

THE TRAVELS OF EDWARD FALKENER: A VICTORIAN ARCHITECT IN OTTOMAN ANATOLIA

Sebastian Marshall 

University of St Andrews, St Andrews, KY16 9AL, UK. Email: sam66@st-andrews.ac.uk

In recent scholarship on the Ottoman Mediterranean, it has become commonplace to challenge narratives of heroic discovery and cultural superiority expounded in publications by European travellers. Rather than taking a polished, published account as its starting point, this paper discusses the travels of Edward Falkener (1814–96), a lesser-known Victorian architect and writer whose extensive tour around Anatolia (1844–5) was never communicated to a broader audience. If Falkener is remembered today, it is usually as the author of the first anglophone monograph on ancient Ephesus and editor of the first British academic journal devoted to classical art and architecture. This paper reviews Falkener’s career, but instead of these publications, the focus is on his remarkable personal archive of diaries, sketchbooks, watercolours, contracts and notes for an incomplete book about his tour of Anatolia. Drawing on this collection, it explores his fluctuating interests in heritage from different periods of Anatolia’s history and well-documented interactions with a variety of local actors who helped or hindered his meandering tour. Representing the first attempt to study Falkener’s journey, this paper explores the utility of his archive for understanding the challenges and contingencies of Victorian travel in the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Anatolia; nineteenth-century travel; Classical reception; history of archaeology; history of architecture

INTRODUCTION

For the archaeologist and the scholar of Ottoman history alike, the European travel account remains a ubiquitous source, its pitfalls and prejudices as familiar as its suggestive evidential value. While it has become commonplace to challenge narratives of heroic discovery and cultural superiority expounded by European visitors, these sources continue to fascinate scholars and non-specialists alike, and remain vibrant assets for understanding cross-cultural encounters, discourses of travel and the contested value of heritage.¹ Amid these well-trodden paths of scholarship, this study takes a turn into the history of architecture and antiquarianism to foist Edward Falkener (1814–96), a largely unknown

1. For illustrative approaches for an academic and broader audience, see Fraser [2017](#) and Aslan [2022](#). Petsalis-Diomidis [2024](#) collects a valuable range of approaches to uncover ‘diversity, marginalised perspectives and small-scale, intimate engagements with the landscape, people and material past’ in Ottoman travel narratives.

traveller, to prominence. If Falkener is recalled today, it is usually as the author of the earliest anglophone monograph about Ephesus and editor of the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, the first British journal devoted to classical architecture.² This paper reviews Falkener's output, but instead of these polished, published works, it offers a route into his remarkable personal archive of sketches, papers and notes for a book based on his fourteen-month tour of Anatolia, which never made it past an outline draft.

Far from a triumphal public-facing account, Falkener's private records illustrate his circuitous journey from Aleppo to Istanbul from March 1844 to May 1845 in all its contingency and complexity. Scholars frequently draw attention to the travail that underpinned travel in Ottoman Anatolia during the nineteenth century,³ but the unusual degree of detail and multimedia variety of the records in Falkener's personal archive gives breadth and behind-the-scenes depth into the highs and lows of a career-defining journey. By training an architect and by vocation a scholar, Falkener's relative obscurity today may be explained by the exigencies of his career. Across his life he produced a prodigious number of drawings and watercolours, wrote several books and a large number of articles, was decorated for his work and eventually was elected an honorary fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in recognition of his achievements.⁴ Nevertheless, he lacked the means to reach a broader public with his published work, and disseminated only select parts of his Anatolian tour. After his death, his neglect may also be connected to his unpublished papers' low profile,⁵ although they have been preserved with assiduous care by his descendants.⁶ This article draws deeply from this rich body of material and owes much to the kindness and assistance of the present owners of the collection.⁷ The sole focus on Falkener may be justified by the great unexploited potential of this archive and indeed the more general lessons it teaches: about the multiple actors who made travel in Ottoman

2. For brief mentions of Falkener's classical periodical, see Stray 1997, 204; Aitchison and Ward 2004; Nichols 2015, 126. For a compilation of the issues of the *Museum*, see Falkener 1860b. For *Ephesus*, see Falkener 1862. Other publications on antiquarian topics include Falkener 1854, Falkener 1860a, 1861, 1892.
3. On the trope of the struggle of Turkish travel, whether genuine or inflated to aggrandise the traveller, see Schiffer 1999, 64–81; Duggan 2018, 286–91; Greenhalgh 2019, 13–14.
4. In 1855 Falkener won a Grande Medaille d'honneur at the Paris Exposition Universelle for his designs, and in 1859 he was made a knight of the Dannebrog for studies of the Danish Royal Castle that allowed it to be reconstructed after a fire. In 1861 the king of Prussia awarded him a gold medal for his archaeological scholarship. He became a member of the Academy of Bologna and the Archaeological Institute of Rome and Berlin. In 1895 he was awarded the RIBA fellowship alongside Frederic Leighton.
5. The British Library holds Falkener's correspondence with William Watkiss-Lloyd, Cambridge University Library holds his letters exchanged with Joseph Bonomi and the National Library of Wales holds some family correspondence. Material pertaining to Falkener's career can be found in the Archives of the RA, RIBA and the British Museum.
6. Exceptions include an exhibition organised by Irving Finkel and Rachel Ward at the British Museum entitled 'Edward Falkener – A Victorian Orientalist' from 16 January to 2 May 1999, which focused on Falkener's contributions to the study of ancient board games and Islamic metalware (see Finkel 1998). Stephen Hall has produced a study of the properties in Gloucestershire and Carmarthenshire where Falkener spent the latter part of his life (Hall 2018).
7. I owe a debt of gratitude to Falkener's descendants, who have shown great generosity and hospitality in allowing me access to their archive and for granting permission to reproduce images for this paper. I also warmly thank Stephen Hall for his guidance to the collection and for sharing his unpublished introduction to Falkener's life titled 'Edward Falkener – his life and significance'.

Anatolia possible; the architectural appeal of the region for a Victorian audience; and the challenges of organising travel records for publication back in Britain.

Born in London and educated at a private school in Kent, Edward was the son of Lyon Falkener, a senior storekeeper at the Tower of London.⁸ Relatively little is known of his early life, aside from the fact that Falkener began producing his own topographical and architectural watercolours in the late 1820s and early 1830s during trips to provincial England, Wales and southern Scotland. Falkener was articled to the architect John Newman, a keen antiquarian collector. In 1836, aged twenty-two, he entered the Royal Academy's (RA) School of Architecture, where he further honed his skills as a watercolourist and draughtsman. Here his talent for painting and drawing was rewarded with the Academy's gold medal for his designs for a cathedral in 1839. At the RA, Falkener was taught by leading lights of architectural classicism, William Wilkins and Charles Robert Cockerell, and seems to have developed a reverence for Greek and Roman culture, which had an important effect on his career. It is also likely that Falkener was influenced by the curatorial climate of his father's profession at the Tower of London, which was a focal point for the collection of antiquities from across Egypt, Greece and the Ottoman Empire.⁹

After completing his architectural training, in 1842 Falkener quit London and embarked on an unusually wide-ranging series of voyages that would last nearly seven years, consecutively visiting Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, Crimea, Istanbul, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Greece, Sicily, Anatolia and mainland Italy, where he excavated the House of Marcus Lucretius at Pompeii.¹⁰ Upon his return to Britain, Falkener built few buildings,¹¹ but devoted much of his career to disseminating his findings from his travels in exhibited pictures, lectures and a wide array of antiquarian publications. It is difficult to determine his source of income that enabled him to embark on such an extended tour, but his letters reveal that his father was a patient supporter of his son's aspirations to travel and become a scholar. It is clear, moreover, that Lyon Falkener had access to an international network of contacts through the Department of Ordnance, who were vital for getting 'letters of introduction' to facilitate his son's journeys.¹²

By far the best documented part of Falkener's wider travels 1842–8 is his tour of Anatolia, made manifest through dozens of extant sketches and watercolours, a fragmentary travel journal, a scrupulously dated itinerary, a series of contracts and letters of introduction and the undated draft 'Preface', 'Introduction' and 'Contents Page' for an abandoned book on the ancient architecture of Asia Minor. Drawing on this material, this paper makes three key arguments about how to approach nineteenth-century travellers in

8. Lyon Falkener was working as a 'packer' for the East India Company when he was approached by the Storekeeper General to join the Department of Ordnance in 1807. For the rest of his career, he worked as a clerk at the Tower, but it is perhaps more appropriate to think of his role as akin to a senior civil servant specialising in the logistics of international transportation.

9. Mercer 2020.

10. The ODNB states that Falkener returned to London in September 1849 (Aitchison and Ward 2004), but extant letters show he initially returned to Britain by the latter half of 1848. In 1849 he travelled abroad again to Italy and was in Brussels during January 1850, following a tour through Germany and Belgium.

11. Falkener was registered to practise from 1850 to 1866 (Franklin *et al* 1993, 300), but his only designs known to have been built in London are some stables in Leytonstone and a block of offices on St Dunstan's Hill.

12. My thanks to Stephen Hall for this information. A series of letters between Edward and his father that survive in the British Museum reveal that Lyon was a patient supporter of his son's aspirations to travel and become a scholar (Greece and Rome Archives).

Ottoman Anatolia. First, Falkener's archive showcases his self-conscious concern, both on his journey and on his return, to capitalise on the records of his travels so that they might stand out amid a competitive Victorian publishing market.¹³ In the event, Falkener was sometimes among the first European travellers to document sites around Anatolia, and for this reason his detailed records of ruins and buildings will continue to be of interest to archaeologists and architectural historians. Nonetheless, his professed goal was to study sites already visited by predecessors who lacked his architectural training. The first section of this paper reconstructs Falkener's route in detail for the first time, while considering his motivations for the journey and keen concern with what had or had not already been communicated to European audiences.

The second section explores these questions further by examining Falkener's rich visual records of his travels. Upon his return to Britain, Falkener mounted, labelled and collated dozens of dated sketches and watercolours in portfolios broadly organised by geographical region and architectural subject matter. These large folios, bound in green and embossed with gold titles, form the core of his archive and serve as a carefully structured memorialisation of his journey.¹⁴ Falkener's skill as a draughtsman comes across powerfully from the images, but also the eclecticism of his interests. Falkener set out with the goal of recording ancient Greek and Roman architecture, and his published persona is that of a determined advocate of classicism.¹⁵ Time and again, however, his search for the authentic 'Hellenic' ruins was complicated by his broader interests in Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman architecture from different periods of Anatolian history. The paper's second argument concerns this difficulty of classifying the interests of travellers. A traveller with the most steadfast interest in antiquity could not but consider heritage from other periods, as the lines between Classicist and Orientalist in Falkener's records readily blur.

The third part of this paper dwells on Falkener's time in Anatolia but considers instead his relationship with people he met. Here his diary and book draft are useful sources for understanding his experiences, positive and negative, of companionship and assistance, robbery and miscommunication. Falkener was abnormal in travelling without any European companions, but typical in his dependency upon a series of dragomen and servants. Somewhat unusually, Falkener's relationship with the latter can be reconstructed through a series of contracts and *firman* documents saved from his travels in his archive, which provide tantalising glimpses of the individuals who made his journey possible. This approach owes a debt to recent scholarship that draws attention to the 'hidden hands' of servants and guides whose contribution was often elided in European travel accounts. Zeynep Çelik's *About Antiquities* epitomises this revisionist approach to the history of archaeology in Ottoman Anatolia, as does Rachel Mairs and Maya Muratov's study of the

13. On 19th-century antiquarian publishing, see Harris and Myers 1999; Keighren *et al* 2015; Thornton 2018.

14. Eight portfolios entitled 'Asia Minor I–VIII' cover his travels in Anatolia; 'Oriental Portfolio A' contains sketches of miscellaneous artefacts; 'Oriental Portfolio B' covers Russia and Crimea; 'C' covers Syria and Lebanon; 'D' is devoted to restorations of a theatre from Asia Minor; further portfolios are devoted respectively to 'Greece', 'Germany', 'Egypt', 'Italian Architecture I–II', 'Sicily' and 'Pompeii'; one maroon hardback book is filled with finished watercolours of Syria, Anatolia and Italy.

15. In a series of pen-portraits in *Retrospections, Social and Archaeological*, an overview of Victorian antiquarianism, Charles Roach Smith praised Falkener's publications for their appeal to 'classical students, to the lovers of the fine arts of ancient Greece and Rome' (1886, 215).

perspectives of the maligned group of interpreters known as dragomen.¹⁶ While Falkener's archive rarely allows a fully developed or unprejudiced view of these individuals, it provides revealing testimony of guides, servants and officials who shaped his travels.

The fourth and final section ties these themes together by turning to Falkener's unfulfilled plans for a book on the architecture of ancient Asia Minor. By way of conclusion, it offers some suggestions as to why the book never came to fruition, as well as considering some of the ways Falkener's project was idiosyncratic and innovative. Given Falkener's active participation in Victorian London's scholarly institutions and strenuous (though not always successful) attempts to publish and exhibit his work, his career presents a fruitful case study for understanding the production and dissemination of images and scholarly texts pertaining to Asia Minor in the mid-nineteenth century. Looking at the archive is rewarding for what we can learn about Anatolian travel and heritage alike. Yet it also provides a salutary reminder of the relationship between the process of collecting material 'on the ground' and the effort to present said material in a competitive publishing market, which may be taken for granted studying the published end-product in isolation.

ROUTES AND RECORDS

Spanning his wider tour from 1842 to 1848, Falkener's archive reveals his interest in a striking range of architectural and artistic subjects, from the towers of the Kremlin to the domestic interiors of Damascus, monumental tombs of Egypt to the churches of Sicily, the colours of Byzantine mosaics to inscribed Islamic metalwork. His motivations for this wider tour that led him to document this profusion of material culture are never made explicit, but it may be assumed that he was broadly following the lead of his teachers at the RA, the architects Wilkins and Cockerell, whose careers had been launched by publications produced following their youthful travels.¹⁷ A growing number of British travellers from the eighteenth century onwards had expanded the traditional western-European Grand Tour route to visit Greece, Egypt and the Levant;¹⁸ yet, Falkener's route to the Mediterranean via the Baltic Sea and cutting overland through Russia to the Black Sea was still unorthodox. Looking beyond architects, the closest parallel is the journey of the self-professed antiquarian Edward Daniel Clarke to Constantinople via Scandinavia and Russia in 1799. Though Falkener does not cite the work, Clarke's account of this route in *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* seems a possible inspiration.¹⁹ Falkener identified himself as an architect, and towards the end of his career was called an archaeologist, but the title of 'antiquary,' which he assumes in some of his publications, reflects this capacious interests in cultures across a wide geographical span.²⁰

The eclecticism of Falkener's records contrasts with his professed explanation for his interest in Anatolia, which he retrospectively framed solely as a quest to seek 'Hellenic' ruins.

16. Mairs and Muratov 2015; Çelik 2016. See also Bahrani *et al* 2011; Tanyeri-Erdemir 2021; Petsalis-Diomidis 2024.

17. On Cockerell's efforts to publish, see Pearce and Ormrod 2017, 101–18; on Wilkins, see Liscombe 1980, 90–109.

18. For useful surveys, see Searight and Wagstaff 2001; Stoneman 2010; Constantine 2011.

19. On Clarke, see König 2024. On travellers in Crimea, see Teissier 2017, and in the Black Sea, Teissier 2024.

20. See, eg, Falkener 1860b, v, and 1862, 2. On the eclecticism associated with the title 'antiquary', see Pearce 2007.

After travelling round the main monumental ruins of Greece between July and September 1843, when he visited Attica, Delphi, Corinth, Argos and Bassai, Falkener spent two weeks on Corfu *en route* to visit more Greek temples at Paestum and in Sicily. In the undated ‘Preface’ of the rough, unpublished draft for a book about buildings studied on his tour of Anatolia, Falkener writes of the happenstance inspiration for modifying his travel plans:

I availed myself of its [the Corfu Garrison’s] valuable library as a recreation during the tedium of the delay. I there perused the researches of Col. Leake, Capt. Beaufort, Rev W Arundell and several earlier travellers in Asia Minor. That country offered as many and sublime specimens of Greek art that I immediately determined to proceed thither after visiting Pæstum and Sicily.²¹

Falkener goes on to explain that staying subsequently in Malta, he read Charles Fellows’ celebrated *Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor*.²² Hearing that Fellows was soon returning to excavate at Xanthus, Falkener’s enthusiasm at the prospect of visiting Anatolia redoubled, and he wrote to Fellows with the intention to visit the site as soon as possible.²³

In his reply, Fellows advised Falkener to travel along Anatolia’s south coast during the winter of 1843 to avoid the malarial season, but delays in Sicily meant the architect did not arrive until Spring. When he eventually reached Xanthus in December 1844, he found that he had missed Fellows by about ten months. Nevertheless, the references to Fellows and predecessors illustrates the lively interest in Anatolia at the time. In 1838 the Treaty of Balta Limani had granted Britain free trade in the Ottoman Empire’s interior, which ushered in a new phase of travel and heralded an era of closer ties between the two imperial powers during the period of modernising, secularising and liberalising reforms known as the Tanzimat (1839–76).²⁴ This accessibility augmented the steady stream of foreign publications about Türkiye that had been appearing since the first half of the nineteenth century, which could prove challenging to keep up with.²⁵ After his period of research on Corfu and Malta in 1843, Falkener admits in the ‘Preface’ that it was not until he reached Smyrna or Izmir in September 1844 – about halfway through his tour of Anatolia – that he read Fellows’ second book of 1841, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia*;²⁶ he did not read the geologist William Hamilton’s important 1842 work, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, until back in Britain. Falkener was fortunate to meet the hydrographer Thomas Spratt during his first stop at Izmir in September 1844; Spratt had just completed the first geographical survey of Lycia’s interior, which would be published in collaboration with Edward Forbes as *Travels in Lycia* in 1847.²⁷ Thanks to this chance meeting with Spratt and the crew of the admiralty survey ship *Beacon*, Falkener was among the earliest travellers to visit Lycia’s remoter inland cities, which Fellows had not managed to locate.²⁸

21. See Beaufort 1817; Leake 1824; Arundell 1828, 1834.

22. Fellows 1839.

23. For Fellows’ Xanthian expeditions, see Jenkins 1992, 140–53; Slatter 1994; Challis 2008, 23–76.

24. For Britain’s increasingly aggressive interventions in Ottoman territories, see Parry 2022. On the Tanzimat, see Findley 2008.

25. For useful surveys of publications on ‘Asia Minor’, see Duggan 2018 and the primary bibliography at Schiffer 1999, 421–37.

26. Fellows 1841.

27. Spratt and Forbes 1847.

28. On Spratt, see Wiltshire 2024.

Falkener states in the ‘Preface’ that he began his tour in Aleppo so that he could hire cheaper servants and travel north through Anatolia as the weather improved, and it is in Syria that his travel journal begins on 31 March 1844. This manuscript covers eight densely packed sheets in a minute hand and records the first legs of his trip from Aleppo to Konya via Adalia (modern Antalya) from 31 March to 13 July 1844. A typescript produced by his grandson, Charles Oliver, preserves further missing pages covering his route onto Izmir, then back to Adalia and along the Lycian coast from 14 July to 13 December 1844. In surviving portions of this diary, Falkener diligently recorded his travel times between towns, villages, khans, coffee houses, forts and farms. Travel on horseback ranged from the whole day to a few hours, depending if he stopped to examine buildings or ruins. Falkener spent just one night at most of his rest stops, but paused for multiple days at sites with prominent archaeological remains. Although few versions survive in his archive, Falkener copied more than 300 Latin and Greek inscriptions from across Anatolia. Later, in February 1849, he handed his copies over to the epigraphist Wilhelm Henzen in Rome, who eventually published a selection.²⁹ Generally, Falkener rested for a week or longer in larger towns, particularly those that hosted British consuls. As recent scholarship has shown, these agents of the British state were vital for the development of British antiquarian travel and archaeology in the Mediterranean.³⁰

After Falkener’s journal cuts off in December 1844, the remainder of his journey up to his arrival in Istanbul on 27 April 1845 can be reconstructed thanks to a daily itinerary. This manuscript provides a meticulous transliteration of contemporary names of settlements complemented, if possible, with a corresponding ancient name. Sometimes Falkener passed through as many as seven named settlements in a single day, noting small villages unrecorded on European maps available at the time. Following demographic changes in the twentieth century, many of these smaller settlements have subsequently had their names changed, or, in the case of some Greek villages, been abandoned. The itinerary is complemented by a large sketch map of the Anatolian landmass with its coasts and rivers outlined on a series of pieces of tracing paper in ink, with places visited in pencil. Two smaller sketch maps respectively record Falkener’s progress along Lycia’s coast following Charles Fellows and around the poorly documented Lycian interior, presumably adopting Spratt’s directions. Based on these documents, Falkener’s journey can be divided into several longer legs: from Aleppo to Adalia via Alexandretta (İskenderun), Adana and Alanya along the Karamanian coast; inland to Isparta then east to Karaman and Konya; west to Izmir via Uşak and the Gediz Valley; back east up the Büyük Menderes valley to Denizli; southeast via the Lycian highlands to Adalia; around the Lycian and Carian coasts to Bodrum; up the Ionian coast to Izmir with a longer stop at Ephesus; and, finally, inland via Bergama, Kütahya and Bursa to Istanbul. A reconstructed map of the journey, which highlights these major legs, can be found in fig 1.

The motivation for Falkener’s route around Anatolia seems to have been governed by a combination of the vicissitudes of travel and a desire to see as many buildings, towns and ruins as possible – in some cases, taking inspiration from his reading, in others, covering new ground. Many parts of Falkener’s route cover established itineraries, and John Murray’s first edition of the *Hand-Book for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey,*

29. Henzen 1852.

30. Hoock 2010, 219–72; Galanakis 2012; Gunning 2016.

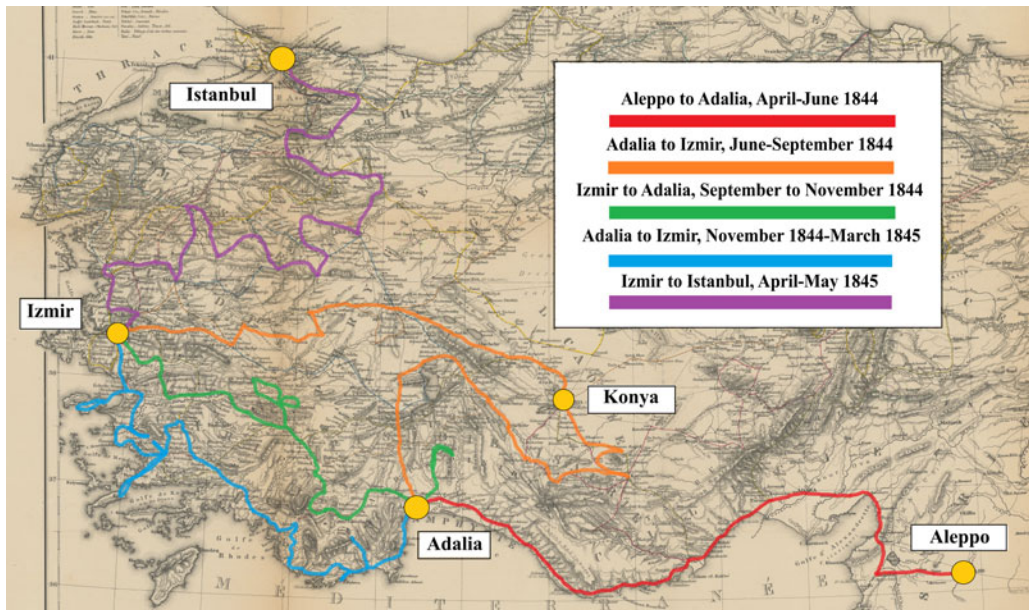


Fig 1. Falkener's route, adapted by the author from H Kiepert, 'Carte de l'Asie Mineure contenant les Itinéraires de P. de Tchihatchef (1:2,000,000)', 1867, lithograph. Image: Based on a map reproduced courtesy of Princeton University Library.

Asia Minor, and Constantinople seems a likely source for several legs of his journey.³¹ This early handbook, however, contained scant detail and many inaccuracies in its Turkish routes; south and central Anatolia was very far from being a tourist destination in the 1840s.³² Moreover, Falkener departed from convention: first by travelling along the entire coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia by land between April and June 1844; second in seeking out ruins inland in the Taurus Mountains, or ancient 'Pisidia', 'Isauria' and Central Anatolian Steppe; and third in visiting the remoter Lycian cities of the ancient 'Cibyrtis' region. Besides Léon and Alexandre de Laborde's *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*,³³ Falkener's unpublished notes represent one of the earliest attempts by a European traveller to study the archaeology and architecture of the Anatolian interior. It was not until the 1870s that Edwin John Davis would cover the same ground in his *Anatolica* and *Life in Asiatic*

31. Deliberately or not, Falkener traces half of Route 92 between Uluborlu and Karaman, half of Route 93 between Payas and Tarsus, passes across parts of Route 96 from Konya to Gulnar on the coast follow part of Route 99 from Alanya to Adalia, part of Route 100 from Isparta to Side, most of Route 101 (based on Fellows' travels) from Adalia along the coast to Smyrna and most of Route 102 (based on William J Hamilton's 1836 travels) from Smyrna to Brousa (Bursa), before ending in Constantinople (Murray 1840).

32. The maps were particularly unhelpful. A separate *Handbook for Turkey* was not published until 1854.

33. Léon, who became a curator at the Louvre, travelled with his father, the politician and antiquary Alexandre (Laborde and Laborde 1838). Falkener does not seem to have read the pair's work until his return to Britain, but later drew on it for *Ephesus*. Falkener's own research in the northernmost parts of Lycia was overtaken by the publication of Spratt and Forbes' 1847 work *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyrtis*.

Turkey,³⁴ and not until the 1890s that William Mitchell Ramsay produced historical studies of these regions.³⁵

When Falkener later penned a rough ‘Introduction’ for the beginnings of his book draft, he conceded that his route and research overlapped with existing publications by Beaufort, Leake, Arundell, Fellows, Spratt and Forbes, and the Society of Dilettanti’s *Antiquities of Ionia*. His purpose, therefore, as he declared retrospectively in the ‘Preface’, was not to explore ‘unknown districts,’ but to ‘examine the ruins already discovered by travellers’, with the intention of examining them from the perspective of a trained architect. Again, in the ‘Introduction’, he elaborates on his dual motives for producing a book based on his travels: first, ‘Not a single architect has made a general tour in this country’; second, while there are valuable examples of Greek temples in other parts of the Mediterranean, ‘Asia Minor presents us with innumerable examples of entire plans of cities, walls and towers of similar architecture, baths, gymnasia, agora and numerous other buildings beside a great number of churches and the early tombs and sarcophagi and the brick tombs of the highest antiquity of previously unknown forms’. Here was his pitch for a publishing niche to fill.

DIARY AND DRAWINGS

Over the course of his tour of Anatolia, Falkener produced scores of sketches and watercolours. His designs may be divided first into smaller, roughly shaded pencil sketches of buildings in landscapes, profiles of hills or coastlines, architectural features and plans of archaeological sites and ruined buildings annotated with meticulous measurements of exposed foundations and colonnades. Falkener later cut out pages from small sketchbooks filled with these examples of visual notetaking, which he either mounted in thematic collage arrangements on pieces of card in his portfolios or organised in small collections of cuttings by location labelled ‘rough plans of cities’.³⁶ An example of the former can be found in fig 2, where Falkener has collated small sketches of lesser-known aqueducts and arched structures from the first stage of his trip between Aleppo and Adalia on a piece of blue card. A specimen of the latter can be seen in fig 3, where Falkener has measured walls and architraves to create rough plans and elevations of the ancient ruins of Myra.³⁷ Falkener published a selection of his drawings of Ephesus in his eponymous monograph, and several other sites in individual articles for his *Museum of Classical Antiquities* or illustrative projects such as the Architectural Publication Society’s *Dictionary of Architecture*, which reproduced the three images of aqueducts shown in fig 2.³⁸ However, the majority of the remaining

34. Davis 1874, 1879.

35. See Ramsay’s *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), *Impressions of Turkey* (1897), Ramsay and Bell’s *Thousand and One Churches* (1909) and Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898–1904).

36. His archive contains collections of notes and sketches in this form for Aezani, Alabanda (‘Arabhissar’), Alinda (‘Demmeergy-Derasy’), Aphrodisias, Aspendus, Binbirkilise (‘Derbe’), Branchidae/Didyma, Cadyanda, Cibyra, Ephesus, Erythrae, Euromus, Heracleia at Latmus, Heracleia Salbace (‘Markoof’), Halicarnassus, Hierapolis, Iasos, Isaura, Laodicea, Magnesia on the Maeander, Miletus, Mylassa, Myra, Nysa, Oenoanda, Patara, Perge, Pergamus, Pinara, Pisidian Antioch, Pompeiopolis/Soli, Priene, Sardis, Side, Termessus, Tlos, Tralles, Sagalassus, Stratonicea, Tripolis, Xanthus.

37. For the Dilettanti’s work, see Jenkins 2021.

38. See Papworth’s *Dictionary of Architecture*, ‘Aqueduct’ (1853, I, 3–7, pl 1), ‘Illamus’ [Antiochia Lamotis] (1853, IV, 8).



Fig 2. Edward Falkener, collection of sketches of aqueducts and arched structures, graphite mounted on card. *Image:* Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

mounted images and ‘rough plans’ of ancient sites never appeared in print. Presumably many were intended for his planned book on the ancient architecture of Asia Minor.

The second category of images that Falkener produced were larger sketches and watercolours of buildings or landscape views with varying degrees of finish. Some of these he later worked up to a high degree of colour and detail for exhibition at the RA back in Britain or reproduced as lithographs in his *Ephesus* monograph, but others he mounted on card in his portfolios in their preliminary state. A good example of the latter can be found in his view from above Aspendus’s well-preserved theatre (fig 4). In ‘Asia Minor Portfolio I’, he mounted this watercolour on card, pasting beside it a small pen-and-ink reconstruction of the exterior of the proscenium. Though the washes are incomplete, the design shows Falkener’s facility with tone and conscientious attention to detail in the banks of seating, elaborate pedestals and exposed brickwork of the proscenium. Swathes of green depict vegetation, and a purple hue gives the distant mountains a romantic tint, but the viewer is left in no doubt that the architectural feature of the theatre is the protagonist of the picture.

Alongside these dated sketches, Falkener’s diary provides a rich account of his day-to-day activities. Most entries are relatively terse and written in a condensed shorthand, with a system of symbols or letters for buildings like ‘+’ for a church or ‘T’ for temple. Falkener seems to have intended the journal to be primarily architectural and topographical – seemingly as an *aide memoire* for his publication plans – and accordingly he notes down ruins, arches, state of preservation or else his route through the landscape between sites. Beyond this, like contemporary travellers, he often inserts environmental features or ethnographic observations. Thus, he observes ‘magazines of fire wood’ due to be shipped

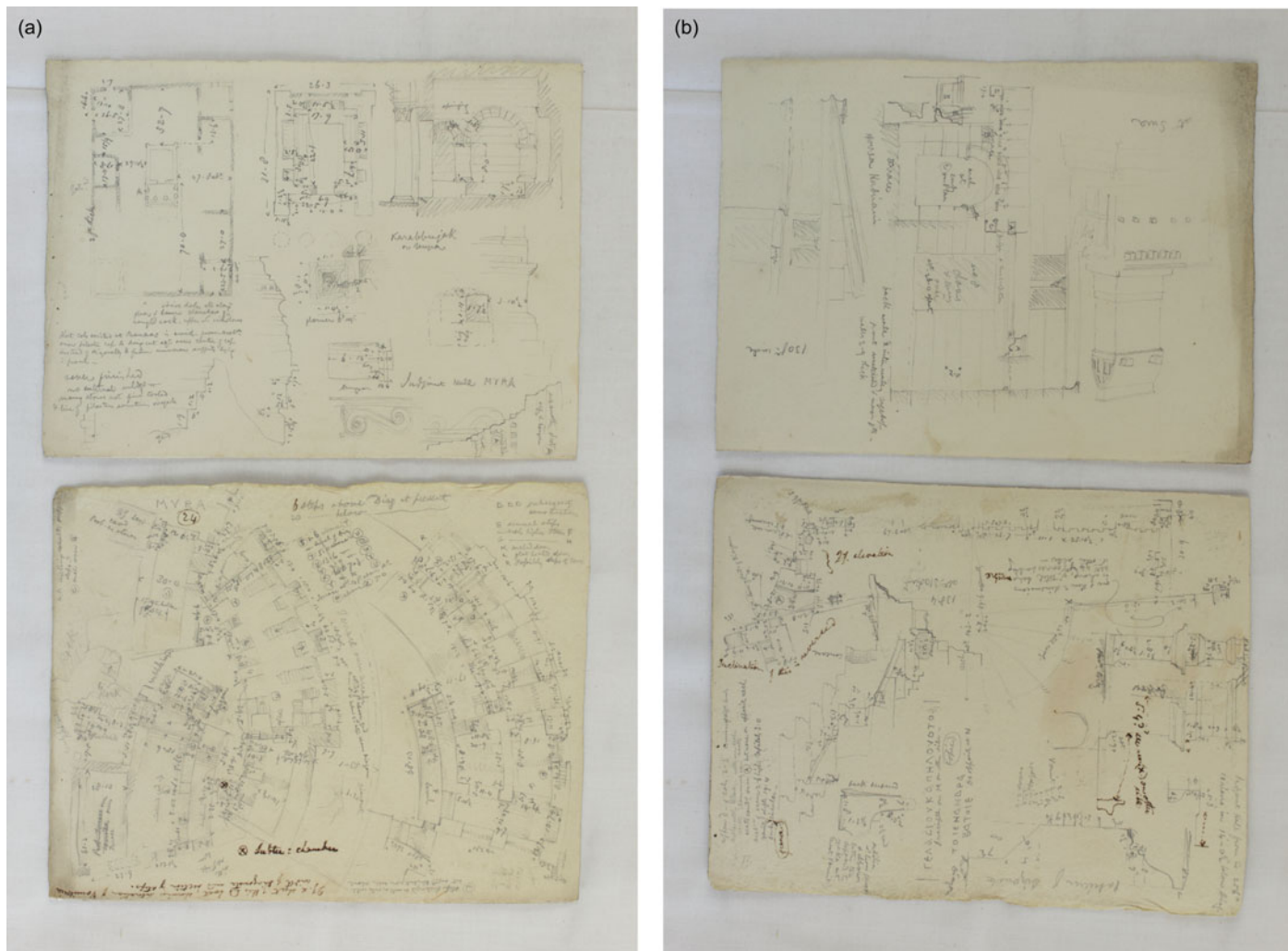


Fig 3. a-b: Edward Falkener, rough plans of Myra, recto and verso of two sheets, graphite. *Image:* Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

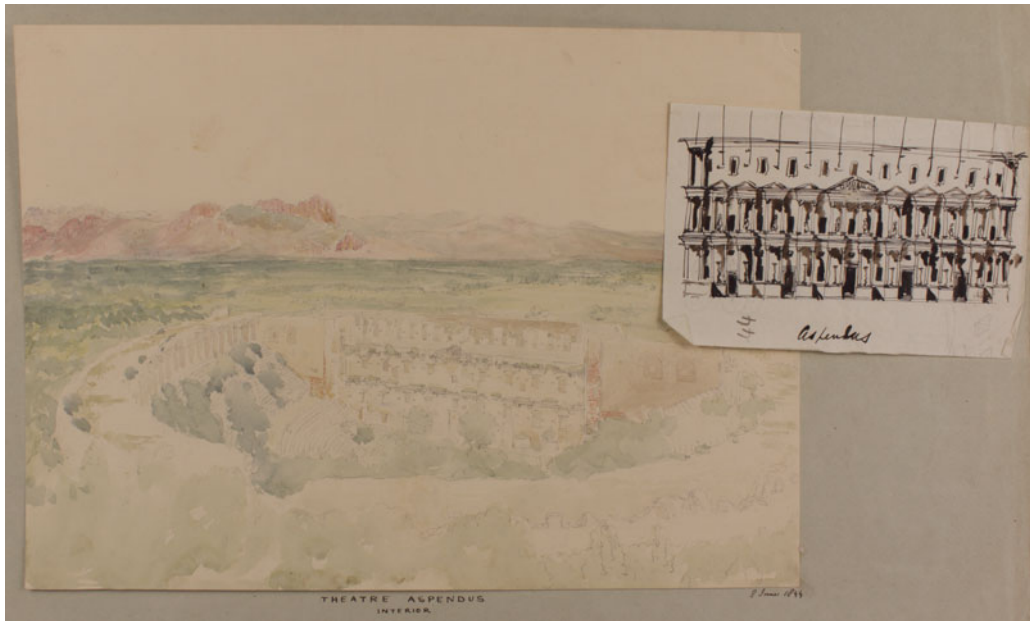


Fig 4. Edward Falkener, 'Theatre Aspendus, Interior, 8 June 1844', graphite and watercolour mounted on card. *Image:* Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

to Alexandria, 'curiously stratified rock' along the Karamanian coast, 'beautiful butterflies', 'excellent honey', earthquake damage, fluctuating prices, seasonal migration, 'rich groves of walnuts and poplars', the carpet trade, the grape harvest and much more. Besides recording travel time, Falkener frequently noted his mode of travel, the behaviour of dragomen or muleteers, the scarcity of farriers and fodder and the state of the roads. For the most part, the narrative of the journal is succinct, except for when things went wrong, as will be discussed below.

For all the rich variety of Falkener's sketches and the notes in his journal, he was surprisingly modest about his records. In the draft 'Introduction', he observes that 'I contented myself by making general notes on antiquities by such hasty plans and sketches as time would allow'. In his 'Preface', moreover, he notes with regret that he found many monuments along the Cilician coast in 'an indifferent state of preservation', admitting that 'the full account given of them by Capt. Beaufort renders it almost unnecessary to add any further remarks'.³⁹ This sense of ambition unfulfilled is sometimes apparent in his journal. In a long and tellingly ambivalent entry dated 9 June, a day after completing his watercolour of the theatre of Aspendus, Falkener begins:

It is difficult to describe my feelings after viewing the interesting remains of Pednelissus. I descried the acrop. of Isionda. I fancied that every step I now took wd. bring me to objects of greater and greater interest, that I shd. now finding myself

39. Cf Beaufort 1817. Fellows, Charles Newton and other important British travellers similarly continued to treat this publication as the authoritative source even decades after his survey was published.

again among the monts. of Grecian art, & that I shd. henceforth confine myself to no direct route, but turn to the left or right on the mere whisper of antiquity.

He continues to list ancient cities in Pamphylia and descriptions of their remains, but concludes with a contradictory statement, apparently retrospective:

But previous to ent. the soil of the Grk. colonies of Troy, Aeolia, Ionia, & Doris, not a single vestige of Grk. Art had met my eye. [...] all the vaunted remnants of the other cities vanished into thin air the moment I approached them.

Falkener's ambivalence in this instance partly arises from confusion about ruins: 'Pednelissus' he later realises is Aspendus, and 'Isionda' Syllion. These were mistaken attributions made by Leake and Fellows, which Falkener corrected back in Britain, but this was also a case of managing his expectations: here were monumental Roman ruins aplenty, but nothing like the Doric temples he had recently encountered in Greece and Sicily. Aspendus's theatre, moreover, was already well enough known, and thus would win him no praise were he to publish his records of it.⁴⁰ When Falkener visited ancient cities he often recorded remains in the unexcavated sites such as Selge, Side and Cremna with diligent enthusiasm in his diary, but the passage quoted above reveals a moment of reckoning: the cities he had encountered would not furnish him with material to produce a work like Wilkins' *Antiquities of Magna Graecia* or *Atheniensia*, or Cockerell's contributions to the Society of Dilettanti's *Antiquities of Ionia*.

For all that Falkener lamented the lack of 'Grecian art', and worried about the crowded publishing market, other subjects from his portfolio and journal reveal a different dimension to his interests. Not far on from Aspendus, the first leg of Falkener's journey came to an end on 12 June 1844 in Adalia, where he produced a watercolour that he later worked up in 1859 into a finished painting to exhibit at the RA, reproduced in fig 5.⁴¹ In the next entry in his diary to that quoted above, he described Adalia as a 'beautiful and pleasant city [...] placed on a quickly rising hollow in the cliff resembling a Theatre [...] surrounded by continuous gardens & has conduits of water partly open partly covd. running thro' every street'. This sense of admiration comes through in the watercolour: the curvature of the bay captures Falkener's expressive comparison to a theatre; foliage between the buildings gives the city a lush feel, and he lavishes attention on the irregular red-tile roofs and variety of asymmetrical architectural forms. The viewer is granted a privileged vista of this city of rooftop galleries, like the terrace in the bottom right where they may spy a veiled woman attending her plants. Together the diary entry and watercolour exemplify Falkener's attentiveness to the appearance of contemporary Ottoman towns *alongside* his quest for classical Greek cities.

Situating this view of Adalia in Falkener's wider archive, this is one among many depictions of mosques, fortifications and examples of contemporary Ottoman architecture in addition to images of Greek and Roman sites that were Falkener's professed subject. The architect recorded village huts near Konya, doors and windows in Bursa, watermills at Antioch, provincial townscapes such as Silifke and Afyonkarahisar, interiors of houses in Aleppo and Myra, hammams in Adalia and Tarsus, assorted Christian churches, and

40. The theatre is illustrated in Texier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (1839, III, pls 232–41).

41. The 1859 Royal Academy Catalogue, no. 1087, notes 'Oriental sketches – Adalia, the ancient Ataleia, in Asia Minor, looking towards the coast of Lycia. Under Mount Climax, and the other mountains represented in the view, lies the celebrated Pass of Alexander'.



Fig 5. Edward Falkener, 'Adalia', exhibited 1859, watercolour. *Image*: Reproduced courtesy of Cheffins Auction House.

mosques in Adana, Akşehir, Ayasuluk, Ballat, Iznik, Istanbul and Milas. Konya yielded the most non-antique subjects of any single settlement, with a series of studies of the citadel, the Karatay Madrasa, the Sahib Ata Mosque and the Alâeddin Mosque. In fig 6, Falkener's facility with handling material surface is apparent in his striking rendition of a portion of the city walls. In 1820 Léon de Laborde had drawn the same gateway in a looser sketch, but Falkener provides a more striking record of the architectural grandeur of the gatehouse as it looms to a pinnacle above the viewer. Figures appear for scale – one the familiar Orientalist visual cliché of man with a hookah pipe – yet their picturesque status is perhaps secondary to Falkener's concern with scale and the effect of the shadows cast by the monumental bastions. This and other watercolours by Falkener are all the more compelling today given that the citadel walls were demolished in 1896.⁴²

In one sense, Falkener's designs are of a piece with engraved illustrations published in the books of British predecessors in Anatolia such as Beaufort, Fellows or contributors to the Society of Dilettanti volumes. A recent exhibition devoted to Dilettanti's *Ionian Antiquities*, for instance, summarises draughtsmen's strategies for recording 'classical ruins [but] also the living landscape – its flora and fauna, and the customs, manners and dress of the people'.⁴³ Yet in his conscientious use of watercolour to capture atmospheric effects, architectural

42. On the evidence for the walls, see Redford 1991, 54–5; Yalman 2012.

43. Jenkins 2021, 11–12.



Fig 6. Edward Falkener, 'Walls of Koniah, July 25 1844', watercolour and graphite. *Image:* Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

details and vivid colours, Falkener's pictures also show the impress of a recognisable artistic category of Orientalist painting that was developing in Britain by the 1840s.⁴⁴ This genre finds expression in David Roberts' lithographs, David Wilkie's portraits, William Müller's landscapes and steel engravings of sites of historical interest in popular works such as the Finden brothers' *Landscape Illustrations to the Bible* (1835–6) or John Carne's *Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor* (1836–8). This movement's influence is more obvious in the paintings that Falkener reworked for exhibition at the RA, filled out with richer colours and enlivened with picturesque human activity. Yet we might still compare the sweeping, atmospheric landscape view like Falkener's preliminary *in situ* sketch of Aspendus to the varied tones of Müller's watercolours, or the imposing architectural sublime of his version of Konya's citadel dwarfing Ottoman figures with the grandeur conveyed in Roberts' views. Reviewing Falkener's work shows the arbitrariness of drawing a line between 'documentary' draughtsmanship and artistry. The latter was as important as the former for communicating his travels to a broad audience – middlebrow as well as academic – back in Britain.

Despite his preference for classical architecture, Falkener's parallel interest in sketching Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman subjects was not only aesthetic. First, it had a precedent in his tutor Cockerell, who was an early appreciator of Byzantine buildings and recorded 'modern Turkish Architecture' in Istanbul in 1810.⁴⁵ Here it is worth noting that relatively

44. For an overview of British Orientalist painting, see Tromans 2008.

45. See, respectively, Karydis 2020, 172–7, and Hutton 1909, 53–4.

few among Falkener's predecessors valued Seljuk and Ottoman architecture on its own terms. In this respect, Mark Crinson distinguishes between figures such as Cockerell, who were dismissive of Mediterranean Islamic architecture, merely interested in its 'novelty', 'frisson' and 'associational values of the Picturesque', and a more serious scholarly movement that Crinson calls 'New Orientalism', which developed in the 1830s.⁴⁶ In this vein, Falkener sits alongside figures such as Robert Hay, Edward Lane and Owen Jones, who were invested in 'reading of [Eastern] artifacts, especially architecture, and a deeper consideration of their worth for contemporary production'.⁴⁷ Though Falkener does not admit the influence in his draft, and may have only read their work after his tour, the travellers with the most similar approach to recording Anatolia's post-classical architecture in this respect were the French scholars Léon de Laborde and Charles Texier.⁴⁸

Upon returning to Britain, Falkener joined a circle of architectural scholars that included Jones, James Fergusson and continental European writers such as Jacques-Ignace Hittorff and Gottfried Semper, who were interested in assessing and learning from non-Western architecture.⁴⁹ Such theoretically informed 'reading' of Ottoman or Islamic architecture was not without prejudice and often judged styles hierarchically as expressions of a national or racial character.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it reflected what Stacey Sloboda calls 'imperial cosmopolitanism', a mid-Victorian view epitomised by the Great Exhibition of 1851 that saw 'historically and culturally distant cultures as objects of emulation, at the same time as seeking conceptual and categorical mastery over those cultures'.⁵¹

Besides his visual records of Ottoman architecture, Falkener took rubbings of Islamic metalwork, copied Arabic inscriptions and visited 'Oriental' collections outside of the Ottoman Empire such as the Türkische Cammer in the Dresden Residenzschloss. During his travels he collected Ottoman metalwork and arms, which he exhibited at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857 and later at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.⁵² When he retired from London to Wales, photos show his house filled with Islamic material culture of a piece with the aestheticised interiors of Frederic Leighton or John Gardner Wilkinson. To see a contradiction between Falkener's enthusiasm for Greek and Roman *and* post-classical material culture is perhaps misleading; as Rosemary Barrow notes, for many Victorian artists, 'Orientalising and classicising imaginations impacted on each other in mutually informing ways, with several artists moving effortlessly between the genres'.⁵³

Notwithstanding this keen interest, Falkener's written judgements of Seljuk and Ottoman art and architecture are sparse. The most sustained example can be found in his *Ephesus* monograph, where he includes a chapter on the İsa Bey Mosque at Ayasuluk

46. Crinson 1996, 15–36.

47. Ibid, 27.

48. Laborde's work has not received similar treatment, but on Texier, see Pedone 2012.

49. For Falkener's attempted partnership with Semper, see Weidmann 2014.

50. In an important example of this Eurocentric condescension, 19th-century curators at the British Museum put stock in the idea of the 'progress of civilisation' expressed in the so-called 'Great Chain of Art'. James Stefanoff famously visualised this hierarchy as a literal stack of ancient sculpture with Indian and central-American art at the bottom and the Parthenon Marbles at the top (Jenkins 1992, 56–74).

51. Sloboda 2008, 223.

52. A fire at Sydenham in 1866 destroyed Falkener's armour, but inlaid brass candlesticks and bowls survive along with a manuscript list of items stored in the Tower of London on 21 Sept 1848.

53. Barrow 2007, 5. For more on artists' parallel interest in ancient and modern 'Orient', see Moser 2020.



Fig 7. Edward Falkener, 'Mosque at Aiaslik [İsa Bey Mosque]', exhibited 1867, watercolour. *Image:* Reproduced courtesy of Cheffins Auction House.

(modern Selçuk), translating Arabic inscriptions and discussing its interior's illumination. Unlike fellow travellers who lamented this building's dilapidated state, Falkener showered it with praise: 'The ornaments of this mosque are of the most exquisite character and delicate workmanship. The writing over the east door is exceedingly beautiful.' Illustrating the building with a series of lithographs, he celebrates the 'consummate science of the Mahomeddan architect'.⁵⁴ The original watercolour of the interior of the mosque on which one lithograph is based can be found in fig 7. Overall, it remains difficult to comprehend Falkener's interest in 'Islamic' architecture beyond these assertions of 'beauty'; notably he never bestowed it the abstract qualities of 'excellence' and 'ideality of beauty' he afforded to classical architecture elsewhere.⁵⁵ The most that can be said is that Falkener sometimes saw Anatolia as a place where the categories of 'classical' and 'Oriental' blur: in *Ephesus* he describes the ancient city in ambiguous language as a place of 'Asiatic grandeur [and] opulence', while the İsa Bey Mosque is a 'very elegant and chaste building', terms often granted to classical architecture.⁵⁶

54. Falkener 1862, 153, 155

55. Eg, Falkener 1860b, 1–15.

56. Ibid, 12, 154. Falkener also talks in exoticising terms of the cult of Diana: 'an Oriental character was given to her rites [...] an uncouth, mammiform divinity' (ibid, 11).

From Falkener's wider published work it would be easy to pigeon-hole him as an antiquarian with a classical bias, but his archive reveals a multiform profusion of illustrations of Anatolian architecture and material culture. Back in Britain, Falkener struggled to be identified as a professional scholar. Though he was active in London learned societies such as the RIBA and the British Archaeological Association, he lacked a university education and never held an institutional post.⁵⁷ Though of a piece with the intellectual culture of the 1840s and 1850s, his eclectic antiquarian interests were gradually superseded by narrower academic specialisms towards the end of the century.⁵⁸ Given that the multifarious array of visual records in Falkener's portfolios lack an overarching cultural narrative, it seems less accurate to describe his interest in Anatolian heritage as a relationship of intellectual mastery than part of a magpie curiosity that pulled him in different directions.⁵⁹ Though he searched for what he imagined to be pure Greek, time and again he was clearly drawn to Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the limited understanding of Ottoman culture among British travellers in the mid-nineteenth century, Falkener never felt confident to publish any of this material. Yet it is conceivable that his familiarity with classical archaeology paved the way for his interest in Anatolia's later heritage. As much as he might have considered his records of ancient, medieval and early modern Anatolian architecture as discrete, all clearly captivated him in their cultural and historical distance from Victorian Britain.

COMPANIONS AND CHALLENGES

Beyond the diverse records of Anatolian heritage that Falkener produced, his archive is also a rich resource for understanding the day-to-day experience of travel. We have already seen his admiration of sites, comments on 'manners and customs', anxiety about the originality of what he was recording and occasional geographical confusion. On top of this his diary and 'Preface' lay bare the physical struggle of the trip. Falkener had contracted malaria a year previously at Paestum and had been afflicted by attacks of fever at Alexandretta and Adalia. This was why he struck inland from the latter town towards Isparta to get away from the coastal lowlands, but around Lakes Eğirdir and Beyşehir and in the marshes around Karaman he experienced further relapses, and his diary entries become infrequent. In Konya he suffered from diarrhoea and writes that his health declined sharply following the loss of his tent and hammock, which meant he was obliged to sleep on damp ground; 'this reduced my strength so much', he wrote in the 'Preface', 'that I frequently passed by ruins without sufficient examination'. Falkener was lucky to have survived his fever, travelling in the dangerous summer months; in the same decade the watercolourist Edward Thomas Daniell and many of the crew of Charles Fellows's first expedition to remove ruins from Xanthus were not so fortunate.⁶⁰

Even when not in this vulnerable state, Falkener was reliant on other people. These included officials for letters of protection, servants for cooking, portage and looking after

57. Between 1861 and 1863, Falkener applied to become the curator of the John Soane Museum, but after a protracted decision-making process lost out to Joseph Bonomi the Younger.

58. For a classic account of antiquarian 'professionalisation', see Levine 1986. On the professionalisation of classical archaeology, see Dyson 2008.

59. On antiquarianism and the aesthetics of curiosity, see Leask 2002.

60. Slatter 1994, 234.

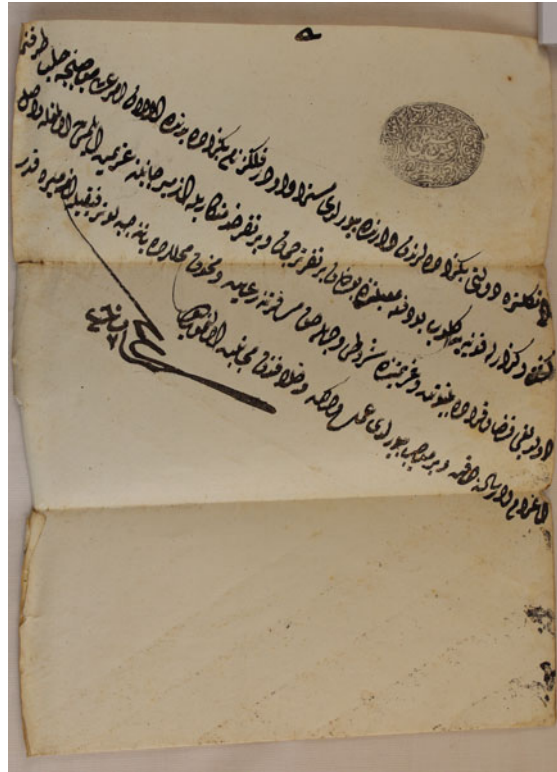


Fig 8. Ottoman letter ordering that Falkner be granted hospitality while travelling between Aleppo and Izmir, dated 7 Rajab 1260 [23 July 1844]. Image: Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

his horses, dragomen or locals as guides and inhabitants of everywhere he went for hospitality and a place to sleep.⁶¹ Somewhat unusually, Falkener's interactions with these individuals can be charted not only by remarks in his journal, but in a series of contracts with servants and dragomen and letters of introduction. These show that he travelled with two to four horses, and either one or two servants. Initially Falkener hired a dragoman for each leg of his journey between cities, but by December 1844 he gave up on this, instead hiring a local guide for five piastres a day if necessary. Thus in Aleppo he began by hiring a dragoman named Luigi Fanchetta on 16 April for 250 piastres a month and a servant the next day for 100 piastres a month to act as groom and cook. A Cypriot named Giorgos Christopholi took over the latter role from Tarsus to Adalia and was paid 120 piastres a month starting 9 May. No individuals are named for his trip from Adalia to Izmir, but an Ottoman Turkish *tezkiye* or 'memorandum' dated 23 July from Konya (fig 8) commands that 'the English gentleman by the name of Mister Edavar Felkner' who travelled with 'one

61. In recent decades, many scholars have identified the overlooked labour of people who aided European travellers, whether explorers (Driver and Jones 2009) or archaeologists (Quirke 2010). For recent works on the subject, see Armston-Sheret on subaltern 'bodies' (2024) and Mickel on missing perspectives in the creation of archaeological knowledge (2021). For an overview of guides in Lycia in this period, see Duggan 2018, 295–7.

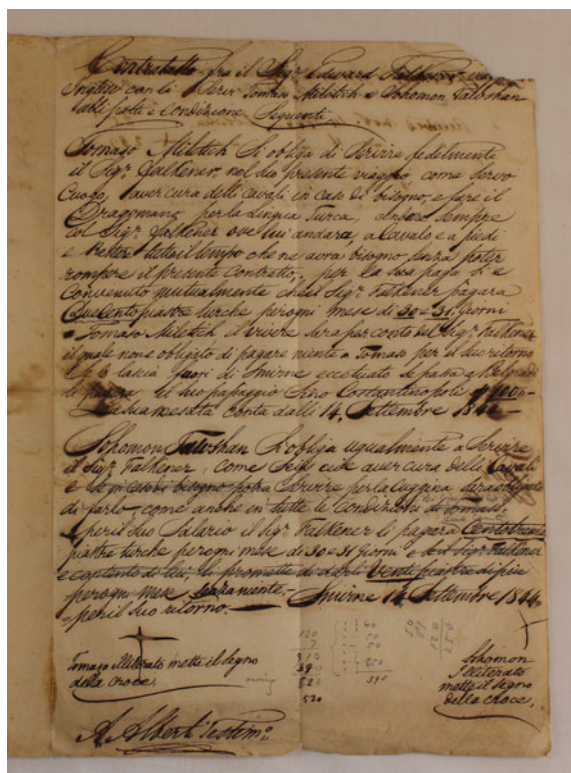


Fig 9. Contract drawn up in Izmir in Italian between Edward Falkener, Tomaso Miletich and Solomon Towshan, 14 September 1844. Image: Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

servant and one translator' be given hospitality in the towns and villages, and 'attention be given to adjoining a soldier to his person in dangerous places'.⁶² This and other letters allude to Falkener's *firman*, his imperial mandate to travel. On his return from Izmir to Adalia via Denizli, Falkener paid a dragoman named Tomaso Miletich of Belgrade (presumably 'Miletić') 200 piastres a month and a groom and servant he calls Solomon Towshan (presumably 'Süleyman Tavşan', the 'Hare') 130 piastres, crossed-out and increased to 200 piastres a month (fig 9). On 16 November 1844 Falkener agreed to pay one Constantino Cochifo (who signs indistinctly in Greek 'κωνσταντίνος [sic] βοιταλες') 250 piastres a month, witnessed by the British Vice-Consul at Adalia, John Purdie. After dismissing this dragoman in December, a final contract in Italian survives between Falkener and Tavşan for travel from Izmir to Istanbul, dated 14 April 1845. In most cases Falkener's companions sign with a cross, witnessed by a literate resident of the city.

Besides the complaint of poor health, Falkener's chief difficulty came from his interactions with people on his route. At Ayaş he laments being charged exorbitant prices for a local guide; at Yakacık he was allegedly forced to give up his horse for a fraction of its worth and overcharged for a camel driver (whom he soon lost contact with) to cover the

62. My thanks to Professor Edhem Eldem for his translation of this document and others in the collection.

terrain instead; at Bucak near the ruins of Cremna, he was followed around for hours, intimidated with pistols and narrowly escaped an attempt at extortion. Each time he records in his journal in detail the haggling, circular arguments and acute sense of discomfort at misunderstanding the situation and fear he is being cheated. Falkener's anxiety about money and sense of frustration in these interactions finds parallel in his relationship with longer-term paid companions: his initial groom from Aleppo he calls incompetent, and he complains bitterly in the 'Preface' about dragomen who 'often refused to interpret or gave me a different answer to my demand for antiquities, and if I succeeded in finding them often refused to accompany me where it was requisite to go on foot, cheating [what] they all paid to [do]'. Falkener claims he avoided this by being his own paymaster, but 'the dragoman I took from Smyrna particularly objected to this as it deprived him of more than double the amount of wages'. This description of Falkener's fall-out with Miletić matches the commonplace negative stereotypes of dragomen. As Rachel Mairs and Maya Muratov note, Europeans were constantly suspicious of these intermediaries' motives, resenting the power translators and guides held over their tours.⁶³

The last straw for Falkener occurred on the Lycian coast, when the dragoman 'Constantino' who accompanied him from Adalia allegedly plotted to abandon him on the island of Kekova and steal his bag and horses during a storm. Fortunately for Falkener, he reports being able to intercept the man; interestingly he singles out for praise the resourcefulness and aid of his groom in this situation, Süleyman Tavşan, who had accompanied him from Izmir. Falkener praised Tavşan in his 'Preface' as 'a great comrade, an excellent servant, constantly civil and contented'. Tavşan spoke no English, but Falkener notes that this ensured 'the advantage of being compelled to apply myself to the Turkish language'. For the remainder of his travels, Falkener continued with Tavşan alone. Genuine as Falkener's camaraderie with Tavşan may have been, it stands out as a rare example of praise for the inhabitants of Anatolia in his draft and journal.⁶⁴ As the exception, it reinforces his narrative of individual labour.

Besides his acknowledgment of Tavşan in his draft, Falkener also expresses his great gratitude to the British consular agents at Aleppo, Tarsus, Adalia and Smyrna. One final instance at Lake Bafa is instructive in this respect, where Falkener was again robbed of a valuable sword he had purchased inscribed with the names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, which he had deposited in a village storage room. In a draft letter to Richard Brant, the British consul at Izmir, Falkener recounts with palpable frustration how he was led on a wild goose chase by the villagers of Kapıkırı ('Karpoo Gridi') who went through his possessions while he visited the ruins of Heraclea at Latmus. After narrating much back and forth where he and Tavşan remonstrated in vain with officials and were reputedly followed about and spied on by villagers for two days, the sword was 'found' without its

63. Mairs and Muratov 2015, 14. For a very different perspective on the experience of touring ancient sites in southern Anatolia, Ayse Ozil (2024) has shown how a travelogue produced in 1855 by Dimitri Danieloğlu, a learned Greek resident of Antalya, pays attention to the diversity of relationships local people had with ancient remains in the Ottoman provinces.

64. On the condescension of Falkener's contemporaries to the inhabitants of Anatolia, see Boyar 2002, 103–6. Interestingly, decades later Falkener wrote in positive terms of generalised 'Turks' he encountered in Anatolia in a letter to the *Morning Post* to canvass donations for famine relief in the Ottoman Empire: 'Turks have strong claims upon all travellers. Mr. Falkener alleges that rich hospitality is given to men of all races and all religions.' The notice continues to qualify that this was especially true of the 'the Turk of the interior, where he is uncontaminated by Frank inheritance' (Falkener 1874).

ornate scabbard and a large fee demanded on the spot. With Tavşan's signature as a witness, Falkener appealed to Brant because Vice-Consul Demetrios Alexarchi at nearby Kuşadası ('Gooshaddasi') allegedly spoke little English or French. Complaining that his *firman* from the Sultan had been ignored, he demanded that the Pasha of Smyrna or the Mutesellim (civil governor) of the nearby town of Söke intervene.

Though the result of the plea is uncertain, the letter shows the strengths and weaknesses of Falkener's position as a British traveller. On the one hand, his relative wealth – distributed as baksheesh – cushioned his experience, and his contact with British consuls granted privileged extrajudicial protection. Falkener travelled in a period of improving relations between Britain and the Ottoman state following Palmerston's intervention against Muhammad Ali in the Egyptian–Ottoman War, and accordingly his letters of introduction required that he be treated courteously.⁶⁵ On the other hand, he visited places where Europeans were a relatively rare sight. In context, Falkener's experience comes across less as an indictment of Ottoman guides than evidence for his idiosyncrasy – travelling alone as a foreigner in little visited regions without external funding or a larger entourage. Falkener was insufficiently connected to have the sponsorship of a London society such as the Dilettanti, who enabled Cockerell to travel along the Ionian coast (1812), or the Royal Geographical Society, which supported William J Hamilton (1835). He was not part of a public–private venture on behalf of the British Museum, like the expeditions organised by Fellows,⁶⁶ nor did he have the wealth of late aristocratic grand tourists such as Charles Somers-Cocks, the Viscount Eastnor, who had passed through Cilicia two months before him in 1844. He had neither the military–diplomatic sanction nor the authority of a naval surveying mission, like Leake (1800) or Beaufort (1811–12). Finally, he had no local knowledge or connection to professional contacts in the region like Francis Arundell, chaplain of the Levant Company at Smyrna, who toured Anatolia in 1826 and 1833. Given these circumstances, Falkener seems to have got by with the obliging Tavşan as a longstanding servant and interpreter, the guidance of his maligned dragomen and the 'great kindness and assistance' of a series of British consular agents.

INCOMPLETION AND CONCLUSIONS

Surveying the contents of Falkner's archive, we have seen how he balanced the exigencies of travel with an effort to record original material to stand out among his publishing peers. On his return to Britain, he found use for portions of his records in *Ephesus* and the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, but most were intended for his book on the architecture of ancient Asia Minor. The 'Introduction' and 'Preface' provide insights into his motives for and experience of travel, but it is worth looking briefly at this abortive book's projected subject matter. As well as more conventional chapters on the practicalities of travel, his draft 'Contents' lays out an alphabetical index of ancient cities, with a table enumerating the number of different examples of building types found at the site. With an eye for the pertinence of ancient architecture as a model for modern practice, Falkener clearly

65. On British–Ottoman relations in this period, see Özavcı 2021; Parry 2022.

66. For a discussion of the relationship between the British state and ad hoc private actors in the development of Mediterranean archaeology, see Hooock 2010, 207–18, and on Fellows' expeditions from 1838 to 1844, see pp 243–52.

wanted to champion the state of preservation of ruined buildings in Anatolia – perhaps superior to sites in the Kingdom of Greece – as evidence for a broad range of architectural forms. He supplies an example for Laodicea on the Lycus, listing ancient and modern names followed by the type and quantity of buildings the architectural traveller could expect to find:

Laodicea ad Lycum – Phrygia, Eskihsar. Temples 2/Theatres 2/Gymnasia 1/Agorae –/Arched Aqueducts 1/Stadiae 1/Colonnade 1 or more/palaces 2 &c &c

Indistinct ruins/rubble houses/pipe aqueducts/paved roads/bridges/churches

The resulting book, had it been completed, would have formed what Falkener called an ‘Epitome of antiquity in Asia Minor’. Based on lists of ancient sites among his notes, he aspired to create a gazetteer of cities illustrated by travel sketches and supplemented by references from ancient authors. Rather than focusing on few well-preserved monumental buildings like the Society of Dilettanti’s *Antiquities of Ionia*, Falkener hoped that his book would illuminate ‘the application of the designs and principles of Greek Architecture’ for the full typology of buildings that made up ancient cities. Seemingly, he was interested in waterworks and residential houses alongside great temples. Thus in 1848 he wrote enthusiastically to the secretary of RIBA about two ancient water pipes that he had apparently found, dug up and transported back to Britain from Ephesus and Miletus, and wished to donate to the institute.⁶⁷ In this respect, Falkener’s time excavating at Pompeii may have prompted him to think more about Asia Minor’s ancient cities as mundane, lived environments.

Beyond this ‘index of ancient places’, Falkener also wished to include thematic sections in a chapter described as ‘General notes on architectural antiquities in Asia Minor of the various buildings seen in the towns – such as THEATRES – STADII – and mentioning their peculiarities, grandeur, beauty, or points of observation’. Looking at his portfolios, the skeleton of this structure can be detected in his thematic mounting of drawings. While fig 2 shows aqueducts, fig 10 neatly illustrates the originality of Falkener’s project by grouping six plans of churches at Hierapolis, Trabala (today Dereagzı), Pinara and Derbe. The example is significant, first, because it shows Falkener’s interest in Byzantine architecture eschewed by many contemporaries. Second, at ‘Derbe’ – today known as ‘Değle’ or Binbirkilise’ (‘1,001 Churches’) – in Karaman province, Falkener has made a rare record of a site which has subsequently suffered damage. Ignored by most early travellers and only recently the subject of excavations, the extensive settlement was not recorded visually again until the end of the century.⁶⁸ Had Falkener managed to publish his research in this comparative form – putting sites such as Dereagzı and Binbirkilise side by side – the book might have provided a pioneeringly holistic system for classifying the architecture of Asia Minor. Though at times Falkener treats ancient architecture with a romantic sense of ‘wonder’, his attempt to study different building types systematically

67. RIBA Archives, MS SP\3\23. Perhaps surprisingly, this is the only evidence for Falkener collecting ancient artefacts besides coins.

68. Léon de Laborde recorded his visit to the Değle settlement in 1824, but did not study its buildings closely (Laborde and Laborde 1838, 120–1, pls 68–9). For an account of the later records of Gertrude Bell, William Ramsay and John Henry Haynes, see Ousterhout 2013.



Fig 10. Edward Falkener, collection of sketches of Byzantine architecture, graphite and ink mounted on card. *Image:* Reproduced by kind permission of the estate of Edward Falkener. All rights reserved.

more closely resembles methods associated with German *Kunstgeschichte* than the British travelogues that inspired his trip.⁶⁹

Falkener's papers reveal that he had begun taking notes for the text of this book by copying out mentions of different cities in 'ancient authorities', contemporary studies and numismatic catalogues. Given the sheer scale of this project, it is perhaps unsurprising that he gave up on this ambitious compendium, especially compared to the exhaustive body of research he later collated on Ephesus alone. Comprehensiveness eluded Falkener, partly due to the challenges of travelling alone, partly to the diverting variety of his interests. In retrospect, he clearly regretted the limited time he was able to spend taking notes at many sites he visited. Later in the 1850s the archaeologist Charles Newton encouraged Falkener to apply to the Secretary of State for £250 a year to join him in excavating at Knidos and further his research, but the request was denied.⁷⁰ The opportunity to return to Anatolia never arose.

69. See Falkener 1860b both for references to 'wonder' and favourable citations of *Archäologische Zeitung*, Eduard Gerhard, Emil Braun and Wilhelm Henzen. He dedicates one of his books 'to the Prussian and Bavarian people, who have done so much to promote the study, to further the appreciation, and restore the character, of ancient art' (1860a, ix).

70. Falkener describes the scheme in a letter to the antiquarian Thomas Pettigrew, 21 Dec 1858 (British Library, Add MS 56229, fols 170–1). At the time Newton was a British consular agent; in 1861 he was appointed to the new post of keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities at the British Museum.

Whatever the reasons that prevented him from completing the work, Falkener's writings and drawings as they survive in his archive serve as a valuable source for understanding the competitive state of the field of antiquarian publishing, the challenges of travel in the Ottoman Empire, the working method of an architectural draughtsman and his conception of the cities of Anatolia – ancient and contemporary. The 'Epitome of Antiquity' was not to be, but the diverse body of records of his travels that Falkener left behind are in some senses more interesting, extending well beyond the Greek and Roman subjects for which he is occasionally remembered today, and synthesising forms of scholarship and artistic souvenir-making. The loose ends and conflicting interests tell a fuller story of the challenges of revising records of travel of publication, while the mix of material combined in Falkener's portfolios presents a salutary contrast to contemporary scholarly specialism that treats different historical periods in isolation. The archive deserves to be studied for its insights into a range of Anatolian pasts and, importantly, put into dialogue with other local perspectives from across the sites mentioned. A complete study of Asia Minor eluded Falkener, but his incomplete visions of Anatolia are all the richer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My foremost thanks go to the descendants of Edward Falkener for their goodwill and support throughout the course of my research. For valuable conversations and advice on the subject of the paper, I would also like to express my gratitude to Stephen John Hall, Frank Salmon, Caroline Vout, Irving Finkel, Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis, and the anonymous reviewers. This work was completed during a period of research funded by The Leverhulme Trust, ECF-2024-520.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

- | | |
|---|--|
| British Library, London, Add MS 56229, fols 170–I | British Museum, London, Greece and Rome Archives, 'Box: Edward Falkener, 1814–1896', MSS 1031–6
RIBA Archives, London, MS SP\3\23 |
|---|--|

Secondary sources

- | | |
|---|---|
| Aitchison, G and Ward, R 2004. 'Falkener, Edward (1814–1896), architect and archaeologist', <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> online edition, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9123 (accessed 18 Aug 2025) | <i>ancient cities and especially Antioch of Pisidia</i> , Richard Bentley, London |
| Armston-Sheret, E 2024. <i>On the Backs of Others: rethinking the history of British geographical exploration</i> , University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln | Aslan, R 2022. <i>A Journey to the Homeric Landscape: Troy, Troas, Bucharest</i> |
| Arundell, F 1828. <i>A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia</i> , John Rodwell, London | Bahrani, Z, Çelik, Z and Eldem, E (2011) <i>Scramble for the Past: a story of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914</i> , SALT, Istanbul |
| Arundell, F 1834. <i>Discoveries in Asia Minor: including a description of the ruins of several</i> | Barrow, R 2007. <i>The Use of Classical Art and Literature by Victorian Painters, 1860–1912</i> , Edwin Mellen Press, Lampeter |
| | Beaufort, F 1817. <i>Karamania: or, a brief description of the south coast of Asia-Minor</i> |

- and of the remains of Antiquity, R Hunter, London
- Boyar, E 2002. 'British archaeological travellers in nineteenth-century Anatolia: Anatolia 'without' Turks', *Eurasian Stud*, 1 (1), 97–103
- Çelik, Z 2016. *About Antiquities: politics of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*, University of Texas Press, Austin
- Challis, D 2008. *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1880*, Duckworth, London
- Constantine, D 2011. *In the Footsteps of the Gods: travellers to Greece and the quest for the Hellenic ideal*, rev edn, Tauris Parke, London
- Crinson, M 1996. *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture*, Routledge, London
- Davis, E J 1874. *Anatolica; or, the journal of a visit to some of the ancient ruined cities of Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and, Pisidia*, Grant & Co, London
- Davis, E J 1879. *Life in Asiatic Turkey: a journal of travel in Cilicia (Pedia and Trachoea), Isauria, and parts of Lucaonia and Cappadocia*, Edward Stanford, London
- Driver, F and Jones, L 2009. *Hidden Histories of Exploration: researching the RGS-IBG collections*, Royal Holloway, London
- Duggan, T 2018. 'European antiquarian, "epigraphic-archaeological" research in "hitherto unexplored" Ottoman Lycia in the first half of the 19th century', in M Arslan and F Baz (eds), *Arkeoloji, Tarih ve Epigrafi'nin Arasında*, 277–318, *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları*, Galatasaray, Istanbul
- Dyson, S 2008. *In Pursuit of Ancient Past: a history of classical archaeology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, Yale University Press, New Haven
- Falkener, E (ed) 1854. *Description of Some Important Theatres & Other Remains in Crete: from a ms. history of Candia by Onorio Belli in 1586*, Trübner, London
- Falkener, E (ed) 1860b. *The Museum of Classical Antiquities: being a series of essays on ancient art*, new edn, Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, London
- Falkener, E 1860a. *Daedalus: or, the causes and principles of the excellence of Greek sculpture*, Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, London
- Falkener, E 1861. *On the Hypaethron of Greek Temples*, Longmans, Green, Longman & Roberts, London
- Falkener, E 1862. *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, Day & Son, London
- Falkener, E 1874. 'Foreign intelligence', *Morning Post*, 17 Nov
- Falkener, E 1892. *Games Ancient and Oriental and How to Play Them*, Longmans, London
- Fellows, C 1839. *A Journal Written During an Excursion in Asia Minor*, John Murray, London
- Fellows, C 1841. *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia: being a journal kept during a second excursion in Asia Minor*, John Murray, London
- Findley, C 2008. 'The Tanzimat', in R Kasaba (ed), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol 4, 9–37, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Finkel, I 1998. 'Edward Falkener: old board games for new', *Board Games Stud*, 1, 104–8
- Franklin, J, Alison, F and Pinfield, L 1993. *Directory of British Architects 1834–1900*, Mansell, London
- Fraser, E 2017. *Mediterranean Encounters: artists between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774–1839*, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, PA
- Galanakis, Y 2012. 'On Her Majesty's service: C L W Merlin and the sourcing of Greek antiquities for the British Museum', *CHS Res Bul*, 1 (1)
- Greenhalgh, M 2019. *Plundered Empire: acquiring antiquities from Ottoman lands*, Brill, Leiden
- Gunning, L 2016. *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum*, Routledge, London
- Hall, S 2018. *Falkener's Folly: a Victorian Gentleman's Garden*. The Exhedra Press, United Kingdom
- Hamilton, W J 1842. *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, John Murray, London
- Harris, M and Myers, R (eds) 1999. *Journeys through the Market: travel, travellers and the book trade*, St Paul's Bibliographie, Folkestone
- Hastings, J 1898–1904. *Dictionary of the Bible*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh
- Henzen, W 1852. 'Inscriptiones Graecae', *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 24, 115–97
- Hoock, H 2010. *Empires of the Imagination: politics, war and the arts in the British world, 1750–1850*, Profile Books, London
- Hutton, C 1909. 'A collection of sketches by C R Cockerell, RA', *J Hellenic Stud*, 29 (1), 53–9

- Jenkins, I 1992. *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum, 1800–1939*, British Museum Press, London
- Jenkins, I (ed) 2021. *The Romance of Ruins: the search for ancient Ionia – 1764*, Sir John Soane's Museum, London
- Karydis, N 2020. 'Discovering the Byzantine art of building: lectures at the RIBA, the Royal Academy and the London Architectural Society, 1843–58', *Architect Hist*, **63**, 171–90
- Keighren, I, Withers, C and Bell, B 2015. *Travels into Print: exploration, writing, and publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- König, J 2024. 'Marginal voices, ethnographic judgement and antiquarian self-definition in Edward Daniel Clarke's travels', in A Petsalis-Diomidis (ed), *Travel and Classical Antiquities in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Greece: exploring marginalised perspectives*, 164–85, Routledge, London
- Laborde, L and Laborde, A 1838. *Voyage de l'Asie mineure*, Firmin Didot, Paris
- Leake, W M 1824. *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, John Murray, London
- Leask, N 2002. *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Levine, P 1986. *The Amateur and the Professional: antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Liscombe, R 1980. *William Wilkins, 1778–1839*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Mairs, R and Muratov, M 2015. *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters: exploring Egypt and the Near East in the late 19th–early 20th centuries*, Bloomsbury Academic, London
- Mercer, M 2020. 'Professions and past times: the British Ordnance Office establishment and the investigation of Mediterranean antiquities, c 1800–1859', *Arms & Armour*, **17** (2), 157–77
- Mickel, A 2021. *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent: a history of local archaeological knowledge and labor*, University Press of Colorado, Louisville
- Moser, S 2020. *Painting Antiquity: Ancient Egypt in the art of Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Edward Poynter and Edwin Long*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Murray, J 1840. *Hand-Book for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople*, John Murray, London
- Nichols, K 2015. *Greece and Rome at the Crystal Palace: classical sculpture and modern Britain, 1854–1936*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Ousterhout, R 2013. 'Revisiting the Binbirkilise site: the photographs of John Henry Haynes of 1887', *Deltion Tes Christianikes Archaialogikes Hetaireias*, **34**, 395–404
- Özavcı, H 2021. *Dangerous Gifts: imperialism, security, and civil wars in the Levant, 1798–1864*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Ozil, A 2024. 'Perceptions of ancient remains in Ottoman Anatolia in the mid-nineteenth century: modernity, local society, and diverse ways of being Greek', in A Petsalis-Diomidis (ed), *Travel and Classical Antiquities in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Greece: exploring marginalised perspectives*, 199–217, Routledge, London
- Papworth, W (ed) 1853. *The Dictionary of Architecture*, 8 vols, Thomas Richards, London
- Parry, J 2022. *Promised Lands: the British and the Ottoman Middle East*, Princeton University Press, Princeton
- Pearce, S (ed) 2007. *Visions of Antiquity: the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707–2007*, Archaeologia **111** ser, Society of Antiquaries, London
- Pearce, S and Ormrod, E 2017. *Charles Robert Cockerell in the Mediterranean: letters and travels, 1810–1817*, Boydell & Brewer, Suffolk
- Pedone, S 2012. 'Charles Félix-Marie Texier and the studies on the Ottoman architecture of Constantinople: a pioneering model', *Eurasian Stud*, **10**, 281–98
- Petsalis-Diomidis, A (ed) 2024. *Travel and Classical Antiquities in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Greece: exploring marginalised perspectives*, Routledge, London
- Quirke, S 2010. *Hidden Hands: Egyptian workforces in Petrie excavation archives, 1880–1924*, Duckworth, London
- Ramsay, W M 1890. *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, John Murray, London
- Ramsay, W M 1897. *Impressions of Turkey*, Hodder and Stoughton, London
- Ramsay, W M and Bell, G L 1909. *Thousand and One Churches*, Hodder and Stoughton, London
- Redford, S 1991. 'The Alâeddin Mosque in Konya reconsidered', *Artibus Asiae*, **51** (1–2), 54–74
- Schiffer, R 1999. *Oriental Panorama: British travellers in 19th century Turkey*, Rodopi, Amsterdam
- Searight, S and Wagstaff, M (eds) 2001. *Travellers in the Levant: voyagers and visionaries*, ASTENE, Durham
- Slatter, E 1994. *Xanthus: travels of discovery in Turkey*, Rubicon, London

- Sloboda, S 2008. 'The grammar of ornament: cosmopolitanism and reform in British design', *J Design Hist*, **21** (3), 223–36
- Smith, C R 1886. *Retrospections, Social and Archaeological*, vol 2, George Bell & Sons, London
- Spratt, T and Forbes, E 1847. *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis: in company with the late Rev E T Daniell*, J Van Voorst, London
- Stoneman, R 2010. *Land of Lost Gods: the search for Classical Greece*, I B Tauris, London
- Stray, C 1997. *Classics Transformed: schools, universities, and society in England, 1830–1960*, Clarendon Press, Oxford
- Tanyeri-Erdemir, T 2021. 'A new species of human beings: enlightened encounters with the Anatolian "other" in the eighteenth century', in I Jenkins (ed), *The Romance of Ruins: the search for ancient Ionia – 1764*, 91–106, Sir John Soane's Museum, London
- Teissier, B 2017. 'Crimean Tatars in explorative and travel writing: 1782–1802', *Anatolian Stud*, **67**, 231–53
- Teissier, B 2024. *Sublime Summits and Vanishing Worlds: British travellers, adventurers and agents in the nineteenth-century Caucasus*, Signal Books Ltd, Oxford
- Texier, C 1839. *Description de l'asie mineure faite par ordre de gouvernement francais de 1833 à 1837*, 3 vols, Firmin Didot, Paris
- Thornton, A 2018. *Archaeologists in Print: publishing for the people*, UCL Press, London
- Tromans, N 2008. *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist painting*, Yale University Press, New Haven
- Weidmann, D 2014. 'Through the stable door to Prince Albert? On Gottfried Semper's London connections', *J Art Historiogr*, **11**, 1–26
- Wiltshire, R 2024. 'Graves' concerns: the 1841–2 Xanthos expedition', *Antiq J*, **104**, 1–23
- Yalman, S 2012. 'Ala Al-Din Kayqubad illuminated: a rum Seljuq sultan as cosmic ruler', *Muqarnas*, **29** (1), 151–86