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Photographing Magnesia on the Meander: Image, Exhibition and Excavation

Amanda Herring

This article examines nineteenth-century photographs of the archaeological site of Magnesia on the Meander, focusing on the work of Alexander Svoboda in the 1860s and that of a German archaeological team who excavated there in the 1890s. While a brief archaeological campaign was undertaken at Magnesia in the 1840s, by the 1860s, when Svoboda took his photograph, the site was abandoned and unstudied. Through an investigation of both the career of Svoboda and the history of archaeological photography in the region, this article places Svoboda's photography in the larger context of investigation at Magnesia. It argues that Svoboda's photograph of Magnesia was part of his most important project, a book of photographs and an accompanying exhibition on the Seven Churches of Asia. Svoboda's inclusion of Magnesia within this project exposed the site to a much larger audience, and influenced how the site was viewed and understood. This photograph, therefore, represents a turning point in the history of this site, leading to the eventual recovery and study of this important classical city under the German excavators, and their own photographic recording of the city's classical ruins.

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Keywords: *Félix Marie Charles Texier (1802–71), Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804–92), Alexander Svoboda (1826–96), Carl Humann (1839–96), Magnesia on the Meander, Seven Churches of Asia, classical archaeology, archaeological photography, travel writing and photography, Asia Minor*

In Alexander Svoboda's 1860s photograph of Magnesia on the Meander, the classical ruins of the city are dwarfed by Byzantine walls and nearby mountains (figure 1). Magnesia was once the seventh largest city in Asia Minor, but here conclusive identification relies upon the inscription, which simply states the name of the site. The city's classical buildings, including the once famous Temple of Artemis, are in complete ruin, and are marked only by piles of barely visible architectural elements. This rare early photograph, part of the Gary Edwards Collection at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), highlights the state of Magnesia in the 1860s, a time when no excavations were active. Some twenty years before, the French traveller Charles Texier briefly investigated the site, removing sculptural blocks from the Temple of Artemis's frieze and eventually displaying them in the Louvre, but formal excavations would not begin again until a German expedition under the direction of Carl Humann began work in the 1890s. Why then would Svoboda photograph an abandoned, unexplored, and ruined site? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine two streams of investigation: the history of European excavations at Magnesia in the nineteenth century and the history of archaeological photography at the site.



Figure 1. Alexander Svoboda, *Magnesia of the Meander*, albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 14.0 cm × 26.0 cm, 1860s. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (92.R.84).

Questions about Svoboda's photograph of Magnesia on the Meander are difficult to answer through examination of the photograph alone, since it lacks information about its original provenance. The reconstruction of the photograph's original context and subsequent impact undertaken in this article will reveal that Svoboda's work played an important role in the rediscovery and exploration of Magnesia. I argue that this now-orphaned image was originally part of Svoboda's most important project, the publication of a book entitled *The Seven Churches of Asia* (1869) and its accompanying exhibition of photographs.¹ He therefore approached the site both as a monument of the classical past and as a site of religious interest. Its ruined state, along with that of the other cities discussed in the book, played a key role in Svoboda's agenda, which was to connect the classical past with modern religious beliefs. In addition, while abandoned, a close reading of books and articles published in the mid-nineteenth century indicates that the site was far from forgotten, and was still a point of interest for many. However, the amount of information available about the site and its ruins was minimal. Consequently, Svoboda's examination of Magnesia responded directly to a desire among western audiences to expand their understanding of the site.

Svoboda photographed Magnesia and completed his project on the *Seven Churches of Asia* at an important moment in the histories of both archaeology and photography. Western Europeans had long been interested in the classical ruins in Italian, Greek, and Ottoman territories. Numerous publications, intended for both scholarly and popular audiences, recorded the exploration and discovery of ancient monuments and antiquities. The medium of photography was embraced immediately by archaeologists and antiquarians after the invention of the daguerreotype because of its possible value as a method of recording ruins and antiquities. By the 1860s, when Svoboda was photographing the ruins of western Asia Minor, the importance of photography in antiquarian study and exploration was no longer a possibility, but an established reality. Photographers were working in most of the important centres of archaeological study. Yet the classical ruins of Asia Minor had not received the same attention as the monuments of areas such as Athens or Egypt. Svoboda helped to expose these ruins to a larger audience, and

1 – Alexander Svoboda, *The Seven Churches of Asia: With Twenty Full-Page Photographs Taken on the Spot, Historical Notes, and Itinerary*, London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston 1869.

contributed to the growing importance of photography in archaeological and antiquarian studies.

The second half of this article considers the influence of Svoboda's photograph on scholarly investigations at Magnesia. Specifically, it examines the manner in which photography was used during the German excavations of Magnesia to record the site and to disseminate information about its classical ruins. These excavations were the first to explore the ancient site of Magnesia scientifically, and photography played an integral role in both the excavation process and the subsequent publication. The photographs produced during the German campaign serve both to highlight the changes at Magnesia that followed after Svoboda observed the abandoned ruins in the 1860s, and to underline the influence of Svoboda on archaeological photography, particularly at Magnesia.

Alexander Svoboda

Alexander Svoboda was born in Baghdad in 1826 to a family of eastern European descent.² His father was the Austro-Hungarian consul stationed in the city.³ While not extensively studied today, Svoboda had a successful, if not illustrious, career as an artist and a photographer. Svoboda receives brief mentions in many of the histories of Ottoman photography, and his photographs are housed in a number of museums, including notably the GRI and the Canadian Centre for Architecture. It is possible to stitch together a decent understanding of his life and career based primarily on his occasional appearances in nineteenth-century journals and magazines, as well as his photographs.

Svoboda's photographic career spanned Europe and Asia, from as far west as France to as far east as India. He lived for a significant period of time not only in Baghdad, but also in Izmir, India, and London. He appears to have begun by photographing the ancient and medieval monuments of the sites of Ctesiphon and Nineveh in Iraq, not far from his birthplace at Baghdad. Towards the end of his life, in the 1870s, he went to India and sold his photographs of the cave shrines on Elephanta Island to western audiences. Before this, etchings based on his photographs appeared in the journal *Le Tour du Monde* in 1864, and he appears to have achieved at least some recognition as a painter since he is described as such and as a member of the Academy of Venice.⁴

In the 1850s, Svoboda established a studio in the Ottoman city of Izmir (ancient Smyrna) on the western coast of Anatolia.⁵ Nineteenth-century Izmir was a commercial city centred on its port and international trade. As a result, Izmir had a diverse population with people from all over the Ottoman Empire and Europe both visiting and settling in the city for their business interests. Out of a population of 150,000, Ottoman Turks made up only one section. People of Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and European backgrounds all lived and interacted within the city's borders. Newspapers, schools, and intellectual institutions in a variety of languages were established to serve the needs of a multi-cultural population.⁶

Svoboda was not the only photographer who saw the advantages of such a city as a home base. Engin Çizgen has compiled a list of more than thirty-five photographers who worked in the city for extended periods of time in the nineteenth century. Included in this company are the names of some of the most famous photographers from this period, including Felix Bonfils, Francis Bedford, and Francis Frith.⁷ The commercial success of the port ensured that a large percentage of the population had money to spend on photographs, and each of these studios was able to survive by providing portraits for residents and visitors and by creating genre scenes and landscapes of the region as souvenirs for the large transient population of merchants and tourists.

Svoboda found a particular niche for himself as a photographer of archaeological sites, and his photographs proved popular among scholars and tourists interested in the classical past. Izmir provided a good home base for such an

2 – For Svoboda, see Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East: Early Photography in the Near East, 1839–1885*, New York: Harry N. Abrams 1988, 225; and M. Çınar Atay, *19. yüzyıl İzmir fotoğrafları / fotoğraflar: Alexander Sandor Svoboda*, İstanbul: Suna & İnan Kiraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü 1997, 231.

3 – For Svoboda's father's career, see 'Obituaries', *The Athenaeum*, 2689 (1879), 604.

4 – For etchings based on his photographs, see A. de. Moustier, 'Voyage de Constantinople a Éphèse', *Le Tour du Monde*, 1 (1864), 225–72. Svoboda is described as a painter and as a member of the Academy of Venice in 'Photographs from the Seven Churches of Asia', *Art Journal*, VII (1868), 29; and 'Mr. Svoboda's Paintings of Eastern Subjects', *The British Architect and Northern Engineer*, 8 (1877), 126.

5 – Perez, *Focus East*, 225; and Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1919*, İstanbul: Haşet Kitabevi 1987, 46.

6 – For a discussion of nineteenth-century Izmir, see Daniel Goffman, 'Izmir: from Village to Colonial Port City', in Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999, 79–154.

7 – Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, 46.

endeavour. All of the scholars and tourists who wished to visit or excavate at the numerous classical sites in western Anatolia had to pass through the city. It was the closest port to most of the sites and the location where one had to obtain the *firman*, or permit, necessary for any archaeological endeavour.⁸ Albums compiled by the Duc de Chartes and the Comte de Paris, both of whom visited the region, include photographs by Svoboda, and the proceedings of the American Oriental Society mention his work at Ephesos and other sites.⁹ While Ephesos – which was one of the closest sites to Izmir, as well as one of the largest and best-known of the ancient sites – was his primary focus, he also travelled inland as far as Aphrodisias, in the interior of Karia, photographing sites along the way, including Magnesia ad Sipylus and Hierapolis.

The Seven Churches of Asia

In 1869, Svoboda published *The Seven Churches of Asia* with the London-based publisher Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, featuring photographs that he had taken while living in Izmir. The volume included twenty full-page photographs of the ruins of the cities housing the Seven Churches, historical notes on each city and other nearby sites of historical interest, and finally a detailed itinerary including practical instructions for transportation, hotels, and guides. While the introduction was written by Reverend Henry Baker Tristram, it appears that the rest of the text was written by Svoboda himself, based on his personal experience travelling through the area.

Svoboda was not the first western writer to take an interest in the Seven Churches – travellers had been visiting them and recording their findings since the seventeenth century – but his book contained the first published photographs of the sites.¹⁰ These seven ancient cities – Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, all located in the Roman province of Asia on the west coast of Anatolia – had long been treated as a unified group by Christians due to their role in Revelation, the final book of the Christian New Testament. Revelation, which was written in the late first century AD, records the visions of John, writing on the island of Patmos. It begins with his vision of Jesus, who orders John to write letters to the churches in each of the aforementioned cities. The next two chapters of the book record each of the letters written by John to the individual cities. The letters explore the character of each church, highlighting its people's flaws and strengths, and call upon each church to move forward, despite the suffering that each will endure during the upcoming apocalypse.

Before the book of Revelation, the cities were not seen as a unified group. They were among the most important cities in the Roman province of Asia, but other large and wealthy cities in the region, notably Aphrodisias and Magnesia on the Meander, were not included on the list. In addition, while many of the cities played an important role in the evangelical journeys of Paul and other early Christian missionaries, they also did not house the only Christian populations in Asia; churches were founded in a number of other cities. It was only their inclusion as a group in the letters of Revelation that held them together. It is therefore in the Christian, rather than ancient Greek or Roman, mind that these cities were grouped together as a set.

For western audiences, therefore, interest in these specific cities was high primarily because of their prominent role in the Bible, and a journey to these ancient sites was considered a form of pilgrimage. As more Europeans began to travel to the Ottoman Empire, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, visits to the Seven Churches became a fairly regular itinerary. Similarly, accounts of journeys to the Seven Churches were regularly published, beginning with Paul Rycout at the end of the sixteenth century, and continuing into the nineteenth century with Thomas Allom and Francis Arundell.¹¹

8 – On the *firman* process, see Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure: faite par ordre du gouvernement français en 1833–1837*, vol. 3, Paris: Firmin-Didot 1839–49, 79.

9 – Perez, *Focus East*, 225; Hyde Clark, 'On the Assyro-Pseudo-Sesostris', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 8 (1866), 381; 'Proceedings at New Haven. October 24 and 25, 1866', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 9 (1868–1871), viii–ix; and Gary Edwards, 'Photographs of Greece in the Musée d'Orsay's Album of the Duc of Chartes', *History of Photography*, 14:2 (1990), 165–66.

10 – Mark Wilson, 'Smyrna: The Open Door to the Archaeological Rediscovery of the Seven Churches', *Pharos*, 89 (2007), 84.

11 – Ibid.; and Ioli Vingopoulou, 'Travellers to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor', in *Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands*, 2010, available at http://www.ottomanlands.com/sites/default/files/pdf/Vingopoulou_Essay.pdf (accessed 13 September 2012). Notable among the publications of the Seven Churches before Svoboda are Paul Rycout, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches*, London: John Starkey 1679; Francis V. J. Arundell, *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia with an Excursion into Psidia*, London: John Rodwell 1828; Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, London: Fisher, Son, and Co. 1838; and Henry Christmas, *The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean: Including a Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, London: R. Bentley 1851.

12 – Vingopoulou, 'Travellers to the Seven Churches', 2–3.

The subject matter for each of these travel references went beyond the sacred, however. The appeal of the travelogues was not only the descriptions of the churches, but also discussions of the local people and exotic milieu of the Ottoman Empire. Each volume on the Seven Churches dedicates numerous pages to the practicalities of travel and to the character and habits of the local inhabitants.¹² In addition, as the cities housing the Seven Churches had been important in the classical period, their ruins hosted remnants of art and architecture that were of interest to students of religion, classicists, and archaeologists. By devoting space to the classical past, the authors were clearly answering the demands of the public, demonstrating the interest that western audiences had in such subjects.

13 – Arundell, *A Visit to the Seven Churches*, 58–59.

It seems logical, therefore, that Magnesia, a site of importance in the classical period near Ephesos, would garner attention in publications of the Seven Churches, even though it was not one of the seven cities. This was indeed the case for a number of classical cities, notably Hierapolis. However, before Svoboda's publication, Magnesia on the Meander was mentioned rarely in books on the Seven Churches. Of these, Arundell's account pays the most attention to Magnesia, but his description is brief, with his singular remark concerning the site's identification placed within a description of the banalities of travel.¹³

It is only with Svoboda's publication that Magnesia gains attention within the context of the Seven Churches. Svoboda's book is divided into three main sections: photographs, descriptions of sites, and logistics. The first section's twenty full-page photographs provide different views of the cities of the Seven Churches, with most dedicated to Ephesos. Two images feature other sites: Hierapolis and Magnesia ad Sipylus, a site located approximately seventy miles north of Magnesia on the Meander.

The corpus of photographs included in the book gives the intended European audience both factual information about the Seven Churches cities and their ruins and a taste of the experience of actually visiting the sites. Svoboda's book, like each of the previous works published on the Seven Churches, was intended to be a travelogue. His inclusion of photographs within such a volume was a major part of its market appeal and established the publication as a turning point in the history of the study of the Seven Churches. Through the medium of photography, Svoboda was able to create a carefully constructed narrative that allowed armchair travellers to take a virtual pilgrimage and experience the Seven Churches sites. Through the selection and framing of his subjects, Svoboda conveys both the classical and Biblical significance of the sites, while placing them within their modern Ottoman contexts.

Approximately one-half of the photographs in the book feature Christian monuments. In some, Svoboda presents close-up views of specific churches and tombs, including a church in Pergamon and the Supposed Tomb of St. Luke in Ephesos. Others present general views of remains of the Seven Churches cities that include Christian buildings, which are identified by Svoboda's captions. The other half of the photographs capture views of either the modern Turkish towns or the ruins of classical buildings or monuments, including theatres, amphitheatres, and temples, speaking to the importance of these sites and their buildings in the classical as well as Christian periods.

The majority of the photographs present romantic vistas of the Seven Churches sites, contrasting the ruined state of the archaeological remains to either empty landscapes or modern towns. For example, in the photograph of the theatre at Laodicea, the semi-circular building fills the bottom two-thirds of the composition (figure 2). Since only the dim outline of distant mountains against an empty sky occupies the top portion of the image, the viewer's eye automatically focuses on the white of the stone blocks of the theatre against the darker colour of the grassy hillside. While the plan of the theatre's seating is still clearly visible, the bottom rows of seats have crumbled, and stone blocks are littered across the orchestra. The photograph, lacking any trace of human life, has a ghostly feel, emphasising Svoboda's focus on long-dead civilisations. The theatre is presented as interesting not only because of its architectural features, but also because of its



Figure 2. Alexander Svoboda, *Gt. Theatre Laodicea*, albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 14.0 cm × 26.0 cm, 1860s. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (92.R.84).



Figure 3. Alexander Svoboda, *Thyatira*, albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 14.0 cm × 26.0 cm, 1860s. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (92.R.84).

ruined state, evoking a feeling of nostalgia for a once great city. Svoboda's photographs focus as much on what has been lost as on what has remained.¹⁴

Only one photograph, that of the town of Thyatira, features people (figure 3). In this image, two men stand in the foreground at the edge of a rocky hill. The

14 – For an examination of photography's use to record ruins and a sense of loss, see Kitty Hauser, *Shadow Sites: Photography, Archaeology, and the British Landscape 1927–1955*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007.

modern town spreads across the plain below, with the tops of buildings shrouded in a light mist that blurs the contours of the mountains in the background. No ancient ruins are visible among the town's buildings, and only the spires of mosques and tall cypress trees stand above the rooflines. Yet this image, despite the lack of ruins, is as romantic as Svoboda's other photographs in the book. Here, the exotic nature of Svoboda's subject is highlighted. The men in the picture are dressed in the costumes of nineteenth-century Turks, and the minarets make it clear that the photograph must have been taken in the Middle East.

Although the book does not contain a photograph of Magnesia on the Meander, significant space is dedicated to discussions of the site in the second and third sections. In these chapters, the Seven Churches cities and related classical sites, such as Magnesia on the Meander, are discussed in depth. Svoboda gives the history of each city, from antiquity through to the early Christian period, and discusses the types of buildings that once populated each site. The historical description of Magnesia, at two pages, is longer than that of any other non-church site discussed in the book, and the itinerary provides practical information for reaching the ruins, including which train to take and where to hire horses.

The prominent role given to Magnesia in Svoboda's project is strengthened by the advertisement included at the end of the book that promoted a series of photographs, entitled 'Seven Churches of Asia and Adjacent Sites of Interest' (figure 4). These photographs were intended to act as a companion to the book, and were part of Svoboda's larger Seven Churches project. These photographs, all of which were by Svoboda, were available for purchase both at Svoboda's studio (he was then living in London) and also at the offices of the book's publisher. Customers could purchase individual photographs, a set of fifty photographs, or a complete set of sixty-two photographs. The complete set included large prints of the twenty images in the book, as well as an additional forty-two unpublished photographs by Svoboda. Each photograph was 11 inches × 9 inches in size and mounted on a piece of cardboard measuring 18 inches × 15 inches. The advertisement presents an itemised list of each of the photographs available for purchase, including additional views of the Seven Churches cities and images of classical sites discussed in the book. The sites include Magnesia ad Sipylus, Hierapolis, Aphrodisias, and, most importantly for the purpose of this article, Magnesia on the Meander. The photograph of Magnesia on the Meander by Svoboda, now housed in the GRI, was once a part of one of these sets of photographs that was intended to accompany his book on the Seven Churches.

Compositionally, the photograph of Magnesia closely resembles numerous images in the text, including notably a photograph of Sardis (figure 5). Each image contrasts ruins of ancient monuments to the uninhabited landscape that surrounds them. Mountains, blurred by mist, dominate the background and fade into a clear sky that fills the top one-third of each photograph. In each case, it is difficult to identify specific monuments, revealing the same goal to create a feeling of nostalgia and romance, and to highlight the distance between the modern world and the ancient, rather than provide scientific visual descriptions of archaeological sites. The compositional similarities between the photograph of Magnesia and many of those included in Svoboda's book, such as his image of Sardis, indicate that they were intended to be part of a cohesive, unified collection.

The physical appearance of the photograph of Magnesia, especially when compared with the nineteen others by Svoboda within the GRI's collection, strengthens the hypothesis that the photograph was originally part of the Seven Churches project. Seven of these photographs, including that of Magnesia on the Meander, are all the same size, measuring 10.5 inches × 6 inches, and all are labelled in the lower right or left corner with the name of the site depicted (figures 2, 3, 5). The remainder of the photographs in the GRI's collection by Svoboda measure 11 inches × 9 inches in size, which is the same size photograph mentioned in the advertisement.¹⁵ All of the images by Svoboda at the GRI either reproduce

15 – The accession numbers of these seven photographs are 15.01.02.01–15.01.02.07

THE ENTIRE ORIGINAL SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS
OF THE
SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA,
AND ADJACENT SITES OF INTEREST:

SMYRNA, EPHEBUS, LAODICEA, PHILADELPHIA, SARDIS, THYATIRA, PERGAMOS;
MONUMENT OF SESOSTRIS, NIOBE OF MOUNT SIPYLUS, MAGNESIA OF SIPYLUS,
MAGNESIA OF THE MEANDER, APHRODISIAS, HIERAPOLIS, ETC.

BY

A. SVOBODA.

Size of Photographs, 11 by 9 inches, mounted on Cardboard 18 by 15 inches.

Price 5s. each.

A Selection of any 50 of these Photographs, £10 10s.; the whole set of 62, £12 12s.

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LIST OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS.

- | | |
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| 1, 2, 3. SMYRNA. Panoramic View. | 35. MAGNESIA OF THE MEANDER. Site of the Temple of Diana Leucophrine. |
| 4. SMYRNA. Panoramic View. The whole on one Plate. | 36. LAODICEA. Remains of the Great Theatre. |
| 5. SMYRNA. Tomb of St. Polycarp. | 37. LAODICEA. The Stadium. |
| 6. SMYRNA. The Ancient Castle on Mount Pagus. | 38. LAODICEA. Gymnasium of the Stadium, and Pyramidal petrified Aqueduct. |
| 7. SMYRNA. Caravan Bridge, upon the River Meles. | 39. APHRODISIAS. Temple of Venus, taken from South to North. |
| 8. SMYRNA. View taken from the Boudjah Road towards the City. | 40. APHRODISIAS. Temple of Venus, taken from North-East to South-West. |
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| 12. SMYRNA. The Great Aqueducts upon the River Meles. | 44. HIERAPOLIS. The Plutonium. |
| 13. SMYRNA. View taken from Bell-kaive towards Smyrna. | 45. HIERAPOLIS. The Theatre. |
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| 30. EPHEBUS. The supposed Tomb of St. Luke. | 62. PERGAMOS. Interior of the Roman Amphitheatre. |
| 31. EPHEBUS. The Great Gymnasium in the Opistolepria. | |
| 32. EPHEBUS. Front View of the Great Gymnasium. | |
| 33. EPHEBUS. View taken from Mount Prion, looking over the Great Gymnasium towards the Necropolis and Mount Pactyas. | |
| 34. EPHEBUS. View taken from Mount Pactyas, looking over the Roman Aqueducts towards Mount Prion and Ephesus. | |

To be had of MR. A. SVOBODA, 52, Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square; MESSRS. SAMPSON LOW, SON, & MARSTON, 188, Fleet Street;

Also Specimens of the entire Series can be seen (by permission) at the ARUNDEL ROOMS, 24, Old Bond Street, London.

Figure 4. Advertisement for 'Seven Churches of Asia, and Adjacent Sites of Interest', from Alexander Svoboda, *The Seven Churches of Asia: with Twenty Full-Page Photographs Taken on the Spot, Historical Notes, and Itinerary*, London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston 1869, advertisement section. Image courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library, classmark Photo DS48.S8.



Figure 5. Alexander Svoboda, *Sardis*, albumen print from collodion-on-glass negative, 14.0 cm × 26.0 cm, 1860s. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (92.R.84).

photographs published in the *Seven Churches of Asia* or can be matched to descriptions of photographs from the list included in the advertisement. The GRI's photographs of Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Magnesia ad Sipylus are identical in appearance to the photographs in the book, and must have been printed from the same negative.

Due to their size and appearance, it is clear that the twelve photographs which measure 11 inches × 9 inches in size must have been sold by Svoboda or his publishers as part of the expanded set of photographs advertised at the end of his book. I argue that the seven smaller photographs were also a part of this project. All seven are identical to one another in terms of size and paper, which indicates that they came from the same set. Six photographs – images of Laodicea, Philadelphia, Sardis, Magnesia ad Sipylus, Thyatira, and Pergamon – can be matched exactly to photographs from Svoboda's book. It is only the photograph of Magnesia on the Meander that does not replicate a photograph from the book, but this can be reconciled with the list of advertised photographs. It is highly probable that Svoboda also sold smaller versions of the photographs in addition to the large size advertised in the book in order to capture a larger market, and that the photograph of Magnesia on the Meander was part of one of a Seven Churches set.

Short articles published by *The Art Journal* and *Littell's Living Age* reinforce the important role that these additional photographs played in Svoboda's project on the Seven Churches.¹⁶ The notices, which came out before Svoboda's book was published, state that Svoboda had exhibited fifty photographs of the Seven Churches cities and other archaeological sites at the Arundel Society in London. They advertise the upcoming book and accompanying set of photographs, emphasising that the photographic sets were an integral part of Svoboda's marketing and publication plan. The notice in *Littell's Living Age* even mentions specifically that a photograph of Magnesia on the Meander was on display.

In addition, in its review of the photographs on display, *The Art Journal* argued that Svoboda had made a major contribution not only to the field of Biblical studies, but also to art and archaeology. Svoboda, with his book and

16 – 'Photographs from the Seven Churches of Asia', 29; and 'The Seven Churches of Asia', *Littell's Living Age*, 98 (1868), 83.

exhibition at the Arundel Society, which was dedicated to the study and preservation of classical and Renaissance art, was clearly attempting to appeal to an English-speaking audience with an interest in the art of the ancient world that extended beyond religious studies. Why, however, was a photograph of Magnesia on the Meander included in the project, and why was so much space dedicated to the site in the book's text given that it had not previously featured in studies of the Seven Churches? The answer can be found by examining the archaeological history of Magnesia in the nineteenth century. Svoboda was heavily influenced by the brief excavation campaigns that took place at the site in the 1840s and its reputation among scholars of classical art. Scholars and artists were clearly aware of the site and its archaeological remains, but their understanding of the site was minimal. Svoboda's photograph and description fulfilled western audiences' desire for knowledge about the site.

Exploration and Excavation at Magnesia on the Meander

Scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were familiar with the city of Magnesia from ancient textual descriptions, including those of Vitruvius, Strabo, and Pliny. The city played an important role in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods and was praised for the beauty of its most important temple, dedicated to Artemis and designed by the famous architect Hermogenes. However, the actual location of Magnesia was unknown until 1803.¹⁷ A British traveller, William Richard Hamilton, visited ruins located near the modern town of Inekbazar and correctly perceived, based on similarities between the ruins and ancient descriptions of Magnesia and its temple, that this site was Magnesia.¹⁸ Inekbazar had been visited by European travellers, but none had made the connection.¹⁹ A number of eighteenth-century travellers to Asia Minor, including Paul Lucas, Richard Pococke, and Richard Chandler, had discussed the site of Magnesia and its famous temple in their texts. However, they had incorrectly identified the site as lying beneath the modern town of Güzel Hissar.²⁰

After the correct identification of the ruins, Magnesia became a regular stop on the itineraries of western travellers as they searched for the remains of Hermogenes's temple. One of these explorers was Charles Texier, who travelled in Asia Minor with the financial support of the French government between 1833 and 1837 in order to record the known classical sites in the region. He became particularly interested in Magnesia, and on his return to France he convinced the French authorities to support an archaeological mission to the site with himself as project director. In his letters to the French ministers, Texier stated that the main goal of the expedition was to exhume and recover the frieze blocks of the Temple of Artemis. Texier's team began work at Magnesia in the fall of 1842, after receiving a *firman* from the governor of Izmir, Salih Pasha.²¹ However, they were forced to abandon work at the site after eight months due to high water levels, marshy grounds, and the outbreak of a fatal disease among the crew. Before they left, the team was able to remove forty-one blocks of the temple's continuous frieze and ship these to Paris.

In addition, Texier published a multivolume text that recorded his travels through Asia Minor entitled *Description de l'Asie Mineure, faite par ordre du gouvernement français de 1833 à 1837*. In the third volume of the book, Texier dedicated extensive space to Magnesia, including an account of his excavations. He details all of the preparation needed for the excavations, including letters to French and Ottoman authorities, and gives an overview of the process of excavation and the recovery of the frieze blocks. Moreover, using the notes and drawings of two scholars who had worked with Texier at Magnesia, the architect Jacques Clerger and the archaeologist and artist Frédéric de Clarac, the French scholar Desiré Raoul-Rochette published two articles in the *Journal des Savants* in 1845, which detailed the site and the excavations.²² Unfortunately, no images of the site or the

17 – Travellers to Asia Minor in the eighteenth century incorrectly identified the site of Magnesia as lying underneath the modern town of Güzel Hissar. See Paul Lucas, *Voyage Du Sieur Paul*, Paris: Jean François Josse 1724; Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some other Countries*, London: John Pinkerton 1743–45; and Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society of Dilettanti*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1775.

18 – Hamilton never published his theory that Inekbazar was ancient Magnesia. This theory, attributed to Hamilton, appeared in print for the first time in William Martin Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, London: J. Murray 1824, 242–49. See also William John Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia: With some Account of their Antiquities and Geology*, vol. 1, London: John Murray 1842, 535.

19 – Johannes Aegidius Van Egmont and John Heyman, *Travels through Parts of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, etc.*, London: L. Davis and C. Reymers 1759, 127–29.

20 – Today, the town of Güzel Hissar is known as Aydin. Scholars have decisively concluded that Aydin lies on the site of ancient Tralles. Each of these eighteenth-century writers discussed here travelled through Asia Minor to record the ruins of ancient sites and each published an account of his journey. See Lucas, *Voyage Du Sieur Paul Lucas*; Pococke, *A Description of the East*; and Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*.

21 – Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, vol. 3, 33–112.

22 – Desiré Raoul-Rochette, 'Considérations archéologiques et architectoniques sur le temple de Diane Leucophryne, récemment découvert à Magnésie du Mèandre, premier article', *Journal des Savants* (Octobre 1845), 577–86; and Desiré Raoul-Rochette, 'Considérations archéologiques et architectoniques sur le temple de Diane Leucophryne, récemment découvert à Magnésie du Mèandre, deuxième et dernier article', *Journal des Savants* (Novembre 1845), 641–45.

sculptured frieze from the Temple of Artemis appeared in either Texier's text or the journal articles. It is stated in Texier's volume that a separate publication on Magnesia, which would include detailed drawings, was intended, but this never appeared. With these publications, the site of Magnesia became better known in the archaeological community, but images of the site were not yet widely distributed.

Svoboda was clearly aware of Texier's campaigns at Magnesia, as the Frenchman and his work are discussed in Svoboda's description of the site and its history.²³ The hypothesis that the ruins of Magnesia were well known to the scholarly community, and to Svoboda in particular, is strengthened by a letter published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. In 1871, the journal published the proceedings of their 1866 meeting in New Haven, Connecticut, USA. Letters from various members abroad were quoted, and one from a member in Izmir, Hyde Clarke, mentions Svoboda.²⁴ The letter describes Svoboda's photographic endeavours, highlighting those at Ephesos, and states that Clarke strongly wanted Svoboda to photograph Magnesia on the Meander. It is likely, therefore, that Svoboda's decision to travel to Magnesia partially originated with Clarke. Svoboda's photographs were frequently undertaken on commission; the meeting proceedings even mention that a number of his photographs of Ephesos were a commission for an architect from the British Museum. Even if his trip to Magnesia was not a direct commission, this request from a colleague would have encouraged his work there, while his own knowledge of the site's significance and its recent explorations would have strengthened his resolve.

When Svoboda's photograph of Magnesia is placed within this context, its importance becomes even clearer. While Magnesia did not see active excavations in the 1860s, it was clearly well known as an important site within the scholarly community. By taking one of the earliest photographs of the site, Svoboda addressed the desire of scholars to know more about the site, and promoted Magnesia and its ruins to a greater extent than it had been since Texier's excavations twenty years earlier.

By including his photograph of Magnesia in his project on the Seven Churches, Svoboda ensured that the site would see greater exposure not only in scholarly circles, which were actively clamouring for more information on the site, but also among a more general audience. In addition, by placing Magnesia within the already established canon of the Seven Churches of Asia, he legitimised interest in the site to a broad cross-section of academic and popular audiences. His photograph of Magnesia's ruins made it a place of interest in both the Biblical and archaeological imaginations.

Photographing Antiquity

The medium of photography provided a unique method for Svoboda to complete this task. Archaeological monuments and sites had been seen as possible subjects for photographers since the invention of the medium. Even before its invention, there had long been an interest in Western Europe in the remnants of the ancient past, notably those of the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian civilisations. Many western Europeans saw themselves as the true inheritors of the ancient past and defined their own national identities in relation to the ancient peoples, whose centres of civilisations lay outside the borders of these European states. This definition of cultural heritage was accomplished through the study of the ancient past, collection of classical art, the exploration of ancient ruins, and the publication of their remnants.

Beginning in the seventeenth century with the work of authors such as Jacob Spon and George Wheler, a number of books were published in Europe that focused on the ruins of ancient civilisations.²⁵ These books were, for the most part, travelogues for the antiquarian who was unable to make the arduous journey

23 – Svoboda, *Seven Churches of Asia*, 22.

24 – 'Proceedings at New Haven', viii–ix.

25 – Jacob Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Amsterdam: Chez Henry & Theodore Boom 1679; and George Wheler, *Journey to Greece*, London: William Cademan, Robert Kettlewell, and Awncsham Churchill 1682.

east to see the antiquities in person. In the eighteenth century, as travel became easier, the number of similar volumes increased. Illustrations became an important part of these books, offering romantic views of ruined classical monuments decaying gracefully. Audiences devoured Giovanni Battista Piranesi's etchings of the ruins of Rome and the picturesque visions of Greece in Julien-David Le Roy's *Le Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*.²⁶ Illustrations were even more important in the academically rigorous examinations of antiquities that appeared at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. These publications included both the incredibly ambitious *Description de l'Égypte*, commissioned by the French government under Napoleon, and the smaller-scale *The Antiquities of Athens*, which was written by James Stewart and Nicholas Revett and commissioned by the London-based Society of Dilettanti.²⁷ The express goal of these multivolume projects was not only to provide scientific records of antiquities (and, in the case of the *Description*, of both the human and natural histories of ancient and modern Egypt), but also to provide an educational resource. Detailed and accurate drawings were an integral part of these projects, and these pictorial representations were in high demand in both scholarly and popular circles in Europe.

From the 1840s and onwards throughout the century, photography became a supplement, and in some cases a replacement, for such drawings. Egypt, the Holy Land, Italy, and Greece (especially Athens) became popular destinations for photographers. Photographic images of ruins were now produced for popular consumption.²⁸ However, the ruins of Asia Minor saw much less exposure. While a number of photographers were operating in the Ottoman Empire at the time, most dedicated their attention to post-classical scenes.²⁹ Svoboda's photographs from the region therefore filled a gap; his work exposed these sites to a western audience more than ever before, and by giving them visual form made them seem more tangible and accessible than a written description alone could have achieved.

An important predecessor for Svoboda's work in the region, however, can be found in Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey. An early adopter of the daguerreotype method, Girault de Prangey travelled throughout Greece, Asia Minor, the Near East, and Egypt for three years between 1842 and 1845 and produced over eight hundred daguerreotypes of ancient monuments. While his work included a number of lesser-known sites in Asia Minor like Euromos, to the best of my knowledge he did not produce any images of Magnesia. Girault de Prangey's work was relatively unknown until within the past twenty years.³⁰ While Svoboda managed to reach a modest audience through his sales of photographs and his book, Girault de Prangey's images of ancient sites were mainly kept private until the end of the twentieth century. Girault de Prangey's daguerreotypes have been an invaluable source of information for modern scholars who seek to understand how these sites and buildings looked in the period, but they appear not to have been utilised by nineteenth-century scholars. Girault de Prangey's work indicates that Europeans were indeed interested in the classical sites of Asia Minor, but since he did not disseminate his images to the public, he did not influence how the sites were viewed and understood by either contemporary tourists or scholars.

Svoboda's photographic exploits in the 1860s came at a watershed moment in the history of the medium. It was in this decade that Svoboda and his contemporaries, through their work in Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, and Egypt, firmly proved the value and usefulness of photography in archaeological and art historical study. As the daguerreotype gave way to new photographic technologies, the possibilities for the application of the medium had become reality. Photographic prints were cheaper and easier to obtain than they had been previously and their usefulness was established and accepted by a wide audience.³¹ Photographs were valuable in the recording and dissemination of knowledge of the ancient past, but they could

26 – Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* (1758), Los Angeles: Getty Publications 2004; and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *The Complete Etchings*, Cologne: Taschen 2000.

27 – Joanna Pillsbury, 'Perspectives: Representing the Pre-Columbian past', in *Past Presented: Archaeological Illustration and the Ancient Americas*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2012, 1–48. While it focuses on Pre-Columbian archaeological illustration, this article provides a good overview of the history of archaeological illustration. For Stewart and Revett, see Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England*, Los Angeles: Getty Publications 2008, 44–82. For the *Description*, see *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt: The Monuments and Customs of Egypt*, ed. Terence M. Russell, Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2001.

28 – For a history of the representation of antiquities in photography, see Frederick N. Bohrer, *Photography and Archaeology*, London: Reaktion 2011; Claire L. Lyons, John K. Papadopoulos, Lindsey S. Stewart and Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, *Antiquity and Photography*, Los Angeles: Getty Publications 2005; Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, 3rd edn, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall 2011, 46–57; and *The Creative Photograph in Archaeology*, ed. Costas Antoniadis, Athens: Benaki Museum 2008.

29 – For a history of Ottoman photography, see Perez, *Focus East*; Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire*; Michelle L. Woodward, 'Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in the Late Ottoman Empire', *History of Photography*, 27:4 (Winter 2003), 363–74; and Wendy M. K. Shaw, 'Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: An "Innocent" Modernism?', *History of Photography*, 33:1 (February 2009), 80–93.

30 – Lindsey S. Stewart, 'In Perfect Order: Antiquity in the Daguerreotypes of Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey', in Claire L. Lyons, John K. Papadopoulos, Lindsey S. Stewart and Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, *Antiquity and Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites*, Los Angeles: Getty Publications 2005, 66–91.

31 – Marien, *Photography*, 76–161.

also be romantic vistas of once great, but now ruined societies and monuments for armchair travellers or souvenirs for adventurers on their grand tour.

By placing his photographs within a religious context, specifically that of the Seven Churches, Svoboda gained an even larger audience. His book appealed to classical scholars, tourists, and students of the Bible. Magnesia was seen as part of the western heritage through connections with the Christian tradition of the Seven Churches and the classical past. By providing explicit instructions on how to include the site of Magnesia on the Meander with a trip to the Seven Churches, he made it both a site of academic interest and a site of pilgrimage.

German Excavations at Magnesia

After Svoboda, travellers visited Magnesia in greater numbers, and the site appears in the notes of a number of different archaeological and classical publications between 1860 and 1890. It was not until the 1890s, however, that Magnesia saw its next major photographic campaign. From 1890 to 1893, the site was excavated by a German archaeological team under the leadership of Carl Humann, the foreign director of the Royal Museum in Berlin. These excavations included the most important and thorough photographic recording of the site of Magnesia until the end of the twentieth century. The medium of photography played a key role in both the physical excavation campaign and the process that the German team used to record their finds. The photographs that survive from these excavations tell a different story than that constructed by Svoboda in his work on Magnesia and the Seven Churches. The religious context of Svoboda's investigations was removed, and the German excavators approached the site from a standpoint of scholarly investigation. Yet, in many ways, the clinical, scientific approach to the site found in the text of the excavation's official publication and in the volume's photographs of individual architectural elements is paralleled by a sense of romantic exploration that pervades many of their photographs of the site and its excavators. It is these photographs that show the influence of Svoboda and his photographic endeavours in Asia Minor. The Biblical imagination constructed by Svoboda has been replaced by the archaeological imagination.

The impetus for the German excavations at Magnesia came in 1887, when Walther Judeich and Franz Winter undertook a comprehensive exploration of the site. While there, they discovered a large number of previously unknown sculpted blocks that were originally part of the frieze of the Temple of Artemis. They contacted Humann in his official capacity at the Royal Museum, and this correspondence sparked in Humann an immediate response, speaking both to the importance of their find and the growing reputation of Magnesia in scholarly circles.³² While the inclusion of Magnesia within the religious context of the Seven Churches had exposed the site to a wide audience, and brought it to the attention of both scholars and those with a more casual interest, Humann and his colleagues now framed their interest in the site in purely academic terms.

After Humann received the letter from Judeich and Winter, he travelled to Magnesia at once and lobbied the Ottoman authorities to allow the Germans to begin systematic excavations and export the finds to Berlin. Humann also tried to rally support among his German colleagues, and proposed that Wilhelm Dörpfeld, a famous German archaeologist who had worked with Humann at Pergamon, should co-direct the Magnesia campaign.³³ In the meantime, Humann had also written a letter to his French counterpart, Charles Champoiseau, describing the nature of the finds at Magnesia. Champoiseau became determined to acquire the frieze blocks for France and campaigned Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople (now the Istanbul Archaeological Museum), for their purchase.³⁴ Champoiseau and Humann were unsuccessful in their quests to purchase the sculpture, however, and Hamdi had the frieze blocks removed to the Imperial Museum that same year.³⁵

32 – Antoine Héron de Villefosse, 'Fragments de la frise du temple de Magnésie du Méandre: nouvellement découverts', *Revue archéologique*, 10 (1887), 257–58; and Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin: Spemann 1900, iii.

33 – A letter, 'Athen 11.9.1887 Nr. 9' in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, preserves part of the correspondence between Dörpfeld and Humann on Magnesia. In the letter, dated 1887, it is proposed that the two archaeologists work together at Magnesia. Another letter in their archives from 1887, numbered 'Berlin 9.9.87 Nr. 37', indicates that Dörpfeld was considering the proposal. However, due to the intervention of Osman Hamdi Bey, German excavations did not begin in 1887, and Dörpfeld pursued other projects.

34 – A brief account of the attempts by the French and the Germans to gain the Magnesia frieze blocks in 1887 is provided in Alain Davesne, *La frise du temple d'Artémis à Magnésie du Méandre: catalogue des fragments du Musée du Louvre*, Paris: A.D.P.F. 1982, 10. Charles Champoiseau was a French consul to the Ottoman Empire and an amateur archaeologist. He was one of the main actors in the discovery of the Nike of Samothrace and its removal to Paris.

35 – Davesne, *La frise du temple d'Artémis*, 10–11.

Despite the loss of the frieze blocks, the German Archaeological Institute in Athens and the Royal Museum in Berlin decided to support full excavations at Magnesia between 1890 and 1893. In the autumn of 1890, with the partial support of the German Archaeological Institute, Otto Kern and Friedrich Hiller von Gärtringen began archaeological excavations at Magnesia. They started with the Temple of Artemis in search of more frieze blocks. However, in December 1890, von Gärtringen decided instead to dedicate his energies to uncovering the city's theatre. He paid for the entire operation out of his own pocket and worked on the project non-stop until July 1891.³⁶

In March 1891, based on the success of the previous year's campaigns, the Royal Museum in Berlin decided to fully support excavations at Magnesia. Humann was appointed as the director, Kern was brought back to oversee work on the inscriptions, and Rudolf Heyne was appointed as the excavation's architect. Although Dörpfeld was recruited again by Humann and even spent a week at the site in 1891, he decided ultimately not to participate in the campaigns.³⁷ While Humann's name gave prestige to the excavations due to his successes at Pergamon, excavation diaries now in the collection of the Altes Museum in Berlin make it clear that Kern and Heyne were the ones on site everyday overseeing the daily tasks associated with the dig. Humann lived in Izmir, and while he visited the site regularly, much of his time was spent in political and bureaucratic tasks, garnering support for the excavations both in Ottoman and German circles.

The team that stayed at Magnesia focused their work on the precinct of the Temple of Artemis, the agora, the Temple of Zeus Soispolis, and the prytaneion. The excavators worked for most of the year, with only two breaks: one between July and September because of the heat and lack of water, and the other between the end of December and March due to flooding. The rain and floods that plagued Texier's campaigns at Magnesia also made the more systematic work of the German team difficult during the winter months.³⁸ By the end of the campaign in July 1893, the team had spent 630 days (twenty-one months) digging and had revealed large chunks of the site which had been hidden for centuries. The excavations cost the Royal Museum the large sum of between 13,000 and 17,000 Turkish Lira per year.³⁹ They were eventually forced to leave the site in December 1893 due to a variety of factors: the team had run out of money, the flooding and poor soil made excavations difficult, and, finally, Humann was ill. However, the publication that was written to record the excavations and the photographs that were produced at the site left a lasting legacy.

The excavation publication, *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1891–1893*, was published by the Royal Museum of Berlin in 1904. With this text and its photographs, Magnesia became an established part of classical archaeological study and thought. The large-format volume provides a comprehensive overview of the site of Magnesia and the work undertaken there by the German team. In addition to an overview of the excavation process, the book's two main sections are dedicated to detailed examinations of the architectural and sculptural elements found at the site. The writers attempt to recreate the original appearance of most of the important buildings in the ancient town, including notably the Temple of Artemis.

It is clear that this publication, with its usage of technical language and tone, unlike Svoboda's *Seven Churches of Asia*, was aimed at a scholarly audience well versed in classical architecture and archaeological practice. Within this framework, photography became an important medium to record objects found during the excavation in detail and preserve them for future study. While the last section of the book is dedicated to large-scale images, drawings and photographs appear throughout the text. These images consist of maps, drawings of sculptural elements, and photographs of various sculptures and sculptural fragments found on site and now installed in the Royal Museum in Berlin. Many of the images are

36 – Adolf Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, trans. Bettina Kahnweiler, London: John Murray 1908, 180–81. Letter 'Berlin 31.12.90. Nr. 124' in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens records von Gärtringen's donation of 3,000 Marks to the Magnesia campaign.

37 – Letter 'Athen 20.5.91 Nr. 53' in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens describes Dörpfeld's week at Magnesia.

38 – The Altes Museum in Berlin holds the original excavation records for the German campaign at Magnesia. Included in these records are a series of diaries (*Tagesbücher*) that record the daily activities of the excavators. The weather is given at the beginning of each entry in addition to the work done and the objects found. The months between December and February are regularly plagued with bad weather. The entry for 25 December 1892 simply states that it was a rainy day and no work was done, while the entry for 18 January 1893 states that there was significant flooding. The water level on the road is recorded as 1.5 metres. I am grateful to Volkner Kästner for allowing me access to these materials.

39 – For comparison, Orhan Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander: An Archaeological Guide*, Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi 2007, indicates that Osman Hamdi Bey's salary was 80 Turkish Lira per year. For a full account of the excavations, see Carl Humann et al., *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1891–1893*, Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1904. For briefer descriptions, see Michaelis, *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, 180–81; Bingöl, *Magnesia on the Meander*, 45–47; and Friedrich Karl and Eleonore Dörner, *Von Pergamon zum Nemrud Dağ: Die archäologischen Entdeckungen Carl Humanns*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern 1989, 309–11.

technical photographs that record the objects in detail and in isolation against plain backgrounds.

Photography is used in a similar manner in the excavation journal now in the Altes Museum, which catalogues all of the sculptural elements from the Temple of Artemis that were found on site. For each entry, the textual description is accompanied by a photograph of the block *in situ* after it was unearthed. These photographs serve as a visual record that supports the German team's goal to catalogue accurately and meticulously all archaeological material recovered for future study. Photography is utilised here as one tool in an archaeologist's arsenal.

This usage of the medium of photography as an objective lens to record objects recovered in archaeological excavations was becoming a common practice in the late nineteenth century. As the discipline of archaeology reshaped itself from the purview of antiquarians and dilettantes to a scientific practice, photography was seen as a necessary part of this process.⁴⁰ Scientific archaeology was constructed both as a logical, systematic approach to the actual process of digging (creating trenches, establishing stratigraphy, and so on), and also as the conscientious recording of every trace of human society that was removed from the ground in a logical and comprehensive manner. Photography was viewed by archaeologists as transparent and unemotional, and so the perfect medium to complement the scientific work of Humann and his team at Magnesia.

However, many of the photographs scattered throughout the publication provide a counterpoint to these technical images with their romantic rather than scholarly tone. These photographs, taken during excavations, record the site and its workers. In many of these photographs, the excavation principals – Humann, Heyne, and Kern – stand in dignified poses among the uncovered architectural elements, while in others local workman struggle to move dirt or stone or simply give human scale to the images. One of the most striking photographs from the volume shows Humann standing among the ruins of the Temple of Artemis (figure 6).⁴¹ The archaeologist wears a European-style suit and leans against a large marble block that was once a part of the building's structure. He faces away from the camera and looks off into the distance. The photograph is labelled simply as *Blick auf die Cella des Artemisions* (View of the Temple of Artemis) without any mention of Humann. The caption's dry, scholarly tone, however, is undermined by the photograph itself, which captures the reader's imagination and casts the archaeologist as adventurer. Another photograph from the book depicts a local workman standing against one edge of a trench (figure 7). The image is again given a basic caption, *Sturzfeld der Südhalle der Agora, von Osten gesehen* (Ruins of the South Hall of Agora, seen from the east).⁴² Yet the visual imagery is quite evocative. The trench is filled with dozens of sections of fluted columns, which stretch into the background. The human figure is dwarfed by both the large size of the trench, which indicates the scale of the excavations, and the implied grandeur of the building that these columns once adorned.

Ostensibly, these photographs are intended to record the process of excavation and provide visual support for the information discussed in the text. Yet they reveal a sense of adventure that echoes Svoboda's work on Magnesia and the Seven Churches. The romanticism of these images indicates that the thrill of discovery was still a key motivating factor for both the excavators and those who bought the publication. The inclusion of these peopled photographs makes the excavations both more personal and more relatable. It was for similar reasons that Svoboda included a suggested itinerary for visiting the Seven Churches sites, and even related his own experiences travelling through the region. Both the intended audience and the authors of the Magnesia text were still driven by a sense of curiosity and adventure, rather than simply an academic quest for knowledge. In the 1890s, the discipline of archaeology was a field that looked forward by embracing scientific methods, but was also informed by the romantic visions of previous writers and adventurers like Svoboda.⁴³ The photographs record this moment in history as the discipline transitioned from the purview of travellers and antiquarians to a professional vocation.

40 – Bohrer, *Photography and Archaeology*, 51–55.

41 – Humann et al., *Magnesia am Maeander*, 73.

42 – *Ibid.*, 108.

43 – The usage of photography both to record objects found during excavations and also the process of excavation itself was typical of many archaeological endeavours undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For an examination of the usage of photography during archaeological excavations and how it reflects the motivations of the excavators, see J. A. Baird, 'Photographing Dura-Europos, 1928–1937: An Archaeology of the Archive', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 115 (2011), 427–46; and Sudeshna Guha, 'The Visual in Archaeology: Photographic Representation of Archaeological Practice in British India', *Antiquity*, 76 (2002), 93–100.



Figure 6. Unknown photographer, *Blick auf die Cella des Artemisions* (View of the Temple of Artemis), 1891–93. From Carl Humann et al., *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der 1891–1893*, Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1904, 73. Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley, f DF221.M3 H8.

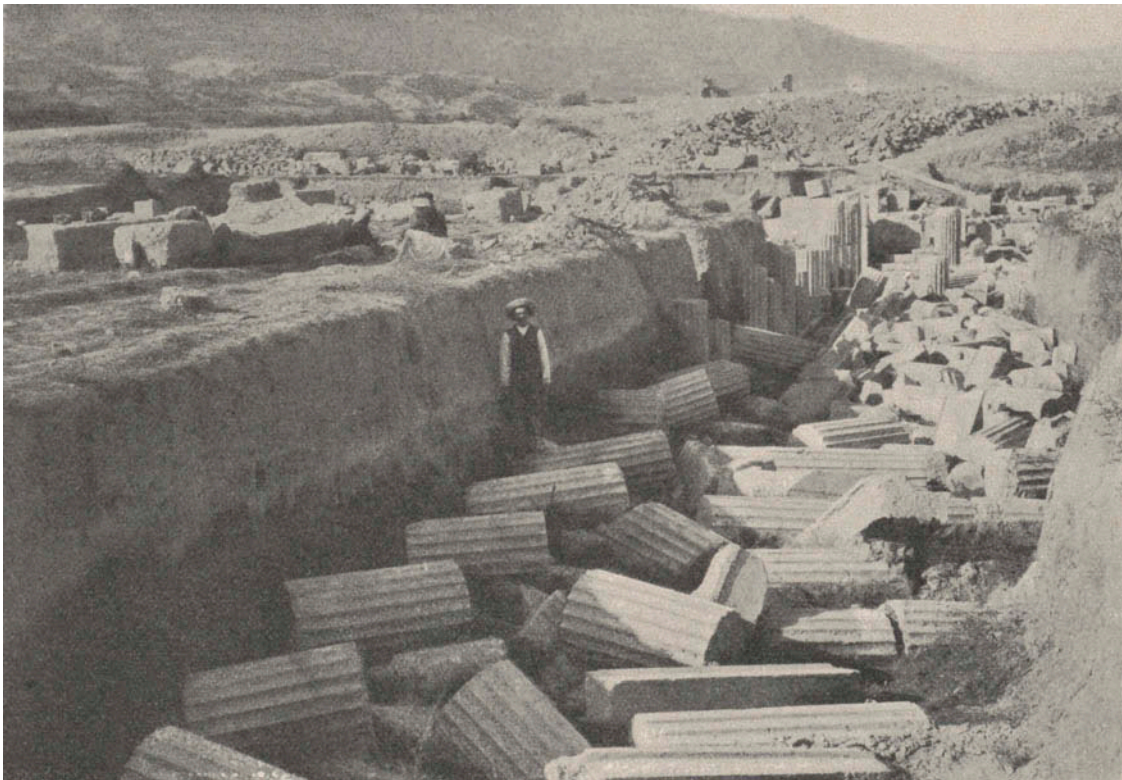


Figure 7. Unknown photographer, *Sturzfeld der Südhalle der Agora, von Osten gesehen* (Ruins of the South Hall of Agora, seen from the east), 1891–93. From Carl Humann et al., *Magnesia am Maeander: Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der 1891–1893*, Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1904, 108. Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley, f DF221.M3 H8.

The German excavators employed photography not only to record their finds and the archaeological process, but also to create and convey a constructed narrative of the excavations and the individuals who made them happen.

Supporting this viewpoint, the majority of the preserved unpublished photographs from the excavation are peopled and focus on the excavation and excavators. The photographs published in *Magnesia am Maeander* are only a sample of the original photographs that were taken on-site. Prints of photographs from the excavations are now housed in the Altes Museum in Berlin and in the Athens and Istanbul branches of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. These sets of large black-and-white images include copies of each of the peopled photographs from the book, as well as additional, unpublished photographs. It is clear that photography played an important role in the German team's documentation of the site and also in their dissemination of knowledge. Yet it is the photographs of the actual process of excavation and the people who participated in it that have had the most lasting impact. For the excavators who took and compiled the photographs, the archivists who preserved them, and the scholars who continue to study the site, it is these photographs that spark the imagination. These photographs highlight the dual nature of photography as used by the German excavation team and their intended audience. It was both a scientific tool and a method to communicate a narrative of the wonder of archaeological discovery.

Conclusion

On the surface, the photographs of Magnesia produced by the German team during their excavations are radically different from the image produced by Svoboda thirty years earlier. While the Magnesia of Svoboda's image is an overgrown, abandoned ruin with no obvious remains of the classical city, the Magnesia of the German excavation photographs is populated by a large number of gleaming white architectural elements dating to the classical period. It is a clear documentation of how drastically Magnesia changed over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. Magnesia was no longer an interesting, yet largely unknown, classical site. It was now the focus of intense scholarly investigation and was becoming better known in larger public circles. Magnesia was now part of the canon of classical archaeology, which was not the case when Svoboda visited the site. Yet Svoboda's photograph and those of the Germans do share similarities in tone and approach. These images are inherently romanticised visions of classical antiquity and archaeology as a site of ruin. The Magnesia of the German photographs is still a shell of its ancient appearance; it is simply that more of those ruins are now exposed. While Svoboda's image contrasts the ruins to their surrounding landscape, the German images contrast the ancient marble to the modern excavators who appear in the photographs. In all of these images, the ancient past is removed from the modern world, but the modern medium of photography exposes and illuminates the classical ruins to a larger and more diverse audience than had ever before been possible.

While the photographic campaigns of Svoboda and the German team were only thirty years apart, the changes in the fields of archaeology and photography in terms of technology, knowledge, and methodology were significant during this period. These changes can be seen in the German expedition's use of photographs as a visual record and their conception of the medium as a technical tool. Notably, the sheer number of photographs they produced, both of archaeological objects and scenes of workers, speak to this emphasis on photography as part of scientific archaeological methods. Yet the photographic interventions of Svoboda and the German team showcase a tension between the subjective and objective aspects of photography. Both utilised the medium of photography to convey information about the past and its ruins, while at the same time framing this knowledge within their own romantic narratives of archaeological exploration. Both photographic campaigns cast Magnesia as a site of pilgrimage, but assume different motivations for that pilgrimage: one religious, the other scholarly.