

BETWEEN ACADEMIA, LOCAL COMMUNITIES, AND LABOUR: ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE AND HERITAGE IN TURKEY

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities
in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Archaeology and History of Art



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

June 2021

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To my mother and father

Abstract

This dissertation explores the history and politics of archaeological practice in Turkey based on a theoretical framework of memory studies. It addresses three main research themes: the development of archaeology as an academic discipline in Turkey, the relationship between local communities and archaeological teams in the field, and the landscape of labour in archaeological fieldwork in Turkey. Exploring the ways in which archaeological knowledge has been produced, narrated, and instrumentalized, this dissertation contributes to an alternative historical account of archaeology in Turkey by thickening that narrative with otherwise silent voices from the local communities who are involved in archaeological excavations. This research employs multi and cross-disciplinary methodologies including oral history, social network analysis, and archival research conducted in fifteen different institutions located in Turkey, Germany, UK, and the US. Over thirty-three hours of oral history interviews were recorded with thirty-eight participants which represent a diverse body of practitioners of archaeological fieldwork in Turkey. These interviews are further analyzed and contextualized in juxtaposition with the archival records.

Keywords: History of archaeological practice, labour, archaeological fieldwork, archaeological heritage, local communities, memory studies, oral history, social network analysis

Özetçe

Bellek çalışmaları teorik çerçevesi üzerine temellenen bu doktora tezi, Türkiye’de arkeoloji pratiğinin tarihini ve politikasını araştırmaktadır. Bu çalışma, üç ana araştırma temasını ele almaktadır. Bu temalar Türkiye’de arkeolojinin akademik bir disiplin olarak gelişimi, arkeolojik saha araştırmalarında yerel topluluklar ve arkeoloji ekipleri arasındaki ilişki ve Türkiye’de arkeolojik saha araştırmalarında emeğin yerini içerir. Bu doktora tezinde, arkeolojik bilginin nasıl üretildiği, anlatıldığı ve kullanıldığı araştırılmıştır. Arkeolojik kazılarda çalışan yerel toplulukların sessiz kalmış emeklerini anlatıya dahil ederek zenginleştiren bu çalışma, Türkiye’de arkeolojinin alternatif bir tarihsel söyleme kavuşmasına katkıda bulunmuştur. Çokludisipliner ve disiplinlerarası bir seri yöntem kullanan bu çalışma, sözlü tarih, sosyal ağ analizi ve Türkiye, Almanya, İnhiltere ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nde yer alan on beş ayrı kurumda arşiv çalışması sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Araştırma dahilinde, Türkiye’de arkeolojik saha çalışmaları yürüten geniş bir yelpazeyi temsilen otuz sekiz kişiyle otuz üç saati aşan sözlü tarih görüşmesi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu görüşmeler, arşiv kayıtları ile karşılaştırılmalı olarak analiz edilip, kendi bağlamlarında araştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arkeoloji pratiğinin tarihi, emek, arkeolojik saha çalışması, arkeolojik kültürel miras, yerel topluluklar, bellek çalışmaları, sözlü tarih, sosyal ağ analizi

Acknowledgements

I believe the dissertation process to be two things at the same time. While it can be the loneliest of experiences, it is also equally true that it can only be done through the generous support and encouragement of a community of people. First and foremost, I would like to express my enduring gratitude to my advisor, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, for her continuous support and mentorship throughout my doctoral studies, believing in the value of my work at times when I did not, and providing me with the intellectual freedom which made this study possible. I am also hugely indebted to Inge Uytterhoeven and Ömür Harmanşah who have been invaluable as members of my dissertation committee and offered their help and advice during the doctoral research process. I would also like to express my appreciation to Oğuz Tekin for his contributions in my dissertation defense jury. I was a clueless undergraduate student when I first walked into Suna Güven's seminar class on Roman Architecture over a decade ago. Her presence in my defense jury was the perfect closure that I could ever imagine to my dissertation. I will be forever grateful for her encouragement and guidance.

The Department of Archaeology and History of Art at Koç University has been home to me and the intellectual environment I found there made this research possible. I would like express my thanks to Carolyn Aslan, Paul Magdalino, Alessandra Ricci, and late Adrian Saunders who helped me shape my research in its earlier stages through their classes.

I am greatly indebted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities at Koç University for its financial support. My dissertation research was further supported by the Doctoral Grant from the Suna and İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations, the SALT Research Fund, the International Scholarship of the State Museums of Berlin, and the Princeton University Library Research Grant. The travel necessary for this dissertation was made possible by additional funding from the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities at Koç University, Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, Ruhr University Bochum, University of Graz, German Historical Institute London, Humboldt University Berlin and University of Applied Sciences Berlin.

My dissertation has benefited immensely from the guidance and advice of many scholars and archivists I met during my research. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Martin Maischberger from the State Museums of Berlin, Katharina Steudtner, Johanna Mueller von der Haegen and late Ulrike Wolf-Rheidt from the German Archaeological Institute Berlin, late Martin Bachmann from the German Archaeological Institute Istanbul, Stefan Altekamp from the Winckelmann Institute, Christine Gerbich from the Humboldt University Berlin, Julia Gearhart and Alan Stahl from the Princeton University, Theresa Huntsman from the Harvard Art Museums, Anne Flannery from the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, and Christiana J. Dobrzynski from the Bryn Mawr College, Cengiz Kırılı, Nurçin İleri, Aude Aylin de Tapia, and Başak Deniz Özdoğan from the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center.

Oral history interviews were a major part of my dissertation research and this would not have been possible without the generous contribution of many individuals who shared their experiences and memories with me. I am more than grateful to Zeynep Ahunbay, Meral Akurgal, late Tomris Bakır, Christof Berns, Işık Bingöl, Orhan Bingöl, Nicholas D. Cahill, Özlem Çevik, late Altan Çilingiroğlu, Francesco D'Andria, Cevat Erder, Kenan Eren, Yaşar Ersoy, Suna Güven, Musa Kadioğlu, Osman Kırtı, Zeynep Koçel Erdem, Elif Koparal, Hadi Özbal, Mihriban Özbaşaran, Mehmet Özdoğan, Christine Özgan, Ömer Özyiğit, Paul Gerhard, Felix Pirson, Jeroen Poblome, Christopher Ratté, Günsel Renda, Klaus Rheidt, Brian Rose, Nuran Şahin, Celal Şimşek, Bert Smith, Alexander Sokolicek, Oğuz Tekin, Ebru Torun, Inge Uytterhoeven, late Marc Waelkens, and Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu for taking the time to take part in my research. While we did not record formal interviews, I would also like to thank Anthony Greenwood, Aslı Özyar, and Lutgarde Vandeput for their role in my work.

Throughout my dissertation process, I got by with a little help from my friends. Pınar Aykaç and N. Pınar Özgüner gave me advice and encouragement when I needed most. Berk Orbay kindly answered my questions and helped me navigate through many technical obstacles I faced in my work. Barış Altan and İpek Dağlı helped me connect to possible oral history interview participants. My dissertation research took me to different parts of the globe and these research trips were made possible through the generous hospitality of my friends. For this, I am most grateful to Suay Şeyma Erkusöz, Julian

Wiedemann, Cantay Çalışkan, Fabian Steininger, Sabiha Göloğlu, Emre Girgin, Dima Andari Girgin, Kemal Erünlü, Bahtiyar Yılmaz, Will Harper, Esra Roşu. My ARHA family, Sabiha Göloğlu, Emily Arauz, Lauren Davis, Aysel Arslan, Gizem Dörter, Deniz Sever Georgousakis, and Gülşah Günata helped me through the various stages of PhD life. Hugh to my Stephen, Alaz Munzur, witnessed the whole thing through thin and thick. Simge Pesen and Elif Tuğçe Karaca have become my second family over the years (25 of them) and have been for me whenever I needed. Emre Girgin provided me with distraction and support on a daily basis whenever I was stuck in the depths of writing process. Esra Roşu held my hand through the hardest times and helped me find the extra push to complete this work. I will forever be in their debt. Last but not least, my mother and father supported me and my work unconditionally. I cannot begin to express my gratitude and appreciation for their endless love and support. This dissertation would not even begin to materialize without their presence in my life and is dedicated to them.

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A Note on Transcription and Translation

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

On July 9, 2017, the World Heritage Committee announced that Aphrodisias, a Greco-Roman archaeological site located in southwestern Turkey, was inscribed to the UNESCO World Heritage List.¹ The decision of the World Heritage Committee was based on the following criteria:

Criterion (ii): The exceptional production of sculpted marble at Aphrodisias blends local, Greek, and Roman traditions, themes, and iconography.

Criterion (iii): Aphrodisias occupies an important place in the study of urban culture in Asia Minor from the late Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity.

Criterion (iv): Aphrodisias bears exceptional testimony to the built environment of a Greco-Roman city in inland Asia Minor.

Criterion (vi): Aphrodisias was famous in antiquity as the cult center of a unique version of Aphrodite which amalgates aspects of an archaic Anatolian fertility goddess with those of the Hellenic goddess of love and beauty.²

On the World Heritage Committee website, the decision was announced accompanied by a link to a series of pristine photographs of Aphrodisias. The image of the Tetrapylon—the monumental gateway to the Temple of Aphrodite which was reconstructed in late 1980s as part of an anastylosis project—was the first image to be presented. This was followed by more photos that captured crystal-clear images of all the major monuments and sculptures found in the ancient city (Figure 1).³

There is nothing in the World Heritage Committee presentation of Aphrodisias but the remaining ancient architecture and sculpture, or often reconstructed versions of these which can be discovered in both text and image. The portrait of the site is stripped of people, including the archaeologists who worked at the site and the local communities who lived there: there are only marble stones displayed. However, there is more to tell about those stones.

¹ 'Three New Sites and Two Extensions Added to UNESCO's World Heritage List', <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1691/>, 9 July 2017.

² 'Decision: 41 COM 8B.28 Aphrodisias (Turkey)' (The World Heritage Committee, 12 July 2017).

³ 'Aphrodisias', 2017, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1519/gallery/>.

The Tetrapylon, a monumental arch functioning as an entrance to the temple area in the ancient city, became the iconic monument most closely associated with Aphrodisias, and similar images of the Tetrapylon of Aphrodisias have been featured in various media; from archaeological literature to popular media, to covers of Turkey's tourism initiatives, to a recent Vodafone advertisement. On the other hand, a photograph taken by Ara Güler, arguably Turkey's most prominent photographer, depicts a very different side of Aphrodisias. It shows two elderly men casually conversing while seated on an ancient remain (Figure 2). In the photo are also houses from Geyre, the village that was built on the ancient site of Aphrodisias until the systematic excavations were started in 1960s by Kenan T. Erim of New York University.

This photograph is one among many taken by Güler, and the story of this photograph is intrinsically linked with the site. In popular media, Aphrodisias has been known for its alleged “rediscovery” story repeatedly told by Ara Güler who photographed the site in 1958. The story is as follows. In 1958, Ara Güler, a photojournalist at the time, was following the inauguration of a dam in the area southeast of Aydın—by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. Either on his way to the inauguration or back from it (the story changes) Ara Güler got lost due to a heavy rain fall and then had to take refuge in a nearby village until the roads were cleared.⁴ It was this very village—Geyre—where Güler first witnessed ancient ruins among the village structures and photographed them until they were ultimately destroyed by the modern archaeological excavations and lost the chance to co-exist and co-habit with the ancient heritage in the surroundings.

On the official website of the Aphrodisias Archaeological Project, the section called ‘Early Exploration’ gives a very different account of discovery than the one narrated by Ara Güler. Here, the sequence of archaeological encounters with Aphrodisias is recounted as follows.⁵ It was first the European travellers who took note of the ancient remains on the site as early as the 18th century. Among these travellers, the most prominent person who visited the site was William Sherard in 1705. The Society of Dilettanti, a London-based group of wealthy individuals interested in art, organized an expedition to record the remains on the site, and published the results in 1840. The second text mentioning the

⁴ Ara Güler, *Aphrodisias Çılgılığı* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 6.

⁵ Aphrodisias Excavations Project, ‘Early Exploration’, 2019, <http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/exploration.html>.

site was published in 1849 and recounted the French expedition by C.-F. M. Texier in 1835. Half a century later, another French team, led by Paul Gaudin and Gustave Mendel, conducted the first excavations at the site in 1904 and 1905 at the Temple of Aphrodite and the Hadrianic Baths. While the finds from the 1904 campaign led by Gaudin were sold in Europe and Izmir, and are now in the Goudin Museum, France, the sculpture and ancient remains from Mendel's campaign were brought to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. André Boulanger led another French team at the site in 1913 but their work was interrupted by the impending World War One. In 1937, an Italian expedition directed by G. Jacopi, who came to the site and excavated the Portico of Tiberius in the South Agora, published the results a year later. According to the official excavation website mentioned above, the first systematic and scientific excavations began in 1961 and were led by Professor Kenan T. Erim who continued to work on the site until his death in 1990. The text does not mention Ara Güler's story nor the detailed bibliography included in his book on Aphrodisias, published in 1982, that includes many of the photographs he took in 1958.

This dissertation does not aim to provide a revisionist history of archaeology in Turkey. Rather it investigates the different myths, memories, and narratives that accompany a selection of archaeological sites and the practices that have occurred at these sites. It explores the narratives which are often ignored in official histories and public presentations of these sites and excavations. It uses methodologies such as oral history and social network analysis, which have only recently been employed to understand the past and practices of archaeological excavations, and suggests that memory studies and a close reading of archival records that are often neglected can be a fruitful way to engage with and learn more about, the material objects, the texts, and the people that remain when archaeological excavation has ended. In short, this dissertation tells the story of how we got from this picture (Figure 2) to that picture (Figure 1).

Archaeology has a long history in Turkey. Starting with the first European travellers discovering the ruins on the Aegean coast in the eighteenth century, archaeology as a discipline has come a long way. This dissertation is not a history of archaeology in Turkey so only a brief overview of major developments is provided here. The first conscious attempts towards understanding the archaeological heritage in Ottoman Empire were

made in the nineteenth century, and the first imperial museum was established in Hagia Irene in the garden of the Topkapı Palace in 1869.⁶ As the museum developed under its new director Osman Hamdi Bey, it also started its own excavations—most notably at Mount Nemrud and the ancient city of Sidon. With the founding of the new Republic of Turkey, the discipline of archaeology became one of the crucial agents in forming the new identity of the state.⁷ Promising students were sent abroad to study ancient languages and the archaeology of Anatolia. New schools and faculties in universities focusing on ancient civilizations of Anatolia such as Sumerians and Hittites were established and émigré scholars from Europe led these institutions in their formative years.

From the 1950s onwards, the interest in archaeology and its role as a decisive agent in the formation of state identity gradually waned but the discipline continued to develop and diversify. Starting with the 1960s, rescue excavations proliferated thanks to the extensive dam constructions particularly in the eastern and south-eastern parts of Turkey. The tourism boom of the 1980s opened up the archaeological sites of Turkey to the international stage, and archaeological research began to feel the pressure of the tourism industry.⁸ From 2002 onwards with the successive Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, *AKP* in its Turkish abbreviation) government, tourism was prioritized over archaeological research—most evident in the merging of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism into one ministry in 2003. While the state control of archaeology in Turkey has transformed and developed its apparatus since its formation in the late Ottoman period, what has not changed is the state's involvement as an active party in archaeological research in the country through various channels.

The geographical and temporal focus of this dissertation is modern Turkey from the 1920s to the early 2000s. The examples and case studies in this dissertation, however, are drawn specifically from the western coastal regions of Turkey during the second half of the

⁶ Edhem Eldem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869', in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 281–330.

⁷ Çiğdem Atakuman, 'Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic (1923–1938)', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8, no. 2 (1 June 2008): 214–35, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469605308089965>.

⁸ Çiğdem Atakuman, 'Value of Heritage in Turkey: History and Politics of Turkey's World Heritage Nominations', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (16 July 2010): 107–31, <https://doi.org/10.1558/jmea.v23i1.107>.

twentieth century. Due to historical reasons that will be critiqued later in the dissertation, archaeological work in the country has concentrated on the western coastal region of Turkey. Many archaeological projects in this region however include wider networks of institutions and people who live outside Turkey. Therefore, research for this thesis required an “international” approach since much of the archival material that was consulted, and the people interviewed about specific archaeological sites in Turkey, were not themselves located in Turkey. A great deal of internationality and cultural interaction was inevitable—both in the stories that unfold in the next chapters and the modalities of the research. Here it should be mentioned that Turkey is one of the few countries where excavation permits can be granted to foreigners, which also potentially explains the international aspect of archaeological practice in the country.

1.1 Problem Statement and Research Questions

The literature on the history of archaeology in Turkey has centred on the role of archaeologists, and particularly excavation directors, based on a narrative of discovery of long-forgotten civilizations and languages. This kind of narrative often omits the very dynamics of how archaeology has been practiced, and silences other voices involved in the archaeological practice, especially the voices of the local communities. This dissertation aims to answer this problem by addressing the following research questions:

How has archaeological practice developed and been transformed in Turkey?

What were the power dynamics in archaeological fieldwork?

How have the relationships between the archaeological teams and the local communities formed during the fieldwork?

What were the roles and contributions of the local communities in archaeological fieldwork?

How has the division of labour been shaped in archaeological practice?

How has the teaching of archaeology in Turkey established itself in the academy?

1.2 Contribution and Limitations

First, this dissertation provides an overview of how the archaeological heritage in Turkey has been shaped since the late Ottoman period. Second, this study documents the history

of the archaeological profession and practices in Turkey by concentrating on narratives from a select group of excavations that are intended to represent the extent and diversity of archaeology in the country. Third, it contributes to the scholarship about archaeology in Turkey by bringing a new reflective analysis to the profession and assessing the constraints and motivations of its participants in Turkey. Fourth, it also provides a review of how archaeology in Turkey has developed theoretically and practically as a result of the participation of different groups of professionals, and presents a critical history of the archaeological profession in Turkey. Finally, this study provides an alternative historical account of Antiquity in Turkey as it focuses on the multiple afterlives of the archaeological ruins through the phenomenon of memory. It thickens the historical narrative of sites by revealing the less official histories and more recent heritages which are often forgotten or ignored in archaeological scholarship.

This dissertation builds on an expansive and broad definition of archaeology which includes, in Yannis Hamilakis' words, "the discourses and practices involving material things of a past time."⁹ Following this definition, the examples and case studies in this thesis cover different academic divisions such as Prehistoric Archaeology, Protohistoric Archaeology, and Classical Archaeology, i.e. the three main academic divisions in archaeology within Turkish universities, and different geographic regions of the country.

The scope of this dissertation is due to a series of limitations. First, this dissertation elected to tell a particular story of archaeology, one that focuses on local communities and labour as well as the academic establishment. Consequently, there are important aspects of archaeological practice, such the agency of the state or its role in diplomacy, which are not directly addressed. Second, the accessibility of archives around the globe was determined chiefly by the financial resources needed to visit these of archives. A selection of archives in Germany, USA, UK, and Turkey are included here. Third, for the oral history interviews, the availability of the participants and time constraints resulted in the current list of conducted interviews. As an overall note, this study is qualitative in its methodological approach where in-depth and extensive investigation of personal stories are brought forth.

⁹ Yannis Hamilakis, 'Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece', in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 52.

1.3 Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the dissertation where the outlines of the research are drawn. This includes the context, problem statement and research questions, limitations, theoretical framework, and the methodology employed in the dissertation.

Chapter 2 titled “Issues and Attitudes in Research on the History of Archaeology in Turkey” is a critical inquiry into the scholarship on the history of archaeological practice in Turkey. This chapter surveys the scholarly attempts to interpret the history of archaeology as a discipline and practice in Turkey. It does not reflect a chronological view of the development of the archaeological practice itself, but rather, draws on the prominent trends in the historical research on the archaeological practice and profession with a particular focus on Turkey. By doing so, it evaluates the ways in which histories of archaeology in Turkey are archived, interpreted, and written. The media surveyed here includes academic books and articles, excavation reports and monographs, exhibitions catalogues, popular magazines, biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs.

Chapter 3 titled “Local Communities” is a historical investigation of the relationship between the local communities and the archaeological team members who have carried out fieldwork. Based on archival material as well as oral history interviews, this chapter reveals the power dynamics at play and the ways in which relationships were formed and maintained during and after the fieldwork. As much as possible, the voices of the local communities are given a central place in the narratives. Stories that were otherwise buried in the archives have been unearthed here to reveal a diverse and inclusive history of archaeological practices. By critiquing the ways in which local communities have been represented in the archaeological excavation archives, this chapter also questions the politics of archives and archival practices. In this chapter, particular emphasis is given to the stories and relationships formed outside the immediate realm of archaeology which would not necessarily be considered as part of the archaeological process.

Chapter 4 titled “Labour” draws a detailed outline of the ways in which labour has been organized and executed within the archaeological practice in Turkey. Organized based on the roles and identities formed as a result of labour relations, the chapter introduces the dynamics and power relations formed while conducting archaeological fieldwork in

Turkey. By contrasting and juxtaposing historical material with on-site observation, this chapter analyses how labour has developed and transformed throughout the years in relation to the changing political, social, and economic landscape of Turkey. Additionally, this chapter provides an historical overview of the legislation and regulations of archaeological work in the Turkish law.

Chapter 5 titled ‘Academia and Education” investigates the historical development of archaeological education and the academic establishment of archaeology in Turkey starting from the founding of the first archaeology department within Istanbul University in 1933. Academics have been prominent actors in the field of archaeology in Turkey and shaped the field by both educating future generations of archaeologists and designing and governing the fieldwork experience in archaeology. This chapter questions the issues of gender, social inclusion and professional exclusivity, along with the hierarchies that exist in schools and fieldwork. Furthermore, social network analysis based on academic production of knowledge in the form of theses and dissertations is employed as a method to reveal the spheres of influences in academia.

Chapter 6 consists of conclusive remarks on the dissertation and highlights the contribution of the research by giving an overview of the main arguments explained in the previous chapters. The challenges and shortcomings faced throughout the research and the future directions that it has potential to take will be elaborated in this final chapter.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Archival Research

Given the international nature of the archaeological work conducted in Turkey since the beginning of the twentieth century, the archival material consulted for this research is scattered around the globe and located in many different public institutions and private collections. The archival materials consulted for this dissertation had varying degrees of accessibility. For the sake of clarity, the collections consulted in this research are categorized into three types according to accessibility and organization: materials stored in publicly available archives, materials stored in institutions which provide limited access to researchers who have obtained permission, and materials which are in personal

collections and not available to the public or to researchers. While this categorization could be used to describe many archival collections, the questions related to archival access had particular ramifications for this dissertation.¹⁰ Table 1 shows the archives and institutions consulted for this dissertation and lists the accessibility of the collections at the time of research.¹¹ Further details regarding the nature of the details are given below according to the three categories: public, institutionally available, and private.

1.4.1.1 Public Archives

This category refers to the material that is publicly available to all researchers regardless of their affiliation to any institution, or more specifically, to any excavation. An initial application and screening are required.

1.4.1.2 Institutionally-Available Archives

This group of material refers to the archival materials which are held by institutions but are not available to the general public. These tend to be referred to as “working archives” by the directors of such archives and can be consulted by members of an institution or excavation that is currently active. Researchers not affiliated with the institution or excavation must obtain permission from the excavation administration to see selected archival materials. The institutional screening process and the inaccessibility of such archives related with major excavations often hindered research. On several occasions, even after permission was granted to access these “working archives” there were further restrictions.

¹⁰ For a critical overview on the accessibility of archives in Turkey, see Oktay Özel, *Dün Sancısı: Türkiye’de Geçmiş Algısı ve Akademik Tarihçilik*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 111–27.

¹¹ The accessibility of certain collections may have changed. For instance, at the time of research (October–December 2017), the archival materials that were part of the Collection of Antiquities, State Museums of Berlin were to be merged with the Central Archive of the same institution the following year. Similarly, the Personal Papers of Theodor Wiegand at the German Archaeological Institute were to be closed for access in the following year for digitization process.

1.4.1.3 *Private Archives*

This category refers to a wide range of archival material in personal collections.¹² It involves any historical document held by people who have been involved in some way with archaeological work in Turkey. While most of this archival material is rather fragmented and related to several different archaeological sites, this type of personal collection can also be where the major documentation for some archaeological sites is held, as is the case with the Aizanoi Excavation. What further sets this group of materials apart is the lack of an organized catalogue or a finding aid.

1.4.1.4 *Archival Working Process*

The working method within each archive differed based on the archive and institution. Following a framework shaped by the research questions of this dissertation, the textual and visual documents in the archives were first scanned, relevant documents were then further studied, and copied either manually or digitally, based on the level of permission. The relevancy of documents included in this dissertation were determined by their relevancy for the research questions. The documents within the archives of excavation projects are vast and very diverse; thus, a process of elimination was carried out to reach the documents that best answer the research questions. In cases where there was an index or guide for the documents, relevant documents were ordered in advance, in consultation with the archivists. In the archives which did not have an informative guide, all documents were examined. Further information regarding each document group and archive is elaborated in Chapter 3: Local Communities.

1.4.2 *Microhistory*

Within the context of this dissertation, microhistory is employed particularly to explore individual life experiences in depth where conventional narratives fall short. Microhistory has provided the methodological flexibility and guidance to make sense of many of the archival documents that are presented in this dissertation. Stemming from Italian historians in the 1970s as an experiment,¹³ microhistory offers alternative ways of

¹² For more information on the role of private archives see Marc-Antoine Kaeser, 'The Relevance of Private Archives for Writing the History of Archaeology', in *Archives, Ancestors, Practices: Archaeology in the Lights of Its History*, ed. Nathan Schlanger and Jarl Nordbladh (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 9–20.

¹³ For a detailed discussion on the development of microhistory as a research area, Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991),

researching and writing history and has now become an established academic area of its own with specialized scholars and research projects.¹⁴ Writing about the origins and the theoretical developments of microhistory, Carlo Ginzburg, an Italian historian, popularized this methodology in the scholarship through his works.¹⁵ He states that in its early manifestations, microhistory was spoken of “as if it were a label attached to an empty container waiting to be filled.”¹⁶ Microhistory is informed by the methods of other disciplines such as ethnography, cultural anthropology, and literary studies. Resisting a simple definition due to its diverse conceptualizations and applications, microhistory can be broadly defined as an intensive and in-depth historical inquiry into specific people, events, communities; in other words, research subjects of small scale.¹⁷

1.4.3 Oral History

In addition to extensive research in different types of archives mentioned above, oral history was used as a methodology in this thesis. This approach complemented the archival research and helped to create a richer narrative about the history of archaeological practice in Turkey by integrating the memories of practitioners. Table 2 lists the participants in the oral history research, their institutional affiliations, and the location and duration of each interview (the interviews conducted for this dissertation will be archived at the Koç University Suna Kıraç Library as part of the Oral History and Memory Archive¹⁸).

While the essential role of oral tradition in history writing could be traced back as early as Herodotus, in the context of modern scholarship oral history emerged roughly following the Second World War with a renewed interest in memory as a source; it

93-113; Jill Lepore, “Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (June 2001): 129-44.

¹⁴ Among many, an example would be the Microworlds Lab of Duke University, <https://sites.duke.edu/microworldslab/>

¹⁵ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

¹⁶ Carlo Ginzburg, ‘Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It’, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10.

¹⁷ Ginzburg, ‘Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It’.

¹⁸ The interviews will be part of the Koç University Library Digital Collections on <https://librarydigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/en/>

developed in different strands in several contexts.¹⁹ In the English-speaking world, the first institutional projects included the oral history project by Allan Nevins which then formed the basis of Columbia University Center for Oral History Research, and projects focusing on the life of the working class in Britain. Starting from the 1960s, oral history became more popular as a valid historical methodology particularly because it coincided with the history-from-below initiatives and helped give voice to marginalized groups. Major works were produced by scholars such as Paul Thompson²⁰ and Alessandro Portelli²¹ among others. In its current state, oral history is an established academic area of research with its dedicated professional associations and peer-reviewed journals,²² readers, handbooks,²³ and specialized archives and training programs.²⁴ In the Turkish context, oral history began to emerge in the 1990s especially with the initiative of the *Tarih Vakfı* [The History Foundation] which organized training programmes and published Turkish translations of well-known oral history sources. Particularly through its role in voicing marginalized and underrepresented groups within Turkish historiography such as the women movement, the political left, and the ethnic minority groups, oral history has become a refuge for unvoiced groups.²⁵ Works of Arzu Öztürkmen²⁶ and Leyla Neyzi²⁷ have been influential in the formation of the oral history

¹⁹ Thomson, Alistair, 'Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History', *The Oral History Review* 34, no. 1 (2007): 50.

²⁰ Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

²¹ Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991).

²² The Oral History Review published by the Oral History Association is one example among many. <https://www.oralhistory.org/publications/oral-history-review/>

²³ Robert Perks and Thomson, Alistair, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998); Donald A. Ritchie, *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Donna M. DeBlasio et al., eds., *Catching Stories. A Practical Guide to Oral History* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 2009).

²⁴ A list of related oral history archives and training programs can be found in <https://www.oralhistory.org/resources/>

²⁵ Leyla Neyzi, 'Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey', in *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem, and Philip Robins (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 443–59.

²⁶ Arzu Öztürkmen, 'Remembering through Material Culture: Local Knowledge of Past Communities in a Turkish Black Sea Town', *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2003): 179–93; Arzu Öztürkmen, 'Sözlü Tarihin Poetikası: Anlatım ve Gösterim', in *Edebiyatın Omzundaki Melek. Edebiyatın Tarihle Olan İlişkisi Üzerine Yazılar*, ed. Zeynep Uysal (Istanbul: İletişim, 2011), 53–61; Arzu Öztürkmen, 'Sözlü Tarih: Yeni Bir Disiplinin Cazibesi', *Toplum ve Bilim* 91 (2001): 115–21.

²⁷ Leyla Neyzi, ed., *Nasıl Hatırlıyoruz? Türkiye'de Bellek Çalışmaları* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009); Leyla Neyzi and Haydar Darıcı, *Özgürüm Ama Mecburiyet Var' Diyarbakırlı ve Muğlalı Gençler Anlatıyor* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2013); Neyzi, 'Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey'; Leyla Neyzi, 'Remembering Smyrna/Izmir. Shared History, Shared Trauma', *History & Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 106–27; Leyla Neyzi, 'Gülümser's Story: Life History Narratives, Memory and Belonging in

approach to this research and particularly in terms of adopting and modifying good practice methods into a Turkish context.

Given the prominent role of oral history as a methodology in this dissertation, a justification for its use rather than more anthropological or ethnographic type of interviewing is crucial and elaborated below. Furthermore, given the ambiguity of the very definition of oral history research and the diversity of its historiography, it is also necessary to stress the particular ways in which oral history is utilized in this dissertation.

Oral history within this research is primarily conceived of and used as a methodology to reveal stories and narratives that the traditional archaeological literature—e.g. monographs, journal articles, site reports—does not include. In simpler terms, oral history interviews were conducted to look for what the literature and archives do not say and the reasons behind the omissions. In line with the research questions of this dissertation which are historical in its nature, oral history interviews looked for the empty spaces left behind in archives and written texts. The important space that oral history navigates between the archival document and oral testimony has been a crucial source of information for this dissertation in terms of enriching and thickening the narrative of archaeological practice conducted throughout the twentieth century in Turkey.

There are examples where oral history was utilized as part of the larger repertoire of research methodologies in archaeological projects. This includes some studies on

Turkey', *New Perspectives in Turkey* 20 (1999): 1–26; Leyla Neyzi, 'Trauma, Narrative and Silence: The Military Journal of a Jewish "Soldier" in Turkey during the Greco-Turkish War', *Turcica* 35 (2003): 291–313; Leyla Neyzi and Hranush Kharatyan-Araqelyan, eds., *Speaking to One Another: Personal Memories of the Past in Armenia and Turkey* (Bonn: dvv international, 2010).

Çatalhöyük²⁸ as well as an oral history conducted as part of the archaeological work at the Ottoman Fortress Villages of Seddülbahir and Kumkale.²⁹

An additional note on the deliberate use of “oral history interviews” to describe the recorded talks rather than reportage or in-person questionnaire is necessary. What sets oral history interviews apart lies in its in-depth look into the interviewee’s life story through often abstract concepts and discourses rather than specific short-answered interrogation which forms the basis of journalistic reportage. Within a framework of methodological objectivity, oral history focuses on the interviewees’ life stories as well as the ways in which these are presented. In this sense, the interviews might include paradoxes and inaccuracies. The intention here is not simply to correct or invalidate those narratives, but rather, to understand the dynamics behind them. In this regard, oral history is also involved in creating the records which simply do not exist in the archives.

The structure and approach followed in the oral history interviews have been informed by a series of guidelines and studies. Archaeology has a long history of employing both ethnographic and oral history methods in order to get more information on the physical remains that constitute its subject of study.³⁰ Rather than taking ancient remains as the main subject, as the questions above demonstrate, the interviews in this thesis focused on the participants and followed a biographical format. The direct quotations used in this dissertation that were taken from the oral history interviews are transcribed based on the *Oral*

²⁸ Ayfer Bartu, ‘Where Is Çatalhöyük? Multiple Sites in the Construction of an Archaeological Site’, in *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example of Çatalhöyük*, ed. Ian Hodder, BIAA Monograph Series (Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2000), 101–9; Ayfer Bartu-Candan, ‘Remembering a Nine-Thousand-Year-Old Site: Presenting Çatalhöyük’, in *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, ed. Esra Özyürek (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 70–94; David Shankland, ‘Villagers and the Distant Past: Three Seasons’ Work at Küçükköy, Çatalhöyük’, in *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example of Çatalhöyük*, ed. Ian Hodder, BIAA Monograph Series (Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research and British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2000), 167–76.

²⁹ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak and Işıl Cerem Cencer, ‘Moving Beyond the Walls: The Oral History of the Ottoman Fortress Villages of Seddülbahir and Kumkale’, in *Oral History and Public Memories*, ed. Paola Hamilton and Linda Shopes (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 63–86.

³⁰ Sian Jones and Lynette Russell, ‘Archaeology, Memory and Oral Tradition: An Introduction’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16 (2012): 267–83, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-012-0177-y>.

History Transcription Style Guide published by the Columbia University Center for Oral History Research.³¹

Some recent studies on the topic of archaeological practice in Turkey have used oral history such as Daniel Shoup's PhD dissertation which focused on the nature of Classical archaeology conducted in Turkey. Shoup also included interviews in this thesis, although these were not structured as oral history, but used as part of a quantitative study. Furthermore, the interviewees were left anonymous in the final text.³² While some of the interviewees in this thesis might have been consulted in Shoup's research, the anonymity of the participants does not allow the reader to compare and combine stories from the interviews. Because of the emphasis on quantitative data, the narratives from Shoup's interviews were not highlighted, whereas those narratives are the central focus in this dissertation.

1.4.3.1 Participants

The initial list of participants selected for oral history interviews was based on a list of students compiled by Ekrem Akurgal, emeritus professor of Classical archaeology at Ankara University in his autobiography. Akurgal was one of the most influential figures in the history of the archaeological profession in Turkey.³³ The initial list compiled by Akurgal comprised twenty persons, but during my research this number expanded rapidly as I was frequently introduced to other possible participants following interviews.

The final list of participants consisted largely of current or former directors of archaeological projects in Turkey. However, among the participants were architects, art historians, conservators, and directors of excavations. These interviewees provided a diverse picture of experiences in archaeological projects. As is, the list of participants offers a cross-section of people with a vast repertoire of experiences in archaeology, and represents a diverse body of disciplines, schools, and geographies.

³¹ Liz H. Strong, *Oral History Transcription Style Guide*, ed. Mary Marshall Clark and Caitlin Bertin-Mahieux (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Oral History Research, 2018).

³² Daniel David Shoup, 'Monuments, Materiality, and Meaning in the Classical Archaeology of Anatolia' (Doctor of Philosophy, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 2008).

³³ Ekrem Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Tarihinden Birkaç Yaprak* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2004), 76–79.

1.4.3.2 Interviews

I conducted all interviews with an electronic recording device (mostly a smartphone, and in two cases with a tablet). The interviews took place in diverse locations; university offices, excavation houses, archaeological sites, cafes, personal households, and during the Covid-19 Pandemic, via Zoom. The duration of the interviews varied from 30 minutes to two hours, but on average, the interviews took 60 minutes. All interviews were conducted one-to-one without anyone except the interviewer and interviewee present, with the exception of the interview conducted with Yaşar Ersoy and Elif Koparal. This interview started with Yaşar Ersoy as the only interviewee. Elif Koparal joined in later while the interview was still in progress.

While the interviews generally followed a set of questions compiled by the author and approved by the Koç University Committee on Human Research (*Koç Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu*)³⁴, the nature of the information shared was determined by the participants themselves.³⁵ The interviews were intended as conversations and therefore I asked only open-ended questions and seldom interrupted the interviewees. The initial list of question that were used was:

Could you introduce yourself briefly?

Could you talk about your educational background?

Could you tell me more about your work experience in archaeology in Turkey?

Could you talk about your field experience in archaeology and the excavations you worked at in Turkey?

How do you see the academic environment in archaeology in Turkey?

What is your opinion about the current state of archaeology in Turkey?

What are your thoughts about the field of cultural heritage and its effect on archaeological practice in Turkey?

1.4.4 Social Network Analysis

In addition to the other methodological approaches mentioned earlier, social network analysis was used in this dissertation research. Social network analysis is a methodology

³⁴ <https://vprd.ku.edu.tr/etik-kurullar/>

³⁵ The application and the approval by the CHR can be found in Appendix A.

used in investigating social structures based on the network and graph theories. In this methodology, relationships within social network are broken into nodes for people, actors, or things, and edges (links or ties) for relationships and interactions that connect them. Recently, social network analysis has become an established methodology of its own with specialized academic journals and textbooks.³⁶

Social network analysis has wide opportunities for application in many facets of academia. For instance, the *Social Network Analysis and Mining* (SNAM) journal lists researchers and readers from “computer science, network science, social sciences, mathematical sciences, medical and biological sciences, financial, management and political sciences” as its target audience.³⁷ Archaeology is also one of the fields where social network analysis methodologies are used. Network theory has had wide applications in archaeology particularly in linking material remains and settlements. Carl Knappett’s edited volume titled *Network Analysis in Archaeology: New Approaches to Regional Interaction* showcases different approaches where network analysis methodology was employed.³⁸ For instance, in their research on Middle-Bronze-Age maritime networks of the southern Aegean, Ray Rivers, Carl Knappett, and Tim Evans investigate the importance and centrality of various settlements through network analysis and map out hitherto undisclosed connections and interactions between different sites.³⁹ Directly related with this dissertation, Allison Mickel’s study based on Çatalhöyük investigates archaeological knowledge production during the 20 years of the project using social network analysis.⁴⁰ In this dissertation, however, it will be the archaeologists themselves, not the material remains they excavate, who will be linked based on methodologies borrowed from social network analysis. The focus of the social network

³⁶ John Scott, *Social Network Analysis*, 3rd ed. (London: SAGE, 2013); Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis. History, Theory and Methodology* (London: SAGE, 2012); John Scott and Peter J. Carrington, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2011). Two of the journals focusing on social network analysis are “Social Network Analysis and Mining (SNAM)” by Springer and “Social Networks” by Elsevier. More can be added to the list.

³⁷ <http://link.springer.com/journal/13278>

³⁸ Carl Knappett, ed., *Network Analysis in Archaeology. New Approaches to Regional Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³⁹ Ray Rivers, Carl Knappett, and Tim Evans, ‘What Makes a Site Important? Centrality, Gateways, and Gravity’, in *Network Analysis in Archaeology. New Approaches to Regional Analysis*, ed. Carl Knappett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 125–50.

⁴⁰ Allison Mickel, ‘Tracing Teams, Texts, and Topics: Applying Social Network Analysis to Understand Archaeological Knowledge Production at Çatalhöyük’, *Journal of Archaeological Method & Theory* 23, no. 4 (2016): 1095–1126, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-015-9261-z>.

analysis in this dissertation is their professional network and the connections among academics who are archaeologists, particularly Ekrem Akurgal and his students.

Ekrem Akurgal had a long professional career stretching over forty years and was a professor of archaeology from 1941 to 1989 in Ankara University which was one of the two universities where one could study archaeology since the 1940s. In this regard, Akurgal had a great influence on his students though his role as an educator and an administrator. This social network case study examines Akurgal's student network in Turkish universities as a way to analyse social networks and affiliations in the archaeological community surrounding Akurgal.

The people in this social network analysis include Akurgal, his students, and his students' students as indicated in Table 3. In this social network analysis, the network includes only the students who completed a PhD degree as this was taken as an indication of a longer-term involvement in academia and a more secure link in the network. The selection of Akurgal's students for this dissertation was based on the list that Akurgal himself provided in his autobiography.⁴¹ Rather than construct a network based on the student-advisor relationships for theses, Akurgal's list is taken at face value since in its early years Ankara University did not offer graduate studies in archaeology. Additionally, Akurgal's own identification of certain scholars as his students established his first cycle of students analysed here and helped to construct the network in this thesis. For Akurgal's students' students, the criteria for being included in the network was a student-advisor relationship. A survey of theses supervised by Akurgal's students and their students was conducted to establish student links for each of Akurgal's students named in his list. In addition to the advisor-student information, a wide range of attributes was included in the network analysis such as detailed education information, thesis titles, places of work, institutional affiliation, and excavation experience.

⁴¹ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 76–79.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

1.5.1 *Critical Heritage Studies*

The study of the past has been the purpose of many academic disciplines over the last two centuries; one particular discipline that investigates the past within the present context is critical heritage studies. In describing how heritage studies have emerged as a separate discipline, David C. Harvey argues that, rather than pinpointing an exact moment in history such as the French Revolution (1789), the Ancient Monuments Act in Great Britain (1882), or the establishment of the National Trust (1895), the historiography of studies on heritage should be addressed “by producing a context-rich account of heritage as a process or a human condition.”⁴² In line with this argument, this dissertation is informed by the different definitions and approaches of heritage that have accumulated in this multidisciplinary field.

Conceptualised under different names such as cultural heritage management, cultural resource management, cultural heritage studies, heritage studies, and more recently critical heritage studies, emphasizing different lines of inquiry, and the study of the past through the lens of heritage has produced its distinct academic journals, a series of handbooks and book series, academic organizations, and regular academic events. From its nineteenth-century beginnings till the present, the heritage concept has evolved from a great monuments and place-based approach. Much of its accompanying rhetoric is referred to as “Authorized Heritage Discourse [AHD],” a term coined by Laurajane Smith, which promotes a more people-based rather than monument-focused approach and advocates valuing a non-Eurocentric definition of heritage. This is where heritage studies particularly influence this study as will be further discussed in detail in Chapter 2 which examines the relationship of cultural heritage and heritage studies with the history of archaeology in Turkey. Particularly with its shift to a people-based approach to heritage, this field has an important methodological impact on my research of people and their memories, and the places of archaeological research.

Critical heritage studies have also played a role in this dissertation in reframing the definition of archaeological practice. Taking a more inclusive approach towards

⁴² David C. Harvey, ‘Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): 320.

archaeological practice, its definition now includes communities living near or next to the ongoing projects and the daily life interactions of its participants beyond the trenches. Through the case studies presented here, microcosms of archaeology, containing several layers reaching down to the members of local communities, are revealed.

1.5.2 *Memory Studies*

Over the last three decades, memory studies has become one of the pioneering and productive fields within humanities and social sciences.⁴³ The disciplinary development of memory studies started with an early interest in the 1980s followed by a proliferation of related studies in the 1990s and a series of efforts in terms of institutionalization and organization in the 2000s.⁴⁴

The relationship between memory and archaeology dates back centuries before the professionalization of archaeology. Starting from pre-historic times, societies and individuals have been interested in the past and associated the memory of the past with material culture. However, the scholarly interest in memory and archaeology is a new phenomenon which became popular only in the last couple of decades, particularly after the proliferation of postmodern theories in social sciences and humanities. The theories and methodologies used in memory studies which have been applied to archaeology happened in different ways and disciplines. The interdisciplinary nature of memory studies found a new interface in archaeological research and many aspects of memory studies have since been incorporated into archaeological practice and theory.

The migration of theories from memory studies to archaeology resulted in different applications and interpretations of material culture. However, the adaptation of such theories has varied quite drastically in scale. While some studies employ a micro-scale approach revealing traces of memory in the form of an object biography, others apply the concept of memory to a bigger picture through elaborations of the relationship between memory, space and place. The political nature of the concept of memory manifests clearly

⁴³ Within the scope of this dissertation, I am referring to the scholarly research on memory studies only in social sciences and humanities.

⁴⁴ Astrid Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 1–15; Marek Tamm, 'Beyond History and Memory: New Perspectives in Memory Studies', *History Compass* 11, no. 6 (2013): 458–73.

in archaeology where collective memory is constructed often through institutional control of archaeological remains and the interpretation of these remains.

The abundance of the key concepts and terms in memory studies such as collective memory, social memory, and cultural memory among others is characteristic of the field and reflects both the historiography and inter-disciplinary nature of the field. Memory studies can be traced to the works of the influential scholar Maurice Halbwachs whose scholarly studies were rooted in the field of sociology. Even though Halbwachs coined the term “*mémoire collective*” (collective memory) as early as 1920s, it was the rediscovery and re-publication of his work in English that gave him a rekindled popularity in 1980s and 1990s.⁴⁵ Influenced by Halbwachs, scholars like Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins approached memory studies from a sociological point of view and even created a subfield of memory studies called social memory studies.⁴⁶

In the 1990s, the German scholars, Eliada and Jan Assmann, gave a theoretical boost to memory studies. Coming from different academic fields, Eliada Assmann from English literature and Jan Assmann from Egyptology, both approached their studies on memory using a cultural rather than sociological perspective. They preferred to use the term “cultural memory” in lieu of “social” or “collective” memory.⁴⁷ The point of departure for this concept of cultural memory for Assmann was that the memories of the past were not a random product of different social groups but an outcome of cultural negotiations through channels like texts, image, rituals, objects and buildings.⁴⁸ While cultural memory concepts were partly influenced by the work of Halbwachs, the works of the prominent art historian Aby Warburg, particularly in terms of the relationship between text, image, and memory, also influenced Assmann in the development of the cultural

⁴⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

⁴⁶ Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁴⁷ Eliada Assmann and Jan Assmann separately authored numerous articles and books on the subject which would make it cumbersome to cite all here. Most notable contributions are Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

⁴⁸ Tamm, ‘Beyond History and Memory: New Perspectives in Memory Studies’, 461.

memory concept.⁴⁹ In addition to Assmann's cultural memory or *Kulturelles Gedächtnis*, Pierre Nora's concept of the *lieux de mémoire* (often used in its French original but also translated as "sites of memory") is another key development of memory studies. Nora was particularly interested in the realms of memory and history and discussed the convergence and divisions between history and memory.⁵⁰

A series of institutionalization efforts in memory studies marked the field starting from 2000 onwards. A list of international research groups and projects, academic programmes, journals, scholarly handbooks concerned with memory studies is too long to include here but some works are worth mentioning. The prominent academic journal, *Memory Studies*, has been published since 2008 by SAGE.⁵¹ A book series with the same title by Palgrave MacMillan has been publishing academic works about memory studies since 2010.⁵² A number of readers and handbooks came out choosing different key works in the field such as "Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook" which was published in 2008, and "the Collective Memory Reader" in 2011.⁵³ Such initiatives are indicative of an established academic field which seeks to canonize its texts and present its methodology and concepts in a more mature way.

1.5.3 Memory Studies and Archaeology

Investigation of memory and memory studies in archaeological contexts, however, is a relatively new phenomenon. The earliest examples of this approach include scholars such as Lynn Meskell, Catherine Crawford, Susan Alcock, and Ömür Harmanşah who examine different aspects of the "archaeologies of memory" in various time periods and

⁴⁹ Tamm, 461.

⁵⁰ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, no. 26 (1 April 1989): 7–24, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520>. For a compilation of Pierre Nora's work translated into English, see Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, Vol. 1 - Conflicts and Divisions*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past, Vol. 2 - Traditions*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past, Vol. 3 - Symbols*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

⁵¹ The complete list of issues can be found at <http://mss.sagepub.com/content/by/year>

⁵² The complete list of the books can be found at <http://www.palgrave.com/series/palgrave-macmillan-memory-studies/PMMS/>

⁵³ Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008); Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader*.

analyse the archaeological material through the framework of memory. The following section discusses some of these studies and points out how these types of studies have informed the theoretical approach used in this dissertation.

The micro scale for memory studies in archaeology centers on objects. Interpreting objects as bearers of memory from different pasts and peoples is a common approach in the scholarship. One of the pioneer examples of such approach is Lynn Meskell's "Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present" published in 2004.⁵⁴ Looking at a group of objects from Ancient Egypt, Meskell traces their biographies in their original context as well as afterlives. In this manner, Meskell was able to investigate how memory is shaped and transformed through objects based on different historical and geographical contexts.

The biographical approach to objects and the manipulation of memories that are related to archaeological material is the subject of Catherine Lyon Crawford's "Collecting, Defacing, Reinscribing (and Otherwise Performing) Memory in the Ancient World".⁵⁵ Drawing examples from different periods spanning from the Akkadians to Romans, Crawford discusses different methods of engagement with objects and memory such as collecting, abducting, defacing, erasing, reinscribing, and replacing. There are a number of conclusions which can be drawn from Crawford's study. The manipulation of objects and performing memory are very common phenomena among many ancient civilizations from Akkadians to Romans and each has its own creative approach. Crawford shows how the engagements of the ancient cultures with memory tend to proliferate in times of war, disputes, and difficult times. In other words, people who wanted to control memories of the past did so in times of turmoil. Mastering of the past came with meticulous editing of the material remains. The established practice is *damnatio memoriae* —the Roman tactic of erasing the names of infamous emperors following their demise. An archaeologically rich field of research, the practice of damnation of memory included erasure of certain

⁵⁴ Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

⁵⁵ Catherine Lyon Crawford, 'Collecting, Defacing, Reinscribing (and Otherwise Performing) Memory in the Ancient World', in *Negotiating the Past in the Past: Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Tuscan: University of Arizona Press, 2007), 10–42.

emperor's names from inscriptions and recarving of their portrait statues.⁵⁶ The meticulousness of this practice went as far as erasing of emperor portraits from circulating coins as in the case in Geta, the ill-fated brother of the emperor Caracalla who ordered his execution. It is also remarkable how each of the acts Crawford mentions, be it a text or image, involves visual engagement and thus emphasizes the power of seeing and viewing in ancient cultures in terms of memory. Lastly, the afterlife of an object, which includes any period following the creation of the object, is as important as the primary context that shaped the memory.⁵⁷

Memory studies in archaeology which are object and biographically oriented address a micro and macro scale. On a more micro scale, the concept of spolia—the tradition of using building materials from existing building in new constructions—is an intriguing field of research in memory studies. The Roman and Byzantine practice of spolia is particularly well-researched in terms of its relationship with memory.⁵⁸ A classic example of such engagement with memory and spolia is the Arch of Constantine at Rome—a fourth century structure composed of marble reliefs from earlier structures in Rome. The spoliation programme is proved to be intentional where the new arch amalgamated older narratives through marble reliefs and mediated to a public audience through its visibility in the city.⁵⁹

Another context, and a macro scale through which scholars have integrated archaeology and memory is the urban environment. Through their monumental buildings, urban design, and premeditated patterns of movement, cities carry and shape memories throughout their centuries. While there are many studies undertaken particularly from the architectural point of view, I shall highlight a study which reveals intriguing

⁵⁶ A comprehensive study on the practice of *Damnatio Memoriae* is E. R. Varner. *Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden: Brill, 2004)

⁵⁷ Crawford, 'Collecting, Defacing, Reinscribing (and Otherwise Performing) Memory in the Ancient World', 39.

⁵⁸ Dale Kinney, 'The Concept of Spolia', in *Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 233–52; Amy Papalexandrou, 'Memory Tattered and Torn: Spolia in the Heartland of Byzantine Hellenism', in *Archaeologies of Memory*, ed. Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 56–80; Susan Yalman and Ivana Jevtić, eds., *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era* (Istanbul: Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2018).

⁵⁹ Jaś Elsner, 'From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 149–84.

interactions of memory and archaeology. Russell's analysis of the movement patterns in ancient Rome—the Forum Romanum and the Imperial Fora specifically—present a creative application of the concept of memory in archaeology.⁶⁰ By investigating these two urban centres throughout their long afterlives, Russell reveals that the original designs of these centres have affected the movement patterns and subsequent usages up until contemporary times. In this regard, Russell was able to demonstrate that cultural memory through movement in the city can illuminate the influence of the ancient urban plan and street network of the modern cityscape. Cultural memory in this case is created and reproduced through centuries-long urban movement patterns, performance, and traffic in contrast to the more static impact of specific objects.

The first studies on a larger scale of archaeology and memory looked at their subject matters from a much wider scale and focused on the concept of landscape. The pioneering study of Susan Alcock on the archaeology of Greece focused on landscape and memory and opened up new areas of research.⁶¹ The case studies Alcock presented showed how memory is one of the key concepts in making sense of the landscape in classical antiquity and how different people may have interpreted the past. In this sense, it is an investigation of 'the past in the past.' While looking at a series of different materials in addition to archaeological evidence, Alcock shows the different ways which people perceived and interpreted landscape over long stretches of time.

In addition to landscape, places are linked with memory in archaeological contexts. Ömür Harmanşah's study *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* concentrated on the practice of founding cities in the Assyrian empire and the Syro-Hittite polities of the Early Iron Age.⁶² Here Harmanşah shows that choosing particular places to found new cities in the Iron Age was very much related with the old settlements that used to be of importance for cultural and political reasons. Here memory is place-based

⁶⁰ Amy Russell, 'Memory and Movement in the Roman Fora from Antiquity to Metro C', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 4 (2014): 478–506.

⁶¹ Susan E. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶² Ömür Harmanşah, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Ömür Harmanşah, *Place, Memory, and Healing: An Archaeology of Anatolian Rock Monuments* (London: Routledge, 2014).

and transcends societies and time. This shows how places are closely linked with memory and highlights the elusive character of memory.

This dissertation attempts to bring in a new dimension of memory studies to archaeology by looking at memories from selected archaeological sites. By analysing memories and place surrounding archaeological sites, this dissertation queries the palimpsest of personal nostalgia personal and institutional memories. It further explores the intersections between official and personal narratives about place.

1.5.4 Political Entanglements of Memory

The relationship between archaeology and memory is a political one. The political use of archaeology for contemporary projects such as nationalism is also a well-known phenomenon which has been studied and published in a series of academic works.⁶³ Since the eighteenth century archaeology was a crucial tool used to create a national collective identity and legitimize national interest.⁶⁴ In this sense, it is not a surprise that the professionalization of archaeology as an independent discipline coincides with the establishment of nation-states. In many nation-states, collective memory is transmitted through re-appropriations of archaeological material and narrative on an institutional scale. In this manner, archaeological knowledge is especially shaped by states (particularly nation-states) and often skewed in a way to legitimize narratives and construct historical continuities. On this particular subject, there are myriad case studies from different corners of the world, with each nation-state having its own way of appropriating archaeology to fit specific political agendas. As examples, the nations of Greece, Turkey, Armenia, and Bulgaria each serve as intriguing cases which demonstrate how collective memory was shaped (and still is) through archaeology at an institutional level and for political purposes.

⁶³ Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996); Lynn Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London: Routledge, 1998); Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, eds., *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁶⁴ Margarita Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

The history of archaeology in the early Republican period in Turkey is directly linked with the way in which the new Turkish Republic tried to create a new modern identity, particularly severing its historical links with the fallen Ottoman Empire. As part of the general reform movements in education and science, archaeology had a distinct place which was personally endorsed by the new president of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.⁶⁵ Special emphasis was given to the pre-classical archaeological sites in central Anatolia, and scholarly studies were conducted which argued for a link between the modern Turks with the people who lived in Anatolia before the arrival of the Greeks in pre-classical times. Archaeological excavations at this time developed alongside studies in linguistics which also focused on linking Turkish language with the pre-classical Anatolian languages like Hittite and Luwian. These efforts resulted in grand theories of Turkish history and language which were then perpetuated through a highly centralized national education system. To what degree and in what capacity the political establishment influenced the archaeological research in early Republican Turkey is a matter of debate in the scholarship on this topic. On one hand, scholars like Mehmet Özdoğan, while not refuting the political ties of archaeology in the early Republican period, nevertheless argue that archaeological research at the time was conducted with purely scientific motives. On the other hand, Çiğdem Atakuman argues that political motives were entangled with archaeological research at a deeper level.⁶⁶

On another front, archaeological research in the early Republican period in Turkey formed the basis for a series of exhibitions and museums which led to a creation of collective memory. One example would be the archaeological exhibition that accompanied the Second Turkish Congress of History held in Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul between September 20th and 25th, 1937, which was attended by a group of international scholars and by the president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in person.⁶⁷ The formation of new museums was a product of interactions between archaeologists, historians, and state officials who all had influential roles. In this sense, the role of

⁶⁵ Mehmet Özdoğan, 'Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey', in *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), 111–23.

⁶⁶ Atakuman, 'Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic (1923–1938)'.

⁶⁷ Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, 'Archaeology as a Source of National Pride: Changing Discourses of Archaeological Knowledge Production in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31, no. 4 (2006): 385.

archaeology in shaping memory is two-fold. On one hand archaeology forms the basis of any knowledge particularly in the research of pre-historical settlements; on the other hand, through representations of this knowledge in exhibitions and new museums, archaeology becomes the communicative element in memory.⁶⁸

In his seminal book on the classical heritage and national imagination in Greece, Yannis Hamilakis presents case studies where classical antiquity creeps up in unexpected ways in important episodes in recent Greek history.⁶⁹ From Metaxis' dictatorial use of classical antiquity in the notion of history and ethnicity, to contemporary appropriation of classical antiquity in political resistance, the cases in his book show that classical antiquity plays different roles in different kinds of memories from personal to collective, official to institutional. It also showcases the elusive nature of memory which might be based on the same physical material, classical antiquities in this context, but reach out to very different audiences in different forms.

One can further mention institutional memory in archaeology in the case of academic institutions and how they have been carrying out archaeological research. Kenan Eren's study on the image of Ionia in Turkish scholarship on classical archaeology is a good example of how institutional memory is perpetuated through generations.⁷⁰ Eren's study shows that the hypothesis claiming that Ionia was the driving force behind the Greek civilizations' achievements—a theory developed in early 20th century—is still prevalent in contemporary scholarship on Turkish archaeology and has an influence on the selection for excavation of particular sites over others.⁷¹ This also shows that collective memory and archaeology can be linked at the knowledge production stage in addition to assisting in the representation and interpretation of archaeological material.

⁶⁸ Aslı Gür, 'Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum', in *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, ed. Esra Özyürek (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 40–69.

⁶⁹ Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁷⁰ Kenan Eren, 'Türkiye'de Klasik Arkeoloji Geleneğinin "İyonya" İmgesi', in *Değişen Arkeoloji: 1. Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu - Türkiye Toplantısı Bildirileri / Changing Archaeology: Proceedings of the 1st TAG-Turkey Meeting*, ed. Çiler Çilingiroğlu and N. Pınar Özgüner (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2015), 25–34.

⁷¹ Çiler Çilingiroğlu and N. Pınar Özgüner, eds., *Değişen Arkeoloji: 1. Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu - Türkiye Toplantısı Bildirileri / Changing Archaeology: Proceedings of the 1st TAG-Turkey Meeting* (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2015).

An analysis of the literature on archaeology and memory reveals that different scholars' approaches to the relationship of memory and archaeology are derived from very diverse perspectives. The diversity in the scholarship first manifests in the selection of subject material. As a reflection of archaeology's larger reach, scholars have discussed archaeologies of memory in varying scales and media. The diverse body of research ranges from memory at the micro-level in the form of object biographies to a macro city-level where memory is traced through urban contexts, from place-bound memories which perpetuated and were transformed throughout societies to institutional and collective level interacting between peoples, archaeology, and institutions.

Another characteristic of the field is the clear division in the studies and its chronology. Archaeologists look at past civilizations and try to understand through examining archaeological material how past societies had interpreted their pasts. This scholarly interest is succinctly summarized as "past in the past" by Van Dyke and Alcock.⁷² In contrast to this, another group of studies looks at how archaeology and the past shaped the present and how these pasts are interpreted by contemporary societies. This field of inquiry goes beyond the traditional boundaries of archaeology and is enriched by the interdisciplinary nature of cultural and critical heritage studies.

Archaeologies of memory have thus multiple interfaces opening up new lines of inquiry stemming from many academic fields and disciplines. This leads to a multiplication of potential sources and materials as well as possibility for new interactions among ideas, data, place, and theories.

⁷² Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, eds., *Archaeologies of Memory* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 1.

CHAPTER 2: ISSUES AND ATTITUDES IN RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN TURKEY

*There are many possible histories of archaeology, as many as understandings of what archaeology is.*⁷³

Margarita Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, 2007.

As Diaz-Andreu states, historical interpretations and narratives of archaeological practice are only limited by the number of definitions and understandings of archaeological practice. With a comprehensive and pluralistic attitude towards different definitions of archaeology, this chapter surveys the scholarly attempts in interpreting the history of archaeology as a discipline and practice in Turkey. It examines scholarship on the history of archaeological practice starting from the 1970s when the first works on the subject started to appear, to the present time. It does not present a chronological view of the development of the archaeological practice itself, but rather, discusses the prominent trends in historical research about archaeological practice and the profession with a particular focus on Turkey from 1990s onwards. By doing so, it evaluates the ways in which histories of archaeology in Turkey have been archived, interpreted, and written. The media surveyed here includes academic books and articles, excavation reports and monographs, exhibitions catalogues, popular magazines, biographies, autobiographies, and memoirs. As my dissertation explores the history of archaeological practice in Turkey, it is useful here to review briefly that other scholarly works have addressed about this subject in other contexts and geographies.

2.1 The Historiography of the History of Archaeology

Among the most important works in the history of the history of archaeology is Bruce Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Reflecting in 2007 on close to three

⁷³ Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, 3.

decades of the profession, Trigger gives a detailed account about how the interest in the history of archaeology has burgeoned since the 1980s.⁷⁴ Among several reasons for this increase in activity, Trigger explains, is the self-reflection among practicing archaeologists about the history of their profession as the leading motive.⁷⁵ This accelerated interest since the 1980s was the result of a collective realization that any theoretical debate in archaeology required an in-depth research of the historical development of the field.

Trigger's more comprehensive study is predated by a few noteworthy works. The earliest history of archaeology in the English-speaking world can be attributed to Glyn Daniel who published three books on the subject between 1967 and 1981.⁷⁶ Additionally, Daniel edited the proceedings of the first conference dedicated to the study of the history of archaeology, which took place in Aarhus, Denmark in 1978.⁷⁷ While the majority of the articles in the book trace the history of archaeology in Europe, there are two articles that focus respectively on New Zealand⁷⁸ and India.⁷⁹

Institutional attempts in recognizing the history of archaeology as a valid research area subject started with the establishment of a committee on the history of archaeology within the Society for American Archaeology in 1989 and continued with a series of symposia on the subject in the subsequent meetings of the Society of American Archaeology and the American Anthropological Association. The proliferation of studies on the history of archaeology since the 1980s makes it virtually impossible to compile a concise bibliographic essay on the subject, particularly considering the recent archaeological practices of several emerging nations of these different histories written in their respective

⁷⁴ Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). 549-560.

⁷⁵ Trigger, 549.

⁷⁶ Glyn Daniel, *The Origins and Growth of Archaeology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967); Glyn Daniel, *150 Years of Archaeology* (London: Duckworth, 1975); Glyn Daniel, *A Short History of Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981).

⁷⁷ Glyn Daniel, ed., *Towards a History of Archaeology: Being the Papers Read at the First Conference on the History of Archaeology in Aarhus, 29 August - 2 September 1978* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981).

⁷⁸ P. W. Gathercole, 'New Zealand Prehistory before 1950', in *Towards a History of Archaeology: Being the Papers Read at the First Conference on the History of Archaeology in Aarhus, 29 August - 2 September 1978*, ed. Glyn Daniel (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 159-68.

⁷⁹ D. K. Chakrabarti, 'Indian Archaeology: The First Phase, 1784-1861', in *Towards a History of Archaeology: Being the Papers Read at the First Conference on the History of Archaeology in Aarhus, 29 August - 2 September 1978*, ed. Glyn Daniel (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 165-85.

languages. Therefore, this literature review is limited to a synopsis of the publications on the history of archaeology in the Mediterranean which appeared in English between 1980s till the present, and a detailed account of the literature which focuses on the history of archaeology in Turkey.

There are trends that can be ascertained from a summary view of the large corpus of material on the subject. First, the majority of the histories of archaeology have been written by the archaeologists themselves; only a handful were authored by historians or historians of science.⁸⁰ This phenomenon has a great impact on the methodology used in this scholarship. The histories of archaeology written by archaeologists such as Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought* tend to follow the theoretical developments of the archaeological profession in a chronological way. For example, the chapters of Trigger's book were arranged based on the theoretical development in archaeology such as "Culture-Historical Archaeology" and "Processualism and Postprocessualism" rather than socio-political chronology.⁸¹ In this regard, these works focus on the profession itself without paying much attention to the historical context. Histories of archaeology written by historians or architectural and urban historians such as Zeynep Çelik's *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*, look at particular historical periods through the lens of archaeology.⁸² While these generalizations are valid to a certain extent, there are a few unique works such as Trigger's *A History of Archaeological Thought* which follow the theoretical development of archaeology, but do this within the historical context.

With the rise of ethnic tensions and various nationalist movements in Europe during the 1990s, a particular trend emerged in research and publications about the history of archaeology; archaeologists began to look at the legacies of nation-states and nationalism in their disciplines particularly influenced by studies on nation states and their founding myths.⁸³ This intellectual trend can be traced back to Trigger's article from 1984

⁸⁰ Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 550.

⁸¹ Trigger, vii–ix.

⁸² Zeynep Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).

⁸³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

“Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist” which proposed different categories of archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, and imperialist.⁸⁴ While Trigger admits that his categorizations might not always explain some archaeological traditions, and certain overlapping might occur, he nevertheless initiated a line of discussion which produced a series of conferences and edited volumes on the linkage between nations and politics of archaeology.⁸⁵ These publications all include articles which investigate the archaeological traditions of certain nation states. Even though the research questions and the theoretical framework of the books on nationalism and archaeology are, more or less, the same, they differ in their geographical scope, as can be seen from the following examples.

Diaz-Andreu and Champion's volume *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* presents case studies that are limited to Europe.⁸⁶ The volume *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* by Kohl and Fawcett however goes beyond Europe and includes articles on the history of archaeology in both Eurasia and East Asia.⁸⁷ Meskell's book, *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, focuses on Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East and includes Mehmet Özdoğan's article on archaeology in Turkey.⁸⁸ These books are based on the premise that archaeological practice is bound to its socio-political context and the authors tend to overemphasize the effect of external factors on the discipline.⁸⁹ For instance, in the introduction to their volume, Diaz-Andreu and Champion clearly state that archaeology has matured into a scientific discipline only because of its relationship with nation-states and its role in the formation of identities in the new nation-states.⁹⁰ Such overarching hypotheses may not account for all the historical developments of archaeology in other parts of the world and tend to overlook local dynamics in the politics

⁸⁴ Bruce G. Trigger, 'Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist', *Man* 19 (1984): 355–70.

⁸⁵ Kohl and Fawcett, *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*; Meskell, *Archaeology Under Fire*; Diaz-Andreu and Champion, *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*.

⁸⁶ Diaz-Andreu and Champion, *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*.

⁸⁷ Kohl and Fawcett, *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*.

⁸⁸ Özdoğan, 'Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey'.

⁸⁹ Trigger interprets these studies on nationalism and archaeology as 'strongly externalist'. For a more detailed discussion; see Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 560.

⁹⁰ Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, 'Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: An Introduction', in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 1–23.

of archaeology. Following similar research questions which focus on specific nation states, there are studies on the relationship between archaeology and nationalism through cases such as Israel,⁹¹ Nazi Germany,⁹² Scotland,⁹³ Egypt,⁹⁴ and the United States.⁹⁵

In contrast to the "explosion" of literature on the history of archaeology, there are relatively few more inclusive global histories of archaeology; Trigger's aforementioned book, now in its second edition, remains the most comprehensive study on the history of archaeology.⁹⁶ An archaeologist himself, Trigger follows the development of archaeology from medieval times to the contemporary era, and includes discussions about the different theories that have developed in the discipline. He does this by focusing on the socio-political context in which archaeology has been transformed and by exploring the dissemination and transfer of the ideas and theories prevalent in the field. Despite his wider scope, the case studies of Trigger's book are mostly drawn from Europe, the United States and Soviet Russia. Following Trigger, first published in French in 1989, then translated into English in 1997, Alain Schnapp's *The Discovery of the Past* looked at the phenomenon of interest in material remains of the past and from ancient civilisations to the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ In his efforts to construct a historiography of archaeology, Schnapp surveys a very diverse body of material and issues ranging from ancient Mesopotamian and Chinese texts to the interpretation of the past by Goethe and Schiller in the last eighteenth century. In this manner, Schnapp's book goes beyond a traditional

⁹¹ Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts from the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁹² Bettina Arnold, 'The Past as Propaganda: Totalitarian Archaeology in Nazi Germany', in *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology*, ed. Tim Murray and Christopher Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 120–44; Bettina Arnold and Henning Hassman, 'Archaeology in Nazi Germany: The Legacy of the Faustian Bargain', in *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, ed. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 70–81.; Klaus Junker, 'Research under Dictatorship: The German Archaeological Institute 1929-1945', *Antiquity* 72 (1998): 282–92.

⁹³ John A. Atkinson, Iain Banks, and J. O'Sullivan, eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology: Scottish Archaeological Forum* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1996).

⁹⁴ Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

⁹⁵ Jonathan E. Reyman, ed., *Rediscovering Our Past: Essays on the History of American Archaeology* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992); Don Fowler, *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003); Don D. Fowler, 'Uses of the Past: Archaeology in the Service of the State', *American Antiquity* 52 (1987): 229–48; Terry A. Barnhart et al., *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology*, ed. David Browman and Professor Stephen Williams (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002).

⁹⁶ Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*.

⁹⁷ Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997).

history of archaeology which traces the chronological development of the discipline: rather he contemplates how the interest in the past has transformed and shaped societies.

A more recent attempt to write a global history of archaeology was undertaken by Diaz-Andreu in 2007. This work only covers the nineteenth century and includes a wide geographical scope including the Middle East, Americas, and the Far East.⁹⁸ Attempts in writing global histories of archaeology are naturally bound by the language abilities of the authors and some information is therefore drawn from secondary literature. This is the case in the sections on the Ottoman Empire and archaeology in Diaz-Andreu's book which rely heavily on Wendy Shaw's *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* on the subject.⁹⁹

Tim Murray's efforts to provide solid theoretical and practical guides for the study of history of archaeology should also be noted. Between 1992 and 2001, he undertook the gargantuan task of publishing an encyclopaedia of archaeology which was published in five volumes; the first two under the title of "Great Archaeologists" in 1999 and the remaining three titled "History and Discoveries" published in 2001.¹⁰⁰ Despite his efforts to employ a broad range of sources, the volumes still fall short in terms of representing the wide range of practices of archaeology around the globe. With Christopher Evans, Murray also co-edited a reader *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology* on the subject which comprises several articles that have been previously published.¹⁰¹ The volume touches upon a wide range of issues dealing with the historiography of the history of archaeology including the importance of biographical studies, the relationship between archaeology and nation-states, the political nature of archaeology, and gender inequality in the profession. In addition to the works mentioned above, Tim Murray authored several articles on the subject addressing particularly the methods and approaches to writing the history of archaeology and different understandings of antiquarianism in non-western cultures—questions that were/had not

⁹⁸ Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*.

⁹⁹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ Tim Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: The Great Archaeologists* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1999); Tim Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and Discoveries* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001).

¹⁰¹ Tim Murray and Christopher Evans, eds., *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

been adequately dealt with in the scholarship. Murray also advocates for the inclusion of a historical analysis of archaeology as a discipline into the theoretical discussions on the subject.¹⁰²

Finally, in his book *The Land of Ionia, Society and Economy in the Archaic Period*, Alan Greaves saves a special section to discuss the history of research of archaeology in Ionia.¹⁰³ Here the author specifies two strands of archaeological practice that have been instrumental in unearthing the ancient cities in Ionia; the German School and the Turkish School. While there has been no monograph dedicated to the history of later periods of archaeology in the Turkish Republic, several recent studies of the early archaeological campaigns in the late Ottoman Empire have emerged. The historiographical approaches and questions pursued in these studies have greatly informed this dissertation and a brief introduction to this body of research is therefore helpful. This introduction further informs the reader on the extent of archaeological practice itself in the late Ottoman Empire and its actors.

2.2 Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire

In the case of Anatolia, the formative period of the study of ancient civilizations dates to the eighteenth century and the writings of European travellers who undertook the first systematic recording of archaeological ruins in this region of the world.¹⁰⁴ Starting from the first efforts of the state to protect its antiquities, such as the establishment of an imperial museum in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, to its current state, archaeology in Turkey today has a long historiographical legacy. This development is

¹⁰²Tim Murray's works on the subject include but are not limited to; Tim Murray, 'Rethinking Antiquarianism', *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2007); Tim Murray, 'The History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Archaeology: The Case of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882)', in *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology*, ed. Tim Murray and Christopher Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 145–76; Tim Murray, 'Writing Histories of Archaeology', in *Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, ed. J. Carman, C. McDavid, and R. Skeates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 135–52; Tim Murray, 'Why the History of Archaeology Is Essential to Theoretical Archaeology', *Complutum* 24, no. 2 (2013): 21–31; Tim Murray, *From Antiquarian to Archaeologist: The History and Philosophy of Archaeology* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2014); Tim Murray, 'Antiquarianism of and in Non-Literate Societies', in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alain Schnapp et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 11–34.

¹⁰³ Alan M. Greaves, *The Land of Ionia, Society and Economy in the Archaic Period* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ Society of Dilettanti, *Ionian Antiquities* (London: T. Spilsbury and W. Haskell, 1769).

roughly 250-years old and is divided today in a distinct way into the domains of different academic disciplines. While the history of archaeology practiced until the end of Ottoman Empire is studied largely by the historians of Ottoman Empire, the period from the foundation of the Republic has been written mainly by Turkish archaeologists and a very limited number of historians of politics in Turkey. The diverse approaches taken by these different groups are dictated first by the language skills needed by the researcher, such as Ottoman palaeography required to study the Ottoman past, a skill which only specially-trained historians have; and second by the traditional periodization of the Republican period which has defined this era as a completely new time period devoid of cultural connection with the late Ottoman period.¹⁰⁵

Osman Hamdi Bey, the highly influential and the second director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum who had a decisive role in the formation of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, is a central figure in the scholarship. In 1990, a symposium publication, *Osman Bey ve Dönemi*, on the life and period of Osman Hamdi included papers which focused on the beginnings of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁶ Along similar lines, through a biographical account of Osman Hamdi, Edhem Eldem's article "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)," published in 2004, investigated the dynamics inherent in the reception of antiquities and the changing measures the Ottoman Empire took against European interest in procuring them.¹⁰⁷ In addition to further work by Edhem Eldem, these studies have focused on the figure of Osman Hamdi Bey who had a great role in the initiation of archaeological activities in the empire as he was the director of the Imperial Museum in 1881.¹⁰⁸ In an interview in 2012, Eldem and Çelik both noted that the histories of archaeology in the

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion on the historiography of academic disciplines and traditionally overlooked historical fields, see Özel, *Dün Sancısı: Türkiye'de Geçmiş Algısı ve Akademik Tarihçilik*, 38.

¹⁰⁶ Zeynep Rona, ed., *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993).

¹⁰⁷ Edhem Eldem, 'An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)', in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. David Shankland, vol. 1, 2 vols (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2004), 121–50.

¹⁰⁸ Edhem Eldem, 'An Ottoman Traveler to the Orient Osman Hamdi Bey', in *The Poetics and Politics of Place. Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (İstanbul: Pera Museum, 2011), 182–95; Edhem Eldem, 'Osman Hamdi Bey'in Paris Yıllarıyla İlgili Yeni Bilgiler', *Toplumsal Tarih* 268 (2016): 48–59; Edhem Eldem, 'How Does One Become an Oriental Orientalist? The Life and Mind of Osman Hamdi Bey, 1842-1910', in *Orientalism: Cultural Orientalism and Mentality* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2015), 33–57; Edhem Eldem, 'Osman Hamdi Bey à Paris. Correspondence et Documents', *Turcica* 47 (2016): 291–395; Edhem Eldem, ed., *Nazlı's Guestbook, Osman Hamdi Bey's Circle* (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2014).

late Ottoman Empire rely heavily on the image and career of Osman Hamdi in this historical research of narratives.¹⁰⁹ While neither identified a specific underlying reason for this tendency in the scholarship, the popularity and abundance of the archival material about Osman Hamdi and his prolific career as a practicing artist are likely among the reasons.

On the history of archaeology and museology in the Ottoman Empire, Wendy Shaw's book *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* is one of the earliest studies on the topic which appeared in English and has been frequently cited in the literature on comparative histories of archaeology in the Middle East and wider geographies.¹¹⁰ While narrating the story about the development of the Imperial Museum, Shaw offers insightful information about the Ottoman state's perception of antiquities and the reaction among Ottoman intellectuals towards contemporary European thoughts on history and antiquities. In terms of approach, Shaw's book is a history of the late Ottoman period which looks at the period through the mediums of museums and archaeology. In addition to her book, Shaw wrote a number of other articles which question the historical division between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.¹¹¹

In the absence of many historical accounts of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, Shaw's *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* has been taken as the norm and disseminated without much critical inquiry in the secondary literature. For example, in her book *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, Diaz-Andreu, in her chapter on archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, borrows heavily from Shaw. Reliance on secondary literature about archaeology in the Ottoman Empire is one of the characteristics of the more general literature on the subject. Scholars who are interested in writing global histories of archaeology are limited by their linguistic abilities which is understandable considering the multitude of languages around the world. Turkey presents

¹⁰⁹ *Söyleşi / In Conversation: Zeynep Çelik & Edhem Eldem* (Istanbul: SALT Galata, 2012), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy1yFCFiljk>.

¹¹⁰ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*.

¹¹¹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, 'Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic', *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 253–79.

an even more difficult case as the study of the transformation of the practices and profession of archaeology requires a knowledge of the Ottoman language, modern Turkish, and languages such as German, French, and English used by foreign archaeologists who have been conducting archaeological excavations in Anatolia since the nineteenth century.

A recent contribution to the study of the history of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire is the edited volume which followed an exhibition at the Ottoman Bank in 2011 called *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*.¹¹² The publication consists of fifteen articles which investigate different aspects of the subject and a variety of archaeological sites and expeditions from the Ottoman Empire with the exceptions of Ottoman Egypt and Palestine. The sixteen articles cover British, French, and German archaeological expeditions in different regions of the Ottoman Empire and the perception of antiquities by Ottoman officials. The wide scope of the publication provides the reader with a detailed account of the archaeological activities in the empire and insight about how archaeology and antiquities functioned as a political agent in relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Two articles by Eldem and Çelik focus on the perception of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire. While Eldem offers a periodization of changing Ottoman attitudes towards antiquities based on critical moments in the Ottoman history,¹¹³ Çelik surveys a body of archival material through which she presents the changing image of antiquities in the Ottoman society.¹¹⁴ Both scholars engage with primary sources that had either not been published in the literature or not analysed from the perspective of the history of archaeology and a changing perception of antiquities. In this respect, both articles open up new research areas and avenues of inquiry on the subject of archaeology in the late Ottoman Empire. However, the majority of the articles in the volume focus on the biographies of prominent figures; in doing so they give invaluable historical context but tend to perpetuate a more canonical history of archaeology.

¹¹² Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011).

¹¹³ Eldem, 'From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869'.

¹¹⁴ Zeynep Çelik, 'Defining Empire's Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities', in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, ed. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 443-78.

The most comprehensive study on the history and politics of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire so far has been published by Zeynep Çelik in 2016.¹¹⁵ This present dissertation has been particularly influenced by Çelik's book as it helped to frame some of my research questions and methodology. The two chapters of Çelik's book, "The Landscape of Labor" and "Dual Settlements", which focus on the relationship between the archaeologists and the local communities, have been particularly important catalysts for my own questions about the nature of shared pasts and the labour landscapes in archaeological practice.

Literature on this subject has been furthered enriched by alternative accounts of antiquities and overlooked archaeological initiatives in the Ottoman Empire and hitherto undiscovered geographies. The list includes studies on Ottoman Greece by Bozidar Jezernik¹¹⁶, Yannis Hamilakis¹¹⁷ and Emily Neumeier who tell other stories involving antiquities in Ottoman Greece¹¹⁸ and the Pyrrhus¹¹⁹, and a study focusing on the local interpreters of archaeology by Benjamin Anderson.¹²⁰ Additionally, Edhem Eldem's recent works on the archaeological projects of the Ottoman Imperial Museums and the influential actors who played a large role in these projects revealed new aspects of archaeological practice in the Ottoman Empire.¹²¹

Another strand of scholarship in the history of archaeological practice within the Ottoman Empire came through the histories of foreign research institutes and war-time efforts of both Allied and Axis powers in several theatres of the First World War. Pınar Üre's

¹¹⁵ Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*.

¹¹⁶ Bozidar Jezernik, 'Constructing Identities on Marbles and Terracotta: Representations of Classical Heritage in Greece and Turkey', *Museum Anthropology* 30, no. 1 (2007): 3–20.

¹¹⁷ Hamilakis, 'Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece'.

¹¹⁸ Emily Neumeier, 'Rivaling Elgin: Ottoman Governors and Archaeological Agency in the Morea', in *Antiquarianisms. Contact, Conflict, Comparison*, ed. Benjamin Anderson and Felipe Rojas (Oxford: Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017), 134–60.

¹¹⁹ Emily Neumeier, 'Spoils for the New Pyrrhus: Alternative Claims to Antiquity in Ottoman Greece', *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 6, no. 2 (2017): 311–37.

¹²⁰ Benjamin Anderson, "'An Alternative Discourse': Local Interpreters of Antiquities in the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 40, no. 4 (2015): 450–60.

¹²¹ Edhem Eldem, 'The Archaeology of a Photograph. Philipp Anton Dethier and His »Group for the History of Greek Art«', *Jahrbuch Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 127/128. 2012-2013 (2013): 499–530; Edhem Eldem, 'Theodor Makridi Bey ve 1907 Boğazköy Kazısı', in *The Discovery of an Anatolian Empire. Bir Anadolu İmparatorluğunun Keşfi. A Colloquium to Commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the Decipherment of the Hittite Language (November 14th and 15th; Istanbul Archaeological Museum-Library)*, ed. Meltem Doğan-Alparslan, Andreas Schachner, and Metin Alparslan (Istanbul: Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2017), 159–92.

doctoral dissertation studied the research activities of the short-lived Russian Archaeological Institute in Istanbul particularly in Eastern Anatolia.¹²² Archaeological interventions of the British School at Athens in Asia Minor during and in the aftermath of the First World War have been the subject of research by David Gill.¹²³ Archaeological practice continued in times of armed conflict for a variety of reasons as Ceren Abi informs us in her dissertation about the archaeological interventions of the Allied Forces in the occupied Ottoman lands.¹²⁴

Looking from a heritage-based perspective, two recent books enriched our understanding of politics and practice of archaeology during the First World War during occupation. Focusing on the Gallipoli Peninsula and its heritage, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak's *Divided Spaces, Contested Pasts: The Heritage of the Gallipoli Peninsula* looks at how history, heritage, and commemorative practices has been shaped for this particular place from 1916 to the present. The study uses an inclusive approach that goes beyond assessing the physicality of the landscape and includes a chapter on the archaeological practices carried out by the French and British forces.¹²⁵ Christine Luke's *A Pearl in Peril: Heritage and Diplomacy in Turkey* takes Izmir and its hinterland as the geographical focus and the ways in which diplomacy shaped the archaeology practiced in the region.¹²⁶

2.3 The Relationship of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology in Turkey

Any historical analysis of the history of archaeology in Turkey should include studies in the field of cultural heritage. Examining Turkey's archaeological past through the lens of critical cultural heritage has been a relatively recent development. As Çiğdem Atakuman and Pinar Nimet Özgüner have pointed out, interest in the practices, instruments, and

¹²² Pinar Üre, 'Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)' (Doctor of Philosophy, London, London School of Economics, 2014).

¹²³ David Gill, 'The British School at Athens and Archaeological Research in the Late Ottoman Empire', in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*, ed. David Shankland, vol. 1, 2 vols (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004), 223–56.

¹²⁴ Ceren Abi, 'Digging Deeper: Cultural Property in the Ottoman Empire during the Great War and Allied Occupation 1914-1923' (PhD, Los Angeles, University of California Los Angeles, 2019).

¹²⁵ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Divided Spaces, Contested Pasts: The Heritage of the Gallipoli Peninsula* (London: Routledge, 2019).

¹²⁶ Christina Luke, *A Pearl in Peril: Heritage and Diplomacy in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

discourses associated with cultural heritage management have changed according to the nature of archaeological sites, different political needs of the Turkish state, and the needs of archaeologists practicing in Turkey.¹²⁷ It is also important to note that the 1990s is also the era when cultural heritage was emerging in Turkey as a legitimate academic discipline to which archaeologists needed to pay attention. Mehmet Özdoğan was a driving force in promoting cultural heritage as an academic field in this time. Furthermore, the establishment of graduate programs in cultural heritage management such as the master's program in Anatolian Civilizations and Cultural Heritage Management at Koç University in 2005 was an effort to bring together archaeological practice with cultural heritage management and theory.¹²⁸

With the exception of individual contributions such as Mehmet Özdoğan's book on the subject,¹²⁹ two popular arts and culture journals were responsible for creating wider audiences that were interested in the confluence of archaeology and cultural heritage in Turkey. Archaeology appeared as a special issue in two popular periodicals published in Turkish, *Cogito* and *Sanat Dünyamız*, both edited by Gül Pulhan in 2000 and 2001. One of the objectives of these edited volumes was to raise awareness about the relationship between archaeology and cultural heritage in Turkey. In this manner, these publications included introductory short articles on different aspects of archaeology such as the practice in the field and the history of the profession. In addition to the translated articles by well-known figures in archaeology such as Alan Schnapp and Ian Hodder, both volumes included interviews with a diverse group of archaeologists and heritage scholars on the problems of archaeology and cultural heritage in Turkey. Such interviews featured prominent figures such as Mehmet Özdoğan, Halil İnalçık, Ali Dinçol, James Mellaart, Doğan Kuban and Nuşin Asgari among others.¹³⁰ With their rich content, these two volumes also helped archaeology reach a wider audience. They are particularly important

¹²⁷ Atakuman, 'Value of Heritage in Turkey'; N. Pinar Özgüner, 'Archaeological Entanglements: People, Places, and Politics of Archaeology in Turkey' (Doctor of Philosophy, Boston, Boston University, 2015).

¹²⁸ <https://gsssh.ku.edu.tr/en/departments/archaeology-and-history-of-art>. The MA Program was reorganized under the name of "Archaeology and History of Art" in 2009.

¹²⁹ Mehmet Özdoğan, *Türk Arkeolojisinin Sorunları ve Koruma Politikaları* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2000).

¹³⁰ Gül Pulhan, 'Ben Gerçekten Türkiye'ye Tutkunum. James Mellaart ile Kazılar, Arkeoloji ve Anadolu Üstüne', *Sanat Dünyamız* 80 (2000): 113–24; Gül Pulhan, 'Söyleşi: Halil İnalçık ile Osmanlı-İslam Arkeolojisi Üzerine', *Cogito* 28 (2001): 257–73; Pulhan; Gül Pulhan, 'Söyleşi: Mehmet Özdoğan ile Arkeoloji-İdeoloji-Devlet İlişkileri Üzerine', *Cogito* 28 (2001): 138–51; Güven Arsebük et al., 'Tartışma: Bütün Cepheleriyle Türkiye'de Arkeoloji', *Cogito* 28 (2001): 117–37.

as the interviews set the record in terms of summarizing the issues and the challenges facing the disciplines of archaeology and cultural heritage management in a more public forum. The role of popular journals in popularizing archaeology and cultural heritage has continued. A more recent example would be the special issue of *Aktüel Arkeoloji*, a popular monthly magazine, dedicated to the history of archaeological practice in Turkey. It includes informative articles on a variety of archaeological sites, archaeologists, and particularly famous finds of objects now exhibited in museums abroad.¹³¹

Building on the influential works of Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson about the formations of nations, questioning the relationship between nation-states and archaeology was a very popular area of scholarly discussion in archaeology in the 1990s in many North American and European academic publications dealing with the conjunction of archaeology and politics.¹³² With the exception of Özdoğan's article "Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey" which appeared in Meskell's edited volume¹³³, it has only been since 2000 that similar publications started to emerge within the Turkish context. Arguably the first gathering in Turkey which had research questions similar to the conferences on nationalism and archaeology in 1990s Europe was organized by *Toplum Arkeoloji Platformu* (TAP) in 2002. The publication which followed the conference includes articles focusing on different aspects of the discipline such as its historical development, theoretical approaches, public image and its relationship with the state.¹³⁴ The publication is rather unusual as it includes the presentation papers as is and the

¹³¹ The list includes but is not limited to Murat Akar and H  lene Maloigne, '1930'larda Hatay Arkeolojisi ve Fotoğraf  lıđı', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 114–21; R  stem Aslan, 'Schliemann: Priamos Hazinesi'nin Bulunması ve T  rkiye'den Ka  rılması', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 46–55; Ba  gelen, Nezih, 'Yakındođu Arkeolojisiinde Bir Bilim   leni: Uluslararası Kazı, Ara  tırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumları, 36 Yılin Ardından Genel Bir Bakı  ', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 40 (2014): 30–31; Nezih Ba  gelen, 'Nemrut Dađı Anıtları', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 122–27; Nevzat   evik, 'Likya Mermerleri', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 66–81; Silvia Di Cristina and Nicol   Marchetti, 'Karkamı  'ta British Museum Kazıları', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 110–13; Adnan Diler and G  zde Adıg  zel, 'British Museum'da Karia', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 82–91; Ertekin Doksanaltı, 'Knidos Aslanı', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 92–97; Fr  d  ric Hitzel, 'Osman Hamdi Bey', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 36–45; G  rkem K  kdemir, 'Magnesia Ad Maeandrum', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 98–109; Ulrike Muss, 'Efes'ten Viyana'ya', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 56–61;   mer   zyiđit, 'Myrina'dan Louvre M  zesine', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 62–65; Ahmet   nal, 'Hititlerin Ke  fi: Yazılıkaya'nın Kalıpları', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 16–17; Ya  sar Yılmaz, 'M  sy   Humann', *Akt  el Arkeoloji* 47 (2015): 18–35.

¹³² Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

¹³³   zdođan, 'Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey'.

¹³⁴ Ođuz Erdur and G  ne   Duru, eds., *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İ  in?*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013).

transcriptions of the discussion sessions, which provide insight on how the papers were received by the audience. There are two sections in the publication which are devoted to archaeology and social history, and archaeology and cultural identity. Ayşe Özdemir's paper "Imaginary Past: Archaeology and Nationalism" gives an account of how nationalism and archaeology intersected in the early years of the Turkish Republic and is based on the author's master's thesis.¹³⁵ On the same subject and period, Gül Pulhan's article presents the steps taken by the new Turkish Republic to establish the archaeological profession in Turkey and how these actions were instrumental in the formation of a cultural identity for the new state.¹³⁶ While the papers included in these sections are rather brief and limited in their scope, they nevertheless present the first collective attempts within Turkey to question in a critical manner the formative years of archaeology in Turkey and its legacy vis-a-vis the current state of the profession.

Throughout the 2000s, Özdoğan published various articles on the history of archaeology in Turkey and the issues of cultural heritage and related practices. His articles, with the addition of a few newly published entries appeared in a series of books: *Türk Arkeolojisinin Sorunları ve Koruma Politikaları* in 2000, *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç Olarak Arkeoloji* in 2006, and *Arkeolojik Kazılar: Bilimsel Çalışma Mı? Toprak Hafriyatı Mı?* in 2011.¹³⁷ In these articles, Özdoğan interprets the state intervention and role in the formation of the archaeologist's profession in Turkey in a positive light and is quite critical of scholars who see the early archaeological activities in Turkey as a nationalist endeavour.

While Özdoğan does not cite specifically any scholars in his criticisms, Atakuman is certainly one of the most vocal critics of the archaeological activities in the Republican period. Atakuman's article "Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early

¹³⁵ Ayşe Özdemir, 'A History of Turkish Archaeology from the Nineteenth Century to the End of the One-Party Period' (Master of Arts, İstanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2001); Ayşe Özdemir, "'Hayali Geçmiş": Arkeoloji ve Milliyetçilik, 1923-1945 Türkiye Deneyimi', in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin?*, ed. Oğuz Erdur and Güneş Duru, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 7–27.

¹³⁶ Gül Pulhan, 'Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Geçmişini Arıyor: Cumhuriyet'in Arkeoloji Seferberliği', in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin?*, ed. Oğuz Erdur and Güneş Duru, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 139–48.

¹³⁷ Özdoğan, *Türk Arkeolojisinin Sorunları ve Koruma Politikaları*; Mehmet Özdoğan, *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç Olarak Arkeoloji* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2006); Mehmet Özdoğan, *Arkeolojik Kazılar: Bilimsel Çalışma Mı? Toprak Hafriyatı Mı?* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2011).

Years of the Turkish Republic (1923—1938)” on the relationship between archaeology and ideological politics of the state is arguably one of the harshest critiques about the establishment of the discipline in the new Turkish Republic.¹³⁸ While being openly critical of the previous works on the subject, particularly of Özdoğan views, Atakuman focuses on the Turkish History Thesis and Congresses and the role of archaeology in changing the image of Anatolia according to ideological politics. In her paper “Shifting Discourses of Heritage and Identity in Turkey: Anatolianist Ideologies and Beyond,” Atakuman continued her critical stance on the subject and focused on the attitudes in archaeological research further shaped by politics and ideology.¹³⁹ Atakuman’s latest article “A Haunted Landscape and Its Drained Souls: The Last Rush to Heritage and Archaeology in Turkey” problematizes the recent heritage-related initiatives in Turkey, particularly funded by institutions based outside of Turkey, and analyses the effectiveness and benefits of these projects.¹⁴⁰

Convened in 2005, the *Perceptions of the Past* Conference was another attempt to question the image of the classical and Byzantine pasts in the early Republican Turkey.¹⁴¹ The volume which resulted from the conference is composed of four parts, and its organization follows the popular trends in the historiography of history of archaeology. It includes articles on the production of knowledge, biographical accounts of individuals and institutions and the current state of the scholarship. While the quality of the articles varies, virtually all offer very valuable information which help to construct a history of archaeology in Turkey. As an example, Murat Ergin provides a historical framework for archaeology in Turkey and the wider intellectual and political trends in the early Republican period.¹⁴² Ergin's particular emphasis is on the role that archaeology played in the nation-building process and how it was utilized by scholars and politicians in

¹³⁸ Atakuman, ‘Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic (1923—1938)’.

¹³⁹ Çiğdem Atakuman, ‘Shifting Discourses of Heritage and Identity in Turkey: Anatolianist Ideologies and Beyond’, in *In Search of Pre-Classical Antiquity: Rediscovering Ancient Peoples in Mediterranean Europe (19th and 20th c.)*, ed. Antonino De Francesco (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 166–82.

¹⁴⁰ Çiğdem Atakuman, ‘A Haunted Landscape and Its Drained Souls: The Last Rush to Heritage and Archaeology in Turkey’, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 33, no. 2 (2020): 242–67, <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.1558/jma.19473>.

¹⁴¹ Nina Ergin and Scott Redford, eds., *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

¹⁴² Murat Ergin, ‘Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey’, in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 13–34.

Turkey. In an earlier work, Ergin also wrote in detail on the émigré scholars and their role in the formation of scholarship and institutions of humanities at large.¹⁴³

The volume also includes biographical accounts of Ekrem Akurgal and Arif Müfid Mansel written by their former students Coşkun Özgünel and Halûk Abbasoğlu.¹⁴⁴ While these two articles offer information regarding the development of archaeology as a profession in Turkey, they are particularly intriguing in terms of their rhetoric. The hagiographic treatment of Akurgal by Özgünel gives hints about the hierarchical relationships within the profession, the mythification of early Republican archaeology, and the role of Atatürk in its development. Given the young nature of the discipline, the practicing archaeologists have close ties with the founding figures of the discipline, as is apparent in Akurgal's case. One of the rare critics of Akurgal and his works is Suavi Aydın who published short articles on the historical development of classical archaeology in Turkey and particularly took issue with Akurgal's stand in the changing political climate in Turkey.¹⁴⁵ The volume also includes articles which shed light on the expeditions in Anatolia led by foreign archaeologists. While Fikret Yegül gives an account of the Sardis expedition, Pierre Chuvin writes on Louis Robert, an influential figure in the early years of archaeology in Anatolia.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, this publication also included studies particularly on the perception of classical heritage in more place-specific

¹⁴³ Murat Ergin, 'Cultural Encounters in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Western Émigré Scholars in Turkey', *History of the Human Sciences* 22, no. 1 (2009): 105–30.

¹⁴⁴ A. Coşkun Özgünel, 'The Archaeology of the Turkish Republic and the School of Ekrem Akurgal', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 137–46; Halûk Abbasoğlu, 'Arif Müfid Mansel: A Pioneer of Turkish Archaeology', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 147–60.

¹⁴⁵ Suavi Aydın, 'Ekrem Akurgal', in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, ed. Tanıl Bora, M. Gültengingil, and Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* 3 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 390–97; Suavi Aydın, 'Batılılaşma Karşısında Arkeoloji ve Klasik Çağ Araştırmaları', in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, ed. Tanıl Bora, M. Gültengingil, and Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* 3 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 403–27.

¹⁴⁶ Fikret K. Yegül, 'From the Lofty Halls of Academia to the Dusty Hills of Anatolia: Howard Crosby Butler and the First Sardis Expedition through Peace and War, 1909–1926', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 57–100; Pierre Chuvin, 'Louis Robert (1904–1985): A Historian-Epigrapher Discovering Anatolia', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 127–36.

contexts like Ankara such as Suna Güven's article "*Constructing the Past in Ankara: From Augustus to Atatürk*."¹⁴⁷

The most recent publication on the history and historiography of archaeology in Turkey is the edited volume which was published following the first local TAG (Theoretical Archaeology Group) Conference in Turkey in 2015.¹⁴⁸ As an attempt to rethink and re-evaluate archaeological practice in Turkey, the conference and the following publication included sessions focusing on the historical development of the profession and its relationship with the state. There is an organic relationship between the first TAG conference and TAP (*Toplumsal Arkeoloji Platformu—Social Archaeology Platform*) publication. One of the editors of the TAP publication, Güneş Duru, gave the keynote lecture (which carried the same title of his article, *Disipline Edilmiş Bir Disiplin Olarak Arkeoloji*, in the TAP publication) in the TAG conference in 2013.¹⁴⁹

In the section of the conference volume that is about the historical development of archaeology in Turkey there are three articles which question the influences and ideological trends which shaped the profession in its early development. For instance, Belgin Aksoy, in her article "*Semptom ve Hastalığı Birbirinden Ayırabilmek—ya da Türk Arkeolojisinin Suni Bir Sorunu Olarak—“Alman Ekolü”*" [Ability to distinguish between symptom and illness—or the German School as the artificial problem of Turkish Archaeology] published in 2015, focuses on the German school tradition and its impact on Turkish archaeology and argues that this tradition was adapted to a Turkish context in a limited way.¹⁵⁰ Aksoy also presents a critical overview of the ideological environment of both the German émigré scholars in Turkey and the Turkish students who went to

¹⁴⁷ Suna Güven, 'Constructing the Past in Ankara: From Augustus to Atatürk', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 35–56.

¹⁴⁸ Çilingiroğlu and Özgüner, *Değişen Arkeoloji: 1. Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu - Türkiye Toplantısı Bildirileri / Changing Archaeology: Proceedings of the 1st TAG-Turkey Meeting*.

¹⁴⁹ Güneş Duru, 'Disipline Edilmiş Bir Disiplin Olarak Arkeoloji', in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin?*, ed. Oğuz Erdur and Güneş Duru, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), xix–xxv.

¹⁵⁰ Belgin Aksoy, 'Semptom ve Hastalığı Birbirinden Ayırabilmek –Ya Da Türk Arkeolojisinin Suni Bir Sorunu Olarak—“Alman Ekolü”', in *Değişen Arkeoloji: 1. Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu - Türkiye Toplantısı Bildirileri / Changing Archaeology: Proceedings of the 1st TAG-Turkey Meeting*, ed. Çiler Çilingiroğlu and N. Pınar Özgüner (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2015). Aksoy authored further articles with a critical look on the archaeological discipline, Belgin Aksoy, 'Kültürel Kimlik Arayışında Arkeoloji Nerede?', in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin?*, ed. Oğuz Erdur and Güneş Duru, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 149–55; Belgin Aksoy, 'Mesleki Uygulamalar ve Akademik İçerikler Arasında Bir Sosyal Bilimin Portresi: Arkeoloji', *Modus Operandi* 2 (2015): 13–38.

Germany for graduate studies. In another article, Kenan Eren investigates the image of Ionia in the classical archaeology tradition of Turkey looking at influential figures like Akurgal and his students.¹⁵¹ Under the section on archaeology and state politics, Pınar N. Özgüner analyzes the *Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu Sonuçları* [International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys and Archaeometry], also more commonly known as *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, conferences and publications as a political medium and traces the professional negotiations between state offices such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the archaeologists who have shaped the archaeological profession in Turkey.¹⁵² Overall, the TAG edited volume is a comprehensive book on the issues related with the contemporary archaeological practice in Turkey which analyses these issues through a critical and historical perspective. Despite considerable breaks in between, TAG continued to hold meetings and published edited volumes as proceedings from the conferences.¹⁵³

Based on the literature which deals with the relationship between archaeology and the state within the Turkish context, it is interesting to note the changing attitudes and level of criticism among the different generations of archaeologists. With the publication of TAP and TAG volumes, it is clear that the new generation of archaeologists is quite critical of the historical legacy of their profession in contrast to earlier generations of archaeologists who have been quite reluctant to reflect critically on their profession. There have been a few exceptions to this, such as Mehmet Özdoğan.

Another important thread in the secondary literature is the marginalization of Byzantine and Ottoman archaeology in Turkey. This is important to note because of the ways in which biases against these latter eras have influenced the larger structure of the archaeological profession. The Byzantine heritage in Turkey is particularly problematic due to its political and religious nature and has been marginalized throughout the years. While there have been a number of archaeological projects focusing on the Byzantine

¹⁵¹ Eren, 'Türkiye'de Klasik Arkeoloji Geleneğinin "İyonya" İmgesi'.

¹⁵² N. Pınar Özgüner, 'Türkiye Arkeolojisinde Problemler ve Farklı Kimliklerin Oluşumu: Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Yayınlarının İncelenmesi', in *Değişen Arkeoloji: 1. Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu - Türkiye Toplantısı Bildirileri / Changing Archaeology: Proceedings of the 1st TAG-Turkey Meeting*, ed. Çiler Çilingiroğlu and N. Pınar Özgüner (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2015), 105–20.

¹⁵³ Güneş Duru, Kenan Eren, and Elif Koparal, eds., *Arkeolojik Şeyler. TAG-Türkiye Serisi TAG - Türkiye Toplantısı Bildirileri 2 / Archaeological Things. TAG-Turkey Series Proceedings of the 2nd TAG - Turkey Meeting* (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2017).

period in Istanbul such as archaeological work in Saraçhane, Istanbul¹⁵⁴, it is rather recently that archaeological projects focusing on the Byzantine monuments or Byzantine layers proliferated.¹⁵⁵ Two examples of such projects would be the DAI (German Archaeological Institute) Byzantine Miletus project and Koç University's Küçükyalı Arkeopark Project.¹⁵⁶ Archaeology of Ottoman architectural heritage has had a similar course of development. It remained in the domain mainly of art historians and architectural historians who had a hard time negotiating space for themselves in the world of archaeologists as the majority of practitioners in the field prioritised and identified archaeology with earlier eras and settlements. *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground*, is one of the first publications which looked in 2000 at many examples of Ottoman material culture from an archaeological point of view; currently several archaeological projects are focusing on the Ottoman period within Turkey.¹⁵⁷ Among the earliest was a project started in 1997, by an interdisciplinary team from Koç and Istanbul Technical Universities. They conducted a documentation, conservation and archaeology project at Seddülbahir, a seventeenth-century Ottoman fortress in the Dardanelles for over two decades, which made extensive use of the rich Ottoman archival evidence in the project.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, there are numerous surveys and excavations of Ottoman remains now being conducted and published in the *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantıları* [Annual Meetings for Survey Results].¹⁵⁹

Laurent Dissard's research on the history and politics of the Keban Dam Rescue Project, a multi-partnered and multi-disciplinary archaeological rescue project that was necessitated by the major dam project in eastern Turkey and led by the Middle East

¹⁵⁴ R. Martin Harrison, ed., *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

¹⁵⁵ Even though the title does not use the word archaeology, Akyürek here also gives a chronology of archaeological scholarship focusing on Byzantine periods. Engin Akyürek, 'Byzantine Art History in Modern Turkey', in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 205–24.

¹⁵⁶ For the DAI Byzantine Miletus project (<http://old.dainst.org/en/project/byzantine-miletus?ft=all>) and the Koç University's Küçükyalı Arkeopark Project (https://cssh.ku.edu.tr/arha/faculty_research/1)

¹⁵⁷ Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000).

¹⁵⁸ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak et al., 'Understanding Archaeology and Architecture through Archival Records: The Restoration Project of the Ottoman Fortress of Seddülbahir on the Gallipoli Peninsula of Turkey', in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A.C.S Peacock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 188–208.

¹⁵⁹ For a complete list of projects focusing on the Ottoman period remains, see <https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-44761/arastirma-sonuclari-toplantilari.html>

Technical University between 1967-1975, scrutinizes the scientific methods of archaeology uses and reveals “submerged stories” that were left out of archaeological publications.¹⁶⁰ The stories revealed in Dissard’s works focus on the participation of local communities and the effect of archaeological projects on the local communities. For instance, in a short article titled “Common Ground: Archaeological Practice and Local Communities in Southeastern Turkey” co-authored by Melissa Rosenzweig and Laurent Dissard, the authors demonstrate how the site of archaeological site, *Ziyaret Tepe* a mound located in southeastern Turkey, has continued to be used as a burial ground by the local communities. The authors address the social and political connotations that this has brought to interpretations of the site.¹⁶¹ Community involvement and outreach in archaeological projects were also the subjects of an earlier study by the same authors; this documents the experience of local communities from an anthropological point of view.¹⁶²

2.4 Biographies / Autobiographies / Memoirs/ Eulogies / Festschriften / Honorary Gift Books

Writing in the late 1980s, Christinson remarked that almost 90 percent of all the archaeologists who ever lived are still alive today.¹⁶³ While some 25 years later the percentage might be higher with the proliferation of students of archaeology around the globe, Christinson’s statement refers to the infancy of archaeology as an academic discipline and the immediacy of studying its history. In this respect, the autobiographies

¹⁶⁰ Laurent Dissard, ‘Submerged Stories from the Sidelines of Archaeological Science: The History and Politics of the Keban Dam Rescue Project (1967-1975) in Eastern Turkey’ (Doctor of Philosophy, Berkeley, University of California Berkeley, 2011), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/28s978db>; Laurent Dissard, ‘From Shining Icons of Progress to Contested Infrastructures: “Damming” the Munzur Valley in Eastern Turkey’, in *Contested Spaces in Contemporary Turkey: Environmental, Urban and Secular Politics*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (London: I.B.Tauris, 2017), 229–57; Laurent Dissard, ‘Seeing the Past from Nowhere: Images and Science in Archaeology’, *Spontaneous Generations* 6, no. 1 (2012): 24–33; Laurent Dissard, ‘Visual Archaeo-Technology and Politics in Southeastern Turkey’, in *Archaeology and the Politics of Vision in a Post-Modern Context*, ed. Julian Thomas and Vitor Oliveira Jorge (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 306–29.

¹⁶¹ Melissa Rosenzweig and Laurent Dissard, ‘COMMON GROUND: Archaeological Practice and Local Communities in Southeastern Turkey’, *Near Eastern Archaeology*, Special Issue on Public Archaeology: Collaborative and Community Approaches, 76, no. 3 (2013): 152–58.

¹⁶² Laurent Dissard, Melissa Rosenzweig, and Timothy Matney, ‘Beyond Ethics: Considerations in Problematizing Community Involvement and Outreach in Archaeological Practice’, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 26, no. 2 (2011): 59–70.

¹⁶³ Andrew L. Christenson, ‘The Past Is Still Alive: The Immediacy Problem and Writing the History of Archaeology’, in *Tracing Archaeology’s Past: The Historiography of Archaeology*, ed. Andrew L. Christenson (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 162–68.

and biographies of archaeologists shed a light on the history of the discipline. This is a rare but a particular genre of scholarship in Turkey and is examined here briefly.

Students of history of archaeology in Turkey are not particularly lucky since there are only a handful of autobiographies and very brief biographical essays most often found in *Festschriften*—i.e. publications issued in honour of prominent scholars in the field.¹⁶⁴ The reason for the scarce number of autobiographies of archaeologists in Turkey is also related to the paucity of first generation archaeologists who were sent to Europe for higher education and on their return influenced the discipline in their home country. So far, Turkish Academy of Sciences, *TÜBA (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi)*, has published five biographies and autobiographies of Turkish scholars who had a long-lasting impact on their respective fields. Three of these publications are about prominent archaeologists; Ekrem Akurgal, Sedat Alp, and a volume dedicated to Nimet and Tahsin Özgüç.¹⁶⁵ However, they differ in their content and style.

Published in 2004, Akurgal's autobiography, written in the first-person narrative, is the longest and most detailed publication among these works.¹⁶⁶ In his book, Akurgal takes his readers through his life story from his birth in Ottoman Palestine to his retirement days in Karşıyaka, Izmir. The narrative is in a question-answer format where Akurgal asks a series of questions to himself, which are all titles in the book, and then answers them. While the content is mainly based on his professional career, it nevertheless includes lots of sections on his private life despite his statement that he will leave his private life out of his autobiography.¹⁶⁷ Akurgal's voice in the book is prominent, didactic, and self-confident in a non-apologetic way.

Another biography published in 2004 by TÜBA is of Sedat Alp, Professor of Hittitology in Ankara University, who passed away in 2006.¹⁶⁸ Alp's biography is not written by himself but Can Dündar, with historical explanations on Hittitology by Fatma Sevinç,

¹⁶⁴ See bibliography for a full list of *Festschriften*/Honorary Gift Books.

¹⁶⁵ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*; Can Dündar and Fatma Sevinç, eds., *İlk Türk Hititoloğun Yaşam Öyküsü: Sedat Alp* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2004); Nursel Duruel, *Cumhuriyetin Çocukları Arkeolojinin Büyükleri: Nimet Özgüç ve Tahsin Özgüç* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2011).

¹⁶⁶ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*.

¹⁶⁷ Akurgal, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Dündar and Sevinç, *İlk Türk Hititoloğun Yaşam Öyküsü*.

who authored the book based on long interviews with Alp and research in his personal archive. While still in first-person narrative, Alp's biography does have a different tone than Akurgal's. While Akurgal boasts about his achievements, Alp often reveals more modestly his professional disappointments and the obstacles he faced. The last biography of archaeologists published by TÜBA in 2011 is of Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç, Professors of Archaeology from Ankara University.¹⁶⁹ Written in third-person narrative by Nursel Duruel and based on interviews with Nimet Özgüç, this book includes fewer personal details compared to the Alp and Akurgal volumes and follow the professors' professional career.

These scholars of archaeology are influential in the formation of archaeology as an academic discipline in Turkey not only through their extensive field work but also their role in their respective institutions as educators, department chairs and directors of excavations. In his autobiography published in 2004, Akurgal mentions that twenty-four of his students are now professors of archaeology in universities in Turkey.¹⁷⁰ As noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis about social network analysis, such influence is critical in understanding the historical development of archaeology and institutions related to the discipline.

Even though there are personal accounts of how archaeology has developed in Turkey in these autobiographies, the eulogistic writings in these commemorative volumes function more as primary sources rather than secondary literature as they do not bring a critical perspective to the subject, individual professor and his/her work. Nevertheless, the "Festschrift" commemorative publications which often include a biography of the scholar to whom the publication is dedicated can be examined for implicit information about a particular scholar and his/her career and help fill gaps in the history of the archaeological profession in Turkey.

A closer reading of these autobiographies, biographies, and memories reveals intriguing aspects of the profession in terms of gender, social status and hierarchy of the practitioners, and the relationship of archaeologists with the state. First the fact that

¹⁶⁹ Duruel, *Cumhuriyetin Çocukları Arkeolojinin Büyükleri*.

¹⁷⁰ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 76.

TÜBA published autobiographies of only the first generation of male archaeologists with the exception of Nimet Özgüç who appears only marginally with her husband Tahsin Özgüç, is itself telling and reveals a gendered bias in the field. The memorial books on Halet Çambel, Jale İnan, and Nimet Özgüç are striking for their thin content which tends to include only one article outlining the archaeologists' professional career. In that sense, Halet Çambel is an exception with multiple books published about her career including a book written by the local governor called *Halet Abla Destanı* [The Legend of Halet Abla] and one compilation of texts where people share their memories of Çambel, the *Halet Çambel ile Buluşma* book, the publication of which was initiated by the Chamber of Architects, Istanbul.¹⁷¹

The prominent theme in these books on Çambel is her close relationship with the local community of the sites where she carried out excavations and conducted pioneering work preserving cultural heritage. The topos of the woman archaeologist working in a remote corner of Turkey who becomes the hero of the locals is a story that stands in stark contrast with the stories about Ekrem Akurgal who pontificates about his rationale and continuous preference for male students as research assistants. In his autobiography/memoir, Akurgal declares that he always chose male students because the females would generally marry early and leave their research. He then states that he always wanted to see his female students who studied archaeology marry prominent men and then disseminate the culture of archaeology through their spouses. Akurgal is quite proud to say that some of his female students married “ambassadors, generals, rectors, rich businessmen.”¹⁷²

The hierarchy and the gender based discrimination in the field come up in other texts, too. In her long interview with Emine Çaykara, Muhibbe Darga, one of the prominent figures of Hittitology in Turkey, notes that when she first attempted to study archaeology, she had a brief interview with Prof. Bossert who was one of the leading figures in archaeological research at the time and head of the newly founded Hittitology department. Bossert asked Darga whether her family was wealthy enough to support her studies citing that archaeology was a discipline worthy of princes, and the prince of Denmark himself

¹⁷¹ İsa Küçük, *Halet Abla Destanı* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2010).

¹⁷² Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 72.

had studied archaeology.¹⁷³ It is indeed interesting to follow this trend—the expectation of an elite status and high social standards when accepting students—from Bossert to Akurgal, the latter who states in his memoirs that he always discouraged students who did not have the right etiquette and income to become archaeologists.¹⁷⁴ These first-hand records of the careers and attitudes of prominent figures of archaeology in Turkey are fascinating in that they reveal a wide range of issues such as gender bias, social hierarchy, and the exclusive and elitist nature of archaeology in Turkey, in its formative years as a profession.

The biographical studies of important figures in archaeology in Turkey are not limited to Turkish archaeologists. Oğuz Tekin and Nil Türker Tekin's research on the life and work of Clemens Bosch, a German scholar who worked at Istanbul Archaeological Museums and Istanbul University from 1935 until his death in 1955, presents an informative chapter into the development of academic studies of Ancient History and Numismatics in Turkey.¹⁷⁵

Apart from book-length biographical sources, there are a series of articles on archaeologists mostly in the form of eulogies or to mark anniversaries of their deaths. While these sources would normally fall into the category of secondary sources, in this chapter, they are treated as primary sources. Since the focus of this chapter is the academic establishment in Turkey, a eulogy text written by an archaeologist about another archaeologist contains information embedded in its rhetoric and style of language, a close reading of which helps to reconstruct the relationship and analyse the hierarchy that existed between different scholars of the time.

It is not a coincidence that these autobiographical and biographical accounts all appeared in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In his article, Gürpınar traces the politics of memoirs

¹⁷³ The word *delikanlı* is a rather idiosyncratic Turkish word which roughly means a young man or a boy (it would be a Turkish equivalent of a "lad"). The title of this book is a clear example of how women archaeologists working in Turkey were represented in a masculine role to fit in their profession which required long seasons of field work in rural Anatolia. Emine Çaykara, *Arkeolojinin Delikanlısı. Muhibbe Darga* (Istanbul: Can Yayınları, 2007).

¹⁷⁴ Akurgal (2004), 72-75.

¹⁷⁵ Oğuz Tekin and Nil Türker Tekin, *Mülteci Bir Akademisyenin Biyografisi. Clemens Emin Bosch (1899-1955) Biography of a Refugee Academician* (Istanbul: AKMED / Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2007).

in Turkey and mentions that there was a boom of memoirs published starting from the 1990s by groups who feel nostalgic about the early Republican period.¹⁷⁶ In this regard, all the autobiographies and biographies mentioned above can be interpreted within that trend of memory writing considering how closely these scholars are associated with the early years of the Republic.¹⁷⁷

2.5 Excavation and Institutional Histories

Another genre of history written about the archaeological activities in Turkey is the site-specific excavation history and report. This can come in different formats and vary in content and scope. While a brief history of excavations can be found for almost any archaeological site in Turkey, there are only a handful of mainly foreign archaeological expeditions which have published more detailed histories of their excavations.

With the initiative of the Ministry of Culture in 1979, practitioners of archaeology in Turkey were required to present and publish their findings at an annual meeting called *Uluslararası Kazı, Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu Sonuçları* [International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys and Archaeometry], also more commonly known as *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı (KST)* [Meeting of Excavation Results], which was organized by the ministry. These annual meetings produced numerous articles written by archaeologists, and gave an overall picture of the profession. An analysis of these reports was conducted by Pınar N. Özgüner in her PhD thesis. Özgüner analysed the conferences to reveal the formation of identities in the profession and explored the power relations between the archaeologists and the state.¹⁷⁸ Özgüner states that the KST reports tend to include remarks by the archaeologists on the practice and state of their profession in addition to information on their archaeological finds. Through these remarks, Özgüner analysed the attitudes of archaeologists and the state concerning the issues of cultural heritage in Turkey. This study, along with several more detailed records of specific

¹⁷⁶ Doğan Gürpınar, 'The Politics of Memoirs and Memoir-Publishing in Twentieth Century Turkey', *Turkish Studies* 13, no. 3 (2012): 537–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2012.717443>.

¹⁷⁷ Douglas R. Givens, 'The Role of Biography in Writing the History of Archaeology', in *Histories of Archaeology: A Reader in the History of Archaeology*, ed. Tim Murray and Christopher Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 177–93.

¹⁷⁸ Özgüner, 'Türkiye Arkeolojisinde Problemler ve Farklı Kimliklerin Oluşumu: Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Yayınlarının İncelenmesi'.

archaeological sites discussed below, serve as valuable resources which shed light on some of the motivations of the persons involved in archaeological work in Turkey.

Turkey has been home to many excavations which have been continuing for over a century. Among these are the excavations in Ephesus which began in 1863 by the English engineer John Turtle Wood and were then taken over by an Austrian archaeological team which currently is working at the site. To mark the hundredth-year anniversary of the Austrian excavations in Ephesus, several publications have appeared in German which give an account of the one-and-a-half-century long history of archaeology on the site.¹⁷⁹ These publications also give information about the changing theoretical framework of the archaeological discipline as we can observe how the excavations developed and changed focus. Another site with a long excavation history is Pergamon. An edited volume on Pergamon published in 2014 on the occasion of a recent exhibition in the Pergamon museum includes articles on the history of excavations at the site as well as an account of the restoration history of the ancient buildings in Pergamon.¹⁸⁰ The former director of excavations at Pergamon, Wolfgang Radt, has produced many articles and a book on the history of excavation on the site, as has the present director Felix Pirson.

In addition to excavation and exhibition reports, there are also site-specific studies which focus on the discovery stories of the archaeological sites through a historical perspective. Troy is a good example of such a site with its well-known discovery story, in which the German businessman Heinrich Schliemann claimed the discovery even though Frank Calvert, an English consular officer, had known about the site seven years earlier and it was Calvert who had instructed Schliemann in his search for Troy.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, there is *Studia Troiaca*, the academic journal dedicated to research at and about Troy, published

¹⁷⁹ Traute Wohlers-Scharf, *Die Forschungsgeschichte von Ephesos: Entdeckungen, Grabungen Und Persönlichkeiten* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1995); Gilbert Wiplinger and Gudrun Wlach, *Ephesus: 100 Years of Austrian Research* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996).

¹⁸⁰ Ursula Kaestner, "A Work so Grand and Magnificent...Had Been Restored to the World!" (C. Humann 1880) - History of the Excavations at Pergamon up to 1900', in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*, ed. Andreas Scholl and Felix Pirson (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 20–37; Wolfgang Radt, "The Fun and Games Are over!" (A. Conze 1904) - The Excavations of the 20th Century', in *Pergamon - Anadolu'da Hellenistik Bir Başkent / A Hellenistic Capital in Anatolia*, ed. Andreas Scholl and Felix Pirson (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 38–49.

¹⁸¹ Susan Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy: Frank Calvert and Heinrich Schliemann at Hisarlik* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

in eighteen volumes between 1991 and 2009.¹⁸² The latter included not only detailed periodical excavation reports but also a number of studies on the history of archaeology at Troy based on the Ottoman textual materials.¹⁸³ These works are noteworthy as they often report on the results of collaborative work by archaeologists (e.g. Rüstem Aslan) and Ottoman historians. Such an approach has revealed new archival materials which were formerly inaccessible to archaeologists. As a result, the language limitations and inability to access Ottoman texts produced a narrative of early excavation of the city which tended to be one-sided and focused on Schliemann's personality. However, the new studies are changing this narrative by particularly engaging Ottoman texts that were not included in the history of excavations in Troy.

Last but not least, the archaeological project in Çatalhöyük contributed to the theory and history of archaeological practice in Turkey. Particularly through the post-processual archaeological theory pioneered by its former excavation director Ian Hodder, the archaeological practice at Çatalhöyük employed reflexive methods that emphasized the contribution of the diverse actors who took part in the archaeological process including workmen and other members of the local communities.¹⁸⁴ Published in 2020 and 2021, further related works stemming from Çatalhöyük contributed to the study of archaeological knowledge production and the landscape of labour.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² *Studia Troica* is an academic journal published by Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein. All the abstracts for the published articles are accessible at <http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/troia/st/>

¹⁸³ Rüstem Aslan, 'Osmanlı Arşivlerinden Heinrich Schliemann'ın Son Dönem Çalışmalarıyla İlgili Üç Yeni Mektup', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 129 (2008): 123–32; Rüstem Aslan, Ali Sönmez, and Reyhan Körpe, 'Heinrich Schliemanns Ausgrabungen Nach Osmanischen Quellen', *Studia Troica* 18 (2009): 237–48; Aslan, 'Schliemann: Priamos Hazinesi'nin Bulunması ve Türkiye'den Kaçırılması'; Rüstem Aslan and Ali Sönmez, 'Die Entdeckung Und Der Schmuggel Des »Priamos-Schatzes« von Hisarlık (Troia) Nach Athen Anhand Osmanischer Quellen', *Studia Troica* 19 (2011): 43–56; Rüstem Aslan and D. Thumm, 'Ein Traum Und Seine Auswirkungen. Troia Und Die Anfänge Der Archäologie', in *Troia: Traum Und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Joachim Latacz (Stuttgart: K. Theiss, 2001), 323–30; Rüstem Aslan, 'Osman Hamdi Bey ve Troia Kazıları (Osman Hamdi Bey and Troia Excavations)', *KUBABA* 14 (2009): 19–30; Rüstem Aslan and Mithat Atabay, 'Atatürk in Troy', in *Troy : City, Homer, Turkey*, ed. Günay Uslu, Jorrit M. Kelder, and Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2012), 155–59; Rüstem Aslan, 'Bir Düş ve Sonuçları: Troia ve Arkeolojinin Başlangıcı', in *Troia : Düş ve Gerçek*, ed. Sema Bulgurlu (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2001), 323–29; Rüstem Aslan and Ali Sönmez, 'The Discovery and Smuggling of Priam's Treasure', in *Troy : City, Homer, Turkey*, ed. Günay Uslu, Jorrit M. Kelder, and Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2012), 137–41.

¹⁸⁴ Ian Hodder, 'Archaeological Reflexivity and the "Local" Voice', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76, no. 1 (2003): 55–69, <https://doi.org/10.1353/anq.2003.0010>.

¹⁸⁵ Allison Mickel, 'The Proximity of Communities to the Expanse of Big Data', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2020): S51–60, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00934690.2020.1713284>; Allison Mickel, 'Essential Excavation Experts: Alienation and Agency in the History of Archaeological Labor', *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 15 (2019): 181–205, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11759-019-09356-9>; Allison Mickel and Nylah Byrd, 'Cultivating Trust,

2.6 Interdisciplinary Works

In its formative years as a discipline, archaeology was part of the larger scholarly initiatives in the early Republican period. In that sense, archaeology in Turkey shared many aspects of development with other fields of social sciences and humanities. Traces of information regarding the formation of archaeology can be extracted from the histories of other disciplines such as anthropology, architecture, art history, and ancient languages among others.

The transdisciplinary nature of archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic is reflected in a study focusing on the relationship of ideology and the architectural heritage of Anatolia and the Balkans. Edited by Gülru Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan, a *Muqarnas* volume titled *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the “Lands of Rum”* includes articles on the institutions which were influential in the formation of scholarship related with architecture, art history, archaeology in Turkey. Scott Redford's article gives a brief account of Islamic archaeology and the perception of Islamic art and its past in the ideology of the early Republican period.¹⁸⁶ The limited number of histories of archaeology in Turkey focus on the archaeological activities of Bronze-age and Classical civilizations. In this regard, Redford fills a gap in the scholarship by presenting how the nature of scholarly activities in the early years of the Republic transcended the modern division of academic disciplines. The limited number of trained scholars in archaeology resulted in people working in periods beyond their specialties. That is why we see the most influential figures of Classical archaeology in Turkey like Akurgal and Mansel working on Ottoman monuments in their early careers. Another article in the volume by Bilsel focuses on the image of Anatolia as a 'meta-historical' cultural identity and an aesthetical ideal in Turkey.¹⁸⁷ That article is particularly valuable as it introduces the reader to a variety of intellectual trends in Turkey through which it is possible to trace the

Producing Knowledge: The Management of Archaeological Labour and the Making of a Discipline', *History of the Human Sciences* 20, no. 10 (2021): 1–26, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09526951211015855>; Allison Mickel, Patrycja Filipowicz, and Lucy Bennison-Chapman, 'Ethnography, Engagement, Evaluations, and Endings: The Achievements and Limitations of Community Outreach at Çatalhöyük', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 83, no. 3 (2020): 182–90.

¹⁸⁶ Scott Redford, "'What Have You Done for Anatolia Today?': Islamic Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic', *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 243–52.

¹⁸⁷ S. M. Can Bilsel, "'Our Anatolia": Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey', *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 223–41.

changing understanding of cultural heritage and the early Republican interpretation of archaeology and Anatolia. Bilsel's article is particularly valuable in terms of observing how ideas travelled between scholars in the field of archaeology and classics and the intellectual figures such as Selahattin Eyüboğlu and Halikarnas Balıkcısı (Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı) who were popularizing the cultural heritage of Anatolia through their artistic works.

Particularly in early Republican period in Turkey, archaeological research was conducted very closely with anthropology and the histories of both disciplines are thus interconnected. In his book *Darwin'den Dersim'e: Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji* [From Darwin to Dersim: The Republic and Anthropology], Zafer Toprak presents an overview of the history of anthropology as a discipline and how it was politicized along the early Republican ideals based on a critique of extensive archival material.¹⁸⁸ Mesut Dinler's study on the other hand, while focusing roughly on the same period as Zafer Toprak, does not engage with primary sources and ends up repeating narratives on the history of archaeology in early Republican-period Turkey based mostly on previously-published studies.¹⁸⁹

The heritage making processes and architectural conservation policies in Turkey, with a particular focus on the Sultanahmet archaeological area in Istanbul, have been the subject of a series of articles by Pınar Aykaç.¹⁹⁰ First, these studies reveal the history of archaeological work conducted in Sultanahmet archaeological area, one of the earliest urban archaeological projects in Turkey. Furthermore, these articles not only present valuable historical background on the ways in which architectural heritage in Turkey has

¹⁸⁸ Zafer Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012).

¹⁸⁹ Mesut Dinler, 'The Knife's Edge of the Present: Archaeology in Turkey from the Nineteenth Century to the 1940s', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 22 (2018): 728–45, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-017-0446-x>.

¹⁹⁰ Pınar Aykaç, 'Contesting the Byzantine Past: Four Hagia Sophias as Ideological Battlegrounds of Architectural Conservation in Turkey', *Heritage & Society* 11, no. 2 (2018): 151–78, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2019.1670502>; Pınar Aykaç, 'Musealization as an Urban Process: The Transformation of the Sultanahmet District in Istanbul's Historic Peninsula', *Journal of Urban History* 45, no. 6 (2019): 1246–72, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144219853775>; Pınar Aykaç, 'Musealisation as a Strategy for the Reconstruction of an Idealised Ottoman Past: Istanbul's Sultanahmet District as a "Museum-Quarter"', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 2 (2019): 160–77, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1475407>; Pınar Aykaç, 'The Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities and Its Role in the Appropriation of Istanbul's Diverse Heritage as National Heritage (1939–1953)', *New Perspectives in Turkey* 62 (2020): 75–99, <https://doi.org/10.1017/npt.2020.7>.

been shaped based on archival documents that have been previously engaged in scholarship, but also, reveal the complexities of conducting archival research within the Turkish context.¹⁹¹

The interdisciplinary nature of archaeology and the historical legacy of other disciplines in Turkish academia are crucial factors when conducting research on the historical development of the archaeological profession in the Turkish context. A thorough research on the historiography of archaeology in Turkey should go beyond the histories of excavations and the careers of the archaeologists as the production of archaeological knowledge and culture was a process which included many other academic disciplines such as art history, architectural history, Hittitology, and Sumerology.

2.7 Exhibitions on Archaeology

Exhibitions constitute a major role in the study of the history of archaeology in Turkey. The exhibitions on archaeology not only paved the way for garnering public interest in archaeology but also opened up a platform for scholars to pursue different aspects of the history of archaeology in Turkey particularly through the publications that accompanied them. In this regard, these exhibitions constituted an instrumental part of this research.

Particularly since 2000, there has been a proliferation of exhibitions about archaeology both in Turkey and abroad. While most of these exhibitions did not present a critical stance on the historical development of archaeological practice, they nevertheless incited an interest in the subject particularly by introducing a wide range of visual sources from archives that are located outside of Turkey. Besides their obvious function in disseminating archaeological knowledge to a wider audience, these exhibitions were often accompanied by exhibitions catalogues which contain scholarly articles and historical material regarding the history of archaeological practice. While these publications have been analysed in other sections of this chapter in more detail, it is still crucial to state that the practice of exhibition was the driving motive in many of these. The majority of these exhibitions were held in Istanbul, in institutions such as the Yapı

¹⁹¹ Pinar Aykaç, 'Archives as Fields of Heritage-Making in Istanbul's Historic Peninsula', *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 9, no. 2 (2020): 361–87.

Kredi Cultural Center, Istanbul Archaeological Museums, SALT, and the Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED).

Arguably the most comprehensive effort in such endeavours came from the “Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914” Exhibition which opened to the public in November, 2011 at SALT Galata in Istanbul. Conceptualized by three prominent scholars—Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem—the exhibition surveyed the history of archaeological practice undertaken in the lands of the Ottoman Empire in its last two centuries. In addition to the publication that came out of the exhibition, which was discussed in an earlier section on the Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire of this dissertation, the exhibition provided a comprehensive programme including an interpretation pack for educators that is accessible online¹⁹², video screenings on archaeology¹⁹³ and a one-day symposium.¹⁹⁴

Since 2012, ANAMED of the Koç University has been home to a series of exhibitions on the history and archaeology of Anatolia focusing on sites such as Sagalassos, Antioch, Alalakh, Yenikapı, Trebizond, and Çatalhöyük as well as influential figures like Josephine Powell, Osman Hamdi Bey, James Roberts, Nicholas V. Artamonoff, , and John Garstang.¹⁹⁵ Among more than twenty exhibitions hosted at the institution, several are particularly noteworthy in terms of presenting new archival materials and producing extensive catalogues that include scholarly articles which provide insight of archaeological practices at different sites. Curated by Alan M. Greaves, “John Garstang’s Footsteps across Anatolia” showcased photographs of Garstang’s survey of Anatolia and North Syria of 1907, which are currently located at the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University Liverpool, UK.¹⁹⁶ “The Forgotten Kingdom” Exhibition

¹⁹² SALT Online, “‘Geçmişe Hücum: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Arkeolojinin Öyküsü, 1753-1914” Yorumlama Rehberi’, 2011, <https://saltonline.org/media/files/687.pdf>.

¹⁹³ SALT Online, ‘Scramble for the Past Video Program’, 2011, <https://saltonline.org/en/237/scramble-for-the-past-video-program>.

¹⁹⁴ SALT Online, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Arkeolojinin Tarihi 1. Oturum / The History of Archaeology from The Ottoman to The Republic Session 1* (Istanbul, 2012), <https://vimeo.com/39690412>; SALT Online, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Arkeolojinin Tarihi 2. Oturum / The History of Archaeology from The Ottoman to The Republic Session 2* (Istanbul, 2012), <https://vimeo.com/40080406>; SALT Online, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Arkeolojinin Tarihi 3. Oturum / The History of Archaeology from The Ottoman to The Republic Session 3* (Istanbul, 2012), <https://vimeo.com/40080405>.

¹⁹⁵ ANAMED, ‘Past Exhibitions’, 2019, <https://anamed.ku.edu.tr/en/gecmis-sergiler>.

¹⁹⁶ Alan M. Greaves, ed., *John Garstang’s Footsteps Across Anatolia* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015).

presented the ancient city of Alalakh in south-eastern Turkey through a juxtaposition of old and new photography from the site and displayed archival material from the University College London Collections of Sir Leonard Woolley's Expeditions.¹⁹⁷ In a similar vein, the "Antioch on the Orontes" Exhibition consisted of photographic evidence from the Princeton University's archaeological work in the city during the 1930s.¹⁹⁸ "The Curious Case of Çatalhöyük"—an exhibition to celebrate the 25th excavation season of the Çatalhöyük Research Project—differed from the others in terms of its content and display. Rather than relying on photographic material and highlighting the site itself, the exhibition instead focused on the theoretical and practice-based aspects of archaeology on the site with a particular emphasis on the reflexive methodology—one of the trademarks of the excavation. It did so through a series of "experiment-based display features" where different facets of archaeological investigation such as zooarchaeology and archaeobotany were explained.¹⁹⁹ The use of trench journals and plastic baskets in the design further contributed to the exhibition of the archaeological practice. After being on display at ANAMED, the exhibition later travelled to London and reached a wider audience at the Brunei Gallery of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Another cultural institution that held regular exhibitions about the archaeology of Turkey is the Yapı Kredi Cultural Center. Since 2002, they have hosted a series of exhibitions which focused on particular archaeological sites, archaeological artefacts, or civilizations. The list includes but is not limited to Troy, Çatalhöyük, Sagalassos, portraits from Aphrodisias, Phrygians, Urartian Kingdom as well as Neolithic Civilizations. While most of the exhibitions were curated by the institution, they also hosted travelling exhibitions from abroad.²⁰⁰

Hosted at the Ruhr Museum in Essen, Germany in 2010, *Der Grosse Spiel Archäologie und Politik* (The Great Game—Archaeology and Politics in times of Colonialism (1860-

¹⁹⁷ Murat Akar and Hélène Maloigne, eds., *The Forgotten Kingdom, Archaeology and Photography at Ancient Alalakh* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2014).

¹⁹⁸ Scott Redford, ed., *Antioch on the Orontes: Early Explorations in the City of Mosaics* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2014).

¹⁹⁹ 'The Curious Case of Çatalhöyük', n.d., <https://anamed.ku.edu.tr/en/curious-case-catalhoyuk>.

²⁰⁰ 'Former Exhibitions on Archaeology', n.d., <http://sanat.ykykultur.com.tr/sergiler?kategori=09NT6dxJysU=&type=&mekan=>.

1940) was an exhibition organized for the Ruhr Museum in Essen, Germany and was on the relationship between archaeology, politics, and colonialism which contextualized the motives of German archaeological expeditions in North Africa, the Middle East, and the Central Asia between 1860 and 1940. Reflecting the ambitious geographical scope of the exhibition, the exhibition catalogue is an extensive publication which includes 60 articles on over 14 themes.²⁰¹

The most recent addition to the list of exhibitions which featured historical material regarding the history of archaeology is the “Aphrodisias” Exhibition in the newly-opened Ara Güler Museum in Istanbul. The exhibition which opened in 2018 consists of Ara Güler’s photographs from the ancient city of Aphrodisias taken prior to the start of the major excavations by the New York University in 1961 and continues the documentation of the site and the archaeological work conducted there to the present day. Ara Güler’s photographs of Aphrodisias highlight aspects of life in a village near/on the ancient city in the 1950s and were previously published as a volume with an essay written by Ara Güler.²⁰²

In 2014, Istanbul hosted the annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists. The conference programme was also linked with a series of events and exhibitions.²⁰³ In addition to the Forgotten Kingdom Exhibition at the ANAMED which was mentioned earlier, the programme included two related exhibitions; one on the development of archaeological literature in Turkey displayed at the German Archaeological Institute²⁰⁴ and another exhibition on the documenting process of the Ottoman Imperial Museum hosted at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Charlotte Trümpler, ed., *Das Grosse Spiel: Archäologie Und Politik Zur Zeit Des Kolonialismus (1860-1940)* (Cologne: DuMont, 2008).

²⁰² Güler, *Aphrodisias Çılgılığı*.

²⁰³ Deniz Mazlum, Zeynep Eres, and Bilge Ar, eds., *20th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists 10-14 September 2014 Istanbul - Turkey. Special Exhibits and Events*. (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2014).

²⁰⁴ *From a Dusty Dig to the Dusty Shelves. The Development of the Archaeological Literature in Turkey. An Exhibition of the Library of the German Archaeological Institute / Hafriyattan Hurufata. Türkiye’de Arkeoloji Literatürünün Gelişimi – İstanbul Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü İstanbul Şubesi Kütüphanesi’nin Sergisi 09.09.2014 – 14.09.2014* (Istanbul: DAI, 2014).

²⁰⁵ Edhem Eldem, *Müze-i Hümayun’u Belgelemek. Documenting the Imperial Museum* (Istanbul: Istanbul Archaeological Museums, 2014).

While these exhibitions contributed to garnering of public interest in archaeological sites and cultural heritage in more general terms, the dynamics of archaeological practice were often not represented. “The Curious Case of Çatalhöyük” Exhibition at ANAMED and the “Meanwhile in the Mountains: Sagalassos” Exhibition at the Yapı Kredi Cultural Center could be interpreted as an exception due to their efforts to explain the working steps of archaeological practice and the roles of archaeological work in the local communities. Despite these efforts, the contributions and roles of the local communities overall were represented minimally. The underrepresentation of local communities can be said to be a common feature in exhibitions on archaeology which almost always focus on artifacts, and thus, perpetuate an understanding and perception of archaeology laden with the “discovery” trope.

2.8 Archaeology Chronicles

Archaeological practice in Turkey has been documented by its contemporaries in a series of recurring publications. While these publications do not necessarily offer a critical analysis of how the practice has developed over the years, they nevertheless present a large body of work that detailed chronologically the archaeological research in the absence of a centralized database of all the archaeological activities carried out within Turkey. Here, I use the term “chronicle” rather than history since the primary motivation of the publications mentioned is to document and publicize the archaeological work conducted in Turkey to a wider audience rather than provide a detailed historical analysis. The list only includes efforts made to compile archaeological activities on a regular basis rather than one-time publications. Further, this list does not include individual site-specific reports, and regards these as part a larger canvas of archaeological publications.

The earliest attempt to chronicle archaeological research activities in Turkey was initiated by Machteld Mellink in 1955. Under the title of ‘Archaeology in Asia Minor’, Mellink composed a yearly report of archaeological work carried out in Turkey and published it in the American Journal of Archaeology (AJA). While site-specific reports have previously been published in the yearly news reports section of the AJA, Mellink established an annual article series that she continued to author until 1993. With the exception of the years 1957 and 1986, the articles appeared yearly in the AJA for nearly

four decades.²⁰⁶ The title of the series changed from “Archaeology in Asia Minor” to “Archaeology in Anatolia” in 1985, and to “Archaeology in Turkey” in 1994 when Marie-Henriette Gates, an archaeologist from Bilkent University in Ankara, took over the authorship of the reports. Gates published four reports until 1997 when there was a hiatus in the series. The last instalment of the series was published in 2007 co-authored by Gates and Yıldırım who reported on the archaeological activities in 2004-2005 season.²⁰⁷ Over nearly four decades, Mellink’s efforts of compiling and providing an overview of the most recent archaeological work in Turkey—very often through personal communications with the archaeologists working in Turkey—made information about excavation in this region of the world available to a wider English-speaking world.²⁰⁸

Similar to Mellink’s article series in the *AJA*, other academic journals also reported on the archaeological work in Turkey. Published every year continuously from 1964 to 1989, *Anatolian Studies*—the scholarly journal published by the British Institute at Ankara—published an annual article series called “Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey.” Different from the *AJA* series, the *Anatolian Studies* publications featured short summaries from each archaeological project written by the directors of the respective projects, rather a single author evaluating the work in general.

In a similar line with the *AJA*, the *Archaeological Reports*, the journal published by the Society of the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, has also published a series of articles which evaluate the archaeological work conducted in Turkey. While the series is primarily focused on the archaeological work in Greece, Asia Minor also has had a section allocated to it throughout the years. It was first produced by J M. Cook, then Stephen Mitchell, who authored “state of the field” reports in a similar vein as Mellink.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ See bibliography for Mellink.

²⁰⁷ Marie-Henriette Gates and Bahadır Yıldırım, ‘Archaeology in Turkey, 2004-2005’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 2 (2007): 275–356.

²⁰⁸ Machteld Mellink’s personal archive at the Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania attests to this. Her personal correspondence files show a very wide network of scholars, museum professionals, students, government officials, and local community members from whom she continually received information on the state of archaeological work in Turkey.

²⁰⁹ Stephen Mitchell, ‘Archaeology in Asia Minor 1979-84’, *Archaeological Reports* 31 (1985 1984): 70–105; Stephen Mitchell, ‘Archaeology in Asia Minor 1985-1989’, *Archaeological Reports* 36 (1990 1989): 83–131; Stephen Mitchell, ‘Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990-98’, *Archaeological Reports* 45 (1999 1998): 125–92.

There are also the histories of foreign research institutions and centres which have been set up to facilitate research for archaeologists from their respective countries who are working in Turkey and played a large role in the development of archaeological practice in the country. While some of these works may not have been intended to function as critical histories, they could be classified a form of chronicles which record the activities of each institution. The list of these types of institutions and their histories include but is not limited to Lutgarde Vandeput on the British Institute at Ankara,²¹⁰ Pınar Üre on the short-lived Russian Archaeological Institute in Istanbul,²¹¹ and the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul.²¹²

2.9 Conclusion

A critical look into the many different sources produced by archaeologists on archaeology in Turkey reveals a series of issues and attitudes that shape the scholarship. This detailed review of the different types of sources helps to formulate a historiography of archaeological sites and draws a broader picture of the sources which can be used to construct a historical narrative that incorporates both first and secondary archival materials. As this chapter demonstrated several groups of sources, such as the autobiographies and memoirs of prominent archaeologists, can be read both as primary and secondary sources as they document the archaeological practice but also reveal the individual personalities and narratives embedded in the text. In this dissertation these diverse types of sources which traditionally would be classified as secondary sources were analyzed and categorized so as to serve as the base upon which to situate research conducted in different archaeological archives and the data from oral history interviews.

From researching this vast body of sources, the temporal divisions of the field before and after the founding of the Republic in 1923 are clearly articulated. This is partly explained by the academic divisions that shaped the different scholarly disciplines. Historians of the Ottoman period began to research the archaeological practices carried out in the Ottoman

²¹⁰ Lutgarde Vandeput, 'The British Institute at Ankara: 60 Years Young', *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008): 1–14.

²¹¹ Üre, 'Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)'.

²¹² 1929-2004 – *Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü İstanbul Şubesi'nin 75 Yılı* (Istanbul: DAI, 2004).

Empire, while archaeologists started to write about the history of their profession from 1923 onwards. This academic division was delineated further due to the lack of expertise with the Ottoman language, something which Ottoman historians have but many archaeologists in the field do not generally possess. A closed community within the archaeology field resulted in scholarship which has often lacked reflexive criticality and as a result produced one-sided narratives shaped by the official Turkish history timeline.

Last but not least, it is important to note what is left out these histories, exhibitions, and narratives. There is little to no mention of local communities as part of the archaeological practice, and no direct mention or problematization of labour practices within these archaeological excavations. Finally, there is clear evidence of biases about gender and class among the archaeological community, all topics which are addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL COMMUNITIES

In Figure 3, Cemal Dinçer, a young boy from Polatlı, Ankara, near the ancient city of Gordion, is sending his photo to Machteld Mellink, a Dutch archaeologist working in US. Figure 4, however, depicts anonymous boys, posing naked as Greek wrestlers would, in a book on Aphrodisias published in 1986. The caption for the wrestling boys written by Kenan Erim reads:

Four young wrestlers briefly recreate a scene that illustrates the chief purpose of the Stadium, which was to hold athletic contests and events. These would have included running, jumping, discus and javelin throwing, boxing, and wrestling. It was of course the general convention for participating athletes to perform naked.²¹³

Figures 3 and 4 highlight an intriguing contrast in terms of the relationship between the local communities and the members of the archaeological teams working in Turkey. They also function as stimuli to further question and discuss the concepts of local communities, archaeological heritage, and the historiography of history of archaeology in Turkey.

Archaeological practice is a social endeavour. It is not only performed by a single person in a lab, library, in a trench out on a field. Contrary to some of the more popular depictions of archaeologists and their work the practice of archaeology is a collaborative effort with many people managing myriad tasks simultaneously. The importance of a team is a well-known aspect of the profession by those who practice it. However, as the previous chapter demonstrated, the historiography of the history of archaeological practice has frequently produced a narrative based on discovery myths celebrating a single person (very often a male hero archaeologist) thereby, ignoring the role and contribution of many different people who are involved in an archaeological project.

Based on archival documents, particularly documents authored by the local communities as well as oral history testimonies by practitioners of archaeology in Turkey, this chapter attempts to fill a long-ignored gap in the scholarship regarding the involvement of local communities in the archaeological practice in Turkey. The archival materials are patchy

²¹³ Kenan T. Erim, *Aphrodisias. City of Venus Aphrodite*. (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1986), 69.

in the most optimistic evaluation, but this chapter connects archival records which at first glance may seem arbitrary in terms of chronology and geography, but can be used to build a richer and more nuanced narrative using information and perspectives that are frequently missing in the stories of many archaeological excavations in Turkey and elsewhere.

In this chapter, rather than categorizing local communities according to demographic data or type of employment, I choose to interpret the role of the local communities by drawing from evidence in the archives generated by, or specifically about, members of the local community themselves and their contribution to the archaeological projects in which they were involved. This approach allows for a better understanding of the dynamics and complexity of the relationships between the local communities and the more academic members of this archaeological team. The archival collections used in this chapter are drawn from the Machteld J. Mellink Papers in Bryn Mawr College Archives, George Hanfmann Papers at the Widener Library, Harvard University, Papers of Robert J. and Linda S. Braidwood Collection at the Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago the Aizanoi Excavation Archive at the German Archaeological Institute Architecture Department, Berlin, and the Kurt Bittel Archive at the German Archaeological Institute Central Archive, Berlin. The members of local communities presented in this chapter are from different parts of Turkey and the places mentioned are indicated on Figure 5.

3.1 The Voice of Local Communities and the Archival Politics

The interactions between the archaeological teams working in the field and the local communities have several dimensions that are not necessarily limited to labour exchange in the field. Documents that were authored by local communities that are held in the archaeological archives mentioned above give insight into the ways in which these interactions occurred. Furthermore, these documents problematize the very definition and boundaries of archaeological fieldwork and its practitioners. This section analyses several archival documents in detail and examines these from a perspective of micro-history to determine how each document can reveal different facets of interactions between local communities and the archaeological team working in the field.

The scarcity of these types of archival materials (e.g. letters, postcards, short notes, shopping lists) makes any detailed analysis or generalizations about the demographics of the authors of these documents difficult. However, there are certain characteristics that can be mentioned. Apart from two letters, the correspondence authored by members of the local community and sent to archaeologists were from men. The ages of the authors varied from a primary school pupil to middle-aged men. The majority of the letters were written by people who were involved with the archaeological projects, but who were not formally trained archaeologists.

Materials that make up the Machteld Mellink Papers are currently kept at the Canadey Library, the Bryn Mawr College where Mellink taught for over five decades. The materials are now organized under 20 ‘Series’ which span from the late 1950s to the early 2000s and include a variety of materials such as her notes and writings, correspondence with over 160 names and institutions, a diverse body of records from her archaeological fieldwork, organizational and administrative papers particularly from her directorship of ARIT (American Research Institute in Turkey) and works sent to her by other scholars. On the website for the Mellink Archive, there is this remark:

However, this collection does not provide strong insight into archaeological history, nor Professor Mellink’s thought process when approaching archaeological issues.²¹⁴

While this might lower the expectations for an archaeologist looking for “factual” information about an excavation, this type of archive does provide valuable insight to the history of archaeological practices from a wider perspective. Following Mellink’s death, her papers were bequeathed to the Bryn Mawr College as part of her estate. The materials became part of the archive through several stages and the materials processed at different times. The current finding aids and the organization of the material are the product of the archivists who worked on the materials rather than Mellink herself who did not leave a guideline on how to arrange and store her papers.²¹⁵

In the Machteld Mellink Papers a folder titled ‘1952-1956’ consists of letters, postcards, and a few passport photos sent as souvenirs to Mellink. These documents allow one to

²¹⁴ <http://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/resources/bmc-2010-01>

²¹⁵ Christiana Dobrzynski, the archivist who was working at the Bryn Mawr College Archives, kindly shared this information with me via email.

trace the personal relationships that Machteld Mellink and the local community had during the time of her fieldwork in Turkey in the 1950s (Figure 6).²¹⁶ The folder does not include the replies sent by Machteld Mellink herself so the documents here represent a rather one-sided version of the stories involving the local community. This is also a rather unusual instance in the historiography of archaeology where the local community appears in the archive represented through their own voices rather than surfacing as a brief mention by archaeologists between the lines of diaries or the marginalia excavation field notes.

The organization of the Machteld Mellink Papers is itself intriguing and affects how narratives about the excavation have been shaped. In the folder titled ‘Turkish letters’ there are documents sent by the local community that Mellink encountered during her archaeological fieldwork in Turkey, but also letters by people in prominent political position such as Kazım Gülek, a former general secretary of the Republican People’s Party (CHP) and a Member of Parliament from Adana. In his letter to Mellink dated July 6, 1956, writing in English, Gülek expresses his gratitude to Mellink for the hospitality he received during his visit to the ancient site of Gordion. He further mentions that he would like to show her ‘quite a few pieces’ that he “dug out as an amateur archaeologist” from his land in Adana.²¹⁷

3.2 Machteld Mellink Papers, Bryn Mawr College, PA, USA

3.2.1 Kids from the Neighbourhood: Cemal Dinçer and Cengiz Söyler

Young people who lived at archaeological sites found their way into archaeological archives. In Mellink Papers, correspondence by Cemal Dinçer is interesting in this respect. Accompanied by his portrait, Cemal Dinçer from Polatlı, sent a letter to Mellink (Figures 7-8). Writing in response to Mellink’s letter he received in 1953, he thanks her for the letter and expresses his gratitude that Mellink did not forget him. He then mentions that he has been going to school, working hard on his lessons, and he intends to pass his

²¹⁶ ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²¹⁷ Kazım Gülek, ‘Letter of Kazım Gülek to Machteld Mellink’, 9 June 1956, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

grade. As a side note, he mentions that he had also written to the professor (“*prafasar*”, possibly to an unnamed colleague of Mellink) but did not get a response, a cause for worry for him in case the professor was cross. In the letter, Cemal also mentions his brother, a student of the Police College who helped Cemal with his lessons as well as writing the letter. He also asks for a wristwatch as a souvenir from Mellink in exchange for the photo he sent and concludes the letter by saying that he wishes to come to the US next year.²¹⁸

Another young person who got in touch with Mellink is Cengiz Söyler, a high-school student from Antalya. His letter dated April 6th, 1955 starts in English on the first page and continues in Turkish on the second.²¹⁹ Thanking Mellink for the letter she sent, he says he is sorry that he was not able to send a letter since Mellink left Antalya. The letter continues with a paragraph describing Antalya and the weather before giving an update about the acquaintances of Mellink in Antalya such as Osman Bey to whom Cengiz passed Mellink’s best regards as well as Cengiz’s mother and father who were glad to hear news from Mellink. Cengiz continues to tell a bit about his school and his plans for the future. He says his lessons are hard but he also works hard and wants to be a doctor. He talks about their school trip to Manavgat and Side and remarks that “there are very old buildings in Side. The theatre of Side very big [sic].”²²⁰ The English part of the letter concludes as Cengiz mentions that he remembers Prof. Mellink every time he goes to the harbour and “Captain Hüseyin, Kenan and Mustafa” inquired about her.

The second page of the letter which was written in Turkish is the part where the author expresses his more personal and intimate feelings. Starting with an apology for the possible mistakes he might have done in his English, Cengiz then writes:

Starting from my current letter, I will sincerely call you “big/older sister.” Because I do feel like saying it/It feels right to say it.

²¹⁸ “*Gelecek sene Amerika’ya geleceğim, bir de orasını göreyim.*” Cemal Dinçer, ‘Letter of Cemal Dinçer to Machteld Mellink’, 17 November 1953, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²¹⁹ Cengiz Söyler, ‘Letter of Cengiz Söyler to Machteld Mellink’, 4 June 1955, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²²⁰ Söyler.

Size bu mektubumdan itibaren samimi olarak 'abla' diyeceğim. Çünkü böyle demek içimden geliyor.

Do not think I forgot you because I didn't write a letter. I have never forgotten you and never will. While you were around here, I have come to love you like a real big/older sister. I realized that even more clearly after I saw you off.

*Mektup yazmadım diye unuttu zannetmeyin. Asla unutmadım ve unutmam da. Sizi buralardayken hakikaten bir abla gibi sevmişim. Bunu bilhassa size uğurladıktan sonra anladım.*²²¹

These intimate sentences are followed by an invitation to stay at his family home with his parents and not in a hotel in case Mellink comes to Antalya again (“*eğer Antalya'ya gelirse onu otele bırakmayız*”). The letter concludes with Cengiz writing that he would come to Polatlı to visit Mellink. He signs the letter as “your brother Cengiz.”

The last sentence of the letter mentions a photo sent as a souvenir. In the folder, there are two photographs signed by Cengiz Söyler even though neither is attached to the letter. There is a passport photo dated April 7th, 1956, which shows a young man with neatly groomed hair dressed in a shirt and a jacket (Figure 9). The caption reads “A small souvenir for my big/older sister for her to remember me” (“*Kıymetli ablama beni hatırlaması için küçük bir hatıra.*”).²²² The second undated photograph shows a group of six young men among whom Cengiz squats in the front (Figure 10). The caption on the back of the photo mentions that it was taken at the courtyard of the school with his friends, however, they are not in their usual school uniforms.²²³

3.2.2 Enigmatic Stories: Sabit Meray and Asiye Süel

In the same folder, there are a few enigmatic letters where the author brings up a particular incident in the past. Sabit Meray's letter from Tarsus dated September 21st, 1950 is the topic of one of these incidents. After a paragraph explaining how he got upset that Mellink did not write to him before coming to Tarsus, in the second part of the letter, he starts on a rather serious note;

²²¹ Söyler.

²²² Cengiz Söyler, 'Passport Photograph of Cengiz Söyler', 4 July 1955, '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²²³ Cengiz Söyler, 'Group Photograph of Cengiz Söyler', 4 June 1955, '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

Machteld, I would like to tell you something. I know how my father talked to you. And you heard everything. This is really wrong and they are all lies. I am telling you the truth. If there would be an excavation again, you will come, too. I would do the same as two years ago, it is the same thing. Therefore, do not believe that talk.

*Machteld, şimdi ben size bir şey demek istiyorum. Benim baba size nasıl konuştu, biliyorum. Siz de her şeyi işittiniz. Fakat inanmayınız. Hakikaten bu şey çok yanlış ve yalan. Ben size doğrusunu söylüyorum. Eğer tekrar hafriyat olacak, siz geleceksiniz. Ben nasıl yapıyorum iki sene evvel aynı şey. Onun için bu konuşmaya inanmayınız.*²²⁴

These sentences imply that there might have been a quarrel of some sort between Sabit Meray's father and Mellink regarding the archaeological work and Sabit's involvement with it. The letter ends rather abruptly as Sabit thinks that he wrote too much and he states that Theresa Goell—a colleague of Mellink who was also taking part in the excavation in Turkey—went to the US.

Interestingly, there is an earlier letter by Sabit Meray dated August 13th, 1949, this time in a somewhat broken English.²²⁵ Sabit Meray appears to work for the American College in Tarsus and in his letter he gives updates on the college and Tarsus in general. He remarks that he got married after Miss Goell left for Cyprus. He writes that he works at the college during the days and is busy with photography at nights. He is worried that Ms. Goell did not write back to him thinking she might be cross. 'You know that we frequently had quarrels but speak good things after a little while. [sic]' he always asks of 'Ilse and Houfman'. Presumably, Ilse and George Hanfmann are the Ilse and Houfman of Sabit's letter and he wants Mellink to pass his best regards to them. This suggests that Ilse and George Hanfmann must have visited the Tarsus American College and become acquainted with Sabit Bey during their visit. In the first letter, Sabit Meray does not talk specifically about an excavation except he mentions that he encountered two of Mellink's 'excavator friends' who got a tent from Sabit and went on to Namrun.

The letters sent to Mellink in this folder are mostly from men. The letter of Asiye Süel dated December 23rd, 1952, an officer who officiates weddings (*evlenme memuru*) from

²²⁴ Sabit Meray, 'Letter of Sabit Meray to Machteld Mellink', 21 September 1950, '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²²⁵ Sabit Meray, 'Letter of Sabit Meray to Machteld Mellink', 13 August 1949, '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

Beyşehir, Konya, is the only exception. It is a very personal letter which includes many praises and good wishes for Mellink such as:

The fact that you were noble and genuine was already evident on your beautiful face.
May Allah give you all the power so you would be successful in your work.
Our friendship is now everlasting.

*Asil ve hakikatli olduğun zaten senin güzel yüzünden belli idi.
Allah sana çok kuvvet versin işinde çok başarılar bul.
Artık seninle dostluğumuz ebedidir.*²²⁶

Though we only have one letter from Asiye Süel and cannot further know whether their friendship indeed continued, it is evident that they had a more personal relationship at the time and from the correspondence it is clear that the dynamics of this relationship went beyond that of a contracted daily labourer and employee/excavation director.

3.2.3 A Local Celebrity: Yanko Dabanovic

Another interesting document in these archives which does not directly relate to Mellink but describes an experience of some of her acquaintances is the letter by Yanko Dabanovic from Tarsus, Mersin.²²⁷ After explaining how he met Mellink during a visit to Tarsus and later again in Antalya where they happened to be staying at the same hotel, Mr. Dabanovic goes on to tell a story how the ship called “Yeni Kurtuluş”, loaded with tobacco along other wares sank in Izmir and attaches a photo of the sunken ship with his letter. Only at the end of sixth paragraph, we find out that Mellink actually took a trip with the same boat before from Kaş to Izmir and he wanted to express how lucky she was. But this is not the most interesting aspect of this letter which is already intriguing with its sunken ships and angry captains. At the end of the letter, Yanko writes that he recently met a young American couple, Mr. and Mrs. Jean and Franc Shor who worked as correspondent for Life and the American National Geographic Magazine, and they intended to write book on Marco Polo’s trip. He then asks where exactly Marco Polo first

²²⁶ Asiye Süel, ‘Letter of Asiye Süel to Machteld Mellink’, 23 December 1952, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²²⁷ Yanko Dabanovic, ‘Letter of Yanko Dabanovic to Machteld Mellink’, 20 December 1952, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

stepped in Asia Minor as there are different places bearing the same name “Ayaş” the place recorded as the first place where Marco Polo disembarked.

Assuming that more information could be discovered about Yanko Dabanovic and his connection to Melling, I discovered that Jean Bowie Shor, of the young American couple, did end up writing a book titled *After You, Marco Polo* which was published in 1956 and also reprinted again apparently by a different publisher in 2013.²²⁸ Yanko appears as a major character in the chapter on Tarsus. Yanko was apparently their local guide and Jean Shor’s first describes him “there we met our benefactor and guide, the omnipresent and inimitable Yanko Dabanovic”. She then continues:

Yanko was large, plump, and balding, with the pink face of a forty-five-year-old baby. He appeared at the hotel desk while we were signing the complicated registration forms, and introduced himself in excellent if somewhat stilted English. He was a Turk of Yugoslav ancestry, a businessman of Mersin, and he alone in town spoke English. He was, he said, at our service. It turned out he meant just that.²²⁹

In the next couple of pages in the book, Yanko shows the couple around and tries his best to please his guests. He reveals that he learned English through the books of philosopher Dr. Crane and he does not read novels, a comment which resulted in a blank stare from the couple who admit that they had not heard of the writer before. This becomes too much for the couple who begins to speculate that Yanko is so nice to them because there is an ulterior motive. They then become convinced that Yanko is a member of the Turkish secret police. They confront him only to find Yanko in shock and tears. He replies that he just wanted to help them, and says:

The philosophy of Dr. Frank Crane teaches “Service”, he protested, pronouncing the word like a prayer. “Service to others, Service above self. For years, I have been hoping that I would meet some Americans so that I could show them that I too understand Dr. Crane, put Service above self. And you think me only a police spy.”²³⁰

²²⁸ Jean Bowie Shor, *After You, Marco Polo* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956). The book is partially available on google books and an abridged version is available also on <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.264897/page/n3/mode/2up>

²²⁹ Bowie Shor, 44.

²³⁰ Bowie Shor, 46.

3.2.4 *A Friendship Spans Over Many Years: Muhsin Uygur*

While the majority of the authors represented in the Mellink archive sent only one or two letters, there is one exception of multiple letters exchanged throughout the years. This is Muhsin Uygur, a native of Polatlı, Ankara near the ancient city of Gordion who sent five letters to Machteld Mellink over the course of eight years. The earliest letter is dated 23 October 1956 and the latest from 20 February 1964. However, two of the letters were dated only by month and day so it is not possible to attribute an exact time frame for the letters.

In his letter dated February 20th, 1964, Uygur starts with expressing how he is grateful for all the things Mellink had done for him and writes briefly about how his family is doing.²³¹ He then starts to confide in Mellink about the hardships he has been facing in his job. Complaining that he does not earn from his day job at the museum as much as the driver of Raci Bey—then the director of the Ankara Museum—he writes that he wants to work as a taxi driver in the afterhours. This, however, does not get a green light from Raci Bey who says that he often has errands to attend to in the evenings, much to Uygur's frustration. Uygur further complains that Raci Bey wanders around until midnight every day and he ends up waiting for him outside in the cold. The letter concludes with a business proposition to Mellink. With the intention of buying a minibus for himself, Uygur suggests to Mellink that she give him the 90 lira per day rate which he says Mellink had paid last year in her project in Elmalı, Antalya and he would work as the driver in the excavation every season.²³²

It appears from the letter dated September either 28th or 29th, Mellink expected to hear news regarding the Gordion excavation from Uygur and that he served as a kind of informal informant about off season activities around the archaeological sites in which Mellink was involved.²³³ Regarding the big tumulus on the site, Uygur writes that it had not changed a lot since Mellink saw it. Uygur refers repeatedly to “they” in this letter but

²³¹ Muhsin Uygur, ‘Letter of Muhsin Uygur to Machteld Mellink’, 20 February 1964, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²³² Uygur.

²³³ Muhsin Uygur, ‘Letter of Muhsin Uygur to Machteld Mellink’, 28-29.09, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

it is not clear who this is. He further elaborates that they finished the ceiling, partial collapse of which (*“düşmek gine devam ediyor”*) still continues but it has not fallen entirely (*“aşağıya düşmüyor”*), and that they filled the upper section of the tumulus with stones. He also states that they have not done anything else; they stopped working and he does not know when they will return. Uygur may be referring to the American team working there, but that would be rather odd since Mellink was involved with the project as part of the project team and even if she would require some updates on the project, she would have likely received this from some other more official channel.

The state of the big tumulus is a recurring theme since Uygur gives an update on the project in another letter dated March 12th, 1960.²³⁴ He writes that they emptied the small stones inside the tumulus and levelled it to approximately 50 centimetres. He further states that they found a large stone foundation under the large trees and they would start to pour concrete here (*“betona başlayacaklar”*) in April.

In the same letter, after giving a round of updates on other people from the village that Mellink would know, Uygur describes two tumuli, one of which was excavated by people Uygur did not know. In his detailed description, Uygur states that they revealed a grave aligned by ‘beautiful’ stones with two skeletons found in it. Uygur further describes that the grave was unearthed only from the top with a 175cm sounding. The presumably illegal excavations end up being reported to the police and the police were investigating the incident according to Uygur.

While the documents do not fully reveal the nature of the work Muhsin Uygur did in the excavation, in a letter dated October 23, 1957, Uygur wrote that he worked in the ceramics room until the end of the fieldwork season with “El Bayan,” presumably Ellen Kohler, the staff member responsible for records and laboratory work. In his letters Uygur gives periodic updates on the developments in Gordion, often in detail, and it is apparent from the text that Mellink has specifically asked for these updates. The short reports on the archaeological work focus on the big tumulus, the focus of research in Gordion, as well as the small mound where Mellink carried out her own fieldwork. Uygur’s reporting from

²³⁴ Muhsin Uygur, ‘Letter of Muhsin Uygur to Machteld Mellink’, 3 December 1960, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

the site went beyond mere observation. For instance, in a letter dated March 12, 1960, Uygun talks about photography and mentions that he has not been following up on the habit and barely took any photos. He nevertheless did send a batch of negatives to Mellink via one of her colleagues he calls “Anna Bayan,” possibly referring to Ann Knutsen, an archaeologist from UPenn who participated in the excavation that year.

At first glance, Mellink’s request for updates on the archaeological work carried out in a project where she was a senior member until the 1960s might seem rather curious. The fieldwork commenced in Gordion in 1950 with the initiative of Rodney Young of University of Pennsylvania, who continued as the director until he passed away in 1974. A total of seventeen fieldwork seasons were completed by his death, however, with sporadic breaks such as in the years of 1954 and 1958, when the American team did not come to Turkey. The dates of Uygun’s letters do not always align with these off-season years and the short reports in the letters further indicate ongoing archaeological work. The field reports authored by the director Rodney Young demonstrate that Mellink was present during the fieldwork season starting from 1950 through 1960s and continued her work on the small mound. However, she was not always present for the whole season, which usually continued from April to the end of August, and joined the team after the spring term ended at Byrn Mawr. Thus, Mellink’s motivation in requesting this information from Uygun may be related with keeping an eye on the site when the team was not there for possible interventions required by the weather conditions.

Muhsin Uygun’s letters depict a figure who was actively involved in different aspects of archaeological work, stretching beyond the fieldwork season, and can help to establish a network of different actors. Muhsin Uygun took an active role in different aspects of the archaeological practice ranging from working at the ceramics room to keeping an eye on the site and reporting back to Mellink. Through his working relationship with Machteld Mellink and Raci Temizer, he had agency in different aspects of the archaeological management process, which he appropriated and used as a stepping stone for new ventures.

3.3 George Hanfmann Personal Archive, Harvard University, MA, USA

3.3.1 *A Smart Teenager-Assistant in the Excavation: Asım Erdilek*

Born in St. Petersburg, Russia, Prof. Hanfmann earned his first doctoral degree in Berlin University in 1934 under Gerhart Rodenwaldt who also was the advisor of Ekrem Akurgal. Hanfmann had to migrate to Baltimore, MD in the US fleeing the Nazi regime in Germany and became part of Harvard University after completing a second PhD at Johns Hopkins University. From 1935 to 1982, Hanfmann taught at Harvard and also was the director of excavations at Sardis.²³⁵ While the Sardis Excavation Archive which includes Hanfmann's letters regarding the excavation remains part of the Harvard Art Museums, his personal papers are located at the University Archives, part of the Widener Library, Harvard University.

In the Mellink Archives, there was no mention in the archival materials of any member of the local community who worked at the excavation and then went on to study archaeology to become professional archaeologists. There are, however, several instances of high school students from the local community who went on to pursue higher education to study other subjects. The story of Asım Erdilek is a case-in-point on how his education and letter life changed as a result of his working experience in an archaeological excavation and relationship with the director of the excavation.

The folder titled 'Asım Erdilek', consisting of correspondence and recommendation letters, is in George Hanfmann's personal archive and presents intriguing aspects about the relationships between archaeologists and local community, particularly, how an archaeological project might directly or indirectly touch on the lives of people involved in an excavation.

In a recommendation letter regarding Erdilek's college application dated February 14th, 1963, addressed to Prof. Donald Flaherty, the Foreign Student Adviser of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Dickinson College, Hanfmann gives a brief summary of how he came to know Asım Erdilek.²³⁶ Hanfmann states that Asım Erdilek worked at the

²³⁵ Herbert Bloch et al., 'George Maxim Anossov Hanfmann', *Harvard University Gazette* LXXXIV, no. 18 (13 January 1989).

²³⁶ George M. A. Hanfmann, 'Letter of Recommendation', 14 February 1963, 'Asım Erdilek', George Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

Sardis excavation in the summer of 1962 as a 'trainee-archaeologists-translator', a position he had at age seventeen. He was appointed by a joint committee consisting of U.S. Affairs of Cultural Attaché and the Turkish Ministry of National Education under a grant from the State Department.²³⁷ It appears that Erdilek taught Turkish to the members of archaeological expedition in addition to his other duties and earned a very favourable impression from the team members.

The correspondence also gives clues into how Erdilek first came to US. Sailing from Rotterdam to Hoboken, Erdilek came to US with the intention of spending his last year of high school in Connecticut and then applying for college. In his letter to Hanfmann dated September 18th, 1962, he writes that he settled with his host family in the US and registered at the Northwestern Regional 7 High School, a 'very new and modern' institution in Connecticut according to Erdilek.²³⁸ In his first quarter, he enrolled in five classes: senior Math, senior Physics, senior English, US History, and Mechanical Drawing. While undecided about which colleges to apply to, he writes that he is almost certain that he wants major in architectural engineering though he does not refer to his work in Sardis as an inspiration.

In his second letter to Hanfmann on November 16th, 1962, Erdilek tells Hanfmann that he sent his application to Harvard College and asked him whether he could write a note to the Office of Admissions of Harvard College regarding his work at Sardis.²³⁹ Meanwhile, Erdilek adjusted well to his new school and environment and was placed on the Honour Roll of the senior class after his first quarter despite having had to change his host family. In addition to Harvard, Erdilek applied to schools across the US; Beloit College, Dickinson College, Gustavus Adolphus College, and Brandeis University. The criteria for applying to this particular set of schools seems to be their financial packages since Erdilek needed to be able to cover the tuition and living expenses, a need Hanfmann mentioned in his recommendation letters (Figure 11).²⁴⁰ Erdilek's applications to Beloit College and Gustavus Adolphus College, and later to Brandeis University turned out to

²³⁷ Hanfmann.

²³⁸ Asim Erdilek, 'Letter of Asim Erdilek to George Hanfmann', 18 September 1962, 'Asim Erdilek', George Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

²³⁹ Asim Erdilek, 'Letter of Asim Erdilek to George Hanfmann', 16 November 1962, 'Asim Erdilek', George Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

²⁴⁰ Hanfmann, 'Letter of Recommendation'.

be successful and he received the Wein Scholarship from Brandeis. After receiving the good news from Beloit and Gustavus Adolphus and still waiting to hear from Harvard and Brandeis, Erdilek wrote to Hanfmann on March 5th, 1963 seeking mentorship regarding his future plans.²⁴¹ In his full two pages, he expresses very candidly his confusion, aspirations, and his tribulations. The colleges were expecting to hear an answer from him, yet he was still hopeful and waiting for news from Harvard. He realized that by the time he heard from Harvard, the scholarship offers from the other colleges would no longer be available. His troubled mind is reflected in his words:

I hoped and I hoped I go to Harvard next year. After visiting Harvard twice I believe it is the best school I can think of. But of course, to go to Harvard one has to qualify and be accepted there. If I am rejected at Harvard, I shall believe that I am not well prepared for Harvard, and another fine school is going to offer me a good education. What else can I or can anyone else think or do? I always knew that I had to know my limits; what I can do or what I cannot. I wish in this very critical area of my personal plans and concerns, I did not say what I did not think. I mean I hope I did not sound as a mixed-up kid because of my weakness in this area to express myself, my ideas in the right manner. All I wish is my logic guides me, not some feelings or emotions. Thanks to God for everything he granted me, and I pray I deserve his kindness. I know very well I began with nothing but with determination and kind assistance. I have great confidence in the fact Sir, that so far everything has worked out fine as I asked for with good will; and from now on things will work out fine again, as long as I realize what is good for me and God's kindness is upon me (Figures 12-13).²⁴²

Unfortunately, Asim Erdilek could not get into Harvard to study as an undergraduate student and enrolled at Brandeis University where he was the valedictorian of his class. He later completed his graduate work at Harvard where he got a Master's and PhD degrees in economics. He then taught at Case Western Reserve University, Ohio for almost forty years until his retirement in 2010. His obituary mentions that he grew up in a small farm in Western Anatolia and his parents had "virtually no formal education."²⁴³ While a rare example, this letter in the Hanfmann archive demonstrates how archaeological work might have touched the lives of others around an excavation site in less traditional and unexpected ways. It also shows how excavation directors often stepped far beyond the boundaries of field trenches to assist members of the local community in pursuing various personal goals such as furthering education abroad.

²⁴¹ Asim Erdilek, 'Letter of Asim Erdilek to George Hanfmann', 3 May 1963, 'Asim Erdilek', George Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

²⁴² Erdilek.

²⁴³ 'Emeritus Economics Professor Asim Erdilek Passes Away', *The Daily*, 12 December 2012, <https://thedaily.case.edu/emeritus-economics-professor-asim-erdilek-passes-away/>.

3.3.2 A Curious Proposal of Collaboration: Sait Karabina

A letter in Turkish handwritten by Sait Karabina of Ahmetli Town of Manisa Province, Turkey found its way to the George Hanfmann Archive located in the Widener Library, Harvard University. Dated February 2nd, 1960, the letter (Figure 14-15) reads:

İş Nihayet bulmadıkça gizli olacak.

Amerikanin denizde arama alimler cemiyeti ve üniversite alimleri kararı ile yapılmıştır. 1959 Senesinin eylül ayının 22 inci Salı günü yeni asır gazetesi üçüncü sahife 1 nci sütününde ilan edildi ilanatta masraf olarak kabul edilen 31 milyon 700 bin lira olduğunu okuduk.

Size iki tane yani yanyana ada denizlerin hangi tarafında olduğunu amerika umumi haritasını gönderir seniz ok ile adaların istikameti işaret edilecek bu adaların benzeri güney amerikanın Arjantin ve Şilinin horon burnundaki büyük ada yarısı arjantine yarısında Şiliye ait bu ada 20 noktalı size gösterecek olduğum adalar 21 noktalı birisi. biriside 22 noktalıdır. bunları gösterdikten sonra bulunduğu takdirde bu 31 milyon 700 bin liranın yüzde kaçını vereceksiniz bu işi kararlaştırmak için yetkili bir amerikan heyetinin benim ile kararı ile Türkçe bilmesi şart olacak benimle temas etmesi lazımdır. bu adalarda insanda olsa gerek. tahminime göre bu adalarda 15-20 bin sene evvel amerikanın işgali ile beraber işgal edilmiştir sevilen amerikanın kurtulduğu gibi bu adalarında kurtulması lazım. daha iki üç iş var. almanyanın 1947-48 senelerinde gazetelerin ilanına göre harp suçlularının bilinmeyen adalara gittiginden bahsedilmişti bulunacak olan adalarda bunlardan bir kimse bulunacak olursa af edilme cihetine gidilmesi birde 15-20 bin sene evvel amerikanın işgal filmi işgal edenlerin yalın ayak işgal edilmiştir. o devirdeki tek hükümet bir ucu japonyada imiş üçüncü iki fotoğraflı takvim çıkarmak tahmine göre büyük veya ufak. 30-40 milyon satıla bilir amerika kıtasında ne imiş ne oldu demektir. 15-20 sene evvel elde bulunan bir vasıtanın bu işlerin esasını meydana çıkarmak bu şekilde olduğunu anlaya bilmek sebebler ufak anlatmak ile tesir edilmek imkanı yok. Vaktim müsait olsa iki bin dolar param olsa bin dolarını çocuklara bırakıp bin dolarını yanıma alıp amerikada bir tanıdığın yanına gitmek o kadar havas liyimki o devirdeki güney amerikada bulunan merkezini harabelerini görmek için hiç bir şey ile değişilmiyecek kadar merakım var. Bu hükümetin en büyük merkezi afrikada bulunmakta işte bunların cevaplarını beklemekle beraber bütün profesörlere selam ellerinden sıkırım.

Adres

Manisa Vilayeti Ahmetli Nahiyesinde eski belediye adresi Sait. Karabina²⁴⁴

The following type-written translation of the letter was attached to the original letter with a quick note scribbled which says a certain Mrs. Umur would translate the news clipping mentioned in the letter or tell Prof. Hanfmann herself about it.

Will remain secret until agreement becoms final.

²⁴⁴ Sait Karabina, 'Letter of Sait Karabina to George Hanfmann', 2 February 1960, 'Requests and Cranks', George Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

It has been done with the decision of the American Society on Sea Research and university scientists. It has been announced in the newspaper “Yeni Asır” on the 22nd of September, 1959 on page three, first column. In the article we have read that \$31,700,000 was mentioned as expenses.

The location of two islands, one near the other, will be indicated to you with an arrow if you send a general map of America. The big island similar to these islands is at Cape Horn, in South America; half of it belongs to Argentine and half to Chile. This island is numbered 20. The islands that I am going to indicate to you are numbered 21 and 22. After I show them to you and if they are found, what percentage of the \$31,700,000 will you give me? To decide on this matter, it is necessary that an American committee with someone who knows Turkish contact me.

The islands are probably inhabited, It seems to me that these islands were occupied fifteen of twenty thousand years ago together with the occupation of America. These islands must be liberated much as well liked America was liberated.

There are two or three things more. According to German newspapers of 1947-1948, war criminals had gone to unknown islands. If any of them are found on the islands mentioned, they must be pardoned. There is also the film about the American invasion fifteen or twenty thousand years ago. They were barefooted. The sole government at that time had one end in Japan. The third thing is to publish a calendar with two photos, small or large. It can be sold thirty or forty million copies. It can mean the past and the present of the American continent. To reveal the essentials of these things a means that was in hand fifteen or twenty years ago... To understand the events...

The reasons are small, it is impossible to influence by explaining them. If I had the possibility and if I had two thousand dollars, I would leave one thousand dollars to the children and take one thousand dollars, with me and go to America. I have interest that could not be exchanged with anything else to see the ruins of the capital of that time which is in South America. The biggest center of that government is in Africa.

Waiting for the answers to these, I send my regards too all the professors and shake your hand.

Address: Manisa Vilayeti Ahmetli Nahiyesinde Eski Belediye Reisi Sait Karabina²⁴⁵

The note on the translation also mentions that Mrs. Umur “thinks the man is crazy and senile.” The document does not indicate whether a translation was provided by the author or written later when it was received by Hanfmann. However, it was sent to Hanfmann from an address based in Michigan, USA, by Mümin Alişoğlu, perhaps by the acquaintance of Sait Karabina that he mentions in his letter (Figure 17).²⁴⁶ While Karabina’s letter could be interpreted as the words of a senile old man, as it was filed in

²⁴⁵ All spelling mistakes in the letter are kept in order to adhere to the authenticity of the document. Sait Karabina, ‘Translation of the Letter of Sait Karabina to George Hanfmann’, 2 February 1960, ‘Requests and Cranks’, George Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

²⁴⁶ Karabina, ‘Letter of Sait Karabina to George Hanfmann’.

the archive, but it is also possible to see this letter as a document that has clues of the imaginary of a person living in a 1960s-village in Turkey and his attempt to create a relationship with a professor from the USA who used to come to his village every summer. Furthermore, his letter shows a kind of interest in archaeology from the local community that is perhaps not directly related to the antiquities but more about personal stories and expedience. In that regard, if we were to go beyond the plausibility of the letter's content, Sait Karabina resembles Muhsin Uygur in the sense that archaeology appears as a medium that connects unlikely personalities, and the main motivation lies in promoting self-interests.

3.4 Kurt Bittel Personal Estate, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive, Berlin, Germany

3.4.1 *News from Boğazkale/Boğazköy: Nefise Döğüşken, Mustafa (Hindi Baba) Soysal, and İhsan Olgaç*

As the director of German Archaeological Institute Istanbul Branch, Kurt Bittel also directed the archaeological project in the Hittite capital Hattusa, in central Anatolia. Bittel's personal estate in Berlin included a series of correspondence with members of the local community from Boğazköy who lived near the excavation. On April 20, 1951, Bittel wrote to Nefise Döğüşken, the head teacher in the primary school of Boğazkale (*Boğazkale İlkokulu Başöğretmeni*) and asked kindly whether she could report on the situation of the site and excavation houses (Figure 18).²⁴⁷ Bittel further elaborates that he received a letter from the Governorship of Çorum which said that the excavation house collapsed and the finds and tools in the house needed rescuing. The letter was written in Turkish and first drafted by Halet Çambel, who was working as Bittel's assistant at Istanbul University at the time of writing. Visual comparison between the draft copy of the letter sent to Nefise Döğüşken and Çambel's own letters to Bittel confirms Çambel's own handwriting (Figure 19). Nine days later on April 20, 1951, Nefise Döğüşken replied to Bittel with the following letter:

I received your letter. First of all, I would like to express my thanks.

In order to answer to your orders as soon as possible, I immediately called the guards and talked to them. I went to see the excavations houses and summarize the situation.

²⁴⁷ Kurt Bittel, 'Letter of Kurt Bittel to Nefise Döğüşken', 20 April 1951, Boğazköy Grabung, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

Mektubunuzu aldım. Önce bilmukabele teşekkürlerimi arzederim.

*Emirlerinize kısa zamanda cevap vermek üzere derhal bekçileri çağırıp konuştum, gidip kazı evlerini gördüm, durumu kısaca arz ediyorum.*²⁴⁸

Following this introduction, Döğüşken then gave a very detailed report on the condition of the excavation house which indeed collapsed and listed all the finds they were able to gather from the collapse. This exchange of letters demonstrates that archaeologists often relied on local officials and other members of the local community to maintain the archaeological site and the excavation house.

In another short letter dated February 26, 1952, one of the guards of the archaeological site, Mustafa Soysal, informally known as *Hindi Baba*, wrote to Bittel to inquire about his unpaid wages:

Most revered Gentleman

Upon your honoured arrival here, I have presented to you that I was not able to receive my wage of two years during my guardianship. The total amount is 200 Liras.

My financial situation is at its most unfortunate at this moment.

I shall request your assistance in delivering my wages that was left to the general budget, extend my deep respect.

26-II-952

*Mustafa Soysal (Hindi Baba)
Of the Boğazkale Ruins Guards*

Pek Muhterem Beyefendi;

Buraya teşrif ettiğinizde bekçiliğimde iki senelik maaşımı bulamadığımı arzetmiştim. Tutarı 200 Lira kadardır.

Şimdi ise mali durumum pek düşkündür.

Duyûna kalan bu maaşlarımın verilmesine delâletinizi istirham eder, derin saygılarımı sunarım.

26-II-952

*Boğazkale Harabe Bekçilerinden
Mustafa Soysal*

²⁴⁸ Nefise Döğüşken, 'Letter of Nefise Döğüşken to Kurt Bittel', 29 April 1951, Boğazköy Grabung, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

However, not all letters were directly about the excavation. A letter dated January 15, 1954 from Boğazkale (Figure 20), revealed a more personal relationship between Kurt Bittel and a member of the local community, İlhan Olgaç:

Dear Professor:

We were very pleased to hear that madam had a new baby boy in Tayyar's letter. We congratulate you both. May God give him a long life. Taking this opportunity, we would like to express our greetings and respect to you and madam. The whole family wishes you all health and kiss Wölflin and the new baby affectionately.

Your old friend Ekrem's son
İlhan Olgaç

Sayın Prf. Doktor Bey:

Tayyarın mektubunda Madamın yeni bir oğlan çocuğu dünyaya getirdiğini memnuniyetle öğrendik. Sizleri tebrik ederiz. Allah uzun ömürlü etsin. Bilvesile ile Size ve Madama mahsus selam ve hürmetlerimizi arzeder. Hepinize sıhhatler temelli eyler bütün ailece saygılarımızı sunarız. Völflininde yeni küçükle beraber gözlerinden öperiz.

Eski Dostunuz Ekrem bey Oğlu
İlhan Olgaç²⁴⁹

3.4.2 Teaching about Ruins: Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır

Dear Director,

German Archaeological Institute,

For two years, I have been investigating Tralles of Güzelhisar, Aydın for the students. Through Assoc.Prof. Oktay Arslanapa of Istanbul University, I have learned that there is a book on Tralles, written in German, at the library of your institution. I kindly request the information name of the publisher in Germany where the book was issued, the name of the author and the publishing date. My best regards.

22 XI 1951 Aydın
Teacher Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır

Sayın Müdür,

Alman Arkeoloji anstitüsü

Öğrenciler için iki yıldanberi Aydın Güzelhisarını Tral I incelemekteyim, Enstitütünüz Kütüphanesinde Tral Hakkında Almanca yazılmış Bir Kitap bulunduğunu İstanbul Üniversitesinde Doçent DR. Fil, Oktay Arslanpa'dan öğrenmiştim, sözü geçen Kitabın Almanyada basıldığı Basım evi, Kitabın Müellifi ve Basıldığı Tarih hakkındaki bilgiyi lütfetmenizi rica ederim, derin saygılarımı sunarım

²⁴⁹ İlhan Olgaç, 'Letter of İlhan Olgaç to Kurt Bittel', 15 January 1954, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

22 XI 1951 Aydın

öğretmen Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır²⁵⁰

Similar to the case above, it was the local teachers who tried to establish contact and get more information about the ancient ruins in their local community. Among the documents and archives surveyed in this research, the case of Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır is the only example where a member of the local community reached out to Bittel for further information about the ancient site.

Beyond the interest in teaching about the ruins, a relationship between archaeologists and teachers appears to be common. The evidence from the archival materials demonstrates that the motivations and the nature of the interactions differed. In the case of Nefise Döğüşken, Kurt Bittel wrote to her as a local official who could be trusted in management of the ruins. In contrast to this, Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır's relationship with Bittel was not directly about the excavation or archaeological labour. It was rather an interaction stemming from a desire by Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır to learn and teach about the archaeology and history of the place where he was living. Perhaps what is common in these interactions is that, given the social climate of 1950s Turkey, foreign archaeologists and teachers were part of community which might have communicated with ease with one another.

3.5 Papers of Robert J. and Linda S. Braidwood, Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago, IL, USA

3.5.1 A Meticulous Accountant: Sara

As part of the Papers of Robert J. and Linda S. Braidwood Collection at the Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago, the Box No:22 contains documents related with the Braidwoods' archaeological project located near Ergani, Diyarbakir, Turkey. A folder titled 'Sara's Accounting 1970' within the Box 22 contains some 60 documents which can be roughly defined as a household book of accounts for the daily expenses of the archaeological project.²⁵¹ The bookkeeping is meticulous and carried out

²⁵⁰ Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır, 'Letter of Hüseyin Hilmi Bayındır to Kurt Bittel', 22 November 1951, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

²⁵¹ Sara, 'Sara's Accounting 1970', 1970 1968, Box No:22, Papers of Robert J. and Linda S. Braidwood, Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago, IL, USA.

in Turkish on a daily basis by a person named ‘Sara’. The folder does not contain any personal information about Sara other than her travels to Ankara and Istanbul from Ergani. Despite the year 1970 in the title of the folder, the folder also contains documents dated to 1968. The bookkeeping from 1968 though seems to be rather patchy and not as regularly kept as records from 1970. In addition to the rare instances where documents are authored by a member of the local community, these records reveal the diverse nature of labour in archaeological project.

3.5.2 *A Heartfelt Reunion: Zahiraci Yahya Özden*

Another evidence of a close relationship between archaeologists and members of local community appears in the form of a letter sent by Yahya Özden to Robert and Linda Braidwood, who both conducted field work in Reyhanlı, Hatay. In the letter dated March 22, 1996, Yahya Özden reminisced of the times when he met the Braidwoods and expressed his happiness upon hearing from them:

With respect and love
Professor Robert and his wife Linda Braidwood

I have found out that you are still alive and well. I cannot express my joy in words since I always feel as if I relive those days when I tell all about you to my family and acquaintances. There are couple of photographs belong to those years and I occasionally look at them and reminisce.

How are you doing? I hope that you are all well, I am also well and in good health. I pay my respects to Linda Hanım. I used to call Linda Hanım mother (mum) and I received a love of mother from her. I thank God who reunited us together. I kiss affectionately your son Douglas and your daughter, I apologize as I forgot her name. There was a news report on the excavation research published in the Reyhanlı Newspaper three months ago. I was not able to understand what it was but then I heard that Prof. Aslıhan Yener came to Reyhanlı for research. I was very happy and moved to hear that you were invited to Reyhanlı and personally attended by the Mr. Mayor Mahmut Ekrem to be announced as honorary citizens.

I also visited Mr. Mahmut Ekrem myself and extended my thanks. We had a pleasant meeting. Our mutual friend, Hammudun, the one we took a photograph after we came to Cidde from Siirt, I found out that he passed away two years after that.

I own a store that sells grains and am still working. My family also extends their love and respect to you and your family.

I affectionally kiss you and wish we would meet again.

Zahiraci Yahya ÖZDEN
Uzun Çarşı NO33
İskenderun

22.03.1996

*Saygı ve Sevgiler**Profösör Robert ve Eşi Linda BrodWood**Hayatta olduğunuzu öğrendim sevincimi kelimelerle ifade edemem çünkü her zaman aileme ve çevreme sizleri anlatırken o günleri tekrar yaşıyor gibiyim mutluluğumu anlatamam O yıllara ait fotoğraflarından birkaç tane var zaman zaman bakıphasret gideriyorum**Nasılsınız iyisinizdir inşallah bende sıhhatve afiyetteyim Linda hanım'a saygılarımı sunarım O zaman linda hanım'a anne diye hitap ederdim ve kendisinde anne sevgisi gördüm Şükürler olsun kavuşturana Oğlunuz Dağlıs ve kızınızın adını unuttum özür dilerim onları sevgiyle öperim. 3 ay kadar önce Reyhanlı gazetesinde kazı çalışmalarıyla ilgili bir haber yayınlanmış fakat ne olduğunu anlayamadım daha sonra profösör Aslıhan Yener hanımefendinin Reyhanlıya gelip bu konuyu araştırdığını duydum ve Reyhanlı Belediye Başkanı Sayın Mahmut Ekrem Bey'in bu konuyla buzzat ilgilenmiş olması ve sizleri Reyhanlı'ya davet etmesi sizi fahri hemşerilik ilan etmesi beni çok duygulandırdı ve mutlu etti.**Bende Sayın Mahmut Ekrem Bey'i ziyaret ettim Kendisine teşekkürlerimi ilettim Aramızda hoş bir görüşme oldu Fotoğraftaki arkadaşımız Hammudun Siirtten Ciddeye gelip gölde çektiğimiz fotoğraf varya Ondan iki sene sonra sizlere ömür vefat ettiğini öğrendim.**Benim İskenderun'da Zahir dükkanım var ve halen çalışmaktayım Ailemde sevgi ve saygılarını size ve ailenize iletirler**sizleri hasretle öpüyorum Görüşmek dileğiyle*

Zahireci Yahya ÖZDEN
Uzun Çarşı NO33
İskenderun
22.03.1996²⁵²

3.6 Aizanoi Excavation Archive, German Archaeological Institute-Berlin Architecture Department, Berlin, Germany

3.6.1 A Journey from Çavdarhisar to Stuttgart: S. Ahmet Ertaş

In addition to the material requests by the members of the local community, there were cases in the archives where more personal matters were discussed. Arguably, the most personal—and rather demanding—request came from S. Ahmet Ertaş, then the guard (“bekçi”) at the archaeological site of Aizanoi in Çavdarhisar, Kütahya. The archival materials from the Aizanoi Excavations do not form an institutional archive but are stored

²⁵² Yahya Özden, ‘Letter of Yahya Özden to Robert and Linda Braidwood’, 22 March 1996, Box No:22, Papers of Robert J. and Linda S. Braidwood, Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago, IL, USA.

at the offices of late Prof. Ulrike Wolf-Rheidt at the German Archaeological Institute-Berlin Architecture Department and Prof. Klaus Rheidt at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg.

In a letter dated February 1980, Ertaş wrote to Prof. Rudolf Naumann, the director of the excavation at Aizanoi at the time, requesting assistance with the seemingly problematic immigration of his son, Mehmet Ertaş, to Germany (Figure 21).²⁵³ The letter starts with a lengthy paragraph of pleasantries where Ahmet Ertaş extends his best wishes to Prof. Naumann and his wife Elizabeth Naumann and gives a brief update on the site and the excavation house. While the letter actually ends with this paragraph, it is only the P.S. section that Ertaş reveals the actual intention of the letter. He writes that he has an important request from Prof. Naumann and Elizabeth Naumann and that he is sending his son to them (“*yanınıza gönderiyorum*”). Claiming that people from Turkey who go to Germany as tourists end up finding jobs as political refugees in Stuttgart, Ertaş requests that Prof. Naumann and his wife help his son with this matter. He further suggests that his son could stay with them temporarily until he finds a job. In case Mehmet is short of money, Ertaş pleads with the Naumanns to help him with this matter on the condition that he would pay them back later. He finishes his letter by saying that they would further help his son find a job by introducing him to certain factory owners (“*gerekli fabrikatörler*”) and German lawyers. Though the letter has the Turkish address of Ahmet Ertaş on the front, the letter was actually sent from Germany as evidenced by both the stamps on the letter and a short note at the very end of the letter. This note reads that the letter is sent by a certain Mustafa Öztoprak who apparently lives in Germany and requests Prof. Naumann’s visit his address.

3.7 Requests for Gifts from Abroad

Within the archive, there are also several requests made to Prof. Mellink which involved specific objects being brought back to Turkey from the US. Radios appear to be a coveted object as this type of object was requested by three different people. Muhsin Uygur’s letter suggests that Mellink indeed brought a radio to him, or rather a radio was given to

²⁵³ Ahmet Ertaş, ‘Letter of Ahmet Ertaş to Rudolf Naumann’, February 1980, Aizanoi Excavation Papers, German Archaeological Institute Architecture Department, Berlin.

him by the excavation, however, the battery was missing, so in his request he asked whether Mellink could bring the battery.

A rather odd object requested from Mellink is a hunting rifle—more specifically “a No:16 hidden trigger double-barrelled hunting rifle” (“16 numara gizli tetik çift avcı tüfeği”). İhsan Olgaç from Boğazkale, the town near the ancient city of Hattusa, the capital city of the Hittites, requested it from Mellink to bring this from the US to Turkey in a letter where he also sends his regards to Remzi Bey, presumably Remzi Oğuz Arık, an archaeologist and director of excavations at Alacahöyük, and Hans Güterbock, an émigrée German professor of Hittitology who was teaching at Ankara University at the time.²⁵⁴ İhsan Olgaç’s name also appeared in Kurt Bittel’s correspondence as mentioned above, as the member of local community who congratulated Kurt Bittel on his new born son. Judging by his letters, it appears that İhsan Olgaç was a correspondent to both scholars and informed them both regarding the site while there was no active work at the excavation site.

Furthermore, some of the requests in the papers of the Mellink Archive reveal an interest in the United States and its culture and lifestyle, particularly by teachers from the local community near the excavation site. In a letter dated December 15th, 1952, Mehmet Ali Yiğiter, the head teacher of Margaz Primary School in Kalkan Antalya, requests some magazines, the addresses of companies who are in advertising (or produce content for advertisements/”*reklam yapan*”), stamps (particularly from Pennsylvania where Mellink resides), and children’s toys that are unique to the US (Figure 22).²⁵⁵ In a similar vein, but in a much more flowery and eloquent language, Çakmak Ahi, a young teacher of Turkey, who worked in Hasanoğlu, Ankara, asked for photographs and magazines from the US that depict “the land of beauties beyond the oceans” (“*okyanuslar ötesi güzellikler*”).

²⁵⁴ İhsan Olgaç, ‘Letter of İhsan Olgaç to Machteld Mellink’, 24 January 1953, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²⁵⁵ Mehmet Ali Yiğiter, ‘Letter of Mehmet Ali Yiğiter to Machteld Mellink’, 15 December 1952, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

diyarı“) United States and provide an introduction to ‘the modern world of 20th century America (Figure 23).²⁵⁶

In these letters and greeting cards, the traces of archaeological work or collaboration are juxtaposed in an unusual manner. On an unsigned holiday (“*bayram*”) greeting card, it reads (Figure 24):

Miss Machteld Mellink, we wish you a happy new year and hope the new year brings to you good health. We could not see you while you were here. I have bought the metal sheet it cost 101 lira and 50 kurus.

*Miss Machteld Mellink Yeni yılınızı kutlar yeni yılınız için de saatler dileriz, Geldiğinizde göremedim sacı aldım 101 lira 50 kuruş tuttu ücreti.*²⁵⁷

The not-so-subtle inclusion of a request or news after pleasantries seems to be a common feature in some of the letters sent to Mellink and appears to be local community’s way of negotiating a request of their own while maintaining a certain distance with the archaeologist.

3.8 Conclusion

Based on the archives consulted in this study, it is shown that there has always been some degree of a relationship between the local communities and the archaeological teams working on site due to the very nature of archaeological work. These relationships in Turkey, however, have been occasionally constructed on a personal level and not only within an institutionalized framework. During the decades that this dissertation covers, it was rare that local communities were formally acknowledged in any of the published sources about the excavations or had any kind of decision-making powers within the official mechanisms of archaeological projects. Some archaeologists have reflected on this hiatus in hindsight.

²⁵⁶ Çakmak Ahi, ‘Letter of Çakmak Ahi to Machteld Mellink’, 4 June 1955, ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

²⁵⁷ ‘Holiday Greeting Card’, n.d., ‘1952-1956’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink Papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

Brian Rose, now a professor of archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania and the current excavation director of Gordion, worked at Aphrodisias, an ancient site located near the modern village of Geyre, Aydın. As a field archaeologist during the 1980s he spoke of the attitudes of the local community towards the archeological work and the approach that the excavation director, Kenan Erim, then a professor at the New York University, at that time had towards that community. In an interview I conducted on May 16, 2019, Rose commented:

I think it was positive. In retrospect, we should have explained to them what we were doing, why it was historically important, we never did that. Kenan never did it. But this was the best job they could get in the area. Even though there was some resentment among some of the workmen because Geyre had been on top of the ancient city of Aphrodisias and Kenan arranged for the city to be moved and people didn't like it so.

I remember the summer of 1980 when I was digging in the Agora Gate, and he said I want you to extend your trench so that it is almost kissing the house where these people were still living because there were still two or three families that were there. And I remember when they had to leave the house and move to modern Geyre, the children were crying, the house was demolished, it was sad. So, there was some resentment because even though they got new homes, they had to leave their family homes.²⁵⁸

Bert Smith, professor of classics at Oxford University who has been the director of the Aphrodisias Excavation, further elaborated in an interview on July 31, 2018, when the local community was still settled on and around the ruins:

MKB: Could you also talk a bit about the history of these excavation houses? These were old village houses.

I don't know for sure, but there are two or three village houses which were bought in the, I guess, 1960s and were converted into a single excavation facility.

MKB: There must be more village houses at the time.

The village was all moved off the site in the 1970s.

MKB: This was after the excavation started?

Yes! When the excavation started, the whole village was still here and a new site was laid out in Geyre, a new Geyre, right to the northwest, and slowly people were coaxed and moved out of the ancient site to the new site. And it was a long process, it didn't happen all at once.

MKB: Do you know how their reaction was?

²⁵⁸ Brian Rose, Brian Rose Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 16 May 2019, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

Mixed, I think. All of us would feel the same thing. But, on the one hand, it is a tough removal from your ancestor place, you were brought up here and they felt a strong attachment to it so that was hard. But, on the other hand, the new village has bigger lots, bigger houses, better water, better sanitation, better possibility for growth. Here, they were living in a very constricted, difficult, kind of medieval situation.²⁵⁹

Perhaps, it was Paul Gerhard, the restoration architect who had been working in Aphrodisias since early 1990s, who summarized it the best when he remarked:

When I came here, when Kenan Erim started this excavation, it was not together with the people, it was against the people, because there was a village here and it was taken down. So, it was not always together, we try now to change it.²⁶⁰

The attitudes towards local communities by the archaeological teams are quite different now. In terms of their relationship with the local communities, there are many examples of attempts to create more positive working relationships between local communities, stakeholders, and archaeological teams working in the field. Much of the more personal and non-official archival material which documents the earlier eras of these archaeological projects could be valuable to help to build on the former relationships or experiences at the site. Particularly in the most recent years, there is a growing number of field archaeologists who have been focusing more on issues related with heritage management. This trend can be observed in the increase of academic conferences and publications as well. For instance, two consecutive conferences titled “Heritage in Context” first in 2012 and then in 2014, organized by the German Archaeological Institute, Middle East Technical University, and Koç University, provided a platform for the discussion of the issues of heritage management and archaeology.²⁶¹ But perhaps a very recent development from the ancient site of Sagalassos, one of the pioneering projects led by a team from Belgium who worked towards a strong relationship with the

²⁵⁹ R. R. R. Smith, R. R. R. Smith Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 31 July 2018, 14:03-16:00, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

²⁶⁰ Gerhard Paul, Gerhard Paul Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 31 July 2018, 25:45-26:10, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

²⁶¹ Martin Bachmann et al., eds., *Heritage in Context: Conservation and Site Management within Natural, Urban and Social Frameworks* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2014); Katja Piesker et al., eds., *Heritage in Context 2: Archeology and Tourism* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2018).

local communities, is an example which illustrates well these changes.²⁶² Due to the global pandemic of Covid-19, archaeological research has halted or postponed for the summer excavation season of 2020. In Sagalassos, however, the work was reinitiated by the local communities who have been participating and training in restoration for over two decades. Here is what they have shared on their Facebook page on July 13, 2020 (Figure 25):

We got a message from our Ağlasun-team at 6 am this morning: “Here we go: We started working at Sagalassos!”

Indeed, our experienced team in Ağlasun have started some small scale works on the site under the supervision of the Museum of Burdur. After having received training about safety last week, especially concerning the Covid-19 measures, as of this morning they start in small groups some maintenance and repair works as planned.

This is the first time in 30 years that we will not be there as the scientific team, to carry out excavation and survey programmes. We feel a bit lost and sorry about this obviously. Yet we certainly have no worries about the site. Our strong team in Ağlasun, together with our colleagues from the Burdur Museum are there to take care of the winter damage, repair the roads and paths and prepare the site for visitors.

We will do our best to join them from far staying in touch all the time, imagining to inhale the fresh air of the Tauruses and take part in the fun conservations.

If you happen to be in the region do pass by and say hello to the team. Don’t forget to wear a mask, it is obligatory on the site!²⁶³

Certainly, part of the larger presence of the local community at excavation sites in Turkey can be explained by the new legislation passed in 2014 by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism about the need for a heritage management plan which encouraged the involvement of local stakeholders in that plan. This point will be elaborated in Chapter 4 but the linkage between the local communities and the excavation team has always existed in some form, and from the archives and interviews conducted, this linkage was based traditionally on personal initiatives of the excavation director and worked through informal channels rather than legislation. However, the commercialization and exploration of archaeological sites also resulted in the separation of these places from the

²⁶² Ebru Torun, ‘Peyzaj Olarak Sagalassos-Ağlasun Sagalassos’ta Disiplinler Arası Arkeolojinin Gelişimi’, in *Ağlasun İlçesi’nin Alternatif Turizm Kaynakları*, ed. Salih Ceylan (Pegem Akademi, 2015), 71–87.

²⁶³ <https://www.facebook.com/sagalassosproject/photos/a.792229927486895/3192918544084676/>

local communities as these sites became gated compounds and severed the access of those who had once had access to them. On this issue, Bert Smith elaborated:

We give a talk to our workers about what we are doing, why Aphrodisias is important, it is important to inform them why we are here, we'd been invited by Ankara to look after this site, to study it, restore it, we need to explain why we are doing that, we give each year talks to workers to explain it so they feel invested in what is their heritage. And we also go to the village, I give a talk to the villagers about Aphrodisias, and the last time I did this, I was a little bit surprised, a little bit shocked, a little bit saddened, because they said, afterwards we gave our talk and we explained the site and why it is important and what we are doing and how it is their heritage and we hope they are going to feel looking after it is important, and then they said afterwards, for most of us who don't work there, yes we feel Aphrodisias is some part of our lives because our fathers and grandfathers lived on the site, we have a strong inherited memory of living on the ruins, and we used to love visiting the ruins, we used to come with our families on the weekends especially to walk the beautiful park, it is a nice place to work walk around nature, ruins, clear explanations, they used to come a lot, locals used to come a lot with their families, they say now we can't do it, it is impossible because of the privatization of the ticket sales, they have to pay the full rate that the European tourist pays, and it is just too expensive. Most of them haven't been into the site for the last three to five years and that, for me, is very sad. It needs to be, I think, some way for the locals with their *Geyre kimlik* can come with their friends and family, and continue to feel part of this.²⁶⁴

While acknowledging this remark was made by an excavation director, there is no doubt that commercial borders created a division between local communities and heritage sites.

Furthermore, while the archival material analysed in this chapter reveals different and layered relationships between the archaeological teams and local communities, they nevertheless reveal a strong hierarchy often in the form of a patron-client relationship where the archaeologists have the power to do things and bring things to people without that power. In this sense, they are a less official voice yet still reveal the strong hierarchy in the relationships of local communities with the excavation directors and participants.

Last but not least, the lack of institutionalization of relationships between archaeologists and local communities and the crucial importance of individuals and their initiatives in forming bridges is demonstrated by Felix Pirson, the director of German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul and the excavation director of Pergamon:

The excavation had always very good relations, let's say with the officials at Bergama, there was one collaborator here, Elizabeth Steiner called *Taş Hanım*. She's a very interesting figure, so she's still living, she came here in the sixties as a very young woman working as a

²⁶⁴ Smith, R. R. R. Smith Oral History Interview, 11:04-13:24.

photographer and then being employed at the Istanbul German Institute [of Archaeology] also doing a bit the organisation here of the household, she remained for her entire working life 40 years in Turkey. She was very interested in local culture and particularly local textiles, that was her kind of hobby which she did outside of her working times, and she continues this work. She has published several books about that and that was very much appreciated by the local populations. I mean if you go to the small villages around Bergama everybody knows *Taş Hanım* but not nobody knows of course the excavation director. But that is fair enough.²⁶⁵



²⁶⁵ Felix Pirson, Felix Pirson Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 5 September 2017, 15:18-16:23, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPES OF LABOUR

Based on the fragments of narratives gathered from archival materials as well as oral history interviews, this chapter examines diverse landscapes of labour in archaeological work in Turkey. Focusing on the different groups of people who partake in an archaeological excavation, this chapter maps out the hierarchy and politics of labour in these excavations. As mentioned earlier, archaeological excavations are complex and demanding endeavours which require a group of people with different skill sets.

In archaeological literature, narratives are often constructed using an official and scientific voice in line with the requirements of academic peer-reviewed journals or excavation reports presented to the financial funders and the state officials who facilitate the permit for the excavation. The International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys, and Archaeometry Papers (*Uluslararası Kazı Araştırma ve Arkeometri Sempozyumu Bildirileri*) in Turkey are appropriate examples where the author is the excavation director with few exceptions and the situation concerning labour is narrated based on the work of the archaeological team on the site.²⁶⁶ Participants who are local and partake in the labour of an excavation often are unheard and unnoticed in the more academic archaeological literature. This chapter follows a methodology inspired by the historical scholarship on constructing a narrative from below with a focus on voices who have often not been deemed worthy of including in grand and officially recorded historical narratives.²⁶⁷

The focus of this chapter is primarily on labour and labourers at archaeological sites in Turkey, and the fieldwork experience. It documents the work of people who have often received no mention in the formal archaeological literature and who are rarely

²⁶⁶ Özgüner, 'Archaeological Entanglements: People, Places, and Politics of Archaeology in Turkey'. Annual Excavations Symposium Reports in Turkey are the focus of Özgüner's research and further detailed analysis on the nature of the language used in those reports can be found in her work.

²⁶⁷ While the historical scholarship on this matter is lengthy, for one of the most known examples see Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968); Marcus Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom* (London: Verso, 2013); Marcus Rediker, *The Fearless Benjamin Lay: The Quaker Dwarf Who Became the First Revolutionary Abolitionist* (London: Verso, 2017); Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

acknowledged because they have not been considered as part of the official hierarchy that records and reports the happenings on an excavation. This chapter is composed of vignettes about the people who partake in the landscape of archaeological labour but who have been excluded from the narratives about the sites of that labour.

4.1 Definitions of Archaeological Labour in Turkish Law

The terms, *local community* and *labour*, have been used in literature in various disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. In this section, I examine the definitions of ‘local community’ and ‘labour’ and the way in which these terms have been used in archaeology and critical heritage studies. I provide a historiographical analysis for these terms and discuss how community and labour are addressed in scholarly literature about archaeological excavations and heritage management plan manuals. A detailed history of the development of the legal framework on heritage and archaeology in Turkey, which begins with the first *Asar-ı Atika* laws passed in 1874 during the Ottoman period, is beyond the scope of this thesis, but as local labour is such a crucial, albeit frequently overlooked, component of the archaeological enterprise, it is important to consider the role that the historical transformation of legislation on archaeology plays.

The cultural and natural heritage management of the fieldwork conducted at archaeological sites in Turkey is governed by a network of laws and regulations with the official names in descending hierarchal order: laws (*kanunlar*), regulations (*yönetmelikler*) directives (*yönergeler*), and circulars (*genelgeler*), all issued by official governmental bodies, such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This ministry defines the type of labour that can be used in excavations in terms of wages, working hours, and eligibility. Through a detailed analysis of the different directives issued by the ministry that are related to labour, this section scrutinizes how labour in archaeological work has been defined and transformed from 1950s onwards.

Archaeological fieldwork and the governance of cultural heritage have been strictly organized and overseen by a complex network of regulations, directives, and circulars issued by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and other Turkish governmental bodies. Rather than a comprehensive evaluation of all the regulations regarding archaeological

practice and cultural heritage in Turkey, a summary of the laws and regulations concerning archaeology is provided below.²⁶⁸

Local communities have often been an integral part of archaeological projects since the collaborative work and the hard physical labour is fundamental to archaeological fieldwork. However, as is apparent from the archives and interviews in earlier chapters of this thesis, labour in archaeological fieldwork by local communities has gone largely unmentioned in archaeological and scholarly literature with few exceptions. In this context, it is also crucial to evaluate the definitions of the terms—local community and labour—within archaeology and the rules and regulations that define them, as well as the scholarly literature on heritage management.

The current main law in effect concerning the archaeological practice in Turkey is the Law 2863- ‘Law on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets’ (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*) issued in 1983.²⁶⁹ It is a detailed legal document consisting of 78 articles, 6 additional articles, and 11 temporary articles. Article 3 lists all the key terms and definitions used in the document. Here, local communities do not appear as one of the keywords but are referred to in the definition of the ‘Conservation Management Plan’ (*Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*).²⁷⁰

The fourth section titled ‘Survey, Sondage, Excavation and Treasure Search’ (*Araştırma, Sondaj, Kazı ve Define Arama*) of the document including the articles from 35 to 50 are concerned with the laws regulating archaeological practice. Only in Article 44 regarding the ‘Expenditure’ (*Giderler*) of the projects, there is a brief mention of salary of the security guards (*bekçiler*) in the excavation sites.

The Law 2863 replaced the Law 1710 ‘Law on Ancient Artifacts’ (*Eski Eserler Kanunu*) which was passed in 1983.²⁷¹ Similar to the Law 2863, the articles from 32 to 45 of the

²⁶⁸ Özgüner, ‘Archaeological Entanglements: People, Places, and Politics of Archaeology in Turkey’.

²⁶⁹ <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2863.pdf>

<http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=1.5.2863&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=>

²⁷⁰ Article 3, ‘Koruma Alanı içinde yaşayan hane halkları ve faaliyet gösteren işyerlerinin sosyal ve ekonomik yapılarını iyileştiren’

²⁷¹ Accessed in

https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc056/kanuntbmmc056/kanun-tbmmc05601710.pdf

‘Law on Ancient Artifacts’ is devoted to ‘Excavations’ (*Kazılar*) and only refers to guards to be employed in the archaeological sites in the Article 41. The Law 1710 replaced the *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* of 1906 (1322), thus, it is the first legal document put into effect in the Republican Turkey.²⁷²

While the laws issued defined the legal framework of different aspects of cultural heritage practices, it is the regulations (*yönetmelikler*), directives (*yönergeler*), and the circulars (*genelgeler*) where most of the practical issues and required components of an archaeological excavation are defined in more detail. While there are numerous *yönetmelik* documents regarding different aspects of handling and managing ‘cultural assets’ (*kültür varlıkları*) on the Ministry website, the specific regulation of archaeological practice in the field which is currently in effect is titled ‘Regulation regarding the Research, Sondage and Excavations in relation with the Cultural and Natural Assets’ (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarıyla İlgili Olarak Yapılacak Araştırma, Sondaj ve Kazılar Hakkında Yönetmelik*). Dated to 1984, the documents define the key terms, the qualifications sought in the researchers, the permit application procedure, the methodology to be followed in the field, the rights of the researchers, and the qualifications and duties of the government representative. This document replaced the *yönetmelik* of 1973. There is one section of an article in the document that refers specifically to the workmen in an archaeological fieldwork. The Section ‘h’ of the Article 20 reads:

The representative or the specialist may ask the excavation director to dismiss certain workers if deemed necessary.

Temsilci ya da uzman gerekli gördüğü ve sakıncalı bulduğu hallerde bazı işçilerin çalışmamasını kazı başkanından isteyebilirler.

In addition to this remark, two other articles, articles 14 and 15, in the document refer to the guards employed by the excavation team. There is however no elaboration concerning the workmen in the field or descriptions of their duties.

²⁷² Ahmet Mumcu, ‘Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye’, *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 26, no. 3 (1969): 45–78; Ahmet Mumcu, ‘Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye’, *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 28, no. 1 (1971): 41–76. See also N. Akcura, ‘Türkiye ve Eski Eserler’, *Mimarlık* 8 (1972): 39–42.

In relation with the Law 2860 and the Regulation, there is the Directive (*Yönerge*) regarding the ‘Research, Sondage and Excavations in relation with the Cultural and Natural Assets’ which was put into effect in 2016 and elaborates both on the law as well as the regulations concerning on the archaeological fieldwork.²⁷³ Consisting of four parts and 24 articles with numerous subsections, this document sketches the legal necessities of all the practicalities of archaeological fieldwork. Article 9 specifically addresses the rules to be followed in the archaeological work. The section ‘j’ of Article 9 mentions that the protection and security measurement of the excavation sites are provided by the excavation director. The personnel regarding the security of the site should be coordinated by the local museum with the budget given by the Ministry. However, in foreign excavations, the excavation director and the excavation itself is responsible for the salary and budget of the excavation’s security personnel.

Section ‘k’ of article 9 also determines that the personal identity information of any paid workers of the excavation must be reported to the Social Security Institution Provincial Directorate (*Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu İl Müdürlüğü*) and also to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in accordance with the Social Security Directives. It is the excavation director and the ministry representative who are responsible for conveying this information to the necessary government institutions.

Section ‘gg and ğğ’ of the same article define the working hours and conditions for workmen, student, or staff in the fieldwork. According to the directive, the work should be conducted based on the ‘Law on Workplace Health and Security’ (*İş Sağlığı ve Güvenliği Kanunu*) and the working hours should follow the legal framework based on the law. The excavation director is responsible for keeping the fieldwork within the legal framework. This section further emphasizes the vocational training to be given to workmen and staff, the safety measures to be taken by the excavation team such as wearing safety equipment, and the inspection details regarding the working environment. The Section ‘ğğ’ also refers to additional laws and regulations to be followed based on the related workplace security directives (*İş Sağlığı ve Güvenliğine İlişkin İşyeri Tehlike Sınıfları Tebliği*). Sections ‘j and k’ of the Article 11 further elaborates on the pay scale

²⁷³ <http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,154784/kultur-ve-tabiatarliklariyla-ilgili-yapilacak-yuzey-a-.html>.

of the staff, students, and workmen employed in the excavation and states the payrolls of the workmen are to be signed jointly by the excavation director and the ministry representative.

Perhaps, the only direct referral to the local communities in the directive is in the section ‘ee’ of the Article 9. It reads:

ee) During every excavation season at least one informative event is organized for the local communities to raise an awareness of safeguarding of cultural heritage. Organized by the heads of excavation, these events are coordinated by the respective Provincial Cultural and Tourism Directorate and carried out in collaboration with the respective museum management and ministry representatives. These events are included in the annual reports of excavation heads and the final reports of ministry representatives.

ee) Kazı başkanları tarafından tercihen her çalışma sezonunda en az bir kez yerel halkın kültürel mirasın korunmasına ilişkin olarak bilinçlendirilmesi amacıyla, ilgili İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü koordinasyonunda ve ilgili Müze Müdürlüğü ve Bakanlık temsilcisinin bilgisi dahilinde bilgilendirme etkinlikleri yapılır. Bu faaliyetlere kazı başkanı sonuç raporunda ve Bakanlık temsilcisi sonuç raporunda yer verilir.

This article specifies the relationship of the local communities and the archaeological team on paper and requires the excavation director and also the team to be responsible for raising awareness of cultural heritage in the local community.

The legal framework of archaeological practices in terms of actual legislation changed very little in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic in 1923. The first comprehensive law on cultural heritage went into effect only in 1973, fifty years after the founding of the Turkish Republic, and it was replaced once in 1983 following the introduction of the 1982 constitution. The regulations also followed the same fashion until 2002. However, after 2002, there was a demonstrable increase in the number of regulations, directives, circulars, and changes and additions to the 2863 Law by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture.

In conclusion, while the current main laws on archaeological practice as well the preceding ones do not explicitly recognize the local communities as part of the labour in the archaeological practice, the more detailed regulations and especially directives in effect lay out the legal framework to be followed for paid labour in archaeological fieldwork. The only direct regulation in terms of including the local community in the

archaeological work beyond their actual labour effort is the Article 9 in the current directive which requires excavations directors to hold meetings or seminars to raise awareness of cultural heritage in local communities.

4.2 Division of Labour

Archaeological fieldwork in Turkey usually takes place in a certain period of time within a year due to academic schedules and requires a team of people who are responsible for specific duties. While such complex division of labour is a necessity of archaeological work, it is seldom acknowledged within the archaeological literature. In archaeological reports published within the Annual Meetings of the Excavation and Survey Results (*Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları—KST*), one often finds expressions of gratitude to government officials who either took part in the excavation or facilitated the excavation permit. In contrast, workers and excavation household staff are rarely thanked or only a passing mention is made.

The multitude of archival material and oral history interviews conducted within the scope of this dissertation further point out the historical transformations in the hierarchy and politics of labour in the archaeological fieldwork. By identifying the diverse elements of labour in archaeology, this section acknowledges the complexity of fieldwork and demonstrates the differences and similarities in the organization of labour at a selection of archaeological sites from Turkey.

There are two main types of archaeological fieldwork specified within the legislation in Turkey; survey and excavation.²⁷⁴ The often-interchangeable use of archaeological research with the word ‘excavation’ is a common feature in archaeological practice in Turkey that has been addressed before.²⁷⁵ Even the Turkish Language Institution defines the word ‘archaeology’ as the ‘science of excavation’ (*kazı bilimi*).²⁷⁶ The permission to conduct archaeological excavation or survey is also outlined within the legal framework

²⁷⁴ Detailed information on the permits for archaeological fieldwork can be found on the Ministry of Culture and Tourism; <https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-43101/mevzuat.html>

²⁷⁵ N. Pınar Özgüner, ‘Türkiye Arkeolojisinde Kavramsal Problemler ve Kronolojik Kısıtlamalar Üzerine’, *MODUS OPERANDI* 2 (2015): 217–26.

²⁷⁶ <https://sozluk.gov.tr>

and can be only obtained with certain qualifications. While excavations might be directed by scholars who are at least an associate professor and who studied archaeology or art history at the undergraduate level, the requirements to get permission for an archaeological survey are broader and open to scholars with a wider range of academic fields including architecture. Furthermore, archaeological research permits are categorized either as Turkish or foreign, based on the nationality of its director rather than the origin country of the institution that the director belongs to. An example would be the Kaymakçı Archaeological Project is categorized as a foreign excavation due to its director, Christopher H. Roosevelt, being American even though he is employed at a Turkish university.²⁷⁷

The components of a university-based excavation team, i.e. a field project run by a faculty member of a university in Turkey may vary based on different factors such as the location of the site, finances, and the nature of the research. Who has worked in these archaeological projects? The answer to this question varies based on the project, however, the oral history interviews conducted for this dissertation between 2016 and 2019 reveal three main categories: the government official(s), the faculty (*hocalar*) and the students (*öğrenciler*), and the workers and excavation household staff (*işçiler ve kazı evi çalışanları*). The duties within an excavation tend to be fluid, and at times, tasks and responsibilities may change and overlap throughout an excavation season for some of the people involved. While there are many different actors in the labour force of an archaeological excavation, emphasis here is given to the experiences of workers and staff of the excavation house i.e. the group of people whose voices have not been heard very frequently heard considering their significant contribution in archaeology. Given the limitations of conducting oral history interviews with the workers and staff (e.g. need for long-term involvement with a particular excavation, inherent hierarchical relationships, navigating layers of official permits) the narratives in this chapter are drawn from interviews with directors or academic members of archaeological projects with the exception of one interview which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

²⁷⁷ The list on the Ministry website can be accessed via <https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-251575/2019-yili-kazi-ve-yuzey-arastirma-faaliyetleri.html>

4.2.1 Excavation Director and Faculty Members

Excavation directors are the primary responsible persons in archaeological fieldwork. They hold the executive power to manage the fieldwork and furthermore are the sole owner of any scientific knowledge produced as part of the fieldwork. Stated by the Articles 35 and 38 of the Code 2863 concerning the management of archaeological sites and excavations, the permit to excavate is given in the name of the excavation director rather than to the institution.²⁷⁸ With such executive power invested in one person, an unbalanced power dynamic has evolved with archaeological practice, and the narrative discourse about those practices revolves largely around the excavation directors. While this is the legislative reality, the rhetoric at places like Çatalhöyük is different and professes new hierarchical alternatives to knowledge production.

There are several other ways in which the excavation director yields power. Participants who work at an excavation in Turkey need written consent from the excavation director in order to publish any findings. Since excavation directors hold the right to refuse any publication which is based on the fieldwork, the ownership of intellectual property and particularly the right of graduate students to publish their doctoral dissertation is left ambiguous in the legislature based on the Article 43 of the Code 2863.²⁷⁹ In addition to the practical disputes caused by the concentration of powers and authority in excavation directors, it also becomes difficult to find any historical accounts of an excavation in which the narrative is provided by someone other than the director of the project. Despite cases where archaeological project reports were authored by multiple participants from an excavation, the excavation director still holds the last say in any publication related with the archaeological projects that he or she manages.

Since academic career progress is closely linked with participation in fieldwork in archaeology, a good relationship with and appropriate accolades for the director may become necessary, even when the director is no longer alive. A good example would be the description of Ekrem Akurgal by Coşkun Özgünel, now an emeritus professor of

²⁷⁸ Further information can be accessed at <https://korumakurullari.ktb.gov.tr/TR-131017/2863-sayili-kultur-ve-tabiat-varliklarini-koruma-kanunu.html>

²⁷⁹ For a comparative analysis of the intellectual ownership in archaeological excavations, see Emre Cumalıoğlu, 'Kişisel Bir Değer Olarak Arkeolojik Buluntu Üzerinde Bilimsel Yayım Hakkı', *Journal of Yaşar University* 1 (2013): 735–84.

archaeology at Ankara University who studied under Prof. Akurgal. In an article on the Turkish archaeology and “the school of Ekrem Akurgal”, Coşkun Özgünel penned the following lines:

To sum up, in a scholarly life that lasted from the 1940s, when he finished his doctoral dissertation which showed that the essence and roots of western civilization were the civilizations of Anatolia, to 1 November 2002, Ekrem Akurgal was a philosopher who offered proofs with historical and archaeological documents; a real scholar who was not self-serving, who showed the way for the modernization of Turkish archaeology and integrated this ideal with his country and its inhabitants; a saintly figure (*eren*) for the archaeology, history, and art of Anatolia, dedicated to the principles and revolution of Atatürk.²⁸⁰

This hagiographic-like description does not leave much for a critical reflection, nor space for an alternative narrative. The image and status of the excavation director has the potential to become a self-perpetuating narrative. This is evident in these different accounts about Ekrem Akurgal who initiated a series of excavations along the Aegean Coast from 1960s until his retirement in 1991, most notably in Old Smyrna/Bayraklı. Cevat Erder, an emeritus professor of Architecture and Conservation at the Middle East Technical University, is one of the students who participated in Akurgal’s first excavation in Phokaia in modern Foça, Izmir. In the oral history interview carried out with Erder in Ankara, he further elaborated on his excavation experience in Phokaia and gave clues about Akurgal’s role in the excavation. Regarding his daily excavation experience in Foça, Cevat Erder elaborated:

Ekrem Akurgal used to live somewhere close to the excavation. He came as he wished. However, two of his assistants would divide the work, one of them [not clear], and the other would inspect, meaning manage the excavation. We were not large in number, we were a team that would fit in a tent. Cows would appear from one corner when we used to wake up in that tent in the morning...

*Ekrem Akurgal Foça’daki hafriyatta yakın bir yerde oturuyordu. İstediği zaman geliyordu. Fakat asistanlarından iki tanesi işi bölüyor bir tanesi [anlaşılmıyor], öbürü de denetimini yapıyordu, yani kazıyı kontrol ediyordu. Sayımız çok büyük değildi, yani bir çadıra sığacak kadar bir ekiptik. O çadırda sabahleyin kalktığımız zaman bir tarafında inekler çıkar...*²⁸¹

Tomris Bakır, late emeritus professor of classical archaeology at Ege University who passed away in 2019, gave a similar impression regarding Akurgal as the excavation

²⁸⁰ Özgünel, ‘The Archaeology of the Turkish Republic and the School of Ekrem Akurgal’, 145.

²⁸¹ Cevat Erder, Cevat Erder Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 14 November 2016, 26:08-26:51, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

director.²⁸² Starting from the 1970s, Bakır started participating in Akurgal's excavations, first in Çandarlı, Izmir and then in Old Smyrna where she joined several seasons. Particularly regarding the Old Smyrna excavations, she mentioned that Akurgal would spend the day at the excavation house and very occasionally visit the fieldwork. As an expert on Ancient Greek ceramics, he would study the new finds every afternoon after they would be brought from the field, washed down, prepared for inspection by the students.

One particular phenomenon that demonstrates the hierarchy and power dynamics within an excavation is the dinner table and seating arrangement at communal meal times. Both Erder and Bakır specifically mentioned the dinner table at the excavation house and how Akurgal would pay close attention to where people would be seated and proper table manners and etiquette. According to Tomris Bakır, Akurgal would always sit at the head of a long table where other participants would take their places based on their seniority with the undergraduate students at the far end.²⁸³ Bakır stated that this kind of a hierarchical seating in an excavation was a German tradition that Akurgal might have picked up when completing his doctorate in Berlin. The interview I conducted on September 5, 2017 with Felix Pirson, the current director of the German Archaeological Institute Istanbul Branch as well as the current archaeological excavation at Pergamon, attests to Bakır's comments. Pirson also stated that when he was a student participating in the Pergamon Excavations during Prof. Wolfgang Radt's directorship, members of the team would be in a strict seating arrangement where every team member would know his/her place.²⁸⁴ Pergamon is one of the oldest excavations in Turkey which started in the late 19th century and has continued to the present day. As part of the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*) project, it embedded its own practices and tradition into the decorum of archaeological fieldwork and life on the site. This might have indirectly influenced other archaeological projects in Turkey through its participants. Mihriban Özbaşaran, professor of prehistoric archaeology at Istanbul University, experienced very similar displays of hierarchy while she was

²⁸² Tomris Bakır, Tomris Bakır Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 23 November 2016, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

²⁸³ Bakır.

²⁸⁴ Pirson, Felix Pirson Oral History Interview.

participating as a student in the Perge Excavations, in Antalya which Istanbul University was conducting. Particularly on her dinner table experience, Özbaşaran elaborated:

Dinner with the professors was very special, of course, so we didn't want to miss them. But I never forget, let me tell you, I don't know if it matters to you or not, but there was a great hierarchy. For example, the hierarchy while eating, everyone would sit in a certain order, directly according to the hierarchy. Jale Hanım used to sit on the first chair and the students, who used to join last, used to sit at the end of the table. We wouldn't hear much of what was spoken. Of course, you wouldn't start eating without saying 'enjoy your meal' or 'welcome'. It might be a good rule, but there was a strict discipline and the rules specific to the excavation. They were very strict in following them.

Akşamleyin hocalarla beraber yemek yemekler filan çok özel şeyler tabi, yani onları kaçırmamak istiyorduk. Ama hiç unutmam, onu söyleyeyim size önemli mi bilmiyorum da, müthiş bir hiyerarşi vardı. Mesela yemek hiyerarşisi, herkesin oturacağı yer belli sıralama doğrudan hiyerarşiye göre. Başta Jale Hanım oturur, en son katılan öğrenciler olarak tam aksi köşede. Konuşulanları falan öyle çok fazla duymazdık. 'Afiyet olsun', 'buyrun' demeden tabi ki yemeğe başlanmazdı. Güzel bir kural belki ama çok hissettik disiplini ve kazıya özgü kuralları, hakikaten birebir uyguluyorlardı, çok katıydı bu anlamda.²⁸⁵

I should also state here that I have often encountered such hierarchy and power dynamics myself as a researcher while conducting oral history interviews for this dissertation. A fair number of interviews took place in archaeological sites during the excavation season and I was often very kindly invited to lunch or tea breaks before or after the interviews took place. At one particular occasion, we completed the first part of our interview with the excavation director on site and took the lunch break to move over to the excavation house. While waiting for the lunch to be served, which was being prepared by a cook and undergraduate students, the director took his place at the head of the table while the assistant director sat next to us and brought two beers over to the table, one for himself and one for the director. I was offered a seat next to the director across from the assistant director only to be asked to stand up later on to give my place to the spouse of the director. I was also not offered a beer. Meanwhile, the students on the excavation were either waiting, standing, or helping to set up the table. While this was not the only time I witnessed a hierarchy of behaviour in an excavation house, this particular incident was of interest for its elaborate performative aspects.

While the information regarding the hierarchy and scripted behavioral rules at excavation sites can be traced through oral history interviews, an unfinished documentary filmed at

²⁸⁵ Mihriban Özbaşaran, Mihriban Özbaşaran Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 29 May 2017, 16:08-17:00, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

Aphrodisias in the 1980s is of particular interest.²⁸⁶ Narrated by the historian John Julius Norwich, the unfinished and unedited footage presents different aspects of the archaeological project carried out by Prof. Kenan Erim of the New York University. What was invaluable in this footage is that it also included varied scenes of the daily life in an excavation such as moments at the dinner table. In that particular sequence, similar to the table experience at Pergamon and the Old Smyrna excavations, there was a long table with Prof. Erim sitting at the head and newly excavated ancient Greco-Roman statues adorn the table. During the meal, Prof. Erim talks about the site and project, and answers Norwich's questions in his learned English accent. After finishing the meal, a meal possibly prepared by a cook who was hired to work to the excavation house from the British Embassy in Ankara according to Gerhard Paul, a conservation architect who has been working at the site since late 1980s, Prof. Erim announces that it is time for coffee and tea, and mentions that Norwich might be familiar with their little routine. A staff member is waiting to take the coffee orders from the director. In an idiosyncratic way, Prof. Erim asks everyone how they would prefer their coffee and notes the choices to be given to the kitchen staff. While waiting for the coffee, the electricity goes off and they decide to look at the new sculptural finds housed in the garden of the excavation house. Illuminated by an elaborate chandelier brought by a teenager who was a member of the house staff, and a full-moon, Prof. Erim introduces the sculptural finds and statues, all displayed in a dramatic and baroque setting. In 2015, some 35 years later after the documentary was filmed, I participated in this very excavation as a trench supervisor and witnessed that the dinner table routines had stayed very much the same. What was perhaps even more remarkable was that the teenager who had brought the chandelier in the movie, Cihat, was now the head of the excavation house staff and taking the coffee and tea orders.

In contrast to these hierarchical examples mentioned above, there are also archaeological projects in Turkey which do not follow such arrangements. For instance, Inge Uytterhoeven, associate professor of archaeology at Koç University, stated that lunches have been eaten on the site in Sagalassos, a Greco-Roman excavation in which she has been participating, and each trench group including, the trench supervisor, students, and

²⁸⁶ Prof. Brian Rose kindly gave me permission to use this video in this dissertation.

the workers eat all together as a group.²⁸⁷ I later joined such a lunch under the shade next to the Antonine Fountain after completing an interview with Marc Waelkens, the former director of the project. I was invited by Prof. Waelkens and a group of workers who had brought their food and quickly prepared their meal on site followed by watermelon, arguably the staple fruit of any excavation in Turkey. Following the lunch, Prof. Waelkens informed me that communal lunch on site with the workers was always the practice at the excavation since the team wouldn't return to the excavation house for meals, as it was located in the town centre far from the archaeological site.²⁸⁸ He further stated that the decision to integrate workers and the local community into the social aspects of the excavation was a conscious decision and was prompted by his memory of unpleasant experiences in other excavations before assuming the directorship of the Sagalassos project.

An interesting anecdote regarding the role of an excavation director was recounted in another interview with Zeynep Ahunbay, emerita professor of architecture at Istanbul Technical University who participated in the Side Excavations at Antalya, which were directed at the time by the late Jale İnan:

There was an excavation team in 77-78 term, we used to have our meals in Jale Hanım's house, I mean they were eating at the excavation site for lunch, we were having dinners in Jale Hanım's house. There were very pleasant talks, nice camaraderie, nice friendship.

MKB: I would very much like to listen if you would like to share.

They had to leave very early and go, all crammed into a minibus. They drove up to the mountain. It was a long way. Then they would return. In the evenings, in the place that we used to stay, owned by the Ministry of Culture, there was a shower without any hot water and my first experience of showering with cold water was in Side. During the day it was 40 degrees, which raises to 60 under the sun. You work under such sun and heat, you then have the water like ice afterwards, there was also some time to go to the seaside. When the workday ended, you had the opportunity to go to the seaside via Jale Hanım's house. We have many fond memories of those times.

77-78 döneminde kazı ekibi vardı, o zaman Jale Hanım'ın evinde yemek yiyorduk, yani orda öğlende tabi kazı alanında yiyorlardı, akşam yemeğini orda Jale Hanım'ın evinde yiyorduk. Çok güzel hoş konuşmalar, güzel arkadaşlıklar, hoş buluşmalar oluyordu.

²⁸⁷ Inge Uytterhoeven, Inge Uytterhoeven Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 12 October 2016, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

²⁸⁸ Marc Waelkens, Marc Waelkens Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 14 August 2017, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

MKB: Anlatmak istediğiniz olursa, dinlemek çok isterim.

Yani onlar sabah erkenden, minibüse tıkalıp işte, bir minibüsle gitmek zorunda kalıyorlardı. Dağa çıkıyorlardı. Uzun bir yoldu. Ondan sonra geliyorlardı. Akşam işte kaldığımız o Kültür Bakanlığı'na ait olan yerde—duş--yani sıcak suyu olmayan bir duştı ve benim için de ilk defa soğuk suyla duş alma deneyimim Side'de oldu. Gündüz 40 derece ortam sıcaklığı, güneşte tabi 60 dereceye falan yükseliyor. Öyle bir güneşte çalışıyorsunuz, onun üstüne buz gibi su geliyor, denize girme faslı oluyordu. Yani şeyden sonra, gün bittikten sonra, Jale Hanım'ın evinden girilebiliyordu. Güzel anılarımız var o dönemlerde.²⁸⁹

4.2.2 Research Assistants, Graduate Students, and Undergraduate Students

In terms of labour efforts, an important but often underappreciated element in an archaeological excavation are the students. University-led archaeological projects are intended to be teaching experiences and provide academic training and therefore almost always include students. Pinpointing the exact role and contribution of the students in archaeological excavations is difficult because their voices are rather absent in the archaeological literature. In this respect, they are similar to the members of local communities and on-site labourers. Furthermore, conducting oral history interviews with the current student participants has its own challenges since painting an honest picture of a student experience in an excavation would be difficult due to the hierarchical relationships and unbalanced power in the archaeological profession and practice. As a result of this, this dissertation relies on the tellings by the faculty members about their experiences as students.

The inclusion of undergraduate students into archaeological excavations may vary from project to project and will be further elaborated in the next chapter, but there is often a hierarchy among the student archaeologists where the newcomers would assume the less refined work. Student experience, particularly for the undergraduates in the excavation, is also often allocated along gender lines. It was also not uncommon to see female students employed to work at the excavation house and frequently they are not allowed to go to work in the field.

²⁸⁹ Zeynep Ahunbay, Zeynep Ahunbay Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 20 March 2017, 13:11-14:36, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

Graduate students and research assistants may take an administrative role in an archaeological excavation thus relieving some of the work that usually falls to the excavation director. This was particularly the case in Akurgal's excavations where his assistants were frequently left in charge.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, research assistants would also take on a role in forming the excavation team by selecting participants among undergraduate students.

Another side of the story is the foreign students coming to Turkey as participants for archaeological work. Elaborating on his first time working in Turkey, Felix Pirson, the director of the Pergamon Excavations, said:

It wasn't so much different from today. We worked here as students, still today, let's say 7:00 in the morning until the night if you include documentation work. For me, it was a real challenge because I arrived here, I had no Turkish at all. I didn't have the time to prepare myself and colleagues gave me the 10 most important words which I learned. Then, the next day I started directly with 18 workers because, by that time, there were much more workers in relation to archaeologists. But there was a great experience, I mean that was concerning the language, but also being responsible for kind of my own stuff, and this is different today, the relation between archaeologists and workmen today is very difficult. The field directors at the moment here, they have maximum ten workers, which is quite a lot, some of them only have 4-5.²⁹¹

But other things are quite similar. So let's say working hours, the relation to the Turkish workforce, we only had very few students here by the time, this has changed a lot so now we have a big Turkish student group here which is of course positive [unclear]. It is getting more international. It is very clear that these foreign excavations are basically not foreign excavations but Turkish excavations, done by foreigners, with international teams. The excavation house is kind of an "*Alman Kale*" [German Castle/Fort], something like that is completely abolished.²⁹²

In a similar fashion, Christoph Berns, the director of Miletus Excavations, also shared memories of his first time working in Turkey:

And after the second year I went to Turkey on not on excavation but a survey project near Akbük which was a special stay it ended in a very adventurous way but in terms of scientific experience it was also very interesting being not on an excavation but a survey project.

It was a project of Reinhardt's, he collected young students from all over Germany to work with him in Akbuk. He was an interesting, but in a way, little bit, let's say, a difficult person,

²⁹⁰ Meral Akurgal, Meral Akurgal Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 2 August 2018, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

²⁹¹ Pirson, Felix Pirson Oral History Interview, 04:00-05:13.

²⁹² Pirson, 05:36-06:24.

so it was, for us being all very young students, it was a very interesting experience. And the end was, I mean that's little bit the interesting point, the end was that we left him. We went to Miletus, just to look for help. This was really the first time I came to Miletus. And von Graeve was then not the director but the second director of the excavation helped us little bit to go out of this situation, to leave the country, because it was also very very complicated.²⁹³

These tellings point to a nuanced group of experiences by students in archaeological practice in Turkey; hierarchal relationships and power dynamics definitely were at play in the day-to-day experience of students in the field. It should also be noted that the field experience could be quite different for students who came from abroad to Turkey, often with little knowledge of the language and culture. As Felix Pirson's remark on his first work experience in Turkey demonstrated, a graduate student with little to no Turkish language being put in charge of Turkish workers, reflects the hierarchy of countries that was constructed on differences in economic and political disparities.

Fieldwork in archaeology takes researchers to different parts of the globe—places that are prone to security risks for a number of reasons including political instability, natural disasters, and inadequate work conditions. As a fieldwork environment, Turkey is not immune to such challenges and there have been cases which resulted in casualties of graduate and undergraduate student archaeologists.

Beyond Girnavaz, the road [ahead] is long,
Trot my sluggish horse, my horse let's get going
Time of the night, the Reaper's arm stretched far
Trot my sluggish horse, my horse let's get going
The day has exhausted beyond the mountains distant
The magnanimous hart after a single tablet?
Trot my sluggish horse, my horse get moving

*Girnavaz'dan öte, giden yol uzun
Yuru atim rahvan, atim tez yuru
Gece vakti Azrail'de kol uzun
Yuru atim rahvan, atim tez yuru*

*Gun tukendi karsi dagin ardinda
Koca yurek bir tek tablet derdinde
Olsa olur tablet Girnavaz yurdunda
Yuru atim rahvan, atim tez yuru*²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Christof Berns, Christof Berns Oral History Interview-1, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 23 September 2017, 03:36-05:28, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

²⁹⁴ Armağan Erkanal et al., eds., *In Memoriam İ. Metin Akyurt Bahattin Devam Anı Kitabı: Eski Yakın Doğu Kültürleri Üzerine İncelemeler / Studies for Ancient Near Eastern Cultures* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1995), VI.

The quotation above is an adaptation of an old folklore song from Girnavaz near Nusaybin, Mardin, five kilometres away from the Syria-Turkey border. The adaptation of the poem which referred to clay tablets and archaeological fieldwork was done by Bahattin Devam, a PhD student of archaeology at Hacettepe University who was part of the archaeological research team working on Girnavaz Mound. On September 25, 1991, Devam was killed alongside another archaeologist I. Metin Akyurt in a bomb attack which targeted the excavation car. There were ten other members of the team who survived the attack but were injured.²⁹⁵ The incident was reported on the front page of *Milliyet* newspaper.²⁹⁶ The news article mentioned that the research team received a threat letter telling them to end their excavation two days prior to the bomb attack, and their excavation tools were burnt a day before the accident.²⁹⁷ Based on the coverage of the incident in the newspaper, a team of five members including the excavation director Prof. Hayat Erkanal intended to return to Nusaybin after a day of work at the mound.²⁹⁸ As Prof. Erkanal opened the door of the car, the explosion occurred and affected not only the archaeological team members but also people from the local community who happened to be around the car at the time of the incident. The news coverage also mentioned that Metin Akyurt—an assistant professor who was killed in the attack—was the son of a former MP from for Republican People’s Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, *CHP in Turkish abbreviation*), Nurettin Akyurt. The memory of the archaeologists was later celebrated in a commemorative book in the format of a *Festschrift* which are often published to celebrate a retiring scholar.²⁹⁹ The book mentions the incident only in a few paragraphs in the introduction without any details regarding the attack and provides information about the life and career of the murdered archaeologists in two short resumes. Consisting of a series of articles on Ancient Near East Cultures, the book also includes a posthumous article by Metin Akyurt. Apart from the adapted song quoted above, the book unfortunately does not give much space to the personal memories of scholars and their relationships with Metin Akyurt and Bahattin Devam.

²⁹⁵ Erkanal et al., XIII.

²⁹⁶ ‘Bilim Heyetine Bomba’, *Milliyet*, 27 September 1991.

²⁹⁷ ‘Bilim Heyetine Bomba’, 1.

²⁹⁸ Şükrü Başaslan, ‘Üniversite Ekibine Bombalı Saldırı’, *Milliyet*, 27 September 1991.

²⁹⁹ Erkanal et al., *In Memoriam İ. Metin Akyurt Bahattin Devam Anı Kitabı: Eski Yakın Doğu Kùltürleri Üzerine İncelemeler / Studies for Ancient Near Eastern Cultures*.

Apart from the devastating trauma this attack inflicted on many lives, the archaeological work on Girnavaz Mound was also abruptly ended as Prof. Erkanal did not return for another season. The KST Reports reveal that there has not been any work done in the site ever since. Following the attack, Prof. Erkanal started a research project on the western coast of Turkey in Limantepe and carried out work there until he passed away in 2019.

4.2.3 State Representative (*Temsilci*) and Museum Staff

Another group of participants in archaeological excavations in Turkey are the government officials (*temsilci*) which every archaeological project is assigned. These persons act as overseers and are appointed by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

While state representatives have functioned as a governmental control over the archaeological team, this particular position also allowed the excavation directors to include former students who wished to continue working on the projects. Ekrem Akurgal, for example, made space for his students to participate in this capacity. Meral Akurgal, emerita professor of archaeology at Dokuz Eylül University, worked as the state representative in the Old Smyrna project for a couple of seasons in late 1970s before she was formally hired at the university.³⁰⁰

As representatives have been chosen from museum staff across Turkey, there were also instances of graduate students earning their salary from a museum job and the state representative position became their contact point with field archaeology. This, in turn, led to an academic career later on for some students. For instance, Ömer Özyiğit worked at the Bergama Museum and was consequently the state representative for the Pergamon Excavations between 1975 and 1979.³⁰¹ Celal Şimşek, now a professor of archaeology at Pamukkale University, worked first at the Adıyaman Museum between 1986-1988 and then the Denizli Museum where he was the state representative in Hierapolis during his graduate studies. He then switched to an academic position after finishing his doctoral work and resumed his archaeological research in the same region in Laodikeia, Denizli.³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Akurgal, Meral Akurgal Oral History Interview.

³⁰¹ Ömer Özyiğit, Ömer Özyiğit Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 2 August 2018, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³⁰² Celal Şimşek, Celal Şimşek Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 24 August 2017, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

4.2.4 *Guards (Bekçiler)*

Security guards employed within archaeological projects are the group of workmen arguably in closest contact with the sites. They are employed all year around and function as the contact point for the archaeological team when they are away from the site. The story of Ahmet Ertaş elaborated in the previous chapter attests to the role played by security guards in archaeological excavations.

The Aziz Ogan Collection at the Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center reveals rare glimpses into the everyday experience of the guards working in archaeological sites and the relationship between guards and archaeologists. Aziz Ogan was the founding director of the Izmir Archaeological Museum between 1918-1931 and eventually the director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum between 1931-1954 following Halil Edhem Bey. Prior to his post at the Izmir Archaeological Museum, he worked as an antiquities inspector overseeing of ancient sites such as Sardis, Pergamon, Ephesus, and Didyma among others.³⁰³ In addition to his roles in archaeological practice and museums in Turkey, Aziz Ogan was also the father of Jale İnân, renowned professor of archaeology at Istanbul University who directed excavations at the ancient city of Side, Antalya. Donated to Boğaziçi University by his grandson Hüseyin İnân, the archive consists of biographical documents, Ogan's institutional correspondence with the Ministry of Education and other related officials such as foreign museum officials and archaeologists, and photographic reports and records regarding several archaeological sites in Turkey.³⁰⁴ The Aziz Ogan Archive is currently available digitally via the Boğaziçi University website and constitutes an invaluable historical source in the near absence of systematic archives related with the history of archaeology in Turkey.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ 'Who Is Aziz Ogan? What's Included in the Collection?', Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center, 2020, <http://arsivmerkezi.boun.edu.tr/en/collections/aziz-ogan.php>.

³⁰⁴ Further information on the formation process of the collection at Boğaziçi University, see the following videos: Huseyin Inan, Aziz Ogan Arşivi - Torunu Hüseyin İnân anlatıyor, Video, 7 June 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=puGekTMcxq0>; Edhem Eldem, Aziz Ogan Arşivi ve Türkiye'de Arkeoloji Tarihi, Video, 7 July 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sREonPwHIM8>.

³⁰⁵ The research for this dissertation within the Aziz Ogan Collection was conducted in April-May 2017 while the archival material was in the process of being sorted and catalogized. The staff at Boğaziçi University kindly let me conduct my own research and take my own photos of the documents during this process. Subsequently, all materials have been catalogued, digitally scanned, and made accessible via <http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/1>. Currently, the Jale İnân Collection which was also donated by Hüseyin İnân is in the process of being digitized.

In a letter dated February 2, 1929 addressed to *Asar-ı Atika Umum Müfettişliği*, Osman Feyzi, later Osman Bayatlı, the director of the Bergama Archaeological Museum, stated that the guard of the castle (*kale bekçisi*), Ömer Aga, had been taken to the hospital with laryngitis, inflammation of one's voice box, and would need to be in care for 10-15 days.³⁰⁶ Twenty-two days later, a second letter dated February 24, 1929, notified the death of Ömer Aga followed by the condition of the guard post building.³⁰⁷ In response to this news, Aziz Ogan penned the following lines:

I am very saddened by the news of Bekçi Omer Aga's passing. I always appreciated his service in the protection of the castle. It is now our duty to help his orphans that he left behind.

I have trust in his elder son, Yusuf. If it is suitable, appoint Yusuf to guardship. By doing so, his spouse would not be out on the street. For a temporary amount of time, facilitate help to his widow from the honourable municipality of Bergama. I shall await your upmost diligence on this matter.

Bekçi Ömer ağanın vefatına pek müteessir oldum 35 seneden beri kalanın muhafazası hakkında sepk iden himmetlerini daima takdir ederdim. Arkada bıraktığı yetimlere muavenet etmek bizlere borç olmuştur.

*Büyük oğlu Yusuf'a itimadım vardır. muvafakat idiyorsa bekciliğe Yusufu inha idiniz. Bu suretle cevceside sokaklarda kalmamış olur. Birmuddeti muvakkate için, dul kalan zevcesine, Bergamanın muhterem belediyesinin, muavenetini celp idiniz, Bu hushsta azamî gayretinizi beklemekteyim efendim.*³⁰⁸

This excerpt gives clues about the dynamics of employment within archaeological sites at the time and the personal nature of work conducted at the site. A work history of 35 years conveys a very close relationship with the site and implies that the guard was someone from the local community. Furthermore, the fact that Aziz Ogan's suggestion for the new post to be given to the former guard's son shows how the role of the guard in archaeological sites could be entrusted to the same family.

³⁰⁶ Osman Feyzi, 'Bergama Müzesi Müdürü Tarafından Asarı Atika Müfettişi'ne Mektup', 10 February 1929, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center Aziz Ogan Koleksiyonu, <http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/6844>.

³⁰⁷ Osman Feyzi and Aziz Ogan, 'Asarı Atika Müfettişi ve Bergama Müze Müdürü Arasında Yazışma', 24 February 1929, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center Aziz Ogan Koleksiyonu, <http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/6845>.

³⁰⁸ Feyzi and Ogan. Since the letter was written in February, 1929, only a few months after the Turkish Republic adopted the Latin script in place of Arabic on November 1st, 1928, the orthography and spelling of Turkish in the Latin alphabet was not yet fully formalized. The transcription here follows the original text in the document without any correction.

There is additional information regarding guards and their employment within the Aziz Ogan collection. For instance, a report authored by the Bergama Museum director Osman Feyzi (Bayatlı) and sent to the Izmir General Inspectorship of Antiquities (*Izmir Asar-ı Atika U.[mum] Müfettişliğine*) reveals the daily workings of the museum and the obstacles that they needed to overcome at the archaeological site. Grouped under nine entries, the report mentions the new developments of a burglary from the cabinet of “*M.Veygand*” (Theodor Wiegand, the German archaeologist who directed the excavations in Miletus and Didyma but also oversaw excavations in Turkey as part of his directorship in the Berlin Museums), the newly assigned places for the guards, the herds of animals which damaged the ruins, the work undertaken within the site, and a guard who was caught carrying bricks from the ancient site to his house.³⁰⁹ The report was attached to a photo taken in a studio depicting the four guards in uniforms that were employed for the protection of the ancient site, lined up by height (Figure 26).³¹⁰

Reports by Aziz Ogan further demonstrate that the work performance of the guards was closely inspected. In cases where guards were not doing their job properly, there were consequences as the quote below shows:

I have inspected the guards of the Ephesus ruins which is the most important site of its environs and receive many visitors. I found the guards flagging in fulfilling their duties. Based on the regulations on the Ancient Ruins and the guards, unless they improve their ways, I humbly request and confirm the implementation of the following:

- 1 - Cancellation of six days of pay as punishment on account of Mehmet Ali Ağa not preventing the coachmen from Selçuk who came to the ruins to collect stones,
- 2 - Cancellation of four days of pay as punishment on account of Hüseyin Çavuş not being present neither at the ruin nor at the station, in both of my visits to Selçuk in the last 15 days, when he was supposed to meet the visitors and take them to the ruins

Mıntakanın en mühim ve ziyaretçileri çok olan Efes harabelerinin bekçilerini vazifelerinde gevşek gördüğüm cihetle islâhı hal etmedikleri takdirde = Asariatika ve harabe bekçilerine ait talimatname= nin sekizinci maddesi tatbik olunmak üzere

1 – Mehmet Ali ağanın, harabe dahiline taş toplamağa gelen Selçuklu arabacılara mümanaat etmediği cihetle cezaen 6 altı günlük yevmiyesinin kat'ı

2 – Onbeş gün zarfında Selçuk'a iki defa vukubulan seyahatımda Hüseyin çavuşu istasyonda zairleri karşılamak ve harabeye götürmek lâzımgelirken ne istasyonda venede harabe içinde

³⁰⁹ Osman Feyzi, 'Bergama Müzesi Müdürü Tarafından Asarı Atika Müfettişi'ne Mektup', 23 February 1929, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center Aziz Ogan Koleksiyonu, <http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/6848>.

³¹⁰ Feyzi.

görmedigimden tekerrüründe vazifesinden çıkarılmak üzere bu defa cezaen yalnız dört yevmiyesinin kat'ı

3 – Bekçi Murad ağanın talimatnamenin beşinci maddesi hilâfına olarak müsaade istihsâl etmeden iki günden fazla Selçuktan gaybubet ettiğiinden bu defalık yalnız üç yevmiyesinin kat'ı muvafık olacaktır. İzmir Maarif idaresi bordurolarına dahil olmalarına nazaran bu bapta Maarif Müdiriyetine tebliğat icrasını reca ve teyidi hürmet eylerim efendim.

*Müfettiş*³¹¹

The correspondence between the Izmir General Inspectorship of Antiquities and several administrators at different excavation sites also reveals how many guards were employed for each site and how much their salary was. Based on a letter sent to the Izmir Inspectorship of Antiquities, the number of guards allocated to each site and their salaries were as follows:

- 1 guard at Nyse (Nysa, Aydın) for 30 lira per month
- 3 guards at Bergama (Pergamon, Izmir), one for 35 per month, two for 30 per month
- 2 guards at Ayasluk-Efes (Ephesus, Izmir), one for 35 per month, one for 30 per month
- 1 guard at Değirmendere-Nosiyon (Notion, Izmir) for 30 lira per month
- 1 guard at Didima (Didyma, Aydın) for 30 lira per month
- 1 guard at Priyen (Priene, Aydın) for 30 lira per month
- 1 guard at Gire-Afrodisiya (Aphrodisias, Aydın) for 30 lira per month
- 2 guards at Milet (Miletus, Aydın), one for 35 lira per month, one for 30 lira per month³¹²

4.2.5 Workers in the Field

Workers constitute the main labour force in archaeological fieldwork in Turkey. Yet, as mentioned in the previous chapter, their presence in the archaeological archives or historiography of archaeology is almost non-existent, with the exception of a few wage slips and correspondence. While it is common to mention the name of each member of the archaeological project team in the *KST* reports, there are not any reports which name the workers individually.³¹³ A similar trend of excluding recognition of individual workers in the archaeological team was also observed in the oral history interviews. When asked about the number of people working in their projects, several excavation directors did not include the number of workers in their immediate answers. In this sense,

³¹¹ Aziz Ogan, 'Asarı Atika Müfettişi'nden İzmir Maarif Eminliği'ne Mektup', 10 April 1930, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center Aziz Ogan Koleksiyonu, <http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/6851>.

³¹² Ogan.

³¹³ Personal communication with N. Pinar Özgüner, 2018.

participants in the field know about workers in archaeological projects but they are often taken for granted.

Given the lack of archival documents and heterogeneity of archaeological projects in Turkey, it is indeed hard to generalize about the labour economy of the workers. However, it is possible to determine some characteristics concerning the nature of the labour and demography of workers in archaeological excavations. As aforementioned the scope of this chapter is limited by the excavation and restoration work carried out in archaeological projects and does not include archaeological surveys.

Interviews with over 30 directors of excavations in Turkey revealed that the nature of labour and particularly workers have been quite heterogeneous, and there are particularities based on the project and the region. It is nevertheless possible to put the workers involved in loose categories based on the nature of the labour involved as well as demography.

4.2.5.1 Long-term, Recurring, and Skilled Workers

A common feature of long-term archaeological projects, especially those run by non-Turkish archaeological teams, are the skilled local workers who consistently partake in the excavations. Based on the interviews, archaeological sites such as Aphrodisias, Pergamon, Sagalassos, Sardis, Miletus, and Ephesus have had workers participating over a long period of time. In addition to these sites, long-term excavations with Turkish directors like Bayraklı-Old Smyrna and Phokaia also had returning workers who participated in the excavation for extended periods of time. However, this was not the case in Magnesia am Meander—another long-term Turkish-run archaeological excavation-- which has had trouble finding workers to join the excavations each year.

While a series of oral history interviews with scholars who have had extensive experience of archaeological work in Turkey revealed a nuanced landscape of labour in the field, Inge Uytterhoeven, associate professor of archaeology at Koç University, who has been conducting research on Sagalassos over twenty years, gave clues for a blueprint of labour management in an archaeological site:

We have several trenches, let's say, excavation areas, and there is always a site supervisor, and he or she has then one or two assistants. Mostly it is one Turkish student and one Belgian student and then there are six or seven workers.

MKB: This is for each trench?

This is for each trench. Workers also have a hierarchical organization. You have the "Chef" and you have the workers, and then one "Super Chef". It is the one who works already the longest time on the excavation from the very beginning.

MKB: Do you still have that kind of worker?

A lot of them are still the same. Several of the ones who were in that time workers now became chefs. Because the composition of the team changed very much, when I was there the first six-seven years, let's say, the average age of the workers were much higher, older people, in their 50s-60s even. My first chef was really a man of certain age. And then once these people got retired, there was a new regulation I think at a certain moment that retired people could not work any longer on the excavations, and then in one year, all chefs were replaced because they were more or less of the same age. My chefs were my age, let's say, and then the workers became also younger and we have now students.³¹⁴

Reflecting on his excavation experience in Sardis, Christopher Ratté, now a professor of archaeology at the University of Michigan, elaborated:

Over the years, I formed a friendship with one of the older guys. His name was Mehmet and he had been working for the dig for long time. He had been briefly the *çavuş* – the foreman – that apparently didn't work out so well. I worked at Sardis for a long time, twenty years, and then the second period I was mainly working by myself on the slopes of the acropolis so I was separate from the most of the team. Mehmet *Çavuş*, as we called him, then became the sort of *çavuş* for my relatively small group. He and I became friends and he would invite me to his garden, I would go and drink tea with him in his garden, he had this garden on the banks of the Paktolus River, it was quite lovely, he kept bees there, he had beehives there, he grew all sorts of vegetables, he pumped water out of the Paktolus River so it was well irrigated. We would have a tea break at 10 o'clock every morning. There was one other person working those days on the slopes of the Acropolis, Chris Simon, and two of us would meet for tea so I would bring a thermos, I would go and meet Chris for tea and then come back. I often forgot the thermos at lunch time and, one time I went to get the thermos and Mehmet *Çavuş* said "leave the thermos" because there was often tea leftover in the thermos and he showed me he had a jar of sugar. So he started to bring his own sugar to drink with the leftover tea. After that I would always make sure that there was tea for him. One time, at the end of the season, I said "what can I bring you from America?" and he said he wanted just that kind of thermos, these green Stanley thermoses.

MKB: Now you can buy them here.

CR: Now you can buy them here? Yes.

³¹⁴ Uytterhoeven, Inge Uytterhoeven Oral History Interview, 06:00-07:53.

He was the person to whom I felt the closest connection in Sardis. He was an interesting guy, he had a way with animals, he had an appreciation for the landscape.³¹⁵

Ratté's memory of his relationship with his foreman attests that the workers who participate in excavations for longer terms form an informal bond with the members of the archaeological team despite cultural and lingual barriers. Upon asking whether there were specific families in the area who participated in the excavation for longer terms, Christopher Ratté further commented:

There is one family, for example, two brothers, one called Muammer, the other called Durmuş. When I was there Muammer was working at the house, Durmuş was working at the excavation. Now Durmuş has become a guard. There is another family, whose name is Keskin, other brothers, still working there.³¹⁶

Interviews with participants from archaeological projects in Aphrodisias³¹⁷, Sardis³¹⁸, Sagalassos³¹⁹, and Pergamon³²⁰ revealed a strong correlation between long-term workers in archaeological projects and the architectural restoration and conservation work that an archaeological project includes. All four places mentioned have a history of restoration work which requires skilled work over longer periods of time. Most of the recurring workers in those projects are also people who have gone through skill training specially in conservation work and who eventually became members of the project. There are even cases where a group of skilled workers in architectural conservation work are employed in another site based on their skill set.³²¹

Gerhard Paul, the restoration architect who has been a member of the restoration team and come to Aphrodisias since the early 1990s, elaborated on this experience with restoration workers and their training:

³¹⁵ Christopher Ratté, Christopher Ratté Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 25 July 2018, 18:51-21:43, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³¹⁶ Ratté, 26:00-26:45.

³¹⁷ Smith, R. R. R. Smith Oral History Interview.

³¹⁸ Nicholas D. Cahill, Nicholas D. Cahill Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 29 July 2018, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³¹⁹ Waelkens, Marc Waelkens Oral History Interview.

³²⁰ Pirson, Felix Pirson Oral History Interview.

³²¹ Şimşek, Celal Şimşek Oral History Interview.

We have a team of restoration workers now, between 12-18 really good trained restoration workers. Three of them started with me at the Tetracylon so they are also working since more than 30 years now in this restoration. And this makes things much easier. They are farmers then we trained them, [unclear], now they also work also out of season to do other works different than farming, they are construction workers, they go to sites, because they know a lot of things. So, it is from both sides really really good. We try to find, every year, young people but we have the problem with all the youngsters who come and usually are gone in one or two years because they go to the military and it is not too easy for them to come back, it is only a four-months job.³²²

Felix Pirson, the current director of the Pergamon Archaeological Excavations, started participating in the excavations in the early 1990s and was able to provide a chronological comparison on the changing dynamics of the workforce and employment of workers from the local community. Felix Pirson remarked:

In earlier times, in the 90s, the workforce was much bigger. This had two reasons. On the one hand, at this time, the work was cheaper in Turkey, on the other hand is that archaeology worked differently, there were much more large-scale excavation, excavation was quicker. But if you look at the history of archaeology also at particular sites, I mean, in the early 20th century, they had workforce of 150 workers. When I started in the early 90s, it was at the excavation, I think maximum 60-70 workers, and now in a normal campaign, I would say just for the excavation work, we would have 14-15 workers like that, because it is becoming more and more clear that excavation itself is destruction and therefore, you have to back this up with lots of documentation, and so numbers have changed and also in the conservation work, that is the second biggest part also concerning budget and money of our project here it is conservation. There are also the tendencies go to the direction less untrained workers, *düz işçi*, but more stonemasons, and really skilled workers, so *taşçıs* and *ustas*, so the workforce is getting smaller but more specialized then of course it is getting more and more difficult to find this seasonal work.³²³

Another perspective regarding the long-term employment of workers in the excavations and the particular criteria for selection of workers came from Christoph Berns, the director of Miletus Excavations, in the interview conducted on September 23, 2017:

There are workers, that worked with us, for us, for years now, for generations sometimes, and we try to employ them every year, they are [unclear] experienced. This is what every excavation director will tell you, they know better than us, of course I mean, they live here, they know the earth, they know better than us we how it changes, so on.

MKB: Are they coming from the neighbouring village?

Yes, all the workers come from Balat.

³²² Paul, Gerhard Paul Oral History Interview, 15:43-17:00.

³²³ Pirson, Felix Pirson Oral History Interview, 23:40-27:00.

MKB: So nobody comes from Akköy?

No, but the cook comes from Akköy, don't ask me why, it is one of the traditions I don't know how this tradition came to be but it's like this for generations.³²⁴

4.2.5.2 *Short-term Workers*

While the need for workers at excavations is a fairly common requirement, some archaeological projects have had problems regarding the demand for work among the local communities as new opportunities for work have developed in certain regions. This problem resulted in an influx of temporary workers within the project who left the excavation after a single season—a less than ideal situation for the excavation management who preferred to have a team of experienced workers who were familiar with the basics of archaeological excavation techniques and methods and could provide continuity from season to season.

The interviews conducted for this thesis reveal that the geography and demographics of the place where the project was located are the primary reasons that shaped the demand for work in an excavation. For instance, Yaşar Ersoy, the director of excavations at Klazomenai in Izmir, stated that they have a hard time finding workers for the excavations since the local community, particularly the younger people living around the site have other opportunities of work, mainly tourism, since the archaeological site is located within Urla, a growing and popular resort town along the Aegean coast.³²⁵ A similar situation was described by Musa Kadioğlu, the director of the Teos Excavations, where he said that the majority of the young people around the site would usually prefer work in tourism as Teos is located also on the Aegean coast where there are a number of hotels.³²⁶

As the director of the Heirapolis excavations which has become one of the most visited touristic sites in Turkey, Francesco D'Andria witnessed personally the changing nature of the demand for work in the excavation. During 1970s when he first started working on

³²⁴ Berns, Christof Berns Oral History Interview-1, 09:24-10:26.

³²⁵ Yaşar Ersoy and Elif Koparal, Yaşar Ersoy-Elif Koparal Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 30 July 2018, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³²⁶ Musa Kadioğlu, Musa Kadioğlu Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A-Audio, 22 August 2017, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

the site, he stated that the area was not yet open to mass-tourism and people would travel often on foot from the local villages to partake in the excavation.³²⁷ Throughout the years as the mass-tourism took over the area, the demand for work in the excavation diminished. Reflecting on his fieldwork experience in Hierapolis, Francesco D'Andria elaborated:

Yes, it changed much very much. Because, at the beginning we were the only foreign people living in the village of Pamukkale. So at that period, they all considered us foreign people but from the village. There was a much [unclear] interaction with the village. For example, we were invited to the wedding feast to see the houses of our workmen. The workmen came from Pamukkale the villages, so it was a very strict change. Now it is different because Hierapolis/Pamukkale is a very touristic center so in my opinion, the village, there is not the same perception of the foreign/Italian people. Because it is full of foreign people, so the situation is different. We have entire generations of families who came and started to work with Prof. Verzone, the sons work with us now.

MKB: Is it more common for them to work here or always a certain, particular families that work here?

Particular families for example, the general organization is Kadir, and the father of Kadir was also the general organization of the mission at the time of Prof. Verzone. There are some families traditionally linked to the mission and we take every time. These years, it is a little bit different because it is difficult to find workmen. Because they work outside in the field for agriculture, but this problem is also same for Celal Şimşek, for Tripolis, there are big activities, public works, first time we had difficulty to find workmen so it is changing. But Denizli is a very important industrial center so they go to work or in agriculture or in the industries.³²⁸

Regarding the difficulties of employing workers for long-term periods and the continuity of excavations team members, Orhan Bingöl, professor of archaeology at Karabük University and director of the archaeological excavations at Magnesia on the Meander, remarked:

So we expanded the campus. The visitors were jealous. They said that they didn't have such a campus. We are happy here. Our working environment is good. A continuous team to work will increase the productivity of the campus. I hope that too will happen one day. But right now, you hire an architect for a month, then you can't find one the second month, unfortunately. That is Turkey's big problem — institutionalization — we cannot institutionalize. You start something but you cannot execute it. It's not just one person's job, but the team — the permanent and continuous team — will do these jobs. This applies to all jobs.

MKB: Do the workers usually come from this village? Do they have continuity?

³²⁷ Francesco D'Andria, Francesco D'Andria Oral History Interview-2, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 25 August 2017, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³²⁸ D'Andria, 25:36-29:00.

They don't have it either. Very few of them come from this village. They come from another village. That is also a big problem. First of all, as this olive and fig period approaches, everyone has something to work on, even if it is small. Everyone leaves for their own business. There were 5-6 people on the field today. We do not have the means to employ many people anyway. But let's say we started with 10-12 people, now it has gone down to 4 or 5. It will probably go down further in two or three days. There is no continuity with them either.

MKB: Was it like this in the past too?

It has been like this for a while. In the beginning, we worked only with workers from here. At that time, maybe the locals had gardens and such, so we could not find anyone. We would only have a 5-person excavation team and 2 workers.

Böylece kampüsü genişlettik, gelenler kısılanıyor yani, böyle kampüs bizimkilerde yok diyorlar. Muthuyuz burda o bakımdan çalışma ortamımız iyi de, çalışacak ekibin de devamlı olması burda kampüsün üretkenliğini artıracak, inşallah günün birinde onlar da olur. Ama şu anda, bir ay bir mimar getiriyorsun, ikinci ay bulamıyorsun, ne yazık ki. Türkiye'nin büyük problemi odur—kurumlaşma—kurumlaşmıyoruz. Başlıyorsunuz bir şeyler yapmaya ama yürütemiyorsunuz. Tek kişinin yapacağı iş değil, ekip—sağlam kalıcı sürekli ekip—bu işleri yapacak. Bütün işlerde böyle.

MKB: İşçiler genelde bu köyden mi oluyor ya da onlarda bir süreklilik oluyor mu?

Onlarda da olmuyor. Bu köyden çok az, başka bir köyden geliyorlar fakat o da büyük problem, öncelikle bu zeytin, incir dönemi yaklaştıkça geldikçe, herkesin ufak da olsa bir şeyleri var, herkes kendi işine gitmek için ayrılıyor. İşte bugün sahada 5-6 kişi vardı. Zaten fazla da istihdam edebilecek durumumuz yok. Ama 10-12 kişi ile başladık diyelim, şimdi 4'e 5'e iniyor, iki üç gün sonra daha da azalır. Bir süreklilik onda da yok.

MKB Eskiden de mi böyleydi?

Eskiden beri böyle. Başlangıçta sadece buranın işçisiyle çalışıyorduk. O zaman buradaki, burda yaşayanların belki bahçeleri falan fazla mıydı neydi, hiç bulamazdık o zaman, biz 5 kişi kazı ekibi, 2 tane işçi gelirdi.³²⁹

4.2.5.3 Prisoner Workers

One of the most intriguing stories that came out of the history of labour in archaeological practice in Turkey is the employment of prisoners in the excavations. This practice appears to have first started in Ekrem Akurgal's excavations in western Turkey in the 1950s, particularly in Phokia where there is semi-open prison, as both Ömer Özyiğit³³⁰ and Meral Akurgal³³¹ stated, and this practice continued to be in use in later years in

³²⁹ Orhan Bingöl, Orhan Bingöl Oral History Interview-2, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 16 August 2018, 16:45-19:03, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³³⁰ Özyiğit, Ömer Özyiğit Oral History Interview.

³³¹ Akurgal, Meral Akurgal Oral History Interview.

Akurgal's excavations in Old Smyrna, Izmir. Reflecting on her experience in the excavations in Old Smyrna, Tomris Bakır elaborated in detail regarding her encounter with a certain convict:

One year, I remember very well, prisoners from Foça Prison came to work with us. They camped in the excavation ground right by side with the accompanying prison guards.

MKB: Wasn't this in Pitane?

No, in Bayraklı. It was very interesting, murderers, thieves, etc., and us. We were young students and we were responsible for guiding them. They did the digging and we watched over them. There was one notorious prisoner among them. They called him the Afyon monster, what was the man's name, was it Ayhan? I think it was Ayhan. He had murdered a lot of people from his family. He came to me one day and said "Sister look, if someone here bothers you, you should tell me immediately, I am sentenced for life anyway, so I can take care of it." I said "Oh, Ayhan, do not do anything like that" or something like that, we had such friendly relations with them. This wasn't the case with regular workers, but we had such good relations with the prisoners. They used to tell their troubles to us and keep digging at the same time.

One had a very painful tooth one day, I took him to a dentist in Karşıyaka who was a family acquaintance of mine. We caught a taxi, but I did not inform the prison guard, the inexperience of the youth I guess, I wouldn't not do it now, anyway, we had his tooth treated. Suddenly all hell broke loose when someone told what I did to Ekrem Akurgal. He called me that evening, he said "What did you do, are you crazy? If this man ran away from your side, you would be responsible. What if he did something to you?" We had such experiences with the prisoners. But they came to the excavation only for one year, it did not happen again, ordinary workers were employed from then on.

Bir yıl mesela çok iyi hatırlıyorum onu. Foça Açık Cezaevi'nden mahkumları çalıştırdık. Onlar gelip kamp kurdular başlarında gardiyanları hemen kazı alanının yanında--

MKB: Bu Pitane'de değil mi?

Hayır, Bayraklı'da. Ondan sonra çok enteresandı sosyal açıdan enteresandı katiller hırsızlar koca koca adamlar, biz de böyle genç öğrenciler onların basında duruyoruz biz onlarla, onlar kazı yapıyor, biz de onları işte izliyoruz, hatta içlerinde bir tane Afyon canavarı dedikleri birisi vardı, neydi adamın adı, Ayhan mıydı Ayhan'dı galiba, ondan sonra ben şeyde açmada çalışıyor iyi yarı bir adam böyle aileden bir sürü insanı öldürmüş hapiste bir gün geldi bir şey oldu abla dedi bak dedi sana dedi bir yan bakan olsun dedi hemen bana söyleyeceksin dedi ben nasıl olsa müebbetim dedi bir şey olmaz dedi hallederim aman Ayhan yapma falan filan böyle yanı onlarla biz böyle son derece insani ilişkilere girdik diğer normal işçilerle olmuyordu ama bu mahkumlarla çok insani hümanist açıdan böyle ilişkilere girdik işte dertlerini anlatıyorlardı hem kazı yapıyorlar hem bize böyle biraz gençliğin verdiği şeyle açıyoduk onlara.

Hatta bir tanesinin bir gün dişi çok ağrıyordu ben aldım onu Karşıyaka'da bizim bir aile tanıdığımız vardı diş hekimi ona götürdüm taksiye bindik ben yanımda mahkum gardiyana

da haber vermedik gençliğin tecrübesizliği yani şimdi olsa yapmam herhalde neyse işte dışını tedavi etti tekrar getirdim bunu hocaya söylemişler Ekrem Akurgal'a böyle böyle bir işçiyi götürdü diye o akşam kıyamet koptu beni çağırdı hoca sen dedi nasıl bir iş yaptın böyle dedi deli misin dedi bu adam kaçsa senin yanından olabilir tabi mahkum çünkü bütün sorumlusu sen olacaktın ya sana bir kötülük yapsa ay yapmaz hocam diyorum ne yapsın benle çalışıyor falan böyle de şeyler yaşadık neyse o bir seneydi bir daha olmadı mahkumlar normal işçiler geldi.³³²

The employment of convicts in the excavations served possibly two ends. One would undeniably be the economic advantage that comes from nearly-free labour that the convicts contributed to the projects. On a perhaps more socially-minded perspective, it can also function as a way to prepare and integrate prisoners into civic life as seen in other countries.³³³ However, in the case of the story mentioned above, it appears that there were even prisoners with life-sentences who worked at the excavation so the economic advantage seems to be the main factor.

4.2.5.4 Migrant Workers

In most cases, workers in the archaeological excavations come from the closest or neighbouring settlements around the excavation area. However, in an interview with Hadi Özbal, emeritus professor of chemistry at Boğaziçi University, he mentioned that at the Barcın Höyük archaeological project, migrant workers from other regions were employed in the archaeological project.³³⁴ The Barcın Höyük, an archaeological mound of an early farming community dated to seventh millennium BCE, is located approximately 5 km west of Yenişehir, Bursa. While the site has been mentioned by James Mellart and David French in their works, and was also included in Mehmet Özdoğan's surveys in the 1980s, the excavation work was initiated in 2005 by Jacob Roodenberg in cooperation with the Iznik Museum. Between 2007 and 2016, the project was led by Fokke Gerritsen of the Netherlands Institute in Turkey and Rana Özbal of Koç University.³³⁵ As a participant in the excavation project of Barcın Höyük for his own research, Hadi Özbal took further roles in the logistics and management of the archaeological fieldwork. In the interview, he explained the process of how he employed the workforce in the excavation:

³³² Bakır, Tomris Bakır Oral History Interview, 13:17-16:21.

³³³ I would like to thank Inge Uytterhoeven who informed me about ex-prisoners in Belgium who were employed in archaeological excavations.

³³⁴ Hadi Özbal, Hadi Özbal Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 18 July 2018, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³³⁵ 'Barcın Höyük Excavations', 21 May 2021, <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/projects/barc-n-hoyuk-excavations>.

Before we arrived, the excavation was carried out by Roodenberg, a Dutch archaeologist, we took over from him. We talked with them on how they conducted the excavation work. Their recommendation was that they were bringing in high school students from the schools around the vicinity in Yenişehir. We employed them for a year, students completed a kind of internship. And if you want to hire workers within Yenişehir, there are places that they gather, you go there. We saw that the local workers were more than us, since the area is a wealthy one, people generally work in their own fields, they do not tend to want and come to carry out the kind of work in your excavation. We met a çavuş there, in one of those bazaar areas. This person was bringing about 20 to 50 workers from Urfa or Diyarbakır as temporary workers every summer.

Biz oraya gitmezden önce o daha önce Roodenberg bir Hollandalı arkeoloğun kazısıydı biz onlardan devraldık. Onlarla konuştuk, siz nasıl yapıyorsunuz kazıyı filan diye, onların bize önerisi işte lise öğrencilerini getiriyoruz gibi bir şeydi. Çevredeki okullardaki Yenişehir'deki lise öğrencilerini, bir sene onları kullandık, staj gibi bir şey yaptılar. Ve oradaki yerel işte yine Yenişehir'in içerisinde belli işçi tutmak istiyorsanız, onların biriktiği toplandığı yerler var, oralara gidiyorsunuz. Ve biz gördük ki yerel--oradaki işçiler tabi yerel--bizden daha fazla, yani onların orası zengin bir bölge aynı zamanda, kendi tarlalarında çalışıyor insanlar, pek öyle gelip sizin oradaki çalışmanızı yapabilecek, yapmak isteyecek niyette değiller. Ama biz orda bir çavuşla tanıştık. Gene o pazar yerlerinde...Bu kişi çeşitli şeylerle, Urfa'dan ya da Diyarbakır'dan genellikle her yaz 30 tane, 20 tane, 50 tane, işçiyi buraya getirir geçici işçi olarak.³³⁶

When asked about the living conditions of the migrant workers who participated in the excavation, Hadi Özbal further elaborated:

The local municipality there sets up a settlement of tent just around the site where the workers stay. This was near our excavation site. As I said, our workers are only the fraction of the total. The majority of them work in the agricultural field mainly dealing with watering, reaping, etc. It is not possible to manage anything without them there. Our positive attitude towards the workers there, none of the workers who were temporarily hired there had social security, they would not do it, would they give social security to the person who would come to your garden do the watering? It needs to be done but they won't do it. We, as an excavation of the Ministry, would be under [unclear] if there would be any accidents of sorts. Of course, it is also advantageous for the workers to have social security. For many of them, it is the first time that they have social security. They are brought there by their çavuş around April-May, they stay there until September-October, living in the tents, some of them with their families. We used to create a very positive working environment. The workers do speak Turkish but they are predominantly of Kurdish origin. While there were no obvious frictions, the various local owners of shops and fields around the vicinity may look down on the workers and say derogatory terms when the talk was about the workers, such as, they talk in tongues. However, they also know very well that, without the workers, they would not be able to manage anything. We get along well with both the temporary workers and the local field workers, we did in the past as well. Throughout the excavations, there were no disagreements and frictions. We worked with them shoulder to shoulder for 2 months every summer for 10 years.

³³⁶ Özbal, Hadi Özbal Oral History Interview, 1:08:47-1:13:42.

Onlara, o bölgede oranın yerel belediyesi, onlara çadırkentler yapıyor. Hemen etrafında çadırkentler var, çadırkentlerde kalıyorlar. Bizim kazıya yakın yerde, ama dediğim gibi bizim gelenlerin yani çok az bir kısmı. Büyük kısmı tarım alanında sulamaydı, toplamaydı, ekim-dikim onları çapalamaydı, oralara gidiyorlar ve onlar olmadan zaten orda hiçbir şey yönetmek mümkün değil ve bizim işte oradaki onlara da biz gayet olumlu yaklaşımımız oradaki işçilere, hiç birisinin orda yerel şekilde kiralanmış şekilde çalışanların sigortası yok, yapmazlar, bahçene gelecek sulayacak bir adama sigortayı yapar mı? Yapılması gerekiyor ama yapılmaz ama biz tabi Bakanlık'ın bir kazısı olması nedeninden dolayı da biz orda bir kaza olsa [anlaşılmıyor] şey altında kalırız. Ve tabi sigortalı olmaları da onlara, çoğu ilk defa sigorta oluyor, o da onların işine geliyor ve onların çavuşları bu insanları getiriyor, işte Nisan-Mayıs gibi, Eylül-Ekim sonuna kadar burada kalıyorlar, çadırlarda yaşıyorlar, bir kısmı aileleri ile geliyor. Ve burada gayet olumlu bir çalışma ortamı yaratıyorduk. Ve bunlara, tabi Türkçe konuşuyorlar ama önemli bir kısmı Kürt kökenli vatandaşlar, ve maalesef çevredeki arazi sahipleri ve şehirdeki çeşitli esnaf, maalesef pek olumlu yüzle yani pek herhangi bir sürtüşme söz konusu değil ama onlar söz konusu olunca falan, böyle biraz aşağılayıcı dilliyile laflar edebiliyorlar. Aman "cakkakcak" konuşuyorlar falan gibilerinden. Ama yani onlar olmadan zaten onlar da biliyorlar ki bu işleri sürdürmeleri mümkün değil. Ama biz oradaki bu genel geçici işçilerle ve tarım işçileriyle de iyi anlaşıyoruz, anlaştık. Bütün kazı boyunca bir sürtüşme ya da anlaşamama diye bir olay olmadı. Biz 10 sene her yaz 2 ay onlarla beraber omuz omuza çalıştık.³³⁷

Here Özbal draws a landscape of labour where migrant workers travel to the other side of the country to find work without much hope for social security and decent living conditions on top of which they are experiencing racial discrimination and harassment. In this context, working in the excavation was a superior alternative with better wages, social security, and a more hospitable environment.

While there were unskilled labourers who partook in the archaeological work in the case of Barcınhöyük, another group of workers mentioned before, skilled workmen who specialized in masonry and had a role in architectural restoration and conservation in mostly long-term excavations could also be categorized as migrant workers who travel to other cities for work.³³⁸ For instance, this group would include stonemasons from Kayseri who worked in the architectural anastylosis project at the Antonine Nymphaeum at Sagalassos.³³⁹

³³⁷ Özbal, 1:08:47-1:13:42.

³³⁸ Şimşek, Celal Şimşek Oral History Interview.

³³⁹ Inge Uyterhoeven, private communication, 2021.

4.2.5.5 *Women Workers*

The presence of the women workers in the archaeological work force has been relatively limited compared to their male counterparts in this workforce. Women labourers have been mainly employed in the excavation to conduct household work and pottery washing. However, the landscape of labour has been changing in a way that more women now are involved in archaeological labour in the field. However, the evidence of women workers' participation in archaeological field sites is at best patchy and only glimpses of labour landscapes where women were involved can be extracted from the documents as well as the interviews.

While working as the field director in Aphrodisias Excavations, Christopher Ratté remember a particular incident where women workers had a role in manual labour in the field:

The Museum would hire people to clean the site. And one time they hired some, there is a village near Karacasu, that is the main town in the valley of Aphrodisias, called Alemler, and it is an *Alevi* village, one time the museum hired people in this village. And all these women came to do all the same kinds of work, brush and *orak*. That was the first I ever saw women doing manual labour in Aphrodisias, and the last time, too.³⁴⁰

The involvement of women in the archaeological work seems to continue within the context of Aphrodisias in the recent years. Regarding the role women workers have taken in the excavation, Bert Smith, the director of excavations at Aphrodisias, commented:

In the last two years, we have been employing women, yes. We have, I think, 3 or 4 women at the moment.

MKB: What do they do?

Excavation, excavating on the trenches, they're very good at cleaning very precisely the wall collapses, brick collapses, they're very good at trailing at the very sensitive archaeology, also excellent at cleaning very precise areas. We employed them last year for cleaning the bottom of the pool.

MKB: Was it a particular choice to employ women?

No, I think they came and asked for work.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Ratté, Christopher Ratté Oral History Interview, 48:00-48:55.

³⁴¹ Smith, R. R. R. Smith Oral History Interview, 18:04-18:50.

This suggests that participation of women in labour in archaeological projects could depend on several factors including the demography of particular regions where the excavations take place. This is also the case in Aşıklıhöyük, an archaeological site located in central Turkey near the Cappadocia region. Mihriban Özbaşaran, who is now the director of excavations on the site, elaborated on the involvement of women at the site and the particular reasons behind it:

For example, the son of our retired watchman, the person I started working with during the first excavation season in 1989. Not all of these workers came every year to the excavation, of course, because after all, they go to other cities to earn money. I am not exactly sure but about 60 to 70 percent of the villagers were insured workers of the excavations in Aşıklıhöyük.

MKB: What other sources of livelihood are there?

There was a village full of painters. The men of the village used to go to Ankara, Istanbul, to other cities and abroad to paint buildings. That was why there were not many men left in the village, so towards the end we were mainly working with women of the village.

Many went to France or Russia or other Turkic republics, so we started hiring women. It was great because it was a prehistoric dig and as you know most of the work was cleaning, it had to be cleaned very precisely so that we could see the *kerpiç*. Women were very good at this job. I taught how to sweep to 18-19 year-old kids, like how you begin from the corner and continue backwards without stepping on it... I later realized that me teaching them was totally unnecessary since they already knew what to do. If someone stepped on the swept part, they would step in and warn them that the area had been swept and we would look for *kerpiç* there.

Şu dakikadaki mesela emekli olan bekçimizin oğlu 1989'da kendisiyle birlikte, ilk kazı sezonunda çalışmaya başladığım kişi. Hepsi her sene gelmiyor tabi çünkü sonuçta para kazanmak için yaptıkları iş bağlamında baska şehirlere filan da gidiyorlar. Ama köyde oturanların aşağı yukarı doğru mudur tam bilemeyeceğim ama yüzde 60 70'i neredeyse sigortalıdır ve sigortalarını da Aşıklıhöyük'teki kazılar vasıtasıyla elde etmiştir.

MKB: Başka ne gibi geçim kaynakları var?

Boyacı bir koy yani boyaya gidiyorlar. Bütün İstanbul Ankara büyükşehirler ve yurtdışına badana boya yapmaya gidiyorlar. Dolayısıyla ilk senelerde öyle değildi ama şimdilerde köyde erkek yok denilecek kadar az biz de kadınlarla birlikte çalışmaya başladık son senelerde

Başka şehirlere yani yurtdışına giden de çok Fransa ya Rusya ya işte o Türkiye Cumhuriyetlere falan oralara giden çok var onun için de hakaten çok az erkek var Kadınlarla işte dediğim gibi çalışmaya başladık müthiş memnunuz çünkü yani prehistorik kazıyı biliyorsunuz işte varsa yoksa temizlik başka türlü kerpici göremiyorsunuz tabanları göremiyorsunuz çok titizlikle ve çok temiz kazılması gerekiyor ve kadınlar müthiş başarılı çünkü temizlik yapmayı biliyorlar yani süpürmeyi biliyorlar mesela 18 19 yaşındaki çocuklara nasıl süpürülür onu öğretiyorum yani köşeden başlanır geri geri üstüne

*basılmadan geri geri gelinir diye kadınlara öyle bir şey öğretmeye hiç gerek yok zaten biliyorlar hatta süprülmüş yere geçen olursa basan olursa onun alıyor çekiyor orası yenin süpürüldü temizlendi kerpiç arayacağız orda diye*³⁴²

4.3 Conclusion

Regarding the discussion of the workforce within the historiography of archaeology, Zeynep Çelik wrote:

A chapter that has been conspicuously absent from histories of archaeology is the landscape of labor. Archaeological work always depended on a larger labor force drawn from local populations that could seasonally reach hundreds of workers every day (figure 5.1). While the relationship between archaeologists and fieldworkers was indispensable and intimate, it does not emerge either the contemporaneous accounts or in later scholarship, which features the former as the heroes of scientific discovery among a primitive human sea.³⁴³

The motivation behind the research questions of this chapter as well as the previous one focusing on the local communities was to fill the gap in the scholarship succinctly noted by Zeynep Çelik. By engaging with different kinds of documents and conducting a close reading of these and conducting numerous oral history interviews with different participants of several archaeological projects, this dissertation aims to provide a voice to a group of people who contributed greatly to archaeological projects through their labour but whose lives and contributions are often ignored and quite silent in the official tellings and academic scholarship about the excavations.

³⁴² Özbaşaran, Mihriban Özbaşaran Oral History Interview, 37:03-39:00.

³⁴³ Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*, 136.

CHAPTER 5: ACADEMIA AND EDUCATION

This chapter investigates the academic establishment of archaeology from its inception in the early Republican period until the early 2000s when archaeology departments in Turkey proliferated. This study is based on archival documents, autobiographies and biographies of scholars, institutional histories, *Festschrift* publications and oral history interviews. As prominent actors in the field of archaeology in Turkey, academics have shaped the field by both educating the next generations of archaeologists and designing and governing the fieldwork experience in archaeology. This chapter questions the issues of gender, social inclusion and professional exclusivity, hierarchy in schools and fieldwork, and spheres of influences in academia.

This chapter begins with a chronological sketch of archaeology departments in Turkey and gives an overview of its historical development. It then focuses on the Early Republican period when the first Turkish students were sent abroad to study archaeology and European scholars were invited to teach in Turkish universities. Based on archival materials as well as a close reading of biographies and autobiographies, this section traces the beginnings of archaeological education in Turkey, reconstructs the social and educational life of Turkish students in Europe, and their interactions with European scholars. The following section focuses on the issues of gender, social inclusion, and class in archaeological education in Turkey both in the school environment and the field. In ‘Network and Connections’, the interactions of the Turkish scholars and students with the outside world are investigated. In the last section, the professor-student relationships and particular schools of archaeology in the Turkish academia of archaeology are investigated using a social network analysis of Ekrem Akurgal’s student network.

5.1 A Brief Outline of Archaeological Education in Turkey

To put this chapter in a historical context, a brief synopsis of how archaeology departments in Turkey came into being is presented here. While there was a growing interest in archaeology in the late Ottoman period, it was only in the early Republican

period that archaeology became part of academic institutions with undergraduate and eventually graduate degrees. It was first Istanbul and Ankara Universities in the 1930s where archaeology was established as an academic field. The first archaeology department in Turkish university was established in 1933, in Istanbul University, the same year when *Darülfünun* was transformed into Istanbul University.³⁴⁴ The Turkish Archaeology Institute was also established in the same university under Helmuth Theodor Bossert, an emigre scholar who led the Hittite and Sumerian Studies departments until 1959.³⁴⁵ In Ankara, one could study archaeology only in the “*Dil-Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*” (Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography, or *DTCF*, as it is commonly known) in Ankara University. In 1962, the Institute of Archaeology was founded at Ege University, Izmir, which was incorporated into the Faculty of Social Sciences in 1976. Atatürk University in Erzurum established its archaeology department in 1979. Since the last two departments did not produce many graduates until 1980s, Ankara University and Istanbul University were still the big actors in the academia of archaeology.

Throughout the years, the academic organization of the archaeology profession has gone through several stages of reconfigurations particularly following the establishment of the Turkish Council of Higher Education after the military coup in 1980. With the proliferation of universities starting from the 1980s, there are now more than 40 archaeology departments dispersed around the country.³⁴⁶

5.2 A Personal History of Archaeology Education in Turkey

The development of archaeological education in Turkey from the early Republican period until the 2000s has been narrated in the literature based on, the same historical outline that is drawn in the previous section. While this historical narrative is not inaccurate, it does not include a personal dimension and has become a self-perpetuating story that glosses over actors who do not fit into the narrative. A closer look into the memoirs of archaeologists, archival materials such as the correspondences, and oral history

³⁴⁴ Oktay Belli, ed., *Türkiye Arkeolojisi ve İstanbul Üniversitesi (1932-1999)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2002).

³⁴⁵ Belli.

³⁴⁶ For the latest update on the archaeology departments, see <https://yokatlas.yok.gov.tr>

interviews uncovers actors and stories in the form of vignettes from different periods of the 20th century, that have been overlooked in the historiography.

5.2.1 *Turkish Students in Europe: Social Life, Education, and Cultural Interaction*

The early years of archaeological education in Turkey are shaped by two groups of people: European scholars who escaped the hostile political environment in Europe in the 1930s and came to work in Turkish universities, and the Turkish students who went to Europe to study and came back to teach as professors. In the historiography of the archaeological practice in Turkey, the period roughly between the late 1920s and early 1940s are given special attention; there is already a body of literature on this period particularly investigating the link between archaeology and nation-building practices and nationalism.³⁴⁷ Especially in the articles written by the archaeologists who studied under the first-generation of Turkish archaeologists like Arif Müfid Mansel, Ekrem Akurgal, and Halet Çambel, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk appears as the formative figure who shaped the archaeological discipline through his own initiatives in the early Republican period.³⁴⁸ While Atatürk's role is evident, the dynamics of how the establishment came into being requires further research. The emigré scholars in Turkish universities such as Helmuth Theodor Bossert from Istanbul University, Hans Gustav Güterbock, and Benno Landsberger of Ankara University, were the subject of an article by Murat Ergin, in which, he elaborates on these scholars' role among others in shaping the academic fields

³⁴⁷ Ergin, 'Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey'; Tanyeri-Erdemir, 'Archaeology as a Source of National Pride: Changing Discourses of Archaeological Knowledge Production in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic'; D. Burcu Erciyas, 'Ethnic Identity and Archaeology in the Black Sea Region of Turkey', *Antiquity* 79, no. 303 (2005): 179–90; Atakuman, 'Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic (1923–1938)'; Bihter Esener, 'The Making of Turkish Nation: Political Use of Archaeology for the Nation-State Building Project during the Early Republican Era in Turkey' (Master of Arts, Istanbul, Bilgi University, 2012); Özdemir, 'A History of Turkish Archaeology from the Nineteenth Century to the End of the One-Party Period'.

³⁴⁸ This is particularly the case in these articles; Mehmet Özdoğan, "Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey," in *Archaeology under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), 111–23; A. Coşkun Özgünel, "The Archaeology of the Turkish Republic and the School of Ekrem Akurgal," in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 137–46; Halûk Abbasoğlu, "Arif Müfid Mansel: A Pioneer of Turkish Archaeology," in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Nina Ergin and Scott Redford (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 147–60; Furthermore, Erder emphasized the role of Atatürk in archaeology and conservation repeatedly in his interview; Cevat Erder, Cevat Erder Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, Audio, November 14, 2016.

in social sciences and humanities and focuses on their interpretation of Turkishness within the East-West dichotomy of the time.³⁴⁹

In 1929 a law in the Turkish Parliament passed and allowed the students to go to abroad for advanced studies in the fields determined by the state. These students were to be selected via an examination administered by the Ministry of Education.³⁵⁰ The Turkish students sent to Europe for further education in the early years of the Republic has been a popular topic recently, particularly for biographical studies.³⁵¹

In the historiography, these students (later professors) are often treated as a homogenous group who all entered an exam organized by the Turkish Republic and were sent to Europe, all expenses paid, again, by the government. This affirmation is often used to justify the direct involvement of the state, and, of course, of Atatürk, in support of the study of archaeology and ancient languages. However, a closer look into the biographies of the first-generation archaeologists tell a nuanced story.

First there are different generations of Turkish students and scholars who studied abroad and came back to teach in Turkey in the early Republican period. Remzi Oğuz Arık and Hamit Zübeyr Koşay are often considered the first practitioners of archaeology in the Republic due to their excavations in Alacahöyük, sponsored by the Turkish Historical Society in 1937. These two scholars studied in Europe before the law for sending students abroad passed in the parliament in 1929. This suggests that they may have studied using their own means and initiatives rather than via a state-sponsored education. Such was the case for Arif Müfid Mansel, “definitely the first Turkish ancient historian and archaeologist” as Akurgal calls him.³⁵² Mansel completed his studies in archaeology in Berlin in 1929 and studied with a scholarship obtained through personal connections with Theodor Wiegand and Halil Edhem Bey.³⁵³

³⁴⁹ Ergin, ‘Cultural Encounters in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Western Émigré Scholars in Turkey’.

³⁵⁰ Kansu Şarman, *Türk Promethe’ler. Cumhuriyet’in Öğrencileri Avrupa’da (1925-1945)* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2005), 399.

³⁵¹ Şarman, *Türk Promethe’ler. Cumhuriyet’in Öğrencileri Avrupa’da (1925-1945)*.

³⁵² “Türkiye’nin kesin anlamıyla ilk gerçek eski çağ tarihçisi ve arkeologu olan bu seçkin bilimadamımızı tanıtmayı bir ulusal görev biliyorum.” in Ekrem Akurgal, ‘Arif Müfid Mansel’, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 16 (2002): 19–21.

³⁵³ <http://edebiyat.istanbul.edu.tr/antalyabolgesimerkezi/?p=6570%E2%80%8E13>

Students from Turkey who studied archaeology in Europe in the early Republican period were able to go to Europe thanks to different opportunities. A series of letters exchanged between Halil Eldem Bey—the director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1920s—and Theodor Wiegand—director of the Collection of Antiquities at the Berlin Museums—reveal how the first students, including Arif Müfid Mansel, were sent to Germany to study archaeology before the Turkish Republic began sending talented students systematically as part of a state initiative.

Even within the contemporaries who went to Europe after 1929, there are slightly different cases. Jale İnan, for example, was already more than familiar with archaeology thanks to her father, Aziz Ogan, founder of the Izmir Archaeology Museum and later director of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. She first applied went to Germany on her own initiative, with an Alexander von Humboldt scholarship and studied in Germany for a year before she entered the state exam and won the government scholarship.³⁵⁴ There was a similar case with Halet Çambel who went to study in France with a scholarship from the French government. Çambel was also familiar with archaeology and history thanks to her father, Cemil Çambel, former president of the Turkish History Society and a close aid of Atatürk.³⁵⁵ On the other hand, Sedat Alp and Ekrem Akurgal are among the students who entered the state exam and were sent to Europe after successful exam results.

This microcosm consisting of Ekrem Akurgal, Arif Müfit Mansel, Jale İnan, and Sedat Alp, later all became the founders of their respective fields and had slightly different backgrounds in their paths to archaeology. While İnan and Çambel were from elite Turkish families who were already invested in culture, Alp and Akurgal came from provincial towns (even though they were both sent to Istanbul for high school) and were introduced to archaeology in Germany.

³⁵⁴ Firdevs Gümüšoğlu, *Cumhuriyet'te İz Bırakanlar 10. Yıl Kuşağı* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2001), 105.

³⁵⁵ Mehmet Özdoğan and Nezih Başgelen, 'İş'i Görev, Arkeoloji'yi Bilgi, Bilim'i Değer Olarak Gören Bir İnsan: Prof. Dr. Halet Çambel', in *Halet Çambel - Nimet Özgüç : T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2010 Yılı Kültür-Sanat Büyük Ödülü*, ed. Nezih Başgelen (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2001), 4.

Based on the biographical information and memoirs of these figures, a thread of common experiences of the Turkish students in Europe can be found. First, all of these scholars went through extensive language training, starting with a year of German (except Çambel who studied in France and already spoke German, French, and English before she started her studies in France), coupled with rigorous training in ancient languages. For Alp, he was trying to learn German, Latin, and Ancient Greek at the same time and ended up being hospitalized due to stress. Later, he also passed exams in Arabic and Hebrew.³⁵⁶ Second, they were all immersed and active participants in their social environment.³⁵⁷ Third, these scholars did not stay in one place but were exposed to different academic cultures within Europe. Last, they all were affected by the ongoing war during their studies. I shall elaborate on these commonalities with further examples from the experiences of these four scholars.

Among the Turkish students who went to Europe to study archaeology, there were also those who had to leave before completing their degrees or did not continue their careers in academia. A thick, red, leather-bound book from the Winckelmann Institute, at Humboldt University, in Berlin gives some clues about such figures. Titled *Fotoğrafla Türkiye* and subtitled “*La Turquie en Image, Turkey in Pictures, Die Türkei*” in respective languages became part of the Winckelmann Institute Library through Gerhart Rodenwaldt who taught classical archaeology at the Berlin University until he committed suicide on April 27, 1945, five days before the Soviet Army entered Berlin in the final days of the Second World War. Rodenwaldt taught to a group of Turkish students who were studying in Berlin at the time and the book was given to him as a Christmas present in 1938. The first page of the book bears the following inscription (Figures 27-28):

Weihnachten 1938

Jale Ogan, Nimet Arsan, Ekrem Akurgal, Perihan Ogan, Sabahat Atlan, Hasan Tolay,

³⁵⁶ Dündar and Sevinç, *İlk Türk Hititoloğun Yaşam Öyküsü*, 45–46.

³⁵⁷ Regarding their first lunch in Berlin, Alp notes “*Caddenin karşısında Laoer adında bir restoran vardı, oraya girdik. Yemek listesini isteyince “Ne içersiniz?” diye sormuşlardı. Ekrem Akurgal şarap ısmarlamıştı. Ben kendinisine “İstanbul’da da yemekte şarap mı içerdin?” diye takılmışım. Yemek bitince kabarık bir hesap gelmişti ve şarap oldukça pahalı idi.* [There was a restaurant called Laoer across the street, we went there. They asked our drink orders when we requested the menu. Ekrem Akurgal ordered wine. I teased him by asking “did you also drink wine with meals in Istanbul?” When the meal was over, a hefty bill arrived and the wine was quite expensive.]” Dündar and Sevinç, 32. It is interesting to note that Akurgal recounts the exact same event, however, slightly differently.

H. Demircioğlu³⁵⁸

Of the seven names that undersigned this gift, four continued their careers in academia: Jale Ogan (later İnan) and Sabahat Atlan at Istanbul University, Ekrem Akurgal and Halil Demircioğlu at Ankara University. Perihan Ogan was the sister of Jale Ogan who might have been in Berlin to visit her sister. Nimet Arsan had to come back to Turkey after 3.5 years studying in Berlin without completing her degree. While she was briefly employed as part of the Institute of Archaeology at Ankara University between 1940-1942, she later began to work as an officer (*memur*) at the Institute of Turkish Revolution History (*Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü*) and, functioned as part of Ankara University, until her retirement in 1969.³⁵⁹ Research on Hasan Tolay did not lead to any concrete information.

5.2.2 European Scholars in Turkey

The exchange of scholarly articles, books, articles between Turkish scholars and scholars from abroad facilitated a connection between the archaeological worlds of Turkey and abroad. For instance, there are several instances in Mellink's notes that demonstrate that she sent academic articles and books in exchange for photos and reports from excavations in Turkey. This exchange and flow of publications and notes on one hand might have helped the Turkish scholars to keep up with the recent debates in scholarship and research in archaeology; on the other hand these helped scholars from abroad to follow the archaeological work in Turkey. Such exchanges, for instance, formed the basis of Mellink's Archaeology in Turkey articles series which she authored in *American Journal of Archaeology* (AJA).³⁶⁰

Foreign scholars working in Turkey also assisted scholars of archaeology in Turkey, both senior and junior scholars, as a reference in securing them grants and fellowships to study

³⁵⁸ Stefan Altekamp and Antonia Weisse, *Bibliotheksarchäologie. Zur Geschichte Der Zweigbibliothek Klassische Archäologie Der Humboldt- Universität Zu Berlin* (Berlin, 2016), 16–17.

³⁵⁹ Görkem Kökdemir, 'Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi (1936-1960)', in *DTCF 75. Yıl Armağanı, Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları (1936-2011)*. *Anadolu/Anatolia Ek Dizi - Supplements III.2*, ed. Orhan Bingöl, Aliye Öztan, and Harun Taşkiran (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2012), 25–26. Görkem Kökdemir, 'Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi (1936-1960)', in *DTCF 75. Yıl Armağanı, Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları (1936-2011)*. *Anadolu/Anatolia Ek Dizi - Supplements III.2*, ed. Orhan Bingöl, Aliye Öztan, and Harun Taşkiran (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2012), 25–26.

³⁶⁰ See bibliography for a complete list of articles Mellink authored.

and work abroad. In particular, Machteld Mellink helped not only several scholars from Turkey to get research and work experience in US but also American scholars to get grants and permissions for their field work in Turkey.

A group of scholars from Europe taught in Turkish universities starting from the 1930s and played a crucial role in establishing academic institutions of archaeology and related fields. The following presents an overview of the social history behind the involvement of emigre scholars in Turkish academia from their arrival to their departure based on primary sources from Kurt Bittel's personal archive, in particular, is an example of this.

The interaction of the Turkish scholars in archaeology within the larger network of archaeology abroad functioned often through foreign scholars who came to Turkey for field work. Several examples of correspondence in the personal archives of Machteld Mellink, George Hanfmann, Kurt Bittel, and Robert and Linda Braidwood attest to this phenomenon. Furthermore, the oral history interviews reveal different layers of interactions, engagement, and motivations of the Turkish scholars in their relationships with the world of archaeology outside of Turkey.

One way for the Turkish scholars to get their name known abroad was the publication of their work in international scholarly journals or publishing houses. A series of letters between Machteld Mellink and Aytuğ Taşyürek is a good example of how a recent PhD graduate from Turkey tried to publish his work and negotiate its terms step by step.³⁶¹ Taşyürek was first introduced to Machteld Mellink via a letter by a colleague of his, Ayfer Aker, who at the time worked at the Turkish Parliament, a job she finds "very boring" due to being formerly on the staff of the Antakya Museum. She was still participating in the excavations in the summer possibly as a ministry official. Aker conveys Taşyürek's intention to publish his catalogue of new Urartian artifacts as a monograph in the *American Journal of Archaeology (AJA)*. About a month later, Taşyürek sent a three-page letter to Mellink explaining his project in detail and the reasons why he wants to publish in *AJA*. He explained that he first intended to publish his work as a monograph with the Turkish Historical Foundation Press with a foreword written by Ekrem Akurgal. He

³⁶¹ 'Aytuğ Taşyürek', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

changed his mind after finding out there was a three-year waiting list at the press and decided that the “quality of the work done by the printing house here was not up to the standards that I would like to meet.”³⁶² It was his intention to go to US with either a grant or a job to publish his work there. In her response, Mellink advised Taşyürek to publish his work with the Turkish Historical Foundation (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) and further wrote that their latest publication had been very distinguished and they are well-equipped. Answering Mellink’s letter, Taşyürek wrote that he now intended to publish his work in separate articles rather than a monograph.

5.2.3 Gender, Class, Social Inclusion, and Professional Exclusivity

Adhered to a European world-view, our famous archaeologist was an Ottoman gentleman in his private life. He owned a nice house in Şişli, a magnificent water-front mansion in Paşabahçe, and a small yacht. In his house, there were staff, both men and women, who attended to different kinds of needs. During the service of meals, whether there were guests or not, one would attend, and a woman, with her hands placed on her abdomen, would wait standing at his service. During meals which were prepared according to *à la turca* traditions, the gramophone played *à la franca* music. Mansel had a large records collection which consisted of operas and concertos. There was a tap in the dining room to wash one’s hands before the meal service.

*Avrupalı dünya görüşüne bağlı, ünlü arkeoloğumuz, özel yaşantısında bir Osmanlı Bey’i idi. Şişli’de güzel bir evi, Paşabahçe’de şahane bir yalısı, küçük bir yatı vardı. Evinde çeşitli hizmetler gören erkekli, kadınlı yardımcılarını bulunuyordu. Yemeklerde, misafir olsun olmasın, bir kişi hizmet eder, bir kadın da iki eli üst üste karnı üzerine konmuş durumda, ayakta, emre amade beklerdi. Alaturka geleneklere göre düzenlenen yemek esnasında gramafonda alafranga müzik çalardı. Mansel’in operalar ve konçertolardan oluşan zengin bir plak koleksiyonu vardı. Yemek salonunda sofraya oturmadan önce ve yemekten sonra el yıkamak için bir musluk yer alıyordu.*³⁶³

In the quote above taken from Ekrem Akurgal’s eulogy on Arif Müfid Mansel, an archaeology professor who was senior to him, Akurgal alludes to the issues of class, gender, and professional exclusivity that were defined, performed, and transferred throughout generations in archaeological education and practice.

³⁶² Aytuğ Taşyürek’, Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

³⁶³ Akurgal, ‘Arif Müfid Mansel’, 20.

Unlike the contemporary regulations which allow the high school students in Turkey to choose university degree programmes based on a combination of test scores that they received from country-wide examinations until the mid 1970s, students were accepted to archaeology departments following an interview as well as test scores. This gave the authority of choosing students to the university professors who conducted these interviews. As a result of this interview system, university professors also eventually had the authority to choose who would practice archaeology.

Ekrem Akurgal, who had a long-lasting career in the Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography of Ankara University, wrote at length in his autobiography about his student selection criteria. His remarks can be nuanced and elaborated by the testimonies given during oral history interviews. One of the questions addressed to interviewees in the oral history project was about how they first enrolled into the archaeology programs in their respective universities. The answers revealed often untold stories about how now-retired professors of archaeology enrolled into archaeology programs.

Under the section titled “Founding of the Archaeological Discipline,” Akurgal elaborates in length regarding his selection criteria for archaeology students. It is more than informative to look into his criteria and reconstruct his ideal student profile for further analysis particularly with information extracted from the interviews.

We were making an effort to keep unsuitable and shabby-looking students away from archaeology. When chanced upon a student candidate who was not good-looking, the assistants and students did their best to deter them, so those who came to me were mainly selected candidates in this respect.

*Kılıksız ve yakışsız öğrencilerin arkeolojiye girmemesi için çaba sarf ediyorduk. İyi görünümlü olmayan bir öğrenci adayıyla karşılaşınca asistanlar ve öğrenciler onları caydırmak için ellerinden geleni yapıyorlardı ve böylece bana gelenler büyük ölçüde bu bakımdan seçilmiş adaylar oluyordu.*³⁶⁴

His first criterion is listed as “to have a good appearance/attractiveness.” He then explains how his assistants went to lengths to “keep away” the ones who do not have the “right appearance/attractiveness.”³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ “İyi görünümlü olmak birinci koşuldı.” in Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 72.

³⁶⁵ Akurgal, 70–72.

In these circumstances, I would clearly advise the student candidate, whom I see inadequate, not to enter archaeology. "You better choose a subject of study in medicine, architecture, and science. Archaeology is a profession that is both very difficult and unprofitable. "I would not want to take the responsibility of taking you into archaeology." I would say.

*Bu durumda karşısında yetersiz gördüğüm öğrenci adayına açık bir biçimde arkeolojiye girmemesini tavsiye ederdim. "Siz tıp, mimarlık ve fen dallarındaki bir konuyu seçiniz. Arkeoloji hem çok zor hem de para getirmeyen bir meslektir. Sizi arkeolojiye almanın sorumluluğunu taşımak istemem" derdim.*³⁶⁶

The second criterion is the command of languages and knowledge of art and culture. He would then ask the students who failed his test to study "medicine, architecture, and natural sciences," while stressing that archaeology is not only very hard but also a non-lucrative profession. Without leaving much to doubt, Akurgal clearly states that humanities and social sciences should be reserved for students from well-off families since only they would have a good command of several languages necessary for the study of philosophy, history, and archaeology.³⁶⁷

Who then managed to pass the "Akurgal test", for the lack of a better term, and got the chance to study archaeology in Ankara? Prof. Cevat Erder, now an emeritus professor from the Restoration and Conservation of Cultural Heritage Program of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, is one of the earliest graduates of the archaeology program at Ankara University. In his interview, Erder stated that he first started to study law.³⁶⁸ After a period of struggling with classes on law, with the exception of Roman Law, Erder started to attend Akurgal's classes at Ankara University and eventually decided to switch to archaeology under the influence of Akurgal's lectures.³⁶⁹ Orhan Bingöl, emeritus professor of classical archaeology at Ankara University, raised the same issue in his interview:

Let me clarify that, I don't know how many choices are made now, but I have forgotten how many I had. In my family, even my aunt who advised me about archeology was a lawyer, my uncle was a lawyer, and my aunt's husband was a lawyer. They told me to pick law school which I ended up getting into. It could be my first choice or whatever.

MKB: Ankara University Law School?

³⁶⁶ Akurgal, 69–70.

³⁶⁷ Akurgal, 69–70.

³⁶⁸ Erder, Cevat Erder Oral History Interview.

³⁶⁹ Neriman Şahin Güçhan, ed., 'Her Dem Yeşil Yapraklı Bir Ağaç', in *Her Dem Yeşil Yapraklı Bir Ağaç Cevat Erder'e Armağan* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2003), 1–40.

Ankara Law School, which I didn't like at all. I was registered at the school for a year. By the way, let me tell you that all the great archaeologists had a legal education, albeit very briefly.

MKB: Cevat Erder said that too.

So did Ekrem Akurgal and Cevat Bayburtluoğlu. There are a few more. I was registered there for a year. I got into archeology in the next exam.

Onu da belirteyim, tercih şimdi kaç tercihte bulunuluyor bilmiyorum ama kaç tane unuttum, benim ailemde, hatta bana arkeolojiyi tavsiye eden teyzem de hukukçu, dayım da hukukçu, eniştem hukukçu, bana hukuku da yazmamı söylediler, ben de kazana kazana hukuku kazanmadım mı? İlk tercih ya da bilmem kaçınıcı tercih.

MKB: Ankara Hukuk?

Ankara Hukuk, hiç sevmediğim...Bir sene okulda kayıtlıydım. Bu arada söyleyeyim bütün büyük arkeologlar hukuk eğitimi görmüşlerdir başta çok da kısa olsa.

MKB: Cevat Erder Hoca da öyle anlatmıştı.

Ekrem Akurgal da öyle, Cevat Bayburtluoğlu da, birkaç tane daha var. Bir sene öyle kayıtlıydım. Bir sonraki sınavda arkeolojiyi kazandım.³⁷⁰

In addition to the criteria mentioned above, gender was also a crucial factor in the selection of students particularly for graduate studies. In his autobiography, Akurgal gave a lengthy reason for not employing any women research assistants. Under a title called “*Neden kız öğrencilerimden hiç birini asistan yapmadım?*” [Why didn’t I make any of my female students research assistants?], Akurgal remarked:

They were very beautiful and they used to get married very quickly. But the main reason behind it was the type of work we did and the structure of archeology as a science. During those days, when we went digging, we used to sleep in tents. We used to work under very difficult conditions. It was not appropriate for a female student to live in such an environment. Also, when young girls and boys spent that much time together, they’d get married very quickly.

Çünkü güzel oldukları için hemen evleniyorlardı. Ancak bunun başlıca nedeni, arkeoloji bilim dalının kazılarla yakın ilgili olmasından ileri gelmektedir. O tarihlerde biz kazılar yaparken, çadırda yatıyorduk. Çok zor koşullar altında çalışıyorduk. O günlerde bir kız öğrencinin böyle bir yaşam ortamına katılması pek uygun düşmüyordu. İkinci koşul da genç yaştaki erkek ve kız talebe bir arada olunca hemen evleniveriyorlardı.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Orhan Bingöl, Orhan Bingöl Oral History Interview-1, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 16 August 2018, 05:00-06:08, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³⁷¹ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 73.

I soon realized the benefits of my insistence on female students to be beautiful. We had archeology students who married ambassadors, pashas, rectors, wealthy businessmen back in the 1970s and 80s. These were not ladies who spent their leisure time playing cards, but they were enlightened ladies who were well taught in architecture, sculpture and ceramic arts and could comment on these.

Kız öğrencilerin güzel olması konusundaki ısrarımın yararlarını kısa zamanda gördüm. Daha 1970'lerde ve 80'lerde büyükelçilerle, paşalarla, rektörlerle, zengin iş adamlarıyla evlenmiş arkeoloji öğrencilerimiz vardı. Bu hanımlar toplantılarda briç veya konken oynayan kişiler değil, mimari, heykel, seramik sanatları üzerinde düşünce ve yorum yapan aydın hanımefendiler oldular.³⁷²

In Akurgal's point of view, women, only the ones who are already attractive and cultured, got to study archaeology. However, this was not in order to pursue scholarly interest since in Akurgal's view they were not capable of doing so because they would instantly get married; rather they could promote archaeology as the wives of the people who have influential positions in the state, and thus, could influence archaeology. Despite this, Akurgal had women students who went on to pursue successful careers themselves. One example is Tomris Bakır, the late professor of Classical archaeology at Ege University. Bakır first started studying English Language and Literature at Ankara University and then switched to archaeology after seeing Akurgal's lectures which were attended not only by archaeology students but also students from other departments at the faculty.³⁷³ Bakır further elaborated the story of her admission to the archaeology department:

After I graduated from high school, I started to study, as my father wanted me to study, English Language and Literature at the Faculty of Language-History and Geography in Ankara. I studied there for a year, there were outstanding professors who were English. We got accepted as we all already knew English, therefore, we did not start from scratch, we were already reading Shakespeare and such, I mean, we were reading and interpreting. Anyways, at the same time, I was attending archaeology classes voluntarily, it was like a hobby for me. Ekrem Akurgal was teaching at that time. That caught my attention and after I studied for a year, when I passed to the second year in English Language department, I talked with my father during that summer. I said I don't want to continue studying in this department, I want to switch to the archaeology department since it was more interesting for me, English was just easy for me anyway. So, in a nutshell, I switched to archaeology like this and I became Akurgal's student.

Ben liseyi bitirdikten sonra ailemin, özellikle babamın şiddetli isteğiyle İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı bölümüne gittim. Ankara Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi'nde. Bir sene orda okudum, gerçi çok güzel hocalar vardı, İngiliz hocalar vardı. İngilizceyi de zaten bilen kişiler olarak bizi aldılar, yani öyle gramerden falan başlamadık, Shakespeare falan okuyorduk, yani yorumlarını yapıyorduk onların. Neyse, fakat o sırada arkeoloji derslerine giriyordun boş zamanlarımda yani hobi gibi. Ekrem Akurgal o zaman ders veriyordu. Çok ilgimi çekti

³⁷² Akurgal, 72.

³⁷³ Akurgal, 72.

*ve bir yıl bittikten sonra, yani ikinci sınıfa geçtiğim zaman İngiliz Dili'nde, o yaz babamla konuştum, dedim ben burada devam etmek istemiyorum, arkeolojiye geçmek istiyorum çünkü daha çok ilgimi çekti, İngilizceyi nasıl olsa hallederim, sorun değil. Neyse uzatmayayım böyle arkeolojiye geçtim. Akurgal'ın öğrencisi oldum.*³⁷⁴

Regarding the interview process, which was administered by Ekrem Akurgal himself in order to gain admission to the archaeology department as a student, Bakır further elaborated:

This is also very interesting, there were no university entrance exams like we have today, the ones with multiple choice. They were done in the form of interviews, and it was carried out by Ekrem Akurgal himself. I stood before him, of course there were others like me, too. He asked interesting questions, for example, I was veery young back then but he nevertheless had a certain expectation from the younger generations, "What kind of music do you listen to?" We used to have a group back then. I am a graduate of Bahçelievler Deneme High School, which was a special school. As friends from the school, we would meet and talk about music, philosophy, and I was interested in classical music back then. We had an old recorder at home and I would listen to it. Akurgal's question to me was "what kind of music?" I said I listened to classical music. He then asked "which master of classical music do you like?" I still enjoy Chopin and when I answered Chopin, he stood up and exclaimed "Really? My favourite composer is also Chopin." There was some sort of a connection. Of course, he asked other questions as well, but the fact that I spoke English, that I studied in English Literature for a year, and this classical music issue must have impressed Akurgal so that he accepted me to the archaeology department and I became one of his students.

*O da çok enteresan, o zaman böyle üniversite sınavı ya da şey yoktu, şimdiki gibi böyle testli sınavlar. Mülakat şeklinde yapılıyordu, onu da Ekrem Akurgal kendisi yapıyordu. Onun karşısına çıktım. Tabi bir sürü benim gibi başkaları da vardı. Enteresan sorular sordu, örneğin, çok gencim o zaman ama ona rağmen onun bir beklentisi vardı demek ki o genç nesilden, "ne tür müzik dinlersiniz." Ki ben o zaman böyle bir grubumuz vardı bizim. Bahçelievler Deneme Lisesi'nden mezunum ben, o özel bir lise. Oradan arkadaşlar böyle kendi kendimize toplanır, müzik konuşurduk, felsefe konuşurduk ve ben klasik müziğe merak salmışım daha o zaman. Evde de eski bir pikabımız vardı, dinlerdim. Ve bana da Akurgal'ın sorusu o mülakatta "ne tür müzik?" Klasik müzik dinlerim dedim, severim dedim. "Hangi klasik müzik ustasını seversiniz?" dedi. Benim hala da sevdiğim Chopin'dir. Chopin deyince şöyle bir yerinden kalktı, yapmayın yav dedi, benim de dedi, en çok sevdiğim kişi Chopin'dir falan, böyle bir bağlantı oldu. Neyse tabi başka sorular da vardı ama hem İngilizce bilmem, İngiliz Dili'nde bir sene okumuş olmam, hem de bu klasik müzik hikayesi herhalde hocaya ilginç geldi ki kabul etti beni arkeolojiye, böylece başladım.*³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ Bakır, Tomris Bakır Oral History Interview, 00:18-01:30.

³⁷⁵ Bakır, 01:30-03:20.

In addition to Bakır's story, Işık Bingöl, who also studied in the archaeology department of Ankara University roughly at the same time, shared her own experience in choosing to study archaeology in an interview:

Initially, I didn't enter into the archaeology department. I was accepted to German Philology. Back in our time, you could get admission into a few places, a few schools like this. About the German Language, my father told me that a woman should speak a foreign language. And therefore, I got into the German Language department, but I mainly spoke English. When it comes to the German Department, everyone who gains admission and studies in the department had prior knowledge of the language a bit beforehand. I didn't know anything at all; I tried very hard but wasn't successful. Then, I asked Coşkun Özgüner, we were on the same floor; transferring from one department to another was not an issue back then. The professor in your department would sign a paper. A professor in the department you want to transfer to would receive the signed document. This way, you would transfer from one department to another. I wasn't thinking of archaeology in the beginning. Then, I looked into it and enjoyed it. I mean, I liked it as a branch of art, and I told that to Coşkun Özgüner. He told me that "Professor Ekrem Akurgal needs to see you." [Not clear] "Make yourself presentable before meeting him," he said. I thought I would have a particular exam. I went to see him, he eyed me from head to toe. Then, he took a book, opened it - it was in English - and said, "read a sentence from here." I stuttered a bit, but I believe I was successful. This way, the head of German Philology was the late Prof. Christinos, and the head of Archaeology was - now we say - the late Prof. Ekrem Akurgal, there was an exchange, and this is how I started studying archaeology.

İlk arkeolojiye başlamadım. Alman Filolojisi'ni kazandım ben. Bizim zamanımızda birkaç yer kazanılıyordu böyle, birkaç fakülte. Alman Dili'ni babam bir bayan bir lisan bilmeli dedi. Ve ben onun üzerine Alman Dili'ne girdim ama İngilizce idi esas. Alman Kürsüsü'ne gelince herkes birazcık bilerek geliyor, okuyor. Ben hiçbir şey bilmeden, ben çok gayret ettim ama olmadı. Sonra, Coşkun Özgüner, aynı kattaydık, sordum yani, bölümden bölüme geçmek o zaman bir problem değildi, okuduğunuz bölümdeki hoca imza veriyordu, gireceğiniz bölümdeki hoca da imza alıyordu. Böylece bir bölümden bir başka bölüme geçiyordunuz. Arkeoloji fikri önce hiç yoktu. Sonra biraz baktım, hoşuma gitti, yani sanatın bir kolu olarak hoşuma gitti ve söyledim Coşkun Özgüner'e. O bana, Ekrem Akurgal Hoca seni bir görsün dedi. [Anlaşılmıyor] Üstüne başına dikkat et de gel dedi bana. Özel bir sınav olacağım herhalde. Gittim, şöyle bir beni süzdü baştan aşağıya. Sonra bir kitap aldı, açtı, İngilizce bir kitap, şuradan bir cümleyi oku dedi, biraz tekledim falan ama yine başardım zannedersem. Böylece Alman Filolojisi'nde rahmetli Christinos Hoca vardı, arkeolojinin başında da rahmetli diyoruz artık, Ekrem Akurgal Hoca vardı. Değişim-tokuşum, ben böylece arkeolojiye başlamış oldum.³⁷⁶

It is indeed remarkable stories have similarities and how they conform to the description of an ideal student in Akurgal's mind. Both women came from families where they were advised to study languages in the university by their respective fathers, both already came

³⁷⁶ Işık Bingöl, Işık Bingöl Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 16 August 2018, 00:20-02:16, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

to the university with a certain background in languages and culture. They both started to be interested in archaeology through attending Akurgal's classes and finally were admitted to the department by Akurgal himself.

Akurgal was not the only scholar who admitted students into the archaeology department based on their social status. In her long interview with Emine Çaykara in *Arkeolojinin Delikanlısı*, Muhibbe Darga, one of the prominent figures of Hittitology in Turkey, notes that when she first attempted to study archaeology, she had a brief interview with Prof. Bossert who was one of the leading figures in archaeological research at the time and head of the newly founded Hittitology department in Istanbul University. Bossert asked Darga whether her family was wealthy enough to support her studies citing that archaeology was a discipline worthy of princes, and even the Prince of Denmark himself had studied archaeology.³⁷⁷

While the testimonies quoted above demonstrate the ways in which students were admitted to study archaeology and the expectations of archaeology faculty, it is interesting to compare this with the experience of Christine Özgan, professor of archaeology at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, who studied archaeology both at the undergraduate and graduate levels in Bonn University, Germany before relocating to Turkey. On her experience while she was still deciding on archaeology as her major, she stated:

So let us see whether I could find a job, I thought, this is a different matter. They told me beforehand, I just remembered this, I was researching on possible majors, they told me to think carefully because there are no jobs! No job, no bread! Of course, when you are young, you are stubborn, you say "I will find a job anyways" of course I do not regret it. And I remembered another thing. They asked me at the very beginning, you know Ancient Greek and Latin, that is ok. This was the absolute requirement in order to complete the degree, the proficiency of Ancient Greek and Latin. Other than those, they asked me, the advisors in the university, "Do you speak any foreign languages?" It is a very common question. I said I

³⁷⁷ "Tabii, Bossert başta beni istemedi, hiç unutmuyorum, bana şunu sordu: "Senin babanın parası çok mu, baban çok zengin mi?" Ben de çekinerek fena değil, halimiz vaktimiz yerinde, dedim. Cevap olarak bana; "Biliyor musun, arkeoloji krallar mesleğidir. Hem de Almanca bilmiyorsun," dedi. O sırada Almanca bilmiyordum, Fransızcam vardı. Hakikaten İsveç, Danimarka kralları, prensleri hep arkeoloji, prehistorya yapmıştır. Japonya mikadosu örneği de var. Bu iş, parasız olmaz. [Of course, Bossert did not want me at first, I never forget, he asked me this: "Does your father have so much money, is he really rich?" I hesitantly replied that we were doing OK, we were rather well off. In response to this, he said "Do you know that archaeology is the profession of kings? You do not even speak German." At the time, I didn't speak German but spoke French. Indeed kings and princes of Sweden and Denmark studied archaeology and prehistory. There is also the example of Japanese Mikado. This profession can't be done without prior money.]" Çaykara, *Arkeolojinin Delikanlısı. Muhibbe Darga*, 17.

speaking English and French, can follow the literature in Italian. They said, it is ok, you could also learn this and that, too.

Dur bakalım bir iş bulabilir miyim, o ayrı bir şey çünkü. Baştan söylediler doğru, o da aklıma geldi, araştırdım yani ne okuyayım falan, siz arkeoloji okuyorsanız, iyi düşünün çünkü iş yok! İş, aş yok! Tabi, gençseniz, inatçısınız, yok ben yine bulurum diyorsunuz, iyi yani pişman da değilim. Bir şey daha aklıma geldi. Bana da sordular baştan beri, tamam Helence, Latince var, fena değil. O çünkü bir şart olarak, yani orda eğitimi tamamlamak için mutlaka Helence ve Latince gerekiyor, eski Helence. Onun dışında bana sordular, herhalde işte üniversitede rehberler, danışmanlar var, “yabancı diliniz var mı?” Klasik olan soru. Dedim işte İngilizce, Fransızca var, İtalyanca literatür takip ediyorum. İyi, tamam, fena değil ama şunu, bunu ekleyebilirsiniz dediler.³⁷⁸

5.2.4 Classes and Seminars: Delivering Archaeology

An understudied aspect of archaeology in Turkey is the particular ways in which it was taught to the students in the universities. On his lectures and his teaching methodology, Ekrem Akurgal wrote:

A student in archaeology, like all other students in the university, mostly cared about directly copying what the professors said and memorizing them later. For example, I would move from talking about the Athenian Acropolis to Socrates in an instant, when I began to talk about his philosophy and the behaviours of Pericles, the head of the democratic party, the student would leave his/her pen aside and look at me, as if to say “what is this guy talking about?” However, understanding Phidias and Ployket required teaching about Socrates who was their contemporary, as well as his teachers, Anaxagras of Klazomenai and Protagoras of Thrace. There were much to be gained by learning philosophy of revolution and political matters. But our university students would say “what is the point?” and even protest me with their stares. As I was aware of this, I would occasionally change the subject and would stress the importance of this. Students would only get used to this on the second and even third attempt. I would say to the students “I am trying to teach you how to research and how to think rather than the information itself” and would further stress that was what I used to do during my own education.

Arkeolojiye giren öğrenci, diğer bütün üniversite öğrencileri gibi öğretim üyesinin söylediklerini olduğu gibi yazıp ezberlemeye önem verirdi. Söz gelimi, ben Atina Akropolisine üzerine konuşurken birden Sokrates’e geçer, onun felsefesinden, Demokrat Partisi Başkanı Perikles’in davranışlarından söz etmeye başlayınca, öğrenci kalemini bir tarafa bırakır, bana bakardı, “Bu adam ne anlatıyor?” Diye. Oysa Phidias’ı ve Polyklet’i anlamak için çağdaşları olan Sokrates’i ve ona hocalık etmiş olan Uralı Anaxagoras ile Trakyalı Protagoras’ı anlatmak gerekiyordu. Yani devrim felsefesini ve siyasal sorunları bilmekte büyük yarar vardı. Ancak üniversite öğrencimiz “Ne gereği vardı?” diye bir davranışa girer ve beni bakışıyla adeta protesto ederdi. Bunu bildiğim için arada bir konuyu değiştirir ve bunun önemi üzerinde dururdum. Öğrenci buna ancak ikinci, üçüncü senede uygunluk gösterebiliyordu. Öğrenciye “Size bilgiden çok, nasıl araştırmanız, neyi düşünmeniz

³⁷⁸ Christine Özgan, Christine Özgan Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 15 May 2017, 28:50-30:11, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

*gerektiğini anlatmaya çalışıyorum der ve benim tahsil boyunca böyle yaptığımı vurgulardım.*³⁷⁹

As a former student of Ekrem Akurgal in Ankara University, Işık Bingöl's testimony allows us to see the student perspective as well. On her learning experience during undergraduate studies, Işık Bingöl elaborated:

Back then, the technology wasn't what it we have today. We used to light candles in order to take note; when we saw the candles, we would sit next to each other, one of us would write one sentence, next person the second sentence, and a third would write the third sentence, and then we were able to compose a text out of it. As there were not any books, I mean, there were only a few of them available. We tried to follow his [Akurgal] classes, but he used to get angry, made us put out the candles. He used to say said "try to understand and see what lingers behind in your mind"; he would try to explain with the *Stilkritik*. Of course, we were right away involved in memorizing. In time, of course we got to understand, but it was nice, it was fun. Now I think about it and I see that when he explained an archaeological object, you found yourself in completely different worlds. There was a different aspect of his way of lecturing, *Stilkritik* was very important to him, even if you didn't know anything, you became able to evaluate that thing in a certain way.

*O zamanlar şimdiki teknoloji yoktu tabi. Biz mum yakardık not tutmak için, mumları görünce amfilerde yan yana otururduk, bir cümleyi birimiz yazar, ikinci cümleyi yanındaki yazar, üçüncüyü onun yanındaki yazar, ondan sonra oturur hepsinden bir metin çıkarırdık. Çünkü kitap yoktu, yani birkaç tane kitap vardı. Onun derslerini bu şekilde takip etmeye çalışırdık ama kızardı, mumları kapattırırdı. Anlamaya çalışın, aklınızda ne kalıyor, stil-kritik yönleriyle anlatmaya çalışırdı. Tabi biz çalakalem ezbere olayın içine girerdik. Zamanla anladık tabi, ama güzeldi, zevkliydi. Şimdi bakıyorum da hakikaten bir objeyi, arkeolojik bir objeyi anlattığı zaman, bambaşka dünyalara giderdiniz o anlattığı zaman. Değişik bir yönü vardı anlatım tarzının, stil-kritik çok önemliydi onun için, yani hiçbir şey bilme ama onu o şekilde değerlendirebilirdin.*³⁸⁰

On the experience of studying archaeology and the ways of teaching by the faculty in Istanbul University, Mehmet Özdoğan, emeritus professor of archaeology at Istanbul University, who also completed his degrees at the same institution, remarked:

At that time, Halet Çambel was the only professor in the department. Kurt Bittel also taught every now and then. The only lesson that Halet Hanım taught was scientific research methods. That is, how to take notes, how to write a bibliography. Other than that, there were no classes. There was only a seminar. Halet Hanım had a principle. She used to say you all know how to read and write, all the information is in the books, this information is constantly changing, I do not have to teach you information, I will teach you how to learn information. That's why I have never taken classes on Prehistory. We learned it all ourselves at the seminar. But what we called a seminar was quite serious. It started in the morning and lasted until the night. The copies of the original notes used to be distributed beforehand. There were 7 students. There were discussions. In my 3rd year, Ufuk Esin became an associate professor. Halet Hanım went to America for two semesters. Ufuk Hanım also had heart surgery. We had no teachers left. We held the seminars by ourselves. We learned a lot that year. There

³⁷⁹ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 74–75.

³⁸⁰ Bingöl, Işık Bingöl Oral History Interview, 03:13-04:29.

was a system that allowed us to learn on our own. I have never taken classes. I have never taken classes on Prehistory.

O zaman kürsüde tek profesör Halet Çambel, bir de Kurt Bittel geliyordu arada. Halet Hanım'ın verdiği tek ders bilimsel çalışma yöntemleriydi. Yani not nasıl tutulur, bibliyografya nasıl yazılır. Onun dışında hiç ders yapılmazdı. Sadece seminer yapılırdı. Halet Hanım'ın prensibi, hepiniz okuma yazma biliyorsunuz, bütün bilgiler kitaplarda var, bu bilgiler sürekli değişir, ben size bilgi belletmek durumunda değilim, ben size bilgi nasıl öğrenilir, onu öğretirim, derdi. O yüzden Prehistorya'da hiç ders görmedim. Hepsinin seminerle kendimiz öğrendik. Ama seminer dediğimiz bayağı ciddiydi. Sabahleyin başlar, gece bilmem kaç kadar sürer, kendimiz evvelden mumlu kağıttan teksirle dağıtılırdı. Zaten 7 öğrenciydik, üzerine tartışılırdı. 3.yılımda Halet Hanım--o zaman Ufuk Esin doçent olmuştu--Halet Hanım Amerika'ya gitmişti iki sömestrliğine, Ufak Hanım da kalp ameliyatı oldu, hiç hocamız kalmadı. Biz kendi kendimize yaptık seminerleri, o sene çok şey öğrendik, yani kendimiz kendimize öğrenmemizi sağlayan bir sistem vardı. Hiç ders görmedim. Prehistorya'dan hiç ders görmedim.³⁸¹

Even though Christine Özgan completed her degrees in Germany, her experiences as a student offers an intriguing comparison, particularly in terms of offering a model for a faculty as an intellectual as well as a performer who conveys the subjects to diverse bodies of audiences. On studying archaeology in Bonn University, Christine Özgan stated:

I realized that it was a most suitable department. Because, there in Germany, I believe that is not the case anywhere but especially in Bonn, there were Prof. Himmelmaann, Gabelmann. They used to teach in this way. They would look at the artifacts and interpret them. How would you say, not information on history or just conveying information, they would teach through interpretation. I really enjoyed this and I believe it became the foundation of my career. Because memorizing things, be it only historical information or sculptures and ceramics in archaeology, who painted what and when, these are easy, everybody does that. But looking at artifacts and interpreting is the real hard part. We carried on with the seminars and lectures, as you know, these are separate in Germany.

İlk derslerden sonra gayet uygun bir bölüm olduğunu fark ettim. Çünkü orda, Almanya'da, sanırım her yerde öyle değil ama özellikle Bonn'da Prof. Himmelmann, Gabelmann vardı. Onlar şöyle bir eğitim veriyorlardı. Esere bakıp, yorum yapıyorlardı. Yani böyle, ne deniliyor tarihle ilgili bilgi veya sadece bilgi aktarmak değil, yorum yaparak ders veriyorlardı. Bu çok hoşuma gitti ve sanırım zaten bugünkü hayatımın, kariyerimin temeli oldu. Çünkü bir şey ezberlemek, fact yani işte sırf bilgi ezberlemek tarihte olsun, arkeolojide olsun falan tarihte şu yapılmış, bu yapılmış, işte şu heykeller var, bu seramikler var falan, tarihte hangi ressam çalışmış vesaire, bunlar kolay, bunları herkes yapıyor. Ama eserlere bakıp, yorum yapmak esas zor iş. Ve yani o şekilde devam etti işte seminerler, dersler, anlatım dersleri, seminer var ayrı biliyorsunuz, Almanya'da ayrı oluyor.³⁸²

³⁸¹ Mehmet Özdoğan, Mehmet Özdoğan Oral History Interview, interview by Mustafa Kemal Baran, M4A - Audio, 13 December 2016, 04:53-06:23, History of Archaeology in Turkey Collection, KU Oral History & Memory Archive.

³⁸² Özgan, Christine Özgan Oral History Interview, 03:57-05:38.

On the particular differences of lectures and seminars, Christine Özgan further elaborated in her experience in Germany:

During my time in the 1970s in Germany, there were certain differences between seminars and lectures. My professor Himmelmann, as well as the other professors, they would both give lectures, they would talk, and we would only listen. Nobody would ask a question, apart from these, there were seminars. In the seminars, professors would first give an introduction and then divide the rest to us and then we would present those. It also needs to be said that we weren't that many; it used to be like that back then. In archaeology, we were a very small group of 10 people, maximum 15 in a seminar. We used to have these seminars in tiny spaces. In the lectures, we used to be much more, because there were people who were not students, local people who were interested in culture and archaeology. Huge halls would be packed, people would come to listen to the professor as a hobby. Because he would hold these lectures in a very interesting way and each lecture would be like a conference. He would present something new, either a chapter of a book or a new paper. It would be new material and we would concentrate hard and follow. That was the case with Himmelmann. In other professors it was not exactly like this. They are a bit different, perhaps more relaxed.

Almanya'da benim zamanımda 70li yıllarda, seminerler ve lecture anlatım dersleri arasında belli bir fark vardı. Benim hocam Himmelmann, diğer hocalar da öyle, onlar da hem lecture veriyorlardı, hem anlatıyorlardı derste, biz de dinliyorduk sadece. Hiç kimse de soru sormazdı, ve ondan ayrı olarak seminer dersleri yapıyorlardı. Seminer derslerinde hoca—ya nasıldı, tabi—birkaç tane ders anlatıyordu, öyle hatırlıyorum ama sonunda bize konu dağıtılıyordu ve işte konuları sunuyorduk. Şimdi bir şey de söylemek gerekiyor, biz çok fazla kişi değildik, o zaman öyleydi. Biz arkeolojide çok küçük bir gruptuk 10 kişi, en fazla 15 kişi seminerde oluyorduk. Küçük mekanlarda seminerler yapıyorduk. Anlatım derslerinde daha fazla kişiydik çünkü öğrenci olmayan, dışardan halktan galiba, yani halk derken tabi ki sokaktan değil de kültürle ilgilenen, arkeoloji ile ilgilenenler de geliyorlardı. Ve dopdolu oluyordu yani taşıyordu büyük bir salon, sadece hobi olarak hocayı dinlemeye geliyorlardı. Çünkü çok ilginç yapıyordu ve her dersi bir konferans gibi oluyordu. Yeni bir şeydi yani bir yayın, bir kitapta bir şeyler sunuyordu. Mutlaka yeni bir şeydi ve çok konsantre şekilde dinliyorduk. Şimdi o Himmelmann'daki derslerdi. Diğer hocalarda tam öyle değildi. Onlar biraz daha farklı, biraz daha gevşekti.³⁸³

5.3 Social Network Analysis

Within the scope of this dissertation, a social network analysis based on Ekrem Akurgal's groups of students and his students' students has been conducted. The primary reason in choosing Ekrem Akurgal and his network lies in his long professional career stretching over forty years as a professor in Ankara University, which was one of the two universities where one could study archaeology since the 1940s. In this regard, Akurgal

³⁸³ Özgan, 05:56-08:00.

had a great influence on his students though his role as an educator and an administrator. In his autobiography, Akurgal gives special emphasis to the issue of bringing up the next generation of scholars in Turkey, and elaborates on his teaching and research methods.³⁸⁴ In doing so, Akurgal also presents a long list of names including his students, on which this network is based. This case study examines Akurgal's student network in Turkish universities to analyse social networks and affiliations in the archaeological community surrounding Akurgal. As of 2020, there are over forty undergraduate degree programs in archaeology offered by universities in Turkey. The social network analysis allows for a review of the ways in which archaeology departments in Turkey have been shaped and proliferated, a closer look into the academic demographics and employment dynamics, and an assessment of the formation of networks related to archaeology in the academy in Turkey.

5.3.1 Guidelines followed in the Formation of the Network Database

In building the database for the social network analysis in this dissertation, a series of guidelines were followed. They are as follows, along with the justification for their implementation:

1 – The initial list of scholars that forms this database is taken from Ekrem Akurgal's autobiography. While narrating his accomplishments in teaching, Ekrem Akurgal wrote:

When I retired in 1981 after forty years of service, there were 23 professors or associate professors, whom I previously taught, teaching classical archaeology classes in Turkish universities. That is why they call me the "Professors' professor."

*Kırk yıllık hizmet sonunda, 1981'de emekli olduğumda, Türkiye üniversitelerinde hocalıklarını yapmış bulduğum 23 arkeolog profesör ya da doçent Klasik Arkeoloji dersi vermekteydi. Bana bu nedenle "Hocaların Hocası" derler.*³⁸⁵

Following this statement, Akurgal lists a series of names which forms his self proclaimed primary network of students.

2 – The scholars I have included in this social network analysis database all completed a doctoral degree. Since the motivation behind the social network analysis is to investigate

³⁸⁴ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 68–79.

³⁸⁵ Akurgal, 76.

networks within archaeology academia, a PhD degree is taken as a token of commitment and membership within academia.

3 – In the network graphs, there are four types of advisor-student relationships; both, PhD, Master's, and special. 'PhD' and 'Master's' are used in cases where there is only one type of relationship either Master's or PhD, whereas 'both' refers to the cases where the same advisor supervised both degrees. "Special" refers to the group of students mentioned by Akurgal in his autobiography. When Akurgal was teaching, the custom was to move from the undergraduate program to doctoral studies without being awarded a Master's degree. That is why, rather than grouping this cohort of students with the later generations of students who were given Master's degrees, Akurgal's students are differentiated in this network by placing them in a different category.

4 – The attributes recorded for all scholars in this database are the place where they received undergraduate and graduate degrees, their academic supervisors, the places of academic work where they spent the longest time, and their last academic post. Where there were cases of more than two academic posts, only the longest and last place of work has been taken into consideration.

5 – The academic departments where the scholars received their degrees are listed in a simplified manner based on the academic discipline rather than the exact name of the departments. The archaeology departments in Turkey have gone through a series of structural changes over the years, most notably after the establishment of *Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu* [YÖK, Turkish Council of Higher Education], a governmental body that oversees the universities since 1980 when art history and archaeology departments were merged. Furthermore, while in certain universities, such as Istanbul and Ankara Universities, archaeology undergraduate degrees are taught in three distinct departments (prehistoric, protohistoric, and classical); the majority of the universities offer archaeology undergraduate degrees without a specific specialization. While acknowledging different academic traditions within different archaeology specializations, namely prehistory vs. classical archaeology, as it has been discussed previously in this dissertation, for the sake of simplification, these subdisciplines are all here listed as archaeology in this database.

5.3.2 *Results from the Social Network Analysis*

Based on the criteria outlined above, a social network analysis was generated for Ekrem Akurgal, his students, and his students' students. This included 147 scholars who all hold doctoral degrees. The names and the ID numbers included in this network used are listed in Table 3.

Figure 29 demonstrates the network graph generated by the social network analysis based on the student-advisor relationships. The different types of relationships defined above are colour-coded in the graph. Each number is shown with a circle corresponding to a scholar and the ID number of each scholar is listed in Table 3. The graph points to a scattered network with a couple of concentrated clusters. While Ekrem Akurgal (id 42) is shown at the centre of the network, there are larger clusters surrounding his students such as Tomris Bakır (id 157), Güven Bakır (id 72), Fahri Işık (id 57), Orhan Bingöl (id 125), and Coşkun Özgüner (id 40) who has the largest cluster of students.

Figures 30-35 demonstrate a series of graphs which show the same network colour coded based on different criteria. Figure 30 shows the network colour-coded for institutions where scholars earned their doctoral degrees. The list of institutions and the colours they refer to are illustrated in Figure 31. A different colour code is shown in Figure 32 based on the latest place of work and their colour codes are shown in Figure 33. The last graph, Figure 34 is based on the place where scholars worked the longest, and the list of institutions are listed in Figure 35. Figures 36-38 further demonstrate the people and institutions which had the highest concentrations of connections within the studied network.

While the larger network appears to be too complex to draw conclusions, zooming into specific persons and sections within the network gives clues about the employment dynamics in academia. For instance, Figures 32-33 show scholars in the network differentiated by their latest place of employment in academia. Zooming in on a group of PhD graduates from Ankara University, advisees of Coşkun Özgünel (id 40) and Baki Öğün (id 22), reveal a certain kind of employment strategy. As the network shows, four graduates from Ankara University are employed in Başkent University, a private higher education institution in Ankara. Sema Atik Korkmaz (id 143), an advisee of Coşkun

Özgünel, spent her longest period of employment at the Department of Audio, Visual Techniques, and Media Production of Başkent University before moving to her current employment place at the Department of Architecture at the same university. Cengiz Mehmet Işık (id 31), an advisee of Baki Öğün, is currently teaching at the Graphic Design Department of Başkent University where Çiğdem Gençay Güray (id 37), another Ankara University graduate who wrote her thesis under the supervision of Coşkun Özgünel, was also employed before she moved back to Ankara University Department of Archaeology. Perhaps most interestingly, Tulga Albustanlıoğlu (id 158), who is also an advisee of Coşkun Özgünel and completed all his degrees in Classical Archaeology, spent his longest period of employment at the Department of Travel, Tourism, and Recreational Services and is currently teaching at the Department of Gastronomy and Culinary Arts at Başkent University. Rather than archaeology departments, they appear to be based at departments such as Graphic Design, Gastronomy and Culinary Arts, academic fields that are not directly related to archaeology. In the absence of employment opportunities which do not meet the number of new graduates from doctoral programmes, students from Ankara University Department of Archaeology seem to have creative solutions to pursue their careers in other departments in the academy.

Another striking result from this network concerns the overall employment rate within academia. Of the 140 scholars included in this network, the rate of employment within academia is very high. There are only 13 people with PhDs who were not employed in universities and three of these 13 are employed in the Ministry of Tourism and Culture.

Despite its methodological benefit in revealing employments dynamics and trends, social network analysis does not give much information about the more intellectual connections among scholars. Limited to advisor-advisee relationships, the picture that social network analysis provide misses the deeper interactions which may include transfer of ideas and scholarly attitudes among scholars. Furthermore, while changing work dynamics, such as multiple academic positions by the same person get represented in the network, it was not possible to generate visuals which would lead to further analysis within the limitations of the methodology. Additional study on the subject by including more scholars into the network and building other networks based on different criteria can reveal more

connections and interactions within academia otherwise not detectable from this limited data set.

The social network analysis based on Ekrem Akurgal's students and students' students reveal different aspects of the archaeology academia in Turkey and the issues behind the exclusivity and employment dynamics underlying its organization. It further allows us to detect traces and links of professors to a series of departments and institutions. There are cases where a group of students, all advisees of a particular professor, all employed in the same university, and sometimes in departments not necessarily related to archaeology. What this social network analysis reveals is the hiring and placement dynamics within the larger body of universities.

5.4 Conclusion

Archaeological education in Turkey started formally in 1933 with the founding of the first academic department of archaeology in Istanbul University and has since come a long way. With the burgeoning numbers of university departments as well as students, education in archaeology is now including a much larger and diverse audience.

Emigré scholars played an important role in the establishment of the first archaeology departments in Turkey. Further influence from Europe came through the Turkish students such as Ekrem Akurgal and Halet Çambel and others, who received their higher education in European universities and returned to teach in Turkey. As the autobiographies and oral history interviews of prominent scholars attest, an education in archaeology has usually limited to a select group of students who were chosen based on their socioeconomic class, gender, and prior educational background through entrance interviews. The interviews also showed the influence from Europe and the United States of archaeological practices on the archaeological education in the form of curriculum content and delivery methods, which were mainly lectures and seminars.

Social network analysis based on the students of Ekrem Akurgal further showed the dynamics of employments within the field of archaeology in Turkey, including a high rate of academic employment within the network and alternative strategies for staying

within the universities by taking jobs in departments not particularly related to archaeology.



CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND WHAT LIES AHEAD

This dissertation demonstrated that it is possible to write a history of archaeological practice in Turkey by focusing on participants who have been absent in the official historiography, and that there are more layers to the explored which give a more layered, diverse and multi-voiced account of the archaeological profession. It further showed that there exists a variety of sources which have the potential of producing histories of archaeological practice including oral history testimonies with the practitioners, local communities, students, and other participants in an archaeological project as well as documents which have often been classified apart from the archaeological archival materials such letters from the local communities, shopping lists and receipts, and other kinds of documents which might be categorized as ephemera. The sources explored in this dissertation also attest to the power dynamics and hierarchy in the archaeological profession at different levels, the struggles in practice, and the realities of conducting archaeological fieldwork.

On a concluding note, the challenges and shortcomings faced throughout the research and the future directions that it has potential to take will be elaborated here as an attempt to reflect on this dissertation. Furthermore, my own experience throughout the research process and stance within the discourse of history and politics of archaeological practice in Turkey will be deconstructed to pave the way for possible new road maps that can redefine archaeology and archaeological practice.

6.1 Ambivalence and Ambiguity of Interdisciplinary Methodologies

One of the challenges that I encountered while writing this dissertation was the definition of its subject matter. While the research conducted here is all about archaeology—its history, politics, practices, and participants—this work is not necessarily an archaeology dissertation reflecting research which has traditionally been expected to be focus on a past period and material remains that are left to reveal that past. The ossified and more traditional definition of archaeology and the intellectual territory it covers at times hindered communicating the scope of this research topic to other scholars and

practitioners in the field of archaeology. This became a challenge particularly during the process of reaching out to possible participants for oral history interviews. However, once the meeting was arranged and the participants became more informed and familiar with the nature of the questions and the scope of the interview, the motivation behind this research became more accessible. While the word “archaeology” helped in getting in contact with the participants of the discipline, at the same time, the categorization of this research as a topic of archaeology created an unforeseen ambiguity and confusion because of the way this dissertation defines the practice and discipline.

For academics who have been trained in, and used to a traditional understanding of archaeology, which champions a positivist approach stemming from the New Archaeology movement of the 1960s, the mixture of methodologies employed in this dissertation may first appear as unsystematic and even “unscientific”. This is due to the intent of this research to define archaeological practice in a more holistic way, which includes aspects of labour, gender, and the contributions of local communities to the narrative accounts and historical records of archaeological excavations.

6.2 Voices from Akköy and Balat

This dissertation primarily focused on the hitherto overlooked or ignored participants of the archaeological practice: the local communities and their contribution of labour to archaeological excavations. In the past, the voices of the local communities have often been ignored by researchers in official accounts of excavations. For reasons explained in Chapter 4 most of the oral history interviews conducted for this thesis were with the directors of archaeological projects rather than those who could be defined as members of the local communities and labourers in those projects. As a step towards gathering data from these groups, a brief oral history project was conducted with members of the local communities living in Akköy and Balat villages—two neighbouring settlements near the ancient city of Miletus which has been excavated since the beginning of the 20th century by German archaeological teams.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁶ Akköy was the subject of a previous study which focuses on the immigration experience of its inhabitants who settled in the village as part of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the aftermath of First World War. Yasar Ozan Say, ‘The Balkan Muhacirs of Akköy: Memory and Identity in a Western Anatolian Village’ (Master of Arts, Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2006).

Over the course of two days, 20-21 September 2018, I conducted a series of informal interviews with members of local community from Akköy and Balat, the two villages located closest to the Miletus Archaeological Project in Aydın, Turkey. While Balat is directly next to the site, Akköy is the village where the excavation house for the German Archaeological Team has been since 1905 when the first systematic excavations commenced under the direction of Berlin Museums. The interviews were not audio-recorded except for the interview with Osman Kırtı who works as the manager of the excavation house. I was able to sit privately and conduct a formal interview with him. The other interviews were informal in nature and I recorded these in shorthand. During my interviews, I was initially accompanied by Christoph Berns and Reyhan Şahin, the co-directors of the excavations at Miletus, who acted as intermediaries reaching out to the local community in Akköy and Balat.

The process of meeting with the inhabitants of the villages started with the local government official (*muhtar*) of the Akköy Village, Halit Gülgeroğlu—a retired agricultural engineer who grew up in the village. The interview was conducted in Mr. Gülgeroğlu's office located next to the village coffeehouse, and the co-directors of the Miletus Archaeological Project were also present. While the interview was initially meant to be a first meeting about possible permit details to interview members of the local community, Mr. Gülgeroğlu revealed his own experiences with the excavation at Miletus as well as provided me with historical and demographic information regarding Akköy. Growing up in Akköy, he remembered interacting with the German members of the excavation team. Mr. Gülgeroğlu recounted that the team members would be affectionate towards the children of the village and would give them candies. He also remembered a certain member of the team called “Aganti” but my research did not reveal a person by that name who had worked in the excavation.

A similar meeting was arranged with the local government official of the Balat Village. In contrast to the *muhtarlık* office in Akköy, here the meeting place was the coffee house of the Balat village which did not allow any room for privacy or concentrated talk. The meeting with the *muhtar* was attended by other members of the local community who happened to be at the coffeehouse and the talks did not follow the guidelines for any oral

history interview format. While the meeting made it possible to meet members of the local community including a Korean War veteran who also participated in the excavation at one point, the dispersed nature of simultaneous talks made it hard for me to follow and record them as a researcher.

The only formally structured interview was carried out with Osman Kırtı, the manager of the excavation house. The interview started on a biographical note and then turned more into an account of the history of the region and excavation. Twenty-five years of age at the time of the interview, Osman Kırtı was a native of Balat and involved with the excavations early on because of his father who also took part in the dig. At an early age, he started working at the excavation house before working in the trench and then he returned to the excavation house as a manager. The information stressed in the interview included but is not limited to the daily needs of the excavation house which required a water supply as the house had no connection to the water system or its own water sources, the transformation and demographics of workmen involved with the excavation, the earthquakes which physically shaped both villages and left a mark in the social memory of the community, and suggestions for me to meet other potential interviewees from the local community. Due to his young age, some of the information Osman Kırtı shared did not stem from his own experience but reflected what he had heard or known from other sources. In that sense, it also gave clues about the social and shared memory regarding the history of the region and its relationship with the excavation.

One conclusion drawn from this brief oral history project in Akköy and Balat is that interviews with local community often diverge from the topic of archaeology but turn into the history of their region as they remember and tell it. When faced with a researcher coming from a different place and introduced to them via the co-directors of the excavation, members of the local community had a certain expectation of what to share and what was expected of them to share. This expectation, I surmised, leads to the pressure on the interviewee's side to showcase the historical information they have of the archaeology and ancient history of Miletus, rather than their own experience and interaction with the site. While recording the local version of the archaeology and ancient history of the region was itself very valuable, it did not necessarily fall into the scope of

this study, which was mainly interested in the labour and contribution of the local communities in the archaeological work.

It should also be mentioned that methodological ambiguities resurfaced in approaching members of the local community. Here oral history was chosen in line with the other interviews done within the scope of this dissertation, however, a longer-term engagement with the villages would benefit from ethnographic methods and could enhance the overall quality of the information gathered from the members of the local community. By ethnographic methods, here I mainly refer here to the research methodologies that go beyond the oral history techniques such as audio recording and one-to-one conversations and allow more flexibility in fieldwork.

While archival research constituted the main line of inquiry in this dissertation, this case study demonstrated that a fieldwork would be needed and should be the direction of further research on the subject. To avoid the amplification of certain voices in the historiography, which was one of the motivations behind this dissertation, it is indeed imperative to go beyond what more traditional academic lines of historical investigation offer and seek ways to create a more collaborative record of the past which give voice(s) to all the participants of archaeological practice.

A possible direction for this research would be an oral history project combined with ethnographic research which concentrates on a particular site which would include a diverse body of participants as well as members of local communities who inhabit in or near the focused heritage site.

6.3 Representation vs. “Anecdotal” Evidence

A question that may arise in response to this dissertation would be how representative the materials included in the previous chapters are, especially about the relationship between the local communities and archaeologists doing fieldwork, in order to be regarded as representative of archaeological practice in Turkey. The answer to this is nuanced and the issue of representativity is also linked with the research questions of this dissertation. By “anecdotal”, I mainly refer to the singularity of instances and stories in relation with archaeological practice that may not necessarily reflect a broader trend. Similarly, the

term “representation” is used in relation to the broader macro trends and practices in archaeology in Turkey. One of the main motivations in this research was to understand the contribution and labour of local communities in fieldwork. Finding an answer to this question from a historical local communities’ perspective necessitated extensive archival research and this formed the backbone of the dissertation. However, the material was scarce and often obscured behind institutional and archival hierarchies. In this sense, finding the voice and image of local communities in the archives was itself a challenge. The materials surveyed within the dissertation research point to a certain kind of relationship between archaeologists and local communities, one that is informal in its nature, based on labour and power imbalance where the archaeologists are at an advantage. This conclusion is, however, drawn from archives of foreign archaeologists who conducted fieldwork, and in certain cases lived, in Turkey. A more comprehensive answer to this question can only be achieved with more archival research that would include more personal stories from a wider range of participants in archaeological projects in Turkey.

Perhaps more concrete questions and answers could be sought through looking at individual names mentioned in this dissertation. For instance, how representative is Machteld Mellink in terms of forming relationships with the local community? Specifically, in the case of Prof. Mellink, the evidence shows that she was unique. First, among the names and archives investigated in this study, Mellink’s archive was the only one which showed continued relationships with members of the local community over a certain period of time through multiple letters. Second, hers is the only archive which contained a large amount of material collected from the local communities. Additionally, Mellink’s case is unique in the sense that her personal archive of correspondence and her teaching and research materials are all merged into one estate which inevitably gives the impression of a personal archaeological practice that allocated importance to personal relationships.

It should be stressed that the evaluation of stories mentioned in this study as “anecdotal” goes against one of the core motivations of this research which was to highlight personal narratives and understand them equally. Rather than presenting an overarching opinion

of one story of archaeology, more than anything, personal stories entangled with archaeology proves that there is no monopoly of memory over archaeological narratives.

6.4 Shortcomings, Obstacles, and a Self-Reflection

On a reflective note, it should be stressed there are certain ways in which this dissertation fell short of my initial expectations and could be improved. First, a clearer framework for the time period investigated could have been established. The timeframe that this study dealt with was intentionally established from the 1920s till today. The main reason for this was the scarcity of archival materials and the longevity of certain archaeological practices in Turkey. While the broad framework did allow for a wider exploration of the archives and eventually a more diverse group of voices in terms of local communities, it made it more difficult to draw conclusions and make generalizations. While research of local communities from a longer temporal perspective benefited this study, in the case of the investigation into the academic establishment of archaeology the longer time slice made it difficult due to the abundance of material to be evaluated particularly for more recent past.

Another improvement to this dissertation could come from adding a place-based case study that would investigate the history of a past or ongoing archaeological project. This would allow the research to draw more concrete conclusions regarding the history of archaeological practice and present comparative data. While such a case study was initially planned, the process of finding a suitable excavation and securing permits to conduct research in the project archives could not be achieved within the timeframe of concluding my research. However, building on this dissertation by adding case study histories should be the primary direction for the next steps in this research.

While this dissertation included narratives from members of local communities largely extracted from the archival records, interviews with the current members of local communities involved in different archaeological excavations fell short of my initial expectations. Oral history as methodology places importance in revealing voices of communities which have historically been marginalized or underrepresented. Within the context of this study, practical setbacks resulted in reaching out to fewer members of the

local communities. The main issue was that, in line with the best practices of oral history, utmost importance was given to accurate recording of interviews with a recording device, archiving of these interviews, and prioritization of interviewing the individual rather than groups. Following these best practices in the field while reaching out to members of the local community was not always possible. Particularly in situations when approached a group of members of the local community in a communal space, the process of recording or individual interview could not be carried out.

Two solutions could possibly remedy this shortcoming. First, case studies that focus on certain local communities in one or two small-scale places which would allow more access and time within an excavation may result in reaching out to more voices and stories through oral history interviews with more people and their stories. Second, a more diverse methodological toolkit that would benefit from anthropological and ethnographic approaches would help and enrich the oral history interview processes, which within the scope of this study, were limited to excavation directors and senior archaeologists. While still maintaining a historical perspective, on-site observation could augment oral history interviews or open up unexpected opportunities for conversations particularly with the members of local community who partake in the archaeological work.

6.5 A Road Map for a New Archaeological Practice and Archaeology

A common saying, perhaps slightly outdated, within the archaeology community is about the need to leave certain sites for future archaeologists so that technological advances and the development of scientific thinking would allow future scholars opportunities for new new analyses. While this saying refers more to the need to leave some space for the next generations of archaeologists, it might be also possible to interpret this as a cautionary note about overdoing archaeological work, particularly in the form of extensive invasive excavation, architectural restoration and reconstruction of sites. The histories of excavation mentioned in this dissertation—particularly the ancient city of Aphrodisias—demonstrated that excavation work could lead to the displacement of people for the sake of archaeology and, echoing the words of Gerhard Paul, the restoration architect who

oversaw the project since 1990s in Aphrodisias, the project was not for the people but against the people.³⁸⁷

A possible new road map for archaeology could simply be no practice at all. In a recent article, Nicolas Zorzin even suggested that archaeologists voluntarily give up their work as a form of civil disobedience.³⁸⁸ While the author accepts that his recommendations are indeed theoretical attempts to change the mind set of the archaeological community in a neoliberal economics context, his analysis of the unsustainability of archaeological practice within this economic model—a model that potentially defines archaeology as part of larger cultural resources management—is worth considering. This dissertation demonstrated in several cases that archaeological work can be seen as a major economic resource for local communities, not only as direct cash, but also the social security which includes medical benefits. While the regulations regarding medical care in Turkey have changed considerably with the centralization of the social security apparatus in recent years, for the time period concerned in this research, work with a guarantee of social security was the first step to access medical benefits in communities where jobs with social security were very scarce. Several directors of archaeological projects—particularly of teams that came from abroad such as Pergamon and Sagalassos—referred to the fact they are not able to afford the number and type of workforce they used to. While archaeological projects bring advantages into local communities in the form of extra income as well as health benefits, the projects are also under the pressure and influence of market dynamics which leads to an unsustainable model of managing heritage.

Ebru Torun, former assistant director of the Sagalassos Archaeological Project, a project known for its pioneering role in archaeological practice by integrating natural and applied sciences into archaeology, summarized how archaeological work had changed over time.³⁸⁹ She further elaborated that the next stage in the development of archaeology as a practice would be a shift towards a people-centered approach which did not treat heritage

³⁸⁷ Yaşar Özcan Say, 'The Balkan Muhacirs of Akköy: Memory and Identity in a Western Anatolian Village' (Master of Arts, Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2006).

³⁸⁸ Nicolas Zorzin, 'Is Archaeology Conceivable within the Degrowth Movement?', *Archaeological Dialogues* 28 (2021): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1380203821000015>.

³⁸⁹ Torun, 'Peyzaj Olarak Sagalassos-Ağlasun Sagalassos'ta Disiplinler Arası Arkeolojinin Gelişimi'.

studies and issues regarding the local communities as a legal necessity, on the contrary, placed people as the catalyst of the project.

To conclude, researching contemporary archaeological practices helps to reveal lingering practices from the past. This dissertation grew out of a dissatisfaction with the dominant narrative in archaeology which has frequently focused on the trope of the “hero archaeologist”, generally a white male who discovers and reveals mysterious wonders of the past, saving these treasures from obscurity and from the hands of people who do not value it. My own archaeological field experience in Turkey contributed to my frustration with this type of archaeological practice, how it is performed, and recorded, and provided the catalyst for me to search for other voices in the many layers of archaeology in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

8.1 APPENDIX A: Koç University Ethics Committee Decision for Research in Social Sciences

Rumeli Feneri Yolu 34450 Istanbul, Turkey T: 0212 338 10 00 F: 0212 338 12 05 www.ku.edu.tr



ETHICS COMMITTEE DECISION FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Meeting Date:	04.04.2016
Protocol No:	2016.068.IRB3.045
Principal Investigator	Lucienne Thys-Şenocak
Title:	Between Place, Archaeology, and Memory: Heritage of Classical Antiquity in Turkey
Start Date:	08.04.2016
Duration of The Approval:	1 year (with a possible extension)

The research proposal with the title and protocol number given above and the supporting material have been thoroughly examined by the Committee with regards to its aims, purpose, approach and methods.

The Committee reviewed the research proposal and approved the study protocol. You may begin your research on the start date listed above.

Best Regards,


Hakan S. Orer
Chairman

TABLES

Collection	Institution	Accessibility
Papers of Robert J. and Linda S. Braidwood	The Oriental Institute Museum Archives, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA	Public
Machteld J. Mellink Papers	Special Collections, Canaday Library, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA, USA	Public
The Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Archive	Harvard Art Museums, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA	Public
George M. A. Hanfmann Personal Papers	Harvard University Archives, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA	Public
Aizanoi Excavation Papers	Architecture Department, German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, Germany	Private
Aizanoi Excavation Papers	The Office of Klaus Rheidt, Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, Cottbus, Germany	Private
Registry Books	The Winckelmann Institute, Humboldt University Berlin, Berlin, Germany	Institutionally Available
Izmir General-Consulate Papers, Istanbul General-Consulate Papers, Ankara Embassy Papers, German Archaeological Institute Papers	The Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office, Berlin, Germany	Public
Excavation Papers of Miletus, Didyma, Priene, and Pergamon, Museum Station Constantinople Papers	Central Archive, State Museums of Berlin, Berlin, Germany	Public
Excavation Papers and Visuals of Miletus, Didyma, Priene, and Pergamon, Correspondence of Theodor Wiegand and Martin Schede	Collection of Antiquities Archive, State Museums of Berlin, Berlin, Germany	Institutionally Available
Kurt Bittel Personal Papers, DAI Membership Files, Excavation Papers of Miletus, Myus, and Panionion, Theodor Wiegand Personal	German Archaeological Institute Archive, Berlin, Germany	Public

Papers, Gerhart Rodenwaldt Personal Papers		
Antioch Excavation Archive, Sardis Excavation Archive, Howard Crosby Butler Personal Papers	Visual Resources Collection, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, USA	Public
Aziz Ogan Collection	Archives and Documentation Center, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey	Public
Paris Peace Conference Papers	The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, UK	Public

Table 1 Collections and Archives Consulted for this Dissertation

Interview Date	Surname	Name	Position	Institution
March 20, 2017	Ahunbay	Zeynep	Professor Emerita	Istanbul Technical University
August 2, 2018	Akurgal	Meral	Professor Emerita	Dokuz Eylül University
November 23, 2016	Bakır	Tomris	Professor Emerita	Ege University
September 23, 2017	Berns	Christof	Professor	Ruhr-Bochum University
August 16, 2018	Bingöl	Işık	Archaeologist	Magnesia on the Meander Excavations
August 16, 2018	Bingöl	Orhan	Professor	Karabük University
July 29, 2018	Cahill	Nicholas D.	Professor	University of Wisconsin-Madison
August 3, 2018	Çevik	Özlem	Professor	Trakya University
April 6, 2017	Çilingiroğlu	Altan	Professor Emeritus	Ege University
August 25, 2017	D'Andria	Francesco	Professor Emeritus	Lecce University
November 14, 2016	Erder	Cevat	Professor Emeritus	Middle East Technical University
July 30, 2018	Ersoy	Yaşar	Professor Emeritus	Hitit University
July 7, 2021	Güven	Suna	Professor	Middle East Technical University
August 22, 2017	Kadioğlu	Musa	Professor	Ankara University
September 21, 2018	Kırtı	Osman	Excavation House Manager	Miletus Excavations
June 2, 2017	Koçel Erdem	Zeynep	Professor	Mimar Sinan Fine Art University
July 30, 2018	Koparal	Elif	Assistant Professor	Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University
July 18, 2018	Özbal	Hadi	Professor Emeritus	Boğaziçi University
May 29, 2017	Özbaşaran	Mihriban	Professor	Istanbul University

December 13, 2016	Özdoğan	Mehmet	Professor Emeritus	Istanbul University
May 15, 2017	Özgan	Christine	Professor	Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University
August 2, 2018	Özyiğit	Ömer	Professor Emeritus	Ege University
July 31, 2018	Paul	Gerhard	Anastylosis Architect	Aphrodisias Excavations
September 5, 2017	Pirson	Felix	Director	German Archaeological Institute Istanbul Branch
August 14, 2017	Poblome	Jeroen	Professor	KU Leuven
July 25, 2018	Ratté	Christopher	Professor	University of Michigan
March 17, 2021	Renda	Günzel	Professor	Koç University
December 13, 2017	Rheidt	Klaus	Professor	Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg
May 16, 2019	Rose	Brian	Professor	University of Pennsylvania
November 19, 2016 -- November 24, 2016	Şahin	Nuran	Professor Emerita	Ege University
August 24, 2017	Şimşek	Celal	Professor	Pamukkale University
July 31, 2018	Smith	R.R.R. (Bert)	Professor	University of Oxford
November 9, 2016	Sokolicek	Alexander	Scientific Personnel	Austrian Archaeological Institute
May 26, 2021	Tekin	Oğuz	Professor	Koç University
March 3, 2021	Torun	Ebru	Architect Conservator	KU Leuven
October 12, 2016	Uytterhoeven	Inge	Assistant Professor	Koç University
August 14, 2017	Waelkens	Marc	Professor Emeritus	KU Leuven
June 11, 2018	Yenişehirlioğlu	Filiz	Professor	Koç University

*Table 2 Oral History Interview List.*³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ The positions and titles used in this list are based on the ones when the interviews were conducted.

Name	ID
Abdulhaluk Çay	id_1
Abdulkadir Baran	id_2
Abdullah Semih Güneri	id_3
Abdullah Yaylalı	id_4
Adnan Diler	id_5
Ahmet A. Tırpan	id_6
Ahmet Ersen	id_7
Ahmet Oğuz Alp	id_8
Ahmet Tolga Tek	id_9
Ali Kazım Öz	id_10
Arda Bülben Yazıcı	id_11
Aslı Saraçoğlu	id_12
Ayça (Özcan) Gerçek	id_13
Aydın Erön	id_14
Aynur Civelek	id_15
Ayşe Çalık Ross	id_16
Ayşe Fatma Erol	id_17
Ayşe Gül Akalın Orbay	id_18
Ayşe Güliz Bilgin Altınöz	id_19
Ayşegül Gürgezoğlu	id_20
Aytekin Erdoğan	id_21
Baki Ögün	id_22
Bekir Özer	id_23
Bekir Sıtkı Alptekin Oransay	id_24
Berna Alpagut	id_25
Bilge Hürmüzlü Kortholt	id_26
Bilge Nilgün Öz Wood	id_27
Binnur Gürler	id_28
Celal Şimşek	id_29
Cengiz Çetin	id_30
Cengiz Memet Işık	id_31
Cenker Atila	id_32
Cevat Başaran	id_33
Cevat Erder	id_34
Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu	id_35
Christine Özgan	id_36
Çiğdem Gençler Güray	id_37
Çiğdem Özbek	id_38
Coşkun Aytaç	id_39
Coşkun Özgünel	id_40
Didem Demiralp	id_41

Ekrem Akurgal	id 42
Elif (Uğurlu) Özer	id 43
Elif Tül Tulunay	id 44
Emel Dereboylu	id 45
Emel Işık	id 46
Emel Kayın	id 47
Emre Okan	id 48
Engin Özgen	id 49
Ergün Laflı	id 50
Erhan Öztepe	id 51
Erika Simon	id 52
Erol Atalay	id 53
Erol Demir	id 54
Ersin Doğer	id 55
Eti Akyüz Levi	id 56
Fahri Işık	id 57
Fatma Bağdatlı	id 58
Feyzullah Eray Dökü	id 59
Figen Çevirici Coşkun	id 60
Fuat Gökçe	id 61
Gamze Günay von Graeve	id 62
Geoffrey. B. Weywell	id 63
Gerhart Rodenwaldt	id 64
Gloria Pinney	id 65
Gökhan Coşkun	id 66
Gökhan Özağaçlı	id 67
Görkem Kökdemir	id 68
Gül Işın	id 69
Gürcan Polat	id 70
Gürol Barın	id 71
Güven Bakır	id 72
Halime Hüryılmaz	id 73
Haluk Abbasoğlu	id 74
Handan Yıldızhan	id 75
Hande Kökten	id 76
Hasan Hüseyin Öztürk	id 77
Hatice Işıl Kocabaş	id 78
Hatice Kalkan	id 79
Hatice Pamir	id 80
Havva (İşkan) Işık	id 81
Hayat Erkanal	id 82
Hazar Kaba	id 83
Henner von Hesberg	id 84

Hermann Vetters	id_85
Hülya Boyana	id_86
Hülya Bulut	id_87
Hümeýra Birol Akkurt	id_88
Hüseyin Cevizoğlu	id_89
İbrahim Ethem Koçak	id_90
İbrahim Hakan Mert	id_91
İlhami Durmuş	id_92
Işık Adak Adıbelli	id_93
İsmail Fazlıoğlu	id_94
İsmail Gezgin	id_95
İsmail Özer	id_96
Jale Beşkonaklı	id_97
K. Tarkan Kahya	id_98
Kamil Sönmez	id_99
Kutalmış Gökay	id_100
Levent Zoroğlu	id_101
Mazlum Baki Demirtaş	id_102
Mehmet Karaosmanoğlu	id_103
Mehmet Neziha Aytaçlar	id_104
Mehmet Önal	id_105
Mehmet Özhanlı	id_106
Mehmet Sarı	id_107
Meral (Manyas) Akurgal	id_108
Meral Ortaç	id_109
Mine Tanaç Zeren	id_110
Murat Çekilmez	id_111
Murat Durukan	id_112
Musa Kadioğlu	id_113
Mustafa H. Sayar	id_114
Mustafa Şahin	id_115
Mustafa Yılmaz	id_116
Neşe Kırdemir	id_117
Nevzat Çevik	id_118
Nikolaus Himmelmann	id_119
Nimet Özgönül	id_120
Nuran Şahin	id_121
Nurettin Koçhan	id_122
Nurettin Öztürk	id_123
Ömer Özyiğit	id_124
Orhan Bingöl	id_125
Özkan Ertuğrul	id_126
Özlem Vapur	id_127

Pamir Yılmaz	id_128
Pınar Pınarcık	id_129
Rafet Dinç	id_130
Rafet Gül Gürtekin Demir	id_131
Ramazan Özgan	id_132
Recep Meriç	id_133
Recep Yıldırım	id_134
Reinhold Merkerbach	id_135
Rıfat Ergeç	id_136
Roland Hampe	id_137
Rudolph Horn	id_138
Şahin Yıldırım	id_139
Salih Gökhan Tiryaki	id_140
Sami Patlı	id_141
Seda Karaöz Arıhan	id_142
Sema Atik Korkmaz	id_143
Serap Özkan Kılıç	id_144
Serap Yaylalı	id_145
Serdar Aybek	id_146
Serdar Hakan Öztaner	id_147
Sevim Buluç	id_148
Şevket Aktaş	id_149
Seyhan Doruk	id_150
Suat Ateşlier	id_151
Suhal Sağlan	id_152
Şükrü Özudoğru	id_153
Sultan Sezin Sezer	id_154
Taner Güler	id_155
Tayyar Gürdal	id_156
Tomris Bakır	id_157
Tulga Albustanlıoğlu	id_158
Turhan Özkan	id_159
Ümit Güngör	id_160
Ümit Serdaroğlu	id_161
Vecihi Özkaya	id_162
Vedat İdil	id_163
Veli Sevin	id_164
Volker Michael Stroka	id_165
Volkmar von Graeve	id_166
Yaşar Ersoy	id_167
Yaşar Serkal Yıldırım	id_168
Yasemin Polat	id_169
Yusuf Albayrak	id_170

Yusuf Boysal	id_171
Zeynep Aktüre	id_172

Table 3 Social Network ID-Names List



FIGURES



Figure 1 Aphrodisias: Tetrapylon, 2014, Aphrodisias Museum. Source: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1519/gallery>



Figure 2 Aphrodisias, 1950s, Ara Güler. Source:
<http://www.araguler.com.tr/discoveries-turkey-photos.html>



Figure 3 Photograph of Cemal Dinçer. Source: Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.



Figure 4 Photo by David L. Brill. Source: Erim, Kenan. Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite. New York: Facts on Life Publications. 1986.

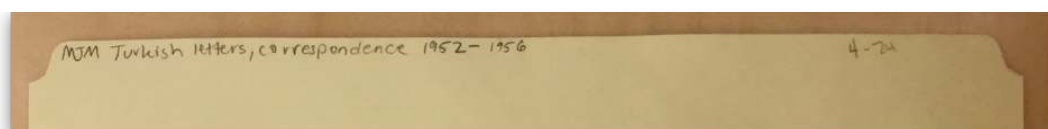


Figure 5 An Image of the Folder titled “1952-1956”. Source: Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

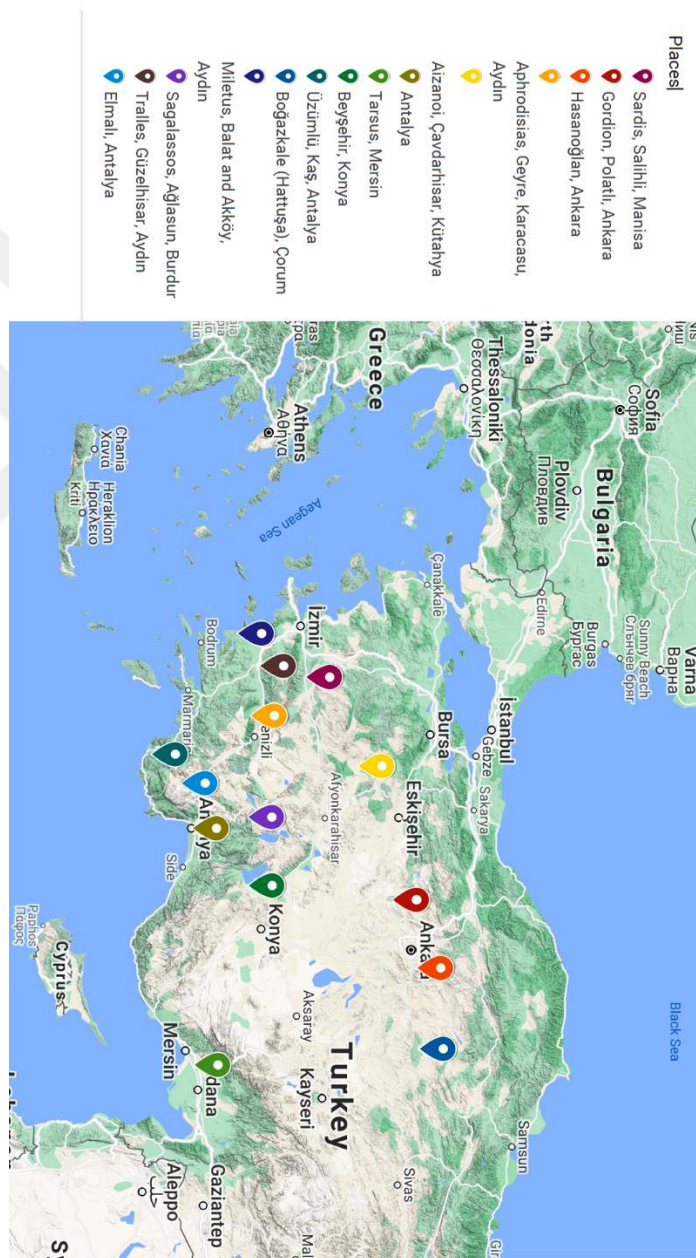


Figure 6 Archaeological sites mentioned in Chapter 3



Figure 7 Photograph of Cemal Dinçer. Source: '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library

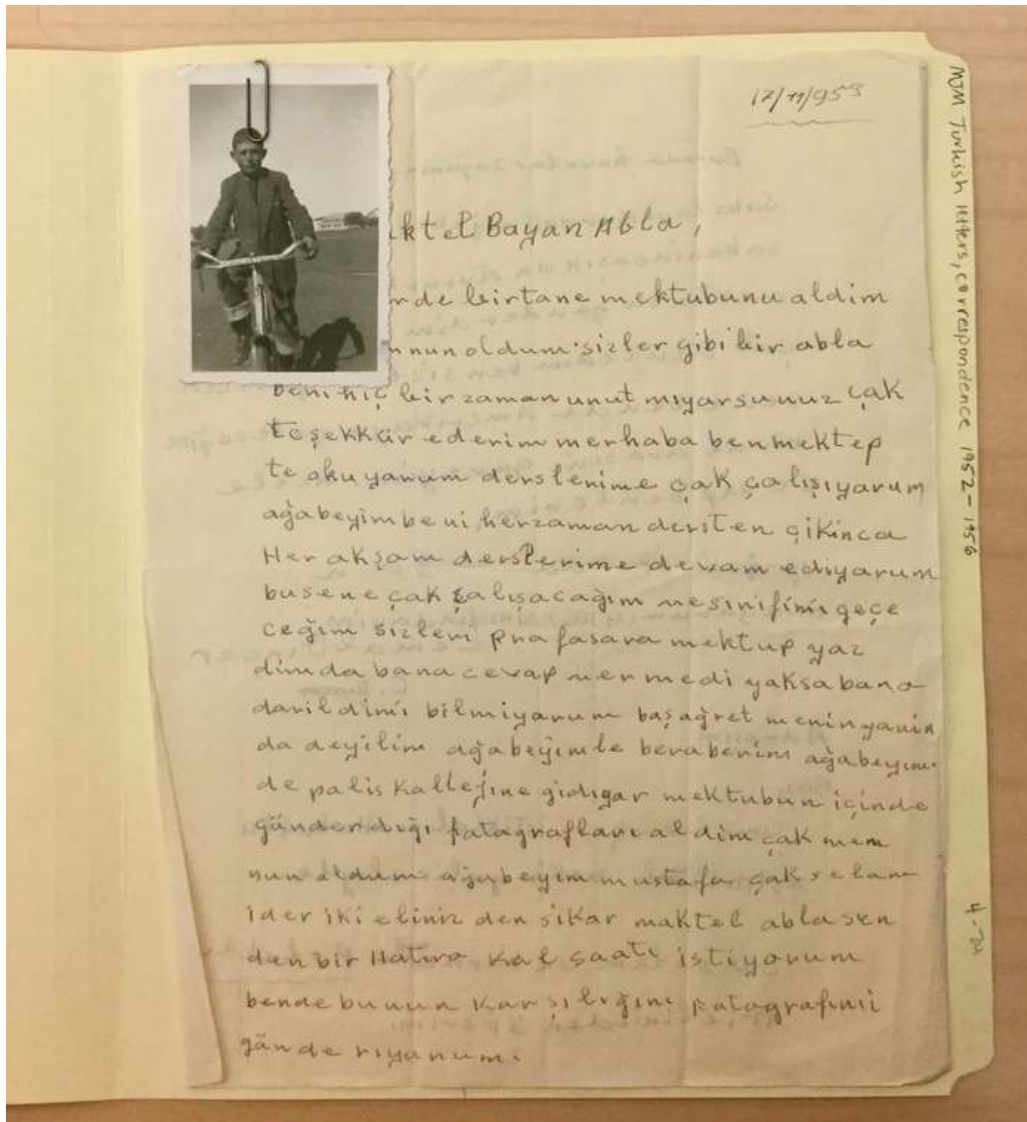


Figure 8 Letter of Cemal Dinçer. Source: '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence, Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library



Figure 9 Photograph of Cengiz Söyler. Source: '1952-1956', Series III.
Correspondence Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr
College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library



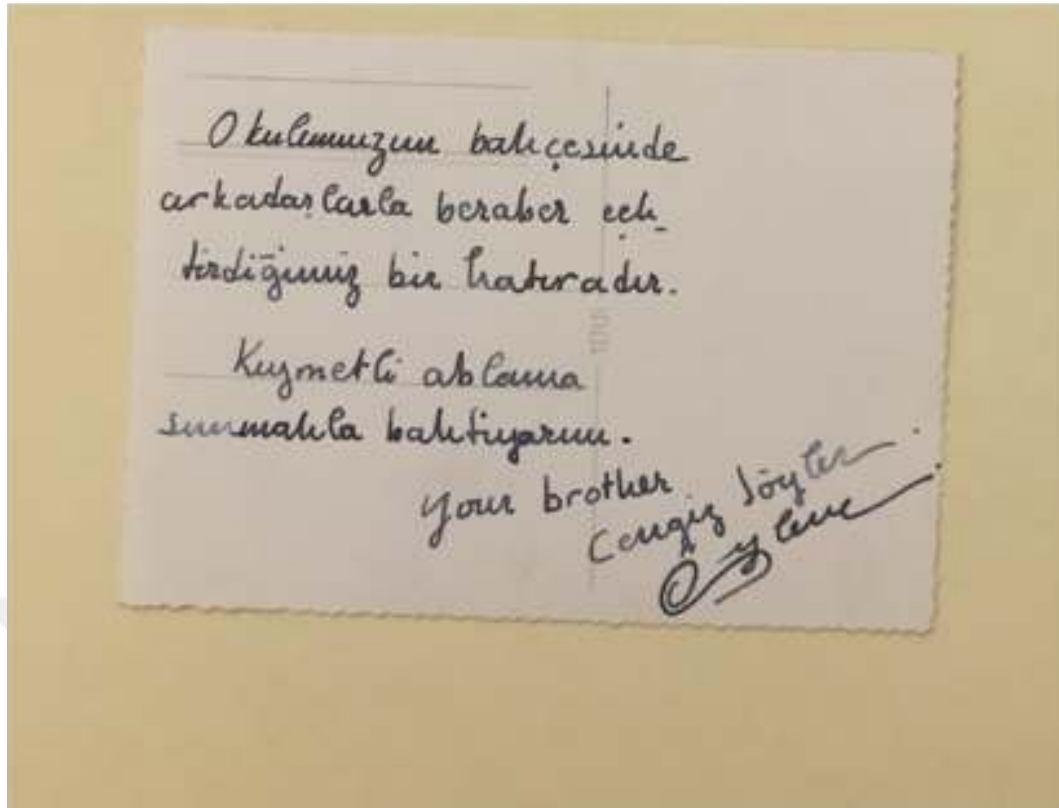


Figure 10 Photograph of Cengiz Söyler. Source: '1952-1956', Series III.
Correspondence Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr
College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library

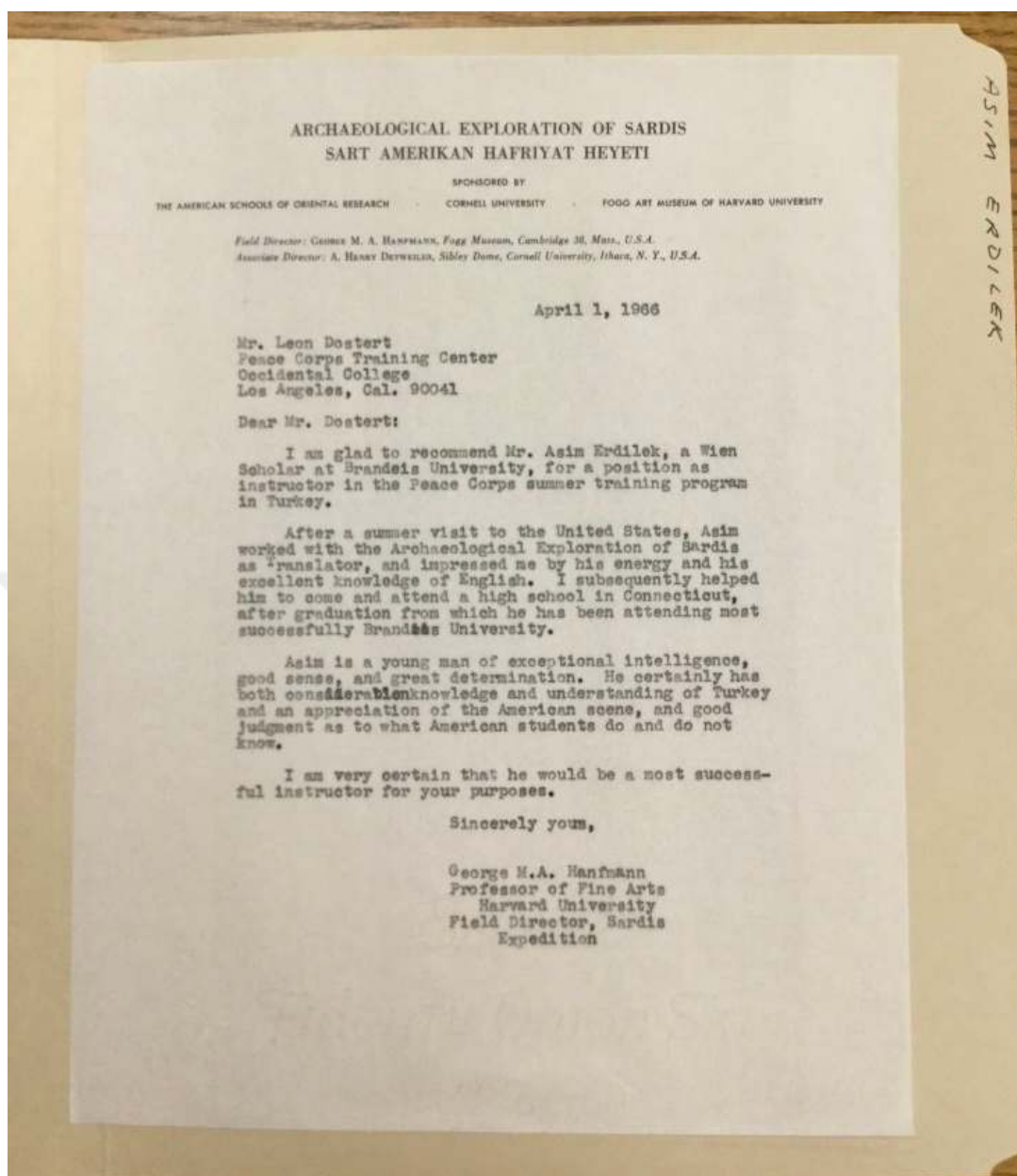


Figure 11 Recommendation letter by George Hanfmann. Source: 'Asim Erdilek', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

Asım Erdilek
% Regional #1 High School
Winsted, Connecticut.

March 5, 1963

Prof. George H. A. Hanfmann
20 Hilditch St. Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for taking the trouble to write to Mr. Holcomb of Gustavus Adolphus College and sending a copy of your letter to me. Your invaluable interest and confidence in me always gives me the will, determination and the strength to succeed and justify what you have done for me.

I am very happy to tell you that I have been accepted also at Beloit College with a scholarship of \$1800.00 and a work/loan of \$500 for the 1963-1964 academic year. I received the letter of this acceptance and scholarship grant yesterday from Beloit College.

If I do not bother you Sir, I want to tell you a little about my concerns for my college planning for next year. As you know I have also applied to Harvard, Brandeis and Dickinson. Other than the colleges I have been accepted at, I know that I shall hear from Harvard by the second week of April, from Brandeis by the first week of April and from Dickinson by the 15th of March, about their final decisions on my applications for acceptance and scholarship grant. As I have learned how to be patient and wait for the appropriate time, as the only logical thing to do, I am in no hurry to hear from the three colleges which I mentioned above.

I am grateful with all my heart to the people at Gustavus Adolphus and Beloit for their confidence in me and their kind, precious assistance for my college education. I have no doubt that both of these schools are excellent by all means. They both will offer me a very decent education which I am, after all, just. I ask for your understanding that Harvard is my first choice if I am to make a choice among all these very fine institutions. This is possible of course if I am accepted at Harvard before all. Please Prof. Hanfmann, I beg you not to think that because now I am

Figure 12 Letter of Asım Erdilek Source: 'Asım Erdilek', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

accepted at two colleges, I am looking for more than I have received, being ungrateful. I believe that every student who applies to Harvard and other colleges considers Harvard as his first choice. May be I should say most of the students, as I have no proof that every one does. But thanks to God I have no intention of losing what I have by being ambitious and underestimating what people gently offered me.

All the point is I have been asked by Gustavus Adolphus to notify them if I accept their offer as soon as possible; and by Beloit within three weeks. These schools have substantial but limited funds for scholarships and they have a very large number of fine students requesting and eligible for financial assistance. I know that they have to know the precise amount of accepted assistance by reasonable time, and I also know for sure that if I do not let them know what I am going to do, by the time they wish me to do so, I am going to lose their offers beyond any doubt.

I thought Prof. Hanfmann, I thought that I be honest with myself and be honest with everyone else. I am not trying to play tricks only time with anyone Sir; first I can not, and second I hate to. I am writing to Dean Gilpin for my appointment on 18th March, Monday to discuss with him my whole situation regarding my college education.

I hoped and I hope I go to Harvard next year. After visiting Harvard twice I believed it is the best school I can think of. But for course, to go to Harvard one has to qualify and be accepted there. If I am rejected at Harvard, I shall believe that I am not well prepared enough for Harvard, and another fine school is going to offer me a good education. What else can I or can anyone else think and do? I always knew that I had to know my limits; what I can do and what I can not. I wish in this very critical area of my personal plans and concerns, I did not say what I did not think. I mean I wish I did not sound as a misad up hid because of my weakness in this area to express myself, my ideas in the right manner. All I wish is my logic guides me, not some feelings or emotions. Thanks to God for everything he granted me and I pray I deserve his kindness. I know why all I began with nothing but with determination and kind assistance. I have great confidence in the fact Sir, that so far everything has worked out fine as I asked for with good will; and from now on things will work out fine again, as long as I realize what is good for me and God's kindness is upon me.

Sure I have given you a head ache with this letter of mine. But if I had to write this letter to my father, I would write the same letter. Forgive me Prof. Hanfmann if I have stepped out of my limits; if I had, I wish I did not. Please tell my warmest regards to Mrs. Hanfmann and to all the members of our expedition you see.

Yours respectfully,
Asım Erdilek

Figure 13 Letter of Asım Erdilek Source: 'Asım Erdilek', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

Şubat.
15-2-1960

İzmirliyet bulmadıkça gizli olacak.

Amerikanın denizde arama alimler cemiyeti ve üniversite alimleri kararı ile yapılmıştır. 1959. Senesinin Eylül 24'ünün 22'inci Salı gününü yeni basın gazetesi üçüncü sahife 7'nci sütununda ilan edildi. İlanla masraf olarak kabul edilen 31 milyon 700 bin lira olduğunu okuduk.

Sizce iki tane yeni yanyana ada deniz levni hangi tarafında olduğunu Amerika umumi haritasını gönderir seniz ok ile adaların istikameti işaret edilecek bu adaların benzeri güney Amerikanın Arjantin ve Şilinin horizon burunundaki büyük ada yarısı Arjantine yarısında Şiliye ait bu ada 20 noktali size gösterecek olduğum adalar 31 noktali birisi. birisinde 22 noktali. bunları gösterdikten sonra bulunduğu takdirde bu 31 milyon 700 bin liranın yüzde kaçını vereceksiniz bu işi kararlaştırmak için yetkili bir Amerikan heyetinin ~~benimle~~ kararı ile Türkçe bilmesi şart olacak benimle temas etmesi lazımdır bu adalarda insanda olsa gerek. tahminiye göre bu adalarda 15-20 bin sene evvel Amerikanın işgali ile beraber işgal edilmiştir senilen Amerikanın kurtulduğu gibi bu adalarda kurtulması lazım. daha iki üç iş var. Almanyanın 1947-48 senelerinde gazetelerin ilanına göre harp suçlularının bilinmeyen adalara gittiğinden bahsedilmişti bulunacak olan adalarda bunlardan bir kimse bulunacak olursa. ağ edilme cihetine gidilmesi birinde 15-20 bin sene evvel Amerikanın işgal filmini işgal edenlerin yalın ayak işgal edilmiş tin o devirdeki tek hükümet bir vca Japonya'da imiş üçüncü iki fotoğraflı takvim çıkarmak tahmine göre büyük veya ufak. 30-40 milyon satıla bilin Amerika kıtasında ne imiş ne oldu demektir. 15-20 senecel elde bulunan bir vasitanın bu işlerin esasını meydana çıkarmak bu ehde olduğunu

REQUESTS (8 Cranks)

Figure 14 Letter of Sait Karabina to George Hanfmann. Source: 'Requests and Cranks', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

anlaya bilmek sebebler ufak anlatmak ile tesir edilmek imkanı yok.
vaktim müsait olsa iki bin dolar param olsa bin dolarını çocuklara
bırakıp bin dolarını yanıma alıp amerikada bir tanıdığını bulma
girmek o kadar harisliyimki o devirdeki güney amerikada bulu-
nan merkezini hareketlerini görmek için hiç bir şey ile değişilmiye-
cek kadar meraklıyım. Buhükümetin en büyük merkezi afrikada
bulunmakta işte bunların cevaplarını beklemekle benaber bütün
doları Profösörler c selam ellerinden sıkıyorum.

Adres
Manisa Vilayeti
Ahmetli Vahiyesinde
Beski belsdiye adresi Sait
Karabina

REQUESTS (8 Cranks)

Figure 15 Letter of Sait Karabina to George Hanfmann. Source: 'Requests and Cranks', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

February 15, 1960

Will remain secret until agreement becomes final.

It has been done with the decision of the American Society on Sea Research and university scientists. It has been announced in the newspaper "Yeni Asir" on the 22nd of September, 1959 on page three, first column. In the article we have read that \$31,700,000 was mentioned as expenses.

The location of two islands, one near the other, will be indicated to you with an arrow if you send a general map of America. The big island similar to these islands is at Cape Horn, in South America; half of it belongs to Argentina and half to Chile. This island is numbered 20. The islands that I am going to indicate to you are numbered 21 and 22. After I show them to you and if they are found, what percentage of the \$31,700,000 will you give me? To decide on this matter, it is necessary that an American committee with someone who knows Turkish contact me.

The islands are probably inhabited. It seems to me that these islands were occupied fifteen or twenty thousand years ago together with the occupation of America. These islands must be liberated much as well liked America was liberated.

There are two or three things more. According to German newspapers of 1947-1948, war criminals had gone to unknown islands. If any of them are found on the islands mentioned, they must be pardoned. There is also the film about the American invasion fifteen or twenty thousand years ago. They were barefooted. The sole government at that time had one end in Japan. The third thing is to publish a calendar with two photos, small or large. It can be sold thirty or forty million copies. It can mean the past and the present of the American continent. To reveal the essentials of these things a means that was in hand fifteen or twenty years ago... To understand the events... The reasons are small, it is impossible to influence by explaining them. If I had the possibility and if I had two thousand dollars, I would leave one thousand dollars to the children and take one thousand dollars, with me and go to America. I have interest that could not be exchanged with anything else to see the ruins of the capital of that time.

REQUESTS (8 CRANKS)

Figure 16 Letter of Sait Karabina to George Hanfmann. Source: 'Requests and Cranks', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

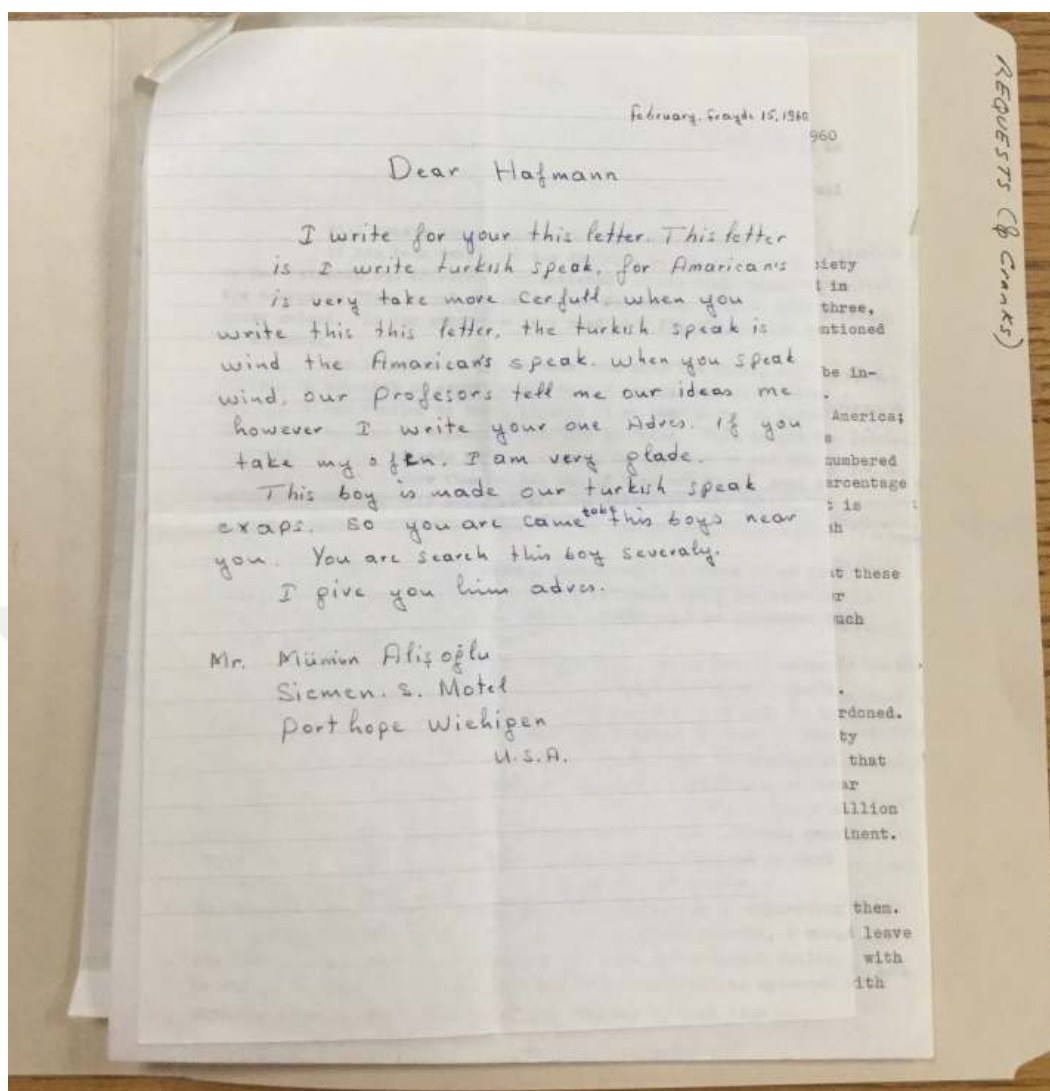


Figure 17 Letter of Mümin Alişoğlu to George Hanfmann. Source: 'Requests and Cranks', George H.A. Hanfmann Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University.

İstanbul, 20.4.1951

Pek sayın Başöğretmenim,

Eski mekler ve müzeler Genel Müdürlüğünden aldığım bir teğherede bana, Gorum Valiliğinden alınan bir yazıya göre Boğazköy kazısı evinin çöktüğü, evin içinde bulunan madenler ve arazların kurtarılması kazısı zeldüğünden bu husustaki düşüncelerimin acele olarak bildirilmesi yazılmaktadır.

Bu husustaki fikirlerimi bildirmeden önce mahallî durumun etrafı olarak bilmen için ettiğinden, bu hususta sizin yardımınızı rica ettiğimi düşünüyorum. Size vereceğim zahmetten dolayı özür diler, kütüphanelerimi esirgemeseyceğimi inuit ederim.

Ricam, hâlen kazı evinde bulunan eşyanın bir listesinin yapılarak bana gönderilmesidir. Bu listeyi elinizdeki evraklara karıştırtıp gerekli tedbirlerin alınmasını benim etmekte mümkün olacaktır. Yalnız bu listeye sadece yukarıdaki kazı evindeki eşyayı dahil etmenizi rica ederim, 1939 yılında o zamanaki başöğretmen Ekrem Bey'e emanet olarak teslim edildiği, bu kısımlar 1941'de badeşinin Ali Rıza tarafında İstanbul'a getirilen eşya buna dahil değildir. Kazı sırasında başöğretmenim Kırız Mustafa çar hâlen sikkette ise, size de işte her halde size de yardımları dokunacaktır.

İkinci bir ricam, bana ayrıca, kazı evinin çökmesiyle açığa çıkan eşyanın kurtarılması için

Figure 18 Letter of Kurt Bittel to Nefise Döğüşken Source: Boğazköy Grabung, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

1. In dem Kopfe zu haben (bes. da wir uns dort sprechen u. schon allerhand
 vereinbaren können für nächste Jahr) u. danach nach England.
 Zwischen durch könnte ich denn Ausreise erledigen.
 Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir ausführlich und
 lang offen über alle diese Punkte Ihre Meinung schreiben würden.
 Ist die Situation negativ, so hat das für mich den Vorteil, dass ich dann
 nicht mehr lange herumüberlegen brauche, denn wer die Wahl hat,
 hat die Qual. Auch wäre ich für eine baldige Antwort sehr
 dankbar, da ich mich bald ^(inmitten) entscheiden muss, und in diesem
 Entschluss auf Ihren Brief warten werde (da ich hier bei Freunden wohne).
 Insgesamt geht es Ihnen beiden gut, bes. auch gesundheitlich.
 Wenn man gesund ist, schaut das Leben viel schöner aus.
 Entschuldigen Sie bitte nochmals die Mühe, die ich Ihnen mache,
 ich hoffe es ist Ihnen nicht zu unbeschwerlich, und seien
 Sie Beide recht herzlichst gegnert, von

Ihnen

Halet

P.S. Bitte füge auch an Herrn Nannemann. Haben Sie denn letzten
 (3.) Kunstfest Bericht gesehen? Ich habe hier ein solches Exemplar, das
 ich Ihnen schicken könnte und wo die Architektur zum 1. Male
 ausführlicher behandelt wird.

P.S. Eben kam Ihre Besprechung (über Bayreuth), aus Straßburg nachgedruckt
 an. Besten Dank dafür.

P.S. Ich lege eine kurze Krankheitsgeschichte bei, falls Sie jemand
 fragen möchten, damit man sieht was schon gemacht worden ist.
 Vielleicht sagt man Ihnen, dass auch dort nicht mehr zu machen ist.

J.L.

Adresse: Halet Çambel
 70 Bigio
 55, via Bruxelles, Roma.

Figure 19 Letter of Halet Çambel to Kurt Bittel Source: Halet Çambel, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

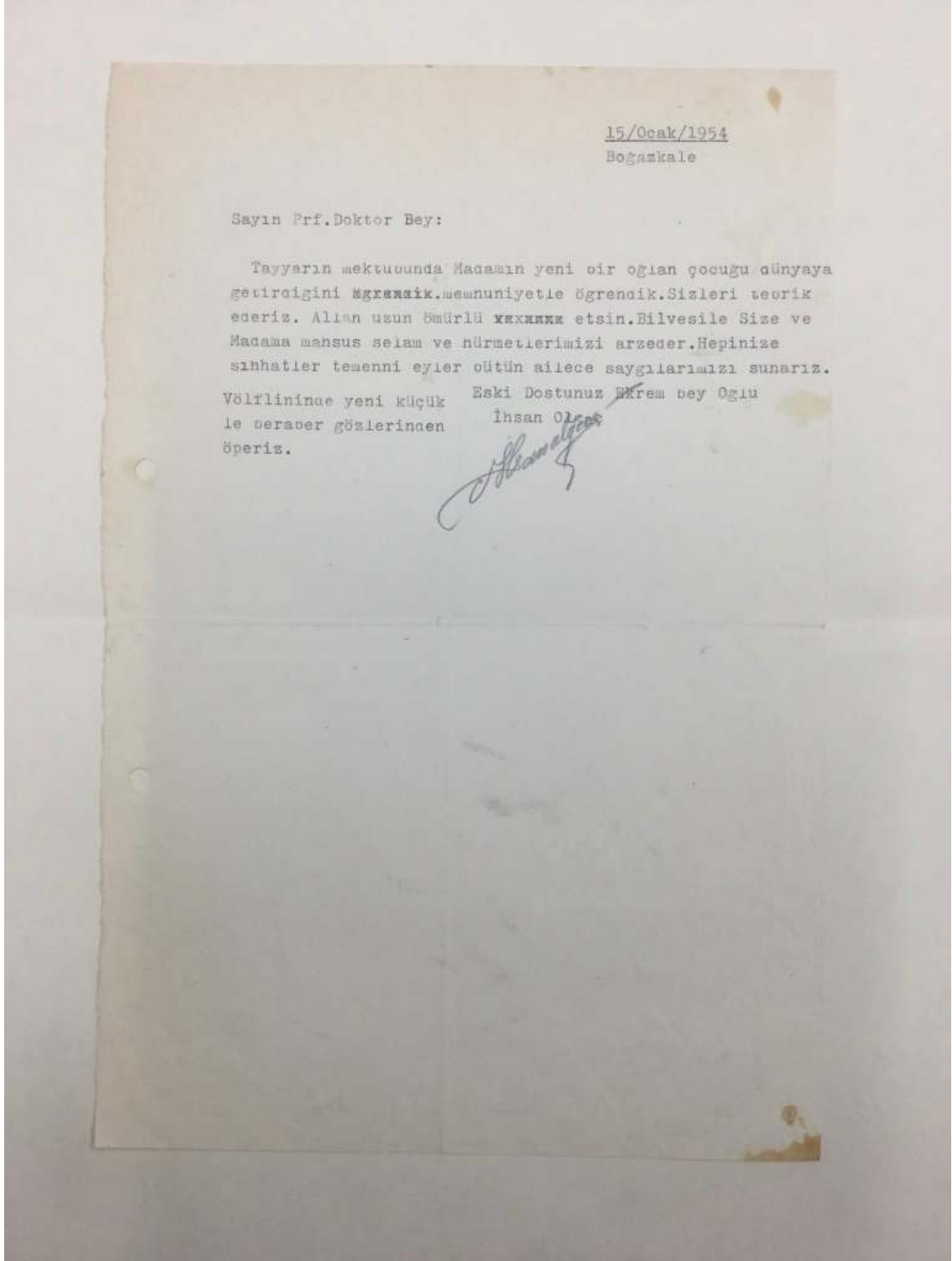


Figure 20 Letter of İhsan Olgaç to Kurt Bittel Source: İhsan Olgaç, German Archaeological Institute Central Archive Kurt Bittel Estate.

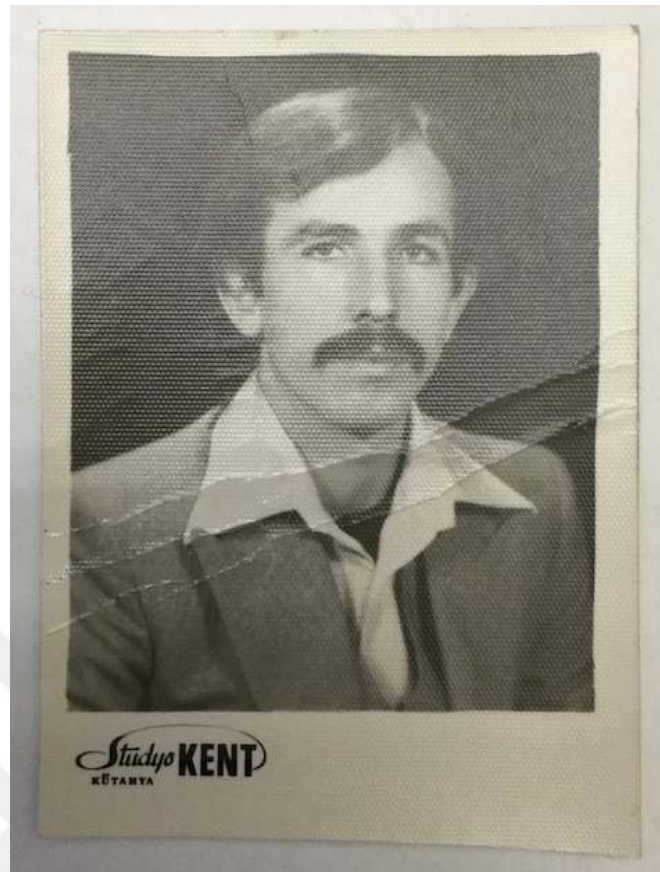


Figure 21 Photographs of Mehmet Ertas sent to Rudolf Naumann. Source: Aizanoi Excavation Papers, Architecture Department, German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, Germany

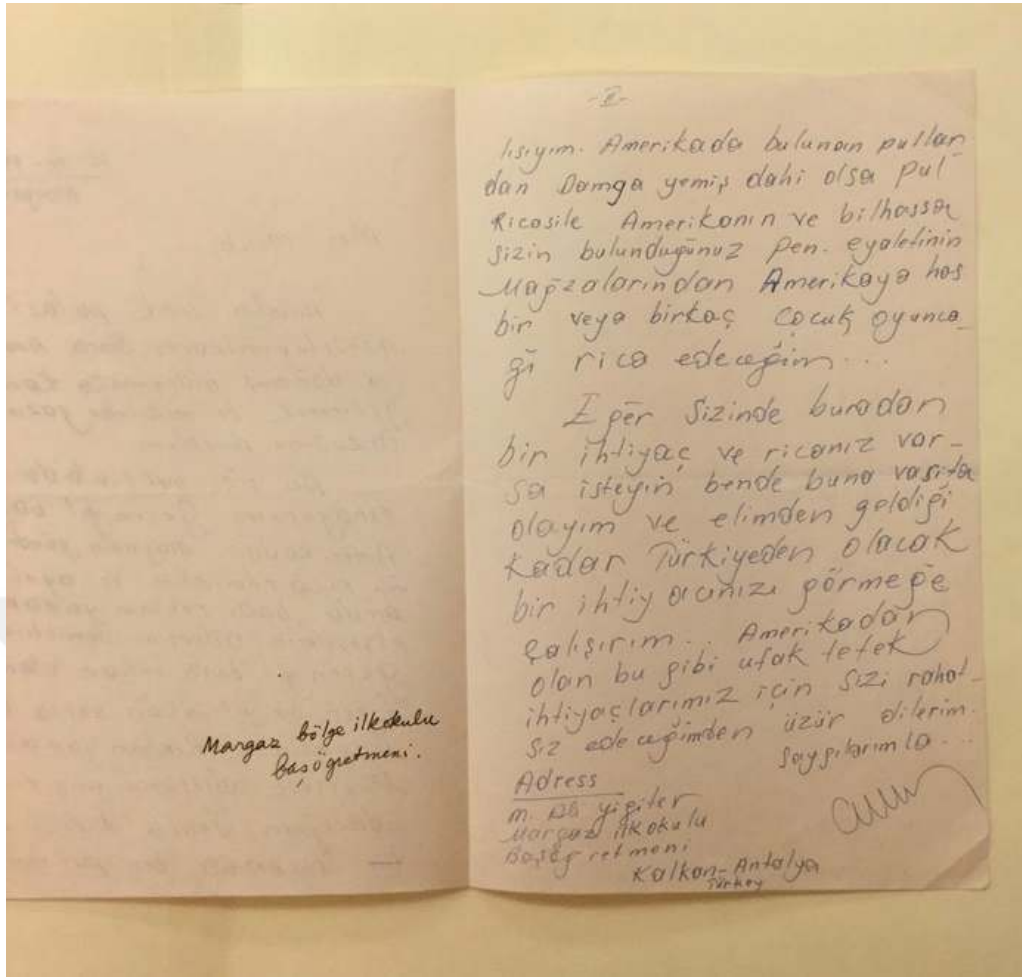


Figure 22 Ali Yiğiter's letter to Machteld Mellink. Source: '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.

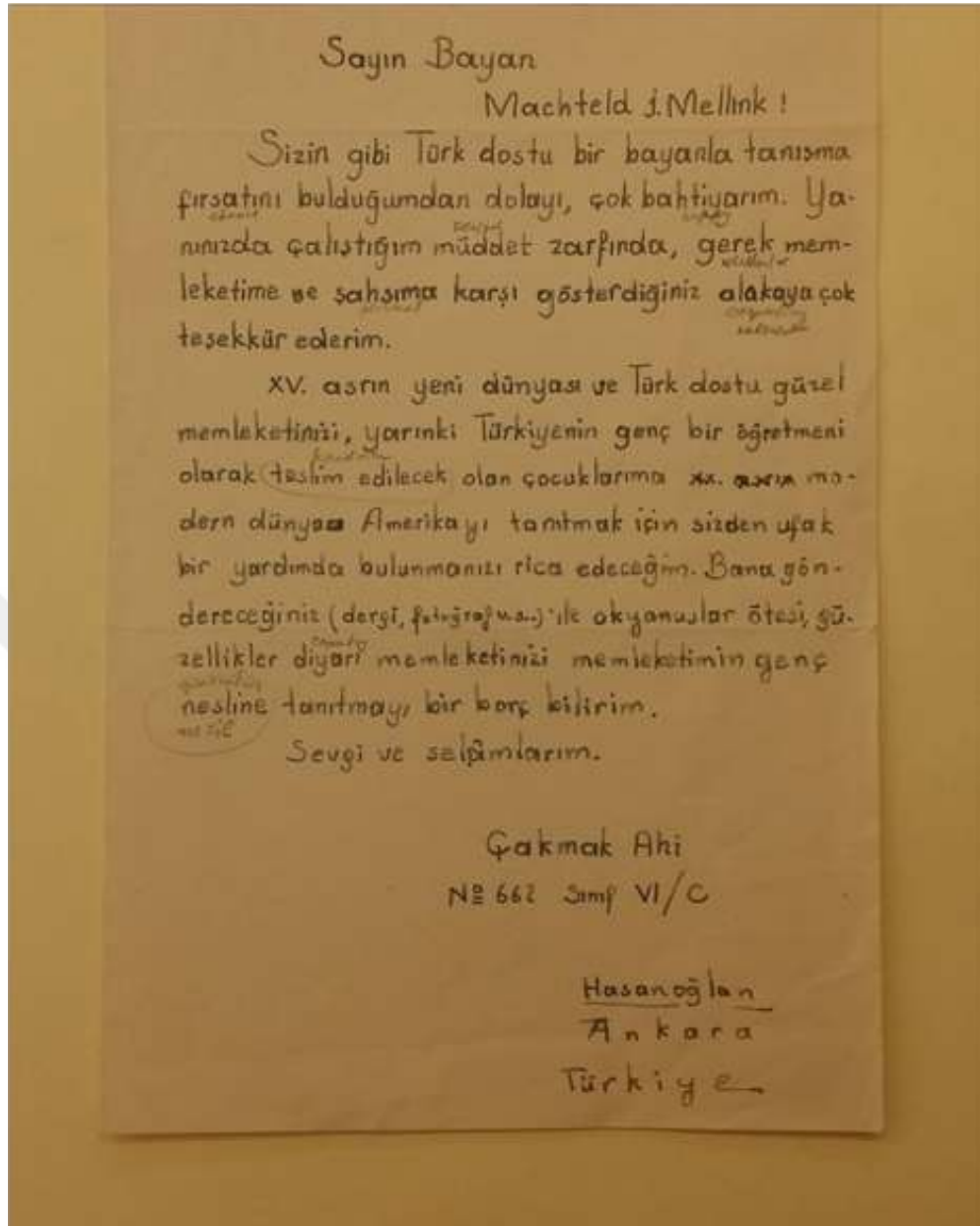


Figure 23 Letter of Çakmak Ahi's Letter to Machteld Mellink.. Source: '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.



Figure 24 Greeting card to Machteld Mellink. Source: '1952-1956', Series III. Correspondence Machteld J. Mellink papers, 1938-2006 (bulk 1958-2001), Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr College Library.



Figure 25 The Aglasun-team of the Sagalassos Project. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/sagalassosproject/photos/a.792229927486895/3192918544084676/>



Figure 26 Photograph depicting the guards in Pergamon. Source: Osman Feyzi, 'Bergama Müzesi Müdürü Tarafından Asarı Atika Müfettişi'ne Mektup', 23 February 1929, Boğaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center Aziz Ogan Koleksiyonu, <http://digitalarchive.boun.edu.tr/handle/123456789/6848>

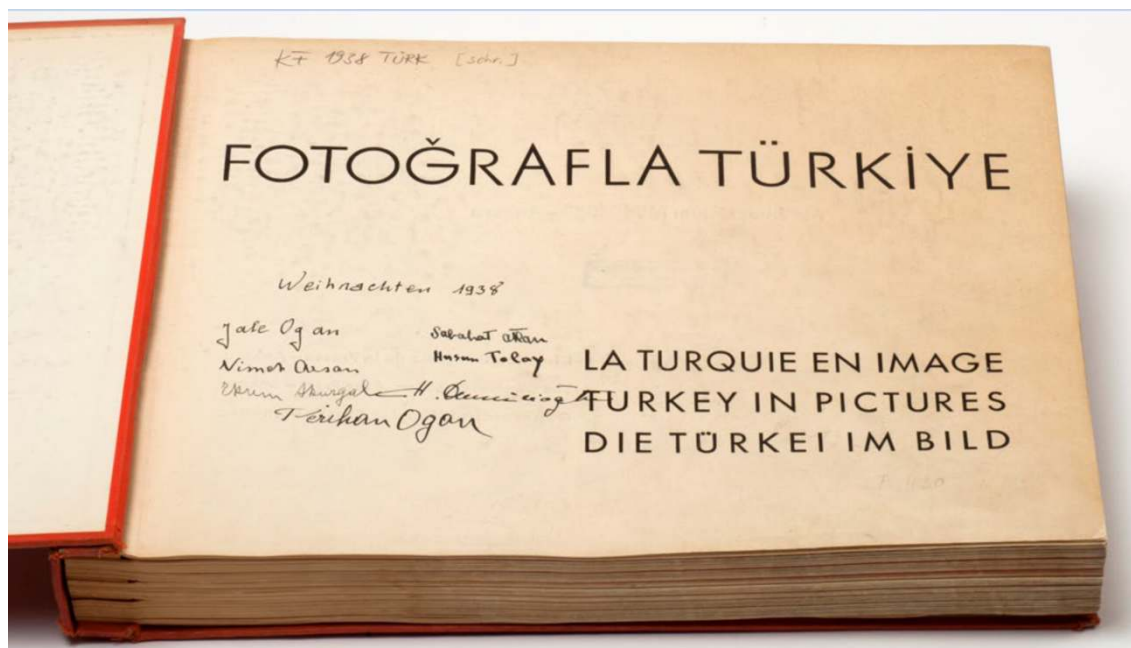


Figure 27 First Page Winckelmann Institute

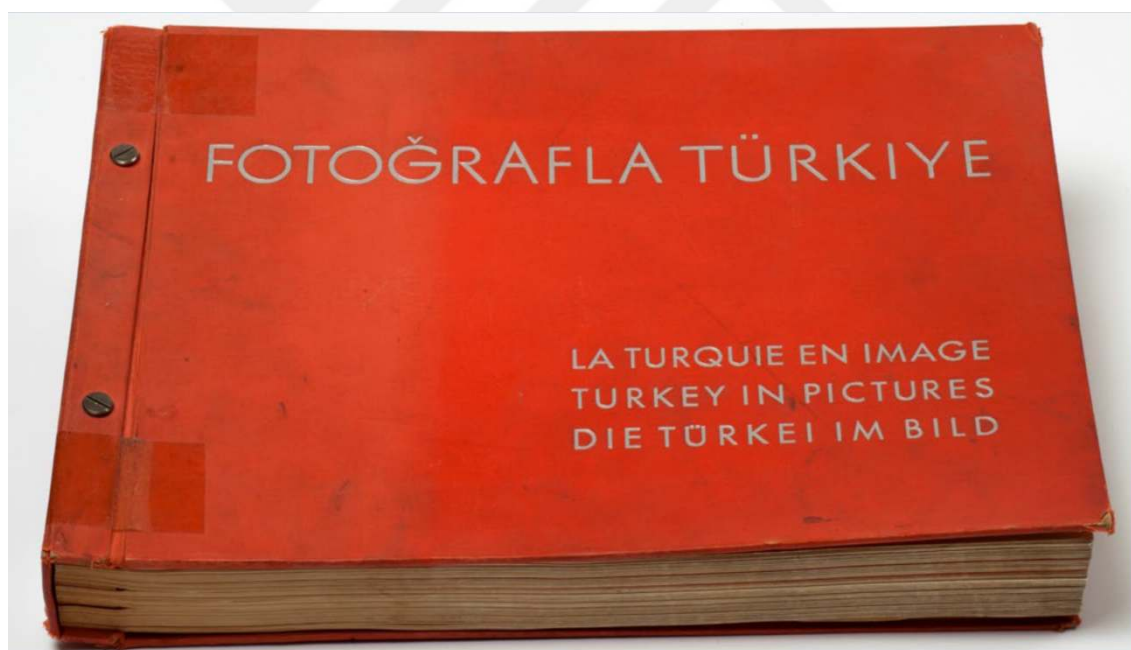


Figure 28 Book Cover Winckelmann Institute

Study Network Graph
PHD & Master' Advisor -> Student Map

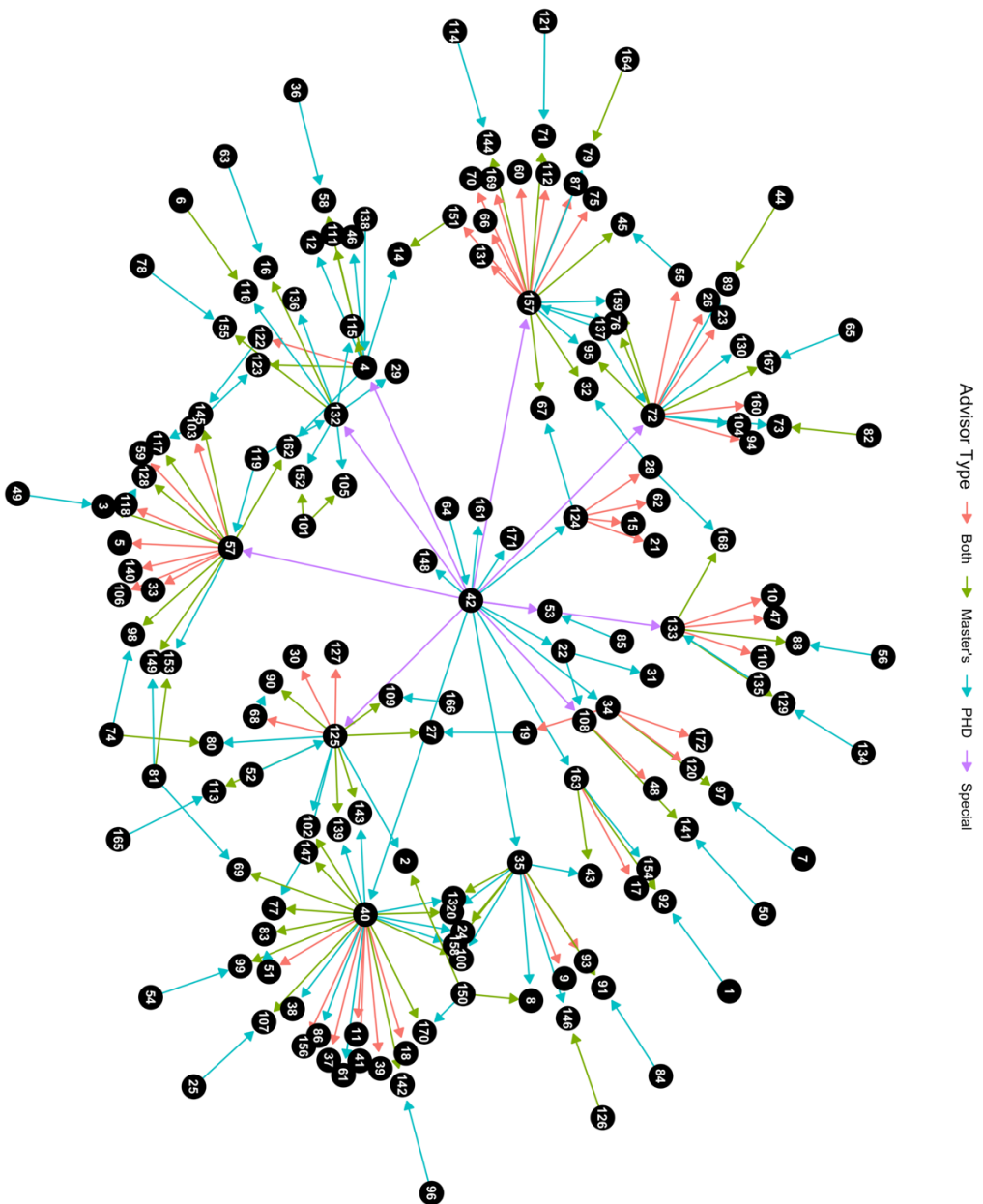


Figure 29 Study Network Graph-Student Map based on PHD & Master Advisor

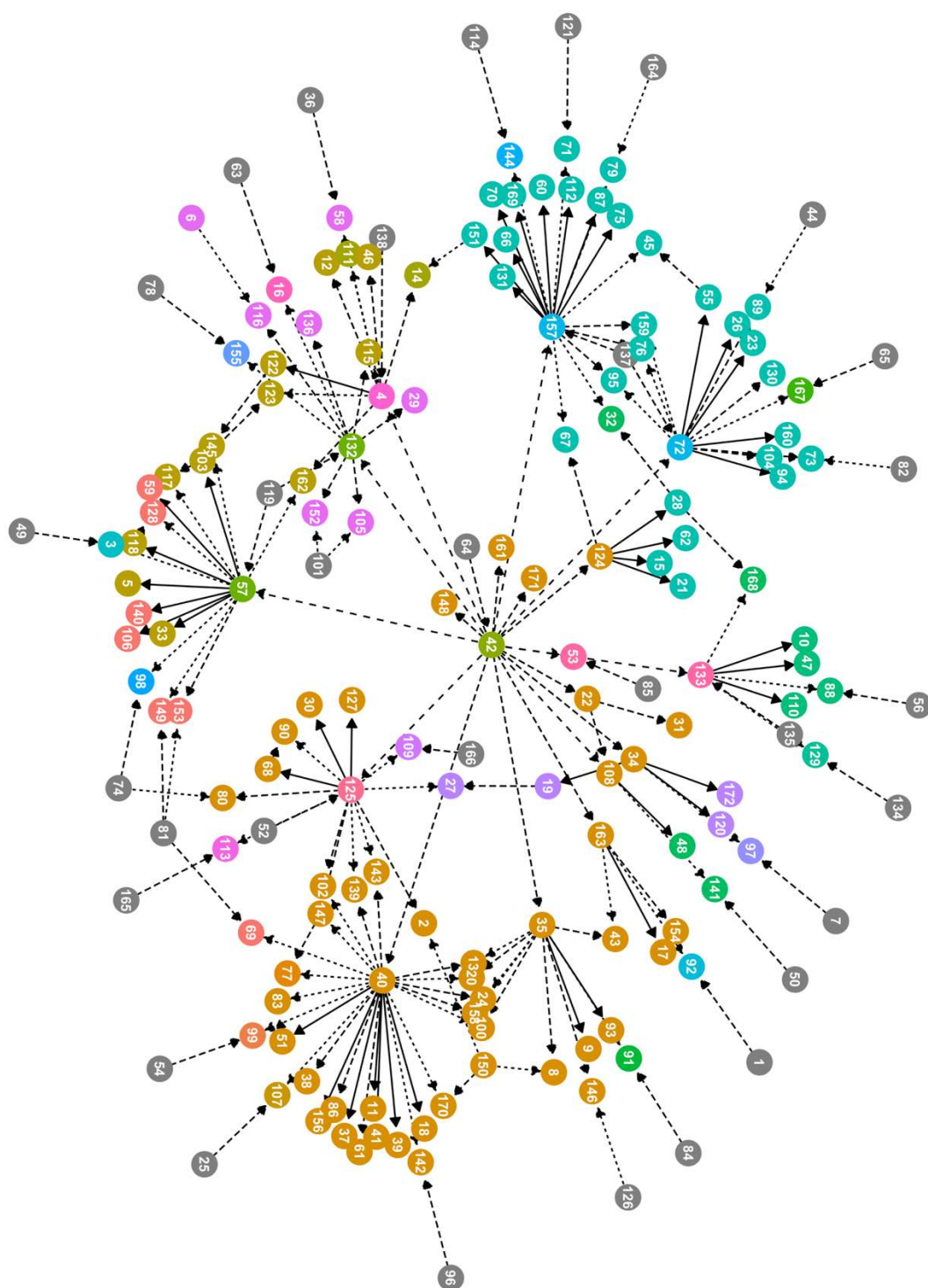


Figure 30 Network by PhD Alma Mater

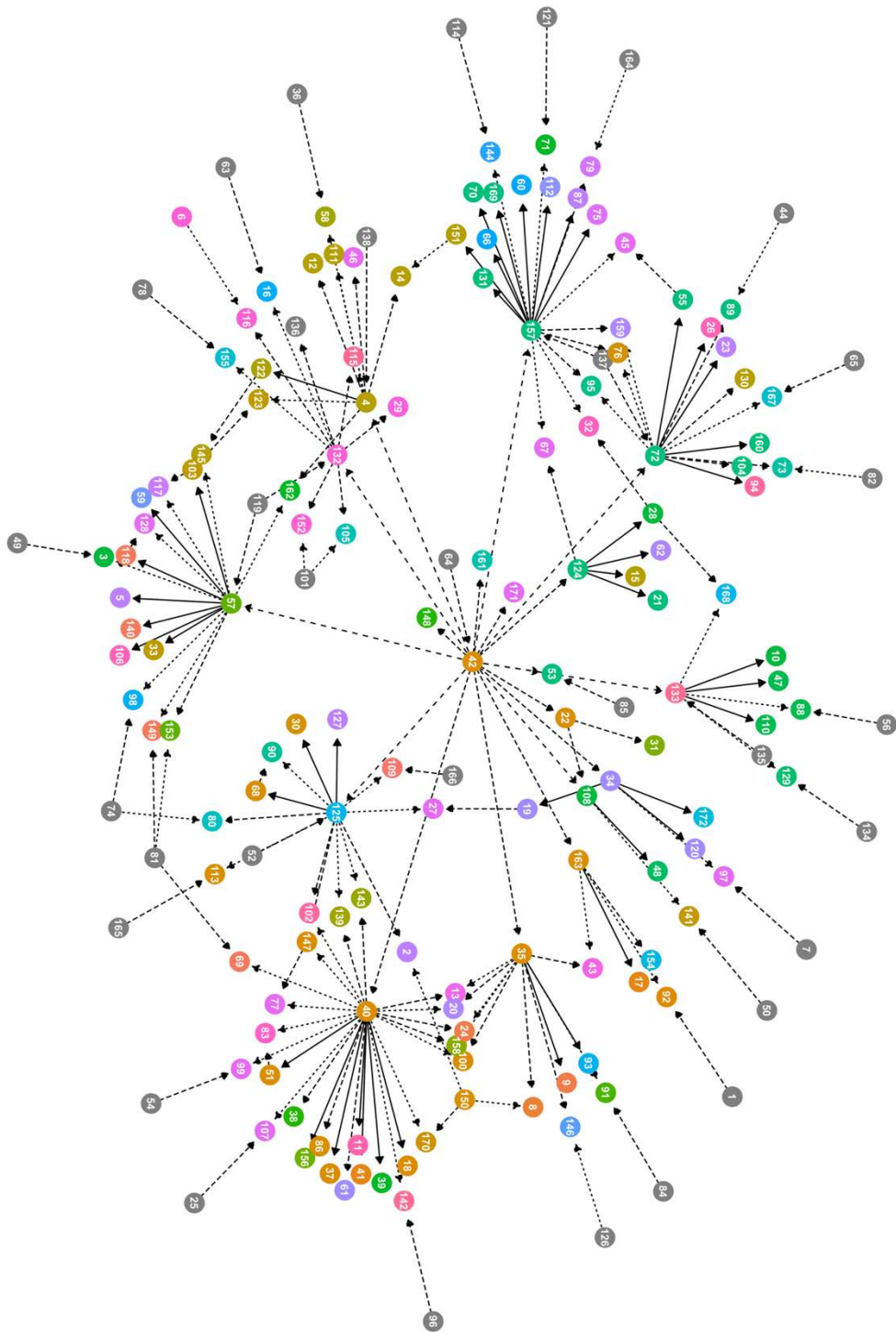


Figure 32 Network by Latest Place of Work



Figure 33 Network by Latest Place of Work—The List of Universities and the Types of Connections

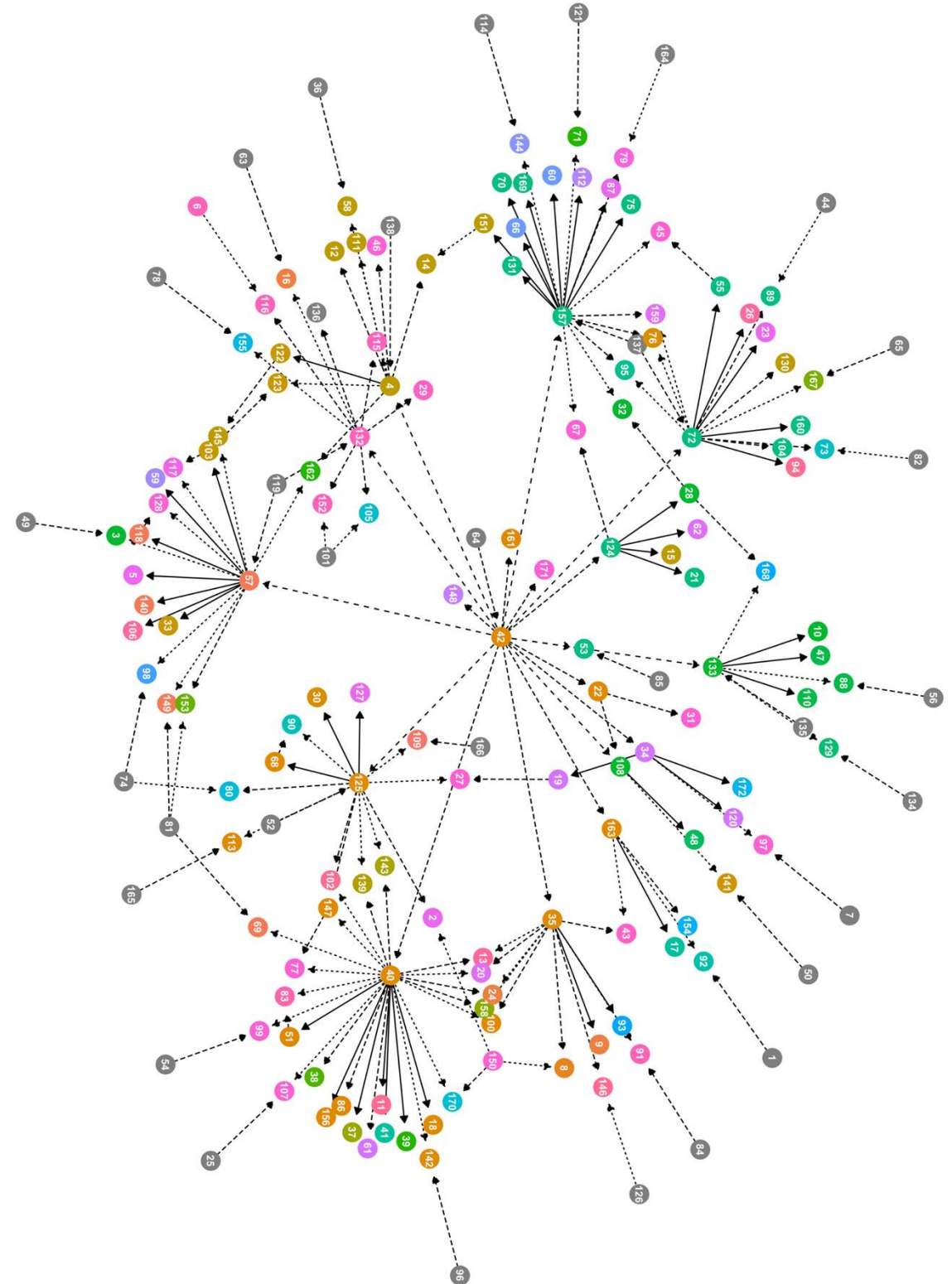


Figure 34 Network by Longest Place of Work



Figure 35 Network by Longest Place of Work—The List of Universities and the Types of Connections

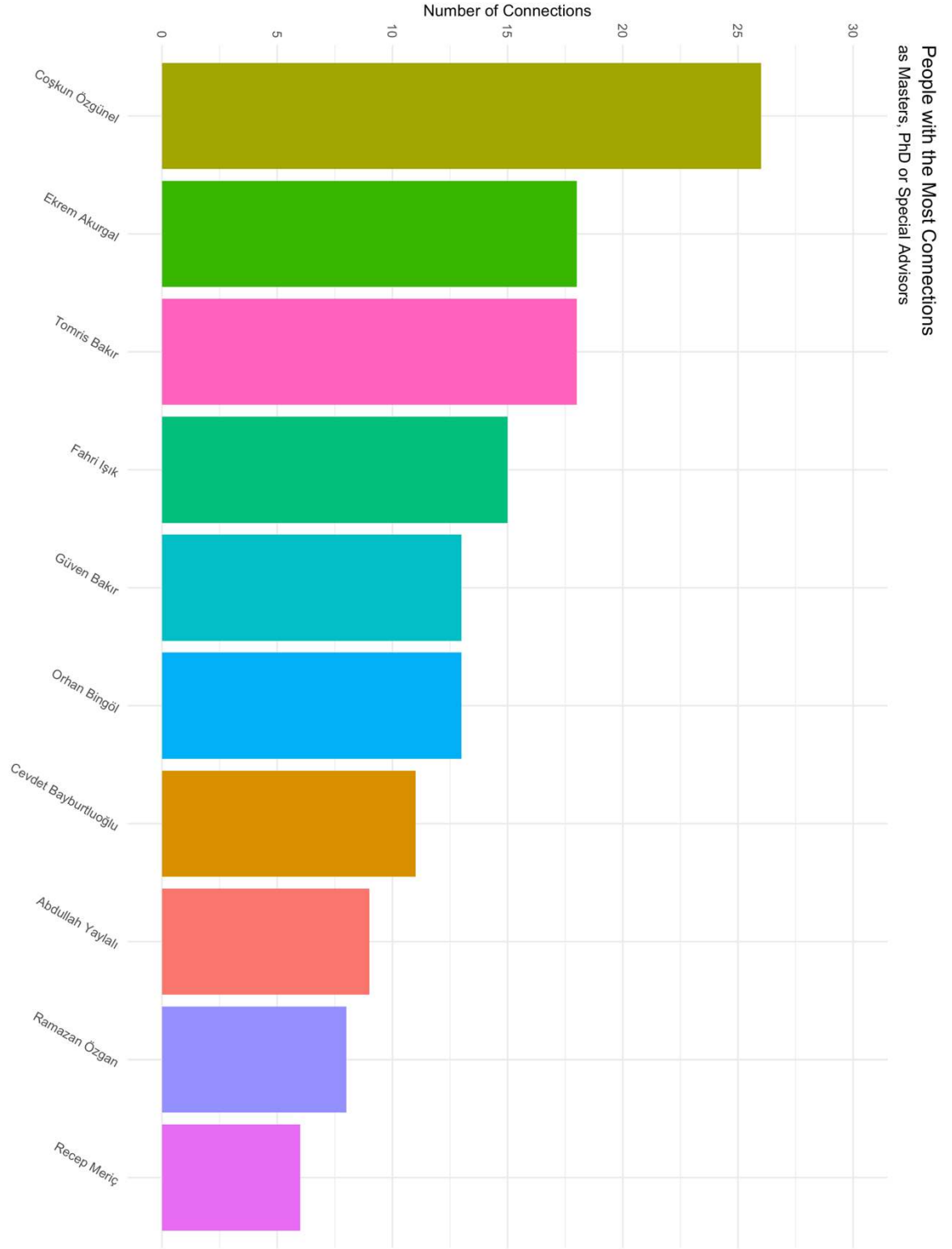


Figure 36 People with the Most Connections as Masters, PhD or Special Advisors

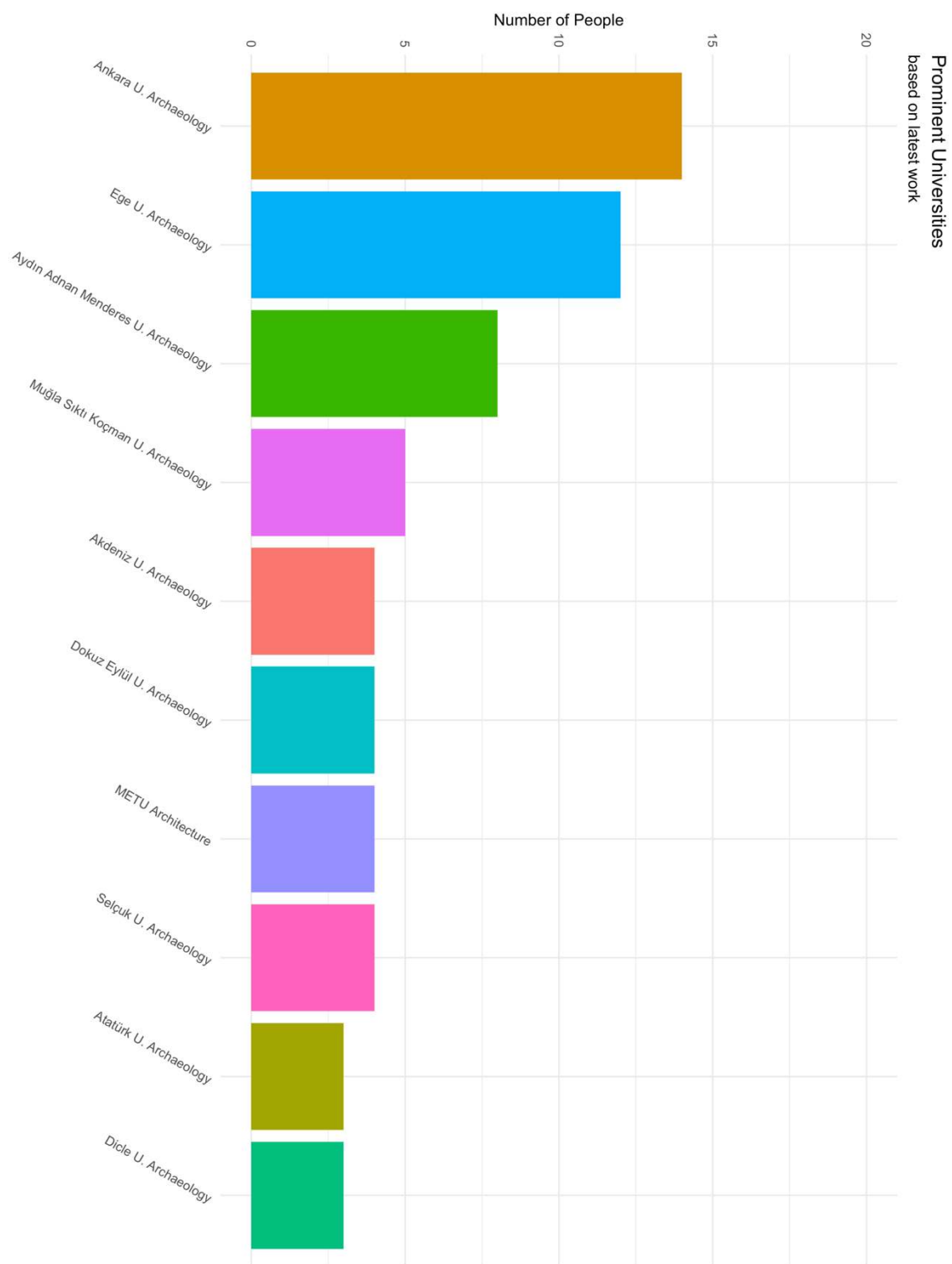


Figure 37 Prominent Universities Based on Place of Latest Work Place

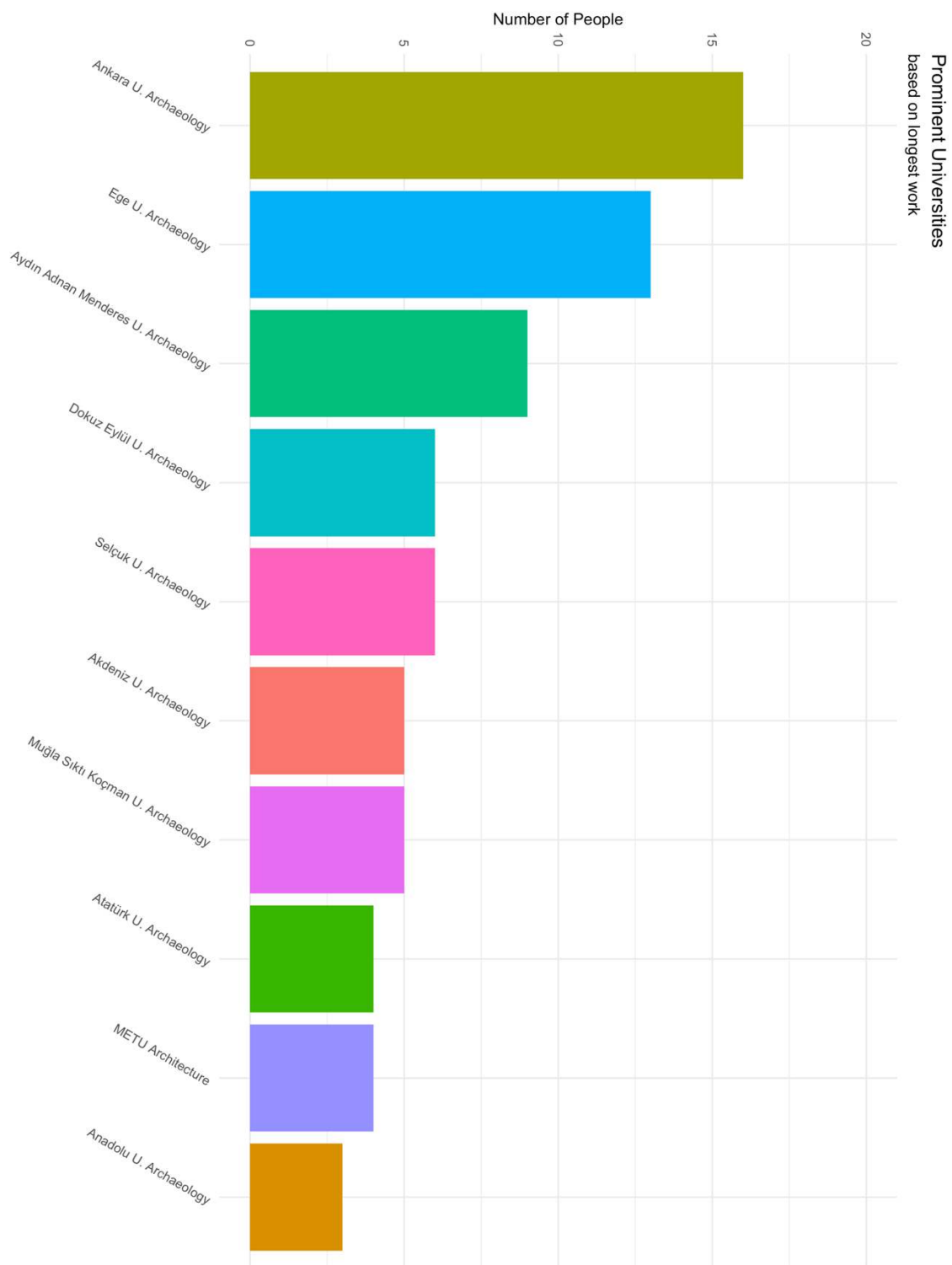


Figure 38 Prominent Universities Based on Place of Longest Work Place