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Antikitenin Gasp Edilişi: Batılı Seyyahlar, Lykia Anıtları ve Osmanlı Kültürel Egemenliğinin Kökenler

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Abstract: Focusing on the geographies of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, this article problematizes the 19th century expeditions of Western travelers and archaeologists (C. Fellows, T. A. B. Spratt, E. Forbes, E. T. Daniell, J. A. Schönborn and O. Benndorf). While traditionally framed as scientific progress and the preservation of universal heritage, these missions are analyzed through an epistemological and ontological perspective to expose their underlying extractive nature. The study examines the transition from romantic antiquarianism to multidisciplinary topographic archaeology, driven by cartography, visibility analyses, and epigraphic documentation. It argues that massive logistical extractions, such as the transfers of the Trysa Heroon to Vienna and the Nereid Monument to the British Museum, constituted ontological ruptures. These events necessitated a reconstruction of cultural property perception within the Ottoman Empire. Grounded in primary travelogues and unexplored documents from the Ottoman Archives (BOA), the research demonstrates how this evolved into a bureaucratic and legal reflex of sovereignty, culminating in the 1884 Antiquities Regulation (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmesi*) under Osman Hamdi Bey. Ultimately, the article exposes the historical conflict between metropolitan museums severing objects from their contexts and the emerging Ottoman ideal of in situ preservation, showing how Western exploration paradoxically catalyzed Ottoman cultural independence.

Keywords: Archaeological Historiography, 19th Century Travelers, Lycian Studies, Cultural Property, Ottoman Antiquities Legislation

Öz: Lykia, Pamphylia ve Kilikia coğrafyalarına odaklanan bu makale, 19. yüzyıl Batılı seyyah ve arkeologlarının (C. Fellows, T. A. B. Spratt, E. Forbes, E. T. Daniell, J. A. Schönborn ve O. Benndorf) keşif faaliyetlerini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Geleneksel olarak bilimsel ilerleme ve evrensel mirasın korunması çerçevesinde ele alınan bu misyonlar, temelindeki kaynak aktarımcı doğayı ortaya koymak amacıyla epistemolojik ve ontolojik bir perspektifle analiz edilmektedir. Çalışma, haritacılık, görünürlük analizleri ve epigrafik belgeleme gibi yöntemlerin yönlendirdiği, romantik antikacılıktan multidisipliner topoğrafik arkeolojiye geçiş sürecini incelemektedir. Trysa Heroonu'nun Viyana'ya ve Nereidler Anıtı'nın British Museum'a taşınması gibi devasa lojistik operasyonların ontolojik kırılmalar yarattığı savunulmaktadır. Bu olaylar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda kültürel varlık algısının yeniden inşasını zorunlu kılmıştır. Birincil seyahatnameler ve Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) belgelerine dayanan araştırma, söz konusu sürecin, Osman Hamdi Bey öncülüğünde 1884 *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmesi* ile zirveye ulaşan bürokratik ve hukuki bir egemenlik refleksine nasıl dönüştüğünü göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak makale, metropol müzelerinin nesneyi bağlamından koparma eylemi ile Osmanlı'nın filizlenen in situ koruma ideali arasındaki tarihsel çatışmayı gözler önüne sermekte; Batılı keşif faaliyetlerinin paradoksal bir şekilde Osmanlı'nın kültürel bağımsızlığını nasıl hızlandırdığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arkeoloji Tarihyazımı, 19. Yüzyıl Seyyahları, Lykia Araştırmaları, Kültürel Varlık, Osmanlı Âsâr-ı Atîka Mevzuatı

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The Discovery of the Lycian Geography and Its Transformation into European Literature

Prominent in Antiquity texts with the identity of the "Land of Light," Lycia corresponds to an exceptionally arduous and intricate topography where the rugged Taurus mountain range descends at a steep angle to the Mediterranean, surrounded by the Pamphylia basin to the east, Caria to the west, and Pisidia to the north. This basin, described in detail in the works of ancient authors such as Strabo and Pliny[1], remained closed to external interventions and cultural influence for centuries due to its formidable geographical barriers and sheltered nature. In Antiquity, Lycia attracted the attention of travelers not only with its rugged topography but also with its unique political unity. However, the topographic severity of the region directly influenced how travelers defined and appropriated this geography. As a matter of fact, in the 2nd century CE, Claudius Ptolemy depicted the region with a maritime perspective accompanied by mathematical coordinates. While describing Lycia with technical accuracy in the 5th book of his work *Geographike Hyphegesis*, Ptolemy placed the southern boundary of the region on the 36° north parallel, and fixed its longitude values between 58°-60° (corresponding to 28°-30° East in modern projection) according to the prime meridian of that era, thus presenting an attempt at mathematical subjugation[2]. However, this geometric precision of the ancient period gave way to a profound silence during the centuries under the administration of the Ottoman Empire. Unlike its counterparts in the Mediterranean basin, the coastal strips of Lycia, as well as Pamphylia and Cilicia to its east, remained on the periphery of main trade arteries and caravan routes under Ottoman rule[3]. The conventional routes of Western merchants and diplomats heading to colossal commercial centers like Smyrna (Izmir) or Aleppo merely bypassed these southern coasts tangentially; the region exhibited an autonomous and isolated rural character, far removed from the economic centralization of the empire[4]. In the travel literature of the 19th century, on the other hand, Ptolemy's geometric precision was replaced by a romantic and strategic narrative in which the rugged Lycian morphology was depicted metaphorically as an indispensable fortress to be conquered. Western travelers of this century, while conceptualizing the Lycian geography, referred to three main ancient sources based on different epistemological foundations. While Strabo presented a sociological reading of the region through the institutional and political hierarchy of the Lycian League, Pliny provided a strictly inventory-based definition focusing on physical borders. However, the cartographic void left by these two text-based authors was filled by Claudius Ptolemy's mathematical projection. Indeed, the cartographic subjugation of the region in the Western mindset is clearly evident in the Renaissance and subsequent editions of maps based on Ptolemy's coordinate system (see Fig. 1).

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1 Plin. *nat*. V. 27-28. Pliny lists Lycia almost like a Roman governor in the 5th book of his work *Naturalis Historia*. His is not a mathematical map, but an inventory where gulfs, mountains, and borders are counted consecutively Strabon). Strabo (XIV. 3. 1 3. 3) views Lycia as a project of democracy and civilization. While describing the region's rugged geography in the XIVth book of his famous work *Geographika*, he focuses primarily on the institutional structure of the Lycian League (its voting system, 23 cities, and main centers like Xanthus and Patara). 19th century travelers utilized Strabo when determining the sociopolitical significance of the ruins.

2 Ptolemaios 2006, 500-505. According to the Ptolemy's coordinate data in Book V, Chapter 3 in the edition prepared by Stückelberger and Graßhoff (*Lib*. V, Cap. 3); Lycia's main ports and river mouths of the region are fixed on the 36° north parallel. This location, indicated between the 58°-60° meridians in the ancient text, corresponds to the 28°-30° East values in the contemporary longitude system (Greenwich).

3 Faroqhi 1984, 34-38.

4 Ptolemaios 2006, 412-418. He provides the coordinates and ancient borders of the cities in Lycia and Pamphylia using technical language. See also Braudel 1989, 184.

Fig. 1: Klaudios Ptolemaios, Geographia (Map of Asia Minor, Manuscript ff. 31v - 32r), ca. 1460-1480. Source: The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (Digital Archive No: 46301). Access: https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll7/id/46301. The dating "ca. 1460-1480" reflects the period of reproduction within the Italian humanist circles of the Renaissance

Accordingly, until the last quarter of the 18th century, the southern Anatolian coasts stubbornly maintained their status as "terra incognita" in the imagination of the Western world. The phase of recognizing the region in intellectual and spatial terms went beyond a mere geographical curiosity; it possessed a direct and organic connection to the actualization literally on the ground of the antiquity admiration and philological scrutinies accelerated by the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. Lycia, along with the rugged Rough Cilicia (*Cilicia Tracheia*)[5], where penetrating the interior harbored immense hardships due to their mountainous morphology, could only be incorporated into the orbit of Western literature as a result of hydrographic mapping attempts conducted by sea and perilous overland expeditions undertaken by resolute travelers[6].

The initial awakening of the region in the scientific arena sprouted with the initiatives of Richard Chandler, who traversed the Anatolian geography on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti between 1764 and 1766. However, the delegation led by Chandler concentrated their research in the Ionian and Carian regions; they could only descend as far south as the Halicarnassus

[5] Langlois 1861, 145-160. What Fellows is to Lycia and Pamphylia, Victor Langlois is to Cilicia. It is the most fundamental travelogue examining the Armenian and Roman ruins around Mersin, Tarsus, and especially Adana.

[6] Akşit 2006, 45-60; Şahin & Adak 2014, 102-110.

(Bodrum) line. Due to Lycia's impassable rugged nature, the risk of epidemic diseases, and logistical impossibilities, this pioneering scientific committee could not penetrate the Lycian borders. Consequently, Lycia remained outside Chandler's horizon of rational documentation and continued to preserve its mysterious "Terra Incognita" status in the European imagination until the hydrographic surveys of the early 19th century[7].

The actual epistemological breaking point in this process was the hydrographic investigation conducted by Captain Francis Beaufort with the HMS *Frederikssteen* galleon in 1811-1812. While mapping the Lycian and Cilician coasts with modern maritime notions, Beaufort determined the coordinates of ancient harbors and coastal settlements not merely with the reflex of a naval officer, but almost with the meticulousness of an antiquarian[8]. Architect C. R. Cockerell, who accompanied O. Beaufort on this journey, examined the ancient ruins in the field not just with a traveler's curiosity, but in search of an architectural typology. Realizing that Lycia's distinct stone architecture actually evolved from wooden building traditions, Cockerell presented the first technical analyses regarding the origins of classical Greek art[9]. Following F. Beaufort and Cockerell, C Texier, who arrived in the region on behalf of the French government in 1834, depicted Lycia through the "Beaux-Arts" tradition, thereby introducing this pristine geography to European academies as aesthetic objects[10]. Texier's artistic discovery paved the way for the archaeological operations of Sir C. Fellows in the Xanthus valley in 1838, which would culminate in the transportation of colossal monuments, such as the Nereid Monument, to the British Museum. By the end of the 19th century, with the entry of the Austrian school (Lanckoroński and Niemann) into the field, architectural surveys and systematic epigraphic compilations (*TAM*) transformed Lycian research from a phase of romantic curiosity into a positivist scientific discipline[11].

In the surveys of the Cilician basin, the 1852-1853 journey of the French traveler V. Langlois presents an almost unrivaled authority. The route followed by Langlois distills from Beaufort's classical coastal strip, encompassing a profound vision that extends into the steep mountainous sections of Cilicia Tracheia and the remnants of the Medieval Armenian Kingdom[12]. Langlois shattered the classical perspective that viewed the Cilician geography solely through a Greco-Roman horizon, re-dissecting the region with the depth of a medieval numismatist and epigrapher. His expedition in 1852-1853 was a vertical dive into the inland areas of the coastal strip drawn by Beaufort's maritime rationality; namely, into the epigraphic heritage of the Byzantine and Armenian kingdoms. Operating as a cultural instrument of French diplomacy, amidst a "who will decipher/transport first" rivalry with his British colleagues, Langlois constructed Cilicia's medieval identity as an academic subject[13]. This situation removed the historical narrative of the region from a monolithic antiquity and transformed it into a multi-layered cultural palimpsest[14].

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7 Chandler 1775, 235-238.

8 Beaufort 1818, 1-15.

9 Cockerell 1903, 172-176. Cockerell's technical observations with Beaufort on the monuments in Xanthus and its surroundings on the Lycian coasts.

10 Texier 1839, 145-152.

11 Benndorf & Niemann 1884, 5-12.

12 Langlois 1861, 158-162.

13 Langlois 1861, 160-162. This work is the main body of all of Langlois's discoveries, inscription copies, and numismatic analyses in the region.

14 Çelik 2016, 52-58. See also Gran-Aymerich 2007, 184-186. Gran-Aymerich addresses Langlois's activities in Cilicia within the framework of the French government's scientific-diplomatic strategies.

Lycia, which had secured a place in memory since Homer's *Iliad* in antiquity, but had evolved into a *terra incognita* for the Western imagination in the post-Byzantine phase, transformed into a virtual archaeological El Dorado destination for European travelers in the 18th and particularly the 19th centuries. This discovery process was not limited merely to the spatial identification of ancient cities; on the contrary, it signified the materialization of classical philology and the ideal of Hellenism within the Anatolian geography[15]. With the arrival of the Austrian school in the field in the last quarter of the 19th century, documentation practices encompassing Lycia and Pamphylia underwent a radical evolution. The subjective drawing techniques used in the expeditions of the 1840s were replaced by the photographic technology actively utilized in the field by Felix von Luschan of the Austrian delegation, and the architectural surveys (*rölöve*) extracted with absolute rigidity by George Niemann[16]. In this way, ancient monuments were presented to European comprehension in their stark reality for the first time in history. This endeavor, led by Karl Graf Lanckoroński in 1884 and fortified by the epigraphic support of philologist Eugen Petersen, introduced the topographical reality of cities like Perge, Sagalassus, and Aspendus into the literature with mathematical precision for the first time[17]. By distinguishing the Roman architectural character of Pamphylia from the local and chaotic texture of Lycia, Lanckoroński conceptualized this region as Rome's most disciplined showcase on the Anatolian expanse[18]. In summary, the adventure of discovering Lycia underwent a sharp evolution from the romantic motive of curiosity in the early travels of the 18th century to the phases of systematic scientific documentation and monopolistic imperial collecting in the 19th century. Thus, the routes of the travelers who traversed this geography, the logistical handicaps they confronted in the field, and the literature they produced laid the foundations of modern archaeology. Modern researchers particularly underscore that this colossal handicap in travelers' penetration into Lycia served to preserve the archaeological fabric of the region intact[19]. The initial topographical deductions regarding Lycia's hinterland are mostly directed towards the effort of synchronizing ancient texts, especially Strabo's accounts, with field reality.

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15 Marchand 1996, 116-120. Marchand examines how the ideal of Hellenism in Europe turned into a „tangible quest" through travels in the Anatolian geography. Lycia was seen as the purest remnant of this ideal. She argues that the "rediscovery" of Lycia was not merely an archaeological activity, but a tangible projection of the 18th-century European admiration for Classical Greece in Anatolia. It offers an in-depth analysis of how these discoveries nourished the cultural capital of the European aristocracy; Acar 2020, 12-15; Marchand 2009, 188-195. In the "Archaeological Rivalry" section of the book, the Austrian team's (Benndorf and his team) interest in Lycia is explained, arguing that the transportation of the Trysa Heroon to Vienna served as an answer for the Germanic world to the British Museum's Xanthus collection; Dusinberre 2015, 182-198. In the subsection titled "Lycia" it is explained how local elites merged with the Persian satrapy culture. She particularly explains the iconographic similarity of the frescoes in the Karaburun and Kızılbel tombs to Persian court art.

16 Benndorf & Niemann 1884, 15-28; Petersen & Luschan 1889, 198-212. See also Lanckoroński 1890, Band 1, 45-50; Although C. Texier was one of the first names to introduce Lycia and Pamphylia to the West, his drawings carry a "romantic" and occasionally "idealized" (reconstructive) air. Niemann, on the other hand, was an architect and brought the "Bauforschung" (Building Research) discipline of the Austrian school of that era to Anatolia.

17 Lanckoroński et al. 1890, Band 2, 33-60. It includes those famous sections and plans of the Perge and Aspendus theaters. Niemann's survey studies, especially on the Aspendus Theater, are considered one of the most important "documentation" examples in architectural history.

18 Lanckoroński et al. 1890, 50. Lanckoroński compares the Roman standardization in Pamphylian architecture with the 'chaotic and local' structure of Lycia.

19 Akşit 2006, 52. Akşit analyzes how the harshness of the geography deterred travelers and how, as a result, the ruins remained pristine until the 19th century.

However, precisely at this juncture, profound intellectual schisms emerged among the travelers journeying here during this period; while one faction considered the region a natural extension of Caria, another camp defended that Lycia constituted an entirely independent, autochthonous basin due to its linguistic and architectural authenticity[20].

The 18th Century: Pioneering Observations and Early Contacts

The First Half of the Century: The Individual Discoveries of Richard Pococke and Alexander Drummond

Although the first systematic attention directed towards the southern Anatolian coasts blossomed in the 18th century, travelers of this period generally refrained from entering the rugged labyrinths of the interior, contenting themselves with navigating the safe waters of the coastline. One of the most significant figures of this early era was the British clergyman and traveler Richard Pococke. Executing an expedition of tremendous scale that encompassed the Eastern Mediterranean basin between 1737 and 1742, Pococke set foot on the southern coasts of Anatolia via Egypt and Cyprus; following the shores of Cilicia and Pamphylia, he recorded the first modern empirical observations regarding the port cities of Lycia[21]. While depicting the ruins in Antalya (Attaleia) and its hinterland in his voluminous work, Pococke earned the title of one of the first European researchers striving to synchronize the data in ancient texts with the archaeological reality in the field.

However, the chronic security vulnerabilities, endemic epidemics, and insurmountable logistical barriers of the era prevented him from penetrating beyond the coastal strip. Nevertheless, the details Pococke conveyed regarding the colossal scale of the rock-cut tombs in Lycia and the pragmatic ways in which the local populace utilized these spaces ignited the first sparks in the European imagination concerning the architectural and cultural authenticity of the region[22].

In a similar vein, Alexander Drummond, a member of the Levant Company, also made his appearance in the Cilicia region in the mid-18th century, compiling valuable notes on ancient port networks and commercial potential[23]. Even if 18th century travelogues presented information blended with myths regarding the topography of the region, they secured their unshakable place in the literature as pioneering observations that established the intellectual infrastructure for the major scientific breakthroughs that would occur in the 19th century.

The Onset of Institutional Discoveries: The Society of Dilettanti and Richard Chandler (1764-1766)

In contrast to this individual vision of Pococke and Drummond, the institutional foundations of British academic interest in the Lycian geography were laid by the London-based Society of Dilettanti. The 1764-1766 expedition, the Society's first programmatic mission in Anatolia, was carried out by a delegation comprising archaeologist Richard Chandler, architect Nicholas Revett, and painter William Pars. Although this initial delegation did not venture further south past Knidos and concentrated their research in the Ionian and Carian regions, Chandler's work

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20 Şahin & Adak, 2014, 84-108.

21 Pococke 1745, 74-75.

22 Pococke 1745, 75. Pococke's detailing of the Telmessos tombs is among the pioneers of the "exotic antiquity" perception in European art history, although Pococke erroneously associated these structures with Phoenician influence.

23 Drummond 1754, 189. Drummond's perspective on the region is predominantly commercial and topographical.

titled *Travels in Asia Minor*, published in 1775, heralded to the European intelligentsia that the classical architectural ruins in Anatolia were not merely melancholic piles of stone, but rather harbored the ontological origins of Greek genius[24].

The most heated debate in the intellectual circles of this period was the problematic of whether the ruins in question were of Greek origin or of Anatolian/autochthonous descent. While Chandler tended to perceive the vast majority of these structures as degenerated derivatives of pure Greek architecture, Pococke, who had toured the region decades before him, stood out as a visionary figure who sensed that these structural forms had created a distinct style by synthesizing with local Anatolian architectural traditions[25].

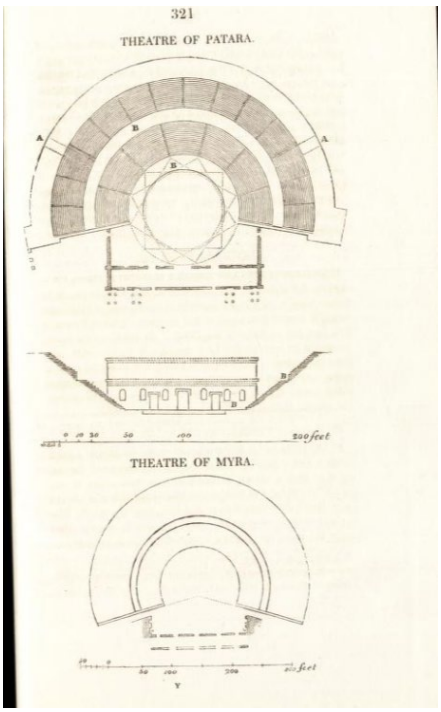

Fig. 2: Comparative Plan Drawings of the Patara and Myra Theaters. Source: W. M. Leake 1824, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor: With Comparative Remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of That Country.* London, 321. Access: https://archive.org/details/gri_0000331 25011216732/page/321/mode/2up

Analytical Documentation: The Contributions of Leake, Gell, and Barry

The theoretical infrastructure initiated by Chandler (1764) was crowned by William Martin Leake's (1800) historical-geographical pairings and the technical surveys (*rölöve*) of the delegation led by Sir William Gell (1811-1812). Alongside the institutional delegations of the Society of Dilettanti, the individual topographical studies of Colonel William Martin Leake constituted a turning point in the construction of the cartographic identity of the Lycian geography. During his exploratory expedition in 1800, Leake synthesized data from ancient texts with field observations, identifying the names of the ruins through a rational methodology[26].

In the notes added to his 1824 work, Leake presented crucial corrections regarding the historical geography of the region by synthesizing ancient texts with field observations. In the note he appended to page 117, drawing upon ancient/early medieval sources such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Theophanes, he depicted the fertile Cilician plain surrounded by the Taurus Mountains and the central role of the Calycadnus (Göksu) River[27]. Regarding the monumental structures in the Lycian region, Leake revised the data of other researchers of the era. Stating that the Telmessus theater was smaller compared to Patara, Leake, in his examination of the architectural construction of the theaters, compared the forms of the Patara and Myra theaters through plans obtained from the renowned architect C. R. Cockerell (see Fig. 2), and emphasized that these structures exhibited similar construction characteristics to large-scale Anatolian theaters such as those in Side, Hierapolis, and Laodicea[28].

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24 Chandler 1775, 180-185.

25 Chandler 1825, 142. For the difference between Chandler's aesthetic Hellenism and Pococke's practical observationalism, see also, p. 145.

26 Leake 1824, 224-228. Leake entered Lycia via Telmessus in 1800, becoming the first topographer to pair the data of Ptolemy and Strabo with contemporary toponymy.

27 Leake 1824, 319-320 (Note to page 117).

28 Leake 1824, 320 (Note to page 182 and Note to page 183).

Upon this geographical skeleton established by Leake, a more systematic architectural documentation was constructed with the second Anatolian Expedition of 1811-1812, financed by the Society of Dilettanti. Led by archaeologist and topographer Sir William Gell, and comprising architects Francis Bedford and John Gandy, this new delegation expanded the analytical vision Chandler had established in Ionia to the Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia line[29]. It was this team that, for the first time, extracted the Patara harbor, its magnificent theater, and monumental structures from beneath the sand dunes through technical drawings and surveys[30] (see Fig. 3).

Fig. 3: Francis Bedford, Plan of Patara (1811-1812 Expedition). Source: Nicol 1840, *Society of Dilettanti , Antiquities of Ionia*, Part III. London, Plate XLV. Access: https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.4326#0162

Following the rational inventorying efforts of Gell and Leake, Lycian monuments transformed into an architectural and philosophical laboratory. The survey works conducted by Sir Charles Barry in Telmessus and Caunus in 1818-1819 presented the phenomenon of 'petrification' in Lycian rock-cut tombs that is, the faithful transfer of wooden civil architectural elements (beam ends, interlocking panels, hipped roofs) to stone as visual evidence for the first time[31]. Indeed, this 'petrified wood' identification by Barry, with a chronological leap, constitutes a direct visual reference to 'The Lamp of Truth' theory that John Ruskin would mature in his work *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). Ruskin's principle of 'architectural

29 Society of Dilettanti 1840, Part III, 75-82, Preface vi-viii.

30 Dilettanti 1840, 75; Although Sir William Gell was known for his 1804 studies on the topography of Troy, he directed a more systematic architectural documentation process on the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia as the head of the Society of Dilettanti's 'Second Ionian Delegation' in the years 1811-1812.

31 Barry 1867, 17-22. In the biography of Charles Barry, it is explained how the pediment structure of the rock-cut tombs in Lycia inspired British Neo-Classical architecture. Barry describes the Lycian tombs as "the perfect symbiosis of nature and architecture".

honesty,' which criticized the deceptive use of one material through the imitation of another, was hailed in the Lycian tombs not as a contradiction, but precisely as a token of the fidelity felt towards the origin of the form[32]. Thus, Barry's technical analysis merged with Ruskin's philosophical doctrine, placing Lycian architecture at the center of Western aesthetic theory.

The Construction of Cartographic Identity: The Geographical and Archaeological Discovery of Lycia in the First Half of the 19th Century

The dawn of the 19th century corresponds to a period where the military and political hegemony established by the British Navy in the Mediterranean basin following the Napoleonic Wars formed an organic union with the emergence of Western archaeology.

Sir Francis Beaufort and Karamania: The 1811-1812 Investigation

The most radical turning point in bringing the rugged and mysterious ancient geography of Southern Anatolia to the attention of the modern scientific world was the tremendous hydrographic investigation conducted by Sir Francis Beaufort between 1811 and 1812. Dispatched to the region as the captain of the Royal Navy frigate HMS *Frederiksteen*, Beaufort's primary mission was to map pirate activities in the Eastern Mediterranean and establish reliable maritime routes for British merchant fleets[33]. However, far from being a purely pragmatic soldier or a detached cartographer, Beaufort was an intellectual deeply devoted to classical literature and ancient history with intense passion.

Starting from Yumurtalık (Ayas) on the Cilician coast and moving westward toward the Lycian shores specifically reaching as far as Yedi Burunlar (the Seven Capes) Beaufort mapped that intricate coastline inch by inch. During this arduous task, he etched the coordinates of ancient cities such as Celenderis, Side, Aspendus, Phaselis, Olympus, and Patara onto modern maps, treating the ancient texts of Strabo as a reliable compass[34]. For instance, the first critical move toward identifying the historical identity of the ancient city of Phaselis, which appears as a strategic point at the intersection of the Lycian and Pamphylian basins, was made by Captain Beaufort during the 1811-1812 expeditions. Tasked with mapping the southern shores of Asia Minor, Beaufort depicted the city's topographical scheme down to the finest detail and, based on the ethnikon Φασηλίτης (*Phaselites*) found in inscriptions on-site, established this extinct settlement as Phaselis in the literature with absolute certainty[35] (cf. Fig. 4 for the Phaselis map).

Beaufort's work *Karamania: A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor*, published in 1817, is the first empirical masterpiece to present the archaeological and topographical fabric of the region to the global scientific stage. Although the term "Karamania" used in the title was a common naming convention among European cartographers for the Southern Anatolian coast at the time, Beaufort chose this term consciously, referencing the Ottoman administrative

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32 Ruskin 1849, 35-37. The sections where Ruskin critically defines material honesty and wood/stone form transfers in architecture; paving the way to Ruskin with the statement that the Lycian tombs are notable in being clearly stone imitations of wooden structures (Barry 1867, 22).

33 Beaufort 1817, v-vii (Preface). However, Beaufort defines this in the preface more as an organized system of piracy. The primary goals were clearing these elements that threatened British trade in Levantine waters and determining the safety of ports from a hydrographic perspective. Beaufort's work was not just a discovery of antiquities but part of a strategy to secure British naval hegemony and trade routes in the Mediterranean through anti-piracy measures.

34 Beaufort 1817, 114-118.

35 Beaufort 1817, 56-57.

structure and the heritage of the "Karaman Beylik"[36]. While he glorified ancient ruins as silent witnesses to a rational past, he framed the existing local populace as elements foreign to this heritage, thereby fueling the "Savage East/Ancient West" dichotomy prevalent in colonial archaeological discourse. The most concrete example of this is Beaufort's personal observation of the Yanartaş (Chimaera) in Olympus, where he redefined a millennia-old myth as a rigid geological reality (a natural gas leak)[37]. However, Beaufort's pioneering journey was interrupted by a tragic event in June 1812. While attempting to rescue one of his lieutenants from an attack by locals near Ayas (Yumurtalık), Beaufort sustained a severe bullet wound to the groin. He was forced to return to his ship and was subsequently transferred to Malta before completing his investigation[38]. Despite this unfinished work, the maps Beaufort prepared remained a source of reference until the mid-20th century due to their mathematical precision.

Fig. 4: Francis Beaufort, Plan of the Port and Ruins of Phaselis (1811-1812 Survey), Source: Beaufort 1817*, Karamania, Or, A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity.* London, 56. Access: https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_6c4GAAAAQAAJ/page/n73/mode/2up

Commissioned by the British Admiralty to map the southern coasts of Anatolia, Beaufort followed the coastline with his galleon throughout the expedition and meticulously recorded the ancient settlements visible from the shore[39]. This hydrographic project initiated in 1811 is a milestone for regional history. Beaufort did not act as an ordinary topographer but with the reflexes of an archaeological detective tracing ancient settlements. His work *Karamania*

36 Beaufort 1817, 1-2.

37 Beaufort 1817, 52-54.

38 Friendly 1977, 171-175; See also Beaufort 1817, 281-285.

39 Beaufort 1817, 1-15. In the opening chapters of his book, Beaufort describes the hydrographic challenges of the Lycian coast. His observation on how the ancient port of Patara was filled with sand constitutes a geomorphological archaeological analysis. Beaufort was not an archaeologist but a hydrographer. However, his meticulousness forms the basis of today's excavation strategies for the ancient ports along the Lycian shoreline.

substantiated the spatial existence of cities like Side, Aspendus, and Patara, which until then had existed for the European intelligentsia only upon parchment[40].

There is a clear methodological distinction between Beaufort's technical pragmatism and the approach of his contemporary, William Martin Leake. While Beaufort analyzed the coastal strip from the sea through the optics of a staff officer centered on depth and harbor capacity Leake endeavored to weave philological and epigraphic links in the interior, utilizing Beaufort's maritime chart data as a foundation[41]. It is noteworthy that, despite not being fully proficient in classical languages, Beaufort transcribed the inscriptions in centers such as Soli, Side, and Patara with "the most rigid fidelity possible". This epigraphic corpus, published in the "Appendix" of his work, was later deciphered by the renowned philologist William Marsden, forming the first empirical *corpus* for understanding the local dialects of Southern Anatolia[42]. In any case, Beaufort's work is considered the "first canonical handbook" of Lycian coastal archaeology; for the author demonstrated an unparalleled hermeneutic success in matching toponymic data from ancient texts (Strabo, Pliny) with geographical reality. Beaufort's maps were not merely the product of scientific curiosity; they were a synthesis of the British Navy's strategic imagination in the Eastern Mediterranean namely, the search for safe harbors and logistic lines with archaeological precision. In this respect, Beaufort transformed the traveler's gaze into a rational instrument of imperial vision, simultaneously producing both a military and a cultural inventory of the Anatolian coasts[43].

However, to reduce Beaufort's scholarly efforts to a mere cartographic determination of coordinates would be to misread his ontological contribution to Anatolian archaeology. Indeed, during his field applications, Beaufort was the first natural scientist to introduce the "geo-archaeological evolution" (geomorphological change) of ancient settlements into the literature. He proved with mathematical precision, through comparison with Strabo's data, how the alluvial deposits brought by the Pyramus (Ceyhan) and Sarus (Seyhan) rivers in the Cilician basin deformed the shoreline from antiquity to the 19th century, rendering ancient ports non-functional and trapping them inland[44]. In this context, Beaufort offered a pioneering geological reading of how geography serves as a destructive agent within the historical process.

The final and perhaps most critical point is that Beaufort's mission did not conclude with his departure from the region in 1812. On the contrary, with his appointment as the head of the British Admiralty Hydrographic Office in 1829, Beaufort rose to the position of the institutional mind and orchestrator of all scientific and imperial incursions directed toward the Anatolian

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40 Beaufort 1817, 112.

41 Leake 1824, 128. Leake states that he personally completed the missing inscriptions from Beaufort's maritime charts via land routes.

42 Beaufort 1817, "Appendix: Inscriptions" 288-295. The note stating that the inscriptions were deciphered by William Marsden is in the appended section.

43 Beaufort 1817, 42-48. Beaufort's Karamania is not merely the logbook of a naval officer; it is a reference point that awakened the southern coastline of Anatolia from centuries of cartographic silence. The millimetric measurements filtered through his compass transposed Strabo's ancient narratives onto the objective ground of modern science, transforming the ruins along the coast from a pleasant landscape into a set of historical data with fixed coordinates. With this work, the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia moved beyond being romantic 'imaginary geographies' in the Western mind and gained dimension as a field of rational discovery; for the symbiotic relationship between Beaufort's hydrographic research and ancient geography, and the organic link of these studies with the British Navy's strategic goals, see also Stoneman 2010, 164-165.

44 Beaufort 1817, 274-279. Beaufort discusses, with the geological data of the period, how the alluvium of the Ceyhan River filled the ancient port of Mallos and pushed the coastline forward by kilometers.

coasts. Indeed, the authority behind the dispatch of the famous HMS *Beacon* the ship on which Charles Fellows transported the Xanthus marbles to the British Museum and the multidisciplinary Lycian expedition of Thomas A. B. Spratt and Edward Forbes in 1842 was Sir Francis Beaufort himself, who created an archaeological and naturalist school within the navy and personally provided the orders and allocations[45]. Consequently, Beaufort is the primary actor who transformed the individual discovery activities of 1811 into a systematic state policy of British imperial archaeology in the following decades.

The first major test of this institutional mind in the field occurred during the process of transporting the Xanthus monuments to the British Museum in 1841-1842. Recent archival findings reveal that the process was conducted not solely through Charles Fellows' individual efforts, but through the collective intelligence of cartographers, engineers, carpenters, and naval personnel. While the refusal of HMS *Beacon*'s commander, Thomas Graves, to take the artifacts on board is often interpreted in the literature as a "lack of vision" or a "clash with Fellows" the root of the problem lay in the fact that the HMS *Beacon*'s hatchways were of insufficient size for the monument crates and that weight calculations for the artifacts had not been performed in advance[46]. Commander Graves' warning, emphasized in his direct reports to Beaufort, that "the site must be examined by an engineer prior to excavation and dismantling" became a turning point in the evolution of British archaeological discovery and transport practice from an unplanned, hasty nature toward a systematic methodology (cf. Fig. 5 for the Xanthus operation and naval support).

Ship	Expeditions	Carrying capacity (builder's measure)	Guns	Crew
Beacon	1841–2	374 1/94 bm	4	67
Devastation	1844	1,059 bm	6	160
Medea	1842, 1843, 1844	835 bm	4	135
Monarch	1842	2,254 69/94 bm	84	700
Queen	1842	3,099 16/94 bm	110	905
Warspite	1844	1,890 bm	50	475

Fig. 5: Royal Naval Vessels in the Transport of Monuments during the 1841–1842 Xanthos Expedition. Source: Wiltshire 2024, "Graves' Concerns: The 1841–2 Xanthos Expedition". *The Antiquaries Journal* 104 (October), 358. Access: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581524000155

The Golden Age: Sir Charles Fellows and Penetrating the Heart of Lycia

While Beaufort delineated the coasts with mathematical precision, it was Sir Charles Fellows who reached the true secret lying behind the rugged and impassable Taurus range of Lycia. Originally a well-to-do naturalist and antiquarian rather than an archaeologist, Fellows was the first traveler during his initial 1838 expedition descending south from Izmir to systematically decipher the interior of Lycia for modern archaeological literature by traversing the Pamphylian route[47]. Accompanied by his guides, Fellows crossed the arduous passes of the Taurus

[45] Wiltshire 2024, 343-365. Based on Admiralty correspondence in the British National Archives (*TNA*), the author substantiates the scientific network Beaufort established in the Royal Navy and the background of the direct orders he gave to Captain Thomas Graves of the HMS *Beacon* for the Xanthus operation. Furthermore, for the primary publication of the operation's logistical infrastructure and the official instructions Beaufort sent to Graves, see Fellows 1843, 9-12. Fellows personally published the official permits Beaufort obtained from the Admiralty for the operation and the internal naval chain of command on these pages. For a topographical breakdown of the process, see also Spratt & Forbes 1847, ff. v-viii (Preface); Bean 1978, 45-50.

[46] Wiltshire 2024, 357-359. Analysis of the official reports written by Graves to Beaufort in 1842.

[47] Fellows 1839, 215.

Mountains and reached the basin now known as the Xanthus Valley, effectively awakening Xanthus, the monumental capital of the Lycian League, from its slumber. Including magnificent cities such as Tlos, Pinara, Cadyanda, Arycanda, and Myra in his route, Fellows penned *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor* (1839), which caused a massive sensation in European intellectual circles[48].

Fellows' records presented the unique Lycian rock-cut tombs and pillar monuments which radically diverged from the Greek and Roman schools by masterfully translating local wooden architecture into stone to the Western imagination through technical drawings for the first time. This expedition of Fellows did not merely possess the quality of a geographical discovery; it also ignited the fuse of the ambitious race for "antiquarianism" (*âsâr-ı atîka toplayıcılığı*) that the West would undertake in the Near East. Indeed, upon observing monumental works such as the Harpy Tomb and the Nereid Monument in Xanthus, Fellows immediately reported to the British government the idea of dismantling this marble memory and transporting it to England[49]. His itinerary was the first systematic land route to define the organic network between ancient cities and clarify the interior topography of Lycia.

The 1838 Journey: Discovery of the Xanthus Valley

Setting out from Izmir, Fellows descended south through inland Ionia and climbed the Lycian mountains where few Westerners had dared to set foot until then. During this strenuous expedition, he identified cities that formed the backbone of the Lycian League, such as Xanthus (see Fig. 6 for the city plan of Xanthus), Tlos, Pinara, Patara, and Myra[50]. This first journey of Fellows (1838) is characterized by his observations on the Harpy Tomb in Xanthus and the massive "Inscribed Pillar" adorned with Lycian inscriptions. Struck with awe before the monolithic pillar tombs and masterpieces of sculpture he confronted in Xanthus, Fellows passionately argued that Lycia harbored a spirit "even more Hellenic than Greece itself"[51]. This assertion triggered a tendency among art historians of the period to seek the origins of "Archaic Greek Art" in Anatolia.

These revelations of Fellows in the Xanthus Valley created a staggering sensation among the European intelligentsia. However, when compared with the rational analyses of the French architect Charles Texier, who had conducted investigations in the region shortly before him (1833-1837), Fellows' empirical observations and passion for "antiquities" contain a relatively more "amateur" and romantic enthusiasm. While Fellows glorified the monumental structures in Xanthus (the Harpy Tomb) as the pinnacle of an absolute and pure Lycian art[52]; Texier scrutinized the structural details of these monuments with architectural mathematics, suggesting that they were essentially a Greco-Persian synthesis shaped under Persian aesthetics and satrapal power[53].

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48 Fellows 1839, 226-230.

49 Slatter 1994, 32-48. These pages describe Fellows' arrival at Xanthus in 1838 and the astonishment he felt upon seeing the Harpy Tomb.

50 Bean 1978, 45-50.

51 Fellows 1839, 224-230. This is the section describing the moment Fellows reached Xanthus and discovered the valley. Fellows makes his famous claim, positioning Lycian art even above mainland Greece, by stating, "*I have not met with such pure art anywhere in Greece*". Since Fellows did not see the pillar tomb tradition in mainland Greece, he argues that this region was the most conservative and original Hellenic region of antiquity. While describing the purity of Lycian art here, Fellows personally makes the "Grecia" comparison. This is discussed in literature as "Fellows' Lycian Paradox"; Zimmermann 1992.

52 Fellows 1839, 226.

53 Texier 1849, 210-212. Texier argues that the structures Fellows called "authentic Lycian" were actually part

While Fellows' route integrated mountain cities resembling eagle's nests such as Tlos and Pinara into modern literature, the author described the stone tombs of these cities, which mimicked wooden house forms, using the metaphor of "petrified history". This philosophical conceptualization would later be introduced into the literature by architectural historians under the designation of "the tectonic memory of Lycia"[54]. Nevertheless, this expedition did not merely serve as a discovery; with Fellows institutionalizing the idea of uprooting this marble memory and transporting it to England, it ignited the fuse of the ambitious race for "imperial plunder" that the West would embark upon in the Near East.

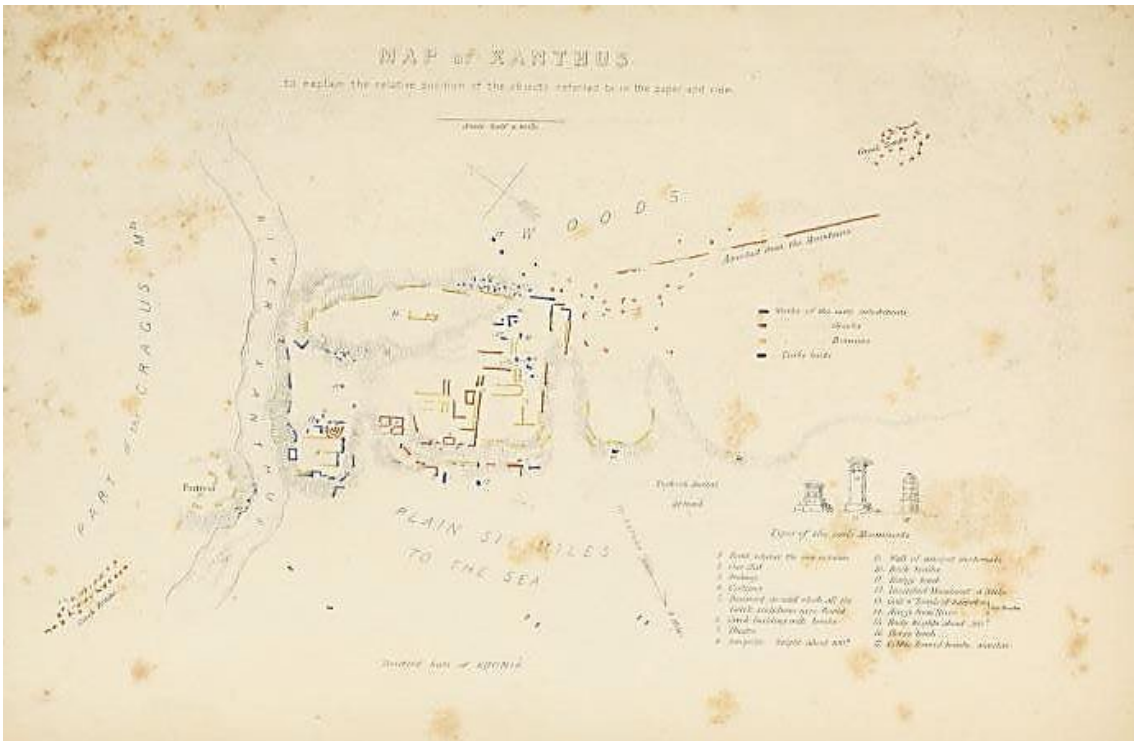

Fig. 6: Charles Fellows, Map of the Valley of the Xanthus. Based on the 1842 survey conducted by Captain Graves and the officers of HMS *Beacon*. Source: Fellows 1843, *The Xanthian Marbles: Their Acquisition, and Transmission to England*. London, 9 (Plate I). Access: https://archive.org/details/xanthianmarblest00fell/page/n9/mode/2up

The 1840 Expedition and the Epigraphic Discovery of Lycian Inscriptions

Following the resonance created by Fellows' 1838 discoveries, a second expedition was organized in 1840 under the patronage of the British Museum and the encouragement of the British government facilitated by the logistical and legitimate support of firmans obtained from the Ottoman State with a much better-equipped, multidisciplinary committee. We can state that the focal point of this expedition was determined not merely to find new settlements, but to break the philological codes of the Lycian language and transport monumental works to England. This second Lycian expedition of Fellows represents the most concrete manifestation in archaeological history of the transition from crude "antiquarianism" to a phase of systematic "philological analysis". Fellows realized that the ontological secret of the Lycian civilization lay not in the form of the stone, but in the grammar of the language itself, and set the primary goal of this expedition as the extraction of epigraphic data.

of Persian satrapal architecture.

54 Fellows 1839, 231-232.

The target of this arduous process was the "Inscribed Pillar Tomb," the most magnificent and intricate monument of Lycian epigraphy. Rising adjacent to the Xanthus agora, this massive monolithic mass hosts the most extensive surviving text of the Lycian language. All four faces of the tomb are adorned from top to bottom with Lycian characters. An epic text of approximately 250 lines is engraved on the surfaces of the monument. Moreover, this inscription is composed not only in standard Lycian (Lycian A) but also in the Lycian B (Milyan) dialect a relatively more archaic and epic dialect found on the north face of the monument. Furthermore, at the heart of the text lies a 12-line ancient Greek epigram (poem)[55]. The monument, dating to the last quarter of the 5th century BCE, immortalizes the triumphs and genealogy of the Xanthus dynasty highly likely a military genius belonging to the lineage of Kherei or Kuprlli against the Athenians within the context of the Peloponnesian Wars, using grandiose language[56].

Fellows was accompanied on this expedition by the talented painter George Scharf[57]. During the stage of visual documentation, Charles Fellows and especially the architect George Scharf employed "Camera Lucida" technology to perfect the perspectives of the Lycian monuments. This optical device allowed the artist to copy proportions with absolute error-freeness by creating a virtual projection on paper[58].

This is the fundamental technical move underlying the ability to convey the fine wood-imitation details in Lycia's intricate rock tombs into European architectural literature in such a faithful and undistorted form. Scharf's unique engravings, accompanying Fellows, transported the ancient monuments of Lycia into European salons with a "photographic reality"[59]. Scharf's unique drawings provide an invaluable visual memory as they freeze the works in their *in situ* (original contextual) state[60].

The most unshakable legacy left to academic literature by the 1840 journey is the process of copying the "Lycian Inscriptions". Fellows executed the surveys of both the Lycian and Greek

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55 Fellows 1841, 165-169; Kalinka 1901, 38-44. Kalinka cataloged this monument under the *TAM* 44 and grammatically analyzed the archaic structure of the Lycian B text on the north face, which differs from other epigraphic finds in Southern Anatolia; Meiggs 1972, 165-168. The author discusses the defeat of the Athenian general Melesander in Lycia in 430/429 BCE in comparison with the ancient Greek epigram on the Xanthus pillar; Bousquet 1975, 138-150; Demargne 1958, 79-105. In this fundamental work of the French school of Xanthus excavations, detailed analyses are presented regarding the architectural layers of the pillar and the reconstruction of the lost friezes atop it; Yakubovich 2007, 140–144.

56 Bryce & Zahle 1986, 42-47. Although the name 'Kherei' is clearly legible in the Greek section, it is generally accepted that the primary authority figure in the dynastic history was Kuprlli, and Kherei was a military genius who continued this tradition. See also Bryce 1986, 92.

57 For George Scharf's Lycian sketchbooks and diaries, and visual documentation techniques of the period, see: Slatter 1994, 85.

58 Scharf 1841, 5-12. Scharf explains in this technical introduction how the use of the Camera Lucida minimizes the artist's interpretation and provides an honest copy of ancient architecture. Using this device (an optical setup with a prism), Scharf projected the image onto the paper and traced over it. This represents the claim of reducing human error to zero. Scharf's main argument here is to ensure that when an artist draws an ancient structure, they draw it not as it should be (such as a perfect Doric order) but as it is (with its cracks and asymmetry). This allowed the unique "wood-imitation" details of the Lycian tombs to reach Europe without distortion.

59 Fellows 1841, 165-180. The epigraphic studies of Fellows' second journey, specifically the copying process of bilingual inscriptions in Lycian and Greek and the critical role of these inscriptions in deciphering the Lycian language, are discussed; Scharf 1841, 5-12. Describes how the Camera Lucida device "froze" ancient architecture with the claim of objective documentation and eliminating human error.

60 Fellows 1841, 165-180.

texts on the "Inscribed Pillar" with great skill using the paper squeeze (mülaj) technique[61]. Produced with maximum precision in the spring of 1840, these squeezes were carefully rolled and transported to the vaults of the British Museum in London. These original squeezes, still preserved today in the museum's epigraphic archives, are not merely linguistic materials; they are unique "time capsules" documenting the pristine, undamaged surface of the monument as it stood in 1840. Indeed, the monumental stone has suffered incurable wounds over the following decades due to acid rain, natural erosion processes, and the depredations of vandalistic treasure hunters. These paper impressions taken by Fellows are today the sole key to reading many letters that have been completely erased from the site[62]. Thesecopies delivered to Europe were examined with almost surgical precision by linguists such as Daniel Sharpe and Moritz Schmidt, providing an unshakeable foundation for the decipherment of Lycian an exceptional member of the Indo-European language family[63]. When the squeezes reached the British Museum, Sharpe spent months working on Fellows' paper impressions. By comparing the Greek epigram on the body of the monument with the proper names mentioned in the Lycian texts (such as Kherei, Harpagus, etc.), Sharpe successfully deciphered the phonetic values of the Lycian alphabet[64].

The exceptionally long inscription on the Xanthus Pillar Tomb served as a "Rosetta Stone" for 19th century linguists. The decipherment effort gained momentum by identifying the Lycian equivalents of proper names (kings and satraps) in the Greek text. For example, identifying the form *Artaxssazza* as the Lycian equivalent of the name *Artaxerxes* in the Greek version revealed the hidden phonetic structure of the alphabet[65]. Although it was initially imagined that this language was of Indo-Iranian origin, in-depth philological research at the turn of the century proved irrefutably that Lycian was an ancient and autochthonous Anatolian language (related to Luwian). This epistemological revolution fundamentally shook the academic templates constructed regarding the eastern trajectory of the Indo-European language family[66].

The route of travelers was no longer just monumental city centers, but rugged rock surfaces where even the smallest letter was inscribed. Fellows' amateur philological interpretations of the texts he copied were repeatedly criticized by the authority of the period, Daniel Sharpe; Sharpe corrected the transcription errors and placed the phonetic skeleton of Lycian on a solid foundation[67]. While Fellows was in a rush to "patch" Lycian onto Greek, he entered into an

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61 Fellows 1841, 164-168.

62 Keen 1998, 131-135.

63 Bryce & Zahle 1986, 42-45.

64 Sharpe 1841, 427-520. In this section, Daniel Sharpe attempts to decipher the Lycian alphabet using the inscriptions Fellows brought and copied from Xanthus. Even before the distinction between "Lycian A" and "Lycian B" was fully made, he was the first to correctly predict the Greek equivalents of the letters.

65 Houwink ten Cate 1961, 4-12. The author describes the methodological errors of the 19th century decipherment process and how the data collected by travelers formed the basis for modern Hittitology/Luwitology studies.

66 Bryce & Zahle 1986, 12-18. The authors emphasize that Lycian was not just "Indo-Iranian" but a direct continuation of Bronze Age Anatolian peoples; Neumann 1979, 11-22. A technical analysis proving the "Luwian-Lycian" continuity through phonetic and morphological changes. In this study, Neumann sealed the "autochthonous" character of Lycian with epigraphic data. Both studies document with linguistic data that Lycian is an autochthonous language related to Luwian, belonging to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family; Arkwright 1892, 323-328. Arkwright systematically tabulated the phonetic values of Lycian letters for the first time in this article based on the inscriptions Fellows copied. He analyzes the unique place of Lycian "ñ" and "m" sounds in Anatolian languages.

67 Bryce & Zahle 1986, 44.

intellectual conflict with visionary linguists who argued that this language belonged to the ancient autochthonous peoples of Anatolia. Consequently, the work of German philologist Moritz Schmidt in the 1860s dismantled the misconception that Lycian was an Indo-Iranian language, proving its status as an ancient Anatolian tongue[68]. This epistemological revolution fundamentally transformed the academic frameworks concerning the eastern reaches of the Indo-European language family[69].

Fellows' greatest success was presenting Lycia's unique local identity its Lycian texts and tectonic wood-mimicking architecture by blending it with the Greek school. However, his rhetoric of discovery became inextricably intertwined with the aggressive ideology of "museum-based proprietorship," which would eventually result in the uprooting of the Nereid and Payava monuments.[70] Unfortunately, the travels of this period were leagues away from the "in-situ preservation" ethics of modern archaeology. Although the Inscribed Pillar could not be moved due to its physical weight, the crew of the HMS *Beacon*, under Fellows' ambitious direction, would ruthlessly dismantle and ship tons of reliefs (the Nereid Monument, the Payava Sarcophagus, the Harpy Monument) from Xanthus to London[71].

The legal and bureaucratic ground behind this evacuation at a stage before the first institutional *Antiquities Regulation* (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) of 1869 came into force was based on the imperial audacity of converting standard research *firmans* obtained from the Sublime Porte (Babıali) into ownership claims. This situation stands as one of the most dramatic reflections of the imperialist and colonial archaeological imagination taking shape in the Lycian landscape[72]. At this point, Fellows framed the archaeological site as an arena of national prestige; in his correspondence with the British Museum's board of trustees, he emphasized the need to act before his French rivals, thereby transforming "gentlemanly archaeology" into a pragmatic imperial race[73].

As observed, this second major landing in 1840 was not merely an effort to stockpile artifacts, but an attempt to resurrect a forgotten language. Nevertheless, Fellows' amateur philological comments on the texts were frequently critiqued by Daniel Sharpe, who succeeded in establishing a rational foundation for Lycian phonetics[74]. The focus of travelers shifted to the most remote rock faces containing inscriptions. While Fellows struggled to reconcile Lycian with

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68 Schmidt 1868, 1-8. Schmidt criticized Fellows' Greek-based translation errors on a scientific basis, highlighting the autochthonous structure of Lycian.

69 Neumann 1979, 11-22. (Analysis proving Luwian-Lycian continuity). See also Arkwright 1892, 323-328.

70 Dyson 2008, 71-74. Dyson evaluates Fellows' Lycian travels under the category of "gentlemanly archaeology". According to the author, in this school, archaeological discovery is a process of ownership that concludes with the object being torn from its context and exhibited in metropolitan museums; See also Jenkins 2006, 150-155.

71 Fellows 1843, 15-33. While the author details the process of breaking down and loading massive works like the Nereid Monument and the Payava Sarcophagus onto the ship, he notes that the Xanthus Inscribed Pillar was left in situ due to logistical impossibilities. Fellows explains on page 33 why the Xanthus Stele (The Inscribed Stele) was left behind: "Its weight and monolithic structure made it impossible to transport to the port with the means available at that time".

72 Jenkins 2006, 180.

73 Jenkins 1992, 168-170. Jenkins analyzes, with documentation, the deep concern Fellows felt regarding the French presence (specifically Charles Texier) in the region and his presentation of the acquisition of Lycian artifacts for Britain as a national necessity. Page 169 is precisely where Fellows' famous warning to the effect of "we must act before the French reach the region and take these stones" and his correspondence requesting urgent support from the British government (Lord Aberdeen and the Admiralty) are examined.

74 Sharpe 1841, 427-430.

Greek, he remained in intellectual tension with linguists like Moritz Schmidt who championed its Anatolian roots[75]. These academic disputes significantly increased the depth and methodological rigor of Lycian philology.

The Enigma of Milyan (Lycian B)

As travelers and linguists deciphered the texts, they confronted a much more archaic and obscure dialect that was structurally and phonetically distinct from standard Lycian (Lycian A) in certain inscriptions. This structure, conceptualized today as Milyan (Lycian B), has been identified as an elitist "court language" or "cult language" used particularly in theological texts and the epic poems on the northern face of the Xanthus Stele[76]. The disclosure of this linguistic stratification has also brought to light the first concrete philological evidence regarding the social and class hierarchy of ancient Lycian society, especially the esoteric narrative language used by dynastic members to distinguish themselves from the populace.

These texts, which Fellows captured on paper using the squeeze technique during this second expedition, are not merely copies but the echoes of Anatolia's ancient voices in European laboratories. Although the Lycian language appears related to the Greek alphabet, it is, in fact, an autochthonous language genetically linked to Luwian, woven with nasal and sibilant sounds unique to Anatolia, such as "ñ," "m," and "ss"[77]. Even though Fellows' amateur interpretations were rectified by Sharpe, the exceptional and divergent position of Lycia within the Indo-European language family could never have been deciphered without the visual data set provided by the traveler. This epigraphic revolution shook the West's Hellenocentric perception of history and proved that Anatolia was not merely a passive geography hosting the Greek world, but a cultural focus producing its own unique language and architectural tectonics[78].

The 1841-1842 Xanthus Operation: Institutional Patronage and the Evacuation Process in Light of Archival Documents

The Lycian investigation, which Fellows initiated with individual ambition in 1838, evolved by 1841 into a corporate project of British imperial strategy for archaeological hegemony in the Near East. Fellows' idea of transporting the monumental marble memory of the region particularly the Nereid and Harpy monuments to the British Museum was put into practice with high-level logistical allocations from the British Admiralty. The primary institutional mind behind this process was Sir Francis Beaufort, who had mapped the Lycian coasts in 1811 and was then the head of the Hydrographic Office. Under Beaufort's direction, the frigate HMS *Beacon*, commanded by Captain Thomas Graves, was dispatched to the Lycian shores with a massive naval detachment; thus, a purely scientific discovery activity was transformed into a military evacuation operation[79] (cf. Fig. 7 for Fellows' travel itinerary).

The legal and diplomatic grounds for this massive logistical operation were determined by

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75 Bryce & Zahle 1986, 44.

76 Pedersen 1945, 45-52. The Danish linguist comprehensively established the connection of Lycian B with Indo-European languages and its poetic/epic character for the first time in this work. He associates the discovery of Lycian B (Milyan) with Lycia's epic poetry tradition and explains the linguistic reasons why this language was difficult for travelers to perceive.

77 Fellows 1841, 427-430; Melchert 2008, 47-48.

78 Zimmermann 1992, 92-95.

79 Slatter 1994, 32-48. The "Logistics of Transport" section details how Beaufort, as head of the Hydrographic Office, specifically allocated the HMS *Beacon* for this archaeological transport and Fellows' correspondence with the Admiralty.

the vulnerabilities of the Ottoman bureaucracy of the period and ambiguities within the texts. The official permission requested from the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Alî*) for Fellows to transport the ancient marbles in Xanthus to England took the form of an Imperial Firman (*Ferman-ı Âli*) following correspondence between the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British Embassy[80]. However, the critical phrase in the firman "stones abandoned on the ground", referring to ownerless or scattered remains lying on the surface was subjected to a conscious legal exploitation by Fellows and his military detachment. Not content with merely collecting the debris on the ground, the British team, empowered by this vague expression, dismantled the tons-heavy Nereid Monument, which was still *in situ* and standing, and loaded it onto the naval galleons[81].

Following the completion of the dismantling process, the transfer of the monumental marble masses to the coast became a major engineering and logistical challenge in its own right. According to the transportation records penned by Fellows himself, this ancient memory totaling 80 tons and secured in 162 massive wooden crates was lowered to the sea on makeshift rafts by utilizing human and animal power as well as the flow of the Xanthus (Eşen) River, and was loaded with great difficulty onto the HMS *Beacon* anchored offshore[82].

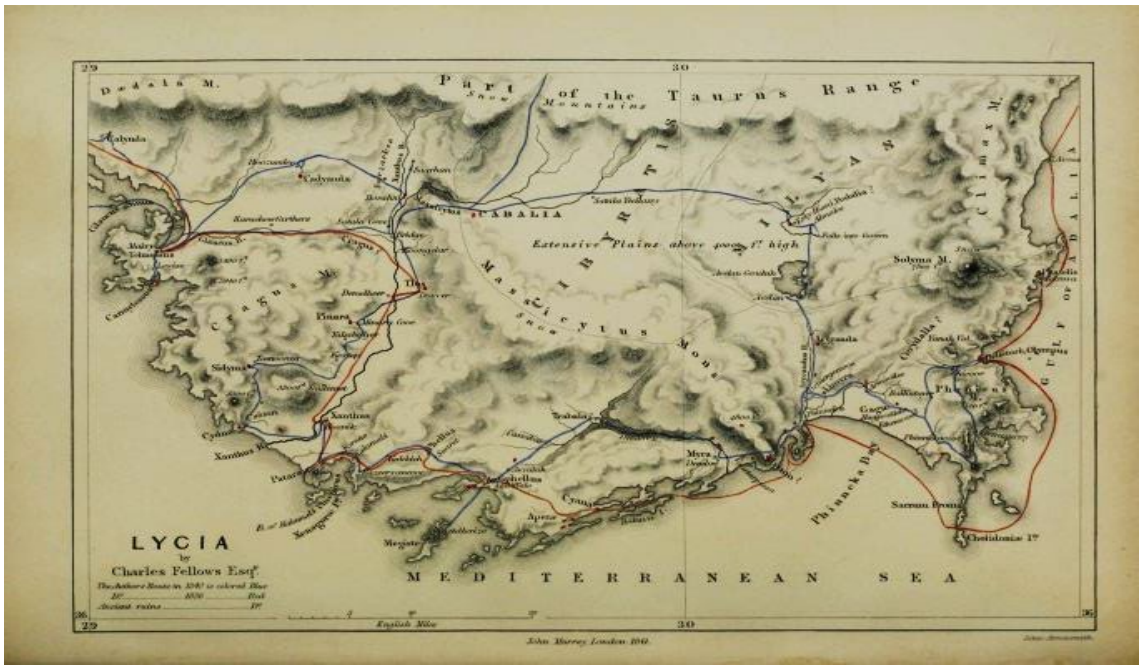

Fig. 7: Charles Fellows, Map of Lycia Showing the 1840 Expedition Route and Ancient Settlements. Source: Fellows 1841, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, Being a Journal Kept During a Second Excursion in Asia Minor*. London, 23 (Frontispiece). Access: https://archive.org/details/accountofdiscov00fell/page/n23/mode/2up

This arduous shipment is the most concrete and dramatic manifestation of an ancient city being torn from its physical context on the ground. The practical pressure and logistical mobility created by the British Navy on-site also pushed local Ottoman administrators into a serious dilemma. The diplomatic influence of the British Embassy over the Sublime Porte necessitated

80 Fellows 1843, 8-11. This section discusses the correspondence with Lord Aberdeen and the legal nature of the firman obtained from the Ottoman State.

81 Çelik 2016, 42-44. Regarding the exploitation of vague expressions in the firman and the attitude of local authorities.

82 Fellows 1843, 33.

the employment of local *mütesellims* (administrators) and the local population as laborers for the transport of the "stones" to the ports due to their immense weight[83]. Indeed, document A.MKT. 40/63 from the Office of the Grand Vizier's Secretariat (*Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi*), dated 1258 (1842), contains a categorical directive permitting the HMS *Beacon* to anchor in Lycian waters and strictly prohibiting local residents and administrators from interfering in this "archaeological extraction" process. Regarding the technical logistical challenges involved in the dismantling of the monument and the specific role played by naval personnel in the operation, the records from the Foreign Ministry's Translation Office (*Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası*) provide a detailed account of the interaction between imperial decree and local resistance[84]. In the administrative hierarchy of the period, local authorities, who had no luxury of resisting the will emanating from the capital, were forced to submit to this "archaeological dismantling" process in the face of the Navy's show of force and the instructions arriving from Istanbul[85].

The crossing of the Mediterranean and the arrival of the crates at Great Britain's ports signified not just the delivery of an archaeological cargo, but also the completion of the empire's construction of cultural ownership over the Near East. Following the delivery of the marbles to the British Museum, Fellows reported with great bureaucratic precision the display order of the works within the museum architecture, the hall allocation plans, and the final cost of this massive evacuation operation to the British Treasury[86]. These final reports and cost breakdowns reveal the vast economic and institutional mechanism behind the ambitious imperial archaeological imagination that uprooted Lycia's monumental heritage and fixed it into a Western museum showcase.

In conclusion, Fellows' 1841-1842 evacuation stands as one of the most dramatic historical examples of the physical fragmentation and removal from the center (decontextualization) of an ancient city's monumental silhouette. This concession, granted by the Sublime Porte through diplomatic courtesy and the designation of "abandoned stone," resulted in the heart of Xanthus being torn out.[87] This severe trauma would occasion a profound awakening within the Ottoman bureaucracy and would constitute the strongest historical argument for the strict protectionist philosophy of the 1884 *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmesi* (Antiquities Regulation). Enacted decades later under the leadership of Osman Hamdi Bey, this regulation would "absolutely prohibit the removal and export of artifacts abroad"[88].

This evacuation operation, which the West legitimized behind the discourse of "universal heritage," went beyond being a theoretical debate and created a deep ontological divergence

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83 BOA, HR.TO. 167/66, 1842; Çelik 2024, 54–61. For primary accounts regarding the technical difficulties during the dismantling of the monument and the role of naval personnel in the operation, see Fellows 1843, 24-26.

84 BOA, A.MKT. 40/63, 1258 (1842). Records of the Office of the Grand Vizier's Secretariat (Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi), concerning anchoring permits for the vessels and instructions to prevent interference by the local populace; see also Çelik 2024, 58-59.

85 Çelik 2016, 45-48. Çelik analyzes the correspondence between the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British Embassy during the transport of the artifacts and the position of local administrators in the face of the Navy. For technical difficulties in the dismantling process of the Nereid and Harpy monuments and the role of sailors in the operation, see also Fellows 1843, 24-26.

86 Fellows 1843, 38-40.

87 (BOA) İ.MSM. 12/285,1257 (1841), see, Çelik 2024, 45–52

88 Mumcu 1969, 22-25. The author states that such evacuation operations carried out by Western travelers like Fellows, by exploiting Ottoman legal gaps, acted as a catalyst necessitating the principle of "absolute state ownership" in the 1884 Regulation.

in the brushes of the artists recording the works in the field. As Ian Jenkins noted, by the mid-19th century, institutions like the British Museum began demanding not just aesthetic landscapes, but classifiable, sterile, and entirely "objective" archaeological data[89].

At this precise point, the great rupture between institutional rationality and individual witness can be read through two figures in the field: the productions of George Scharf and William James Müller in the visual construction of Xanthus represent these two opposite epistemological poles of 19th century imperial archaeology. Among the travelers we can categorize as privileged within this process, William James Müller (1812–1845) joined Charles Fellows' government-backed expedition, which set out in the autumn of 1843 to transport the Xanthus monuments to the British Museum; however, he was not an official member of this staff[90]. Unlike George Scharf, who was tasked with making Fellows' official archaeological drawings, Müller came to Lycia with the status of an independent painter, covering his travel expenses entirely himself and taking his student Harry John Johnson with him[91]. Leaving England on September 12, 1843, Müller reached the Lycian coast via Izmir and met Fellows' team (and the Royal Navy ships providing them logistical support) at the mouth of the Xanthus River[92].

Müller stayed around Xanthus, Tlos, and Pinara for approximately three months from late 1843 to early 1844. His activities during this process were not limited to painting landscapes of ancient ruins (such as the Lion Tomb or the Nereid Monument). With immense ethnographic sensitivity, Müller transferred to his watercolors the daily life of the excavation camp, the logistics of the monuments being dismantled and transported by the navy, and most importantly, the local people around the excavation site Yörüks, Turkmens, and the Romani communities involved in the leech trade[93]. His independent documentary stance allows us to record the displacement of the Xanthus monuments not merely as a "rescue/transport" operation, but as a socio-cultural intervention taking place right in the middle of the 19th century Ottoman provincial landscape.

The Impact of the Discovery on European Art and Imagination

In the 19th century, the engravings, squeezes, and massive marble blocks transported from the Lycian geography to the West birthed a stormy aesthetic movement in European capitals dubbed "Lycian Admiration" (Lyciomania). This cultural sensation was not confined solely to the discipline of architecture; it was also injected into the dark, melancholic, and exotic veins of literature. Lycia's tombs carved into steep rocks were accepted by European romantics as the most crystallized example of nature's transformation into architecture. Architectural theorists, in particular, interpreted the "wood-imitation stonework" they saw in these tombs as a monument of honesty where form was sanctified independent of material. Colossal art critics like John Ruskin revered the fastening of that organic wooden texture into stone in Lycian architecture as the absolute pinnacle of respect for material and of honest art[94]. While Ruskin

89 Jenkins 1992, 168-170.

90 Solly 1875, 192.

91 Solly 1875, 193-194. Solly quotes directly from Müller's letters on these pages, stating that Müller accepted Fellows' invitation but refused to be included in the official commission, deciding to go on his own budget.

92 Solly 1875, 196-197.

93 Solly 1875, 201-206. These sections, under the heading "Harry Johnson's Recollections of Lycian Journey" are primary data pages where his assistant Johnson describes their relations with the local people at the excavation site and Müller's daily drawing routine.

94 Duc & Emmanuel 1863, 46-48. Viollet-le-Duc was a contemporary of Ruskin and his greatest rival. By directly

described these structures as “a poem written by nature on stone” his French rival Eugène Viollet-le-Duc presented Lycian tombs as technical and rational proof of how the first primitive dwellings evolved into monumental architecture[95].

The Lycian engravings produced by the fine brushes of William Pars and George Scharf were met with extraordinary favor in the ostentatious exhibition halls of London and Paris (see Fig. 8). These depictions opened a new horizon in the landscape painting of the period by portraying those delicate, lace-like carved stone sarcophagi hidden in the womb of impassable mountains and harsh nature, within the sphere of the “Sublime” concept that formed the backbone of Romanticism. This romantic mode of representation in visual documentation exhibits a deep intellectual parallel with John Ruskin’s “The Lamp of Memory” theory. According to Ruskin, architecture fulfills two great duties: the first is to render the architecture of the day historical, and the second is to preserve the architecture of the past as the most precious heritage[96].

As Ian Jenkins also notes, by the middle of the 19th century, institutions like the British Museum began to demand classifiable, sterile, and entirely “objective” archaeological data rather than mere aesthetic landscapes[97]. At this exact point, that great rupture between institutional rationality and individual testimony can be read through two figures in the field: the productions of George Scharf and William James Müller in the visual construction of Xanthus represent these two opposite epistemological poles of 19th century imperial archaeology. Scharf, as the official eye of the British Museum and Charles Fellows, recorded the ancient ruins with a documenting meticulousness like pieces of an architectural puzzle to be reassembled only in London, isolating them from the present day and geography[98]. Acting almost like a mechanical eye before the invention of the camera, the stones in Scharf’s drawings were stripped of the soil upon them and the human breath surrounding them; they were turned into timeless and sterile objects of antiquity. This attitude of Scharf is in ironic conflict with Ruskin’s “preservation against restoration” manifesto; for uprooting the monument from its context and freezing it on paper

citing Lycian tombs, he explains with a technical diagram how the wooden structure was frozen in stone. The author presents the transformation of Lycian tombs into frozen copies of wooden structural elements (beam ends, joints) in stone material as technical evidence regarding the evolution of architectural form. Ruskin presents the “philosophy” of this (The Lamp of Memory/Truth), while Viollet-le-Duc presents the “technical evidence” (Lycian tombs). For a comparative perspective, see Ruskin 1849, 165-172, sections “The Lamp of Truth” and “The Lamp of Memory”. While Ruskin emphasizes that architecture must construct a memory by remaining faithful to the spirit of the material; Viollet-le-Duc concretizes the technical scheme of this honesty through Lycian examples. It became the fundamental philosophical framework legitimizing how Lycian tombs were perceived in the 19th century architectural community. This is known in architectural history as the theory of “petrifaction”; that is, the carving of the forms of a previous wooden tradition into stone with the desire for permanence. According to Ruskin, this situation is the most concrete example of society’s desire to make the temporary (wood) permanent (stone) and thus freeze memory. He states: “Architecture fulfills two great duties: the first is to render the architecture of the day historical, and the second is to preserve the architecture of the past as the most precious heritage”. Ruskin also grounds his famous argument “to preserve architecture is a thousand times better than to restore it” in this section; Ruskin 1849, 165-172.

95 Viollet-le-Duc 1863, 46-52. The author analyzes Lycian tombs with a technical diagram within the scope of the “petrifaction” theory.

96 Ruskin 1849, 176. This is the section where the famous “preservation against restoration” argument is grounded.

97 Jenkins 1992, 168-170. The author details here the British Museum’s transition from romantic antiquarianism to strict and sterile scientific documentation.

98 Solly 1875, 193-195.

removes it from being a living memory and transforms it into an inventory object.

On the other hand, Müller, who was not an official part of the expedition, deconstructed this sterilization process with his "romantic-ethnographic" style. In Müller's watercolors, ancient monuments are not candidates for museum objects as Scharf rendered them; they are "living spaces" where Yörüks graze their goats, smoking campfires burn, and which form a part of the daily movement of the local people[99]. While Scharf "froze" the monument for the future museum visitor; Müller "situated" the monument for its current local resident. The difference in framing between these two artists proves how Xanthus was fragmented not only physically but also conceptually. On one side, the "archaeological data" prepared for Western ownership

Fig. 8: Sir George Scharf, View of the Remains of the Nereid Monument at Xanthus (ca. 1843-1844). Drawing on paper, 355 x 506 mm. Source: The British Museum, Museum Number: 2012,5034.5. Bequest of Sir Charles Fellows. Access: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_2012-5034-5

(Scharf); on the other, the "cultural landscape" remaining an inseparable part of the Anatolian province (Müller)[100]. Therefore, Müller's works must be read as a civilian resistance archive regarding the last "native" states of the monuments before their displacement, standing against the official historical narrative presented by Scharf. This visual heritage presents Lycia to us today not just as an ancient ruin; but as a hybrid space of memory standing at the intersection of an imperial archive and a passion for objective documentation.

By the end of the 19th century, this visual debate gave way to the objective reality of photography. The photographs taken especially by Felix von Luschan during the Lycian

99 Solly 1875, 204. On this page, quoted from the diaries of Müller's assistant Harry Johnson, Müller's insistence on drawing the lichens and grasses on the ancient stones, as well as the local figures beside them, is presented as a living landscape preference contrasting with Scharf's "clean-lined" drawings.

100 Solly 1875, 208-209.

expeditions of the Austrian scientific committee are unique in that they recorded not only the monumental architecture but also the anthropological texture of the region[101]. Luschan's lens registered that archaeological sites were "living spaces of memory" by documenting Yörüks posing in front of Lycian sarcophagi or temporary settlements established inside ancient theaters. However, Luschan documented this memory not with a romantic admiration, but with a cold scientific lens that analyzed the modern inhabitants of Lycia (Yörüks and Tahtacıs) in a "racial continuity" with the ancient Lycians[102]. This systematic visual archive, surviving from the late Ottoman period to the present day, is used today as the most fundamental primary source in modern restoration and survey projects carried out in the region to determine the state of destruction of the structures from over a century ago[103]. Victorian intellectuals and art critics perceived Lycia not merely as an archaic geography, but through the metaphor of the **"**eternal city of the dead" shaped by monumental tomb architecture. The proud sarcophagi particularly the Payava Sarcophagus and the Harpy Monument which Charles Fellows dismantled from Xanthus and transported to England, and which were re-erected in the dimly lit halls of the British Museum, were transformed into the most fortified symbols of frozen memory resisting the destructive ravages of time in the Western imagination. Against the soot-covered chimneys of the Industrial Revolution, the gears of steam engines, and the spiritual constriction of an increasingly mechanized modern London, Lycia's silent, noble, and stone-carved death cult functioned as a mystic sanctuary and an aesthetic escape for the melancholic romanticism of the period[104]. Thus, the Lycian basin was permanently coded in Western literature with the identity of "*Hellas's much more mysterious, fierce, and wild brother*"[105].

This imaginary construction of geography by the West and Ruskin's search for "honest art" went beyond being theoretical debates and created a deep ontological divergence in the brushes of the artists recording the works in the field.

Methodological Transformation: From Description to Analysis

In the second half of the 19th century, Lycian and Pamphylian research evolved from merely being an expedition into a discipline where data was subjected to cross-examination. The natural scientific approach initiated by Spratt and Forbes scrutinized not only the visible remains of the region but also the ecosystem that created these remains. In particular, the cartographic

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101 Petersen & Luschan 1889, 1-15. This section recounts the methodology of the expedition, the role of photography in documentation, and how Luschan transformed both the local people and the ruins into scientific data within the same frame. When photographing archaeological remains, Luschan provides scale by inserting "metric rulers" or "local figures". Luschan's framing, in contrast to Scharf's romantic watercolors, is a "cold optic".

102 Luschan 1889, 198-212. Luschan associates the inhabitants of Lycia with ancient origins through the "Homo Alpinus" type.

103 Luschan 1889, 198-212. Luschan used the archaeological sites and sarcophagi of Lycia as a "racial laboratory" for the anthropological measurements of the local people (Yörüks and Tahtacıs). The systematic visual archive the author produced within the scope of this work constitutes an indispensable primary source for restoration projects today (See especially p. 204 and related plates). Luschan asserts here that the modern inhabitants of Lycia (Yörüks) belong to the same "racial type" (Homo Alpinus) as those who built the ancient Lycian sarcophagi. The photographs taken by Luschan (for example, natives standing in front of the Tlos theater) are indeed found today in the plates between ff. 200-205 and in the in-text drawings. He used architecture not as a "space of memory," but as a backdrop proving the modern biological continuity of the ancient race. See also Çevik 2021, 55-62.

104 Jenkins 1992, 140-145.

105 Shaw 2003, 42-45.

discipline stemming from Spratt's naval background made visibility analyses among ancient settlements possible[106]. This situation revealed for the first time as scientific data that the Lycian League was founded not only on a political but also on a visual communication network (signal towers and fortress systems)[107].

The work *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis*, published by Spratt and Forbes in 1847, is virtually a manifesto of this interdisciplinary approach. Unlike the antiquarian tendencies of Charles Fellows, another important figure of the period, who centered mostly on monumental works and focused on uprooting and transporting finds, Spratt and Forbes chose to make sense of ancient cities within their own ecological and topographical context[108]. Forbes's identity as a naturalist, in particular, made the vital role played by geological formations, vegetation, and water resources in the site selection of ancient settlements an inseparable part of archaeological observations for the first time. Spratt's theory of "coastal uplift," which he reached by observing the sea-level changes of the ancient ports in the region, was a revolutionary deduction explaining why ancient settlement physically shifted in the historical process[109].

The studies conducted by the duo in cities they identified in the region, such as Oinoanda, Balboura, and Boubon, not only surveyed architectural remains but also laid the foundations of modern settlement archaeology by synthesizing ancient written sources with contemporary physical geography[110].

In late 1841, E. T. Daniell, who formed a multidisciplinary expedition team with hydrographer (cartographer) Lieutenant T. A. B. Spratt and naturalist Edward Forbes, did not merely make a romantic journey in Lycia alone and purely with aesthetic concerns. During the expedition, Spratt undertook topography and coastal mapping, Forbes flora and fauna, and Daniell the scaled drawings of monuments, copies of inscriptions, and the recording of the general archaeological landscape. The remains of ancient cities such as Termessus, Oinoanda, Balboura, and Cibyra were conveyed to the Western world in detail for the first time through Daniell's sketches and watercolors. Daniell did not merely draw the architecture in isolation; he also included in his frame the monuments' integration with nature, the surrounding Yörük tents, and local figures to provide scale (see Fig. 9). This attitude elevates his works from being a purely artistic painting and transforms them into a technical document indicating the state of

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106 Spratt 1865, 185-188. Spratt personally opens to discussion on these pages the methodological superiority provided by cartographic methods of naval origin (especially triangulation and visibility analyses) in archaeological surface surveys. Furthermore, for the historical impact of these topographical data on connectivity networks in the Mediterranean, see Horden & Purcell 2000, 125-126. In the "The Geography of Connectivity" chapter of the book, the authors discuss how vital the precision in Spratt's nautical charts and the visibility networks connecting ancient towers/fortresses on the coastline are for understanding communication between micro-regions in the Mediterranean.

107 Spratt & Forbes 1847, 163-167. Because Spratt was a hydrographer on the frigate HMS *Beacon*, he read the cities on land like "bearing points". According to his analysis, Lycian towers and fortress systems were constructed not only for defensive purposes but almost like an "ancient optical telegraph" line. While Fellows was interested in the beauty of the monument; Spratt measures the visual angle of the hill where the monument is located with the other city. This is the most concrete evidence of the transition from aesthetics to function in Lycian research.

108 Challis 2008, 45-50. Challis examines in detail the methodological rupture between Fellows's artifact-oriented collecting and the topographical and contextual analyses of Spratt and Forbes.

109 Spratt & Forbes 1847, 210-215.

110 Spratt & Forbes 1847, 256-270. In this section, the topographical positioning of the ancient cities constituting the Cibyratis tetrapolis and their relationship with the natural environment are given directly through field observations.

destruction in 1842 for modern restoration projects[111]. Daniell died after contracting malaria in Antalya in September 1842 (while making drawings of the Pamphylia region). When his teammates Spratt and Forbes returned to England and turned their Lycian research into a book, they added Daniell's name to the full title of the work out of gratitude to him, as the visual burden of the work consisted entirely of Daniell's drawings.

Fig. 9: Edward Thomas Daniell, View of the Acropolis of Xanthus, with the Harpy Tomb (1842). Pencil and watercolor, 247 x 337 mm. Source: The British Museum, Museum Number: 1872,1109.18. Sir Charles Fellows Collection. Access: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1872-1109-18

The high methodological meticulousness in Spratt and Forbes's Lycian research is, in fact, a reflection of Victorian England's ideal of 'sovereignty through knowledge'. Wiltshire (2024) defines this process as a result of the "scientific culture" construction established by Sir Francis Beaufort, Head of the Hydrographic Office, within the Admiralty[112]. The language in Spratt and Forbes's work is not merely a travelogue; it is a staff officer style that brings the data collected in the cabin of the HMS *Beacon* ship to the meticulousness of a military "field survey"[113]. As Wiltshire analyzed, the instructions Beaufort sent to Captain Thomas Graves presented the tasks of transporting the marbles and mapping the coastline as an inseparable whole[114]. In this

[111] Spratt & Forbes 1847, 12-16. In the preface and introductory sections of the book, Daniell's drawing methods and his precision in documenting monuments are directly explained. Spratt and Forbes emphasize that Daniell's drawings are not merely artistic but a faithful record of details. While Scharf (Fellows's painter) draws the monument alone like a "statue"; Daniell depicted the monument as a "social object" with goats grazing on it and a fire burning beside it.

[112] Wiltshire 2024, 344-346. The author presents with documents how Beaufort, as the head of the Admiralty Hydrographic Office, combined scientific research with naval discipline and the institutional infrastructure of this understanding of "knowledge-oriented sovereignty".

[113] Spratt & Forbes 1847, 163-170. While the authors present the geological and topographical data of the region with the meticulousness of a staff officer, they also indirectly record the importance of ancient ports on the coastline in terms of frigate logistics.

[114] Wiltshire 2024, 346-349. While analyzing the conflict between Captain Graves's mapping mission and

context, the visibility analyses Spratt conducted on ancient towers are the manifestation of a staff mind drawing the strategic topography of the empire; indeed, these studies not only deciphered the mysteries of Antiquity but also transformed the most intricate coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean into an operational theater for the British Admiralty[115]. It is understood that the real motivation behind this interest in the Lycian geography was to increase British naval influence in the region by using archaeological discovery as a strategic cover and to establish an intelligence network (line of visibility) against French and Russian mobility[116]. Therefore, the deciphering of antiquity is the intellectual precursor to rendering geography militarily and commercially controllable.

The Epigraphic Revolution and the Codes of Language

Epigraphic studies, which reached their zenith with E. Kalinka's *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (*TAM*) project, inaugurated a text-oriented era in regional historiography. Kalinka defined inscriptions not merely as lithic documents, but as living organisms reflecting a city's social hierarchy and legal system[117]. His meticulous work, particularly on Lycian and Greek bilingual inscriptions, deciphered Lycia's hybrid identity situated between Persian and Hellenistic influences. The data Kalinka transported to Vienna using the squeeze (moulage) technique remains the most reliable reference source for epigraphists today; indeed, these squeezes preserve the state of the original stones before they were subjected to the acid rain and physical degradation of recent times.

Kalinka did not view the bilingual inscriptions in Lycia as mere linguistic glossaries; he also questioned the motivation behind their dual-language composition. According to his analysis, this represents the legal integration between the local law which Lycia maintained even under Persian administration and the new administrative language introduced by the Hellenistic world. In this context, Kalinka's epigraphic analyses of the Xanthus Stele (Xanthus Obelisk) constitute the most significant turning point in illuminating the grammatical structure of the Lycian language and dynastic history[118].

This colossal project, conducted by Kalinka under the auspices of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW), began in 1901 with *TAM* I, covering Lycian inscriptions, and continued until his death in 1946 with the fascicles of *TAM* II, containing the Greek inscriptions of Lycia[119]. This "epigraphic memory" preserved today in the archives of the *Kleinasiatische Kommission* in Vienna, serves as the sole witness to hundreds of inscriptions that can no longer be found in situ or have been destroyed. Kalinka did not limit himself to merely copying the inscription; he also

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Fellows's marble transport (based on actual correspondence in the ADM 1 series), Wiltshire points out that the "institutional mind" behind the operation was Beaufort and how the coordinates of ancient settlements intertwined with military purposes (Also, for details of the logistical crisis experienced in the field, see ff. 354-356).

115 Wiltshire 2024, 356-359.

116 Challis 2008, 42-48. Challis analyzes the organic ties of Spratt and Graves with the Admiralty and the Foreign Office and how excavation permits served the mission of completing strategic maps. For information proving that the visibility analyses in the naval logs of Spratt and Graves carried a strategic dimension aimed at determining coastal defense and optical communication possibilities, and harbored the quality of a precaution against French and Russian naval mobility, see Wiltshire 2024, 345.

117 Kalinka 1901, 5-12.

118 Kalinka 1901, *TAM* I, 30-45.

119 Keil 1946, 297-306. On Kalinka's academic career, his passing, and the institutional history of the *TAM* project.

meticulously noted the contemporary Ottoman administrative divisions and local toponymy for each entry. This methodological choice elevated the *TAM* corpus from a mere epigraphic catalog to an invaluable "epigraphic topography" documenting the historical geography and local place names of late 19th century Anatolia[120].

The Birth of Institutional Archaeology and Museum Policies

In the first half of the 19th century, the Lycian geography—which had become a virtual backyard and de facto monopoly of the British Museum through figures like Charles Fellows and Thomas Spratt -transformed into a new arena of imperial competition in the last quarter of the century due to the aggressive Kulturpolitik (cultural policy) maneuvers of the German and Austrian Empires in the Near East[121]. As the most concrete result of this shift in political and scientific hegemony, individual and romantic travels were replaced by state-sponsored, multi-disciplinary teams following Austria's state-backed archaeological offensive. However, at the foundation of this institutional success lie the solitary and arduous journeys of the German philologist Julius August Schönborn in 1841 and 1842, who often remains in the shadow of the literature. During his exploratory tour in the mountainous hinterland of Kaş, Schönborn was the first person to accidentally discover the now world-renowned Gölbaşı (Trysa) Heroon[122].

Discovering this immense monument without any state support or excavation team, Schönborn was unable to conduct a detailed study of the monument due to financial constraints and the transportation difficulties of the period, recording only limited notes. His discovery only caught the attention of the scientific world after his death, through the geographical notes published by Carl Ritter. On his first individual journey to Lycia, he reached the remains at Gölbaşı (Trysa) on December 20, 1841, following descriptions provided by the local population. Indeed, this journey, undertaken with limited means and without team support, is characterized as a laborious and solitary discovery process. In his memoirs and reports, Schönborn describes finding this place as a coincidence guided by local reapers. Until that time, Trysa was unknown to and unmapped by any Western traveler. His discovery is unique in that it announced an unknown city in the interior of Lycia to the scientific world for the first time. Schönborn died in 1857 before he could publish his discoveries as a comprehensive book. As previously stated, his diaries, notes, and letters were compiled by the famous German geographer Carl Ritter. Volume 19 (*West-Asien: Kleinasien*) of Ritter's monumental series *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniß zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen* (commonly known as *Die Erdkunde*) is the primary source for Schönborn's Lycian observations[123]. Schönborn's astonishment in April 1841 upon

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120 Kalinka 1920-1944, *TAM* II, III-VI (Praefatio). For Kalinka's methodology of meticulously recording Ottoman-era settlement names and administrative divisions (toponymy) for each inscription, see especially the preface to the first fascicle (Fasciculus 1, ff. III-VI, "Praefatio") and the "Repertum in..." (Place of find) explanations in the inscription headings (lemmata). This editorial choice transformed the work into an invaluable source of historical geography for the late Ottoman period as much as for antiquity.

121 Marchand 1996, 92-96. Marchand analyzes how German and Austrian archaeology became institutionalized in Ottoman lands against the British and French monopolies and turned archaeology into a state policy.

122 Ritter 1859, 1135-1139. In this section containing reports of Schönborn's 1841-1842 travels, the start of his difficult journey from Myra westward toward Kaş and his topographical observations are recorded. The author's discovery of the Trysa (Gölbaşı) Heroon, his first identification of the reliefs in the "Gjöl-baschi" locality, and the accidental character of this discovery are cited directly from Schönborn's field notes.

123 Ritter 1859, 1135-1150. Ritter published Schönborn's original diaries and letters from 1841-42 under the title "Lykiens Hochland" after passing them through a scientific filter. Although Schönborn's discovery first appeared as short news in periodicals of the time like Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung in 1842, its "attaining

encountering this ghost city and heroon while completely unprepared is one of the purest moments of discovery in the history of archaeology. Carl Ritter immortalized this moment by organizing Schönborn's scattered notes with these striking expressions: "*After climbing a steep and almost impassable slope covered with brushwood, I suddenly found myself in the middle of a massive necropolis. But the most astonishing thing was that immense relief-carved wall rising on this silent mountain top, surrounding it like a fence. The scenes meticulously carved onto the rocks warriors, horsemen, and mythological figures seemed to have awakened from a sleep of thousands of years to narrate an epic. Encountering such artistic splendor on this desolate plateau was so jarring that one could not help but wonder for which ruler's memory this monument was once built. This was not just a tomb; it was the most magnificent page of a history carved into stone*"[124].

However, these reports by Schönborn were ignored by Berlin Museum officials for a long time; this situation gave Otto Benndorf of the University of Vienna the opportunity to transform this "German discovery" into an Austrian prestige project[125]. The systematic research initiated by Otto Benndorf in 1881 consisted essentially of retracing the footsteps of Schönborn's silent discovery. The primary factor motivating Benndorf was that the friezes on the monument contained the earliest and most complete visual narratives of classical mythology, such as the *Odyssey* and the *Amazons*[126]. When Benndorf grasped the scientific and artistic value of the Trysa Heroon, he turned the matter into a national prestige project. However, this process coincided with a period when the Ottoman State began to radically change its perception of cultural assets. Although the 1874 and especially the 1884 *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* (Regulations on Antiquities) drew a legal barrier against the "find and take" freedom of travelers, Benndorf and his team succeeded in overcoming these obstacles by utilizing diplomatic channels and close relations established with the Sublime Porte[127]. We can characterize Schönborn's silent discovery as pure scientific curiosity, while Benndorf's operation was an institutional evacuation.

The Journey of the Trysa Friezes to Vienna: A Logistical Operation

The transport of the heroon to Vienna is one of the most massive logistical operations in 19th century archaeology. During the transportation process initiated in 1882, approximately 152 primary frieze blocks and nearly 500 architectural fragments (totaling over 600 blocks) were carried by hundreds of local laborers and water buffaloes down steep mountain trails to be lowered to the sea[128]. The fragments of the monument were first brought to the shores of Demre (Myra), where they were loaded onto the Austrian Navy frigate SMS Taurus and its

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the permanent attention of the scientific world" was certainly due to this 1859 academic publication by Ritter. Ritter essentially worked as an "editor-scientist". He blended Schönborn's complex notes with the ancient topography of the region (comparing them with Strabo and Ptolemy) and was the first to describe Trysa's location with mathematical precision. This publication by Ritter is considered the primary call to action that directed the German and Austrian schools to Lycia. See also Benndorf & Niemann 1889, 4-7. While Benndorf gives credit to Schönborn's pioneering discovery, he emphasizes that scientific documentation only began with his own teams.

124 Ritter 1859, 1137. Here, Schönborn describes the fortification walls and the relief friezes upon them (scenes from Greek mythology: *Odyssey*, *Amazons*, etc.) for the first time.

125 Marchand 1996, 401-403.

126 Benndorf & Niemann 1889, 2-5.

127 Eldem 2010, 121-150.

128 Oberleitner 1994, 13-14; Landskron 2015, 18-24. Landskron details the logistical process on pages 20 and 21.

accompanying support vessels, setting sail for the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KHM) in Vienna. Prior to the transportation operation that began in 1882, the Austrian team placed the monument's position in the field and the scattered reliefs (friezes) into a detailed topographical context through existing plates[129] (see Fig. 10). Upon arrival in Vienna, since the KHM was still under construction, the works were temporarily exhibited at the Theseustempel in the Volksgarten[130].

This transfer operation triggered a profound intellectual conflict between Osman Hamdi Bey, the founder of Ottoman museology, and Western archaeologists a conflict that would form the foundations of modern museum law. The influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Istanbul and the close relations established with the Sublime Porte provided the ground for circumventing prohibitions via "exceptional firmans". The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Baron Heinrich von Calice, played a key role in the process of transferring the Trysa friezes to Vienna; he surmounted the objections of Osman Hamdi Bey, which were based on the principle of in situ preservation, through an *ihsan-ı hümayun* (imperial gift) decree obtained directly from Sultan Abdulhamid II[131].

However, contrary to common belief, the Ottoman bureaucracy did not remain entirely passive during this process. The fact that the Ottoman State claimed rights in the division of the finds from Otto Benndorf's excavations in Trysa and mandated that the state's share be sent directly to the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun) demonstrates how closely the Ministry of Education (Maarif Nezareti) monitored the process (BOA, MF.MKT. 77/59, September 17, 1882)[132]. This document proves that although all the works were officially viewed as a "gift," the Ottoman administration attempted to reserve "ownership rights" over at least a portion of the artifacts.

Osman Hamdi Bey's bureaucratic defeat during this process and the export of the friezes under "gift" status hardened his protectionist reflex regarding cultural property. The Trysa operation served as the primary motivation for the 1884 Antiquities Regulation (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*), which fundamentally altered the legal status of archaeological sites in Anatolia and strictly prohibited the export of artifacts abroad[133]. While operating within this new legal framework, Benndorf and his team succeeded in transporting a portion of the works to Vienna under the guise of "scientific sharing" by utilizing diplomatic channels. This situation triggered a major intellectual conflict between Osman Hamdi Bey, the founder of Ottoman museology, and Western archaeologists a confrontation that would eventually form the foundations of modern museum law[134]. During the transport of the Trysa Heroon to Vienna, the legal lacunae preceding the 1884 Regulation and the diplomatic leverage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire over the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Ali*) were decisive factors. As Wolfgang Oberleitner observes, the process of dismantling and transporting the works was not merely a technical logistical operation; it was also a diplomatic achievement legitimized by an exceptional *ihsan-ı hümayun* (imperial

129 Benndorf & Niemann, 1889. See: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/trysa1889.

130 Landskron 2015, 25.

131 Cezar 1995, 212; Eldem 2010, 205.

132 BOA, MF. MKT. 77/59, September 17, 1882. Official correspondence sent from the Ministry of Education (Maarif Nezareti) to the Directorate of the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun); concerning the rapid transport of the museum's share of the artifacts found in the Gölbaşı (Trysa) excavation to Istanbul.

133 Shaw 2003, 108-112; Eldem 2010, 125-128; Tekin & Arslan 2025, 136 ff.

134 Eldem 2010, 88-94.

favor/gift) decree obtained from Sultan Abdulhamid II[135].

As Edhem Eldem emphasizes, Osman Hamdi Bey's bureaucratic resistance to this "gift system" constituted the most fundamental catalyst for the regulation that would come into effect in 1884, definitively banning the export of artifacts[136]. Consequently, the journey of the Trysa friezes to Vienna is not only a logistical triumph but also a legal watershed moment in the Ottoman judicial system, marking the transition from the era of "sharing" (*partage*) to the era of "absolute prohibition".

Fig. 10: Otto Benndorf and George Niemann, General View and Plan of the Gjölbaschi-Trysa Heroon (Based on 1881-1882 Austrian Expedition Data). Source: Benndorf & Niemann 1889, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Wien, Tafel I. Access: Heidelberg University Digital Library, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.8276#0005

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that the 19th century expeditions to the southern coasts of Anatolia (specifically Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia) were not merely romantic adventures or antiquarian endeavors, but rather the central arena of a profound epistemological and political conflict over cultural heritage. By problematizing the activities of Western figures such as Beaufort, Fellows, Spratt, Forbes, and Benndorf, this article has exposed the dual nature of early Mediterranean archaeology: a scientific enterprise that systematically mapped the ancient topography while simultaneously executing the massive expropriation of its material culture.

Within the framework of this study's main hypothesis, it is evident that the methodological evolution of these travelers transformed the ancient city into a "scientific object". The shift from the romantic descriptions of early wanderers to the multidisciplinary precision of late 19th

135 Oberleitner 1994, 13-14.
136 Cezar 1995; Eldem 2010, 205.

century scholars created an immense corpus of cartographic and epigraphic knowledge. However, this epistemological advancement precipitated an ontological rupture. The extractive logistics orchestrated by Western metropolitan museums (most visibly in the aggressive removals of monuments from Xanthus and Trysa) severed archaeological artifacts from their spatial and historical contexts. This process, often legitimized under the guise of "universal heritage" and preservation, essentially reduced the Anatolian landscape to an imperial repository.

Consequently, the core argument of this research is that this very wave of Western expropriation paradoxically catalyzed the genesis of Ottoman cultural sovereignty. The intellectual and political tension between the positivist appetite of Western institutions and the centralist modernization of the Ottoman Empire culminated in a definitive legal reflex. The 1884 Antiquities Regulation (*Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnâmesi*), spearheaded by Osman Hamdi Bey and the Ottoman bureaucracy, emerged not merely as a set of administrative rules, but as a structural declaration of sovereignty. It actively challenged the colonial construct of the "discoverer's right" (the evacuation strategy of the Western traveler) and legally transformed these silent ruins from exploitable resources into inalienable subjects of the state's cultural identity. Ultimately, the legacy of 19th century travelers in southern Anatolia extends far beyond a topographical succession of discoveries. They inadvertently laid the groundwork for the first major paradigmatic clash in world archaeology: the conflict between the universal museum's extraction and the emerging ideal of *in situ* preservation. Today, the preservation of the Lycian monuments stands not only as a testament to the scientific foundations laid by these early explorers but, more importantly, as the enduring monument to the local legal resistance against the expropriation of antiquity. This historical trajectory, forged in the tension between the traveler’s compass and Ottoman law, represents the fundamental turning point in Anatolia’s ongoing assertion of authority over its own past.

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