the entrance of the building, the apse, and also in the remains of the annex outside (Fig. 3.114).



Figure 3.112 . Iznik, interior of St. Sophia, showing examples of the construction materials, 2020.



Figure 3.113 . Iznik, the synthronon in the apse of St. Sophia, 2020.

[630] For more on the construction techniques and periodization of the church walls, see Foss 1996a, 103. See also Ermiş 2009, 53-59.



Figure 3.114 . Iznik, views of St. Sophia, showing the original floor mosaics in the entrance and annex south of the church, 2020.

The church suffered badly from the earthquakes of 740 CE and, especially, 1065 CE, when the roof, colonnades and clerestory must have collapsed as a result. There were major repairs subsequently, including raising the ground level, inserting new support systems to the interior, and constructing a new apse.[631] Under Turkish rule, the church was converted into the mosque of Ayasofya Camii (1331 CE).[632] In the 19th century, the building was renamed Orhan Camii, and the *tuğra* (monogram) of Orhan, who converted the church into a mosque, was inserted into the entrance. It functioned as a mosque for centuries, although by the 18th century the building was in ruins, according to the many accounts of ravelers who visited Nicaea. Strangely, the reasons for tits neglect are unknown.[633]

[631] Peschlow 2003, 206-207.
[632] Foss 1996a, 102; Peschlow 2003, 216.
[633] For these travelers' accounts, see Ermiş 2014, 216-218.

After being in ruins for two centuries, Alfons Maria Schneider conducted archaeological investigations of St. Sophia in 1930s, and there were further excavations in the Republican period.[634] An extensive restoration program was conducted between 2007-2009 by the Regional Directorate of Foundations in Bursa and the building was functioned as a mosque again.[635] As mentioned above, since 2011 the mosque (which occupies the former nave and north aisle) includes a museum/exhibition space (entrance, apse and north aisle) open to all; further recent restoration works were completed in 2017.

The Church of the Koimesis (The Hyakinthos Monastery)

The Koimesis, also known as the Hyakinthos Monastery of the Church of the Dormition in the literature (Fig. 3.115), is assumed to date from the late 7th century; it was possibly dedicated to the Theotokos before the outbreak of the Iconoclastic controversy in 730. The church was also used for royal burials.[636]

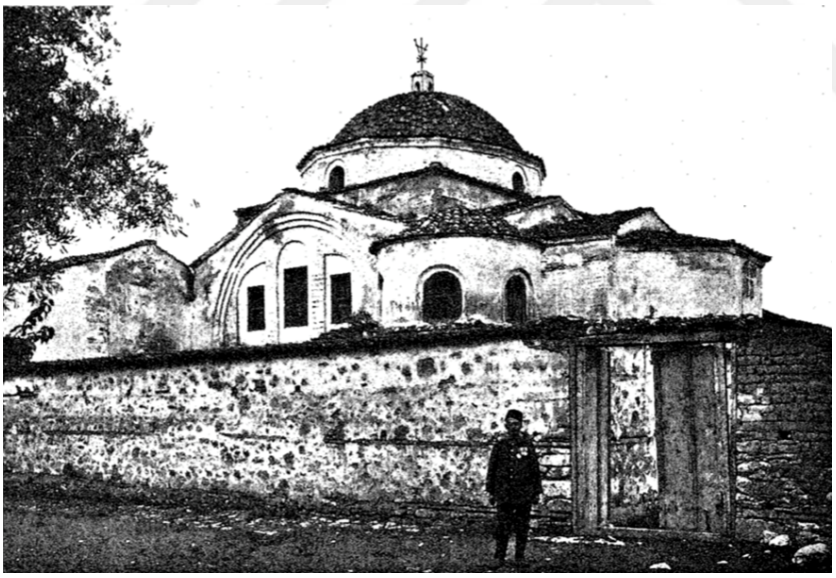

Figure 3.115 . Iznik, an early photograph of the Koimesis (after Schmit 1927, Fig. 2).

[634] Ermiş 2009, 50-53.
[635] For repairs in the Republican period, see Ermiş 2009, 50-51.
[636] Foss 1996a, 97-98; Peschlow 2003, 203-204. Opinions differ on the first construction date of the church, see Diehl 1892, 76; Schmit 1927, 20; Grégoire 1930, 291-292; Weigand 1931, 419; Ulbert 1971, 345-346; Mango (1994, 353; 2010, 136). See also Ermiş 2009, 80-81.

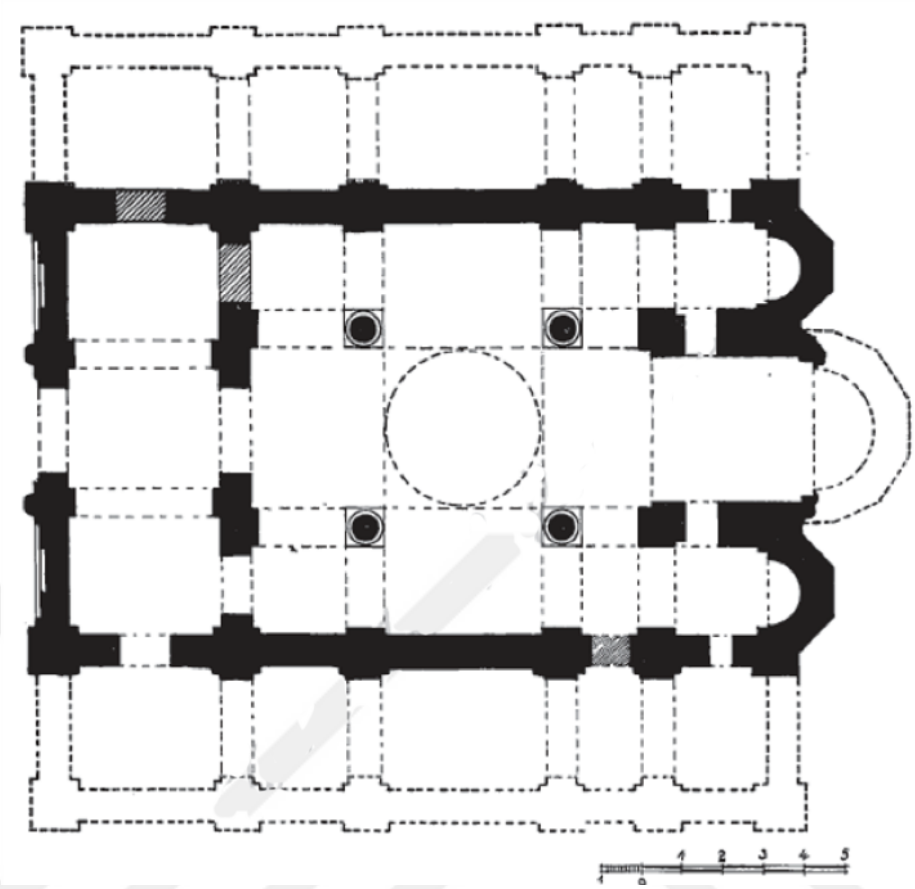

Figure 3.116 . Iznik, plan of the Koimesis (after Eyice 1949, Fig.14).

The configuration plan and mosaics inside the church were significant (Fig. 3.116). A square-shaped nave was covered by a dome resting on four pillars and the narthex extended beyond the main body of the church. The aisles on each side were roofed with barrel vaults and there were three, three-sided, apses. The original decoration of the interior space with mosaics and marble must have been very fine, indeed the mosaics on the ceiling were visible until the church's destruction (Fig. 3.117).[637] The walls with brick and alternating rows of stone; one of the apses also featured a synthronon.[638]

[637] Schmit 1927, 12-14.

[638] For the plan configuration and architectural details, see Foss 1996a, 98-99; Peschlow 2003, 203-204. See also Ermiş 2009, 83-84.



Figure 3.117 . Iznik, mosaics from narthex of the Koimesis (after Schmit 1927, pp. 60, 62-63).

There have been many repairs and rebuilding activities in the churches' past, over of different periods until 1922[639]. The church suffered from an earthquake in the 11th century: the dome collapsed and the vaults of the aisles and narthex were severely damaged.[640] The narthex was subsequently renewed with a gallery and the floors repaired; new mosaics were made for the naos and narthex.[641] After the city fell into Turkish hands, a tolerant regime gave the church to the Greek community and it became the focal point of their religious activities.[642] In the 18th century the building

[639] For more information, see Ermiş 2009, 90-93.
[640] Peschlow 2003, 207.
[641] Peschlow 2003, 207.
[642] Foss 1996a, 98.

collapsed again but was rebuilt at the beginning of the 19th century.[643] Unfortunately, this fine church was seriously damaged during the Greek-Turkish conflicts of the 1920s and it has been in ruins for decades.

The Church of St. Tryphon

St. Tryphon is located near the İstanbul Gate on present-day Atatürk Street. The remains of the church were discovered by Semavi Eyice in the 1940s,[644] and scholars agree that the church was constructed in the 13th century under the rule of the Lascarid Dynasty.[645]

The plan scheme was Greek-cross plan with a narthex covered by a cross vault and three apses. The square-shaped naos was covered with a dome resting on four pillars and the transepts were covered by barrel vaults; there were cells at the corners of the naos.[646] Semavi Eyice describes the construction technique of the church as alternate rows of brick and rubble stone, based on his on-site survey. When measured in 1949, the remaining walls of the church were almost 1.5 meters in height; today they are at 50 centimeters,[647] and these scant remains do not provide enough information on-site to reveal the construction techniques and materials used in any great detail.

The area where the church is situated was a garden and the remains revealed when the garden was excavated. After the discovery, the area was cleared to make a park, with Melda Ermiş noting that some of the remains were removed during this process,[648]

[643] Ermiş 2009, 89. See also Wulff 1903, 4-5 and Schmit 1927, 11.
[644] Eyice 1949, 38; Foss 1996a, 107; Ermiş 2009, 102.
[645] Eyice 1949, 39, 46,49; Papadopoulos 1952, 110-113; Foss 1996a, 105-106; Peschlow 2003, 215.
[646] For more on the spatial descriptions, see Eyice 1949, 41-43 and Ermiş 2009, 103-109.
[647] For more on the construction techniques and materials, see Eyice 1949, 38-41; Ermiş 2009, 104, 113.
[648] Ermiş 2009, 102-103.

3.2.4.2.2 Current Situation and Analysis

- **The Church of St. Sophia:** This important structure was the cathedral church of Byzantine Nicaea, and the only church whose remains can be substantially experienced and visited; after being in ruins for almost two centuries it was extensively restored between 2007-2009 and thus the building is structurally stable and in good condition. The spatial organization of the building now accommodates a mosque in one area of it. There is a staircase with a narrow landing in the entrance, as the interior ground level is now below the courtyard ground level. The original floor mosaics of the church have been protected by glass panels and railings to preserve them (Fig. 3.114). The floors of the prayer areas are covered by red carpets. One half of the prayer aisle is taken up with the *mihrap*, and the rest, to the west wall, is reserved as the prayer area for women worshippers (Fig. 3.118). The nave was partially elevated and opened up as a prayer area on the south side, as well the south aisle (Fig. 3.119).



Figure 3.118 . Iznik, St. Sophia, the mihrap and women's prayer area, 2020.



Figure 3.119 . Iznik, St. Sophia, the areas assigned for worship, 2020.

The north aisle, the apse, and the cells on both side of the apse function as a free museum/exhibition space open to all. There still some areas of frescoes at the base of the walls, and also the walls and ceiling of the cells. The synthronon and the original floor are noteworthy, as well as the domes and half-dome covering the apse and cells (Fig. 3.120). There are hexagonal ceramic tiles on the floor at the entrance and in the north aisle (Fig. 3.121). The construction techniques and details of the materials used from the Byzantine period are visible, but the walls and ceilings have partially been plastered (Fig. 3.112). The wooden roof was constructed during the restoration works completed in 2009; the materials' characteristics and the construction techniques are totally different to those of original Byzantine structure (Fig. 3.122).



Figure 3.120 . Iznik, St. Sophia, the half-dome of the apse and the domes of the cells, 2020.



Figure 3.121 . Iznik, St. Sophia, some of the hexagonal ceramic tiles in the north aisle, 2020.



Figure 3.122 . Iznik, St. Sophia, the new roof structure, installed between 2007-2009, 2020.

It is a positive fact that one is able to visit and experience the only remaining church in Iznik, even though some might find the functional duality inside distractive. The furnishings of the mosque are very dominant in terms of color and material (Figs. 3.118, 3.119); there seems no planned order to the furnishing and no unity in the materials used for the partitioning, furniture, and the interventions made to preserve the original floor mosaics and frescoes (Fig. 3.123). Taking all this into consideration, the state of preservation of the church is assessed as uSC1, uSI2, uVU2, uPC2, and presentation as uAU2, uIS2, uASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.123 . Iznik, St. Sophia, part of the interior, 2020.

- **The Church of the Koimesis:** The area where the remains are located is now enclosed by metal railings and there is no entrance. The surrounding buildings are single- and two-storey housing/apartments. The remains are totally neglected and exposed to the elements and vandalism (Fig. 3.124). The marble building elements are scattered on the ground. The remaining walls reveal that they were constructed of brick, and there are also wall fragments composed of rubble stone. It is not possible to understand the spatial organization or scale of the church. There is a sign on which the name of the building, the commissioner, and the construction period are written, but nothing in terms of representation to provide more information on the church (Fig. 3.125).The state of preservation of the church has therefore to be classified as uSC4, uSI4, uVU4, uPC4, and the presentation as uAU3, uIS2, uIS3, uASC3, uPA3.



Figure 3.124 . Iznik, the remains the Koimesis today, 2020.



Figure 3.125 . Iznik, the remains of the Koimesis, its sign on the nearby railings, 2020.

- **The Church of St. Tryphon:** The remains of this church are located on the main street, Atatürk Street, which connects the Istanbul and Yenişehir Gates. It is not particularly visible, and the area in which the remains are situated has been made into a park. The remains are now almost at ground level and it is not possible to grasp the scale and spatial characteristics of the original church (Fig. 3.126), or fully understand the construction techniques and materials used. There is a sign that indicates the name of the church, but nothing more to inform visitors or passersby in terms of representation tools on- or off-site (Fig. 3.127). Thus, the state of preservation of the church is assessed as uSC4, uSI4, uVU4, uPC4, and the state of presentation as uAU3, uIS3, uASC3, uPA3.



Figure 3.126 . Iznik, the remains of St. Tryphon, 2020.



Figure 3.127 . Iznik, the remains of St. Tryphon, the sign nearby, 2020.

3.2.4.2.3 Evaluation

Evaluations based on the analysis of the selected Byzantine churches in Iznik are summarized for codes of states of preservation and presentation in Tables 3.19 and 3.20.

Table 3.19 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of the selected Byzantine churches in Iznik.

	Structural Condition				Spatial Integrity and Impact				Visibility and Understanding of Byzantine Architectural Details				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects			
	Good State of Pre. uSC1	Average State of Pre. uSC2	Poor State of Pre. uSC3	IR uSC4	Good State of Pre. uSI1	Average State of Pre. uSI2	Poor State of Pre. uSI3	IR uSI4	Good State of Pre. uVU1	Average State of Pre. uVU2	Poor State of Pre. uVU3	IR uVU4	Good State of Pre. uPC1	Average State of Pre. uPC2	Poor State of Pre. uPC3	IR uPC4
The Church of St. Sophia																
Remains of the Church of the Koimesis																
Remains of the Church of St. Tryphon																

Table 3.20 Summary of the analysis of the state of presentation of the selected Byzantine churches in Iznik.

	Access and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. uAU1	Average State of Pre. uAU2	Poor State of Pre. uAU3	Good State of Pre. uIS1	Average State of Pre. uIS2	Poor State of Pre. uIS3	Good State of Pre. uASC1	Average State of Pre. uASC2	Poor State of Pre. uASC3	Good State of Pre. uPA1	Average State of Pre. uPA2	Poor State of Pre. uPA3
The Church of St. Sophia												
Remains of the Church of the Koimesis												
Remains of the Church of St. Tryphon												

Conclusions based on the analysis of the state of preservation are:

- The criterion of 'structural condition' is evaluated as 'good' for state of preservation of St. Sophia as it was restored and the structural system strengthened. The church is in use with a new function and this provides for the maintenance of the building. However, same criterion is evaluated as 'in ruins' for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon: both buildings have collapsed and only the remains of the walls and foundations are visible.
- The criterion of 'spatial integrity and impact' is evaluated as 'average' in terms of state of preservation for St. Sophia. The interior space has changed due to its new function. As detailed above, the furnishing and materials selections are problematic. The church is used for two different functions and being partially used as a museum is a potentially problematic. The contrast between the religious and museum spaces and the new spatial organization has a negative spatial impact. The same criterion is evaluated as 'in ruins' for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon – there is no space to experience in both cases, except for the remains at ground level and there is no clue to spatial organization.
- The criterion of 'visibility and understanding of Byzantine architectural details' is evaluated as 'average' in terms of state of preservation for St. Sophia. The architectural elements, construction technique and materials are observable in the interior space and also on the facades. Furthermore,

elements of the original floor mosaics, synthronon, and frescoes all exist. However, the surfaces of the walls were have been plastered in the past and some areas of this plasterwork have now come away. This criterion is evaluated as 'in ruins' for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon as it is not possible to see or surmise any significant details of the Byzantine architecture in these remains.

- The criterion of 'past interventions and conservation projects' is evaluated as 'average' in terms of state of preservation for St. Sophia. There have been archaeological investigation, repairs, and restorations since the 1930s here, and, as noted above, there was an extensive conservation project after 2000. It is clear that these interventions and researches are vital for the maintenance and preservation of the building. It is also apparent that the interior organization and furnishings should be re-evaluated for the reasons explained above. This criterion is evaluated as 'in ruins' for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon. There has been no attempt at the conservation or representation of the remains, although the area of some of the remains at the Koimesis have been enclosed by metal railings and parapet walls.

Conclusions based on the analysis of the state of preservation are:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is evaluated as 'average' in terms of state of presentation for St. Sophia. The building is accessible, but the on- and off-site representation of the building as a Byzantine church almost nonexistent. However, being partially a museum offers potential for an improved experience of the building, however interior design and organization are vital for providing a better experience and to foster understanding of the building as a Byzantine cultural heritage site. Same criterion is evaluated as 'poor' in terms of state of presentation for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon. Access is limited to the Koimesis and both sites have been neglected in terms of presentation of their architectural features, historical background, and importance within the historical continuity of the city.

- The criterion of ‘information sources’ is evaluated as ‘average’ in terms of state of presentation for St. Sophia. There are written, visual, and digital sources on its history, architecture, and the significance of the building, but unfortunately there is no information on its Byzantine background and history within the building itself. There is also a great deal of information and visual documents for the Koimesis, but currently there are no attempts to visualize the church in a digital resource, or on-site, based on these sources. Information is more limited for St. Tryphon in comparison to the others in this section. Thus, this criterion is evaluated as ‘poor’ in terms of the state of presentation for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon.
- The criterion of ‘attention to setting and context’ is evaluated as ‘average’ in terms of state of presentation St. Sophia. The building is now used in two different functions, and the representation of the building as a Byzantine church could be developed with more information sources, such as digital interfaces in-site, to help visitors and worshippers understand all the periods of the building. As noted above, the furnishing of the spaces for prayers is distractive, and there is no visual integrity between the museum/exhibition area and the space used for worship. This same criterion is evaluated as ‘poor’ in terms of state of presentation for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon, as the remains of the churches are in ruins and there are no attempts to present their history or architecture on- or off-site.
- The criterion of ‘preservation of authenticity’ is evaluated as ‘average’ in terms of state of presentation for St. Sophia based on the Nara Document recommendations. Even though the spatial organization has been respected during conservation, the material selection of the furnishings, and lack of visual integrity with the museum and worship spaces impact negatively on the ‘spirit of place’. Future preservation of architectural details, such as the synthronon, mosaic floors, and the frescoes, is crucial for representing the Byzantine identity of the building. This criterion is evaluated as ‘poor’ in terms of state of presentation for the Koimesis and St. Tryphon, as the remains

of the churches are in ruins and it is not possible to evaluate the preservation of authenticity.

3.3 Rural Settlements and Archaeology

3.3.1 Definitions

The second group of sites we shall be examining includes Byzantine cultural heritage sites that co-exist with rural settlements. Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements will be examined on a site-by-site basis, as the remains of the former Byzantine settlements partially survive and are integrated within current settlements and landscapes. The aim of this section is to investigate the co-existence between rural settlements and archaeological sites dated to the Byzantine period, and the interactions between them in terms of conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

There are various accepted criteria to define the rural settlements in the literature, such as demographic, socio-cultural and economic features, or administrative status (village or town) or the source of income (agriculture or trade).[649] When examining the definition of rural settlements in Turkey, TÜİK notes two different definitions of rural settlements:[650] one based on the administrative status of a settlement, and all these settlements, except for cities and their districts, are accepted accordingly as 'villages'; and the other based on population, i.e. 'rural' settlements are accepted, including cities and districts towns, as having fewer than 20,000 inhabitants. The First National Rural Development Strategy (2007-2013) accepts the second TÜİK definition, but the Second National Rural Development Strategy (2014) finds that

[649] There are different opinions and approaches to the definition of 'rural settlement' and its criteria. For example, Boran (1945) notes that the main difference between urban and rural settlements is the source of income, while for Tütengil (1977, 8-9), populations and their socio-cultural values are the most important factors when it comes to defining a rural settlement. See also Güler 2016, 11-13.
[650] *Ulusal Kırsal Kalkınma Stratejisi* 2014, 14; see URL-57 (retrieved 02.10.2020).

the boundaries of rural areas or settlements became unclear after Law no. 6360 on Metropolitan Municipalities (*On Dört İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Yirmi Yedi İlçe Kurulması ile Bazı Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun*), due to extensions of city borders to include the rural areas around.[651] Thus, the rural populations, or other dynamics, determined in previous studies to define the rural settlements began to be considered as being under the responsibility of Metropolitan Municipalities.[652]

The notion of 'rural' heritage and its conservation has been explored at various international conferences and symposia of the European Council and ICOMOS.[653] However, there has not yet been a clear and comprehensive definition of rural areas and settlements. In 2017, the ICOMOS-IFLA Principles Concerning Rural Landscapes as Heritage were put forward, and within the context of this present research the term 'rural landscape as heritage' can be introduced to explain the approach towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements:

> Rural landscape as heritage [refers] to the tangible and intangible heritage of rural areas. Rural landscape as heritage encompasses physical attributes – the productive land itself, morphology, water, infrastructure, vegetation, settlements, rural buildings and centers, vernacular architecture, transport, and trade networks, etc. – as well as wider physical, cultural, and environmental linkages and settings. Rural landscape as heritage also includes associated cultural knowledge, traditions, practices, expressions of local human communities' identity and belonging, and the cultural values and meanings attributed to those landscapes by past and contemporary people and communities. Rural landscapes as heritage encompass technical, scientific, and practical knowledge, related to human-nature relationships… All rural areas can be read as heritage, both outstanding and ordinary, traditional and recently transformed by modernization activities: heritage can be present in different types and degrees and related to many historic periods, as a palimpsest.

Considering the discussions on rural settlements at national and international level, rural settlements can be accepted as those villages/towns outside the city center

[651] Law no. 6306 on Metropolitan Municipalities (*On Dört İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Yirmi Yedi İlçe Kurulması ile Bazı Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun*) was issued in 2012; URL-58 (retrieved 02.10.2020).
[652] Öğdül 2013. See also Güler 2016, 12.
[653] For more information on rural areas and their conservation, see Eres 2013, 459-461.

having their own cultural dynamics, local architecture, daily activities, traditions and productions, based on the relationship between nature and inhabitants.[654] Thus, in the context of this study, Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements are considered as part of the rural landscape in terms of the architectural pattern, which can be integrated with the buildings and open areas, and also 'cultural values and meanings' attributed to the landscape of the settlement.

Before the analysis of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements, the political, social and economic changes affecting rural areas should be summarized, so as to examine their impact on cultural heritage sites. The social, cultural and economic dynamics of rural settlements are different from those of urban settlements, and the reflection of these differences can be observed through the conservation of cultural heritage sites. The populations at rural settlements began to decrease after the 1950s as a result of the industrialization and development of cities. Changing economic conditions in agriculture and the development of industries in city centers caused massive immigration from rural areas to the cities.[655] The loss of populations transformed rural settlements into desolate places;[656] some of the rural settlements in Anatolian regions turned into areas used only seasonally, or were completely abandoned.[657] The desolation of rural settlements and loss of population brought risks and threats not only for the rural heritage but also to those archaeological sites existing with, or near, rural settlements. These risks include exposure to weather conditions, vandalism, neglect and destruction. In addition, lack of public interest and awareness, and loss of interest in aspects of research and surveys at these archaeological sites can be considered secondary results of the desolation and abandonment of rural settlements.

[654] These components are indicated in ICOMOS-IFLA Principles (2017, 2). See Kurtuluş 2018, 2.
[655] Reflections on such migrations and the observable results in terms of urbanization and threats to cultural heritage sites were discussed in the section here on 'Urban Settlements and Archaeology'. For a general review on rapid urbanization and urban sprawl, see Tekeli, 2015, 208-212.
[656] On the loss of population in rural areas and the reasons behind it, see Güler 2016, 63-67.
[657] Güler 2016, 74-86.

3.3.2 Case Study Areas and Criteria of Assessment

Conservation practices and priorities for the sites, including the co-existence of traditional rural settlements and archaeological sites in Turkey, should be reviewed.[658] Ebru Harman Aslan states that archaeological sites should have priority when it comes to preservation and presenting, before rural architectural heritage.[659] At this point, a definition of archaeological sites and their integrity, or relationship, with rural settlements is important. Interventions at archaeological sites, and the limits of conservation and construction, can be determined according to site type:[660]

> - 1st Degree archaeological sites. Such sites have to be preserved without changes, except for scientific studies on conservation.
>
> - 2nd Degree archaeological sites. Such sites are also conservation areas, and only scientific studies on conservation are allowed. Conservation and usage principles are determined by regional conservation councils.
>
> - 3rd Degree archaeological sites. Such sites are open to new development in accordance with the relevant conservation and utilization decisions of the councils.

Thus, the degree level of archaeological sites integrated within rural settlements is crucial to determine the conservation process and interventions as indicated above. However, these definitions do not cover the types of relationship between rural settlements and archaeological sites. The historical analysis of archaeological areas according to the development of rural settlements and their integration will vary in different cases, which will be exemplified in this section. Furthermore, conservation attitudes may also not be comprehensive, i.e. including both archaeological site and rural landscape as heritage. If archaeological sites or rural landscapes are only dealt with individually in conservation projects, it would not be possible to preserve all the values. Emphasis on the integration of rural settlements and archaeological sites

[658] This argument is valid for the rural settlements considered here, as they have traditional rural housing fabric, materials, and/or construction techniques; i.e. the co-existence of rural architectural heritage and archaeological sites is examined.
[659] Harman Aslan, 2014, 90.
[660] Decree no. 658 defines the degrees of archaeological sites and interventions.

during the conservation process is also important for rural development in terms of valorization of archaeological areas for tourism revenue.

There are two basic attitudes to the co-existence of rural settlements and archaeological sites. The first is continuity of co-existence and integration – physically, socio-culturally, and economically. Iasos in Kıyıkışlacık Village (Muğla), Herakleia-Latmos in Kapıkırı Village (Muğla), Elaiussa-Sebaste in Ayaş Village (Mersin), and Aizonai in Çavdarhisar (Kütahya) are some of the examples representing the co-existence of archaeological sites and rural settlements (Fig. 3.128).[661] The archaeological remains of the ancient cities are integrated with the landscape and built environment of the rural settlements. Beyond this physical integration, they are also elements of daily routines and activities. The second attitude is one whereby rural settlements are relocated within a certain distance from the archaeological site. For example, Geyre Village was established on the remains of the ancient city of Aphrodisias.[662] In the 1960s, the whole village was expropriated by the Ministry of Culture for archeological excavations of the ancient site of Aphrodisias and relocated to its present position; the remains of the old village within the archaeological site became, in turn, ruins. That whole process can be viewed as a loss to the rural heritage of Geyre (Fig. 3.129).[663]

[661] For Iasos/Kıyıkışlacık, see Levi 1986; Serin (2005, 475-486; 2013, 191-211; Pierobon Benoit 2011, 151-153; for Herakleia-Latmos/Kapıkırı see Distelrath, 2011; Peschlow-Bindokat, 2014 and 2017, 264-268; see also Hetemoğlu 2019; for Aizonai and Çavdarhisar, see Güler 2016, 83-84; Stroth 2017, 327-332; for Elauissa/Sebaste and Ayaş, see Schneider 2008.
[662] For Aphrodisias see Roueché and Reynolds 1989; Cormack 1990, 26-41; Nelton 1990, 50-57; Smith and Ratté (1995, 33-58; 2000, 221-253; 2004, 145-186), Dalgıç and Sokolicek 2017, 269-279.
[663] URL-59 (retrieved 03.10.2020).



Figure 3.128 . a) Muğla, Iasos /Kıyıkışlacık; b) Muğla, Herakleia-Latmos/Kapıkırı; c) Mersin, Elaiussa-Sebaste/Ayaş; d-Kütahya, Aizonai/Çavdarhisar (images taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020)



Figure 3.129 . Aerial view of Aphrodisias/Geyre (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

The case of Stratonikeia/Eskihisar (Muğla) is a further example of the relocation of a rural settlement (Fig. 3.130), with Eskihisar being founded on the remains of Stratonikeia, an important multi-period archaeological site.[664] The reasons behind the relocation of Eskihisar differ from the situation at Geyre. Earthquakes have long been a serious threat to the village and the conservation of the archaeological remains, and the future security of both was the main factor behind this relocation. When an archaeological site is registered 1st, 2nd or 3rd degree, this status also affects the rural settlements in terms of restrictions of interventions affecting the built environment, new construction activities and conservation processes. Thus, in these cases living within an archaeological site can be challenging and also restrictive to sustain the physical and built environments.



Figure 3.130 . Aerial view of Stratonikeia/Eskihisar (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

Given the diversity in levels of co-existence of rural settlements and archaeological areas, and the number of examples, the Anatolian regions, especially western Anatolia, offers many case studies for the observation of physical and socio-cultural integrity. These archaeological areas are multi-period heritage sites, mostly significant for their remains from Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, in the context of this study, the integrity of archaeological sites that are significant in terms

[664] Kızıl Aydoğdu 2012, 71.

of the Byzantine period and associated rural settlements will be investigated, and Binbirkilise (within Madenşehri and Değle) in the ancient Lykaonia region (eastern part of Galatia Province), has been selected as a case study for the following factors:

- Binbirkilise represents both attitudes discussed above, in terms of rural settlement and archaeological-area integration. There are two villages that co-exist with the archaeological remains in this region; one, Madenşehri, still lives surrounded by its archaeological remains, and these are part of the rural pattern and landscape. Değle, however, is now abandoned, with the inhabitants having left the village due to restrictions on agricultural activities around the village and interventions to the buildings. Binbirkilise, therefore, represents a rewarding opportunity to examine different attitudes to conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within rural settlements.
- Binbirkilise is significant for its remains of Christian churches, but it also includes other Byzantine structures, such as residential buildings, chamber tombs, and cisterns. In addition, beyond representing the building diversity of the Byzantine period in this region, the use of materials and construction techniques specific to the region and period can be observed. These remains are very significant within the current rural settlement and also the rural landscape. Thus, the locality represents a significant chance to examine the architectural and socio-cultural values of Byzantine remains, and their integration within the settlements and daily life.
- The archaeological excavations and surveys provide valuable information and documentation in terms of the Byzantine past and buildings at Binbirkilise to date. However, there are presently no conservation projects to sustain the existence of the archaeological remains and villages. The continuity of excavations, documentation, investigations and publications relating to Binbirkilise are therefore important.

Considering these factors, Binbirkilise with the villages of Madenşehri-Değle will represent the primary case study in terms of examining the current practices relating

to the conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements. The analysis of Binbirkilise will be on a site-specific scale as the remains are scattered in a wide area in and around the villages. It has not been possible to determine and evaluate all the remains at an individual building level within this research; the integration of the Byzantine remains and rural buildings/open areas is, in any event, the primary consideration of the site selection. The analysis conducted here dictates such a site-scale approach and evaluation to discover the preservation and presentation problems, as well as potential, as relate to Binbirkilise.

The criteria in terms of state of preservation were determined after a preliminary survey of the site. These criteria are: structural condition and integrity, authenticity and impact of the Byzantine remains, visibility and understanding of the Byzantine architectural details within the rural landscape, and past interventions, conservation projects and archaeological excavations. Authenticity is a critical concept in the evaluation of Byzantine remains in the rural landscape. Feilden and Jokilehto have defined authenticity as being:

> … ascribed to a heritage resource that is materially *original* or *genuine* as it was constructed and as it has aged and weathered in time. With regard to a historic monument or site conceived as a work of art, being 'authentic' can be understood in relation to the creative process that produced it as a genuine product of its time, and includes the effects of its passage through historic time.[665]

The aspects of authenticity are defined as: authenticity in design, materials, workmanship, and authenticity in setting.[666] These aspects will thus be considered during the evaluation of the state of preservation of the Byzantine remains in Binbirkilise, in terms of their integration within the rural landscape and local building.

The content of these criteria, according to different conditions, is explained in Table 3.23. The criteria for state of presentation are those in the chapter above on 'Urban Settlements and Archaeology'. Four criteria are determined among the others

[665] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 16-17.
[666] Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 17.

indicated in 'The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites'. However, the contents of each criterion have been reformulated taking into account the current condition of the Byzantine remains within the selected area and the dynamics of the rural settlement (Table 3.24).

There are special codes determined for each criterion of the states of 'preservation' and 'presentation' for the case study areas in the rural settlements: 'r' (rural) in front of the abbreviation of the criterion refers to the geographical context of the selected cases. These codes (indicated in Tables 3.21 and 3.22) are used in the evaluation of the case studies so as not to repeat the same concepts frequently.

Table 3.21 Codes for criteria of state of preservation for 'Rural settlements and archaeology'.

Criteria of state of preservation	**Codes for 'good' state of preservation**	**Codes for 'average' state of preservation**	**Codes for 'poor' state of preservation**	**Codes for 'in ruins'**
Structural Condition and Integrity	rSCI1	rSCI2	rSCI3	rSCI4
Authenticity and Impact of Byzantine Remains	rAIB1	rAIB2	rAIB3	rAIB4
Understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within rural landscapes and their integration	rUBR1	rUBR2	rUBR3	rVU4
Past Interventions/Conservation Projects/Archaeological excavations	rPCA1	rPCA2	rPCA3	rPCA4

Table 3.22 Codes for criteria of state of presentation for 'Rural settlements and archaeology'.

Criteria of state of presentation	Codes for 'good' state of presentation	Codes for 'average' state of presentation	Codes for 'poor' state of presentation
Access and Understanding	rAU1	rAU2	rAU3
Information Sources	rIS1	rIS2	rIS3
Attention to Setting and Context	rASC1	rASC2	rASC3
Preservation of Authenticity	rPA1	rPA2	rPA3

Table 3.23 Criteria defining different degrees of state of preservation.

	Good state of preservation	Average state of preservation	Poor state of preservation	In ruins
Structural condition and integrity (rSCI)	The structural system is stable. No structural cracks or damage in load-bearing elements or dislocation of the load-bearing elements can be observed. Material integrity and building integrity on-site are observable. (rSCI1)	There are some cracks but the load-bearing elements are stable. Material integrity is partially observable, but there is loss of materials from the surface or ornaments of the buildings. (rSCI2)	The structural elements are about to collapse or have partially collapsed. There are structural cracks in load-bearing elements and material integrity is lost on a large scale. The buildings are visible as fragments. (rSCI3)	The structural elements are totally collapsed. Material integrity is totally lost. The remains of the building(s) can be seen at ground level and the pieces of the building(s) are scattered. (rSCI4)
Authenticity and impact of the Byzantine remains (rAIB)	There is no distinct change in the spatial organization or it is mostly preserved considering the first planning of the building(s). Visibility and experiencing of the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period and interaction with them are possible. The building materials are preserved to a certain extent and the workmanship in construction of the buildings can be understood. The buildings in rural settlements do not affect the understanding of the place negatively, so it is possible to understand the original setting of the cultural heritage site; they respect each other. (rAIB1)	There are some changes in the spatial organizations or additions to the interior/exterior of the buildings due to past interventions, or the spatial organization is lost due to the collapse of the building. Visibility and experiencing of the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period are partially possible. The buildings materials are damaged or detached moderately. The buildings in the rural settlement have occupied or surrounded Byzantine cultural heritage sites partially, so the original setting of cultural heritage site has changed. (rAIB2)	The original spatial organization, spatial impact and visibility/experiencing of the spaces are mostly changed because of the collapse of the building. Byzantine remains have lost their material integrity and the construction technique and workmanship cannot be grasped and assessed. The buildings in rural settlements have occupied Byzantine cultural heritage sites and the original setting of cultural heritage sites has changed or been damaged to a certain extent, or the remains suffer from vegetation growth. (rAIB3)	Byzantine structures in the rural settlement/landscape are mostly collapsed or have disappeared. There is no spatial organization of the buildings or impact to understand and evaluate Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of material, workmanship and construction technique and original setting, considering other Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements and landscape. (rAIB4)
Understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban contexts within rural landscapes and their integration (rUBR)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites completely exist in physical terms, so Byzantine architectural details, such as the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation are visible. The original urban context of Byzantine town is preserved and integrated within the planning of the rural settlement. Thus the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are integrated parts of the cultural strata of the rural landscape, as heritage, and considered as part of daily routines and activities in open areas. (rUBR1)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist to an average degree physically, so it is not possible to understand the entire architectural context including the use of building materials, spatial organization or ornamentation. The original urban context of the Byzantine town has changed but rural buildings around respect the cultural heritage sites in terms of their building scale, material, and use of open spaces next to or overlapping the archaeological remains. Thus, Byzantine cultural heritage sites are integrated parts of the cultural strata of the rural landscape as heritage, and still considered as a part of daily routines and activities in open areas. (rUBR2)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites have collapsed and disappeared partially, so the architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation, cannot be understood. The original urban context of the Byzantine town has not survived, so rural buildings occupied the area. Consequently, the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are underestimated in the cultural strata of the rural landscape as heritage, and are separated from the daily routines and activities in open areas. Rural settlement and buildings dominate the area in terms of building scale, material details and use of open spaces. Thus, there are few visible remains of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. (rUBR3)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites have collapsed and disappeared to a certain extent, so architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation, cannot be understood. The original urban context of the Byzantine town could not survive, so rural buildings occupied the area. The Byzantine cultural heritage sites are underestimated in the cultural strata of the rural landscape as heritage, and there are no visible physical or socio-cultural connections between the remains and the rural settlement, including daily routines and activities in open areas. (rUBR4)
Past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations (rPCA)	There were archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs and interventions to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. The buildings, or remains of the buildings, were respected during conservation/repair. Even though Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not maintained properly, there are no damaging attitudes or projects. (rPCA1)	There were archaeological excavations conservation projects, repairs and interventions to research, preserve and maintain Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. However, there are some interventions affecting the understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage site in a negative manner, such as not considering enough clearance before the construction of the buildings of rural settlements or transforming the remains of the Byzantine cultural heritage as a part of the rural settlement but utilizing with a new function; however, these interventions are reversible. (rPCA2)	There were archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. However, the original spatial features, architectural details and function of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not respected. There are some interventions affecting the understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in a negative manner, such as replacing them with rural settlement buildings; or there have been no recent archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/ interventions to preserve and maintain the sites. (rPCA3)	There have been no archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to research, preserve and maintain the site. The Byzantine cultural heritage sites are totally neglected and have mostly disappeared; there are no initiatives to preserve them. In addition, the remains are hard to identify and understand their historical, architectural, and cultural backgrounds due to lack of information and accessible educational materials. (rPCA4)

Table 3.24 Criteria defining different degrees of state of presentation.

	Good state of presentation	Average state of presentation	Poor state of presentation
Principle 1 **Access and Understanding** **(rAU)**	An efficient and accessible physical environment to present the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites was provided for varied audiences in different cultural, social, religious backgrounds. Personal experience on- or off-site is possible for activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding. The local community is also included in activities/programs for exhibition and representation of the site. (rAU1)	Access to Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited due to vegetation growth on the site, or it being in a private area of inhabitants within the rural settlement. On- and off-site presentation is insufficient to express the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Presentation tools and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding should be developed. The local community is not included in activities/programs of exhibition and representation of the site. (rAU2)	Byzantine cultural heritage site is not accessible and there is no off-site presentation for varied audiences. There are no activities or environments for personal experience and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding. The local community is not included in activities/programs of exhibition and representation of the site. There may no longer be a local community; the rural settlement was abandoned. (rAU3)
Principle 2 **Information sources** **(rIS)**	There are written, visual and digital sources to inform about Byzantine cultural heritage sites. These sources were published or prepared as result of comprehensive and multi-disciplinary research into the cultural heritage sites and their environments. Visual reconstructions or digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites were prepared according to the archaeological, architectural, and historical data accessible, or these are being planned or in production. (rIS1)	There are written, visual or digital sources but they are insufficient to assist exploration and understanding. The accessibility and diversity of language of the sources are limited. Comprehensive and multi-disciplinary researches on the cultural heritage sites and their environments are in progress. Visual reconstructions and/or digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist. (rIS2)	The written, visual and digital sources are insufficient to explore or understand Byzantine cultural heritage sites. There are no researches, scientific studies, excavations about Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Visual reconstructions or digital experiences of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist. (rIS3)
Principle 3 **Attention to setting and context** **(rASC)**	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites consider all aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. Interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and rural settlements is positive and they co-exist. Thus, this new setting includes the Byzantine remains as archaeological areas and rural settlements as rural heritage. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site are respected. The natural environment and landscape around cultural heritage sites are considered in its interpretation and presentation. (rASC1)	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore some aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. Interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and rural settlement is partially observable, and they co-exist, but the rural settlement dominates archaeological areas, including Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Visual or physical relation/continuity between cultural heritage sites and their natural surrounding and landscape is weak. (rASC2)	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore almost all aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. The natural environment and landscape around the cultural heritage sites are ignored in terms of its interpretation and presentation; or there are initiatives or concerns to present or represent the site. (rASC3)
Principle 4 **Preservation of authenticity**[665] **(rPA)**	Interpretation and presentation programs respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, material and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, feeling and spirit, and other internal and external factors. Obviously, it is not possible to apply all tenets, but at least respecting the form and design, materials, technique, spirit and feeling and context/setting, are important to preserve the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. (rPA1)	Interpretation and presentation programs respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, materials and technique, but there are repairs, or new functions, with their necessities and additions, that interfere with the impact of the spirit of the place. However, the architectural details, spatial and material characteristics are respected. (rPA2)	The authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is not respected in any way, the site is neglected, and/or there are no presentation tools. The architectural, spatial and material characteristics are not clear, due to site neglect or improper interventions. (rPA3)

[665] The basic tenets of authenticity considered in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites are based on the Nara Document, 1994.

3.3.3 Binbirkilise within Madenşehri and Değle Villages

3.3.3.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

The region where Binbirkilise is located is called Karadağ, consisting of a group of volcanic mountains of two parts with two craters.[668] It is southeast of the ancient city of Iconium, modern Konya, and to the north of Karaman, as a part of ancient Lykaonia. The area includes the remains of Byzantine buildings, dated to between 4th to 9th centuries CE;[669] these remains are to be found in different villages around Karadağ, i.e. Madenşehri, Yukarıören, and Değle (Fig 3.131). There are also remains of fortifications and churches on the nearby hills, including the hill at Mahalaç, which is the highest point of the region. The name Binbirkilise ('One Thousand and One Churches') was given to the site in 1909 by William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell, to underline the density of church remains in the region.



Figure 3.131 . The villages of Karaman, Karadağ, Madenşehri, and Değle (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

[668] Ramsay and Bell, 2008 (first published in 1909), 3; Eyice, 2013, 15; Jackson, 2017, 312.
[669] Ramsay and Bell, 2008, 14-15.

Karadağ region and Binbirkilise were first mentioned in the travelogue of the French traveler G. A. Oliver in the beginning of the 19th century.[670] Later, English travelers, among them W. M. Leake and J. MacDonald, mention Binbirkilise without actually visiting the area, but the French traveler L. de Laborde published gravures of Binbirkilise in his travelogue, representing the oldest visual sources of the region (Fig. 3.132). [671] The 19th century saw other travelers to the area, several referring to the sites in their travelogues, i.e. W. J. Hamilton, C. Texier, J. H. Haynes, and E. J. Davis.[672]



Figure 3.132 . Laborde's gravures of Binbirkilise, 1837 (URL-60, retrieved 03.10.2020).

The region where Madenşehri and Değle are located has been settled since the Hellenistic period and there were two cities, upper (Değle) and lower (Madenşehri). These cities were inhabited during the Roman and Byzantine periods and there were

[670] Eyice, 2014, 16-17. Also, see Olivier 1807 and Leake, 1824.
[671] Eyice, 2014, 20. Also see Laborde, 1837.
[672] Eyice, 2014, 19-21. Also see, Hamilton, 1842, Texier, 1862 and Davis, 1879.

many churches and monasteries built in these periods; later the sites were threatened by Arab and Turkish attacks in the Medieval period. Arabs captured the lower valley where Madenşehri is located in the 7th century, with Değle becoming the center of the ancient Karadağ region, fortified by walls. Madenşehri was retaken by the Byzantines and the churches were repaired and restored in the 9th century. In the 11th century this region was captured by the Turks and some of the buildings were transformed for the use of the Turkish community. William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell note that there was a Christian town together with a Turkish town in this region. The population of Madenşehri however was small and gradually the old houses were abandoned, although Değle remained the chief center between the 7th and 9th centuries CE. The Christian population of the village disappeared in the Seljuk period, and in the meantime the Turkish town also shrank in size[673].

The density of the remains of the buildings dated to the Byzantine period (churches, monasteries, walls, and houses) marks the significance of the area and provides a very suitable example for examining the relationship between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and rural settlements (Figs. 3.133, 3.134). The remains in this area that can be dated with certainty belong to the pre-Hellenic and early Turkish periods, however the visible remains mostly belong to Byzantine times. These remains are located in the villages of Madenşehri and Değle, as well as along the road that connects the two villages. The remains are mostly those of churches and houses from the Byzantine period, which can be recognized according to their plan configurations, inscriptions, and architectural detail; there are, however, also cisterns and tombs. According to the notes and gravures of the first travelers who visited these sites, such as Laborde, the buildings of Binbirkilise have been in ruins for centuries; certain examples will be emphasized in the sections that follow.

[673] For the history of Değle and Madenşehri, see Ramsay and Bell, 2008, 7, 11-12, 36-38 and Jackson, 2017, 313-319.

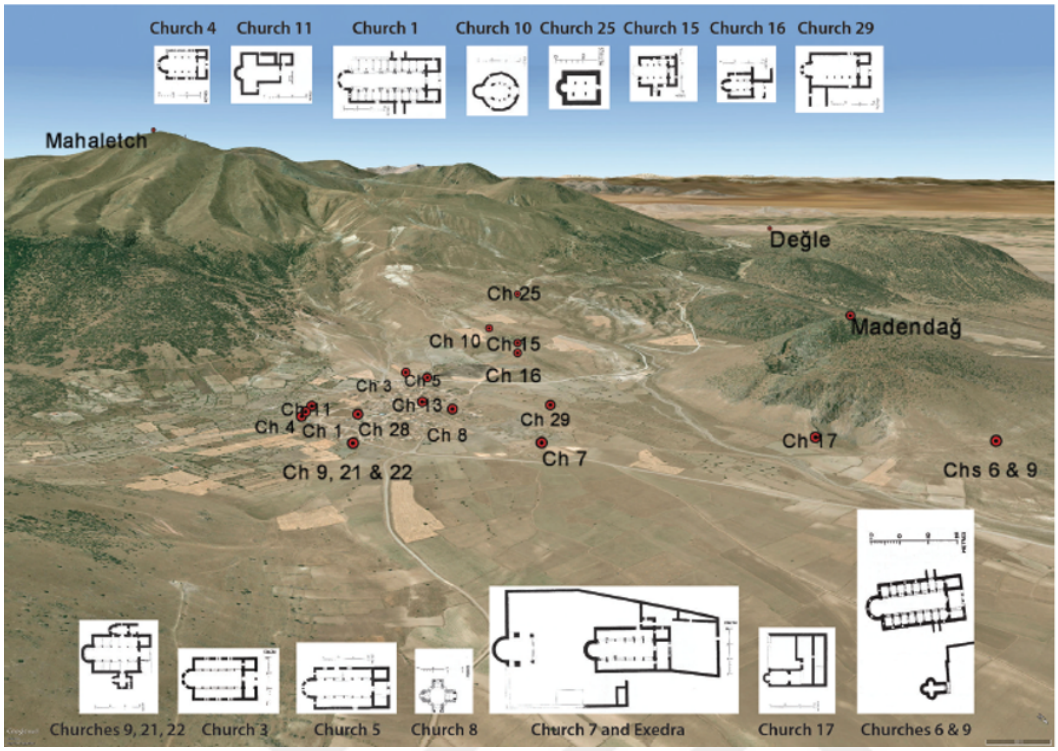

Figure 3.133 . Church remains at Madenşehri (Jackson, 2017, Figure 28.1).

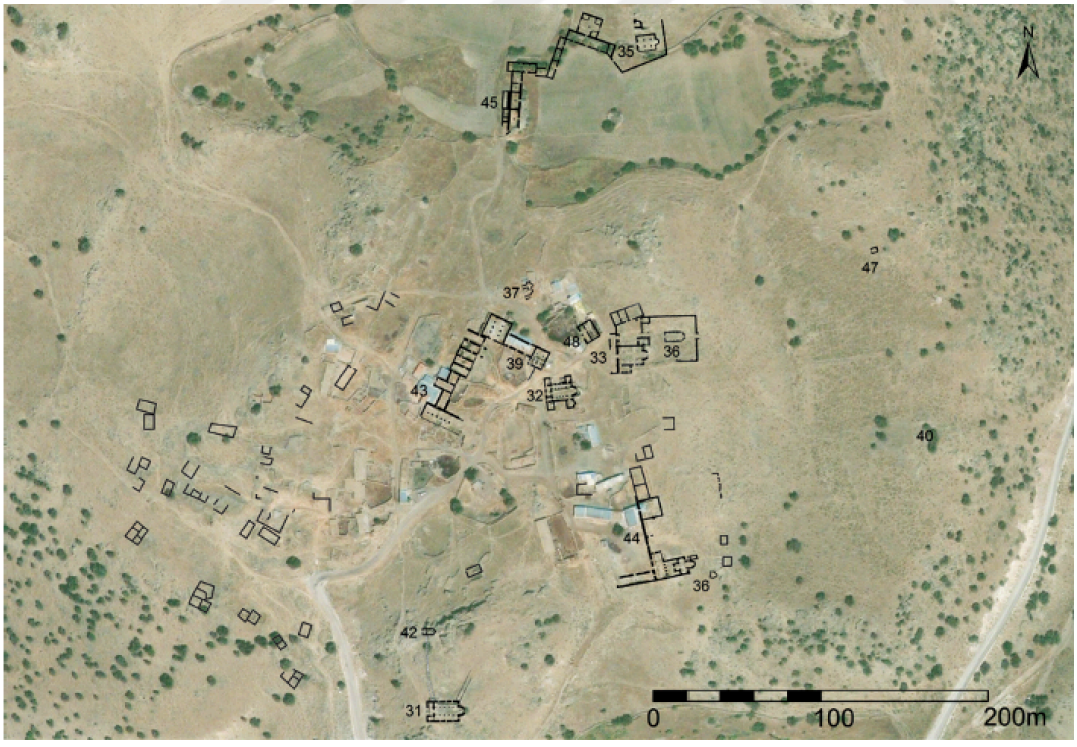

Figure 3.134 . Remains of churches and houses at Değle (Jackson, 2017, Figure 28.4).

As mentioned, the present village of Madenşehri comprises remains of churches, ruined houses, cisterns, and tombs from the Byzantine period. When these remains were being examined and documented by Ramsay and Bell there were no village buildings around the remains; thus they were able to document every detail about their architectural features, past interventions, repairs, and rebuilding activities, and their periods. The churches are mostly three-aisled basilicas, but there are also cruciform churches and smaller churches without aisles[674]. One of the most significant churches, and the largest of Binbirkilise, is Church 1, a three-aisled basilica (Fig. 3.135). The first construction of the church is dated to the 5th century, and it was then restored in the 9th[675]. Marcell Restle notes that rectangular piers were constructed in front of the existing columns to support the superstructure of the nave[676].

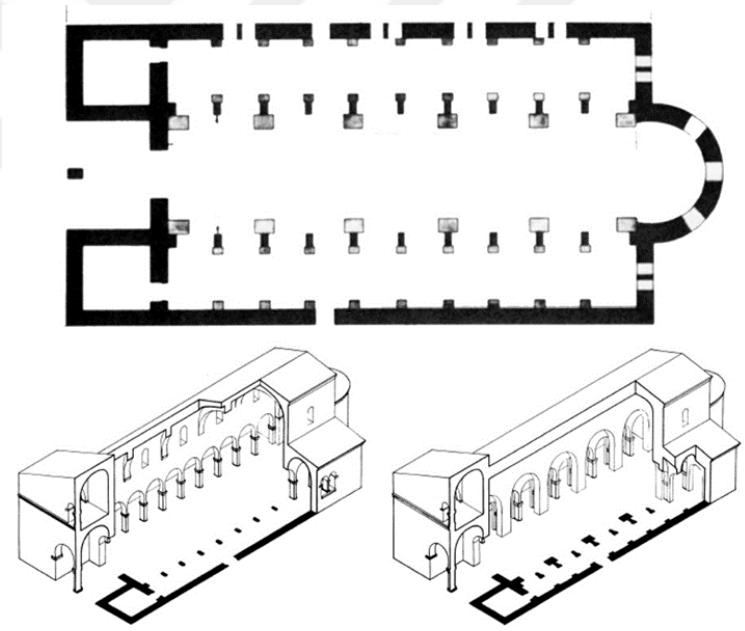

Figure 3.135 . Plan and reconstruction of Church 1 in the 5th and 9th centuries (Lienhardt 1965 Figure 1, 2, 3; drawn by J. Corkill).

[674] The buildings in this region were examined and published in detail by Ramsay and Bell, 2008, 41-297 and Eyice 2014, 32-159. Also, Lienhardt (1965, 300-303) made a detailed examination of Church 1. For a brief summary of building typology in Madenşehri, see Ousterhout 2013, 395-403.
[675] Lienhardt 1965, 300-301, Restle 1966, 699; Westphalen 2000, 278.
[676] Restle 1966, 699. See also Westphalen 2000, 278.

The valleys where the villages are located also provided the quarries from where the building materials were obtained.[677] The buildings have been repaired/rebuilt since their first construction, and some were transformed to be used for different functions when the region was in Turkish hands, i.e. Church 10 was converted into a bakery, Church 25 into a mill or house, and Church 15 into a mosque.[678] The churches in Binbirkilise have been classified into different groups by different scholars. According to William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell, the churches in terms of their first construction and further interventions are classified in three periods.[679] The first group includes those churches that survived the Arab attacks in the 7th century. After these attacks, the Arabs captured the city, destroyed some of the buildings, but left some of the religious buildings to fall into decay after being plundered. The second group includes the churches of the pre-Arab period (before the 7th century). William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell note that these churches had already fallen into disrepair before the Arab attacks; these churches then needed comprehensive repair and restoration but were not rebuilt. The last group includes those churches that were rebuilt after 850 CE. Some of were reconstructed from the ground up, with others rebuilt on top of their remains. The architectural tradition of the churches remained the same, but the forms and style were differed from the earlier churches in the region. Mark P. C. Jackson classifies the churches according to their plan typology, and argues with the periodization of William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell in terms of using the Arab interferences to define the phases (Figs. 3.133, 3.134). [680] The first group is represented by the three-aisled basilicas, i.e. Churches 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 21 and 27. The second group comprises churches of cruciform plan type, i.e. Churches 9, 11, and 12. The third group includes the small churches without aisles, i.e. Churches 18, 24, and 28. Today, Mark P. C. Jackson's classification seems more reasonable, as it is possible to observe plan typologies during site surveys.

[677] Ramsay and Bell 2008, 7.
[678] Ramsay and Bell 2008, 11; Jackson, 2017, 317.
[679] Ramsay and Bell 2008, 14-15, 22.
[680] Jackson 2017, 312-320.

The village of Değle (or Üçkuyu) is located on a higher point in the region, but still very close to Madenşehri. The buildings that survive from the Byzantine periods include churches, chapels, tombs, and small, domestic houses with one or two rooms.[681] There are also inscriptions in the walls and necropolis that provide information about the history of the buildings and the area. Restle notes that Değle comprises monastic buildings and the houses there were for the clerics of the monastery.[682] For this reason, the remains at Değle are mostly considered complexes rather than as single buildings, such as a chapel or church.

Değle is a smaller settlement than Madenşehri, but the remains are of a larger scale, non-military building complexes; there are also burial places located in a denser pattern. The architectural details and spatial organization are significant;[683] there are churches/chapels constructed next to each other as monumental structures, and also houses – mostly to be found on the west and southwest hillside of the village.[684] These are mostly one-storey buildings, but there are some clues or remains indicating two-storey constructions too. Today, the 20th-century village pattern is limited, compared to the Byzantine remains in the area, although these have now mostly collapsed and their materials scattered all around.

Ramsay and Bell note that the ancient cities of Binbirkilise seemed to have been slowly destroyed since the beginning of the 20th century,[685] mostly from natural factors such as the weather and earthquakes.[686] In point of fact, this region has continued to be settled continuously during the Ottoman period, and now there still are inhabitants living in the villages. The remains, however, have been neglected,

[681] For the building types in Değle, see Ramsay and Bell 2008, 543-546; Ahunbay and Saner 1999, 39-48 and 2000 273-278; Jackson, 2017, 317-318.
[682] Restle 1966, 707. See also Jackson 2017, 319.
[683] Ramsay and Bell (2008, 297-504, 519-556) detailed building types, plan schemes, architectural elements, materials, ornaments, and inscriptions.
[684] Saner and Ar, 2107, 96-97.
[685] Ramsay and Bell, 2008, 7-8; in several visits, from 1900, they explain which churches collapsed and why, as well as made to them. See also Ousterhout, 2013, 395-398.
[686] Ramsay and Bell, 2008, 7.

and consequently the buildings dated to the Byzantine period have also suffered over time.

Considering the building diversity and density of the remains within the villages, Binbirkilise stands as a unique example, providing an excellent opportunity to examine the conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural settlements, with various physical, socio-economic, and demographic conditions. The village of Madenşehri is still inhabited today, with a population of 321, according to TÜİK data in 2017. Değle, however, is now abandoned and only a few houses are still inhabited, with a population of 39 in 2017. Although these statistics come from the address-based population registration system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs General Directorate of Population and Citizenship, they are misleading, as there were only three houses detected during the site survey. Turgut Saner and Bilge Ar state that most of the inhabitants of both villages moved to Karaman for better educational, health, and economic opportunities.[687]

This region was also registered as containing archaeological areas to be preserved in 1979, and this status brought restrictions on agricultural activities around the villages, and interventions to the occupied buildings in and around them.[688] As a result of these restrictions near the archaeological areas, the only practical source of income was livestock management. As a result, Değle was slowly abandoned, and Madenşehri, although still settled, much reduced.

3.3.3.2 History of Research, Excavation, and Conservation

Scientific studies on Binbirkilise began in the late 19th century, pioneered by William Ramsay. Josef Strzygowski went on to include the regions of Binbirkilise and Karadağ in his researches, published at the beginning of the 20th century. However, the most comprehensive and detailed examination of Binbirkilise,

[687] Saner and Ar, 2017, 95.
[688] URL-61 (retrieved 03.10.2020).

including its history, buildings, and their documentation, was conducted by Ramsay and Bell and first published in 1909. In the 20th century, Binbirkilise (the churches) has been examined by several scholars, including Marcel Restle, Richard Krautheimer, Semavi Eyice, and Metin Ahunbay.[689] The researches by Ramsay and Bell, however, remain significant; they numbered the churches, and documented and described the remains in a very detailed way: these churches, as Byzantine cultural heritage sites, are still referred to by these numbers by scholars who continue to acquire data on them – documentation, interventions, conservation details, etc.

Metin Ahunbay has studied the documentation and preservation of the region since the 1990s, and in 2007 a group of graduate students from the ITU Restoration Program was taken to Binbirkilise to work on the conservation of Church 1; sadly this initiative had to be curtailed due to lack of financial support.[690]

Later, the Karaman Museum initiated archaeological excavations at Binbirkilise and the site was given the status of 'ören yeri' in 2014.[691] Unfortunately, at the present time there are no archaeological excavations, conservation projects, or studies aimed at improved experience/representation of the sites, although there have been small-scale interventions to stabilize the remains.

3.3.3.3 Current Situation and Analysis

- Remains of Building 7 (exedra) and its nearby environ. Remains Building 7, also referred to as the exedra is located to the north of Madenşehri. There are no buildings of the rural settlement around the exedra but there are remains of other Byzantine structures (Fig. 3.136). The exedra is the only remaining

[689] Ousterhout, 2013, 395-399; Eyice, 2014, 22-23, Ahunbay, 2017, 21-22; Jackson, 2017, 312-313; Saner and Ar 93-109. Also see, Strzygowski, 1903, Krautheimer, 1965, 121-123; Restle, 1966, 690-719.
[690] Ahunbay, 2017, 21-22.
[691] For archaeological excavations conducted in Binbirkilise and the archaeological areas defined by the Ministry of Culture, see URL-62, URL-63, URL-64 (retrieved 03.10.2020).

part, and it provides an experience to sense the scale of the lost building. There are other remains on and under ground level but it is not possible to understand the spatial organization or functions through the remains. The exedra is structurally stable but also neglected. In addition, the remaining wall fragments nearby are in ruins and unstable. However, the construction techniques and building materials are visible and the collapsed building materials can be observed on the ground. These remains are not close to the village and stand as part of the landscape, but there is no physical or socio-cultural relation or interaction between the remains and the rural settlement. The remains are accessible, but there is no information on the origin of the remains on-site. Thus, this group is evaluated as rSCI3 and rSCI4, rAIB4, rUBR3 and rUBR4, rPCA4 in terms of state of preservation, and rAU3, rIS3, rASC3, rPA3 in term of state of presentation.



Figure 3.136 . Madenşehri, Binbirkilise, the Exedra (Building 7) and surrounding remains, 2017.

- Remains of Church 1 and its nearby environs. Church 1 is one of the most significant structures of Binbirkilise. It is located in the village and surrounded by rural buildings on the west side. The entrance of the church is reached by a narrow path between the garden walls of the surrounding buildings, where there is a signboard including the brief history of the area (Fig. 3.137). There are gardens and pathways around the remains of the church on the north, south and east sides (Fig. 3.138). These remains are part of the rural landscape, so physical and socio-cultural relation/interaction between the remains and the rural settlement is possible. There are two arches, at the entrance and the aisle, and the arched colonnade on the north survives (Fig. 3.139). The apse also exists partially, but the superstructure of the church has totally collapsed (Fig. 3.140). It is possible to male out the spatial integrity, and the use of materials and construction details can be understood from the remaining structure. The ground level has risen, so the original heights of the arches and interior space have changed. Considering the current conditions, Church 1 is evaluated as rSCI3, rAIB2, rUBR2, rPCA4 in terms of state of preservation, and rAU2, rIS2, rASC3, rPA3 in terms of presentation.



Figure 3.137 . Madenşehri, Binbirkilise, on-site information panel, 2017.



Figure 3.138 . Madenşehri, Binbirkilise, south view of Church 1, 2017.



Figure 3.139 . Madenşehri, Binbirkilise, architectural details of Church 1, 2017.



Figure 3.140 . Madenşehri, Binbirkilise, Church 1, the apse, 2017.

- Remains of the churches and other buildings at Madenşehri. As indicated in Figure 3. 140, there are the remains of 18 churches within the rural settlement and around it. These churches have collapsed to a certain extent and now in ruins, e.g. Churches 2, 11, 12, 21, and Building 8. The building elements are detached and spatial integrity is lost. The ruins have remained as part of the rural landscape, but there is no information or presentation on-site to understand their architectural, cultural and historical settings, as well as their co-existence with Madenşehri in physical or socio-cultural contexts (Fig. 3.141). Thus, the states of preservation and presentation of the churches in Madenşehri are assessed as rSCI3, rAIB4, rUBR3 and rUBR4 and rPCA4; rAU3, rIS3, rASC3, rPA3 in defining the state of presentation.



Figure 3.141 . Madenşehri, Binbirkilise, remains of Building 8 and 12 (Eyice 2014, 45-46, 50).

- Remains of the churches at Değle: Değle was the upper city in the Byzantine period and it was the location for the monasteries and residential units of the clerics. The pattern of the archaeological remains at Değle is denser than Madenşehri. There are many buildings dating to the Byzantine period, constructed next to each other, and thus the churches are located very close by. In the present situation, the buildings are in ruins, making it difficult to identify the churches individually, or the collapsed building materials (Fig. 3.142). The exterior walls of the churches still partially exist and the boundaries of the spaces help to understand the scale of the buildings.



Figure 3.142 . Değle, Binbirkilise, some remains of the churches, 2017.

In some examples, the spatial organization of the church is visible, i.e. Church 32, where the remains of the aisles exist partially or at ground level (Fig. 3.143). The apses of Churches 32, 33, and 48 exist to represent the spatial details of the churches in this region (Fig. 3.144).



Figure 3.143 . Değle, Binbirkilise, the remains of Church 32, 2017.



Figure 3.144 . Değle, Binbirkilise, some remaining apses, 2017.

The superstructures of the churches have now totally collapsed and the building materials are scattered on the ground. However, there are inscriptions and ornaments within the walls and they provide important sources of knowledge about the buildings (Fig. 3.145). Değle is a registered archaeological site (*ören yeri*) under the care of the Karaman Museum, but there is no exhibition strategy or a set route provided to experience the area, except for a signboard at the entrance of the village (Fig. 3.146). There is, however, no information on-site about the architectural, cultural or historical significance of the ancient city. The integration of the rural settlement and its daily routines with the archaeological remains can be observed, even though the village is abandoned (Fig. 3.147). Thus, the states of preservation and presentation of the churches in Değle are assessed as rSCI3, rSCI4, rAIB3, rAIB4, rUB2 and rUBR3, and in terms of state of presentation as rPCA4; rAU3, rIS3, rASC3, rPA3.



Figure 3.145 . Değle, Binbirkilise, the inscriptions and ornaments within the wall and a detached stone, 2017.



Figure 3.146 . Değle, Binbirkilise, information panel at the village entrance, 2017.



Figure 3.147 . Değle, Binbirkilise, integration of the archaeological remains and daily life at Değle, 2017.

- Remains of the houses at Değle. The remains of the houses at Değle represent the second significant building type that can be observed in this area. The scale of the remains varies in the site and it is understood that there were one-

storey and two-storey buildings there (Fig. 3.148). The superstructures of the houses have also collapsed, but there are still traces of the vaulted structures of Buildings 39 and 43 (Fig. 3.149). There are many other remaining sections of house walls but the spatial organization is lost. The boundaries between the remains are unclear as the building materials now lie scattered all around, and there is a continuous layer of stone laying on the ground (Fig. 3.150). However, it is still possible to observe architectural details, use of materials, and also construction techniques from the remaining walls and other building elements. The physical integration of the archaeological remains and the rural landscape is more marked at Değle than Madenşehri (Fig. 3. 151). Taking all this into account, the states of preservation and presentation of Değle's houses are assessed as rSCI3, rSCI4, rAIB3, rAIB4, rUBR2 and rUBR3 in terms of preservation, and rPCA4; rAU3, rIS3, rASC3, and rPA3 in terms of presentation.



Figure 3.148 . Değle, Binbirkilise, house remains, 2017.



Figure 3.149 . Değle, Binbirkilise, house remains and their superstructures. Buildings 39 and 43, 2017.



Figure 3.150 . Değle, Binbirkilise, collapsed building materials, 2017.



Figure 3.151 . Değle, Binbirkilise, the rural landscape of Değle, 2017.

3.3.3.4 Evaluation

The current situation of the Byzantine remains in Binbirkilise (Madenşehri and Değle) is examined in five groups. Each group is explained and analyzed considering its current physical state and relation to its nearby surroundings, according to the state of preservation and presentation. The evaluation of the analysis for each group of walls is summarized with the codes of state of preservation and presentation shown in Tables 3.25 and 3.26.

Table 3.25 Summary of the analysis of state of preservation of the Byzantine remains at Binbirkilise.

	Structural Condition and Integrity				Authenticity and Impact of Byzantine Remains				Understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within rural landscape and their integration				Past Interventions /Conservation Projects/Archaeological excavations			
	Good State of Pre. rSCI1	Average State of Pre. rSCI2	Poor State of Pre. rSCI3	IR rSCI4	Good State of Pre. rAIB1	Average State of Pre. rAIB2	Poor State of Pre. rAIB3	IR rAIB4	Good State of Pre. rUBR1	Average State of Pre. rUBR2	Poor State of Pre. rUBR3	IR rUBR4	Good State of Pre. rPCA1	Average State of Pre. rPCA2	Poor State of Pre. rPCA3	IR rPCA4
Remains of the building no. 7 (Exedra) and its nearby environ																
Remains of the Church No.1 and its nearby environ																
Remains of the churches and other buildings in Madenşehri:																
Remains of the churches in Değle																
Remains of the houses in Değle																

Table 3.26 Summary of the analysis of state of presentation of the Byzantine remains at Binbirkilise.

	Access and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. r_{AU1}	Average State of Pre. r_{AU2}	Poor State of Pre. r_{AU3}	Good State of Pre. r_{IS1}	Average State of Pre. r_{IS2}	Poor State of Pre. r_{IS3}	Good State of Pre. r_{ASC1}	Average State of Pre. r_{ASC2}	Poor State of Pre. r_{ASC3}	Good State of Pre. r_{PA1}	Average State of Pre. r_{PA2}	Poor State of Pre. r_{PA3}
Remains of the building no. 7 (Exedra) and its nearby environ												
Remains of the Church No.1 and its nearby environ												
Remains of the churches and other buildings in Madenşehri:												
Remains of the churches in Değle												
Remains of the houses in Değle												

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation can be listed as:

- The criterion of 'structural condition and integrity' is evaluated as 'in ruins'. The buildings dated to the Byzantine period at Binbirkilise have collapsed and lost their spatial integrity to a certain extent. The superstructures of the buildings have disappeared but some vaults and domes are partially observable. The walls of the buildings also exist in part, and the construction details of the walls are observable. Considering previous photographs of Binbirkilise and the documentation of the buildings since the 20th century, the building elements have clearly collapsed over time, due to neglect, weather conditions, and lack of precautions and interventions to preserve the buildings. They are still in poor condition and the building pieces are scattered around.
- The criterion of 'authenticity and impact of Byzantine remains' is evaluated as 'poor' and 'in ruins', in terms of state of preservation and in ruins. There are some changes in the spatial organizations or repairs that can be seen on-site, such as for Church 1. Some of the buildings were reused since the Ottoman period, but there are no major changes in terms of scale or additional spaces. Visibility and experiencing the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period is only partially possible as many of the buildings have collapsed.

However, the impact of the remains is very strong due to their density within the current rural settlement, especially at Değle, and the architectural significance of its monumental structures, i.e. the remains of Church 1 in Madenşehri and the remains of Değle's churches with apses. There are inscriptions and ornamented stones still visible on the site, with many still in their original settings. However, unidentified sections of buildings are strewn on the ground around the ruined remains. Nevertheless, the domes and vaults, the wall formation, use of materials, and construction techniques of the architectural elements are visible to discover and help understand the Byzantine details. The villages are integrated with the Byzantine structures – they are located quite close or next to each other. This close layout also affects the visibility of Byzantine structures in some cases, i.e. in terms of Church 1. Overall, understanding the original setting of the remains is almost impossible at Madenşehri, however Değle is better, with its remains dominating the rural landscape.

- The criterion of 'understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within rural landscape and their integration' is evaluated as both 'average' and 'poor' in terms of states of preservation. Although Binbirkilise is a very significant Byzantine cultural heritage site in respect to the number of the Byzantine structures located there, their physical and structural conditions are poor. Thus, these buildings have now lost many of their architectural elements, such as their superstructures, walls, and other structural elements, as well as their facades and ornamentation. The ground level has risen at both villages, which affects the understanding of spatiality and also the original height of the architectural elements. However, the remaining elements still present something of the architectural significance and characteristics of the site, with the help of past researches on the buildings. The urban context of the past Byzantine city at Değle can be understood and experienced, as the remains dominate the rural landscape of the village; thus even though the village is abandoned, physical and socio-cultural integration is still visible.

Madenşehri, on the other hand, is dominated by the rural settlements and the remains of the Byzantine structures are not very visible within the overall context of buildings.

- The criterion of 'past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations' is evaluated as in ruins. The site has been visited by travelers and researchers since the 19th century. The first documentation of the remains is dated to the beginning of the 20th century. Since then there have been field surveys, documentation studies, and archaeological excavation conducted at the site by Turkish and international researchers. However, a comprehensive conservation project, including documentation of the current remains, analyses of interaction/integration between the villages and Byzantine cultural heritage sites, re-assessments, valorization and representation of Binbirkilise, has not been conducted.

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation may be listed as:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is evaluated as 'poor' in terms of state of presentation. Access to the Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited due to vegetation, or the risk of collapse. The two villages were determined as archaeological areas (*ören yeri* – as defined in Law no. 2863), which means they are akin to open-air museums for exploring the Byzantine remains. These remains are still visible and have not been totally occupied or demolished by the rural settlements and their inhabitants. However, the representation tools on-site are insufficient to express the significance and importance of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites of Binbirkilise. Considering the potential of Binbirkilise, presentation tools and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding should be developed. The abandonment of the villages can be viewed as a negative, for it separates the local community from any preservation and representation process for Binbirkilise, and hinders the sustainable conservation and management of cultural heritage sites in many cultural and socio-economical aspects. Furthermore, the tangible and intangible rural heritage, and the

integrity between cultural heritage sites and rural settlements, offer considerable potential for fostering public interest and the development of the site.

- The criterion of 'information sources' is evaluated as 'poor' in terms of the state of presentation. There are written and visual sources from which to research and understand the cultural heritage site, but such studies and their scope are limited in number. Furthermore, documentation of the remains has not been brought up to date, with even recent researches obliged to refer to the early work of William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell of 1909. Clearly, the present-day conditions of the remains should be documented once more. Additionally, although the villages are registered as *ören yeri* and linked to the Karaman Museum, there are insufficient information tools on-site to help understand the remains and their significance. The only informative elements are simple metal signs giving a brief history of the region and its remains (Figs. 3.144 and 3.153).
- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' is evaluated as 'poor' in terms of state of presentation. Binbirkilise is a neglected cultural heritage site and lacks an organized representation strategy, including the rural landscape and the local community. The natural environment is a part of experiencing the site, and it has great potential in terms of experiencing the landscape and topography, together with its archaeological remains. These remains are now mostly collapsed and in poor condition, and it is not possible to define and understand the remains, individually or collectively, as an entire urban context. There no clear or defined route to help understand the setting and context of the remains. The visitor or interpreter is on their own while exploring the site, and although this can also be a valuable experience, the visit should be supported with the provision of information on-site, via actual or digital tools.
- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' is evaluated as 'poor' in terms of state of presentation. In the analysis of the state of preservation of

> Binbirkilise, the criterion of authenticity and impact of Byzantine remains is evaluated as 'poor' in terms of state of preservation, even though the impact of the area for experiencing the Byzantine cultural heritage sites is strong. The remains must present themselves, because, as underlined, the site is neglected and there are no presentation or representation tools on-site. The Nara Document is clear: [692] "Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information."

Yet, for Binbirkilise, there are no information sources on-site except for rudimentary signs explaining the brief history of the site (Figs. 3.137 and 3.146). According to the Nara Document, any information sources should indicate the "form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors". Clearly, the guidelines put forward in the Nara Document are not in evidence as regards the information sources on-site or via the digital environment at Binbirkilise.

3.4 Archaeological Areas

3.4.1 Definitions

The third group of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey includes the archaeological areas that contain Byzantine strata within their multiperiod stratification. The concept of 'archaeological site' is defined by national laws (no. 2863) or decrees (no. 658) in Turkey and also in the charters/documents of international organizations such as ICOMOS.

> Archaeological site: is defined as areas which (1) have existed since prehistoric times, (2) have significant and homogenous topographic features, (3) are remarkable

[692] ICOMOS, 1994, Article 13.

> in historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social and technical ways, (4) are partially constructed, and (5) including cultural property resulting from human interaction with nature.[693]
>
> Archaeological site: is defined as those settlements or areas that include cultural property reflecting previous civilizations' social, economic and cultural characteristics, located on the ground, underground or underwater.[694]
>
> Archaeological site: These are the areas where the cultural assets of the ancient civilizations that have survived from Prehistoric times to the present are located above ground, underground or underwater, and reflect the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of the period in which they survived.[695]

Given the existing definitions, in this study, archaeological areas are cultural heritage sites with archaeological remains from different periods, including, of course, the Byzantine period, and registered and presented as an archaeological site. The number of archaeological sites is higher in the Eastern and Mediterranean regions, but there are also archaeological sites with Byzantine remains in Central and Southeastern Anatolia.

3.4.2 Case Study Areas and Criteria of Assessment

The main concern of this section is to examine the present-day conditions of Byzantine structures within archaeological sites in terms of their conservation, interpretation and representation issues – problems/potential. Researches at archaeological sites focusing on the Byzantine period, and conservation projects applied there, are important factors in terms of the analysis of their contribution to the understanding, re-assessment and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in archaeological areas. Thus, the selection of multi-period archaeological sites that include Byzantine structures, as well as archaeological areas containing only Byzantine strata, is crucial to the evaluation process in order to examine attitudes to conservation and representation and the reasons behind them. Various motives lie

[693] This concept is defined in Law no. 2863 in 1983; the latest version was published in 2013.
[694] This concept is defined in Decree no. 658, published in *T.C. Resmi Gazete* of the Republic of Turkey in 1999. For more information, see the decree in URL-9 (retrieved 22.09.2020).
[695] ICOMOS 2013c.

behind the conservation and representation of archaeological remains at multi-period heritage sites. As underlined above, Byzantine structures are considered less 'attractive' than the monumental structures of the Hellenistic and Roman periods due to their scale, use of material, ornamentation, etc. In support of this, Aylin Orbaşlı states that Hellenistic and Roman structures have priority during conservation and representation processes as they are more 'impressive' and of greater potential for cultural tourism.[696] This claim can be interpreted as suggesting that economic expectations for cultural tourism, i.e. archaeological sites, are greater for monumental buildings dated to periods earlier than Byzantium. It is of interest to see how this opinion has developed.

By analyzing different groups of archaeological areas, including Byzantine cultural heritage sites, and by looking at the researches and surveys conducted there, as well as any conservation projects and the archaeological excavations and their results, an understanding of Byzantium, as well as the conservation and representation of Byzantium in archaeological areas, can be revealed and discussed. Archaeological excavations and surveys provide valuable information and documents involving the Byzantine structures within the cultural heritage sites selected. For this reason, the continuity of excavations, documents, reports and publications about the findings are important. Furthermore, the details and attitudes in terms of any conservation projects conducted at the sites are crucial when comparing attitudes towards their Byzantine structures and site representation.

The problems of identification and the potential for the representation of Byzantine structures within archaeological sites require examination and reassessment. In addition, the strategy of the representation of archaeological sites, e.g. emphasizing or ignoring Byzantium, should be investigated in its all aspects – cultural, historical, social, economic. Differences in strategies and applications are also related to the stratification of archaeological areas and the cultural diversity of the archaeological

[696] Orbaşlı 2013.

remains, and Byzantine cultural heritage sites within archaeological areas feature in several ways:

- Those sites including only, or mostly, Byzantine remains. This group enables us to analyze attitudes towards Byzantine sites with no other culture(s) involved, i.e. Korykos, Kanytelis in Cilicia, Binbirkilise in Lyconia, and Dara in further to the East.
- Those multi-period sites that include Byzantine structures and the remains and monumental structures from other periods, i.e. Classical, Hellenistic and Roman. Such sites enable us to examine differences in conservation/presentation attitudes and priorities, i.e. Ephesus, Sardis, Pergamon, Hierapolis, Miletus, etc.

Given these different cultural characteristics of those archaeological areas where Byzantine remains exist, the archaeological investigations undertaken so far have revealed in the literature the existence of Byzantine remains in multiperiod archaeological areas as important strata. The existence of Byzantine strata can be observed in various physical conditions. This variation is important to allow us to investigate the integration of Byzantine remains with the remains from other periods and the architectural/material differences between them.

For example, there is a Byzantine church constructed in the 5th century next to the Temple of Artemis in Sardis (Fig. 3.152). The scale of the church is appreciably less than the temple, and the differences in construction technique and materials are obvious. Other examples include sections of the Byzantine city walls near the Temple of Serapis in Miletus, and the remains of the ruined great church there (Figs. 3.153, 3.154). The surviving elements of the castle in Miletus allow one to appreciate the scale of the building and the construction details (Fig.3.155). The remains of the episcopal church, dated to the Early Byzantine period, are located south of Priene's theatre (Fig. 3.156). The walls and superstructure have collapsed, but it is possible to comprehend the spatial organization and some of the architectural details. The urban pattern of Priene is very dense, and the remains of this church are surrounded

by Hellenistic structures, e.g. the Temple of Athena, theatre and sacred stoa. The remains of a Byzantine church at Stratonikeia are visible on the western thoroughfare within the ancient city (Fig. 3.157). The important church at Laodikeia should also be included amongst the most significant Christian churches in Anatolia (Fig. 3.158). There also other remains from the Byzantine period in Laodikeia, such as the eastern Byzantine gates and towers, the eastern Byzantine nymphaeum, and the central church (Fig.3.159)



Figure 3.152 . Sardis, the Byzantine Church next to the Temple of Artemis (URL-65, retrieved 21.06.2021)



Figure 3.153 . Miletus, the remains of the Byzantine gate/city walls and the Temple of Serapis, 2021.



Figure 3.154 . Miletus, the remains of the Byzantine church, 2021.



Figure 3.155 . Miletus, the remains of the Byzantine castle, 2021.



Figure 3.156 . Priene, the remains of the Byzantine church, 2021.



Figure 3.157 . Yatağan, Stratonikeia, the Byzantine church on the western thoroughfare, 2021.



Figure 3.158 . Denizli, Laodikeia, the Byzantine church on the western thoroughfare, (B. Erbakan, 2021).



Figure 3.159 . Denizli, Laodikeia, a) eastern Byzantine gate; b) central church; c, d) Byzantine nymphaeum (URL-66, retrieved 21.06.2021).

The examples given indicate various Byzantine remains within different stratifications, degree of integration, physical condition, and function. There are ongoing excavations and researches into the Byzantine period of these multi-period archaeological sites. Recently, the number of studies on the Byzantine strata of archaeological sites has been increasing, but these levels have been overlooked and neglected for a long period in comparison to Hellenistic and Roman structures, even though the Byzantine era plays an important role in the historical continuity of such sites. Thus, this neglect has impacted on the diversity and number of studies in this field; furthermore, any real emphasis on conservation and the representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites at archaeological sites is relatively rare for the same reasons. However, this does not imply that Byzantine remains have been neglected at *all* archaeological areas, yet there are no significant examples of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage at any archaeological area. For example,

there are significant studies of Byzantine Sardis, Hierapolis, and especially Ephesus in the literature.[697]

Ephesus represents an outstanding example, among others, in terms of archaeological investigations, research activities, conservation approaches, and applications for Byzantine remains in the ancient city. There are also other archaeological areas very close to Ephesus, including Byzantine remains such as the church of St. John at Ayasuluk and the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers (*Yediuyurlar*) (Fig. 3.160, 3.161).[698] As well as the religious buildings constructed in the Byzantine period, resulting in a site of pilgrimage, there are several other examples of Byzantine remains at Ephesus, Ayasuluk and Selçuk. The diversity of the Byzantine heritage in Ephesus and the number of studies and their content, related to archaeological excavations, conservation and representation practices, make Ephesus eminently suitable for comprehensive analyses within the context of this research. The Byzantine walls of Ephesus still partially surround the city and are clearly visible (Fig. 3. 162, 3.163); as well as the several churches and burial places, there are also the remains of a Byzantine palace (Fig. 3.164, 3.165). These latter are also in ruins, however, and are not paid much attention in comparison to the Hellenistic and Roman monuments. In Ayasuluk, there is a water reservoir (cistern) as part of the water network of the Byzantine city and its remains are located on the outskirts of the Ayasuluk hill (Fig.3.166). The remains of the aqueduct are also very close to this water reservoir and it extends to the east of Ayasuluk, being visible from the streets of Selçuk (Fig. 3.167). These remains provide information on the architectural details, construction techniques and materials, as well as the water network of the city in the Byzantine period. They are also integrated within the current urban fabric of Selçuk and provides a different visitor experience from that of the Church of St. John at Ayasuluk, or Ephesus.

[697] See Foss 1976; Arthur 2006.
[698] For the 'Seven Sleepers Grotto', see Zimmerman 2012, 257-271.



Figure 3.160 . Selçuk, Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, 2021.



Figure 3.161 . Selçuk, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers (*Yediuyuyanlar*), 2021.



Figure 3.162 . Ephesus, Byzantine city walls near the commercial agora (Pülz 2011, Fig. 18).



Figure 3.163 . Ephesus, Byzantine city walls to the north, 2021.



Figure 3.164 . Ephesus, Byzantine palace (Pülz 2011, Fig. 14).



Figure 3.165 . Ephesus, Byzantine palace and medieval cemetery (Pülz 2011, Fig. 24).



Figure 3.166 . Selçuk, Byzantine cistern at Ayasuluk, 2021.



Figure 3.167 . Selçuk, remains of the Byzantine aqueduct and cistern at Ayasuluk, 2021.



Figure 3.168 . Selçuk, remains of the aqueduct through the streets, 2021.

In this section the religious buildings of Ephesus and Ayasuluk are examined in terms of their status as ‘pilgrimage sites’, assessing their levels of preservation, and the presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within archaeological areas, based on findings that:

- Ephesus and Ayasuluk are multi-period archaeological areas, thus it is possible to compare the states of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites with Hellenistic and Roman structures.
- Since 2015 the archaeological site of Ephesus has been on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Although close to Selçuk, it is an isolated archaeological site surrounded by a natural landscape. Ayasuluk, however, is in the city center of Selçuk and includes the important Byzantine church of St. John. In addition, there are individual Byzantine remains that form parts

of the urban pattern of Selçuk. Thus it is possible to examine Byzantine remains in archaeological areas within different geographical and urban contexts.

- Ephesus was one of the most important pilgrimage sites of Christianity in Asia Minor until the end of middle ages.[699] Clive Foss notes that a radical reduction in pilgrimages to Asia Minor becomes obvious after the early 7th century, mostly due to Arab attacks. It was only Ephesus, considered the richest in terms of its 'monuments and sites associated with figures close to Christ', continued to be a pilgrimage site among the many other sacred sites of the wider region.[700] The remains of the Churches of Saint Mary in Ephesus, the Church of St. John at Ayasuluk, the Grotto of The Seven Sleepers and the Tomb of St. Luke were the major sacred places visited by Christians.
- Scholars such as Sabine Ladstätter have noted that for a long time Byzantine Ephesus has not been the focus of interest for researchers, but that in recent decades there has been an increasing number of studies on the site, as well as conservation strategies and applications in general for the preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.[702]

A range of special codes have been determined here for each criterion of the states of 'preservation' and 'presentation' relating to case-study areas in the rural settlements: 'a' (archaeological) in front of the abbreviation of the criterion refers to the geographical context of the selected cases. These codes (indicated in Tables 3.27 and 3.28) are used in the evaluation of the case studies so as not to repeat the same concepts frequently. The criteria of the states of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in archaeological areas are explained in the tables below (Table 3.29 and 3.30).

[699] For Ephesus as a pilgrimage site, see Foss 2002, 130; Pülz 2012, 225-260; Sewing 2019, 78-101. See also Ladstätter 2011, 1; Külzer 2011, 31.
[700] Foss 2002, 129-131, 138, 144.
[702] Ladstätter 2109,15.

Table 3.27 Codes for criteria of state of preservation for 'archaeological areas'.

Criteria of state of preservation	Codes for 'good' state of preservation	Codes for 'average' state of preservation	Codes for 'poor' state of preservation	Codes for 'in ruins'
Structural condition and spatial integrity	aSCI1	alSCI2	aSCI3	aSCI4
Authenticity and impact of Byzantine remains	aAIB1	aAIB2	aAIB3	aAIB4
Understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within archaeological areas and their integration	aUBC1	aUBC2	aUBC3	aUBC4
Past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations	aPCA1	aPCA2	aPCA3	aPCA4

Table 3.28 Codes for criteria of state of presentation for 'archaeological areas'.

Criteria of state of presentation	Codes for 'good' state of presentation	Codes for 'average' state of presentation	Codes for 'poor' state of presentation
Access and understanding	aAU1	aAU2	aAU3
Information sources	aIS1	aIS2	aIS3
Attention to setting and context	aASC1	aASC2	aASC3
Preservation of authenticity	aPA1	aPA2	aPA3

Table 3.29 Criteria defining different degrees of state of preservation.

	Good state of preservation	Average state of preservation	Poor state of preservation	In ruins
Structural condition and integrity (aSCI)	The structural system is stable. No structural cracks or damage in load-bearing elements or dislocation of load-bearing elements can be observed. Material integrity and building integrity on-site are observable. (aSCI1).	There are some cracks and fissures but the load-bearing elements are stable. Material integrity is partially observable, but there are losses of materials from the surface or ornaments of the buildings (aSCI2).	The structural elements are on the point of collapse or have partially collapsed. There are structural cracks in load-bearing elements and material integrity is lost on a large scale. The buildings are visible as fragments (aSCI3).	The structural elements have totally collapsed and the material integrity totally lost. The remains of the building(s) can be seen at ground level and the pieces of the building(s) are scattered (sSCI4).
Authenticity and impact of the Byzantine remains (aAIB)	There is no distinct change in the spatial organization or it is mostly preserved related to the first planning of the building(s). Visibility and experiencing of the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period and interaction with them are possible. The building materials are preserved to a certain extent and the workmanship in construction of the buildings can be understood. The interaction between the remains of other periods and Byzantine remains is strong, thus it is possible to understand the original urban/architectural setting of the cultural heritage site and further periods; i.e. they respect each other (aAIB1).	There are some changes in the spatial organizations or additions to the interior/exterior of the buildings due to past interventions, or the spatial organization is lost due to the collapse of the building. Visibility and experiencing of the spaces as planned in the Byzantine period are partially possible. The buildings materials are damaged or detached moderately. The remains of the older periods (Hellenistic or Roman) are in better physical states and more 'appealing' in comparison to the Byzantine remains. Therefore, the urban/architectural settings of Byzantine cultural heritage sites are rather more challenging to discover and understand (aAIB2).	The original spatial organization, spatial impact and visibility/experience of the spaces are mostly changed because of the collapse of the building. The Byzantine remains have lost their material integrity, and the construction technique and workmanship cannot be grasped and assessed. The remains of the older periods (Hellenistic or Roman) are in better physical states in terms of conservation and presentation in comparison to the Byzantine remains, which are neglected (aAIB3).	The Byzantine structures in the archaeological areas have mostly collapsed, or disappeared. There is no spatial organization of the buildings or impact to understand and evaluate Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of material, workmanship and construction technique and original setting (aAIB4).
Understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within archaeological areas and their integration (aUBC)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist completely in physical terms, thus the Byzantine architectural details, such as the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation are visible. The original urban context of the Byzantine town is preserved and integrated within the archaeological areas as part of their cultural strata (aUBC1).	Although the Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist to an average degree physically it is not possible to understand the entire architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization or ornamentation. The original urban context of the Byzantine town has changed or disappeared but the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are partially integrated within the archaeological areas considering the remains of the previous periods and their interrelation (aUBC2).	The Byzantine cultural heritage sites have collapsed and disappeared partially, so the architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation, cannot be well understood. The original urban context of the Byzantine town has not survived, the remains of other periods are more visible. Consequently the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are underestimated within the cultural strata of archaeological areas (aUBC3).	Byzantine cultural heritage sites have collapsed and disappeared to a certain extent, thus the architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation, cannot be understood. The original urban context of the Byzantine town has not survived. The existing Byzantine cultural heritage sites are underestimated within the cultural strata of the archaeological areas, and there are no visible physical or socio-cultural connections between the remains of different periods on the site (aUBC4).
Past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations (aPCA)	There have been archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs and interventions to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage site in the past. The buildings, or remains of the buildings, were respected during conservation/repair. Even though the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not fully maintained there have been no damaging attitudes or projects (aPCA1).	There have been archaeological excavations conservation projects, repairs and interventions in order to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. However the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not the priority, or they are neglected in comparison to the Hellenistic or Roman structures in research or excavation processes (aPCA2).	There have been archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. However the original spatial features, architectural details and function of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not respected. Or, there have been no recent archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/ interventions to preserve and maintain the sites (aPCA3).	There have been no archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to research, preserve and maintain the site. The Byzantine cultural heritage sites have been totally neglected and have mostly disappeared; there are no initiatives to preserve them. In addition, the remains are hard to identify and it is difficult to understand their historical, architectural, and cultural backgrounds due to lack of information and accessible educational materials (aPCA4).

Table 3.30 Criteria defining different degrees of state of presentation.

	Good state of presentation	Average state of presentation	Poor state of presentation
Principle 1 **Access and understanding (aAU)**	An efficient and accessible physical environment to present the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites has been provided for various audiences in different cultural, social, religious backgrounds. Personal experience on- or off-site is possible for activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding (aAU1).	Access to Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited due to vegetation growth or the area is insecure; or the site is physically accessible but there are no interventions to make the site more understandable. On- and off-site presentation is insufficient to express the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Presentation tools and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding should be developed (aAU2).	The Byzantine cultural heritage site is not accessible and there is no off-site presentation for various audiences. There are no activities or environments for personal experience and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding (aAU3).
Principle 2 **Information sources (aIS)**	There are written, visual and digital sources to inform about Byzantine cultural heritage sites. These sources were published or prepared as a result of comprehensive and multi-disciplinary research into the cultural heritage sites and their environments. Visual reconstructions or digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites were prepared according to the archaeological, architectural, and historical data accessible, or these are being planned or in production (aIS1).	There are written, visual or digital sources but they are insufficient to assist exploration and understanding. The accessibility and diversity of language of the sources are limited. Comprehensive and multi-disciplinary researches related to the cultural heritage sites and their environments are in progress. Visual reconstructions and/or digital experience of the Byzantine cultural heritage site does not exist (aIS2).	The written, visual and digital sources are insufficient to explore or understand Byzantine cultural heritage sites. There are no researches, scientific studies, excavations on the Byzantine cultural heritage site. Visual reconstructions or digital experiences of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist (aIS3).
Principle 3 **Attention to setting and context (aASC)**	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites consider all aspects of the cultural, social, environmental significance and values of the sites. Interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and the remains of other cultures is positive and observable, and they co-exist. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site are respected and can be understood. The natural environment and landscape around the cultural heritage sites are considered in its interpretation and presentation. Visual or physical relation/continuity between cultural heritage sites and their natural surrounding and landscape is strong (aASC1).	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore some aspects of the cultural, social, environmental significance and values of the sites. Interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and the remains of other cultures is partially observable, and they co-exist, but the monumental structures of Hellenistic or Roman periods dominate the archaeological areas compared to Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Visual or physical relation/continuity between cultural heritage sites and their natural surroundings and landscape is weak (aASC2).	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore almost all aspects of cultural, social, environmental significance and values. The natural environment and landscape around the cultural heritage sites are ignored in terms of its interpretation and presentation; or there are initiatives or concerns to present or represent the site (aASC3).
Principle 4 **Preservation of authenticity (aPA)**[701]	Interpretation and presentation programs respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, material and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, feeling and spirit, as well as other internal and external factors. It would not be expected that all these tenets could be applied, but the minimum would involve respecting the form and design, materials, technique, spirit and feeling and context/setting to preserve the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites (aPA1).	Interpretation and presentation programs respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, materials and technique, but there are repairs, or new functions, with their necessary requirements and additions, that interfere with the impact of the spirit of the place. However, the architectural details, spatial and material characteristics are respected (aPA2).	The authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is not respected in any way, the site is neglected, and/or there are no presentation tools. The architectural, spatial and material characteristics are not clear, due to site neglect or improper interventions (aPA3).

[701] The basic tenets of authenticity considered in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites are based on the Nara Document, 1994.

3.4.3 Ephesus and Ayasuluk in Selçuk: Christian Pilgrimage Sites

3.4.3.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

Ephesus is accepted as one of the greatest cities in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods due to its strategic location, wealth and prosperity.[704] It was located in the region of ancient Lydia, but is currently included within Selçuk, İzmir (Fig. 3.169). The harbor of Ephesus was the greatest in the Aegean, making the city a trade center for Asia Minor and other Mediterranean cities and civilizations.[705] The scholar Clive Foss assesses that the city: [706] "was the terminus of two great highways connecting the Aegean coast with the interior of Asia Minor and the lands to the east: the Ancient Persian Royal Road, and the *koine hodos*, the main trade route of the Romans which led up the Maeander valley to the plateau."



Figure 3.169 . Selçuk, Ephesus and Ayasuluk (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved 14.05.2021).

[704] Foss 1979, 7.
[705] For Ephesus' harbor, see Stock *et al*. 2013, 57-69, and also Foss 1979, 7-8.
[706] Foss 1979, 3.

There are also other highways connecting Ephesus to the other important cities in the Aegean coast, i.e. Smyrna, Hellespont and Miletus. The urban pattern and architecture of the city is significant in terms of building scale and diversity, including significant examples of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine architecture and art. The ancient city is surrounded by its walls which were constructed in different periods. The ancient agora, theatre, temples, fountains, gymnasium, or the remains of other public buildings and residences from the Hellenistic and Roman period are visible within the city's urban pattern (Fig. 3.170). The Byzantine remains, in different locations and physical conditions, will be explained in detail.

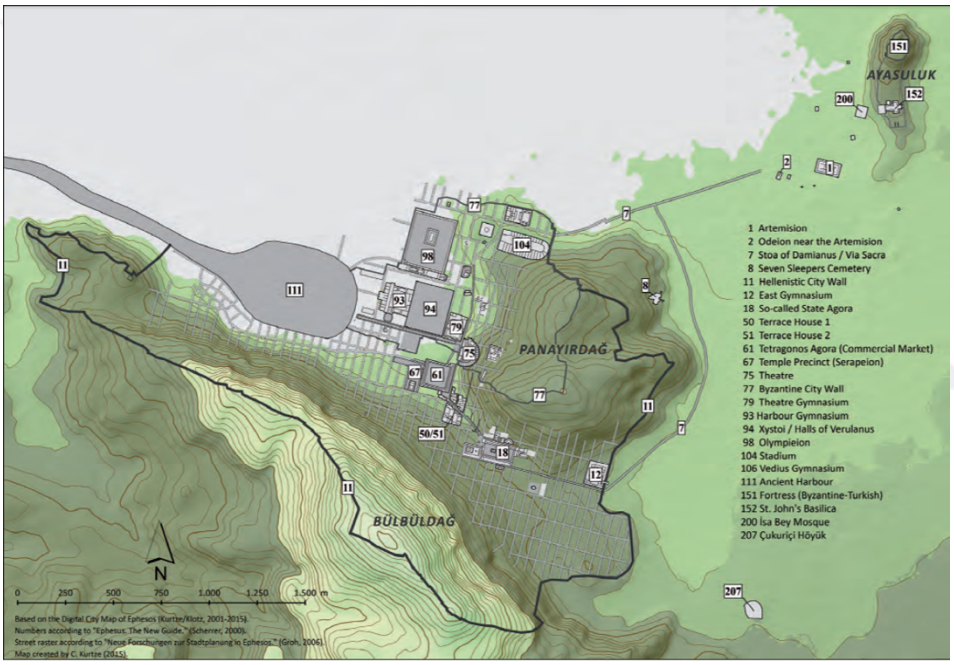

Figure 3.170 . Map showing the remains at Ephesus from the Hellenistic to Byzantine periods (Karydis 2015, Fig. 1).

During the city's long history there have been many earthquakes, attacks, and other factors affecting (and damaging) it, particularly in the 1st, 3rd and 4th centuries CE.[707] The 3rd century CE also witnessed attacks by the Ostrogoths, during which the Temple of Artemis, one of the most significant buildings in the city's ancient

[707] Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 391, 394-398.

history, was destroyed in 262 CE (Fig. 3.171). [708] The temple was partially rebuilt after this destruction and survived until the end of the 4th century, after which it collapsed and lay in ruins, its materials used for the construction of new buildings in the Late Antique period.[709]

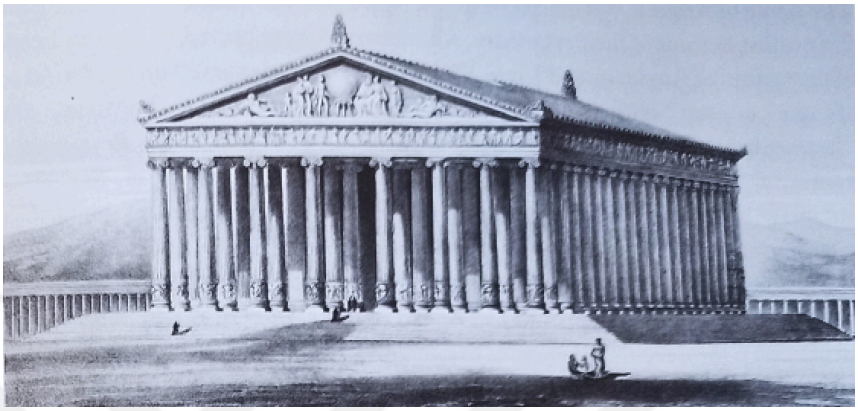

Figure 3.171 . The Temple of Artemis, Ephesus (Foss 1979, Fig. 5).

The 4th century saw an age of transition from Paganism to Christianity at Ephesus, which also maintained an important Jewish population, giving the city a multi-religious identity.[710] Understandably, attitudes towards Pagan temples and Roman public buildings changed after this transition, i.e. the Temple of Serapis was converted into a church. Additionally, as Clive Foss notes, the Temples to Rome, Caesar, and Isis were destroyed, but the Temple of Hadrian was restored, although its later function is not clearly understood[711]. However, as Sabine Ladstätter and Andreas Pülz remind us, there is little or no evidence relating to the destruction of the Pagan temples.[712] The patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, visited Ephesus in 401 CE and was scathing in his criticism of the Temple of Artemis.[713] The two church Councils of 431 and 449 CE, which were held in the Church of St.

[708] Foss 1979, 3, Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 394.
[709] Foss 1979, 86.
[710] Foss 1979, 30. For pagans, Christians, and Jews in Ephesus, see Foss 1979, 3047.
[711] Foss 1979, 30.
[712] Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 414.
[713] Foss 1979, 86.

Mary, were important events for the religious history of Ephesus,[714] which was developing its significance as a sacred city and Christian pilgrimage site from the 5th century until the end of the Middle Ages.[715] Special sites included the churches of St. Mary and St. John, as well as the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers – a particularly important burial location in Late Antiquity.[716] Our knowledge of early monasticism in Ephesus is limited, but a few sources indicate the existence of some monasteries in or around the city.[717] Additionally, the site known as the Panayırdağ was a holy one in the Christian tradition, as some holy personages, saints and martyrs (e.g. St. Timothy, St. Hermione, Mary Magdalene) were thought to have been buried on or near the hill.

The city was clearly magnificent in terms of its physical, architectural, economic and socio-cultural aspects in the Early Byzantine period – as indeed was the case in Hellenistic and Roman times. Later, however, Ephesus was to suffer from Arab and Persian attacks, rebellions and plagues (8th century), just like the other major cities in Asia Minor in the 7th and 8th centuries, the period referred to as the Dark Ages.[718]

Spatially, the city was divided into two fortified zones – the harbor town of Ephesus itself, and Ayasuluk, an isolated hill (Fig. 3.172, 3.173). Following the sequences of conflicts with the Persians and Arabs, the urban scale of Ephesus became smaller and new walls connecting the two hill summits of Panayırdağ and the harbor were constructed around the city (Fig. 3.174). These walls, and those of Ayasuluk, are considered the most monumental structures of Ephesus from the Dark Ages. The construction date of the walls is not known with certainty, but it is thought that they are possibly 7th-century. Some Late Antique buildings, i.e. Embolos and the upper agora, and other inhabited areas remained beyond the walls.[719] Ayasuluk was to

[714] Foss 1979, 7, 52.
[715] Ladstätter 2012, 14; Pülz 2012, 225-260; Sewing 2019, 78-101.
[716] Foss 1979, 43.
[717] Foss 1979, 37.
[718] Foss 1979, 103; Külzer 2011, 32.
[719] Foss 1979, 106.

become an important settlement surrounded by its own walls, constructed in the 6th century and later.[720] The spoilia of the Temple of Artemis were used in the construction of these walls, as well as for the churches of St. Mary and St. John.[721]



Figure 3.172 . The Byzantine city walls of Ephesus (indicated with red) (Pülz 2011, Fig. 15).

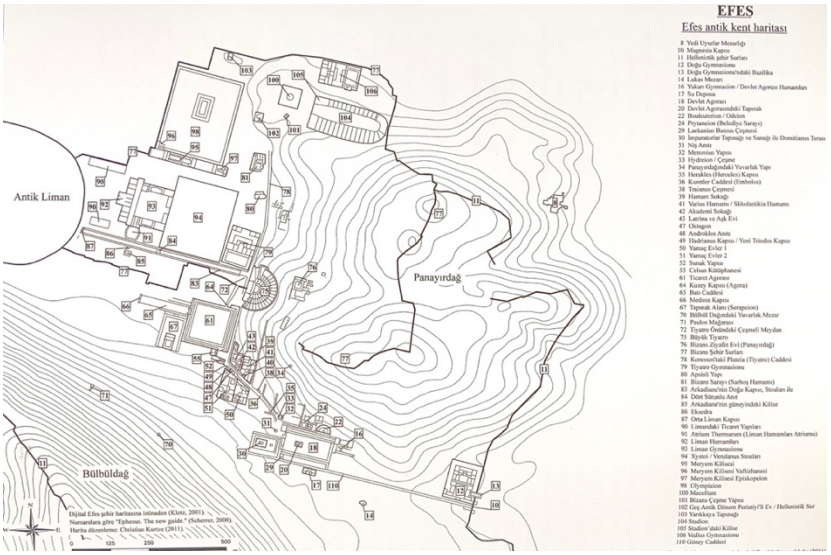

Figure 3.173 . Byzantine Ephesus (Pülz 2011, Fig. 1).

[720] Ladstätter 2019, 65.
[721] Foss 1979, 113.

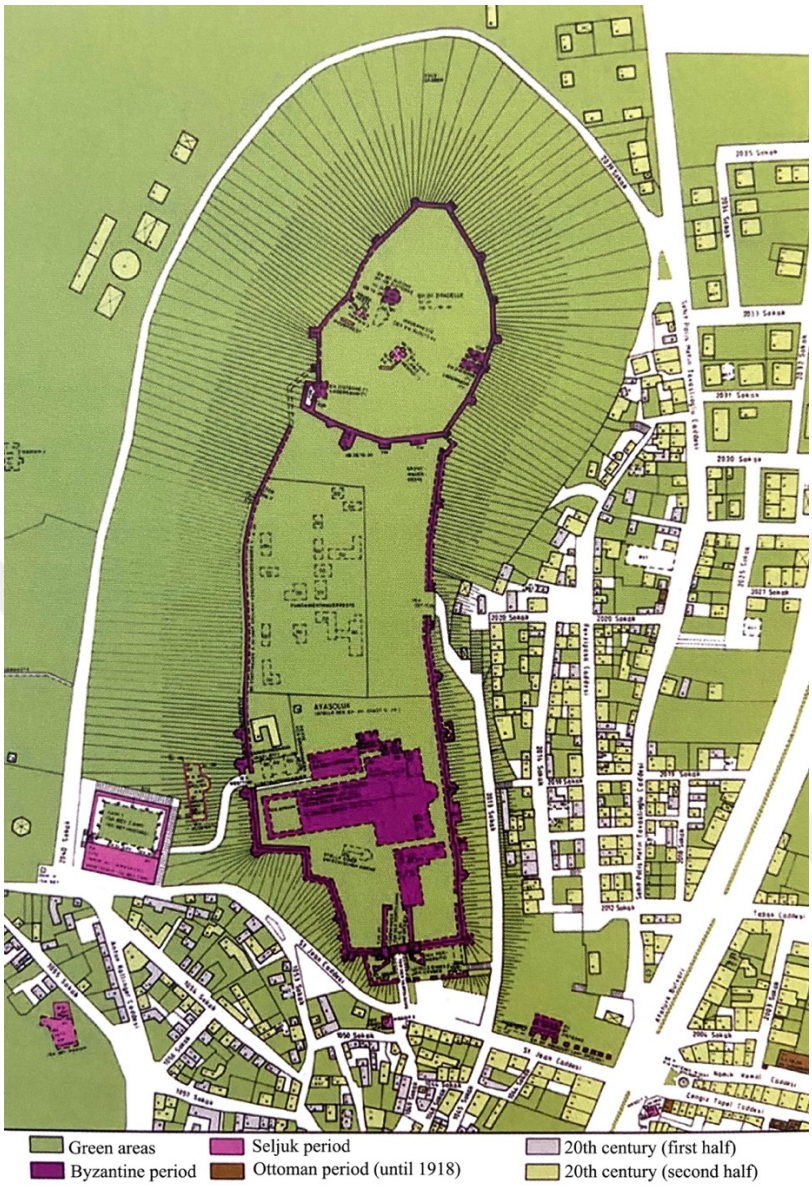

Figure 3.174 . Byzantine Ayasuluk (Pülz 2011, Fig. 25).

The period between the 9th - 11th centuries was one of recovery for Ephesus, after the many wars, plagues and natural disasters. The role of her port was pivotal within the commercial network of Byzantium, and also as a haven for Crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, until the harbor eventually silted up. After the crucial battle at Manzikert (1071), Anatolia fell to the Turks and Ephesus itself was much fought over, being taken again by them in 1090. However, the Byzantine Empire managed to regain control of the city again, holding it until the 13th century. In 1244, Ephesus

was once more conquered by the Turks, with the port area being completely abandoned by 1304; Ayasuluk, however, continued to be settled by the invaders, being easy to defend.[722]

In the light of this rich and dynamic history, Ephesus and Ayasuluk are clearly both multi-period and multi-cultural sites archaeological areas. The Byzantine strata are much in evidence, and although the remains of the Byzantine periods have mostly collapsed or lie in ruins, archaeological excavations continue to reveal and preserve them. The major Christian sites of Ephesus, such as the churches of St. Mary and St. John and the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, are significant in terms of their contributions to Byzantine heritage. St. Mary's was the great church in the city and the site of the two ecumenical councils of 431 and 449 (Fig. 3.175). This church was a large complex that included an atrium, baptistery with side rooms, and a funerary chapel.[723] The exact construction date of the church is not clearly known, although there are different theories based on the archaeological evidence and historical sources. One of these is that the church was constructed in the first half of the 4th century, although another indicates it dates to the 4th, or beginning of the 5th century.[724] St Mary's was also an episcopal church for Ephesus, but it is not known with certainty whether it was the first.[725] What is certain is that the remains of the church that can be examined today are not from the original edifice. The researches of Sabine Ladstätter and Andreas Pülz indicate that the church was divided into two in the 6th century – one section was the quotidian church and the other the Episcopal basilica.[726] The former church was destroyed by fire, probably during the Persian or Arab attacks of the 7th and early 8th centuries, after which it was renovated and refurbished[727]. The different construction phases of the church are indicated in the

[722] Foss 1979, 117-119.
[723] Ladstätter 2019, 46.
[724] Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 410, Pülz 2011, 67.
[725] For the historical backgorund of the church, see, Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 408-409, 413; Pülz 2011, 67-68.
[726] Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 413. See also Ladstätter 2019, 55.
[727] Ladstätter 2019, 59.

plan – from the Late Antique basilica to the Middle Byzantine church (Fig. 3.176). The new church in the Middle Byzantine period was constructed in brick, and on a smaller scale than the original, although still a large structure at 46 meters in length[728]. In the 11th century a templon was constructed inside the church, and this still exists.



Figure 3.175 . Aerial view of the ruins of St. Mary (Ladstätter 2019, Fig. 41).

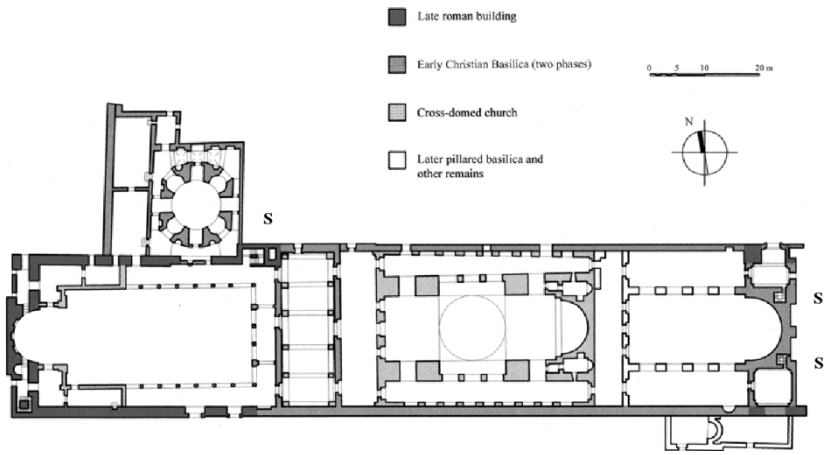

Figure 3.176 . Plan of St. Mary, indicating the construction phases (Karydis 2019, Fig. 2).

[728] Foss 1979, 112.

The Basilica of St. John also represents another of Ephesus' significant Christian pilgrimage sites. There are several legends written in the sources about the visit of St. John to Ephesus,[729] and that he wrote his Gospel and Ephesian Letters here; and when he died he was buried at Ayasuluk, in accordance with his wishes, his tomb (dated to the 2nd century) being located near to the Temple of Artemis.[730] The first construction of St. John's is dated to the second half of the 4th century, but it was later rebuilt on a more lavish scale (130 x 70 m) during the reign of Justinian I (527-565 CE) (Fig. 3.177).[731] This is considered to have been the grandest building project in Ephesus in the first half of the 6th century. The site, therefore, is generally considered as a 6th-century structure, and since then the great, and episcopal, church of the city.[732] On the north side of the church there was an octagonal baptistery, similar to St. Mary's.

St. John's has witnessed much in the way of repair and reconstruction in its long history. It was further enlarged in the 7th/8th century and its many developments indicate the desire of the citizens of Ephesus to recover the former glory of the basilica following its disasters of the 7th century.[733] Within the scope of the repairs of the 7th/8th centuries, an exonarthex enhanced the building and the synthronon was extended.[734] These repairs ensured that the basilica survived until a few decades after the Turkish conquests, even though, as Clive Foss notes, by the 12th century the church was in a poor condition and the interior spaces had deteriorated. Happily, it was obviously repaired again, and a 14th-century traveler, one Ludolf von Suchem, records the church as 'beautiful…. with its mosaics and marble decorations'.[735] After being the episcopal church for centuries, and with all its extensive repairs and

[729] Foss 1979, 31-33.
[730] Foss 1979, 35; Karydis 2015, 102-103.
[731] Hörman *et al.* 1951, 165-169, 196-299; Foss 1979, 86-91; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 410, 414-415; Karydis 2015, 101-103.
[732] Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 417; Karydis 2015, 113-115. See also Zimmerman 2011, 131-133 for the murals inside the churh.
[733] Restle 1971, 186-190; Foss 1979, 89-90.
[734] Foss 1979, 115.
[735] Foss 1979, 122, 136.

reconstructions, the church was eventually abandoned and finally collapsed in the 14th century – a few decades after the Turks occupied Ephesus and Ayasuluk.[736] Today the remains of the basilica are visible, and there are ongoing restoration works to investigate its many construction phases and ensure preservation.

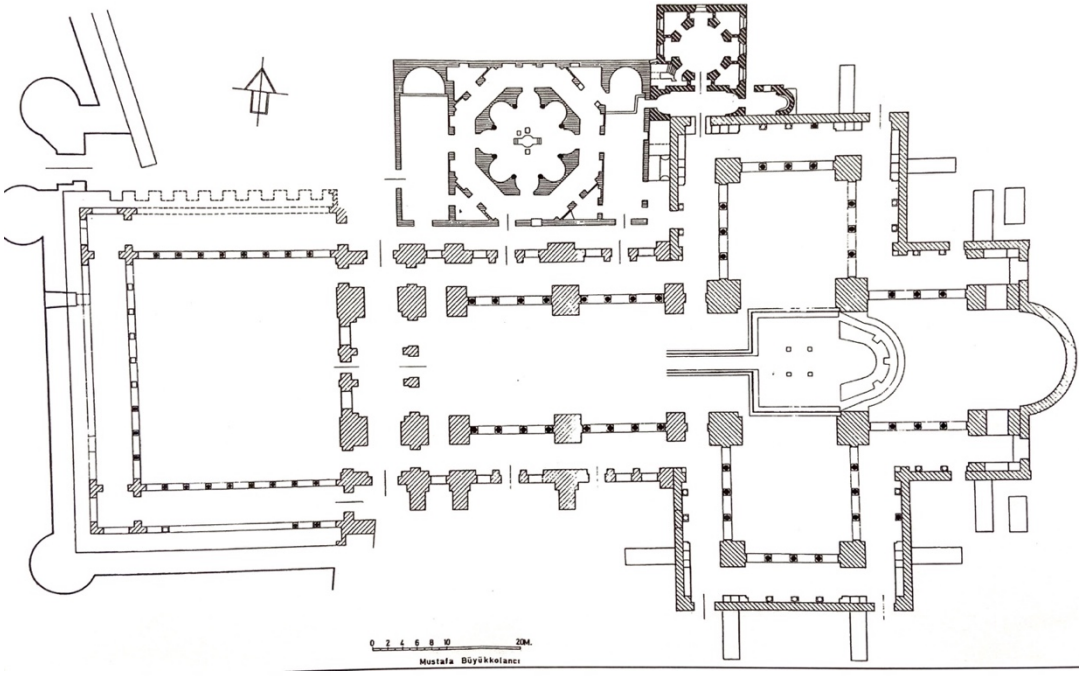

Figure 3.177 . Plan of St. John, indicating the construction phases (Karydis 2015, Fig. 4).

The complex known as the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers was a site of burial dating to the 3rd century CE. Archaeological evidence indicates that the site was a Christian one at that early period, but that the cult of 'the Seven Sleepers' was established under the rule of Theodosius II, in the form of a burial chamber 'overbuilt by a church' (408-450 CE) [737]. The Seven Sleepers legend seems to date from the 5th century, telling the story of seven young Christian men who lived in the cave for some 200 years to avoided the persecutions of Decius (249-251 CE). They evidently fell into a deep sleep, only to woken by their God later, in 446 CE, and when they died, shortly after, they were buried in their grotto. In their honor the Emperor

[736] Karydis 2105, 97.
[737] Zimmerman 2011, 150; 2019, 257; Ladstätter 2019, 41.

Theodosius established at the site the cult of the Seven Sleepers, which became a place of Christian pilgrimage[738].

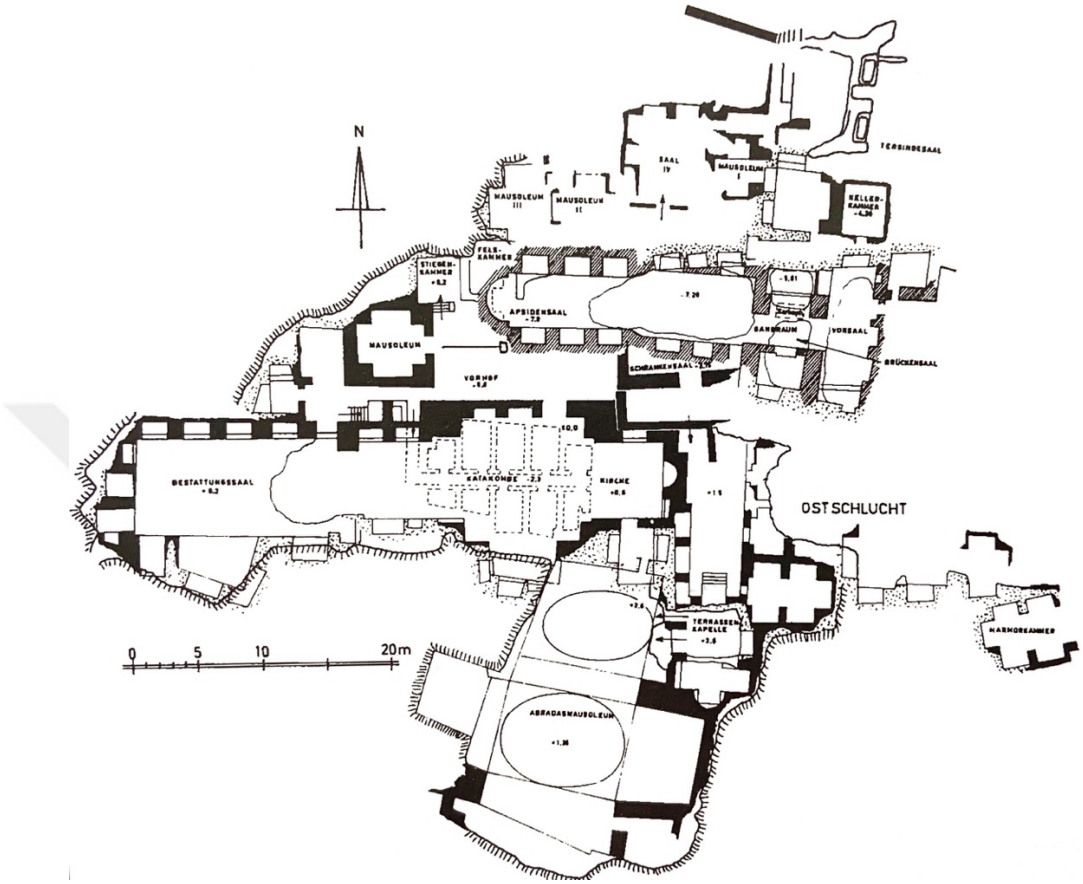

Figure 3.178 . Ephesus, plan of the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers (*Yediuyuyanlar*) (Zimmermann 2011, Plan 11).

This burial site, a cave grotto, is integrated within the eastern slope of Panayırdağ; the lower part is the crypt area, with the upper section being the church complex. The crypt entrance has a vaulted vestibule and an apsidal hall is reached via a corridor. The side walls were also prepared as burial places and there were 70 graves in the floor and 20 arcosolia graves in total.[739] These graves and the other spaces were revealed during the archaeological excavations and documented (Fig. 3.178). There are different theories about the construction phases of the crypt, catacomb and

[738] Foss 1979, 135; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 417.
[739] Zimmerman 2019, 259.

the church by scholars such as Frantz Miltner, Marcel Restle, and Werner Jobst. These hold different opinions about the construction date of the church and crypt and whether they were constructed at the same time or consecutively.[740] Burial inscriptions have also been found, further helping to date the complex and develop the archaeological investigations.[741] Overall, the site is unique, as it is the first known Christian community cemetery in Asia Minor, and it soon became a pilgrimage centre visited by Christians coming from the East and West throughout medieval times. It is currently a cultural heritage site and free to visit.

3.4.3.2 History of Research, Excavation and Conservation

It is curious, as Clive Foss reminds us, that Ephesus so rarely appears in the historical and literary sources although being one of the most important and wealthy ancient cities in all Asia Minor.[742] The extensive site has been investigated for more than a century and there are ongoing archaeological excavations. Explorations by Austrian researchers started in 1895 and through their Late Antique Ephesus was revealed and the results published in a long series of reports.

Today, archaeological excavations have been conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute and Ephesus Museum (since 1954) and the team has revealed and restored many remains during this period. The Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism has also encouraged these excavations and restoration works by initiating "The Selcuk-Ephesus Excavations, Restorations, and Systematization of the Environs".[743] Until 2016 the leaders of the excavations were from the Austrian Archaeological Institute and included Franz Miltner, Herman Vetters, Stefan Karwiese, Fritz Krinzinger, Johannes Koder, and lastly Sabine Ladstätter. The latter

[740] For the historical and architectural background of the burial complex, see Zimmerman 2019, 259-265. See also Praschniker *et al.* 1937, 88-92; Restle 1971, 192-198, 206 and Jobst 1972, 178-179; Foss 1979, 42-44, 84-86.
[741] Zimmerman 2019, 264-265.
[742] Foss 1979, 4.
[743] URL-67 (retrieved 16.05.2021).

was appointed director of the Ephesus Museum when Cengiz Topal became excavation leader. During the long-running archaeological excavations there have also been extensive conservation projects.[744] Martha Demas explains in detail in a key paper the many values of Ephesus and the need for sustained conservation approaches and strategies.[745] The Byzantine remains, such as the churches of St. Mary and St. John, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, and the tomb of St. Luke, are all highlighted in terms of the ancient city's religious value. The conservation approaches and interventions explained by Martha Demas basically cover the Hellenistic and Roman structures, and it is Sabine Ladstätter who emphasizes the permanent conservation strategies needed for the archaeological remains of Ephesus as a part of the ongoing archaeological investigation process.[746] This strategy included the conservation of all layers and traces of each period, as well as the previous harmless interventions to preserve the buildings. The first objective is the strengthening of the excavated buildings or remains, followed by decisions on the presentation, representation, or reuse of the ancient structures as part of the conservation process. Anastylosis, i.e. restoration using the original architectural elements to the greatest degree possible, is a much-favored policy at Ephesus and many examples of this may be seen across the site (Fig. 3.179).

[744] For the interventions at Ephesus, see Demas 1997, 134-143. See also, URL-68 (retrieved 16.05.2021) for the conservation of the ancient theatre. The project was prepared under Ladstätter's supervision.
[745] Demas 1997, 128-134.
[746] Demas 1997, 143-144; Ladstätter 2019, 541-548.



Figure 3.179 . Ephesus: a) Curates Street; b) Trajan's Fountain, 2021.

Considering the multi-period history of Ephesus and its diverse stratification, the Byzantine period of the city did not become a research focus until the 1960s. The discovery of two terrace houses dating to the Late Antique period aroused considerable interest, but before that, in the main, the Late Antique and medieval layers were removed and the Roman structures were preserved in the attempt to reveal the city's 'glorious past'.[747] In recent years Byzantine Ephesus has become a hot topic in terms of research activities, publications and conservation activities.

[747] Ladstätter 2012, 15.

Digital reconstructions of the Byzantine structures have appeared, and these now provide a better understanding of the urban structure of Byzantine Ephesus, especially its architectural features and spatial characteristics (Fig. 3.180).

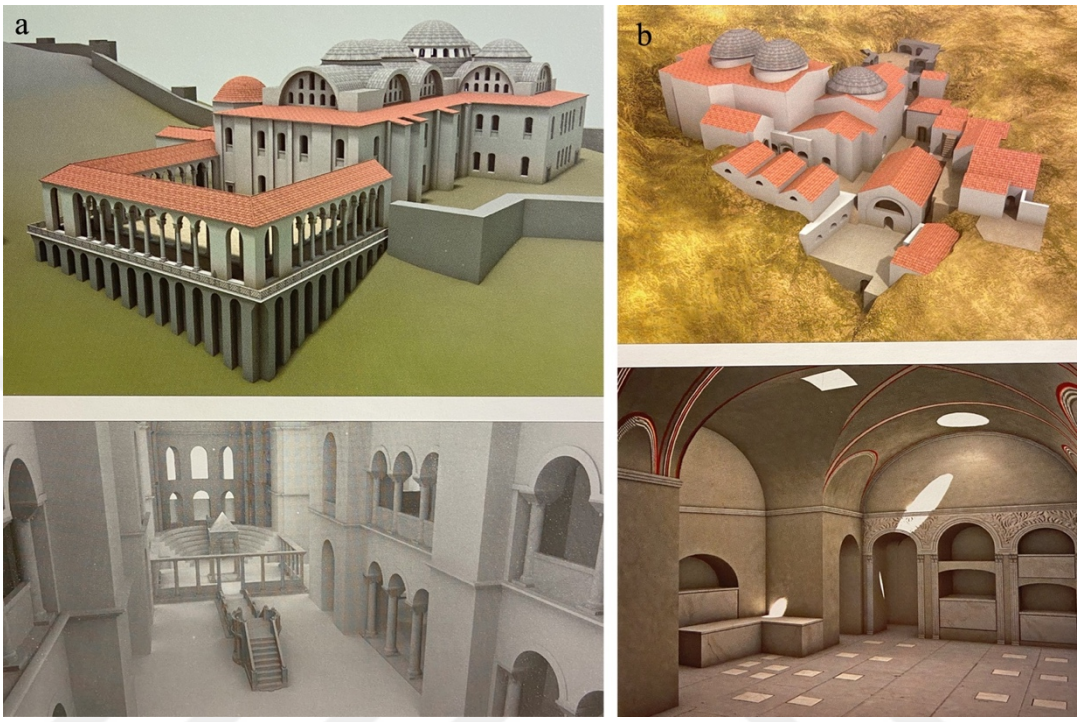

Figure 3.180 . Digital 3D reconstruction of (a) the Church of St. John, and (b) the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers (Koob *et al.* 2011, Figs. 10-11).

Archaeological excavations and conservation activities have been ongoing at Ayasuluk and the Basilica of St. John for some thirty years, and the church is currently under restoration. These excavations were conducted by Mustafa Büyükolancı (Pamukkale University) between 2007-2020, and recently Sinan Mimaroğlu (Mustafa Kemal University) has been appointed excavation leader. The Grotto of The Seven Sleepers was first excavated between 1926-1929 by Frantz Miltner, and more recently has been studied by Norbert Zimmermann.[748] The site, however, has not been restored and it is not possible to access every part.

[748] Zimmermann 2019, 257.

3.4.3.3 Current Situation and Analysis

- **The Church of St. Mary:** St. Mary's is one of Ephesus' most significant Byzantine buildings. The church is large, and even though in ruins it is possible to walk inside and around the building and this helps to understand its scale (Fig. 3.181). Although close to the harbor gymnasium, it stands in a relatively isolated area in comparison to the rest of the ancient city. The city's medieval quarter is to the north, and the remains of the episcopal palace are to be found to the east of the church (Fig.3.182, 3.183).



Figure 3.181 . Ephesus, view from the interior of the Church of St. Mary, 2021.



Figure 3.182 . Ephesus, remains of the medieval quarter to the north of the Church of St. Mary, 2021.



Figure 3.183 . Ephesus, the remains of episcopal palace to the east of the Church of St. Mary, 2021

The eastern wall of the ruined church and the apse are partially standing, as well as the templon and synthronon (Fig. 3.184). This section has clearly been repaired or partially reconstructed in the past, and the surviving architectural elements and ornaments of the are structurally stable, although the deterioration and natural decay are evident (Fig. 3.185). Previous interventions to preserve the building can be understood from the architectural elements, i.e. the remaining walls, raised columns, and marble door frames (Fig. 3.186). These are all examples of the 'anastylosis' approach adopted at Ephesus, and the diversity in the use of materials, including spolia, and the construction techniques referring to different phases, can be well understood (Fig.3.187).



Figure 3.184 . Ephesus, the apse and templon of the Church of St. Mary, 2021.



Figure 3.185 . Ephesus, remains of the Church of St. Mary, showing the deterioration due to neglect, weathering and natural decay, 2021.



Figure 3.186 . Ephesus, indications of previous interventions and examples of anastylosis in the Church of St. Mary, 2021.



Figure 3.187 . Ephesus, the use of spolia within the Church of St. Mary, 2021.

There is a signboard at the entrance of the church explaining the historical background and including an aerial view and survey drawings (Fig. 3.188); this is the only informative tool relating to this important monument. Admittedly, this church is far from the city center, where the monumental structures of the Hellenistic and Roman periods are to be found. Visitors today have to walk several minutes within an isolated area to reach the building, and when they reach it they are left to their own devices to interpret the remains. It is unfortunate that this section of Ephesus seems neglected compared to other areas, especially as the entrances to these buildings are relatively far apart (Fig. 3.189). Although there are illuminations there is no recommended route to walk inside and around the building for a better experience. Thus, using the method detailed previously, the state of preservation of the church is classified as aSC2, aSC3, aAIB2, aUBC3, aPCA2, and the state of presentation as aAU2, aIS1 and uIS2, aASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.188 . Ephesus, the signboard for the Church of St. Mary, 2021., 2021.



Figure 3.189 . Ephesus, the entrance to the Church of St. Mary, 2021.

- **The Church of St. John:** This building is the most significant Byzantine structure in Ayasuluk; it is close to the 'Gate of Persecution', which is under restoration (Fig. 3.190). The citadel of Ayasuluk, another monumental structure in this area, contains several remains dating to different periods (Fig. 3.191, 3.192). The remains of St. John's occupy a large area – similar to that of the church of St. Mary – and there are ongoing archaeological

excavations and a conservation project for the church, which has lost its spatial integrity and architectural material to a certain degree. However, the area is secure enough to walk in and around the building, and to comprehend its scale and experience the different areas within it (Fig. 3.193).



Figure 3.190 . Ayasuluk, ‘The Gate of Persecution’, 2021.



Figure 3.191 . Ayasuluk, the citadel, 2021.



Figure 3.192 . Ayasuluk, remains inside the citadel, 2021.



Figure 3.193 . Ayasuluk, remains of the Church of St. John, 2021.

The superstructure of the church has now totally collapsed and disappeared, but the load-bearing elements, such as the walls and columns, partially remain; some of these elements have been repaired or moderately reconstructed (Fig. 3.194, 3.195). Some significant architectural elements, e.g. synthronon and the original floor coverings, are observable (Fig. 3.196, 3.197), and various columns and capitals may still be seen, as well as fragments of ruined ornaments scattered around (Fig. 3.198). The conservation approaches (anastylosis) undertaken for the columns and marble door frames are similar to those at Ephesus. Thus, overall, it is still possible to experience the Byzantine architectural details and spaces of an episcopal church, i.e. the baptistery. The 'Tomb of St. John' has also been repaired and secured, and marked with a marble inscription (Fig. 3.199). Previous interventions to preserve the building can be understood and the permanent/temporary precautions to stabilize the load-bearing elements are noticeable (Fig. 3.200). The diversity in the construction technique of the wall patterns, and the use of materials, indicates past interventions and also the different construction phases (Fig.3.201).



Figure 3.194 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, the repaired and partially reconstructed load-bearing elements, 2021.



Figure 3.195 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, repaired and partially reconstructed load-bearing elements, 2021.



Figure 3.196 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, the remains of the synthronon, 2021.



Figure 3.197 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, examples of pavements and mosaics, 2021.



Figure 3.198 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, columns, capitals and architectural sculptures, 2021.



Figure 3.199 . Ayasuluk, the 'Tomb of St. John', 2021.



Figure 3.200 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, interventions to stabilize the architectural and structural elements, 2021.



Figure 3.201 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, various wall materials and construction techniques, 2021.

Ayasuluk is in the city center of Selçuk and the Church of St. John is accessible, as are the other remains of this site. The area has an inclined topography and it is possible to see the church from different levels, thus providing suitable views to understand its scale (Fig.3.202). The church is reached by wooden decking from the entrance, but there is no designated route for visitors to discover the church. On-site information panel shows the current archaeological excavations and restoration works, and there is also a signboard that gives basic information on the life of St. John and the significance of the site in relation to him (Fig. 3.203). A 3D model of the original church is provided and it is also possible to see its complete form with the missing architectural and structural elements (Fig. 3.204). Based on this, the state of preservation of the church is classified as aSC2, aSC3, aAIB2, aUBC3, aPCA2, and the state its presentation as aAU2, aIS1 and uIS2, aASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.202 . Ayasuluk, the view of the Church of St. John from the north, 2021.



Figure 3.203 . Ayasuluk, the Church of St. John, the metal information panel near his tomb, 2021.



Figure 3.204 . Ayasuluk, the 3D model of the Church of St. John, 2021.

- **The Grotto of the Seven Sleepers:** This site is located near Ephesus, on the flanks of the hill of Panayırdağ. The site differs from the two previous examples in that it is a place of burial, not a church; it is also a pilgrimage site. It is reached by a narrow road surrounded by a natural landscape. There is a kiosk at the entrance and the Grotto is approached on foot, uphill (Fig.3.205).



Figure 3.205 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, site entrance, 2021.

The access to the site is limited and only visible from the outside; the entrance, at ground level, is closed by a railed door (Fig. 3.206). It is possible to see inside and comprehend the Grotto's different levels. The use of brick is dominant in the construction of the walls and vaults, but there are also rubble stone walls and alternating rows of stone and brick walls within the body of the structure (Fig. 3.207, 3.208). After a climb to the top of the site, the upper floors and spaces become visible (Fig. 3.209). Unfortunately, the Grotto itself is surrounded by wire fencing, so seeing and experiencing the individual spaces more closely is not possible. However, the scale of the building and diversity of the spaces and their interrelation can be observed and understood: the graves and burial spaces, at various levels and in different forms, can be seen (Fig.3.210). The superstructure of the spaces has mostly collapsed and the overall spatial integrity is partially lost. Other negative aspects of the site include: losses of material from the wall surfaces and interiors, the amount of vegetation around and within the site, extensive

mould on the surfaces (walls and other architectural elements, such as vaults and arches) due to their being exposed to water and having no drainage (Fig. 3.211).



Figure 3.206 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, closed entrance to the ground level, 2021.



Figure 3.207 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, brick walls, arches and vaults, 2021.



Figure 3.208 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, brick walls, various wall patterns, 2021.



Figure 3.209 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, view from the top, 2021.



Figure 3.210 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, various burial places/graves, 2021.

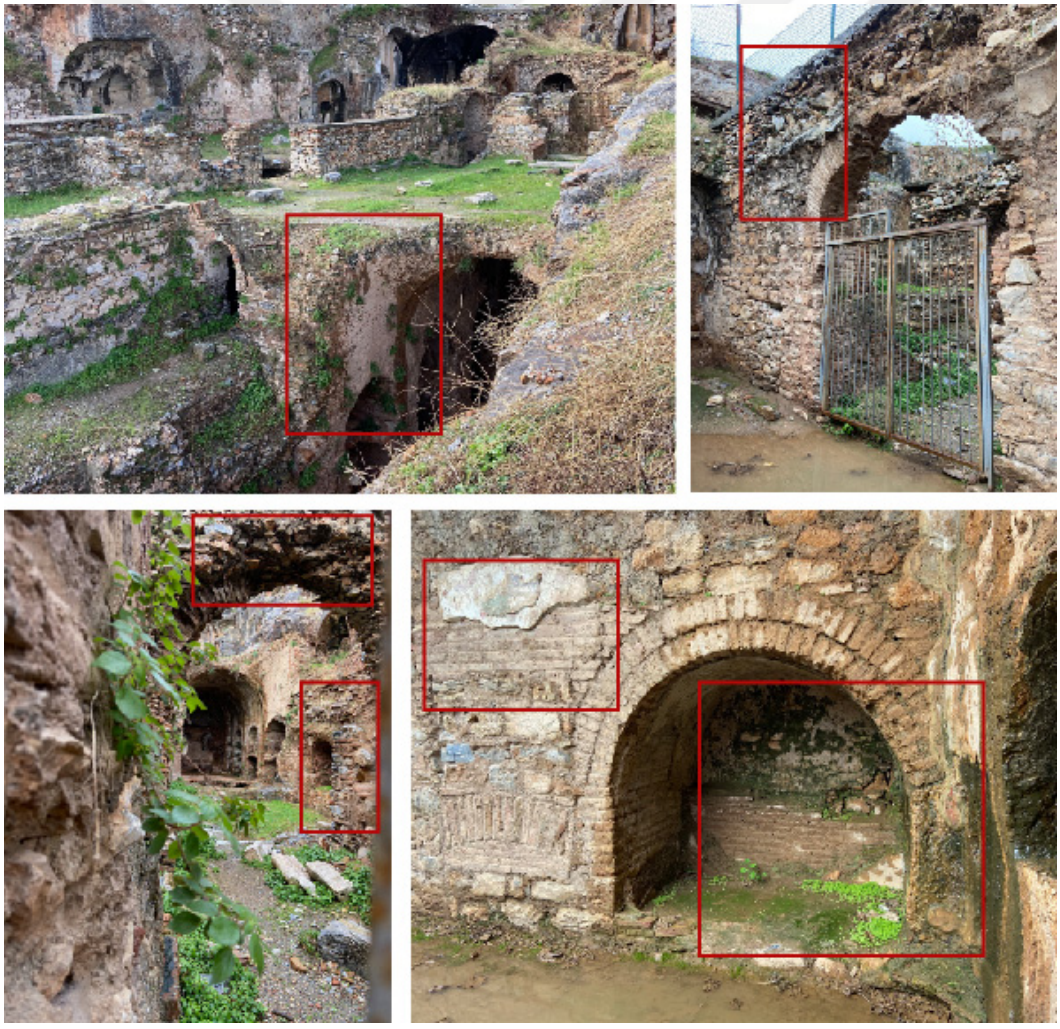

Figure 3.211 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, deterioration of the architectural elements, 2021.

Visiting and experiencing this burial site is important in terms of understanding the history of Christianity in this region, including various aspects of its burial practices. There is an information signboard at the entrance that includes the historical background of the Grotto, giving photographs and plans (Fig. 3.212). However, there is no designated route to follow around the site, and presentation strategies/tools are also absent. Accordingly, the state of preservation of the area is classified as aSC2, aSC3, aAIB3, aUBC3 and aPCA3, and its state of presentation as aAU2, aAU3, uIS2, aASC2, uPA2.



Figure 3.212 . Ephesus, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, the available information panel, 2021.

3.4.3.4 Evaluation

The Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Ephesus and Ayasuluk have been briefly introduced, and the Churches of St. Mary and St. John, and the Grotto of The Seven Sleepers, have been examined in more detail. The summary evaluation of our analysis of each site is now presented, along with respective codes associated with the states of preservation and presentation (Tables 3.31 and 3.32).

Table 3.31 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of selected sites at Ephesus.

	Structural Condition and Spatial Integrity				Authenticity and impact of Byzantine remains				Understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within archaeological areas and their integration				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects/ Archaeological Excavations			
	Good State of Pre. aSCI1	Average State of Pre. aSCI2	Poor State of Pre. aSCI3	IR aSCI4	Good State of Pre. aAIB1	Average State of Pre. aAIB2	Poor State of Pre. aAIB3	IR aAIB4	Good State of Pre. aUBC1	Average State of Pre. aUBC2	Poor State of Pre. aUBC3	IR aUBC4	Good State of Pre. aPCA1	Average State of Pre. aPCA2	Poor State of Pre. aPCA3	IR aPCA4
The Church of St. Mary																
The Church of St. John																
The Grotto of Seven Sleepers																

Table 3.32 Summary of the analysis of the state of presentation of selected sites at Ephesus.

	Acces and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. aAU1	Average State of Pre. aAU2	Poor State of Pre. aAU3	Good State of Pre. aIS1	Average State of Pre. aIS2	Poor State of Pre. aIS3	Good State of Pre. aASC1	Average State of Pre. aASC2	Poor State of Pre. aASC3	Good State of Pre. aPA1	Average State of Pre. aPA2	Poor State of Pre. aPA3
The Church of St. Mary												
The Church of St. John												
The Grotto of Seven Sleepers												

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation can be listed as:

- The criterion of 'structural condition and spatial integrity' is assessed in two different categories which are 'average and poor states of preservation'. All of the selected buildings have lost their spatial integrity and the load-bearing elements and superstructures have mostly collapsed. There are partial repairs that can be observed on the remaining walls. Anastylosis is the common approach on all sites. There have been interventions to make the structures structurally stable and there is an ongoing restoration process at the Church of St. John. Material diversity in the construction of the buildings is apparent, as well as the different wall patterns and floor coverings. All of these Byzantine religious sites are large-scale buildings and it is moderately

possible to understand the spaces with the help of the survey drawings on the metal signboards.

- The criterion of 'authenticity and impact of the Byzantine remains' is assessed as 'average state of preservation' for the churches, and 'poor' for the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers. It is possible for a Byzantine specialist to comprehend the spatial organization and planning of all the selected sites, but the poor physical condition and disappearance of the superstructures, walls, and other architectural elements makes it relatively difficult for non-specialist visitors to appreciate the monuments. The plan schemes and interior details can only partially be understood. The Grotto of the Seven Sleepers is located in an isolated area, and not within the ancient city of Ephesus as part of its open-air museum concept; it is an independent site and thus, it is difficult to compare its physical conditions, states of preservation and presentation with that of the Roman and Hellenistic structures. Additionally, the Church of St. Mary is to some extent separate from the rest of Ephesus; it is located far from the city center and the significant examples of Hellenistic and Roman monuments, i.e. the theatre, ancient agora, and the Celcius Library. These buildings are, of course, often seen as more appealing than the Church of St. Mary because of their scale, ornamentation, and current physical condition. In the case of the Church of St. John, the citadel is in a better state of preservation in terms of structural condition and material and spatial integrity. However, the existence of the church at Ayasuluk is significant, and archaeological excavations and conservation interventions at the church are targeted at revealing more aspects of the site, including its architectural and cultural values, as a part of the historical continuity of Ayasuluk.
- The criterion of 'understanding of Byzantine architectural/urban context within archaeological areas and their integration' is assessed as poor in terms of the state of preservation. The selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist to an average degree physically, which makes it possible to experience

them in their architectural setting. The original environmental, urban, and cultural contexts of these Byzantine cultural heritage sites have changed over time due for several reasons, i.e. natural decay, abandonment as part of the urbanization process, and selected attitudes and approaches during archaeological excavations. What is clear is that the urban contexts of Ephesus and Ayasuluk include many different layers, ranging from the Hellenistic to the Ottoman periods, and within these the Byzantine phase is highly significant as part of this long timeline of the settlements. Although the physical remains and on-site emphasis at Ephesus of its Hellenistic and Roman periods are more dominant, this is not the case at Ayasuluk, which includes different historical layers beginning from the Byzantine period and progressing into the 20th century. The advanced level of research into the Byzantine periods of Ephesus and Ayasuluk is, obviously, not to be underestimated, and yet there is a clear need for further conservation and representation activities at the sites to provide a better understanding of the Byzantine architectural and urban contexts.

- The criterion of 'past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations' is assessed as average regarding the state of preservation of the churches, but as poor in terms of the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers.The history of archaeological excavations conducted at Ephesus dates back to the 1860s, and the publications, archaeological reports and research projects related to the area provide valuable information on all periods and contexts. There have also been many conservation projects, presentation tools, and representation proposals to provide a better experience of the various sites; several such projects are ongoing. Despite these, the record of conservation activities for the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers is not the same as for the churches of St. Mary and St. John.

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of presentation can be listed as:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is assessed as average. Even though the Churches of St. Mary and St. John are physically accessible, the on- and off-site presentation is insufficient to express the architectural and cultural significance of these important Byzantine cultural heritage sites. There is information panel with visual materials, i.e. drawings, illustrations, and texts in Turkish, English and German. There is also a 3D model of the Church of St. John on the site – an efficient tool and helpful to understand the complete structure. The Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, however, is inaccessible and surrounded by wire fencing; thus, it can only be seen from outside. Nevertheless, the scale of the site and its various spaces can be comprehended, although overall it is neglected and in poor condition.
- The criterion of 'information sources' is assessed as good in part and average in others. The literature on Ephesus is extensive and the selected sites are included in various documents, publications, maps, drawings, etc. Accordingly, there are written and visual sources which are readily accessible in printed or digital formats, and these represent important and informative sources for investigating and understanding the selected sites. However, it has to be admitted that, for visitors from certain backgrounds, the architectural, cultural and historical significance of these sites is hard to follow and assimilate. The significance of these pilgrimage sites, and their various interrelations, should be explained via on-site presentation tools and supported by digital reconstructions, sympathetic restorations of the remains, and support for the specific regions.
- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' is assessed as average. The Church of St. Mary and the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers are located in isolated areas. The church was a part of a multilayered urban context in its original setting, but is currently excluded from the rest of the ancient city. On the other hand, the Grotto of The Seven Sleepers as a burial place was always intended to be set apart, and thus its context has to be considered differently.

In the present situation, it is rather difficult to grasp the integrity of the Church of St. Mary with Byzantine Ephesus and the previous layers of the city. As stressed before, the monumental structures of the Hellenistic and Roman periods dominate the city and also the experience of its visitors. St. John's has a different role to play, based on its significance in fixing and fostering the attention of visitors and pilgrims alike, relying on its scale and architectural significance. The sites of St. Mary and St. John have the added value of inscriptions recording the visit of Pope Paul VI in 1967, underscoring the remarkable Christian heritage of these buildings (Fig. 3.213).



Figure 3.213 . Ayasuluk and Ephesus, inscriptions recording the visit of Pope Paul VI in 1967 to the Churches of St. John and St. Mary, 2021.

- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' is assessed as good, with the 'Nara Document' taken as the reference for the evaluation of this criterion. The physical and structural conditions of the selected sites were evaluated under the different criteria. The construction technique, material diversity and use of spolia are observable on-site, although the buildings have lost their spatial and physical integrity to a certain extent. The past interventions and repairs are observable, but they do not interfere negatively with the spirit of the place. Of course, all the selected sites are special pilgrimage venues and this should be emphasized more fully for a better understanding of their spiritual relationship.

3.5 Cultural Landscapes

3.5.1 Definitions

Byzantine cultural heritage sites as cultural landscape represent the last group to examine here in terms of conservation and presentation attitudes. The concept of cultural landscape is defined as:[749]

> **6.** Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the *Convention*. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.
>
> **7.** They should be selected on the basis both of their Outstanding Universal Value and of their representativity in terms of a clearly defined geo-cultural region and also for their capacity to illustrate the essential and distinct cultural elements of such regions.
>
> **8.** The term "cultural landscape" embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.
>
> **9.** Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural

[749] UNESCO 2019, 83.

> landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of sustainable land-use and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world. The protection of traditional cultural landscapes is therefore helpful in maintaining biological diversity.

In Turkey, the Diyarbakır Fortress and the Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape, Pergamon and its multi-layered cultural landscape are in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia (covering the region between the cities of Nevşehir, Ürgüp and Avanos, the sites of Karain, Karlık, Yeşilöz, Soğanlı and the subterranean cities of Kaymaklı and Derinkuyu) are also on this list. [750] The physical, cultural and environmental specifications of Cappadocia define a unique landscape, including leading and peculiar examples of Byzantine art, monasticism and architecture.

3.5.2 Case Study Areas and Criteria of Assessment

Cappadocia is a wide region, mostly around today's city of Nevşehir and extending to Aksaray, Niğde and Kayseri.[751] The morphology of the region is peculiar in terms of topography, landscape and settlement formations. The eruptions of two volcanos, Mt Erciyes and Mt Hasan, created this peculiar landscape and the rock formation. The architectural examples of Early and Middle Byzantine periods, underground cities, monasteries and cave churches are included in this geography, with their specific construction techniques, spatial organizations and artworks. Robert Ousterhout notes that hundreds of examples of rock-cut monuments/buildings are preserved in various typology, scale and quality.[752]

Underground cities are peculiar examples of Cappadocia, representing temporary living spaces during raids or wars to protect local inhabitants. There are several

[750] URL-69 (retrieved 16.01.2021)
[751] Rodley 2010 1-5; Ousterhout 2017, xxi.
[752] Ousterhout 2017, 23. For more information about the rock-cut architecture, churches and monasteries in Cappadocia, see also Kostof 1989, Rodley 2010.

examples open to visitors to experience their physical, spatial and spiritual characteristics, such as Derinkuyu, Kaymaklı, Özkonak, Acıgöl, Mazı, Özlüce and Sivasa Gökçetoprak. The underground city of Kaymaklı, for instance, is one of the best known examples and is the largest in the region. Derinkuyu, however, is the deepest – made up of eight accessible levels; it will briefly be introduced in the following section.



Figure 3.214 . Göreme Open Air Museum, Karanlık Kilise, 2017.

Byzantine churches carved into the bare rock are significant in Cappadocia. Göreme National Park and its surroundings include significant examples, e.g. *Karanlık Kilise, Tokalı Kilise, Yılanlı Kilise* and *El Nazar Kilisesi*. Göreme is an important example of Early Byzantine monasticism in Anatolia and the churches are dated between the 4th-13th centuries[753]. These churches are remarkable examples of monasticism and Christianity in Central Anatolia from the Early Byzantine to medieval periods. Rock-cut churches can be observed as free-standing 'chimney' rocks or carved into caves in the valleys and hills. Spiro Kostof, Lyn Rodley and Robert Ousterhout presents a detailed analysis and description of the monasteries

[753] See Rodley 2010, 223-251.

and churches in Cappadocia chronologically.[754] Göreme Open Air Museum is a rock settlement including monasteries, the churches of St. Basil, St. Barbara, as well as the churches of Yılanlı, Karanlık, Tokalı, and Çarıklı (Fig. 3.214)[755]. The church of El Nazar, dated between the late 7th through to the early 10th century, is very close to the Göreme Open Air Museum and is open to visitors for six months.[756] It is located in an isolated area compared to other rock-cut churches in the region (Fig. 3.215).



Figure 3.215 . Göreme, El Nazar Church, 2021.

The Ihlara Valley is a significant site within the cultural landscape and its rock-cut settlement includes remarkable examples of Byzantine churches and many other structures and remains dating between from the Roman and Ottoman periods. Taking into account the region's many natural values – rivers, plants, climate, valley scenery – the Byzantine churches of the area, in combination with the natural and cultural contexts to be found, offer much to the visitor (Fig. 3.216). There are thirteen churches in the valley, but we will examine those between the villages of Ihlara and

[754] Kostof 1989, Rodley 2010, Jolivet- Lévy, 2012, Ousterhout 2017, 24-176. It consists of extensive research and documentation of churches over a wide area, including Nevşehir, Ihlara, Sivrihisar, Akhisar, Soğanlı and Güzelyurt.
[755] For more information see Rodley 2010, 48-57, 213-222. See also Andaloro 2012; Ötüken 1984.
[756] Ousterhout 2017, 76, 79. See also Ötüken 1984, 147-148.

Belisırma: Ağaçaltı, Kokar, Sümbüllü, Karanlıkkale, and Yılanlı; these all exemplify Byzantine cave churches constructed in different periods and plan typology (Fig. 3.217). Unfortunately the churches of Pürenliseki, Eğritaş and Kırkdamaltı cannot be visited due to ongoing restorations, security precautions, or other reasons.



Figure 3.216. The Ihlara Valley.

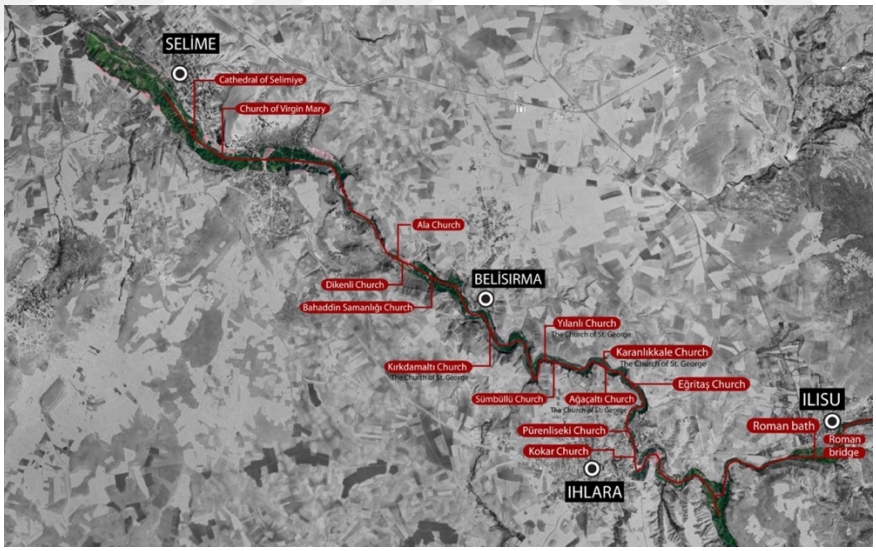

Figure 3.217 . The Ihlara Valley (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 11.03.2021).

There are special codes determined for each criterion of the states of ‘preservation’ and ‘presentation’ for the case study areas in Cappadocia as cultural landscape: ‘cl’ (cultural landscape) in front of the abbreviation of the criterion refers to the

geographical context of the selected cases. These codes (indicated in Tables 3.33 and 3.34) are used in the evaluation of the case studies so as not to repeat the same concepts frequently. The criteria of the states of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within a cultural landscape are explained in the tables below. (Table 3.35 and 3.36).

Table 3.33 Codes for criteria of state of preservation for 'Cultural landscape'.

Criteria of state of preservation	Codes for 'good' state of preservation	Codes for 'average' state of preservation	Codes for 'poor' state of preservation	Codes for 'in ruins'
Structural condition and spatial integrity	clSCI1	clSCI2	clSCI3	clSCI4
Authenticity and impact of Byzantine art and architecture	clAIB1	clAIB2	clAIB3	clAIB4
Understanding of Byzantine architectural/environmental context as a part of cultural landscape and their integration	clUBC1	clUBC2	clUBC3	clUBC4
Past interventions/ conservation projects/archaeological excavations	clPCA1	clPCA2	clPCA3	clPCA4

Table 3.34 Codes for criteria of state of presentation for 'Cultural landscape'.

Criteria of state of presentation	Codes for 'good' state of presentation	Codes for 'average' state of presentation	Codes for 'poor' state of presentation
Access and understanding	clAU1	clAU2	clAU3
Information sources	clIS1	clIS2	clIS3
Attention to setting and context	clASC1	clASC2	clASC3
Preservation of authenticity	clPA1	clPA2	clPA3

Table 3.35 Criteria defining different degrees of state of preservation.

	Good state of preservation	Average state of preservation	Poor state of preservation	In ruins
Structural condition and spatial integrity (clSCI)	The building is part of rock formation. The cave(s) is secure and structural system is stable. No serious cracks or damage in load-bearing elements or dislocation of the load-bearing elements can be observed. Spatial integrity on-site is observable. (clSCI1)	The cave(s) is secure but there are some cracks. However, the load-bearing elements are stable. Spatial integrity is partially observable, but there is loss of materials from the surface or ornaments of the buildings. (clSCI2)	The cave(s) is not secure. The structural elements are about to collapse or have partially collapsed. There are serious cracks in load-bearing elements and spatial integrity is lost on a large scale. The remain of the building are visible as fragments. (clSCI3)	The cave(s) and structural elements are totally collapsed. Material integrity is totally lost. The remains of the building(s) can be seen at ground level and the pieces of the building(s) are scattered. (clSCI4)
Authenticity and impact of Byzantine art and architecture (clAIB)	There is no distinct change in the spatial organization or it is mostly preserved considering the first planning of the building(s). Visibility and experience of the spaces and artworks as planned in the Byzantine period and interaction with them are possible. The building materials are preserved to a certain extent and the workmanship in construction of the buildings can be understood. (clAIB1)	There are some changes in the spatial organizations or additions to the interior/exterior of the buildings due to past interventions, or the spatial organization is lost due to the collapse of the building. Visibility and experience of the spaces and artworks as planned in the Byzantine period are partially possible. The building materials are damaged or moderately detached. (clAIB2)	The original spatial organization, spatial impact and visibility/experience of the spaces are mostly changed because of the collapse of the building. Byzantine remains have lost their material integrity and the construction technique and workmanship cannot be comprehended and assessed. (clAIB3)	Byzantine structures in rural/cultural landscape are mostly collapsed or have disappeared. There is no spatial organization of the buildings or impact to understand and evaluate the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of material, workmanship, construction technique and original setting. (clAIB4)
Understanding of Byzantine architectural/environmental context as part of cultural landscape and their integration **(clUBC)**	Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist completely in physical terms, thus the Byzantine architectural details, such as the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation are visible. The original cultural and environmental contexts of Byzantine settlement/buildings are preserved and integrated within the cultural landscape of Cappadocia. The natural landscape strengthens the understanding of the place in a strong way. It is possible to experience the Byzantine buildings and landscape/topography in harmony and have strong physical or socio-cultural interactions between cultural heritage sites and visitors. (clUBC1)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist to an average degree physically, so it is not possible to understand the entire architectural context including the use of building materials, spatial organization or ornamentation. The original cultural and environmental context of the Byzantine settlement/buildings have changed due to vegetation or surrounding present-day settlements. However, Byzantine cultural heritage sites are integrated parts of the cultural landscape of Cappadocia. The natural landscape strengthens the understanding of the place in a strong way. It is possible to experience the Byzantine buildings and landscape/topography in harmony and have physical or socio-cultural interactions between cultural heritage sites and visitors to some degree. (clUBC2)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites have collapsed and partially disappeared, so the architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation, cannot be understood. The original cultural and environmental contexts of the Byzantine settlement/buildings have not survived. Consequently, the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not visible within the cultural landscape of Cappadocia. Byzantine settlement/buildings have changed/disappeared due to vegetation or surrounding present-day settlements. Thus, there are few visible remains of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within the natural landscape and there are no visible physical or socio-cultural interactions between the remains and the visitors. (clUBC3)	Byzantine cultural heritage sites have collapsed and disappeared to a certain extent, so architectural context, including the use of building materials, spatial organization and ornamentation, cannot be understood. The original cultural and environmental context of the Byzantine settlement/buildings has not survived. The Byzantine cultural heritage sites are underestimated within the cultural strata of the Cappadocian heritage, and there are no visible physical or socio-cultural interactions between the remains and the visitors. (clUBC4)
Past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations **(clPCA)**	There were archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs and interventions to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. The buildings, or remains of the buildings, were respected during conservation/repair. Even though the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are not fully maintained, there are no damaging attitudes or projects. (clPCA1)	There were archaeological excavations conservation projects, repairs and interventions to research, preserve and maintain Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. However, these projects or research activities are not enough to reveal all the cultural, historical and art values of Byzantine buildings within cultural landscape of Cappadocia. (clPCA2)	There have been archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to research, preserve and maintain the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the past. However, the original spatial features, architectural details and function of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites were not respected. Or, there have been no recent archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to preserve and maintain the sites. (clPCA3)	There have been no archaeological excavations, conservation projects, repairs/interventions to research, preserve and maintain the site. The Byzantine cultural heritage sites are totally neglected and have mostly disappeared; there are no initiatives to preserve them. In addition, the remains are hard to identify and understand in terms of their historical, architectural, and cultural contexts as elements of the cultural landscape of Cappadocia due to lack of information and accessible educational materials. (clPCA4)

Table 3.36 Criteria defining different degrees of state of presentation.

	Good state of presentation	Average state of presentation	Poor state of presentation
Principle 1 **Access and understanding (clAU)**	An efficient and accessible physical environment to present the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites was provided for varied audiences in different cultural, social, religious backgrounds. Personal experience on- or off-site is possible for activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration and understanding. (clAU1)	Access to Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited due to: vegetation growth on the site/collapse of the rock/being closed in underground cities/ongoing conservation project/ongoing archaeological investigations. On- and off-site presentation is insufficient to express the significance and importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Presentation tools and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding should be developed. (clAU2)	Byzantine cultural heritage site is not accessible and there is no off-site presentation for varied audiences. There are no activities or environments for personal experience and activities to foster public interest, respect, exploration, and understanding. (clAU3)
Principle 2 **Information sources (clIS)**	There are written, visual and digital sources to inform about Byzantine cultural heritage sites. These sources were published or prepared as a result of comprehensive and multi-disciplinary research into the cultural heritage sites and their environments. Visual reconstructions or digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites were prepared according to the archaeological, architectural, and historical data accessible, or these are being planned or are in production. (clIS1)	There are written, visual or digital sources but they are insufficient to assist exploration and understanding. The accessibility and diversity of language of the sources are limited. Comprehensive and multi-disciplinary researches on the cultural heritage sites and their environments are in progress. Visual reconstructions and/or digital experience of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist. (clIS2)	The written, visual and digital sources are insufficient to explore or understand Byzantine cultural heritage sites. There are no researches, scientific studies, excavations about Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Visual reconstructions or digital experiences of Byzantine cultural heritage sites do not exist. (clIS3)
Principle 3 **Attention to setting and context (clASC)**	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites consider all aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. Interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites and natural/geographical formation and landscape is positive and they co-exist. Thus, this new setting includes the Byzantine remains as archaeological areas and rural settlements as rural heritage. The contributions of all periods to the significance of a site are respected. The natural environment and cultural landscape around cultural heritage sites are considered in the interpretation and presentation. (clASC1)	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore some aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. Interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites natural/geographical formation and landscape is positive, and they co-exist, but it is hard to grasp the allover setting and context of Byzantine rock-cut churches or underground cities. Visual or physical relation/continuity between cultural heritage sites and their natural surroundings and cultural landscape is weak. (clASC2)	Interpretation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites ignore almost all aspects of sites' cultural, social, environmental significance and values. There is no interaction between Byzantine cultural heritage sites natural/geographical formation and landscape. The natural environment and landscape around the cultural heritage sites are ignored in terms of their interpretation and presentation; or there are initiatives or concerns to present or represent the site. (clASC3)
Principle 4 **Preservation of authenticity**[755] **(clPA)**	Interpretation and presentation programs respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, material and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, feeling and spirit, and other internal and external factors. Obviously, it is not possible to apply all tenets, but at least respecting the form and design, materials, technique, spirit and feeling and context/setting, are important to preserve the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites. (clPA1)	Interpretation and presentation programs respect the authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of form and design, materials and technique, but there are repairs, or new functions, with their necessities and additions, that interfere with the impact of the spirit of the place. However, the architectural details, spatial and material characteristics are respected. (clPA2)	The authenticity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites is not respected in any way, the site is neglected, and/or there are no presentation tools. The architectural, spatial and material characteristics are not clear, due to site neglect or improper interventions. (clPA3)

[755] The basic tenets of authenticity considered in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites are based on the Nara Document, 1994.

3.5.3 Cappadocia: Derinkuyu Underground Settlement, the Ihlara Valley and the Rock-Cut Churches

3.5.3.1 Brief Historical and Archaeological Description

Derinkuyu

The underground city of Derinkuyu will be briefly explained because it was mostly formed in the Byzantine period and is considered as one of the most significant of all the underground cities.[758] Located in the Derinkuyu settlement of Nevşehir, the ancient name of the city was Malakopea. Today, it functions as a museum and the entrance to the underground city is from the square in the city center (Fig. 3.218).



Figure 3.218 . Derinkuyu, the entrance to the museum and the Üzümlü church (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 11.03.2021).

[758] Bixio, Calio and De Pascale 2012, 21-22; Okuyucu 2007b, 515-524; Ousterhout 2017, 12. There are also different opinions about the historic background of the city, but it is not very certain that to claim the first construction of this underground city due to lack of archaeological evidence. See also Bertucci *et al*. for more information of underground cities in Cappadocia.

There is a Greek church called *Üzümlü*, or the Church of St. Theodoros Trion, built in the 19th century at the southwestern part of the entrance. The historic urban pattern on and around the underground city is still partially visible and capable of being understood as such, despite later urban development and construction activities.

The first two levels of Derinkuyu's underground city are open to visitors and it is possible to experience different parts of the living spaces and the daily lives and activities of the past inhabitants.[759] There are spaces presenting daily routines, such as kitchens, living rooms, rooms/cells, or wine-making facilities on the different levels. These spaces also have floors connecting to each other via narrow or inclined tunnels and stairs (Fig. 3.219). There are religious spaces – i.e. churches, monasteries and also graveyards within this underground city.



Figure 3.219 . Derinkuyu, corridors and stairs, 2021.

The church on the first level is cross-shaped in plan and is reached by a wide corridor divided with carved columns (Fig. 3.220). The space that is thought to be a monastery/missionary school includes four cells opening to the main space, covered

[759] For Derinkuyu in general, see Gülyaz 1989, 76-90; Bixio 2002, 243-245; Okuyucu 2007a, 43-93; and Ousterhout 2017, 346-349.

by repaired arches and vaults. There is also a baptistery at the entrance of the main space (Fig. 3.221). The animal stalls are located on the level closest to the surface so that the animals can be moved around as easily as possible (Fig. 3.222). Air ventilation to the underground city is provided by a series of chimneys and wells from the bottom to the top, and the air quality inside is good. The tunnels or stairs to the city's entrances can be closed by large cylindrical stones for protection (Fig. 3.223). The city was formed by excavating the bare rock and it still possible to observe wall textures. The wall near the winery is built using stone masonry from ground level (Fig. 3.224).



Figure 3.220 . Derinkuyu, the church and its front corridor, 2021.



Figure 3.221 . Derinkuyu, the missionary school and baptistery, 2021.



Figure 3.222 . Derinkuyu, the stall and staircase at the entrance, 2021.



Figure 3.223 . Derinkuyu, example of the wall texture near the winery on the first level, 2021.



Figure 3.224 . Derinkuyu, examples of the circular stone doors, 2021.

When taking into account the reasons for constructing these underground cities, with their spatial organization vertically and horizontally, it can be seen that they are complex formations that include various spaces with different functions and scales. Although not all of the levels are open to visitors, it is possible to experience the depth and spatial relations/interaction, in both plan and section, via the voids, shafts and wells. This underground city occupies a large area under the current settlements and it is known that there are different entrances to it from the basements of some of the modern buildings. Today, however, the city has been partially converted into a museum with the necessary safety precautions and facilities, e.g. illumination. As it has been an underground settlement for centuries, the state of preservation is better in comparison to other cultural heritage sites that are exposed to all weather conditions and threatened by urbanization activities.

Derinkuyu is important in terms of our knowledge of the Byzantine period and especially the process of underground settlement formation in Cappadocia; it provides information on a wide range of topics, including religions, activities, daily life, etc. The site is also important within the overall context of the defense of the region in medieval times, with the underground cities seen as a component in a system that includes the castles of Uçhisar and Ortahisar castles.

Rock-cut churches and the Ihlara Valley

In this section, five rock-cut churches in the Ihlara Valley are briefly introduced, referring to their historical backgrounds, architectural features, and artworks. As mentioned above, many churches dating to the Byzantine period still stand within the Ihlara Valley – as well as the wider Cappadocian region. The churches of the Göreme Open Air Museum are rock-cut, in the same styles as the Ihlara Valley, but also there are also 'chimney' rock churches – such as El Nazar in Göreme and Sarıca in Ürgüp. They are part of the same geographical, geological, and cultural landscape contexts.

The churches in the Ihlara Valley were constructed between the 9th-12th centuries and feature significant examples of murals within their interiors (Fig. 3.225). The

plan schemes of the churches vary across the different periods and include different typologies, (e.g. domed cruciform, single-aisled, double-aisled, three-aisled, and single-nave rectangular plan schemes) (i.e. the transitional period, 7th-10th centuries). Other styles include masonry and rock-cut churches and chapels, and multi-phase examples (Middle Byzantine period, 10th-12th centuries).[760] The spaces were covered by vaults and tombs carved into rocks.

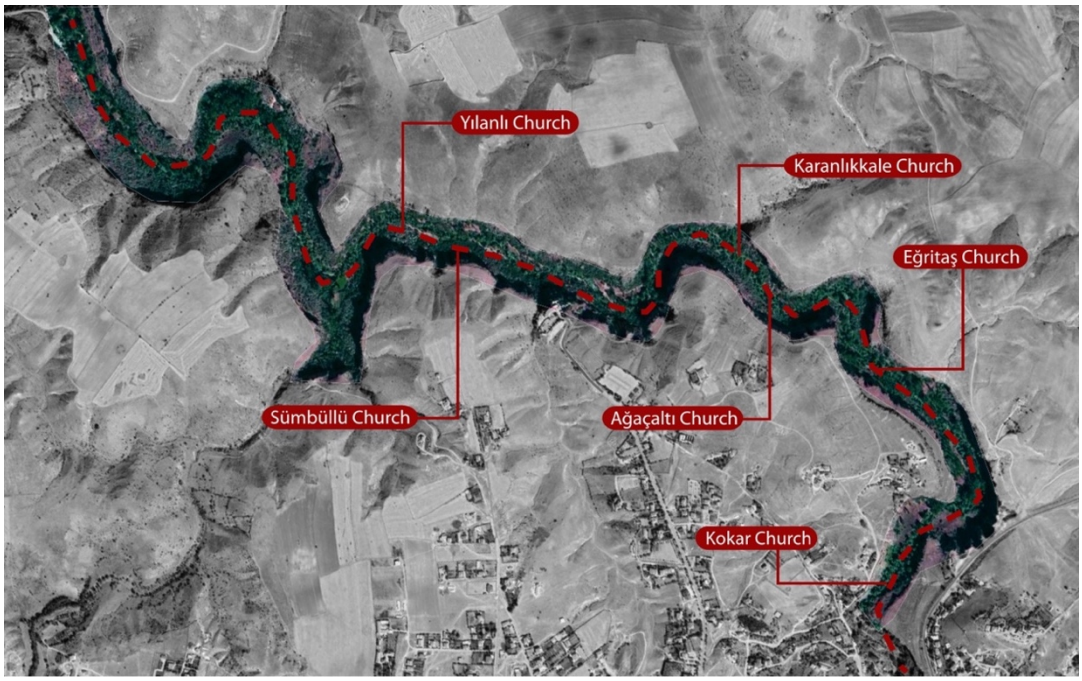

Figure 3.225 . Ihlara Valley, between the villages of Ihlara and Belisırma (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 11.03.2021).

Robert Ousterhout classifies the Ağaçaltı church within the transitional period and its aftermath (late 7th through to the early 10th centuries). It is a domed cruciform church, approximately 7 by 8 meters excluding apses.[761] The dome stands on four thick arches and there are murals depicting Christian figures on the walls and ceilings (Fig. 3.226, 3.227).

[760] The chronology of the empire was defined at the beginning of the third chapter. However, specific to these structures, these periods are defined by Ousterhout 2017.
[761] Ousterhout 2017, 74. See also Restle 1978 and URL-70 (retrieved 11.05.2021).



Figure 3.226 . Ihlara Valley, Ağaçaltı Church, interior views, 2021.



Figure 3.227 . Ihlara Valley, Ağaçaltı Church, the dome, 2021.

The church of Kokar is dated to the same period as Ağaçaltı, based on the murals of the barrel vault at the entrance.[762] It was designed as a single-aisled church: a nave in a longitudinal, rectangular form (Fig. 3.228). The cross painting on the barrel-vault at the entrance is noteworthy and there are single and double arches with red

[762] For more information about Kokar, see Thierry and Thierry 1963a, 128-132 and Thierry and Tenenbaum 1963, 228-241.

ornamentations (Fig. 3.229). Some sanctuaries have been discovered below the church.



Figure 3.228 . Ihlara Valley, Kokar Church, entrance and the murals, 2021.



Figure 3.229 . Ihlara Valley, Kokar Church, the sanctuary, 2021.

The church of Karanlıkkale was carved into a massive rock and its entrance is on a higher level than the other churches. It is also considered as a monastery and

approximately dated between the 9th and 11th centuries.[763] There is a cruciform room opening to the long hall in the church and there is a central dome landing on the column inside the wall. The passages between the rooms are provided with ornamented arched gates (semicircular and horseshoe typologies). This church is one of the largest in the valley in terms of having different spaces with separate entrances (Figs. 3.230, 3.231).



Figure 3.230 . Ihlara Valley, Kokar Church, the entrance space and murals, 2021.



Figure 3.231 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, views of the architectural elements, 2021.

[763] For the church of Karanlıkkale, see Ousterhout 2017, 355-358, 360; Rodley 2010, 95-102.

The Yılanlı church is also dated 9th and 12th centuries based on its interior frescoes[764]. It gets its name from the frescoes of serpents attacking women on the west wall. The entrance to the church is located on the south and there is a wooden decking to walk on inside. The plan is cruciform and the apses are covered with frescoes and Christian saints and figures. The sanctuary of the church is on the northwest corner (Figs. 3.232, 3.233, 3.234).

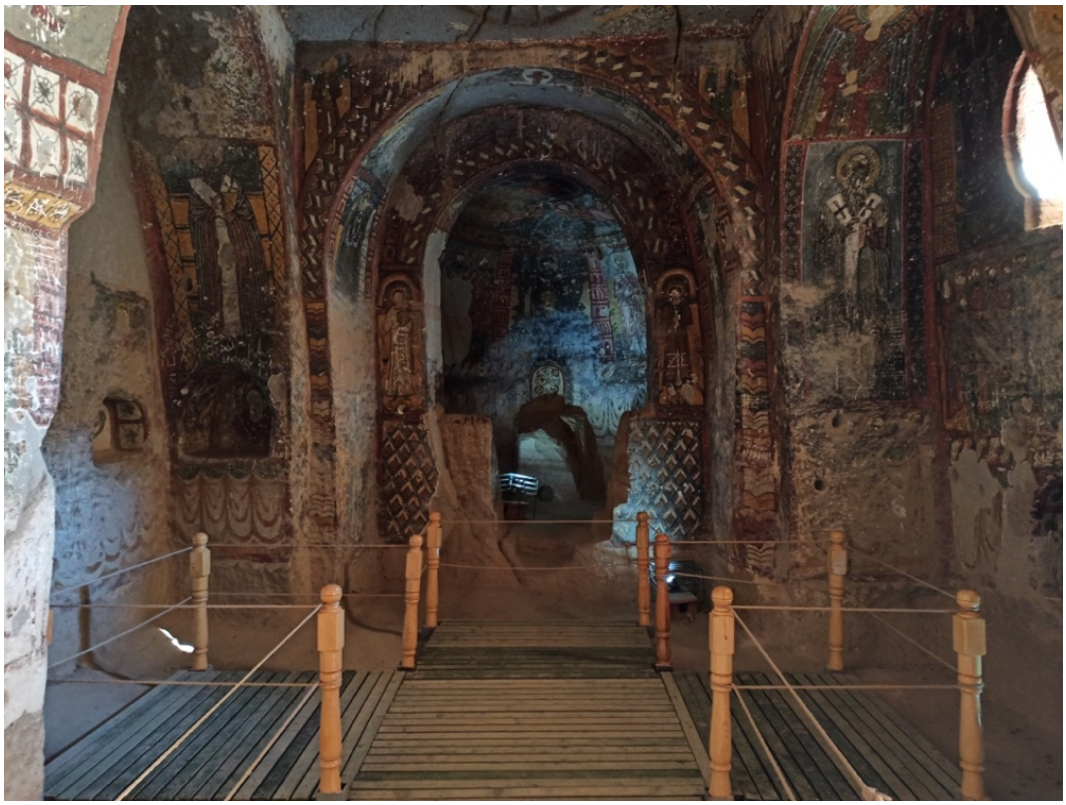

Figure 3.232 . Ihlara Valley, Yılanlı Church, the apse, 2021.

[764] See Ousterhout 2017, 213-214, Rodley 2010, 173; Thierry and Thierry 1963b, 159-168. See also, URL-71 (retrieved 11.05.2021).



Figure 3.233 . Ihlara Valley, Yılanlı Church, views of the interior, 2021.



Figure 3.234 . Ihlara Valley, Yılanlı Church, the sanctuary, 2021.

Sümbüllü church is dated between the 10th to 12th centuries based on its frescoes, i.e. Middle Byzantine Period. Robert Ousterhout describes it as a private church associated with residences,[765] designed as a single-aisled structure in a rectangular form (3.5 x 4.5 meters) similar to Ağaçaltı, but with an upper floor. The church is on

[765] Ousterhout 2017, 150; Rodley 2010, 265. See also URL-72 (retrieved 11.05.2021).

the entrance level and there is another space reached by a narrow staircase; it is covered by a barrel vault. The ceiling of the church is flat, but includes a depressed dome. The entrance level of the church is close to the ground level of the valley and the façade is visible (Fig. 3.235, 3.236, 3.237).



Figure 3.235 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, entrance level, 2021.



Figure 3.236 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, entrance level, 2021. Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, the space above, 2021.



Figure 3.237 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, entrance level, 2021.

To sum up, Cappadocia includes various building types that functioned as churches, monasteries, living spaces, wine-presses, or animal stalls; these can be on ground level and also below ground. The geographical formation adds considerable spatial and planning variety, i.e. the underground cities, chimney rocks, rock-cut buildings/churches, and valleys. The underground city of Derinkuyu and the rock-cut churches in the Ihlara Valley, between the villages of Ihlara and Belisırma, will be examined to evaluate the states of preservation and presentation.

3.5.3.2 History of Research, Excavation and Conservation

Cappadocia has proved a remarkable research area for Byzantine studies of all disciplines. Among the earliest studies, Guillaume de Jerphanion's *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* on Cappadocia's wall paintings and rock-cut churches and monasteries, is perhaps the most significant. Scientific studies and research on Early Byzantine art and architecture within this region have increased greatly since the 1950s. These studies mostly focus on the wall paintings and iconography of the cave monasteries of Cappadocia. Cathreine Jolivet-Lévy, Lyn Rodley, Marcel Restle, Nicole Thierry, and Yıldız Ötüken are among the notable scholars who have worked and studied on Cappadocia and published major works in previous decades, and

today's younger scholars maintain this interest, investigating Cappadocia's topography, art, architecture, and so on.[766] The development of the Byzantine studies in the region is reflected in the new knowledge generated, i.e. the number of scientific publications, surveys, on-site activities, and the conservation projects involving the wall paintings, rock-cut churches, and underground cities.

Cappadocia was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985 and archaeological investigations and surveys have been ongoing for many years now under national and international teams. Apart from the investigations and surveys, there have been conservation projects conducted by the Ministry of Culture, foreign and local scholars assigned by national and international universities, and also international scholars and institutions. The documentation, visualization and conservation of paintings, rock-cut churches, and the underground cities, are all crucial for the preservation of Cappadocia's values. Among the comprehensive projects and on-site applications managed by several scholars in recent years, Maria Andaloro's studies on the conservation of Byzantine churches and paintings in Cappadocia must be acknowledged. Tolga Uyar has conducted several research projects and surveys on the Byzantine buildings and walls paintings of the region. The establishment of Kapadokya University is important in terms of its department of Architectural Restoration, focusing on the significant values of the region – its topography, art, and architecture – and their documentation and conservation.

3.5.3.3 Current Situation and Analysis

- **Derinkuyu:** This underground city is open to visitors as a museum and the entrance is via the urban square, with its mosque, a 19th-century church, and local houses (Fig. 3.238). Only the first two levels are accessible today, while the rest of the city is still under examination.

[766] To cite but a few: Andaloro 2009a, 2012; Andaloro, Bixio and Crescenzi 2014; Bertucci, Bixio and Traverso 1995; Kostof 1989; Ousterhout 2011 and 2017; Pekak 2009; Uyar 2015 and 2019.



Figure 3.238 . Derinkuyu, urban square where the entrance of the museum is located, 2021.

The spaces open to visitors are secure and no serious cracks or damage were observed. The spaces are connected to each other by short, narrow tunnels or stairs. These spaces were used by people and animals and their details in terms of layout can be understood. For example, there are elevated platforms in the living rooms on which to sit or sleep, a pool in the baptistery, and pits in winery and storage areas (Fig. 3.239, 3.240). Thus the many different functions and spatial variations can be ascertained. In addition, it is possible to see, experience and sense the features, scale and integration of the spaces in their original cultural and architectural contexts. Various architectural elements (e.g. columns, arches and vaults) stand out, such as those carved into the rocks or built using cut or rubble stone, especially in the religious spaces (churches and monasteries) (Fig. 3.241). This underground city is illuminated today, and there are electric panels and cables on the surfaces; the electro-mechanical details and systems are visible (Fig. 3.242). Some of the walls and vaulting has been repaired using cut stone, which we consider as later repairs with contemporary materials (Fig. 3.243). The state of preservation of the underground city is classified as clSCI1, clAIB1, clUBC2, clPCA2, and the state of presentation as clAU2, clIS2, clASC2, clPA1.



Figure 3.239 . Derinkuyu, interior views of the living spaces and wine-press, 2021.



Figure 3.240 . Derinkuyu, interior views of the living spaces and wine-press, 2021.



Figure 3.241 . Derinkuyu, interior views of some of the architectural elements, 2021.



Figure 3.242 . Derinkuyu, electrical panel and cables, 2021.



Figure 3.243 . Derinkuyu, sample wall textures indicating past repairs, 2021.

- **Ağaçaltı:** This church is the closest one to the entrance of the Ihlara Valley. It is located on the ground level and reached by wooden decking defining the route. The door opening of the church is below ground level and reached by stairs (Fig. 3.244). The church is a small in scale and the space is completely visible and understood. There are serious cracks on the walls and ceilings and the rock walls are decayed on the ground level, however the cave is secure and there is wooden decking to walk on inside (Fig. 3.226). The inside of the church was covered with frescoes but they are partially detached or have

disappeared (Fig. 3.245). Unfortunately there is also graffiti on the frescoes and these greatly detract from the visual experience of the interior space. There is a metal sign giving information about the historical background and frescoes (Fig. 3.246). Thus, the state of preservation of the church is classified as clSCI2, clAIB1, clUBC2, clPCA2, and the state of presentation as clAU2, clIS2, clASC2, clPA1.



Figure 3.244 . Ihlara Valley, the entrance of Ağaçaltı Church, 2021.



Figure 3.245 . Ihlara Valley, Ağaçaltı Church, cracks on the walls and decayed frescoes, 2021.

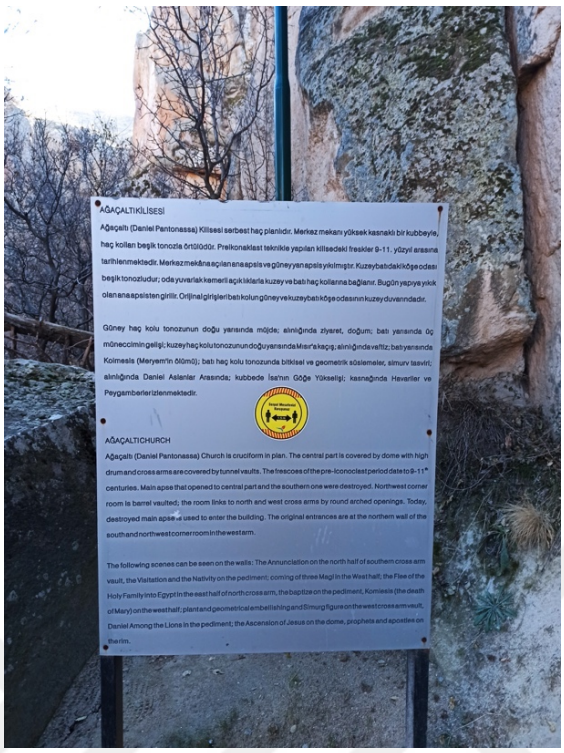

Figure 3.246 . Ihlara Valley, Ağaçaltı Church, the metal signboard, 2021.

- **Kokar:** The entrance level of this church is above the ground level of the valley (Fig. 3.247). The apse, which is also the entrance to the church, has collapsed. This church has a rectangular plan scheme and is covered by a vault; the burial chapel is behind this main space. The walls of the church are covered with frescoes, but they are partially detached. There are serious cracks on the walls where the frescoes have fallen away, however the cave remains secure (Fig. 3.248). The architectural elements and details in the church and burial chapel are visible and can be understood. As at Ağaçaltı, there is graffiti on the frescoes and they detract from the visual experience of the interior space. There is a metal signboard giving information about the historical background and frescoes (Fig. 3.249). Thus, the state of preservation of the church is classified as clSCI2, clAIB2, clUBC2, clPCA2, and the state of presentation as clAU2, clIS2, clASC2, clPA1.



Figure 3.247 . Ihlara Valley, Kokar Church, the entrance, 2021.



Figure 3.248 . Ihlara Valley, Kokar Church, cracks on the walls and frescoes, 2021.

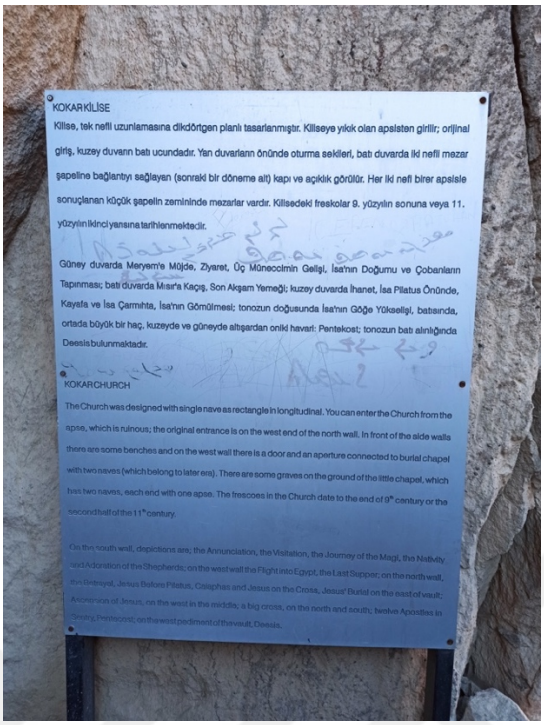

Figure 3.249 . Ihlara Valley, Kokar Church, the metal signboard, 2021.

- **Karanlıkkale:** This is a monastery complex and includes a church, kitchen, storage area and burial chapel. The entrance level of the complex is at a higher level than the previous examples and the scale of the spaces is also larger. There are two entrances in different places but they are connected inside (Figs. 3.250, 3.251). The ground level has risen, which can be understood from the height of the arches and proportion of the spaces. The ceilings of the entrance spaces are flat but there are reliefs on them (Fig. 3.252). There are column capitals, painted (white and red) and ornamented. There are cracks on the wall surfaces and some parts of the rocks have decayed (Figs. 3.253, 3.254). There is graffiti on the walls inside and outside of the complex (Fig. 3.255). In addition to this natural deterioration and the presence of graffiti there is evidence of previous interventions with cement to the walls and ceilings; efflorescence is observed on the surfaces due to the use of cement (Fig. 3.256). The architectural elements and details in the complex are visible and can be understood. There is a metal signboard giving information about the historical background and architectural details of the complex (Fig.

3.257). Thus, the state of preservation of the church is classified as clSCI2, clAIB2, clUBC2, clPCA2, and the state of presentation as clAU2, clIS2, clASC2, clPA1.



Figure 3.250 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, entrance, 2021.



Figure 3.251 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, the doorway connecting different spaces, 2021.



Figure 3.252 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, reliefs on the ceilings, 2021.



Figure 3.253 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, fissure and decay on the columns, 2021.



Figure 3.254 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, structural cracks on the walls and ceilings, 2021.



Figure 3.255 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, graffiti on the walls, 2021.



Figure 3.256 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, efflorescence on the surfaces, 2021.

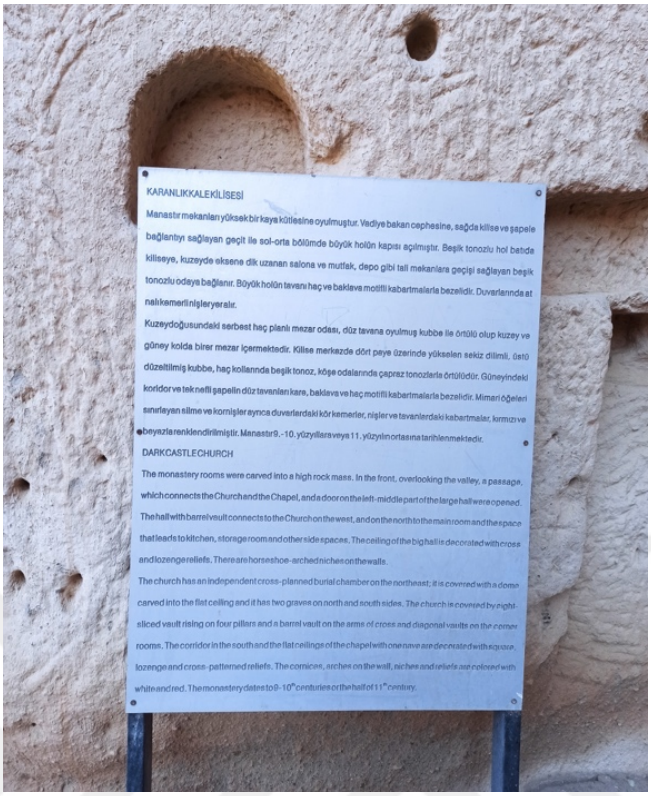

Figure 3.257 . Ihlara Valley, Karanlıkkale Church, the metal signboard, 2021.

- **Yılanlı:** This church is located above the ground level of the valley and reached by wooden stairs. The church, although small in scale, is one of the more significant examples in the valley. The spatial area is completely visible and can understood, along with its architectural details and frescoes (Fig. 3.232). However, there are structural cracks on the walls and ceilings, although the cave itself appears secure (Fig. 3.258). Like Ağaçaltı, there is wooden decking to walk on inside (Fig. 3.233). The church interior was covered with frescoes, but they are partially decayed and there is visible graffiti (Fig. 3.259). There is a metal signboard giving information about the historical background and frescoes, as at the other churches. Thus, the state of preservation of the church is classified as clSCI2, clAIB2, clUBC2, clPCA2, and the state of presentation as clAU2, clIS2, clASC2, clPA1.



Figure 3.258 . Ihlara Valley, Yılanlı Church, cracks on the walls and ceilings, 2021.



Figure 3.259 . Ihlara Valley, Yılanlı Church, graffiti and frescoe deterioration, 2021.

- **Sümbüllü:** This church is different than the other examples as it has two storeys. There is a terrace in front of the entrance which is reached by wooden decking and stairs from the ground level of the valley. Another distinctive feature is the façade, which is visible when walking through the valley (Fig. 3.260). The apse, which is also the entrance, has collapsed. This church has a single-aisled scheme, which includes the downstairs and upstairs rooms. These different spaces are covered by diverse ceiling types, e.g. flat, barrel-vault, and dome (Fig. 3.261). The walls and the ceilings are covered with frescoes, but they are detached to a certain extent and there is graffiti on the existing ones (Fig. 3.262). There are structural cracks on the walls and some parts have come away or collapsed; the cave however remains secure (Fig.

3.263). The architectural elements and details in the church are visible and can be understood. Previous interventions, with cement on the walls and ceilings, are visible – as the efflorescence on the surfaces indicates (Fig. 3.263). There is a metal signboard giving information about the historical background and frescoes (Fig. 3.264). Thus, the state of preservation of the church is classified as clSCI2, clAIB2, clUBC2, clPCA2, and the state of presentation as clAU2, clIS2, clASC2, clPA1.



Figure 3.260 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, entrance and the façade, 2021.



Figure 3.261 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, views from the ceilings, 2021.



Figure 3.262 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, examples of frescoes, 2021.



Figure 3.263 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, structural cracks on the interior, 2021.

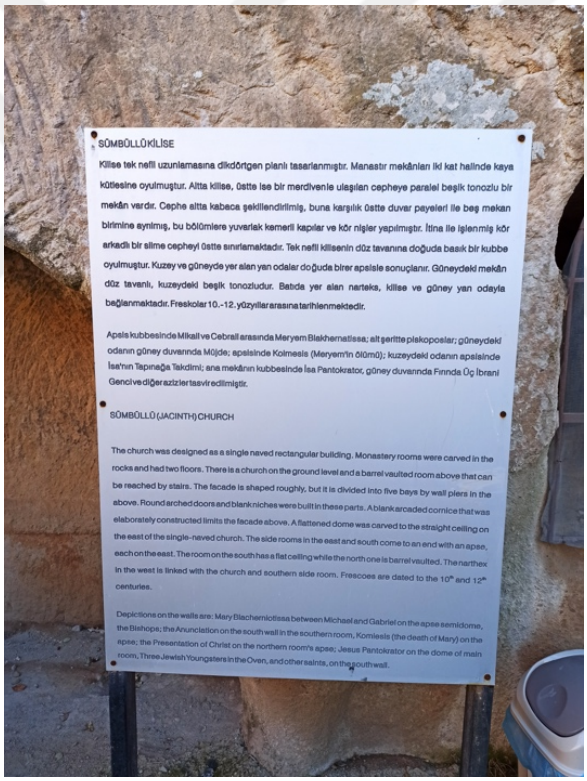

Figure 3.264 . Ihlara Valley, Sümbüllü Church, the metal signboard, 2021.

3.5.3.4 Evaluation

Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Cappadocia are classified to include underground cities, rock-cut churches, and other structures; the rock-cut churches and buildings

have been carved into the chimney rocks and valleys. Within this context, the underground city of Derinkuyu and the rock-cut churches in Ihlara Valley (between the settlements of Ihlara and Belisırma) have been analyzed, and a summary evaluation of each site can be presented, along with codes for the states of preservation and presentation (Tables 3.37 and 3.38).

Table 3.37 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of selected sites in Cappadocia.

	Structural Condition and Spatial Integrity				Authenticity and Impact of the Byzantine art and architecture				Understanding of Byzantine architectural/environmental context as a part of cultural landscape and their integration				Past Interventions/Conservation Projects/ Archaeological Excavations			
	Good State of Pre. clSCI1	Average State of Pre. clSCI2	Poor State of Pre. clSCI3	IR clSCI4	Good State of Pre. clAIB1	Average State of Pre. clAIB2	Poor State of Pre. clAIB3	IR clAIB4	Good State of Pre. clUBC1	Average State of Pre. clUBC2	Poor State of Pre. clUBC3	IR clUBC4	Good State of Pre. clPCA1	Average State of Pre. clPCA2	Poor State of Pre. clPCA3	IR clPCA4
Derinkuyu Underground City																
Ağaçaltı Church																
Kokar Church																
Karanlıkkkale Church																
Yılanlı Church																
Sümbüllü Church																

Table 3.38 Summary of the analysis of the state of preservation of selected sites in Cappadocia.

	Acces and Understanding			Information Sources			Attention to Setting and Context			Preservation of Authenticity		
	Good State of Pre. clAU1	Average State of Pre. clAU2	Poor State of Pre. clAU3	Good State of Pre. clIS1	Average State of Pre. clIS2	Poor State of Pre. clIS3	Good State of Pre. clASC1	Average State of Pre. clASC2	Poor State of Pre. clASC3	Good State of Pre. clPA1	Average State of Pre. clPA2	Poor State of Pre. clPA3
Derinkuyu Underground City												
Ağaçaltı Church												
Kokar Church												
Karanlıkkkale Church												
Yılanlı Church												
Sümbüllü Church												

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of preservation can be listed as:

- The criterion of ‘structural condition and spatial integrity’ is assessed as ‘average state of preservation’ except for Derinkuyu, which is in a better structural condition compared to the rock cut churches, explained by its better physical situation, being underground and not exposed to weather conditions or vandalism. For the churches, they are structurally stable but there are cracks (fissure or structural cracks) on the walls and ceilings. However, spatial integrity has been preserved to a certain extent and it is possible to understand and distinguish different spaces/rooms in the churches.
- The criterion of ‘authenticity and impact of the Byzantine art and architecture’ is assessed as ‘average state of preservation’ for the churches and ‘good’ for Derinkuyu. It is possible to comprehend the spatial organization and planning. Plan schemes and interior details are visible, even though the architectural elements and frescoes have partially collapsed or disappeared. The impact inside the churches is sufficient to appreciate the scale and spirit of the place, and comprehensive eonugh to interpret some of the scenes depicted in the frescoes. Beyond natural deterioration and detachment of the murals, one negative aspect in terms of the authenticity of the Byzantine art and architecture inside the buildings is the graffiti. Unfortunately, almost all the frescoes suffer from this and they affect the visual experience negatively.
- The criterion of ‘understanding of Byzantine architectural/environmental context as a part of cultural landscape and their integration’ is assessed as average in terms of the state of preservation. The selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist, with some being accessible, to an average degree physically as explained above. Obviously, the original environmental and cultural contexts of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites have changed due to the present settlement at Derinkuyu and natural decay and abandonment in the Ihlara Valley. The churches in the valley were also exposed to vandalism, which affects the understanding the architectural and artistic contexts of the rock-cut churches. However, especially in the valley, the natural landscape

and topography strengthen the experience of the Byzantine remains. It is possible to comprehend the section of the valley and the location of the churches on different levels, with their rock formations and surrounding landscapes for visitors. Thus, both Derinkuyu and the rock-cut churches in the Ihlara Valley are integrated parts of this peculiar geography and cultural landscape.

- The criterion of 'past interventions/conservation projects/archaeological excavations' is assessed as average regarding the state of preservation. There is an ongoing archaeological investigation in Derinkuyu, and the rest of the underground city will hopefully open to visitors. Although some conservation projects have been conducted in the rock-cut churches of the Ihlara Valley, and they are open to visitors, some of the churches are still under restoration, such as Pürenliseki and Eğritaş. However, these studies or projects are insufficient to reveal and represent all the cultural, historical, architectural and artistic values of the selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites within the cultural landscape of Cappadocia.

The conclusions of the analysis of the state of presentation can be listed as:

- The criterion of 'access and understanding' is assessed as average. The access to Byzantine cultural heritage sites is limited due to ongoing conservation projects and archaeological excavations; in addition some parts of the churches have collapsed or are insecure. The on- and off-site presentation is insufficient to express the architectural and cultural significance of these Byzantine cultural heritage sites: there are only minimal signboards with texts in Turkish and English, but no visual representations (drawings or reconstructions). The only example of visual representation was seen at Derinkuyu, as well as a perspective section of the site illustrating daily life and activities (Fig. 3.265).

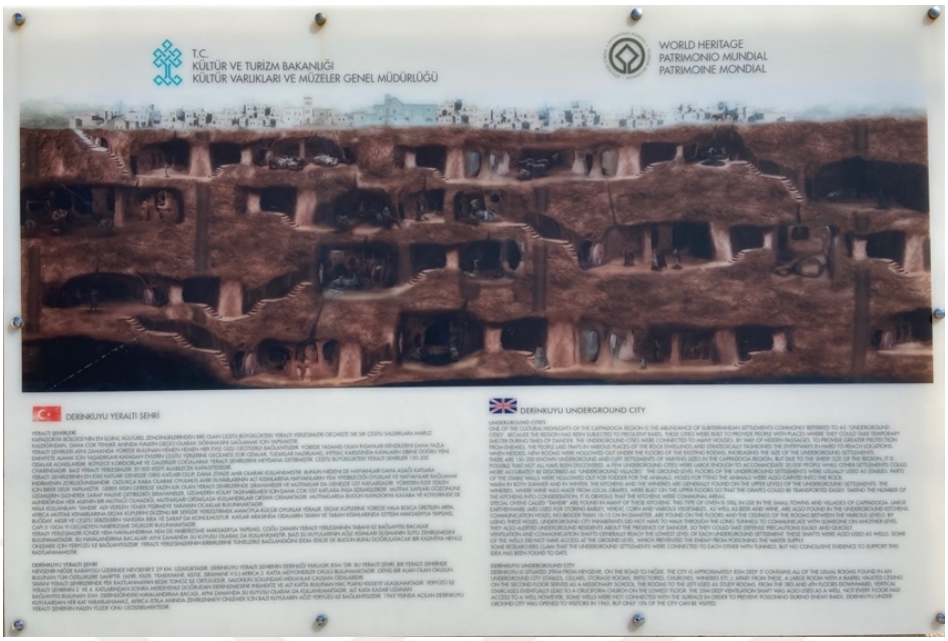

Figure 3.265. Ihlara Valley, the visual representation of the underground city, 2021.

- The criterion of 'information sources' is assessed as average. The Cappadocia region and its Byzantine settlements or remains have been investigated and published by several scholars, as detailed above in 3.1 – 'Current State of Scholarship'. Thus, there are written and visual sources which are accessible in printed or digital formats, representing important and informative sources for investigating and understanding the Cappadocia region. However, for visitors from different backgrounds it is hard to follow and grasp the architectural, cultural and historical significance of these sites. The distinctive features thus need to be highlighted by on-site presentation tools and supported by digital reconstructions, sensitive restorations of the remains, and support for the specific regions.
- The criterion of 'attention to setting and context' is assessed as average. This criterion basically focuses on the interpretation and presentation of selected Byzantine cultural heritage sites revealing their cultural, social, and environmental significance. Derinkuyu is located in the middle of the present settlement, within a square but surrounded by buildings from different periods. The extent of the underground city is greater than the area currently

open to visitors. It is not particularly easy to understand the Byzantine urban context in this natural/geographical formation due to the present buildings and settlement pattern. However, the churches co-exist with the natural landscape and are more integrated with it than the underground city. Thus, there is a need for further preservation of the valley with is natural formation and Byzantine remains, even the areas that are neglected or abandoned.

- The criterion of 'preservation of authenticity' is assessed as in good (state of presentation). Similar to the other sites under discussion, the 'Nara Document' provides the reference for the evaluation of this criterion. The physical and structural conditions of the rock-cut churches and underground city were evaluated under the different criteria explained above. The frescoes, which are important in terms of the history of Christianity and the Byzantine settlements of Cappadocia, are in poor physical condition and suffer from graffiti. Despite this, the sense of scale of the sites, the features of the frescoes and the stories behind them, the construction technology of these remote, early periods, and the integration of the spaces within this significant geography and morphology, can all still be understood and experienced.

3.6 Summary Assessment and Main Considerations

Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey were classified and examined in terms of their states of preservation and presentation through selected sites. Following the comprehensive analyses and evaluations, there are interim evaluations ands considerations which will be explained for the cases within urban settlements and archaeology, rural settlements and archaelogy, archaeological areas and cultural landscapes.

3.6.1 Urban Settlements and Archaeology

3.6.1.1 Istanbul – City Walls

Experiencing the walls, and their understanding and interpretation, are still the main drivers of preservation and representation strategies. The primary discourse about the walls is that they define the periphery of Byzantine Constantinople, and still exist. However, they have not been adopted as strong elements of the city in terms of preservation and presentation. Even though they are huge and imposing structures, of course with many conservation problems and sections that have vanished, they have been in many ways neglected and ignored. Thus, their experience can be problematic due to this lack of re-assessment and valorization of the walls within the current urban layout. The relationship of these conservation and representation issues with the needs for understanding and experience should be reviewed. These issues that impose obstacles to overall interactivity with Istanbul's city walls include:

- Accessibility is problematic for both the land and sea walls. The city walls still enclose particular areas of Istanbul, and although they are mostly visible, and it is possible to follow the course of them, they are in poor condition. Today the route of the wall is interrupted by boulevards, streets, traffic, buildings, and in some cases dense vegetation (i.e. Figs. 3.6, 3.11, 3.20).
- Although there are obstacles affecting accessibility to the walls, there are still interfaces to experience them; mostly, each visitor/interpreter has to find his/her own way. Some sections are now hidden below buildings or integrated with later structures; some other sections have been adapted into stand-alone remains detached from the main circuit, and these are hard to identify. Furthermore, the walls and their close surrounding are not secure enough to walk around; and a general lack of information and guidance impede any in-depth understanding and experiencing of them.
- The inscriptions are valuable information sources to the history of the walls, and there are many along the walls and on the towers, representing historical

documents in themselves. Many of these inscriptions have now been removed from the walls and are exhibited in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, although the exhibition has been closed for a long time due to conservation works in the museum. However, it is still possible to observe some of the inscriptions within the towers – Topkapı, Yedikule, and Ayvansaray (Fig. 3.28). The contents and period of the inscriptions differ, as do their typology, material, and placement on the wall[768], and we may read about hopes for victory in wars, details of who and when repairs were made to the walls, who commissioned the towers, etc.[769]. Experiencing the inscriptions on-site or in the museum offers different understandings and interpretations of the historical contexts and interrelations between the inscriptions and the walls.



Figure 3.266 . Inscriptions on the towers of the land walls, 2020.

- Lack of information and guidance to help understand and experience the walls is related to the lack of representation strategies. If there is no concern about representing the walls and fostering public attention or providing information sources about the origin, history, periodization, and architectural features of the walls, then interactions between the local population, visitors/interpreters cannot be created. Providing on- and off-site information, as well as a sympathetic environment for experiencing the walls as a part of the

[768] Mango 1951, 53-57; Öztürk (2016, 1-34) published a detailed analysis, documentation, and translation of inscriptions from Istanbul's city walls.
[769] See Mango 1951, 53-57; Öztürk, 2016, 3-34 for more inscriptions and their contents.

representation process, are also crucial factors for preserving and presenting authenticity. In the Nara Document we read: [770]

> Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits the elaboration of the specific artistic, historical, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined.

- Unfortunately, the city walls of Istanbul do not have a comprehensive representation strategy responding to the indicators of the Nara Document. Yet having representation strategies and applications are not enough: all of these attitudes should be objective and pay respect to the Byzantine past of the city.



Figure 3.267 . Steel mesh applications to prevent collapse, 2020.

- Poor conditions and neglect negatively affect understanding and experience. They lead to safety problems and may result in questioning the very value of the city walls as significant cultural heritage sites. No visitors will want to approach vestiges of walls that seem to be about to collapse. For this reason, some wall sections have been fitted with steel mesh to prevent materials falling (Fig. 3.267). However, at more general level, appearing to be taking no precautions to preserve the integrity of the walls can result in the

[770] ICOMOS 1994, Article 13.

impression that the walls themselves are not valorized, nor considered important for the representation of the city's past.

- Several of the towers were repaired, including their inscriptions, to mark the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Istanbul. The historical background of these repaired towers is expressed with respect to their significance in Ottoman history, and that they were repaired in part to honor their Ottoman past. The maintained statues of the janissaries also represent the Ottoman victory at the walls, and thus, the representation of the walls is mostly to do with how they were stormed, rather how they were built and why they are significant. Other towers and walls nearby are in very poor condition, needing to be partially supported using steel mesh, i.e. the Balat tower, part of the sea walls of the Golden Horn and Fetihkapı (Figs. 3.17, 3.268).



Figure 3.268 . The inscription for the 500th anniversary of the conquest of the city located on the tower of the sea walls at the Golden Horn, Balat, 2020.

- Mention can also be made of the 'Panorama 1453' museum representing and reviving the conquest of Istanbul by means of different media tools and exhibitions. Istanbul has no specific museum as such to its Byzantine past, compared to individual museums, such as the Museum of the Mosaics of the Great palace at Sultanhamet, and the exhibition hall in the Istanbul

Archaeological Museum. Consequently, the reminders of the Ottoman Empire's past within the walls themselves are more emphasized, through on- and off-site representations, than is the cultural and architectural significance of this Byzantine cultural heritage site.

- The quality of the conservation projects is questionable in terms of techniques and materials for the reconstructed parts. The walls are already multi-period structures, as explained in the history of the walls, and the several differences in construction techniques and use of materials of different periods can be seen and identified. Byzantine specialists should be included in the decision-making processes relating to interventions, additions, and repairs, so as to preserve and maintain the walls as an interdisciplinary work for better interpretation and results; as an example, wall textures in some of the reconstructed parts may give rise to misunderstandings about the details of the Byzantine architecture.

Regarding similar concerns, Anestis Vasilakeris also points out the difficulties in understanding and experiencing Istanbul's Byzantine city walls by the local population and tourists alike.[771] The massive urbanization activities around the citadel must clearly have negatively affected the experience and understanding of the walls. Additionally, the social patterns of inhabitants in the neighborhoods at the periphery of the city walls have changed due to immigrants settling inside the citadel, and urban transformation projects such as at Edirnekapı. Ufuk Serin also notes a similar concern for the Ankara citadel in terms of the impact of the changing social pattern, mostly resulting from the lower income groups who settle in the houses within the citadel, and the urbanization projects in the historic center; all factors that have a bearing on the preservation of Ankara's city walls.[772] Interaction with the walls is too minimal as a result of these issues, resulting in a lack of visibility, understanding, interpretation, and opportunities for physical experience. Obviously,

[771] Vasilakeris 2013, 69.
[772] Serin 1998, 958-962.

interaction is crucial for cultural heritage sites, and the quality of the experience strengthens awareness and adoption of the past generally. City walls can be considered one of the most essential interfaces for enriching interactions between the audience and the Byzantine past.

3.6.1.2 Istanbul – Byzantine Churches

Given all the analyses and evaluations based on the criteria assessed to evaluate the states of preservation and presentation of the selected Byzantine churches in Istanbul, there some concluding remarks to present:

- The reuse of churches after the Ottoman conquest was common; many were turned into mosques, and this new function demanded interventions for the devotions of the Muslim community. The potential for re-use or re-function affords churches scope for preservation and maintenance over the centuries, although commonly the interior surfaces of the walls and ceilings were plastered over and certain ornamentations removed. Such interventions affect the understanding of a place and also its spirit, with Islamic motives taking the place of Christian artworks. Thus, opportunities to experience the churches with all their initial characteristics are lost. For example, the interior wall/ceiling mosaics of St. Sophia were hidden for centuries, before being revealed again in the 19th century by the restorations of Fossatti[773]. Additionally, there are later buildings around the church, such as minarets, fountains and tombs. According to the Charter of Venice, these interventions are considered as 'valid contributions of later periods', and thus become parts of the current setting, even though at the same time they change the original setting of the church. Obviously, the use of space, interior characteristics, materials, and ornaments are important for grasping the spirit of the place and also the cultural and architectural values of the space. Considering these

[773] For the Fossatti restorations of St. Sophia, see Teteriatnikov 1998, 3-30.

factors, experiencing today a Byzantine church as a mosque, isolated from its Christian identity, is problematic in terms of understanding the location as a Byzantine cultural heritage site. There is insufficient information about the Byzantine background of the church on the site.

- Considering the period when the churches were museums, except for St. Eirene, the pressures of cultural tourism, regarding economic expectations and daily visitor numbers, can represent serious threats for Byzantine churches. Visitor management and experience planning, routine maintenance, supervision, and taking necessary precautions, are all crucial for the preservation of these churches. In fact, these museum-churches offered a better experience, in terms of spatial authenticity and visibility of Byzantine architectural details, than churches converted into mosques. However, in this case, holistic conservation projects, representation strategies and effective management plans were needed. It is clear that representation of these churches must be objective and respectful to the Byzantine past of the buildings.
- Re-using a church as a museum (instead of a mosque) provides a neutral cultural identity independent from any dominant religion, and underlines buildings as cultural heritage sites with all its values. Sylvia Pedone notes that the reuse of churches as museums, instead of as a mosque, can be seen as a form of compromise to avoid religious conflicts between different cultures.[774] Of course, transforming a Christian church into a Muslim place of worship may result in the disappearance of, or damage to symbols of Christianity as architectural elements and artworks. Thus, representation of a cultural heritage sites, in this case Christian churches, should provide understanding and experience of a range of cultural values, not only for Christian visitors but for all visitors of different religious, ethnic or cultural backgrounds.

[774] Pedone 2019, 235-236. However, there are different motivations of converting churches into museum or mosques since the declaration of the Repuplic. Religious conflicts are not the only concerns.

- The decree to change the museum status of St. Sophia into a mosque created an intense political and cultural debate, both nationally and internationally. The new situation of St. Sophia was reported in the national and international press, including supporting and opposing views (Fig. 3.269). A political and religious polarization occurred in society generally, as well as arguments between the Turkish and Greek governments. St. Sophia has been regarded as a symbol of Christianity for centuries, with some Greeks considering themselves as heirs to the Byzantine Empire and adopting the heritage of St. Sophia fervently. Thus discussions about the conversion of St. Sophia featured across all media for many weeks and the famous cathedral became another focal point of polarization between Christians and Muslims, Greeks and Turks.

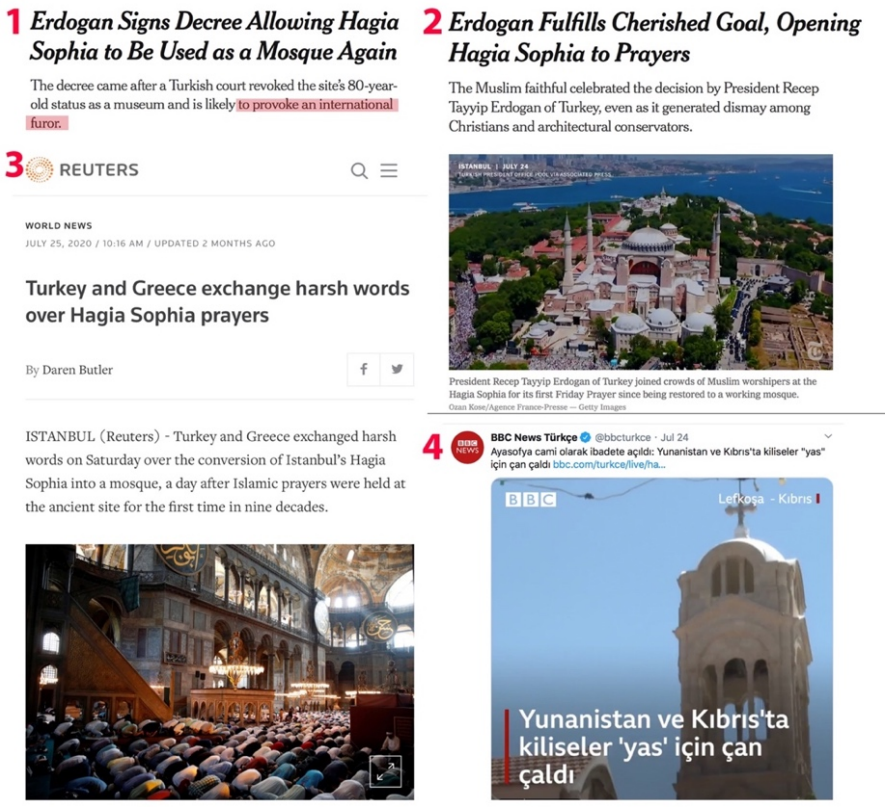

Figure 3.269 . Articles in the international press on the conversion of St. Sophia into a mosque, and conflicts between Turkish and Greek governments: 1) URL-73; 2) URL-74; 3) URL-75; 4) URL-76 (retrieved on 10.10.2020).

- The opening ceremony of St. Sophia on July 24, 2020 was represented as a ‘re-conquest’ of Istanbul via the most significant Byzantine cultural heritage site in Istanbul. This situation is problematic considering the universal value of St. Sophia as one of the unique cultural heritage sites not only in the country, but also in the world.
- Shortly afterwards, the decree was announced in August 2020 regarding the (re)conversion of the Chora church into a mosque. Clearly, these conversions also require a discussion about the interventions necessary for these new functions. Beyond the political and religious motives, the conservation problems, and the understanding and experiencing of Byzantine churches have been discussed between the different professions and ideologies.
- These churches were exposed to different urbanization attitudes during both the Ottoman and Republican periods. Apart from the Byzantine churches selected for this present study, collapsed churches were replaced with later buildings or left below ground, and some existing churches were surrounded by high apartments in the city centre. City development without considering cultural heritage sites gives rise to negative situations regarding heavy traffic around cultural heritage sites, contradictions due to different scales and building types around cultural heritage sites, and damage due to urbanization projects, such as the construction of new roads and infrastructure projects. The lack of legal restrictions on construction and infrastructure projects near or around cultural heritage sites is a serious problem that affects the states of presentation and preservation of Byzantine churches.
- Any interventions, additions or repairs to preserve or maintain churches should be decided by Byzantine specialists as part of interdisciplinary works. As each church reflects a particular construction technique, the use of materials, ornamentations and artworks of their period, and any existing conservation and representation strategies, should be determined by specialists in the fields of Byzantine history, art, archaeology, and architecture.

3.6.1.3 Istanbul – Byzantine Cisterns

Given the different cases and attitudes in the current practice of preservation and presentation of the Byzantine cisterns in Istanbul, it is possible to put forward a common evaluation.

- The reuse of the city's cisterns is a positive attitude, but the limits of interventions and the new functions should be decided upon after considering the criteria of the various international documents regarding the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites and the preservation of their authenticity[775]. The new function should provide a better and objective understanding of the spatial characteristics of Byzantine architecture, as well as showing the importance of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within the historical continuity of Istanbul. The cisterns are great examples of this continuity in that they go towards defining the essential function of providing an (underground) water supply network for Byzantium, and are currently the foundations of later buildings.
- Many of the cisterns have lost their architectural details/spatial features; for example, the heights of the interior spaces have changed due to rises in the ground level. Furthermore, some of the interventions, including the use of concrete and the plastering/painting of surfaces, have negatively affected the understanding of the space, as many of the architectural characteristics can no longer be seen and grasped.
- The private ownership of cultural heritage sites can be a problematic issue, i.e. accessibility and experience can be limited due to the new function, as well as issues of maintenance and preservation. The İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality has ownership of cisterns converted into museums and manages them, whereas the Nakilbent and Sultan cisterns

[775] ICOMOS 1994; ICOMOS 2008b.

are now in private ownership, although they are open to visitors and can be enjoyed by the public. Of course, there are also cisterns in private ownership that cannot be accessed as they are located underneath buildings and may extend over different plots.

- Concerns over the reuse of cisterns for different functions are mostly related to economic expectations and marketing strategies. For example, the Sultan Cistern is made available for events by marketing its historical attraction and spatial impact. Similarly, the *Nakkaş* carpet shop lets visitors see the cistern and exhibition inside for free, but this, of course, is also a marketing strategy.
- As with the churches that have been converted into museums or exhibition sites, the pressures of cultural tourism can result in genuine threats for those cisterns reused as museums, restaurants, etc. Visitor management and experience planning, routine maintenance, supervision, taking necessary precautions, and the limits of any interventions, should all be well defined so as to preserve the cisterns. The spatial impact and authenticity of the site, including architectural details and the overall experience should be considered.
- The development and expansion of the city, including the urbanization of the Republican period, negatively affected the accessibility and also threatened the existence of some cisterns; indeed, the construction of the new thoroughfares and buildings, without considering the underground cisterns, eventually led to their disappearance. The cisterns that remain deserve better representation and accessibility, to be visible and understood. Being underground does not mean they are not there, and traffic volumes and construction on and around them are severe threats to the cisterns. The lack of legal restrictions on the construction of buildings on and around the cisterns, infrastructure projects, and new roads, are all serious problems affecting the state of presentation and preservation of Byzantine cisterns.

- The cisterns are significant structures reflecting complex construction techniques, the use of materials and ornamentation (column capitals, etc.), as well as an understanding of the urban infrastructure of their period. Future interventions, additions and repairs to preserve and maintain the cisterns should be determined by Byzantine specialists as part of interdisciplinary programs, including history, archaeology, and the architecture of Byzantium.

3.6.1.4 Istanbul – Byzantine Harbors

The Yenikapı subway station project provides a key example as to how we may examine attitudes towards Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements, and the difficulties encountered in the research and conservation processes. General evaluations about the current conservation and representation practices as they relate to Byzantine harbors can be summarized as follows:

- Before starting such large-scale urban infrastructure projects, there should be comprehensive research and preliminary analysis of the historical background of the area. This analysis and any results should form part of the schedule of such urban infrastructure and transportation projects.
- Discovering and identifying these Byzantine harbors were complex processes due to the pressures of the urban dynamics and schedules of the urban infrastructure projects. Schedules need to be reconsidered in the light of archaeological findings and the need for research.
- The excavations were conducted over long periods, and the finds and structural remains were documented as much as possible. Conservation of the artefacts and wrecks was undertaken, and the finds stored in the museums or put on display there. However, the potential for on-site experience and displaying the finds in their original contexts was underestimated.
- The architectural finds in and around the harbors were not considered in the conservation and representation practices. Understanding the Byzantine harbour at Yenikapı is limited to the modest exhibition in the terminal

building. In fact, the remaining walls and piers are important elements to help the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological area and its scale. Thus, lack of information and guidance about the features, elevations, and the history of the harbor are important issues in terms of any general understanding and experience of the harbour.

- Similarly, there is a lack of information and guidance to help understand and experience the harbor walls; this is linked to the absence of adequate representation strategies and also various priorities relevant to the area. This in turn presents disconnects in terms of representing the harbour and its related finds and fostering public attention and interaction between potentially interested parties (passengers, local residents, visitors, interpreters...). However, having a representation strategy is not enough in itself, it must be carefully designed to be objective and respectful to the Byzantine past of the city.
- For these kinds of projects in historical centres, there should scientific councils involved, including specialists of the corresponding period in their different disciplines. Thus, for any subway projects involving Byzantine harbors, the preliminary analysis, scheduling, and management of the projects, should also include Byzantine specialists to ensure optimum interpretation and results.

3.6.1.5 Iznik – City Walls

Overall, the analysis of Iznik's city walls in terms of the current practices of conservation and representation, can be summarized in the light of the following observations:

- Accessibility of the walls is problematic in some areas as they are interrupted by roads, passageways, and buildings. Traffic volumes around the walls contribute to pollution levels and are visible effects of exhaust emissions on the walls, and the fumes can also make walking around the walls unpleasant.

- The existence of the Byzantine city walls surrounding the city, and other Byzantine cultural heritage sites inside the city walls, should be considered as an area of special interest for the understanding and interpretation of the city's important Byzantine past. The inner and outer circuits, and the moatway in between, create a significant spatial impact. The scale of the city is manageable in terms of walking around the city and getting a feel of its 'spirit of place' as a great Byzantine centre. Of course, the visitor/interpreter might have to find their own way: some parts of the walls are hidden under buildings or integrated with them, and there is no 'official' planned route to help one experience the city walls. Lack of information and guidance may be seen, therefore, as genuine problems in terms of the representation of the walls.
- Sections of the moatway around the walls are bleak. Many of the buildings around the walls, and the work carried out there, and also, one feels, the poor nature of the streets seems to add to a general air of desolation around the walls. Walking along the moatway, and also in some areas around the walls, may even make the visitor/interpreter feel unsafe, which is not a very attractive prospect.
- As with İstanbul, sections in poor condition and neglected effect the understanding and experience of the walls negatively. This may even raise questions as to the value of the city walls as significant cultural heritage sites. No visitor wants to be near walls they feel might be about to collapse. Furthermore, high levels of neglect, and no visible precautions to preserve their integrity, may be interpreted as the walls themselves being undervalued and considered unimportant for the representation of the past of the city.
- There are conservation projects/repairs to date, although they do not extend to all the city walls and their surroundings. Any interventions, additions, and repairs to preserve and maintain the walls should be decided by Byzantine specialists, as interdisciplinary projects, for better results/interpretations, and also to prevent misunderstandings about the Byzantine past.

- The only off-site representation of the city walls currently is within the exhibition of the history of Iznik at the Baths of Murat I, installed with the remains of an original Roman street (Fig. 3.270): there is a model of the walls and monumental structures in the historic core of the city (Fig. 3.271). There are also wall posters in chronological order representing the historical timeline of the city, referring to its buildings, emperors, and significant events in its history. Some of these posters are designed specifically for the walls, including drawings, old illustrations of the walls and gates, as well as photographs of the interventions and present-day scenes (Fig. 3.272).



Figure 3.270 . Iznik, remains of the Roman street near the Baths of Murat I, 2020.



Figure 3.271 . Iznik, model of the city walls and monumental structures in the exhibition within the Baths of Murat I, 2020.



Figure 3.272 . Iznik, model showing the city walls and major monuments in the exhibition within the Baths of Murat I, 2020.

3.6.1.6 Iznik – Byzantine Churches

Given all the analyses and evaluations based on the criteria to evaluate the states of preservation and presentation of the selected Byzantine churches in Iznik, some concluding remarks can be offered:

- The church of St. Sophia was converted into a mosque, a common attitude in Byzantine cities taken by the Ottomans. As the cathedral church of the city, the conversion of St. Sophia was critical in terms of religious, ethnic, and socio-cultural aspects. Nevertheless, the building was in ruins between the 18th and 20th centuries for unknown reasons, and after its restoration from 2000 it was again used as a mosque. It is assumed that the revival of a former Byzantine church and a ruined Ottoman mosque once more as a mosque is related to the expectations of the current dominant cultural and religious identities of the city, and also its decision-makers. It is clear that using the mosque partially as a museum to experience the Byzantine church and the details of Byzantine architecture is a positive attitude. However, in this case, a degree of visitor management is required, as well as planning the experience inside and the level of interaction between worshippers and visitors in the common spaces. This experience also includes the understanding of the space with all its features, thus any furnishings and exhibition methodology and materials are critical. The interior space should be designed without underlining any dominant cultural identity or use of the space. The building, of course, exhibits itself with its preserved architectural details and spaces. It is thus essential to provide a neutral environment in which to experience the historical continuity of the building, and grasp the multi-cultural identity, without underestimating either of them. A representation strategy is needed, and different tools in a digital environment and on-site to gather more information about the history and significance of the church.
- The ruined churches are not well defined as archaeological areas: they are hard to identify, understand, and appreciate. Furthermore, the accessibility of

these sites is problematic. Lack of information and guidance are other problems in terms of understanding and experiencing these ruined Byzantine churches. This is valid not just for the selected examples but also the other churches indicated in Figure 3.110.

- The problem of accessibility is a common problem for Byzantine churches in ruins. They are usually located in neighborhoods that include residential/ commercial units, and/or empty plots. In association with this issue, visibility of the churches should be reconsidered regarding the visual experience of cultural heritage sites.
- Interventions, additions, and repairs to preserve and maintain the churches should be determined as a result of interdisciplinary projects and investigations, including Byzantine specialists in different field of studies. All the churches reflect the construction techniques, use of materials, ornamentations and artworks of their period; unfortunately, apart from St. Sophia, these elements are now almost completely lost. Thus, understanding and interpreting the history and architecture of these (and other) churches, to preserve and represent them, is a critical issue.
- The only off-site representation of the churches is in the exhibition of the history of Iznik in the Baths of Murat I, where there are posters, drawings and brief texts about the history of the churches, as well as a good model of the historic city, within its walls, and showing its monumental structures (Figs. 3.272, 3.273).



Figure 3.273 . Iznik, a poster giving details of some Byzantine churches and other structures in the exhibition in the Baths of Murat I, 2020.

3.6.2 Rural Settlements and Archaeology

Given these analyses and evaluations based on the criteria selected through which to evaluate the states of preservation and presentation of Binbirkilise, some concluding remarks can be put forward:

- Binbirkilise gives the impression of being an area untouched for a long period, as if almost frozen at the moment the Byzantine buildings collapsed. What is apparent, however, is that Binbirkilise has great potential in terms of understanding, interpreting, and experiencing the Byzantine past within the wider Anatolian setting.
- Poor conditions and neglect negatively affect any understanding and experience. The risk of collapse of the buildings and building materials represents a major problem when exploring the site. There are no current precautions to stabilize the remains or preserve the present conditions.

- The fact that the villages have become neglected areas, far from the nearest city and major highways, can be considered, conversely, as an advantage in terms of the preservation of at least the existence of this cultural heritage site. However, considering its present situation and the analyses explained above, the neglect of the site is a serious threat to the future existence Binbirkilise. It is prey to natural disasters, weathering conditions and deterioration, and there are no precautions to prevent decay and possible further collapse.
- Binbirkilise *is* registered as an archaeological site, but there have been no attempts to preserve and present the area, including any site management plan, and economic initiatives to develop the region. Değle is abandoned, and the inhabitants of Madenşehri are moving to the city: this, too, will further change socio-cultural and economic facilities of the settlements. The archaeological remains are physically and socio-culturally integrated with the rural landscape, and this integration could be turned into economic benefits for the rural settlements. The contribution and participation by the inhabitants in these rural settlements is seen as important for future comprehensive conservation projects, and the representation and revival of cultural heritage sites. Thus, migration of the inhabitants to Karaman, though understandable, is seen as disadvantageous for the future of the site. The potential of including the local community in future schemes should be considered for conservation and management strategies to come.
- Even though past studies have revealed much about Binbirkilise, there is yet more waiting to be examined by multidisciplinary research groups, including Byzantine specialists, in order to provide and conduct comprehensive conservation projects and representation.

3.6.3 Archaeological Areas

The main Byzantine cultural heritage/pilgrimage sites of Ephesus, i.e. the Churches of St. Mary and St. John and the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers, have been examined

to see how they are preserved and presented within a multi-period archaeological area, and to learn how their understanding and appreciation compares with the monumental structures of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Overall, the analysis of the selected sites in terms of current practices of conservation and representation, can be summarized in the light of the following observations:

- The Churches of St. Mary and St. John are located in different archaeological areas but both are multi-period cultural heritage sites. The emphasis on the Hellenistic and Roman monuments is obvious at Ephesus. St. Mary's is located in an isolated and rather inconspicuous area – the route to it is also desolate. There appear to be no records of how many visitors to Ephesus find their way to St. Mary's and this data would be of interest. Conversely, St. John's has a central location at Ayasuluk and is clearly one of the most significant monuments there.
- Both St. Mary's and St. John's are both accessible, and there are no apparent security risks for visitors. However, there are no designated routes to help discover the sites, and the representation tools to assist site understanding of the different spaces and functions are insufficient. Unfortunately, the Grotto of the Seven Sleepers is not accessible completely, nor is it possible to see the interior spaces and details close up.
- The lack of information and guidance to help understand and experience the Byzantine period of these archaeological areas is mostly related to poor representation strategies. According to the Nara Document, providing on- and off-site information, as well as a sympathetic environment for experiencing the archaeological remains as parts of the overall representation process of cultural strata, are also crucial factors for preserving and presenting authenticity.[776] Ephesus has just two signboards, located at the two entrances, to explain all the different periods/layers of the city. The Byzantine period is included, giving the historical background, significant events, and

[776] ICOMOS 1994, Article 13.

religious values. The latter includes the origins of the pilgrimage sites, with illustrations and maps of some of the Byzantine remains (Fig. 3.274). These do provide opportunities to access information on the city's Byzantine past, but such tools should be developed and augmented to cover all the remains and their architectural and cultural values.

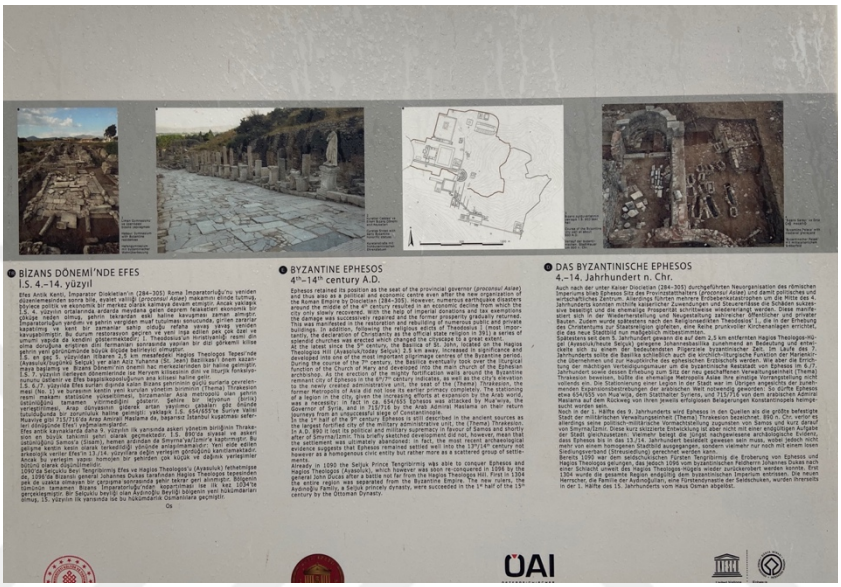

Figure 3.274. Ephesus, the signboard explaining the history of Byzantine Ephesus, 2021.

3.6.4 Cultural Landscape

Given all the analyses and evaluations based on the criteria assessed in relation to the states of preservation and presentation of the discussed underground city and Byzantine churches of Ihlara/Cappadocia, there some concluding remarks to present:

- Underground cities are significant examples of Byzantine architecture and urbanism in Cappadocia in the Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine periods. The potential for their preservation, presentation, maintaining and developing our knowledge, as well as maximizing tourist demands, is substantial. Some of these underground cities are partially accessible, illuminated and serviced, and secure for visitors, of course with the necessary

precautions. For example, the pits and wells have been covered with metal grids and there are colored arrows leading the visitors from the entrance to the exit.

- Continuity between spaces is obvious in the underground cities. Thus visitor flow and circulation can be arranged considering the maximum numbers possible. Of course, these cities can be claustrophobic and visitor management is crucial – not just for emergencies, but also to ensure enjoyable and educative visits.
- The Cappadocia region comprises examples of Byzantine buildings cut into rocks and rock chimneys in extensive diversity. This section has focused on a limited area and selection of rock-cut churches but it reveals much about the states of preservation and presentation of the remains. The Göreme Open Air Museum, and the surrounding churches and remains, are in a better situation in terms of representation. The Ihlara Valley is outside the region included in the World Heritage List. However, it includes significant examples of Byzantine churches, specifically cave churches. The common elements between the selected churches are that they are structurally stable (after their respective conservation projects), even though the frescoes within are in poor condition; they have suffered from vandalism to a certain extent – indicating past levels of protection and conservation measures. Being an open-air museum provides a regular control and maintenance of the remains, but unfortunately the damage has already been done. For this reason, there should be sustainable preservation, presentation, and maintenance strategies to protect the remains.
- The Ihlara Valley has also natural value for the region. There is potential, inter alia, for trekking tours and open-air activities of all kinds. The climate and landscapes inside the valley differ from those in the immediate vicinity, and this offers the opportunity to transform the region into an attraction in its own right, where Byzantine remains (i.e. cultural heritage) and valley features (i.e. natural heritage) meet.

- Even though past studies have revealed much about Cappadocia, there is yet more to be examined by multidisciplinary research groups, including Byzantine specialists, in order to provide and conduct comprehensive conservation projects and a better representation of this particular geography. Alternative ways of representation should be investigated for sufficient and effective interpretation and experience of Byzantine settlements and remains, all as parts of Cappadocia's cultural landscape.

CHAPTER 4

APPROACHES TOWARDS BYZANTIUM AND BYZANTINE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BALKANS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSES

This chapter explores the approaches towards Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans in order to compare and evaluate them with the current situation in Turkey. These regions were former Byzantine lands and include a great diversity of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in terms of building type, construction period, stratification and geographical contexts. The factors – historical, cultural, ethnic, socio-cultural, economic and educational – affecting the understanding, conservation and representation in Turkey of these sites are also valid for other countries with their own Byzantine cultural heritage sites today. Having said this, however, understandably the examination of all these factors in different countries in detail is beyond the scope of this present research. The main purpose here is to investigate different attitudes towards Byzantium and its understanding in different regions, and where there is a common basis in ethnic origin or religion with the Byzantines. Common values in ethnicity, culture and religion effect the understanding and adoption of Byzantium positively and weaken the tendency of neglect. Thus, our approach towards Byzantium will be to examine via Christian Orthodox countries in the Balkans – Greece, North Macedonia and Serbia – how people relate to the Byzantine tradition, in terms of understanding, use, and experience, by looking at some historical, ethnic, socio-cultural, and elements of the religious backgrounds of the Balkans and current urbanization activities. Within the scope of this research, this process will not include these regions' historical frameworks in the Byzantine period, or the range of conservation applications adopted in detail.

Before analyzing the current situation in Greece, North Macedonia and Serbia, their former Byzantine territories and the diversity of their Byzantine cultural heritage sites will be briefly introduced. We know that the imperial lands of the Byzantine Empire in the 6th century included twenty-three countries that were partially, or completely, ruled by Byzantium in different reigns (Fig. 4.1). By the 11th century however, Byzantine territories consisted basically of just Anatolia and Greece, having lost the Eastern lands (i.e. Palestine and Syria), as well as Tunisia and Egypt in North Africa, following Arab and Persian attacks (Fig. 4.2). [777]

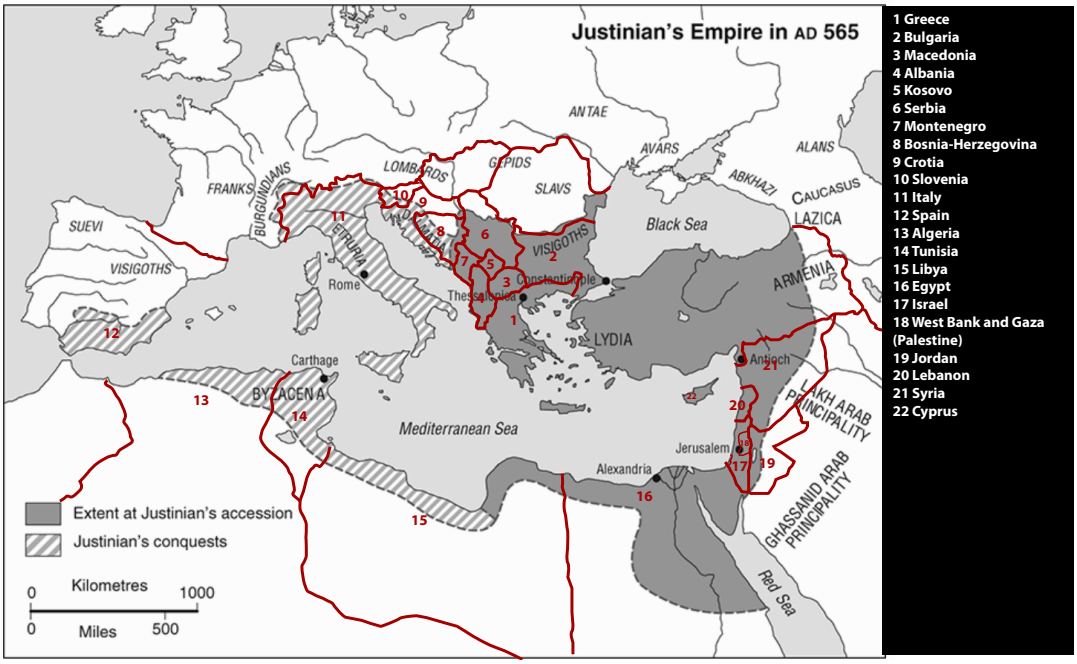

Figure 4.1 . Map indicating former Byzantine territories (after Sarris 2015, Map 3).

In the previous chapter, attitudes towards Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey were examined in detail in terms of historical, ethnic, socio-cultural, religious, educational and economic factors. The role of the mass media was also considered. The primary issue that connects each factor is the understanding of Byzantium as unfamiliar, there being no religious, ethnic or cultural links between present-day Turkey and the Byzantine Empire.[778] However, Turkey is not the only

[777] Whittow 1990, 15, 17; Cameron 2006, 5, 14, 27, 30-31, 131.
[778] See above, pp. 101-115.

Muslim country that preserves Byzantine cultural heritage sites. For instance, there are Byzantine archaeological remains in Jordan and Lebanon, both countries having Muslim-majority populations. Additionally, Israel and Palestine also contain Byzantine cultural heritage sites – mostly monasteries built between the 4th and 7th centuries located in and around cities, holy places and rural areas.[779] Furthermore, Greece, Serbia and Macedonia in the Balkans all share the same Orthodoxy Christian roots inherited from the Byzantine Empire, and thus the core understanding and adoption of Byzantium is different in these regions than in Turkey and other non-Christian countries.

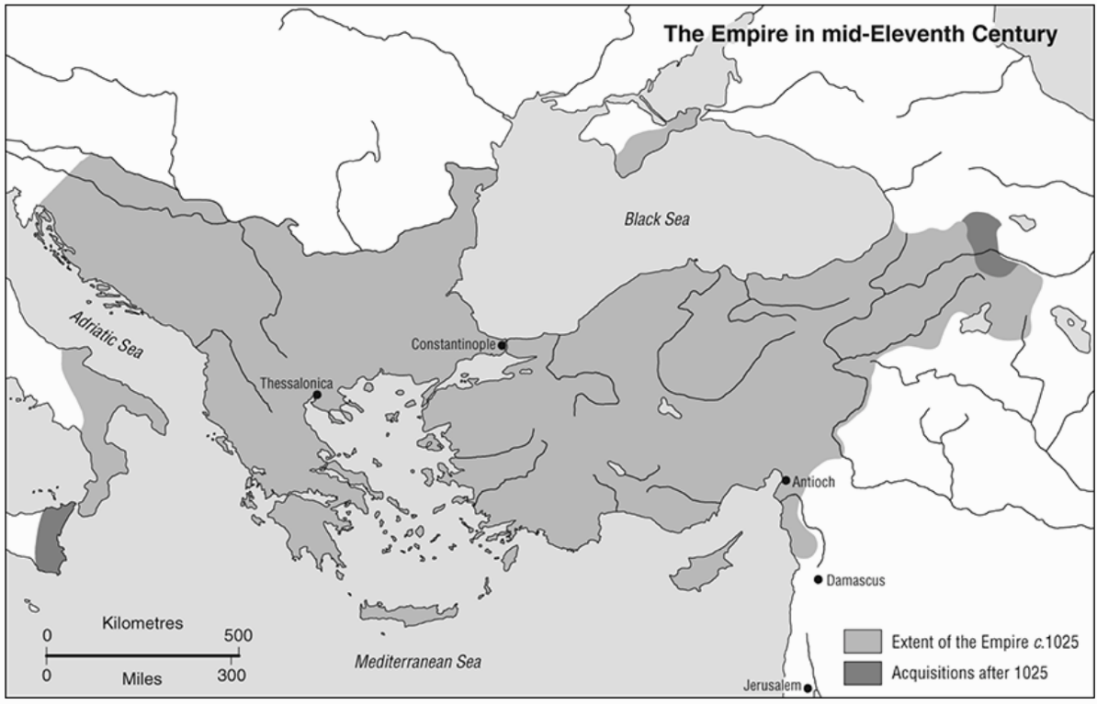

Figure 4.2 . Map of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th century (Sarris 2015, Map 5).

[779] For monasteries in the Judean desert and Palestine, see Hirschfield 1992; Patrick 1995; Bar 2005.

4.1 General Overview of Byzantine Heritage in the Levant

Considering the former Byzantine lands in the Eastern Mediterranean, the countries of Egypt; Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria are made up of major Muslim populations of different ethnic origins. Cyprus is an exceptional case, with the island politically divided into two – the Turkish Republic in the north, and the Greek administration in the south. Furthermore, Israel includes a Jewish majority, along with Muslim and Christian minorities; in this regard they also have no religious or ethnic common basis with Byzantium. However, these countries preserve remarkable Byzantine archaeological areas consisting of the remains of churches and other buildings, some of which we will draw attention to later.[780]



Figure 4.3 . Map indicating the Byzantine monasteries in Palestine (Bar 2005, 52).

[780] Koniordos and Mercouris 2008, 44.

Even though the Byzantine Empire lost much of its territory in the Eastern Mediterranean to the Arabs and Persians in the 6th and 7th centuries, there were still many building activities undertaken, especially in the 5th and 6th centuries – mostly monasteries and churches.[781] In fact, we know of more than 170 monasteries constructed mostly in the Palestine countryside during the Byzantine period, with some of them still existing (Fig. 4.3). [782] The Monastery of Mar Saba is one of the most significant Byzantine constructions in the Judean desert, and it is still in use (Fig. 4.4).[783] It was established by Saint Sabas and built in the 5th century CE. There are also remains of other Byzantine monasteries, as archaeological areas, i.e. the Martyrions Monastery, and Masada, which is now on the World Heritage Site List (Fig. 4.5).[784]



Figure 4.4 . Judea, the Monastery of Mar Saba (URL-78, retrieved 12.11.2020).

[781] Whittow 1990, 13-20.
[782] For Byzantine monasteries, their historical backgrounds and architecture, see Hirschfeld 1992; Bar 2005, 51.
[783] For the Monastery of Mar Saba, see Potter 1959, 435-442.
[784] URL-77 (retrieved 12.11.2020).



Figure 4.5 . Judea, the remains of the Martyrions Monastery (URL-79, retrieved 12.11.2020).

In addition to the monasteries in the Judean desert, St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai in Egypt, is a remarkable example of a Byzantine religious complex, it, too, featuring on UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites.[785] The monastery was constructed during the reign of Justinian I (527-565 CE) and includes a range of buildings – cells, chapels, administrative buildings, a hostel for travelers, library, etc.[786] It is still a major pilgrimage center for Christians (Fig. 4.6).

[785] URL-80 (retrieved 12.11.2021).
[786] For the history of St. Catherine's Monastery and its architecture, see Forsyth 1968, 1-19; Tsafrir 1978, 218-229.



Figure 4.6 . Egypt, South Sinai, the Monastery of Saint Catherine (URL-81, retrieved 12.11.2020).

Jordan presents an exceptional range of opportunities for the analysis of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Levant. The country's Byzantine mosaics are well-known, being examined in detail by Michelle Piccirillo in the 1980s.[787] In particular, those of Madaba and Jerash deserve particular attention, and there is now an institution for their preservation (the Madaba Mosaic School for Mosaic Restoration).[788] Among the treasures, Madaba's mosaic map is accepted as the oldest map of this region (Fig. 4.7).[789] This map is dated to the 6th century CE and is thought to be the cartographic illustration of the journey of two pilgrims – the archdeacon Theodosius (between 518-530 CE), and an anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza (after 570 CE); it features the important cities, villages and buildings on their route to Jerusalem. [790]

[787] Piccirillo 1986.
[788] Piccirillo and Claudio, 2003.
[789] For the mosaics of Madaba, see Piccirillo (1993, 49-132; 1999, 15-24); Madden 2012, 495-513; Nassar 2013, 67-76. For Madaba's mosaic map, see Avi-Yonah 1954; Donner 1995; Hepper and Taylor 2004, 35-44.
[790] Donner 1995, 14-15.



Figure 4.7 . Madaba's 'Mosaic Map' (URL-82, retrieved 12.11.2020)

The archaeological remains of the Byzantine period in Jordan exist in different regions. As well as the mosaics, there are also many remains of Byzantine churches. Mark Whittow notes that there were Byzantine churches, monasteries and chapels constructed in Gerasa (modern Jerash) and Madaba in the 5th and 6th centuries, as well as in other parts of the country.[791] Archaeological researches in Jordan have also included the Byzantine churches of Amman, Deir'Ain Abata, Gerasa, Madaba, and Petra, [792] (e.g. the 'Blue Chapel' complex at Petra, the complex of St. Sergius at Madaba, the church at Tall al-ʿUmayrīi, and the church at Ya'amun) (Fig. 4.8). Additionally, there are multi-period archaeological sites that include Byzantine-period remains, i.e. Tell Nimrin, Tell Jawa, and Humeima.[793] As well as Madaba, Khirbet Yajouz and Khirbet Salameh are areas of significant archaeological interest

[791] Whittow 2005, 14.
[792] For more on Jordan's Byzantine churches, see Peterman 1994, 549-552; Clark 2007, 84-104; Piccirillo 2001, 270-282; Bevan *et al.* 2015. For churches in Petra, see Roby 1995, 43-57; Bikai 2002, 271-276.
[793] Peterman 1994, 524-540.

dated to the Byzantine period, and all have been excavated and documented (Fig. 4.9). [794]

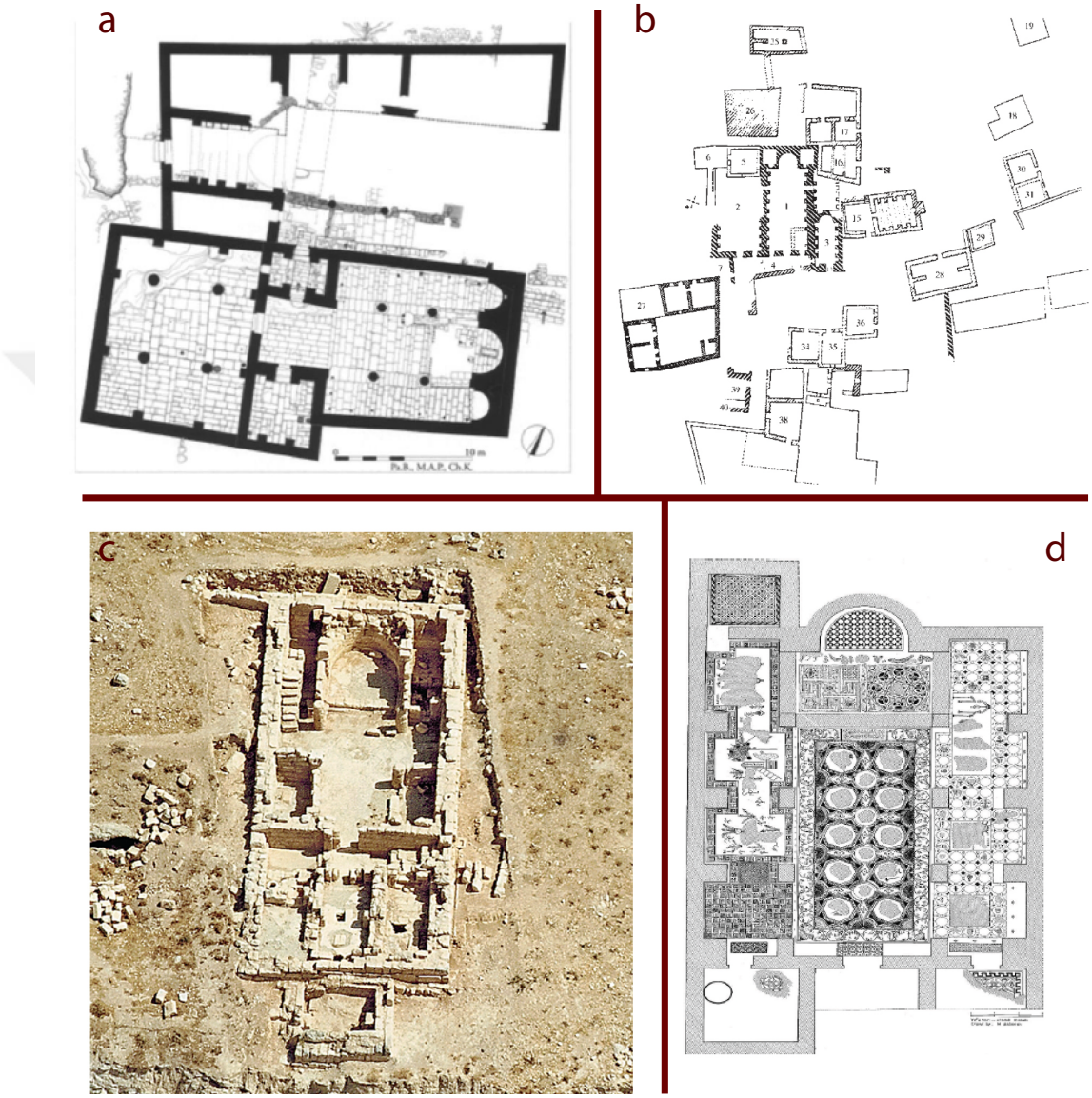

Figure 4.8 . Examples of Byzantine churches in Jordan: a) the 'Blue Chapel' complex at Petra (Bikai 2002, 273); b) the complex of St. Sergius at Madaba (Piccirillo 2001, Fig. 2); c) the church at Tall al-ʿUmayrīi (Bevan et al. 2015, Fig.1); d) the church at Ya'amun (Nassar and Turshan 2012, Fig.1)

[794] Peterman 1994, 549-557. For more on Khirbet Salameh, see Lenzen and McQuitty 1987, 201-204; Bikai 1993, 503-504.

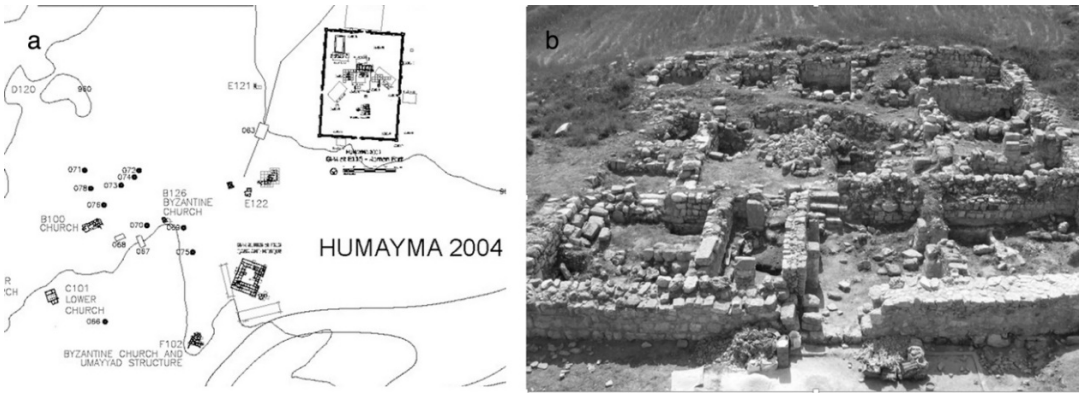

Figure 4.9 . Examples of sites with Byzantine archaeological remains: a) Humayma, site plan (Sherwood *et al*. 2008, Fig.2); b) the remains of Khirbet Salameh (URL-83, retrieved 12.11.2020).

These examples are just a few of the diverse heritage sites in the Levant. There were initiatives to document and preserve these sites as explained above, and recently there was a comprehensive project (BYZeIS) aimed at increasing public awareness of the importance of the Byzantine and Early Islamic cultural heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean (this latter region including Italy, the Balkans, Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, and Libya).[795] The Levantine sites in this section are covered by this project, which incorporates training, research, inventory development and awareness activities. Multinational researchers and specialists in different disciplines participated, as well as institutional partners from different countries, to examine the Byzantine and Early Islamic heritage of this wide region, and develop strategies to increase public awareness and produce a basis for future studies.

Training activities were conducted through workshops (FTWorkshops I-III = Further Training Workshops) in Athens (Greece), Cyprus, Ashkelon (Israel), and Jericho (Palestine). Research activities and inventory development aims to offer 'long-term benefits to people's knowledge of the Byzantium and Early Islam cultural heritage, its conservation, promotion and enhancement'. Complementary sub-topics of this phase are based on the output of FTWorkshops I, II and III regarding the

[795] For the project, its content, aims and results, see Koniordos and Mercouris 2008, 42-65.

management of cultural heritage sites and monuments, land-use planning and cultural heritage, heritage teaching, and information and communication technologies and heritage in Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (MEDA) countries.[796] Awareness activities represent the final phase of the implementation of the project. Although a major television documentary was also planned to underline the Byzantine and Early Islamic heritage of the region, unfortunately it was never realized. Instead there were other important awareness activities, such as collaborations with the local media, a major press conference, the publication of booklets, and a website exclusively linked to the projects and workshops. There was also a final conference held in Thessaloniki in 2008, associated with an 'Awareness day'.[797] The project culminated in the formulation of 'Best practices for cultural heritage in the MEDA countries of Cyprus, Israel, the Palestinian National Authority and Turkey', which was summarized by Phyrrhus Mercouris.[798] Mercouris structured the outline of the paper based on the sub-topics of the research work and inventory development. There are four sections covering context and topic, solutions to the problems, good practices, and key recommendations:

- Management of sites and monuments: tangible cultural heritage in MEDA countries
- Heritage and land-use planning in MEDA countries
- Heritage and education in MEDA countries
- Heritage, information and communication technologies in MEDA countries

This project is unique for Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, in terms of their understanding, conservation, management and increasing public awareness about these past eras. In addition, it represents a guiding

[796] Koniordos and Mercouris 2008, 55-56.
[797] For more on the awareness activities of the project, see Nikonanou 2008, 91-103.
[798] Mercouris 2008, 67-89.

research tool for further studies to generate conservation and representation approaches.

4.2 Byzantine Heritage in Greece and the Balkans

The above-mentioned examples are only some of the Byzantine cultural heritage sites in non-Christian countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. As noted, the Byzantine Empire retreated to central Anatolia and the Balkans following Arab and Persian attacks from the East, and Slav and Avar attacks from the West.[799] Thus the Byzantine Empire controlled in essence Anatolia and large swathes of the Balkans for centuries, and left its cultural heritage in great diversity. In the Balkans, the ethnic, socio-cultural and religious factors vary from those in Turkey and other Eastern Mediterranean countries. The ethnic diversity in the Balkans (including Bulgars, Slavs, and Greek societies) in the Byzantine period continues on into the present day; and different ethnic groups, with different religions or sects, have lived in these regions for centuries. Understandably, these differences led to internal conflicts and wars – from the Ottoman period to the 20th century, as briefly summarized in the Chapter 2.[800] Ultimately, however, even with all the ethnic conflicts and divisions, the Balkan countries have a common religious basis, i.e. Christian Orthodox, except for Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Albania.[801] This religious identity is the heritage of the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans as well as different values adopted from Byzantine culture. Furthermore, Greek people share common ethnic and cultural origins with the Byzantine Empire, and are considered as the significant successors of the Byzantine legacy. Thus, the understanding and adoption of Byzantium and its cultural heritage sites should be expected to vary from other countries due to these strong cultural, ethnic and

[799] See above, p. 495. For more on Slav and Avar attacks from the west, see Obolensky 1974, 3; Foss 1977, 68; Fine 1991, 14, 30-43; Cameron 2006, 13.
[800] See above, pp. 63-65, 86-87.
[801] Catholics form the majority in Croatia, and the other countries have major Muslim populations.

religious connections. However, the approaches towards cultural heritage sites in terms of conservation and representation are not only linked to cultural identity and religious motivation: urbanization, the abandonment of rural settlements, the conservation and management of archaeological areas, economic factors, ideologies, and conservation policies, all inevitably effect the preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans. Thus, analysis and comparisons of differences/similarities in the conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey and other countries are crucial if we are to have a comprehensive and objective understanding and evaluation of current approaches in Turkey.

In this context, Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Greece, North Macedonia and Serbia will be examined to evaluate the current physical conditions, interpretation, and representation of Byzantine buildings in their geographical and cultural contexts. The selected examples will be discussed in two groups: Byzantine cultural heritage sites in (a) urban settlements, and (b) archaeological areas.

4.2.1 Brief Historical Description and Understanding of the Byzantine Past in Greece, North Macedonia, and Serbia

Greece, Serbia, and North Macedonia have majority Orthodox Christian populations, associated with the Orthodox-Christian identity of the Byzantine Empire in these regions. Thus, the historic background of these countries will be briefly explained to understand common values and interpret approaches towards Byzantium and its heritage. Among the other Balkan countries, Greece inevitably merits particular attention when examining attitudes to Byzantine cultural heritage sites. That being said, North Macedonia is also an important region in the history of Byzantium, bearing in mind the ethnic and religious identities of the country. Various dynasties ruled the Byzantine Empire, among them the Macedonian Dynasty (862-1056); the major figures included the emperors Basil I (867-886), Leo VI (886-912), and

Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944).[802] Until the Fourth Crusade, Macedonia was an important part of the Byzantine Empire, then becoming part of the Kingdom of Thessaloniki under a Frankish ruler.[803] The Byzantine cultural heritage sites that have survived in the North Macedonia include mostly religious buildings (Fig. 4.10). [804] The Ohrid region is the only one to feature on the UNESCO World Heritage List, with its celebrated Byzantine churches – which we will examine here.[805]

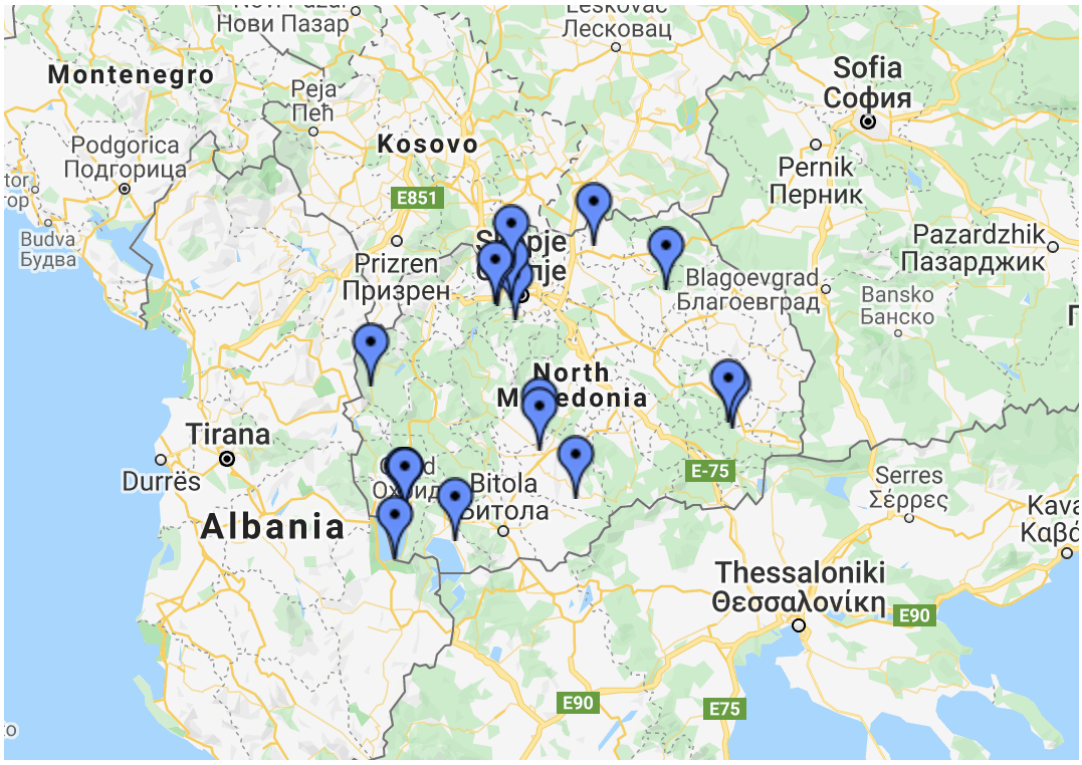

Figure 4.10 . Byzantine cultural heritage sites in North Macedonia (URL-86, retrieved 12.11.2020).

Serbia must also be taken into account when trying to understand attitudes towards Byzantium, as this country differs from Greece and Macedonia in terms of its ethnic

[802] Macedonia in the Byzantine period also included Thessaloniki and today there is still tension between Greece and Macedonia and their common past. See above, pp. 64-65 and also n. 108. For the Macedonian dynasty and its importance in Byzantine historiography, see Schminck 2017, 61-68; Smythe 2017, 69-78. See also, URL-84 (retrieved 14.12.2020).
[803] Irmscher 2017, 51-52.
[804] For Byzantine heritage sites in North Macedonia, see Hoddinott 1963, 161-169, Gavrilović *et al.* 2004, 5-36, 141-142, Dimitrovska 2019.
[805] URL-85 (retrieved 12.11.2020).

origins; its political conflicts with the Byzantine Empire also highlight its position. Examining the history of Balkan geography, specifically the former Yugoslavia, the current inhabitants of these lands are south Slav populations who arrived in the Balkans in the 7th century and occupied Byzantine lands.[806] Although Serbia was never conquered by the Byzantine Empire after the arrival of the Slavs, there were continuous conflicts between the two powers. Despite these pressures, Byzantine influences on factors such as Serbian law, culture, religion, literature and philosophy are clear, and these have been examined by several scholars.[807] Serbian/south Slav populations continued to consider the Byzantine Empire as their major opponents and a threat to the integrity of their territory. Nevertheless, they chose to adopt the religion of Byzantium and the main architectural and other features of its religious spaces.[808] Slav people associated themselves with the Byzantine Church in Nicaea; furthermore, by sharing Byzantine culture, lifestyle and political ideology they deepened their connections with Byzantium.[809] From the surviving literature on Byzantine/Serbian interactions, it is clear that the Serbian Slavs accepted Byzantine influence and also its contribution to the formation of their own culture, even considering themselves in a way as the heirs of Byzantium. The case of Serbia then is important: being similar to Greece and Macedonia in shared values and religious identity, yet at the same time opposing the Byzantine Empire due to political conflicts. Thus the region is one of the ancestors of Byzantium, and at the same time the 'other'.

In current Serbia, Roman and Byzantine cultural heritage sites exist in archaeological areas, i.e. Mediana, Romuliana, Ulpiana, and Justiniana Prima; these are all located in different urban and rural contexts (Fig. 4.11). Especially in central and southern Serbia, there are also many monasteries and churches remaining. Some are still in use, i.e. the Studenica and Sopoćani Monasteries, but some are neglected, such as the

[806] Fine 1991, 14, 30-43, Foss 1977, 68, Cameron 2006, 13.
[807] Ostrogorsky 1963, Sarkic 1992, 147-154, Pantelić 2007, 132-140, Pantelić 2016, 1-7.
[808] Pantelić 1997, 16-23.
[809] Krsmanović and Maksimović 2016, 41.

Church of Mother of God at Kursumlija (Fig. 4.12). Studenica and Sopoćani Monasteries are also on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites, representing both Serbian and Byzantine art and architecture.[810]



Figure 4.11 . Niš, archaeological site of Mediana, 2017.



Figure 4.12 . Raška, Studenica Monastery (URL-87, retrieved 12.11.2020).

[810] URL-88, URL-89 (retrieved 12.11.2020).

Moving to Greece, the understanding of Byzantium and its heritage has a stronger cultural basis here than in other Balkan countries. The ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds of present-day Greece is closely associated with the Byzantine Empire, however attitudes towards Byzantine monuments have not always been tolerant. Considered discussions on Byzantium started with the ideas and movements of the Enlightenment Period in the 18th century as a result of the development generally of 'Hellenism'.[811] However, understanding and representation of Byzantium in Europe was not always positive and these negative attitudes can be observed through the works of various thinkers of the Enlightenment period (18th century), such as Voltaire and Gibbon.[812] In the 19th century, a deeper interest in Classical periods during archaeological excavations affected several Byzantine monuments in Greece. In 1837 the Archaeological Society was established in Athens, and in a recent work Stamatios Chondrogiannis describes the new society's attitude to Byzantium as having an "interest only in classical antiquities [and] continued during ensuing decades to maintain a hostile attitude towards Byzantine monuments".[813]

This hostile attitude amounted to not just ignoring Byzantine monuments but also to demolishing them to enhance the effect of Greece's Classical monuments. Victims included the Church of the Holy Apostles on the steps of the Library of Hadrian in Athens, and the church of Megali Panagia (Fig. 4.13), [814] despite some opposing arguments in favor of preserving these and other Byzantine monuments.[815]

[811] Mango 1965, 29-43; Chondrogiannis 2017, 163.
[812] See above, pp. 97-98.
[813] Chondrogiannis 2017, 35-36.
[814] Chondrogiannis 2017, 39-40.
[815] Ross 1863, 84; Kokkou 2009, 112-116; Chondrogiannis 2017, 36, 42.



Figure 4.13 . Athens, the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Library of Hadrian in the Roman Agora; A-B) view of the church in the 19th century before its destruction (Chondrogiannis 2017, Fig. 19-20); C) a current view of the Library of Hadrian, 2017.

For some perspective, it is clear that nationalist ideologies were dominant in the Balkan regions during this phase of Greek social history, and Rizos Neroulos, president of the Archaeological Society and his first secretary, Alexandros Rangavis, were against the preservation of Byzantine, medieval, Frankish, and Athens' 'modern' heritage.[816] Behind the reasoning for this was the prevailing attitude that the Greek Classical period (also the Bronze age) was to be accepted as the real history of the Greek people, and which ended with the Roman conquest in 146 BCE; the Byzantine Empire was therefore considered as successor to the Romans.[817] Thus, Byzantium was considered as the 'other' in the 19th century, even in Greece.

The themes of national identity and the historical continuation of Greek history were taken up by several intellectuals and historians in the 19th century, such as Spyridon Zambelios, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and Spyridon Lambros in the 19th century. According to Chondrogiannis, Zambelios argued for Greek (Hellenic) Christianity and underlines that ancient Greek civilizations and Christianity were

[816] Chondrogiannis 2017, 39.
[817] For hostile attitudes towards Byzantium in Greece, see Chondrogiannis 2017, 39-42.

integrated in the Byzantine period, revealing a continuity in the religion of modern Greece since Byzantium.[818] In this way, the Byzantine Empire was considered to be part of Greek history, and that the Greek nation can be set within three major periods – Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern.[819] Thus, based on these major periods in the history of the Greek nation, the understanding of Byzantium and attitudes towards it have changed drastically. Again, we have the words of Chondrogiannis (2017):

> [Zambelios'] tripartite and uninterrupted history, together with the role of Divine Providence (always the source of salvation for the Greek nation in Paparrigopulos's history), shaped the Greek's collective consciousness and historical memory, affected state political ideology, opened the way for the restoration of Byzantium, and, above all influenced the historical studies in Greece. Thus, Byzantium was 'constructed' with a purely Greek and Christian character to meet the requirement of a Greek national history.[820]

As a result of these discussions on Byzantium, the national political ideology of Greece adopted the Byzantine past within their 'uninterrupted' historical continuity from the end of 19th century. As a consequence of this and other factors, including the new 'Christian Archaeological Society of Athens' (1884), the interest in Byzantine studies developed substantially.[821] The first museum and exhibitions to focus on Byzantine art and artefacts were founded by this new society at the end of the 19th century.[822] These were vital developments in the establishing of a new understanding and attitude towards Byzantium among Greek society; and gradually Byzantine monuments began to be restored.[823]

In the 20th century, emphasis on Byzantium and its monuments continued in terms of the adoption in general of a 'Byzantine past' and further conservation of its remains and works of art.[824] Of course, Classical antiquities have been central to the history of the Greek nation and archaeological studies; however of the eighteen Greek sites

[818] Chondrogiannis 2017, 41.
[819] Chondrogiannis 2017, 40-41. See also, Kaldellis 2007, 13-41.
[820] Chondrogiannis 2017, 41. See also Kiousopoulou 2006, 26; Stamatopoulos 2009.
[821] Chondrogiannis 2017, 78.
[822] For Byzantine museums and exhibitions in Athens, see Chondrogiannis 2017, 79-87, 91-92.
[823] For early restorations to Byzantine monuments, see Chondrogiannis 2017, 91.
[824] Chondrogiannis 2017, 138-139.

registered on UNESCO's World Heritage List, as many as ten date from the Byzantine period.[825] Stamatios Chondrogiannis notes that those governmental institutions responsible for the preservation of Greek cultural heritage sites also pay particular attention to Byzantine monuments.[826] However, the same researcher also points out that the low numbers of Byzantine archaeologists in these institutions, compared to Classical archaeologists, have negative effects on the preservation and study of Byzantine monuments in Greece.

Balkan countries represent a multi-period region in which the Byzantine period is an important part of historical continuity and cultural strata. Given the cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds of Serbia, Greece and North Macedonia, and their understanding of Byzantium, there are Byzantine monuments and archaeological areas representing different periods of Byzantine architecture, building typologies, and also attitudes towards their conservation and representation in different urban or rural contexts.

4.2.2 Byzantine Heritage in Urban Settlements: Greece and North Macedonia

Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements will be examined using several examples from Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece, and Ohrid in Macedonia. These cities are multi-period heritage sites, and the Byzantine cultural heritage in these cities consists mostly of churches, city walls, baths, and other buildings. These cultural heritage sites are located within the present urban fabric and have been exposed to different urbanization attitudes for centuries. In this section, their present situations will be examined in order to discuss how they are preserved, interpreted, and presented.

[825] URL-90 (retrieved 12.11.2020). See also, Chondrogiannis 2017, 19
[826] Chondrogiannis 2017, 167-170.

There are governmental institutions which are responsible for the conservation, maintenance and management of cultural heritage sites in Greece and Macedonia. Conservation of cultural heritage in Greece and Macedonia is under the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, and there are also governmental organizations as collaborators.[827] Law no. 3026 on the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General is the executive law on conservation in Greece, and it defines monuments in three different groups:

- **Ancient Monuments or Antiquities.** All cultural objects (artifacts and monuments) back to prehistoric, ancient, Byzantine and post-Byzantine times up to 1830. Archaeological Monuments also include caves and paleontological remains, for which there is no evidence that they are related to human existence.

- **Archaeological Sites.** Areas on land, at sea, in lakes or rivers that contain or there is evidence that they contain, ancient monuments, or which have constituted or there is evidence that they have constituted monumental, urban or burial groups from ancient times up to 1830. Archaeological sites shall also include the necessary open space so as to allow the preserved monuments to be considered in a historical, aesthetic and functional unity.

- **Recent Monuments:** Cultural objects dating after 1830, which deserve protection due to their historical, artistic or scientific significance, in accordance with the distinctions of article 20.[828]

Furthermore, the Ministry for the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works is responsible for the preservation of cultural heritage sites in urban planning policies.[829] In Macedonia, the law on the Protection of Cultural Property was issued in 1973 and defines monuments as:

> (1) The monuments shall include the single buildings, i.e. works of architecture and civil engineering or their parts and residues, including the elements and structures of archaeological nature, sculpture, paintings, or works of applied art and of the technical culture, permanently connected to certain surrounding, titles, cave habitations, tomb monuments, memorial objects and designations related to important events and renowned persons, other particular immovable goods of cultural and historical

[827] Cultural Heritage Protection Office (for Macedonia; URL-91), and (for Greece) the Hellenic Cultural Organization, and the Cultural Organization of the City of Athens. See URL-92 (retrieved 12.11.2020).
[828] Law no. 3026 was issued first in 2002 and revised in 2008 (URL-93). For the legal background of Greece relating to conservation, see also URL-94 (retrieved 12.11.2020).
[829] URL-92, 2 (retrieved 12.11.2020).

> significance together with the installations, ornamental elements and other movable items which are permanently attached to the building itself or permanently serve to its utilization.
>
> (2) As monuments shall also be considered the buildings whose main and effective purpose shall be the preservation and exhibition of movable cultural property, as well as the special shelters determined for settling the movable cultural property in a case of armed conflict.[830]

These laws also define the conservation process and methodology with stakeholders, and define monuments as cultural heritage sites consisting of different building types, scale, and periods. Greece specifies the historical periods of cultural heritage sites, including Byzantine and post Byzantine, in their conservation legislation. Thus, in both countries Byzantine cultural heritage sites are considered as monuments or archaeological areas which need to be preserved. However, their current urban context, economic, socio-cultural and religious factors, as well as other needs, affect the understanding, preservation and presentation of Byzantine monuments/remains. Approaches towards Byzantium will be examined here based on current conditions, use and presentation of exemplified heritage sites in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Ohrid.

Athens is the foremost city and capital of Greece, and includes significant cultural heritage sites of Classical, Roman and Byzantine periods (e.g. The Acropolis, Kerameikos, and the Greek and Roman Agoras) (Figs. 4.14, 4.15, 4.16). The Byzantine stratum of Athens is one of the significant cultural layers together with the Classical and Roman periods.[831] The monuments/remains from the Classical and Roman periods dominate their cultural heritage sites, as well as the cityscape in general. The major Byzantine cultural heritage sites are also respected and considered as part of the city's fabric – as archaeological areas, scenes of daily life, and as religious spaces. These major Byzantine sites in Athens are essentially

[830] URL-95 (retrieved 12.11.2021).
[831] For 'Byzantine Athens' in terms of its history, urbanization and architecture, see Bouras 2017.

churches, located in different parts of the city, and the remains of Byzantine structures, mostly represented now as underground archaeological layers.



Figure 4.14 . Athens, view of the Acropolis and the Greek Agora: 1) The Stoa of Attalos; 2) Church of the Holy Apostles; 3) The Pantheon, 2017.



Figure 4.15 . Athens, the Kerameikos archaeological site, 2017.



Figure 4.16 . Athens, the Roman Agora and the Tower of the Winds, 2017.

Thessaloniki is also a major city to explore the Roman and Byzantine periods and cultural heritage sites.[832] It was the capital city of Emperor Galerius (305-311 CE) in the Roman period. The Palace of Galerius, the Arch of Galerius, and the Roman Agora are the significant cultural heritage sites dating to the Roman period in Thessaloniki (Figs. 4.17, 4.18, 4.19). Similar to Athens, there are Byzantine churches, archaeological areas and remains, as well as city walls, within the present urban fabric. Furthermore, there is also a distinct Ottoman architectural pattern in the historic core of the city.[833]



Figure 4.17. Thessaloniki, remains of the Palace of Galerius, 2018.

[832] For Byzantine Thessaloniki in terms of its history, urbanization and architecture, see Rautman 1989, 295-315; Bakirtzis 2003, 35-64; Nasrallah 2005, 465-508; Laiou 2017, 1-11.
[833] On the Ottoman history and architecture of Thessaloniki, see Lowry 1980, Mazower 2013, 51-69, Kotzageorgis 2018, 423-456, Eldem 2020, 105-125.



Figure 4.18. Thessaloniki, remains of the arch of Galerius, 2018.



Figure 4.19. Thessaloniki, Roman Agora, 2018.

Ohrid is a mixed World Heritage site, with its natural and cultural assets. Lake Ohrid is on the North Macedonian and Albanian border, and the city has been developed on the lakeshore (Fig. 4.20). Ohrid is a small city settled on a hill towards the lake and has expanded towards the south. There are cultural heritage sites and buildings dating from prehistoric times to the Ottoman period. Saso Korunovski and Naume Marinovski noted the diverse archaeological layers of Ohrid and underlined the numbers of churches and monasteries in the region, including significant Byzantine icons.[834]



Figure 4.20 . Ohrid, general view of the city, 2018.

These three cities have continuously developed since the Byzantine period, thus the urban contexts and environs of the Byzantine structures have changed, as well as the other monuments and archaeological areas. Today, Athens and Thessaloniki are the two largest cities in terms of population, urban development and facilities in Greece, whereas Ohrid is a small centre with tourism facilities. However, in the past century, Athens and Thessaloniki especially were affected by fires, migrations, decentralization of rural areas and consequent urban construction activities. In particular, Thessaloniki's archaeological remains from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods were revealed after major fires, and, more recently, both Athens and Thessaloniki have made major finds during excavation works linked to urban transportation and new construction.

[834] Korunovski and Marinoski 2012, 109. See also Milojković *et al.* 2018, 1-2.

Thessaloniki's great fire of 1917, for example, was catastrophic in the history of Thessaloniki, affecting greatly the contexts of its churches, monuments and archaeological sites.[835] The fire destroyed most of the urban fabric of the historic core of Thessaloniki.[836] The newly established Greek state assigned a commission of Greek and French specialists for the new urban planning of the city. The head of the commission was Ernest Hébrard, who determined a series of renewal plan 'codes' – economic, topographical, ecological, hygiene, function, traffic, social, aesthetic, cultural, and urban morphology. In particular, the cultural code was significant in terms of the management of the city's Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine cultural heritage sites. These cultural layers that were revealed after the fire led Hébrard to revise the grid system of the initial Hellenistic urban layout to accommodate the new urban planning of Thessaloniki. Kornilia Trakosopolou-Tzimou points out that Hébrard 'liberated' the Byzantine churches in the city by clearing the areas around them and making them attraction nodes in his plan (Fig. 4.21).[837] The Roman Agora was also revealed and turned into an archaeological site with a public aspect within the urban fabric of Thessaloniki. The Agora is located in the city center and covers a large area surrounded by apartments. The decision to leaving this area as an archaeological site within a dense urban fabric was a crucial one when it comes to understanding the approach of the Greek state towards cultural heritage sites.

[835] For the Great Fire of 1917; see, e.g., Vickers 1972, 156-170; Yerolympos 1988, 144-147.
[836] Lagopoulos 2005, 61, 65.
[837] Trakosopolou-Tzimou 2020, 352. See also Yerolympos 1988, 145; Lagopoulos 2005, 69-70.

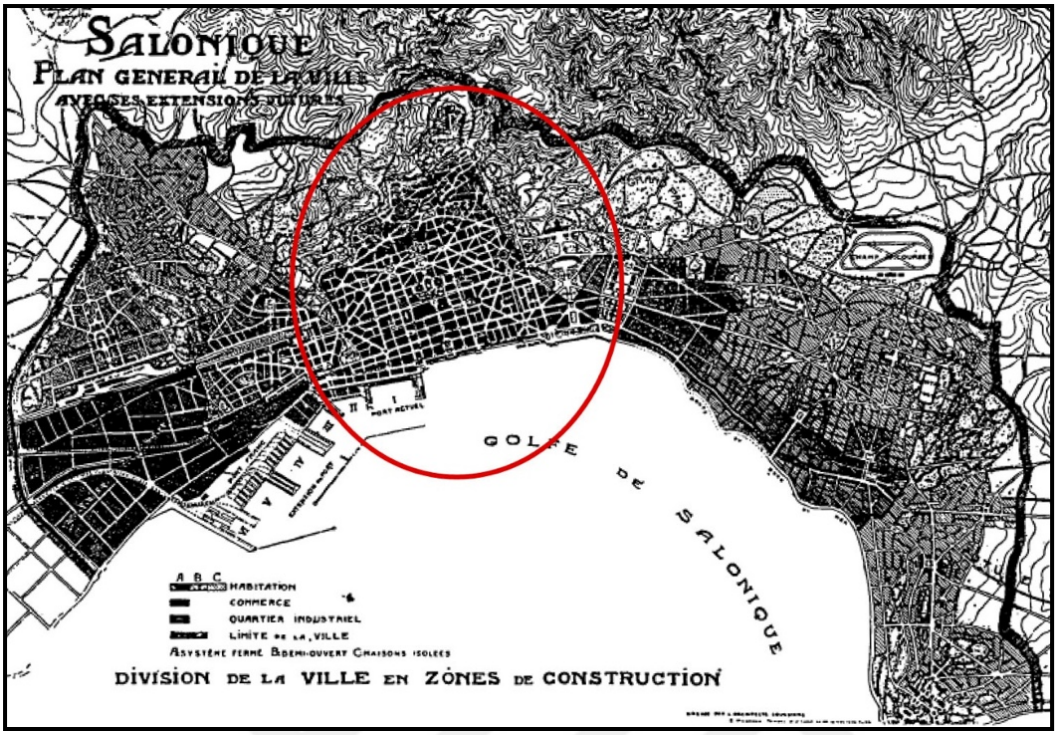

Figure 4.21 . Hébrard's approved 1918 plan for Thessaloniki (Yerolympos 1988, Fig. 4).

Contemporary Athens, Thessaloniki, and Ohrid contain many Byzantine monuments and archaeological areas as parts of daily life and urban fabric. In particular, the Byzantine churches are the significant monuments dating from the Byzantine period because they could preserve their original function and community focus. Greece and North Macedonia are Christian-Orthodox countries, and churches provide the religious settings which have become integrated within the daily lives of the inhabitants. Many of the Byzantine churches are still in use and visited for religious as well as cultural purposes; the list is a long one, including notable examples such as St. Sophia in Thessaloniki, St. Sophia in Ohrid, Panagia Chalkeon in Thessaloniki, and Kapnikarea in Athens.

The Byzantine cultural heritage of Athens and Thessaloniki exists in different stratifications and urban contexts. The juxtaposition of Byzantine cultural heritage with Hellenistic and Roman structures is also a feature worth noting – causing tensions between the different periods, but at the same time providing the potential to see, understand, and interpret the cultural strata as a whole.

Several Early Christian and Byzantine monuments of Thessaloniki are registered in UNESCO's Word Heritage List, including its city walls, the Rotunda of St. George, the churches of Acheiropoietus, St. Demetrius, St. Sophia, Panagia Chalkeon, St. Panteleimon, Holy Apostles, St. Nicholas Orphanus, St. Catherine, Christ Saviour, and Prophet Elijah. Two monasteries are also listed (Baltades and Latomou Monastery) as well as the Byzantine baths.[838] As noted above, the Byzantine monuments in Thessaloniki were highlighted in Hébrard's plan, and their close environments were arranged is such a way as to make them visible; additionally, open spaces were created around the buildings in different scales.

St. Sophia in Thessaloniki is an outstanding Byzantine structure dated between the 6th and 8th centuries;[839] it still exists, with its past interventions and historical layers (Figs. 4.22, 4.23), functioning as a church. It has had several further additions since its first construction and now it stands as a proud landmark, leading the planning of the contemporary city (Fig. 4.24). With its central position within the urban fabric, it now has a square on the west and also an assembly area. Of the other important churches located on the main streets, world-famous examples include St. Demetrius and the church of the Prophet Elijah.[840] As with St. Sophia, there are now open spaces created around the churches to make them prominent in the urban scene (Figs. 4.25, 4.26). These churches are also still used popularly, and ceremonies and liturgical events take place inside, meaning that they are physically in good condition and well maintained. St. Demetrius is one of the oldest structures in the city, first built in the 4th century. It suffered badly in the city's two historic fires – the 7th century and 1917 – and was severely damaged, requiring two major rebuilds. The remaining parts of the original building can be visited in the basement area of the church, which functions as a museum. Many of the architectural and spatial details, and the construction technique employed for the basement level, differ in terms of the upper

[838] URL-96, URL-97 (retrieved 12.11.2020).
[839] For St. Sophia, Thessaloniki, see Theoharidou 1998.
[840] For St. Demetrius, Thessaloniki, see URL-98 (retrieved 12.11.2021). For the church of Prophet Elijah in Thessaloniki, see Papazotos 1991, 121-137.

structure (Fig. 4.27). Thus, understanding these different layers of the various sections of the complex, in all its functions today, is important when it comes to experiencing this astonishing Byzantine church. St. George's Rotunda, very close to the Arch of Galerius, is also one of the wonders of Thessaloniki (Figs. 4.28, 4.29) [841] The building is surrounded by a green area similar to St. Sophia (Fig. 4.30), however, it is not used as a church and today functions as a museum.



Figure 4.22 . Thessaloniki, St. Sophia, 2018.



Figure 4.23 . Thessaloniki, St. Sophia: a) some early remains in the south garden; b) interior view, 2018.

[841] For St. George's Rotunda, see, for example, Mentzos 2000; Nasrallah 2005, 465-508.

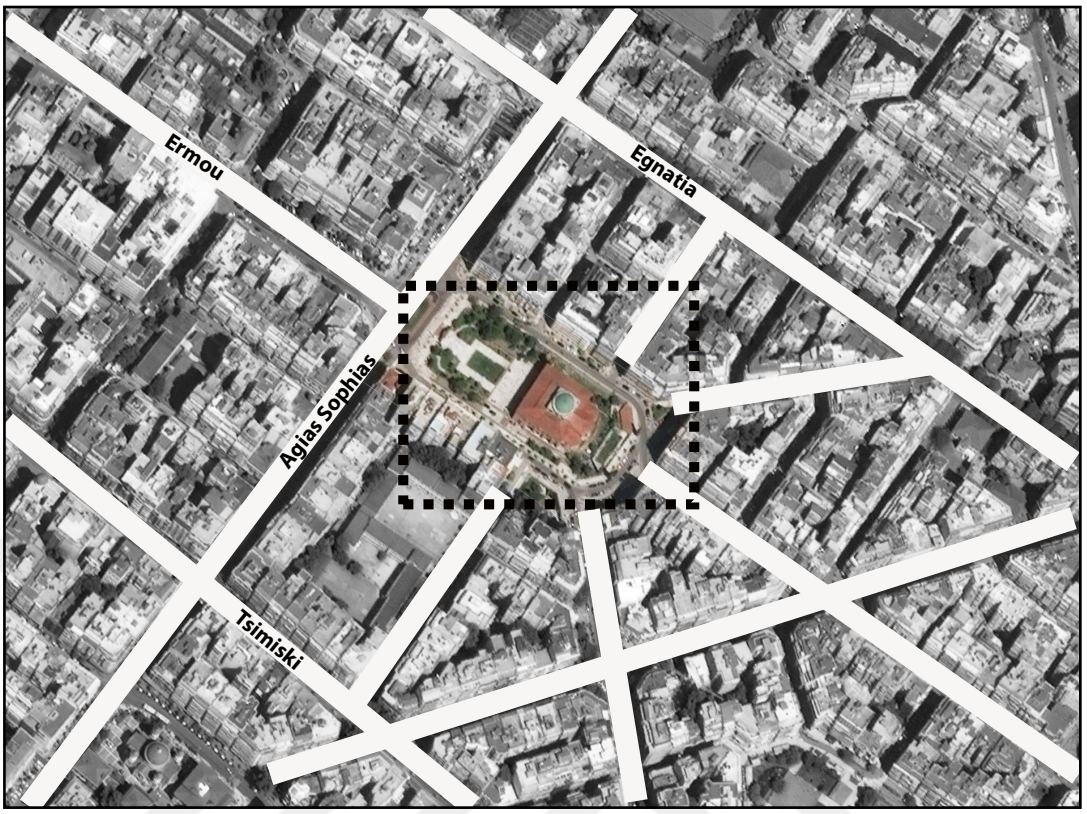

Figure 4.24 . Thessaloniki, aerial view of St. Sophia and surrounding urban fabric (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).



Figure 4.25 . Thessaloniki, the Church of Prophet Elijah, 2018.



Figure 4.26 . Thessaloniki, basement floor of the Church of Prophet Elijah, 2018.



Figure 4.27 . Thessaloniki, St. Demetrius, 2018.



Figure 4.28 . Thessaloniki, St. George’s Rotunda, 2018.



Figure 4.29 . Thessaloniki, St. George's Rotunda, 2018.

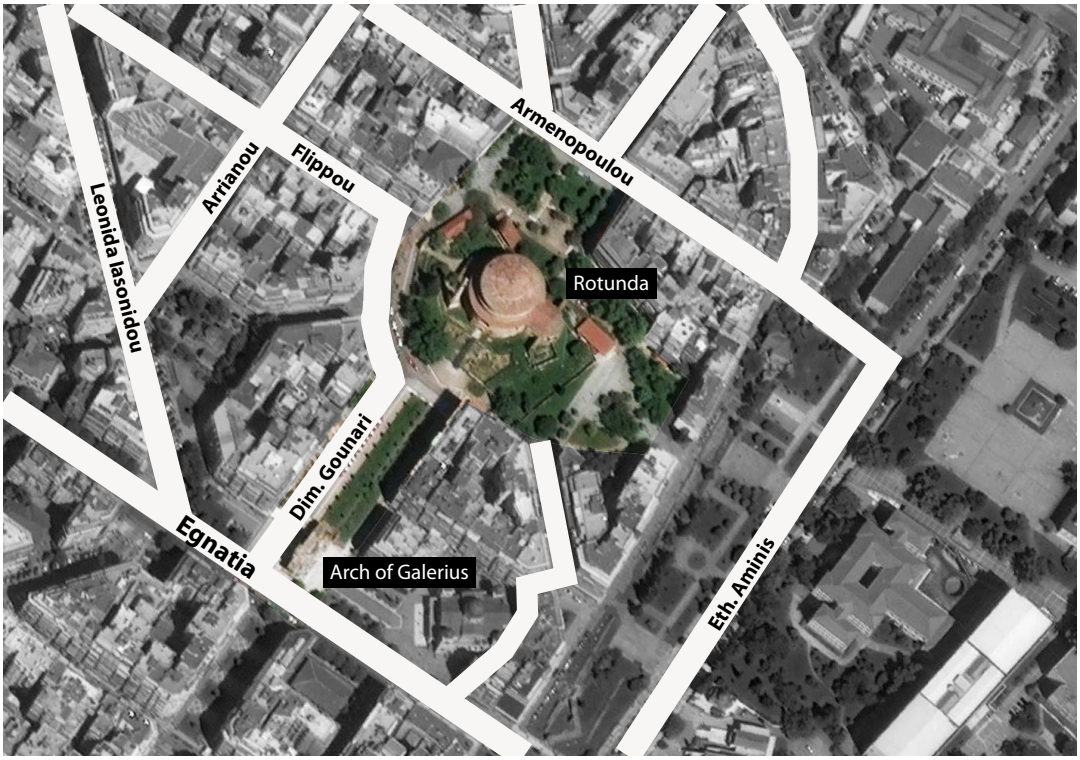

Figure 4.30 . Thessaloniki, aerial view of St. George's Rotunda and surrounding urban fabric (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

The churches in use are well preserved and maintained, being open to visitors to experience and understand the cultural contexts of the buildings. The Byzantine baths, on the other hand, dating to the 12th or 13th century CE, are now concealed among apartment blocks and are very hard to see and experience; the complex is currently inaccessible and not open to visitors (Fig. 4.31). However, the material details, construction techniques, and scale of the building can be understood from the façade.

The once famous Byzantine city walls of Thessaloniki partially exist within the present urban fabric – rather similar to Istanbul. The northern part of the city walls still stands to considerable extent, while the eastern part of the circuit partially exists and is still in a good physical condition (Figs. 4.32, 4.33). Although the western part of the circuit can still be followed, it is in worse condition than the eastern section. Similar to the great city walls of Istanbul, there is variety in the character of the different wall fragments, and in their different structural conditions and stratification; some wall fragments are now detached from the main circuit and stand within the present urban fabric (Fig. 4.34); in other areas wall fragments have been integrated within adjacent buildings (Fig. 4.35). Areas of fragments within the northern walls and towers have been repaired (Fig. 4.36), however, overall, the walls cannot be said to be in good condition, indeed, some sections are in ruins and neglected (Fig. 4.37).



Figure 4.31 . Thessaloniki, Theotokopoulou Street, Byzantine baths, 2018.



Figure 4.32 . Thessaloniki, northern section of the city walls, 2018.



Figure 4.33 . Thessaloniki, section of the northern walls, 2018.



Figure 4.34 . Thessaloniki, wall fragments detached from the main circuit, 2018.



Figure 4.35 . Thessaloniki, wall fragments now integrated with other buildings, 2018.



Figure 4.36 . Thessaloniki, repaired wall fragments within the northern circuit, 2018.



Figure 4.37 . Thessaloniki, neglected wall fragments, 2018.

As for Athens, there are Byzantine churches there dated between the 9th and 12th century. The first observation about the Byzantine structures of the contemporary city is similar to that made with reference to the churches in Thessaloniki. They have become part of the current urban fabric and daily life, as both liturgical and cultural spaces. When examining the present setting of the Byzantine churches, the common approach appears to be the obvious creation of a square around the church, and making there a gathering place where people can meet, sit, and rest: thus these churches are visible and accessible. For example, the Panagia Kapnikarea is a Byzantine church built in the 11th century (Fig. 4.38). [842] The church is significant

[842] For Kapnikarea church, see Gkioles 2006, 15-27.

with its architectural details and use of spolia, which can be observed in the facades (Fig. 4.39). It is located on Ermou Street, a busy thoroughfare that connects two central, public squares – Syntagma and Monastiraki (Fig. 4.40). It is a very dense pedestrian routeway, with shops, cafes and restaurants. The original floor level was lower than the current street and an open area surrounds the church. The level difference and open space around the structure are visible in a photograph of 1911 (Fig. 4.41). In that period, the buildings around the church were low-rise, but today we see new constructions (four to five storeys high) dating to different periods. This contrast in the scale of the church and its surroundings of course adversely affects experience, visibility and understanding.



Figure 4.38 . Athens, Panagia Kapnikarea, 2017.



Figure 4.39 . Athens, Panagia Kapnikarea, material details, 2017.

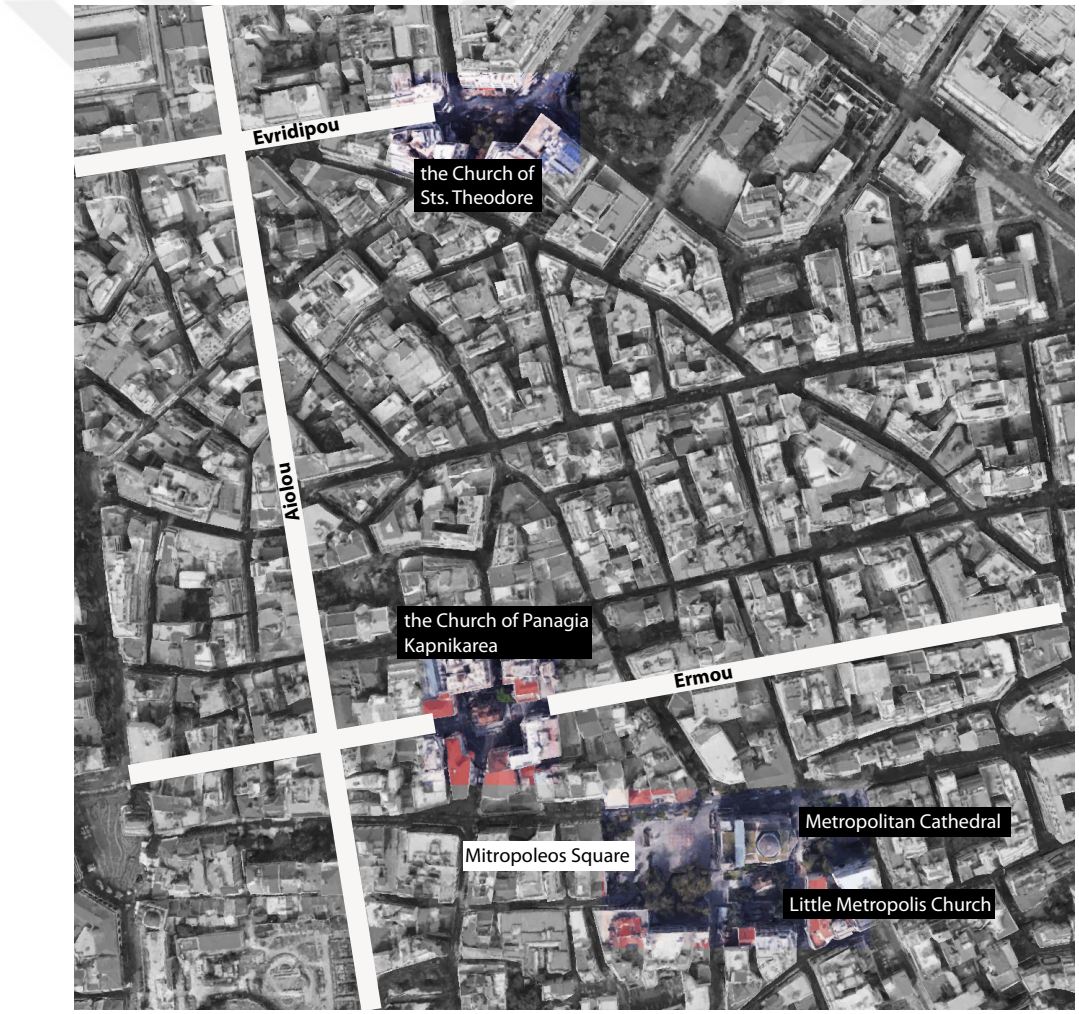

Figure 4.40 . Athens, aerial view of Panagia Kapnikarea, Little Metropolis, and the Church of Sts. Theodores (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

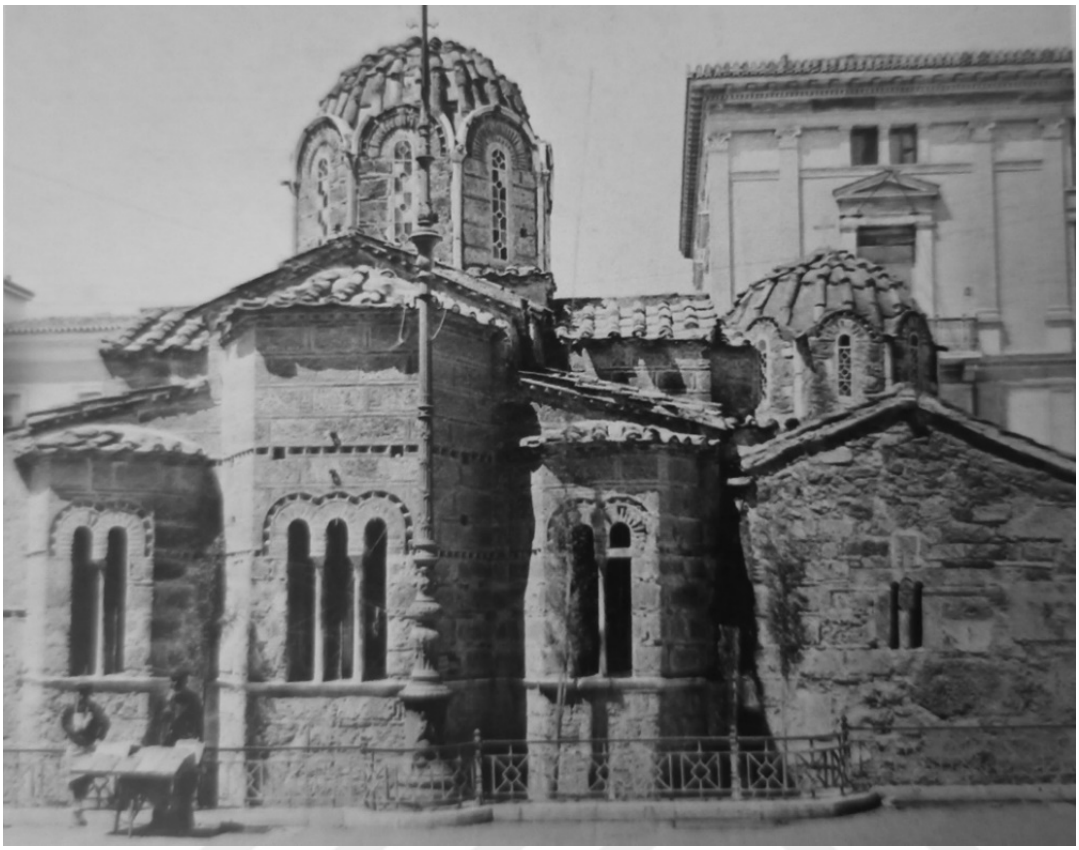

Figure 4.41 . Athens, Panagia Kapnikarea, 1911 (Chondrogiannis 2017, Fig. 23).

The same conditions can be observed in other churches, such Sts. Theodores dated to the 11th century.[843] It is to be found on Evripidou Street. The physical relation of the church with its surroundings is similar Panagia Kapnikarea: higher and later building all but enclose the church, which remains on a paved area that widens towards to the church (Fig. 4.42). Little Metropolis, also known as the Church of Theotokos Gorgoepikoos and St. Eleuftherios, is of particular interest in terms of its architectural features and significant use of spolia (Fig. 4.43). [844] Although located on Mitropoleos Square near the city's Metropolitan Cathedral, which is a neo-classical building, it is difficult to fully appreciate this attractive little church. The new cathedral blocks the Little Metropolis, and, of course, there are issues of scale.

[843] For St. Theodore, see Hetherington 1991, 73-74.
[844] For St. Eleutherius, see Kiilerich 2005, 95-114.

In general, however, a policy of making these historic Byzantine churches visible and accessible is of great help in terms of recognizing and understanding the city's previous cultural layers, and how they represent urban continuity.



Figure 4.42 . Athens, Sts. Theodores, 2017.



Figure 4.43 . Athens, Little Metropolis, 2017.

Another important case-study when examining attitudes towards Byzantium in Greece, is the treatment of the basilica (built before the 15th century) beneath the Ottoman mosque in the Roman Agora in Athens. Fethiye Mosque, constructed to commemorate the conquest of Crete in 1699 (Fig. 4.44), [845] was recently restored and

[845] See Kiel 2002 and Kolovos and Vionis 2019, 150.

turned into a museum by the Greek Archaeological Service. Today, the Roman Agora is a multi-cultural heritage area, with its monuments and remains from all the major periods – Ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman. The ruins of the Christian basilica are observable under the mosque, indicating the walls, naves and apse. The church was first built next to the columns of a Roman street, and the mosque was built over its remains: this key area, therefore, is an intersection of Athens' three main cultural periods, left open to be seen and interacted with; the intersection and contrast between the Byzantine basilica and Ottoman mosque is obvious. Although some precautionary protection measures have been taken (e.g. the black cantilevered covering in Fig. 4.44) to prevent further deterioration, the superposition of these two structures is challenging in terms of experiencing and understanding the Byzantine remains. Nevertheless, leaving the remains of the church visible and being able to experience the intersection point of three cultures has the obvious potential of fostering public awareness and curiosity about the history of the site and its complex stratification.



Figure 4.44 . Athens, the Roman Agora, the superposition of the Byzantine church and Ottoman mosque, 2018.

The church of the Holy Apostles (10th century) is located in the Agora, where the outstanding examples of the Ancient Greek period in Athens are still seen and enjoyed (Fig. 4.45), including the Stoa of Attalos and the Temple of Hephaistos. As noted earlier, on the whole it is the Classical antiquities in the archaeological areas

that attract more interest than the Byzantine monuments; indeed, some Byzantine churches were demolished in the 19th century. The church of the Holy Apostles has managed to survive, although war, decay and additions have compromised it over the centuries. Happily, the church was restored in the 1950s; the later additions were removed and the narthex reconstructed (Fig. 4.46). [846] Today it stands as the only surviving Byzantine structure in a good state of preservation in an archaeological area full of Classical antiquities.



Figure 4.45 . Athens, the Ancient Agora and the church of the Holy Apostles, 2018.



Figure 4.46 . The Holy Apostles before and during restoration (Frantz 1974, Figs. 46, 49).

As well as churches, the underground archaeological stratum of Byzantium is crucial to examine the challenges relating to archaeology and urbanization in Athens.

[846] For the history and architecture of the Holy Apostles, see Frantz (1954, 513-520; 1974, 23-25).

Byzantine remains were revealed during the construction of public transportation systems and their stations, and these are now exhibited where they were discovered. The integration of archaeological remains and subway stations reflects concerns to preserve and present the history and culture of Athens: Monastiraki and Evangelismos stations can be highlighted as examples (Figs. 4.47, 4.48), and the remains of the Byzantine structures are exhibited in different ways. At Monastiraki, the archaeological remains are to be seen at the level of the train platform, and the station building and circulation were designed to accommodate them. There are also walkways around the remains and posters to illustrate the surveys of remains and historical background. At Evangelismos, the remains are displayed at entrance level and exhibited behind glass. These two case studies are important when comparing them to Istanbul's Yenikapı station and the Byzantine harbor. The attitudes in Greece and Turkey are completely different. In Greece the archaeological areas have been woven into the urban fabric and activities, with citizens and visitors being exposed to cultural heritage sites in their daily lives.



Figure 4.47 . Athens, Evangelismos subway station, with the Byzantine remains presented at entrance level, 2017.



Figure 4.48 . Athens, Monastiraki subway station, with the Byzantine remains displayed at platform level, 2017.

Obviously, Greece is a particular case for the examination of Byzantine cultural heritage. However, there are other countries that have Byzantine heritage, on a different scale, in the Balkan Peninsula. Cultural identity and confrontation with the past is always subject to various discussions affecting conservation attitudes and representation accordingly. For example, at Ohrid (Macedonia), the Byzantine churches, which are located within a very dense historic urban fabric, are well preserved and presented for the visitors. It can be claimed that the general attitude towards historic buildings and cultural heritage sites, including the Byzantine period at Ohrid, is to make them attraction points around the city and thus providing potential for cultural tourism and implicit economic benefits. The Byzantine period represents a certain part of the historical continuity of the country, together with its Hellenistic background and the Ottoman layers that followed the Byzantine phases.

Thus, while walking around the city, through the narrow streets, outstanding Byzantine churches greet visitors and locals alike. The churches of St. Sophia and St. John at Kaneo, among others, are significant examples of Byzantine architecture in Ohrid.[847] St. Sophia is located within a very dense urban fabric but has two gardens (Fig. 4.49); the one on the north side of the church is a green area and larger than the garden area to the west (Figs. 4.50, 4.51). These open spaces help make the church more visible despite the dense urban fabric around it. Additionally, this church is open to visitors and functions as a museum (Fig. 4.52).



Figure 4.49 . Ohrid, aerial view of St. Sophia, with its Byzantine remains at entrance level, 2018 (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

[847] For St. Sophia and its restoration, see Chalovska and Vidal 2018, 81-107.



Figure 4.50 . Ohrid, St. Sophia, the west facade, 2018.



Figure 4.51 . Ohrid, St. Sophia, the east facade, 2018.



Figure 4.52 . Ohrid, St. Sophia, interior view, 2018.

The church of St. John at Kaneo is one of the city's notable touristic attractions. It is located on the steep hillside towards Lake Ohrid. There is also an open space around the church, including platforms at different levels and stairs (Fig. 4.53). The church is in a good state of preservation, however there is only a metal signboard giving, in Macedonian, its historical background – thus not of particular help for international visitors.[848]



Figure 4.53 . Ohrid, St. Sophia, interior view, 2018.

4.2.3 Byzantine Heritage within Archaeological Sites: Serbia

Byzantine cultural heritage found within archaeological sites is represented here via the example of Justiniana Prima – also known as Caričin Grad (the City of the Emperor) – in Lebane, southern Serbia (Fig. 4.54). Justiniana Prima merits particular attention, with the city being founded by Justinian I (527-565 CE) in the 6th century to honor his birthplace, thought to be located very close by. In addition, the

[848] The church was closed when visited and thus the condition of the interior could not be assessed.

independent archbishopric of the city was created by order of the emperor himself.[849] The city existed for almost for 80 years before abandonment following the Balkan raids by Avars and Slavs in the 7th century.[850]



Figure 4.54 . The region near Lebane, Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad) (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).

The site was discovered in the 1880s, and there have been archaeological excavations and explorations since 1912.[851] The acropolis and the upper and lower cities (including the episcopal basilica, palace, baptistery, churches, east gate, and a good part of the walls and towers around the city) were revealed during these archaeological excavations (Fig. 4.55). Over recent decades, the site has been further explored by German, French and Serbian specialists, and there are ongoing conservation projects for the remaining buildings and mosaics.[852] We will look now at the present situation of Justiniana Prima in the light of these recent excavations, conservation applications, and site representation.

[849] Procop. *Aed*. 4 17-28. See also Bavant 2007, 337-374; Ivaniševic 2016, 107-126; Turlej 2016, 10-11.
[850] Turlej 2016, 14. For the archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, see *ibid,* 22-25.
[851] See Spieser 2013; Đorđević 2018, 253.
[852] The author gathered this data during her studies in Justiniana Prima between August 12-25, 2017 as a participant of the UNESCO Action Camp, run by the Niš Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation.

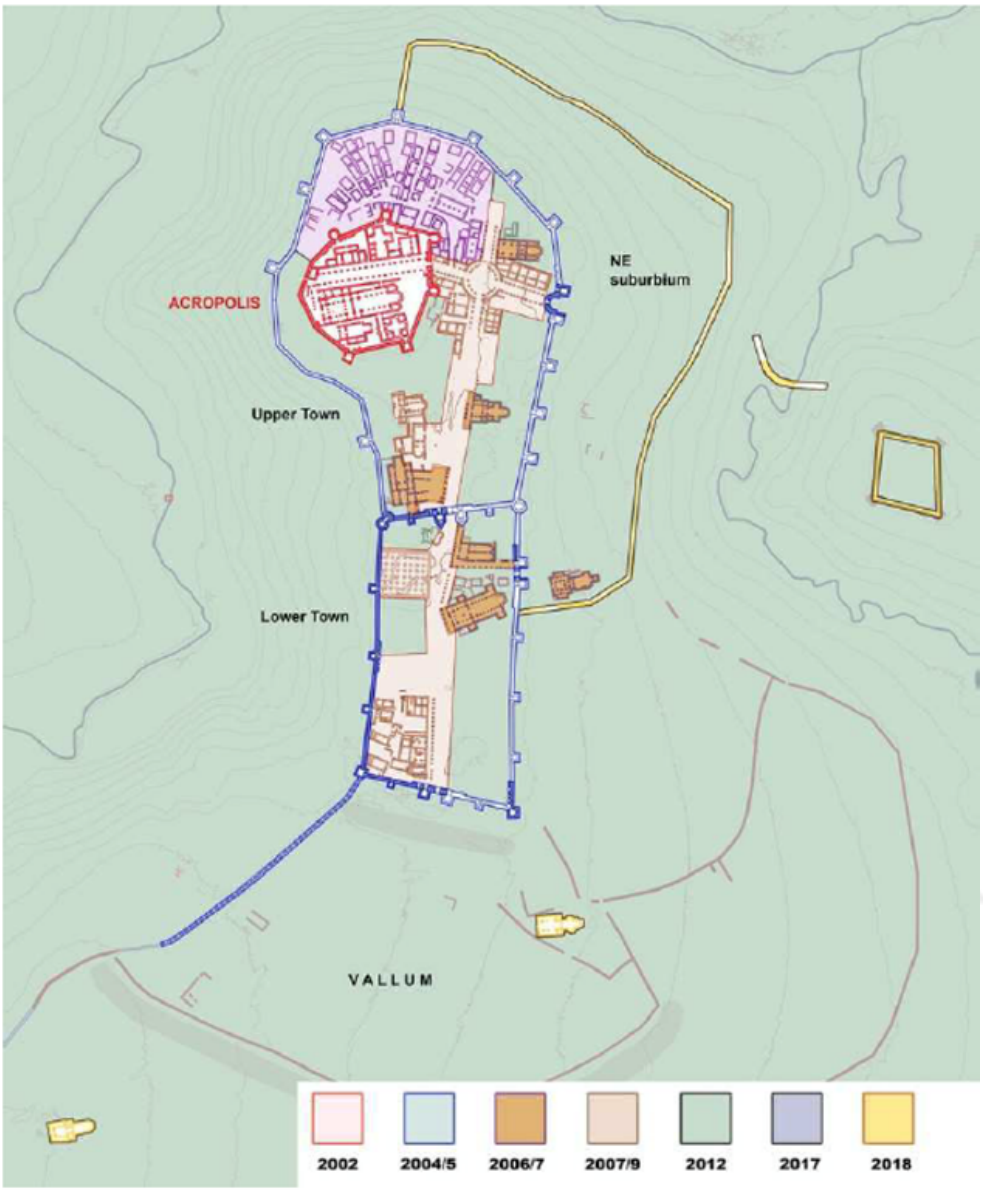

Figure 4.55 . Lebane, Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad), chronological plan based on archaeological excavations (Zdravković 2018, Fig. 1).

Various governmental institutions are responsible for the conservation, maintenance and management of cultural heritage sites in Serbia, including the Ministry of Culture, the Central Institute for Conservation, the Institute for Archaeology, and the Republican Institute for the Protection of Serbian Cultural Monuments.[853]

[853] URL-99, URL-100 (retrieved 12.11.2020).

Legislation on cultural property in Serbia was issued in 1994, covering three heritage classifications: immovable cultural property, movable cultural property, and property under prior protection.[854] Additionally, depending on its importance, cultural property in Serbia is classified in three groups:

- Cultural property
- Cultural property of great importance
- Cultural property of exceptional importance

Immovable cultural property includes four types of heritage, explained in the relevant Cultural Property legislation, Chapter II, Articles 19, 20, 21, 22, which are worth expanding here:

> **Article 19:** A cultural monument shall be a construction-architectural structure of special cultural or historical importance, and its construction unit, vernacular architecture, other immovable structure, part of a structure and a unit with features relating to particular environs, a work of monumental and decorative art, sculpture, applied arts and technical culture, as well as other movable objects contained in them, of special cultural and historical importance.
>
> **Article 20:** A spatial-cultural historical unit shall be an urban or rural settlement or its parts, and an area with several pieces of immovable cultural property of special cultural and historical importance.
>
> **Article 21:** An archaeological site shall be a part of land or an underwater area, containing remains of buildings and other immovable structures, tombs and other findings, and movable objects from earlier historical eras that are of special cultural and historical importance.
>
> **Article 22:** A landmark shall be an area relating to an event of special historical importance, an area with prominent elements of natural values and values generated by human activity making up a single unit, and memorial tombs or cemeteries and other memorials erected to permanently preserve the memory of important events, persons and places from national history, of special cultural and historical importance.

Justiniana Prima was firstly declared as a cultural property by a resolution of the Institute for the Protection and Scientific Research of Cultural Monuments (NRS no.

[854] Cultural Property Law, no. 71/94, 52/2011, 99/11; URL-101 (retrieved 12.11.2020).

257/49) in 1949. It was also categorized as a cultural property of exceptional importance by a decision of the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia and published in the Official Gazette (Službeni Glasnik 14) in 1979. There are five criteria of cultural property of exceptional importance in the legislation on cultural property, and at least one of these must be met to warrant listing. It must:

> 1) Embody special importance for the social, historical and cultural development of a nation in the national history, and the development of its natural environment.
>
> 2) Testify to crucial historical events and persons and their activities in the national history.
>
> 3) Embody unique (or rare) representations of human creativity of a certain period or represent a unique example from the national history.
>
> 4) Exert a strong influence on the development of society, culture, technology and science.
>
> 5) Possess exceptional artistic or aesthetic value.

Justiniana Prima has been on UNESCO's World Heritage Tentative List since 2010,[855] and in recent years has become more important, with continued archaeological investigations and conservation projects conducted by national and international teams. The management plan for the archaeological site of Justiniana Prima was prepared and published in 2014 as a result of multidisciplinary collaboration within a funded project and collaboration of more than thirty stakeholders, including the governmental organizations responsible for culture, archaeology, preservation and tourism, the local municipalities and universities, local schools, and the Serbian Orthodox Church.[856]

The archaeological site of Justiniana Prima is located in the rural areas of Mount Radan in southern Serbia, close to several small villages (e.g. Prekopčelica, Stulač, Sekicol, Mijajlica and Svinjarica) (Fig. 4.56). Lebane is the closest city, but the area as a whole is not well developed in terms of urban and economic facilities when

[855] URL-102 (retrieved 12.11.2020).
[856] Živanović *et al.* 2014, 10-12.

compared to other regions in southern Serbia. The site is reached by a secondary road (no. 432) from Lebane and located on a hill; the entrance is via the ancient city's east gate and can reached via an earth road (Fig. 4.57). There are metal signboards explaining the history of the site (Fig. 4.58). The bath complex is situated at the entrance of the site, across the east gate (Fig. 4.59), and its plan configuration and construction details are visible and understandable.



Figure 4.56 . Aerial view of Justiniana Prima and nearby villages (image taken from Google Earth, retrieved on 02.10.2020).



Figure 4.57 . Justiniana Prima, the remains of the east gate, 2017.



Figure 4.58 . Justiniana Prima, the metal signboards at the east gate, 2017.



Figure 4.59 . Justiniana Prima, the bath complex to the east of the city (Niš Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation, Aleksandar Ćirić, 2017).

The acropolis surrounded by walls is the now most striking area in Justiniana Prima (Fig. 4.60): the episcopal basilica and its baptistery, which are very significant remains in the ancient city, are also located here. There are original mosaic floors inside the basilica and the conservation of the mosaics was completed in 2017 (Fig.

4.61). There are also remains of other structures within the acropolis and it is possible to observe the plan configuration and construction techniques in this area (Fig. 4.62). The forum is located to the east of the acropolis, and there are remains of the surrounding structures at ground level, as well as capitals, column bases, and ornamentations (Figs. 4.63, 4.64). In addition to the episcopal basilica, there are the remains of other churches and their plan layouts are visible (Fig. 4.65).



Figure 4.60 . Justiniana Prima, the acropolis and its interior remains, including the episcopal basilica and baptistry (under the blue covering) (Niš Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation, Aleksandar Ćirić, 2017).



Figure 4.61 . Justiniana Prima, the acropolis, a section of the baptistry mosaics, 2017.



Figure 4.62. Justiniana Prima, the acropolis: a) the remains of other structures, 2017; b) aerial view of the remains (Niš Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation, Aleksandar Ćirić, 2017).



Figure 4.63. Justiniana Prima, the acropolis and forum , a) Niš Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation, Aleksandar Ćirić, 2017.



Figure 4.64. Justiniana Prima, capitals and bases, 2017.



Figure 4.65. Justiniana Prima, remains of a church (Niš Archive of the Institute of Cultural Heritage Preservation, Aleksandar Ćirić, 2017).

The walls are constructed of brick, rubble and cut stone, which can be observed in all of the remains. The remaining walls, arches and vaults are mostly in ruins, but some were preserved, or partially reconstructed with brick and cement mortar in previous applications (Fig. 4.66). In the more recent conservation studies the material characteristics have also been taken into account. The walls dividing the upper and lower cities have been reconstructed to a certain extent (Fig. 4.67).



Figure 4.66. Justiniana Prima, examples of repaired walls and arches, 2017.



Figure 4.67. Justiniana Prima, repaired walls, 2017.

The conservation of the architectural remains of Justiniana Prima were begun in 1947 by the Institute for the Preservation and Scientific Research of Cultural Heritage, based in Belgrade. Later, the Archaeological Institute of Belgrade conducted archaeological excavations and collaborated with the Leskovac National Museum on small-scale conservation projects. After the establishment of the Niš Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation in 1966, the majority of the conservation projects were conducted by them in the 1970s, 1980s, and again after 2010.[857] The Republic Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation in Belgrade also managed the conservation of the mosaics in Justiniana Prima in the 1970s and 1980s. An action camp to preserve the stone elements of the site was organized by the Niš Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation in 2017, in collaboration with the European Heritage Volunteers and under the patronage of UNESCO. The documentation of the findings in the archaeological excavations is continuing, as well as the conservation of the remaining architectural remains, capitals and mosaics. A digital reconstruction of Justiniana Prima was also produced and published (Fig. 4.68) as an efficient way to revive the ruined city with its all buildings, landscape and topography.[858] The Leskovac National Museum now participates in the 'Cultural Places' mobile

[857] For the conservation projects of Justiniana Prima, see Cvetković and Petronijević 2015, 41-47.
[858] Zdravković 2018.

application and there is virtual tour and audio guide of Justiniana Prima encrypted with a QR code (Fig. 4.69); such applications and initiatives, however, are not intended to replace actual visits to the site, although at present not all the signboards are readable (Fig. 4.70).



Figure 4.68. Justiniana Prima, the digital reconstruction, a screenshot from the video (URL-103, retrieved 12.11.2020).

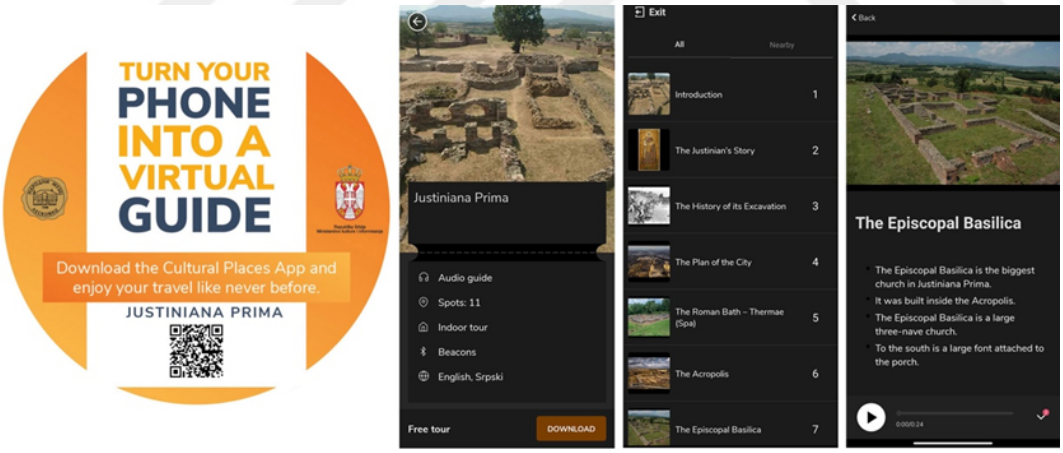

Figure 4.69. Justiniana Prima, mobile application and virtual tour.



Figure 4.70. Justiniana Prima, on-site signboards, 2017.

To sum up, given its history of archaeological excavations and conservation projects, Justiniana Prima is to be considered an important cultural heritage site in the Republic of Serbia. The governmental organizations responsible for the preservation and presentation of Justiniana Prima are seeking to have the site included on UNESCO's World Heritage List. For this reason, this significant Byzantine city has benefited from extended excavations and there are future projects for its preservation and representation (including digital formats) being prepared by the Niš Institute for Cultural Heritage Preservation.

4.3 Summary Assessment and Main Considerations

Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Levant and Balkans occupy important positions within the historical continuity of the countries in these regions. As they do in Turkey, the many Byzantine remains, architectural and other, are to be found in different landscapes and cultural contexts. The lands in the Levant were lost to the Arabs and Persians after the 7th century, however, extensive territories in the Balkans and Anatolia were ruled by the Byzantine Empire after the Levant had fallen. Thus, the Byzantine cultural strata of the Balkans are represented by diverse heritage sites within the urban and rural settlements and archaeological areas.

There are remains of Byzantine settlements, monasteries and churches, as well as mosaics and artworks, in the former lands of the Byzantine Empire that are now in

current Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, and the Palestine National Authority. Some of these heritage sites are in a good condition and are in use, but the majority of the Byzantine remains are now archaeological areas. Of course, many of these sites are, or have been, affected by political conflicts, wars, and financial considerations, with implications for their future conservation and sustainability. However, as mentioned above, projects such as BYZeIS have contributed very comprehensive research to highlight the Byzantine heritage of countries in the Eastern Mediterranean, providing welcome guidelines in terms of how to manage, analyze, preserve and present cultural heritage sites (including several awareness activities relating to the heritage of Byzantium and Early Islam. Such projects, however, should be seen as early models, and research activities in these countries should be increased and developed for the better conservation, representation and understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

Given the examples examined in this chapter, we can see that Byzantine cultural heritage has been adopted, comparatively well preserved, and presented as part of the rich mosaic of Balkan history and landscape. However, the reasons why this adoption of the past has come about may change, developing from factors to do with the cultural, ethnic, and religious origins of the Balkan countries, as well as economic considerations: for example, some elements of Greek society see the links to their Byzantine past from a different perspective than do their Serbian neighbors. Furthermore, principles of conservation and representation can also change depending on cultural backgrounds and expertise, financial resources, and the location and context of individual heritage sites; what they share in common, however, is that they are all trying to make the Byzantine past visible, without detracting from remains of the other historical periods that came before or after.

The critical factor is that in Greece, Serbia and Macedonia, Byzantine churches can be used in their original function, and, unless the church is in complete ruins, repairing these ancient structures is also an efficient way to reuse them. Thus, having religious connections is to the continued advantage of Byzantine churches, both in terms of their future preservation and keeping them as part of daily life. Beyond that,

it can be considered as a valorization strategy for cultural heritage sites. Thus maintenance and repair of these buildings is a relatively clear process – their continued use and the authorities responsible for them are assured.



Figure 4.71. Athens, Acropolis, with some of its Byzantine remains, 2017.

However, for archaeological sites, which cannot be re-functioned, the conservation principles are different. Serbian attitudes towards archaeological sites are mostly based on partial reconstructions – not the whole structure, but the walls and/or individual buildings (such as Byzantine churches in Serbian rural areas). However, for Greek archaeological sites the Byzantine remains are subject to different levels of preservation. For example, the Church of the Holy Apostles was restored in the Agora, but the Byzantine remains on the Acropolis have collapsed, and apparently there are no specific projects or plans for their preservation and representation[859] (Fig.

[859] There are archaeological remains beneath the Acropolis Museum of Athens, dated between the 4th century BCE and 12th century CE. Thus they are Byzantine remains, being preserved and presented as part of the museum; URL-104 (retrieved 12.11.2020).

4.71). In the main, the Byzantine cultural heritage sites are considered as having potential for cultural tourism and they are in a better state of preservation in general without being exposed to any selective attitude.

The adoption of the Byzantine past, and respecting it, is related to having common values – historic, religious, cultural and ethnic. On the one hand, Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the countries which have common values with Byzantium are better preserved and presented; they are not exposed to negative or discriminative attitudes, nor approached by neutral or objective thinking. Moreover, in some cases, like Thessaloniki, Byzantine monuments are accentuated in urban planning schemes as landmarks. In addition, there are museums for the Byzantine period including architectural elements or artworks. On the other hand, this does not mean that all Byzantine cultural heritage sites are in a good condition and well preserved or presented. Conservation strategies and opportunities are also affected by socio-cultural, political and economic factors, as is the position in Turkey, and require comprehensive research and planning. Research activities centered on Byzantium are also important for the evaluation of attitudes to do with the understanding, adoption, preservation and representation of its tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In the Balkans there several research institutes for Byzantine scholars, such as the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki's Centre for Byzantine Research, the National Hellenic Research Foundation in Athens, the Institute for Byzantine Studies in Belgrade, and the Society for Byzantine Studies in Zagreb. The many research institutes for Byzantine studies, as well as the departments for Byzantine studies within universities, indicate the educational strategies of these countries when it comes to supporting and developing this field of study. These opportunities also encourage researchers to broaden our knowledge on Byzantine life and history, and, in turn, this knowledge is further interpreted and widened, providing more awareness of Byzantium and its heritage.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This doctoral research aims to investigate the understanding of Byzantium and the factors affecting the attitudes towards its cultural heritage in terms of conservation and presentation. The overall research process involves different phases: the preliminary examination of Byzantium and its legacy in literature and observations on Byzantine buildings or their remains in different geographical regions; proposing research questions and clarification of the aims and scope of this study; designation of the methodology; a comprehensive literature survey in order to create the theoretical framework; field visits, on-site analyses and observations in Turkey and abroad, synthesis and evaluations; conclusions and proposals.

The preliminary analyses and observations supported the idea of Byzantium's being neglected for a long time in archaeological investigations, educational or research activities, conservation strategies and representation of the past in Turkey. Thus, this research is based on the determination of the present physical conditions and current practices of conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage through selected examples in different cultural, and geographical settings and stratigraphy. In this regard, the comprehensive literature survey, including ancient and modern sources, travelogues, excavation reports, national and international documents/legislation, research projects and graduate studies, has helped to create the theoretical framework of this research. The attitudes towards cultural heritage sites, and the Byzantine period in particular, were analyzed and evaluated in terms of the various factors affecting the understanding and adoption of Byzantium. After this elaborated discussion, Byzantine cultural heritage sites were classified and

examined according to the determined criteria of the states of preservation and presentation (Chapter 3). In addition, the understanding, preservation and presentation of Byzantium and its heritage in different countries in the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkans were discussed in a comparative basis through examples in similar geographical contexts.

The examination of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey constitutes the core of this research and it was conducted by field trips and on-site analyses. Istanbul and Iznik were visited, as former imperial and provincial capitals, to determine the present situation and function of their Byzantine buildings, or their remains. Furthermore, Ankara, Antakya and Trabzon were visited, and Byzantine monasteries in the rural parts of Trabzon were also included during this excursion. Binbirkilise (Madenşehri and Değle), Elaussia-Sebaste/Ayaş, Herakleia-Latmos/Kapıkırı, Iasos/Kıyıkışlacık were the main archaeological areas visited within rural settlements, with Binbirkilise being examined in detail as the primary model of this classification. Ephesus and Ayasuluk are the main topics of the third group of the analyses, and were visited several times during this research. In addition, Miletus, Priene, Stratonikeia and Korykos were also visited for a better understanding of Byzantine cultural heritage in multi-period archeological areas.

Cappadocia is a distinct area in terms of Byzantine history, art and architecture, with its own particular landscape and morphology. The rock-cut churches, settlements and underground cities (e.g. the Göreme Valley, the Ihlara Valley and Derinkuyu) dating to the Byzantine period were investigated. Field studies were not limited to Turkey: Byzantine cultural heritage sites in urban settlements and archaeological areas in Serbia, the Republic of North Macedonia, and Greece were also visited. The results of these analyses and observations were explained in detail within the relevant sections and chapters here.

What follows now are overall conclusions, and our considerations for a better understanding, re-assessment, preservation, and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage in Turkey are then clarified in a final section.

5.1 Conclusions

The story of the Byzantine Empire has been recorded, interpreted, and transmitted from different perspectives throughout the centuries by national and international scholars alike. The understanding of Byzantium and its legacy has been shaped in both negative and positive ways, following changing political ideologies, cultural values and conditions or economic concerns. In particular, the political ideologies of decision makers dominate when it comes to the conservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites, and Byzantium has suffered from negative attitudes resulting from nationalist or Islamist ideologies in the decades after the declaration of the Republic.[860] The national laws or decrees represent the official guidelines influencing the determination of cultural property and their conservation processes, with the added contributions of various international documents affecting different types of cultural heritage sites, all reflecting the concepts, values, and principles that should be considered for their preservation and presentation. However, the laws that drive conservation processes are insufficient to define each item of cultural heritage and the approaches required for different periods, building types, and multi-period sites, in terms of their preservation and presentation principles. Thus, the lack of clarity or generalization in legislation may well result in subjective attitudes and/or discrimination towards specific sites or periods.

Subjectivity in cultural heritage studies and the preservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites is an obvious problem. The educational and cultural backgrounds of scholars and decision-makers are also likely to be determinative in the conservation process, as well as current political ideologies. As a result, priorities might well be determined accordingly when it comes to particular conservation strategies, urbanization projects, even archaeological investigations, including factors such as their impact on cultural heritage sites.[861] Obviously, there are different

[860] See above, pp. 114-116, 145, 152.
[861] See above, pp. 147-150.

stakeholders involved in the conservation of cultural heritage sites and their presentation; the decision-makers in local or national authorities, a group of multi-disciplinary specialists, contractors, and also local inhabitants and visitors, appear in different stages of the process. The last phase of the conservation process is the presentation of cultural heritage and the communication of it, in terms of understanding and appreciation, to all interested parties, including locals and visitors of course. In other words, cultural heritage sites are cultural sharing environments where the 'audience' (citizens, inhabitants, visitors) can interact with the past and interpret it. Communication with the past is provided by cultural heritage sites, and there are different tools and approaches for it. It is pertinent to recall what Freeman Tilden states as significant for the interpretation of cultural heritage sites:[862] "Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection." Adopting the past (remote or recent), and its cultural heritage, is also closely related to cultural identity, ideology, and level of education. Thus, the differences in cultural, religious, political or economic drivers of the 'audience' reveals the 'other', and any possible cultural conflicts. A discussion on the understanding of Byzantium, on different levels, was presented in some details in Chapter 2. In brief, the Byzantine Empire and its legacy have been conditioned to be thought of as 'other', even as 'rival', in literature, historiography, cultural discussions, conservation/urbanization projects, and political discourses via Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

The emphasis on significant periods in conservation projects and the presentation of cultural heritage sites can be said to lead public understanding and appreciation. Economic expectations and tourism policies effect the decision-making processes of multi-cultural archaeological areas or even urban settlements including Byzantine cultural heritage sites. The present urban settlements and their built environments, including cultural heritage sites, represent current state authorities, their ideologies and approaches. Therefore, urbanization and ruralization policies, despite the

[862] Tilden 1957, 38.

existence of cultural heritage sites, are affected by current ideologies and politics, and may develop into future threats not only to Byzantine remains but to all cultural heritage. The approaches of governmental authorities and their attitudes to cultural heritage sites are critical to create and foster public awareness about past cultures. Certainly, present Turkish society evaluates the heritage sites of different cultures based on their values and cultural perspectives. Thus, these approaches are inevitably affected by the socio-cultural, religious, and ethnic values of Turkish society. However, it should be noted that cultural heritage sites have universal values and their interpretation and presentation should not be limited to one society's values and norms.

Educational policies should also be highlighted in terms of the creation of public awareness about past cultures.[863] The contents of relevant courses, including the historical, archaeological and cultural backgrounds of present-day Turkey, should involve each period, discussed objectively. The concept of cultural heritage and its adoption, independent of its cultural origin, should be introduced. In current school curricula, culture and heritage are included within social studies and history courses from the third grade, but their content and emphasis are open to discussion.

The increasing interest in Byzantium is obvious in research environments at national and international levels. Foreign scholars dominate the field of Byzantine studies thus far, however, there are also well-respected Turkish scholars who have contributed to the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey. The recently established Byzantine research institutes in universities should also be mentioned; these have provided funds for researchers. This is an encouraging development for those researchers working on Byzantium in different disciplines, and will increase the number of local Byzantine researchers accordingly. As a result, Byzantium will become more visible in the literature, and, hopefully, more appreciated by Turkish scholars, readers, and interpreters as knowledge becomes more accessible.

[863] See above, pp. 117-125.

The role of mass media is also crucial in terms of its effects on public understanding. There are different media tools, examined in Chapter 2, that demonstrate how Byzantium is presented, transmitted, and interpreted. The impact of the mass media is inevitably more extensive than that of scientific publications, e.g. television serials, documentaries, and films, can reach very wide audiences. Historical films and serials based on the Ottoman-Byzantine/Muslim-Christian confrontations have been popular since the 1970s. They are told as epic stories but from a subjective point of view in general. The power and magnificence of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim superiority are highlighted in most of the material released in Turkey. Even if fictional productions, they may well be perceived as being 'real' and influence public understanding. Happily, the documentaries and documentary-based serials are more objective, and it is possible to watch these on digital platforms as well as terrestrial television. The interest in Byzantium and its heritage in Turkish literature should also be mentioned here. Obviously fictional, they can, however, trigger a curiosity in, and appreciation of, the Byzantine past.

Apart from the impact of cinema and literature, the press and social media platforms have certain influences on public understanding: society is exposed to news, discourses, and discussions across various platforms. In addition, any information or claim (true or false) is more accessible without justification or references. Furthermore, social media platforms are free to promote any ideology via visual or written posts. Thus, the web-based interfaces that people communicate with, and in some cases discuss among each other, have been popular in the recent years: individuals are not slow to reflect their support, respect, hostility, etc. towards any person/group, ideology, culture, or nation. Various examples of the negative attitudes towards Byzantium and its legacy are exemplified in Chapter 2.3.5 (Current Approaches and the Role of Mass Media), and they can be added to in great number. In particular, the discourses/posts of leading public figures, from any discipline or occupation, can have negative effects on the appreciation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

The practical issues involving the preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites should be mentioned in addition to the socio-cultural, religious, ethnic, and educational factors that affect their understanding, interpretation, and adoption by wider society and their various audiences. Several evaluations of analyses undertaken on current practices of preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in Turkey were presented at the end of Chapter 3, specific to each group. What we have seen is a range of findings common to each grouping, as well as specific findings for each group and for each Byzantine monument/structure. The final conclusions of the analyses are listed below:

Approaches and ideologies

- Given the conservation/representation approaches in relation to cultural heritage sites in urban settlements, some periods, events and buildings are emphasized and favored in terms of their Byzantine remains, such as the conquest of Istanbul. As highlighted in Chapter 3, certain wall fragments within the sea and land walls, which featured strongly during the siege of 1453, feature inscriptions to commemorate the conquest.
- The prioritization of various Islamic structures within comprehensive conservation projects in urban settlements illustrates the discriminative attitudes towards Byzantium. Both national and local bodies and institutions were understandably inclined to celebrate the Ottoman past and their Islamic structures, especially in Istanbul and other regional cities since the 1950s. The motivations behind these attitudes were discussed in detail, but it is to be noted that the attitudes, discourses and actions of the authorities have had long-term impacts on public understanding. The exclusion of Byzantine structures is clear in the conservation policies of specific periods/regimes, and decades of physical neglect were justified through discourses referring to the contemporary irrelevance of Byzantine civilization, and that their surviving heritage could be relegated to the status of ‘other’. Thus, Byzantine cultural heritage sites were in the main disregarded, and sidelined as ‘other’ and ‘rival’; they became the Byzantine ‘disappeared’.

- The conflicts and wars that took place between the Ottomans and Byzantines centuries ago are still used by certain politicians as propaganda in elections and at public events. Reviving this remote past based on subjective viewpoints and a hostility towards a vanished civilization must have a negative impact on the adoption and appreciation of its cultural heritage going forward.
- The tourism potential of Byzantine cultural heritage sites within their geographical and socio-cultural contexts must be evaluated wisely and sympathetically. For example, Istanbul's St. Sophia is a landmark of Byzantine architecture of world significance, but it also includes and represents different values for modern Turkish society. There is also the example of another significant region for Byzantine history and architecture, Cappadocia, with its unique potential for 'cultural tourism'. The famous pilgrimage sites around Ephesus are similarly key locations for attracting international tourists. Our researches also focused on many other sites representing different cultural, architectural, and historical values of Byzantium in Turkey. It is clear that the processes associated with re-assessment, valorization and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites are critical ones.
- Large-scale urbanization and transportation projects impact on cultural heritage sites within urban settlements, bringing with them high budgets and local economic benefits. Each scheme will include its own long-term project management plan, and these must take in the investigation, documentation, and preservation of cultural heritage sites to ensure that all the cultural layers and cultural values of the areas are well presented to local populations and visitors. Istanbul's Yenikapı subway station is a unique case in point here (and there were similar Byzantine contexts discovered during the construction of the subway at Sirkeci and Kartal), with the ancient harbor site subject to large-scale excavations prior to the construction of the subway, which took several years to complete. Questions might be asked about the

long-term treatment of the excavated area, which was covered up again after the removal of the shipwrecks and the documentation of the artifacts and architectural remains. However, a new exhibition area for Yenikapı was set up in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and models and exhibitions elements are displayed within the station complex itself. It remains a shame that an on-site experience of the Byzantine harbor, the shipwrecks, piers, and other archaeological finds is not currently possible. There have been two architectural project competitions for interpretations of the site – where the ancient harbor and contemporary subway station share the same space. The competition results have recently been announced and the project is in the process of scheduling.[864] The scheme will include an additional building to the station complex with display areas and features to provide information and background (including an experiential route for the 'Harbor of Theodosius', with digital interaction zones and information panel), as well as an element of cultural continuity for this unique city.

- Byzantine cultural heritage sites currently face problems and threats in rural settlements. The first of these is neglect from processes of abandonment. When rural settlements are deserted this directly affects surrounding cultural heritage sites. Living settlements and their populations create local economies and networks, both in and around rural areas, which should be able to benefit from cultural tourism; in return, the cultural heritage is also protected, and interactions between the rural settlement and its inhabitants and heritage sites are reciprocal. If this process does not materialize, then a further problem facing sites within rural settlements is the lack of financial support for the preservation of remains. Other priorities for those authorities responsible for the conservation of cultural heritage sites, often with very limited resources, may ultimately result in the neglect and eventual disappearance of monuments. There are several cases exemplifying these

[864] Information on this project provided by Alişan Çırakoğlu.

diverse situations. In some instances, archaeological areas within rural settlements become simply 'open-air' exhibitions of the past, but this can bring further issues in terms of the lack of care, information resources, guidance, etc. In these circumstances, local residents are relied upon to perform many 'curatorial' roles, and often help to uncover the remains themselves, with the associated issues this entails.

- Educational policies are strongly affective when it comes to public understanding and adoption of Byzantium, especially in primary education. Our first interactions with the past starts in school, via appropriate courses and content. Awareness of cultural heritage comes from educational activities in schools, and excursions to experience cultural heritage sites. Thus policies and approaches towards past cultures should be assessed, revised and developed in the school curricula.

Current functions of Byzantine cultural heritage

- The re-use or adaptive re-use of churches or cisterns, may be seen as positive in terms of regular maintenance, but the correct parameters for the conservation and necessary interventions, following on from any new function, should be ascertained, taking into account the criteria of the various international documents regarding the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites and the preservation of their authenticity. New functions assigned to former Byzantine buildings is critical because the demands of the new function may challenge original cultural, architectural, and historical contexts and values.
- Museums and their contents should be reassessed from a critical perspective to evaluate their abilities to represent the cultural continuity and historical timeline of modern Turkey and its cities, as well as the significant features of the Byzantine past and buildings, without exception. The interventions of Tekfur Sarayı are criticized in Chapter 2 for concentrating mostly on the Ottoman period, despite its remarkable Byzantine setting. As mentioned above, Istanbul's Archaeological Museum has a special exhibition area for

the Byzantine remains and finds from Yenikapı, however this has been closed for a considerable time for ongoing restoration works. The mosaics of the Great Palace are displayed in the museum at Sultanahmet, but it is a very modest exhibit compared to the surrounding museums. As well as the museums featuring Byzantine collections, there are also major Byzantine monuments functioning as museums, e.g. the Church of St. Eirene, the Church of St. Sophia in Iznik (partially), the Church of St. Peter in Antakya, and the churches and underground settlements in Cappadocia. The adaptive re-use of these buildings as museums provides a 'neutral' identity for them, distancing them from aspects of potential cultural conflict.

- The conversion of the churches of St. Sophia and Chora into mosques raised much cultural and political debate at home and overseas; the vulnerability of Turkey's Byzantine past and cultural heritage sites is clear. The underlying reasons for these actions are complex, but these conversions are presented in terms of the 're-conquest' of Istanbul and they have triggered debates and disagreements between different groups of specialists, politicians, and citizens, both on the national and international level. These disagreements also increase the already existing temperature of internal polarization within Turkish society.

Physical conditions and accessibility

- Most of the Byzantine buildings and remains in urban settlements, rural settlements and archaeological areas, are physically accessible and visible. However, some features (such as parts of the city walls in Istanbul or Iznik, and some churches, cisterns, etc.) are inaccessible; the reasons for this include their ruinous or overgrown state, ongoing conservation projects, security problems, dense urban fabric, and other similar challenges. Especially in the city centers, cultural heritage sites suffer from rapid urban growth and uncontrolled planning. In addition, social structures around cultural heritage sites have changed as a further result of rapid urbanization

projects. Byzantine cultural heritages areas are included within these sites, and their disuse or neglect cause them to be further affected.

- As the above indicates, many Byzantine cultural heritage sites are in relatively poor condition, especially in archaeological areas and rural settlements. These poor conditions and neglect will clearly impact on the understanding and experience of these sites and make the Byzantine periods less 'valued'. The effects are even more noticeable when cultural heritage sites from other periods are preserved and presented more effectively; in these instances, the neglect of Byzantine remains is remarkable. There are Byzantine structures in urban areas that have been reused (mainly churches, cisterns), and these are often in better physical condition and are regularly maintained. Conversely, there are also remains of major Byzantine structures in ruins (e.g. sections of the Great Palace in Istanbul and the Church of the Koimesis in İznik), with physical conditions that mirror the minor remains in remote archaeological areas and rural settlements.

Current practices in conservation and representation

- A comprehensive 'value assessment' process should be conducted for each heritage site in detail within the conservation project, based on extensive research, analyses and evaluations. Determination of the value types are crucial to decide how to preserve and present heritage sites. Each building or site has its own values within its cultural, geographical, and architectural contexts. Specific to Byzantium, its integration and interaction with the present physical environment, and also the culture of the current society, should be investigated, never underestimating all the challenges and factors affecting its understanding and adoption.
- Many current representation tools and strategies do little to convey the importance and significant features of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in all the groups outlined in Chapter 3. There are standard applications for all periods – mostly labels, and information panels with texts, drawings/pictures, etc. New and interactive settings need to be created through digital platforms

and on- and off-site environments. Emphasis needs to be placed on why these sites are remarkable for Byzantine history and the cultural continuity of Turkey.

- The quality and extent of many conservation projects are questionable in terms of approach, techniques, and materials. Partial interventions when it comes to the conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites represent one of the major problems. City walls, in Istanbul and elsewhere, illustrate this as much as any other example, with their now interrupted circuits, collapsed sections, natural decay, and the effects of urbanization. Although walls are multi-period structures, they should ideally, logically even, be approached as entire structures, even when this is clearly impossible, so as to preserve their many architectural values and the spirit of the place. The same applies for individual buildings: in most cases simple repairs may do no harm to cultural heritage sites in order to maintain them. However, comprehensive conservation projects are required for tong-term care and protection, and these should be prepared and managed by interdisciplinary teams, including Byzantine specialists, for optimum results in terms of the preservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

Given the concluding remarks, a full understanding of the present situation regarding Byzantine cultural heritage sites, and current practices for their preservation and presentation, is vital to unlock their potential and produce comprehensive conservation and representation strategies. Neglect is a common problem and most of the Byzantine cultural heritage within both urban and rural settlements, archaeological areas, and cultural landscapes, are open to weathering and deterioration, natural disasters, vandalism, and other factors. If no precautions are taken to prevent decay and possible future collapse of the remains, most of these sites will disappear and leave a gap in the historical and cultural continuity of these lands.

The current situation relating to Byzantine cultural heritage sites in the Levant and Balkans – their remains are to be found, in ruins or well-preserved, in all regions, including Turkey – reveal various issues affecting their preservation and presentation

which confront decision makers and local communities, necessitating strategies and levels of prioritization. These issues relate to societal values and the cultural and economic policies of the countries that have a duty of care to Byzantine cultural heritage sites. Essentially, conservation is a multi-disciplinary scientific process including different stakeholders, approaches and applications. There are national/international regulations and laws to be followed in the conservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, the processes of preparation and implementation of conservation projects are affected by ideologies, economic expectations, and cultural considerations, and thus the quality of conservation projects has to be assessed on individual, case-based factors and specific concerns.

Turkey stands out as a nation where, in terms of its Byzantine past, the present societal groups share no common values (culture, religion, ethnicity) in the way that certain other Levantine or Balkan countries do today. Clearly, each country has its own dynamics and particular attitudes towards past cultures and heritage, and how they should be preserved and presented. Most Balkan countries take different stances on their Byzantine cultural heritage sites, continuing to share values that can be traced directly back to Byzantium. To a large degree, and beyond the practicalities related to conservation and presentation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, this helps to explain the many differences between attitudes and approaches to the Byzantine heritage, and its appreciation, between Turkey and the Balkan countries selected for our research. Despite the many conflicts in the course of Serbian history with the Byzantines, and negative attitudes towards Byzantine remains in Greece in the 19th century, common values (culture, religion, ethnicity) have facilitated the adoption process, resulting in higher degrees of preservation today.

To sum up, therefore, these evaluations and theoretical discussions aimed, hopefully, towards the better preservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, highlight above all the need for all levels of society to engage and adopt. Protection starts with public attitudes towards its past civilizations and heritage: public awareness and adoption is critical. As referred to on several occasions in this present work, Byzantium has no shared values with present-day Turkish society in either socio-cultural, religious, or

ethnic terms. Accordingly, the representation of Byzantium has been mostly negative in the literature, on screen, and mass and social media. Educational policies and the content of relevant courses do not go far enough in presenting equally the historical and cultural backgrounds of these regions, or from any objective point of view. Therefore, everyday knowledge about the past is limited, and superficial, in terms of creating proper levels of awareness of past cultures and respect for heritage. The creation of 'a narrative' of past cultures and heritage, their 'meaning' for today's Turkish society, and the potential for visitors from home and abroad, provide the concrete foundation for the adoption of cultural heritage. Byzantium and its riches must not be neglected, and awareness must be generated for the need for the preservation of its cultural heritage and equal respect with the nation's other cultures.

5.2 Future Directions: Constructing Meaning from the Past and Establishing a Narrative

Adoption of the Byzantine past and heritage is only possible through the creation of 'meaning', capable of being understood, interpreted, and appreciated by different societal groups. Generating meaning ensures dialogue between 'audience' and 'cultural heritage', and it is the interpretation of the past, with its varied cultural references, which is able then to be presented through different stakeholders and media/tools.[865] Extensive discussion on the representation of Byzantium, in Turkey and abroad, revealed how the Byzantine Empire and its legacy have been exposed to negative and discriminative attitudes. Considering the many cultural and religious values, ethnic origins, historical backgrounds, and educational policies of modern Turkey, the current negative representation of Byzantium, and the long neglect of Byzantine cultural heritage, can be understood. This, of course, does not legitimize

[865] Shanks and Hodder 1995, 44-45. Also see Carman 1995, 110. 'Meanings' of past cultures and their heritages may be remade, as long as they are active and appreciated. See Johnson 2001, 75; Silverman and Ruggles 2007, 12.

the exclusion of Byzantine cultural heritage sites in conservation projects and strategies, or their neglect.

The need, therefore, for creating an objective, adoptable, and comprehensible meaning of 'Byzantium' is obvious for providing audiences with a deeper experience and understanding across diverse cultural, educational, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Creating meaning, based on the interpretation of the past and the translation of it so that it may be understood and appreciated,[866] is a long-term process that should be initiated by the appropriate educational and cultural authorities. Archaeological sites, as physical remains of the past, and reservoirs of data for the future, and the results of archaeological investigations, and how they are represented, are all fundamental in this process. We can bring in Stephanie Moser again at this point: "Representation in archaeology can be defined as the production of meaning through a visual language of communicating the past."[867]

Contributors to this process must assess the needs of the audience and the tools to be employed.[868] As discussed in Chapter 2, factors affecting understanding, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage should be understood and acknowledged in this process. As Helaine Silverman and Fairchild Ruggles remind us, 'While heritage can unite, it can also divide', so the meaning created must promote 'adoption' rather than 'division'.[869] It is also clear that 'authenticity' needs to be preserved and the meaning created should be persuasive and understandable. Establishing a narrative on Byzantium is the next step, which in practice should cover the presentation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites according to their geographical, cultural and architectural contexts and potentials[870]. Ian Hodder defines narrative as "an account which relates events into a sequence with a

[866] For more information about the creation of 'meaning' as related to past cultures and archaeological data, see Moser 2001, 264. See also Serin 2008, 224, for the importance of interpretation and representation of the past to ensure the understanding and adoption of Byzantium.
[867] Moser 2001, 266.
[868] Serin 2008, 222.
[869] Silverman and Ruggles 2007, 3.
[870] See above, pp. 9, 33, 35, 54. See also Shanks and Tilley 1992, 19, 243.

beginning, a middle and an end".[871] He also notes that rhetoric is necessary to persuade an audience of any narrative.[872] Argument is critical, and the narrative, with its textual and visual representations, is the basis of any dialogue between heritage and society. The narrative's content and methodology provide an efficient environment for the communication and interaction with cultural heritage sites: strong communication then leads to strong understanding, interpretation, and adoption. Once adopted by the local society, it should then be easier to preserve and maintain any site and overcome concerns, be they cultural, economic, or political.[873] Byzantium's extraordinary 'narrative' and cultural heritage needs to relate to a 'meaning' created on the foundations of comprehensive analyses, evaluation, and interpretation, so as to transmit effectively the layers of its cultural, historical, and architectural contexts.

Various stakeholders from different fields and cultural heritage backgrounds are involved in the processes in question (transmission, narration, documentation, conservation, and presentation of cultural heritage sites): these partners are governmental and non-governmental organizations that operate in areas of education, cultural management, tourism, communication, economics, law, and politics (Fig. 5.1). Overall planning must be created and managed by individuasl or body capable of appreciating the theoretical approaches and practical needs of each stakeholder. Each partner, of course, will have different responsibilities, but they are expected to collaborate effectively to ensure comprehensive, permanent, and efficient strategies for the understanding, conservation, and presentation of cultural heritage sites. Byzantium has a particular place within other cultural strata in Turkey, as explained in Chapter 2. The interpretation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites, and

[871] Hodder 1995, 183.

[872] Hodder (1995) underlines concepts such as metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche among his rhetorical devices, including irony and figures of speech. Such concepts, he maintains, are important when trying to create a narrative that triggers dialogue between 'audience' and 'heritage'.

[873] Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zehra Akdemir Veryeri has contributed here with her studies on İzmir-Kadifekale, within the context of "dialogue between 'community' and 'heritage'", and other inspirational ideas. See also Serin 2008, 224.

the provision of objective and workable environments for understanding and communication with the Byzantine past by means of art and architecture, requires particular attention.

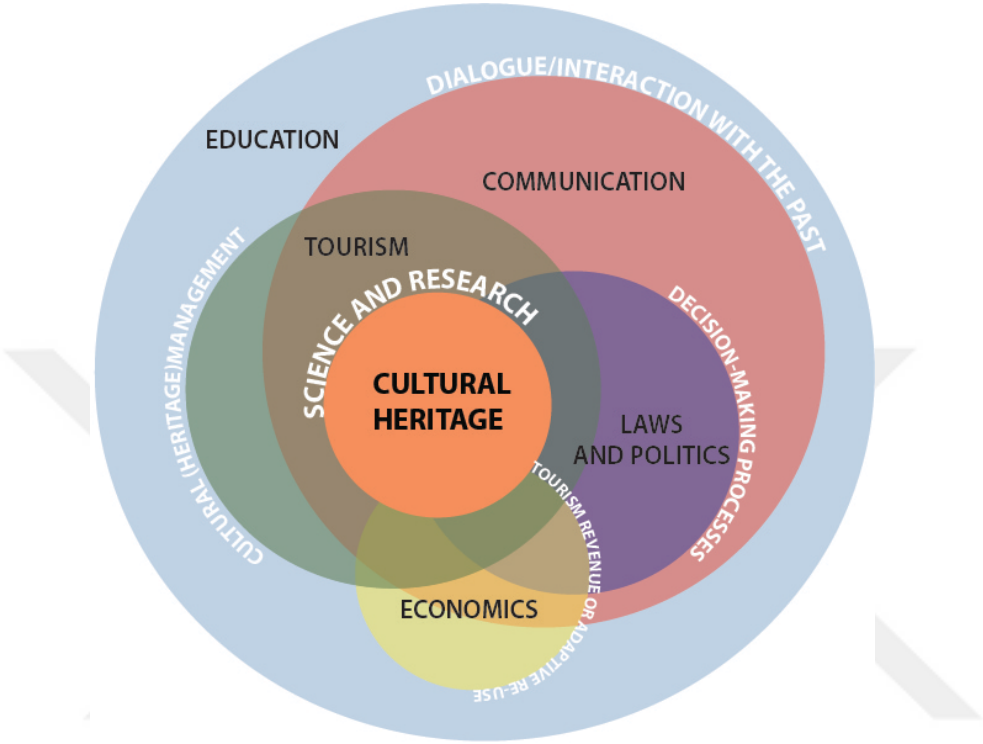

Figure 5.1. Graphic showing a range of different factors relating to cultural heritage.[874]

The conservation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites should be thought of as a scientific process, and should be prepared and conducted by interdisciplinary teams involving Byzantine specialists. Additionally, before any conservation initiative, the correct level of data in terms of the relevant Byzantine content, and its accessibility, should be discussed. The quality and extent of this data in any environment (on-site introduction/experience, digital data, scientific data, educational content, cultural/touristic content) are seen as vital for heritage conservation and presentation. Before any scientific conservation initiatives affecting Byzantine cultural heritage sites, the adoption and understanding of any planned work by involved local groups should be ensured. Within this context, levels of knowledge and content regarding

[874] This graphic is prepared by the author with the contribution of Zehra Akdemir Veryeri.

Byzantium and Byzantine cultural heritage sites relating to various disciplines, environments, and objectives is discussed and summarized in Table 5.1. In terms of environments (i.e. sites of interaction between people, history, archaeology, culture and cultural heritage of different civilizations, including Byzantium) the main groupings are:

- Those environments assessed to provide cultural heritage and motivations to appreciate and preserve them.
- Those environments that are exposed to cultural heritage elements and discussions on them.
- Those environments we voluntarily visit to experience cultural heritage sites.
- Those environments where there are alternative tools for visitors to receive information and experience cultural heritage sites.

Thus, multiplying the numbers of these environments, and creating the necessary, objective and value content is vital to for the continued adoption and understanding of Byzantium and its heritage. Among others, educational environments are critical for discussions to correct which periods or concepts are currently excluded or neglected in school curricula and the reasons behind these decisions. MacKenzie and Stone remark on the study of selected historical pasts and how this will impact on communication between 'past' and 'society':[875]

> What we choose to teach, and then go on to interpret and present – and equally what we do not choose to teach and then fail to interpret and present – is a dilemma common to all of those empowered to communicate about the past.

The same authors go on to explain the reasons for an 'excluded past' in school curricula, including the lack of content and suitable materials.[876] This lack of content, and representation tools, in terms of cultural heritage areas obviously need be considered when it comes to improving the heritage experience and ensuring better

[875] MacKenzie and Stone 1990, 5. See also, Mondale 1994, 15.
[876] MacKenzie and Stone 1990, 3.

understanding within cultural tourism activities. Thus, before considering all educational aspects of cultural heritage environments, the content of each objective needs to be sagely determined and prepared, and to do this the correct strategies for the production of content should be determined and applied.

Phyrrus Mercouris' contribution explaining the 'best practices' for cultural heritage in Cyprus, Israel, the Palestinian National Authority, and Turkey is an inspiring study, helping us to understand what kinds of models should be developed in various fields.[877] The author basically classifies the practices in four groups: the management of sites and monuments; heritage and land-use planning; heritage and education; information and communication technologies. These groups reveal the necessity of multi-disciplinary approaches toward heritage sites for their better understanding, preservation and presentation. All of the groups are equally important, but best practice in education should be analyzed thoroughly and evaluated. The author also underlines the importance of developing an "educational curricula to stimulate participation and pride among schoolchildren in the local heritage, as well as use it to introduce them to local history, architecture and conservation."[878]

After designating the environments for communication with Byzantine cultural heritage, the next stage is the determination of personnel, i.e. the responsible authorities and those specialists from different disciplines who will contribute to the production of data on the aspects of Byzantine culture selected, and from whom the knowledge will be interpreted and prepared accordingly. How this knowledge will be used is also important in terms of defining the scope of the content and ensuring the correct levels of comprehension by the target audiences. Knowledge of the extent of Byzantine culture, of course, can be compiled in a number of ways: the interpretation/reinterpretation of existing literature (ancient sources, archival documents, travelogues, historical maps, illustrations, engravings, photographs, etc.); site surveys and documentation on Byzantine cultural heritage sites; research

[877] Mercouris 2008, 67-89.
[878] Mercouris 2008, 82-83.

projects in different disciplines; and archaeological investigations. These studies and investigations will be communicated in diverse ways. The role of archeology is also critical in this stage. As indicated in Chapter 2, archaeology has a prominent role to play in the understanding and interpretation the past, and also in transmitting culture and knowledge to future generations.[881] Several scholars, such as Chris Tilley, Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, and Stephanie Moser, agree that archaeology is a convincing and powerful tool for the representation of the past, in that the science can steer public perceptions about past cultures.[882] The material culture retrieved from archaeological areas is important in terms of creating (and also preserving) representations of the past for audiences from many different backgrounds: actual, physical remains give, perhaps, the strongest impressions to visitors, promoting understanding, appreciation, and memory.

In terms of the knowledge generated, the primary material stems from the scientific literature and interventions (e.g. monographs, articles, seminars, conferences, exhibitions, and conservation applications). These results are accessible and beneficial for varied audiences, including researchers, specialists, academics, scientists, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and those responsible for the maintenance, conservation and representation of Byzantine cultural heritage sites.

This extensive knowledge on Byzantium can then be synthesized, interpreted, and, if necessary, simplified and visualized to make it suitable as content for cultural activities and tourism. This content can then be made available for visitors (from home and abroad) so as to provide improved levels of understanding and experience at cultural heritage sites. Archaeological representations based on visual reproductions (in both physical and virtual environments) can help to improve both the understanding and adoption of the past.

[881] See above, pp. 54-62.
[882] See above, pp. 54-56. Also, Moser 2001, 263-264.

In terms of the production of content for educational institutions, at all levels, the components/modules related to cultural heritage sites and Byzantium should be supported by external activities, such as site visits, workshops, etc. The intention should always be to create awareness of Byzantium and its importance in the historical continuity of Turkey, stimulate consciousness of Byzantine cultural heritage sites and their preservation, prepare appropriate content for relevant courses to ensure the adoption of the Byzantine past and its heritage from an objective point of view.

However, producing content and presenting/using it for cultural and educational purposes is not enough to ensure efficient understanding, awareness, and adoption. Interactive environments should be established to increase dialogues between 'community' and 'heritage'. Examples of successful interactive educational environments include site visits, on-site lectures, workshops, and exhibitions contributed to by different groups from within the community and supported by governmental or non-governmental institutions. The concepts and processes for the production of knowledge/data on Byzantium, and how this may be used in different environments and for various audiences, are illustrated in Fig. 5.2.

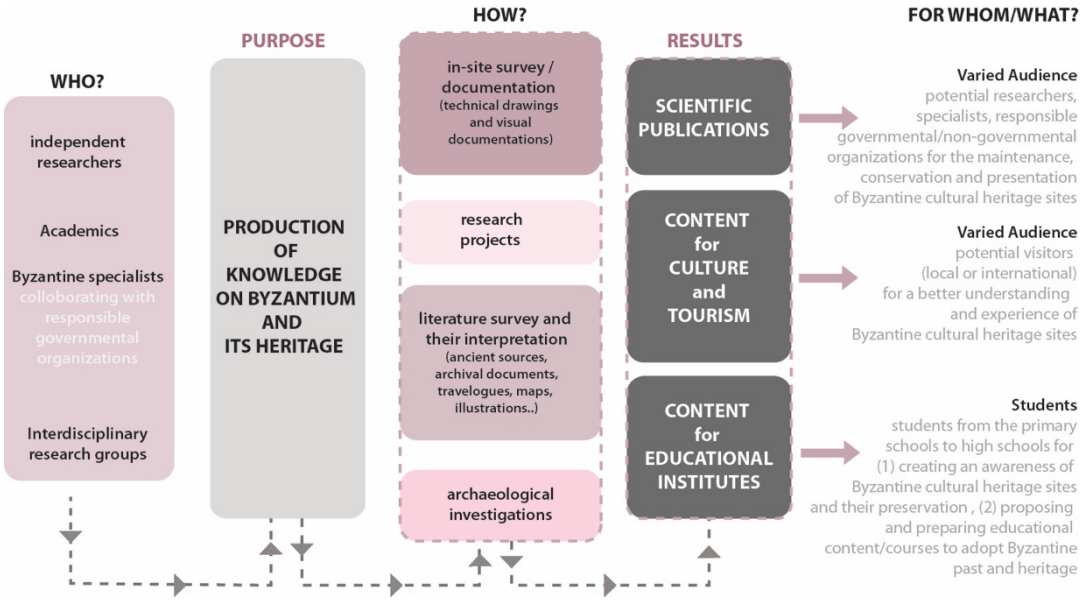

Figure 5.2. Graphic showing the processes behind the production of knowledge and content for Byzantium and its heritage.

Content produced on aspects of Byzantium and its heritage for cultural and educational purposes can be used or published through several tools in different formats. The main purpose of the production of such content for cultural and educational practice is the establishment of a narrative for Byzantium and its heritage which can be understood, interpreted, and adopted by audiences of different backgrounds. Considering the current political, cultural, religious, and economic forces in play in Turkey currently, and the challenges that face all aspects of Byzantine cultural heritage, this narrative should aim to provide what may be thought of as a first step, on a neutral basis, towards the understanding and experiencing of Byzantium.

The purposes of such a 'Byzantine narrative' include:

- To create an awareness, and foster public attention of Byzantium and its heritage.
- The production and presentation of objective content to ensure the better understanding and adoption of Byzantine heritage.
- The provision of practical and relevant content for responsible authorities to enable better preservation and presentation.
- To ensure accessibility of all content to a wide range of audiences by means of on- and off-site experiences.
- The integration of Byzantine cultural heritage sites and current urban networks/fabrics.
- The proposal of regional plans/routes linked to Byzantine cultural heritage sites in rural areas.

The methodology of the Byzantine narrative, and the tools used to facilitate it, may vary according to purpose. The overall proposal for establishing such a narrative, and the motivations behind it, are presented in Figure 5.3.

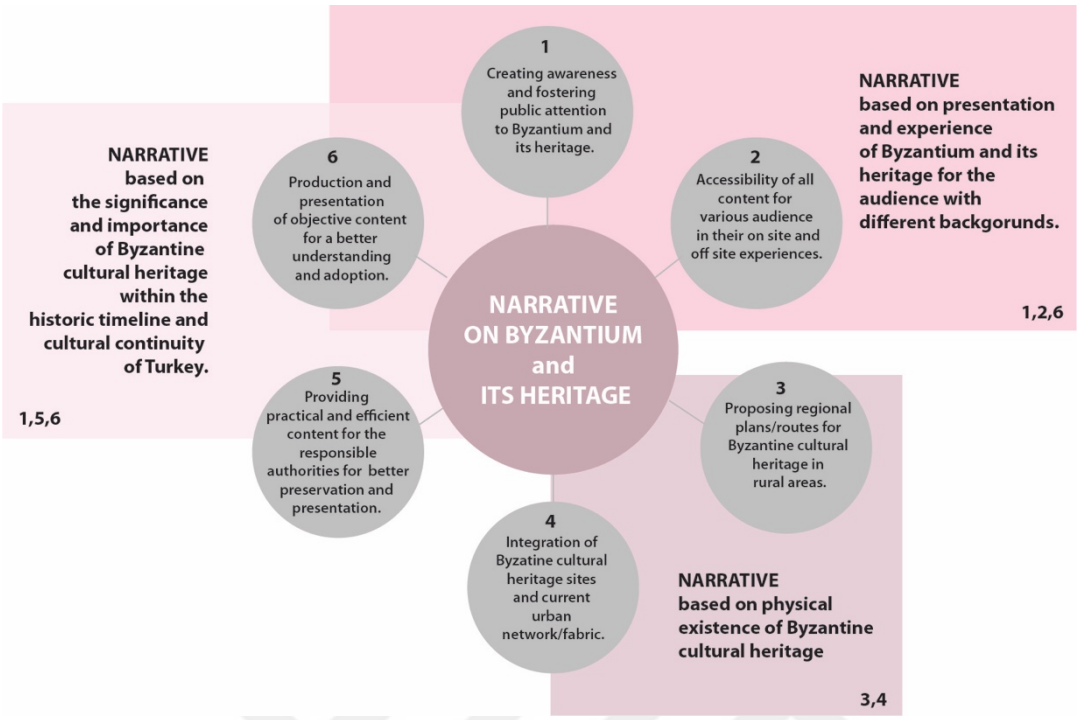

Figure 5.3. Graphic showing the purposes of establishing a narrative on Byzantium and its different forms.

The content of the narrative should be managed and prepared according to changing audience profiles. There are principally three types of tools applicable for physical and digital environments: digital tools and interfaces, printed materials, and materials with visualized content. All of these tools are intended for use in learning and experiencing Byzantine cultural heritage to ensure better understanding and adoption (Fig. 5.4). Inevitably, these materials on their own will not provide the complete interactive experience and an efficient means of learning. On-site activities, for both national and international visitors, for cultural and touristic purposes, and extracurricular activities for students, are also vital to create what we might call visual culture, and increase levels of interaction between audience and site/object. These proposals and pilot applications in educational and cultural learning, or experiencing environments, will of course need monitoring and the necessary improvements implemented for better results. Audience feedback should be gathered, recorded, and acted upon where necessary to ensure short-and long-term results. To this end, there can be questionnaires and on-site activities to examine the

content appropriateness and effectiveness. The responsible authorities for cultural and educational activities and the preservation and presentation of cultural heritage sites, as well as a multidisciplinary group of experts and researchers, must all be part of this process to ensure comprehensive approaches and strategies.

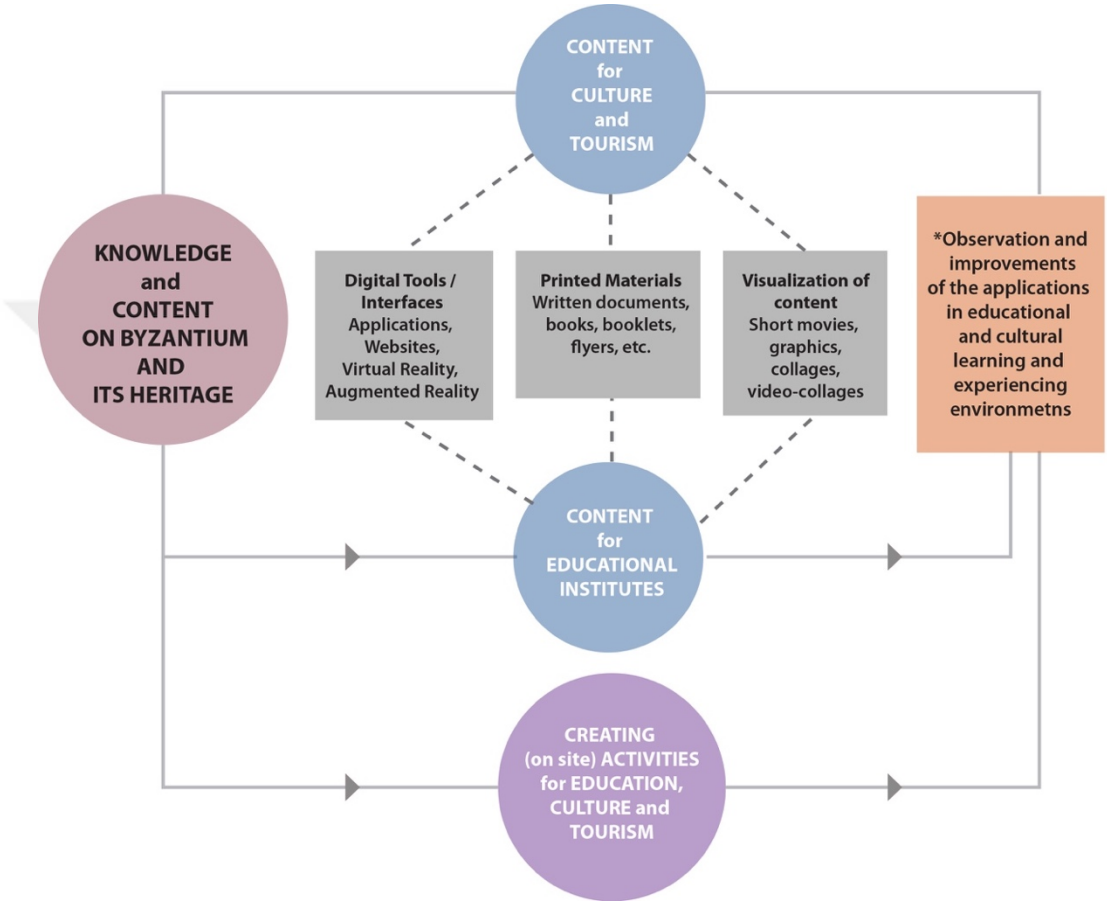

Figure 5.4. Graphic showing the process of using content, and its management, with different tools and in various environments.

In conclusion, the main problem is how Byzantium is to be understood, interpreted, and presented in different fields, via mass-media tools, and by different stakeholders, including scholars from different disciplines, politicians, and other interested parties. The key point is the production of quality knowledge and content on Byzantium and its heritage, and thus research opportunities should be increased and researchers encouraged at an early stage. Approaches towards cultural heritage sites should be independent from any cultural, political, or religious ideologies, when it comes to their preservation and presentation. Within this context, and this not only applies to

Byzantine culture, constructing the ‘meaning’ of the past and establishing a narrative are crucial for the better understanding and adoption of past cultures and their heritage. As a result, reflections of these attitudes will hopefully be observed in the policies of future: cultural, educational, and, of course, conservation and presentation.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	ITU Restoration	2014
B. Arch	ITU Architecture	2011
High School	Ortadoğu College, İstanbul	2005

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2016-Present	AGU Dept. of Architecture	Research Assistant
2015-2016	METU Dept. of Architecture.	Research Assistant
2012-2013	Yazgan Design and Architecture	Architect
2011-2012	Mono Architectural Design	Architect

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

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