

Hagia Sophia as a Factice:
Originality through Appropriations

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Thesis submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State
University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science
In
Architecture

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May 11, 2021
Alexandria, Virginia

Keywords: Spolia, Appropriation, Hybrid Factice, Architecture, Building, Hagia
Sophia, Ayasofya

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to investigate the hybrid facture of one of the most influential buildings of architectural history, Hagia Sophia, which has been a source of wonder and awe since its construction in the sixth century. Since the first temple erected on that site; old-new, future-past, forgetting-remembering are all intertwined in the imaginative act of initiating and its continuous making as remakings that manifest the building as a palimpsest-in-the-becoming. Its originality lies not any of its chronological beginnings but its diachronic facture of interweaved historical, mythical and architectural strata of its remakings through appropriation. The conquest of Constantinople, a central moment in Hagia Sophia's macro-history, marked the beginning of the diachronic appropriation of the site and building elements that are of Byzantine origin. By employing the south turret as the site of the minaret, the appropriation became a twofold strategy of preservation and innovation that ensured sacredness and continuity. An intertwined narrative was factured by complementing the material appropriation with deliberately constructed mythopoeic and visual re-makings of Byzantine texts and representations. Evliya Celebi's tale in which an Ottoman architect was said to have laid the foundations of a minaret preceding the conquest and the Dusseldorf manuscript, an idiosyncratic version of Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* are the two accounts through which this study aims to open-up a multi-directional dialogue to explore the appropriation program of Hagia Sophia. Within this framework, a critical revisiting of the concepts of facture, making, palimpsest, original, spolia and their respective relationships will provide clues to tackle the transformation process the building is going through currently. In a way, its hybrid facture will act as a paradigmatic model for the future undertakings.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

Hagia Sophia is undoubtedly one of the most influential buildings of architectural history. With its overwhelming symbolic significance and long existence, it has been a source of wonder and awe since its construction in the sixth century. A recent statement regarding its original state brought up various questions. This dissertation aims to seek where the building's originality lies within its incarnations as a pagan temple, church, mosque and a museum. Looking at the transformations and gaining an understanding of how Hagia Sophia was built with appropriation and how these spolia elements were translated into their new use and context will allow to delineate its polysemic architectural composition. Extending beyond the reach of memory, the actual beginning and mythical narrative are intertwined within the hybrid body of Hagia Sophia. It is open to reinterpretation with the continuous shifts of contexts, plots, characters and their projected consequences on the building, the myth and their mediating relationship. A critical revisiting of the concepts of factice, making, palimpsest, original, spolia and their respective relationships and connections is crucial to penetrate the intricate architectural body of Hagia Sophia, thus providing clues to tackle the transformation process the building is going through currently. The building will act as a paradigmatic model for future conservation practices.

DEDICATION

to my mom Umit,
my root in heaven;

to my kids Erem and Aren,
my sister Ayca,
my husband Engin,
&
my uncle Can;
my roots on earth



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks go first and foremost to my committee members Dr. Paul Emmons, Dr. Marcia Feuerstein and Dr. Federica Goffi. Without their immense support and guidance, this work would not be close to completion. Since the emergence of this thesis, they have been an inspiration and light to my path and made me wonder along the way. Our discussions at the critical moments not only led me to comprehend my understanding on this topic but of architecture as well. Their mentorship, encouragement and insight are valuable beyond words.

Special thanks go to WAAC colleagues and staff and Virginia Tech Interlibrary Loan services for their excellent work and dedication. It is a privilege to be a student at WAAC and becoming a part of its history.

I would like to thank my sister, Ayca, for her unconditional love and support. Especially during Covid, her many visits to Ayasofya and helping me with my research materials kept this work going. Thank you to my husband, Engin, for believing in me and pushing me toward to my goal relentlessly almost every day. To Erem and Aren, hoping your love of learning will continue to grow and you will both become life-time learners as I am.

Finally, my mom, Umit, whom without, I wouldn't be who I am now. Your light shines in my heart and your words keep me on my feet. Wish you were here to celebrate with me.

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INTRODUCTION

*Sancta Sophia is the most interesting building on the world's surface.
Like Karnak in Egypt, or the Athenian Parthenon, it is one of the four
great pinnacles of architecture, but unlike them this is no ruin,
nor does it belong to a past world of constructive ideas...*

– Lethaby and Swainson, 1894¹

Hagia Sophia is undoubtedly one of the most influential buildings of architectural history. With its overwhelming symbolic significance and long existence, it has been a source of wonder and awe since its construction in the sixth century. It is a hybrid facture of various cultures, religions and origins that is made through a conscious appropriation process of bringing the past and the present in a new configuration at the architectural, literal and visual levels where a re-making happens perpetually all the time.² As an ensemble of fragments, whether a building, narrative or an image, in their coming togetherness, there is a constant play between the parts and the whole that opens up possibilities for new meanings to emerge. While the building is constructed by the facture of materials, it is also being re-created within the narratives and the images where the real and the imaginary are merged into one, constituting a new reality that is of myth. With the emergence of every new myth, the original state of Hagia Sophia gets to be redefined. Both the building's

¹ Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: v.

² In this work, the word facture refers to a palimpsest-in-the-becoming, an originality that is created in its own right, unbound of any of historical embodiments, that is having being made perpetually through remakings. The importance of Hagia Sophia's facture lies in its lively nature that allows change while sustaining its essence through the translations it took throughout time. Frascari states: "Facture is the Latin past participle of *facio, facere*, meaning both at the same time "to make" and "to do"; it thus has the same derivation as "fact", which might be defined as something evidently done. Understood in this way, "fact" and "facture" are closely related; to consider an artefact in terms of its facture is to consider it as a record of its own having been made." Frascari, M., 2009: 203. OED defines word facture as "the action or process of making or creating." In this sense, the facture is not an end product but a process of making revealing the true essence of the building's being.

material configuration and its mythopoetic composition, though built out of juxtapositions, still reveal a coherence, a unity in their fabric as well as a fusion in their intermingled communication. Further, both factures, the construction of the building and the construction of the myth, through their interaction, create a new facture reiteratively, that is the hybrid facture of Hagia Sophia, in which both construction and construing of its architecture are contained in its making.³ In other words, harboring fictional and historical anecdotes, the building and the myth join together to tell the hallowed story of Hagia Sophia, a hybrid facture of factures of appropriation, an original of multiple beginnings and multiple cultures without an attribution to any of its incarnations (Plate 1).⁴

The relationship between the ways it is constructed and construed is key to understand the extent of its facture. With various levels of appropriation throughout its centuries-long life, the church acquired its current architectural form and layers of meaning transcending the original context in which it was created. Since the first known temple erected on that site, the continuous making as re-makings manifest the building as a palimpsest-in-the-becoming where the merging of past and present perpetually fabricates its facture.⁵ The conquest of Constantinople in 1453, a central moment in Hagia Sophia's macro-history, marked the beginning of the diachronic appropriation of the site and building elements that are of Byzantine origin. One must look at this process as a translation, thus creation, in which the old is translated into new, the merging of past and present into a new tradition and

³ Frascari discusses the relationship between construction and construing in his 1984 essay *The Tell-The-Tale Detail*. He suggests that detail is the place of meeting of mental construing and actual construction. Frascari, M., 1984.

⁴ Despite the changes in its use and function, Hagia Sophia exhibits the presence of its hallowed essence unceasingly. The endurance of its sacredness creates and re-creates stories of this hallowed presence. Goffi, F., 2013 discusses the hallowed configuration of Alfarano's hybrid ichnography of St. Peter's Basilica and how it was a representation of the epiphany of presence with encrypted meanings expressed visually.

⁵ OED online palimpsest (n.): "from Latin *palimpsestus* paper or parchment which has been written on again, having been reused or altered while still retaining traces of its earlier form, a multilayered record". Palimpsest-in-the-becoming refers to the condition of the building where a re-creation happens perpetually revealing a multiple stratum of multiple authors, multiple origins and multiple stories that allows the memory to dwell into the now and the future.

ending into beginning; all creating a facture through their discordant but also unified presence.

Occupying the summit of the first hill of the seven hills, Hagia Sophia rises above the apex of the oldest part of the city (fig. 1).⁶ The present edifice is the third one that stood on that site (fig. 2). Preceded by a pagan temple, the first church, known as *Megale Ekklesia*- the Great Church - was consecrated in 360, possibly founded by Constantine the Great (306-337) and completed by his successor Constantius (337-361). It was destroyed by a fire in 404 during a riot by the supporters of the Patriarch of Constantinople who was deposed by the empress Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Arcadius (383-404). In 415, a new church was rededicated by Theodosius II (402-450) who is known by the promulgation of the *Codex Theodosianus*. This edifice, known as the Theodosian church, was destroyed by a fire on January 15, 532 during the Nika revolt. In only thirty-nine days after its destruction, the construction of the new church started on February 23rd, 532 and on December 26th, 537, only just after five years, it was rededicated to Divine Wisdom by Justinian I (527-565) (fig. 3). Weakened with various earthquakes in the preceding years, the eastern part of the dome collapsed along with the arch and semidome in 558. After its reconstruction project was completed, it was rededicated again by Justinian in 563. During the Latin occupation, after the city's fall to the Crusaders, between 1204-61, the church served as a Roman Catholic church and was stripped of all of its relics and objects that are gold and silver as well as a portion of its marble revetment (fig. 4, fig. 5). When the city was recaptured in 1261 by the Greeks, it was reconsecrated as an Eastern Orthodox church. In 1317, buttresses were added at the north, south and east by Emperor Andronicus Palaeologus the Elder due to the imminent danger of collapse of the northeastern vaults. Following the 1344 earthquake, new cracks opened up in the structure and the dome collapsed in 1346 causing a

⁶ Gyllius, P., Book I, Ch. VII.

catastrophic event. Due to the empire's decaying economic condition, its reconstruction, the last major restoration project undertaken by the Greeks, took almost ten years to complete.⁷

Having served as the patriarchal church of Byzantine Empire for nine hundred years, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Hagia Sophia was consecrated into the imperial mosque of Ottoman Istanbul and dedicated as *Ayasofya Camii* by Mehmed II, who is also known as the Conqueror by the Turks. Like that of the Pantheon, the building was converted to a new purpose as a whole.⁸ For Ottomans, its architectural form transcended the Christian sacred purpose, thus, as a response to their awareness of the building's former significance, initially they appropriated the church as their imperial mosque without radical changes in its structure or decoration and any destructions at all. The Ottomans not only inherited a unique building, but a vast number of literary texts and visual representations of its former past. Through a creative process of *translatio*, these sources were exploited to create new ones making Hagia Sophia a hybrid facture in which its Byzantine origins were fused with Ottoman origins contributing to the construction of a multifaceted imperial identity.⁹

To comprehend how Hagia Sophia was accepted and treated by the Ottomans and understand its transformation process into a mosque, one should look at Mehmed II's patronage of art and architecture. The interpretation and appropriation of another led to the reorientation of the cultural, religious and political views reproducing a new configuration of the Ottoman polity and the city.¹⁰ New Ottoman buildings started to emerge in the Byzantine urban layout initiating a dialogue across the building and preservation manners

⁷ Freely, J., 2000: 28, 30; Kinross, P. B., 1972: 66-85; Swift, E., 1940: 7-14.

⁸ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 24. The term conversion here simply means the change in use of a building and the interventions needed to make it suitable for its new context. Conversion can also relate to religious conversion, change beliefs and faith from a falsehood to one regarded as true. How the physical transformations and the rituals of the conversions were embraced within the architecture of Hagia Sophia's embodiments as pagan temple, church, mosque and museum are of a subject for future research.

⁹ Necipoglu, G., 2012: 1.

¹⁰ Kafescioglu, C., 2009: 1-4. Kafescioglu explores the relationship between the Ottoman urban project and the city's Byzantine layout and architecture during the decades following the conquest in 1453. According to her, "the selectively appropriation and rejection of the imperial heritage of Byzantium was central to the making of Ottoman Istanbul."

of both cultures. Positioning himself as the heir to the Byzantine Empire, the sultan consciously reconstructed the stage of his new capital not only through his extensive building act that he undertook within the city but also through the act of refashioning narratives that are retold in texts and images where history and myth were interweaved creating an intentional hybrid past unbound of its Christian-Byzantine origins.¹¹ Evidently altering the plots and chronology of events as well translating the divinities of the Christian religion into Islamic sacred figures, Hagia Sophia was consecrated back into a time preceding the era of the conquest. A “hierophany,” this act reveals a center, an origin where Byzantine past is blended with Ottoman legible motifs from which the sacredness of Hagia Sophia is reconstructed as Ayasofya, an original.¹² Revolving around the antagonistic themes of continuity and break, a new tradition was invented at the juncture of Asia and Europe, East and West.

Istanbul is the only city in the world that stands astride between two continents. As the imperial seat of ancient Byzantium, Greek Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul, it took several names throughout its long history. According to Pliny the Elder, its first name was Lygos in the ancient times.¹³ The name Byzantium, Greek *Βυζάντιον*, Latin *Byzantium*, either to be Thracian or Illyrian origin, is a derivative of the ancient city’s founder’s name, Byzas.¹⁴ When Constantine decided to move the capital of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, the newly rebuilt city was officially named *Nova Roma*, New Rome on May 11, 330, yet in popular speech it was known as Constantinople, Greek *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, Latin *Constantinopolis*, Ottoman Turkish *Κοσταντινῆ*, the City of Constantine. Ottomans, after the conquest, continued to use *Κοσταντινῆ* when describing the whole city. The word Istanbul, derived from the colloquial Greek *εἰς τὴν Πόλιν*, *eis tin polin*, meaning “to the city”, originally referred to the walled city excluding the suburbs. The names *Deraliyye* (Sublime Gate), *Dersaadet*

¹¹ Necipoglu, G., 1992: 199.

¹² Eliade, M., 1957: 21-29.

¹³ Pliny, Book IV, Ch. XVIII.

¹⁴ Georgacas, D. J., 1947: 351-353.

(Gate of Felicity), *Asitane-i Saadet* (Threshold of Felicity), or *Islambol* (City of Islam or Plenty of Islam) were also used interchangeably by the Ottomans according to the context. In 1923 with the Declaration of Republic of Turkey Ankara became the new capital, a clear break with the past, and later in 1930 all previous names were abandoned; Istanbul became the official name of the city.¹⁵

On the contrary to the abundance of names Istanbul took, Hagia Sophia continued to be called by the same. *Megale Ekklesia* - the Great Church – was the original designation of the church when it was first dedicated in 360. During that period, the principal churches of other cities such as Antioch and Alexandria were commonly referred to as *Megale Ekklesia*.¹⁶ *Megale Ekklesia* continued to be used throughout the Byzantine period while Hagia Sophia, Greek Ἁγία Σοφία or Σοφία became widely used by the early fifth century referencing to the Sophia of God, the second person of the Trinity, that is Christ.¹⁷ After the Ottoman conquest, it took the form of *Ayasofya*, a Turkish calque for the original name. It is a transliteration that resembles the original word from the original language with an easily traceable phonologic, morphologic and semantic continuity in the target language.¹⁸ According to Dervish Şemsüddin Karamani, a fifteenth century Ottoman historian, the name stayed the same because its plan and name was divinely conveyed to the emperor Justinian and the architect:

[...] the old man handed the plate to me and said: “This is the building plan of Ayasofya. For so long, it has been drawn on the plate of the destiny. Now the time has come, and I brought it to you.” I, then, asked him: “What is Ayasofya?” He answered: “From the very first day, the church that you will build was named Ayasofya ... meaning the House of God. [...] Then the emperor said: “Know that the name and the plan of this church was divinely conveyed to us.”

¹⁵ Freely, J. 1996: 54 Kindle Edition; Eldem, E., 2009: 286.

¹⁶ Downey, G., 1959: 37.

¹⁷ Downey, G., 1959: 38,41.

¹⁸ Gardiner, S. C., 1983: 514.

And both the emperor and Ignatios told what they have seen and heard in their dream. Since then, the name of the church, thus, remained as Ayasofya.¹⁹

Şemsüddin's account is a translation of Byzantine *Patria*, a tenth century compilation of legends concerning the construction of Hagia Sophia. It was not a word-by-word translation, rather a facture that deliberately changed the course of events and characters, creating a new Islamized plot that was tolerable by the Ottoman public and the elites. The angel in the *Patria* becomes an old man and reveals himself as *Hizir*.²⁰ He is a servant of God and delivers divine messages to those who are in need and distress. Encountering *Hizir* is an important motif in Islam for the sanctification of people and the legitimization of sanctuaries. People who have met or see *Hizir* are elevated from profanity to a state of sacredness as well as the places where he is said to have made an appearance.²¹ *Hizir*'s involvement in the construction and protection of Hagia Sophia since its contemplation fixes the consecration of the name and the building in a time in the past and makes it apt for the Ottomans implying that it has been the sanctuary of the same God worshipped by Christians and Muslims alike.²²

During its 481-year long life as the mosque of Ayasofya, the building went through numerous changes. Initially, just after the conquest, the ambo, iconostasis, thrones, the altar, all the portable icons, relics, the bells from its belltower and the cross at the zenith of the dome were removed. A marble minbar and a mihrab were erected as well as a wooden minaret immediately. At an unknown date between 1453 and 1481, the south Byzantine turret was heightened to an appropriate height to serve as the first minaret. This minaret was removed

¹⁹ Yerasimos, S., 1990: 127 Translated by the author of this dissertation from the Turkish translation of Dervish Şemsüddin Karamani in Yerasimos' Turk Metinlerinde Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri. Şemsüddin's *Târih-i Beyân-ı Binâ-i Ayasofya-ı Kebîr* (Suleymaniye Kutuphanesi, nr. 818, varak 1-30) is the 1480 Turkish translation of the Byzantine *Patria*. He first translated the text into Farsi and later into Turkish.

²⁰ *Hizir* is the Turkish variant of the Arabic word *Khidir*. Three occasions where *Hizir* delivered messages to Justinian in a dream respectively are: commanding Justinian to build a church; delivering the name and the plan of the church; announcing his future protective role and help with funding to complete the construction. See Yerasimos, S., 1990: 126-129.

²¹ Franke, P., 2004: 47-48

²² Necipoglu, G., 1992: 200-201.

during the first-large scale renovation that was undertaken by Selim II (1566-1574).²³ The in-situ four minarets on the four corners of the mosque were built in the succeeding years by Mehmed II and his successors.²⁴ There are twenty four buttresses that support the structure and dome of Hagia Sophia: while some of them belong to the Byzantine era, some of them were constructed during the Ottoman period by the chief architect Sinan.²⁵ Through a Byzantine-Ottoman shared effort, the structure still stands stable today.

Many of the Christian figural mosaics were preserved and kept free of whitewash well into the sixteenth century. With the seventeenth century renovations, the original decorative skin of Ayasofya underwent a significant transformation featuring a more Islamized look. It was then, according to the acceptability of their iconography from an Islamic point of view, many of the figural mosaics, including the Pantokrator on the dome, disappeared under paint (fig. 6). The mosaics of four seraphim angles on the pendentives and the apse mosaic Virgin and Child were spared.²⁶ Though it is unclear when the first the Koranic inscription on the dome appeared in the place of Pantokrator mosaic, the present one dates back to the Fossati restorations from the nineteenth century (fig. 7).²⁷ It was renewed by the calligrapher Kazasker Izzet Efendi and quotes *Surah An-Nur* – Light Verse:

Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West.²⁸

²³ Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1950: 28, 33-34.

²⁴ There is a no consensus on the attribution of the in-situ minarets. According to Emerson and Van Nice, the southeast minaret was built by Mehmed II (1451-1481), northeast minaret by Bayezid II (1481-1512), the identical northwest and southwest minarets were completed by Murad III (1574-1595) on the orders issued by his predecessor, Selim II (1566-1574).

²⁵ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 352-353

²⁶ Necipoglu, G., 1992: 204, 211-212, 218.

²⁷ Mango, C., 1962: 90-91 Mango is inclined towards the belief that the first inscription dates from the eighteenth century.

²⁸ Quran Verse (24:35).

This echoes Procopius' description of the church full of light and sunshine: "Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it, such an abundance of light bathes this shrine."²⁹ The replacement of Pantokrator with a verse which refers to Allah as the light of heavens and the earth suggests a thoughtful gesture with an understanding of the ichnography it replaced. Yet, there is an erasure, it is not intended for oblivion. Instead, there is a continuity of meanings within the new composition of the inscription in relation to the rays of gold mosaics emanating from the center of dome, as a source of sunlight.

The last and most thorough restoration was commissioned by Sultan Abdulmecid (1839-1861) and was undertaken by Fossati brothers between 1847 and 1849. The dome was consolidated, the southeast minaret was heightened to the other three, and the mosaics were exposed, cleaned, recorded and re-covered to be revealed at an opportune moment in the future.³⁰ It was not until after the proclamation of Republic of Turkey in 1923 that moment came. With the abolishment of sultanate and caliphate, Turkey became secularized. Ayasofya, which had long been a conflict between East and West, under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's (founder and the first President of Republic of Turkey) leadership on February 1, 1935 was converted into a museum, symbolizing the union of East and West under its dome (fig. 8). Since 1931 Thomas Whittemore and Byzantine Institute of America were already given permission to work in the building to uncover and study the mosaics in a conservation

²⁹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 30: 17

³⁰ Mango, C., 1962: 12-14. Ottoman sultans held the caliph (the leader of Muslim world) title from 1517 to 1924, after the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923. As their authority expanded within the Muslim world, Ayasofya was redefined as the symbolic seat of Ottoman caliphate. It was a conservative time, and the Sultan took advantage of pilgrimage and send the most fanatical imams of the mosque to Mecca to start his restoration project. During the restoration, Fossati discovered a mosaic panel while working on the vaults on the north aisle. He covered it with a veil and invited the Sultan. When the Sultan arrived, the veil was lowered. "Wretched man, you have ruined me!" he cried and ordered all the mosaics to be uncovered in the same way. Though he wanted to keep them uncovered, given the time, he asked them to be repaired and safely covered to save them from the dangers of destruction.

effort.³¹ During this time, Alfons Maria Schneider's excavations in 1935 revealed most of the knowledge concerning the fifth century Theodosian church.³²

On July 24th, 2020, a call to prayer was heard again from the minarets of Hagia Sophia after 86 years. The decision to convert the building into a functioning mosque came after a court annulled the 1934 decree of its status as a museum earlier that month.³³ In one of the interviews, Turkish President Erdogan stated that Hagia Sophia was being returned to its "original" state.³⁴ Originality, derived from original, from Latin *originālis*, refers to being produced at first hand. It also indicates the inventive exercise of creative faculties.³⁵ The twofold meaning of the term initiates a conversation between the building's beginnings and its syncretic persona as a facture of disjunctive events and their concordant discordance.³⁶ When the object of inquiry is a mnemonic building that is more than 1,500 years old, constituted of the remains of pagan temples, originally constructed as a church, later deconsecrated and converted into a mosque after Constantinople's fall to the Ottomans, creation as a museum and recently returned to being a mosque, what does this "originality" connote in terms of Hagia Sophia's quintessence of being embedded in multiple layers of meanings and representations? How does the meaning of the word alter with the continuous insertion of symbolic, cultural and architectural layers? Is it defined within collective or subjective memory? When can this originality be traced to a synchronic moment or another dimension where the conception of time eluded into an endurance?

³¹ Kinross, P. B., 1972: 128.

³² Larsen, S., 1937: 2.

³³ Full text for State Council's decision to annul 1934 decree of Hagia Sophia's museum status, Bianet, accessed November 1, 2020, <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/diger/227263-danistay-in-ayasofya-kararinin-tam-metni>.

³⁴ President Erdogan: "*Now this place has returned to its original form, it was a mosque and became a mosque again. Now, I hope it will continue to serve all believers as a mosque.*", AA, accessed October 10, 2020, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ayasofya-camii/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-ayasofya-camiydi-tekrar-cami-oldu/1921162>.

³⁵ "originālis, adj." *OED Online*, <https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/view/Entry/132564>. Accessed October 1, 2020.

³⁶ Ricœur, P., 2016: 35.

At an unknown date between 1453 and 1481, the south Byzantine turret was heightened to an appropriate height to serve as the first minaret. In this specific case, by employing the existing turret into a new functional and symbolic context, the appropriation became a twofold strategy of preservation and innovation that ensured sacredness and continuity. An intertwined narrative was factured by complementing the material appropriation with deliberately constructed mythopoeic and visual re-makings of Byzantine texts and representations. The tale of Evliya Celebi's seventeenth century travelogue in which an Ottoman architect was said to have laid the foundations of a minaret before the conquest in 1453 and the Dusseldorf manuscript, ca. 1480, an idiosyncratic version of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* are the two accounts through which this study will open-up a multi-directional dialogue to explore the appropriation program of Hagia Sophia's minaret and its architectural, cultural and symbolic meanings within the context of originality.

An understanding of how Hagia Sophia was built through the use of spolia elements and translations allows to delineate its polysemic architectural composition. While this analysis focuses on the process of coming togetherness of the building elements and materials of multiple actors from different cultures and temporalities into a coherent ensemble, it also sheds light on the synchronic beginnings of each of its era to unfold the myths which incited these beginnings and simultaneously being created by them. Myth is a "system of symbols, a codified verbal behavior that [...] conveys various modes of classifying facts – by coordinating, grouping, and opposing them, various ways of recognizing both resemblances and differences, in short, ways of organizing experience."³⁷ Myths referred in this study are not only constructed textually but also visually. Like that of the narrative of Evliya Celebi, the Dusseldorf map is characterized by its polysemic representation mode and the arrangement of its elements to form a whole picture embedded with meanings and codes.

³⁷ Vernant, J.P., 1980: 242

Revealing the interplay of actions and reactions and the dynamic force that is responsible for the changes of the plot, an inquiry should focus on the logic behind the narrative of the myth and its semantic strata.³⁸ Extending beyond the reach of memory, the actual beginning and mythical narrative are intertwined within the hybrid facture of Hagia Sophia in a cyclical temporality. It is open to reinterpretation with the continuous shifts of contexts, plots, characters and their projected consequences on the building, the myth and their mediating relationship.

The appropriation procedure took different forms in each of its periods yet reverberated in the coherence of the end product creating a celebration of fragments of anachronistic temporalities. By structuring the analysis under three main eras, a diachronic understanding of this hybrid facture is intended: *Megale Ekklesia* – the edifice before the Justinian period; Hagia Sophia – Justinian’s church and its appropriation program and Ayasofya – the Ottoman period after the conquest. Within this framework, a critical revisiting of the concepts of facture, making, palimpsest, original, spolia and their respective relationships and connections opens up ways to penetrate into the intricate architectural body of Hagia Sophia, thus providing clues to tackle the transformation process the building is going through currently. Looking at the past conservation challenges, it acts as a paradigmatic model for the future undertakings.

Turkish State Council’s reinstatement Ayasofya’s status from a museum back into a mosque gave rise to concerns due to the hastily tackled conservation implementations (fig. 9). One of the major changes that took place to adapt to the new function was the laying of a 2000m² carpet for worship.³⁹ The only exception was the *opus sectile* marble floor, the *omphalion*, where the Byzantine emperors were crowned. The ornamented marble

³⁸ Vernant, J.P., 1980: 256

³⁹ To expedite this process and get the building ready to be reconsecrated as a mosque, only half of the floor was covered with carpet.

configuration's placement is not random. It is located beneath the dome at the center of the south-east quarter of the nave area (fig. 10). Yet not enough evidence, it is assumed to be part of the original construction, albeit with a porphyry plaque instead of granite at its center.⁴⁰ While the current attitude treats this exceptional marble composition as a detached fragment, the perpetual essence of the facture of Hagia Sophia lies within its hallowed configuration and polysemic making from irregular shaped cut stone pieces. Construing the complex nature of juxtaposing these fragments into a cohesive composition by adding and substracting reveals the making of Hagia Sophia's facture through appropriation that is unique in its intermingled material, historical and mythical embodiments of multiple beginnings and multiple cultures.

⁴⁰ Schibille, N., 2014 Kindle edition.

FIGURES: INTRODUCTION

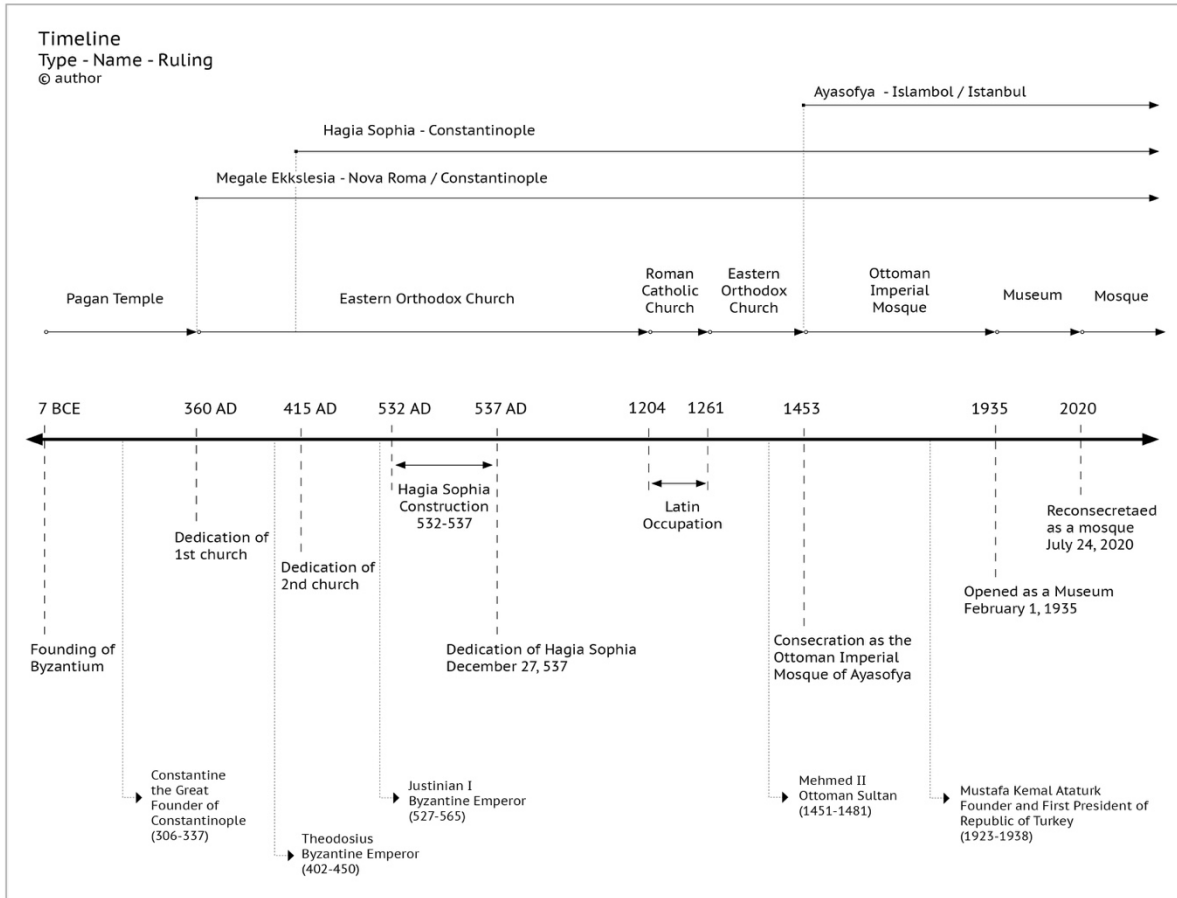


Plate 1. Timeline of the building showing chronological beginnings and names it took throughout history © author.



Figure 1. View of the First Hill from the Galata Tower across the Golden Horn. On the left is Uskudar (Scutari) and further away Kadikoy (Chalcedon) (2019) © author



Figure 2. Constantinople (Stamboul) engraved map showing the peninsula where Ayasofya stands with its surroundings: Golden Horn, Galata, Uskudar, Bosphorus and Sea of Marmara. Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries (1840).

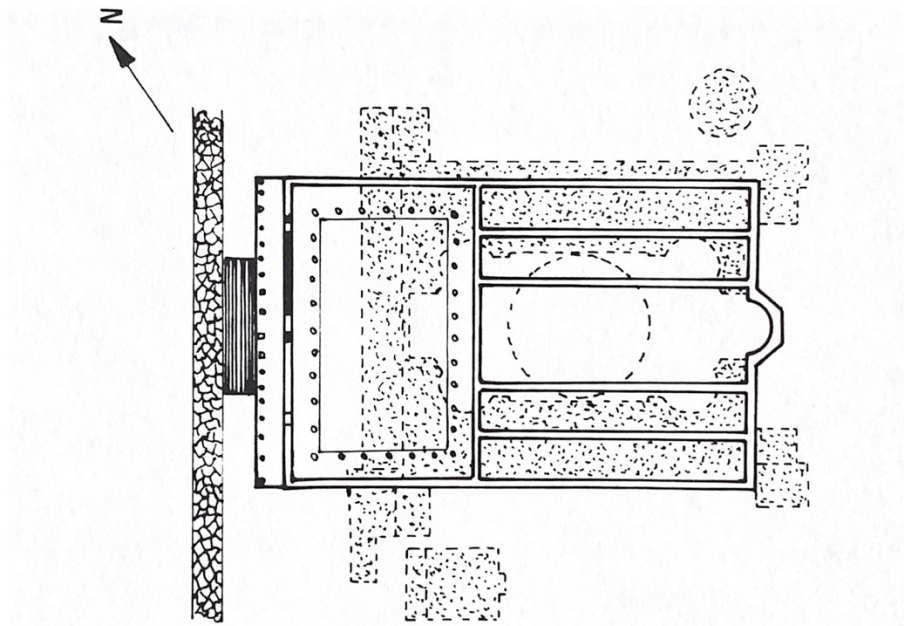


Figure 3. Hypothetical fourth century plan overlaid on Justinian's church (1983). Joan Barclay Lloyd in Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, 53.

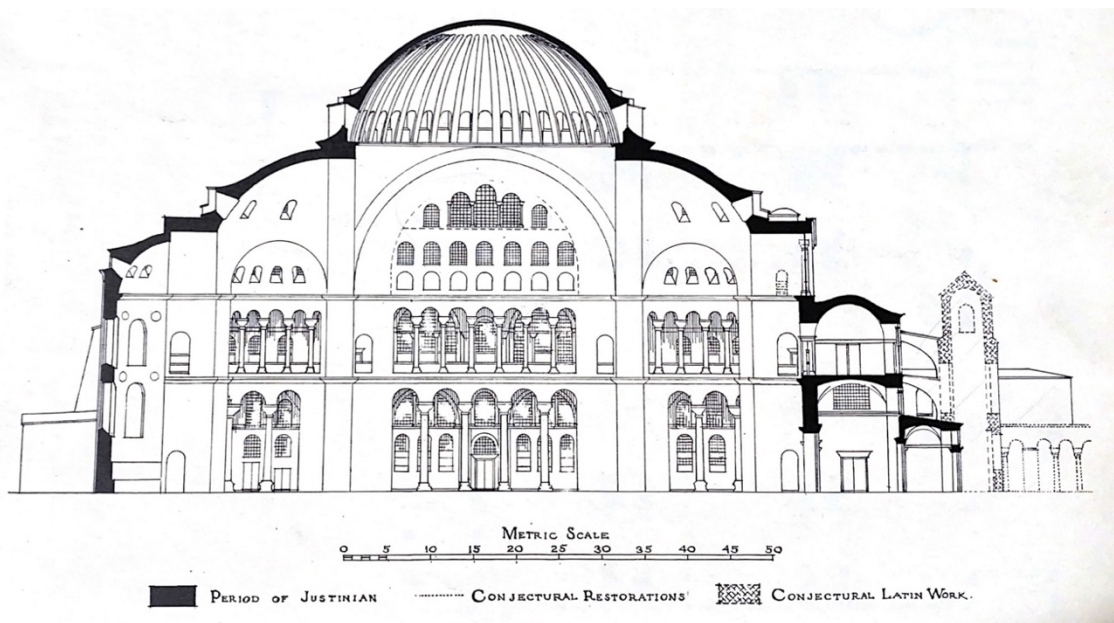


Figure 4. Hagia Sophia Section East-West axis. (1940). Swift, Emerson Howland. *Hagia Sophia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 214.

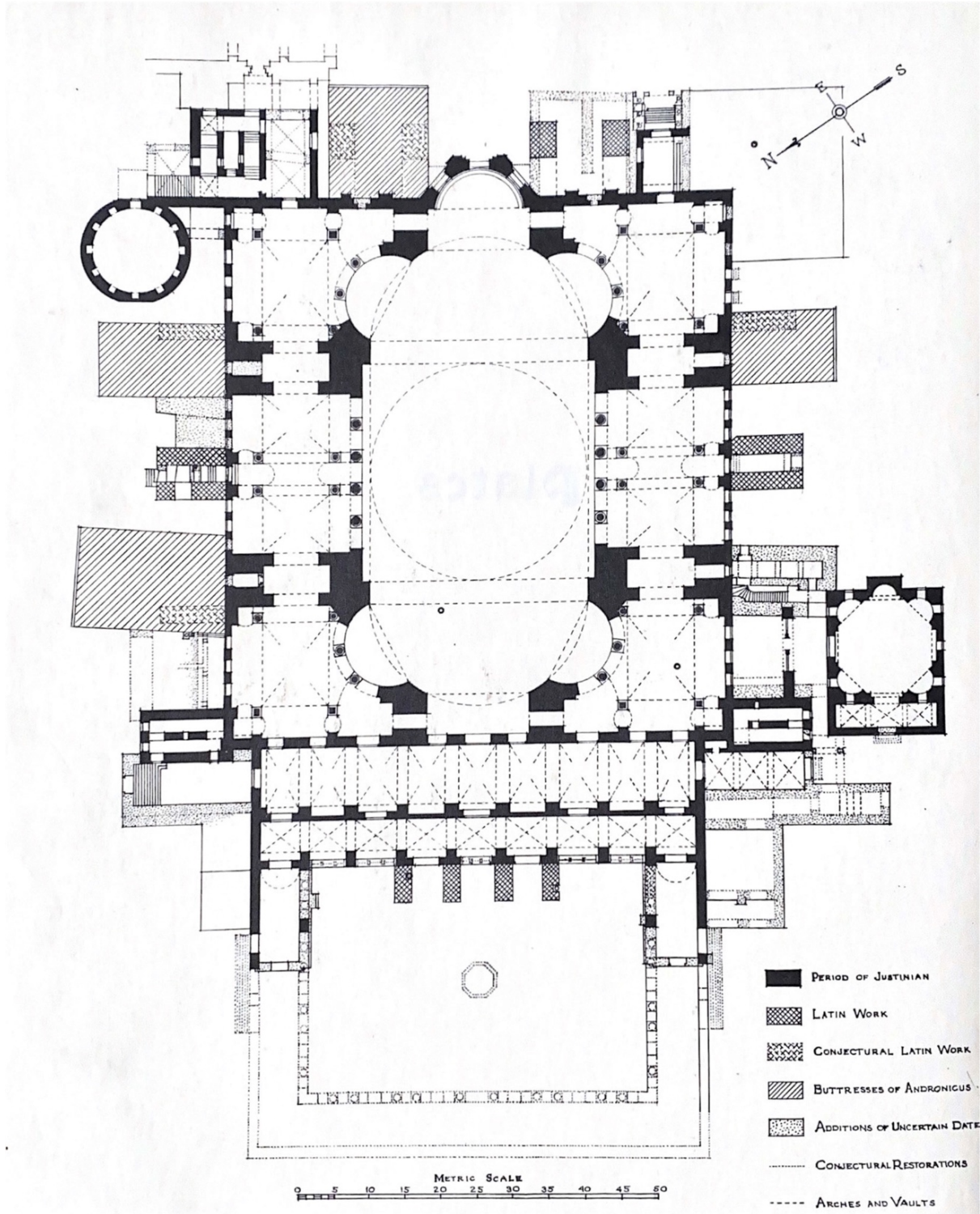


Figure 5. Hagia Sophia Ground Plan (1940). After Swift, Emerson Howland. *Hagia Sophia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, 212.

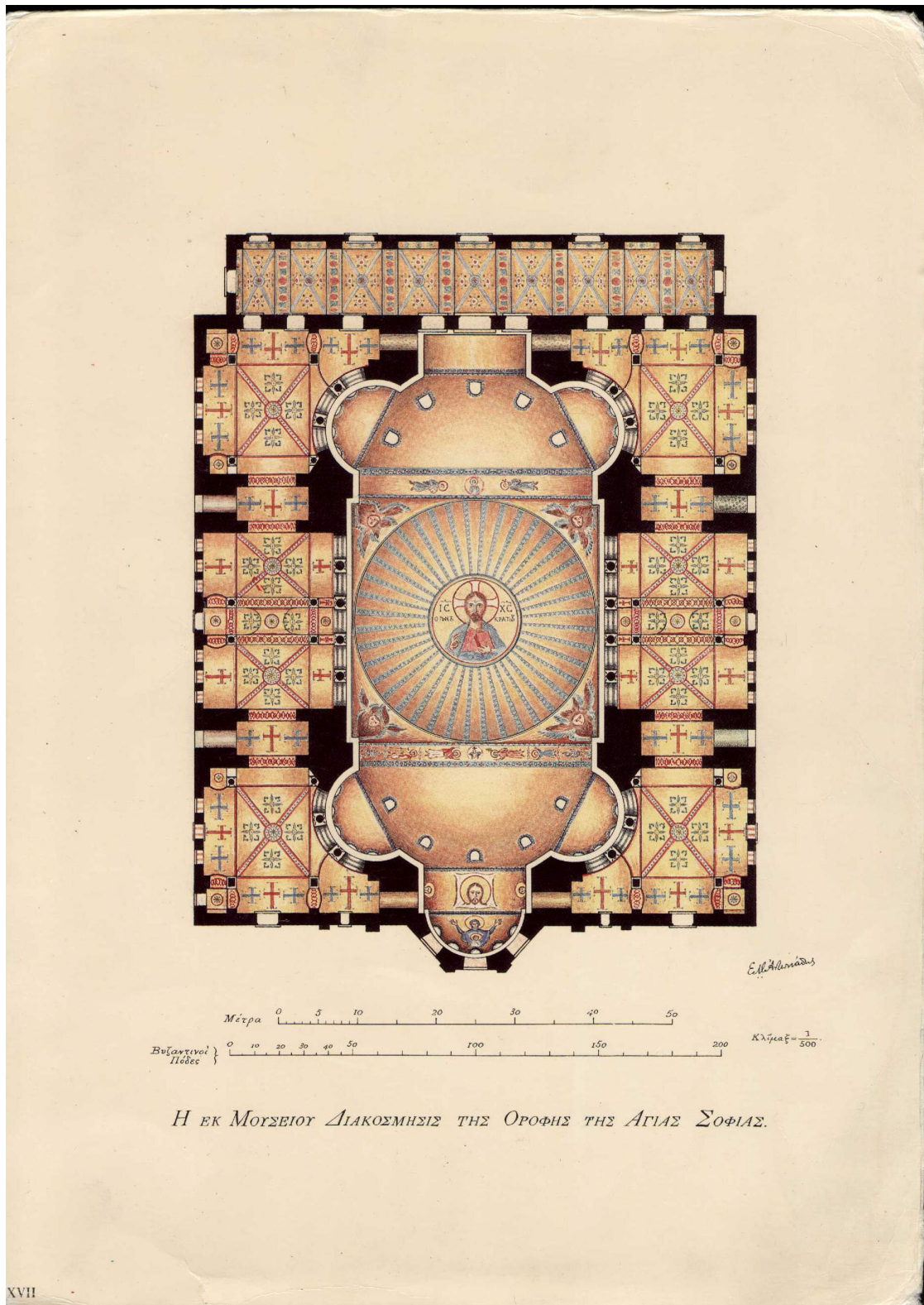


Figure 6. Reflected ceiling plan showing the mosaics above (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 4 supplement, Plate XVII, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios.



“Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as it were a shining star. (This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West.”

Figure 7. The 19th century Koranic inscription on the dome appeared in the place of Pantokrator mosaic by the calligrapher Kazasker İzzet Efendi and quotes Surah An-Nur – Light Verse (2017) ©



Figure 8. The newspaper headline from the opening day of Ayasofya Museum (February 1, 1935).

T.C. Resmî Gazete

Cumhurbaşkanlığı İdari İşler Başkanlığı Hukuk ve Mevzuat Genel Müdürlüğüne Yayınlanır	
10 Temmuz 2020 CUMA	Sayı : 31181 Mükerrer

YÜRÜTME VE İDARE BÖLÜMÜ



CUMHURBAŞKANI KARARI

Karar Sayısı: 2729

İstanbul İli, Fatih İlçesinde bulunan Ayasofya Caminin müzeye çevrilmesi hakkındaki 24/11/1934 tarihli ve 2/1589 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı, Danıştay Onuncu Dairesinin 2/7/2020 tarihli ve E:2016/16015, K:2020/2595 sayılı Kararı ile iptal edildiğinden, Ayasofya Caminin yönetiminin 22/6/1965 tarihli ve 633 sayılı Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Kuruluş ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanunun 35 inci maddesi gereğince Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığına devredilerek ibadete açılmasına karar verilmiştir.

10 Temmuz 2020

Recep Tayyip ERDOĞAN
CUMHURBAŞKANI

Figure 9. Turkish State Council Decree on the Official Gazette dated July 10, 2020. <https://muze.gen.tr/muze-detay/ayasofya>

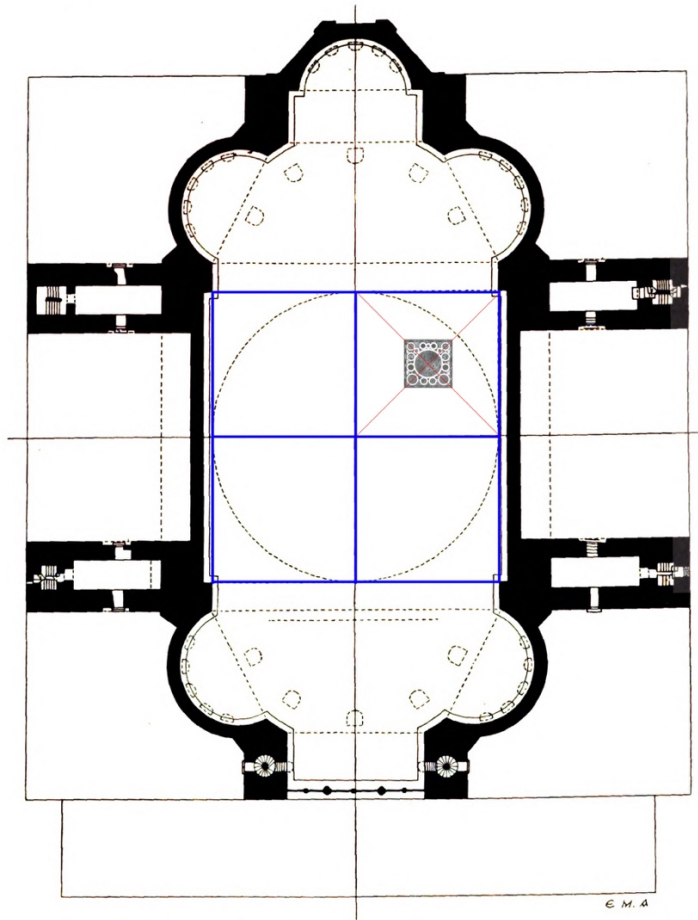


Figure 10. Plan showing the placement of omphalion in the nave floor. © author after Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias* (1907-1909).

PART I:

APPROPRIATION AND SPOLIA

Hagia Sophia has been a spectacle of marvelous beauty of architectural appropriation.¹ Built as a church on the site of a pagan temple, the complete building was appropriated and later converted to a mosque. With its incorporation of past times through the employment of conspicuously old building elements in new contexts, an intricate play of meanings and transformations happened, thus making the use of spolia a two-fold strategy of preservation and innovation.² While retaining an echo of their original form and purpose, the appropriated architectural elements displayed layers of connections to the whole as well as to the individual parts through their innovative re-employment procedures, thus creating a fracture of a palimpsest-in-the becoming, a new originality.³

Spolia, derived from the Latin *spolium* which means the skin or hide stripped off an animal, was used to connote the violent taking of something, typically the spoils of war.⁴ In the modern sense it is defined as architectural reuse, either as the integral adaptation of buildings or taking their components for erection elsewhere.⁵ At the beginning of fourth century during the Constantine era, this building practice became widely common where columns, capitals, marble revetments, and architraves, the products of a more prosperous past were put to new use.⁶ However, the governing officials of the time rarely used the term spolia in the sense of architectural reuse, they rather preferred '*rediviva saxa*'- reborn or renewed stones to refer to the appropriation of old building materials, thus putting the

¹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 27: 13.

² Hansen, M. F., 2003: 7, 245.

³ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 26-27.

⁴ Oxford Latin Dictionary: *spolium* (n.) skin, hide (of an animal, stripped off); booty, spoil.

⁵ Alchermes, J., 1994: 167.

⁶ Brenk, B., 1987: 103, Hansen, M. F., 2003: 7.

emphasis on their new life while acknowledging the prior existence. In *De Architectura*, Vitruvius uses the term *redivus* to refer to using old materials in the making of mortar.⁷ He also claimed that "the strongest burnt brick walls are those which are constructed out of old roofing tiles" because they are verified to endure the conditions of the climate.⁸ This attitude is a clear reflection that the people of the Late Empire perceived the process of appropriation as a positive practice. For Hansen, "this linguistic detail seems to indicate a fascinating association of restoration with recycled material, suggesting that the use of spolia might be pregnant with significance... one possible implication that the recycled part was allowed to live into the present."⁹ It should be noted that the concern of the fourth century spolia was not for spolia *per se* but for spolia *aedes*, civic and aesthetic rather than historical significance. Kinley points out that the fourth and fifth century laws drew attention not to the reused pieces of marble but to the gaps where the marbles belonged, to the noble buildings that were no longer contributing to the urban décor because of their loss of their ornaments.¹⁰

The subject of spolia is treated extensively by scholars of architecture, art, history, archeology, semiotics and hermeneutics. For the archaeologist, the *spolium* is a piece that was removed from Antiquity, whereas for the historian, the same piece was received from Antiquity. The archaeologist is inclined to bring the *spolium* back to its original place, as it were. The historian, on the other hand, considered the use of spolia in new contexts and asks in what sense the use of spolia was actually the appropriation of Antiquity.¹¹ Semiotics dwell on the relationship of signs and signifiers and their meanings, whereas hermeneutics deals with the heterogeneous ensembles created and the horizon of possible interpretations.

⁷ Vitruvius, (7.1.3), 1914: 202-203 "Then, upon this lay the bedding, composed of stones not smaller than can fill the hand. After the bedding is laid, mix the broken stone in proportions, if it is new, of three parts to one of lime; if it is old material used again, five parts may answer to two in the mixture."

⁸ Vitruvius, (2.8.19), 1914: 57.

⁹ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 14.

¹⁰ Kinney, D., 1997: 122.

¹¹ Esch, A., 2011.

As architectural reuse, the term was employed during at the turn of the sixteenth century by the Renaissance artists and scholars. In the writings of Giorgio Vasari, it implied critical reuse of imperial sculptures and old architectural parts to decorate the Arch of Constantine that was consecrated in 315 to commemorate Constantine's victory over Maxentius.¹²

And of this [decline] clear witness is given by the works of sculpture and architecture made in the time of Constantine in Rome ... where one sees that, for want of good master craftsmen, they used not only some marble histories made in the time of Trajan, but also spolia brought from various sites of Rome. Whoever recognizes that the votives in the tondi, that is the sculptures in half relief, and likewise the captives and the large narratives and the columns and the cornices and other ornaments made previously and [placed here as] spolia, are excellently crafted, will also see that the works made as filler by the sculptors of that time [of Constantine] are very crude ... and so made that you can firmly believe that already then the art of sculpture had begun to lose its quality...¹³

As seen from the words of Vasari, he attributes the use of spolia to the decline of art and lack of skilled artists. Burckhardt's (1855) similar approach that the architects were no longer thinking creatively for themselves was followed by Berenson (1954) who characterized the reuse of material as "a confession of inferiority to the past."¹⁴ On the other hand, L'Orange (1939) and Deichmann (1940) treated spolia as components of coherent representations where they posited the secondary setting as the object of interpretation yielding to a set of meaningful interrelationships.¹⁵ While Deichmann posits the reasons behind the architectural appropriation as economically and aesthetically derived, through a detailed analysis of three buildings connected with Constantine and his building program, Brenk

¹² Alchermes, J., 1994: 167-168; Brenk, B. 1987: 104.

¹³ Kinney, D., 1995: 55-56.

¹⁴ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 12.

¹⁵ Kinney, D., 1995: 56.

suggests that especially during the reign of Constantine, it was to attain *varietas* instead of unity, innovative as well as a conservative gesture where the court architects, when appropriating, deliberately mixed the architectural orders disconnecting them from their canonical form of use.¹⁶

I.I. *Varietas*

In the first century BC, Vitruvius indicated that the architectural orders should not be mixed together since they had clearly defined principles:

Propriety is that perfection of style which comes when a work is authoritatively constructed on approved principles. It arises from prescription, from usage, or from nature... Or, if dentils be carved in the cornice of the Doric entablature or triglyphs represented in the Ionic entablature over the cushion-shaped capitals of the columns, the effect will be spoilt by the transfer of the peculiarities of the one order of building to the other, the usage in each class having been fixed long ago.¹⁷

However, later in the beginning of fourth century, employing various orders and styles became a practice that was valued and intended. From Latin, *varietas*, was used to denote this quality of containing many colors, forms, aspects, elements.¹⁸ This new aesthetic value was introduced in the Lateran Basilica, the first church built by Constantine I in 313. By juxtaposing architectural elements of diverse orders or measures, combining opposed materials and using varied colors, patterns, and forms, diversity was achieved creating a new artistic medium.¹⁹ Contradicting with the idea of its use due to convenience, creating a

¹⁶ Brenk, B., 1987: 105-106. For Brenk “Necessity alone cannot account for the use of spolia on Constantinian buildings. Later on, in the later fifth and sixth centuries, however the use of spolia may, more and more, reflect economic distress.”

¹⁷ Vitruvius, I.II.V-VI: 14-15.

¹⁸ Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1968: 2012.

¹⁹ Brenk, B., 1987: 105.

heterogeneous composition with spolia was more complex than assumed. It needed a careful planning process to place the elements or materials in the fabric of the building because of the differences in sizes, material qualities and the difficult task of creating a dialogue between those diverse elements. In his description of the arches and pendentives of Hagia Sophia in *De aedificiis*, Procopius recounts that, despite being harmonious, there were almost a confusing variety or spectacle of details and elements where the gaze of the beholder cannot rest anywhere for long:

All these details, fitted together with incredible skill in mid-air and floating off from each other and resting only on the parts next to them, produce a single and most extraordinary harmony in the work, and yet do not permit the spectator to linger much over the study of any one of them but each detail attracts the eye and draws it on irresistibly to itself. So the vision constantly shifts suddenly, for the beholder is utterly unable to select which particular detail he should admire more than all the others... they always depart from there overwhelmed by the bewildering sight.²⁰

Antithesis, from Greek meaning opposition, is a term of rhetoric that describes the beauty of speech in which meanings or dynamic motifs are opposed creating a beautiful, one-of-a-kind harmonious unity.²¹ In his writings, for Saint Augustine, through the use of contrasting discrepancies, the figure of speech becomes more attractive: “[...] the beauty of the course of this world is built up by a kind of rhetoric, not of words but of things, which employs this contrast of opposites.”²² This attitude was also significant in the disorganized organization of his writings which may seem cluttered and confusing to the modern reader.²³

²⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 47-49: 21.

²¹ OED: antithesis (n.).

²² Hansen, M. F., 2003: 174-175.

²³ Ibid: 218.

I.II. *Translatio*

The desire to remove a building element from its original place and time to place it at another place and time required interpretation. This process is not a process of dislocation and isolation, but a process of *translatio* as Hansen calls it, where the building material is removed, reinvented and reinvested with new meanings within a new context.²⁴ *Translatio*, from Latin, literally means “the action of moving a thing from one place to another” and “translation from one language to another.”²⁵ Moving building parts to another place from their original location to be used within a new context and function not only resulted in a hybrid composition between the old and the new but also between the architectural orders and materials that are of varying qualities, colors, sizes. It also took forms like the translation of building types into new functions and contents through reinterpretation and transformation; the transferring of the powers of sanctuaries or relics or the translation of tradition through forgetting and remembering.²⁶

With the translation of material, the translation of meanings was enacted. In the case of the Arch of Constantine and other buildings of the time, there is a break from the classical tradition of building with an interpretation of pagan values and aesthetic concerns. While they were redefining the pagan heritage in their churches, the Christians translated the architectural language of variation and heterogeneity achieved by the use of appropriated parts in the church designs as a metaphor of higher truth. “As to the rest, from end to end of the building he reveals in all its abundance and rich variety the clear light of the truth in every man.”²⁷ It was the spiritual intellect rather than the ordinary sense that perceived the

²⁴ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 179.

²⁵ Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1968: 1966.

²⁶ Hansen, M. F., 2003. Hansen in her book analyzes the concept of appropriation under three subtitles: of *translatio* of materials, *translatio* of meanings and *translatio* of time.

²⁷ Eusebius, The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine, Book X: 4 (Online source).

harmonious in the irrelevant which reminded the beholder that within the imperfections of the material world, the perfection of the divine can be revealed.²⁸

Appropriating the pagan tradition, light became a principal metaphor for the Christian godhead, and simultaneously a significant aesthetic quality of the new Christian architecture. The light as the manifestation of the divine inside the church was a result of the translation of pagan beliefs and elements through their translation into Christian ones. On December 25, 274 A.D, Aurelian instituted an official state cult to Sol Invictus or Helios, the deity of Sun, and dedicated The Temple of Sun in his name. The images of the new cult were not only associated with Helios or Sol, but also other distinct deities creating a syncretic construction. Helios is also described as “the one who enlightens everything and illuminates by his own power the whole cosmos” and identified with Harpocrates, the god seated on a lotus flower with decorated rays.²⁹ After Aurelian, this image of rays of sun, as the Unconquered Sun, employed by the emperors in their official coinage representing themselves crowned with sun rays as well as in their building acts. When erecting his statue in Constantinople in 324, Constantine used a similar image to that of his coins, resembling *Sol Invictus*. Although the statue is not present today, according to its reconstructions it is believed to face east, towards the rising sun. Not surprisingly, the Arch of Constantine was also believed to be positioned with the colossal bronze statue of sun god of Sol in the Colosseum Valley.³⁰

Continuation as a means of translation, a transference of pagan meanings to Christian ones, was evidently transcribed in various levels: in the transferring of the roles of the pagan gods Castor and Pollux to another pair of divinities, Peter and Paul; in the likening of Constantine to the Invictus or Mithras; in the reserving of the purple color in clothing and porphyry in

²⁸ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 214.

²⁹ Pachoumi, E., 2015: 391-392 The lotus flower represented the rising sun.

³⁰ Marlowe, E., 2006: 225.

material as the emblem of sovereignty of Christ; in the ritual of consecrating the spolia materials and elements with inscribing crosses; or in the purification of the “polluted” sites of the pagan temples through the erection of churches.³¹ Letting the traces of the pagan fragments from the past live on in the new constructions, whether buildings or myths, reflected an appreciation and respect towards the preceding culture. Thus, continuity was secured through a discontinuity.

The practice of building upon an appropriated site implies a continuity where mechanisms of remembering and forgetting are in action. In his sixth century account, *Life of St. Porphyry*, Mark the Deacon tells a story about the Temple of Marneion at Gaza which was built upon by a cross-shaped church after being burnt down to cleanse its site. The citizens needed to take counsel since there was a disagreement among them concerning how they should deal with it:

Some said that it should be digged down, and others burned down, and others that the place should be purified and consecrated unto a church of God... And at the last the holy bishop proclaimed a fast to the people, and a prayer, that the Lord may reveal unto them how they must do. And having fasted on that day and prayed unto God concerning this matter, ... during the celebration of the Communion, a child of about seven years, cried out suddenly: 'Burn ye the inner temple unto the foundation; for many terrible things have been done in it, especially the sacrifices of human beings. [...] And after the burning, having purified the place, found there a holy church'.³²

Like water, fire was also conceived as an action of spiritual cleansing. Burning an edifice was a means of forgetting, erasure, silencing and annihilation. In literature and theology, the idea of forgetting was a concern for concentration on biblical writings. For some, it was

³¹ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 139, 145-147, 262; Saradi-Mendelovici, H., 1990: 53-54.

³² Mark the Deacon, *Life of St. Porphyry*, 66.

difficult to repress the stories in the memory of the classical literature. “[...] my own urge to read continuously have so soaked into me that my mind is infected by poetry, [...] shameful memory of poems slips in or the image ... turns up before my eyes.”³³ Burning those images or words in the imagination, actively visualizing the actual flames turning them into ashes was suggested for the obliteration of those undesired images.³⁴ In the event where the burning led to a recollection of the gone, a new building needed to supersede the old one overlaying one meaning with another one on the site.³⁵ This mnemonic device turned the site into a palimpsest of meanings.

As mentioned earlier, Justinian’s sixth century Hagia Sophia was not the first church built on the site. It was preceded by two others and probably a pagan one. Although very little is known about the pagan temple, both earlier churches were replaced by another after destructing fires. For Procopius, the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia was predestined and fire being the means:

[...] They had the hardihood of fore the Church of the Christians, which the people of Byzantium call “Sophia,” an epithet which they have most appropriately invented for God, by which they call His temple; and God permitted them to accomplish this impiety, foreseeing into what an object of beauty this shrine was destined to be transformed.³⁶

Following this statement, he seems almost to be celebrating the fire when he says:

[...] if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its place, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their

³³ Carruthers, M., 1998: 88.

³⁴ Ibid: 51.

³⁵ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 263-267 Hansen discusses appropriation within the problems of forgetting the past.

³⁶ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 21-22: 11.

church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted into its present form.³⁷

Likewise, the poet Romanos, referring to the Nika Revolt, writes: “Out of that disaster man is restored to spiritual health, and the city’s churches to new architectural splendor.”³⁸ The celebration both accounts share is not only related to Justinian’s mission to restore the unity of The Church and The Empire, but also has implications of the significance of forgetting of the past while recalling the long sacred nature of the site and creating a new presence that will project into the future with its new ideals and new embedded meanings. Since Justinian’s hastily undertaking of such a huge project requires extensive planning, it is believed that Justinian was already contemplating a possible rebuilding well before the fire.³⁹ The process described here, of remembering through appropriating the site, is an analogous process of the poet-seer of Bachelard, who remembers when inventing a future, a possibility.⁴⁰ Future and past, possibility or recollection, forgetting and remembering are all intertwined in the imaginative act of initiating and making within the realm of old and new, site and the edifice. In the case of the sixth century Hagia Sophia, this translated as the enduring embodiment of sacredness through the appropriation of the site as well as the spolia artefacts used in the making of the edifice.

³⁷ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 22-23: 11.

³⁸ Catafygiotu Topping, E., 1978: 27.

³⁹ Mainstone, R. J., 1923: 151.

⁴⁰ Bachelard, G., 1969: 110.

FIGURES: PART I. APPROPRIATION AND SPOLIA

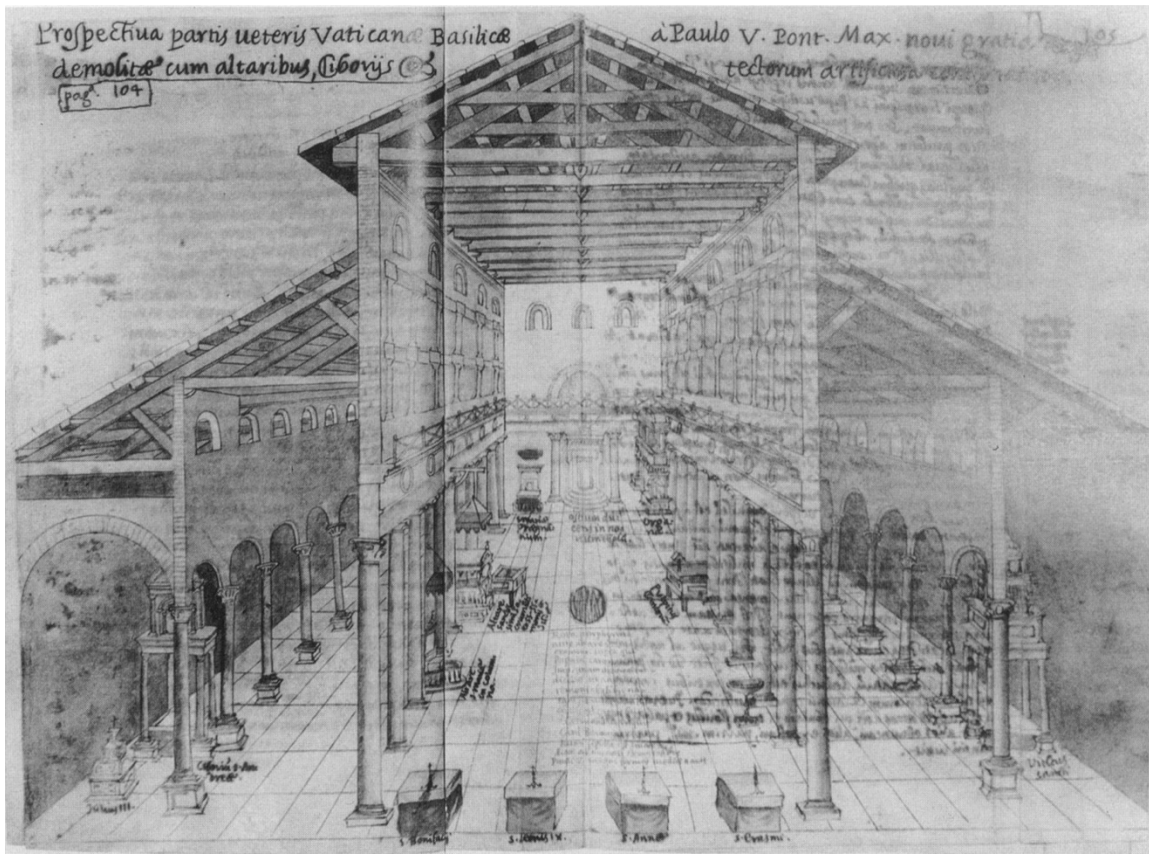


Figure 11. Old St. Peter's transverse section towards west (before 1620). Giacomo Grimaldi, *Descrizione della basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. Reto Niggli, 138-139.

PART II:

MEGALE EKKLESIA - THE GREAT CHURCH – The edifice before the Justinian period

According to the founding legend of the Greek city, Byzantium, around 7th century BCE, following instructions from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, Byzas established his colony across the “land of the blind”, across Chalcedon, where the Golden Horn, the long natural harbor, meets the Bosphorus and flows into the Sea of Marmara creating a promontory (fig. 12). The earliest colonists, in their blindness, established their settlement on a bay, ignorant of the superior advantages of the secure harbor opposite.¹ On the crest of this peninsula, commanding the passage of the shore, the Acropolis, the sacred city and citadel were built, with the city gathered on its slopes (fig. 13). The ancient Byzantine writer Dionysius describes the temple on the Acropolis before the siege of Severus, 196 A.D.:

At a little distance over the height is the altar of Athena Ecbasia- of the landing- where the colonists fought as for their own land. There is too a temple of Poseidon, an ancient one and hence quite plain, which stands over the sea. Below the temple of Poseidon, but within the wall, on the level ground are stadia and gymnasia, and courses for the young.²

Referring to Ali el-Arabi Ilyas, Akgunduz et al. confirms a similar assertion that there was a pagan temple at the same site.³ According to the Ottoman sources, this temple, built by Yanko bin Madyan, had 1000 rooms and was an institution of pagan beliefs that housed

¹ Kinross, P. B., 1972: 16.

² Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 1.

³ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 71.

7000 students. It collapsed in an earthquake around fourth century B.C. cleansing the site from its talismans.⁴ Despite their minute differences, the Ottoman and Byzantine sources agree on the existence of a temple before the Christian dominance in the city claiming the continuous, uninterrupted sacredness of the site. For Lethaby and Swainson, it is most likely that the current building occupies the site of one of the Greek temples since there was a constant tendency to this supersession on the sacred site.⁵ The ideological preference of replacing and building upon may be understood both as a triumph and cultural appropriation as well as a convenience.⁶ The Parthenon, where Hellenistic rites survived until the sixth century, became a church in this way dedicated to the Holy Wisdom.⁷

In the second century A.D., Byzantion fell to the Roman emperor Septimus Severus and became the Roman city of Byzantium. It was Constantine the Great (306-337) who reunited the empire and moved the seat from Rome to the East, calling it New Rome or Constantinople. During his tension with his co-emperor Licinius, he had ruled the empire from the Balkan residences, and he is quoted as saying “Serdica is my home,” meaning “Where I am, is Rome.”⁸ Thus, he should have found the idea of laying out a new capital from scratch tempting:

According to legend, he was encouraged by a flock of eagles that descended upon a prospective site near Chalcedon, seized by the emperor’s stores and measuring tapes in their claws, and flew with them across the Bosphorus to the city of Byzas.⁹

⁴ Ibid., 2005: 71.

⁵ Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 17.

⁶ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 239.

⁷ Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 17.

⁸ Krautheimer, R. 1983: 42.

⁹ Kinross, P. B., 1972: 16.

Very likely, his determination was connected to his idea of adopting Christianity as the official religion of the empire.¹⁰ Opposed to Rome, in the East, Christianity was better established, so that there was less need for caution. Thus, he adorned the city with “many places of worship and martyrs’ shrines of great size and beauty, some in the suburbs and others in the city itself.”¹¹ Constantine laid out his new capital, not being inspired by the oracle, but by the divine assistance, by the Christian God. During this time, pagan worship continued side by side with Christian, even new temples were built.¹²

The churches departed entirely from the pagan temples and adapted the form of the basilica, the pagan Roman law court.¹³ Directly linked with the idea of appropriation, the Christian basilica itself was a case of *translatio*. Reinterpreted and translated from a public building, it was reinvented as a sacred building through employing the main characteristics of the basilica form with new functions and arrangements which became the common church building type in late antiquity. This was a meaningful gesture since the Church was now equated with the State. The basilica, a large meeting hall was oblong in shape and generally had a central pillared aisle.¹⁴ Of the churches, Hagia Irene was the first church built and served as the patriarchal church before Hagia Sophia was completed. Some historians agree on Constantine to be the founder of the first great church dedicated to Divine Wisdom and relating him with purifying an existing temple and dedicating it to Christian uses. On the other hand, to some, even though he might have commissioned it or even laid its foundation, the first church could not have been completed by Constantine, but his successor, Constantius II (337-361) since its dedication in 360 falls onto his reign.¹⁵ While the inconsistencies in these sources might be a result of their secondary nature, it might also

¹⁰ Swift, E., 1940: 7 Septimus Severus Reign: 193-211; Constantine the Great: 306-337.

¹¹ Eusebius Vita III in Mainstone, R.J., 1923: 131.

¹² Kinross, P. B., 1972: 18 Two new temples were built during this time: one for Castor and Pollux, the other one was for Tyche, the goddess believed to bring good fortune to the city.

¹³ Rykwert, J., 1966: 13

¹⁴ Kinross, P. B., 1972: 18.

¹⁵ Krautheimer, R. 1983: 52; Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 14, Swift, E., 1940: 8.

well be a meaningful desire to attribute the initial foundation of the church to Constantine, associating the foundation of the city and Justinian's Hagia Sophia that would become the city's greatest wonder.¹⁶

Based on literary evidence, the first church erected on the site was a basilica with propylaeum, atrium, nave, four aisles, galleries and a wooden roof.¹⁷ According to Socrates Scholasticus, also known as Socrates of Constantinople, a fifth century church historian, upon its completion, the dedication of the church performed by Eudoxius took place on February 15th, 360 A.D.:

Eudoxius having been made bishop of the imperial city, the great church called Sophia was at that time dedicated, on the 15th February.¹⁸

It is not clear whether the church was called *Megale Ekklesia* - the Great Church -or Sophia at the time of its dedication (fig. 14). During the period, the principal churches of other cities such as Antioch and Alexandria were commonly referred to as *Megale Ekklesia*.¹⁹ However, *Megale Ekklesia* continued to be used throughout the Byzantine period while Hagia Sophia became widely used by the early fifth century referencing to the Sophia of God, the second person of the Trinity, that is Christ.²⁰ During the reign of Emperor Theodosius (402-450), the roof of the church was destroyed by a fire in 404 and burned to the ground by a riotous mob. Rebuilt probably on the plan of the former structure, the second church was dedicated in 415.²¹ Most of the knowledge regarding the form, layout, and footprint of the Theodosius' church has been provided by the excavations undertaken by Alfons Maria Schneider in 1935 at the *propylaeum* on the west entranceway of the church (fig. 15-16-17).²² According to

¹⁶ Mainstone, R.J., 1923: 132.

¹⁷ Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 18.

¹⁸ Socrates in Mainstone, R.J., 1923: 132. Socrates Scholasticus, also known as Socrates of Constantinople, a fifth century church historian, is the author of *Historia Ecclesiastic*, ca. 439.

¹⁹ Downey, G., 1959: 37.

²⁰ Mainstone, R.J., 1923: 132-133, Downey, G., 1959: 41.

²¹ Swift, E., 1940: 9, Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 18

²² Larsen, S., 1937: 2.

Krautheimer, the second church (burnt in 532) may well be Constantine's church that was consecrated in 360.²³ The fire in 404 would have destroyed the roof and damaged the interior, but most of the structure and the plan remained intact. Theodosius could only have repaired and redecorated upon the existing building. The fate of the second church was similar to that of the first church. It was burnt down during the Nika riots in 532.

²³ Krautheimer, R., 1983: 53, 55.

FIGURES: PART II. MEGALE EKKLESIA

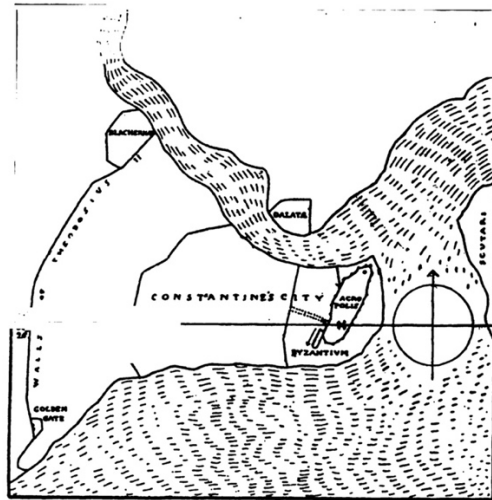


Figure 12. Plan of Constantinople during Constantine's period and its development. Acropolis, Galata and Golden Horn on the north, Scutari (Uskudar) on the east, surrounding Sea of Marmara. W.R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building* (London: Macmillan, 1894), 8.

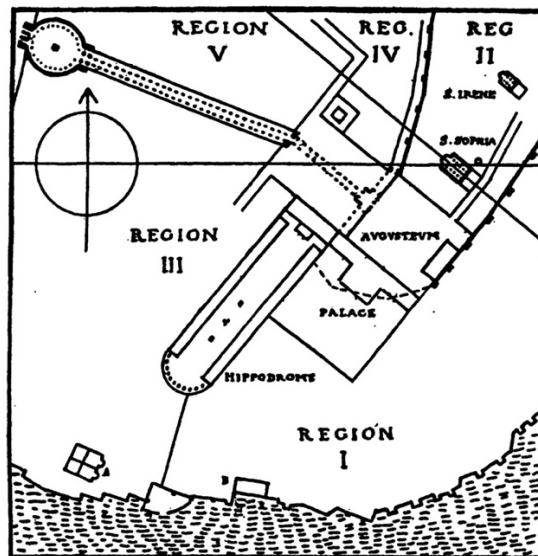


Figure 13. Plan of the Acropolis of Constantine's city and its development. W.R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building* (London: Macmillan, 1894), 9.



Figure 14. *Megale Ekklesia* means Great Church. Brick stamps on bricks, probably dating back to the first church consecrated in 360. Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 1, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, (1907-1909), 84.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924070772656&view=1up&seq=156>



Figure 15. Sculptural fragments and architectural remains of the propylaeum of St. Sophia (west entrance) reconsecrated under Theodosius II (1939). Nicholas V. Artamonoff Collection, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.



Figure 16. Alfons Maria Schneider's reconstruction of the portico of the Theodosian Church 415-532 (1935).

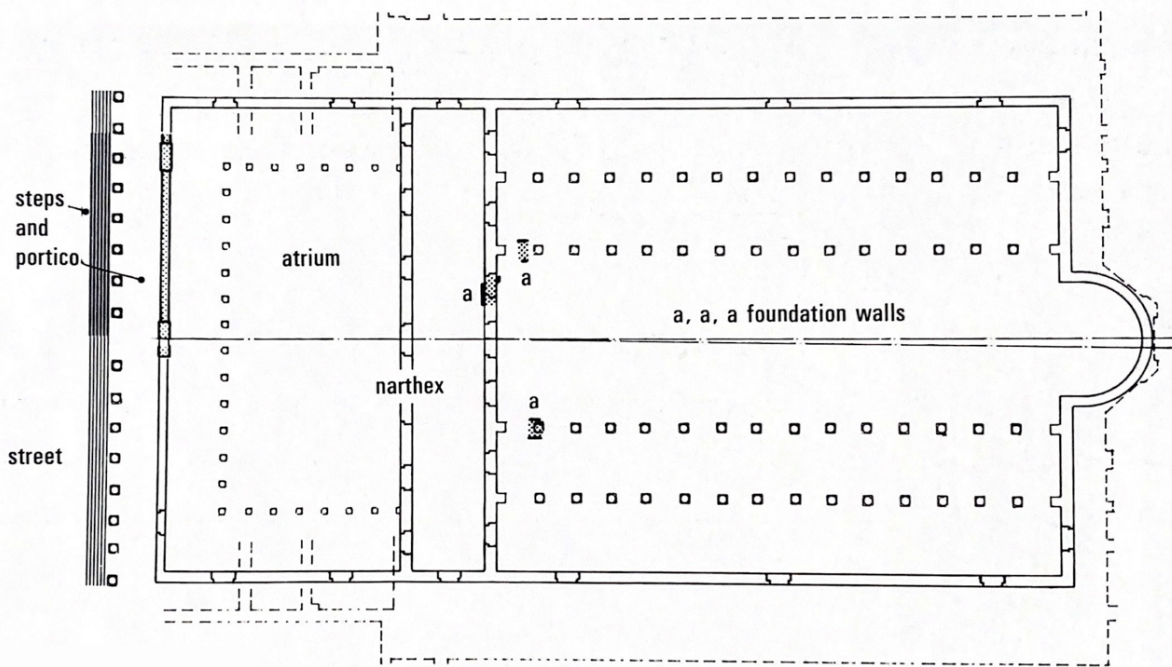


Figure 17. A tentative reconstruction of the Theodosian Hagia Sophia (1988). Mainstone, R. J. *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure, and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church*. New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 1988, 141.

Part III:

HAGIA SOPHIA – Justinian's Church and its Appropriation Program

Unlike the fourth and fifth century churches built on the site, the history of Justinian's church was diligently recorded since its construction. The ekphrasis of Procopius from the sixth century describing the church's first state, Paul Silentiary's poem for the second dedication in 562, *Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sofias* (Narrative concerning Hagia Sophia) from the ninth century, Anonymous of Combefis' account from tenth or eleventh century and Michael the Deacon's twelfth century description are just some of the accounts in which the reactions of wonder and awe were displayed towards Hagia Sophia's architectural structure, decoration and illumination creating a sublime purity.¹

When Justinian had the project of his church in his imagination, he not only attended to the present but also the past and the future through the meanings embedded into the building's design principles, structure and materials. While the acts of appropriation employed in the design and construction of Hagia Sophia can be translated as a reference to the past; the architects' innovative solution to the problem of vaulting to create a centralized space over a longitudinal space that inspired future architects, the choice of durable materials such as bricks and stone instead of wood that would withstand a possible fire, and the complex and stable structural system employing pendentives, arches and piers that had endured throughout the many earthquakes are projections to the future. In this sense, the building acted as Janus, the Roman God of beginnings and transitions, looking simultaneously in the

¹ Schibille, N., 2014 Kindle edition; Efthymiadis, S., 2015:7-22 gives an overview of early and middle Byzantine narratives about Hagia Sophia which witness the various roles the church could assume in imagination and ideology.

directions of past time and future time, and with Janus, the architects were able to project a plan that will endure by retaining the elements, materials, ideas of the past.²

Processes of appropriation have a powerful diachronic dimension since acts of appropriation unfold through time and space allowing for multiple translations and transformations to happen. Hansen explores the practice of translating in Christian architecture as *translatio* of materials, *translatio* of meanings and *translatio* of time.³ She describes the Latin term *translatio* as “transferring or moving something from one place to another, and consequently also figuratively the turning of something into another language.”⁴ It is also the Latin word for metaphor in rhetoric.⁵ *Translatio* as the practice of appropriation in architecture can be understood as the break with the coherence and the anticipated of the classical architecture. Spolia would be moved from their original location, sometimes transferred to long-distant places, and used in new contexts with pairing, arranging and positioning without being bounded by the rules of the orders, or their previous meanings, functions and significance. Sometimes the translation would take the form of following and legitimizing the traditions, beliefs and heritage of the pagan past for good Christian purposes.⁶

The significance of appropriation - material as well as immaterial - is apparent in the design principles and architectural decisions that made Hagia Sophia: in the employment of the site that housed previous temples; and in the innovative translation of the basilica form to a centralized basilica with placing a dome supported by semi-domes; and in the deliberate decision to orient the church towards the rising sun and winter solstice as an assumption of pagan beliefs; and in the juxtaposition of reused columns, capitals, and marble revetments both invisible as foundation material or discernible as structural or decorative elements; and

² Taylor, R., 2000: 1.

³ Hansen, M. F., 2003.

⁴ Ibid, 2003: 117.

⁵ Ibid, 179.

⁶ Ibid, 194-195.

in the emphasis on light and its metaphorical implications as a building element that reveals the divine presence within the church.

According to Cedrenus, the pre-Justinian church was burnt on January 15th, 532 and construction of the new church began the following month, on February 23rd, 532, in only thirty-nine days, an urgency that is hard to conceive unless there has been earlier planning.⁷ Swift asserts that Anthemius, the architect, had long been aware of the emperor's idea of erecting a new and magnificent church, and even engaged in the study of the project.⁸ On the other hand, Procopius tells us that “[...] the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense, eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction, and began to gather all the artisans from the whole world.”⁹ Anthemius of Tralles, “the most learned man in the skilled craft which is known as the art of building” was commissioned with Isidorus of Miletus to assist Emperor Justinian.¹⁰

To dream is a tectonic activity through which the ineffable is restated into a visible fable. Since biblical times, the telling of dreams has been regarded as an act of fore-casting.¹¹ Like Jacob's biblical dream, the plan of the church was manifested to Justinian through a dream.¹² Nervous about his new imperial church, on the eighth day, Justinian dreamt he was sitting on a rock in front of the previous church's ruins and saw Hızir (Elias) inscribing a full-scale plan of the future church on the ground.¹³ The man then urged him to build the church according to the plan he inscribed on the silver plate. Woke up with the sound of Ἁγία Σοφία (Holy

⁷ Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 21.

⁸ Swift, E., 1940: 12.

⁹ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 23: 11.

¹⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 24: 11-13. Anthemius and Isidorus were architects trained in the tradition of *mechkanikos* with theoretical backgrounds. They had a similar education to that specified by Vitruvius in Roman times. Isidorus was a professor of geometry and mechanics and Anthemius was a mathematician and the author of many treatises including the one on conic sections. Their broad knowledge is apparent in the design principles of Hagia Sophia. See Ousterhout, R., 1999: 43-45 for a detailed discussion on Byzantine builders.

¹¹ Frascari, M., 2017: 38.

¹² Carty, C.M., 1988: 118; Necipoglu, G., 1992: 199.

¹³ Number 8 represents a new beginning. Noah disembarks from the ark in the eight chapter of the Bible. Creation occurs in eight steps in Genesis 1-8.

Wisdom) in his ears, he requested the presence of the architects to tell them about his dream and the divinely inspired design of the church he saw. In the meantime, the architects were desperately working on the drawings of the church. When Justinian told them about his dream, one of the architects, without any hesitation, responded by saying that he had the same dream from which they had already executed the drawings (fig. 18).¹⁴ The twin founding dreams, a relatively widespread topos, emphasize the design's divine inevitability.¹⁵

In some versions of this story the emperor's dream is not accompanied with the architect. Giving the sole divine inspiration and initiation role to the emperor minimizes the contribution of the architects in the architectural production of the church:

So the church of Constantinople, (which men are accustomed to call the Great Church) ... was constructed in such a manner by the Emperor Justinian. But it was not with money alone that the Emperor built it, but also with labour of the mind and with the other powers of the soul.¹⁶

Besides being the creator of the church, the emperor was also actively involved in the construction (fig. 19). Based on the Anonymous account, he measured out the site, and found a stone to act as center, laid the foundations of the great dome in circle-wise. Taking with his own hands lime and stone, giving thanks to God, he himself laid the first stone in its place.¹⁷

Building churches on pagan sites, after the sites were ritually consecrated, were considered to have purified those "polluted" places, thus it was suitable to appropriate the pagan sites

¹⁴ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 98-99; Ozyalciner, A., 1989: 18-25; Akinci, T.: 2019: 40-41. The identical twin foundation dream of the emperor and the architect and its mythical connotations was discussed by the author in a previous chapter in "Ceilings and Dreams: the architecture of levity", eds. Emmons, Goffi and La Coe.

¹⁵ Carty, C. M., 1999. It is also, for example, in the foundation story of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

¹⁶ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 66: 29.

¹⁷ The Anonymous of Combefis in Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 132.

for new constructions.¹⁸ While there are contradictory accounts telling otherwise which will be discussed later, the 1935 Schneider excavations beneath the present nave floor indicated that the foundations of the church were not destroyed but simply covered over after cleaning the site from debris. The trial holes disclosed three short lengths of walls aligned almost parallel to the axis of the present church. Whether they belonged to the first church or the second or both is unknown, but there is little doubt that they belong to the foundations of the earlier churches.¹⁹ Replacing the pagan past with an ideal Christian present, Paulinus warns that dirt had to be cleansed out not only from the site, but also from the poet's Christian mind in order for the new construction to be furnished with a model.²⁰ Additionally, the recent findings in the subterranean channels of Hagia Sophia revealed fragments of ornamented architectural elements from the fifth century Theodosian church. The in-situ upright piece of ornamented marble which could have belonged to a door jamb of the earlier basilica, the fragment of sima originally standing in the Theodosian atrium, fragments of marble friezes, molded marble slabs, columns and capitals were some of the spolia elements that were found underneath revealing the actual construction layers.²¹ Although they were placed as foundation material to uphold the material weight of the building and hidden from sight, they still retain the building's historical and archaeological memory. Hagia Sophia is founded on the site where once other temples and churches stood, and where the presence of the past is visible through the appropriation of past fragments creating an architectural palimpsest. Thus, situating the layer of the site where the foundations were set as the origin of a palimpsest-in-the-becoming. Not conspicuously but ambiguously, employing of the architectural elements of the former building allowed the memory to dwell and resurface within the narrative of the building, conceiving and construing the building as multiple strata of multiple authors and the origin of their multiple stories.²²

¹⁸ Saradi-Mendelovici, H., 1990: 54 (Christian attitudes).

¹⁹ Ozkan Aygun, C., 2010: 59; Mainstone, R. J., 1923: 136.

²⁰ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 269-270.

²¹ Ozkan Aygun, C., 2010: 66-67

²² Goffi, F., 2010: 212.

Hagia Sophia was designed as two bodies. While the inner core is scaled to the divine, the outer shell is scaled to the human. Like the flesh covers the soul, the outer shell with its court, narthex, galleries and aisle spaces wraps around the immense inner nave space. The court opens to the outer narthex with seven holy gates and the outer narthex then leads to the inner narthex with three doors, the middle being the Imperial Door, higher and bigger than the rest. Upon entering, the scale changes tremendously, one is greeted by an immense space surrounded by a screen of columns where the aisles and galleries behind them act like spectators (fig.20 a-b). As MacDonald mentions the columns, piers and vaults “hardly project into the space they enclose; the columns and piers stand respectfully beside the vast concavity which the vaults define but do not penetrate”.²³

According to the Anonymous of Combebis, when the idea to build a temple that would surpass all that had ever been built from the time of Adam was conceived by Justinian, he requested anything that would be useful for building to be sent from the provinces.²⁴ Thus, they quickly sent - columns, piers, panels, doors – materials and elements that could be found from the shrines of the pagan idols, from baths and private houses, from every province of east, west, north, south and from all the islands. The eight porphyry columns supporting the four exedras in Hagia Sophia are said to be donated by the widow Marcia to Justinian from the Temple of the Sun in Rome which was built by Aurelian (fig. 21).²⁵ Porphyry as a material was highly valued and the designation of porphyry columns might be unlikely accidental. Due to its color and preciousness, towards 300, it was reserved for the imperial family and it was regarded as a figuration of divinity.²⁶ The other eight green columns were sent from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.²⁷ Contradicting these historical assertions, these columns might have come from the first or second churches on the site.

²³ MacDonald, W., 1957: 23.

²⁴ The Anonymous of Combebis in Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 129

²⁵ The Anonymous of Combebis in Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 129-130.

²⁶ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 122.

²⁷ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 93.

Similar sized fragments of columns which were brought to light by Schneider's excavations are in display in the garden, where once the atrium stood. In either case, the stories of gathering spoils from across the Empire heightened the role of the church as the religious capital.

The evidence from the fourth and fifth centuries suggests that church buildings generally followed traditional plans and architectural forms. The basilica was the common church building type in late antiquity, adapted from the pagan Roman law court.²⁸ When Justinian planned to build a new church, he did not follow this tradition. With the departure from the traditional Christian basilica, the architects were able to reinvent the idea of extended space by designing the core of the church with a dome that is elongated with semi-domes and *exedrae* to the east and west that led to an unobstructed space underneath. It was the largest open vaulted interior in the ancient and medieval world with a free span of 31m by 67m (fig. 22).²⁹ As an *inventio*, this new centralized basilican form became an inspiration for future architects. Imperial mosques of the Ottoman Empire incorporated this structure into their design principles and developed this form gradually, inventing another tradition of their own.³⁰

The dome is 99 Byzantine feet in diameter and 178 feet above the marble floor.³¹ Just two feet thick, it is made of Rhodian bricks and mortar. When the architects declared that the dome needed to be constructed from light materials, Justinian sent ambassadors away to bring soil that can be used to make bricks. When compared, the bricks made from the Rhodian soil were twelve times lighter than the rest. Thus, the architects decided to build

²⁸ Rykwert, J., 1966: 13

²⁹ Schibille, N., 2014 Kindle edition; Hansen, M. F., 2003: 137.

³⁰ Ahunbay M. and Ahunbay Z., 1992. In their essay, Ahunbay and Ahunbay give a detailed information about the structural influence of Hagia Sophia on Ottoman mosque architecture.

³¹ There are different opinions on the diameter of the dome. For 100 feet Byzantine feet see Taylor, R. 1996: 66; for 107 feet see MacDonald, W., 1957: 25; for 99 Byzantine feet see Svenshon, H. and Stichel, R., 2015: 232-33. For Svenshon 1 Byzantine foot=0.3131m; for Mainstone 1 Byzantine foot=0.312 m. Important building dimensions were often selected for their symbolism.

the dome with Rhodes bricks.³² Each of the dome's bricks was said to be engraved with "God is in the midst of her, therefore shall she not be moved."³³ During its construction, the emperor was advised by the priests of the time to place bones of the Prophets in between the bricks for a church that would stand until eternity.³⁴ The dome was covered with lead on the outside with a golden cross at the top that could be seen from across the whole city and gold mosaics inside with a cross image at the zenith. The original dome collapsed during an earthquake in 558 (fig. 23). Its replacement, the current dome, was twenty-feet taller to reduce the outward thrust of the dome in the hopes of making it more stable. Around the dome, there are forty windows at its base and forty ribs that unite at the apex (fig. 24).³⁵

The weight of the dome is carried by four piers and arches above them. The palpable transition from the square plan to the circular plan is achieved by four pendentives in-between the arches (fig. 25). The use of pendentives at this scale was an innovation and later became a distinctive element of Byzantine architecture. Matter, malleable, shaped in the mind, molded and set-in place by the builder, lay at the root of Byzantine admiration for technical innovation in architecture. Pendentives are decorative elements not only solve the theoretical and physical problem of squaring the circle but also resolve the aesthetic and metaphysical dilemma of connecting the celestial regions with the earthly regions of the church.³⁶

Associated with transcendence, light was understood as the manifestation of divine grace in the sixth century. It was an appropriation of tradition from the pagan practices which Justinian's architects employed to create a space that is illuminated optimally throughout the year. The deliberate orientation of the church's axis, the carefully designed fenestration

³² Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 111-112.

³³ The Anonymus of Combeffis in Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 136.

³⁴ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 112.

³⁵ Mainstone, R.J., 1923: 126-127, 65.

³⁶ Cutler, A., 1966: 29, 31.

system of the dome as well as the semi-domes, tympana and the aisles and galleries and the thoughtful use of reflective materials such as gold and silver inside the dome and the walls lead to an abundance of light seemingly generated from within.³⁷ Although there are varying opinions on the matter, the church's longitudinal axis was deliberately aligned with the azimuth of the sun on winter solstice, probably based on the Ptolemaic calculations.³⁸ The orientation was not coincidental but very intentional through a thorough study of the sciences. Similar to Vitruvius' suggestion that the temples should face the west letting those approaching the altar to face the sunrise, the entrance of Hagia Sophia was located on the west and the altar on the east.³⁹ Thus, with the collaboration of the orientation and architectural plan, the ascension to altar, the east-west axis, would be illuminated throughout the year by the morning light falling through the windows in the apse and eastern semi-domes.

“Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it.”⁴⁰ The impression of this ample luminosity described by historian Procopius most likely was generated by the original dome's more shallow curvature, its gold-covered ceiling and even reflectors placed on the windowsills. The shallower dome imprisoning more of the light reflected from the windows also acted as a reflector itself with its golden ceiling. The possible glazed gold mosaic reflectors on the windowsills must have ensured the apex of the dome, where the image of the cross is placed, to be radiant constantly throughout the day.⁴¹ The abundance of sunlight with rays entering at the base of the dome creates an unearthly radiance around the rim of the dome, enhancing the hovering effect of the dome and made it appear as if it is “not to be founded on solid masonry, but to be suspended from heaven by that fabled golden chain (fig. 26).”⁴²

³⁷ Schibille, N., 2014 Kindle edition.

³⁸ Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894:17; Schibille, N. Kindle Edition; Schibille, N., 2009:31.

³⁹ Vitruvius, IV.5.1: 116.

⁴⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I. i. 30: 17.

⁴¹ Potamianos, I., 1996: 130, 162–63.

⁴² Procopius in Lethaby, W.R. and Swainson, H., 1894: 26.

In Hagia Sophia, Justinian and his architects redefined the preceding Christian heritage as well as the pagan and their architectural praxis through translating their applications into a new composition. As we have seen, the materials and traditions and their understandings were reborn, like that of *rediviva saxa*, acknowledging their prior existence within their new life. This places Hagia Sophia at a declamatory locus where the relation between an implicit background and its explicit manipulation is made visible and celebrates the manifested contrast of oblivion and recollection within the physical space of coherent fragments. From the translation of basilica form into a longitudinal centralized space, to the use of light as a guiding design principle, or as an architectural element creating surfaces the reuse of spolia columns, capitals, doors and marble revetments, either conspicuous or obscure, are all acts of appropriation. Its long, politically and ideologically embedded life was the consequence of its cosmic beauty and universal harmony locating it at the crossroad of desires of many cultures.

FIGURES: PART III . HAGIA SOPHIA

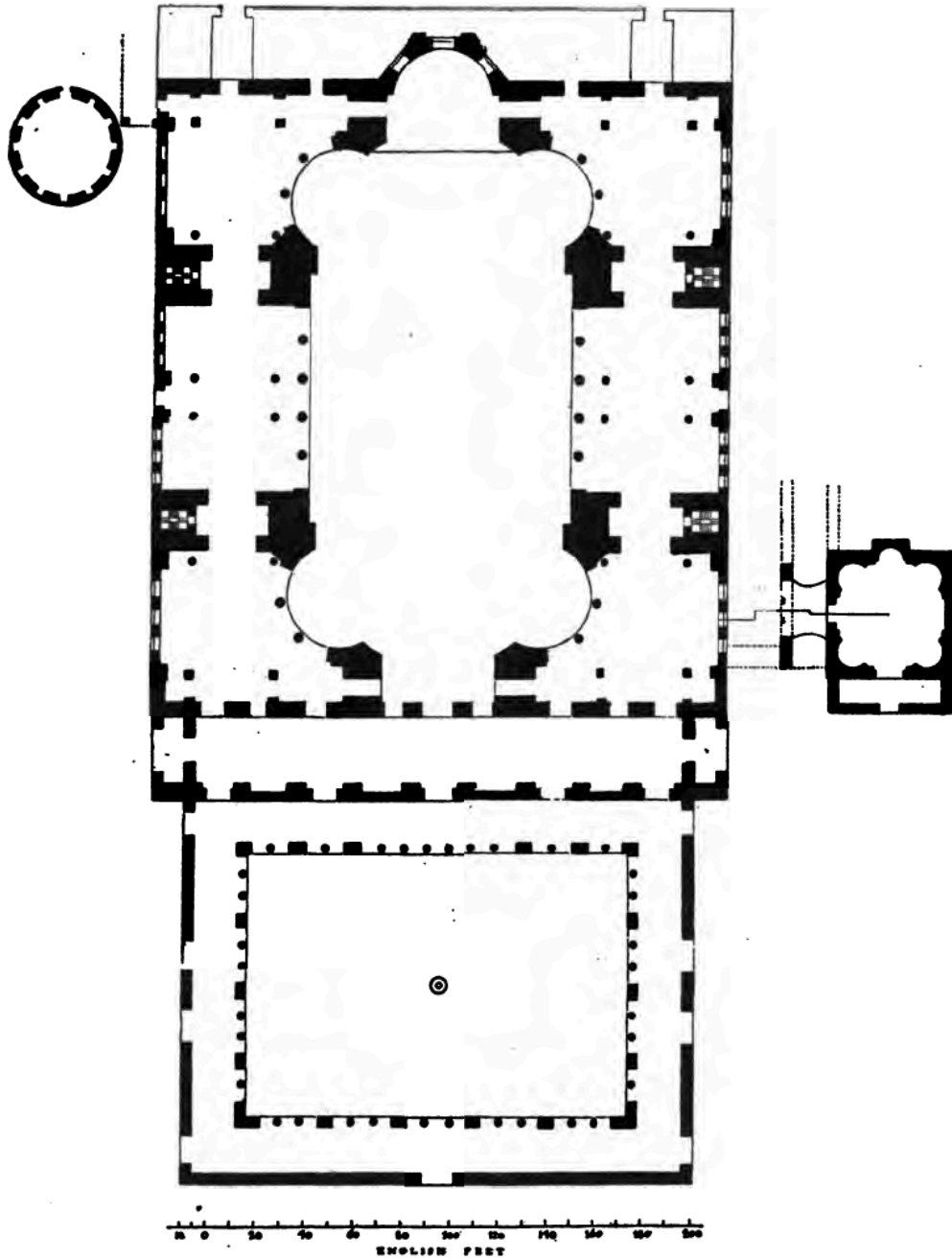


Figure 18. Plan of Sancta Sophia as built by Justinian. W.R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building* (London: Macmillan, 1894), 23.



Figure 19. Detail of an illuminated manuscript depicting Justinian directing the construction of Hagia Sophia. Vatican Library, Rome (MS lat. 4939, fol. 28v).

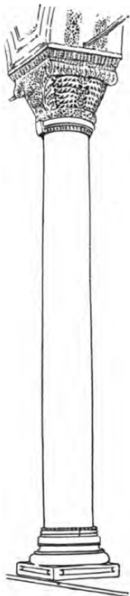


Fig a

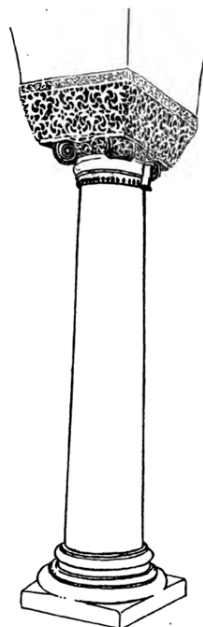


Fig b

Figure 20a: Columns of Great Order;
20b: Columns in gallery. W.R. Lethaby
and Harold Swainson, *The Church of
Sancta Sophia Constantinople: A Study
of Byzantine Building* (London:
Macmillan, 1894), 248, 250.



Figure 21. The spolia porphyry columns (2019) © author.

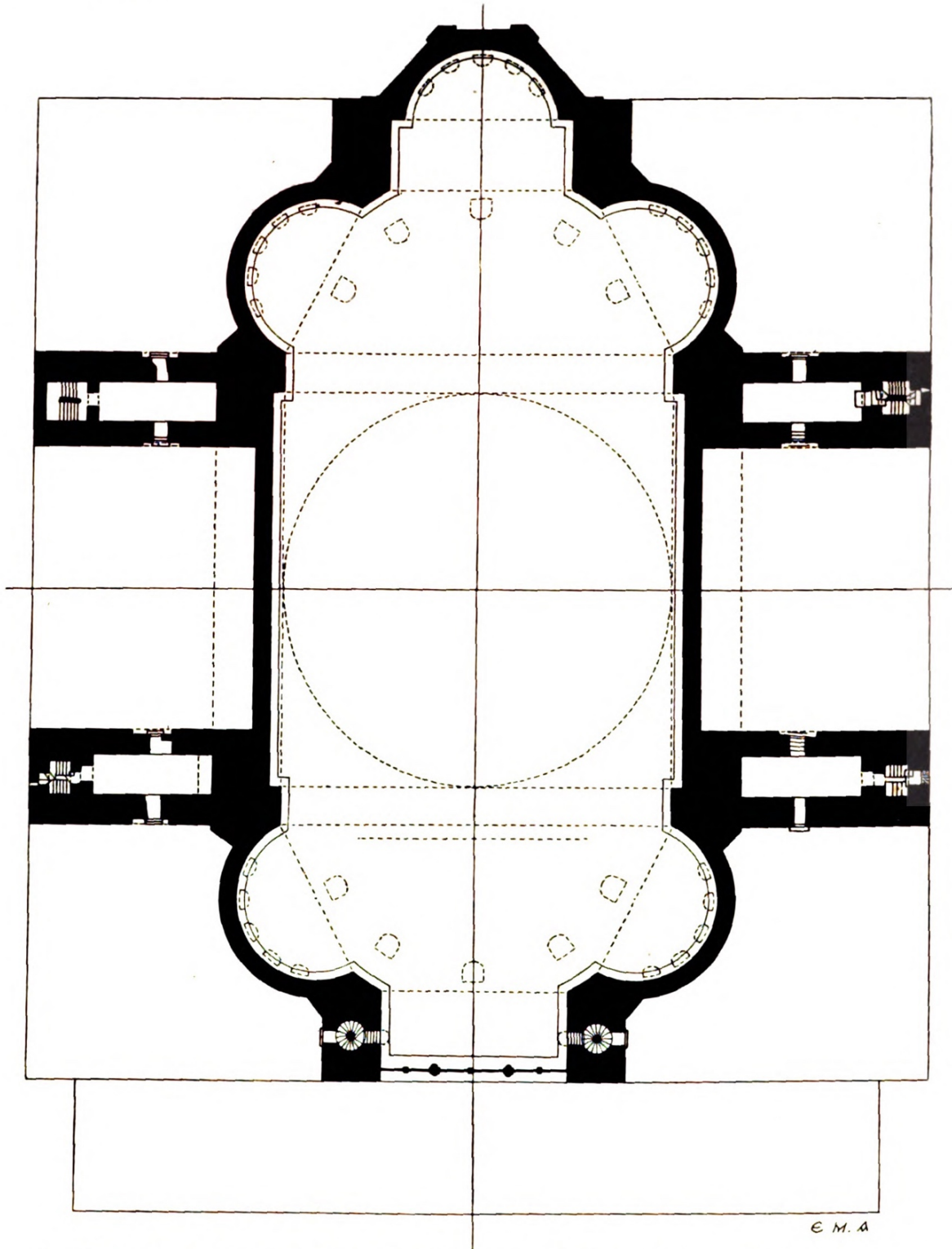


Figure 22. Plan drawing of Hagia Sophia (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 3, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, 12.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0076770411&view=1up&seq=32>

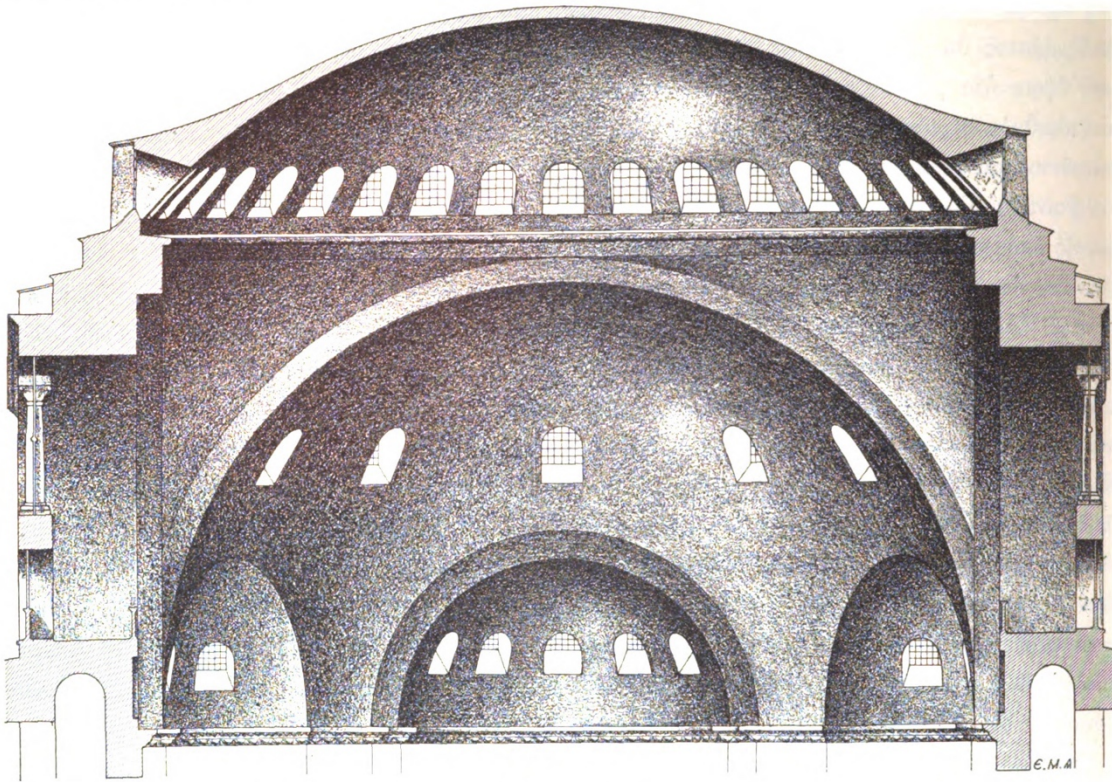


Figure 23. Reconstruction of Hagia Sophia's shallower first dome looking E/W toward the semi dome (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 3, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, 104.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0076770411&view=1up&seq=144>

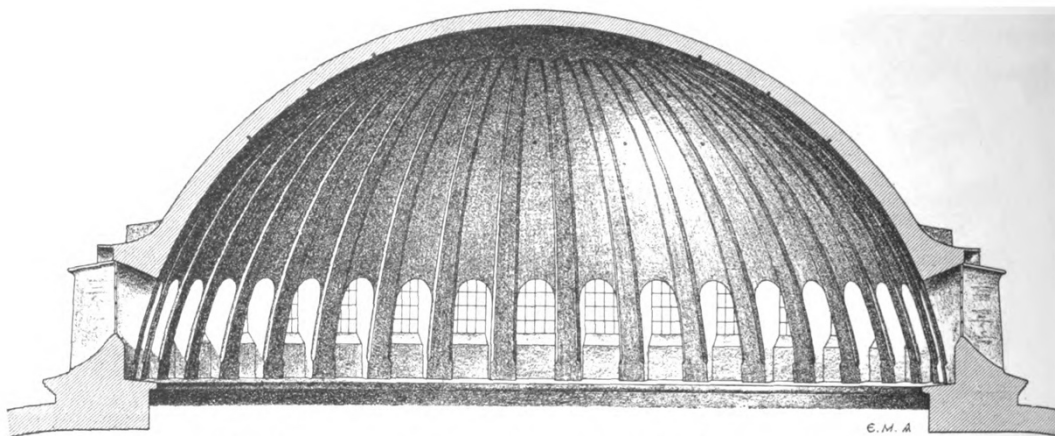


Figure 24. Section of Hagia Sophia's current dome built after the collapse in 557 (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 3, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, 116.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0076770411&view=1up&seq=160>

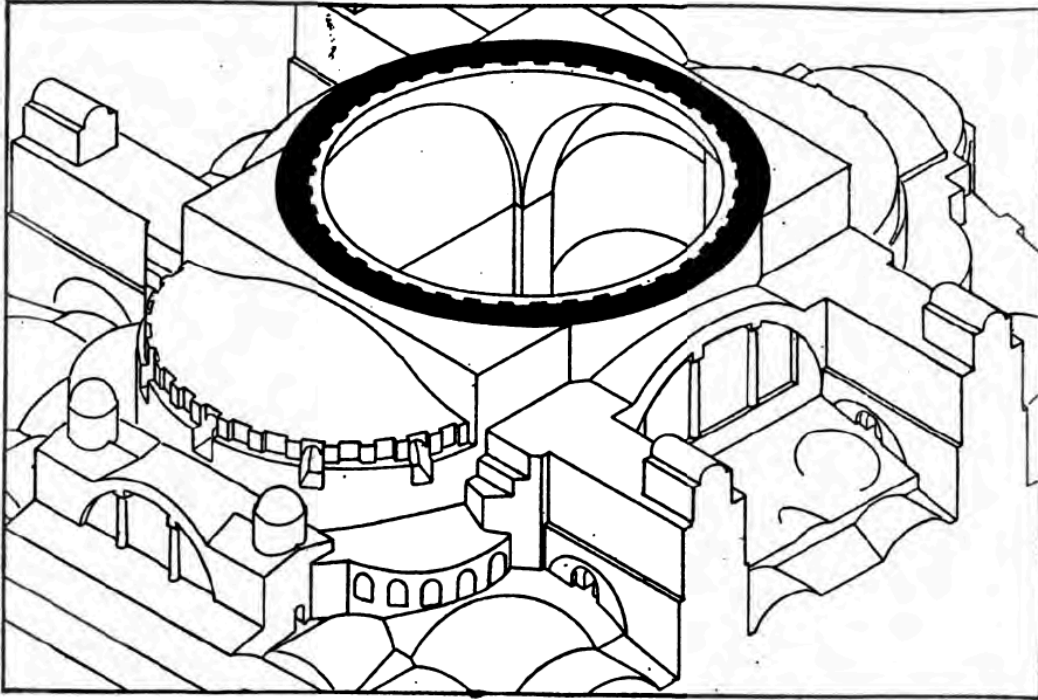


Figure 25. The transition from square plan to circular plan is achieved by the pendentives. W.R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building* (London: Macmillan, 1894), 211.

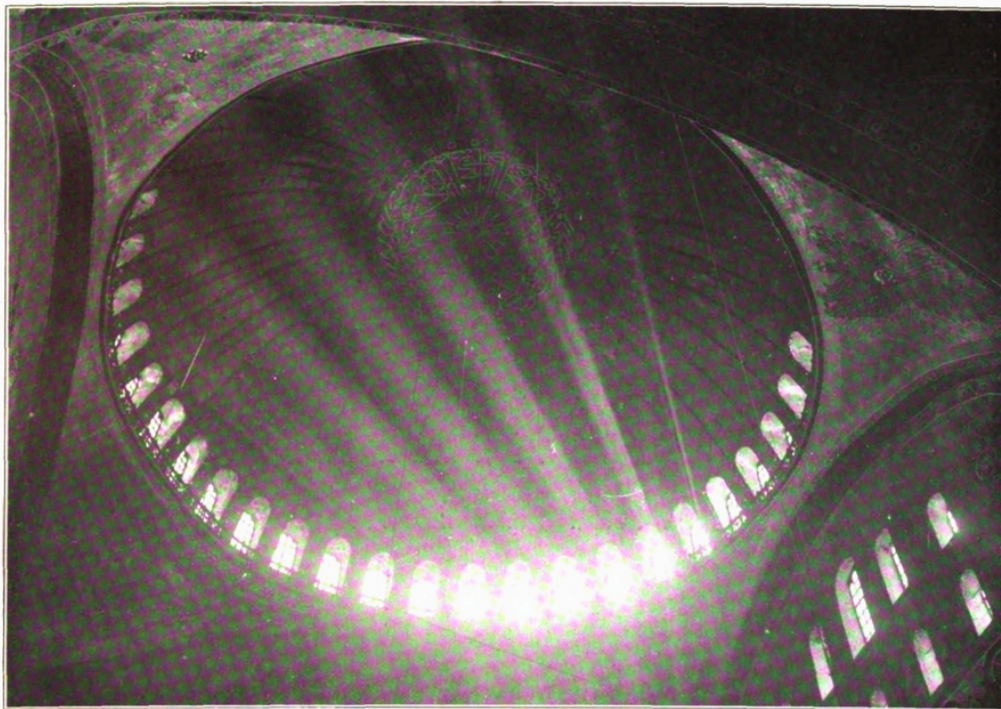


Figure 26. The rim of the dome and the pouring of light through the windows (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 3, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0076770411&view=1up&seq=167>

Part IV:

AYASOFYA –

The Ottoman period after the Conquest

The conquest of Constantinople, which had fired the imaginations of many states for centuries, was an important objective for the Ottoman rulers as well. Prophet Muhammad (s.a.v) had fueled that aspiration in a hadith almost six centuries ago: “Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a commander this will be, what an army this will be (fig. 27).”¹ After a fifty-four-day siege, the city of Constantinople was conquered by the Ottoman emperor Mehmed II on May 29, 1453. *Dar-al-Islam’s* dream came to realization after eight-hundred years.² As a tradition in the Ottoman state, when a province was captured, simultaneously with planting the Ottoman flag, the *ezan* would be recited on the fortresses. *Ezan*, the call to prayer, derived from Arabic *adhān*, proclamation from God and His Messenger.³ The symbol of the Ottoman state would join the sound of Islam in the announcement of the conquest. The most prominent church of the city would then be consecrated and converted into a mosque, followed by the first Friday prayer held within. Consistent with this attitude, it is said that the Conqueror “almost rushed” directly to Hagia Sophia after his triumphal entry into Constantinople.⁴ When he arrived, dismounting on the threshold, he bent down and scooped a handful of earth which he poured down his head. Entering the church, he silently wandered and gazed through the paradise-like Hagia Sophia

¹ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005.

² The Oxford Dictionary of Islam. *Dar-al-Islam* means the region of Muslim sovereignty. The first Arab siege of Constantinople dates back to 678.

³ Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *adhān*: “Ritual call to prayer. Consists of three iterations of “God is the greatest” followed by two repetitions each of “I witness that there is no god but God,” “I witness that Muhammad is the messenger of God,” “Come to prayer,” “Come to prosperity,” and “God is the greatest.” At the end, “There is no god but God” is repeated.”

⁴ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 235-236 (a reference from Muverrih Ali).

contemplating the vastness of its celestial dome, the wavy sea like marble floors, and its gold mosaic crusted surfaces. According to the court historian Tursun Bey, he “climbed to the dome as the spirit of God had mounted to the fourth story of the heavens,” and then ordered the great church to be converted into his imperial mosque immediately. A *muezzin* recited the *ezan* from the ambo of the church with the first prayer happening afterwards.⁵

In one of the accounts, upon entering the church, the sultan saw a Turkish soldier destroying the marble floor. When he demanded to know the reasons of his actions, the soldier replied that it was for the sake of the faith. Enraged, Mehmed II stopped him, declaring that: “For you the treasure and the prisoners are enough. The buildings of the city fall to me.”⁶ Thus, it is not surprising that the mosque of Ayasofya was his first endowment to his *waafiyya* (endowment deed).⁷ To understand the swift process of the act of appropriation of the church into a mosque, a thicker interpretation is needed. Through a consideration of the early Ottoman attitudes towards the appropriation of spolia of Byzantine origins, a more thorough picture can be set forth. Robert Ousterhout’s studies on the appropriation of the past in early Ottoman architecture are the leading sources on this matter. According to him, the origins of Ottoman architecture is problematic. Before the Ottomans settled in Anatolia, they were nomads and there is no clear evidence for a permanent architecture. However, by 1320’s, they were actively building, in a different manner from the Muslim architecture around Anatolia, following the methods of Byzantine practices aligning them with the architecture of Seljuks. The result, a heterogenous architecture, was directly associated with their twofold influence from the Greek population under their administration as well as their religious and political links to the Seljuks. The Hüdavendigâr Mosque, near the ancient town Troy, was built almost entirely of spolia taken from a variety of local buildings, to a point that mislead

⁵ Necipoglu, G., 1997: 197; Kinross, P. B., 1972: 102.

⁶ Kinross, P. B., 1972: 102.

⁷ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 237 The full text of Conqueror’s endowment deed can be found 255-313 both in Turkish and Arabic.

the Archaeological Institute of America mission to incorrectly assert that the building was originally a church. There are also other instances where the confusion of origin persists in attributing an Ottoman *türbe* to a late Byzantine church, or vice versa. Looking at various buildings, Ousterhout concludes that Ottomans' early relationship with the spolia of Byzantine origins was mainly related with the Ottoman state's multi-ethnic and religiously heterogeneous character and is more an expression of integration and about observing the practice rather than domination. Spolia started denoting domination or victory of Islam over Christianity, only came after the conquest in 1453, a chronological break with the Byzantine past, a new time, a new beginning, that led to a turning point in both architectural and historical consciousness.⁸

Despite his young age, Mehmed II was highly educated and showed a deep interest in the lore of the classical past. He was fluent in speaking and reading in several languages, collected classical sculptures and texts, kept a schoolbook of pen and ink drawings of face portraits and maintained an active Greek scriptorium (fig. 28). He supported Italian court painters and commissioned portraits and medals with heroic representations.⁹ According to his historian Kritovoulos, he was also a philosopher as well as a ruler who “studied all the writings of the Arabs and Persians, and whatever works of the Greeks had been translated into the language of the Arabs and Persians.”¹⁰ Having a scholarly interest in history, he did not rely on the oral history of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia. Rather, he commissioned translations of standard historical and topographical works including *Patria* and the *Diegesis* as well as contemporary works including a Greek version of Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*.¹¹ These texts are important in their role of creating a new tradition with their appropriation, thus interpretation, into Ottoman chronicles. The

⁸ Ousterhout, R., 1995; Ousterhout, R., 2004: 170 Ousterhout borrows this break notion from Gulru Necipoglu. She uses “competitive discourse” to describe this break. She aims to identify a shared early-modern preoccupation with challenging the past without rejecting its heritage.

⁹ Ousterhout, R., 2004: 171-172; Raby, J., 1982: 3-4.

¹⁰ Kritovoulos, I. 23, trans. Riggs, C. T., 1954: 14.

¹¹ Ousterhout, R., 2004: 170.

translation of the text into another translation is significant in understanding Mehmed's ambition to position himself as heir to the Byzantine emperors and to reunite Constantinople and Rome under a world empire unified by a single monarch.¹² This ambitious program took form in his respectful attitude towards the architectural significance of Hagia Sophia, as well as in retaining the name of the church as *Ayasofya* while changing the name of the city. Appropriating the building in its wholeness, he started a dialogue between the Ottoman architectural heritage and Hagia Sophia, which later extended into the future as ideals, constructions and an ongoing political discourse.

A building erected on a particular site might have various motives; to commemorate sacredness ensuring a continued veneration, is one of them.¹³ Those funerary mosques and churches built on the graves of martyrs are clear examples of buildings as memorials. Through the perception of the architectural structure, remembrance and bringing forth is triggered. The deliberate choice of the site of the previous Byzantine church, Holy Apostles, at where the Byzantine emperors used to be buried, as the site for his funerary mosque, Fatih Mosque, and modeling the design after Hagia Sophia, proves that Mehmed II has been very motivated in his endeavor of creating an Ottoman future with a Byzantine past, a hybrid imaginary and ideal facture.

And he [Mehmed II] built a great mosque based on the design of Hagia Sophia (*Ayasofya kârnameşi resminde*), which not only encompassed all the arts of Hagia Sophia, but in addition incorporated modern features constituting a fresh new idiom (*taşarrufât-i mutâ'âhhirin üzre nev'-i şîve-i tâze*) unequaled in beauty (*hüsn*).¹⁴

Necipoglu parallels Tursun Beg's notion of "a fresh new idiom" to Vasari's description of Bramante who translated the past into a modern one through new inventions: "[...] if the

¹² Necipoglu, G., 1997: 197-198.

¹³ Krautheimer, R., 1983: 2 (three Christian capitals).

¹⁴ Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. Inalcik, H. and Murphey, R., 1978.

Greeks were the inventors of architecture, and the Romans their imitators, Bramante imitated not only what he saw, with new invention, but also added very great beauty and elaboration to the art, which we see embellished by him at the present day.”¹⁵ In 1465 Florentine architect Filarete is believed to have visited Istanbul and he might have possibly been influential in the design decisions of Fatih Mosque; deliberately located in the center of the city and employing a symmetrical layout, both carry semblance to Filarete’s Ospedale Maggiore in Milan and the idealized plan in his *Libro architetonico* (fig. 29).¹⁶ The appreciation of influence and the deliberate cultivation of a heterogenous ideal made itself apparent in the cosmopolitan image of Istanbul as well. Towards the end of Mehmed II’s reign, the city turned into a microcosm of mosques, churches, synagogues, quarters of neighborhoods of people from different lands with their own languages, clothes and customs merged in a celebration of “intentional hybridity”, a fusion of diversities set in a dialogical manner.¹⁷ Thus, it can be concluded that Hagia Sophia and its unprecedented design principles were set at the core of Ottoman architectural tradition to be developed with innovative and diverse acts that would ensure a sacred continuity. Although more conservative alterations were made in the later eras, Hagia Sophia was initially appropriated with only minor additions and subtractions. In some accounts, the Conqueror is said to have given orders to get the church ready as a mosque before the first Friday prayer. The architects and the foremen worked day and night to convert the church into a mosque in just three days. While the ambo, iconostasis, thrones, the altar, all the portable icons, the bells from its bell tower and the cross at the zenith of the dome were removed, many of the Christian figural mosaics were preserved and free of whitewash including the Virgin and the Child in the apse. After, as legends say, purified with rose water, a *minbar* and a *mihrab* were

¹⁵ Necipoglu, G., 1993: 171; Vasari, G., *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Painters*, vol. IV, 137-138.

¹⁶ Raby, J. 1982: 7.

¹⁷ Necipoglu, G., 2010: 263; Bakhtin, M. M., 1981: 359-360 According to Bakhtin, an intentional hybrid is a conscious hybrid, that is an encounter within the area of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses. He describes the intentional novelistic hybrid as the collision between differing points of views on the world that are embedded in these forms. Thus, an intentional artistic hybrid is a semantic hybrid that is internally dialogic.

erected as well as a wooden minaret immediately in the succeeding days of the conquest (fig. 30). In these ways, a new city, Istanbul, was created from the old, Constantinople, just as a new mosque, Ayasofya, was created from the old church, Hagia Sophia more through the substitution of new origin stories than through physical rebuilding.

The wooden minaret is not well documented in the Ottoman resources. According to Emerson and Van Nice, a wooden minaret is known to be only mentioned in the *firman* that was issued by Selim II (1566-1574) on April 19, 1573 for the need of substantial repairs: “You have reported... that the wooden minaret has gone to ruin and must be built of brick. Therefore I have commanded that the place which is to go up to the minaret be now built in proper fashion.”¹⁸ Due to the urgency of a minaret at the time of the conquest, the belfry that was standing in between the buttresses over the main entrance might have been served the purpose of a minaret, call for prayer, until an appropriate minaret was built.¹⁹ The belfry is believed to be erected during the Latin occupation alongside with the buttresses between 1204 and 1261 and their bells were received as gifts from the Doge of Venice.²⁰ The existence of this belfry is recorded in the seventeenth century travelogue by Joseph Grelot and Cornelius Loos’ eighteenth-century drawings of Hagia Sophia (fig. 31) (fig. 32).

IV.I. The Appropriation of the South Turret as the Site of the First Minaret

A minaret, one of the distinctive characteristics of Islamic architecture, is a tall tower or turret either immediately attached to the mosque or standing nearby and surrounded by one or more projecting balconies from which the muezzin chants to call the faithful to prayer. The word minaret, *minare* in Turkish, derives from the Arabic word منارة (manara), “an

¹⁸ Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1950: 33 Translation was cited from Ahmed Refik’s old Turkish text.

¹⁹ Ibid, 1950: 33 Emerson and Van Nice agree with Schneider’s assertion of the association of the wooden minaret with the belfry.

²⁰ Swift, E., 1940: 86, 88; Dark, K. and Kostenec, J., 2019: 110-111.

object that gives light” such as an oil-lamp in Arabic poetry, or a rush light in the cell of a Christian monk. The word was used for lighthouses generally, and later referring to mosque towers. The practice of the call for prayer, *ezan*, from Arabic *adhān* “to listen, to hear” reminds the faithful to gather together and leave the worldly matters behind.²¹ In the early years of Islam, the mosques basically were sheds, not buildings, thus there were no minarets. When Muhammad (s.a.v) was in Mecca, he used to pray without *adhan* or any other call to prayer. There are many varying stories regarding the genesis of *adhan*. According to one, after the Hijrah to Medinah, having heard that Jews used a horn and the Christians a wooden clapper to summon to prayer, with a revelation through a dream, Mohammad (s.a.v) gave the command to his herald Bilal, “Rise, O Bilal, and summon to prayer” deciding the call to prayer to be performed by the voice of man.²² Initially, this was carried out from the roof of his house.

Yet the call to prayer as a function is older, its translation into an architectural form dates to a later time, to the period of the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750). The corner towers of the Roman *temenos* in Damascus are believed to have been the first minarets (fig. 33).²³ Until the reign of al-Walid, Christians and Muslims shared the *temenos* for praying, with the latter worshipping in a in the south-eastern part of the sanctuary.²⁴ Once used as a watch tower, through appropriation, the call to prayer translated into an architectural form and the watch tower translated into the minaret, while retaining its shape and utility, initiated new meanings and functions. As a significant symbol of Islam, the minaret took various forms in different cultures– from thick spiral to pencil-thin spires – and made out of mostly local

²¹ Quran Verse: Surah al-Tawbah, 9/3; Aydar, H., and Atalay, M., 2006: 46, Creswell, K.A.C., 1926: 1.

²² Aydar, H., and Atalay, M., 2006: 48-49 “According to Islamic sources, Abd Allah b. Zayd saw a dream: Around the time the prophet Muhammad with no sympathy agreed to ring a bell (a gong) in order to invite people for Friday prayer, I saw a dream. In my dream, there was a man with a bell in his hand. I said to him: Would you sell that bell to me? He said: 'What are you going to do with it?' I said: We are going to use it to call people to prayer. He said: 'Would you want to know something better than this?' I said: Yes. Then he told me to say: Allah akbar, Allah akbar...and thought me the *adhan* we are familiar with now. When it was morning, I immediately came to the Prophet and told him about my dream. He said: 'It is no doubt a true dream.’ Gottheil, R. J. H., 1910: 134.

²³ Grabar, O. 1973: 117-120; Gottheil, R. J. H., 1910: 133; Creswell, K. A. C., 1926: 1.

²⁴ Flodd, F. B., 2000: 2.

materials such as bricks, stones, wood.²⁵ Tall pointed roofs and the use of multiple balconies are characteristic to the Ottoman minaret. According to Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, imitating the posture of a prayer raising hands to the sky, the minaret bears a deep meaning in its form. It is the windpipe of the mosque: as it inhales, it invites the prayers under its dome, and translates the zest and immateriality of the praying through its form. It is alive and crucial for what makes the mosque a living body.²⁶ While most mosques are built with a single minaret, in the major cities of the empire they were built with two, four or even six minarets, with only persons of royal Ottoman blood allowed to build more than one.²⁷

The Muslims accepted the architectural traditions that had preceded them, even those of their rivals. The originality of their architectural understanding lies in their manner that fused their ethical and religious commitment into those elements they borrowed from others.²⁸ This attitude probably lies at the core of the appropriation of the south turret of Hagia Sophia as the foundation for a minaret. Sometime between 1453 and 1481, Mehmed II endowed Ayasofya with a minaret that is equivalent to its monumentality, as an act to visualize the authority of the new state in a permanent, material form.²⁹ Standing to the right of Ayasofya's entrance, the turret was close to the traditional location for a minaret, located on one of the piers that was capable of carrying a concentrated load and enclosed a circular stair of appropriate scale that could easily be extended. Not extant today, basing their statement on the archaeological surveys and on the Ottoman *firman* of June 22, 1573, Emerson and Van Nice suggest that the minaret was built on one of the turrets on the west façade, the south one, above the buttresses and the gallery roof of the piers which carry the

²⁵ See Creswell, K. A. C., 1926 for the evolution of the minaret throughout time.

²⁶ Ayverdi, E. H., 1985: 60.

²⁷ Petersen, A., 1996: 190; Necipoglu, G., 1993: 203.

²⁸ Gottheil, R. J. H., 1910: 140.

²⁹ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 237; Kinross, P. B., 1972: 103; Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1950: 28, 39; Necipoglu, G., 1992: 203. Minbar is the pulpit where the imam delivers the sermons. The insertion of mihrab- a prayer niche – directed the worship towards Mecca, in a sense tilting the axis of the building imaginatively in the minds of the worshippers. The current pulpit and mihrab were added in the 16th century.

western semi-dome (fig. 34).³⁰ These enclosed masses are called buttress responds and they support the western semi-dome, the haunches of the barrel vault over the western window and partially assume the outward thrusts exerted by the semi-domes (fig. 35). The spiral stairs inside provided access to the roof and the upper cornice of the nave below. The brick and mortar used are of Justinian's period, thus the turrets belong to the original construction of 537.³¹ However, when compared, the differences between the north and south turrets provide an interpretation how a Byzantine structure was translated into an Ottoman structure through appropriation. Even though this act is highly anticipated given the transformative phase of the city, the appropriation of the south turret as the site of the minaret is noteworthy to examine in depth. It is significant, not only because it changed the image of the horizon of the city, but also the horizon of meanings Hagia Sophia acquired throughout the centuries (Plate 2).

Both stairways are entered from the outer side of either pier by an arched entrance of 1.15 m wide and 2.25 m high. The spiral stairs, circular in plan with a diameter of 2.10 m, ascend counterclockwise around a central newel (fig. 36). Each stair begins on a solid brickwork and reaches daylight at half turn, and to the turret after a full turn. In the northern ascent, the steps are made of brick and arrive at a landing at the sixteenth step, above which is covered by two superimposed domes, the inner with a low curvature and the outside lofty (fig. 37). However, the south stairway has nineteen steps, of marble, reaches to a former exit without a landing and continues up nine more steps to level with the cupola that roofs the turret. The continuation of these steps beyond any other exit proves that the original turret has been heightened which is possibly by the Ottomans after the conquest. By analyzing the materials used in the structure and comparing them to both the Byzantine and Ottoman building techniques and practices, Emerson and Van Nice identify the first nineteen steps as

³⁰ Selim II 1573 firman: "...it has been communicated to me that certain places of the Imperial Mosque of Ayasofya, which is in front of my Royal Palace, are in need of repair [...] that the minaret on the half dome be done away with..." from Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L. 1950: 33-34.

³¹ Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1950: 34-37; Swift, E., 1940: 137-139.

Byzantine and the ones from the twentieth to the twenty-seventh as unquestionably Turkish. The Byzantine bricks in thickness range from 4 to 6 cm and 36 to 38 cm in length, and ten courses measure 101 cm and lighter in color; whereas the Turkish bricks vary from 3 to 3.5 cm, with a uniform length of 28.5 cm, and ten courses measure 65 cm.³² They have a red brighter color, probably due to different conditions of their firing (fig. 38). The architectural survey reveals that the current cupola of the turret is made of Turkish bricks, probably constructed after its removal in the sixteenth century. To summarize the clues that direct the scholars towards the suggestion that the appropriation of the south turret is the site of the minaret: the marbles from twentieth to twenty-seventh steps are made of Turkish marble which are distinguishable from the Byzantine with their smooth but unpolished borders and their marks of a comb-like tool on their faces; the stairs of the south turret are deeply worn from continuous usage through an extended time as opposed to the moderate wear of the north turret; and the shell of the cupola of the south turret is constructed of Turkish bricks.³³

Ottomans studied the minaret as an element and its placement in their mosques for a long time. Generally, they were consisted of seven parts: foundation, pulpit, transition segment, cylindrical or polygonal body, balcony, upper part of the minaret/the access to the balcony, spire, stair and the *alem*/finial or end ornament. In the fourteenth century, they were mostly built on the corner walls of their mosques, thus the foundation and the pulpit were no more necessary.³⁴ It should come as no surprise, then, that the minaret was erected by extending the south turret, a similar approach to the earlier examples. However, no data exists regarding the architectural details of the minaret built above the turret. According to Akgunduz et al, establishing their conclusion from numerous scholars, the minaret was

³² 100 cm= 1 m = 3.28 ft.

³³ Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1950: 35-37, see note 29 for Turkish marble traits; Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1943: 422, see note 34 for color comparison of Byzantine and Ottoman bricks.

³⁴ Ayverdi, E. H., 1985: 60.

wooden which was removed and replaced by another one in 1574.³⁵ How the body of the turret was structurally transitioned into the body of the minaret or whether there was a stair built within or not remains unclear.

Melchior Lorck, a Danish artist, prepared a panoramic drawing of Istanbul in 1559. 11.45 meters long, on sheet 6 Ayasofya is depicted with two minarets (fig. 39). As seen from across the Golden Horn, the north and west facades are drawn showing specific details that match the descriptions of the time. The Bayezid minaret stands on the left, the minaret on the right of the semi-dome ought to be the one erected on the turret.³⁶ Both minarets are almost the same height. One thing to note is the difference in their color and rendering. The Bayezid minaret is lacking any hatching and color, whereas the rendering of the minaret on the west façade matches the color and diagonal hatching to that of the buttresses of the west and north facades, as well as the city walls. During a roof renovation project between 2006-2008, it was revealed that the buttresses were constructed with the combination of brick, stone and mortar as building materials.³⁷ Thus, the similarities in the rendering suggest that the minaret could have been of brick.

The material ambiguity of the minaret erected on the site of the south turret is crucial in inviting multiple interpretations. In the absence of architectural and archaeological evidence, the response remains in the in-between lines represented in the images or the texts from that period. “Ambiguity and polysemy instead generate an “equivocal space” where unforeseeable inventions might occur through a process of future predictions by recollecting memories. Hallowed configuration is polysemic and allows for the coexistence

³⁵ Akgunduz, A., et al., 2005: 358-359. See the Selim II’s firman from June 21, 1573. “You have reported... that the wooden minaret has gone to ruin and must be built of brick.” Translation from ³⁵ Emerson, W. and Van Nice, R. L., 1950: 33.

³⁶ The minaret on the NE corner of the mosque is attributed to Bayezid II, probably built between 1481-1512 stands on an independent foundation and is the slenderest and ornamented one of the four current minarets.

³⁷ Diker, H. F., 2010: 40.

and merging of simultaneous stories.”³⁸ The assumed material hybridity allows a possible transition from Byzantine brick to Ottoman brick or from Byzantine brick to timber. Whether the minaret was built of wood or brick, the ambiguity lies at the source of the making of Ayasofya into a hybrid facture of multiple interpretations that are of equal validity.³⁹ The ambiguity leads to variety of possibilities, thus variety of varying stories. It is in this moment the material hybridity joins these stories in creating the facture of Ayasofya.

The turret that is of Byzantine origin was allowed to live on into the Ottoman present through its structure and materiality, while retaining its function as a support for the structure of the dome, it gained another meaning by supporting the foundation of the minaret and creating a new symbolic meaning with its transformation. This conspicuous palimpsest reveals different layers of making and the overlay of strata over one another. Thus, building on building, meaning on meaning, creates a harmonious structure of heterogeneous elements, a hybrid facture. For Frascari, the joint, as the minimal unit of signification in the architectural production of meanings, is the place where construction and construing of architecture takes place.⁴⁰ In the case of Ayasofya, the entire building is of brick and mortar with the exception of piers, where the joining of brick and mortar is not only the generator of Hagia Sophia but also is the smallest unit, a beginning, in identifying the process of appropriation and the manipulation of meaning through the merging of anachronistic makings. The Byzantine and Ottoman bricks, like words, speak to us. Their assemblage, like a sentence, tells the architectural tale of Hagia Sophia and gives the building its enduring character through the translation of historical time into narrative time.⁴¹ This translation involves multiple beginnings of multiple narrators within the same enclosure of space emerging from the same foundation. An intertwined narrative was

³⁸ Goffi, F., 2013: 207. Goffi discusses how Alfarano’s St. Peter’s drawing is a sophisticated palimpsest capable of generating future memories with making the viewer and active participant in its interpretation. Also see p. 177-178.

³⁹ Zeki, S., 2003: 190.

⁴⁰ Frascari, M. 1984: 23,36.

⁴¹ Frascari, M. 1984: 24.

factured by complementing the material appropriation with deliberately constructed literary and visual re-makings of Byzantine texts and representations.

IV. II. Evliya Celebi's Travelogue and the Literary Representation of the Appropriation

Evliya Celebi, in his seventeenth-century travelogue, *Narrative of Travels*, tells a story about an Ottoman architect, Ali Neccar, who was sent to Constantinople by Mehmed II to repair the cupola of Hagia Sophia which was ruined during an earthquake.⁴² On his return to Edreneh, the capital of Ottoman state then, he informed the sultan that he laid the foundations of a minaret:

I have secured the cupola of Aya Sofiyah, O emperor, by four mighty buttresses; to repair it depended on me, to conquer it depends on thee. I have also laid the foundations of a minareh for thee, where I offered up my prayers.⁴³

The architect consecrated the church into a mosque by laying the foundations, constituting a distinct, yet desired, imaginary projection of a minaret through the making of a foundation. Thus, turning the dream of the conquest into a foretold reality through an architectural act. As this assistance appears highly unlikely, this account, can be looked into as a deliberate construct of a vivid mind and a creative process of appropriation that took place in the realm of imagination. "Storytelling is the "native language of our imagination" and a well-fabricated story, "imaginary figment" as Vico calls it, can fuse our knowing of the world into a new reality, that becomes more real than the reality itself:⁴⁴

⁴² Ali Neccar is one of the Ottoman imperial architects of the late 14th century. He is known to be included in the construction of the Great Mosque of Bursa.

⁴³ Evliya Celebi, *Narrative of Travels* trans. Von Hammer, R. J., 1834: 57. Evliya Celebi was a 17th century Ottoman traveller and the author of travelogue *Seyâhatnâme* – Book of Travels. Born in Istanbul, he was obsessed with travelling. Composed in ten volumes, it begins with his account of Istanbul. He prefers legend to historical fact. Its significance lies in the representation of the period's Ottoman reasoning and reflections. See Dankoff, R. and Kim, S., Introduction (Kindle Edition).

⁴⁴ Emmons, P. and Phinney, L. 2017: 1 (Kindle edition).

The poet, instead, because his business is with the majority of men, induces persuasion by giving plastic portrayals of exalted actions and characters; he may depart from the daily semblances of truth, in order to be able to frame a loftier semblance of reality. He departs from inconstant, unpredictable nature in order to pursue a more constant, more abiding reality. He creates imaginary figments which, in a way, are more real than physical reality itself.⁴⁵

After the conquest, a group of Greek and European learned men were asked to write a history of the Byzantine emperors and the city's astonishing monuments. The earliest surviving Turkish and Persian versions of this text dates from 1479 and are based largely on the ninth century *Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sofias*. A Greek copy of this Byzantine text, written for Mehmed II, still survives at the Topkapı Palace Royal Archives. The original Greek text should have been translated into Turkish. A translation is a form, an afterlife of the original text in the native language of its author. Instead of imitating the original, the translation incorporates the original's way of meaning and expresses its own kind of *intentio*, thus aims to reach a pure language.⁴⁶ The potential of a text's translatability lies between the lines that awaits to be revealed through a retelling, like that of a myth. Later versions of this text transformed into Ottoman chronicles, incorporating traditional Ottoman motifs of narratives with the appropriated Byzantine narratives, bringing them to construct an identity through the framework of re-telling, thus mythmaking. History and myth were interweaved to instill the image of the building as a mosque and to invent a new tradition by fusing its Byzantine past with an Ottoman past.⁴⁷

The Greek word *muthos* means "formulated speech" and belongs to the domain of Greek *legein*.⁴⁸ From the root *leg-, "to speak" with notions of "to gather, to collect, to choose."⁴⁹ In

⁴⁵ Vico, G. *On the Study Methods of our Time* trans. by Gianturco, E., 1965: 43.

⁴⁶ Benjamin, W., 1923 in eds. Bullock, M. and Jennings, M. W., 1996: 253-263.

⁴⁷ Necipoglu, G., 1992: 198-199; Ousterhout, R., 2004: 170. There was still some opposition to the preservation of a building built by non-Muslims almost a hundred years after its reconsecration.

⁴⁸ Vernant, J.P., 1980: 203-204.

⁴⁹ The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots, 2000: 47.

Greek literature, the difference between speech and writing had a direct effect on the position of myth. Reading a written text requires a different attitude of mind than listening to a speech due its availability for critical revisiting. While the oral message can only be constructed during the ongoing speech, the text can be reinterpreted again and again with a different meaning in each time. Thus, a discourse in the written form places its message at the center of the community at their disposal, becomes something common and belonging equally to all the members of the public. Without the superior power of the spoken word or the accompanying dramatic actions of the orator, myth, the stuff of the fabulous, now convinces the audience.⁵⁰ In the case of Ayasofya and the myths concerning its historical beginnings and building processes including the plots, actors and time frames, were created in this manner, constructing an imaginary past for the community to legitimize the adaptive reuse of Hagia Sophia as the mosque of Ayasofya.

By changing the emplotment, the retelling of these stories also played a central role in making Hagia Sophia an integral part of the Ottoman collective memory. According to one Ottoman legend, Hagia Sophia's half-dome collapsed on the night of Prophet Mohammed's birth together with many other churches. After many unsuccessful attempts, it was held in place with a special mortar composed of sand from Mecca, water from the holy well of *Zemzem* at the *Ka'ba* and the Prophet's saliva. This myth was furthered with the story of Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, a close companion and standard-bearer of the Prophet, who was said to make an agreement with the Byzantine emperor to stop the siege of Constantinople in return for permission to pray in Hagia Sophia during the first Arab siege of the city. Ayyub was the first Muslim to pray there before he was martyred.⁵¹ The narratives place the grave on an extramural site, under the city walls, or immediately within the fortifications. After the siege, his grave was miraculously discovered with varying stories: either during the siege, its location was determined as an invention to boost the morale of the troops or around 1458

⁵⁰ Vernant, J.P., 1980: 204-208.

⁵¹ Ibid, 200.

which was linked with the decision to move the capital from Edirne to Istanbul. Nevertheless, both accounts aimed to link the past with the Ottoman present and legitimize inhabiting the city by invention of tradition through the act of building. A monumental tomb and a mosque complex were built on the site of the grave not so long after the conquest.⁵² While it was to commemorate the warrior of Islam, constructing a link with the Islamic past, it was also to create a core that is of Islamic origins, from which the city will grow parallel to the expansion around Ayasofya.

For Ricœur, architecture and narrativity are in a narrow, configurative parallelism, where building in space and emplotment in time are analogous acts. The time of the narrative is a mixture of the experienced time and the chronological time, whereas the built space is a mixture of the place of life- the site, and the geometrical space. The instant of present-now, and the site are the nodes of narrative time and built space. Through this double reading, Ricœur discusses the process of the narrative in three stages: prefiguration, configuration and refiguration, which are then translated into architecture, respectively as inhabiting, building, and inhabiting thoughtfully. Aristotle defines *muthos* as the organization of events which must be understood by synthesis, not system, but the active sense of organizing the events into a system. Thus, *muthos* means “to compose” and thereby poetics can be identified as “the art of composing plots” or emplotment. Emplotment mediates between the individual events and the narrated story, as well as brings those events together with means, interactions, reasons, causes, circumstances and occurrences which Ricœur calls this “concordant discordance”. It also draws a unity from the manifold of events creating a temporal whole.⁵³ The narrative of the minaret is twofold. While Evliya, telling this story two centuries after the conquest, composes the past into a sequence of events which eventually affected the conquest, thus the act of the appropriation of Hagia Sophia to happen.

⁵² Kafescioglu, C., 2009: 45-51 Also see notes Chapter 1:114 and 116. In 1459, the mosque was completed. Abu Ayyub’s name later was changed to Eyup Sultan, the remaking of a persona that can be identified as Ottoman.

⁵³ Ricœur, P., 1990: 33-34, 65-66; Ricœur, P., 2016: 32-35 Ricœur prefers to use emplotment instead of plot.

Conversely, the historical fact of the conquest, affected the plot of the story with its embodied intention to construct an imaginary consecrated past and a cleansed, unpolluted building that is of Ottoman heritage.

IV. III. *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* and the Visual Representation of the Appropriation

*Give me a map; then let me see how much
Is left for me to conquer all the world...*
– Christopher Marlowe,
Tamburlaine the Great, Part II, Scene III⁵⁴

Maps, as social artefacts, cognitive tools, mnemonic repositories, are one of the oldest forms of human communication. Harley describes maps as “graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world.”⁵⁵ The origin of mapmaking goes back to the mapmaker’s desire to tell others about the places he has travelled or experienced, whether actually or imaginatively. This calls for a process that not only involves the technical knowledge and the craftsmanship of the mapmaker but a complex web of interactions involving the way of its use and making. On the one hand, maps are easily readable due to their employment of a shared set of codes to convey information about a place. For instance, according to Piaget, children from an early age can conceptualize space through maps and they actively construct their knowledge about them.⁵⁶ On the other hand, they also require a meticulous interpretation effort because of the ambiguous dissemination through their two-dimensional composition of shapes, sizes,

⁵⁴ Marlowe, C., Tamburlaine the Great, Part II, Act 5, Scene III. Accessed <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.03.0003:act=5:scene=3&highlight=map>.

⁵⁵ Harley, J. B., 1987: 1.

⁵⁶ http://users.ntua.gr/bnakos/Children_and_Mapping_Eng.html.

edges, orientation, position and relations of different masses and their articulation of subconscious as well as conscious values.⁵⁷

One can argue that maps' basic purpose is to provide a view based on the collected geographical and topographical data of a place. However, they reflect more than that. They are embedded in layers of cultural, historic, political and ideological meanings and through their selection of graphical language that consists of words, images and signs, they aim to translate the physical world, through a mental projection, into a graphical construction on paper. Both acts, making and looking at a map, are thus culturally shaped, involving self, the other and the reciprocal relationship between them. Maps in that sense not only speak about the social world of the past but also with the selection of their content, signs and ways of representation, they conceive, articulate and structure the present while simultaneously anticipating a future. Harvey, following Panofsky's formulation of iconology in painting, associates the symbolism maps carry in their image, with the act of sending and receiving messages at a deeper level, where often the political power is most effectively reproduced, communicated and experienced. Such example is the appropriation of lands on paper even long before they were actually conquered.⁵⁸

Around ca. 1300, Ptolemy's work from the second century, *Geographia*, was rediscovered in the Byzantine world and was then brought to Florence from Constantinople around 1400. Its first Latin translation was completed around 1406 and started to circulate extensively under the translated title *Cosmographia* with radically reshaping the ideas about the *ocumene*, the inhabited world, and the ways of representing the places and landscapes. Ptolemy opened up a new field of vision with the introduction of his concept chorography and distinguishing it from geography by placing it in the realm of resemblance of the world. Chorography, from *choros*, place, and *graphia*, to write, the "representation of space or place",

⁵⁷ Harley, J. B., 1987: 2-3.

⁵⁸ Harley, J. B., 1988: 277-312; Jacob, C., 1996: 193-194.

was used by Ptolemy in his text as creating recognizable images of the visible features of the *ocumene* and intended to convey knowledge of an individual part of the world, rather than the whole.⁵⁹ It was in this context, a new genre of maps, known as *isolarii*, emerged as a reflection of the methods described by Ptolemy and flourished in the fifteenth century. Standing at the crossroads of geographical, historical, travel and nautical manuals, *isolarii* consisted of maps, sometimes accompanied with text, mostly of islands but also coastal mainland, arranged in the form of an encyclopedia. The first printed version being in the form of a verse, strengthens the hypothesis that *Oikoumenēs Periēgēsis*, a synoptic poem, by Dionysius of Alexandria, a contemporary of Ptolemy, was probably the inspiration for the *isolarii*.⁶⁰

Christoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, the Book of the Islands of the Archipelago, appeared around 1420, was one of the first examples of this genre. Although lost, the original version is believed to contain maps and descriptions of seventy-nine islands and coastal places in the Ionian and Aegean Sea including Constantinople, Gallipoli, Dardanelles, Mount Athos and Athens. It was commissioned by Cardinal Orsini of Rome and was intended to be an illustrated account of the past and present state of the islands of the Archipelago, their rulers and their physical appearance. A mixture of fact, fiction and fantasy, the book was compiled from Buondelmonti's personal observations through his travels, hearsay and historical and poetic sources. Topographical details are shown as pictorial representations of what was actually seen, or what was interpreted or a mixture of the two. What is more interesting is the text's subsequent life: it was copied, enlarged, altered, added to, deleted, silenced, encoded throughout the fifteenth century with sixty-four manuscripts surviving.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Joost-Gaugier, C. L., 1998: 767-771; Nuti, L., 1999: 90; Rohl, D. J., 2012: 24-25.

⁶⁰ Tolias, G., 1987: 263-265.

⁶¹ Harvey, P. D. A., 1987: 482; Turner, H. L., 1987: 13; Tolias, G., 1987: 265-267 see note 20 for a detailed discussion of the lost original and its closest surviving.

The maps of Constantinople varied in their ways of representations and their contents as well (fig. 40). The earliest extant copy predates the Ottoman conquest in 1453. While nearly all copies follow the same principles and orientation, a bird's eye view with the city unfolding towards the northern part, Golden Horn and *Pera*; they reveal the intentional or accidental selectivity of their copyists through what is included or not included. In this sense, they are more of a historical construct rather than a topographical reality of the fifteenth century Constantinople - a time when the city was literally and metaphorically reconstructed. Kafescioglu suggests a dialogic reading of these maps to highlight their polysemous character of multiplicities and juxtapositions coexisted in their images.⁶² The earlier versions portray the city as a strongly fortified city within which buildings, columns sparsely fill and churches clearly depicted, yet without any sign of domination. Even Hagia Sophia has not been emphasized or identified. Later maps show elaboration and development in their style and content and they are more sophisticated in conveying a sense of place and accuracy of the spatial relationships with an emphasis on city's Christian heritage and its signifiers. Thus, on the contrary to the earlier maps, buildings are differentiated in terms of style and hierarchy, Hagia Sophia dominating all other buildings with its exaggerated size. An iconic version from 1475 only shows Hagia Sophia and an adjacent column, presumably that of the Augustaion, reduced to its two potent symbols, disregarding the Ottoman inhabitation and the change of power occurred twenty years before. This approach was undoubtedly an indication of the desire for reappropriation by the West. There is, however, one copy, the Dusseldorf manuscript (ca. 1480), differs radically from this tradition and features the city's transformation under Ottoman rule (fig. 41).⁶³

In the Dusseldorf map, many of the buildings and monuments that appear in other versions of *Liber Insularium* are found alongside with the new elements of the Ottoman city such as the fortresses, shipyards, mosques, palaces, cemeteries, markets which are all part of the

⁶² Kafescioglu, C., 2009: 144.

⁶³ Manners, I. R., 1997: 73-87; Kafescioglu, C., 2009: 145, 148.

rebuilding begun under Mehmed II. Unlike the other views, this image does not overlook the presence of the other, the Byzantine past and presence. Moreover, the application of scale and hierarchy is consistent in the map, a reassertion of the claim of inheritance. With the incorporation of three strategic structures, Rumeli Hisari, Anadolu Hisari and the Castle of Seven Towers (Yedikule) and a detailed representation of a harbor and a shipyard, the map serves as a mnemonic repository of the conquest as well as an architectural documentation of defense. The map also shows both the first and second palace. Especially the depiction of the order of the New Palace symbolizes the imperial vision of Mehmed II which is extended by the possibility of Gentile Bellini's authorship of the map. Although there is no certain information regarding the authorship and the patronage of the map, Manners is struck by the fact that the map's information being consistent with the timing of Bellini's stay in the city.⁶⁴ Bellini made a portrait of Mehmed II during his stay in Constantinople and he is also known to have been involved in the preparation of murals depicting the great cities of Europe and Mediterranean including Constantinople in the private villa of Marquis of Mantua in Gonzaga (fig. 42). Another reason for this assertion is the particular vocabulary and language of the place names on the map. They appear to be recorded by a visitor as spoken by the locals.⁶⁵ With the insertion of Eyup Mosque, Fatih Mosque and the consecrated Ayasofya Mosque, on the contrary to the Christian dominance in the other versions, the Dusseldorf map clearly represents the city as Islamic under Ottoman governance. The Eyup Mosque was constructed to commemorate the site where the Prophet's standard-bearer Abu Ayyub al-Ansari is believed to have died during the Arab siege of Constantinople around 670 A.D. which later become the place where the sultans were girded with the sword of sovereignty.⁶⁶ On the other hand, Fatih Mosque was the funerary mosque of the Conqueror

⁶⁴ Manners, I. R., 1997: 91-94; See Pinto, K., 2011 for Mehmed II's fascination with maps. According to her, he was fond of maps and maps brought together two of his most passionate interests – war and art. He was a visually oriented person and a unique leader in the Middle Eastern history for using maps in military strategy and for making map-like sketches himself. His interest extended to acquiring maps of all the European countries as well as commissioning an Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. Pinto, K., 2011: 156-158.

⁶⁵ Manners, I. R., 1997: 87-90, 94 See Manners p. 91 for a detailed discussion on Bellini's possible authorship.

⁶⁶ Necipoglu, G., 1992: 200.

which held an important place as the focal point of the emerging Islamic city and the reshaping its urban space around its *kulliye*.⁶⁷

The most striking feature of the Dusseldorf map is the flawless depiction of Ayasofya as a mosque, with the juxtaposition of a minaret and a crescent, on an adapted map that originally represented the city under Byzantine governance and Hagia Sophia as the imperial church with a cross atop (fig. 43). The minaret is demonstrated as standing on a raised buttress in front of Hagia Sophia, corresponding to Evliya's description and Emerson and Van Nice's archaeological survey results. The Dusseldorf version's significance lies in its lucid display of the transformation of the Byzantine city into an Ottoman city and its conscious appropriation of an earlier map to serve as the foundation for its own purposes and meanings. Allographic in its technical construction, it is autographic in its making and its idiosyncratic pictorial representation of the new image of Constantinople. Nelson Goodman distinguishes works of art as autographic versus allographic in his seminal work *Languages of Art*:

Let us speak of a work of art as autographic if and only if the distinction between original and forgery of it is significant; or better, if and only if even the most exact duplication of it does not thereby count as genuine. If a work of art is autographic, we may also call that art autographic. Thus painting is autographic, music nonautographic, or allographic.⁶⁸

A musical score uses a notational system that is "any symbol scheme consists of characters, usually with modes of combining them to form others."⁶⁹ The score defines the work, and the work is in the class of performances compliant with a character. The articulation of

⁶⁷ Kulliyes had an important role in shaping the Ottoman cities. They were a complex of buildings centered around a mosque including madrasas (educational institutions), kitchen, hospitals, hamams (Turkish bath) that would unite the vicinity and serve as public spaces for the residents. The word *kulliye*, derives from the Arabic word, *kull*, meaning all. Thus, as an architectural structure, *kulliyes* played an important role in the planning of Ottoman cities since early times.

⁶⁸ Nelson, G., 1968: 113.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

characters and their syntactic relationship emancipates the work from a history of production. Thus, in music, unlike painting, there is no such thing as a forgery of a known work. All the performances, the copies of the score of the composer, if accurate, are equally genuine as the original work. Music is an allographic art in this sense. On the other hand, even the most exact copy of a painting is an imitation or forgery, and not a new instance of the work. A painting is an individual object; a work of art, it neither has a notational system, nor can it belong to a class. It does not allow performances; thus, it is autographic.⁷⁰

The Dusseldorf map falls into the allographic category in terms of its construction and autographic in its making. Conceptually and thematically, it belongs to a sequence of maps that are unmistakably originated from Buondelmonti's *Liber* that was finished by 1420. His method of presenting information, which was influenced by the encyclopedic compendia of knowledge, acted as an inspiration for many others. The subsequent manuscripts appropriated the original map and its codes, or sometimes one of the later variations, to deliver their representations of the city imbued with new meanings and ideals. The description of the book as "an illustrated book of Cyclades and the various other islands surrounding them, with a description of the events that took place there in antiquity and up to our own times" opened up the way to manipulation through the representation of change in the maps. The change not only happened due to the deliberate intentions of the copyists but also due to the changing status and geography of the city and the land. Even though they varied in content and style, there is a notation that applies to all the copies. They share the same system of articulation by their orientation, their choice and placement of monuments, their composition as full-page illustrations accompanied by a text, and the depiction of the city more or less as a walled city unfolding towards the Golden Horn and *Pera*. One can argue that the notational system described here is not as exact, or accurate as the notational system of music, however, as a construction in its own, it acts similar to a performance where

⁷⁰ Ibid., 112-113, 122, 210

the score, Buondelmonti's original topographical map in this case, is easily discerned and directly referred to, and simultaneously becomes a work of art, as genuine as the original.

Making involves a mental and a cultural process of knowing and projecting which depends on how to conceive, articulate and structure the human world that is biased towards the set of social relationships and personal prejudices. Knowledge is a social product, a matter of dialogue between different versions of the world and modes of representations.⁷¹ This dialogue is indeed embedded in time and space specific to the reverberation of knowledge. In the Dusseldorf map, the representation differs from the other variations of the Liber where the emphasis was on the Christian monuments and the Byzantine authority, accompanied with a silencing of the Ottoman presence. Prominently featuring all the major architectural undertakings of Mehmed II, it is doubtlessly a visual testament to the monumentalization of the city by the Ottomans.⁷² Yet, with the perseverance of religious reminiscences of its former self. When compared to the other maps, it is not only unique in itself as an end-product, but also in the process of its making. The composition of the map displays the view of the rebuilt city with conspicuous historically specific codes that are in close relationship with the time and space they were created. Labels and names of places join these pictorial codes supporting the creation of identity on the map while identifying itself as a work of art, similar to Goodman's description of a Rembrandt painting, of which of all its copies would be forgeries.

Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be. This unique existence of the work of art determined the history to which it was subject throughout the time of its existence. This includes the

⁷¹ Mitchell, W. J. T., 1986: 38.

⁷² Kafescioglu, C., 2009: 150.

changes which it may have suffered in physical condition over the years as well as the various changes in its ownership.⁷³

Autograph, from Greek *autographos*, "written with one's own hand," from *auto* "self" and *graph* "to write", also implies a person's signature.⁷⁴ As discussed both by Manners and Kafescioglu, although there is a lack of precise evidence, the map's features suggest the authorship to one who has close links to the Ottoman ruling body and perhaps the involvement of an Ottoman patron. Especially the detailed rendering of Topkapi Palace's private third courtyard which houses the audiences, Mehmed's residence, bath and treasury strengthens this connection.⁷⁵ The juxtaposition of Byzantine and Ottoman monuments next to each other conveys the idea of continuity and legitimacy of inheritance. Thus, a possible immersion of Mehmed II in the creation of the map could be translated as a signature, making the drawing a signature drawing, a drawing that belongs to a particular time, space and plot.

Signature as a metaphor of identity was visualized in the Byzantine art and depictions by revealing the relationships between the emperors and their heirs as resemblance. As Schroeder points out, like sacred portraits, the royal images of the emperors relied on archetypal models of facial features that are familiar and dynastic rather than individual.⁷⁶ In the tenth century mosaic above the doorway of the southwest vestibule, Vestibule of Warriors, emperors Constantine and Justinian are respectively seen as presenting a model of the city of Constantinople and a model of Hagia Sophia to an enthroned Virgin Mary and the Child (fig. 44). Though they are two centuries apart from each other, they are featured as twins with their facial qualities as well as their clothing. Its Janus-like character places the

⁷³ Benjamin, W., 1969: 3.

⁷⁴ OED Online. "autograph, n." <https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.vt.edu/view/Entry/13432?rskey=pnRQxZ&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>. Accessed March 1, 2021.

⁷⁵ Kafescioglu, C., 2009: 153; Manners, I. R., 1997: 91-94.

⁷⁶ Schroeder, R., 2020: 322 See the discussion of Mehmed II as the Byzantine princely family and his representation by Gentile Bellini that follows the visual tradition of the Byzantines.

Virgin Mary and the Child, at the threshold of a diachronic temporality, thus Hagia Sophia, dedicated to the Sophia, second person of Trinity. This vestibule, now used as an exit, was the ceremonial entrance for the emperors and their suits arriving from the palace to attend the liturgy. As architecturally defined spaces, gateways into temples act as thresholds between this world and the heaven:

Shrines and temples, however they may be constructed, are “in reality” physical objects within the confines of this world, but they are also “the house of God”; they belong both to this world and to the other world – they are gateways to heaven (or to hell). And equally, of course, the gateways into temples are gateways into gateways, thresholds of thresholds.⁷⁷

Furthermore, both the image and the space, signifying the moment of threshold, connect two different realms, two different times, two different spaces in their architectonics. The twinning in the mosaic representation reinforced by the in-between state of the threshold, accessible to Mehmed II, could have inspired his pursuit to highlight his connection to the Byzantine emperors.

After the capture of Constantinople, within the Ottoman traditional practice of conquest, Hagia Sophia was consecrated into a mosque, becoming Ayasofya, the imperial mosque of the new Ottoman city. The church was appropriated as a whole. Mehmed’s attitude that is the result of his clairvoyant character preserved the sixth-century structure from destruction and demolition. He might have not built the original structure; however, he had constructed its future, its fate by construing its architectural, political and symbolic significance. A synchronic mark that grew into a diachronic temporality. This was the beginning of an identification process both at the building and city levels. Erecting a minaret by extending the Byzantine turret, thus composing a heterogonous ensemble, bore parallels with rebuilding and repopulating the city in their making through translation and appropriation.

⁷⁷ Leach, E., 1983: 251.

The cosmopolitan image of Istanbul which would soon to be the new capital of the empire was a cultivation of the hybrid image of the urban and architectural cityscape of new Ottoman constructions from and within the Byzantine urban space making an Ottoman Istanbul of mosques, churches, and synagogues – and the constructed multiethnic, multicultural and multireligious population (fig. 45). Translating and reconstructing the inherited Greek texts into myths where reality and imaginary merged into a coherent facture, transformed the beginning into an origin. Edward Said, in his *Beginnings* argues that beginning is “secular, humanly produced, and ceaselessly re-examined” whereas origin is “divine, mythical, and privileged.”⁷⁸ Beginnings require endings. One might say that within the multiple beginnings and endings, Ayasofya presents itself as a threshold in-between the past and future, thus marking an origin and creating an original. Its uniqueness lies in its hybrid facture of material, historical, mythical embodiments.

Adopting Justinian’s sixteenth century church as a whole which was constructed by utilizing the heritage of both pagan and Christian traditions, Ottomans, while protecting the structure intact and treating its significant legacy respectfully, changed the building into a coherent composition revealing both Byzantine and Ottoman structural and decorative elements together without one taking the precedence over the other (fig. 46). This is evident even in their considerate approach in the mosaics. Its architectural facture fused with its vigilantly constructed mythopoeic narratives and images, inventing the myth of Ayasofya, positioned it comparable to the Ka’ba, the holiest Islamic site of all. In the writings of sixteenth century Ottoman historians, it was announced as the second Ka’ba for the poor who could not afford the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Said, E., 1975: xii-xiii

⁷⁹ Necipoglu, G., 1992: 201. See note 14 for the names of various Ottoman historians who made this copmparison of Ayasofya as the second Ka’ba for the poor.

FIGURES: PART IV . AYASOFYA



Figure 27. Prophet Muhammad’s hadith plate in Arabic at Ayasofya (2017). © author
“Constantinople [Istanbul] shall be surely conquered; how blessed the commander who will conquer it, how blessed his army.”



Figure 28. A page from Mehmed’s schoolbook, 28.5x21.5 cm, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi Kutuphanesi, Istanbul (TSMK. H. 2324).

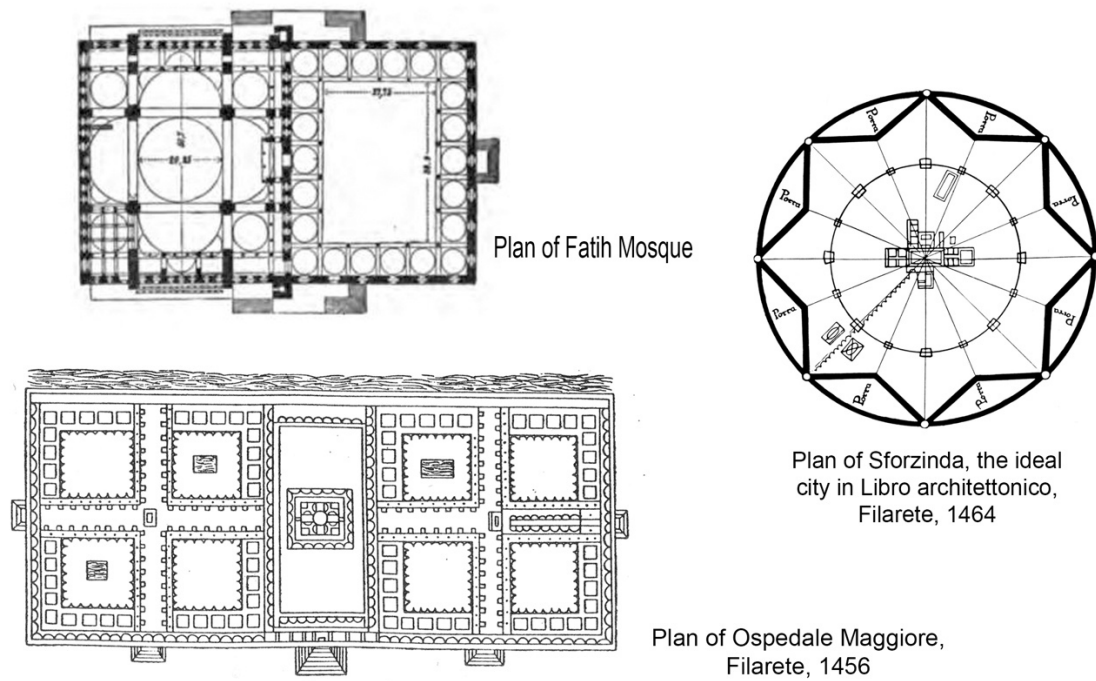
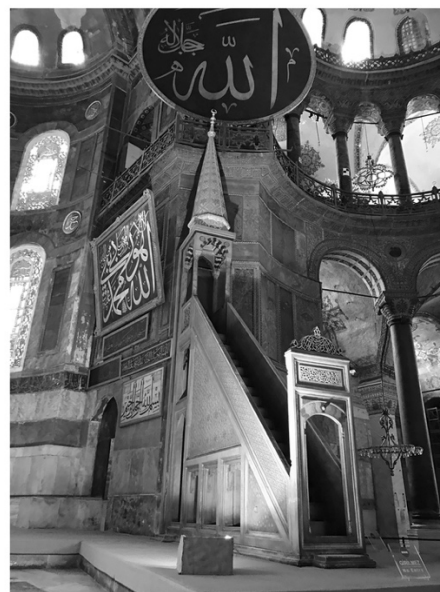


Figure 29. Plan of Fatih Mosque, after A.D. F. Hamlin (1909). The plan shows similarities to Filarete's design for Ospedale Maggiore in Milan (c. 1456). The location within the urban setting reminds the ideal city of Sforzinda in Filarete's *Libro architettonico* (c. 1464).



The mihrab of Ayasofya



The minbar of Ayasofya

Figure 30. The current mihrab and minbar (dates back to 16th century) (2017) © author.



Figure 31. The south prospect of Hagia Sophia, the belfry is seen on the left (1683), Joseph Grelot.

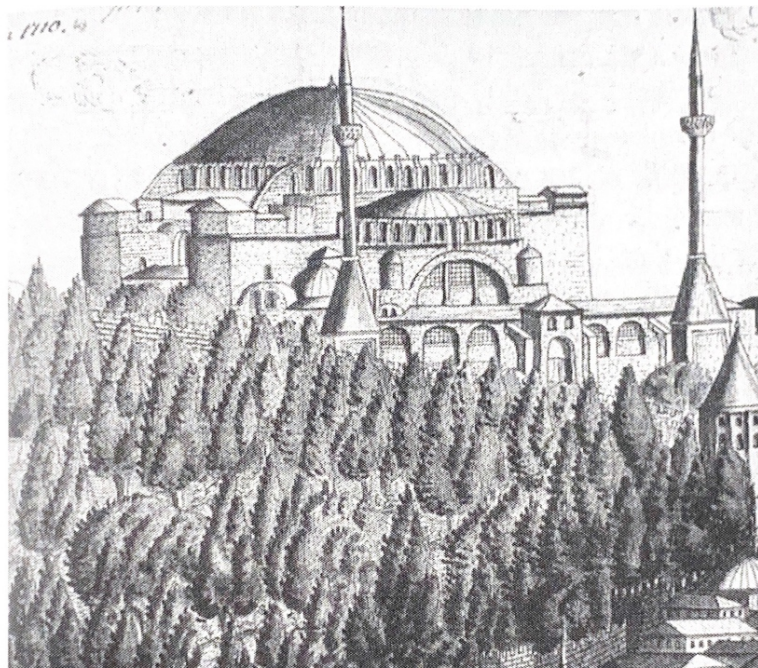


Figure 32. Hagia Sophia from the north-west direction with the wooden belfry between the buttresses and turrets (1710), Cornelius Loos.



Figure 34. Looking towards the west façade-main entranceway of Hagia Sophia. On the right the south turret is seen above the buttresses (2020) © author.

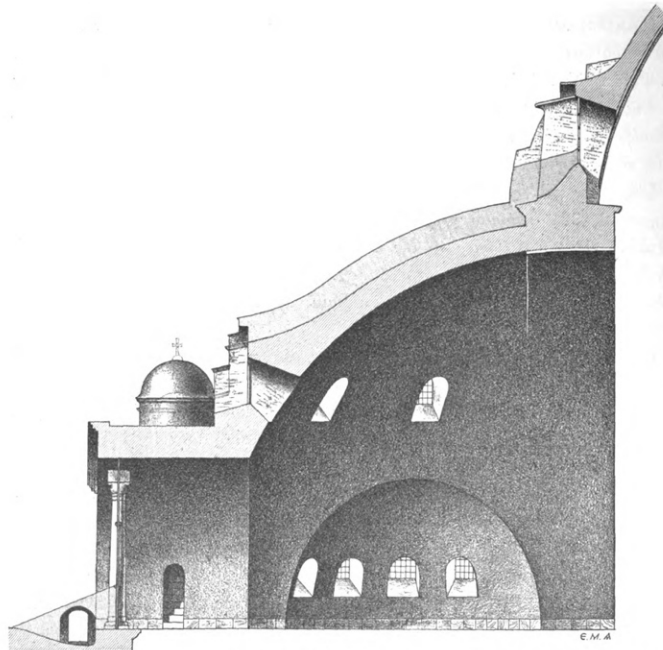


Figure 35. Turret on the west façade above the buttress (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 3, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, 58.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0076770411&view=1up&seq=86>

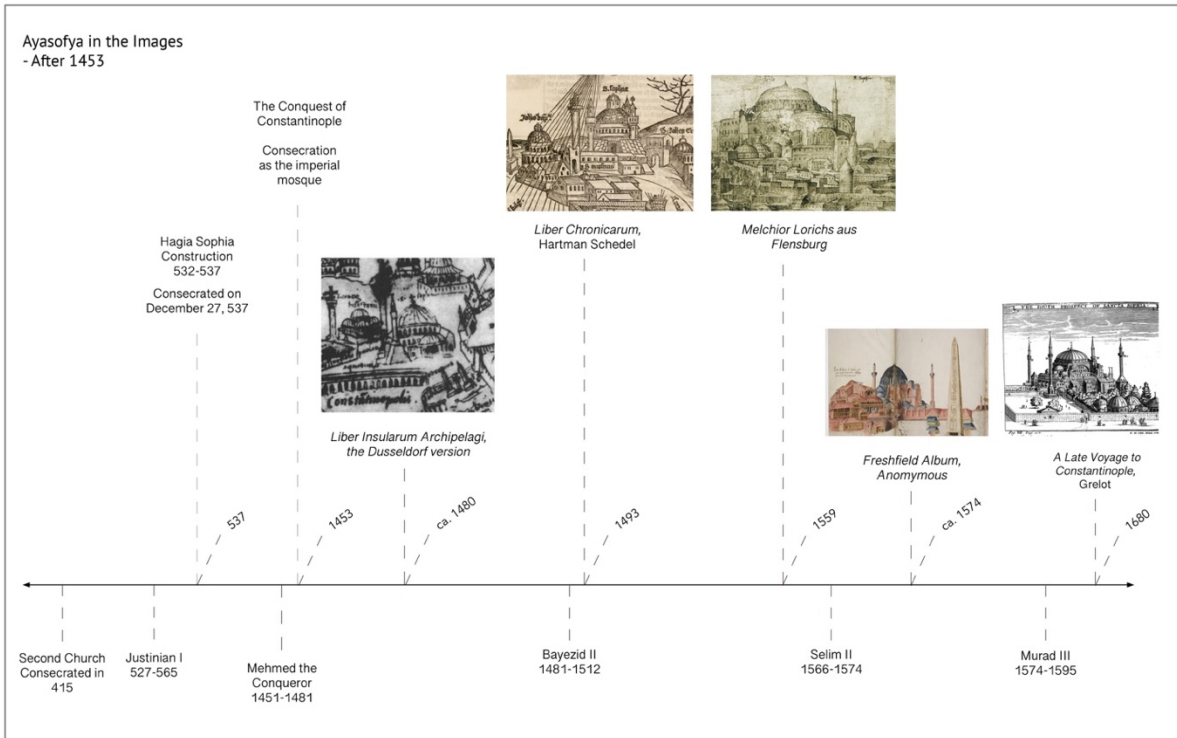


Plate 2. Timeline of Ayasofya with minarets in the representations after the conquest in 1453
© author.

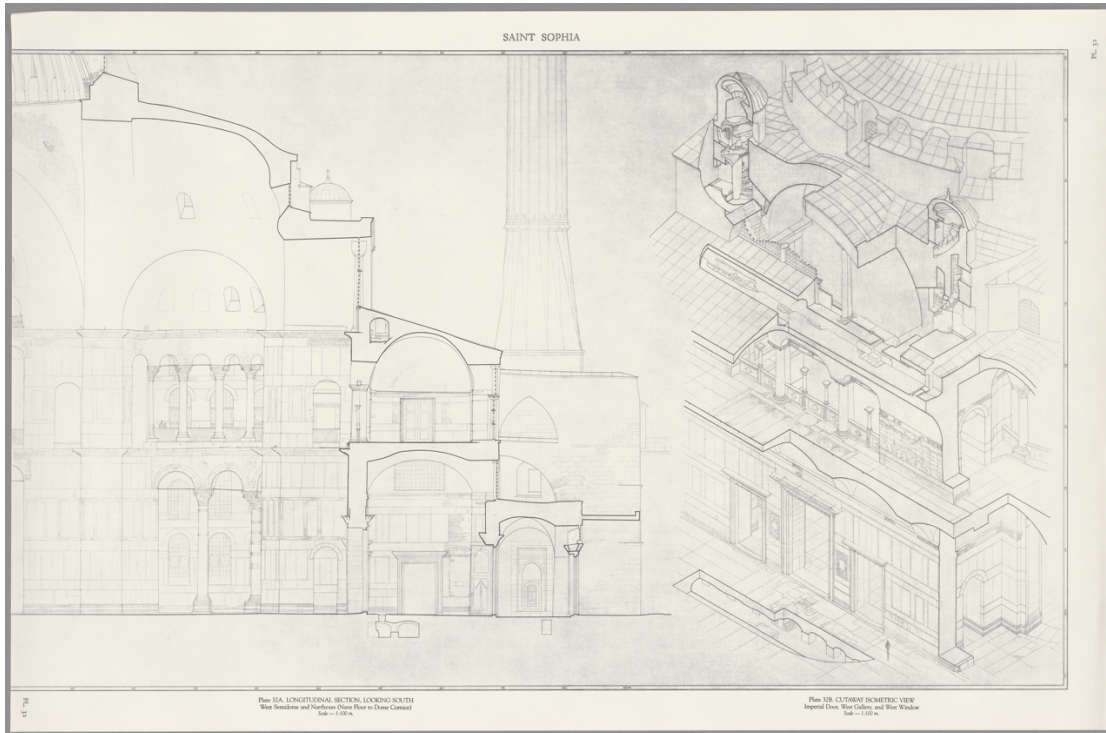


Figure 36. Isometric section showing north and south turrets. Van Nice, Robert L. *Saint Sophia in Istanbul: an architectural survey*. [1965-1986]. DBL-FOLIO NA5870.A9 V36 1965. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C.
<https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:DOAK.RESLIB:12737743>

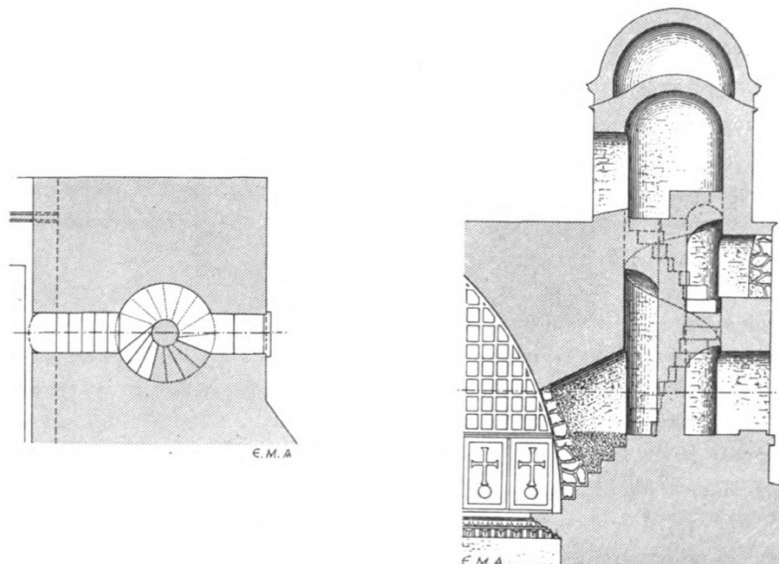


Figure 37. North turret plan and section (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 3, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, 7.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.l0076770411&view=1up&seq=25>



Figure 38. Detail of an illuminated manuscript showing the firing of a brick in a kiln. Vatican Library, Rome (MS gr. 746, fol. 61r).



Figure 39. Prospect of Constantinople, part 6. Melchior Lorck (1559). Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden, BPL 1758 / 6.
<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1276811>



Figure 40. Constantinople. Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1465-1475), GE FF-9351, Folio, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 42. Portrait of Sultan Mehmet II (1480). Gentile Bellini. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 43. Detail from the Dusseldorf version of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (ca. 1480). Düsseldorf Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek, Ms. G 13, fol. 54r. Ayasofya is depicted with a minaret above a buttress and a cross at the zenith of its dome.



Figure 44. The twinning of Justinian and Constantine in the tenth century mosaic in the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia (2017). © author



Figure 45. View of the Hippodrome from the south, The Freshfield Album, Folio. 20. (1574). Trinity College Library, Cambridge University.
<https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.17.2/UV#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=20&r=0&xywh=-756%2C1102%2C10999%2C6116>.

Ayasofya's Orientation to Ka'ba in Mecca
 © author

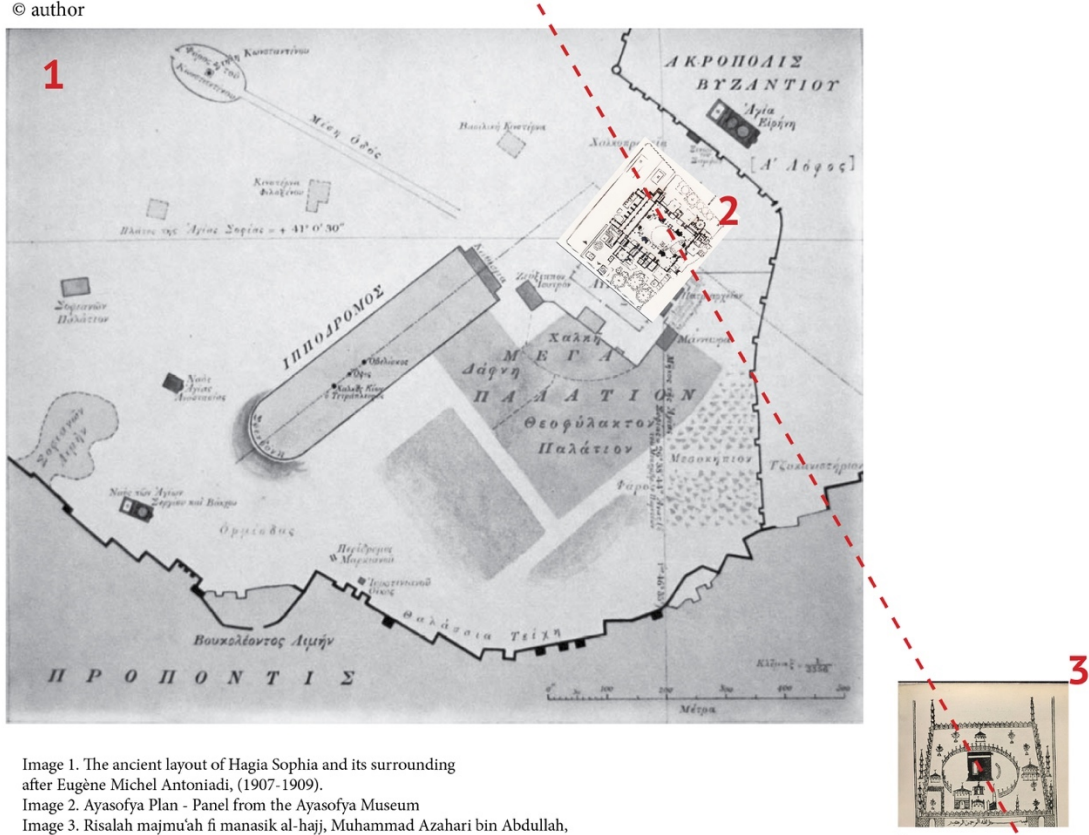


Image 1. The ancient layout of Hagia Sophia and its surrounding after Eugène Michel Antoniadi, (1907-1909).
 Image 2. Ayasofya Plan - Panel from the Ayasofya Museum
 Image 3. Risalah majmu'ah fi manasik al-hajj, Muhammad Azahari bin Abdullah, 1900. British Library, 14620.g.28.

Ka'ba in Mecca
 The holliest site of Islam

Figure 46. Ayasofya's orientation to Ka'ba in Mecca © author.

CONCLUSION:

Hagia Sophia as a Facture: Originality through Appropriations

Coming events cast their shadows before.
– James Joyce¹

Originality derives from the word origin, Latin *originem*, meaning “to rise, beginning or source.”² *Timaeus* concerns with the beginning of everything and asks whether the world was always in existence without beginning or created and having a beginning:

Created, I reply, being visible and tangible and having a body, and therefore sensible; and all sensible things which are apprehended by opinion and sense are in process of creation and created. Now that which is created must of necessity be created by a cause.³

This assertion suggests that, since nothing becomes or changes without a cause, there should be a maker of all this who brought order to the physical world which formerly existed in a state of disorder. By reflecting upon the eternal form, Plato’s *artificier*, as a craftsman or inventor, reintegrated the preexisting matter by a creative act that required imagination and ordering. Similar to the process of appropriation, this matter at hand was manipulated, juxtaposed, moved, placed, brought together with other matter in a composition, in a new order that is different than the previous one.

¹ Joyce, J., 1915 in Leatherbarrow, D., 2020: 248 Kindle Edition.

² Online Etymology Dictionary.

³ Plato, *Timaeus* 28.

Originality implies some sense of coming first, a priority or lack of precedence. Along the same lines, Cézanne was reported to say “I am the primitive of my own way” echoing Romanticism that sources the originality in the self.⁴ Rejecting influence and imitation, the artist as the originator, takes the initiative to be unconventional, and arises to a new way of looking at the world with fresh eyes to imagine, construct and invent something new, something genuine. Their expression is poetical, extraordinary, unexpected. However, originality does not only entail difference but also imitation, that is not copying, a mechanistic replication, but an interpretive act that involves change or improvement of what is appropriated, thus making the work original in its articulation. Referring to Raphael, Sir Joshua Reynolds describes this chronological process of appropriating as always original: “[...] taken so many models, that he became himself a model for all succeeding painters; always imitating, and always original.”⁵

The implication of a chronological order within the presence of a sequence requires a critical thinking of time of the originality through appropriations. Time is an essential aspect of architectural making and it holds a crucial place in understanding the concept of appropriation when those terminologies such as original, authorship, genuine, authenticity are at stake defining the architectural product, the building. Revisiting Ricœur’s basic analogy of the configurative process of constructing versus narrating, building in space versus emplotment in time, the time of the narrative can lead us to comprehend the time of the palimpsest of space:

The time of the narrative comes into play at the point of rupture and suture between physical time and psychological time, the latter described by Augustine in the Confessions as “distended,” a distention of the soul between what he called the present of the past –memory–, the present of the future –

⁴ Shiff, R., 1996: 103, 108.

⁵ Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Ten Discourses*, Discourse VI.

expectation–, and the present of the present – attention. The time of the narrative is therefore a mixture of this experienced time and of that of clocks, chronological time.⁶

The reading of Hagia Sophia, unfolding its palimpsest made by appropriation, not just physical but also literary and visual and their interrelated fusion, is then only possible in a time that has no origins, that is not fixed at a specific time-slice. Thus, seeking an originality, embracing a twofold look, extends vertically and horizontally, synchronically and diachronically.

Hagia Sophia is a facture that is an original in each of its incarnations as a church, mosque and a museum that takes place at the individual and shared levels; and is an original in its hybrid facture as a palimpsest-in-the-becoming that is formed by its life-long appropriation processes. When the time of its originality is concerned, it cannot be attributed to a single author, a single epoch, a single culture or religion. Thus, to originate this origin, a mono-directional gaze would be insufficient. In Hagia Sophia, time moves in both directions, both backward and forward, and with re-enacting the original continuously. Original is never a beginning, and never an ending in itself. This does not mean that it is reduced to a monotonous, objective thing. On the contrary, it is highly subjective and actively engaging in its making as remakings which requires a multi-directional gaze towards past and future at the “now” time. Freeing the original from a static, frozen moment of a distant past, and setting it at the present moment of reinterpretations, reconstructions and recreations, this becomes a creative process in the making of its facture.

The word facture derives from Latin *factūra* "a formation," from past participle stem of *facere* "make, do."⁷ In architectural terms, the making of Hagia Sophia involved constructing with new materials, as well as with appropriated materials and elements. The architecture of

⁶ Ricœur, P., 1990: 31-32.

⁷ Frascari, M., 2011: 10.

Hagia Sophia is narrated here in a bi-directional movement and as a form of invention that is manifested in the facture which is concerned with the modes of combining the old with the new. In order for one to construe its hybrid facture, one has to read and interpret the clues hidden within the processes of its making. Building upon each other- church upon pagan temple, mosque upon church, museum upon mosque and recently now mosque again- the building not only appropriated the site, but also translated the meanings embedded in its former self. Thus, it is uninterruptedly living, inspiring and enduring.

The Ottoman-Turkish dictionary has a wide range of entries for the Turkish word for facture, *eser*: from building, book, trace, labor, influence, augur, to projecting - which all share the essence of making, that is of creation.⁸ In the becoming of a facture, Hagia Sophia acts as Janus-like, at the core of a chiasmic relationship of creating and being created; creation and leading to a creation simultaneously. Its lived space extends into mythopoetic space, thus acting as a repository of oneiric narratives; and in the other direction, it becomes a hybrid facture created through the intermingling of facts and fictions of those mythopoeic narratives, that are told not only about itself but by itself.⁹ Following Frascari's suggestion of developing tales, the tale fabricated here is one that is of appropriation. Besides what was appropriated, why and how the process took form throughout Hagia Sophia's long life that is beyond cultures and religions, is also crucial. Myth builds the edifice as much as brick and stone.

A critical revisiting of the concept of spolia opens up ways to penetrate into the intricate architectural body of Hagia Sophia. Reuse was not employed reluctantly. Indeed, it has been essential to the creation and recreation ideals from its every epoch. The use of spolia took many forms throughout the building's transformations from a pagan temple to a church and

⁸ Eser, Arabic *إثر*, implies something that is made by someone which needs effort and a projection. <https://www.luggat.com/index.php#cevir> Accessed in March 2021.

⁹ Leatherbarrow, D., 2017 (Kindle edition).

from a church to a mosque, sometimes changing the meanings and functions, and sometimes retaining the symbolic meanings but translating them into new contexts, thus consciously or unconsciously, concealing and revealing at the same time. Combining columns, capitals and revetments of different orders from different places and times, creating a *varietas*, a heterogeneous composition that was desired. The heterogeneous building reflects the cities' heterogeneous inhabitants. Though this act has economic implications, the materials and architectural elements were not brought together only because it was convenient but because they varied in their form, shape and style. Like that of a surrealist exquisite corpse, through their reinvention and reintegration, the individual elements constructed a unity, a whole, not only aesthetically appealing but also full of meanings and symbols. This process as an act of fragmentation and reintegration created a new facture of conspicuously translated materials and elements which eventually made the translation of time visible within the composition of its architecture.¹⁰

Frasconi calls this architecture *architettura di spoglio*, architecture of spoils, a fragmentary architecture. For him, it is not an architecture of an instant history nor of a fixed time, but it is an architecture "which is the sum of artefacts produced within a culture"- which in the case of Ayasofya becomes within cultures:

In this type of architecture the possibilities of innovation and invention reside in the building elements and in the manipulation of the visual and kinesthetic relationships among the various fragments and artefacts. Hence this architecture is the product of the resolution, substitution and design of elements, whereas technology, with its double-faces role as *techne* of *logos* and *logos* of *techne*, forms the basis for an understanding of the interplay of elements in the composition. That is to say, both the construction and the construing of the architecture are contained in the making of the elements and

¹⁰ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 172

in the dialogue set up amongst them by their placement in the fabric of the buildings.¹¹

In the chiasmus of *techne* and *logos*, *logos* implies a *story*, whereas *techne* implies truth which came from Vico's epithet *verum ipsum factum* (we may know which we have made). Donald Kunze elaborating on the idea gives us the origin of this dictum:

The meaning of this dictum is based on an analogy of proportion. Just as God 'perfectly' knows the world He created, humans should be able to know the world they create.¹²

Following Vico's explication of God's divine creation, through making we know, thus reveal the truth hidden in the making. This was also echoed by Augustine in his *De vera religione*, when he said: "true equality and similitude, true and primal unity, are not perceived by the eye of the flesh or by any bodily sense, but are known by the mind."¹³ It was the spiritual intellect rather than ordinary sense that perceived the harmonious order of the world behind the physical world of humanly creations. This was interpreted by Eusebius at the level of building, in which through the heterogeneity of variation and abundance in the mundane, the perfect divine harmony would be revealed in every person:

As to the rest, from end to end of the building he reveals in all its abundance and rich variety the clear light of the truth in every man.¹⁴

In other words, the use of spolia materials and elements in the buildings created a space that is imperfect in its tectonics and materiality, reminding one of the divine truth, what really mattered.

¹¹ Frascari, M. 1985: 3-4.

¹² Kunze, D., 2005: 54.

¹³ Hansen, M. F., 2003: 213.

¹⁴ Eusebius, The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine, Book X: 4 (Online source).

In the Renaissance described by Vasari as “so crude and so despicable, and so ill-formed in magnitude and in style”, spolia entered its modern era with being treated not as archaeological shards, but as components of coherent medieval and pre-medieval representations, of which secondary settings and their interrelations of part to part and part to whole, became the area of interest and primary concern for scholars.¹⁵ In modern art Robert Rauschenberg, who is known for his assemblages of found objects he called “combines” such as the stuffed goat and car tire titled *Monogram* (1954-64), manipulates the nature of appropriation and its processes in his *Erased de Kooning Drawing* (1953). Erasing the drawing which he obtained from Willem de Kooning, he framed it in a gold frame with an engraved metal label attached and identified as “Erased de Kooning Drawing” which evokes its production by appropriation. The erasure left visible traces of pencil strokes and the imprint of the drawn lines. While these clues on the paper indicates the appropriated construct from the past, it also drives the attention to the secondary setting and the framing with its superimposed label.¹⁶ The fragmentation and how it was framed by the artist become as significant as the original work, becoming a work of art in itself.

V.I. Reappropriation / Reconsecration and a projection into the future

In his seminal essay “The Science of the Concrete,” Claude Lévi-Strauss delineates the continual reconstruction from the same materials as a process in which “earlier ends [...] are called upon to play the part of means.”¹⁷ Hagia Sophia’s lifelong appropriation program as a building technique is a means of starting a dialogue with past, present and future. It is important to understand the changes that were commissioned recently during its deconsecration as a museum and its subsequent reconsecration as a mosque as part of the process of past and present inseparably connected in inventing a future. On July 24th, 2020

¹⁵ Kinney, D., 1995: 55-56.

¹⁶ Buchloch, B. H. D., 2006: 31-32.

¹⁷ Levi-Strauss, C., 1966: 21.

Hagia Sophia was deconsecrated from its museum status and reconsecrated into its mosque status after 86 years since it was declared a museum and almost 1500 years since it was founded as an Orthodox church. The decision to convert the building into an active mosque came after a court annulled the 1934 decree of its status as a museum claiming that it was originally unlawful due to its defiance against the deed of Mehmed II, the Conqueror.¹⁸ Decisions about Hagia Sophia's status are part of its continuing political and cultural performance.

With this decision, the conversation about its physical transformation came to the fore. Yet, no written texts or guides were provided regarding the architectural implementation of these design decisions before or after the reconsecration, two major changes enacted hastily. One is the covering of the Virgin Mary and Child mosaic in the apse with a veil that is controlled by an electronic rail system –lowering down to conceal during prayer times and lifting up to reveal during tourist visiting times (fig. 44). After the conquest in 1453, however, this mosaic was not covered by the Conqueror when the church was originally converted into a mosque, in fact, it remained exposed until the restoration of 1739, a possible gesture to the sacred perception of Mary in Islam (fig. 45):

Behold! the angels said: "O Mary! Allah hath chosen thee and purified thee -
chosen thee above the women of all nations."¹⁹

The use of a veil is particularly paradoxical. It recalls the medieval Christian practice of using veils on the manuscript pages for protective purposes or the use of boxes as containers of sacred [relics?] constructing and enhancing a divine experience through the acts of concealing and successive revealing.²⁰ What is more remarkable is the unnoticed reference to the event that is thought to have occurred miraculously at the sunset on every Friday in

¹⁸ State Council's decision, full text in Turkish: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/diger/227263-danistay-in-ayasofya-kararinin-tam-metni>.

¹⁹ Quran, Âl-i İmrân Sūra 3, Verse 42 – Yusuf Ali translation. <https://quranyusufali.com/3>.

²⁰ Sciacca, C., 2007: 161-190; Kessler, H. L., 2014: 83-107.

the Church of Blachernae in Constantinople. The veil hung before the ensouled Virgin would rise to the sky without any assistance on every Friday night when clergy and the people leave the church and would go down on the next morning in front of the eyes of the beholders.²¹ The mechanically programmed movement of the veil that is now intended to offer an appropriate place for worship to the Muslim prayer in Hagia Sophia, if taken as a materialistic twinned act to its former employment in Christian practices, suggests an avenue to be explored and developed in current and future conservation projects.

The other significant change undertaken with the act of the reconsecration of Hagia Sophia as a mosque was the laying of a 2500 m² carpet initially, with the other half later, over the marble floor for worship. The only exception where the carpet does not cover the floor is the *omphalion* that is embedded in the pavement located at the southeastern part of the nave (fig. 46). The fragmentation of the marble, exposed as a cut out of the carpet with clear boundaries, mutes this significant piece of pavement into a timelessness due to its lacking any relationship with the building's diachronic past. Indeed, understanding the elaborate process of its making of how a unified ensemble is created through the assembly of irregular shaped and sized marble pieces, will tell us more about Hagia Sophia and its making into a facture through appropriations.

Omphalion, also known as *omphalos*, is the square polychrome *opus sectile* that is embedded at the center of the south-east quarter of the nave. The words *omphalion* and *omphalos* are used interchangeably but they refer to different things. Whilst *omphalos*, reminiscent of the omphalos at Delphi, means navel of the world; *omphalion* was employed in the ancient Greek world to designate the central element of the shield of the warriors which was later translated to describe circular marble slabs. Though it doesn't necessarily require being located at the center of the floor, it still echoed the sacred marking of origin. Enclosed by a

²¹ Michael Psellos, *Discourse on the Miracle That Occurred in the Blachernae Church*, lines: 205-206.

band of Thessalian green marble, the 5.65m square slab is interlaced with thirty-two *rotae* of different size and marbles and a patchwork of smaller, different pieces in-between (fig. 47). Eleven different types of marbles are used for only the *rotae*, probably more with the marbles that make up the background.²² Though it appears to be, the design is not symmetrical. However, it is not random either, on the contrary, there is a careful thinking of how the marbles are brought together. The gray granite large disc in the middle is surrounded by four *rotae* at each corner and twenty-seven other *rotae* in between them. There is neither a definite rule for the bands around the marbles, nor the tessellated surfaces that fill the interstitial spaces between the discs (fig. 48.).

What does the making of *omphalion* tell us? It is a facture in the true meaning of the word. Marble by marble, tesserae by tesserae, fragment by fragment, it is joined in a concordant ensemble that is in unity and harmony. Its beauty cannot be escapable. As Alberti would put it “nothing can be added, subtracted, or altered for the worse.”²³ In this regard, it becomes an architectonic spectacle, an architectural eloquence rich in meaning and aesthetic qualities rather than a display of a fragmentary construction of detached synchronicities in the modern sense. This revelatory gestural pavement piece lures the onlooker to discover something hidden within its making process through juxtapositions. Seen as a mode of opening, our encounter with this fragmentary piece impulses a poetic influence on our architectural understanding. While there might not be a definite answer, if we go back to our original question of where the sought-after originality lies, it can righteously be said that it lies within the facture of Hagia Sophia that is uninterruptedly becoming an “original” in each of its incarnations. And if, we ponder, think with a pause, Hagia Sophia’s unfinished,

²² Pedone. S., 2009: 750-751 See note 7. “The kinds of marbles employed for the bigger *rotae* are: Grey Granite (1), Red Porphyry (5), Green Porphyry (1), Sagarian (3), Thessalian Green (3), Black-and- White from Aquitania (1), Pink Granite (1), for the lesser *rotae*: Marmor Iassensis (4), Green Porphyry (5), Thessalian Green (4), Red Porphyry (3).”

²³ Alberti, Book VI, 2.

in the becoming appropriated making, can become a medium to contemplate its future remakings.

Opus sectile, cut work in Latin, is the polychrome inlay on walls and floors that were made of variously shaped cut and polished stones, rather than regularly shaped identical tesserae, to fit the overall composition. This was a technique that required skilled artisanship. First appeared in Rome before the second century BC, it became a significant pavement technique during the Middle Ages and a more specialized art with the evolution of the cosmatesque floor. This type of floor took its name from the Cosmatus family who were generations of marble cutters. Much likely this artistic technique was influenced by the geopolitical influences of the dominant forces of the time. Byzantine Empire, Ottoman Empire along with the West shaped the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic image of the world.²⁴ Through their encounter with these cultures, the differentiating designs local to specific regions were under the influence of these confrontations. “If architecture is regarded as the ornament of *institutiones*, a means by which the order constitutive of society becomes manifest and is represented appropriately”, then the fragmentary character of spolia can be engaged in construing the order of the cosmos in the making of the *opus sectile* floors.²⁵

In the great pavement of the sanctuary of the Westminster Abbey, there is a riddle-like inscription that runs around the band of its marble enclosing:

In A.D. one thousand two hundred and twelve plus sixty, minus four, King Henry the Third, the city, Odoricus, and the abbot joined together these porphyry stones.

If the reader prudently considers all that is set down, will find here the end of the *primum mobile*. The hedge lives three years; add dogs and horses and men,

²⁴ Pajares-Ayuela, P., 2001

²⁵ Guest, C. E. L., 2019: 65.

and ravens, eagles, huge sea serpents, the world: what- ever follows triples the years of the foregoing.

This spherical globe here shows the archetypal macrocosm.²⁶

Commissioned for Henry III's tomb by the Abbot to Odoricus, a Roman mason, in 1268, the pavement both in its inscription and making, reflects the conception of microcosm and macrocosm in relation to time and the material world. It composes the time of the construction date and the time of the universe through a mental process of adding, subtracting and multiplying. The two-step process of calculation gives the year of Henry III's death and the length of his reign.²⁷ The inscription then extends this synchronicity to the diachronic time of the universe by tripling the life of the previous. A hedge lives three years, a dog nine, a horse twenty-seven, and men 81, while the universe's end depending on the life span of the mythical creatures, thus mythical time. This undertaking requires a two-fold look, looking both in the directions of past and future. Inscription's last part clearly declares that the pavement was the representation of the macrocosmos. This reading suggests that the *opus sectile*, resembling the cosmos, endures time in its factual ordering.

As the transition from the square plan to the circular plan of the dome celebrates the ritual movement from the earthly to the celestial realms, the *omphalion* of Hagia Sophia, conveys that through the imperfections of the material world, the perfection of the divine can be revealed. Historically and symbolically embedded with meanings, the making of this unified ensemble of irregular shaped marbles through a thoughtful process of bringing togetherness, is reminiscent to the making of Hagia Sophia's hybrid facture that is factured by the interweaving of its material and mythical factures from the appropriated spolia pieces. The originality of Ayasofya lies not at any of its beginnings but its diachronic facture

²⁶ Binski, P., 1990: 10.

²⁷ First 1212+60 gives 1272, the year of Henry III's death; second 60-4 equals 56, the length of his reign. Binski, P., 1990: 10-11.

of interweaved historical and mythical personalities as well as its architectural strata of its remakings. In each of its incarnations as a church, mosque or as a museum, it was reborn, like that of the reuse of spolia, in its reinterpretations and mythical recreations in which the fact is merged into the imaginal. To conclude, Ayasofya is an originality in its hybrid facture which cannot be traced back to a historical beginning. Its abundantly diversified, conspicuously heterogenous yet overwhelmingly harmonious configuration provides a paradigmatic model for our contemporary understanding of the omnipresence of fragmentation in architecture. Accordingly, along with a critical understanding and a thicker interpretation, we can restructure our relationship with our past in reshaping our future.

FIGURES : PART V . CONCLUSION

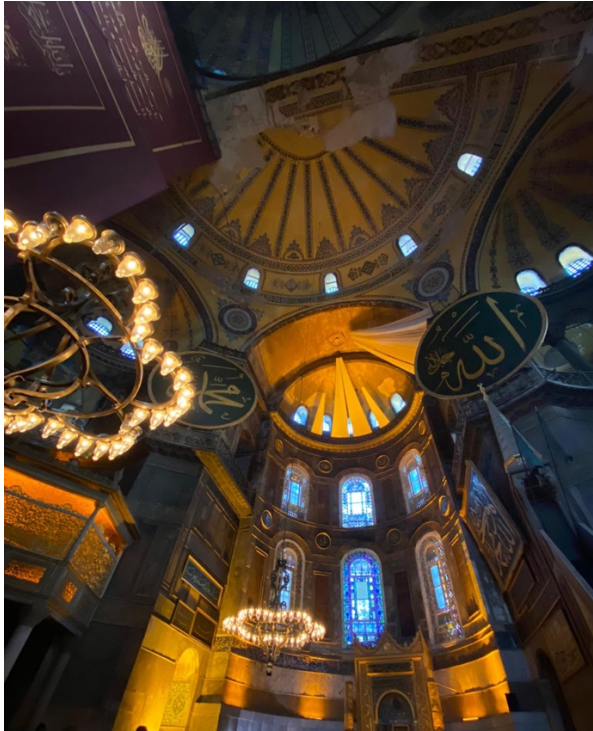


Figure 47. The veil covering the Virgin and the Child during praying times (2020)
© author.



Figure 48. Apse mosaic Virgin and the Child
(2017) © author.

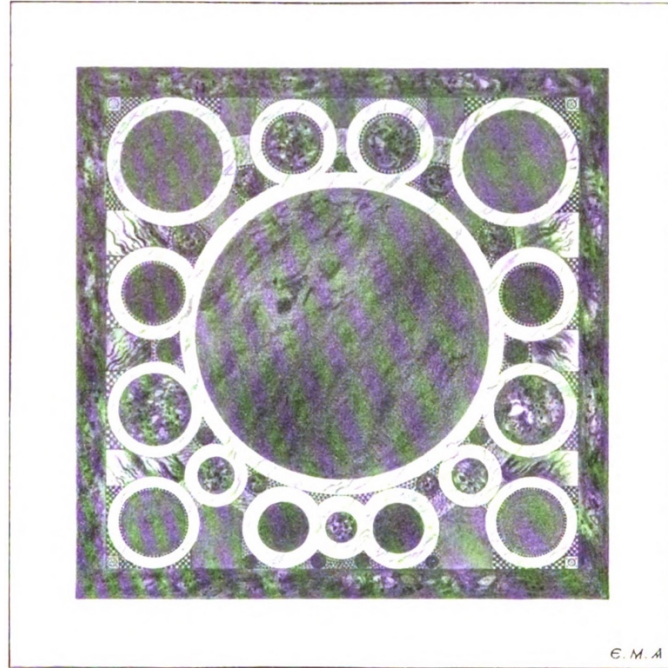


Figure 49. *Omphalion* of Hagia Sophia (1907-1909). Eugène Michel Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis Tēs Hagias Sophias*, vol. 2, Atina: P.D. Sakellarios, 38.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924070772649&view=1up&seq=1>



Figure 50. *Omphalion* of Hagia Sophia is left open after the reconsecration as a mosque (2020) © author.



Figure 51. Detail from the *omphalion* of Hagia Sophia (2017) © author.

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