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Archaeological entanglements: people, places, and politics of archaeology in Turkey

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Dissertation

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL ENTANGLEMENTS:
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND POLITICS OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN TURKEY**

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2015

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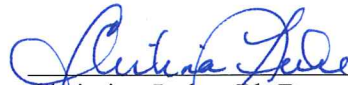
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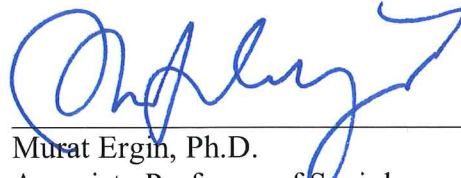
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my late grandmother Melahat Reyhan and my dear mother Yasemin Reyhan.

In memory of
Mustafa Haşimođlu
and
Gülcan Abla

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Getting my PhD degree was probably the longest and most amazing journey I have ever taken. Throughout the journey, I met with wonderful people who supported me unconditionally, and I am grateful to each and every one of them. First of all, I want to thank my dad Rifat Özgüner for introducing me to the world of archaeology.

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**ARCHAEOLOGICAL ENTANGLEMENTS:
PEOPLE, PLACES, AND POLITICS OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN TURKEY
NİMET PINAR ÖZGÜNER**

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2015

Major Professor: Christopher H. Roosevelt, Associate Professor of Archaeology

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I illustrate how the governance of archaeology in Turkey from the beginning of the modern state until the present day has shaped knowledge about the past. I analyze development plans, laws, repatriation efforts, UNESCO World Heritage Site nominations, and the distribution of research permits as tools of governmental policies. I also investigate educational structures to demonstrate how state policies have shaped public understanding of the value of archaeology.

In its earliest years, as part of its nation building efforts, the Republic encouraged research on cultural diffusion at major Bronze Age sites. Witnessing the use of similar approaches to justify racist claims during World War II, archaeologists in Turkey distanced themselves from political agendas. Throughout the 1950s, practitioners focused solely on studying the human past without privileging other agendas.

From the late 1960s – 1990s, state policies emphasized archaeology's touristic value, treating cultural heritage as an economic good. This meant a continued focus on impressive architectural monuments found primarily at Classical sites. Requests to investigate other eras and cultures, including Islamic and Turkish sites as well as regions with multi-ethnic pasts such as southeastern and eastern Anatolia and the Black Sea

coast, were limited to restoration and rescue projects.

After 2002, the Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party) government continued to link archaeology with tourism via World Heritage nominations. It also moved deliberately to use archaeology as a tool of political authority by limiting permits and funds to certain sites and by connecting foreign research permits with strong-arm repatriation tactics. While the number of excavations in previously under-explored areas of the country increased, government policies positioned archaeological sites as strategic chips in international diplomacy.

In today's Turkey, archaeology is both an economic and a diplomatic commodity. I demonstrate how the ideal of the discipline as the scientific study of the human past has been exploited to serve political ends. This study serves as both a full historical analysis and also a cautionary tale, illustrating how powerful forces can frame, occlude, and ultimately undermine our collective ability to understand the past.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIA	Archaeological Institute of America
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
ANAP	.....	Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
AP	.....	Adalet Partisi (The Justice Party)
ARIT	.....	American Research Institute in Turkey
AST	.....	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (Annual Symposium for Survey Research)
BIAA	.....	British Institute at Ankara
CHP	.....	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
DÖSİMM	.....	Döner Sermaye İşletmeleri Merkez Müdürlüğü (Central Directorate of Revolving Funds)
DPT	.....	Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı (State Planning Organization)
DSP	.....	Demokratik Sol Parti (The Democratic Left Party)
DYP	.....	Doğru Yol Partisi (The True Path Party)
EAA	.....	European Association of Archaeologists
EU	.....	European Union
GAP	.....	Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (Southeastern Anatolia Project)
IPCU	.....	Istanbul Project Coordination Unit
ICOMOS	.....	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICORP	.....	International Council on Risk Preparedness
KST	.....	Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı
MDG	.....	Millennium Development Goals

METU	Middle East Technical University
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (National Movement Party)
PACT	Global Strategy Partnership for Conservation Initiative
SAA.....	Society for American Archaeology
TAG-Türkiye	Theoretical Archaeology Group-Turkey
TAY Project	Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri Projesi (Archaeological Settlement of Turkey Project)
TİKA.....	Türkiye İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency)
TST	Tourism Strategy Turkey
TÜBA.....	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (Turkish Academy of Sciences)
TÜBİTAK.....	Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)
UN.....	United Nations
UNDP.....	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO.....	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHD.....	World Heritage in Danger
WHS.....	World Heritage Site
WWII	World War II
YEM.....	Yapı Endüstri Merkezi
YÖK.....	Yüksek Öğrenim Kurumu (Council of Higher Education)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The premise of this study is that changing policies of the state have led to transformations in the role and function of archaeological practice in Turkey. By employing analytics of government, I investigate the development of archaeology in Turkey in relation to its shaping and orientation with cultural, social and economic policies of the state through the institutions formed, legal frameworks, research agendas and individuals.

As a result, I demonstrate that these policies led to cultural, geographical, and methodological differences in the production of archaeological information throughout the history of practice. Furthermore, I highlight what the state aimed to achieve and what it achieved through these transformations in great detail especially in the last ten years. Based on problematic issues arising from those transformations, I highlight strengths and weaknesses of the discipline as it is practiced in Turkey and offer a set of guidelines to improve the practice.

Context

A rich body of literature chronicles how archaeology as a discipline emerged in the late 19th and early 20th century world (Daniel 1981, Trigger 1989, Snapp 1997). As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, however, an assessment of the development of the discipline after WWII in the former Ottoman Empire or modern Turkey is not available. In the early years of the Republic, archaeology was promoted and supported by the state. As a project

initiated with orders of Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Turkish Republic and its first president, fundamentals of the Turkish History Thesis, which argued that Turks who migrated from their homeland in Central Asia brought civilization to the parts of the world that they later occupied (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006), were established in 1929–1937 to build a nation in a framework defined by Kemalist nationalism (Özdemir 2003). As a first step in this process, in 1930, the Turkish Historical Society was established by the Turkish government, and this institution published the work titled “General Themes in Turkish History” (Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları) in 1930 (Tanyeri Erdemir 2006, Özdemir 2003).

This work argued that Turks lived in Central Asia and reached an advanced civilization unlike their contemporaries (Çağaptay 2002). Due to a drought, the population migrated to other parts of the world including India, China, the Near East, Anatolia, Egypt, Greece, and Italy and established great civilizations in those regions; modern day settlers of these areas were claimed to be descendants of Turks (Çağaptay 2002). Of those civilizations, the ones established in the Near East, including the Sumerians, bear special importance because they were considered to be ancestors of the Hittites who settled in Anatolia, making Hittites and later civilizations established in Anatolia descendants of Turks. In this way, the Republic justified its existence in Anatolia in response to potential claims from Armenians or Greeks, presenting itself as an equal member of Western Civilization (Özdemir 2003). Furthermore, because the Republic rejected any historical ties to Islamic and Ottoman heritages, this newly found past provided a secular basis for the new nation (Özdemir 2003). During the first Turkish

History Congress organized by the Turkish Historical Society to establish a national history and identity in 1932, the theory was presented to an audience of Turkish history teachers (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006). In accordance with the Turkish History Thesis, in linguistics, the Sun-Language Theory (Güneş-Dil Teorisi) was established. This theory argued that these civilized Proto-Turks established a language based on their rituals and worship of the Sun which in time became the source of all languages worldwide (Toprak 2012). More importantly, bronze ceremonial discs called “Sun-Discs” found at Alacahöyük (Çorum-Central Anatolia) were used as material evidence to support the Sun-Language Theory (Toprak 2012). During the third Turkish Language Congress in 1936 the Sun-Language Theory was criticized heavily by an international group of linguists (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006). Tanyeri-Erdemir argues that because of such criticism, the second Turkish History Congress of 1937 showcased scientific archaeological research in Anatolia to demonstrate Turkey’s status as a modern nation state rather than to promote the Turkish Historical Thesis. In this research, I argue that this event marks the beginning of a period in which archaeology becomes an ambiguous discipline for the state because of the failure of its ideological background. This ambiguity helped foster traditions of isolated, self-centered academic communities of archaeological practice still prevalent in Turkey today.

Interestingly, the period after the end of WWII marks major changes in state policies towards archaeological practice in Turkey due to increasing tourism and other development-related incentives, military coups, restructuring of governmental institutions in charge of managing archaeological practice, and cultural heritage as well as the

academic institutions that provided education in archaeology. Although the integration of archaeological sites into tourism plans had been on the state agenda throughout this period, archaeology remained an ambiguous discipline until the realization of the potential of particular archaeological sites for tourism incentives between the 1960s and the 1980s. During the government of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP) in the last ten years, beginning from 2002 until present, these transformations in archaeological practice have become especially pronounced, as I will demonstrate in later sections. The same time period marks also the establishment of major theoretical and methodological approaches to archaeology that have transformed the discipline from its cultural historical and stylistic orientation to one that collaborates with scientific analysis and social sciences in robust ways which have affected the production of archaeological information.

Today, we are able to answer questions on the birth of the modern museum or modern archaeology in their global contexts and in Turkey in particular, but systematic studies to understand the current status of archaeological practice in Turkey and elsewhere in the world are either lacking or limited. This lack of information is rather problematic because in countries like Turkey, where archaeological practice is strictly regulated by the state, the current status of archaeology bears a special importance for several reasons. First, archaeology has always been a political practice globally (Trigger 2006). In other words, even conducting archaeology for purely scientific purposes results from political agendas intimately tied to the social, political, and economic conditions of the state. Second, the state has a tradition of using archaeology for political purposes and

based on these changing purposes and policies, the conduct of archaeological practice and the production of archaeological information gain new meanings.

Critical Questions

Critical questions need to be answered to pinpoint transformations in the purpose of archaeological practice in Turkey in relation to changing state policies and equally important reciprocal dynamics of the actual practice itself. These questions include the following:

- What does the government aim to achieve through the practice of archaeology in Turkey?
- How do governmental institutions such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism shape the conduct of archaeological practice?
- What are the time periods, types of archaeological remains, or provinces given preference in excavation and research permits and funding by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and what are the reasons behind such preferred periods and geographies?
- What types of research are permitted and funded?
- Is there a distinction between local and foreign researchers in the permitting process? If so, does this distinction have polarizing effects on the archaeological community?

As a discipline, archaeology has not been stagnant since its transformation from antiquarianism to a scientific discipline about the human past. Throughout the development of archaeology as a discipline, changes in the social, political, and economic

conditions of the state, including its apparatuses and the populations it controls, affected the emergence and use of theoretical frameworks and the methodologies employed in archaeology. Would archaeologists be able to use Radiocarbon dating if research at radiation laboratories for the purposes of discovering different types of energy sources and defense systems did not take place? How would the modern museum have been born if it was not initiated by colonial powers in the 19th century? These basic but fundamental questions reveal the close ties between the development of archaeology as a discipline and social, economic and political changes that take place globally. Because of such entanglements, the emphasis of scholarly literature on the history of archaeology before the mid-20th century creates misleading assumptions that mid-20th and 21st century archaeological practice is devoid of politics. By answering the questions I pose above, I argue that archaeology in Turkey has gone through phases since the days of the early Republic, and the reasons for these changes should be sought in the goals that the state aims to achieve through archaeology and cultural heritage.

Research Methodology

In order to explore these shifts and transformations, I use the framework of “Governmentality” coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault and “Analytics of Government” derived from Governmentality literature. My research focuses on the historical development of archaeology in Turkey, especially after World War II, analyses of relevant governing institutions and their related laws and regulations, as well as the establishment of archaeological education at the university level and current academic structures. The idea of Governmentality focuses on exploring government as the “conduct

of conduct” (Gordon 1991: 2) or “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon 1991:2).

The analytical model I employ in this research is derived from Governmentality (Foucault 1991, Dean 1999), in which four major axes are analyzed to assess the impact of the state and its apparatuses on the conduct of the individual and the population. These equally important four axes are the technologies and practices of government used to accomplish the rule, the specific forms of knowledge produced by the state and its apparatuses, the highlighted and obscured areas within the area of research (archaeological practice, in this case), and the formation of identities (within the practice itself) (Dean 1999). These four axes are complementary to each other, rather than hierarchical in order, thus making analytics of government the ideal framework to investigate a practice such as archaeology that involves conduct of the self and others at varying scales.

This model provides the basis for understanding and analyzing reciprocal relations between the state and archaeological practice by first laying out the current structure of the discipline in relation to its historical development and revealing a set of problematic areas in current practice. Also, it enables the researcher to take a look at some social, political, and economic changes that Turkey has witnessed over the last seventy years. In other words, it enables one to observe recent Turkish history through the lens of archaeological practice. Patterns in transformations of the discipline as well as its strengths and weaknesses enabled me to offer a set of guidelines to improve/revise the current conduct of archaeology in Turkey. In doing so, I offer also a revision to the

analytics of government as a model to study the conduct of archaeological practice under strict state regulations that are affected by developments in archaeology itself. This model, with its special focus on state interaction and practicing archaeologists, can be applied elsewhere with necessary modifications, such as inclusion of the impact of agency to understand the emergence of today's archaeological knowledge, and political uses of archaeology in the current modern state organization. Because state-regulated practice is a major input of this study, this model can be applied especially well to understand current practice in countries such as Italy, Egypt, and Greece, where strictly regulated archaeological practice and the involvement of state policies in archaeology have been recorded. Also, this study will be complementary to literature that focuses on the emergence of archaeology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Key Terminology

As I will demonstrate in more detail in Chapter 2, the idea of Governmentality is widely used in political science, sociology, and historical studies and introduces a number of key terms that I will use throughout this study. The first two terms I employ during the majority of the dissertation is **governor** that initially refers to the state and its institutions in charge of governing archaeological practice and cultural heritage management. In its current structure, these two institutions are the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (the Ministry from now on) and its branch, the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (the General Directorate from now on). The second term is **governed** and in its broadest use in the context of this dissertation refers to archaeologists who are

conducting research in Turkey. As I explain later in this section, both governor and governed are stakeholders in the archaeology of Turkey.

Among other key words, **technologies of government** refers to mechanisms that authorities use to “shape, normalize and instrumentalize the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of others in order to achieve the objectives they consider desirable” (Miller and Rose 1990:8). In my research they will refer to laws and regulations, government representatives, and the issuing, renewal, and cancellation of archaeological research permits.

For this study, my definition of **archaeological practice** includes archaeologists and researchers that are involved in all aspects of the production of archaeological knowledge through survey, excavation, museum studies, and laboratory work.

Stakeholders or **interested parties** are defined as people who take part in the production of archaeological knowledge through archaeological projects and their publication, education, regulation, and tourism, thus including both **governor** and **governed**, as defined above. These primary actors in Turkey include the Ministry (the main governing agency responsible for managing archaeological research through laws, regulations, and institutions), Turkish and foreign researchers (e.g., archaeologists, art historians, anthropologist, linguists, historians, museum staff), tourism-related staff, students, and hired labor. In additions to these stakeholders, local populations, local governments, development agencies, law enforcement, and nongovernmental organizations all help shape archaeological research in Turkey. Many of these actors’ lives are directly impacted by the practice of archaeology. Understanding the various definitions of

archaeology and the actors who influence its practice is the first step in establishing a platform to discuss necessary revisions to the conduct of archaeology.

Organization of the Dissertation

The organization of the dissertation follows the methodological framework of the research. The following section, Chapter 2, surveys the literature on histories of archaeological practice in Turkey and the world with an aim to provide a critical commentary on them. This literature review is followed by explanation of the methodology employed in this dissertation. While I explain basic concepts/terms in this introductory chapter, the reader will find four aspects of analytics of government that also shape the remaining chapters.

In Chapters 3 and 4 focusing on “Technologies and Practices of the Government,” I analyze the instruments of the state that shape archaeological practice. Specifically in Chapter 3, “The Technologies and Practices of the Government I: Planning Heritage,” I assess the impact of state policies on cultural heritage management through study of Five-Year Strategic Development Plans initiated in 1962.

In Chapter 4, “The Technologies and Practices of the Government II: Regulation Heritage, Laws, and Policies,” I focus on legal documents including the constitution, law and its regulations, as well the archaeological permit process and repatriation efforts that impact foreign research permits. As I analyze the internal apparatuses of the state, I also underline the impact of intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) on long-term goals and legal structures.

In Chapter 5, “Fields of Visibility,” I investigate highlighted and obscured areas in archaeological practice in Turkey through analysis of the geographical distribution of permitted and governmentally funded projects, priority areas and reserve areas defined by the legal framework, UNESCO World Heritage List and tentative list nominations, and recent governmental documents such as Tourism Strategy Turkey and Vision Turkey 2023 (Hedef Türkiye 2023) that define priority areas to revive cultural tourism. The main contribution of this chapter is its display that the state has preferred geographies for archaeological practice. Additionally, the chapter reveals that the social and political conditions of time, contested pasts, and peoples played roles in obscuring particular areas of research.

In Chapter 6, “Government as a Rational and Thoughtful Activity,” I investigate historical transformations of the Ministry to underline that archaeology and cultural heritage – once in the realm of education – have now transferred into a fuzzy area in which culture and tourism are enmeshed. Then, I analyze graphs and charts produced by the Ministry to conclude that the promotion of abundant governmental funding is misleading because it is made available primarily to Classical Archaeology projects in coastal areas and other select cultural tourism destinations. More importantly, my analysis of governmental discourse about the cases in which development projects endanger cultural heritage reveals that the state uses and manipulates the truth to move forward with development projects, indicating that archaeology is merely a tool in the eyes of the state.

In Chapter 7, “Formation of Identities,” I investigate two things. First, I trace the roots of the current academic structure to the governmental education system formed in the early years of the Republic. In doing so, I focus also on the long-term impacts of the influential first generation of archaeologists in the formation of various and overlapping identities among archaeologists in Turkey. Second, by using published reports of the annual archaeological symposium organized by the Ministry, I present some of the problematic aspects of archaeological practice in Turkey as provided in the commentaries and criticisms of project directors. Finally, in bringing together these sources of evidence, I define overlapping identities based on nationality, academic background and status, and periods of interest among archaeologists in Turkey.

In the concluding Chapter 8, I synthesize information coming from Chapters 3 through 7, present a revised history of archaeological practice in Turkey, offer a set of guidelines to improve the discipline, and provide a critical look at the model used in this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

As the goal of this dissertation is to present the historical development of the governance of archaeological practice in Turkey in light of social, political, and economic factors, this chapter discusses critical works on the history of archaeological practice in Turkey. This discussion of scholarship provides background data for understanding the current status of archaeology in Turkey and how the practice has been studied. In addition, the chapter fully defines the “Analytics of Government” derived from the concept of “Governmentality,” employed in this dissertation to investigate shifts in the goals and aims that the government has wanted to achieve through the practice of archaeology in Turkey from the early years of the Republic until today. These analytics of government provide the framework that allows the issues tackled in this dissertation to be assessed from the perspectives of both the governor and the governed. While terms such as “governor” and “governed” could be applied on multiple scales within archaeology itself (e.g., ministry and archaeologists; project director and staff), the focus here is on the interaction between state institutions and practitioners of archaeology.

General Studies on the History of Archaeological Practice

Systematic work on the development of archaeological practice goes back as early as the first half of the 20th century. However, it is currently possible to trace the establishment of the history of archaeological practice as its own systematic research field to the First Conference on the History of Archaeology, which took place in Aarhus

in 1978 (Daniel 1981). The conference proceedings mostly focus on the emergence of the discipline in Europe (Daniel 1981; Klindt-Jensen 1981; Kristiansen 1981; Gräslund 1981; Rodden 1981; Sackett 1981; Meinander 1981; Böhner 1981; Sklenár 1981; Hermann 1981); however, sections on archaeology in New Zealand (Gathercole 1981) and India (Chakrabarti 1981) suggest that as early as the late 1970s individual histories of archaeology as it was practiced across the globe were of interest to scholars. Evolution of this interest in the local development of archaeology is reflected in an edited volume titled *The History of Archaeology: an Introduction* by Paul Bahn (2014), in which he discusses the emergence of archaeology in areas not usually included in histories of archaeological practice, such as Western and Southern Asia (McIntosh 2014), Africa (Solomon 2014), the Far East (Prüch 2014), Russia (Tikhonov 2014), South America (Lopez-Hurtada 2014), and Australasia (Bird 2014).

Of all studies on the history of archaeological practice, however, *A History of Archaeological Thought* by Bruce Trigger is known best (Trigger 1989, 2006). The first edition, published in 1989, was praised for its comprehensiveness in documenting the transformation of interest in antiquity into systematic archaeological work across different parts of the world (Sabloff 1992) and was recommended reading not only for archaeologists but also for social scientists and historians (Runnels 1990; Sabloff 1992). On the other hand, the work was criticized for underestimating the impact of environmental change and “Cultural Resource Management,” specifically in North American archaeology, and for having limited information about archaeology in Latin America (Sabloff 1992). The thoroughly edited second edition, published in 2006,

received similar praise although Ames (2008) noted that teaching with the first edition would be better as the book had the potential to suffocate students from too much theory due to its comprehensiveness (Ames 2008).

For the purposes of this research, the main criticism of both editions is that their coverage of the Ottoman Era and the Early Republic period is not comprehensive at all, although archaeological activities conducted in the lands of the former Ottoman Empire had a profound impact on the practice and the establishment of museums in Europe and the United States; beginning from the 17th century, Ottoman territories provided Greek and Roman artifacts to collections in Europe (Shaw 2003) and hosted the first wave of European archaeologists (Özdoğan 1998). During this phase, looting and illegal removal of antiquities also led to one of the first regulations in 1874, established by Anton Déthier the director of the Imperial Museum, that claims state ownership of antiquities and prevents export of archaeological remains (Shaw 2011; Özdoğan 1998). Also, accessibility to Trigger's book in Turkey is limited as it has not been translated into Turkish. The book is a part of the curricula of archaeology departments only in foundation universities.

In addition to Trigger's seminal work, two volumes on the history of archaeological practice differ in the emphasis they put on past peoples' interest in their search for antiquities. In *A Short History of Archaeology* (1981), Glyn Daniel traces this interest to Babylonia as a reminder that the interest in the past should not be circumscribed to a Eurocentric approach that focuses only on the period after the 16th century. In *The Discovery of the Past*, Schnapp (1997) argues the impossibility of looking for the roots of

antiquity or circumscribing interests for ancient things in later stages of human history and emphasizes the impact of value systems in determining interest in the past. He relates the establishment of archaeology as a uniform science to debates on whether archaeology is a natural or human science that enabled archaeology to detach itself from antiquarianism (Schnapp 1997: 324). However, this work hardly contains an evaluation of archaeological work in the Ottoman lands or the Republic. Ergin (2010) attributes the lack of international scholarly interest in this particular era to the tendency of histories of archaeology to focus on “early nation-states and the subjugated (post-colonial) nation-states”; thus, the “non-colonizer late modernizer Turkish case” has not been an integral part of histories of archaeology, including the works of Trigger and Schnapp (Ergin 2010: 14).

One other notable publication that focuses on the nation state and its interaction with archaeology in the 19th century is *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, by Margarita Diaz-Andreu (2007). The book comprehensively investigates the development of archaeology and its political ties across the globe as the title suggests, and includes a brief section on archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. More importantly, the book poses a question I found particularly relevant to my research. Diaz-Andreu points out the need to investigate the global impact of archaeological practice developed during dictatorships of the early 20th century in countries such as Italy or Germany on “Western countries remained in democracy” (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 408) and the rest of the world. Although I do not investigate in particular the circumstances of archaeological practices in a country that remained in a

democracy, I do focus on the possible influences of the late 19th and early 20th century archaeology in ongoing archaeological practice in Turkey.

In addition to these comprehensive studies of archaeology across the globe, particular cases focus on the nature of archaeological practices in particular countries. Studies that investigate infrequently questioned aspects of archaeological practice include the colonization of the First Nations (Native Americans) by the settlers from Europe through archaeology and First Nations' attempts to decolonize the practice (Nicholas 2006); residual effects of colonialism in archaeological practice in Egypt (Meskell 2000); social and political aspects of archaeology in Israel (Silbermann and Small 1997); and the socio-cultural history of archaeological practice in Syria (Gillot 2010). These particular studies acknowledge that the framework defining the practice has roots going back to colonialism or nationalism, and that the practices themselves are constantly shaped by social, political, and economic factors.

Studies on the History of Archaeology and Archaeological Practice in Turkey

Archaeology in Turkey in Ottoman Times and the Early Republic

Studies of archaeological practice in Turkey focus on two distinct periods: the first is the establishment of museums and archaeology in the Ottoman Period as a predecessor to the Republican period. Notable examples for the intensive use of Ottoman archival records are the *Possessors and the Possessed* (Shaw 2003), which argues that the emergence of the Ottoman Museum was closely tied to the Ottoman Empire, with the latter attempting to reconnect to Europe through the establishment of a museum as part of its process of modernization. Another recent comprehensive work is *Scramble for the*

Past (Bahrani, Çelik, and Eldem 2011), which focuses on archaeology in the Ottoman Empire between 1745 and 1914, the period when the search for the roots of European civilizations required travel to Italy, parts of the Ottoman Empire, including Greece, and the Holy Land. This led to the first systematic excavations to establish museum collections not only in Europe and the United States, but also in the Ottoman Palace. Although the book omits treatment of Ottoman Egypt and Palestine – which, according to Bohrer (2013), would double the volume’s length – it rescues the Ottoman Empire and its statesmen “from the more common role of largely passive or picturesque backdrop for Western narratives of discovery” (Bohrer 2013: 588).

The second group of works focuses on the early years of the Turkish Republic. Tanyeri-Erdemir tackles the nationalistic tendencies of archaeological practice in the 1920s and 1930s but concludes that scholarly criticisms of the nationalistic theories and early excavations of Turkish archaeologists caused later practitioners and the state to focus on scientific aspects of archaeological work (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006).

In *Perceptions of the Classical and Byzantine Period in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic* (Redford and Ergin 2010), multiple authors discuss Classical and Byzantine-period studies in Turkey, with most authors focusing on individuals who were essential to these studies. Among the chapters of the volume, several stand out in their attempts to provide a critical view of archaeology in Turkey in the early years of the Republic as well as current issues in the practice (Ergin 2010; Görkay 2010; Akdeniz 2010; Shankland 2010). Of these studies, Ergin’s pinpoints something that bears importance for my own research. Ergin identifies the “genuine interest and tolerant

attitude toward the Greek, Roman and Byzantine past of the archaeology of the era due to the ethnic generalization” and underlines “the importance of the need to assess the historical and archaeological claims of the period due to its specific concern and agendas and their legacies and consequences” (Ergin 2010: 14). Furthermore, he rightly recommends that in contextualizing archaeology in the early years of the Republic, we should avoid a conceptual framework that justifies the archaeology of the era as an elite tool because of historical necessity and the need to build national confidence (Ergin 2010). As I demonstrate in further chapters, these legacies and consequences form the basis of archaeological practice for many years to come and establish reference points in assessing the transformation of archaeology in Turkey. Also, the aforementioned justification of the practice in the early years of the discipline prevents us from questioning the political nature of archaeology in Turkey, which in turn feeds the illusion that archaeology is a neutral and science-oriented discipline without other driving forces.

Thus, in the same volume, Görkay’s essay identifying problematic areas of Classical Archaeology and culture policies in Turkey in general – as well as his suggested solutions that underline the importance of individual efforts to solve these problems – is particularly important. His contribution is one of the few available criticisms from researchers with a background in the Classical Archaeology of Turkey, and it highlights how important insiders’ contributions are when guidelines and improvements are sought. In the same volume Shankland (2010) addresses the political pressure on the Turkish General Directorate and predicts a heritage program that focuses on Ottoman, Seljuk and ancient Turkish cultures at the expense of Greek, Roman or Byzantine cultures and

identifies these particular pasts as the opponents/enemies of preferred pasts. He goes on to state that not all Islamic movements have uniform interests in certain pasts by comparing when the Welfare Party discussed “specific politicization of heritage according to its religious background in the 1980s to the difference in approach of the AKP Government (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party) that led to the emergence of the commodification of archaeology, turning archaeological heritage into a source of tourism revenue more than ever before” (Shankland 2010: 235). While he does point out negative aspects of commercialization as isolating archaeological heritage in Anatolia, which would then serve outsiders instead of locals, he underestimates how archaeologists themselves were or have been responsible for the isolation of archaeology from the public, a practice that had the potential to justify the current commercialization of archaeology in Turkey, at least in the eyes of the public. To conclude, *Perceptions of the Classical and Byzantine Period in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic* provides some of the reference points that demonstrate the transformation of archaeology in Turkey by a twofold look at the histories of archaeology, including the genuine interest of archaeologists in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine pasts due to ethnic generalization of the ideology of the Republic, and the impact of the government on the practice itself as well as archaeologists’ own solutions to some of the current problems. The entire work has been both pivotal and fundamental for my own research.

Archaeology in Turkey after World War II

Accounts of archaeological practice after World War II have been very limited until recently. In addition, a contextual analysis of archaeology in Turkey after WWII requires

an assessment of the impact that intergovernmental institutions had in shaping the practice in Turkey. Turkey's post-war participation in intergovernmental institutions such as UNESCO (The United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization) needs to be considered carefully to understand the redefinition of internal culture and archaeology policies as well as transformation of cultural heritage into a political tool in foreign relations. UNESCO, established after the war in 1945, was founded on the belief that creating common cultural and educational values among various countries would prevent future wars among nations (UNESCO). Turkey joined this intergovernmental institution in 1946 almost immediately after its establishment, and since then it is possible to trace the impacts of this intergovernmental organization in Turkey's cultural heritage management policies as demonstrated in further chapters. While Mehmet Özdoğan (2001) argues that between 1960–1980 archaeology in Turkey was stagnant, some remarkable research and activities took place in Turkey during this time. The most notable example of this activity involves the Keban Dam Rescue excavations – initiated by the Middle East Technical University prior to the dam's construction – which opened up Southeastern Anatolia to multiple systematic research programs in 1966. The dam construction and the project itself had a significant impact on archaeological practice as international teams formed and carried out multidisciplinary work in the area. These works provided a model for later rescue efforts including the Atatürk, Ilisu, and Carchemish dam rescue excavations. However, prior to the Keban Dam rescue efforts, a ground-breaking international cultural heritage preservation activity was organized by UNESCO upon independent requests of the governments of Egypt and Sudan (Hassan

2007). This project involved an international body of institutions and scholars who worked for over 20 years beginning in 1960 to save Nubian monuments prior to construction of the Aswan High Dam that would flood modern sites and ancient settlements on the Nile plain. This massive project led to the concept of world heritage and established the first World Heritage Convention (Hassan 2007). Thus, especially in relation to the initiation of the Keban Dam project and archaeological field work and cultural heritage preservation initiatives conducted in Turkey after WWII, one has to keep in mind the impact of the Aswan Dam project carried out by UNESCO.

This critical period of archaeological practice in Turkey has been analyzed recently by Laurent Dissard (2011) as part of his dissertation. Dissard rightfully argues that scientific data became the sole focus of research and that the archaeologists and, more importantly, the local populations that suffered profoundly from the impact of the dam projects rarely surface in project reports.

On the global scale, the 1960s also marked the time when pre-WWII archaeological approaches were replaced with practices emphasizing “scientific approaches,” especially after the discovery of radiocarbon dating, in the explanation of various human systems (Renfrew and Bahn 1996). While the movement predominantly took place in England and North America, its ripple effects reached Istanbul University in the late 1960s. Unfortunately, this interesting phase in archaeological practice in Turkey and reactions to it are explained only briefly in a recent retrospective account of the period. As Ali Dinçol recalls (2003), when Sönmez Kantman and he published *Analytical Archaeology* in 1969, they were marginalized by the archaeological community in the late 1960s and early

1970s because they were seen as young scholars who wanted to climb ladders of academia faster than others.

Prior to events of the late 1960s, the 1950s also marked the initiation of important survey projects in Turkey. Of these, the first group was initiated by scholars of the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA). Established in 1947, the institute immediately led survey and excavation projects that lasted throughout the 1950s and 1960s. James Mellaart and David French's surveys of "Prehistoric Anatolia" led to the discovery of sites now known around the world, including Beycesultan, Hacilar, and Çatalhöyük, which vastly modified our understanding of prehistoric periods in Western and Central Anatolia (Vandeput 2008). Çatalhöyük, especially, with its compact houses, wall paintings, intramural burials, plastered animal figures, and the so-called mother goddess figurines, became a globally recognized site for understanding Neolithic-period developments.

The second major work was the 1960s collaboration among Istanbul University and the University of Chicago to survey the upper Tigris-Euphrates basin in Southeastern Anatolia that led to the discovery and excavation of Neolithic Çayönü, in Diyarbakır (Braidwood, Çambel, and Watson 1969). These studies had a profound impact and became trendsetting projects for prehistoric research in Turkey because of their multidisciplinary approaches to archaeology, including analysis of plant and animal remains and anthropological approaches. With this impetus, while prehistoric and protohistoric research in Turkey became more engaged in interdisciplinary work, Classical Archaeology continued to maintain its art historical focus. As I will demonstrate in later chapters, major Classical excavation projects, such as at Perge

(Özceylan 2013), were devoid of even basic pottery classification studies around the time that Çayönü, Hacilar, and Çatalhöyük were discovered.

The Legacy of Çatalhöyük in the History of Archaeology Practice in Turkey

Unfortunately, the first phase of the work at Çatalhöyük came to a halt after the excavation director James Mellaart had his permit canceled and was expelled from Turkey. Similar to oral traditions, stories of James Mellaart pass among archaeologists from generation to generation. However, events that led to the discovery of Çatalhöyük and the revocation of the working permit were explained in a popular archaeology book written by Michael Balter (2005). The book titled *Goddess and the Bull* is one of multiple narratives of archaeological practice that specifically focuses on aspects of archaeology at Çatalhöyük. The impetus for the book was the restart of archaeological work at the site by Ian Hodder who, as the founding father of post-processual archaeology, encouraged studies that focus on the actual practice and its impact on an archaeological site. Thus, in Turkey, Hodder's work at Çatalhöyük probably became the best-known example of research incorporating various stakeholders, aspects of archaeological practice, and government policies systematically studied by anthropologists, sociologists, and archaeologists (Hamilton 2000; Leibhammer 2000; Shankland 1996 and 2000; Bartu 2000; Erdur 2003a and 2003b; Rountree 2003; Zak 2004; Hodder 2011, 2012). Although the studies conducted in Çatalhöyük are major and important steps towards understanding various aspects of archaeological practice, limiting such studies to Çatalhöyük-oriented research prevents a broader and richer understanding of archaeological practice in Turkey.

In addition to comprehensive work on Çatalhöyük, a few ethnographic studies of other archaeological sites also exist. Daniel Shoup investigated the history and influences of Classical Archaeology as an important sub-discipline in Turkey by conducting interviews with excavation directors and staff members at Classical Archaeology projects (Shoup 2008). In his influential work, Shoup argues that increasing tourism activities resulted in conservation projects and “inauthentic representations of the past” (2008: xii) and recommends that practitioners 1) add “conservation, management, and ethics to archaeology programs; 2) integrate site management and outreach activities into research designs and funding applications; and 3) broaden the definition of archaeology itself, to build political capital and improve stewardship of the past” (2008:xii). These recommendations are crucial for this study because they are keys to needed rectifications of archaeology in Turkey. Shoup’s recommendations actually touch on several issues I cover within the scope of this dissertation as I question poorly planned restoration projects, the distribution and use of governmental funding, as well as the narrow definition of an archaeologist in the Turkish legal and education systems.

Shoup also investigated the impact of economic development activities on archaeology, especially dam projects (2006). By focusing on two archaeological sites affected by the Birecik and Ilisu Dams of the Southeastern Anatolia Project – Zeugma and Hasankeyf – Shoup investigates multiple viewpoints on cultural heritage management, tourism, and development conflicts in especially politically sensitive areas. He argues that picking sides in such conflicts has the risk of losing jobs or permits for archaeologists because archaeologists are employed by the government, which also issues

the work permits. On the other hand, Shoup also argues that archaeology is a persuasive political tool to prevent violation of human rights by adopting ethical responsibilities. He further suggests that archaeologists question the conditions under which salvage work takes place in terms of research quality, stewardship and outreach, and environmental impacts, as well as other issues that might have effects on civilian life.

Biographies of First Generation Archaeologists

In addition to thematic studies, biographies of the Republic's first generation archaeologists – some of whom were sent to Europe to get advanced degrees such as Ekrem Akurgal (Akurgal 1999) and Sedat Alp (Dündar and Sevinç 2004) – or the first generation of archaeologists to graduate from the first universities of the Republic, such as Nimet and Tahsin Özgüç (Duruel 2011), were published by the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA). These publications provide information on the initial years of archaeology in Turkey, including its academic structure, and demonstrate the impact and authority these first generation scholars had in archaeological studies for years to come. For these reasons, these biographies require special attention in any study that attempts to analyze archaeology in Turkey today. This type of literature, however, is limited mostly to the first generation of male archaeologists in the Turkish Republic. For example, the Özgüç biography focuses mostly on the achievements of Tahsin Özgüç; the section on Nimet Özgüç is only peripheral. There is no detailed work on other first generation archaeologists and female scholars such as Jale İnan or Mükerrerem Usman Anabolu, although posthumous short studies published for Jale İnan and Ufuk Esin do exist (Başgelen 2012, 2008). Halet Çambel is the only exception to this pattern, although her

memoir-biography is the product of Yapı Endüstri Merkezi (YEM), a publication company that specializes on architecture. The reason for this must be sought in contributions of Çambel and her Aga-Khan Architecture Award-winning husband Nail Çakırhan.

Of these biographies, the memoir of Ekrem Akurgal, a larger-than-life figure in the Classical Archaeology of Turkey, contains material that needs criticism on many levels, including the mistreatment of women in archaeology, the social class-based selection of potential archaeologists, and the position that archaeologists need to be apolitical. However, Akurgal has been accepted as “Hocaların Hocası – Master of all Masters/Professor of all Professors” (Akurgal 1999) and has reached a cult-level status in the Classical Archaeology in Turkey, wherein a former student of Akurgal and professor emeritus of the prestigious Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography at Ankara University, Coşkun Özgünel, even describes him as an “eren,” or “saint” (Özgünel 2010: 145). For these reasons, published criticism of Akurgal so far has come from scholars outside the discipline of archaeology.

Aydın, in his evaluation of the practice in the early 21st century, notes that archaeology in Turkey still carries this “tradition” under which the burden of excavation lies in exposing only artifacts that can be classified as works of art by archaeologists who focus only on their own sites (Aydın 2002). A year later, Aydın announced a new platform, titled *Social Archaeology Platform* (Toplumsal Arkeoloji Platformu-TAP), for the discussion of the current status of archaeology in Turkey (Aydın 2003).

The Quest for the History of Archaeological Thought in Turkey:

Theory-Oriented Movements

The published discussion forum of the *Social Archaeology Platform* (Toplumsal Arkeoloji Platformu-TAP) organized by Oğuz Erdur and Güneş Duru in 2003 (Erdur and Duru 2003) was an attempt to provide a place for critiques of relationships between archaeological practice in Turkey and the public. This short-lived but important movement was one of the rare occurrences when topics such as archaeological education, cultural heritage and museums, the use of archaeology in media, cultural identities, and archaeological theory were discussed by researchers from various backgrounds. In its second edition (Erdur and Duru 2013), published right after the first meeting of the Turkey Chapter of the Theoretical Archaeology Group at which Duru and Erdur were speakers, the authors imply that the original *Social Archaeology Platform* was seen as a threat to the existing configuration of the discipline in Turkey. The strong reactions they report resemble the experience of Dinçol and Kantman and suggest that institutions such as Istanbul University should be required to take a closer look at the impact they have on archaeology itself.

Last but not least, the Turkey Chapter of the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG-Turkey), established in 2012 by Çiler Çilingiroğlu and Fahri Dikkaya, held its first meeting in İzmir in 2013. Although the focus of the group is theory in archaeology, their first meeting focused on problematic issues in archaeological practice in Turkey, especially in regard to the state regulation of the practice. The proceedings of the meeting (Çilingiroğlu and Özgüner in press) include articles which relate the lack of

archaeological research in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia to state policies (Şerifoğlu and Başak Selvi in press), a critical assessment of German archaeology education in Turkey (Aksoy in press; Çilingiroğlu 2015), and critiques of Classical Archaeology approaches in Turkey (Eren 2015; Şare 2015), as well as investigations of power relations between the Turkish State and archaeologists (Koparal 2015). As plans for the second TAG-Turkey meeting are in progress, I speculate that archaeologists in Turkey are becoming more vocal in print about problems of the practice. Thus, the next ten years should see more critical studies on the state of archaeology as a discipline in Turkey, written by archaeologists as well as by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians.

On the other hand, as my dissertation review demonstrates, studies on the development and history of archaeology in Turkey still focus mostly on two distinct periods. The first involves the establishment of museums and the transition from antiquarianism to archaeology as a scientific discipline during late Ottoman times. The second major area of research is based on the establishment of archaeology in Turkey as part of the emerging Republic.

The interest and accumulation of work that focuses on the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic should not come as a surprise as these works dwell on vivid periods in which drastic changes in political powers occurred in Europe and Ottoman lands. Around the same time, antiquarian activities shifted into systematic archaeological research. Within this context, autobiographies of influential people such as Osman Hamdi Bey, during the Ottoman Period, and Ekrem Akurgal or Sedat Alp, as the first generation of archaeologists of the early Republic, provide firsthand and personal information on

these bustling and long gone eras. On the other hand, the interest in history and evolution of archaeology after the WWII in Turkey is limited.

The revival of such interest in archaeology in Turkey revived with the second phase of work at Çatalhöyük. With its post-modern and post-processual research agenda, the project employed ideas such as multivocality and reflexivity in multiple ethnographic studies conducted at the site to understand the dynamics of archaeological work and to assess its interaction with other stakeholders. These studies show that analyses and ethnographies of archaeological practice can be conducted by researchers in different positions (e.g., as active members of ongoing projects or as outside observers), and they demonstrate also the great diversity of practices depending on how ethnographies of archaeology are defined. Ethnographies of archaeological work are not limited to one geographical region, and certain ethnographic trends can be traced. Ethnographic work has generally been applied to excavations, for example; a survey project has yet to constitute the sole focus of ethnographic work, although many excavations with accompanying surveys have been studied (Holtorf 2006; Wilmore 2006). An increasing number of these studies demonstrate a growing awareness of impacts on local social and economic life, although their specific focus is the practitioners of archaeology. Currently, a study that focuses on the conduct of archaeology and the production of archaeological knowledge or a comprehensive study of the history of archaeology in Turkey is still lacking. This gap has been noted by Erciyas (2006), but unlike Özdoğan, who expected such a critique to come from Western scholars (Özdoğan 2001), Erciyas suggests the self-recognition of problems (at an individual level) by questioning archaeological education

and the social contexts of archaeological practice. Accordingly, the practitioners of archaeology could provide a starting point for understanding archaeology in Turkey. As an attempt to partake in these efforts, in this dissertation I investigate the governance of archaeology and problems arising from it through a theoretical framework defined as Governmentality.

Governmentality

“Governmentality” as coined by Michel Foucault during his lectures in College de France in 1978 and 1979, focuses on the genealogy or birth of the state from ancient Greece to current neo-liberal states (Lemke 2002 and 2007). The idea of Governmentality became an influential framework in the social sciences and has been used as an alternative to State theories (Frauley 2007); however, these studies are also criticized for their particular focus on a “territorially sovereign state” and their Eurocentric approach that excludes other forms of sovereignties for their negligence of non-Western and non-liberal contexts and international-scale developments that have the ability to transform nation states into other forms (Lemke 2007).

Foucault links the emergence of problems of government to specific problems of the population in the 16th century including government of oneself, government of souls and conduct, government of children, and government of the state by the prince (Foucault 2007: 88, Lemke 2001). In his assessment of texts on government spanning the 16th to 18th centuries, he especially considers the writings of Quesnay in the 18th century as marking the birth of economic government: Quesnay sees “good government as economic government” (Foucault 2007: 95) and “the art of government is precisely to

exercise power in the form, and according to the model of economy” (Foucault 2007: 95). Foucault concludes that while the economy is a form of government in the 16th century, in the 18th century the economy had “become a level of reality and field of intervention for government,” thus this transformation also defines his terminology of governing and being governed (Foucault 2007:95).

In his lectures, Foucault particularly tackles Guillaume de La Perrière’s definition of government as “the right disposition of things arranged as to lead to a suitable end” (2007: 96), because unlike other definitions of government of the 16th century, it focuses not on territory but on “things” which, in turn, enables Governmentality to focus on all aspects of conduct and defines the action of governing as the governing of things (2007: 97). For the purposes of this research, “the suitable ends” phrase requires a closer look, because it does not imply achieving the best result but emphasizes achieving the appropriate or required result. Such emphasis on “suitable ends” supports one of the basic arguments of my study because for the State and its various governments on the one hand, and archaeologists or other stakeholders on the other, there are different, overlapping or contradicting “suitable ends.” These differing suitable ends and the conflicts that result are at the center of “problematic areas” in archaeological practice today.

Put more simply, perhaps, Governmentality focuses on exploring government as the “conduct of conduct” (Foucault 1982: 220; Gordon 1991: 2) or “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon 1991:2). But what does the “conduct of conduct” mean? Dean explains it as “...any more or less

calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape the conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes” (Dean 2010:18). Based on this definition, an analysis of government includes defining the authorities, their calculated activities, the techniques, production, and use of that knowledge, who these actors are and how they are defined, and finally what is aimed to be achieved and what is the actual achievement (Dean 2010). And because “conduct of conduct” can take place on multiple scales, from the government of self to governments of the state (Oels 2006), government of particular practices, such as government of archaeological practice, can be subject to a Governmentality approach.

The comprehensive nature of Governmentality enables one to focus on subjects ranging from the individual to entities such as states and governmental institutions and also enables one to investigate the impact of its subject on itself and others and requires “a study of technologies of power with political rationalities underpinning them” (Lemke 2002: 50). As Biebricher and Vogelmann write, “If government is about shaping and molding of the individual selves, then the processes through which these self-relations are constituted and transformed become part and parcel of an understanding of the functioning of the state. A more narrow analysis of state apparatuses will no longer suffice. Instead, the attention of the Governmentality perspective is drawn towards the technologies through which subjects have been produced in historically variable ways

according to particular political rationalities. The history of state (trans-)formation is inextricably tied to the history of subject (trans-)formation” (2012:3). For the scope of my research, these historical transformations of the subject, in this case archaeologists – through education, fieldwork, academic structure, and influential figures – become fundamental to gain a full understanding of archaeological practice in Turkey.

Technologies of government also constitute a fundamental aspect of Governmentality studies because they “entail techniques of self-representation of the state through ceremonies and rituals as well as management techniques of public administration or...the apparatuses of security through which the caring regulation of population is supposed to take place” (Biebricher and Vogelmann 2012). As I will demonstrate in upcoming chapters, the State and the Ministry use these technologies (or apparatuses of the state?) to shape archaeological practice in Turkey.

Governmentality is usually applied to state-level health and education policies and analytics of government, and studies on Governmentality are shaped by two main publications (Frauley 2007, Biebricher and Vogelmann 2012). The first is *The Foucault Effect*, published in 1991, which includes two lectures, an interview with Foucault, and analysis based on the concept of Governmentality (Burchell, Gordon, and Miller 1991). Biebricher and Vogelmann (2012) see this publication as the source of one side of Governmentality studies, with the second side deriving from “Political Power Beyond the State” by Miller and Rose (1992), which looks at other levels of power and is another seminal work whose research agenda on Governmentality studies will remain in effect for years to come.

The next issue to address is why Governmentality and the analytics of government provide the most suitable framework for understanding archaeological practice in Turkey. The answer lies in the fact that the essential concepts that define the Governmentality approach can also be found in archaeological practice that is strictly regulated by the state; also, the conduct of archaeologists is shaped by technologies of government that I will discuss further in this chapter. An equally important aspect involves the responses of archaeologists to this shaping of their practice.

Beginning with the Ottoman Empire, foreigners visiting archaeological sites or conducting archaeological work were subject to the permission of the sultan through *fermans* (imperial edicts). As interest in antiquities rose in the 19th century, the Ottoman court issued a bylaw in 1869, the first one to attempt control of antiquities. Three major events led the Imperial Court to realize the importance of antiquities for modern states (Eldem 2011: 282): the removal of the Elgin Marbles from the Acropolis of Athens; the Greek War of Independence; and the “abusive exploitation of the excavation site at Ephesus in the 1860s.” These changes in legal framework are historic indicators of how conduct of self, or in this case, the conduct of archaeologists in Ottoman lands in the 19th century, led to changes in state policies. The 1869 bylaw was followed by several others, the last Ottoman-period example of which was issued in 1906. This last bylaw remained in effect with only minor changes until 1973 and the establishment of Law 1710 on Antiquities (Eski Eserler Kanunu).

The tradition of requiring governmental permission to conduct archaeological research that began in Ottoman times continues to be practiced in Turkey today. Unlike

other types of research such as geological field work or laboratory research experiments, archaeological work continues to be subject to governmental permissions involving several state institutions.

Governmental institutions charged with the management of archaeological practice and cultural heritage have also been subject to transformation due to policies of the State. All matters related to archaeology were first associated with the Ministry of Education (established in 1933) and later shifted to the ministries of Culture and then Culture and Education, before finally falling under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003. As I demonstrate in later chapters, as the purpose of archaeology was transformed, the practice itself was shaped accordingly.

As an apparatus of the government, the permission-granting process has become more organized over time, and it also differs between Turkish and foreign projects. While Turkish archaeologists apply directly to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, foreign applications go through Turkish embassies in foreign researchers' home countries. Prior to submission, applications are previewed by foreign research institutions in Turkey, if such institutions exist. As one of the ceremonies of archaeological practice, the permit process is repeated on an annual basis by every archaeological project, regardless of its longevity; e.g., projects such as Hattusha or Sardis, which have been conducting archaeological research for more than 50 years, or even Ephesus, with around 100 years of work in the area, still must submit applications every year. This process shapes the conduct of archaeologists: common practice sees archaeologists visit Ministry officials

during the review period to learn about the fate of their permit applications and to demonstrate their eagerness to conduct archaeological work.

Luke and Kersel (2012), by describing one of the most recent and speculative cases of repatriation – the return of the Sphinx of Hattusha from a museum in Germany to Turkey under threats of permit revocation – remind us that the permission to conduct archaeological field research, from the perspective of the host nation, is part of a much larger system that includes museums (in country and foreign) as well as preservation initiatives (2012: 45). In explaining why, for instance, the Turkish government uses archaeological permits as “bargaining chips” in repatriation efforts, the authors underline the impact of colonial agendas that filled museums in Europe and the United States with antiquities, as well as illegal export and theft of antiquities on the current role and function of archaeological permits (Luke and Kersel 2012).

The permitting process, with its roots in Ottoman Period arrangements for the preservation of cultural heritage and the management of archaeological work, as well as the rituals and ceremonies that define the governance of archaeological practice, constitute other forms of power and techniques of archaeological governance. These entail various levels of “shaping, guiding or affecting the conduct of some person or persons as a form of activity” (Gordon 1991:2). In its simplest form an archaeological project brings together students (undergraduate and graduate), specialists (zooarchaeologists, archaeobotanists, ceramicists, stone experts, and geophysicists), and labor and staff, usually hired from nearby towns and villages. Directorial project members and government representatives become the “governors” of this micro-system.

The latter are attendant requirements of permitted projects: every archaeological project in Turkey, whether survey or excavation, foreign or local, is attended by a representative of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism whose role is to monitor field and lab activities and periodically report overviews of the study to the General Directorate.

In most cases, directors, co-directors, field directors, and senior assistants are the decision makers in projects, as dictated by the official permit from the General Directorate. Unwritten rules, too, tend to regulate life on a survey or excavation. Multiple scales and stages of governance take place in archaeological practice, with activities (e.g., excavation, survey) and spaces (e.g., artifact depots, laboratories) subject to the regulation of the Ministry Representative. Almost all aspects of daily life, though – including preparing and cleaning up of meals, preparing field equipment, work hours, sleeping conditions, sexuality, bathroom use and cleaning duties, permitted activities on off-days, etc. – are governed by the internal organization of the project (often mandated by the director, co-director, or senior assistants).

Each complicated system that comprises an archaeological project is determined by the rules and regulations of the state, making it mandatory to ask whether the state has specific aims in governing the practice of archaeology in Turkey and whether such aims have changed over time, and why. Thus, it is necessary to analyze state institutions that are decision makers for cultural heritage and archaeological practices, the practitioners themselves, and the impacts of the various backgrounds of these actors to understand the current status of archaeological practice in Turkey. The analytics of government, thus,

enable me to bring this data together in a meaningful way to answer particular questions about the goals of the state in governing the practice of archaeology in Turkey.

Analytics of Government

Dean established the idea of “Analytics of Government” in the Governmentality approach, describing it as a framework that “examines the conditions under which regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and are transformed” (Dean 2011: 31). These regimes of practices are the past organizational ways that “we think about, reform and practice” (Dean 2011: 31). If these regimes of practices have routines and rituals occurring in specific places and times, then they are considered to be institutional practices (Dean 2011).

Thus, Dean’s approach aims to identify several things: 1) ways of doing things (or, perhaps, rituals) that are taken for granted, not entirely self-evident, or functionally unnecessary; 2) the elements that constitute regimes and their interactions resulting in the emergence of stable practices; 3) the forms of knowledge these practices produce and the impacts of this knowledge on the governance itself; and, finally, 4) the techniques the regime uses to reach its goals and their impacts (Dean 2010).

Explicit programs with specific goals are fundamental to regimes of practice; questioning such programs, then, initiates the “analytics of government” (Dean 2011: 32). In any analysis of government, pointing out “the situations or the moments where government becomes the problem” is the first step (Dean 2011: 38). More importantly, the analysis of government enables one to analyze conduct from multiple perspectives, including both the governed and the governor.

Thus, analytics of government enable me to define transformations in archaeological practice by focusing on situations in which the activity of governing is called into question by the governed and governors (Dean 2010). The key starting point in analytics of government is identifying the problematic areas with “how questions” (Dean 2011: 33). In archaeology, some specific situations result from conflicting interests, desires, and actions among various parties. Thus, how archaeological practice is governed and what problems affect the practice in Turkey are essential questions to ask. What are the problems of the governed and governor, and how do they impact archaeological practice? As a follow-up to these main questions, how are areas to be surveyed or excavated given permissions? Why do archaeologists choose specific areas in which to work? How do we produce archaeological information? How can we assess the quality of archaeological work? Do the requests of local populations and governments change the practice? (See Table 1 for a set of questions derived after previous work on analytics of government.) The analytics of government allow these questions to be interrogated and answered.

By adopting the framework of the analytics of government, this study aims to provide a window into one of the institutions of the state, namely the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and a particular branch of that institution, the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Monuments, rather than provide a detailed and comprehensive study of state structure in Turkey. For the purposes of this study, the geographical focus is Turkey and the period of interest, determined by research time and data constraints, is 1979 to 2013. Shifts in archaeological practice and the questions they raise concerning the governance of archaeology are not peculiar to Turkey, however. For instance, in Canada, the rise of

Cultural Resources Management (CRM) activities in the 1990s caused many concerns because it was accompanied by a decline in funding for other forms of archaeological research (Ferris 2000).

The Analytics of the Governance of Archaeological Practice in Turkey

The analytics of government investigates such situations under four overarching dimensions: analysis of technical aspects or mechanisms of government; fields of visibility; assessment of government as a rational and thoughtful activity; and formation of identities (Dean 2010).

Mechanisms of archaeological governance

Chapter 3 and 4 provides analysis of the technical aspects of government including “the means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies constituting the authority and accomplishing the rules” (Dean 2010: 42). Understanding this dimension requires analyzing the policies, laws, regulations, permission-granting processes, and monitoring of archaeological projects used to govern archaeology in Turkey. For this study, laws and regulations are crucial documents, and within Governmentality, programs too are considered to be important documents (Li 2007; Luke and Kersel 2012) because “programs explain practices, processes and events” (Li 2007: 279). Without such governmental programs explaining the implementation of laws and regulations, these laws and regulations are the only official documents available that give insight into the goals of archaeological governance. The results of this analysis define archaeological methods that can be efficiently practiced within the framework of current laws and regulations and thus highlight areas for potential policy revisions. I also

investigate the repatriation efforts of the AKP government and mandated annual conferences and publications as mechanisms of governmental control over archaeological projects and discuss whether the lack of publishing in annual conference volumes has consequences on the granting of permits.

Fields of visibility

Fields of visibility refer to areas that regimes want to highlight and areas they want to obscure; thus their identification reveals the goals of the governor in presenting particular pictures of the practice (Dean 2011). Accordingly, one needs to address whether the practice itself forms a big picture, what is depicted and not depicted in that picture, and why high-visibility versus obscured areas are important. In Chapter 5, an exploration of overshadowed and highlighted areas or issues in the practice of archaeology includes an investigation of the types of research permitted and funded and an assessment of the various field methods employed (survey, excavation, rescue excavation, and cultural tourism projects). In addition, I investigate whether any time periods, types of archaeological remains, or provinces are given preference in Turkey by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism by examining the distribution of research permits.

Government as a rational and thoughtful activity

The third overarching theme is the evaluation of government as a rational and thoughtful activity with its own goals (Dean 2010:40). In this third aspect, analysis rises from acknowledgment that governments aim to achieve specific goals. Thus, in order to achieve those goals, they will produce certain types of information and will use that

information to further goals. Identifiable forms of thought, knowledge, expertise, strategies, and means of calculation employed in practices of governing (Dean 2011: 42) lead to understanding the goals.

Thus, in Chapter 6, I investigate which goals the Ministry of Culture and Tourism aims to achieve through the conduct of archaeology and what steps it takes to achieve those goals. Specifically, I address why changes in laws and ministry branches occur and examine conflicts between the management of cultural heritage and tourism or development initiatives through case studies (e.g., urban, mining, or industrial activities).

Formation of identities presupposed by archaeological governance

The last step in analytics of government is to understand the formation of identities within regimes of practice (Dean 2010). Identity formation is probably the most interesting aspect of the analytics of government because it focuses entirely on the population that is governed and the way that population is intended to be transformed or shaped.

In Chapter 7, I focus on the formation of identities in archaeological practice in Turkey. The first step is to define how the group that is being governed is formed through legal institutions of the state. As the main source of this formation, an analysis of the development of archaeological education in Turkey is provided (education in archaeology around the world is discussed also). In addition, existing hierarchical relationships between governing institutions and the governed are investigated through the permission-granting process. The second step is to identify in which ways the governing institution uses its authority over the group that is being governed and to define the level and nature

of the interactions among these two groups due to existing social/hierarchical stratification among them. Analysis of the comments and criticisms of survey and excavation directors in published volumes of Annual Excavation, Survey and Archaeometry Research over the last 30 years not only provides valuable information on hierarchical relationships, but also reveals various identities among archaeologists in Turkey. More importantly, it reveals that while the governing institution approves certain types of behavior, it also punishes actions it deems inapt.

In Turkey, the formation of identities is visible first in the permit process that identifies researchers by nationality and background. As part of my work, I address what sorts of identities and vocabularies are formed through the policies of governing agencies and various educational or research institutions. Does the clear distinction between local and foreign researchers in the permitting process have polarizing effects on the archaeological community? Has this distinction contributed to the establishment of foreign research institutes? How do local governments and development agencies recognize and treat these different identities?

Evaluation

As I iterated elsewhere in these introductory chapters, the rightful interest in major transformations or break-points in the history of archaeological practice has led to a limited understanding of transformations of archaeology after the first half of the eventful 20th century. Advancements in the natural sciences and their potential applications in archaeology developed hand in hand but not always in harmony with archaeology after this period. Within this context, the role and function of archaeology in Turkey also have

shifted from a science-based orientation after the failure of the Republic's nation-building ideology. These remarkable shifts require an analytical approach to understand the reciprocal relationship between the State and archaeological practice in response to the changing social and economic fabric of the country. Looking through the lens of Governmentality, which considers these transformations reciprocal to each other, enabled me to apply and (partially construct) a model to analyze archaeological practice in Turkey. The four overarching dimensions of the analytics of government (technical aspects, fields of visibility, the goals of the government, and the formation of identities) provide the guiding framework for my research to understand the current conduct of archaeological practice in Turkey. The data incorporated in this research are eclectic (and probably experimental in nature); however, the results yielded are interesting, to say the least, and provide a new way to understand the current and equally interesting dynamics of our discipline.

As archaeologists we might be slightly too “inert” and “busy” to understand the *current* social contexts that define our practice (Erciyas 2006), and we might rely on someone else to come and study more about Çatalhöyük or be critical if the researcher did not fully grasp the dynamics of our discipline. On the other hand, it is crucial to question and understand the motives that are behind our current conduct and the practices that have led to our current knowledge about the human past. As an excavation starts with removing usually less valued top-soil, so maybe looking at the present layer of archaeology in Turkey will help us understand the importance of the recent past and

reveal yet other layers that lie in relative obscurity, especially in the period from the early years of the Republic to the 1980s.

Table 1: Analytical Framework for the Study of Governmentality in Archaeological Practice in Turkey. Prepared after Oels (2005: 189) and Dean (2003: 30–33)

Analytical Category	Questions	Examples from Archaeological Practice
Technical Aspects	1) By what instruments, procedures and technologies is the rule accomplished?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Related articles on archaeological practice and cultural heritage management in the constitution, • Laws, regulations and directives • Development Plans • Permit Process • Government representative
Fields of Visibility	1) What is illuminated, what is obscured? 2) What problems are to be solved?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maps of excavation and survey permits • Government funds provided for each site
Rationales and Thoughts of the Government (Forms of knowledge)	1) What forms of thought arise from and inform the activity of governing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forms and Graphs • Publications • Discourse on archaeological practice and cultural heritage
Formation of Identities	1) What forms of self are presupposed by the practices of the government? 2) Which transformations are sought?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor • Governed • Foreign • Local • Academic hierarchy

CHAPTER 3
THE TECHNOLOGIES and PRACTICES of the GOVERNMENT I:
PLANNING HERITAGE

Introduction

As an initial step of the four-tier approach to the analytics of government, this chapter is the first of two chapters that investigate the governance of archaeology in Turkey by identifying the instruments, procedures, and technologies that lead to its implementation. As Dean (2011) argues, the technologies and practices of government respond to contemporary perspectives. In Chapter 3, I illustrate the linkage between Turkish heritage policies and national development plans. In addition, I situate this debate within the discourse of contemporary international agendas specific to heritage.

First of all, this chapter presents various technologies employed by the government through time. Along the way, I consider the impact of intergovernmental organizations such as UNESCO on establishing and redefining the state's goals. Second, by pointing out modifications to these technologies, I demonstrate various goals that the state aimed to achieve through the governance of archaeology since the beginning of the 1960s. Finally, the chapter highlights problematic areas that arose as a result of the employment of these technologies. In this way, the chapter tracks the historical background from the 1960s to the present in order to familiarize the reader with the social and political structures of Turkey and changes in them over time.

Policies constitute a major aspect of the analysis of technologies and tools of governments because policies establish the roots that eventually achieve governmental

goals (Dean 2011). For this chapter, the main sources of policy data come from related articles of the constitution and sections of strategic cultural development plans in place since the 1960s. Beginning then, various iterations of the Turkish government have been concerned with potential uses of cultural heritage. Around the late 1960s, this potential was clarified to integrate cultural heritage with tourism incentives. In addition, protection of cultural heritage sites was sought in the form of strict state-run preservation policies. In the 1980s, the first attempts to integrate culture into tourism in collaboration with the private sector were encouraged in development plans. After the early 2000s, the use of components of cultural heritage became selective and highly politically loaded; e.g., cultural heritage is of great concern to the state when it has the potential to contribute to the economy through tourism and international power plays, yet its importance can easily be downplayed when it clashes with major development plans. Different positions of the state toward matters of cultural heritage continue to reveal that archaeology has become a commodity for the government rather than a privileged scientific discipline, especially within the last ten years.

Thus, beginning with strategic development plans, the legal frameworks that define archaeological practice and the changes in it, as well as specific tools of government, are identified and discussed in this chapter. These sets of information enable me to present transformations in the conduct of archaeological practice over time and to define problematic areas, both of which establish the basis for the guidelines for rectifying archaeological practice in Turkey presented in Chapter 8.

Policies: Strategic Development Plans

As the foremost governing institution of the modern era, the state has specific goals to achieve. These goals are first set through policies and followed by the establishment of institutions and the legal framework that supports their achievement. In Turkey, archaeological practice and cultural heritage are a part of this state structure. In this section, I answer questions concerning the purpose, function, and role of archaeology in terms of the goals of the state, and what technologies are employed to achieve them. In doing so, five-year development plans that are known as the “Strategic Development Plans” prepared by the State Planning Organization (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı) constitute the major source of data.

In 1960, the first of the three military coups occurred, affecting social, cultural, and economic life in Turkey. Immediately following the coup, still in 1960, a governmental institution titled the State Planning Organization (Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı) was established. This institution was responsible for “Strategic Development Plans” (Stratejik Kalkınma Planları) which included analysis of the situation at hand and set five-year goals and objectives for social, economic, and cultural development. The first Strategic Development Plan for the period 1963–1968 was prepared after legal establishment in the national assembly in 1962. The planning agency established in 1960 functioned as such until 2011 when the institution was converted into the Development Ministry during the 61st Government.

The first Strategic Development Plan aimed to achieve economic, social, and cultural development through democratic means and to improve the national economy through

guiding both public and private sectors to priority areas (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı 1962). As of January 2014, the Tenth Strategic Development Plan (2014–2018) is in effect. With the exception of few short-term interruptions between planning periods, these plans provide a continuous record since 1963 of the goals and objectives of the state for economic and social development. As part of these development agendas, the strategic plans include sections that set goals for archaeological practice and cultural heritage management. Analysis of these sections in relation to conventions and charters ratified by Turkey enable me to identify cultural heritage policies since the 1960s and changes in them over time (Table 2).

Table 2: Strategic Development Plans and Major Events Took Place during the Planned Period

Strategic Development Plan	Major Events
1 st Plan (1963–1967) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on 1962 PM: İsmet İnönü (CHP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1960: Aswan High Dam Rescue Project 1964: Venice Charter 1965: Establishment of ICOMOS
2 nd Plan (1968–1972) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on October 1967 PM: Süleyman Demirel (AP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1970: Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1972: UNESCO Convention Concerning Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage
3 rd Plan (1973–1977) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on June 1972 PM: Ferit Melen (MGV) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1974: ICOMOS Türkiye
4 th Plan (1979–1983) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on August 1978 PM: Bülent Ecevit (CHP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1979: Burra Charter by ICOMOS Australia 1983: Turkey WHS Committee Member
5 th Plan (1985–1989) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on July 1984. PM: Turgut Özal (ANAP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First WHS Sites in Turkey
6 th Plan (1990–1994) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on June 1989 PM: Turgut Özal (ANAP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1992: Establishment of TİKA 1992: Establishment of UNESCO WHS 1994: PACT Launched
7 th Plan (1996–2000) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved on July 1995 PM: Tansu Çiller (DYP-CHP Coalition) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2000: UN Millennium Declaration
8 th Plan (2001–2005) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approved in June 2000 PM: Bülent Ecevit (DSP, MHP and ANAP Coalition) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2002: Establishment of MDGs
9 th Plan (2007–2013) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> June 2006 PM: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> TST 2023 2011: ICOMOS Paris Declaration 2013: Turkey WHS Committee Member

(AKP)	
10 th Plan (2014–2018) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • July 2013 • PM: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (AKP) 	

First Development Plan (1963–1967)

The first plan includes general culture policies on matters such as education and arts (Seçkin 2010), but omits specific sections on the goals to be achieved by archaeology, museums, or cultural heritage. There can be many reasons for this omission. First of all, to what extent was archaeology as a discipline open to the public or integrated with aspects of development? On a global scale, it had been less than two decades since World War II, when the views of German archaeologist Gustav Kossina on race were used to establish a basis for genocide (Trigger 1998). Closer to home, nation-building political uses of the Turkish History Thesis failed already around the late 1930s (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006). Although the tourism potential of archaeological sites such as the Roman theaters at Aspendos in Antalya (Aziz 1933) is mentioned in these early years, there were few systematic efforts to incorporate archaeological heritage into tourism. Following the military coup on 27 October 1960, 147 academicians from Istanbul and Ankara universities, including prominent names in archaeology such as Halet Çambel, were fired or forced to retire based on accusations varying from ties to Communism to being pro-Kurdish (Göney 2011). These events may have led to an isolation of archaeology as a discipline that allowed a focus on research rather than state agendas. Due to this minimal

interaction, integrating archaeology into any form of development or political agenda may not have been a priority during the planning period of the first five-year plan.

On the other hand, in this same period, the Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings took place in Venice and the International Restoration Charter (Venice Charter) was adopted in 1964 (Erder 1977), which Turkey also ratified. In the same meeting, a second charter that UNESCO offered led to the creation of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (Erder 1977). As I demonstrate in future development plans, these intergovernmental organizations and their legal frameworks played role in shaping culture policies during the later part of the 1970s.

Second Development Plan (1968–1972)

Unlike the first five-year plan, the second one includes a section that focuses directly on antiquities and museums. The plan lists antiquities, excavation sites, and archaeological sites for the cultural value they carry and reports increasing interest in museums and ancient sites in past years. Listed problems of the previous planning period include preservation, the evaluation (*değerlendirilmesi*) of antiquities, and a lack of museums, archaeological activities, and specialists. Although no strategies were set in motion for improvements, the plan may have implied that related governmental branches should take necessary measures to increase the number of museums, archaeological activities, and specialists, integrating cultural heritage with the plan's general development principles.

On the other hand, the plan acknowledges that the state was aware of the destruction of cultural heritage by a variety of factors including development, lack of preservation

measures, and looting. While this chronic problem of cultural heritage management in Turkey was diagnosed at least in the 1960s by the institutions of the state, effective preventive measures have yet to be taken. The plan requires a new legal framework and efforts to provide better preservation of remains, although which governmental or private institutions would preserve these remains is not clarified. In addition this plan also aims at preventing illicit export of antiquities.

In the second plan, another set of goals for cultural heritage management is available in a section on Tourism that indicates that the state had been considering culture and tourism pertinent to each other. The second development plan selects the Marmara, Aegean, and Antalya regions as targets for developing mass tourism activities, and the archaeological remains in these areas would have priority in preservation, evaluation (değerlendirme), and repair. As I demonstrate in further chapters, these priority areas overlap with the majority of archaeological work that takes place in Turkey, leading to the accumulation of a specific type of research as well as an unbalanced distribution of governmental funding over the years.

Some events that took place during the preparation period should be considered to understand the motives behind the goals and objectives of the second development plan. First of all, one of the biggest development projects in Turkey was initiated in 1966: the Keban Dam Project in Elazığ province, eastern Anatolia. The project necessitated an archaeological survey for documentation of cultural heritage in the region before it was flooded. Thus, one of the biggest archaeological projects ever conducted in Turkey was that in the watershed of the Keban Dam. Preliminary survey work led to the discovery of

massive amounts of archaeological remains in an area that was previously thought to be devoid of such heritage.

A 1967 publication titled “Doomed by the Dam” records the conditions of the initial work carried out by the Department for Restoration and Preservation of Historic Monuments at Middle East Technical University (METU) as a survey project for first year graduate students of the program (Department of Restoration and Preservation of Historic Monuments 1967). At the time of the project there were already several archaeology departments in Turkey, although the rescue project was the initiative of Kemal Kurdaş, president of the Middle East Technical University at the time. In less than two weeks of initial survey, 28 sites and monuments were recorded.

Kemal Kurdaş graduated from Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences (Ankara Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi) in 1943. He was employed at the International Money Fund (IMF) in Washington DC prior to the 1960 coup. Following the coup, he returned Turkey and became the Minister of Treasury from December 1960 until November 1961. After resignation from the Ministry, he became the President of the Middle East Technical University. During his three years of work as a bureaucrat in the Undersecretary of Treasury, first he witnessed establishment of METU was supported and then impeded by the United States of America due to political clashes between the Turkish government and the US bureaucrats (Kurdaş 2004).

Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş (2013: 80) describe the Middle East Technical University as “part of Turkey's second wave of modernisation efforts in the mid-1950s, and gained its spatial momentum through the American vision of university campuses

that flourished in the late 1800s.” After Turkey became a member of NATO, the US involvement in Turkish culture and educational policies increased and establishment of METU is part of this (Sargin and Savaş 2013). METU was established in Ankara with support coming from the United States governmental institutions such as International Cooperation Administration- ICA (Later Agency for International Development -AID) and Ford Foundation among other non-governmental organizations (Er, Korkut and Er 2003). After failure of post-war economic policies established in the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference in 1944, The Cold War emerged between the United States and the Soviet Union (Er, Korkut and Er 2003). From that time onwards, the US foreign policy “was to prevent the Soviet power and communism from expanding into non-communist nations” (Er, Korkut and Er 2003: 19). As one of these “non-communist” nations, Turkey started to receive aid through the Marshall Plan initiated by the US in 1948, after British economic and military aid came to an end in 1947 (Er, Korkut and Er 2003). Marshall plan was completed in 1951. Around the same time the US congress was designing another foreign aid program which established the basis of “International Cooperation Administration (ICA) in 1955 (Er, Korkut and Er 2003).

In the first systematic report on the salvage efforts published by Middle East Technical University Press (1970), Kurdaş admits that at the time of initial survey in 1966 they did not know that the Keban area was of any particular importance for historical remains; however the team returned with finds that shook their beliefs fundamentally (Kurdaş 1970). It is particularly interesting that prior to the survey, the Keban area was unexpected to contain much cultural heritage. Such lack of belief in

archaeological heritage in certain parts of the country contradicts the common discourse of “Anatolia as the cradle of civilizations.” This attitude may indicate that prior to the late 1960s, it was assumed that some parts of Anatolia (e.g., the Aegean Coast and central Anatolia) may have been such cradles while other sections were devoid of sophisticated civilizations (although the state has continuously promoted the cradle of civilizations idea). Kurdaş explains also that one of the reasons they had not expected the Keban area to reveal much was that they were accustomed to the remains of Classical periods, such as columns, temples, and palaces (Kurdaş 1970). This account hits home when we understand that the emphasis in archaeology was on the Classical period during the time when Kurdaş and his colleagues were educated. As I further demonstrate in Chapters 4 and 6, perceptions of what constitutes cultural heritage have direct impacts on periods of interest as well as the formation of various identities defined by the state.

More important, rescue efforts in the Keban area cannot be thought of without acknowledging the Nubia Campaign initiated in 1960 by UNESCO upon requests of both the Egyptian and Sudanese governments (Hassan 2007). This project led to the relocation of 22 monument and architectural complexes that would have been destroyed by the High Aswan Dam (UNESCO 2010) and paved the path for the UNESCO Convention Concerning Protection of the World Cultural and Natural and Heritage (Hassan 2007). While, I discuss the importance given to UNESCO World Heritage Sites will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5, efforts to salvage cultural heritage must have provided a model for the rescue efforts in Elazığ province.

Also, during the application period of the second development plan, in 12 March 1971, a second military coup took place. This event was followed by major revisions of the 1961 constitution in 1971 and 1973. Thus, preparation of the third development plan took place under these political conditions.

Third Development Plan (1973–1977)

In the third plan, the previous plan's failures were attributed to a separation of culture-related goals from society's social and economic structure (DPT 1972). The plan focuses only on museums, however, and the limited work conducted in them. A major change from the previous planning period was the passage of Law 1710 on Antiquities, which went into effect in April 1973, replacing the 1906 Regulation of Antiquities (Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi).

This third plan follows some of the issues and goals set in the previous planning period. For instance, it reports an increase in the number of museums during the five-year implementation period of the second development plan since the second plan revealed the problematic lack of museums. Prior to the previous planning period the number of museums was 71, and this number increased in the second planning phase. In addition, 22 museums moved into new locations (Üçüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1972).

Interestingly, the number of museum visitors had increased every year until 1971; however, in 1971 the number reverted to 1969 levels. This 1971 decrease might be correlated to the coup and subsequent accelerating political instabilities. While Museum of Anatolian Civilizations opened in Ankara in 1967 might have contributed to increase in number of visitors after that time, I was not able to pinpoint exact reasons for increase

of numbers visitors in 1970 more than three times of the number of visitors between 1967–1969.

Table 3: Museums and Number of Museum Visitors (1967–1971). (DPT 1972: 784)

Year	Number of Museums	Museum Visitors (million)
1967	78	3.1
1968	78	3.3
1969	82	3.6
1970	84	4.3
1971	85	3.7

In this third plan, one article focusing on museums suggests changing the nature of museums to look beyond visitation and to enable a role in scientific research. This plan actually recommends a pioneering role for the museums by turning them into active learning centers in addition to archaeological exhibition spaces. While the second plan inventoried existing museums and worked successfully to increase the number of museums, the third plan builds a set of goals to be achieved during the third planning period. Thus, as a theme the state's interest in museums becomes visible in both the second and third development plans.

For the first time, looting and illicit exporting of artifacts become topics of

concern in the third plan to be addressed by state policies. The plan actively seeks ways to improve and develop historical monuments, ruins, and other cultural assets in order to prevent their destruction and illicit export. Although legal regulations had prevented the illegal export of antiquities since the Ottoman era, the special emphasis on prevention in the third plan may result from three particular events of the previous planning period.

The first of these events is the “Dorak Affair” that led to James Mellaart’s expulsion from Turkey based on claims related to the illicit export of antiquities (Balter 2009). In addition, between 1966–1968 a series of tumuli in western Anatolia were robbed by illicit diggers, and although some of them were caught and jailed for short periods of time, the stolen materials had already been sold to dealers. This material would be defined as the “Lydian Treasure,” after its discovery in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and was brought back to Turkey in the early 1990s after a series of legal negotiations (Özgen, Öztürk, and Mellink 1996). Finally, in 1970, the UNESCO convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property was announced. Although Turkey ratified this convention only in April 1981, the document might have had an impact on helping define Turkey’s illicit export policies. A 1974 regulation established a chapter of ICOMOS as a semi-official council within the Turkey’s Ministry of Culture (ICOMOS Türkiye, 2014).

Finally, the third plan considers investments in national parks and restoration of archaeological remains as investments that are complementary to the tourism sector (DPT 1972: 619). Also in the tourism sector, investments to preserve “historical value” (tarihi

değerler) would have priority. Thus, promoting cultural heritage in areas selected for tourism investments continued to be a goal of the government through the second and third planning periods.

Fourth Development Plan (1979–1983)

The fourth plan was initiated after a year-long gap after the end of the third development plan. The gap probably resulted from accelerating political instabilities in 1977: the call for early elections in April; the failure of the first government to get a vote of confidence; and the short-lived term of the second government that ended in December (Aydın and Taşkın 2014).

In evaluation of the previous planning period, the fourth plan highlights a chronic problem in the management of cultural heritage in Turkey already diagnosed earlier in 1970s. The report states that previous attempts to preserve historical monuments, works of art, and archaeological and other cultural remains, as well as measures to prevent illicit export of these items were limited due to lack of coordination among the institutions responsible for such matters (DPT 1978).

In the fourth plan, the preservation, development, and evaluation of historical cultural assets are seen as a continuous problem that should have priority within a framework defined by preservation principles, public benefits, and functionality. In addition, the plan implements the development of necessary legal, institutional, and financial sources to achieve these goals. In a separate article, preventing illicit export of antiquities is also noted (DPT 1978), while the earlier interest in museums as scientific research centers and places of learning has been abandoned. During this planned period,

Turkey became a member of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, and this position was maintained until 1989 (UNESCO Turkey, n.d.). It should also be noted that during this period excavations initiated at Phaselis in Antalya were funded by the World Bank (Akyol and Kadioğlu 2013) indicating the role and impact of intergovernmental organizations in establishing cultural heritage management policies in Turkey.

In the meantime increasing tension and political instability led to the third intervention of the army on 12 September 1980. As a result, state governance was once again transferred to the military until the announcement of a new constitution in 1982 and subsequent elections. After its election in November 1983 the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi-ANAP) enacted Law 2863 on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets and its regulations. This law continues to govern all archaeological practice and cultural heritage in Turkey.

Fifth Development Plan (1985–1989)

The fifth development plan was prepared in the aftermath of the military coup and its (re-)transition to an elective system, alongside major changes in economic policies instated by the ANAP government (Aydın and Taşkın 2014). Culture policies were evaluated in a section titled “National Culture” (Milli Kültür) that included three major articles related to cultural heritage. The first article includes, for the first time, an incentive for the private sector to purchase and use historical buildings for the purposes of repair and preservation. Until the fifth development plan, it was the sole responsibility of the state to preserve cultural heritage; however, the fifth plan invites members of the private sector to serve as active stakeholders in the preservation and management of

cultural heritage. While the private sector cannot be directly involved in archaeological surveys and excavations, this plan leads the way for the restoration of historical buildings and the transfer of rights to use these buildings by the private sector.

In its second article, the fifth plan makes clear the preference that all governmental and private institutions that work on historical and architectural landscapes and items – including antiquities and excavations, their documentation, restoration, and preservation – function around a national culture policy with a special emphasis on culture areas of priority. Thus, for the first time, all parties are explicitly encouraged to function toward achieving the goals of the government, even if such areas of cultural priority remain undefined. Additionally, the third plan's idea of using a museum for expanded learning opportunities was revived in the fifth plan, in which museums are envisioned as exhibition centers as well as venues for conferences, seminars, and for educating younger generations.

Under the Tourism section, historical, archaeological, and cultural assets of Turkey were counted to have potential for tourism and were required to be evaluated within a framework defined by principles of ecology. In this period, although mass tourism still had priority, individual tourism was also encouraged. In use of natural and cultural environments for touristic purposes, a balance was recommended in preservation and tourism development principles. As underlined in the previous section, Turkey was a member of the World Heritage Committee for the entirety of this planning period.

Sixth Development Plan (1990–1994)

Like its predecessor, the sixth plan was prepared during the ANAP government and includes various goals in economic development that aim to integrate cultural heritage. However, the goals set and terminology used reflect that there were still misunderstandings about how such integration would take place. For instance, article 229 states that “natural beauty and cultural heritage will have priority in preservation, and some areas are preserved to be integrated into tourism activities”¹ (DPT 1989: 39), while how such integration would maintain the integrity of, for example, archaeological sites remains unspecified. It is my belief that what is meant by “preservation” (koruma) is really “restoration,” so that these preserved sites can become tourist attractions. Later in the document, another goal for the sixth planning period includes “effective preservation of the cultural and natural heritage of humanity and investments in tourism according to principals of environmental and cultural landscape (peyzaj),”² reflecting that, as of the 1990s, integration of cultural heritage into tourism incentives continued to be a primary aim of the government (DPT 1989: 282).

The sixth development plan focuses on preservation, maintenance, and restoration of cultural heritage with priority given to Turkish-Islamic period remains, architectural survey and restoration of historical Turkish assets abroad, and prevention of the illicit export of antiquities alongside continuous cooperation with related institutions for

¹Doğal güzelliklerin ve kültürel değerlerin korunmasına öncelik verilecek, belirli sahaların korumaya alınarak turizme açılması teşvik edilecektir (DPT 1989: 282).

²İnsanlığın kültür ve tabiat mirası durumundaki değerler etkin şekilde korunacak, çevre ile kültür peyzajı ilkeleri esas alınarak turizm faaliyet ve yatırımları planlanacak ve uygulanacaktır (DPT 1989: 282).

repatriations. In another section titled Promotion (Tanıtma), the plan supports the restoration and use of historical wealth or assets (Tarihi Zenginlikler) by private investors.³ At a local level, municipalities were asked also to comply with the preservation of historical architecture during infrastructure projects (DPT 1989). The emphasis given on both private and local government sectors should be considered as a follow up to the specific goals of the fifth development plan.

The sixth development plan is important further because of its mention of a specific period of priority in the section on culture: the Turkish-Islamic period. This definition of a “priority area” presumably clarifies those priorities mentioned but left undefined in the fifth plan. Likewise, the private sector was again encouraged toward the restoration and use of “historical wealth.”

During this planning period, while new government institutions were established to reach desired goals, intergovernmental organizations continued to influence culture policies nation-wide. First, a governmental organization titled TİKA (Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı-Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) was established in 1992 as a branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in response to the needs of the Turkic (Turkish-speaking) populations of the disintegrated Soviet Union (TİKA’s History 2014). This focus on shared cultural background, in this case language (and religion to a certain degree), strategically stepped up the role that cultural heritage played in international politics. As I will discuss in detail concerning the eighth planning period, TİKA played a

³Tarihi zenginliklerin özellikleri ve orijinal fonksiyonları dikkate alınarak özel girişimciler tarafından da restore edilip değerlendirilmesi desteklenecektir.

key role in Turkish “cultural heritage initiatives abroad” (Luke 2013: 354) after the AKP government came to power in 2002.

Also in 1992, the World Heritage Center (WHC) was established (Meskell 2012). The center acts as a coordinator for matters related to the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention and provides guidance to State Parties in preparation of site nominations (Meskell 2012: 145). Furthermore, in the last year of the sixth planning period, UNESCO initiated an action plan titled Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List. Prior to this initiative, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) conducted a survey of World Heritage Sites between 1987 and 1993, revealing that the majority of sites on the list were monumental, in Europe, and had chronological foci on Christian and historical periods; vernacular architectural living traditions were underrepresented completely. Thus the Global Strategy was announced in 1994 to rectify the imbalance. The same year the Global Strategy Partnership for Conservation Initiative (PACT) was also launched (Luke and Kersel 2013).

As I discuss in further detail in Chapter 4, following the announcement of this Global Strategy, an Ottoman town (Safranbolu), for instance, was immediately inscribed into the WHL. Thus the sixth plan’s emphasis on the Turkish-Islamic period coincides with UNESCO’s plan of actions, indicating the impact of intergovernmental organizations and agreements. On the other hand, in combination with the parallelism in the sixth plan and the Global Strategy, the focus on the Turkish-Islamic period can also be associated with the revival of Neo-Ottomanism during the Özal era (Çolak 2006). Around the planned

period, political instability on Southeastern Anatolia due to Kurdish issue reached another climax, as well as rise of pro-Islamic movement in politics.

While previous plans focus on preventing the illicit export of antiquities, the sixth plan introduced repatriation as one of its goals. The roots of special efforts in repatriation might be sought in the 1985 discovery of the looted Lydian treasure in the catalogues of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York by Özgen Acar. Acar got in touch with the Ministry of Culture at the time and this led to a court case in the USA in 1987 for repatriation. Thus, while the sixth plan was being prepared, the Lydian Treasure repatriation was a focus of the Ministry. In the next section of this chapter, I present an analysis of repatriation efforts of various governments from the 1980s to today, demonstrating how reasons for repatriation have shifted from preserving cultural heritage in the country of origin to demonstrating governmental strength in the international political arenas.

Seventh Development Plan (1996–2000)

In evaluation of the previous planning period, the seventh development plan once again made changes that were only sporadic rather than systematic in areas concerning historical, natural, and cultural value, and these changes were not integrated in general policies. However, as a response to urban development in the same period, the plan urges measures to be taken to minimize damage to natural and cultural assets when selecting new settlement areas, and that ecological balance should be sought. The seventh plan once again emphasizes sustainable development that not only protects ecological systems but also cultural and natural assets. Although outside the scope of this dissertation, the

increasing emphasis on nature and the environment in the DPT plans in and after the mid-1980s should be underlined for researchers interested in environmental policies.

Articles of the seventh plan refer also to suggested revisions to Law 2863 on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. Recommended changes include transfer of ownership of historical palaces, houses, roads, and other monuments of civil architecture to the Ministry of Culture. The plan also concludes that Law 2863 focuses mostly on the preservation of cultural assets and must be revised to include more sections on the preservation of natural areas.

The seventh plan again underlines that the protection of historical, cultural, and natural assets should not be the sole responsibility of the state. As of the mid-1990s, it was clear that even preservation zones with strict regulations failed to prevent the destruction of cultural heritage. Accordingly, the state continued an approach that enticed others, especially those with local interests, to become stakeholders in preservation.

The seventh plan considered cultural richness (*kültür zenginliği*) to be one of the basic tools of development, placing emphasis on the preservation of movable and immovable cultural heritage. For the first time, the terms “movable” and “immovable” appeared in this seventh development plan. The emphasis on the Turkish-Islamic period disappeared, however, even as state policies continued to aim to document, preserve, and promote historical and cultural assets abroad. Museums and repatriation, too, are omitted from the seventh plan, even as it required the Ministry of Culture to establish “Culture Centers” to ensure that the undersecretaries and attachés of culture worked effectively.

Eighth Development Plan (2001–2005)

In evaluation of the previous planning period, the eighth development plan characterizes the seventh plan, including aims of “defining, exploring, and restoring historical and cultural resources (varlıklar) abroad in 1999” (DPT 2000: 106),⁴ and records under the Tourism section that the law on Gelibolu Peninsula Historical National Park⁵ in Çanakkale province had been put into effect during the seventh planning period.

On the subject of museums, the plan declares that, “The need to ensure the safety of museums and the necessity to strengthen their technical and administrative structure, in order to convert them into institutions in accordance with modern museology concepts, still prevails” (Eighth Five Year Development Plan 2000: 107). As of 1998, the number of museums was recorded at 168, with a total of 525 historical sites with ancient ruins open to visitors.

For matters of archaeology and cultural heritage, two basic principles were set to be achieved in the eighth development plan period. First, in order to prevent illicit trade of “historical items,” education facilities that increase awareness “of the population and public servants” should be made widespread (DPT 2000: 108). Second, “in order to preserve and sustain natural and cultural assets as a whole, information, documents, and visual materials on cultural assets that are subject to protection and are owned by various

⁴ In Turkish and English versions of the document, DPT uses two different terms for cultural heritage. First term used is “varlıklar” which corresponds to assets is translated as “merits”. The second term is “hazineler” treasures. Although both sections actually refer to same set of measures taken in the past term, choice and use of two different words to represent cultural heritage is noteworthy.

⁵ The Gelibolu Peninsula Historical National Park is the area where during the First World War, Ottoman and Allied forces fought the Gallipoli war.

individuals and institutions shall be brought together and conserved and thus made available to users” (DPT 2000:108). With this second article, the plan probably refers to items in various private collections as well as referring to the repatriation of items.

Under the tourism section, emphasis was given to wide-scale promotion abroad of Turkey’s cultural and historical richness in order to counter any negative (or wrong) perceptions (Eighth Five Year Development Plan 2000: 191). A section focusing on membership in the European Union notes that becoming a full member would enable Turkey, with its thousands of years of heritage, to put forth its true potential and share its past with the world (2000: 245).⁶ Again, therefore, we see how cultural heritage is considered a component in international politics.

The use of cultural and historical richness to promote positive images of Turkey is a new goal in this development plan. Otherwise, however, the eight plan returns to various themes presented in earlier plans, including museums, the coordinated restoration of various elements of cultural heritage highlighted in previous planning periods, and tourism incentives.

In 2002, the second year of the eighth planning period, general elections took place in which the recently established Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP) won. This was the beginning of the AKP government that continues today, and it is during this period that many changes have taken place in cultural heritage policies as well as in the legal structure. For instance, in the eighth planning period, the

⁶ The English translation of the document includes a mistake in translation, only referring to thousand year old heritage and culture. Turkish version of the document refers to “binlerce yıllık kültür ve tarih” (DPT 2000: 217).

Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism were merged into a single entity “in order to allow the Prime Ministry to return to its principal duty by reducing the tasks it executes and to downsize its organizational structure” (DPT 2006: 59). In addition, as its official web page informs, TİKA gained momentum after 2002 (About TİKA 2014) and started playing a role in cultural heritage management initiatives concerning the restoration of Islamic heritage in the Balkans (Luke 2013). The role TİKA set for itself in terms of cultural heritage management projects is crucial for understanding what culture means and constitutes for the AKP government. Luke (2013: 358) rightly considers this approach “as part of a larger agenda to increase its presence (and thus influence) abroad, notably under the arc of former Ottoman territories.” This emphasis on Turkish-Islamic or Ottoman heritage is one of the few items that the AKP government inherited from ANAP government policies of the 1990s. As I demonstrate in further sections of this chapter, despite a lack of continuity in culture policies, some policies and programs inherited from previous governments, such as TİKA, certain legal frameworks, and repatriation efforts, have been more actively employed by the AKP government than previously. Because of this intensified approach, archaeological practice and cultural heritage management have been restructured and redefined in the last ten years.

Ninth Development Plan (2007–2013)

The ninth plan was the first plan prepared under the AKP government. Similar to previous plans, it includes an assessment of the current situation, noting continuing efforts to “identify, explore, maintain, and restore the cultural assets of Turkey both within and outside the country” (DPT 2006: 54). It notes also that the aim of

incorporating cultural tourism into the economy was not achieved in the previous planning period, emphasizing that the cultural tourism potential of the country has been insufficiently tapped, with potential benefits still remaining (DPT 2006).

For the ninth planning period, the goals include continuing efforts to complete inventory activities and to increase public awareness through widespread education (DPT 2006). In the “Tourism” section of the same plan, goals include the development and spread of cultural tourism activities even while the protection of cultural assets remains one of its defining principles (DPT 2006). Also, it is underlined that “all investments in the sector are realized with an approach of protecting, preserving, and developing the natural, historical, and social environment” (DPT 2006: 95).

Even though the plan included no specific section on repatriation, extensive repatriation efforts were made during this planning period as major changes in legal structure occurred as well. As I argue in the next section of this chapter, repatriation was never a primary goal of the government before a Minister with personal interest in the subject (Ertuğrul Günay) intensified repatriation efforts.

In addition to governmental institutions and policies, intergovernmental organizations continue to play a role in culture policies of Turkey. During the eighth planning period, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a United Nations (UN) campaign started in 2002 after adaptation of UN Millennium Declaration in 2000, aimed to reduce extreme poverty with a series of time-bound targets and a deadline of 2015 (UN Millennium Project 2006). The MDGs consist of eight targets: 1) eradication of extreme poverty and hunger; 2) achieving universal primary education; 3) promotion of gender equality and

empowerment of women; 4) reduction of child mortality; 5) improvement of maternal health; 6) combat of diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria; 7) environmental sustainability; and 8) global partnerships for development (Millennium Project 2006). Of these targets development is associated with heritage because development is considered an asset to heritage conservation in the ICOMOS Paris Declaration of 2011 (Luke and Kersel 2013). Furthermore, the 2011 Audit report of PACT encourages joint effort among heritage practitioners and communities to reach the goal of sustainable development (Luke and Kersel 2013). Luke and Kersel (2013) further reveal that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have been supporting MDG programs related to cultural heritage and tourism in Turkey, in eastern Anatolia for instance. While essentially outside the scope of this dissertation, foreign cultural policies and intergovernmental organizations clearly play a role in the management of cultural heritage in Turkey and this particular impact requires further study.

Tenth Development Plan (2014–2018)

In analysis of the previous planning period, the tenth plan highlighted continued efforts made to inventory and restore cultural heritage within and outside the country, increases in the number of sites inscribed upon various heritage lists, and the need to use authentic materials in preservation of historical heritage (DPT 2013).

Although the inventory and restoration of heritage had become regular parts of plans since the sixth plan, for the first time in the tenth plan this category includes a section regarding the number of sites inscribed to lists such as the World Heritage Sites (WHS)

listing established by the UNESCO. Turkey had nominated 24 new sites to UNESCO World Heritage Sites since 2009, following the last inscription of sites to a tentative list in 2000. Renewed efforts to gain entry to these lists indicate clearly the current government's efforts to integrate cultural heritage with tourism initiatives.

Cultural heritage policy goals in the current, tenth plan include increasing the contributions of the culture industry to economic income; preserving cultural heritage in country and abroad through increasing societal awareness of culture, history, and aesthetics; contributing to cultural tourism; and mitigating natural disaster impacts (DPT 2013). Awareness of the impact of natural disasters, which is part of the management of risks, is another new item of the Strategic Development Plans apparently adopted from UNESCO World Heritage Site terminology. The impact of natural disasters has become more important over the past 20 years in efforts to preserve cultural heritage sites worldwide, and its reflection can also be observed in Turkey. For instance, an international symposium titled "Cultural Heritage Protection in Times of Risk," supported by Yıldız University, ICOMOS-ICORP (International Committee on Risk Preparedness), and the Istanbul Governorship Special Provincial Administration Istanbul Project Coordination Unit (IPCU), took place in Istanbul in 2012. The tenth development plan, thus, reflects the current government's focus on inscribing more sites to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites list, incorporating archaeological sites with cultural tourism initiatives, just as it emphasizes mitigation of problems.

Under its Tourism section, the tenth plan aims to integrate cultural assets with tourism in order to further develop tourism. While doing so, the plan aims also to maintain

balances between preservation and use as part of sustainable development principles.

Culture tourism appears again in a sub-section of the Policies section, alongside various types of tourism, including health, congress, winter, cruise ship, and golf tourism.

The contributions of cultural heritage to international politics are also reiterated in the tenth plan in reference to the European Union (EU) membership process. The plan emphasizes Turkey's vast history and cultural richness as key benefits to the country's eventual inclusion in the EU.

Turkey's 2023 Vision

The final document I analyze to understand the goals and aims of the government is a document titled Hedef 2023 (Aim 2023). In 2011, the AKP government prepared a mission document targeting the year 2023, the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (Karakuş and Pazarbaşı 2011). This plan includes a joint section titled "Culture and Tourism" (Hedef 2023, n.d.). According to this document, by the year 2023 all cultural heritage (kültür varlıkları) sites will be documented and their (restoration) projects prepared to ensure that, in case of any damage occurring to those buildings, they can be reconstructed.

Restoration of every single historical asset (building) is also one of the stated goals of this document. Included in the restoration section of the document is information of vital importance to this dissertation: the government aims to reveal the heritage of all civilizations that ever existed in Turkey and to exhibit them. Apart from being an overly ambitious project, the statement reveals that the AKP government has not yet grasped that archaeological work requires extensive documentation and analysis and that reserve

areas are left for study by future generations. The government appears not to grasp that it is impossible to excavate, analyze, and understand every single archaeological site belonging to every civilization ever present in Turkey by the year 2023.

Along the same path as earlier development plans, museums are a focal point of the 2023 vision statement, whereby the government itemized three main goals regarding museums. First, the plan aims to establish thematic museums around the country to provide civil society access to culture and art. Such museums would presumably be similar to the existing Museum of Aegean Civilizations in İzmir, the Museum of Mediterranean Civilizations in Antalya, the Museum of Urartian Civilization in Van, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, the Ottoman Nations Museum in İstanbul, and the Edessa Archaeology Museum and Haleplibahçe Museum in Şanlıurfa. Second, the plan aims to establish a world-class museum in İstanbul to exhibit material that reflects *our* history, culture, and civilizations (with emphasis on the original wording, referring probably to Turkish-Islamic heritage). Finally, national museum complexes will be established in major cities to exhibit all artifacts currently stored in depots. In addition, the establishment of private museums will be encouraged and, in selected cities, thematic museums will be opened focusing on agriculture, botany, and national history, for example. In museum-related goals, emphasis on regional museums demonstrates continued efforts to increase museum visitor numbers in already prioritized culture and tourism zones, such as the Aegean and the Mediterranean. In such prioritized tourism corridors, new roads will be built according to this plan. In contrast, politically marginalized areas are further marginalized, wherein eastern Anatolia maintains only its

Museum of Urartian Civilization and no such regional museum is planned for the Black Sea Region. Finally, in conjunction with the prior development plans and international ambitions of the AKP government, the inventory and restoration of Turkish and Turkish-Ottoman heritage abroad – especially in the Middle East and Northern Africa – is also highlighted in the 2023 vision document.

Conclusion on Strategic Development Plans and Cultural Heritage Policies

As the primary sources from which one can understand technologies of the government, five-year development plans from the 1960s until today have unfortunately narrow sections on cultural heritage management policies; however, they provide information on the status of cultural heritage and shifts in this status over the last 50 years. Although these plans include generic and repetitive sections, such as the inventory of cultural assets in Turkey and abroad, it is rare to find continual records of cultural heritage management policies over such a long period. In her assessment of cultural policies and five-year development plans in Turkey, Seçkin notes that since the establishment of the Republic, every government offered different incentives for culture policies (2010). A close analysis of policies related with cultural heritage confirms her general conclusions. In addition, the lack of “control mechanisms for measuring achievements” (Seçkin 2010: 127) prevents monitoring which goals are achieved over the planning periods. One significant example of this is the status of museums and the failure to reach the goals set more than 50 years ago. Emphasis on improving museums in earlier plans was dropped and then renewed only after several planning periods.

From the second plan forward, the use of cultural heritage for a purpose has been emphasized, yet the nature of the purpose remained unclear through several plans. Only in the fifth and sixth development plans was the direction of potential use defined as tourism, and the contribution of the private sector on the matter was encouraged. Beginning in the sixth plan, also, cultural heritage became a tool of international relations. First, the state focused on preservation and restoration of cultural heritage abroad. Later, cultural heritage in Turkey was considered as an important component in EU membership.

The eighth plan continued to use cultural heritage as an asset of tourism but also sets another political goal: erasing Turkey's negative image abroad by promoting cultural richness. The ninth and tenth plans continue to focus on strengthening the tie between cultural heritage and tourism. At first glance, a comparison of the current government's attitude toward archaeological projects – causing delays in major development projects, for instance – to its efforts put into UNESCO's WHS site inscriptions may seem contradictory; on the contrary, however, the government has consistently focused on the economic benefits of heritage, thus it is not surprising that it condemns heritage when it blocks “development” and praises it when it has the potential to bring more money into its coffers. Governmentality studies and analytics of government come into play at this point when we can clearly identify government's different approaches to or manipulations of one specific field – in this case cultural heritage and archaeological practice – for the greater goals it wants to achieve.

Emphasis on incorporating cultural heritage with tourism has been a state policy since the late 1960s. Thus, it is prudent to expect changes in legal frameworks that establish archaeological practice and cultural heritage management policies geared toward integration with tourism. The next section focuses on the legal aspects and changes in those aspects since the establishment of Law 2863 on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets.

It is important to note that there has no consistent terminology within the culture policies of various governments of Turkey. While Turkey increased its role in UNESCO, even the UNESCO terminology has been only partially applied in Turkey.

Finally, although as of the third plan the state was aware of the fact that policies are doomed to fail unless they are weaved into the socio-economic structure of society, this awareness was not fully taken advantage of as this survey demonstrates. Development plans define outlines of practices to be carried out to reach suitable ends. They need not be applied strictly, however, nor do they encourage nor prevent various actions from being taken to improve the practice. In contrast, as we will see in the next chapter, legal implements as technologies of government strictly limit and define what is possible within the practice.

CHAPTER 4
TECHNOLOGIES of GOVERNMENT II
REGULATING HERITAGE: LAWS and POLICIES

Introduction

In the second part of my investigation of Technologies of Government, I present legal instruments specific to archaeological practice and cultural heritage management. I explore the implications to archaeology in Turkey when legal structures are modified as well as when new laws are introduced. The law and its related regulations are primary technologies of government, and they often impose limits on conduct (see Dean 2009). They are tools that assist in the realization of state goals by regulating actions, shaping conduct, and solving problematic issues.

This investigation begins with the legal aspects of the governance of archaeological practice through and examination of related laws and regulations, because all aspects of archaeological practice in Turkey occur as a result of granting permissions and under the regulation of governmental institutions.

The first law on the preservation of antiquities in 1874 was a response to ongoing illegal archaeological activities occurring within Ottoman territory. The empire's realization of the value of antiquities to modern nation states is reflected in the law's limitation of foreign excavations and expansion of museum collections in Istanbul (Akçura 1972). Additionally, the law responded to the fact that, although the state owned all cultural remains within Ottoman territory, Turkish-Islamic period remains were not considered to be cultural heritage (Akçura 1972; see also Shaw 2003). Thus this early

document and its predecessor were drafted and modified to address such problematic issues. Until the establishment of the first law on governance of archaeological practice in 1973, an Ottoman-Period document, titled the Regulation of Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi-1906*), remained in effect. In contrast, especially after 2002, there have been many major changes in the legal structure that oversees archaeological practice and cultural heritage management. An analysis of changes in legal structure demonstrates that certain changes are made to comply with the political agendas of the government, as in the case of assigning a Turkish assistant director to all foreign projects, while other changes are made in response to problematic issues in the practice itself. Historically, a government representative has always played the role of an inspector (Pulhan 2010); now, in its attempts to direct the conduct of others, the government bestows its representatives with new responsibilities, including close scrutiny of the use of governmental funding provided to Turkish projects. Because modifications to governance usually address problematic issues, such a decision implies the perceived misuse of such funds in the past.

The final section of this investigation focuses on the impact of repatriation on the archaeological survey and excavation permits of international scholars. Repatriation, here defined as the return of cultural artifacts to their country of origin, was a concern of the state throughout the Ottoman Period, but repatriation efforts were never as intensive as they became after 2007. The impacts of repatriation efforts on foreign research and museum loan agreements has emphasized in international media coverage (Finkel 2011; Bailey 2012; Schulz 2012; Felch 2012; Bilefsky 2012; Letsch and Connolly 2013;

Kasiske 2013; Stonington 2013), although officials strictly and consistently deny any connection between repatriation and the granting of permissions. Data in this chapter demonstrate that repatriation of artifacts never played such a major role in international relations until the AKP government came to power.

My approach is to explore the changes made to legal instruments from the perspective of the analytics of government. This analysis shows that such modifications to the law and associated regulations lead to problematic issues that prevented the state from achieving its goals. Furthermore, analyzing the law to demonstrate what is and what is not allowed enables one to define how conduct of conduct is shaped.

Currently, the primary legal document that oversees archaeological practice and cultural heritage management is Law 2863 on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets and its article 63, deriving from the 1982 constitution. Based on this law, archaeological research and preservation and restoration activities are managed through regulations (Yönetmelik), directives (Yönerge), and circulars (Genelge) developed and distributed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and its General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Monuments. Law 2863 and its regulations are based on the 1973 Law 1710: Antiquities and the Regulation of Excavation and Soundings. Because regulations are also detailed with circulars and directives, the 1973 law and its regulations became the basis for all later circulars and directives – everything issued in the last 40 years. Thus an analysis of the legal framework is necessary to understand not only the technical aspects of government, but also the underlying framework precisely because it

has served to define initiatives focused on both the practice and management of cultural heritage.

The period between 1984 and 2003 produced only few circulars and directives. Over the last 10 years, in contrast, the AKP government has issued numerous regulatory modifications: 1) a 2004 circular concerning Law 2863; 2) a 2005 regulation on site management in accordance with Law 2863; 3) 2009 Letter (Notice); 4) a 2011 directive on Surveys, Soundings, and Excavations of Cultural and Natural Assets; and 5) a 2013 directive on Surveys, Soundings, and Excavations of Cultural and Natural Assets. Without a doubt, this period presents significant changes in the state's objectives for archaeology, especially when compared with the importance and emphasis given to archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic. In this section, therefore, I provide detailed summaries of these legal documents, beginning with Law 1710 on Antiquities, and analyze their impact on large-scale heritage management issues and archaeological practice.

Law 1710 on Antiquities (1973)

The first law about the management of archaeological practice and cultural heritage went into effect in 1973. Before that time, the most recent *Asar-ı Attika Nizamnamesi* (Regulation of Antiquities) was that prepared in 1906 during the Ottoman Period. The Republican Constitutional Court accepted this regulation as equal to a law, and thus it stayed in effect until it was superseded by the 1973 law. The reasons for not establishing a legal framework for archaeological practice in Turkey until the 1970s can be sought in

comprehensive coverage of the 1906 Regulation, yet by the early 1970s it was clear that a proper Ministry of Culture would be necessary.

In 4 April 1973, Law 1710 on Antiquities went into effect as the first law of the Republic to deal directly with archaeological practice. As I will demonstrate, Law 1710 and its regulations establish the basis for all archaeological activities and cultural heritage management initiatives that have been implemented from 1973 to present. In 1973, no ministry focused on culture, and thus Law 1710 recognizes two governmental institutions as responsible for archaeological practice and cultural heritage: the Ministry of National Education (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı) and its sub-branch, the High Council of Antiquities and Monuments (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu). The law identifies and explains the terminology for antiquities (*eski eser*) and monuments (*anıt*), and for the first time in the history of the Republic introduces three different types of protection zones (*Sit Alanı*): historical, archaeological and natural. The use of the antiquities (*eski eserler*) is especially critical in the section that mandates urban planning incentives. For example, the Ministry of National Education requires consultation for planning within the vicinity of any areas containing antiquities (*eski eserler*). As I demonstrate in later chapters, passive protection measures such as the establishment of such zones would end up being insufficient to preserve cultural heritage; furthermore, they have become major areas of conflict among various stakeholders of archaeology in Turkey. An additional issue arising from the establishment of protection zones in the 1973 law concerns its definition primarily using terminology borrowed from and based on French traditions. As Bilge Umar (1981: 47) recognized, the basis for the law rested

primarily with contributions from archaeologists and specialists who had specific training; and thus, the result was that only those with knowledge of French could actually understand the new regulations.

Matters Concerning Ownership of Cultural Heritage

In accordance with preceding laws, the state remained the legal owner of all antiquities both on and underneath the ground. This is an important standard to recognize for a number of reasons. First, it establishes continuity from Ottoman legislation through the early Republican period. Second, it confers a vested interest in connectivity to physical territory – literally the final resting place of a specific event, whether manifest in an archaeological site or object.

Yet, the law was not without loopholes and discrepancies. Although one of the first scientific underwater excavations occurred in Turkey in 1960 at the Gelidonya shipwreck in Antalya (Bass 1967), the 1973 law specified no ownership of underwater antiquities. Only in the related regulation on “Soundings and Excavations to be Conducted on Antiquities” (Eski Eserler Sondaj ve Kazı Yönetmeliği-1973) does the state declare itself the sole owner of underwater antiquities. While the regulation considers underwater research as archaeological practice, a lack of the same term in the law itself suggests that lawmakers’ perceptions of archaeology had yet to expand to include such underwater archaeology in the early 1970s.

Despite the fact that it is forbidden to export antiquities, the 1973 law permits the import of antiquities from abroad. The difference regarding the items that can be exported

and imported demonstrates that the state may be duplicitous in matters of cultural heritage. Under these conditions, it is possible to bring the cultural heritage of another country to Turkey regardless of the legality of the appropriation. This is an example that demonstrates that the apparatus of the state functions to increase its cultural wealth at the expense of depriving another country its heritage.

In accordance with the state's sole ownership of cultural heritage, archaeological sites owned by individuals are subject to expropriation and private collections are regulated by strict rules. Due to the fact that private property ownership is recognized by the constitution, yet cultural heritage cannot be owned privately, conflicts invariably arise (Dönmez 1985). With these regulations in mind, the Association of Antiquities and Aficionados of Old Relics (Antikacılar ve Eski Eserler Sevenler Derneği) published a brief evaluation of the law in a booklet immediately after it came into effect (1976). Their criticism of the law argued that by preventing private ownership of antiquities and limiting their use, the law conflicts with the constitutional rights of individuals. The booklet, which also recommended revisions to the law, records one of the earliest cases of a non-governmental, stakeholder organization reacting to the governance of cultural heritage in Turkey.

Archaeological Fieldwork

A separate section of the law on Excavations (Kazılar) regulates archaeological excavations as well as other types of research including soundings and surveys.

According to the document, survey permits are granted by the Ministry of National

Education whereas as excavation and sounding permits are provided by decision of the Cabinet the Ministers upon recommendation of the Ministry of Education. Kayaçağlayan (2014) argues that because decisions of the Cabinet of Ministers are reserved for special occasions, the Cabinet decision at the initial stage of granting excavation permits points to the importance the state vested in archaeological excavations conducted in Turkey.

All permits are granted under the name of the individual applicant with scientific qualifications; the permit grantee cannot be changed by teams or institutions, nor can the permit be transferred. Thus, instead of institutions, the state relies on individuals to conduct all archaeological work.

The permit is valid for a year; however, research should begin within six months of obtaining the permit. Also, any break during the research period cannot be more than two months, otherwise the permit can be canceled. This regulation of the work calendar seeks to assure that projects start on time and continue without interruption, making archaeological work strictly programmed and thus easier to monitor.

Although the Ministry provides a maximum of two permits per year to a researcher, the same individual or excavation team cannot have permission to work at another site during the period of the first permit. Projects that had obtained permissions before this law went into effect were required to renew their permits within the six months following the law's establishment.

Treatment of Movable Cultural Heritage

Artifacts found in excavations are transferred to the State Museum defined by the Ministry whereas human and animal skeletons and fossils can be given to museums of natural history, universities, or other scientific institutions in Turkey. The difference in handling of artifacts and biological remains suggests an artifact-oriented approach. Also, the lack of regulation of floral remains reveals that paleoethnobotanical used widely since the 1960s had yet to have wide application in Turkey in the early 1970s.

Permit grantees are responsible for payment of damages they may have caused in areas of their excavation, sounding, or survey. Expropriation of such areas can take place if the owner of the permit provides the funding. This process applies to both Turkish and foreign researchers.

Properties Owned by the Projects

Ownership of all buildings purchased by projects such as storage depots, project houses, and the like are transferred to the Ministry of Education after the completion of the project.

Government Representative

As a specific item of the state that shapes the conduct of conduct, each sounding and excavation team is required to have a government representative from the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, although survey projects were not originally required to have government representatives. Similar to other articles in this law, the existence of a government representative in the legal framework can be traced back to the

1874 Asar-ı Atika although that document required only some excavations to have them (Mumcu 1969).

Reports

Project directors are responsible for submitting scientific reports to the Ministry at the end of excavation seasons. Excavation directors who do not submit reports two years after the end of the work season and those who do not publish their final reports within five years of their research lose their publication rights, which are then transferred to the Ministry. Project directors are not allowed to obtain a permit to work at another site if they have not published the final report for their previous excavation. Such report and publication regulations are apparatuses of the government to keep itself informed about the status of archaeological work; however, as I demonstrate later in the dissertation, the Ministry rarely enacts the penalties of non-compliance.

Regulation on Soundings and Excavations of Antiquities in 1973

On 19 August 1973, a regulation was published in the “Official Gazette of the Turkish Republic-Resmi Gazete” regarding Soundings and Excavations of Antiquities (Eski Eserler Sondaj ve Kazı Yönetmeliği). This regulation defines the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums under the Ministry of National Education as the major government institution in charge of providing permits.

The primary focus of this regulation is archaeological soundings and excavations; articles related to the conduct of archaeological surveys are minimal reflecting the low

visibility of surveys as a method of archaeological research in the eyes of not only the government but also archaeologists who assisted in preparing the regulation.

Reserve Areas

For the first time the 1973 regulation introduces a term called “reserve areas.” The description, nature, and coverage of these areas are not described; however, in the approval process the Ministry assesses the location of the proposed research in relation to such reserve areas (Regulation on Sounding and Excavation of Antiquities 1973). Thus, it is possible to interpret these areas as those that the Ministry wants to be excavated. These areas seem, therefore, to be of governmental priority for archaeological research although the reasons behind such priority remain unelaborated.

Permit

The 1973 regulation focuses mainly on the conduct of archaeological excavations and mandates archaeological practice to be conducted by experienced archaeologists with institutional ties by requesting them: 1) to be a specialist on the ancient cultures who lived in the area of permit application 2) to be a member of a university or a scientific institution; 3) to have field experience (but without any minimum time or experiential constraint); 4) to have a publication record; and 5) to have institutional support through official documents and available funding to conduct the proposed fieldwork.

Application for Permits

The application procedure differs for foreign and Turkish researchers. Foreign researchers apply to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through embassies and consulates whereas Turkish applicants submit their applications to the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums. Following submissions, the General Directorate evaluates all applications; identifies whether proposed research is in one of the reserve areas and evaluates potential benefits of the research. In order to renew permits, projects are required to file applications before the end of February of the year of proposed work. As reviews of later laws demonstrate, this application calendar is pushed further back as the numbers of applicants increase over the years.

Current permit application is entirely based on the framework defined in Law 1710 and its presentation here allows me to discuss how application procedure comes to its current form through various legal instruments. One of the prerequisites of obtaining an excavation permit is a position of Associate Professor or higher at an academic institution in Turkey or abroad. As described above, the permit process differs slightly for Turkish versus foreign projects, with the former applying directly to the Ministry while the latter must do so through the Turkish embassies in their home countries. Additionally, as described below, foreign research institutions in Turkey preview their citizens' applications. For instance, all American projects are reviewed through the American Research Institute in Turkey before official submission (ARIT 2014). These institutions offer such services to assist the General Directorate in making informed decisions (ARIT 2014). Once all Turkish and foreign project applications are submitted to the Ministry,

projects are informed of approval decisions usually in mid to late May. Thus, the permit application review process takes around five to six months to complete.



Figure 1: Permit application process for Turkish and foreign archaeological projects.

Methods

The 1973 regulation requires all soundings and excavations to be conducted using scientific methods, although the nature, definition, and content of these methods is not defined. Excavation areas themselves are regulated, too, by an article that requires permission from the General Directorate for a trench to be backfilled. The Ministry thus makes sure that no archaeological item escapes the observation of the state. Such strict regulations of actual excavation areas can be interested as reactions to past eras in which uncontrolled work at archaeological sites led to the deprivation of the country's cultural heritage.

Conservation, Restoration and Site Management

If the General Directorate requests restoration and conservation of architectural remains and immovable antiquities, the excavation is responsible for taking these measures. Foreign excavation projects are required to employ guards for the excavation area as well as facilities for the excavation project. If any damage occurs at the archaeological site, the site must be restored to its original condition and all expenses paid through the budget of the excavation. Failure to comply with these conditions will prevent permit renewal.

The Roles and Responsibilities of the Government Representative

As one of the government's strongest technical tools to shape the conduct of conduct at an individual level, the specifications and responsibilities of the government representatives listed in this regulation include: 1) having expertise in the area of excavation or survey; 2) possessing knowledge of modern western languages; and 3) completing an education/training program. Representatives with or without the specified background are responsible for preparing periodic 15-day reports, and they have the authority over the selection of researchers and workmen at the archaeological site. Thus, the government representative, if not satisfied or unsure about a team member's scientific knowledge, has the power to extract him or her from the project. Perhaps in order to prevent issues concerning differences in accommodations and meals, the regulation also requires that the representative live and eat with the excavation team. This is one of the more peculiar examples of how legal documents shape the conduct of conduct.

While representatives have such authority over the research, unfortunately not all representatives possess the first three requirements set by the Ministry. Thus, the authority given to government representatives has the potential to change the course of the archaeological research despite being unequipped to evaluate and assess it. As we will see in later documents, the state will demonstrate its authority over “scientific” research in the forthcoming regulations and implementations by reiterating that “the State is the decision making party” despite existing advisory boards, approved funding, or academic achievements.

Other Issues

Regardless of nationality, excavation directors are responsible for completing documentation about social security (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu-SSK) and other tax related matters. This article implies that already as of the 1970s, the state paid attention to the rights of people working at archaeological sites. How closely such things were monitored in this period, however, remains unclear, as do the penalties for non-compliance.

Law 2863 on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets

Following the military coup in 1980, a revised version of Law 1710 came into effect in accordance with Article 63 of the 1982 Constitution: Law 2863 on the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. Although Laws 1710 and 2863 are almost identical, for the purposes of this research, the latter constitutes the focal point of discussion in this chapter because it remains in effect today as the canonical document

regulating archaeological practice and cultural heritage in Turkey. At an institutional level, a major difference was that the Ministry of National Education was no longer the governmental branch in charge of archaeological practice and cultural heritage management. Instead, because of a restructuring of governmental institutions, ministries titled the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Culture and Tourism became responsible. At global level, between 1970 and 1980, there was a growing need to on the international stage to have structures at the ministry level as first sites were inscribed to the UNESCO World Heritage List and numerous countries streamline their ministries of culture as just ministries of culture that were often attached to sports, education and/or tourism (Christina Luke Pers. Comm.) It should also be noted that although the UNESCO Convention on Preventing Illicit Trafficking Antiquities was entered into force in 1972, it was not until 1981 that Turkey ratified this convention (UNESCO n.d).

Law 2863 has seen several amendments over the last 30 years, reflecting changes in Turkey's cultural heritage management policies. A significant example of such modifications is the introduction of Site Management Plans in response to UNESCO's requests for World Heritage List Entitlement and Nomination, discussed later in this chapter. Changes from Law 1710 included already in the 1983 text of the Law 2863, however, include new terminology and definitions, especially concerning movable and immovable cultural assets (For general comparison of Law 1710 and 2863 see the table below).

Table 4: Comparison of Law 1710 issued in 1973 with the Law 2863 issued in 1984.

	Law 1710 (1973)	Law 2863 (1984)
State Ownership of Cultural Heritage	+	+
Underwater Remains	-	+
Protection Zones (Sit Alan)	+	+
Bans Export of Antiquities	+	+
Permits Import of Antiquities	-	-
Permit with Cabinet of Ministers	+	+
Multiple Permits	+	-
Assistant Director	-	+
Strict storage policies for artifacts such as lithics, pottery	+	+
Storage of Human and Animal Remains in Places other than Museums	+	+
Expropriation	+	+
Mandatory Final Report	+	+
Turkish as one of the Required Publishing Languages	-	+
State ownership of Project Properties	+	+
Government Representative	+	+

The 1983 law introduced new terminology and definitions of a number of cultural and natural heritage preservation initiatives and, under 78 articles in seven sections, provided new detail about movable and immovable cultural assets, regulating the activities regarding these assets, and defining institutional responsibilities. For instance, the definition of protection zones in Law 2863 is more comprehensive and specific than previously about what cultural heritage can and cannot be identified as protection zones, and avoids previously prominent French terminology. While clarification of terminology is expected with the increasing specificity of legislation, replacement of foreign words

may indicate that previous criticism of the language of the law was taken into consideration.

In addition to general references to all movable and immovable cultural assets (varlıklar), now assets on and underneath the ground and also underwater were specifically inscribed in the law rather than in subsequent regulations. Furthermore, the law gives the state sole authority over actions concerning these assets in three primary ways. First, the law establishes the state as the ultimate owner of all movable and immovable cultural assets regardless of their location on private or public property (Article 5). The only exceptions are assets already under the control of the General Directorate of Foundations (Vakıflar), established to oversee primarily religious foundations and their properties. By this arrangement, the General Directorate of Foundations currently oversees the property of 41,750 foundations dating from Selçuk and Ottoman times. While these movable and immovable cultural assets constitute the majority of the Turkish-Islamic-period cultural heritage in Turkey, they are not subject to Law 2863. Thus, at its basis, Law 2863 establishes a primary divide in the management of cultural heritage: Turkish-Islamic-period assets fall under the jurisdiction of the General Directorate of Foundations that is directly under the Prime Ministry, while Christian and pre-Christian assets are in the charge of the Ministry of Culture or Culture and Tourism.

Second, the law establishes the Ministry as the sole institution responsible for overseeing the conduct of archaeological research. It has the sole authority to grant

permits to researchers from Turkey and abroad and to monitor subsequent archaeological work.

Third, the law requires the transfer to nearby state museums of all movable cultural assets deriving from excavations. Almost identically to Law 1710, human and animal skeletons and fossils are excluded from this requirement and can be transferred to Turkish museums of natural history, universities, or other related scientific institutions with the permission of the Ministry. Rules for storage and monitoring of such remains are more flexible when compared with artifactual remains in museum depots, where almost every single artifact or fragment is counted and assigned to museum officers. Such differences in the management of artifactual vs. non-artifactual remains further emphasizes the state's continuing artifact-focused perception of archaeology, reminiscent of archaeological practices of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Turkey and elsewhere. Also perhaps reminiscent of an earlier age, Law 2863 augments its section on "Research, Soundings, and Excavation" with rules on permissible "Treasure Hunting" in non-archaeological zones.

In order to fulfill the task of preserving cultural heritage and overseeing archaeological research, Law 2863 allows the Ministry to delegate some of its responsibilities to institutions and others to individuals. This includes, at an institutional level, the General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums and its sub-branches and, at the individual level, people such as excavation or survey directors or members of the public. Details of how such institutions and individuals should fulfill such responsibilities to preserve cultural heritage are further described in the regulation of 1984. Similarly,

conditions concerning permissions for archaeological research – though little changed from Law 1710 – are relegated to the regulation of 1984.

The Law 2863 also underlines good publication as a major part of maintaining permit. However, a study conducted by TAY project in 2008 showed that of 912 excavations that took place in Turkey before and after the establishment of the Republic, only 106 published a final report as of 2009 (Yamaç, Tanındı, Kurt, Bayvas and Gündoğan 2009). As I will discuss in further detail in Chapter 6, before this TAY report, Prof. Dr. Ender Varinlioğlu whom hold the position of General Directorate of the Monuments and the Museums in 1998, cancelled excavation permits of twenty two (22) projects for their lack of publication. The excavation directors whose permits revoked had a meeting with the Minister of Culture at the time. As a result, the General Director was pressured by the Minister to reissue permits to those projects (Erbil 1998). After 2007 some other project permits were revoked for not complying with regulations, although this time, the Minister himself was behind such decisions. These differences in application of the same legal framework by different governments are an indicator that the state intentionally shapes the conduct in order to reach its goals and objectives.

The 1984 Regulation Regarding Research, Soundings, and Excavations Conducted for Cultural and Natural Assets

In essence, the 1984 regulation reiterates the principles set forth in the 1973 regulation with only minor changes. For instance, in the 1984 Regulation, the application calendar for permits is pushed back to December for all researchers, regardless of nationality. Further details on the permit approval process are absent. As for the role and

responsibilities of the government representative, there are no changes except that a section on sharing accommodation and meal facilities with the rest of the research team is left out.

In terms of archaeological theories and methods, the 1984 Regulation repeats its predecessor by requiring all soundings and excavations to be conducted according to scientific rules. Although what are considered “scientific” practices are not detailed, an emphasis on scientific approaches should be sought in generally positivist approaches in global archaeological practice following the 1960s (Renfrew and Bahn 2012); reflecting these trends, archaeometric research began to be applied in Turkey in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Regarding archaeological survey, the 1984 regulation contains nothing apart from rules concerning the boundaries of research areas, the processing of survey finds, and the submission of finds to local museums with inventory lists. On one hand, given the broad range of survey types practiced in Turkey – including epigraphical survey, single monument survey, site survey, intensive and extensive survey, underwater survey, geophysical surveys, etc. – the lack of regulation concerning methods enables researchers to apply those methods deemed most appropriate to the approach. On the other hand, the relative emphases of rules governing excavations vs. surveys reveals the obvious preference of excavation to survey in the eyes of the Ministry and state. The emphasis given to artifacts, furthermore, may suggest that the state prefers excavations to surveys because of the aesthetic value of artifacts and architectural features it produces.

The 1984 regulation was in effect for nearly 20 years before changes to it were proposed. As described below, these changes result not only from reported problems with the regulation, but the timing of such changes may relate also to current political changes. The AKP government won national elections in 2002 and swept into office with changes in numerous sectors of the government. Among sectors affected by changes in legal frameworks, of course, were cultural heritage management policies and archaeological practices, and specific regulations of the 58th and 61st governments are evaluated below.

The 2004 Circular Concerning Law 2863 on Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets

The 2004 circular represents a major turning point in archaeological practice in Turkey because first of all, its introductory paragraph explains the reasons why it was issued. This brief note mentions that changes respond to problems encountered in archaeological practice in Turkey as Governmentality entails responding the problematic areas in the conduct, yet the nature of these problems is not described. For the first time in official records, we witness the state communicating about perceived problems to practitioners of archaeology directly through the Ministry; changes responding to these problems, therefore, reveal the state's goals for the conduct of archaeology in Turkey.

Another important point is that it improbable that the newly established government responded to chronic problems of archaeological practice already within a few months of its establishment. I suggest, therefore, that the responses to problems came directly from bureaucrats in the Ministry who had been part of the state mechanism previously. Although the problems were never clearly defined, individual articles in the document demonstrate which areas were sensitive including, for example, issues of

expropriation commonly mentioned in the published reports of the Ministry's annual symposia. In the 2004 regulation, resolution of existing expropriation issues becomes one of the determinant factors in the granting of new permits.

As the first attempt to restructure archaeological practice in Turkey, the Ministry announces one of its primary goals, "instead of increasing the number of excavations every year, to improve the quality of already existing and future excavations with approval of the Cabinet of Ministers." This announcement implies that obtaining permits for new projects would become more difficult because the Ministry aims to reduce the number of archaeological projects. It indicates also that all existing permits would be reevaluated to confirm their compatibility with the regulations.

To improve the perceived quality of already existing and future excavations, then, the Ministry made several modifications encouraging the systematic research of dedicated scholars over long periods of time. These changes include: a) establishing a minimum duration of annual work periods; b) requiring active participation of project directors throughout the field season to prevent direction from research assistants and to prevent one director from overseeing multiple projects simultaneously; c) prohibiting in-person requests for government representatives, presumably to prevent the establishment of non-professional relations between project and Ministry members; d) requiring documentation of (sufficiently abundant) financial sources for new permit applications in addition to previously requested letters of support from project directors' affiliated institutions; and e) requiring a research calendar including a ten-year research program divided into two five-year phases.

With these moves, the Ministry aimed to restructure and institutionalize archaeological research. Requiring strict time limits and documentation of institutional support has the potential to establish a stronger practice, yet it also encourages only certain types of archaeological fieldwork. While the capital cities of major political powers might be excavated over the course of several decades, for instance, excavation of an average rural farmhouse or hamlet might take only five years. By eliminating opportunities to conduct small-scale research in minor urban or rural areas, then, the mandate for ten-year research plans and large budgets has a direct impact on the production of archaeological knowledge which, unfortunately, is inherently biased toward large archaeological sites, obscuring the broad diversity of past ways of life.

In accordance with previous regulations, the 2004 circular refers to survey research only briefly in encouraging surveys to be scheduled in April–June or September–November because the July–August period is the peak of excavation activity and the Ministry has insufficient staff to serve as government representatives. Once again, we see here a prioritizing of excavation over survey projects just as we learn of staffing problems at the Ministry.

The 2004 circular further defines the responsibilities of directors of foreign research projects in contrast to Turkish directors. Foreign directors are required to ensure the security of the site, excavation house, and depot with their projects' own financial resources, whereas Turkish directors are provided government funds for these purposes. In other words, while the state uses its own resources for the goal of preserving cultural heritage for Turkish projects, foreign researchers are integrated into the state's long-term

program of heritage preservation through their own personal, institutional, or other financial sources.

The 2005 Regulation on Site Management, the Establishment and Duties of Monuments Councils, and the Establishment of Management Areas

In 2004, UNESCO required all state parties to plan and manage already existing World Heritage Sites and sites to be inscribed to the tentative list. In accordance with UNESCO's request, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism announced a regulation on Site Management, the Establishment and Duties of Monuments Councils, and the Establishment of Management Areas in 2005. This immediate response from Turkey to UNESCO's request demonstrates two important things. First, the impact of intergovernmental organizations on the establishment of national legal frameworks is very clear. Second, the immediacy of the reaction reflects increased priorities in Turkey's cultural heritage management policies in a shift toward tourism-related incentives.

Although site management plans were geared to UNESCO World Heritage Site nominations and attracted critical responses in earlier years resulting from confusion over their application, they are important in establishing management areas for the first time through the coordination of both government and non-governmental organizations. Collaborative initiatives for the preservation and balanced use of protection areas in accordance with sustainable heritage management plans would have positive impacts for the preservation of cultural heritage. Such interactive preservation efforts reflect a major change from passive protection routines previously mandated by rigid – but inapplicable – protection-zone decisions, because while the protection of areas has priority,

establishing balances between accessibility, sustainable development, and the interest of the local communities is explicitly integrated. In addition to efforts at local levels, area management plans aim for the establishment of international status and awareness of sites for developing cultural tourism.

In a broader perspective, management plans encourage isolated archaeological communities to interact more with local, and if possible, international communities. Such plan shifts the value of archaeological areas to commodities, however, which are intended for integration with national and international tourism incentives. Additionally, while site management plans have been developed for only few sites, this type of planning is still in its infancy in Turkey. For example, while there is a comprehensive heritage management plan for historic areas of Istanbul – a UNESCO World Heritage Site – the plan is not followed by the responsible entities, and major construction projects, such as the “New Metro Bridge on the Golden Horn,” threaten Istanbul’s WHS status with their potential damage to the silhouette of the city (World Heritage Committee 2009).

Between 2000 and 2009, Turkey inscribed no sites to the World Heritage tentative list. This hiatus has been followed by an aggressive policy that has inscribed 24 sites to the tentative list, more than twice the number of inscriptions between 1994 and 2000. This emphasis on inscribing more sites to the WHS list again marks the government’s aim to integrate cultural heritage with tourism incentives. On the other hand, there is a broader political aspect in inscription of sites. The strategic economic and political *pacting* of the State Parties outside the heritage world has consequences for World Heritage Sites (Meskell 2014).

In accordance with the political pacting, the make up the World Heritage Committee, which consists of 21 representatives selected from the State Parties who has the final say on WHS inscription, has also been transformed in recent years (Meskell 2014). While in the past members were selected from experts in archaeology and environmental issues, currently they are “exclusively state-appointed ambassadors and politicians” (Meskell 2014: 220), indicating further politicization of World Heritage Status which Meskell considers jeopardizing to preservation of cultural and natural heritage as documented in several cases where political alliances prevented monitoring missions for preservation initiatives or threatened sites to be transferred into the World Heritage in Danger List (2014).

With its own motivations to inscribe sites to WHS as well as sites such as Istanbul that has potential to be transferred into World Heritage in Danger List, membership of the World Heritage Committee in 2013 that I discuss in Chapter 6 requires Turkey and its past and future political alliances in UNESCO a topic that needs to be further investigated.

The 2009 Letter

A letter issued by the Ministry in December 2009 represents the second direct communication between governor and governed concerning cultural heritage management. Again, the letter explained that it provided “solutions for issues and problems that emerged after an evaluation was conducted.” Again the issues and problems were not made clear, even if the solutions reflect government aims. Although

aiming to solve problems, the letter created a major stir among the archaeological community for several reasons.

Turkish Co-Directors for Foreign Projects

First, a co-director of Turkish origin nominated by the project director was mandated for all foreign projects. In national media outlets, the Ministry implied that this was to learn what was happening on foreign excavation projects and to allow Turkish archaeologists to gain scientific knowledge from them (Erbil 2010). The German and American ambassadors at the time had a meeting with Minister Ertuğrul Günay in which he assured them that the Ministry would not back down fully from its decision, although a modification was a possibility. The same news source underlined that the new co-director would not function like “excavation police” for foreign projects (Erbil 2010).

After the reaction from the archaeological community, the article was modified so that a co-director was mandated not just for foreign projects, but for all projects. The explanation of the necessity of a co-director to “learn what is happening in foreign excavations” is questionable, however, because government representatives already fulfill this purpose. While one might speculate that the Ministry aimed to have the co-director supplement the work of the government representative, this explanation lacks credibility when it is understood that co-directors were envisioned as active participants and representatives as passive monitors.

Instead of strategically identifying and evaluating particular problems in the practice, however, in this case the government seems to have acted entirely under the influence of

semi-nationalistic or, strangely, orientalist ideologies. The Ministry was discontent with the work of some foreign archaeologists in Turkey for undisclosed reasons and therefore sought to monitor it and/or, in a colonial twist, the Ministry believed their own rhetoric that Turkish archaeologists needed to learn from foreigners.

Due to widespread criticism of the co-directorship requirement, the Ministry later modified the mandate requiring all archaeological projects to have Turkish assistant directors who hold PhD degrees in either archaeology or art history. The primary role of this assistant director was identified as carrying out the duties of the director in case of the director's absence, according to a predetermined work schedule.

Today, this co- or assistant director issue still causes tension among the archaeological community (Duru 2013), because the Ministry occasionally rejects assistant directors proposed by project directors, instead assigning candidates it selects. Among Turkish archaeologists, polarizations occur based on status differences between active assistant or co-directors, selected as part of the research design, and assistant or co-directors mandated by the Ministry.

In traditional archaeological practices in Turkey, excavation directors have assistant or co-directors not officially recognized by the Ministry. Such people are usually current or former PhD students who are tasked with overseeing all bureaucratic aspects of the project, from paper work and accounting to management of the dig house and establishing house rules, in addition to conducting their own research, if possible. The existence of such assistant or co-directors must have been known to the Ministry even if not official recognized before the 2009 document. The Ministry's initially nationalistic

agenda requiring Turkish co-directors for all foreign projects suggests an initial motive other than responding to the organizational needs of all archaeological projects. One is left again with the impression that nationalistic motives drove the Ministry to make this mandate, even if it was later modified to apply to all projects. This impression is only strengthened with the additional new rule of the 2009 letter requiring not only that reports be submitted in Turkish, but also that all initial publications be in Turkish as well.

Changes in the Research Periods

The 2009 letter proposed to require a workload of a four-month season divided into two months of excavation, site management, conservation, and restoration and two months of report writing, publications, recording, and protection projects. For projects lasting longer than four months annually, the Ministry assured it would provide “assistance,” although the nature of this assistance (e.g., monetary, technical) was not detailed.

To conclude, the 2009 letter is significant in that it allows us to see clearly the surfacing of nationalistic agendas and the increasing prioritization of the economic over the research potential of archaeology: the longer the work season, the more will be revealed, the sooner it will be conserved and restored to attract tourists. The letter, in fact, moves beyond legal documents as the Minister himself openly targets foreign research as well as short-term archaeological work.

*The 2011 Directive on Surveys, Soundings, and Excavations
of Cultural and Natural Assets*

The 2011 directive consists of four main sections with 23 articles that oversee the conduct of archaeological surveys, soundings, and excavations in Turkey. In principle, it provides the basis for the 2013 directive, below, and it reiterates several items from previous legal documents while enshrining in an official document the changes introduced in the 2009 letter. As in previous official documents, excavations are prioritized and surveys marginalized, with only brief comments again on the scheduling of survey work outside July and August and for durations no less than 10 days.

Interestingly, although usually unnoticed, this directive echoes many aspects of the 1973 regulation. In particular, through this directive the state assigns a wide range of responsibilities to the excavation director, including the following: 1) finding funding for the expropriation of excavation areas and the excavation house as well as preparation of preservation plans; 2) ensuring the sufficiency of technical staff on the team; 3) securing the site, house, and depot and providing a sufficient number of guards; 4) making sure that participants such as architects or geophysical engineers are registered with their related professional chambers or associations; 5) implementing preservation initiatives according to contemporary restoration principles after proposed plans have been approved by the related Reliefs and Monuments Regional Directorate and related Council of Protection; 6) arranging entrance to museums and sites in coordination with the related Museum Directorate; 7) paying associated bills and monthly food expenses of the project; and 8) providing the General Directorate the cadastral and ownership

information of protection zones that should be transferred the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

When this broad list is evaluated, it is clear that the state expects excavation directors to be far more than researchers, requiring them to act also as administrators, accountants, planners, preservation specialists, and site guards. Project directors remain responsible for safeguarding artifacts until their submission to museum depots, however remain responsible for the movable items that were not transferred into a museum during the excavation season. Although the duties outlined above are often completed by assistant or co-directors and other project assistants, the directive clearly assigns these tasks to project directors alone. At the same time that such responsibilities are vested in directors, final approval of assistant or co-directors is maintained by the Ministry. Once again, the state demonstrates its authority over archaeological practice and furthers the pattern with the introduction of “Advisory Boards.”

New to the 2011 directive is the establishment of an “Advisory and Evaluation Board” which, under article 7 of the directive, evaluates permit applications and advises the Ministry on its findings. The board consists of eight members: four scientists or researchers and four members of the General Directorate. It is to be established by the Ministry on an annual basis, yet criteria for election or appointment are not provided. Board opinions are advisory in nature with final decisions on new permit and permit renewal applications remaining with the Ministry. Accordingly, even while the selection of the board is unclear and the Ministry maintains the final approval of projects, the establishment of the board is a step towards transparency of process.

In addition to investigating whether the area of proposed research coincides with (undefined) priority research areas,⁷ the board must evaluate applications on the following transparent criteria: 1) a project's accordance with scientific and ethical principles and methods; 2) the completeness of the application folder; 3) the sufficiency of the research agenda; 4) proposed solutions to required security, expropriation, and excavation house and storage facility establishment; 5) the sufficiency of the budget for the research; 6) the provision of guarantee documents; 7) the project's interaction with other projects and its contribution to regional research; 8) the preparedness of the project regarding previous work conducted in the area; 9) the efforts to preserve and protect the cultural assets in the area; and 10) the excavation director's solutions to problems encountered at the excavation area.

In another step toward transparency within the application process, a more detailed calendar for the permit process is included in the 2011 directive. After all applications are submitted to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or to the Consulate General of Turkey as of 31 December, they are evaluated between January and February of the subsequent year, followed by an Advisory Board meeting in March. Beginning in April, new permit requests are submitted to the Minister, ongoing permits are renewed, and exceptional cases are evaluated by the General Director. Despite the clear publication of this schedule, it remains a guideline and not a firm calendar. As of June 2013, many projects had received neither permits nor rejections. Although political movements in spring and summer of 2013 might explain the 2013 delay, such delays are unfortunately not limited

⁷They may actually be the same as the "reserve areas" mentioned in 1984 regulation.

to that year and cause problems especially for the organization of all projects, but especially foreign ones.

*The 2013 Directive on Surveys, Soundings, and Excavations
of Cultural and Natural Assets*

As recently as 13 March 2013, the Ministry issued a new directive that reiterates and clarifies its predecessor with additions and changes affecting the financial organization of Turkish projects for the first time. The 2013 directive mandates that all Turkish excavation projects have institutional financial support equal to at least half the previous season's Ministry-provided budget. Although previous regulations required the guarantee of the financial sources of foreign excavation directors, none had applied specific financial regulation to Turkish projects until 2013.

With such amounts of institutional support defined, the Ministry aims to break the heavy reliance on Ministry funding. The new rule was made, however, without considering universities' own financial burdens or willingness to distribute such funding, especially among state universities with limited funds. For projects unable to satisfy these financial requests of the Ministry, it is likely their excavation permits will be denied or revoked. The rule encourages Turkish projects to find funding through private donations and TÜBİTAK grant applications, however, and this brings Turkish projects in line with those of many other countries and with many foreign projects working in Turkey, whereby funding is won through successful applications employing proper methods to address particular research questions. Because

TÜBİTAK is the only other governmental funding source for such things in Turkey, however, the competition for its support is unsustainable.

The 2013 directive expands the list of the financial responsibilities of foreign directors, too, including daily stipends of government representatives and underwater work insurance (tazminat); salaries and other requirement legal payments for workmen, guards, and security staff; clothing for guards; all expenses of transfer of cultural assets to museums; all expenses related to imported material; all expenses for the expropriation and transfer of properties; all insurance claims for accidents occurring during excavation; fees for the preparation of preservation and restoration plans; the costs of welcome stations at sites as well as site museum project and application fees; and all other financial and related legal documents.

The 2013 directive also delves into “previous problems encountered by the Ministry” in three specific cases, displaying perceived personnel problems concerning the activities of directors, the interactions between directors and assistant directors, and the interactions between team members and government representatives. First, although the 2011 directive had regulations for the absence of the excavation director, the 2013 directive suggests that the Ministry continued to experience unapproved director absences, and thus regulated that such a situation can be used to “retire” the project director from the project where necessary. Furthermore, adopting a regulation instituted elsewhere for government officials, the directive stipulated that directors could be absent for no more than 8% of the field season. Second, the 2013 directive prohibits the appointment of an assistant director who is a first or second degree

relative of the director. Several projects had worked under such conditions previously, yet why it suddenly became problematic remains unclear. Third, the 2013 directive further manages the interactions between government representatives and team members. Specifically, project directors and team members are now explicitly required to assist government representatives by providing information on areas under their responsibility and directors are required to go about their business with full consideration of representatives' suggestions and warnings.

Government Representative

This section further investigates the roles and duties of the government representative based on legal documents discussed in earlier sections. As a representative of the state, the government representative has an authority that has not been properly addressed in archaeological studies. Interestingly, archaeologists who submit reports to AST and KST volumes were critical of many aspects of the practice with the exception of government representatives, even though stories of demanding representatives, personal requests, lack of expertise, and serious conflicts between team members and the representative are matters discussed among the archaeological community.

In earlier documents, representatives were not allowed to leave the excavation area and were required to participate in any trips including the entire project. For instance, if a team member chose not to participate on a group trip and stayed in the excavation house, the representative was required to stay as well. In the 2011 and 2013 directives, more flexibility is given to government representatives. The roots of earlier protectionism may

be sought in attitudes toward archaeological practice deriving from Ottoman times and the commissary system that Turkey embraced after the establishment of the Republic (Pulhan 2010).

The two recent directives are almost identical, with only minor word changes in the lists of duties representatives must accomplish to ensure the archaeological work is conducted according to regulations. Other duties regulate: a) a project's interactions with other state institutions including the local authorities, local representatives of the central government, and security forces; b) the rightful use of government funds and payment of the workforce in accordance with the regulations; c) the inventory of movable and immovable cultural assets, implying again that the state cares most about artifacts and has a tendency to see archaeologists as potential criminals; d) a project's interactions with local landowners to ensure mutual understanding and prevent conflicts; and e) oversight of the workforce, and any necessary changes to it. This last duty is the only one to which excavation directors may provide appeals if disagreements arise. Based on that article, we are informed that in the case of conflict over workforce, the General Directorate has the final decision.

Minor changes from the 2011 to the 2013 directive include the requirement that the government representative sign accounting worksheets (*puantaj cetveli*) that stipulate which workers worked on which days for auditing purposes. Additionally, project directors are required now to inform the Ministry first about important cultural assets before making statements to any press or media outlets. This latter requirement further reflects that Ministry's desire to control the conduct of archaeologists for the purposes of

controlling potentially influential press releases. For example, during the period of Ertuğrul Günay's Ministership, the Ministry released several videos and press releases to promote repatriated items and newly found artifacts, such as the sculpture of Šuppililiuma at Tell Tayinat in Hatay (Anadolu'nun 3. Binyıl Önceki Kralı 2012). The state's control and exploitation of cultural heritage in such cases appears to be consistent with its aim to integrate further cultural heritage and tourism.

State control of archaeological conduct is not limited to directors, however, but increasingly applies to its own representatives as well. Government representatives are mandated to avoid personal contacts, activities, and requests that may harm the collective living conditions of the project. As the direct representatives of the state in archaeological practice, government representatives have an authority that shapes the conduct of the entire team in the field, stretching as far as field methods. For instance, surveyors are required to remain within visible range of a representative, thus restricting the types of survey one can conduct. If excavation areas at a site are distributed such that they cannot all be seen by one government representative, a second representative is mandated by law. Also, there are unwritten and therefore less visible ways in which the representative shapes the conduct of archaeologists in daily life, from the representatives' places at the dinner table to their room assignments and seats in vehicles.

Evaluation

There have been major shifts in the legal aspects of archaeological practice in Turkey in the last 40 years. Over this time span, the number of projects increased and so did the problems. Although the Ministry and its bureaucrats are aware of areas of tension,

because of a lack of staff and its institutional structure, the Ministry has been slow to adjust itself to address problematic areas effectively.

This being said, in the last 10 years, with the aggressive and nationalistic policies of the current government, major changes have affected the governance of archaeological practice and cultural heritage management. The regulations, directives, and letters discussed especially in the second part of this chapter represent the technical tools the government uses to implement changes that lead towards the fulfillment of its goals for the conduct of archaeology. The logical next question step, then, is to identify that these goals may be.

The emphasis given on site preservation and restoration and the encouragement of long-term projects are clear signs of the Ministry's attempts to integrate archaeology into grand scale economic incentives by creating income for local populations and the state through longer excavation seasons and cultural tourism activities. On another level, the Ministry aims for a better functioning and more profitable archaeological practice (not necessarily equivalent to an improved archaeological practice) that decreases the financial burden archaeological practice puts upon it.

I argue that the various changes in regulations and directives are signs of the Ministry's awareness of some of the issues raised by project directors, archaeologists, and the like. After all, Governmentality entails modifications to the legal system to solve problematic areas. However, in many of these cases, the measures taken to solve problems seem to be moving in the wrong direction. More importantly, underlying agendas guiding major decisions create bigger problems rather than solutions. Especially

in the last 10 years, a new wave of nationalism is emerging in the governance of archaeological practice in Turkey. The initial establishment of the position of co-directorship and increasing obligations to publish in Turkish are two proofs visible in legal documents. If the assistant or co-directorship position was created to provide an official assistance to project directors and to acknowledge the time and effort of previously unrecognized assistant or co-directors of the projects, it would have better results than the polarizing effects it has created in the archaeological community.

Emphases on creating self-funded Turkish projects and fully funded foreign projects are attempts to cut back even more on government funds in a sector that is enjoying a surge in profits owing to tourism. In other words, a fully privatized archaeology will be a clean source of income for the government, as it freely integrates cultural heritage into tourism profitability. This suggests, further, that the government's focus has shifted away from cultural heritage and toward cultural assets. In an ideal world, however, privatization should also result in the empowerment of private entities; that is, the state cannot have full sway over privatized practices. The legal documents analyzed in this section demonstrate, however, that the Ministry – even with its attempts to establish a more transparent decision making process – has always been the primary decision maker and aims to remain in its authoritative position.

Unfortunately, as observed in survey and excavation reports over the last 30 years, tremendous damage to Turkey's cultural heritage has occurred despite the state's responsibility to preserve and protect it. In the 1990s, too, the TAY (Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri-The Archaeological Settlements of Turkey) Project made extensive efforts

to document damage to cultural heritage across the county. The legal implements described here for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage shows only how static laws and regulations since the 1970s and the introduction of ineffective protection zones since the 1980s have largely failed.

In addition to ongoing damage, the increasing number of archaeological permits and the lack of staff members to deal with them caused the Ministry to restrict the number of permits. Another problem was a system that enabled many so-called archaeologists with no experience on archaeological project to serve as government representatives monitoring archaeological projects. In this way, government manages to shape the conduct of individuals, in this case archaeologists, significantly. Thus, clashes over field methods between archaeological community members and under-experienced government representatives only intensified. On a larger scale, these clashes represent the tensions between the governed (archaeologists) and the governor (government representatives), but a practical revision of the legal system could enable the reconsideration of roles such as government representatives, which, in essence, are holdovers from Ottoman times.

In most cases, changes in the legal requirements of archaeological practice and cultural heritage management are geared toward excavations rather than surveys. With such foci, survey archaeology – always peripheral in the eyes of the Ministry and perhaps in the eyes of some archaeologists as well – remains marginalized. Finally, although the Ministry has been trying to update at least the financial structure of archaeological practice, strict regulation of the preservation of artifacts and architecture demonstrates

that the Ministry still operates with an outdated perception of archaeology while, at the same time, it avidly tries to make it a more profitable endeavor. Furthermore, governmental mission statements, such as Hedef 2023 that aims to reveal all archaeological sites that belong to all civilizations ever present in Turkey before the year 2023, indicate that the scientific study of the human past, itself emphasized in past and current legal frameworks, remains outside the perspective of the current government.

Repatriation as a State Policy

This chapter has provided detailed analysis of the various legal instruments and associated policies for regulating cultural heritage in Turkey. I've explored how legal frameworks enable the government to shape the conduct of conduct in archaeological research through the permit-granting procedure. With regard to standards and protocols, I've draw specific attention to the shifting perspectives of the AKP policies with regard to cultural heritage. Since 2002 an unprecedented number of changes have been put into place regarding the management of cultural assets. In this final section, I discuss a relatively new trend in the power of cultural capital, literally. I investigate the impact of repatriation efforts on permits provided to foreign researchers and the use of repatriation as a tool in negotiating access to not only archaeological sites (fieldwork) but also objects held in foreign countries that may have been taken from Turkish soil under nefarious circumstances. I discuss this approach in light of current as well as historical policies.

In the last five years, the number of articles citing connections between the AKP government's intensified repatriation efforts has increased. The Ministry and its former and current ministers, Ertuğrul Günay and Ömer Çelik, respectively, have consistently

denied any relation between permits and repatriation efforts. An analysis of official statements between Germany and Turkey, two countries where cultural heritage is managed at governmental level through state institutions, on repatriation of archaeological material reveals that repatriation has become one of the *primary* cultural policies of the state under the AKP government. In fact, since 2002 this policy stands steadfast as among the most hardened and in stark contrast to the implementation of other policies, which have been gradually abandoned. AKP government consistently emphasizes the importance they attribute to repatriation of cultural heritage.

The first major repatriation case to initiate disputes between the current government and foreign research institutions concerns the Sphinx of Hattusha. The Sphinx, excavated in the Hittite capital of Hattusha in modern day Büyükköy village of Çorum in 1907, was taken to Germany in 1915 for restoration (N/A, 2011). The sculpture, found in hundreds of pieces, was restored in Germany and installed as part of a permanent exhibit at the Pergamum Museum in Berlin.



Figure 2: Hattusha Sphinx embedded on the wall of the Pergamum Museum in Berlin seen on the left side of the image (Kasiske 2013).

In February 2011, Minister Günay gave an ultimatum that the permits of the German archaeologists might be revoked if the sculpture was not returned (Günsten 2011). The previous year, in 2010, German excavation permits were issued at only the last minute, too late for a full season of work, in an attempt to influence the case of the Sphinx (Finkel 2011). Eventually on 28 July 2011, the sphinx was repatriated to the Çorum Museum for display (Hattusha Reunites with Sphinx, 2011). Subsequently, however, completely unrelated requests surfaced calling for the return of other artifacts from museums in Germany, including a marble statue known as the Old Fisherman from Aphrodisias, ornamental structures of a Medieval Tomb from the Museum of Islamic Art, and a prayer niche of a 13th century mosque from Konya province (Schulz 2012).

New repatriation requests for items in Germany elevated matters to a new level between the state run German Museums and the Turkish Government, especially after Hermann Parzinger gave an interview to *Der Spiegel* in which he called authorities in Turkey “chauvinistic” (Evers and Knöfel 2013). Before going into further details of current repatriation debates, I provide an analysis of Turkey’s repatriation record, which will contribute to further discussion in relation between repatriation efforts and permits.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism provides a list of repatriated artifacts or artifact groups between 1980 and 2013 on its official web page.

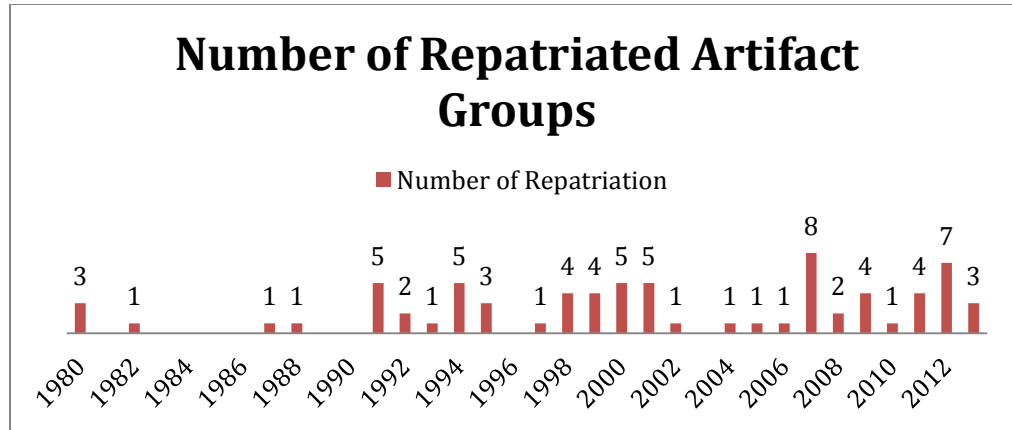


Figure 3: Number of repatriated artifacts or group of artifacts between 1980 and 2013. (Graph prepared after <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,44470/yurt-disindan-iyadesi-saglanan-eserler.html>, 2013)

The data demonstrates that the majority of repatriation efforts occurred in three periods: 1991–1995; 1998–2001; and 2007–2013. Ertuğrul Günay, the minister between 2005 and 2013, announced at a press meeting on the repatriation of the Sinan Paşa Mosque Tiles in 2012 that in 1993–2002, 863 items were repatriated to Turkey. From the beginning of AKP government rule in November 2002 until August 2012, however, 4067 items were repatriated, with the vast majority (3312) repatriated between September 2007 and August 2012, and more than half of these (2293) coins (Günay 2012). Of the repatriated items announced on the Ministry’s official web page, most of them are Classical, Roman, Byzantine or Ottoman Period remains.

While Turkey had a history of occasionally repatriated artifacts previously, many of the cases under Günay’s Ministry were initiated by requests that have had effects on foreign research permits and museum loans. In addition to Sphinx of Hattusha, another notable case is the repatriation of the sculpture known as the Weary Hercules. After confirmation that the Hercules sculpture exhibited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

was the upper part of a sculpture excavated in Perge in 1980, official requests for repatriation of the sculpture began in 1990. After years of negotiations, the sculpture was brought back to Turkey in September 2011 on the plane of the Prime Minister and his entourage, themselves returning from official business in the US.

Following the case of the Weary Hercules, the Ministry had another major case in the repatriation of the tiles of the Sinan Paşa Mosque. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism published two videos; the first, a 21.56 minute press release available on YouTube (Bursa Sinanpaşa Camisine Ait 400 Yıllık Çini Levha Türkiye'ye İade Edildi 2012), includes Günay's view on repatriation, cultural heritage, and archaeology policies. The second shows tiles being put together at the Museum of Ethnography in Ankara in the presence and active participation of Minister Günay himself (Tarihi İznik Çinilerinin İncelenmesi 2012).

Roughly 1.11 minutes into the first video, Günay mentions that the Ministry has been working on repatriation of some artifacts for some time, because he believes the artifacts created by every civilization should be in the lands they belong to and this is the best way of preservation. I interpret this comment as his reflection of an established state policy that will soon seek to repatriate items exhibited in museums in Europe and North America.

Günay furthermore, underlines the most recent and notable repatriated items, including the Boğazköy Sphinx and Weary Hercules, and emphasizes that the latter was brought back to Turkey in the private plane of the Prime Minister, reflecting that the Prime Minister himself is also keenly involved and approved repatriation of the Weary

Hercules. He continues that they have been trying to get back the antiquities that were taken from Turkey wrongfully, some of which were taken a hundred years ago. He also adds that they have been also repatriating items that belong to mosques and their related buildings, actually under the jurisdiction of the General Directorate of Foundations. This emphasis on sacred items is one of the clear indicators of how governmental views on Ottoman and Islamic heritage affect current repatriation policies. Günay concludes that their repatriation attempts have increased international awareness on the emphasis they give to cultural heritage, thus leading foreigners who have artifacts in their possession to return them to Turkey. The Ministry web site includes examples of such artifacts that were voluntarily returned by their owners without any official request and investigation during this period (Avustralya'dan Getirilen 23 Parça Sikke 2013, n.d.; Taş Eser 2012 A.B.D., n.d).

I suggest that the sudden increase in repatriation of artifacts under Günay's Ministry results more from both the Minister's personal agenda and the successful repatriation cases took place in countries such as Italy (Povoledo 2007) and Egypt (Taylor 2010) than from AKP government goals but later Günay's perspective was pivotal in shaping current repatriation policies.

Ertuğrul Günay's role as a minister came to an end in January 2013, when Ömer Çelik replaced him. Repatriation efforts continue during Ömer Çelik's term as a minister. Minister Çelik gave an interview to *Der Spiegel* in a response to the interview mentioned above with Hermann Parzinger, the president of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, which oversees state-owned museums in Berlin (Evers and Knöfel 2013). In

that interview, Çelik emphasized that repatriation requests are for items that left the country illegally, implying that Turkey will not necessarily request the Pergamum Altar, for instance. He notes that documents in the Ottoman archives are a major source for repatriation claims, yet that items with religious importance brought to Germany even legally, such as the prayer niche from Konya, should be returned to Turkey for their religious importance and reasons for permit revocation should be sought in not complying with the legal requirements including poor site management, lack of sufficient resources to conduct proper research.

Although in essence, the responses in this interview may sound like Ömer Çelik's personal opinions, I believe, we can trace its roots back to Ministry of Ertuğrul Günay based on Günay's similar comments at various media outlets such as the final interview he gave to the journalist Cüneyt Özdemir in 2013 (Özdemir 2013)

Evaluation

I argue that Ertuğrul Günay's personal interest as well as successful repatriation cases completed in countries such as Italy and Egypt triggered repatriation efforts especially in the last five years and Ömer Çelik embraced the repatriation agenda set by his predecessor and his response to Parzinger was to be completed in accordance with the state's cultural and international policies that were established at least during the ministry of Ertuğrul Günay. In the model I propose as a result of this dissertation, I argue that the impact of the individual, in other words agency should be integrated into Governmentality studies to investigate conduct of conduct.

Evaluation of Technical Aspects of the Government

In this chapter, I presented how laws and policies shape regulation of cultural heritage to reach goals of the state. In the previous chapter, analysis of state policies as they were presented in the five-year development plans demonstrated that the primary focus of the state from the 1960s until today is integration of cultural heritage with tourism incentives; improving the discipline to understand the human past is marginalized. Furthermore, the mission statement of the AKP government for the year 2023 inherited policies from strategic plans including the establishment of new museums and the restoration of cultural heritage abroad as part of demonstrating power in foreign affairs. In the last twenty years, the role of cultural heritage in international politics has been pronounced. As a result, legal implements have been modified to serve this end.

Although most modifications have been made during the rule of the AKP government beginning in 2002, a close look at the regulations reveal that the 1973 regulations establish the basis for the 2011 and 2013 directives. This return to the 1973 document suggests that while archaeologists may have failed to fulfill the necessities of the legal implements, the bureaucrats of the General Directorate failed to apply the regulations strictly until the AKP government came to power. As discussed in the previous section on practical tools, beginning from the earliest regulation issued in 1973, sanctions have applied if projects failed to publish their results in allotted times. However, it was not until 1998, 25 years after the 1973 regulation, that a government bureaucrat Ender Varinlioğlu, who was also an academician, applied the regulation, which lead to his resignation from the General Directorate owing to political pressure.

The difference in the governance of the AKP government is that, now the state has clarified the purpose of archaeology and cultural heritage, and its bureaucrats are strictly applying regulations to ensure that goals are achieved.

As Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate, the goals of development plans were never fully achieved, and the legal system was never fully developed to achieve them. The lesson in this discrepancy is that such failures are also a part of Governmentality. As Lemke underlines, “to differentiate between rationalities and technologies does not mark the clash of program and reality, the confrontation of the world of discourse with the field of the practices. The relations between rationalities and technologies, programs and institutions are much more complex than a simple application of transfer. The difference between the envisioned aims of a program and its actual effects does not refer to the purity of the program and impurity of reality, but to different realities and heterogeneous strategies. History is not the achievement of a plan but what lies “in between” these levels. Thus, Foucault sees rationalities characterized by the permanent “failure” of programs” (2002: 56).

Thus when establishing a political history of a practice, these different realities and heterogeneous strategies matter more than linear description of historical events that might be misleading. Despite the progressive attitude towards improvement of museums in development plans, achieving goals regarding museums failed for many years. On the other hand, while the repatriation efforts of the last ten years are intentionally planned to gain political strength in the international arena, Turkish law still enables the import of cultural heritage of other countries, reflecting a lack of acknowledgment that cultural

heritage is a universal phenomenon. This chapter emphasized these different realities and heterogeneous strategies that came into being in the governance of archaeology and cultural heritage management in Turkey. Accordingly, in the next chapter, I present areas in archaeological practice in Turkey that are highlighted and obscured by the state (and various governments) in conjunction to the goals the state aims to achieve.

CHAPTER 5

FIELDS of VISIBILITY

Permitted and Governmentally Funded Research in Turkey

As one of the four components of analytics of government, fields of visibility acknowledge that Governments function through intentionally highlighting and obscuring particular areas to reach certain goals and objectives (Dean 2010), and the governance of archaeological practice fulfills such functions. Throughout its history, the practice of archaeology has illuminated certain geographies and civilizations for specific purposes, from interest to antiquities of the Greek and Roman past in Europe to the initiation of excavations at prehistoric sites in Anatolia in the early years of the Republic. These intentional acts of the state remind us to question the reasons behind highlighted and concealed geographies, time periods, and people. Thus, the first question to ask is whether the governance of archaeology illuminates and obscures any geography, types of practice, or periods? If it is possible to identify such areas, we need to look for reasons behind such decisions. More importantly, through identification of visible and obscured areas, it is possible to “identify different regimes of practices with certain forms of visibility” (Dean 2010: 41). In other words, fields of visibility enable us to distinguish differences in various governments’ approaches towards archaeology. Thus, this chapter first identifies where archaeological activities have taken place in Turkey to assess whether the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and archaeologists have preferred areas of research. If such preferred areas can be identified, a second step will entail the identification of possible reasons for such preferences.

In order to make such assessments, the geographical distribution of archaeological research in Turkey over the last 34 years must be established. Among various types of research, excavations, conducted with the permission of the Cabinet of Ministers, and surveys constitute the main focus of analysis because of the public availability of data. Unfortunately, the Ministry provides no information about researchers who applied for but were not awarded research permits, and, thus, information provided here is limited only to permitted research. Other sources of information that shed light on the Ministry's preferred areas of research include a list of "Priority Areas for Excavation," available online since 2012, and the distribution of sites inscribed into the full and tentative lists of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) World Heritage Sites.

This analysis demonstrates that the government of archaeology in Turkey particularly highlights research conducted in western and southern coastal areas of the country. Reasons for highlighting these areas can be sought primarily in a tradition of archaeological research conducted in Classical sites in the early years of the Republic. Furthermore, the monumental architecture of Classical sites make them convenient for integration into tourism activities. However, regions such as the eastern Black Sea, and eastern and southeastern Anatolia are clearly not preferred for research. The continuous lack of research in these areas results from difficulties in integrating them into existing cultural-tourism destinations or logistical problems, such as locations in densely vegetated areas. In addition, political instability and contested pasts in Black Sea and eastern Anatolian areas, for example – with their Greek, Armenian, and Kurdish

populations – play major roles in the establishment of desired visibilities in the archaeological research of Turkey.

The Geographical Distribution of Archaeological Permits

In this section, I identify fields of visibility from the physical places in which archaeological activities such as surveys or excavations take place. In other words, permitted archaeological projects at sites and landscapes at the provincial level are the object of this section.

In establishing the geographical distribution of archaeological research between 1979 and 2012, I have used data provided by annual research and excavation symposium publications: *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (or KST, the main publication of excavations) and *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (or AST, the main publication of surveys). In 1979, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, then Minister of Culture, established a symposium that has become an annual and systematic event that still continues today (Başgelen 2014). Despite uninterrupted archaeological work in Turkey since the 1950s, previous governments had made no attempt to establish such an annual meeting to highlight archaeological work in Turkey. The direct involvement of the Minister in organizing such an event reflects how archaeology had become more visible at the governmental level. The first symposium took place in Ankara at the premises of the Turkish Historical Society in 1978 (Başgelen 2014). From that date onwards, it was mandatory for all permitted research to be presented in the annual symposium, and all papers presented at the symposium have been published since the second symposium in 1982 (Başgelen 2014). Although data from

such publication do not represent 100% coverage, the geographical distribution of permits represented in symposium reports provides as accurate information as is available because participation in the symposium and subsequent publication are considered to be prerequisites of permit renewal (Greaves 2011). Additionally, these reports provide the only systematic data available for analysis.

For this analysis, research reports were analyzed for provincial information and the permitted research was grouped by province. In most cases, this information was easily available in the title or introductory section of the report. Exceptions include reports on projects focusing on classical or Late Bronze Age periods. Because there is relatively robust information about the historical geography of the classical world, and in some cases Late Bronze Age Anatolia, archaeologists often use ancient place names (where known). In some cases researchers provide detailed information about the historical geography of the area over relevant time periods (Peschlow 1991; Helström 1987; Şahin 1997); in others, only the names of villages, districts, or geographical landmarks are listed. In a few cases, such information made it difficult to assess the province of research given that place names are common to more than one province (e.g., Yeniköy, Satala).

For pre-classical and prehistoric sites, researchers provide local toponyms and provincial information rather than ancient site names (Özsait, 1993, Beksaç 2001). Although basic locational information is a fundamental component of academic writing, the AST and KST publications provide no editorial guideline requiring such information. Because the conference is held among a regionally restricted academic community and

much field research has geographic continuity, researchers perhaps assumed that readers were fully aware of modern-day research locations.

Assessment of the Quality of the AST and KST Records

Data on the geographical distribution of archaeological projects was derived from two sources. Between 1979 and 1982, symposium publications include combined survey and excavation reports. I derived information for the geographical distribution of research permits from symposium publications for the period between 1979 and 2005. For the period between 2006 and 2012, the source for geographical distribution of archaeological excavation permits comes directly from the Ministry's official web page, where permit data is available to the public (e.g., Kazı ve Yüzey Araştırması Faaliyetleri 2013). In addition, the Ministry also published the total number of archaeological research projects permitted in Turkey in 2002–2011 (Table 2); however, this data provides no detail on the geographical distribution of permits.

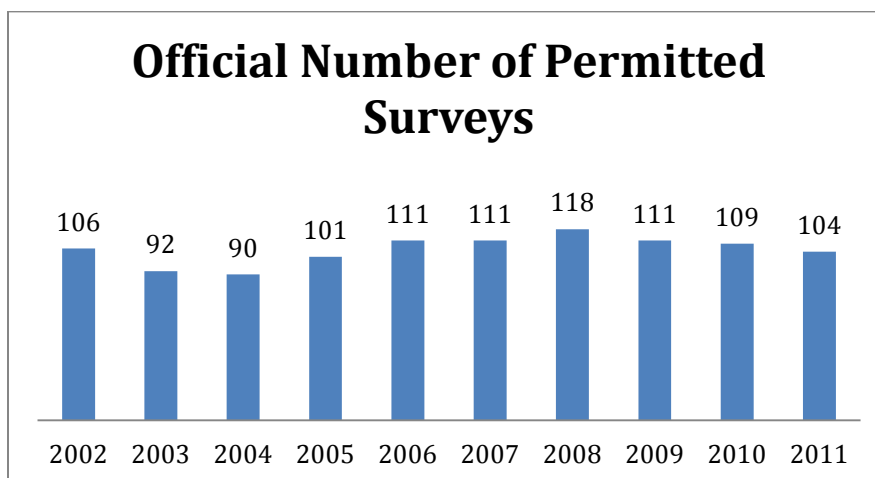


Figure 4: Official number of permitted surveys between 2002–2011. (Prepared after 2002–2011 Yılları Arasında Gerçekleştirilen Yüzey Araştırmaları (Grafik), 2013)

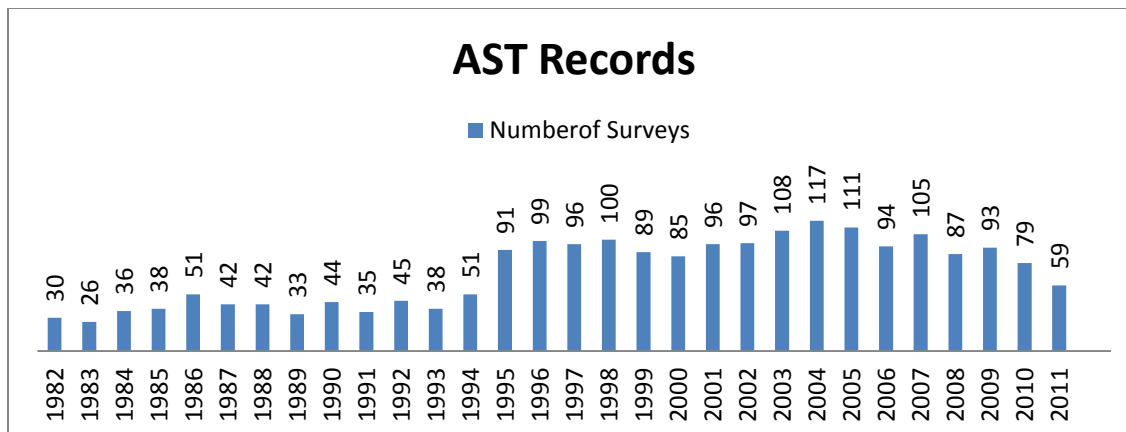


Figure 5: Number of permitted survey projects based on AST records. Derived from AST Publications (Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantıları 2013)

Comparison of the data from the AST volumes with that of official Ministry documents shows that the AST data usually underrepresents the total number of officially permitted survey projects, although it reflects the majority of projects carried out in Turkey (Tables 2, 3, and 4). While the AST data matches 75–94% of official permit data through 2009, in 2010 and 2011 the AST data represents only 50% of the officially permitted surveys.

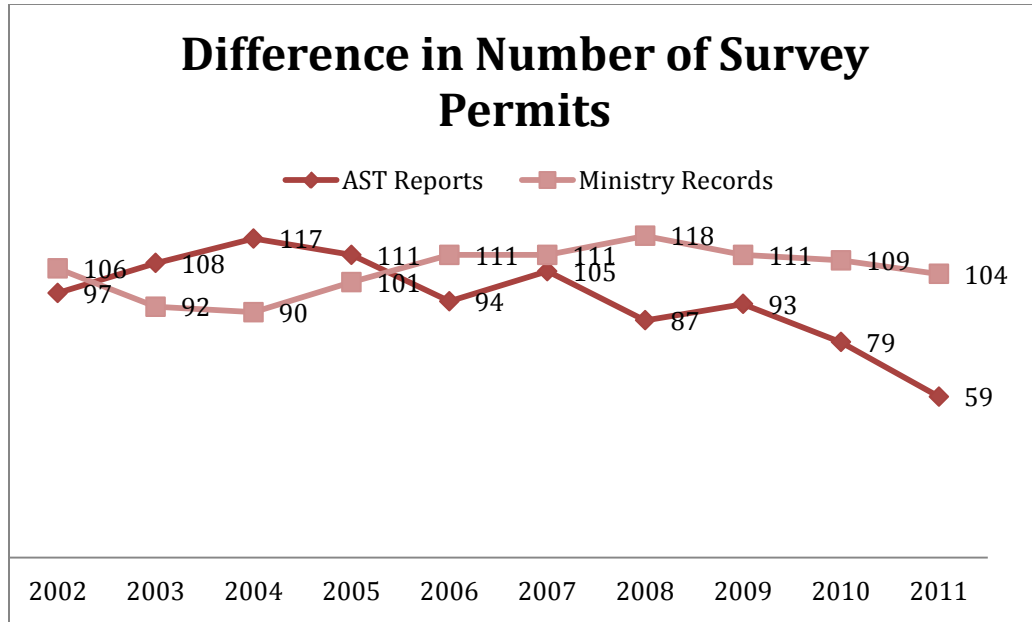


Figure 6: Comparison of AST records to Ministry records (2002–2011 Yılları Arasında Gerçekleştirilen YüzeY Arařtırmaları (Grafik) 2013)

Because the Ministry also provided a list of survey and excavation permits according to provinces between 2006 and 2011, I used the official Ministry records in preparation of the maps. However, at least for the period between 2002–2010, for which official records are available, there is an inconsistency of permit numbers between the AST/KST publications and Ministry records (Tables 4, 5, and 6). For the period between 2002 and 2011, the minimum overlap between the KST and Ministry records is 77%.

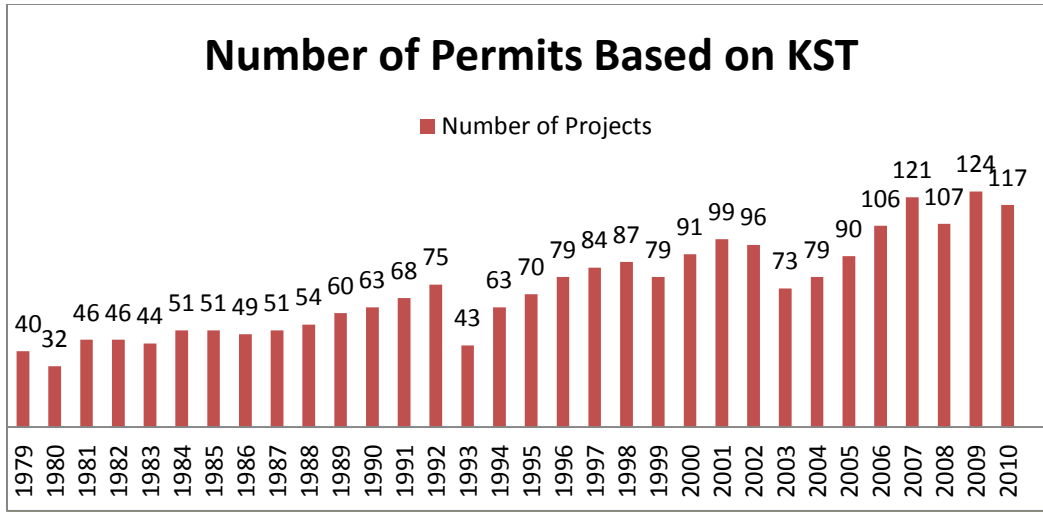


Figure 7: Number of permits derived from the KST publications. (Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları 2013)

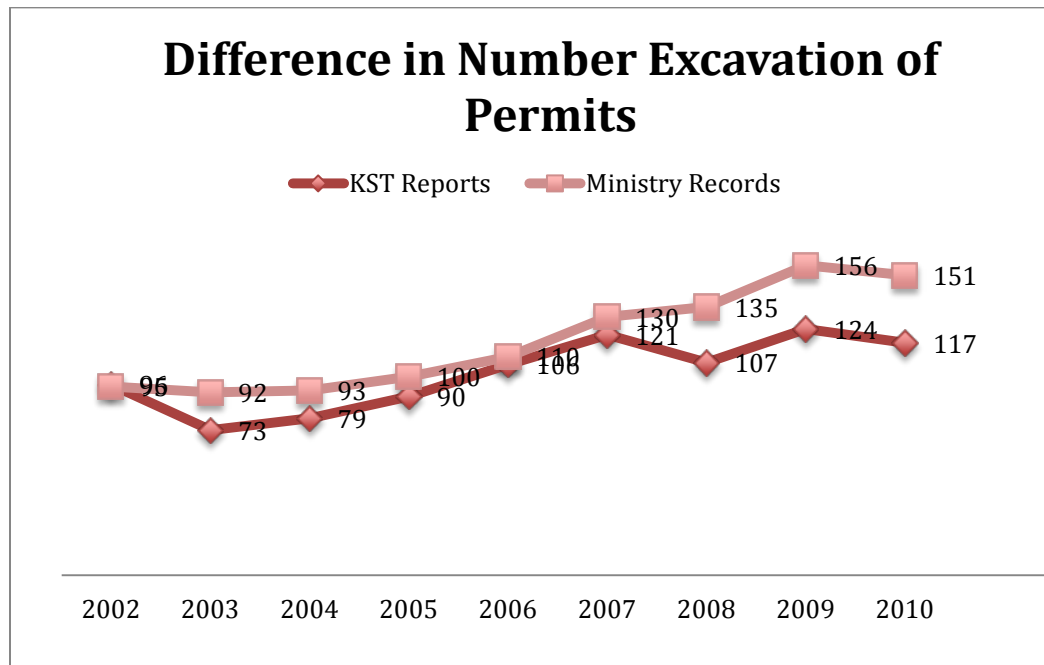


Figure 8: Difference in the Number of Excavation Permits (2002–2011 Yılları Arasında Gerçekleştirilen BKK Yabancı Kazılar (Grafik) 2013, 2002–2011 Yılları Arasında Gerçekleştirilen BKK Türk Kazıları (Grafik) 2013)

Possible reasons for differences between the AST/KST and official ministry data include lack of attendance of the symposium, lack of submission of reports, and the late timing of permit issuing resulting in a project's inability to conduct fieldwork in a particular year. Additionally, archaeologists may submit the results of multiple years of work in one year of the symposium or may opt to present and publish only once the project is complete. For instance, excavations conducted in the Tekfur Palace in İstanbul between 1995 and 2001 were published in a single KST issue (Yenişehirlioğlu 2003). This comparison reveals that discrepancies occur between the numbers of survey and excavation reports in the AST/KST reports and the official records of the Ministry. While the numbers are similar, both in the AST and KST reports, a major disjuncture occurs in 2003, the last year the annual symposium took place in Ankara as its default location.

Although usually held in Ankara – the capital of the Turkish Republic with the headquarters of all governmental institutions, including the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums – the symposium was at times held elsewhere. In 1983, the symposium was held in Istanbul in concert with the opening of the European Council's 18th European Art Exhibition (Yardımcı 1983); in 1984 it was in İzmir; and in 1991 it was in Çanakkale. In 1998 the symposium was held in Tarsus, the birthplace of İstemihan Talay, the Minister of the Culture at the time. Since 2003, only the 2008 symposium was held in Ankara, with others consistently held elsewhere: Konya in 2004; Antalya in 2005; Çanakkale in 2006; Kocaeli in 2007; and Denizli in 2009. As a response to its selection as the “Cultural Capital of Europe” in 2010, Istanbul was chosen to host the symposium that year. Other destinations have

included Malatya in 2011, Çorum in 2012, Muğla in 2013, and Gaziantep in 2014. Some of the locations chosen for symposia overlap with selected cultural tourism corridors. For instance, Gaziantep and Konya are defined as cultural and religious tourism centers, Denizli is part of the Aphrodisia⁸ Culture and Thermal Development Zone, and Çorum is a component of the Hittite Culture Development Zone. Provinces such as Muğla and Antalya are already well-established cultural tourism destinations. Since 2003, therefore, the location of the symposium appears to have been integrated into broader development policies of the AKP government. While in the past Ankara had been the default location of the symposium, the AKP government appears to have devised a calculated and systematic means of introducing culture and tourism-related development initiatives to international audiences every year. Changing symposium locations to other provinces signifies an AKP-government departure from former governmental habits.

Because the symposium destination is rarely announced far in advance, it is not possible for some researchers to attend. It is also possible that permit cancellations might occasionally have played roles in symposium participation. Regardless of such discrepancies, the AST/KST data correspond closely to official Ministry data and provide a reliable source to demonstrate trends in preferred areas of archaeological practice in Turkey.

The Geographical Distribution of Archaeological Surveys

AST records include various types of archaeological surveys including architectural surveys, the collection of surface material from ancient sites, epigraphic

⁸ The tourism corridor is named after the ancient city of Aphrodisias although the government chose to use the name Aphrodisia rather than the correct version Aphrodisias.

surveys, and museum-collection research. For the purposes of this dissertation, the latter activity was excluded from analysis for the purposes of focusing only on fieldwork.

The geographical distribution of survey permits is affected by legal changes to the governance of survey archaeology discussed in Chapter 4. During the 1980s and 1990s, archaeologists were permitted to survey within the borders of multiple provinces. This led to large-scale survey projects that could only be completed if research foci were targeted to specific types of monuments or periods. A notable example of such project is the Roman Roads and Milestones Survey conducted by David French in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1990 alone, French visited nine provinces (Sinop, Amasya, Çorum, Kütahya, Uşak, Afyon, Denizli, Isparta and Antalya) in which his visitation times per area varied from one day to a couple of days (French 1992) (Figure 9). When the geographical distribution map is prepared without the Roman Road survey data, the archaeological research distribution in the Black Sea area is reduced to single district, Mesudiye, of a single province, Ordu (Özsait 1995) (Figure 10). Although plotting exact research locations at finer levels (for instance, districts or townships) has potential to add more depth to the analysis, the vast number of research projects taking place over the last 34 years precluded examinations more detailed than the province level.

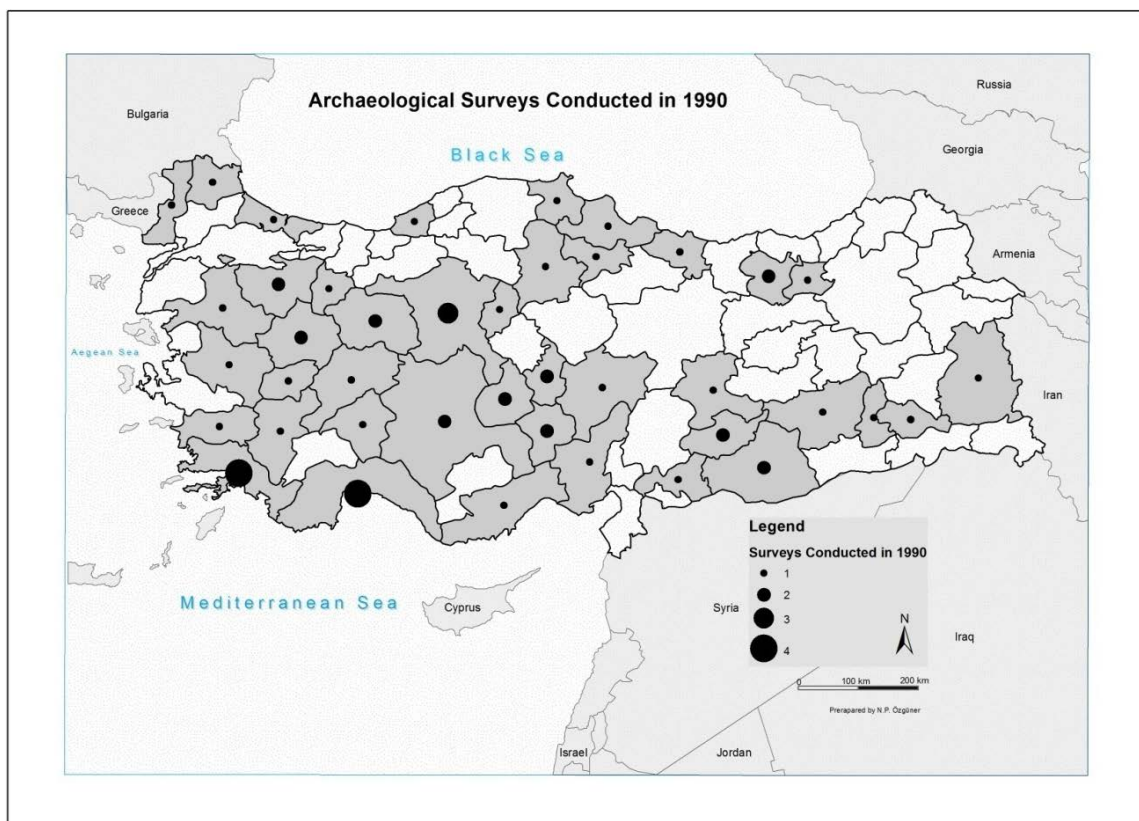


Figure 9: Survey work conducted in Turkey in 1990 including data from French's Roman Roads and Milestones Survey.

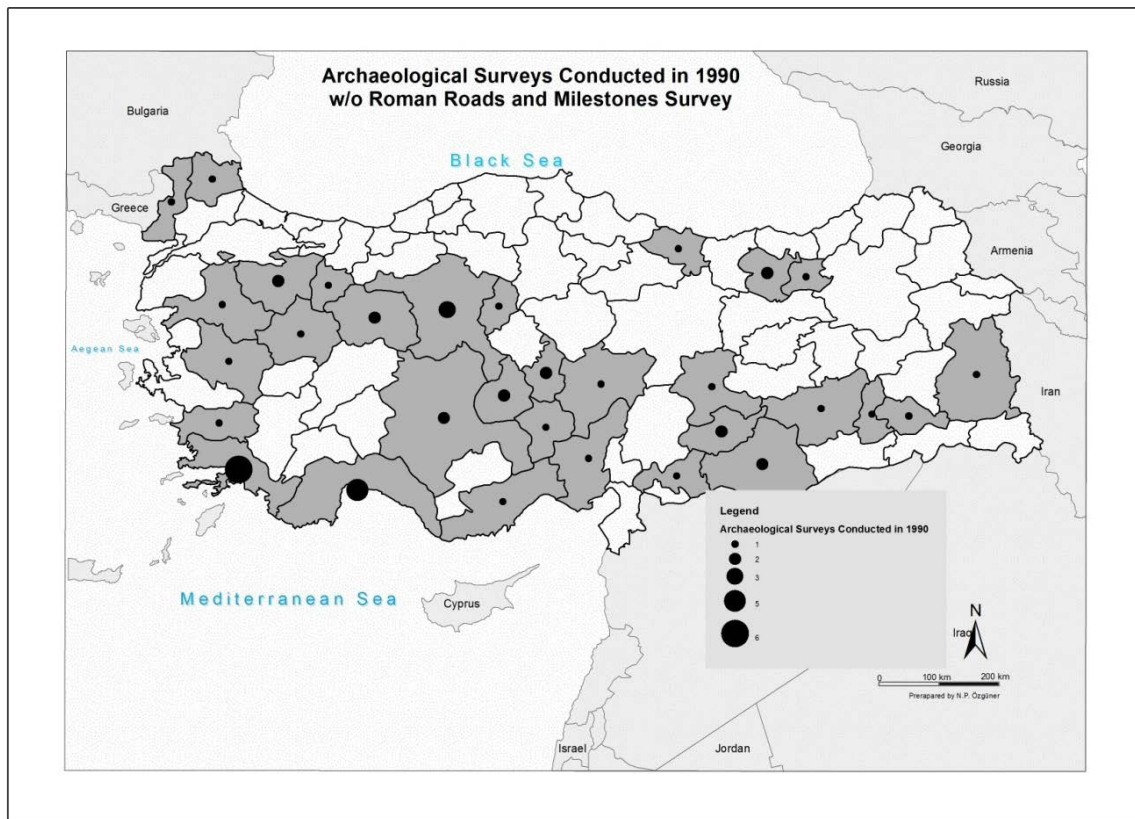


Figure 10: Survey work conducted in Turkey in 1990 excluding data from French's Roman Roads and Milestones Survey.

Thus, as a precaution for the interpretation of the maps, we need to be aware that marked areas do not reflect intensive, diachronic, and continuous archaeological work in all available open areas of named provinces, districts, or villages. Rather, these marked areas represent survey work conducted in several districts of each province or architectural documentation in and around previously known archaeological sites. It is impossible, therefore, to consider each province where previous survey occurred as fully surveyed. In addition, the majority of archaeological surveys focus on single periods, lagging behind the global trend of diachronic survey in vogue since the 1980s. Because

of this reason, while Bronze Age period remains might be studied intensively in one locale, it is possible that other prehistoric, Byzantine, or Ottoman period remains were not studied in the same detail. As a result of this type of survey tradition, revolving around one particular period or a specific site, even the most densely investigated areas have not been studied holistically for remains of all chronological periods, leaving significant gaps in inventories of cultural heritage.

Trends in the Geographic Distribution of Surveys over Time

A general assessment of the geographical data reveals patterns of archaeological work in Turkey. In 1982, the first year of available data, archaeological surveys were dispersed across Turkey, with almost every region having several surveys taking place. The majority of survey activities took place in the coastal Aegean and Mediterranean provinces of Çanakkale, İzmir, and Antalya. The high number of permits distributed in these coastal areas appears immediate in this period of study and has continued until today.

The year 1983 presents a rare case, with surveys only occurring in the Aegean and Marmara regions. Apart from Çorum and Nevşehir in central Anatolia, and Kars and Van in eastern Anatolia, no survey took place east of Eskişehir as all survey activity occurred at the western end of the country. In 1984 and 1985, the Aegean and the Mediterranean coasts, as usual, were the focal point of surveys, and central, eastern, and southeastern Anatolia continued to see occasional archaeological work. Surveys in Elazığ, Bingöl, and Tunceli started, as well, with the purpose of understanding better the southwestern expansion of the Urartian Kingdom.

Between 1988 and 1991, the majority of archaeological surveys in Turkey continued to take place in the western parts of the country, although research continued in southeastern and eastern Anatolia as well. During this period, the first Gulf War took place (1990–1991), although it is questionable to what extent it affected archaeological research in Turkey, apart from displacing archaeologists working in the Gulf regions. In the Black Sea region, work focused on the central sections.

In 1992, we see the beginning of the reduction of archaeological surveys in southeastern Anatolia, as there was no work east of Şanlıurfa, while a number of surveys were conducted in Erzurum, Ağrı, and Van. It is possible to tie lack of survey in southeastern Anatolia to the empowerment of the Kurdish separatist movement. Around 1991–1992, rural zones of Diyarbakır were active zones of hostilities between the Turkish military and Kurdish separatists (Marcus 2007). Accordingly, in 1993, there is no record of a survey conducted in southeastern Anatolia, while surveys were focused in Muğla, Antalya, and Konya. In 1994, the pattern observed in 1983 and 1986 occurs again, with Sivas constituting the easternmost boundary of survey research, probably owing to ongoing political instability. That year, surprisingly, no surveys were conducted in Van, which had had a continuous record of surveys and excavations since 1979, if not earlier.

Another interesting year is 1996, because surveys were mostly confined to the coastal Mediterranean and Aegean areas whereas the central Marmara, Black Sea, and southeastern Anatolia areas had few surveys. Although more than 90 surveys received permits in 1996, these permits were confined to only a few provinces. The lack of

surveys in the region continued with a similar pattern until 1997. In that year, the similar pattern of surveys across Anatolia returned and continued until 2006, which represents another turning point for the geographical distribution of permits. With the exception of the western Black Sea, Kırşehir, Diyarbakır, Malatya, Tunceli, Bingöl, Muş, Batman, and Siirt, every other province in Turkey had archaeologists surveying either broad landscapes or the surroundings of cities.

Similar trends in survey practices continued until 2010, with pockets of unsurveyed areas including parts of the Black Sea coast, Tunceli, Bingöl, Elazığ, Malatya, Diyarbakır, Batman, Siirt, and Şanlıurfa. In 2010, survey permits were given in Adıyaman and Diyarbakır, but Malatya, Elazığ, Tunceli, and Bingöl, as well as sections of the Black Sea coast, remained devoid of surveys until 2012.

Discussion of Survey Research Distribution Trends

Continuous systematic research has never occurred in the Black Sea and eastern and southeastern Anatolian regions. The amount of archaeological research decreases as one looks east from western Anatolia to central and eastern provinces of the country. In eastern provinces, such as Van, there had always been continuous archaeological work, although the number of studies in these areas is incomparable to that in the Aegean and Mediterranean regions.

The intensity of archaeological survey work in Antalya, Muğla, and İzmir has risen over the last 34 years. The prioritization of these areas has roots in 19th century traditions of antiquarianism. Sites and kingdoms known from textual records provided a trigger for the quest for classical remains.

In the Aegean region, the province of Uşak poses an interesting paradox. Although the area has well known sites and is a borderland between the major Iron Age kingdoms of Lydia and Phrygia, the degree of archaeological survey conducted in the area is low, within the same range as provinces along the Black Sea coast. It is possible to explain this situation by the distance of Uşak from hot spots of archaeological research areas, such as Manisa, but more importantly İzmir and Aydın.

The distribution of survey permits reveals also that there has been a lack of research in Black Sea provinces such as Rize, Trabzon, and Giresun. The main explanation for the lack of research in the Black Sea is the dense vegetation cover that limits and, in most cases, prevents seeing the actual ground. Çilingiroğlu, in his survey of two Van and Ordu regions in 1985 (two provinces that are not adjacent), notes the dense vegetation of Ordu as one of the limitations of the study (Çilingiroğlu 1987). Similar comments are found in reports of survey work conducted in several other provinces in the Black Sea region. Later, Çilingiroğlu and Derin (1995), in their Eastern Black Sea Survey, and Karauğuz (2006), in a survey of Zonguldak in western parts of the Black Sea coast, note the negative impact of surface visibility on their surveys.

These patterns of practice emerge for several reasons: overarching trends tied to the emergence of archaeological practice in the late 19th and early 20th century; the institutional structures of academia; archaeological education; Ministry objectives; and local incentives. Here, I focus on local and institutional reasons where applicable and leave other explanations for discussion in subsequent sections.

In 1977 previous development and irrigation project planned for the Tigris (Dicle)

and Euphrates (Firat) rivers were merged into a single project and titled as Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-GAP (Southeastern Anatolia Project) and project was initiated in 1986 with establishment of necessary administrative units (Dorhmann and Hatem 2014). The archaeological reflection of this announcement was the 1988 initiation of the Tigris-Euphrates Research project by Guillermo Algaze (Algaze 1990). Following Algaze's work and earlier research in the area, additional archaeological surveys took place at Ziyaret Tepe in Diyarbakır in 1997, with under the directorship of Dr. Timothy Matney, as one of the sites that would be flooded by the Ilisu Dam (Matney 2000).

Another component affecting archaeological surveys in southeastern Anatolia is the impact of the Kurdish insurgency movement, which was officially announced in 1980s (Jongerden and Akkaya 2012). As analyzed subsequently in Chapter 7, archaeologists were not allowed to enter some southeastern provinces because of security issues in the 1990s and 2000s and were given access to other areas only intermittently. These cases show evidence for of the obstruction of research during times and areas of political instability. No detailed information is available on archaeological surveys not permitted because of security reasons in southeastern Anatolia, but AST records demonstrate that no survey projects were conducted in the majority of southeastern provinces between 1992 and 1996. The only exception to this pattern was Şanlıurfa. After 1996, a number of new survey projects were initiated in southeastern Anatolia. Among these surveys, it was only in 1997 that the Bitlis-Muş Valley Survey mentioned security problems for the first time in print (Özfirat 1999).

In 1999, construction plans for the Ilisu Dam led to a new set of survey and rescue

excavations in southeastern Anatolia in the provinces of Diyarbakır, Batman, Mardin, Siirt, and Şırnak. During this time, similar security concerns appeared in survey reports in the Muş Ovası Survey in 1999 (Özfiat 2001), Erzincan in 2000 (Mitford 2002), Siirt in 2001, 2002, and 2003 (Boran 2003; Boran et al. 2004 and 2005), Tunceli in 2002 (Danik 2004), Batman in 2004, 2007 (Taşkiran 2006; Taşkiran and Kartal 2010), Bitlis in 2005 (Baş and Baş 2007), Şırnak in 2005 and 2006 (Kozbe 2007, 2008), and Diyarbakır in 2010 (Yıldız, Erdal and Koç 2012).

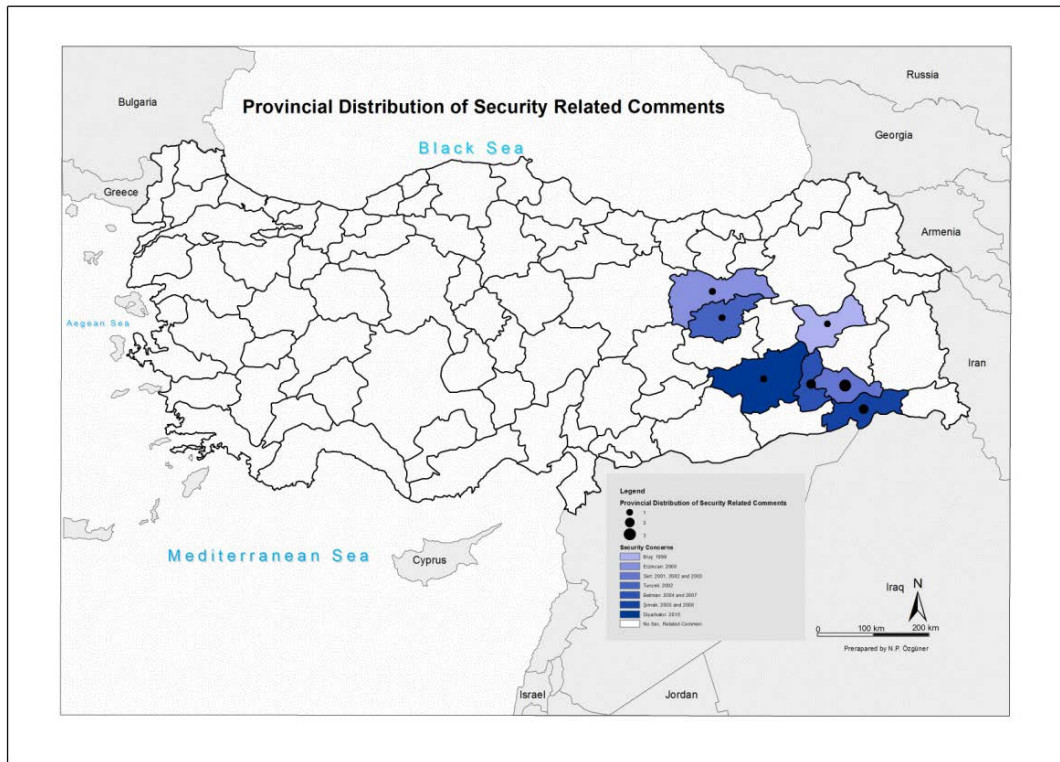


Figure 11: Provincial distribution of security related comments.

As demonstrated in Figure 11, security has never been a concern for archaeologists working in other parts of the country, in contrast to eastern and southeastern Anatolia. Comments of archaeologists imply that this distribution of

research related directly to the Kurdish insurgency movement, although it is not always openly addressed in reports. Thus, it is possible that both archaeologists and the government restrained archaeological work in these provinces for periods of time. On the other hand, the roots of the lack of research in southeastern and eastern Anatolia cannot be limited to the Kurdish separatist movement of the 1980s. Southeastern and eastern Anatolia has been a sensitive region since the early Republic because of uprisings in it, some of which were directly related to the Kurdish nationalist movement (Gorgas 2009). Equally, to explain the lack of archaeological research on the Black Sea coast as resulting only to dense vegetation or low preservation quality of wooden architecture does not suffice. The Black Sea region, with its former Greek and Armenian populations, is another example of contested geography involving conflicting claims of ownership. Maps of villages that were subject to name changes beginning in the early years of the Republic (Tunçel 2000) conspicuously resemble the geographic distribution of areas lacking in archaeological research (Figure 12).

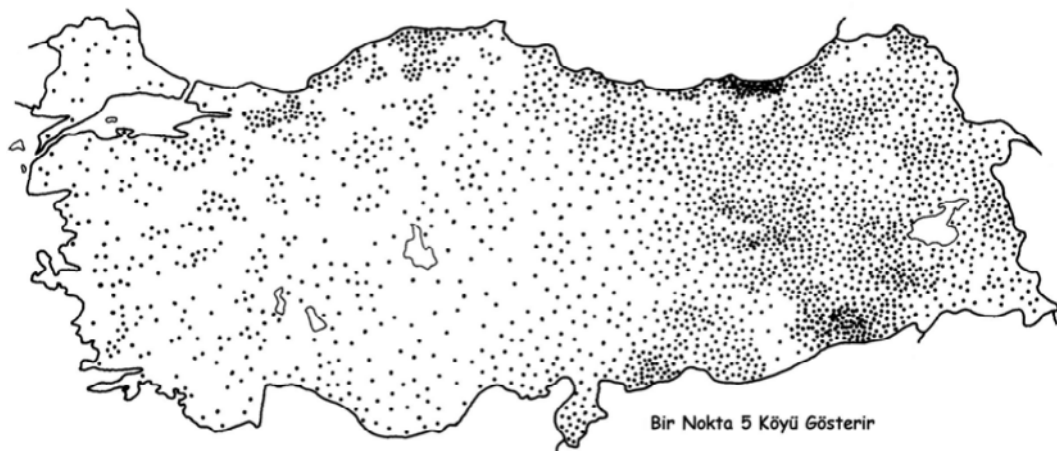


Figure 12: Map showing villages that were subject to name changes since 1925. (Tunçel 2000: 30) In this map, one dot reflects five villages. Eastern and southeastern Anatolia and the eastern Black Sea Region have the highest density of name changes.

I argue that one of the reasons for the lack of research in these contested geographies lies in the awareness of the government that its opponents can use archaeology as a source to claim ownership or their independence. In this way, political instability may explain the lack of research in such areas; yet intentional governmental obscuring of other motives – or silencing of minority voices – may be at play. As underlined in the beginning of this chapter, modifications in fields of visibility are indications of different regimes of practices, thus the continuous lack of research in certain geographies points to a single cultural policy accepted by the majority of past governments.

For provinces like Elazığ, which had been subject to archaeological research since 1940s, additional work took place during the Keban and Karakaya Dam Projects. A lack of research outside the dam area initiated a new project in Elazığ in 1984 with a survey of the mountainous areas. At the same time, a second survey in the Bingöl and Elazığ areas focused on Urartian Period occupation (Sevin 1989), and a third focused on the Middle Ages (Aşan 1989). These three surveys in the Tunceli, Elazığ, and Bingöl areas consisted of the same team members and the same government representative (Sevin 1989; Bahar 1989; Aşan 1989), and at least two of them occurred simultaneously (Bahar 1989; Aşan 1989). Thus, although they were recorded as three different projects, it was really one joint project that worked together, until another survey project focusing on the Middle Ages of the Harput began in 1995 (Danik 1997). While places like Elazığ are considered well researched, at least for prehistoric periods, provinces like İzmir, Muğla, and Antalya

are never labeled as well studied despite their continuous record of survey and excavation projects, as we will see in the next section.

For southeastern Anatolia, then, dam projects constitute one of the major reasons for the initiation of survey projects. The same cannot be said for the Aegean and the Mediterranean, as archaeological survey projects are mainly initiated to answer specific research questions rather than salvage cultural heritage before irreversible destruction occurs.

In the Marmara Region, another local factor played a role in a number of archaeological projects. Çanakkale was subject to 1–2 surveys each year from different Turkish and foreign universities until 2001. Beginning in 2002, Çanakkale became one of the most systematically studied areas of the Marmara Region. In 2006, the number of surveys in the area doubled to 8 from a previous maximum of 4. A closer look at the distribution of survey work demonstrates that the majority of belonged to members of the Archaeology and Art History Department of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University (ÇOMÜ), established in 1993 (ÇOMÜ Arkeoloji Bölümü Hakkında 2014).

The majority of the Turkish researchers conducting archaeological surveys in Çanakkale were assigned to their positions at ÇOMÜ after 2001 (Nurettin Aslan in 2001; Onur Özbek in 2003; Derya Yalçıklı in 2004; and Ayşe Çaylak-Türker in 2005), with the exception of Osman Uysal of the Art History Department, who had started working at ÇOMÜ in 1997. The example from ÇOMÜ illustrates how the establishment of an archaeology department and a new generation of academic staff can impact the distribution of archaeological work. An additional factor, however, was the official

recognition of survey research by officials and the requirement that survey precede excavation at specific sites. Thus, the initiation of new survey projects by a new generation of academics from ÇOMÜ could be considered the first steps towards establishing excavation projects in the same areas.

The Geographical Distribution of Archaeological Excavations

Similar to the case of survey permits, it is possible to follow geographical trends in the distribution of excavation permits since 1979. Although the second (1980) and third (1981) volumes of KST included surveys and excavations together, beginning from the fourth volume (1982), KST included only the results of excavation research. Over the years, the number of approved permits varies from 1–19 per province. The higher number of permits is found in the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal regions. Also, Malatya in eastern Anatolia and Diyarbakır in southeastern Anatolia reach 6–7 permits per year at one period in time.

In 1980, the majority of archaeological work took place in the western sections of the country from the upper most tip of Marmara all the way to the eastern Mediterranean coast as well as southeastern Anatolia. In addition, Van in eastern Anatolia and Samsun in the Black Sea area hosted archaeological projects. In 1981, from the northern tip of western Turkey to Mersin in southern Anatolia, the same trend in excavation permits continued. Projects in Diyarbakır and Mardin in southeastern Anatolia further emphasize the importance of archaeological work conducted in the area. Malatya, with five permits, was the province with the highest number of work permits that year. In eastern Anatolia, Malatya, between 1979 and 1986, was among the leading cities in archaeological

excavation, where the largest numbers of permits were obtained due to salvage archaeology projects for areas to be flooded by the Atatürk Dam project. In the adjacent area, the Urartian period remains in Van have been consistently researched by a group of Turkish archaeologists. Circumscription of Urartu excavation permits to Turkish scholars reveals another sensitive topic in the state policies of Turkey. Some ancient texts (Herodotus VII, 73) linguistic and archaeological studies (Diakanoff 1985, Chahin 2001) have linked today's modern Armenian populations to historical Urartian and Phrygian people. Limiting permits in these areas to Turkish scholars enables the state to control information that may or may not link modern Armenian population to the Urartian kingdom, thus preventing claims of ownership and potential nation-building strategies in such areas.

After the mid-1980s, Diyarbakır became a focal area of archaeological research for two years until Şanlıurfa became the focus until 1995. In southeastern Anatolia, in the early 1980s, Adıyaman was one of the better-investigated areas owing to the location of Nemrut Dağ within its borders. Throughout the 1980s, the only archaeological project in the Black Sea Region was the İkiztepe Excavation in Samsun. Only in 1995 did other archaeological projects begin in the Black Sea Region, first in Sinop, then in Kastamonu in 2004, Ardahan in 2005, Zonguldak in 2007, and Artvin in 2011.

After 1991, Mardin, too, saw a long hiatus in excavations following the bombing of a Gırnavaz Höyük excavation car in Nusaybin that killed two young archaeologists, İ. Metin Akyurt and Bahattin Devam, in September of that year. This event remains the only recorded event where an excavation was the target of terrorist activity. Interestingly,

KST records contain no comment about it, despite public knowledge and a book eventually published in memory of Akyurt and Devam in 1995 (Başgelen et al. 1995).

The government representative assigned to the site also published his memoirs from the season in an online blog of the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet* in 2013 (Önder 2013).

Throughout the 1990s, the eastern part of central Anatolia, the majority of the Black Sea region, and the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey were devoid of continuous archaeological excavation, while western parts of central Anatolia contained a number of ongoing research areas. Central Anatolia is one of the regions where archaeological excavations have taken place continuously, although with permit numbers never reaching the numbers seen in the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal regions. In this region, work in the 1980s and 1990s took place in Çorum, with a specific focus on sites of Hittite occupation. Such interest in the Hittites goes back to the early years of the Republic, when pre-classical peoples of Anatolia were embraced as a unifying component of Anatolia (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006). Other long-term excavations were begun and continue to this day at Pessinus in Eskişehir in 1988, Kaman-Kalehöyük in Kırşehir in 1992, and Çankırı in 1998. Despite the long-term projects close to Ankara, the capital of the newly founded Republic, for a long time the only archaeological work actually in the province was that at Gordion in the Polatlı district, beginning in the 1980s. While Ankara's past extends from the prehistoric ages to the Roman Period, especially in the historical center of the city, and hosts at least four archaeology departments, the only archaeological excavations ever to focus on Ankara have been museum excavations.

İstanbul in the Marmara Region has experienced a similar lack of continuous

archaeological research. While excavations occurred in 1988–1990, the city saw no long-term continuous archaeological projects until recently. The significance of this data is that İstanbul, leaving its cultural heritage aside, similar to Ankara, hosts a number of universities with archaeology departments, yet the majority of research conducted by these universities focuses outside the city.

On the other hand, after the mid-1980s, excavations in Aegean and Mediterranean coastal areas almost doubled, if not tripled, the maximum number of permits obtained in other provinces. In the period between 1979 and 2012, coastal provinces of the Aegean including İzmir, Muğla, and Aydın received the high numbers of excavation permits. İzmir, especially, competes with Antalya for the number of permits it obtained. İzmir also hosts two universities with archaeology departments: Ege University and Dokuz Eylül University. While archaeological work in most provinces is usually limited to 1–2 permits per year, over the last 34 years Antalya on the Mediterranean has continuously had the highest number of excavation permits, averaging minimum of 8 permits per year. Other provinces in the Mediterranean region, including Burdur, Isparta, Mersin, and Hatay, have also conducted multiple excavation projects consistently. In the Aegean region, Uşak is the only province where no excavations have occurred. The province by no means lacks ancient sites or remains and has seen many museum-based rescue excavations.

In 1999 archaeological work in southeastern Anatolia picked up again as a result of salvage excavation projects. From 2000 to 2012, the highest number of permits was on the coastal areas. The number of permits increases gradually in southeastern and eastern

Anatolia and, after 1995, Gaziantep is newly added to the list of provinces hosting active archaeological work thanks to the work at Zeugma and environs. In 1999, for instance, three of the four excavations in Gaziantep were located in the area of Zeugma and Apameia (Abadie-Reynal and Bulgan 2001; Abadie-Reynal and Bucak 2001; Hartmann, Ruger, Speidel and Ergeç 2001).

The number of archaeological permits in Diyarbakır started to increase in 2000, after a hiatus between 1992 and 2000, with the exception of one permitted work in 1997. Beginning in 2001, permitted research in southeastern Anatolia focused on Urfa, Diyarbakır, and Batman. In this area, Şırnak was the only province to see no excavation through the present, whereas Hakkari had an ongoing excavation projects for two years in 1998 and 1999.

As of today, according to KST reports and available Ministry documents, archaeological excavations with permission from the Cabinet of Ministers have yet to be conducted many areas of the Black Sea coast, including Rize, Trabzon, Ordu, and Düzce. Dense vegetation may be the reason for difficulties in recognizing new archaeological sites, especially in eastern sections of the coast; however, readily visible sites were documented in some parts of the region with the efforts of the TAY project (TAY Project, n.d.), as well as in surveys conducted in Sinop (Doonan et al. 1999) and Artvin (Köroğlu 1997, Aytekin 1999). Of the eastern Anatolian provinces, archaeological excavations in Bitlis and Hakkari have started only recently, and Tunceli, Bingöl, and Iğdır to have yet to see archaeological excavations at all.

Evaluation of the Geographic Distribution of Permitted Survey and Excavation Projects

Excavation work conducted in Turkey demonstrates similarities to the pattern derived from geographical distribution of surveys. This similarity confirms the continuous interest and disinterest in particular geographies in Turkey.

Excavation in the Aegean and Mediterranean Areas

The Aegean and Mediterranean coastal areas have been subject to continuous archaeological research. Antalya and İzmir are the leading centers for excavations, followed by Aydın and Muğla. This should come as no surprise for several reasons. As I demonstrate in Chapter 6, the archaeology departments of the first two universities of the Republic, İstanbul and Ankara Universities, initiated their earliest work in these areas. It is equally interesting that these first two universities have never conducted systematic and continuous research in either İstanbul or Ankara. Additionally, these provinces on the Aegean and the Mediterranean coasts have become major touristic destinations over the last fifty years. In the 1980s the World Bank even funded archaeological research in this area.

The Impact of Rescue Excavations in Archaeological Research

While archaeological works on these coastal areas have dominated archaeology in Turkey throughout its history, work in other areas has come close to competing with them. Between 1982 and 1985, Malatya in eastern Anatolia competed with these aforementioned locations because of excavations associated with the Atatürk Dam Salvage Project that continued throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. For that period, the

majority of sites excavated in Adıyaman, Urfa, Malatya, and Elazığ were all rescue excavation projects: Hayazhöyük (Roodenberg 1985); Tille (French 1985); Değirmentepe (Esin 1985); Pirot (Karaca 1985); İmamoğlu Höyük (Uzunoğlu 1985); Köşkerbaba (Bilgi 1985); İmikkuşağı (Sevin 1985); Hassek Höyük (Behm-Blancke 1985); and Çavi Tarlası (Wickede 1985). Once the Atatürk Dam Salvage Project was completed, archaeological work in Malatya, Adıyaman, and Elazığ never again reached the same 1990s levels of activity. The only long-term projects in the region that started before the rescue excavation projects, such as Arslantepe in Malatya, continue to this day.

Rescue excavations for dam projects continued to be major reasons for archaeological excavations initiated in southeastern Anatolia. The construction project of the Birecik and Ilısu-Karkamış Dams in the mid-1990s and 2000s resulted in Gaziantep obtaining eight permits after 1995. Likewise, Diyarbakır obtained up to eight permits between 2000 and 2005 in efforts to salvage the area's cultural heritage from the irreversible impact of massive dam projects. The only site in Malatya that was not a rescue excavation project was at Arslantepe. As one of the first archaeological investigations of the Republic, excavations at Arslantepe began in 1932; after many years of no activity, a new group of archaeologists initiated a project in 1961 that still continues today (Puglisi 1962, Palmieri 1981, Frangipane 1997).

To conclude, rescue excavations create hot spots of archaeological research in Turkey for brief periods of time in areas that have not been well studied before. Thus, despite best efforts, these intense periods of research are not sufficient to record if not fully recover cultural heritage. On the other hand, beginning with the Keban Dam Rescue

Project, the amount of archaeological work necessitated an international call for applications to conduct research which led to establishment of international group archaeologists including Turkish scholars who later initiated various other projects in Turkey. As a result, another archaeological practice tradition was established in Turkey.

The Impact of Long-Term Research Projects

The tradition of long-term excavation projects is not limited to Arslantepe, as several other excavation projects that began in the late 19th or early 20th century still continue today, despite occasional breaks. Such sites as Ephesus and Pergamon in İzmir, Miletus in Aydın, and Hattusha in Çorum, the examples of first generation archaeological projects initiated by foreign archaeologists. With the establishment of the Republic, long-term archaeological projects conducted by Turkish researchers were initiated, as well: Alacahöyük (Çorum) started in 1935; Karain Cave (Antalya) in 1942; and Side in 1947. With the exception of several years of breaks, all continue today. During this time period, other flagship projects, too, were initiated by Turkish archaeologists: Kültepe (Kayseri) in 1948 by Tahsin Özgüç; Karatepe-Aslantaş (Osmaniye) in 1947; Acemhöyük (Aksaray) in 1962 by Nimet Özgüç (Duruel 2011); and Kaunos (Muğla) by Baki Ögün in 1966 (Ögün and Işık 2001). These projects were pivotal in establishing field-work practices among the second and later generation archaeologists in Turkey, as discussed in later chapters.

In addition to continuous works at these sites, a group of projects started by foreign researchers in the 1950s and 1960s at previously partially excavated or researched

sites constitute a second group of long-term projects conducted by foreign researchers: Gordion (Ankara) in 1949; Letoon in 1950 and Iasos in 1960 in (Muğla); Hierapolis in 1957 (Denizli); Sardis (Manisa) in 1958; Aphrodisias in 1961 and Didyma in 1962 (Aydın); Xanthos in 1950 and Limyra in 1969 (Antalya). Some of these projects were accompanied by multiple survey projects. At Gordion, for instance, multiple diachronic survey projects have been conducted since 1987 (Kealhofer 2005; Tucker et al., 2014). Likewise the hinterland of Sardis has been subject to several synchronic and diachronic surveys (Roosevelt 2006; Luke and Roosevelt 2009). At Aphrodisias, a regional survey of prehistoric to present-day remains was conducted, although with a focal point on the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Ratté and De Staebler 2012).

Another group of archaeological excavations conducted by Turkish archaeologists has operated continuously since their inceptions: Klazomenai in 1970, Limantepe in 1979, and Panaztepe in 1985 (İzmir); İkiiztepe in 1974 (Samsun); Perge in 1979⁹ (Antalya); the Smintheion in 1981 (Çanakkale); the İznik Çini Fırınları in 1981 (Bursa); Magnesia ad Meandrum in 1984 (Aydın); Oylum Höyük in 1985 (Kilis); Daskyleion in 1988 (Balıkesir); Patara in 1989 (Antalya); Şarhöyük in 1989 (Eskişehir); Olympos in 1990 (Antalya); and Ortaköy in 1990 (Çorum).

In the 1980s, three major foreign research projects were also initiated: Kaman-Kalehöyük in Kırşehir (1986); Troia in Çanakkale (1987); and Sagalassos in Burdur (1989). In 2013, Troia had a change of status due to a transfer of the research permit to

⁹ Archaeological work started in Perge by Arif Müfid Mansel in 1946 had spotty work seasons until 1975, but continued without breaks after 1979.

Rüstem Aslan of Çanakkale University (ÇOMÜ 2013).¹⁰ In addition, although it had ended in the 1990s, archaeological work conducted in Çayönü in Diyarbakır (1964–1991), Van Kalesi/Tuşpa in Van (1960–1991), and Ahlat Mezarlığı in Bitlis (1967–1991) should be considered as long term projects.

The importance of these projects is that they became the training grounds for generations of archaeologists working in Turkey, especially when the participants of these projects were recruited among the undergraduates and graduates of the related academic institutions. Thus, although academic background is influential, the field projects in which they participated also played a role in defining archaeological practices. For instance, the Panaztepe Excavations have been a major training place for students of Hacettepe University (Ankara), while the Limantepe Excavations have been the same for those of Ankara University.

Evaluation of research permits also reveals that, archaeological work conducted in one region usually focus on a specific period of research. For Classical Archaeology, the historical geography of Muğla, İzmir, Aydın, Mersin, and Antalya is better known from ancient texts and thus classical excavations have focused there. Although some major classical sites such as Ephesus and Miletus are successors of Late Bronze Age centers, the focus of archaeological work has privileged Classical remains, resulting in limited data on earlier periods (Greaves 2011). While stratigraphy might be imposing on availability of the data, earlier occupation layers are rarely integrated in projects focus on classical periods.

¹⁰ Rüstem Aslan resigned from directorship of Troia excavations in 2014. Reyhan Körpe is the new director (Çanakkale Olay 2014)

Evaluation of the five provinces with the highest number of permits granted – İzmir, Antalya, Muğla, Aydın, and Mersin (Table 3) – demonstrates also that the focus of research in these areas is on Classical periods, although a few preclassical and prehistoric sites received excavation permits: with Neolithic research in İzmir at Limantepe and Panaztepe, in Antalya at the Karain, Öküzini, and Suluin Cave Excavations, and at Bademağacı and Hacımusalı, and in Mersin at Tarsus-Gözlükule and Yumuktepe Excavations; with Late Antique research in Antalya at Demre and in İzmir at St. Jean Castle; and with Seljuk-Beylik research at the Alanya and Alara Castles.

Table 5: Provinces with a higher number of research permits.

	Antalya	İzmir	Muğla	Aydın	Mersin
1	Seleukia	Bergama	Kaunos	Milet	Anemurium
2	Perge	Erythrai	Stratonikea	Aphrodisias	Meydancık Kalesi
3	Arykanda	Ephesos	Iasos	Didim	Seleukia Kalykadnos
4	Xanthos	Klazomenai	Knidos	Magnesia ad Meandrum	Tarsus-Donuktaş
5	Elmalı	Bayraklı	Labraunda	Nysa	Kelendris
6	Phaselis	Kyme	Datça/Reşadiye	Harpasa	Yumuktepe
7	Limyra	Notion	Halicarnassus	Priene	Tarsus-Cumhuriyet Meydanı
8	Side Tiyatrosu	Panaztepe Kazıları	Datça/Burgaz Kazıları	Orthosia	KiliseTepe
9	Karataş-Semayük	Klaros	Lagina	Kuşadası	Elaiussa Sebaste
10	Karain Kazıları	Phokaia	Hisaönü, Çubukçu Amfora	Tralleis	Nagidos
11	Alanya Kalesi	Ayasuluk-Prehistorik	Koranza	Panionion	Soli
12	Karain Kazıları	Metropolis	Datça/Emecik	Kadıkalesi	Gözlükule

13	Alanya Kalesi	Limantepe	Myndos	Tepecik Höyük	Olba
14	Elmalı-Bayındır Tümülüsleri	Bakla Tepe	Beçin Kalesi	Alabanda	Silifle Kalesi
15	Side Apollon Tapınağı -baştanberi	Ulucak Höyük	Pedasa	Çamlıdere	
16	Patara	Allianoi	Tlos		
17	Öküzini	Çeşme- Bağlararası	Euromos		
18	Aziz Nikolas- Demre	Ayasuluk-St. Jean Kilisesi	Letoon		
19	Church III on Gemiler Adası	Nif Dağı			
20	Bademağacı	Smyrna-Agora			
21	Antiocheia and Kragum	Yeşilova Höyük			
22	Hacımusalar	Teos			
23	Olympos				
24	Rhodiopolis				
25	Myra-Andriake				
26	Alara Kalesi				

On the other hand, the accumulation of specific period sites in one province is not limited to classical sites. For instance, in Van, the period of interest has been sites dating to the Urartian Period (e.g., Anzaf, Ayanis), of which it forms the cultural core. Likewise, Gordion in Ankara, the capital of the Phrygian kingdom, and Sardis in Manisa, the capital of the Lydian kingdom, have been the focus of continuous archaeological projects because of their ancient cultural significance. Archaeological work conducted in Çorum

in Central Anatolia focuses on the Hittite Period, with excavations at Hattusha/Boğazköy, Ortaköy (Şapinuva), and Alacahöyük. Excavations conducted at Hattusha, capital of the Hittite Kingdom, were initiated even before the establishment of the Republic, and have continued systematically without any breaks until today. Also, the ideological framework of the early Republic placed a special importance on the preclassical periods of Anatolia and the lineage of the Hittite Empire as the forefathers of Anatolia; therefore it is not a coincidence that the first generation of Turkish archaeologists like Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç initiated their research projects in the Bronze Age centers of Anatolia. In 1998, the maximum number of excavation projects reached four permits, however all of the archaeological work was on Hittite period sites, including Hattusha/Boğazköy (Seeher 2000), Şapinuva/Ortaköy (Süel and Süel 2000), Alacahöyük (Çınaroğlu and Genç 2000) and Yörüklü Höyük/Hüseyindede (Sipahi, Yıldırım and Ediz 2000).

Central Anatolia and the Mediterranean Region also have hot spots for research other than the Bronze Age and the Classical period. Two well-known Neolithic sites, Hacılar in Burdur and Çatalhöyük in Konya, were discovered in the mid-1950s, excavated by James Mellaart during the early 1960s, and gained worldwide attention due to their implications for Neolithic life ways. While Konya did not immediately become the center of Neolithic period excavations, Aksaray, which is in close proximity to major obsidian sources used in the Neolithic period, became one of the centers of Neolithic period research. Aksaray, formerly a district of Niğde until 1989, has continuously held Neolithic excavation permits beginning from 1979 if not earlier. It had a maximum of four permits in 1997, and continued in the range of 2–4 permits until 2012. Other

permitted projects focusing on Neolithic Period sites include Güvercinkayası (Gülçur and Endoğru 1999), Aşıklı Höyük (Esin and Harmankaya 1999), and Musular (Özbaşaran and Endoğru 1999) in 1997, and one permit focused on the excavation of Melik Mahmud Gazi Hangahı (Darphane) of 13th–15th century remains (Deniz 1999), although the archeological work of the latter continued for two years. The Neolithic period research conducted in Aksaray is also notable because all of the excavation projects that were conducted by Istanbul University, which pioneered prehistoric research in Turkey from its earlier years. Thus, as I investigate in further detail in Chapter 7, as one of the two prominent archaeology schools in Turkey, Istanbul University has been contributing formation of identities among archaeological practice in Turkey for many decades.

While continuous research in one area has the potential to highlight many unknown aspects of human history in these regions, this potential has been realized only scarcely because of research interest in particular topics. Thus, hundreds of years of work in one specific location do not necessarily contribute to our understanding of broader patterns of human history but only deepens information about one specific aspect or city. In the case of well-known archaeological sites and their territories, majority of the archaeological data is coming from excavation of a capital center, leaving other urban and rural settlements less known. This already established archaeological tradition, when combined with the current legal framework and tourism incentives that imposes archaeological work to be conducted at monumental sites once more leads to production of specific type of information on ancient past.

Priority Areas and Reserve Areas

Through its regulations the government determines areas of research using two officially defined areas: Priority Areas and Reserve Areas. While officially defined, no public information illustrates either the areas themselves or their geographical distributions. Reference to the areas, however, provides some indications of their nature and purpose.

Priority Areas

Priority areas for excavation refer to archaeological sites in which the Ministry promotes excavation and provides funds for it. Available data for selected priority areas is limited to a series of newspaper articles in 2012 and a single Ministry announcement in 2013.

In January 2012, Ministry announcements of priority areas for excavations made their way into media, and in 2013 a list of the “priority areas for excavation in 2014” were made available through official Ministry web pages. The lists of 2012 contain 28 sites with five in Muş, two each in Ağrı, Aydın, Bitlis, Hatay, and Van, and one each in Bartın, Bayburt, Denizli, Gümüşhane-Kelkit, Kocaeli-Körfez, Konya, Mardin, Muğla, Nevşehir-Ürgüp, Ordu, Şanlıurfa, Tokat, Trabzon, and Yozgat provinces (Arkeolojik Kazılarda Öncelikli Alanlar Belirlendi 2012). In 2013, a total of 24 sites were announced and, similar to previous years, priority areas included four sites in Muş, two each in Ağrı, Bartın, Bitlis, and Urfa, and one each in Adıyaman, Bayburt, Gümüşhane, Kocaeli, Konya, Mardin, Nevşehir, Sivas, Tokat, Trabzon, Van, and Yozgat (2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu'nun 35. Maddesine Göre Yapılacak Arkeolojik

Kazı Başvurularında Öncelikli Olarak Değerlendirmeye Alınacak Arkeolojik Alanlar Listesi 2013).

The list of priority areas includes three types of sites: sites that have ongoing archaeological work; sites excavated in the past; and new excavation projects. The selection of projects suggests that the Ministry is encouraging the initiation of archaeological work in areas where limited research took place in the past. Another, probably more significant, component in the selection of areas is tourism development. The importance of tourism in the decision-making process can be traced in relevant newspaper articles. For instance, excavations at Perre and its necropolis in Adıyaman began in 2001 and continued until 2009, when the project came to a halt due to financial problems. The complaints of the people of Örenli that tourists visiting Nemrut Dağı, the major tourism destination of Adıyaman, did not visit nearby Perre, had previously found their way into the news (Arslantaş 2011).

The ancient city of Satala in Gümüşhane was announced as a priority area thanks to the efforts of the governor of Gümüşhane; the city expected this to be the turning point for tourism and comparable only to Ephesus (Zeyrek 2012). Archaeological work in the ancient city of Sobesos in Nevşehir started in 2002 under the directorship of the Nevşehir Museum. The governor of Nevşehir, during his visit to the site, underlined the contributions of the project to the tourism economy (Sobesos'ta Kazılar Başladı 2010). Likewise, the Lower and Upper Anzaf castles in Van, Knidos in Muğla, and Sarissa in Sivas, which had continuous archaeological work in the past, were also added to the list.

The news articles suggest that other government officials and local governments have impacts on defining priority areas for excavation, mostly for integration of archaeological sites into cultural tourism networks. Although the list consists of excavations to be conducted in areas where limited archaeological activity took place in the past, better investigated provinces, too, can still make their way onto the lists.

Reserve Areas

In 1999, Law 4434 on the Approval of the Ratification of the European Convention on Preservation of Archaeological Heritage-Revised Version (Arkeolojik Mirasın Korunmasına İlişkin Avrupa Sözleşmesi- Gözden Geçirilmiş) introduces the concept of “reserve areas,” requiring the establishment of particular areas that will be reserved for study by future generations. Although the law has been in effect since 1999, a search to locate public information regarding such areas was unable to reveal any information on the matter.

Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023

In this section I analyze a document titled “Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023” to reveal how it aims to make more visible certain areas of cultural heritage. The document, prepared by the Ministry in 2007, identifies fifteen provinces selected to “revive cultural tourism and [in which] cultural branding efforts are to be initiated to increase credibility of Adiyaman, Amasya, Bursa, Edirne, Gaziantep, Hatay, Konya, Kütahya, Manisa, Nevşehir, Kars, Mardin, Sivas, Urfa, and Trabzon” (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2007). Furthermore, the plan designates eight thematic areas as tourism development zones. These include the following: 1) the Phrygian Cultural and Thermal Tourism

Development Zone; 2) the Troy Cultural and Thermal Tourism Development Zone; 3) the Aphrodisias Culture and Thermal Tourism Development Zone; 4) the Söğüt Culture Tourism Development Zone; 5) the Cappadocia Culture Tourism Development Zone; 5) the Terra Mere Ecotourism Development Zone; 6) the Hittite Culture Tourism Development Zone; 7) the Urartian Culture Development Zone; and 8) the GAP (Güneydoğu Anadolu-Southeastern Anatolia) Culture Development Zone. As their titles indicate, culture development zones entail integrating cultural heritage and tourism incentives. Five of the nine zones are named after past civilizations or cultures that roughly occupied their geographies: Phrygia, Troy, Aphrodisias, the Hittite heartland, and Urartu. It is equally interesting that the Lakes District, which hosts a number of excavated prehistoric sites including Bademağacı, Höyücek, Hacılar, Kuruçayı, Suberde, and Erbaba (Duru 2011), has not been considered as a culture development zone. This probably reflects perspectives that the touristic potential of culture is still tied to monumental architecture. These cultural corridors and initiatives suggest that governmental funding would also be provided for them, as the plan entails development of “sectoral grant mechanisms at local levels, depending on the level of sophistication and priority of tourism types” (2007: 10). While this step seems to be geared toward the private sector, funding provided to archaeological sites is likely to be increased to help reach the goals of the TST 2023 plan. An examination of available funding sources in the next section further investigates the distribution of such governmental funding.

Funding as an Indicator of Visibility

Funding provided by the Ministry is one of the determinants of preferred areas of research because many archaeological excavations and some surveys have been funded by the Ministry for many years. It is possible, thus, to define preferences over specific types or areas of research by analyzing the destinations of Ministry funding. For instance, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, the Ministry provides funding for excavations, whereas they do not do the same for surveys. Many survey projects in Turkey are conducted wholly with the personal funds of directors. The first conclusion of funding-based preferences, then, is that excavations are preferred over surveys.

Although the distribution of site-specific funding is unavailable for the time period of analysis, sporadic data gathered from various sources enable me to present the impact of funding on highlighted areas of research in Turkey. The first of these sources are graphs provided by the Ministry that show total amounts provided for archaeological research between 2002 and 2011 (Figure 13). As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5, following the establishment of the AKP government in 2002, the Ministries of Culture and Tourism were merged into a single entity. From then onwards, funding of archaeological work has been announced officially on Ministry web pages as well as in Minister press releases. Information from the official Ministry web page has not been updated since 2011, but a survey of published budget-related news enabled me to compile a small set of data that provides some insight on the distribution of Ministry funds in provinces such as Antalya, Muğla, and Çanakkale.

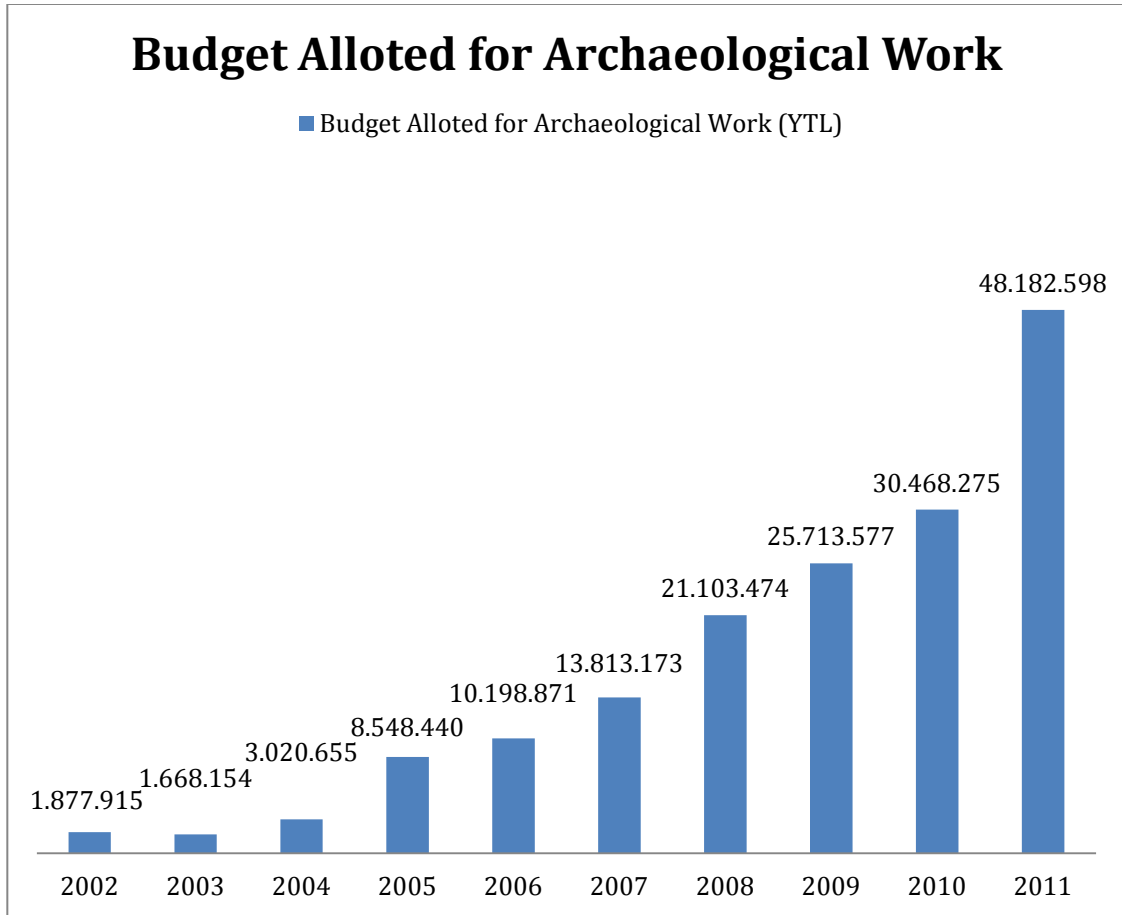


Figure 13: Funding provided for archaeological excavation and research between 2002 and 2011. (Prepared after 2002–2011 Yılları Arasında Kazı ve Araştırma Çalışmalarına Sağlanan Ödenekle (Grafik) 2013)

Alanya 2008

In 2008, the district of Alanya Special Districts Administration allotted 209,000 TL for three archaeological projects in the district. These projects include excavations at Alanya Castle, which received 15,000 TL, Alara Castle, receiving 50,000 TL, and the Leleg Settlements Surveys, receiving 5,000 TL (Özel İdare Müdürlüğü n.d.). Approximately 1% of these funds were used in the Alanya district of Antalya in 2008.

Aksaray 2008

The same year, in Aksaray province, the General Directorate provided a total of 200,000 TL to the Acemhöyük Excavations, 70,000 TL to the Aşıklı Höyük Excavations, and 50,000 TL to the Güvercinkayası excavations. DÖSİMM (Döner Sermaya İşletmesi Merkez Müdürlüğü- Central Directorate of Revolving Funds) also provided funds to these three excavation projects in the amounts of 40,000 TL for Acemhöyük, 10,000 TL for Aşıklı Höyük, and 10,000 TL for Güvercinkayası. In addition, DÖSİMM provided 2,500 TL to be used in survey research (Aksaray Valiliği 2008)

Eskişehir 2011

In 2011, 744,014 TL was allotted to culture-related works in Eskişehir. Of that funding, the Special Provincial Administration distributed 44,899 TL of the 150,000 TL allotted for archaeological research (Eskişehir Valiliği 2012). In 2011, 6% of the entire budget was allotted to all archaeological projects in Eskişehir. Also, 260 000 TL of 530 000 TL allotted by the Central Administration was also used in archaeological excavations (Eskişehir İl Özel İdaresi).

Aksaray 2011

In 2011, the budget Aksaray's Special Provincial Administration for archaeological excavations was 1,125,514 TL, and of that budget 469,596 TL was used (Aksaray Valiliği 2012). The total number constitutes 2.33% of the entire archaeological research budget of the year.

Çanakkale 2012

In 2012, the Ministry allotted 2,050,164 TL to Çanakkale to be used in archaeological research (Çanakkale Valiliği 2013), an increase from the 1,993,341 TL granted in 2011. These numbers for Çanakkale exclude the funding provided for museum construction and site management and maintenance at Troia, including 663,275 TL in 2010, 602,982 TL in 2009, and 204,602 TL in 2008 (Çanakkale İl Özel İdaresi 2009-2013).

In addition to cumulative amounts of funds provided through the Special Provincial Administration, site specific funding provided to excavations is available for some provinces.

In 2011, funding allotted to excavations conducted in Muğla was 1,035,000 TL (Table 6). The total amount of funding provided over the course of 2009, 2010, and 2011 was 3,007,000 TL (Muğla'da 13 Arkeolojik Kazı Aynı Anda Devam Ediyor 2011). Thus Muğla received 3.4% of the total funding provided to archaeological projects in 2011. Of eight surveys conducted in Muğla that same year, the least funding was provided to the Leleg Survey Project.

Table 6: Funding provided to archaeological projects in Muğla in 2011 (After Muğla'da 13 Arkeolojik Kazı Aynı Anda Devam Ediyor 2011).

Project	Amount of Allotted Funding
Menandros Monument	437 600 TL
Letoon	150 000 TL
Kaunos	100 000 TL
Burgaz	50 000 TL
Tlos	50 000 TL
Stratonikeia	50 000 TL

Myndos	40 000 TL
BeçinKalesi	40 000 TL
Lagina	40 000 TL
Pedasa	40 000 TL
Euromos	30 000 TL
Leleg Surveys	4 200 TL
Thera	3 200 TL

An official report of the Grand General Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi-TBMM) dated February 2012 notes that the Lagina Excavations received a total of 146,460 TL, and the total amount of funds spent for the excavations in Muğla was 4,142,160 TL in 2011, meaning the Lagina excavations received approximately 3% of governmental funding provided to the entire Muğla province (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2012). This amount of funding almost equals all funding used in archaeological research in Eskişehir in 2011. While Lagina has been occupied since the third millennium BC, the majority of the information provided on the site on the Ministry's official web page focuses on the classical period (Muğla Örenyerleri n.d.).

In 2012, the Kyzikos excavation in Balıkesir received 110,000 TL (Çelik 2012), and a new phase of excavations in Knidos in Muğla received 130,000 TL (Knidos Kazıları 5 Yıl sonra başladı n.d.). The same year the largest amount of funding was provided to excavations at Laodikeia in Denizli, Myra in Antalya, Beçin Castle and Stratonikeia in Muğla – all in the Aegean and Mediterranean Regions – and Eski Ahlat Şehri in Bitlis (Arkeolojide Sorun Var 2013).

In 2013, the Ministry allotted 3,163,381 TL to excavations to be conducted in Antalya, and of that funding, as a first installment, 8 of 14 projects received funding of 1,080,000 TL (Table 7) (Arkeoloji Ödeneği Taksit Taksit 2013).

Table 7: Distribution of Ministry funding to archaeological projects in 2013. (Prepared after Arkeoloji Ödeneği Taksit Taksit 2013).

Project	Amount of Allotted Funding
Perge	300 000 TL
Aspendos	120 000 TL
Church of S. Nikolas in Demre	90 000 TL
Patara	150 000 TL
Side	120 000 TL
Olympos	120 000 TL
Myra-Andriake	100 000 TL
Suluin Cave	80 000 TL

According to the same source, the amount of funding provided is determined also by academic ranking, but not all academicians of the same rank get the same amount of funding. For instance, among excavation directors with the title of professor, the highest funding was given to the director of Patara, while the directors of projects in Side, Olympos, Myra-Andriake, and Suluin Cave all received smaller amounts, despite the equality of their ranks (Arkeoloji Ödeneği Taksit Taksit 2013). This information reveals something about the criteria for funding: academic hierarchy is only one of the criteria that affects the amount of funding provided to archaeological projects.

As of November 2013, the total budget allotted to archaeological work was 31 million TL (Kazı ve Araştırmalara 31 Milyon TL, 2013). According to these numbers, Antalya received 10% of the entire budget provided for archaeological research in Turkey in 2013. While site-specific funding is unavailable for 2013, a survey of newspaper articles showed that the Dara Excavations in Mardin received 50,000 TL for the 2013 Excavation Season (Yavuz 2013). Although, in theory, foreign archaeological projects receive no funding from the Ministry, in the cases of restoration projects, the Ministry does provide funding. A notable example is the 1.7 million TL allotted to the Hierapolis Excavations in Denizli, which have been directed by a researcher from Italy. In Hierapolis, after the initial conversations about restoration of the theater, Minister Günay allotted 1.7 million TL for the restoration as reported by the official web page of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Denizli-Bakan Günay ve Bakan Kavaf Denizli'de n.d.).

However, allotted funding for specific projects was transferred to other sites in certain cases. A notable example is the transfer of 210,000 TL to the Laodikea Excavations in Denizli from the funding of work at Tripolis in Buldan, Tabea in Kale, and Beycesultan in Çivril, all also in Denizli (Boyacı 2009). The Laodikea excavations had been making their way into archaeology-related news often because of their 12-month excavation season, encouraged and appreciated by the Ministry. On the transfer of the funds, the former mayor of Kale from the Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi; MHP) declared that the district has been punished by the AKP government since 2009, after local elections in which MHP received 63% of the vote.

The reallocation of the Tabea Excavations funding, according to him, was part of this punishment (Denizli Haber 2013).

Involvement of government members also plays a role in the allocation and transfer of funds. The restoration and work at Çarmelik Kervansarayı in Urfa had started in 2010 as a museum excavation project. In 2012, funding of 700,000 TL was provided by the Ministry of Development under “Tourism Infrastructure Support Projects” in addition to funding coming from the Urfa Provinces Administration. The government officials effective in providing the transfer of funds to Urfa were Ministers Faruk Çelik and Ertuğrul Günay, as well as other cabinet members and the governor of Şanlıurfa (Çarmelik Kervansarayı’nda Kazı Çalışmaları 2013).

Furthermore, analysis of funding in relation to the cultural corridors defined in the Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 (TST-2023) reveals that sectoral grant mechanisms will be introduced based on priority of tourism types, including cultural tourism (TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2007). In the future, then, it will be possible to increase the number of research permits in these selected zones as well as the governmental funding they receive.

Evaluation of Funding

The allocation and distribution of available government funding can be used as an indicator of areas of archaeology in Turkey the government aims to highlight. As I demonstrate in Chapter 7, funding also plays a critical role in the formation of identities, as a lack of funding is one of the most cited problems in KST publications, and this criticism has a dual meaning. Currently, no official documents explain why specific

research is funded or how the amounts of funding are decided. Even partial data provides useful, however, for understanding fields of visibility in the archaeology in Turkey.

For the last three and half decades of archaeological work, brief and partial information is available only for the period after 2002 through various and unsystematically published sources. Information on prior periods is almost completely unavailable. Based on available data, then, the AKP government provided increasing funding to archaeological excavations over the last ten years. The criteria for recipient selection and funding amounts remain dimly lighted, however.

For the period after 2007, information coming from newspaper articles implies that a researcher with a professor title is likely to get more funding than academics at lower academic status. However, the same news implies that among professors, there are other criteria that define the amount of funding available to research. This being underlined, the integration of archaeological sites into the tourism economy is a major factor in the allocation of funding and the selection of priority areas. The involvement of local and central government members in requests and the determination of funding underlines that even if researchers themselves refrain from politics, archaeological practice itself has been subject to local and central governmental politics and policies. The budgets and the distribution of permits in provinces such as Antalya, İzmir, Muğla, Mersin, and Aydın also suggest that Classical Archaeology projects receive the majority of funding provided by the Ministry. Furthermore, as the Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 document implies, the Ministry defines cultural routes and regions in which governmental funds would be used to increase the visibility of these regions.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, World Heritage Sites, and Nominations

Another set of information useful to illustrate the identification of preferred areas of cultural heritage comes from an analysis of archaeological sites nominated and inscribed to the United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s World Heritage Site list (WHS). UNESCO was established after World War II in 1945, with the belief that creating common cultural and educational values among various countries would prevent future wars among nations (UNESCO- The Organization's History, n.d.). The preservation of cultural and natural heritage is one of the main focuses of the organization and, in accordance with that aim, the Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, also known as the World Heritage Convention, was established in 1972 (Meskell 2014.). Convention encourages States Parties to nominate sites within their territory for World Heritage List-WHL (UNESCO The World Heritage Convention n.d.). Accordingly, the first 12 sites were inscribed to this list in 1978 (UNESCO World Heritage Center 2008:8). As of August 2014, 1007 properties around the world have been inscribed in the World Heritage List (UNESCO World Heritage Centre - World Heritage List or UNESCO 2014a). Although getting onto the UNESCO World Heritage Site list is believed to have positive effects, the list has been criticized for its Eurocentric approach. Regardless of the negative criticism surrounding the WHS, UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination and inscription has been taken seriously by the Turkish government (governing bodies regardless of their political background/) after 2008.

Turkey, as a member of UNESCO, ratified the convention in 1983 (Turkey-UNESCO World Heritage Sites n.d.) and immediately began the work of inscribing the Historic Areas of İstanbul, the Great Mosque and Hospital of Divriği, and the Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia in 1985. As of 2014, a total of 13 sites in Turkey have been inscribed to the list, and of those inscribed, 11 are inscribed under cultural heritage, while the remaining two are inscribed under mixed (nature-culture) heritage (Turkey-UNESCO World Heritage Center, n.d.). The most recently inscribed sites in Turkey are the ancient city of Pergamon and its multi-layered cultural landscape (İzmir), and the city of Bursa and Cumalıkızık: The Birth of the Ottoman State, both inscribed in 2014 (Turkey- UNESCO World Heritage Centre or UNESCO n.d.).

The analysis of the sites inscribed to the tentative WHS list reveals that Turkey went through several phases in its nomination strategies since the inscription of the first sites in 1985. In the period between 1983 and 1989, Turkey became a member of the World Heritage Committee for the first time. In this period, several sites were inscribed, including the Bronze Age Hittite Capital of Hattusha in Çorum (1986), the Seleucid Tumulus of Nemrut in Adıyaman (1987), and the Lycian sites of Xanthos-Letoon in Antalya, and the Classical site of Hierapolis-Pamukkale and its natural surroundings in Denizli (1988).

Following this period, a hiatus of around four years – between 1989 and 1993 – preceded additional nominations. In 1994, the city of Safranbolu in the province of Karabük became a WHS site (City of Safranbolu- UNESCO World Heritage Center n.d.), and the classical site of Ephesus in İzmir and prehistoric site of the Karain Cave in

Antalya were added to the tentative list. As mentioned in Chapter 3, between 1987-1993, an ICOMOS study revealed that the majority of sites inscribed on the list were in Europe, and these were dominated by “historic towns and religious monuments, Christianity, historical periods and ‘elitist’ architecture (in relation to vernacular) over “living cultures, and especially ‘traditional cultures’ (UNESCO World Heritage Center- Global Strategy, n.d.). To rectify this overrepresentation, in 1994, the World Heritage Committee established a document titled “Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List” that aims to represent the culture and natural heritage of the world representatively (UNESCO World Heritage Center- Global Strategy, n.d.). It might be possible to attribute the inscription of the Ottoman City of Safranbolu to the WHS list in 1994 to the Global Strategy, as public and domestic architecture of Safranbolu are considered influential in Ottoman urban planning in the 17th century (City of Safranbolu - UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.).

A second hiatus between 1995 and 1999 was marked only by the inscription of the archaeological site of Troy to the WHL in 1998. In 2000, a remarkable 14 sites were added to the tentative list, yet 9 years of inactivity followed thereafter. In 2009 a more regular pattern emerged, with Turkey making varying numbers of site nominations to the tentative list in alternating years: 4 sites in 2009, 3 sites in 2011, 12 sites in 2012, 4 sites in 2013, and 13 sites in 2014 (Figure 14).

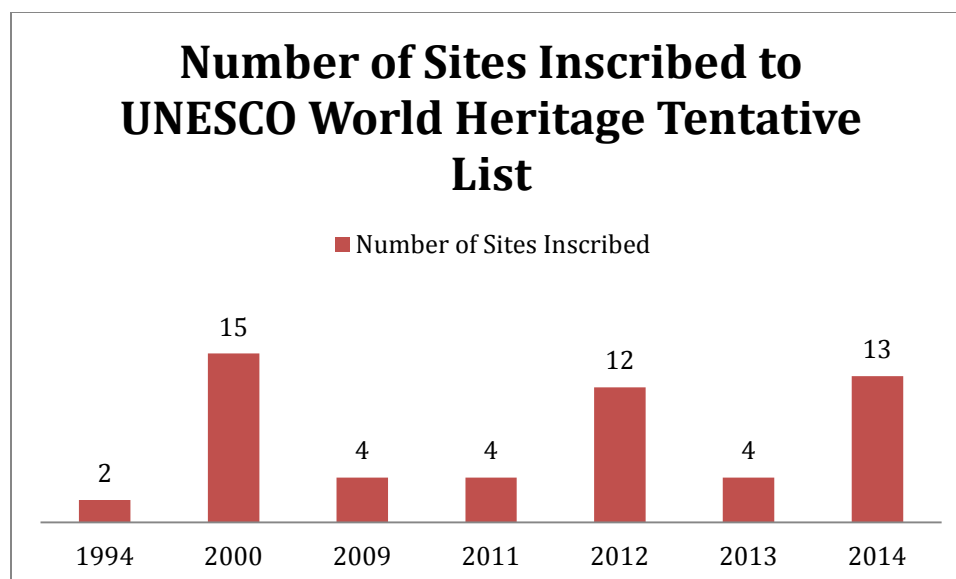


Figure 14: Number of sites Turkey inscribed to the World Heritage List. Prepared after Turkey- UNESCO World Heritage Center 2014.

In 2013, Turkey became a member of the World Heritage Committee for a second time, with this term running until 2017. Becoming a member of World Heritage Committee is a clearly political move aimed toward achieving state goals and useful for a variety of reasons. The Committee consists of 21 state parties, serves for four-year terms, and is responsible for implementing Convention mandates to “decide on new nominations to the World Heritage List, oversee monitoring and managing of sites already on the list and consider the need for special measures regarding World Heritage in Danger” (Meskell et al., 2014: 2). Thus, a committee member, in addition to playing a role in the inscription of sites to WHL or World Heritage in Danger (WHD), can take advantage of gaining not only prestige but also, getting additional funding as well the benefit of “heightened public awareness, tourism and economic development” (Meskell et al. 2014: 3).

While in the past, members of this committee consisted of experts in archaeology and environment, recently, membership consists of ambassadors and politicians assigned by state parties (Meskell et al, 2014). The report of the Norwegian Delegation (2010) points out the increasing politicization of the World Heritage Programme as early as 10–15 years ago. It is no coincidence that Turkey is one of the state parties that relocates itself in UNESCO by following the trends of politicization at this intergovernmental organization. Based on findings of the Norwegian Delegation, Turkey was actually following this trend at UNESCO later rather than pioneering it.

In the international arena, for instance, according to the views of delegates participating in the Brazilian session of the WHS Committee in 2010, “Brazil needed to secure the inscription of São Francisco Square in São Cristóvão on the List because of the upcoming national elections” (Meskell et al., 2014: 4). As I demonstrate earlier in this chapter, nominations to WHL also play a role in national elections in Turkey, not only for the central government but also for other political parties and local governments. Thus, the emphasis that the AKP government puts on World Heritage Sites for political benefits reveals not only Turkey’s changing policies in the international arena but also how yet another aspect of culture has become a commodity of internal politics.

Inscription on the tentative list demonstrates sporadic efforts rather than systematic work until 2009. In 2009, however, WHS inscriptions begin to play an important part of the cultural and economic policies of the state, particularly in the AKP government. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, around the same time, the government’s repatriation efforts increase. Both events are closely related to the

appointment of Ertuğrul Günay as Minister at the end of 2007 and suggest once more Günay's personal interest in matters that shaped government policies at the time. For the purposes of this chapter, I will now focus on the geographical distribution of these sites to reveal highlighted areas.

Similar to the high density of excavation permits in coastal areas, the majority of the WHS sites are currently located in the coastal areas the Marmara Region, Aegean, and southwestern Anatolia, followed by sites in Central Anatolia. The only exceptions to this pattern include Nemrut Dağ in Adıyaman in southeastern Anatolia, where the tumulus of “the mausoleum of Antiochus I (69–34 B.C.), who reigned over Commagene” is located (Nemrut Dağ-UNESCO World Heritage Center, n.d.), and the Ottoman town of Safranbolu in the northwestern Black Sea Region. As Figure 15 demonstrates, the northeastern Black Sea Region as well as southeastern and eastern Anatolia contains no sites inscribed on the WHL. This trend is, again, similar to the distribution of excavation and survey permits discussed in previous sections of this chapter.

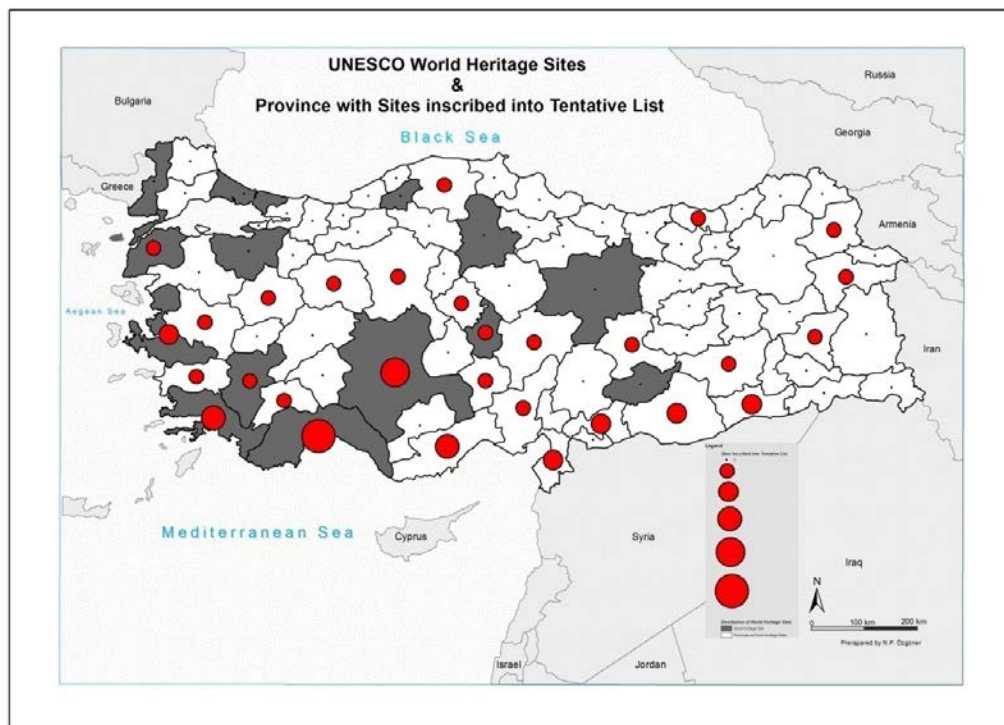


Figure 15: Distribution of World Heritage Sites and Provinces with sites inscribed into the Tentative World Heritage List. (Prepared after <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr>, n.d.)

The distribution of tentative-list sites is more telling than the actual WHS list because it reveals areas selected by the state for inscription. Following trends similar to the distribution of excavation permits, the majority of inscriptions are in the coastal areas of the country. Antalya, probably the most touristic destination in Turkey, leads the list with seven sites inscribed to the tentative list, followed by four inscriptions in Konya, and three inscriptions each in Muğla and Mersin. Southeastern Anatolia also includes several sites inscribed to the list. However, the eastern tip of southeastern Anatolia, the majority of eastern Anatolia, and the majority of the Black Sea region have no sites inscribed to tentative list.

In order to nominate an archaeological area to the list, one needs to know the content and nature of archaeological remains, because one can preserve only those places that one is aware of. For instance, Uşak, in the central part of the Aegean region, is a notable case for this matter. As demonstrated elsewhere in this chapter, in the last 36 years, not one systematic archaeological research or inventory project has focused on the existing cultural heritage of the province. Uşak lies on the periphery of the coastal areas and has limited potential for integration into existing touristic-cultural corridors because of its distance from major airports; yet no sites of cultural importance are promoted, leaving the province with no nomination to the tentative list.

Lack of research does not always correspond to lack of WHS inscriptions, however. As I demonstrated above, archaeology in southeastern and eastern Anatolia has been neglected for many years because of political instability, security concerns, and other political issues relating to state policies concerning Armenian and Kurdish populations. Systematic excavations take place mostly in the form of rescue excavations, and archaeological sites and landscapes are flooded following the completion of archaeological work. Regarding this matter, the medieval site of Hasankeyf is a key site to understand the political dynamics of WHS tentative-list inscription. The site, located on the Tigris River in the Batman province of southeastern Anatolia, is under threat of construction of the Ilisu Dam (Bolz 2009). Although Hasankeyf is one of the few sites in the world that can be nominated to the WHS tentative list by using the ten essential criteria for the WHS nomination, the site has still not been nominated. More importantly, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, members of the current government consider attempts for

in-situ preservation of the site as attempts to divide the country (referring to the Kurdish Issue).

Evaluation

This chapter aimed to answer whether preferred areas of research exist in the archaeology in Turkey and to identify the reasons why hot spots of research emerge. The data presented in this chapter is comprehensive yet partial; however, it is informative enough to highlight such issues of preferred areas. These preferred areas did not emerge all at once in 1979, but there has been a continuation of a pattern of archaeological work with roots in the Late Ottoman and early Republican Period. Although hot spots such as Classical sites on the coast continue to be the focus of research, after 2006 the distribution of survey research permits and the selection of the few priority areas demonstrate that archaeologists and the Ministry have been trying to broaden their horizons (although for both the governed and the governor, the motivations for initiating research in areas where little previous work took place are different).

Comparing the number of permits in one province to another over the last 34 years demonstrates that there has been an unequal interest in archaeological excavations in all parts of the country. The Aegean and Mediterranean areas consistently remain intensively excavated. The number of permits in the Aegean or southeastern Anatolia reaches high numbers for totally different reasons. On the Mediterranean and the Aegean coasts, there has been a continuity of archaeological work without significant interruption. These geographical areas have close ties to the Classical Archaeology tradition which arose from the interest in a Greek and Roman past by the European and

American public and from scholars of the 18th century onwards (if not earlier). Also, a majority of excavation permits on the Aegean and Mediterranean are given to Classical Archaeology projects, although a number of other periods are represented in a few excavations.

Equally important are the archaeological excavations that have continued for more than several decades which are likely to create “ecoles,” traditions of archaeological practice developing as the training grounds of at least two to three generations of Turkish and foreign archaeologists. Some sites with Bronze Age and Iron Age precursors combined with an interest in the pre-Classical periods of Anatolia also had impacts on the establishment of an archaeological tradition in the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal and inland areas.

The incorporation of archaeological sites into tourism has always been a primary motive of the state, even in the early years of the Republic. In the 1980s, however, the establishment of the tourism industry as a means of economic development increased interest in ancient sites with preserved stone architecture, which can reach monumental sizes with buildings such as theaters, odeons, markets, and forum areas visible even to untrained eyes. Tourism investments at this time had direct impacts on archaeological practice, leading to the initiation of new excavation, restoration, and cleaning projects that were later criticized by specialists. A notable example is the ancient city of Phaselis in Antalya, which saw its first round of excavations conducted with special funding from the World Bank between 1981 and 1985 (Akyol and Kadioğlu 2013) to support tourism activities.

Responses toward the selection of priority areas of research in 2012 and 2013 also demonstrate that tourism remains a key component in the selection of areas for excavation. One exception in the Aegean area is the rescue project at Allianoi, which was flooded under the Torbalı Dam. Furthermore, cultural corridors defined in the Tourism Strategy for Turkey 2023 document imply that these selected regions will see increased numbers of research permits as well as increased governmental funding, thus becoming newly highlighted areas.

Of all datasets analyzed in this chapter, that concerning funding is the most limited; however, it demonstrates that significant parts of the budget went to Antalya in 2013 and to Muğla in 2011. If this is a repeating pattern, the high number of excavation projects in the area in Classical Archaeology suggests that archaeology conducted on the coastal areas with classical (and its equivalent period) sites are and have been a major focus of archaeological practice in Turkey. Finally, because these coastal areas are also better developed in terms of accessibility – with infrastructural investments from the government – and other services, they become ideal spots for conducting fieldwork.

On the other hand, archaeological research in eastern and southern Anatolia was neglected for long periods of time and reached high numbers of research only with salvage excavations resulting from massive development projects beginning from 1960s. The excavations conducted in Malatya in eastern Anatolia, with the exception of the Arslantepe Excavations, result entirely from the “Lower Euphrates Dam Project,” which necessitated a series of rescue excavations. In southeastern Anatolia, beginning from 2000, the number of permits in Diyarbakır also increased. At this time, the reason was

embedded again in the need to conduct salvage work associated with the Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilisu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Thus, the pattern of archaeological work in southeastern and eastern Anatolia is related to the initiation of multiple scale projects at the time of construction projects.

This limited work in eastern and southeastern Anatolia as well as Black Sea areas is not devoid of politics. Over the years, southeastern and eastern Anatolia went through political instabilities in regards to the Kurdish separatist movement. Political instability over the last three decades and dense vegetation should not be considered the only reasons for lack of research in these areas. Eastern and southeastern Anatolia and the Black Sea region have been contested geographies since the early days of the Turkish Republic and even previously in Ottoman times. The state has been aware that digging the past in these regions has potential to become a tool for others as well.

Selected priority areas for excavations in 2012 and 2013 also demonstrate the increasing importance of integrating archaeological sites with cultural tourism initiatives compared to previous decades. Efforts to initiate projects in provinces such as Muş, however, demonstrate that the Ministry is also aware of the emphasis of archaeological work that takes place in coastal areas. In addition, political instability as well as the socio-politic background of southeast and eastern Anatolia as well as the Black Sea region play a role in lack of research because the state has yet to make peace with its past.

The geographical distribution of UNESCO World Heritage Sites also points to similar trends in the highlighted and obscured geographies of tentative list nominations. On the Aegean and Mediterranean, World Heritage Sites overlap with the highest number

of excavation permits. The majority of the Black Sea region, eastern Anatolia, or eastern sections of southeastern Anatolia are devoid not only of WHS sites, but also of any tentative list inscriptions. The Armenian town of Ani in the Kars province of eastern Anatolia is one of the few exceptions to this case (Luke 2013).

In conjunction with the discussion of the role assigned to cultural heritage in international policies of Turkey in the previous chapter, Turkey becoming a member at the WHS committee, and its selection of priority areas for excavation suggests that, in the coming years, Turkey will pursue more WHS nominations. In light of global trends in the politicization of UNESCO, it is apparent that Turkey is following the footsteps of other state parties.

Increasing repatriation efforts as well as the active pursuit of WHS nominations also underlines the impact of individuals on obscured and highlighted areas in the governance of archaeology and cultural practice in Turkey. For instance, especially during the AKP government, one name comes forward more often than others: Ertuğrul Günay, the Minister of Culture and Tourism from 2007 to 2013. This also suggests that we should consider the agency as part of the analytics of government in structuring a working model. In the next chapter, I focus not only on governmental institutions, but also on individuals who shape the practice through calculated means and measures in their archaeological or cultural heritage practices for the goals of the state.

CHAPTER 6

GOVERNMENT as a RATIONAL and THOUGHTFUL ACTIVITY

The third aspect of the analytics of government first considers how production of knowledge arises from governance itself, recognizing that the same knowledge shapes the activities of government (Dean 2010). The reflection of this principle in archaeology is that our practice results in the production of archaeological information shaped by the practice itself and its governance through institutions and individuals.

As noted elsewhere in the dissertation, archaeology in Turkey is entirely controlled by governmental institutions. The bureaucratic nature of these institutions and their traditions of functioning establish a form an institutional memory that shapes the governance of the practice. An analysis of the governing institutions and their goals or reactions to specific cases, then, is necessary to assess their impact on the production of archaeological knowledge. Dean notes four major questions on the matter:

“What forms of thought, knowledge, expertise, strategies, means of calculation or rationality are employed in practices of governing? How does thought seek to transform these practices? How do these practices of governing give rise to specific forms of truth? How does thought seek to render particular issues, domains and problems governable?” (Dean 2010:43)

As the researcher, how do I answer these questions within the framework of my dissertation? First, I acknowledge that a historical analysis of the institutional structures

of the Ministry and General Directorate will provide information about the production of knowledge that informs the government and feeds back into its governance of archaeological practice. In this section, I analyze graphs and documents provided and distributed by the Ministry to reveal some of its thoughts and rationales. Second, I hypothesize that such thoughts and rationales can be identified through governmental reactions to the practice itself in conflicting situations, such as the management of archaeological heritage when the heritage itself becomes a “stakeholder” in particular government action, such as development projects. As a follow up, I trace governmental attitudes towards UNESCO and its World Heritage Sites with a special focus on Istanbul. Finally, I investigate the a single document, the so-called *Theater Letter*, as an example of governing practices that provide information about the government’s objectives for archaeology. Discussion of the *Theatre Letter* leads to a comprehensive analysis of AST/KST reports in the following Chapter 7.

The Design of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as a Governing Body

Acknowledging government as a rational activity entails investigating modifications in governmental institutions and the routines, rituals, and procedures these institutions control (Dean 2010). In Chapter 3, analysis of legal structures revealed that routines, rituals, and procedures surrounding the permit application process have remained relatively unchanged since the 1970s, whereas the government’s will to apply the legal framework strictly increased in order to reach certain goals. As these goals became clear for various successive governments, the governing institution itself was modified, namely the current Ministry of Culture and Tourism that manages the practices

of archaeology and cultural heritage.

Despite the emphasis given to history, archaeology, and the ancient cultures of Anatolia from the early years of the establishment of the Republic, the Ministry of Culture has existed as an individual ministry for less than 20 years. Prior to its establishment, all matters related to archaeology were first associated with the Ministry of Education (established in 1933) and later shifted to the Ministries of Culture and then Culture and Education, finally falling under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003. These shifting identities are closely associated with political and economic developments of the past century and provide evidence of the shifting value of archaeology, from educational to economic, in association with cultural tourism.

The History of the Current Ministry of Culture and Tourism

The Ministry of Culture

Between 1933 and 1971, a governmental unit titled the Ministry of Culture did not exist. Archaeological activities and museums were regulated by a General Directorate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. In 1971, a Ministry of Culture was established for the first time; however, this short-lived Ministry was converted to an “Undersecretariat” (Müsteşarlık) under the Prime Ministry in 1972 (Genel Müdürlüğün Kuruluş ve Tarihçesi n.d.). Between 1974 and 1977, the Ministry of Culture again existed as a single unit, followed by its replacement with a Ministry of Education and Culture for several months in 1977. Before the end of 1977, the Ministry of Culture was established again and functioned for four years until 1982. This four-year period was the first time in

which the Ministry of Culture, as a single entity, oversaw archaeology and cultural heritage in Turkey. Thereafter, a Ministry of Culture and Tourism replaced it between 1982 and 1989, when the Ministry of Culture was reestablished.

Parallel to these changes, a ministry overseeing tourism activities was established first in 1957, under the Ministry of the Press and Tourism, operating until 1963. In July 1963, the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion was established and stayed in effect until 1981. As noted above, between 1982 and 1989, Tourism and Culture were united under a single Ministry until their separation again in 1989, only to be reunited once more in 2003. Since 2003, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has been the official governmental institution in charge of regulating archaeological practice and cultural heritage management in Turkey.

Table 8: The changing designations of the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums over time. Prepared after <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFF20F60137B44E34F5EBCEBCC3A6966F99> (Last accessed on 24/03/2014)

Years	Ministry Designation	General Directorate Designation
1933-1946	Ministry of Education/ (Maarif Vekâleti)	Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1946-1955	Ministry of Education/ (Eğitim Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1965-1971	Ministry of Education/ (Eğitim Bakanlığı)	Undersecretariat of Cultural Affairs
1971	Ministry of Culture/ (Kültür Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1972	Undersecretariat of Culture/	General Directorate of Antiquities

	(Kültür Müsteşarlığı-Prime Ministry)	and Museums
1974-1977	Ministry of Culture/ (Kültür Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1977	Ministry of Culture and Education/ (Kültür ve Eğitim Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1977-1982	Ministry of Culture/ (Kültür Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1982-1989	Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums
1989-2003	Ministry of Culture/ (Kültür Bakanlığı)	A) General Directorate of Preservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage B) General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.
2003-Present	Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı)	General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums

The General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums

From the early years of the Republic, a core governmental unit called the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums had been in charge of the management of archaeological sites and granting permissions for all types of scientific archaeological research in Turkey. Before the Ministry of Education, a unit in charge of higher education (Tedrisat-ı Aliye) was responsible for museums. In 1922, a directorate named “Antiquities and Museums” (Asar-ı Atika ve Müzeler) was put in charge. This core unit was renamed several times as its affiliation with various government branches changed; it

is now named the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü). This General Directorate had functioned under various names within different ministries until it became part of the recently established Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003 (for detailed information on these shifts, see Table 1). In a study of the governance of archaeological practice in Turkey, it is important, therefore, to understand this core unit, its history, role, and responsibilities and under which ministries it functioned. The General Directorate today is one of 16 sub-branches of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The General Director position is an administrative post appointed by the Minister of Culture and Tourism; eligibility for this position requires neither previous training nor a background in the management of cultural or archaeological heritage.

Four main branches of the General Directorate oversee the management of all aspects of cultural heritage. For this research, the Headquarters (Central Organization) located in Ankara is of primary interest. This central branch has sub-branches responsible for the supervision of various things: museums, councils for the determination of protection zones, the restoration of monuments, the designation and planning of cultural heritage zones, the registry of monuments of cultural importance, the management of survey and excavation permits, expropriations for cultural heritage preservation, and strategic planning and management (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism; Organization Schema n.d., the Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums; Organization Schema n.d., the Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums; Head-Quarters Organization Schema, n.d.).

Because the analytics of government focus on the conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist, and change (Dean 2010), I explore the conditions in which these institutions form. Changes in institutional connections and names are not simple changes but reflect the conditions of their times. Thus, it is possible to talk about an institutional memory that reflects the conditions of the time the institute was established through its legal framework, carried out by bureaucrats and subject to the goals and objectives of consecutive governing bodies. For instance, the government representative system was inherited from Ottoman archaeological practice to control foreign archaeological campaigns and their efforts to export antiquities from Ottoman lands (Pulhan 2009). In the early Republic, government representatives were also students of archaeology, and their responsibilities included learning new methods from foreign practitioners. Representatives continued to be the eyes and ears of the government in later years. Although the impact of representatives on archaeological work is rarely recorded, it is a known circumstance. For instance, the series of events which led to the revoking of the permit of James Mellaart, legendary director of Çatalhöyük excavations, was related to the surfacing of Hacilar pottery on the illegal antiquities market and the reaction to it of a government representative (Balter 2005).

Forms and Graphics Published by the Ministry

Published forms and graphs represent rationales and thoughts of governments. Graphs available from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are few, but their existence

provides clues about the government's goals and objectives for archaeology and cultural heritage and areas desired to be highlighted.

Governmental Funding

The first graph I investigate is that for funding provided to excavation and survey projects between 2002 and 2011 (Figure 16). According to this graph, which has not been updated as of 27 December 2014, funding provided from 2002 to 2011 increased 25 times. With the exception of a decrease in funding in 2003, the budget constant increased, with more than 33% increases in 2005, 2008, and 2010.

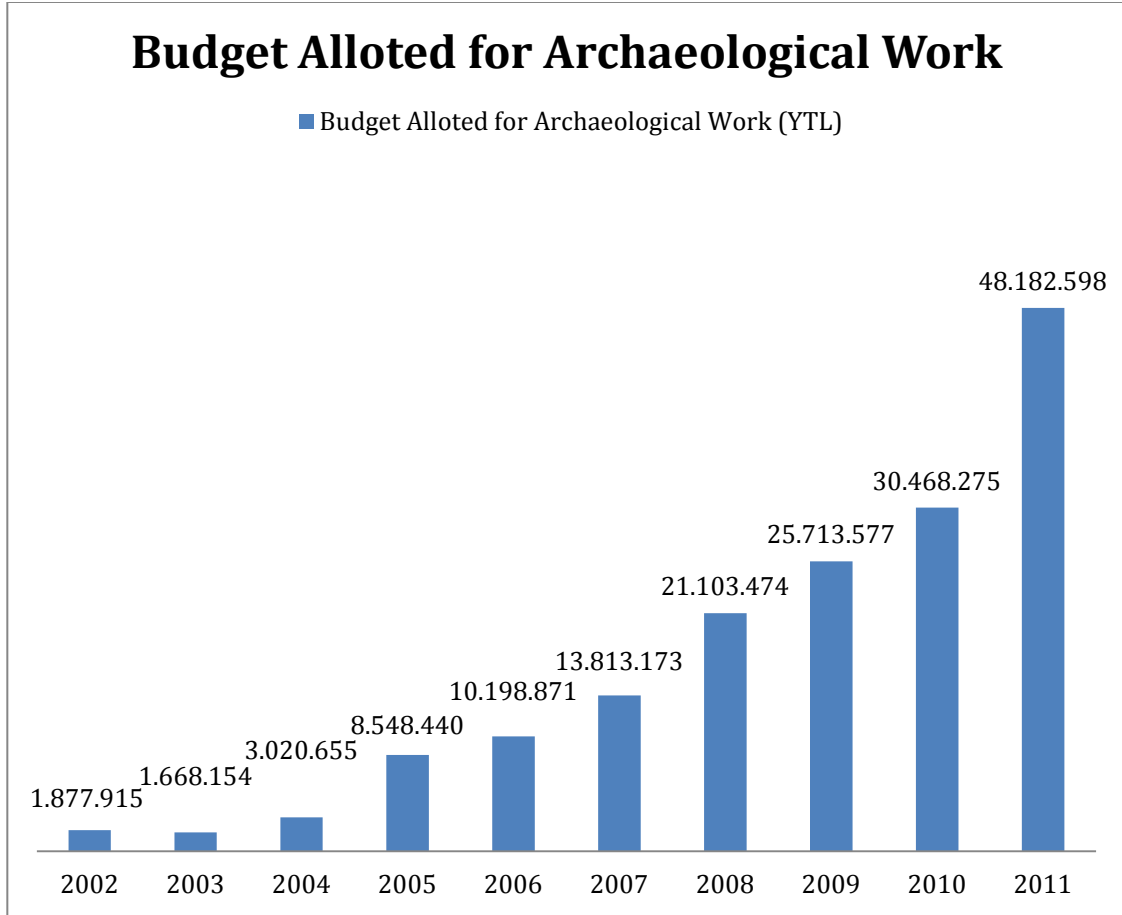


Figure 16: Graph showing governmental funding given to survey and excavation projects between 2002 and 2011. (2002-2011 Yılları Arasında Kazı ve Araştırma Çalışmalarına Sağlanan Ödenekle (Grafik), 2013)

My official application to the Ministry for records on project-specific funding since 1980 resulted in minor additions to the publicly available data and go no earlier than 2000. As the graph demonstrates, the funding policies of 2002 and 2003 are similar; in fact, the funding provided for archaeological research in 2003 decreased by about 200,000 TL. The first significant increase in governmental funds takes place in 2004, and

continued thereafter. This increase has been emphasized by members of the Ministry in various media outlets.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 6, one of the most frequent problems of archaeological practice in Turkey revealed in AST/KST reports since the 1980s has been the lack of generous governmental funding. Increases in governmental funding, then, may indicate the government's positive approach to archaeology. The impact of such funding, however, varies among archaeological projects. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, funding is unequally provided to preferred areas, causing divides among project archaeologists.

Data on Repatriation

Another set of data recently presented by the Ministry includes the number of artifacts repatriated over the years. As recently as December 2014, the Ministry demonstrates numbers of artifacts repatriated and countries from which they are repatriated in separate graphs (Figure 17 and 18). Interestingly, graphs representing these items are usually divided into two periods: the first period represents 1992–2002 repatriations, in which a total of 2527 items were repatriated; the second period represents 2003–2014 repatriations and thus nearly covers the period of AKP government, in which 4147 artifacts were repatriated (Yurtdışından-Getirilen Eserlerin Yıllara Göre Dağılımı, 2014). During this latter period, however, repatriation efforts were not restricted to Turkey and its AKP government: Egypt, Greece, Italy, and Peru also intensified their efforts to repatriate archaeological objects during this time (Kersel 2004; McIntosh 2006).

The presentation of repatriation data according to such governmental periods is an example of government practice that leads to specific forms of truth (Figures 17-20). In this way, the AKP government conveys its success in repatriation compared to previous governments. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, because repatriation became a major tool in the display of power in the international political arena under the AKP government, the graphs representing repatriation reflect the importance given to repatriation by the state.

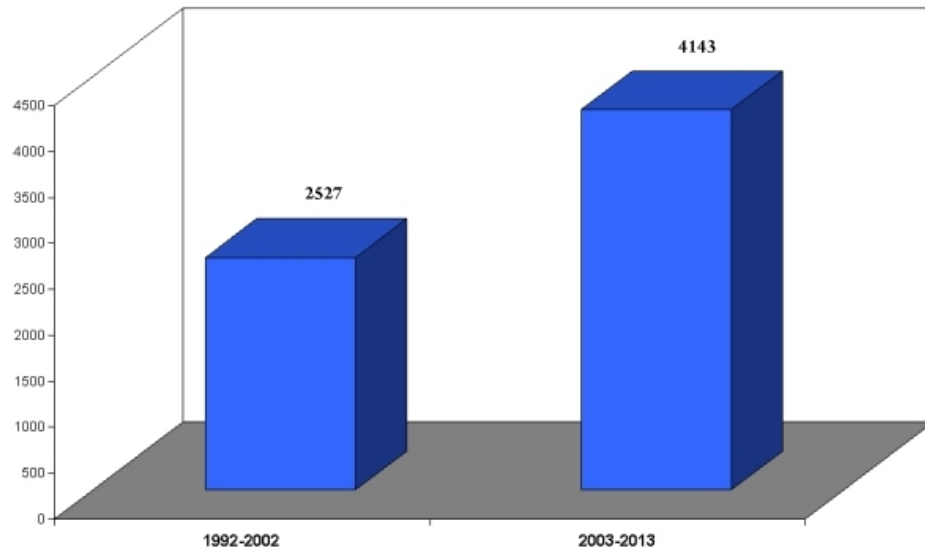


Figure 17: Number of artifacts repatriated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,50940/yurtdisindan-getirilen-eserlerin-yillara-gore-dagilimi-.html>. Last accessed in 2014. This graph was immediately revised later in 2015 to reflect repatriated items between 2003 and 2014.

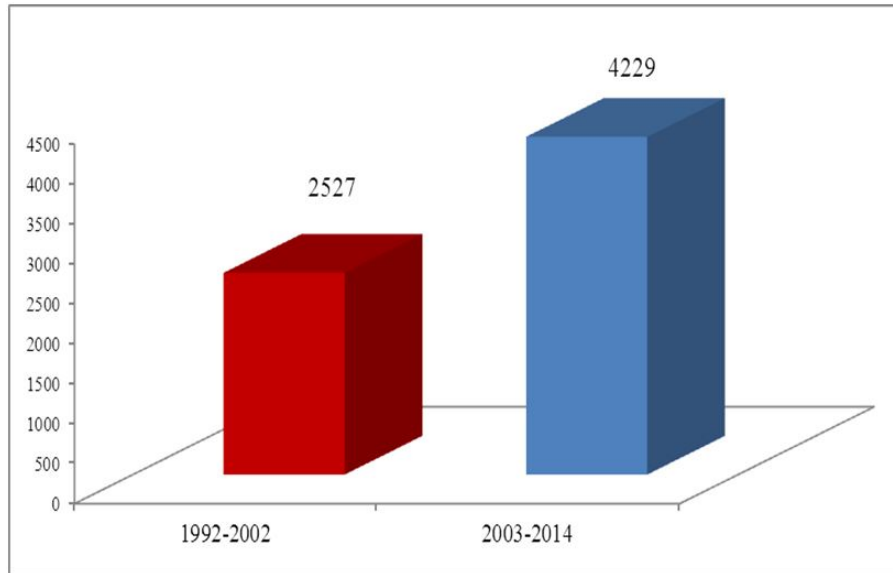


Figure 18: Number of artifacts repatriated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism between 1992 and 2014. The graph in Figure 17 is no longer available on the Ministry web page. <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,50940/yurtdisindan-getirilen-eserlerin-yillara-gore-dagilimi-.html>,

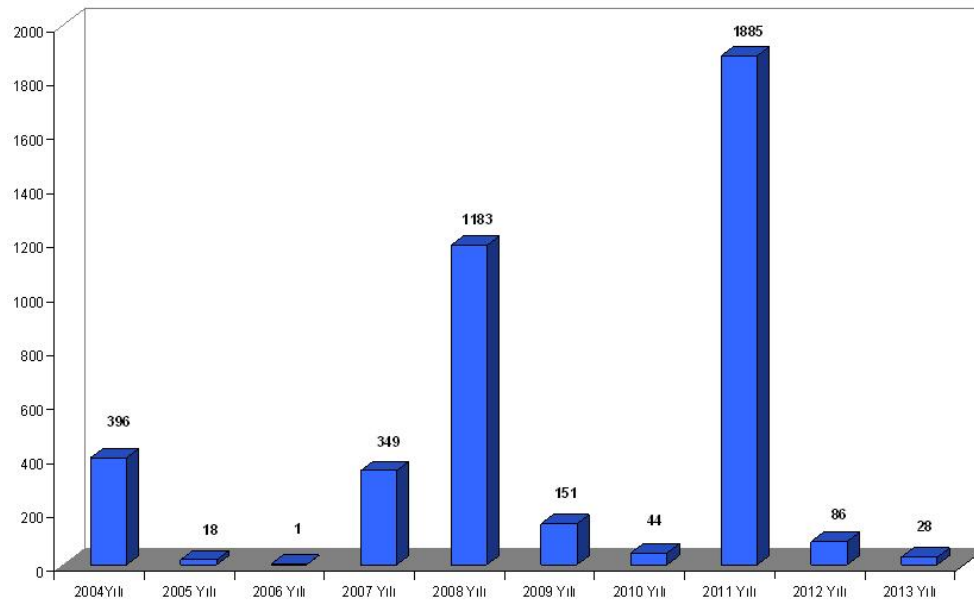


Figure 19: Number of items repatriated between 2004 and 2013. This graph was provided by the ministry in January 2014. In December 2014, the graph was updated (see Figure 20 below).

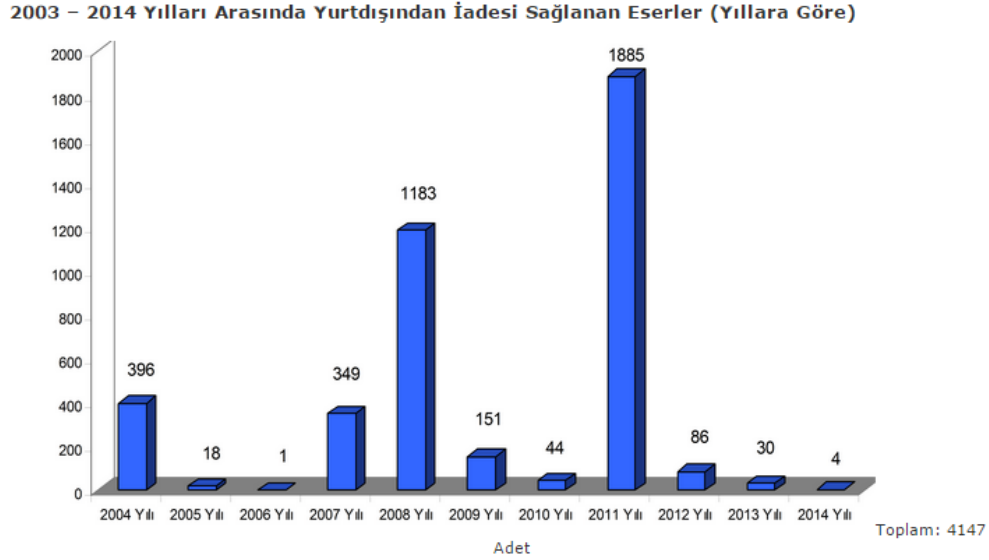


Figure 20: Number of items repatriated between 2003-2014. (2003–2014 Yılları Arasında Yurtdışından İadesi Sağlanan Eserler (Yıllara Göre) 2014)

These graphs promote the success of the current government in repatriation efforts, yet analysis of the era reveals that the impact may be attributable to an individual person rather than long-term governmental goals. The first spike in repatriated artifacts comes from the years 2007–2008, right after Ertuğrul Günay was appointed to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The second spike in the graph, as well as the highest number of repatriation, comes in 2011. However, the nature of items repatriated bears a special importance here, as this spike was a result of the repatriation of a hoard of 1,865 coins. Thus, if this hoard is considered to be one item, the actual number of repatriated items in 2011 remains only 25. The published representation, however, clearly conveys the highest possible numbers in repatriation to serve the goals of the government. The year 2010 marks the period in which İstanbul was selected as the Culture Capital of

Europe and underlines the importance of culture in representation of the city and the country. Furthermore, in June of 2011, general elections were held in Turkey. The hoard of coins was repatriated from Serbia in February 2011, making the repatriation suitable for propaganda prior to the elections (Bakan Günay Sırbistan'da 2011).

During this time Murat Süslü, a former director of the Muğla and İzmir Culture and Tourism Directorates until 2010 (Gültekin 2009), was assigned as the General Director of Cultural Heritage and Museums (TDK Başkan Yardımcılığına Atama, 2010). The increase in repatriation efforts between 2010 and 2013, thus, may mark a strong coalition between Süslü and Günay. Furthermore, although Süslü may not have been in his General Director position as of March 2013, the directive of March 2013 requires all archaeological project directors to submit final reports to the related Provincial Culture Directorate-İl Kültür Müdürlüğü, a post that Süslü held for many years previous to the General Directorate position

Subsequently, following the appointment of the new Minister, Ömer Çelik, in January 2013, Süslü was made to resign, along with other high-level bureaucrats in the Ministry. The collaboration between Süslü and Günay and the subsequent request for Süslü's resignation echoes the bureaucratic traditions in governmental institutions, how certain ways of governing are carried out due to the bureaucrats, rather than constantly changing ministers, the institutional memory of governmental institutions as well as the impact of individuals on governmental policies, that surfaced in Chapter 4 and that will reappear in Chapter 7 of this research.

The graphs of items repatriated by the Ministry are telling of the importance given to repatriation efforts in the last 10–12 years. Over the same period, however, damage to cultural heritage was rampant and stemmed from a variety of sources, including poor preservation, looting, and development projects. The Ministry provides no minute detail of such damage, of course, and it is really only through the systematic work of non-governmental organizations such as the TAY project that a record has been kept.

Archaeology of Turkey-Türkiye Arkeolojisi (2008)

The third item I investigate in this section is a book published by the Ministry in 2008 to celebrate the 30th year of the Annual Symposium of Research and Excavations. According to the Foreword, the book was published to show the Ministry's recognition of people who had contributed to Anatolian archaeology and to facilitate exchange of information and coordination among excavation directors. The publication is not a retrospective work, however, being prepared based on excavations conducted in 2007 alone. Despite using official 2007 excavation records and having access to the same for surveys, the publication includes neither surveys nor information on survey directors. The Foreword thus implies that, at least as of 2008, survey archaeology and archaeologists conducting surveys across Turkey were considered minor contributors to the archaeology of the region. Accordingly, the publication is consistent with the Ministry's underestimation of survey archaeology visible elsewhere in legal regulations. On the positive side, the publication is inclusively titled *Archaeology of Turkey*, instead of a more exclusive, but popular title such as "Archaeology of Anatolia".

Conflicts in Governmental Institutions and Cultural Heritage Management

Development Projects, the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, and Critical Responses

To understand better the rationales of the government, I look in detail at problems that emerge as a result of its sometimes-conflicting goals. In this section, I focus on how governments use and manipulate truth to serve political needs, and how this sort of manipulation impacts the perception of archaeology and cultural heritage management, especially at the time of conflict. In other words, I investigate ways in which knowledge and/or truth is used and manipulated purposely to serve the specific needs of the government. As an attempt to understand the attitudes of certain government offices toward cultural heritage and to present their thoughts and rationales, I present brief summaries of major development projects that required large-scale archaeological surveys and excavations.

Helén argues that Rose (1999) and Dean (1999) consider analytics of government to be a critique of political reason, because both argue that their focus is “historically contingent rationalities and mentalities of government” (Helén 2000: 158). This refers to acknowledging that rationalities are subject to change over time and due to unforeseen conditions. Rose defines four characteristics of effective political rationalities; each expresses central principles such as “security of society, quality of life or justice” (Helén 2000: 158). In this section I demonstrate that “development” is one of these central principles of government rationalities. Second, true knowledge is fundamental for political rationalities. For the purposes of this study, I interpret this true knowledge to have a dual character; how and in which contexts government uses true knowledge

reflects its motives. Third, governments use of certain words and “typical phrases or ways of expression” (Helén 2000: 158). Finally, that “Governmental rationalities, which are formulated for a specific purpose and in a particular context are translatable into other contexts and applications” (Helén 2000: 158) means that they have broad impacts. This can be shown for cultural heritage when repatriation becomes part of international political interactions and UNESCO nominations become part of election propaganda and alike.

As I demonstrated in Chapter 4, strategic development plans from the 1960s contain no sections specifically focusing on archaeology. The Keban Dam project is the first major project in which the state first interacted with a massive cultural heritage inventory project as a response to development. By observing changes in the attitude of the state towards the preservation of cultural heritage in the case of development projects, I demonstrate some of the rationalities employed in the practices of governing cultural heritage in Turkey.

The Keban Dam Project

As explained in the previous chapter Keban Dam Salvage project is the first grand scale archaeological rescue project that was initiated by Kemal Kurdaş, president of the METU. Another striking aspect of the Keban Dam Project is the public financial support it received. The *Milliyet* newspaper launched a campaign in 1968 and collected 600,000 TL in public funds. Another 1 million TL was provided by an agreement with the

Ministry of the Treasury and USAID, and the Turkish parliament provided another 2 million TL from its budget (Kurdaş 1970).

The Ilisu and Karkamış Dam Projects

Years after the Keban project, other projects developed in response to the Ilisu and Karkamış Dam projects on the Dicle (ancient Tigris) River in Dargeçit, between the provinces of Mardin and Şırnak (DSİ n.d.). According to a State Water Works (DSİ-Devlet Su İşleri) consortium report of 2005, early archaeological work in the area started in 1986. Construction of the dam became more controversial over the years as its completion would result in the flooding of the ancient city of Hasankeyf. Both individuals and non-governmental organizations reacted vocally to the loss of such important heritage, even as government officials underlined that the preservation of cultural heritage was their primary concern. In the inaugural ceremony of the Ilisu Dam in 2006, former Prime Minister Erdoğan declared that:

“Another issue relating to tourism is historical and cultural assets. Similar to energy in its importance is historical and cultural heritage. We are among the ones who know this best. Cultural heritage cannot be measured with currency. If you do not own your cultural heritage identity you cannot produce anything. The sensitivity of everyone on this matter makes us content. However, it is obvious that this is not the real issue. There are people who want to abuse this matter.

“On one side there is an increasing demand for energy and for the bright future of Turkey, on the other side there is history, culture, and the common

heritage of humanity. We have to find a common solution. It is not even possible to sacrifice one for the other. For this reason, we are using 25 million Euro of international funding for the preservation and rescue of the historical and cultural assets of Hasankeyf. In addition, we put aside funds of around 53 million TL for this work. By employing all aspects of science, we will carry new Hasankeyf to a new place where its entire heritage will flourish. Thus, Ilisu and Hasankeyf, hand-in-hand, will establish a necklace over Dicle. In this period of protection of antiquities, rescue and transfer into nearby areas is going to be completed. Of course, when the dam project is completed, this region will change a lot, becoming a tourism center with its natural beauty and cultural richness.”¹¹

(Dicle'nin Altın Gerdanlığının Temeli Atıldı 2006).

This speech was provided in a newspaper article with a title implying that the construction of the dam was “putting a golden necklace on Ilisu,” attempting to beautify

¹¹ “Turizmle bağlantı bir başka konu olan tarihi ve kültürel varlıklarla alakalı olarak, “Türkiye için enerji gibi önemli bir diğer konu da tarihi ve kültürel mirasımızdır. Biz kültürel mirasın parayla ölçülemeyeceğini en iyi bilenlerdeniz. Eğer kültürel mirasınıza, kimliğinize sahip çıkmıyorsanız, hiçbir değer üretemezsiniz. Bu konuda herkesin hassasiyet göstermesi bizi sadece memnun eder, ama asıl meselenin bu olmadığı da gayet açıktır. Ancak burada bu konuyu istismar etmek isteyenler var” diyen Başbakan Erdoğan, bin yılların birikimini günümüze taşıyan paha biçilmez eserlerin heba edilmeyeceğine dair güvence verdi. “Bir tarafta artan bir enerji ihtiyacı ve Türkiye'nin aydınlık geleceği var, diğer tarafta tarih, kültür ve insanların ortak mirası var. Bunu bir şekilde uzlaştırmak, ortak bir çözüm bulmak zorundayız. Hiçbirini diğeri için feda etmek söz konusu olamaz. Bu sebeple proje için temin edilen dış kredinin 25 milyon Euro'sunu Hasankeyf'in tarihi ve kültürel varlıklarının korunması ve kurtarılması için kullanıyoruz. Yine yaklaşık 53 milyarlık bir bütçeyi de sadece bu işe ayırıyoruz. Bilimin bütün imkânlarını kullanarak yeni bir Hasankeyf'i bütün bu eserlerle farklı bir yere taşımak suretiyle yaşatacağız. Böylece Ilisu ile Hasankeyf el ele Dicle'nin üzerinde bir gerdanlık oluşturacaklardır. Tarihi eserlerin korunması, kurtarılması ve yakın bölgelere taşınması da bu süreçte gerçekleşmiş olacaktır. Elbette baraj tamamlandığında tabi güzelliği ve kültürel değerleri ile bu bölge çok değişmiş, bir turizm merkezi haline gelmiş olacaktır” diye konuşan Başbakan Erdoğan, konuya ne kadar hassasiyetle yaklaşıldığını bir kez daha vurguladı (Dicle'nin Altın Gerdanlığının Temeli Atıldı 2006).

the project and create a positive image by associating the construction of the dam with materials of high economic value. The speech emphasizes also the transformation of Hasankeyf into a future tourism hot-spot after completion of the project. Here, the Prime Minister acknowledges two different government goals and the requirement for “hand-in-hand” reconciliation between stakeholders. Emphasizing the use of two sources of funds for preservation further established that the project and the preservation of cultural heritage were of utmost concern to the state. The Prime Minister claims, however, that reaction towards the completion of the Ilisu Dam and its submersion of sites, such as Hasankeyf, results not from sensitivity to the preservation of heritage, but from other motivations. Such indirect references no doubt invoked Kurdish issues, as the dam was seen by many as a means of disempowering the Kurdish separatist movement. By making such associations, the speech imbued the dam project with nationalistic values just as it labeled dam detractors as Kurdish sympathizers (Shoup 2006).

As opposition to dam construction increased with more and more international support, foreign credit firms that had agreed to fund 80% of the construction announced their withdrawal from the project, claiming that Turkey had not complied with efforts to minimize the impact of the dam in an allotted time (Ilisu Dış Kredi İptal, Çevre Bakanlığı Barajda Israrlı 2009). Responding to such news immediately, the government, through a DSI report, concluded that “the Turkish Republic is strong enough to materialize the Ilisu Project and the Ministry [of Forests and Waterworks] needs no support for the construction as the DSI in the past has always completed dam projects for public use; thus this dam will be completed in the most beautiful way possible.” As if the message

was not clear, this particular paragraph of the report was printed in a font larger than that used in the rest of the report (See Figure 21).

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti olarak, Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi'nin kilit bir halkası olan; gerek enerji gerek sosyal kalkınmanın bir ateşleyici gücü olarak gördüğümüz Ilisu Barajı ve HES Projesinin yapımı hususundaki kararlığımızın devam ettiğini önemle vurgulamak isteriz.

Ilisu Projesi ile bölgedeki vatandaşlarımızın hayat standartlarının yükseltilmesi sağlanarak, o bölgedeki binlerce insana iş imkanı ve aş temin edilecektir.

İtirazlar Hasankeyf hususunda odaklanmaktadır. Hasankeyf'in kurtuluşu için Ilisu Projesi bir fırsattır. Projeye karşı çıkanlar bütün Hasankeyf'in sular altında kalacağı yönünde yanlış bilgileri ortaya atmışlardır. Halbuki Hasankeyf'teki en mühim tarihi ve kültür varlıklarına sahip olan "Yukarışehir" sular altında kalmayacaktır. Sular altında kalan aşağı şehirdir. Zaten orada bir takım iptidai yapılar mevcuttur. Hükümetimiz altyapısı dahi olmayan bu yapılar yerine yine o civardaki bir alana muhteşem bir Hasankeyf inşa edecektir. Ayrıca bütün tarihi eserler ve kültür varlıkları korunacaktır.

Bu maksatla 25 milyon Euro artı 54 milyon Dolar, yani 125 milyon TL'lik özel ödenek ayrılmıştır. Bazı kişiler Hasankeyf'in yok olacağı iddiasını yaymaktadır. Hasankeyf bu proje sayesinde muhteşem bir cazibe merkezi olacaktır. Hasankeyf bazılarının dilindedir. Bizim dilimizde değil, kalbimizdedir.

Dolayısıyla bu konuda yapılan itirazlar kültürel varlıkların tahribi ve yok edilmesi yönünde olup, bu proje ile bu değerler gün yüzüne çıkartılarak, kültürümüze kazandırılacak ve tarihe ışık tutacaktır. Kredi sözleşmesinin iptal kararının ilmi, teknik bir yönü yoktur. Bu kesinlikle siyasi bir karardır. Çünkü Türkiye'nin geleceği aydınlıktır. Türkiye şu anda bölgesinde büyük bir güçtür. Bundan bazı ülkelerin rahatsız olması gayet tabiidir.

Netice olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Ilisu Projesini yapacak güçtedir. Bakanlığımızın Ilisu Barajı'nı yapmak için herhangi bir desteğe ihtiyacı yoktur. DSİ, benzer barajları tamamlayarak, milletimizin hizmetine sunmuştur. Bu baraj da en güzel şekilde yapılacaktır.

Figure 21: The last page of the Ilisu Barajı ve Hidroelektrik Santali ve Hasankeyf Gerçeği-DSİ report in 2009 after cancellation of foreign loans for construction of the Ilisu Dam. Framed in red box by the author.



DSI reports from later years continue to emphasize sensitivity towards the preservation of cultural heritage by using different formats and symbols, such as the 2012 report which once again emphasizes the sensitivity towards historical and cultural landscape (Figure 22).



Figure 22: Page from Iisu Project Process Report. Page 16 of the Iisu Projesi İş İlerleme Raporu (2012 Yılı Sonu İtibariyle) includes a paragraph, essentially a confusing one that seems to be listing some terminology back to back, which underlines that the project continues with utmost sensitivity towards historical and cultural environmental resettlement continue within the framework of social responsibilities.
http://www2.dsi.gov.tr/ilisu/ilisu_vyp.pdf

Similar to the government's announcements of financial support for excavations and surveys, the Iisu reports also emphasize generous funds provided for the preservation of cultural heritage in the area. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, one set of information frequently advertised on Ministry web pages and in national media is increased budgets for archaeological work after 2001. The 2009 DSI report notes that prior to the Iisu Project, archaeological work in the area was limited; as of 2009, however, there had been 37 archaeological projects, 12 of which were in Hasankeyf. It is possible to interpret from this announcement that the area had been previously neglected by archaeologists and only became the center of archaeological activities owing to dam construction and government funding. The budget provided for all archaeological work in

the area for the twenty-year period between 1985 and 2005 was 2.5 million USD. In the 2006–2008 period, cultural heritage related projects received 4.5 million USD, in addition to approximately 77 million USD reserved for the preservation of cultural heritage in the area for the period between 2009 and 2015 (Figure 23).

Tablo 6. Arkeolojik Çalışmalar 2009-2015 Dönemi Ayrılan Bütçe Rakamları

MALİYET GİDERLERİ	2009 (₺)	2010 (₺)	2011 (₺)	2012 (₺)	2013 (₺)	2014 (₺)	2015 (₺)	TOPLAM (₺)
A. Kazılar ve Yüzey Araştırmaları								
1. Kazılar								
1.1. Hasanköy	347 100	435 600	524 100	612 500	701 000	789 500	0	3 409 800
1.2. Faz 1-Yeniden Yerleşim Alanı	701 200	911 600	1 121 500	0	0	0	0	2 734 300
1.3. Mardin Koordinasyon Bölgesi	389 200	786 200	1 183 000	1 579 800	1 976 600	2 373 700	2 770 700	11 059 000
1.4. Diyarbakır Koordinasyon Bölgesi	490 600	928 500	1 366 800	1 805 000	2 243 200	2 681 100	3 119 100	12 634 300
1.5. Diyarbakır/Bismil Kazılan	1 035 000	1 826 600	2 618 000	3 409 900	4 201 600	4 993 200	5 784 600	23 868 900
1.6. Siirt Kazılan	114 800	203 100	290 600	379 000	466 800	554 900	642 700	2 651 900
1.7. Batman/Beşiri Kazılan	114 900	203 000	290 900	378 900	466 800	554 800	642 700	2 652 000
1.8. Siirt/Kürtalan Kazılan	114 900	203 000	290 900	378 900	466 800	554 800	642 700	2 652 000
1.9. Batman Kazılan	114 900	203 000	290 900	378 900	466 800	554 800	642 700	2 652 000
2. Yüzey Araştırmaları	37 200	40 700	45 100	0	0	0	0	123 000
3. Yeni Önerilen Kazı Çalışmaları	0	1 014 700	1 623 300	2 029 400	2 435 400	2 841 400	2 841 400	12 795 600
Kazı ve Yüzey Araştırmaları Toplam Maliyet	3 459 800	6 756 000	9 645 100	10 952 300	13 425 000	15 898 200	17 086 600	77 223 000

Kültürel miras arkeolojik çalışmalar için ayrılan bu miktar; tarihini geleceğe taşımak için yapılacak çalışmalara bugüne kadar ayrılan en büyük meblağdır.

Figure 23: Budget reserved for archaeological work in the Ilisu Area for the period 2009–2015. The text-box at the end of the table reads (without making any changes in the improper grammar structure of the sentence) “the amount reserved for cultural heritage archaeological work; is the biggest amount reserved until today for work to carry its history to the future.”

This emphasis on funds provides a false notion about efforts to preserve archaeological sites. As we will see in the next section, over the last decade the government frequently employs the idea of providing sufficient funds to finish up

archaeological fieldwork as a way to clear the way for development projects. Is it really possible to say that large sums of money will solve the requirements of archaeological work and prevent the negative impacts of development projects on cultural heritage?

As this section focuses on the thoughts and rationales of the government, the continuous emphasis on available funds and the importance given to preserve cultural heritage in publications of governmental institutions, as well as in speeches given by individual members of the actual government, including the Prime Minister, imply that the state has been aiming to present a picture of itself as embracing the idea that the cultural heritage and its preservation are priorities.

As I present in the next section and elsewhere in this research, however, the availability of funds does not always lead to best practices, and these funds are, in essence, tools used by the government to push archaeological research and cultural heritage management in directions that serve state objectives. In other words, government funds are used to serve the thoughts and rationales of the government.

The Marmaray Project

The most recent area of conflict between archaeology and government took place during the construction and completion of a major transportation project called the Marmaray Project. The project, which aimed to establish a continuous line of subway transportation linking the Asian and European sides of Istanbul, had initially begun in the early 2000s with construction in various parts of the city. Excavations for the project led to the discovery of archaeological remains in 2004 in Yenikapı and Sirkeci, on the historical peninsula, and in Üsküdar on the Asian side of the Bosphorus. As a result, the

İstanbul Archaeology Museums initiated excavations in these areas. Excavations in the Yenikapı area took a rather spectacular and unexpected turn because of the discovery of the Theodosian harbor of the city. Work in the area revealed the remains of a total of 37 ships, in addition to millions of artifacts and floral and faunal remains. The gradual removal of occupation layers also led to the discovery of Neolithic period activities in the same area.

These discoveries delayed construction activities as excavation activities continued, including the recording and restoration of ships and other archaeological features. Because massive development projects are required to conduct initial test excavations for archaeologically or culturally sensitive areas, inevitable delays in the project resulted from poor planning and lack of consistent cultural heritage policy. Moreover, the location of the Theodosian harbor on the historical peninsula should hardly have come as a surprise. The integration of test excavations as a prerequisite to major development projects, therefore, is one clear recommendation for the improvement of archaeological practice in Turkey that stems from this research.

Similar to the Ilisu Dam case, members of the current government, including Binali Yıldırım, the Minister of Transportation at the time, had positive comments for the Yenikapı excavations around 2009, underlining that they contributed to the understanding the history of the city, although the work had caused delays and increased construction costs (Marmaray'da Kazı Çalışmaları Sürüyor 2009). The relatively mild governmental attention to and criticism of the Yenikapı excavations took a more aggressive direction by 2011. In his visit to the tunnels at that time, Prime Minister Erdoğan told the public that,

“Actually, Marmaray would not have lagged until 29 October 2013 (The Republic was established on 29 October 1923). Actually, it would have been completed in 2010; it could have been. But what happened so it was not completed? I have to tell it, because delays and deferrals are beneath us; we are grandchildren of a different ancestor. We have to accomplish this. What is it? They continuously put barriers in front of us, saying there is an archaeological thing, there is a pot, there is this, there is that. Dear friends, my beloved nation, are these more important than human beings? As a member of civilization that says everything is for humans, as children of a nation that glorifies the people so the state shall be glorified, are we to be stuck by these things here? But unfortunately, we did not only get stuck there but they also set barriers in front of us. It was the Council [of Protections], it was court decisions, entangled by these we got stuck. And for three years, at least three years, they have blocked us at this point. And here our loss is not only opening the Marmaray to use, there is also monetary loss; this monetary loss, it reached a very serious point, its scale is very serious. But, we said we are going to finish this business. Now it is 29 October 2013. From here forward, if God wills it, we recognize no obstacles; whatever the cost, let it be so.¹² (Başbakan Erdoğan’dan Marmaray Açıklaması 2011).

¹² “Aslında Marmaray 29 Ekim 2013’e kalmayacaktı. Aslında Marmaray 2010’da bitecekti, bitebilirdi. Peki ne oldu da bitmedi? Söylemek zorundayım. Çünkü bize gecikmek bize ertelemek yakışmaz. Biz farklı bir ecdadın torunlarıyız. Bunları başarmamız lazım. Nedir o? İşte sürekli yok arkeolojik şey, yok çömlek çıktı, yok bilmem şu çıktı, yok bilmem bu çıktı ile önümüze engeller koydular. Sevgili arkadaşlarım, aziz milletim bunlar insandan çok daha mı önemliydi? Bir defa her şey insan için diyen bir medeniyetin mensupları, insanı yücelt ki devlet yücelsin diyen bir milletin evlatları olarak biz buralara takılıp kalmalı mıydık? Ama ne yazık ki takılıp kalmayı bırak, bariyerleri önümüze kurdular. Yok, kuruluydu, yok yargısıydı bunlara takılıp kaldık. Ve üç

In this speech, the Prime Minister presents archaeologists to the public as the people who are responsible for delays, in a manner as if he was revealing a secret because he was frustrated with the delays to construction resulting from the archaeological work. In doing so, he refers also to a heritage that his government received from an ancestral line, implying that at least some forms of heritage are of importance to him, even as he commits previous governments to different ancestral origins. Furthermore, he scorns the material remains, very much part of the cultural heritage, as mere pots and pans, considering the same cultural heritage to be an obstacle to development projects, as if it were not state-run museums supervising the work. Towards the end of his speech, he focuses on the monetary losses caused by the archaeological work, although in other speeches he emphasized how generous were the funds used to preserve the same heritage. Importantly, as the primary mouthpiece of the government, he reveals that it has respect neither for the Council nor for court decisions concerning conflicts between cultural heritage management and development projects. The speech foreshadowed many of the Prime Minister's actions in following years and added archaeologists to the list of potential enemies of development, and thus also the state.

Continuing a similar discourse available in video as late as April 2013, Erdoğan repeats the essence of his 2011 in speech at the Provincial Directors Meeting on 29–30 April 2013 suggesting that, “If you reveal why project completion has been delayed three

sene en az 3 sene bizi bu noktada engellediler. Ve burada kaybımız sadece Marmaray'ın işletmeye açılması değil bunun maddi kaybı davar, bunun maddi kaybı o da çok ciddi noktada, boyutu çok ciddi noktada. Fakat biz bu işi bitireceğiz dedik. Şimdi 29 Ekim 2013. Bundan sonra inşallah engel menel tanımıyoruz, bedeli ne olursa olsun.”(Başbakan Erdoğan'dan Marmaray Açıklaması 2011).

to four years, you see that there are some serious obstacles ahead of us. For example, we have our Marmaray. A story of simple pots and pans cost us four years.”¹³ On the other hand, when talking to a larger audience in August 2013 at a Marmaray test drive, he says “Of course, the sensitivity we have towards the environment and history is not artificial”¹⁴ (Marmaray Kazılarında Arkeolojik Buluntular Hakkında 2013).

The Prime Minister’s various comments on the Yenikapı excavations and its impact on the Marmaray Project is valuable testimony on the conflicting nature of heritage and its ownership. In archaeological terms, the Theodosian harbor comprises a large part of Istanbul cultural heritage. For the Prime Minister, however, the project and its unexpected finds have several meanings. First, excavations serve as a barrier to the completion of grand-scale development projects. Second, despite significant gains in cultural value, the loss of monetary values is emphasized. This particular comment concerning monetary losses reveals that the Prime Minister’s concern is not cultural heritage per se, but the potential monetary value it brings. As long as archaeological sites can earn tourist income and contribute to the economy, they will probably be provided funding. In conflicting cases, where heritage itself “devalues” a project, however, it is deemed to be an obstacle. At least for the current government, then, archaeology and cultural heritage are simply commodities, and some have more valuable than others.

From another perspective, the archaeological work at Yenikapı delayed the dream

¹³“Üç sene dört sene bir projeyi gecikmeli olarak çıkarıyorsunuz, niye bakıyorsunuz önümüzde çok ciddi engeller var. Örneğin bizim bir Marmaray’ımız var. Basit çanak çömlek hikâyesi bize dört sene kaybettirdi.

¹⁴“Tabii, bizim çevreye ve tarihe gösterdiğimi hassasiyet yapay değildir...” (Marmaray Kazılarında Arkeolojik Buluntular Hakkında 2013)

project of former Ottoman sultans. Although it is not entirely similar to current Yenikapı Project, Sultan Abdülmecid in 1860s planned to have an underground railway and Sultan Abdülhamid II commissioned a project that connects Historical Peninsula with the Anatolian side of the city. This idea of former Ottoman sultans is now being materialized now by a modern government that sees itself as “heir” to Ottoman heritage. An additional layer of meaning may pertain by framing the story in terms of pre-Islamic heritage delaying the materialization of an Islamic project. Yet modern politics require that the Prime Minister demonstrate sensitivity to cultural heritage just as he simultaneously disparages it. In one of Erdoğan’s final speeches on the matter at the opening ceremony of the Haliç-Metro bridge (another very controversial project ruining the skyline of the historical peninsula and threatening Istanbul’s World Heritage Site status, he says the following:

“In a region that hosts thousands of years of the history of İstanbul, without damaging historical remains, on the contrary by revealing history, we built this [Marmaray] line; we revealed the known history of Istanbul. Twenty-three antique wooden ships were revealed. More than fifty thousand historical remains were revealed. It was also revealed that the history of Istanbul goes back to 8500 years ago. By taking a risk in delaying the line, by using 77 million TL, in other words 77 billion liras, we exposed the cultural pattern and the remains. We were going to make this opening ceremony four or four and a half years ago. It was delayed because of our sensitivities. In order to prevent damage to historical remains, we preferred the latest technology. We minimized the noise and the

vibration. We also built a bridge on this line to contribute to the beauty of İstanbul on the Golden Horn. Because of the station on the Golden Horn, Istanbulites will have a chance to rest and have be entertained on top of the bridge. We do not talk, we take action..."¹⁵ (Şişhane-Haliç Metro Geçiş Köprüsü-Yenikapı Metro Hattı Açıldı, 2014).

This talk reveals the slippery nature of state thoughts and rationales on the path to its goals. Furthermore, the talk, which emphasizes the current government's sensitivity toward archaeological heritage, when compared with former and current government actions, reveals that archaeological practice and cultural heritage are political, and not just economic, commodities. First, despite emphasis implied in the speech, completion of the archaeological work at Marmaray was delayed because of alleged insufficient funding (Erbil 2013), while archaeologists working at various sites were under constant pressure from construction firms (Kent and Demiryolu 2008). Second, as Mehmet Özdoğan (2012) rightly underlined, the constant emphasis on revealing the 8,500 year old history of İstanbul is misleading. Excavations conducted at the Yarımburgaz Cave in İstanbul's Bahçeşehir district, had already revealed that İstanbul's occupation history goes back to

¹⁵ "İstanbul'un binlerce yıllık tarihini barından bir bölgede, tarihi eserlere zarar vermeden tam tersine tarihi ortaya çıkararak bu hattı inşa ettik. Bu hattı inşa ederken İstanbul'un bilinen tarihi de ortaya çıktı. 23 antik ahşap gemi ortaya çıktı. 50 binden fazla tarihi eser çıkarıldı. İstanbul'un tarihinin 8 bin 500 yıl öncesine dayandığı da ortaya çıktı. Hattın gecikmesini göze alarak, 77 milyon lira harcama yaparak, yani 77 trilyon lira, tarihi dokuyu ve tarihi eserleri de ortaya çıkardık. Bu açılış 4-4,5yıl önce yapılacaktı. Bu hassasiyetimiz sebebiyle gecikti. Tarihi eserlere zarar vermemesi için ray bağlantılarında en son teknolojiyi tercih ettik. Gürültü ve titreşimi en aza indirdik. Bu hat üzerinde İstanbul'un güzelliğine güzellik katacak bir köprüyü de Haliç üzerinde inşa ettik. Haliç üzerindeki istasyon sayesinde İstanbullular, köprü üzerindeki dinlenme ve eğlence imkânlarından istifade edecek. Laf üretmiyoruz, icraat üretiyoruz. 124 modern teknolojik, donanımlı, sürücüsüz vagon bu hattımızda hizmet verecek." (Şişhane-Haliç Metro Geçiş Köprüsü-Yenikapı Metro Hattı Açıldı, 2014).

the Lower Paleolithic period, around 400,000 years ago. In addition, archaeological work conducted at Fikirtepe and Pendik had already revealed much later Neolithic period occupation in İstanbul, although Fikirtepe and Pendik are later than Yenikapı. Third, the aforementioned sensitivity towards cultural heritage is questionable, as attention to the previous speech reveals that the government had reached a point of ignoring court and council decisions regarding the preservation of cultural heritage. Finally, the Haliç-Golden Horn Metro Bridge is controversial not only for reasons mentioned above, but also because its architectural structure was criticized by the UNESCO monitoring committee, who reported that it jeopardized the WHS status of Historical Areas of İstanbul.

Under these circumstances, the cases of the Ilisu and Karkamış Dams and the Marmaray Project and Yenikapı Excavations significantly and clearly reveal the policies of the government over the last ten years toward archaeology and cultural heritage, especially in cases where conflicts occur with development initiatives. Similar analyses of media records would presumably reveal similarly interesting patterns concerning government attitudes toward cultural heritage in the pre-AKP government era.

The analytics of government focus on the impact of individuals, too, and this is equally relevant in Turkey for the period after 2002. If the Prime Minister had not targeted archaeological excavations, would pressure on excavations be the same, and would work and analysis at the Yenikapı site have come to a halt? Widespread criticism of the Yenikapı Excavations, the marginalization of protestors of the Ilisu Dam project, and repatriation efforts after 2007 all point to the impact of individuals on matters of

governance, in these cases concerning Prime Minister Erdoğan and Minister Günay. Once again, individual impacts become a recurring theme for understanding the governance of archaeological practice and culture heritage in Turkey.

The identification of government rationales and thoughts on specific issues can be clarified in certain situations of conflict. The law on the preservation of cultural heritage in Turkey has strict regulations on the subject; however, government responses toward the preservation of cultural heritage in relation to development projects present suitable venues for identifying the real government attitudes.

From Keban to Ilisu, there has been a transition in the attitudes of the government and the public, from one where an area of public efforts funded rescue excavations and surveys, to one where archaeologists were held responsible for monetary losses and were held out in blame to the public. In all cases, the government's interest in archaeology and cultural heritage is revealed as concerning its potential monetary value. The mission statement and description of archaeology as the study of the human past was transformed and shifted to define archaeology as a type of commodity. Ongoing government efforts to nominate and inscribe more and more sites to the UNESCO World Heritage Site list and documents such as the *Theater Letter* to be discussed in the next section support this idea that the current government considers archaeology and cultural heritage for its commercial value only. While continuing study of the perspectives of earlier governments is necessary to confirm current trends, there can be no question that various turning points and changes in regulations over the last ten years mark a real departure from the norm, representing a drastic change under the AKP government.

UNESCO World Heritage Sites and Problematic Issues in Istanbul Historical Areas

As part of the investigation of the commercialization of archaeology and cultural heritage in Turkey, UNESCO World Heritage Site nominations in Turkey give clues about government rationalities and thoughts. When a site is inscribed to WHS, it is subject to UNESCO monitoring. Thus, WHS committee members periodically visit İstanbul and other sites with WHS status, systematically reporting on their findings. Based on their observations, state parties are required to take necessary measures to maintain the WHS status. Accordingly, İstanbul has been subject to these monitoring visits and report. Recently, the report of UNESCO committee members emphasizes that problematic issues in İstanbul “stem from conflicts between two different sets of goals: a) the long-term objective of the conservation-based, sustainable use of the Historic Peninsula; and b) large-scale public and private projects” (Sorosh-Wali and Drury 2013: 8). The report also notes that the Outstanding Universal Value of the area (a feature required of all sites with WHS status) is threatened by urban renewal and construction projects on the southern end of the peninsula. The report also mentions that despite previous concerns about the Haliç Metro Bridge, that project had continued (Sorosh Wali and Drury 2013).

In a second observation report in (2012–2013), the World Heritage Committee noted the continuing negative effects of the bridge on the Outstanding Universal Value of WHS areas – the Bosphorus road tunnel on the Sea Walls, the Marble Tower, and the overall relationship between the Historic Peninsula and the sea – and required Turkey to “undertake multi-disciplinary studies (technical, environmental, social, cultural and

economic) as a basis for considering the extension of the tunnel beyond the Land Walls, and to remove an intersection at Yenikapı to ensure that the impacts on the Historic Peninsula are both limited and largely positive and to duly take all options into consideration when finalizing the Heritage Impact Assessment, and (then) submit this to the World Heritage Centre for review by the Advisory Bodies before any irreversible decision or commitment is made” (World Heritage Committee 2013:132). Furthermore, the committee noted its concerns about the recreation area to be created in Yenikapı, as it “was started before a Heritage Impact Assessment had been undertaken, and without any advance notification being provided to the World Heritage Committee; and also requested that the State Party finalize the Heritage Impact Assessment, which should include the potential impact of such large gatherings on the environment and infrastructure of the peninsula as a whole, and submit it as soon as possible to the World Heritage Committee for review by the Advisory Bodies” (World Heritage Committee 2013: 132). Finally, the committee reports on the poor structural condition of the remaining Ottoman timber buildings. By February 2015, Turkey was required to submit a report to the WHS examination committee on the state of conservation of such properties and the implementation of items on the list discussed above (World Heritage Committee 2013).

Despite such reports and warnings, the Haliç Metro Bridge was completed and opened to service in February 2014. The towers of the bridge imitate minarets and confuse views of the minarets of the Süleymaniye Mosque (Figure 24).



Figure 24: View towards the Süleymaniye Mosque over the Haliç Metro Bridge with its minaret-imitating towers. (Photo from Vardar 2014)

Construction of a recreation area on the southern shore of the historical peninsula began in 2013. The capacity of the meeting area there is estimated at about 1.25 million people and the area includes also two large parking lots, integrated with transportation and waste-water treatment infrastructure. More than a kilometer in length and an average of a half a kilometer in width, this massive landfill project has already drastically altered the shape of the historical peninsula (See Figures 25 to 27 for changes in the original form of the historical peninsula) more than in any previous time.



Figure 25: Byzantium, nunc Constantinapolis by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, dating to 1572. Copyright: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Jewish National and University Library (Retrieved from Barry Ruderman Antique Maps Inc 2014)



Figure 26: Area to be filled for construction of the meeting area on the southern shore of the historical peninsula. (Nuhoglu İnşaat Projeleri 2014)



Figure 27: Landfill on the southern shore of the Historical Peninsula. (Tarihi Yarımada'nın Şekli Değişti, 2014)

Although the WHS status of İstanbul has been threatened by these developments, and despite the lack of preventive measures for preserving the Outstanding Universal Value of the area, Turkey continues to nominate other sites to the WHS list. Inscription of sites to the first tentative list and obtaining a WHS status for tentative-list sites is an important part of the recent culture policies of Turkey. The number of nominated sites since 2009 is 24, and other sites are known to have prepared their application folders. The content and quality of applications vary. For instance, the tentative list includes an entry titled “Bursa and Cumalıkızık: The Borne (Birth of) of Ottoman City” (sic), and includes a WHS nomination video (Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2013). According to the video, which takes one back to the earliest settlement of Bursa around 185 BC, Bithynians, Romans, and Byzantines stood behind the city walls and continued to watch the world, but in 1326 AD, it was the Ottomans who decided to leave the city walls because they

originally came from the free-roaming plains. These plains probably refer to the steppes of Central Asia. The video demonstrates increasing efforts of local governments to be granted WHS status, but it presents also skewed (if not just distasteful) perceptions of earlier inhabitants of Bursa; the video implies that pre-Ottoman populations lacked the Ottoman's quest for freedom. Negative perceptions of the Byzantine past in Turkish popular culture are problematic, and this video adds Romans and Bithynians (other pre-Islamic settlers of the city) to the list of civilizations lacking the vision to settle beyond the walls of Bursa.

UNESCO WHS nominations are found not only among the goals of central authorities. In the run up to local elections in 2014, both mayoral candidates in Mardin, Vejdi Kahraman of the AKP and Ahmet Türk of the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), highlighted their aims to make Mardin WHS site (Özgentürk 2014).

In 2014, the nomination of Bergama to the WHS will be evaluated and Turkey will submit application folders for Ephesus and Diyarbakır to UNESCO as well (Duzcu 2013). In addition to the citadel and walls of Diyarbakır which were already included on the tentative list, the Cultural Landscape of Gardens at Hevsel were included in the submission to UNESCO through the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Kaplan 2014), even despite ongoing debates regarding government development of the same for housing.

In addition to local governments, the central government has taken further action to secure its WHS nominations, despite the quality and content of application folders. Committee members of UNESCO Turkey were selected for the World Heritage Site

committee in the elections of 19 November 2013. While Turkey was a member of the WHS committee between 1985 and 1987, it failed to be elected to the committee in 1995, 1997, 2001, and 2003. In 2013, again, Turkey returned to the committee after 24 years (UNESCO Türkiye 2013).

What might be the impact of committee membership, and what are the motives for membership? The roles and responsibilities of committee members may provide insights into potential motives. The Committee is responsible for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, defines the use of the World Heritage Fund, and allocates financial assistance upon requests from states parties. The roles and responsibilities of committee members are listed as the final decision on the inscription of a site to the list, monitoring the state conservation efforts, and requiring action from state parties in cases of poor management of sites, as well as deciding “on the inscription or deletion of properties on the List of World Heritage in Danger” (UNESCO 2014).

In 2011, after Palestine was voted to receive full membership status to UNESCO, the US decided to withdraw 60 million USD in funding intended for UNESCO. As of 2011, the US provided 22% of UNESCO funds (Cornwell 2011). Because of US laws passed in the 1990s, it was unable to provide funds to UNESCO after the organization voted for the full membership of Palestine (Lynch 2011). Furthermore, in 2013, UNESCO halted the voting rights of the US and Israel, because both countries stopped paying their organizational dues in protest of Palestine’s full membership (Sage and Pennetier 2013). As if in response to these developments, after the suspension of US and Israeli dues Turkey donated 5 million USD to the Multi-Donor Emergency Fund in

February 2012 (UNESCOPRESS 2012).

In addition to repatriation, inscribing sites to the UNESCO WHS list is another recently revived goal for cultural heritage management policies in Turkey. The government has been taking necessary steps one by one to become a more active member of the committee and to potentially inscribe more sites to the list. The damage occurring to monuments on the historical peninsula of Istanbul, however, contradicts cultural heritage management policies consistent with the universal and/or cultural value of heritage, rather than its economic value. Simultaneously, attitudes toward pre-Islamic heritage in Turkey represented by the Bursa case demonstrate selective preference over what constitutes heritage, or at least preferred heritage, in Turkey. Many pre-Islamic sites on the World Heritage List are popular tourist destinations. When considered with rationales of government in mind, then, classical sites such as Pergamum will continue to be nominated to the list for the economic impacts they create. So, while governments may dislike certain types of cultural heritage, they promote them for their potential economy effects.

The Theater Letter

While various theater buildings have been excavated regularly since the early years of archaeological practice in Turkey, the excavation of every theater was never specifically mandated before 2006. That year, the Ministry circulated what has become known as the “Theatre Letter,” mandated all archaeological projects in Turkey to report on the condition of their ancient theaters and to incorporate excavations of theaters into ongoing research activities regardless of ongoing research strategies.

Theater buildings in Turkey are phenomena of the Classical (Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman) periods. Initially, they functioned as places of performance for literary Greek plays (Bieber 1961). During Roman times, their shapes and functions were modified as explicit tools for imperial propaganda (Sear 2006). Until the widespread acceptance of Christianity, these monumental buildings often served as venues for deadly games in which creatures of all kind, including humans, perished for the amusement of audiences (Bieber 1961). While not the earliest of their kind, Roman theaters are considered among “the greatest and most masterful creations of Roman architecture” (Bieber 1961: 189), because of their special fusion of construction, architecture, and aesthetics. Like the Romans before them, succeeding cultures appropriated theaters for specific purposes; these buildings took on new meanings and functions, as they were incorporated into venues for public events beginning in the 19th century (Mavromoustakos 2010). Thus, it is no coincidence that in his letter of 21 February 2006, Minister Attila Koç required all archaeological projects, regardless of their periods or research designs, to report on the condition of their ancient theaters and make theater excavation, conservation, and reconstruction top priority (Shoup 2008: 373). Considering that the letter was sent to prehistoric projects, such as Çatalhöyük, the Ministry appears to have kept inventories of neither the periods represented at the archaeological sites for which they granted permissions nor of the types of buildings – theaters or others – present at them. In other words, the chronological distribution of archaeological sites and permits was not categorized information.

For this section, I draw upon excavation reports from periodicals such as the

Journal of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography and the KST reports cited in earlier chapters. These documents provide useful information about the excavation history of sites in Anatolia, from the early years on, and provide insights on the conditions and reasons under which various phases of excavations of certain types of buildings had started. Also, they contain information about the progress of the excavation, research questions, and comments and opinions of excavation directors regarding obstacles such as lack of funding, necessary equipment, and time constraints.

By focusing on the results of excavations following the circulation of the Theater Letter, it is possible to evaluate whether excavations met the goals set by it. Also, this overview documents the responses to the letter of researchers conducting excavations throughout Turkey. Ancient buildings, such as theaters, do not disappear easily in modern landscapes because of their recognizable shapes, monumental sizes, and solid construction materials. As a result, they have always been conspicuous among ruins and subject to more scholarly investigation and excavation than other structures. Thus, they have been systematically documented throughout the Greek and Roman worlds. Ancient theaters in Anatolia fall within this schema. Scholarly work on ancient theaters in Anatolia began as early as the mid-18th century, when travelers like Richard Pococke (1743, 1745) provided detailed descriptions of them. Other major studies include Ferrero's work on classical theaters in Anatolia (Ferrero 1966–1974), a four-volume work on Greek and Roman theaters by Rossetto and Sartorio (Rome 1994), and most recently, Frank Sear's (2006) architectural survey of Roman theaters and theater-like building containing detailed information about Classical and Roman theaters in Anatolia

with a catalogue, section drawings, plans, and reports on conditions.

The number of known theaters in Anatolia shows slight variation before the Theater Letter. During the Roman Empire, Asia Minor was divided into six provinces with a hundred and fifty cities; each city had at least one theater, but often more, in addition to other buildings constructed in theatrical shapes – such as odeon or bouleterion buildings – potentially making the 150 the bare minimum of theater-like buildings in Anatolia (Sear 2006). Archaeological and epigraphical evidence suggests 144 theaters and 34 theater-like buildings (Sear 2006), bringing the total number of known theaters and similar structures to 178. However, following the circulation of the Theater Letter and the 2006 field season, the Minister announced that the number of known ancient theaters had increased to 225 (TBMM Tutanak 35. Birleşim 2006). One positive contribution of the Theater Letter, then, is that number and condition of existing theaters in Anatolia were incorporated into a database for their proper management.

The first volume of the *Journal of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography* includes the brief report of A. Aziz on the Aspendos Theater in Antalya (Aziz 1933). Aziz, a member of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum in 1933, describes the building as “well preserved” and the “best example to analyze Roman theater buildings” (1933: 99–106). Aziz’s report emphasizes the value of the building in analytical terms, recognizing the potential of the building for comparative studies of Roman theaters. The report was published three years after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s visit to Aspendos in 1930 and his recommendation for its repair and reuse in modern times (Aziz 1933). Beginning in the 1950s, the Aspendos theater became a major venue for concerts and plays and not only

gave its name to, but also became the home of the Aspendos International Opera and Ballet Festival (Festival Tarihçesi 2010).

The Aspendos Theater is not the only example of the study and subsequent development for modern use of ancient theaters and other buildings. Over the years, many ancient theater buildings in Anatolia have been studied and excavated over long-term projects. Eventually, many were incorporated into tourism, either as destinations worthy of being seen or as locations where entertainment and political events could be held.

The Side theater, for instance, was recorded by early travelers already in the 19th century and experienced its first archaeological work in 1947 under the directorship of Ord. Prof. Dr. A. M. Mansel. It was excavated later between 1955 and 1965 and again in an ongoing project that began in 1982 (İzmirligil 1984), making it the focus of one of the longest-term excavation projects in Turkey. While theater excavations had been part of broader ranging excavation projects earlier, a few excavations focused only on theater remains even before the Theater Letter of 2006. The İznik Theatre excavation project initiated by the General Directorate of the Ministry in 1980 still continues today (Yalman 1981). Projects initiated through governmental organizations, however, have often conflicted with research-based initiatives. The seats of the Perge theater, for example, were cleaned and repaired between 1965 and 1966 under direction of the General Directorate, but the repair program was halted at the request of the excavation director because it was deemed not “scientifically appropriate” (İnan 1981:46).

This brief survey demonstrates that 1) short and long-term theater excavations

have always been part of the archaeological practice; 2) ancient theaters have been used for various events including concerts and the like; and 3) ancient theaters were always subject to governmental interest in Turkey, even before the issue of the Theater Letter in 2006.

The Impact of the Theater Letter

The second part of this section draws from a review of annual excavation reports following the 2006 letter in order to investigate its impact and any responses to it. The only firm evidence for the existence of the Theater Letter published in KST reports can be found in the excavation report on the 2006 season of the Archaeological Excavations of Sardis in Manisa. The director of excavations at the time, the late Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., wrote the following short report:

“After Minister of Culture and Tourism, Mr. Attila Koç, defined ancient theaters of Turkey as top priority for excavation, conservation, and reconstruction (in his letter of February 21, 2006, sent to all archaeological expeditions in Turkey)... the Sardis Expedition made the Theater of Sardis its major excavation focus for 2006. To be sure, the Theater poses stimulating “intellectual” questions: - did it have a pre-Roman (Hellenistic) phase, precisely when in Roman times was it built, how was it physically coordinated with the Stadium, and how does it compare in size and design with other Roman theaters?” (Greenewalt 2008: 373)

In addition to responding curtly to the Minister’s request, Greenewalt’s short report indicates how excavations should seek to investigate questions, a now universally accepted fact of modern archaeological research. Only one other report may have

responded to the Theater Letter, but only indirectly.

The report on the 2006 field season at Erythrai (Izmir) openly voices concern about misunderstandings of archaeological practice and the vocabulary used by various stakeholders of archaeology. In this case, Erythrai Excavation director Akalın highlights the necessity that restorations of theater buildings be carefully planned, including an inventory of architectural fragments, measured drawings, and restoration and maintenance programs, rather than simple “repairs” made to accommodate the activities of other stakeholders, including local governments and the general public (Akalın 2008).

Akalın’s note is important not just in responding to concerns about theater restoration, but also in highlighting the entanglements of a web of stakeholders, including governing agencies, local governments, the general public, and archaeologists. It is clear that such groups operate with various (and often conflicting) definitions, perceptions, and expectations of what archaeology provides. Thus, Akalın suggests a future study to understand these different vocabularies to offer the potential to decrease tensions between various stakeholders. Additionally, investigation of the potential association between the Theater Letter and continuous demands and pressures from local governments for the integration of theater buildings with tourism activities would be useful to understand the forces that impact the governance and practice of archaeology in Turkey.

Investigation of the Theater Letter and its impact shows that study and excavation of ancient theaters and the use of restored ancient buildings for the purposes of modern cultural events in relation to tourism had been common practice long before 2006. Nevertheless, the Theatre Letter created a different situation where a particular

monumental building was selected for immediate assessment and excavation, having the potential effect of changing the direction of planned and ongoing research, and necessitating new funding arrangements for the restoration and maintenance of a particular type of building. Without a doubt, theater research conducted since 2006 has contributed to our understanding of these impressive monumental structures. It is likely that increased tourism activities have created economic income and contributed to economic stimulation, as well. Notwithstanding, due to the economic benefits and public awareness that come from increased site visitation, two main reasons explain why the 2006 mandate to excavate theaters has had a decidedly negative impact on the very cultural heritage we are ethically bound to protect for future generations.

First, buildings such as theaters can hold audiences varying from several hundreds to thousands of people at once. Such buildings have always been easier to notice and identify in the archaeological record due to their monumental size and sturdy materials. For the same reasons, the study, excavation, restoration, and maintenance of theaters is time consuming and costly. Thus, the decision to dedicate scarce funding resources to excavate yet more ancient theaters needs to be evaluated carefully. As Ian Hodder posited in his keynote speech at the International Conference on Materiality, Memory, and Cultural Heritage concerning the Çatalhöyük Research Project, “What is going to happen after a research project comes to an end?” The question is a crucial one to be remembered by each and every stakeholder in archaeology before promoting excavation of either one particular type of building or any site.

Second, professional archaeological excavations and research projects are

designed to address specific research questions rather than simply expose monumental architectural features. Archaeological methods develop and change continuously, and exposing an entire building requires archaeologists to destroy evidence that could be collected using more efficient and less-destructive, yet still undeveloped methods in the future . More importantly, focusing on one specific building type of one particular period creates unbalanced archaeological data that favors theaters at the expense of smaller, often more threatened, sites. Given the distribution of Classical period sites in the coastal areas of the Aegean and Mediterranean, such a focus on theaters would be similarly geographically restricted. In explaining the choice of Daskyleion as an excavation site, and echoing the importance of archaeology as the scientific analysis of the human past, Tomris Bakır, a prominent Turkish archaeologist, explained that, “Instead of excavating a Roman theater for the tenth time, I wanted to fulfill a scientific gap by doing something that has not been done before...” (Bezdan 2012: 19).

Evaluation

During the early years of the Republic, archaeology was among the disciplines of physical anthropology and history in being used to build a new nation associated with its deep ties with the past peoples of Anatolia. Since this time, however, the meaning and use of archaeological practice in the eyes of the government has transformed from a privileged discipline to one that functions as a commodity serving the tourism industry or political discourse at both national and international levels. This transformation reveals how the state has used its governance of archaeology as a rational and thoughtful activity aiming to shape the practice to serve its goals, now very different from those of nation

building in the 1930s.

At an institutional level, beginning with the establishment of a core governing unit within the Ministry of Education, it is possible to trace government aims for archaeological practice over time. The emergence of a Ministry of Culture in the 1970s and the establishment of the joint Ministry of Culture and Tourism during the 1980s are reflections of these goals. The primary difference between today's joint ministry and that of the 1980s is that the today's government acts with more focus and discipline toward its goals.

In the last ten years, especially, an increasing emphasis on governmental funds and repatriated artifacts is serving to promote the idea that the state essentially cares for archaeology. An in-depth look at this interest, however, reveals that the state is quite selective in its interest. One by one, case studies discussed in this chapter, such as the Ilisu and Karkamış Dams, the Marmaray Project, and the Theater Letter, demonstrate that archaeology is acceptable when it is profitable for developing tourism or when the state needs to demonstrate its authority. This hypocritical approach further underlines the current role of archaeology as a commodity.

With this premise, the Ministry's preference of excavation over survey surfaces once again. Interest in excavations date from the early years of the Republic, yet after almost 80 years of work and a global literature on the contribution of survey archaeology, the state still marginalizes survey archaeology as a second-class method. Surveys, by their nature, reveal few items that can be profitably incorporated into tourism. On the contrary, as in the Keban Project, the Ilisu Project, and similar salvage or construction-

related projects, previously unknown heritage can often cause delays in development projects.

Of the cases I discussed here, the Keban Dam Salvage Project is of particular interest because it is one of the reference points marking the transformation in government thought towards archaeological practice. The wide public support gained by the project marks a bygone era, in which the state had a more positive approach to archaeology even despite the delays it caused. In the last ten years, government attitudes towards archaeologists who insist on the preservation of cultural heritage are hostile rather than welcoming. This hostility is evident in government discourse concerning the Ilisu and Karkamış Dam Projects and the Marmaray Project.

In the Marmaray Project, archaeologists were targeted first as enemies standing between development projects and the people, despite state emphasis on its care for heritage during the opening ceremony. A similar approach was taken for the Haliç Metro Bridge, despite the fact that the project almost caused Istanbul to lose its WHS status. These cases present a drastic transformation in the role and function of archaeology in the eyes of the government, especially after the 2000s. Cases in which conflict occurs between cultural heritage and development projects thus reveal the true thoughts and rationales of government.

Moreover, documents such as the Theater Letter enable me to pinpoint the exact goals of the government. With the Letter, the state may have encouraged an inventory of all ancient theaters in Turkey for integration into cultural heritage management incentives. However, the real purposes of the letter concern the development of heritage

for touristic and hence economic gains. Furthermore, the Theater Letter demonstrates that available funding does not always result in best practices, as the time and effort spent on the already known properties of theaters could be better directed elsewhere. For the purposes of this study, it is interesting also that the archaeological community hardly reacted to the request coming from the government. The reasons for this can be sought in how governments shape the conduct of individuals and how they force their populations to behave in certain ways. Thus, in the next chapter, I will focus on the identities formed among archaeologists through state institutions.

CHAPTER 7

THE FORMATION OF IDENTITIES

In previous chapters, by focusing on governmental institutions and their apparatuses as well as their calculated production of knowledge and transformations in them through time, I demonstrated that the role of archaeology has been redefined to serve the modern-day needs of the state in Turkey. While tourism incentives have always been on the agenda of the state as one of the roles of archaeology, it has been in the last ten years that this role has become better defined and focused to transform archaeology into a commodity or profitable tool. At the same time, in the event of conflicts over development, the tool becomes an obstacle to the state.

In this final section concerning the analytics of government, I focus on the impact of these transformations on the subject – namely the archaeologists – because the state, “by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and belief of various actors” (Biebricher and Vogelmann 2012:3) transforms the practice itself in service of the shifting goals it aspires to achieve. In doing so, it forms individual and collective identities (Dean 2010). Thus, identity formation entails exercise of power through governmental institutions and/or individuals to shape the conduct of the governed. The reciprocal relation between the people and institutions who exercise authority over the practice and practitioners establishes the final step of analytics of government.

In this chapter, I present various identities that are formed among the practitioners of archaeology in Turkey. The elements leading to various identity formations include,

but are not limited to the following: 1) the structure of academia in archaeology; 2) the educational background of archaeologists; and 3) the level of interaction between the state and practitioners for research permits and governmental funds. These various factors and the identities they create contribute to the establishment of hierarchy in the archaeological community, and/or propagate already existing hierarchies within the discipline, as archaeologists interact among themselves and the state. As a result, certain groups of practitioners have higher visibility and are preferable, from the perspective of the state, whereas other groups remain with low visibility and underrepresented. Do such identities have impacts on the practice itself? Do they determine or have an impact on chronological and thematic approaches to archaeological work in Turkey? To what extent do they have impacts on state perception of archaeology? Does such identity formation among practitioners lead to advantages or disadvantages in receiving research permits and government funding or in obtaining academic positions at universities? These are some of the questions I aim to answer in this chapter.

In defining various identities in archaeological practice in Turkey, I focus first on identities formed through the academic structure and state-established education system. Archaeology was taught in state universities for the majority of the 20th century. Accordingly, and despite the recent establishment of a number of private, or “foundation,” universities, the educational framework defined by such state institutions is highlighted to show how they have defined archaeologists working on Prehistory, Protohistory (the equivalent of Near Eastern Studies), and classical periods. As part of this structure, I investigate also the two main schools of archaeological practice in Turkey

that have shaped the practice since the early years of the Republic.

In the second section, I focus on identities formed through interactions between archaeologists (the governed) and the government itself. In establishing another set of identities formed by the governance of archaeology, I again use AST/KST reports from the annual symposia organized by the state since 1978. First, I establish problematic areas in the discipline based on these reports. Later, based on the nature of the problems, in addition to identities defined by the academic training, I also discuss identities such as foreign vs. Turkish and director vs. staff that have arisen in the archaeological practice of Turkey given its governance.

The Formation of Identities through the Academic System in Turkey

The Academic Structure

The individual identity of an archaeologist is shaped through the governmental educational institutions s/he has attended. In understanding the various formations of identities among archaeologists in Turkey, it is thus essential to investigate the current academic structure, from the undergraduate to the doctorate degree, as this system creates the academicians that serve and feed the discipline. From the 1940s to 2000, academic departments experienced several structural changes, although how fast these changes occurred or how suitable they are to current trends in archaeological research is debatable. Although the records of archaeology departments were partial, a brief survey reveals for instance that at İstanbul University in 1964, there was the department of Prehistory and Archaeology (Çambel 2008). This is a rather interesting divide as

Prehistory is not considered part of an archaeological approach although its research methodology is the same with what was considered archaeology at the time.

Before the military coup in 1980, universities contained separate departments of Archaeology and Art History following earlier traditions of art historical perspectives in archaeological studies. After the establishment of the Council of Higher Education (Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu-YÖK) in 1981, following the military coup of 1980, joint Archaeology and History of Art departments persisted from the 1980s to the 2000s. In 2000, Archaeology Departments were separated from Art History Departments and archaeology continued to be taught in three separate branches; Prehistory, Protohistory and Classical Archaeology. In 2002, YÖK imposed a merger of the three branches into a single specialty in archaeology. This decision remained in effect until 2009. In that year, an official demand from Ankara University gained YÖK approval and returned archaeological education to the three-branch system (Ankara University, n.d.). The ability to effect change in YÖK in this way demonstrates the influence of academicians at Ankara University on. As I demonstrate later in this chapter, Ankara University, one of the oldest governmental education institutions in Turkey, has enjoyed its status as a powerhouse for many years and played significant roles in the formation of identities in archaeological practice. Furthermore, some first generation archaeologists had close ties to YÖK, with Tahsin Özgüç even serving as its vice president from 1982 to 1988 (Duruel 2011). Thus, as a first topic of interest, I focus on the educational backgrounds of those archaeologists who have contributed to the formation of various identities among archaeologists.

Unlike the variety of undergraduate education in western countries, where students and scholars can receive archaeological training in a variety of departments with different curricular foci (e.g., Classics, Anthropology, and Near Eastern Studies, if not also Archaeology), in Turkey a degree in Archaeology is obtained through four years of education in university departments of Archaeology. Currently, undergraduate and graduate-level degrees are classified under the three branch specializations mentioned above: Prehistory, Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology, and Classical Archaeology. The chronological focus of the Prehistory branch covers roughly the Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Chalcolithic periods; Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology focuses on the archaeology of Anatolia and the Near East during the Bronze and Iron Ages, and Classical Archaeology focuses on the archaeology of Turkey beginning from the Greek Archaic Period and stretching through the Late Roman/Byzantine period. Specialization in archaeological study of later periods, including Early Christian, Byzantine, Beylik, Seljuk, or Ottoman, is not usually available in departments of Archaeology as these period are considered the realm of departments of Art History or History, depending on the availability of textual records. Thus study of at least a millennium of human history is relegated to study through a combination of stylistic analysis and texts, even if archaeological approaches can enrich them with contextual and chronological analyses that may confirm, contradict, and/or deepen knowledge derived otherwise. Advanced degrees in archaeology are obtained also through graduate programs in various departments of Archaeology, with the exception of a “Program in Settlement Archaeology,” established at the Middle Eastern Technical

University (METU). Although it offers no undergraduate education in this field, the program at METU provides Master of Science and Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Archaeology.

As I present in this chapter, the tradition at archaeology departments in state universities is to accept favorite graduating undergraduate students to higher education programs in the same department. Most scholars thus work their way up from the undergraduate level to graduate degrees in one department. This system then leads to further academic inbreeding by recruiting faculty from their own PhD students, the primary mode of academic employment in the late 19th and early 20th century (Hargens and Farr 1973). As early as 1930s, however, disadvantages of this type of academic inbreeding in the US were identified as including lower salaries and lower levels of academic achievement (Hargens and Farr 1973). A study conducted by Reece McGee (1960) found that academic inbreeding in the US was a result of university policies to finance high-profile scholars by employing inbred scholars. As a result, these inbred scholars had poor work conditions and took longer to get promoted, further effecting their scholarly achievements. In evaluation of academic inbreeding, Hargens and Farr (1973) underline that inbred scholars are less likely to be exposed to new ideas and technologies, and their ties to their own professors limit their independence and innovative abilities. In a more recent study, Özlem İnanç and Ömer Tuncer (2011:886) reflect directly on the situation in Turkey, suggesting that academic inbreeding exceeds 50% in Turkey and arguing that it “limits exchange of scientific knowledge and leads to academic fossilization.”

Academic inbreeding in archaeology departments in Turkey, however, was not primarily related to the desire to attract high profile faculty members; in other words, it did not aim to “rob Peter [the inbred faculty] to pay Paul [faculty attracted to the university through competitive efforts made possible by the discrimination]” (Hargens and Farr 1973: 1382). In Turkey, academic inbreeding was and is a condition of its time, similar to that in the US in the 19th and early 20th century; owing to a lack of faculty members, inbreeding has evolved differently, at least within archaeological practice because of the specific nature of the discipline. The archaeological practice of academics has two main components: university work and fieldwork. Because graduate theses are written about material recovered during fieldwork and fieldwork, in general, is hierarchically above university work, a deeper and hierarchical relationship has been established between primary faculty members, who are fieldwork directors, and inbred faculty members, who are often the former PhD students of project directors. In my discussion of the assistant or co-directorship position in Chapter 4, I underlined that PhD students (either current or former) most often assume the position of administrative assistants on fieldwork projects. The hierarchical relation between mentor and student, primary and inbred faculty, then, has potential to carry over with long-term consequences through generations of archaeologists. Thus, I consider this long-term effect as a major factor in the formation of identities among archaeologists in Turkey.

A close look at the faculty members of Turkish academic institutions reveals that academic inbreeding had been the main form of employment until recently. For example, the biographical-memoir prepared for Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç mentioned in an earlier

chapter lists eleven of their students from Ankara University: Nermin Sinemoğlu (no information available); Kutlu Emre (later chair of Protohistory at Ankara University); Önder Bilgi (Bachelors from Ankara University, graduate degree from London, later faculty at İstanbul University); Armağan Erkanal (later faculty at Hacettepe University from 1974 to 2011); Hayat Erkanal (Bachelors from Ankara University, PhD from Germany, later faculty at Ankara University); Sachioro Omura (no information available); Aliye Öztan (Bachelors, MA, and PhD from Ankara University, later faculty at Ankara University); Fikri Kulakoğlu (Bachelors, MA, and PhD from Ankara University, now faculty at Ankara University), Tuba Ökse (Bachelors from Ankara University, PhD from Berlin, later faculty at Kocaeli University); Tunç Sipahi (Bachelors, MA, and PhD from Ankara University, later faculty at Ankara University); and Tayfun Yıldırım (currently faculty at Ankara University). Of these eleven students, at least six completed their academic training and later obtained positions in the same department; thus more than half of Özgüç's advanced students were, essentially, inbred faculty, while others worked at İstanbul and Kocaeli University. Armağan Erkanal who started working at Hacettepe University in 1974 played a major role in establishing the Archaeology Department there (Hacettepe Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Bölümü n.d.). Likewise, students of Ekrem Akurgal followed similar tracks (Akurgal 1999.), making academic inbreeding a large part of the legacy of archaeological practice in Turkey.

In addition to academic inbreeding, the higher education system in Turkey also perpetuates the restrictive three-branch system of academic archaeology. For academic archaeologists teaching in Turkish universities, there are only three area specializations

for the Turkish equivalent of tenure-track positions. Outside of the three branches, archaeologists who work in Byzantine, Beylik, or Ottoman periods or archaeologists interested in cultural heritage management or who conduct theoretical studies without fieldwork are unrecognized for positions in archaeology departments, especially in state universities. Archaeologists may find positions, however, in departments of Ancient History, Medieval History, and the like. This academic structure most definitely affects the range of coursework in archaeology departments, as they focus on art and architecture of the Classical and the Roman world, whereas archaeological method, sciences, or theory courses are still peripheral studies. On the one hand, the structure imposed by the government establishes a divide among archaeologists based on chronological periods from day one. On the other hand, chronological periods such as Byzantine, Beylik, Seljuk and Ottoman are not considered archaeological, suggesting that the people who conduct archaeological research on these periods cannot be considered archaeologists to begin with. Thus, identities in archaeological practice get fuzzy when periods of interest stretch beyond the Classical. In the next section, I investigate the basis of this three-branch approach through tracing the establishment of archaeology departments in Turkey.

The Establishment of Archaeology Departments

As of April 2014, there are 45 officially recognized departments of archaeology in Turkey, in state-run as well as private universities. Of these 45 departments, 40 are listed as providing placements for 2014 undergraduate students (Arkeoloji Taban Puanları 2014). Of the 45 departments, some are in their first years of undergraduate teaching; others only provide graduate-level classes.

Despite the current abundance of archaeology departments in Turkey, for the nearly three decades between the 1930s and mid-1950s, İstanbul University and Ankara University were the only universities that provided academic training in archaeology. Archaeologists who pursued higher education in archaeology during these times, then, either completed their advanced studies in these universities or studied abroad (e.g., Germany, England, and the UK). Upon completion of their advanced studies, such scholars began to work as faculty in these universities or elsewhere, where they established new archaeology departments.

İstanbul and Ankara universities were the first and leading universities to be established in the early years of the Republic with strong ideological ties to the Republic itself. The academic staff of these new universities consisted of émigré scholars and scholars from Turkey who received their academic training in Europe in the early years of the Republic. Although émigré scholars contributed much in the early years, the educational background of scholars from Turkey, their research choices, methods, and regions of interest, as well as their worldview, had profound impacts on archaeological practice in Turkey for many years to come. First-generation archaeologists, especially those from Ankara University, became the first elites of academia in Turkey and remained that way at least into the 1980s if not the 1990s. As indicated earlier, these first generation scholars held major positions in academic institutions and also established archaeological institutions elsewhere in Turkey. Because of their different approaches and worldviews, these two schools are argued here to have played significant roles in the establishment of various identities among archaeologists in Turkey.

Istanbul University

Prior to the establishment of İstanbul University, the Darulfünun, an Ottoman institute for advanced studies was the primary academic establishment of Turkey; under the Turkish Republic, however, the institute was shuttered because it was deemed incompatible with the principles of the new state (Ege and Hagemann 2012). An archaeology department was established in 1933 as part of the recently founded İstanbul University. Belli interprets the establishment of İstanbul University as the first fundamental structuring of archaeology in Turkey (2001). Within İstanbul University, the Turkish Archaeology Institute was established in 1934 under the directorship of Helmuth Theodor Bossert, who was also the chair of Sumerian and Hittite Studies there between 1942 and 1959. Bossert was one of the 40 émigré scholars working at İstanbul University at the time. In addition to Bossert was Arif Müfid Mansel, who completed his archaeological education in Berlin, Germany in 1929 with personal funds and started teaching at İstanbul University in the winter of 1935, eventually assuming the chair of its Classical Archaeology section (Belli 2000 and Özceylan 2013). After conducting work in and around Thrace, in 1943 Mansel refocused his work on investigations of the Pamphylia region, around modern Antalya, and started excavations at Perge and Side after 1946. He also established the Antalya Research Station of İstanbul University in 1954. As we will see later in this chapter, Mansel's work in Pamphylia pioneered the dominance of certain departments over particular research topics defined by chronologies and geographies. Because Mansel focused on Pamphylia and Lycia, it was accepted that study of those areas was reserved for İstanbul University or, more specifically, for

students of Mansel. Such territorialism would shape archaeological practice in Turkey for many years to come and demonstrates the power of these first generation archaeologists. When Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu of Ankara University first conducted work at Arykanda of highland Lycia in the 1970s, Mansel allegedly questioned the decision (Özceylan 2013). The western parts of Lycia had been under the hegemony of İstanbul University, and it did not befit gentlemanly etiquette for someone from Ankara University to conduct research in that region.

Bayburtluoğlu, excavation director of Arykanda for the next 40 years, later revealed that he had been able to secure the permit from the Ministry because he pledged to complete the excavation of one building each year, accepting the condition that it be revoked if he failed to fulfill this promise to Hikmet Gürçay, then General Director. These events took place in early 1970, and Bayburtluoğlu received the permit to work at Arykanda in 1971 (Bayburtluoğlu 2012). Mansel's discontent about the situation was a clear sign of his continuous but decreasing authority in the 1970s. Four decades of authority, however, must have been sufficient to engrain such territorial tendencies in the DNA of archaeological practice in Turkey.

The interaction between Bayburtluoğlu and the General Directorate shows also that unwritten rules about academic territories are or were in some cases bent by the Ministry. In the 1970s, when the mass tourism industry was blooming, ancient sites such as Arykanda showed great potential for tourism, and exposing an ancient building every year must have been too large an opportunity to miss for the Ministry, as tourism has always been its soft spot.

The Department of Prehistory at İstanbul University

The Prehistory Department at İstanbul University was officially established much later than the Classical Archaeology Department. Halet Çambel, who completed her undergraduate education in Paris' Sorbonne University, pursued her PhD degree at İstanbul University while assigned as a research assistant to Theodor Bossert in 1944 (İstanbul University, Prof. Dr. Halet Çambel 2013). In 1950, Çambel and Kurt Bittel established the department of Prehistory in İstanbul, which emphasized a multidisciplinary and international approach to archaeology in Turkey, with pioneering and well-known prehistoric research projects, especially that conducted as a joint project with Robert and Linda Braidwood of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute.

Protohistory and Near Eastern Studies

The department of Protohistory in İstanbul was first established under Bossert, who chaired the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Languages. Bahadır Alkım, who obtained an official position as an assistant in 1941, became the director of the department in 1960, serving until his death in 1981. The same year, the department divided into a Hittitology section and a Near Eastern Archaeology section. Following Alkım, Refik Duru (1981–1999), Önder Bilgi (1999–2006), Turan Efe (2006–2009), and Gülsün Umurtak (2009–present) became chairs of the department. As we will see in Ankara University, the chairships held by scholars of these universities spanned periods of time that are impossible to repeat in today's academic conditions. People such as Ufuk Esin (1984–2000) at İstanbul, Refik Duru (1981–1999) at İstanbul, and Tahsin Özgüç at Ankara, held the position of chair for at least a decade if not more.

CVs and memoirs of former faculty of İstanbul University reveal also that many faculty held unpaid, voluntary staff positions for many years before getting permanent appointments. Çambel, for instance, got an official appointment as an assistant professor in İstanbul University only at the time she had satisfied the requirements of tenure, or *doçentlik*, in 1947 (İstanbul University Prof. Dr. Halet Çambel 2013). Mehmet Özdoğan's curriculum vitae at İstanbul University lists that he, too, worked as a volunteer assistant at İstanbul University from 1970 to 1974 because of a lack of permanent staff positions (İstanbul University Prof. Dr. Mehmet Özdoğan 2012). One might even suggest that Çambel and Özdoğan, two of the most prominent names in Turkish archaeology, set a standard for the acceptability of unpaid services in archaeology, yet such a statement remains outside the focus of this dissertation.

Ankara University

In 1935, the Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography was established as part of Ankara University, the first faculty of the Republic. The Faculty of Letters, History, and Geography was structured around the “Turkish History Thesis,” mentioned earlier in this dissertation, and included Hungarology, Sinology, and Hindology to study the primary sources about the origins of Turks and the Turkish language (Aydın 2002). Additionally, the name of Departments of Assyrology was changed to Sumerology by order of Atatürk, who wanted to distance such departments from a Semitic association with Assyrian studies (Aydın 2002).

Three biographies published by the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) provide valuable insight on the impacts of Ankara University in archaeology. TÜBA,

established in 1993, has so far published five biographies of prominent academics from Turkey (TÜBA 2013). Three of these publications are biographies of first-generation archaeologists who taught at Ankara University for around four decades: *Ekrem Akurgal: Memoirs of an Archaeologist* (Vignettes from the History of Culture from the Turkish Republic); *Sedat Alp: Life Story of the first Hittitologist*; and *Children of the Republic Elders of Archaeology*, about Nimet and Tahsin Özgüç.

The titles of each book reveal information about the personalities of these figures and refer to their academic struggles with other scholars as well as their respected status among the archaeological community. The memoirs are not only testaments to the conditions of the emergence of archaeology in Turkey in the early years of the Republic, but also rich sources of information on the impacts of their subjects on archaeology and academic life in Turkey even today. As I show later, the principles established by these individuals echo throughout the works of a later generations of archaeologists.

It is interesting to note, however, that TÜBA neither published the autobiography of Halet Çambel, who was its member and outlived the three male figures named above, nor prepared memorial biographical publications for other prominent female archaeologists Jale İnan and Ufuk Esin. Nimet Özgüç, too, receives no independent memoir for herself, and the joint biography in which she is included focuses mostly on the achievements of Tahsin Özgüç. The only available information about Mükerrerrem Usman Anabolu, a prominent female archaeologist and the daughter of Mazhar Osman, a pioneering neuropsychiatrist of the late Ottoman and early Republican period (Naderi and Erbeni 2005), is a recent interview published in a popular archaeology journal.

Of those biographies, that of Ekrem Akurgal, the larger-than-life figure of Turkish classical archaeology referred to in an earlier chapter, contains rich material that highlights his role in many problematic areas of archaeological practice in Turkey, from the mistreatment of women, to the social-class-based selection of potential archaeologists and the promotion of the importance of an apolitical stance in archaeology. However, because Akurgal has been accepted generally as “Hocaların Hocası-Master of all Masters” and reached a cult status in Turkish classical archaeology, criticism of him in print so far comes from scholars outside the discipline of archaeology.

Akurgal was one of the few people of the Republic to be elected to study abroad. His memoir reflects that he embraced the ideals of the Republic as his own. On the other hand, he established his own ideology of archaeology and succeeded in carving out for himself territories including but not limited to Ankara University and Classical Archaeology. With such power, the way he shaped the conduct of his students plays a role in defining identities of archaeological practice in Turkey, especially in Classical Archaeology. As I discuss in further detail below, his memoirs and the attestations of his students demonstrate textbook examples of how he fostered expected forms of conduct, constituting identity formation vis-à-vis the analytics of government.

From his memoirs, we learn that Akurgal set geographical and periodical agendas for the study of Classical Archaeology in Turkey, and especially for Hellenistic Art, giving specific topics to his students that followed the major periods. He adds that he avoided Roman art subjects for his pupils because this topic was the prerogative of İstanbul University archaeologists. He acknowledges that he was known as “Hocaların

Hocası-Master of all Masters” and refers to his students as his grandchildren (Akurgal 1999). Such paternal and hierarchical ties with students surface also in the Özgüç biography, in which even the title describes them as the “elders of archaeology.” At least one published reference demonstrates such pseudo-paternal ties between professors and students: when a student of Özgüç met with Benno Landsberger, the German linguist, in 1966, he noted that he felt emotional when Landsberger greeted him with, “Hoşgeldin torunum!” (or “Welcome my grandson”), thus acknowledging himself as the academic grandson of Landsberger (Anlağan 2011: 280).

Akurgal’s criteria for the selection of archaeology students was widely known and accepted in academic circles. He openly admitted having been criticized for his selection of beautiful women and handsome men (Akurgal 1999). In selecting future students of the classical archaeology, in particular, he asked a set of questions that judged not only their interest in archaeology and ability in foreign languages, but also their personal wealth, claiming that the children of wealthy families, especially, should study social sciences because such disciplines enable no financial earnings, and only wealthy families can provide support for things like the study of ancient languages. Until the 1950s, he was able to select only 5–6 students with these qualities; after the 1950s, however, he found 30–40 suitable students with the general improvement of high-school education in Turkey and the state implementation of testing-based university placements. Akurgal believed such test-based systems disrupted his better way of selecting students and led to unqualified students filling archaeology departments in later years (Akurgal 1999).

Akurgal was assisted in his selection of such “qualified students” before the less

selective test-based university entry system was introduced. His assistants and helpers report their responsibilities as the first barriers to prevent “kılıksız and yakışksız” (*shabby and unseemly*) students from entering archaeology departments; those who passed the assistants would then face Akurgal, even if by this time he had completed most of his elimination process. His powerful persona along with the hierarchical system must have enabled him to establish such a team of assistants who acted without question of their behavior.

Among wealthy potential archaeologists, women had a special place for Akurgal. He admits to denying female students as assistants, because he believed they would marry early, even as he favored them as students. He reveals proudly in his book that in the 1970s and 1980s his efforts produced fruit as, at that time, his students had married ambassadors, generals, university presidents, and rich businessmen. Aykut Çınaroğlu, in a tribute article to Tahsin Özgüç, wrote that he did not even consider applying to “another archaeology chair” (i.e., Akurgal) because he learned that male students were not preferred by that chair (Çınaroğlu 2011). Önder Bilgi, in the same volume dedicated to the Özgüç couple, notes that while waiting in the long line for an application to study Classical Archaeology at Ankara University in 1959, he heard the rumor that Akurgal was very picky and chose instead to interview for Protohistory, which studied cultures with which he was familiar from high school, such as Sumerians, Akkadians, Hittites, Phrygians, and Urartians (Bilgi 2011). Bilgi’s testimony is quite interesting, also, as it reflects how a young citizen embraced a profession based on the political ideology of the early Republic. As I argued in a previous section, early Republican ideologically created

a very positive perception of archaeology that was still alive in the 1950s and 1960s, thus influencing young scholars like Bilgi as well as public opinion, in cases like the Keban Dam Salvage Project.

Even before Akurgal dominated Ankara University, however, archaeological practice in Turkey benefited greatly from contributions of émigré scholars. Their biographies, too, provide insights on how some of them came to work in Turkey as well as how their contracts were later terminated because of political reasons. In 1935, for example, Benno Landsberger and his student Hans Gustav Güterbock were offered positions in Ankara University (Alp 2004). After many years of service, Landsberger and Güterbock's contracts were terminated in the summer of 1948 by a decision of the National Assembly during the Recep Peker government. Apparently, the motion that led to the termination of their contracts had started at least a year earlier (Çelebi 2003). The events that led to the scholars' contract termination were tied to political rather than academic reasons. According to Alp, the government aimed to shut down the departments of Hittitology and Sumerology but was convinced by statements of the President of the University, Enver Ziya Koral, that scholars like Alp were trustworthy. Aydın (2002) is almost certain about Akurgal's role in the termination of Landsberger's contract. In his memoirs, Alp recognizes that he and Akurgal were seen as the people behind such contract terminations, but he denied his involvement by noting that even if he wanted to have Landsberger's contract terminated, he did not have authority to do so. Alp had many conflicts with Landsberger over the years; in his view Landsberger was an ungrateful person, especially towards Alp, although he saved Landsberger's life (Alp 2004).

As Aydın rightly points out, Akurgal empathized with Landsberger's left-view political affiliations and sided with him and others because of Akurgal's experiences in Germany, although he does not seem to approve of contemporary German views. On the other hand, termination of Güterbock's contract was acknowledged to be a big mistake, as he had no political stance and was Turkish friendly. Yet another mistake was terminating the contract of Azra Erhat, as she too had no political stance. Erhat would later pen "Blue Anatolianism" (Mavi Anadoluculuk) with like-minded Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, and the "Blue Anatolianism" movement would find wide support among the archaeological community in years to come (Akyıldız 2002, Eren, in press). Akurgal took pride in not being part of any political movement, but also admitted that he distanced himself from Behice Boran and Muzaffer Şerif Başoğlu because both Boran and Şerif were not disciples of Atatürk (Akurgal 1999). Both Boran and Şerif would be exiled from Ankara University in 1948 (Ağduk Gevrek 1998).

Termination of academic contracts was not an isolated event in Turkish academia. After the 1960 military coup, 147 academics faced termination of contracts or exile from İstanbul and Ankara Universities for their left-wing or Marxist opinions. Halet Çambel, for instance, was going to be expelled from İstanbul University by the state. In 1962, however, owing to her many academic virtues and legal fortunes, Çambel was able return to İstanbul University and then established the Chair of Prehistory.

In the early years of the Republic, academics in Turkey learned that clashes with the government were punishable by their institutions, regardless of the fact that they were products of the state education system. At least Alp and Akurgal, presumably, as well as

their students, took lessons from these experiences. Akurgal, in fact, eventually came to think that the voicing of political opinions was unbefitting of a good academician. The apolitical archaeological world, to which Akurgal ascribed, however, was enabled by social class. People with no knowledge of foreign languages remained outside the Akurgal's world of Classical Archaeology, which for him was the continuation of the gentlemanly tradition of late 19th century wealthy and noble families of the Western world. As Aydın (2002) rightly argues, the classical archaeology that Akurgal established in Turkey not only strengthened art historical approach to archaeology but also attempted to establish itself as the purview of upper class citizens.

The reflections of Sedat Alp in his memoir are quite different from the extravagant persona of Akurgal. Akurgal naturally succeeded and was satisfied with his achievements, whereas Alp, who had been on a similar path in his studies, barely surpassed various obstacles, seemingly because of a pure heart and naiveté. The antagonists in Alp's academic world were both foreign and fellow Turkish colleagues. Although there is little evidence at hand, the root of the divide between foreign and Turkish archaeologists of the time may be found in the insecurities of scholars like Alp, who had conflicts – unlike his contemporary Akurgal – with prominent foreign academicians in the early stages of his career not only at Ankara University but in international academic circles as well (Alp 2004). Alp was even offended by Akurgal's claim to have established the Department of Turkish Art, able to find comfort only from establishing that it was in fact himself who had done so.

The last biographic work of use here is that of an archaeologist couple, Tahsin

and Nimet Özgüç, who met at Ankara University during their education. Their joint memoir provides some insight on themes, such as working under difficult conditions and sacrifices, that surface also in the AST/KST reports I discuss later in this chapter. For instance, although Tahsin Özgüç conducted excavations at Kültepe from 1948 until his death in 2005, the excavation had no excavation house as of 1961, the 13th year of the project, while one of the first things the University of Pennsylvania team at Gordion did, as remembered by one of Özgüç's students, was build their dig house (Anlağan 2011). The same student also paints an altruistic picture of his professor as working under difficult conditions (Çetinkaya 2011, Anlağan 2011). As such charismatic scholars have potential to influence their students (Trigger 1989), it is of no coincidence that ideas about altruistic and apolitical archaeologists find acceptance and appreciation not only by academics but also by the state.

The influence and impact of Tahsin Özgüç on Turkish academia goes far beyond such themes, however. Özgüç was the president of Ankara University from 1969 to 1980. In addition, he was the founding president of Çukurova University in Adana, Dicle University in Diyarbakır, Fırat University in Elazığ, Selçuk University in Konya, İnönü University in Malatya, Akdeniz University School of Medicine and the İstanbul University Veterinarian Faculty (Ege 2011). His other academic responsibilities included also working as Vice President of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) from 1981 to 1989 (Duruel 2011). His governmental affiliations are indicators of the power these first-generation archaeologists had at the level of state bureaucracy and how they might have impacted archaeological practice in Turkey through the 1990s.

These memoirs of the first-generation archaeologists of Ankara University provide enough evidence to highlight how tensions between émigré and Turkish scholars, encouragement of apoliticism, territorialism, and mentor-student relations are topics to follow for future years of archaeological practice in Turkey. As first-generation academicians in the heart of the new capital, their influence lasted for many years and set standards for subsequent generations of archaeologists. They had a power that most academics today cannot achieve at the state level and held administrative positions for long periods of time, enabling them to strengthen their ties with various governments further. Because these individuals acted also as role models for subsequent generations of archaeologists, it is possible to find reflections of their principles among Turkish archaeologists today. In Classical Archaeology, especially, the legacy of Akurgal needs further examination. Until the mid-2000s, for instance, all students of Classical Archaeology at İstanbul University were asked about their personal wealth before participating in field projects. Outside of İstanbul and Ankara, the more than 40 other archaeology departments have the potential to break such trends, yet insufficient personnel and laboratory conditions in these departments remain problematic, as they result from political motives rather than planned culture policies.

Ege University

The third university of the Republic – Ege University in İzmir – was established in 1955 and gained an Institute of Archaeology only in 1962, when Celal Saraç, a Physicist from Ankara University, became its director. In 1976 the institute was merged into the Faculty of Social Sciences as part of the Department of History, Geography, and

Archaeology under the directorship of Mükerrerem Usman Anabolu. Usman Anabolu was in charge when a separate Department of Archaeology and chair of Classical Archaeology was established at Ege University in 1979 (Çiler Çilingiroğlu pers. comm.).

Atatürk University

The fourth archaeology department in Turkey was established at Atatürk University in Erzurum. Atatürk University was established in 1957 in co-operation with the University of Nebraska in the United States. Essentially, according to Mustafa Kemal's plans, there were to be three zones for education; the eastern, western and the central areas. For the eastern zone, Van sought to be this center; however, a university in Van was not established until 1982. Instead, Atatürk University in Erzurum became the first university to be established in a provincial city. In 1971, the Department of Archaeology was established there making this department the first one outside major centers such as İstanbul, Ankara, or İzmir (Atatürk Üniversitesi n.d.).

The impact of the Ege and Erzurum University archaeology departments on the academic scene came much later, as these departments had no students graduate before the late 1960s and 1970s. At least until the mid-1980s, then, İstanbul and Ankara University continued to dominate archaeological education in Turkey. With İstanbul and Ankara graduates either joining their own faculty or establishing new departments elsewhere, the long-term impacts of these institutions is clear. The specialties of these two institutions led further to the establishment of two dominant traditions, with İstanbul University dominating Prehistory and Ankara University dominating Classical Archaeology.

Field-work as a Component of Identity Formation

As the third aspect of the formation of identities, I focus on fieldwork, the area where the actual practice takes place: archaeological surveys and excavations. As demonstrated in previous chapters, archaeological survey is the second-class citizen of archaeology in Turkey; excavation is the major arena in which one is accepted or not as an archaeologist and academician.

It is possible to identify several types of archaeological excavations that take place in Turkey based on their continuity and the origins of the researchers.

Big-digs

At major classical sites such as Ephesus, Pergamum, Miletus, and Didyma, or at the Hittite capital of Hattusha and Iron Age centers of Gordian and Sardis, early phases of archaeological work started in the late 19th or early 20th century, with interruptions during World War I and World War II. These projects were initiated by foreign scholars and have become international and interdisciplinary juggernauts, still run by foreign project directors, with Didyma (Aydın), Pergamon (İzmir), Miletus (Aydın) and Hattusha (Çorum) directed by the German Archaeological Institute (German Archaeological Institute 2014); Ephesus by the Austrian Archaeological Institute (Excavation History of Ephesus n.d.); Gordion (Ankara) by the University of Pennsylvania (Penn Museum n.d.); and Sardis (Manisa) by a Harvard-Cornell University team (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis n.d).

Places such as İstanbul University had flagship excavation projects, as well. For instance, Mansel's excavations at Perge and Side in 1946, and Side in 1947 became the

trademark Classical Archaeology projects of the University for many years to come. Mansel focused his work at Side until 1966–677, with almost no interruption. After 1967, Jale İnan oversaw Side, while Mansel continued at Perge. At that time, sculpture was the focus of Classical Archaeology in Turkey, so work at Side slowed, because of the low number of sculptures recovered, and work at Perge accelerated because of its abundance of sculpture (Özceylan 2013). Mansel’s shift from Side to Perge should be no surprise given the artifact-oriented approach of early 20th century archaeology adopted by Turkish scholars during their educations abroad (Aydın 2002).

An interview conducted with Hüseyin Sabri Alanyalı, the current director of Side Excavations, reveals information on these generations of territorialism as well as the lack of proper archaeological documentation in some Classical Archaeology projects. Following Mansel’s death in 1975, İnan followed in his footsteps, taking over the directorship of Perge and letting go the work at Side. İnan remained the official excavation director until 1982, although no excavation took place at the site. In 1982, when the architect and archaeologist Ülkü İzmirligil was conducting research on the waterworks of Side because of impending Oymapınar and Manavgat Dam construction, the Ministry of Culture insisted on the restoration and conservation of the theater at Side. Accordingly, with İnan’s permission, İzmirligil received a permit for the excavation of the theater while İnan still held the primary permit, resulting in two permits issued for different sections of the same site. In 2009, İzmirligil then offered the permit to Alanyalı, an undergraduate of İstanbul University and PhD from Vienna (Özceylan 2013), who summarizes the methods of previous excavations at Side as deplorable: pottery remained

unstudied, if kept; stratigraphy was, for the most part, ignored; and sculpture formed the single focus of excavations with little regards for anything else.

In Perge, İnan remained the project director between 1975 and 1988, when Haluk Abbasoğlu of İstanbul University took over the directorship. Although in 2011 the Perge excavations were promoted as the only long-term Turkish Classical Archaeology project (Anadolu Ajansı 2011), the following year, the directorship of excavations was transferred to the Antalya Museum.

From the 1950s to 2011, then, generations of Classical Archaeology students had their initial fieldwork training at Perge and Side. It would be imprudent to suggest that the methodological weaknesses of these projects carried over into such students' subsequent Classical Archaeologist field work, yet one needs to be aware of the conditions of these training grounds. The Classical Archaeology tradition is criticized for its object- and architecture-oriented excavation methods. The archaeological deposits that may contain remains and residues of ancient life are frequently lost because of fast excavation methods and improper documentation methods. When promises such as “exposing one building every year” are promoted by experts of the Turkish Classical Archaeology tradition and honored and approved by the Ministry, deficient practices are established that contradicts the global principles of archaeological excavation, documentation, and analysis. Furthermore, because Classical Archaeologists were able to excavate quickly and reveal *beautiful objects*, the Ministry might now perceive an ideal or successful archaeology to be that which quickly exposes objects of art.

The Long-Term Projects of Second-Generation Archaeologists

Yet another component in identity formation are the archaeological projects carried out by the second-generation archaeologists of Turkey. Some of these projects started in the late 1970s or in the early 1980s and still continue today. Students who worked at these sites have become academicians or staff members at museums or the Ministry, often working as government representatives at archaeological sites.

Limantepe in İzmir, for instance, was first discovered in 1979, followed by a first phase of excavations in 1980–1981 and then a hiatus owing to bureaucratic and financial problems. The project restarted in 1992 under the directorship of Hayat Erkanal and continues to be the training ground field project for generations of Ankara University students as well as others (ANKÜSAM n.d.). The Arykanda Excavations begun in 1979 by Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu, the Apollo Smintheion Excavation and Restoration Project begun by Coşkun Özgünel in 1980 (Apollon-Smintheion Kazıları, 2012), and the Metropolis Excavations initiated in 1991 by Recep Meriç, now under the directorship of Serdar Aybek of Celal Bayar University in Manisa, are some examples of these long-term projects initiated by second-generation archaeologists in Turkey (Metropolis Kazısı 2014).

Earlier in this chapter, I underlined that academic inbreeding was a preferred form of employment at archaeology departments in Turkey at least until 1990s if not later. Permanent fieldwork crews are recruited from undergraduate students and some of those students become PhD students of the same professor who is directing the project. As a result, production of specific type knowledge is inevitable based on research interests of

project directors. Thus, the long term projects initiated by the second generation archaeologists I present here needs to be investigated further to assess their impact on production of archaeological knowledge.

Identities Formed through the Legal Framework

This section of research focuses on identities in archaeological practice formed via the legal framework. In order to do so, I first trace the set of obstacles and problems archaeologists experience during fieldwork in Turkey using the publications of the Annual Symposium of Excavations and Research organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the AST/KST reports discussed in previous chapters. In doing so, I demonstrate that the symposium, which I consider to be a political venue for archaeological practice in Turkey, provides information on various identities formed among archaeologists. Analysis of areas of tension, concerns, and criticism in archaeological practice and changes in these areas enable the reconstruction of an alternative history of archaeological practice in Turkey. To a limited extent, these official records reflect social, economic, and political changes the country has experienced, especially in the last 30 years, and thus provide essential background for identity formations.

As a venue where the governed and governor meet, the symposium and its outputs provide important windows into the formation of identities. Do archaeologists of particular backgrounds and statuses gravitate towards particular research types? What groupings of identities are formed in this political venue, and how are they related to preferred research methods, government funding, nationality, or educational background?

As the two primary methods of archaeology in Turkey, what do survey and excavation have in common, and what problems differentiate them?

As iterated earlier in Chapter 5, the results of all permitted archaeological research conducted in Turkey have been presented at annual meetings: the “Annual Symposium of Excavations and Research” (Kazı ve Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı), abbreviated here as “KST” (Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı) and “AST” (Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı). The symposium was initiated in 1979 by Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, then Minister, and by the second symposium, it was mandatory for permitted researchers to participate in it (Başgelen 2014).

Although several archaeological meetings bring together scholars around the world on an annual basis – the Society of American Archaeology (SAA) and Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) in the US or the European Archaeological Association (EAA) in Europe – participation in the AST/KST symposium is considered a required condition for the renewal of archaeological research permits in Turkey (Greaves 2010: 23). Therefore, the symposium is an official venue where archaeologists and Ministry representatives meet regularly. AST/KST reports are published annually by the General Directorate as well, with the exception of a volume for the first symposium, and the 33 volumes published to date are available in hardcopy in archaeological research libraries in Istanbul, Ankara, and elsewhere, and as PDFs on the Ministry’s web pages and various other websites. While earlier publications, such as the *Turkish Journal of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography* or *Belleten* have many hiatuses and are

exclusive, AST/KST reports provide a continuous record of recent archaeological work in Turkey.

While in the early years of the symposium, all types of archaeological research were presented in a single conference publication, division into specific research periods or methods was required over the years as the number of Ministry-permitted field projects increased. Accordingly, the survey AST survey symposium-section and publications were introduced in 1983, and an archaeometry-focused symposium section and publication soon followed in 1985. Additionally, owing to similar increases in museum-based salvage excavations, presentation and publication of these, too, were separated from the primary symposium as of 1990.

The Nature of AST/KST Reports

Annual symposium publications serve as interim field reports, most of which are written by project directors and derived from archaeological and other specialist reports written during and/or after field seasons. In this sense, they are descriptive documents with a tendency to use objective and scientific narratives, rather than interpretive texts about archaeological material. The majority of the texts follow a similar narrative pattern, with a summary of the work conducted in the past season including the number and identifications of excavated trenches, measurements of walls, chronological evidence, and conditions of material evidence. In survey reports, the formulaic text includes areas covered, sites visited, and material and chronological distributions overlaid on accompanying illustrations.

AST/KST reports include also boilerplate sentences, including acknowledgments to the Ministry for permits and to participants for their sacrifices and/or selfless contributions. In a few cases, foreign researchers express gratitude also for obtaining permission to work in Turkey. Government representatives are usually thanked individually.

AST/KST publications have another dimension because they are not peer reviewed. Hence, issues usually left out of more academic, peer-reviewed publications may be included in these interim reports. For this reason, the symposium and its resulting reports occasionally go a step beyond descriptive texts that document fieldwork only, and serve as a forum for the governed (e.g., project directors, specialists, archaeology students) to voice concerns to governors (e.g., members of the Ministry and, more importantly, of the General Directorate). Usefully for this study, project directors sometimes mention problems encountered during fieldwork, including the governance of cultural heritage and archaeological practice in Turkey itself, conflicts and collaborations with other stakeholders, and the like. AST/KST reports, then, serve as textual records on the state of archaeological practice in Turkey over the last 34 years, enabling us to trace particular aspects of archaeology in Turkey, including problems that occur systematically, trends in field methods, and responses and reactions to political, social, and economic conditions of the time.

Study Methods

In reading the AST/KST reports, I looked for specific themes including concerns, problems, limitations, obstacles, and the like, mentioned by project directors (Figures 28

and 29). I surveyed a total of 74 volumes and around 35,000 pages of KST excavation reports, and 52 volumes and around 23,000 pages of AST survey reports for such themes over the course of 8–10 months of research, and present here overviews of KST and then AST reports.

Without exception, at least 6% of KST excavation reports every year include a section on problems encountered before and during fieldwork. Although the number of permitted projects almost tripled over the last 34 years, excavation directors had not become equally vocal over the years; fear of permit-related retaliation may have encouraged some to avoid criticism or messages intended for Ministry eyes and ears. For survey reports, the percentage of such comments is higher. The reason for this can perhaps be sought in the relatively more easy process of obtaining and maintaining a survey permit and the Ministry's lack of interest in survey research, as demonstrated in early chapters. Commentaries in AST survey reports are substantially different from those in KST reports also, as I demonstrate below, because of the nature of survey versus excavation research (Figures 30 and 31).

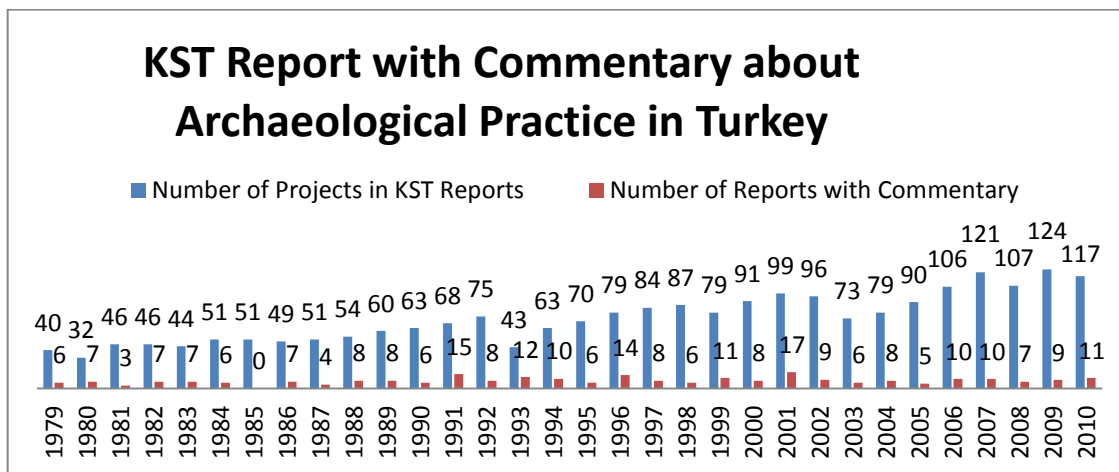


Figure 28: KST Reports including comments or criticism regarding archaeological practice in Turkey.

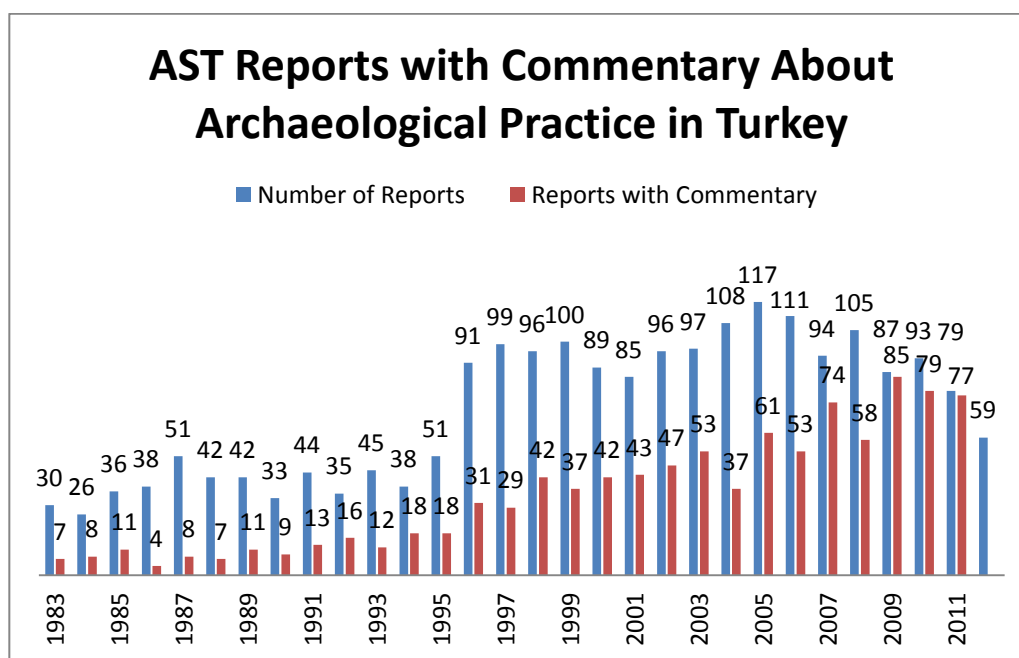


Figure 29: AST Reports with comments or criticism regarding archaeological practice in Turkey.

Evaluation of AST and KST Reports

It is almost impossible to distinguish groups of problems isolated from other groups of problems, because each is entangled in a web of stakeholders, including governing agencies, local governments, the general public, and archaeologists. In almost all cases, complaints about permits, funding, or expropriation are tied to broader issues concerning the governance of cultural heritage and archaeological practice in Turkey. Also, motives for comments should be sought in desires to maintain permits that are stronger than desires to solve problematic areas in the practice. However, there are clear patterns in the ways in which people write about the problems. First are continuous narrations of certain problems encountered again and again over the years without resolution, as was the case at sites such as Foça (Özyiğit 1993, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2003–2006, 2008), Arykanda (Bayburtluoğlu 1986–1988, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, 2003), İznik Çini Fırınları (Aslanapa 1987, 1988, 1992, 1993; Altun 1996–1999, Altun-Demirsararlı 2001, 2003–2006, 2008; Demirsar-Arlı and Altun 2009), Kelendris (Zoroğlu 1992–1994, 1998, 2012; Zoroğlu et al. 2001; Zoroğlu and Tekocak 2010, 2011).

Second are sporadic, one-time complaints about certain aspects of fieldwork. Such complaints can be grouped under closely related themes. In AST reports, primary themes include 1) Development; 2) Looting; 3) Site Management (including sit-related issues and expropriation; 4) Museums; 5) Security issues; 6) Finances; 7) conflicts with other governmental institutions; 8) Permits; 9) Research Methods; 10) conflicts with the Ministry and the General Directorate; 11) conflicts with Councils of Protection; and 12) non-permitted/illegal research. For excavation projects, similar groups of themes appear:

1) Site Management (including expropriation and restoration); 2) Finances; 3) Development; 4) Museums; 5) Permits; 6) Bureaucracy; 7) conflicts with local governments; 8) past research methods; and 9) Security (e.g., from terrorism).

The problem with such classifications as these is that they reflect only the opinion of one particular stakeholder in archaeological practice: the excavation or survey director. More importantly, each particular problem or theme is not isolated. For instance, expropriation can be evaluated as a financial problem wherein it cannot be completed owing to lack of government or private funds. In terms of site management issues, when an archaeological site is partially or wholly on private land, land management and research require expropriation modifications. Thus, in the sections below, instead of discussing problems in their sequential order of frequency, I follow an order that ties them together logically and that enables me to enrich the analysis with material that does not fit within the title theme.

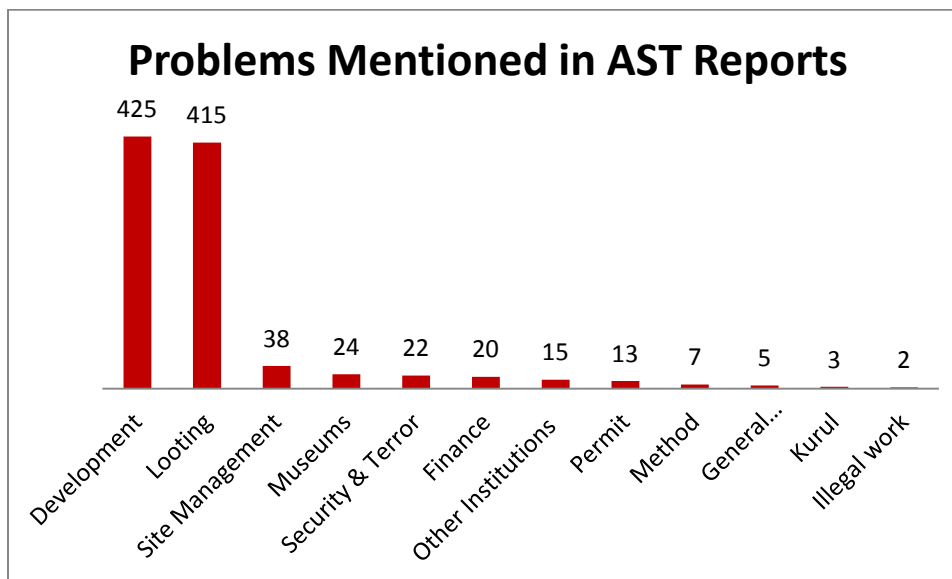


Figure 30: The subject of comments in AST reports.

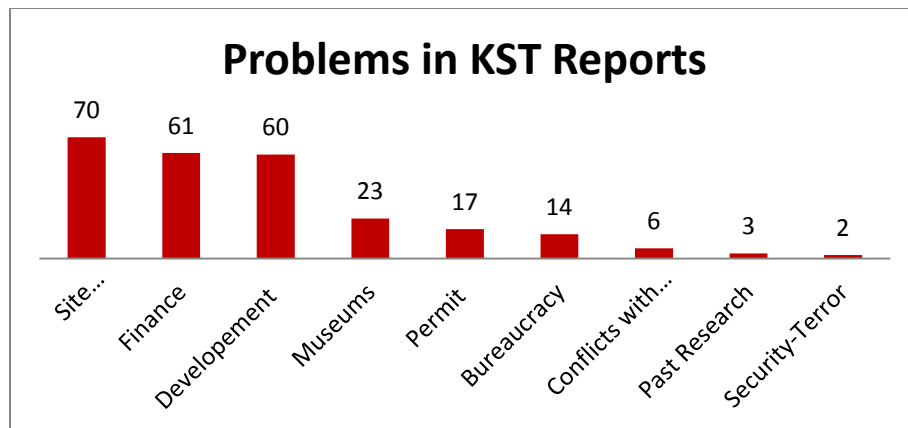


Figure 31: The subject of comments in KST reports.

Survey Research Reports (AST)

The annual symposium was divided into two sections beginning from 1983. From that year on, survey research began to be afforded its own individual sessions and separate publications. The term survey covers a wide scale of research in Turkey, including epigraphical surveys of inscriptions (of, Greek, Latin, and Islamic-Ottoman periods), extensive surface surveys of large areas for documenting sites of ancient occupation, investigations around or within single cities, sites, or monuments (Lumdsen 1996), architectural surveys of buildings of specific periods, assessments of museum and private collections, and underwater surveys (Pulak 1996, Günsenin 1996; Türe, Arcak and Yalçiner 1996; Bakır and Vural 1996). The governance of survey research allows project directors to have multiple survey permits covering multiple cities and provinces, thus several surveys conduct work in different parts of the country over one season, such as the projects of Mustafa Sayar in Eastern Thrace and Cilicia (Sayar 1996a, 1996b).

The nature of practice in an archaeological survey is different than that in excavation, the commentaries on problems in the two types of work do not overlap completely. Reports on surveys of wide geographical areas contain comments on the impacts of urban, rural or industrial development more frequently than do excavation reports, focused more on issues within individual sites. Survey reports observe changes in land use and damage to cultural heritage over vast geographical areas more often than excavation reports, too, because of the broad geographical nature of survey compared to excavation practices in Turkey.

As will be noted for excavation reports, survey reports have to explain reasons for lack of completion of previously planned parts of research. For instance, Schirmer (2000) notes that his team was unable to complete the survey of Tavşan Tepe and the central building, a room with orthostate, and the perimeter wall that surrounds the building because of the intentional damage – either for treasure hunting or vandalism – that took place after the 1996 season.

Because surveys are conducted, in most cases, as prerequisites for excavation, notes to the Ministry with desires for further research also occur in many survey reports. They occur either as desires for proposed excavation projects or for completion or startup of restoration projects, with hopes that such work will be positively received (Karakaya 2005: 124). As noted by various scholars, including Özdoğan (1988), all types of ancient remains in Turkey have received their share of destruction, regardless of time period or cultural affinity. One report documents the destruction of an undocumented, wooden mosque named Kerepis Camii by the order of General Directorate of Foundations

(Özdoğan 1988). The reports are filled with examples of ancient cemeteries, churches, mosques, and houses left in ruins only to be totally destroyed by the effects of time, if not by people.

The reports contain occasional comments about lack of research in certain areas and periods, as well, from the Paleolithic (Minzoni-Déroche 1988; Garrard 1997) to the modern day, including Protohistoric research (Taşkiran 1994); systematic research on second-millennium sites on the Konya Plateau (Güneri 1987: 207); Ayan Period remains (Arel 1987); southeastern Anatolia (Özgen); the area east of the Euphrates within the borders of Elazığ, Bingöl, and Tunceli (Sevin 1987: 279); medieval periods in Elazığ, Bingöl, and Tunceli (Aşan 1989); Prehistory of western Anatolia (Meriç 1990); non-Byzantine coastal and mountainous areas east of Trabzon (Crow 1994); the Kars area and non-Islamic periods (Köroğlu 1997); and systematic survey of Seljuk investments on the south coast of Turkey (Redford 1997).

Different tones of criticism characterize these reports, also. Archaeological practice conducted during the Ottoman Empire was criticized by the prominent scholars of the early years of the Turkish Republic. Similarly, criticism of earlier Republican governance of cultural heritage appears in the early 1980s concerning the exclusion of Islamic and Ottoman period remains. Necmi Ülker, for instance, negatively compares the rich archaeological research record of Aegean areas with a comparative lack of interest in the Seljuk, Beylik, and Ottoman periods or Ottoman Period inscriptions (Ülker 1985, 1988, 1991). Ülker complained further that neither the İzmir Archaeology Museum nor the General Directorate registered this valuable resource of cultural richness in the

Turkish-Islamic Period (1985: 13) nor hired appropriately skilled staff, pointing to the influence of Western scholarship as the origin of the problems (Ülker 1986). What makes this criticism different is that, unlike other researchers, Ülker identifies Western influence as the source of the problem of the lack of research in the Turkish-Islamic Period, yet Turkish governance of cultural heritage had not adopted all aspects of certain Western societies' more (comprehensive) principals on the preservation of cultural heritage.

Looting

Looting is one of the two most frequently occurring problems in AST reports. In Turkey, digging in archaeological sites without a research permit has been frequently noted in reports. Even underwater remains have been subject to the illicit removal of artifacts: amphorae were removed from shipwrecks, and lead ingots sold to salvage yards (Pulak 1986, 1995). These looting activities could include the attempts of individual groups using simple tools, such as shovels, axes, and other necessary equipment, to dig and remove earth and open sarcophagus lids and such. Especially in cemeteries, looters not only damage the artifacts but also scatter human remains that are of little interest to them. Unfortunately, looting activities take a more intensive turn when they involve heavy machinery such as bulldozers (Bilgi, Atasoy, Dönmez, and Summerer 2002; Ceylan 2002), or explosives such as dynamite (Çevik, Kızıgut, and Aktaş 1999), and the easy availability of such equipment and material in recent times not only caused greater damage to archaeological sites, but also quickened the process enabling treasure hunters to work at multiple locations in short periods of time. Also of note with respect to the reports is that reports of looting often occur more than once in a single report.

In some cases, archaeologists mention that the extent of looting requires rescue excavations or at least the documentation and preservation of what is left of cultural heritage (Süel 1991). Attempts to rob tumuli in the Çanakkale area in 1996 and 1997, for instance, triggered the excavation of a tumulus in cooperation with the Çanakkale Museum (Rose 2000: 287). Although looting activities do harm cultural heritage in irreversible ways, the debris removed from looters trenches and pits in some cases, as well as the exposure of sections, provides information about the cultural layers represented in an area and can provide artifacts for museum collections, as in one case where thousands of artifacts have come to museums over the last 20–30 years (Özfiat 1999: 2). Looting does not always occur in the form of late-night digging activities. Some sites accessible by sea are subject to the removal of cultural material even by tourists arriving and departing by boats, as was the case in Aperlae in Lycia (Vann, Hohlfelder, and Sullivan 2001).

Indifference to looting activities is also reported. For instance, an occurrence of looting with a bulldozer had been reported to the gendarmerie and local security forces in one area, yet these groups failed to inform the local museum (Gülçur 2003). In a majority of reports, looted sites belong to non-Muslim eras with only a few exceptions. The Emre Tekkesi (dervish lodge), for example, was desecrated when its sarcophagi were opened, bones scattered, and wall relief ornaments defaced with black paint (Sivas 2003).

Development

The other major group of criticism in survey reports concerns the impacts of development activities on the preservation of cultural heritage. The destructive impact of

development on cultural heritage is not a recent phenomenon of the Turkish Republic. A mound in the Eskişehir Region, for instance, was demolished during the construction of the Istanbul-Ankara railway between 1895 and 1896 (Efe 1991). The destructive impacts of development have greatly increased in the last decades, however, making it one of the biggest problems in maintaining archaeological heritage.

The term development broadly covers all aspects of urban development, including housing, infrastructure related to housing, secondary housing, the impact of mass tourism, rural improvement, including leveling or trimming of archaeological sites to establish cultivation areas, industrial development activities, including quarrying and mining activities, factories and infrastructure related to all aspects of development, including the establishment and enhancement of roads, irrigation channels, radio-TV-cell phone transmitters, etc. For the purposes of this study, I defined four major groups of development including urban, tourism, rural, industrial, and related infrastructure.

Urban Development

Across Turkey, but especially in big cities, industrialization and urbanism caused ancient cemeteries to be transformed into construction areas for housing blocks (Ülker 1985). In İstanbul, survey in the Eyüp area could only be conducted in the gardens of the housing blocks (Yenişehirlioğlu 1995), and in Alanya, urban development is threatening local monuments. Part of the Sugözü complex there was demolished to make way for a new bypass road, and the remains of the local bathhouse, too, was slated for destruction (Redford 1997: 453). The priority of projects has recently become surveying and documenting ancient sites because they are threatened by rapid urban development

(Çevik, Kızıgut, and Aktaş 1999). In his Pre- and Protohistoric Settlements Survey in the Balıkesir provinces districts of Ayvalık and Gömeç, for instance, Beksaç (1999) notes how an ancient occupation mound had been officially opened to settlement after 1977.

Of special note here is the establishment of the Public Housing Administration (Toplu Konut İdaresi-TOKİ), reported in AST volumes as a component of development. TOKİ, a non-profit government administration (Dülgeroğlu-Yüksel and Pulat-Gökmen 2009) was established by the Prime Ministry in 1984 to produce housing for low and middle-income families. With legal arrangements of 2004, TOKİ became the owner of 6,450 hectares (or nearly 16,000 acres) of land spread throughout Turkey (Pulat-Gökmen and Özoy 2008) and is able to obtain public lands, which may or may not contain cultural heritage. Following these changes in TOKİ's authority, the first mention of TOKİ in AST reports appears owing to its construction activities on the slope of an ancient mound that probably bore strategic importance because of its elevated location (Engin 2009: 79). TOKİ appears again concerning the surfacing of inscriptions of Konane in association with construction (Iverson 2011: 174).

The involvement of TOKİ as a governmental institution in the destruction of cultural heritage is significant in showing how the aims of government institutions are not always parallel. One institution's achievements could damage another's aims.

Tourism

The pressure of coastal tourism on already existing urban areas and newly established secondary houses' impacts on archaeological areas are noted multiple times in the reports. As Buluç (1984) notes, "Tourism and archaeology, [are] two contradicting

phenomena.” It is no coincidence that most criticism of the impacts of tourism in survey reports date to the 1980s and 1990s, when mass tourism exploded in coastal areas of Turkey.

Although archaeologists are, in most cases, supportive of touristic activities that integrate archaeological heritage, unplanned tourism activities and facilities are responsible for the reuse of certain monuments in ways that do not help to preserve their integrity. Examples include the building of trout production pools around the Sardur Burç in Van (Tarhan 1985), the negative impact of mass tourism to Nemrut Dağ, on which trash and toilets for visitors were problems (Şahin 1989), and the loss and removal of previously known inscriptions recorded in the last 30 years due to the pressures of tourism (Varinlioğlu 1989). More importantly, pressure from tourism can accelerate already negative impacts to existing protection zones. A spectacular example is from Kartderesi (Kartera Koyu), where a First Degree Protection Zone was demoted to a Third Degree Zone of lesser protections, following its purchase by a cooperative with plans to turn the area into a holiday village (Arel 1990). The negative impacts of tourism investments on existing historical environments is well known: many buildings of rural nature were destroyed due to such investments (Arel 1991:1), including the watchtower of an ancient city that was demolished by a landowner who wanted to build a summerhouse over it (Çevik, Kızgut and Aktaş 1999). Several archaeologists have noted also that tourists take architectural fragments from sites as souvenirs (Şahin 1992; Pulak 1998).

Rural Development

In comparison to reports of urban development affecting archaeological heritage, surveyors comment even more on rural development and, especially, the effects of intensive agricultural on and around archaeological sites. Because archaeological surveys spend comparatively large amounts of time surveying rural areas, changes in rural landscapes and ancient sites located in them have been closely monitored.

Survey reports record various examples of occupation mounds being trimmed or leveled entirely to open land for agriculture (Redford 1997). Agricultural activities are not limited to the leveling of sites, and include the establishment of irrigation canals and networks as well. Accordingly, archaeologists note irrigation and its related infrastructure as another source of damage (Yardımcı 1991; Rothman 1993; Özbaşaran and Endoğru 1998; Ceylan 2001; Bahar 2004). Damage can occur on small or large scales, depending on associated features. Dam construction, for instance, requires the construction of roads and water canals, such as for the Demirdöven Dam (Karaosmanoğlu, Işıklı, and Can 2004). Ancient Urartian dams, too, have been modified and modernized for contemporary use in irrigation by the State Water Works (DSİ) and by local populations (Belli 1995, 2000). Expansion of irrigation agriculture in the Amuq plain resulted in bulldozer damage to seven previously recorded sites (Harrison 2000: 127), and the Kuşluca mound was turned into a fishermen's shelter (Bahar 2006: 97).

Where leveling was impossible for farmers themselves, as archaeologists note, more significant damage was done by several government institutions in charge of regulating agricultural practices. A mound was leveled by the Directorate of Village

Works (Köy Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü), for example, against the law and at the demand of the landowners (Özdoğan, Marro, Tibet, and Kuzucuoğlu 2000: 42). In his comparison of two geographical areas to determine reasons for destruction, Konyar notes that in Çukurova – a fertile plain in southern Turkey – mounds are destroyed by agricultural activities, whereas in Kahramanmaraş – a city included among the ‘Anatolian Tigers’ because of its recent economic development – factory construction and industrialization are destroying mounds (Konyar 2008: 406).

The main culprit of destruction in rural development seems to be the mechanization of agriculture. In the late 1950s, three quarters of the population of Turkey lived in rural areas, and almost half of the national income was derived from agricultural production. Beginning with the Turkish Republic, the mechanization of agriculture was promoted by the government with the encouragement of the purchase of tractors in the mid-1920s, and the establishment of state machinery stations before the WWII. Although these early attempts ultimately failed, in 1948 the import of agricultural machinery from the US and Europe marked a turning point for the mechanization of agriculture in Turkey. While the damage that can be done to cultural heritage with traditional tools is limited, mechanization enabled farmers to trim peripheries of mounds and penetrate deeper into soils which, in the end, further damages archaeological remains.

Industrial Development and Related Infrastructure

Rapid industrialization is the impetus for several surveys to document the remains of ancient landscapes before they are destroyed (Özgen and Gates 1994). Archaeological sites, especially occupation mounds, are visible in flat, rural landscapes and, owing to

their nature, they are easy targets as sources of construction material. It is not surprising, then, that ancient sites have been targeted by those wanting to construct houses by using pre-existing blocks, piles of stone and rubble, clay, and such (Algaze 1992; Ceylan 2003). Various examples of ancient sites being quarried for construction material are known, including stone quarrying on Urartian period remains (Özfiat 1999), and illegal stone quarry works in certain protection zones (Bilgi, Atasoy, Dönmez, and Summerer 2002). Further examples include the partial destruction of Phrygian stone graves and stepped altars resulting from their use as stone quarries at some point in the recent past (Sivas 2003: 289), damage by quarrying activities on a rock relief (Vardar 2006), and marble quarrying around rock-cut graves (Özsait 2006).

The destruction of archaeological heritage other than settlement mounds, however, sometimes affects crucial gaps in our understanding of archaeological heritage. Unfortunately, survey reports include examples of several ancient mines that have been open to modern mining activities, as ancient mines are often not considered part of archaeological heritage by private firms and governmental organizations. Problematically, ancient sources of raw materials like quarries and mines are still valuable sources today, with potential for current economic gains. Therefore, several ancient mines and their vicinities have been opened to mining and quarrying activities (Bahar 2009), while factories have been planned on other sites (Killebrew and Lehmann 2010). In Dokimeion, located in Afyon province, ancient marble quarries are being demolished during modern use. Such use results in the clearance of ancient pieces including columns, the clearance of traces of ancient marble quarrying activities, and in

some cases, even the cutting up of marble pieces bearing inscriptions (Drew-Bear 1994: 114); elsewhere an ancient quarry has been flooded by a dam lake (Drew-Bear 2003), and road construction has damaged an ancient quarry (Pierobon Benoit 2003). While private and government institutions are blind to the harm of such activities, individuals involved in looting have discovered the potential of ancient quarries, as demonstrated by the theft of a lion sculpture from an ancient quarry (Omura 2003).

A positive example of the preservation of architectural fragments in ancient quarries results from Nuşin Asgari's work on Marmara Island (ancient Proconnessos), a major marble source in Byzantine times. During her survey of the site, she informed miners about ancient mining activities and, as a result, "The reason some of the quarried material is preserved is that now people do not throw them out during modern quarrying, but collect them" (Asgari 1993: 487). In order to encourage such behavior the General Directorate sent a "thank you" to the people of Saraylar village responsible for such work (Asgari 1993).

Of course, development requires accompanying infrastructure, including roads. As another aspect to the loss of cultural heritage, the construction of roads causes damage in many ways: the suburbs of the ancient city of Oenoanda was threatened by the approach of road construction (Hall 1985), and, oddly, the tops of mounds are dissected in various ways for the construction of roads (Akdeniz 1997; Omura 1997; Erim-Özdoğan, Maro, and Tibet 1997; Sipahi and Yıldırım 1998; Marksteiner, Konecny, and Marksteiner 1999; Bilgi, Atasoy, Dönmez, and Ulugergerli 2004). Not only are mounds dissected, but also other cultural heritage has been damaged by road construction: a

graveyard was divided by “an unnecessary road” (Tarhan, Sevin and, Aşan 1990: 22); ancient passes were destroyed by ancient and modern road construction, as well as pipeline construction (French 1995: 31); and road construction demolished natural harbors or shelters and ancient sites (Çilingiroğlu and Derin 1995). In Yalburt, an important Hittite Period site was significantly threatened by a road enhancement project (Bahar 1996). The Aspendos Aqueducts project documented that the piers of some aqueducts were removed for the construction of a road (Kessener and Piras 1998). Archaeologists also documented the removal of mound fill by bulldozers belonging to the General Directorate of Highways in order to construct roads (Kozbe 2006).

There is also a positive example that demonstrates that the protests of archaeologists and the like, with the support of local museums, can have positive results on the planning of roads. Road construction damaged the remains of a church in Alanya, yet with the involvement of the museum directorate, the orientation of the road was changed (Doğan 2006: 136).

Archaeological surveys and excavations conducted for large-scale dam projects make up a major part of archaeological practice in Turkey, beginning with the Keban Dam in the 1960s, as described fully in Chapter 3. Thus, in the survey reports a number of projects have been conducted solely to document archaeological heritage that is to be flooded under reservoirs. In these cases, archaeologists find themselves in a dilemma. Dam projects have drastically increased the amount of research in southeastern Anatolia, a territory that has not been as popular for research as the coastal areas of the country. Because of such projects, it has been possible to document and study a large number sites

before the construction of the dam. Yet, the loss of cultural heritage is inevitable. Among the surveyors, the dilemma is most profoundly voiced by Guillermo Algaze, who conducted broad surveys along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in the 1980s and 1990s. Algaze (1990: 391–392) writes,

“These dams threaten to flood significant portions of the SE Anatolian plains with the borders of modern Turkey, thereby destroying a cultural heritage that remains still only dimly understood however, the threat of destruction only made archaeological research possible in areas virtually unknown. Dams will cause destruction of more than 400 km² of land bordering the rivers and of numerous archaeological sites, thus leading to the inevitable loss of important cultural information in areas of Southeastern Anatolia that remains virtually unknown to archaeology.”

Apart from roads, dams, and secondary houses, surveyors also note various other buildings serving as infrastructure for modern-day needs, including water depots, electric power lines, and cell phone transmission towers constructed on top of archaeological sites, especially mounds, as they are usually the highest areas on plains. Such infrastructure activities are carried out by government institutions outside the Ministry, including the State Water Works (Devlet Su İşleri-DSİ), the General Directorate of Highways (Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü-KGM), the Directorate of Agriculture (Tarım Müdürlüğü), Forestry Services (Orman İşleri), and others. A simple solution to the problem was suggested by Hasan Bahar in one of his epigraphical survey reports:

“During our work in the area, we saw that ancient sites are under heavy damage. Because of this, as we see in the case of Hayiroğlu, the General Directorate of Village Works should employ a specialist for agriculture reform. This will rectify some mistakes. On the other hand, symposia, panels, or conferences will be useful to provide insights to government employees. Also, employees of institutions who use bulldozers and excavators in institutions such as the General Directorate of Village Works, the General Directorate of State Highways, the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, and municipalities should be informed and warned about excavation of earth, the opening of roads, and canals” (Bahar 2004: 209).

Permit

Problems or concerns related to the granting and restrictions of permits occur less frequently in survey reports than in excavation reports. As in the case of the Roman Roads Survey, some surveys are hampered by geographical restrictions that limit work to certain provinces and not others; when ancient roads cross provincial borders, this causes obvious problems (French 1993). Survey permits are still less restrictive than excavation permits, however. In a few cases, archaeologists who were denied excavation permits for various reasons reapplied to conduct surveys instead (Arık 1994; Başaran and Tavukçu 2001). Other concerns about permits include relatively higher number of coastal survey permits than inland survey permits, despite the equality of the importance of these two areas (Söğüt 2004). In 2003, several reports mention the late arrival of permits which had negative impacts on their season, either owing to the short seasons or to the lack of

available staff members (Pektaş, Baş and Kılavuz 2005; Özyar, Danişman and Özbal 2005). In the same year another team, which did not initially get a permit, instead chose their research in another area (Girginer 2005). However, none of the reports include an explanation for the late arrival of the permits in the 2003 season.

The AST reports reveal also that some projects were once able to conduct test excavations and soundings under survey permits. Ender Varinlioğlu conducted test excavations under a survey permit, documented architectural features, and obtained a relief map of a theater, concluding that, “We wish the same sort of success to sites that have been excavated for the last 15–20 years” (1996: 125). His success was short-lived, however, when his request to continue test excavation in 2000 was denied (Varinlioğlu 2002), followed by the similar denial of his request to work on specific material in later years (2004). Varinlioğlu was quite critical of what he perceived to be a lack of comprehension about the benefits of survey archaeology and criticized definitions of archaeology as the “science of excavation”:

“In our country, when you say archaeology, the first thing that comes to mind is excavation, eventually the Turkish equivalent of archaeology is suggested as Kazıbilimi, excavation science. Every year most of the funding from the government budget goes only to excavations, and with this funding it is expected that archaeologists reveal antiquities underneath the soil. However, there are many archaeological remains on the surface, and they are of equal importance to those underground for contributing to our knowledge.” (Varinlioğlu 1993: 213)

Varinlioğlu continued his criticism in later publications, discussing the impacts and importance of survey on the construction of history (Varinlioğlu 1994). As I will explain later when considering the KST reports, Varinlioğlu's criticism and the rejection of his requests appear closely linked to his previous actions as General Director of the General Directorate, which included halting long-term excavation projects of second-generation archaeologists who had failed to publish the results of their work.

Museums

AST survey reports include also comments about state museums, another branch of the Ministry. Observations focus on a general lack of space (Ülker 1986; Zoroğlu 1990; Şahin 1992), lack of specialists (Ülker 1985), or lack of local museums (Zoroğlu 1990). An exception to these familiar comments is the legal investigation of the Kastamonu Museum for granting a "Treasure Excavation Permit" in a known cemetery, which led to its looting (Özdoğan, Marro, Tibet, and Kuzucuoğlu 1998). As mentioned earlier, Turkish law strictly prohibits treasure excavations from occurring in known archaeological zones. Another observation concerning museums near the Turkish-Greek border suggests the need for broader policy for such near-border museums. In particular, museums near borders should be staffed with specialists in the nature of cross-border smuggling and commonly smuggled artifacts, because smuggled artifacts seized at the border go to the nearest museum (Aydingün and Karakaya 2011).

Site Management, Protection Zones, Expropriation, and Restoration

AST survey reports highlight problems regarding previously defined protection zones and suggested protection zones as well. In one case, a surveyor notes that the current protection zone did not cover the entirety of an ancient site and needed expansion (Arel 1993). Various other examples of narrowly defined protection zones are documented in KST reports, too. As archaeologists often note, registration of an area as a protection zone does not guarantee preservation unless active protection measures are taken, and remains within the borders of protection zones are frequently subject to ongoing damage (Tuna 1995). In major touristic destinations such as Muğla, archaeologists note that local people had cleared their lands of all visible forms of ancient architectural pieces in attempts to prevent the registration of their land as protection zones (Şahin 2006:178). Other reports bemoan the delay of protection zone registrations (Girginer 2005), and suggest that protection zone registration cannot hold back the tide of touristic development (Buluç 1997).

Unlike excavation projects that can take place on specific privately owned locations for long periods of time, survey projects usually focus on larger areas. With few exceptions (e.g., Renda 1986), project directors usually do not deal with the expropriation of privately owned land, and thus notes on expropriation rarely occur in survey reports.

In contrast to the paucity of mentions of expropriation, survey reports more frequently mention restorations conducted by several institutions (Ceylan 2005) including the General Directorate of Foundations and others involved in providing funds or restoration permits, including Councils of Protection. Because restoration projects are

subject to Council of Protections approval in addition to normal Ministry permits, the late arrival of either can delay ongoing projects (e.g., Koenigs and Kienlin 1999).

One survey report reviewing the restoration of objects from several excavation projects, including those at Magnesia, Knidos, İznik, Kelenderis, Gevaş, the Ephesus Museum, and Van Castle, remarks on the unfortunate “inseparability of archaeological practice and restoration” (Akıllı 1993: 50), suggesting the need for increased comprehension that restoration is a self-standing branch of science. Such comments should come as no surprise because survey and excavation reports include numerous complaints about “bad” restorations carried out by those with no specialization in restoration sciences.

In particular, some scholars underline the importance of undertaking analyses before conducting restoration, “because the original nature of the buildings are damaged by restoration processes, such analyses are affordable, and they enable restoration projects to succeed and add depth to understanding of culture” (Oğuzoğlu et al. 1988: 77). As noted by Özgümüş and Dark (2003), inappropriate restoration interferes also with other forms of research. For instance, parts of a Byzantine cistern in İstanbul were restored by covering its surfaces with concrete, thus preventing researchers from dating the monument accurately (Özgümüş and Dark 2003). In another case, archaeologists rushed to document a church upon hearing that it was to be restored, fearing the “incorrect restoration implementations of the past” (Kadiroğlu et al. 2003: 29). As proof of such implementations, Ottoman period commencement date plaques remained

undocumented during restoration of the Aya Sofya church of Vize in 1979–1984, thereby obscuring all evidence of the date of the paving (Bauer and Klein 2006).

Comments about restoration projects reveal also conflicts between government institutions. A specific case concerns conflicts between the Diyarbakır Council of Protections and the General Directorate of Foundations. In his report on a survey of Medieval remains in Harput, Ertuğrul Danik criticizes the repair project started by the General Directorate of Foundations in 1997 as inappropriate and lacking approval from the Diyarbakır Council of Protections. A permit had, in fact, been granted by the Council, but for repair work that was far more minor than that undertaken by the General Directorate of Foundations, which had several negative impacts (Danik 1999: 161). Similar comments from the excavation reports reveal that inappropriate restoration projects carried out through tenders are becoming a major problem in the archaeological practice in Turkey.

Conclusion on Survey Reports

Survey reports draw a slightly different portrait of archaeologists when compared to those from excavation reports, as we will see. First of all, survey reports contain fewer comments about finances than excavation reports. The reason for this may be that surveys usually get minimal amounts of support, if any at all, from the government. Thus among survey archaeologists, the tradition is a pay-out-of-pocket system, supplemented, if possible, by institutional and private funding. Unlike what is seen in excavation reports, problems related to limited finances are mentioned only by archaeologists from Turkey who had received prior government support for excavation projects. For survey

archaeologists, funding is not one of the features creating divisions. The primary division comes directly from the Ministry, who sees survey archaeologists as an inferior group, as survey is usually considered a stepping stone towards excavation, and therefore, not a self-standing, knowledge-producing discipline in its own right.

Problems Encountered in Excavation Reports

The impacts of rural, urban, and industrial development on archaeological heritage is a recurring theme. In the permit application process, project directors must explain why archaeological work needs to be conducted in a particular place and the dangers threatening its archaeological heritage, such as development or illicit digging; thus, these problems frequently appear in symposium reports (Greaves pers. comm.). As already mentioned, various accounts report the impacts of second homes and their essential infrastructure in touristic areas such as in Klazomenai, İzmir (Bakır and Anlağan 1981), and industrial development zones in the vicinities of sites, such as near Kyme in the industrial town of Aliğa (Uçankuş 1981).

The pressure of urban development on archaeological sites causes major conflicts, not only between archaeologists and the central government, but also between local governments and archaeologists. The Foça Excavations in İzmir is by far the best-documented example of such a situation appear in KST reports. As a major tourism attraction in the İzmir area, excavations in Foça began in 1989. From the beginning, these excavations created conflicts with almost every other stakeholder and governmental institution possible, including the Council of Protections, the İzmir Archaeological Museum, and the local government, because of interests in tourism and associated

activities in the area, such as the construction of second homes (Özyiğit 1993, 1996–1997, 1999, 2003–2006, 2008). Such tensions stopped excavation work twice in 1997 (Özyiğit 1999), and once again in 2003, by decision of the Cabinet of Ministers. The excavation director took the case to court, however, and obtained a ruling that allowed him to continue his archaeological work (Özyiğit 2005). While Foça is not the only place where multiple stakeholders are involved in conflicts on matters of cultural heritage, the intensity of conflicts necessitates a further study for lessons to be learned about managing heritage in such sensitive areas.

Comments on Requests from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism

Demands and conflicts between particular excavation projects and the Ministry are not infrequent in Turkey, as relayed by the story of the 2006 Theater Letter described in an earlier chapter. Even earlier than that, however, similar demands had been made. For instance, the seats of the Perge theater were cleaned and repaired between 1965–1966 under the direction of the General Directorate, but this repair program came to an end at the request of the excavation director because the work was not “scientifically appropriate” (Inan 1981:46). In 2001 the General Directorate requested that the theater at Xanthos be restored, too. Because it was poorly preserved, its materials robbed for spolia in Byzantine times, and because of its inaccessibility and unsuitability for touristic use, however, the excavation team chose not to proceed with the request (Des Courtils 2003, 2004). Based on complaints about a lack of progression in research, the team’s permit was subsequently revoked by the Ministry in 2011 (Acar 2011).

In excavations at Ani in Kars province, the Ministry not only issued a tender for

restoration, but also they initiated a restoration project without consulting the excavation director, causing damage to ancient buildings (Çoruhlu 2010). At the New Palace in Edirne, a restoration firm started work prior to the excavation season, prevented the excavation team from doing their research, and verbally harassed them (Özer 2011). With a 2009 decision of the Ankara Council of Protections, the spaces between important Early Bronze Age burials at Alacahöyük in Çorum were paved with concrete pavers, turning the area into a “mass of concrete” (Çınaroğlu ve Çelik 2012). Many more such examples could be provide, but these suffice to show that it was not only coastal cities and their monumental buildings that had importance for tourism purposes in the eyes of the Ministry but, beginning from 2000, many other archaeological sites, too, were affected by improper restorations that came to be considered like regular construction activities regulated through private tenders.

Although the law mandates involvement of an excavation director in restoration and site management projects, these recent examples demonstrate that opinions of the project director can easily be disregarded by other governmental institutions, which are also in charge of management of heritage. Although it is the only recorded event in KST records, it might be possible to consider the verbal harassment case in Edirne New Palace as a reflection of how archaeologists have been perceived recently. As I underlined in Chapter 6, archaeologists have been publicly criticized by government members as obstacles to development projects, thus such reaction to interrupt archaeological work could be manifestation of confirming archaeologists as potential enemies of the state.

Permit-Related Problems

Occasionally, excavation directors' comments on issues related to permit applications find their way into KST reports. These comments, however, should not always be considered complaints. The permit application includes a plan of the proposed research. One of the responsibilities of the excavation director, then, is to explain why certain research objectives could not be reached by the end of the previous season, why graduate students and specialists listed on the permit application could not join the season, and other items that do not perfectly match the contents of the research application. KST reports, hence, include comments about shortened seasons, incomplete projects, and specialists who failed to participate for one reason or another.

Reports relate how the late arrival of initial permits makes it impossible or too difficult to start excavation in the first year of obtaining a permit (e.g., Pektaş 2007), or force the shortening of the excavation season (e.g., Aytekin 2009). The late arrival of annual permits is not restricted to the initial year of excavations, however. In 1998, the Üçağızlı Mağarası (Güleç and Dinçer 2000) and Çankırı-Çorakyerler Excavations (Sevim and Kiper 2000) received their permit late, preventing the academic team from attending the season at all because of other responsibilities. More importantly, funding secured from foreign research partners and required to be used by specific times was lost. At the Patara excavations in 1999 (Işık 2001), and at Iasos in 2000 (Berti 2002), delays in the granting of the permit required a complete reconfiguration of planned excavation seasons. Bureaucratic delays in the permits for the specialists at Karain in 2000 (Yalçınkaya et al., 2002) and Güvercinkayasi in 2001 (Gülçur and Sağır 2003) postponed planned work on

specific material. In 2011 the Hadrianapolis excavation (Keleş, Çelikbaş and Yılmaz 2012) was forced to shorten its season, as was the project at Suluin (Taşkıran et al. 2012). At Pompeipolis, in Paphlagonia, staff members were unable to come in 2010 because of the late arrival of their permit, caused by technical and visa problems at Turkish consulates abroad (Summerer 2012).

However, the late arrival of permits causes bigger problems for sites that are under the threat of development projects such as dam constructions. Salvage archaeology projects like the Tille excavations report that they had to cancel part of the 1984 season (French 1986), and in 2003 the Allianoi excavation project suffered similar problems from the late arrival of the permit and delays in government funds (Yaraş and Baykan 2005). At Görükle in Bursa province (Şahin 2009), the late arrival of the permit in 2007 resulted in the destruction of a grave intended for proper excavation. These few individual cases demonstrate that cultural heritage has no priority over other development projects and that government bureaucracy can contribute to the destruction of cultural heritage.

Occasionally, permit-holding excavation directors who were previously denied permits are critical of the fact that they were never told the reasons for earlier rejections. For instance, while the archaeological importance of a mound in southeast Anatolia was underscored in a 1986 report, and, furthermore, while ongoing destruction was damaging it, a 1987 permit application for its excavation was rejected with no explanation. Eventually, the permit was granted in the fall of 1987, but only after a hypogeum had been looted and destroyed in the meantime (Özgen 1989: 96). Similarly, the Bulamaç

Höyük excavation report also mentions continuously applying for a permit for many years before finally obtaining one (Güneri, Erkmén, and Gönültaş 2003).

Another permit-related issue reflected in KST reports is the cancellation of permits for projects that failed to fulfill the publication requirements of the Ministry. When Prof. Dr. Ender Varinliođlu, an epigrapher, held the position of General Director of the General Directorate, he cancelled the excavation permits of twenty-two projects for lack of publication in 1988. As a consequence, Prof. Dr. Ramazan Özgán (Knidos Excavation), Prof. Dr. Coşkun Özgünel (Apollon Smintheion excavations), Prof. Dr. Cevdet Bayburtođlu (Arykanda), Prof. Dr. Orhan Bingöl (Magnesia ad Meandrum), Prof. Dr. Vedat İdil (Nysa), Prof. Dr. Güven Bakır (Klazomenai), Prof. Dr. Oluş, and Rüçhan Arık organized a meeting with then Minister of Culture İstemihan Talay, with the result that Varinliođlu was forced to reissue the permits (Bardakçı 1998a, 1998b). Varinliođlu then declared that the Minister was dealing with matters outside his expertise and resigned on ethical grounds (Erbil 1998). As presented earlier, several of his permit applications were subsequently denied. The longer-term effects of his stance, however, include the increased appearance of publications completed or in preparation in many subsequent KST reports.

It should be noted that all the names who required the meeting are the second generation and mostly classical archaeologists and they had trained significant portion of archaeologist and art historian members of the Ministry of Culture. Under these circumstances, it is possible that the authority second generation archaeologists inherited from their privileged academic statuses enabled them not to be strictly bounded with the

legal framework. The response of Işık to Ender Varinlioğlu in the Patara Excavation Report of 1999 is crucial to further understand how some of these second generation archaeologists identify themselves as the authority on who is archaeologist and what constitutes archaeology, leading to a narrow definition of an archaeologist. Işık in the report notes that the seasons' work Patara was not pleasant because of work at such historical, archaeological site with tourism can no longer put up with illegal volitions of someone with archaeology and archaeologist syndrome and egoistical ambitions (Işık 2001)¹⁶. As I demonstrated in Chapter 4, legal framework beginning with the Law 1710 emphasizes publication record as a condition of maintaining the permit. As the TAY Project (Archaeological Sites of Turkey Project-Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeler Projesi) would demonstrate ten years later, however, hundreds of excavation projects have never published final reports (TAY 2009). The political and academic pressure on Varinlioğlu is only brief and just one of the known examples of the powers that shape archaeological practice in Turkey.

Financial Problems

Financial problems are the second-most common type of comment in KST reports. Beginning from the earliest publications, each volume contains various narrations about how limited government funding or lack of funding affected fieldwork. Such

¹⁶ The exact words of Işık (2001: 87) are as follows “Zaten Patara 99'da genelde hiç tat vermemiştir. 2000 yılı kazı dönemine artık sorunsuz ve şevkle başlamak, Patara kazı ekibinin beklentisidir ve hakkıdır. Çünkü Anadolu tarihi, arkeolojisi ve turizmi için böylesine önemli bir antik başkentin ve araştırmacılarının, hiç arzu edilmeyen arkeoloji ve arkeolog sendromlu birinin yasal olmayan istemleri ve dizginlenemeyen "ben"lik hırsıyla uğraşmaya ne zamanı ve ne de tahammülü kalmamıştır.”

financial issues are also important indicators for identity formations among archaeologists. In contrast to the lack of comments in AST survey reports, reflecting the fact that they almost never receive government funds, funding-related comments in KST reports frequently requests to obtain more funding. For instance, repairs on sections of the agora at Pamphylia Seleukia could not be completed because of technical and financial deficiencies (İnan 1981). At Enez (Erzen 1981), reports voice similar concerns about the impact of funding on research.

The limited and late arrival of funding is especially problematic for rescue or salvage archaeology projects, as there is no way to compensate for the loss of time and planned archaeological work, because such areas are flooded or built over once the construction project ends. Various comments concern the late arrival of mandatory funding from the State Water Works and the General Directorate of Highways and the delays it caused to planned fieldwork. In 2001, the Hasankeyf project reports that the late arrival of funds from the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, and the late arrival of funding for the Southeastern Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-GAP) caused a gap in the summer campaign (Arık 2003).

Another issue is the cancellation of already allotted funding by the head of a governmental funding source. There are many examples of pre-determined but not allocated funding in excavation reports. For instance, the Antalya Special Provincial Administration allocated funding for the illumination of a theatre, but the structural enhancement necessary for the safety of the theatre was not funded (İzmirligil 1992). The reports from Van Kalesi in 1991 (Tarhan and Sevin 1993), and Magnesia Ad Meandrum

in 1991 (Bingöl 1993), explain the impossibility of doing the planned work based on a lack of or limited funds from the General Directorate. Although it was supposed to do so, the Muğla Special Provinces Administration did not contribute to the Knidos excavations in 1992 (Özgan 1993) and to Arykanda in 1993 (Bayburtluoğlu 1995). In another case, the Directorate of Revolving Funds (DÖSİMM) funding arrived only in small pieces and the Special Provinces Administration (İl Özel İdaresi) could allocate no money, thus the allocated funds for the Güvercinkayası Excavations in 2008 were transferred to the village public works services instead (Gülçur and Çaylı 2010). For the Altıntepe excavations, the funding from the Directorate of Revolving Funds (DÖSİMM) was partially sent (Karaosmanoğlu 2010) and in the case of the Melik Mahmud Han excavation project, although the building officially belongs to the General Directorate of Foundations, the project received no allocated funds from them (Gültekin 2004). Unfortunately, personal clashes and conflicts with members of central funding authorities can cause delays and cancellations, as well, a problem expressed explicitly in the case of the Arykanda excavations, in which the excavation director's clash with the director of the Finike Management of Assets (Mal Müdürü) caused delays and difficulties in obtaining allocated funding (Bayburtluoğlu 1986).

It should be noted that the majority of Turkish archaeological projects are funded through government sources (Ateşoğlu 2010) and these funds are not always sufficient for the planned research. In 2013, the Ministry announced an increase in archaeological funding over ten years by a multiple of 146 (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2013), yet no other well-functioning institutional organization funds archaeological projects

(İçimizden Biri, n.d.), and universities cannot always provide the amount of co-funding now requested by the Ministry; thus funding related complaints continue to appear in the KST reports (Figure 32).

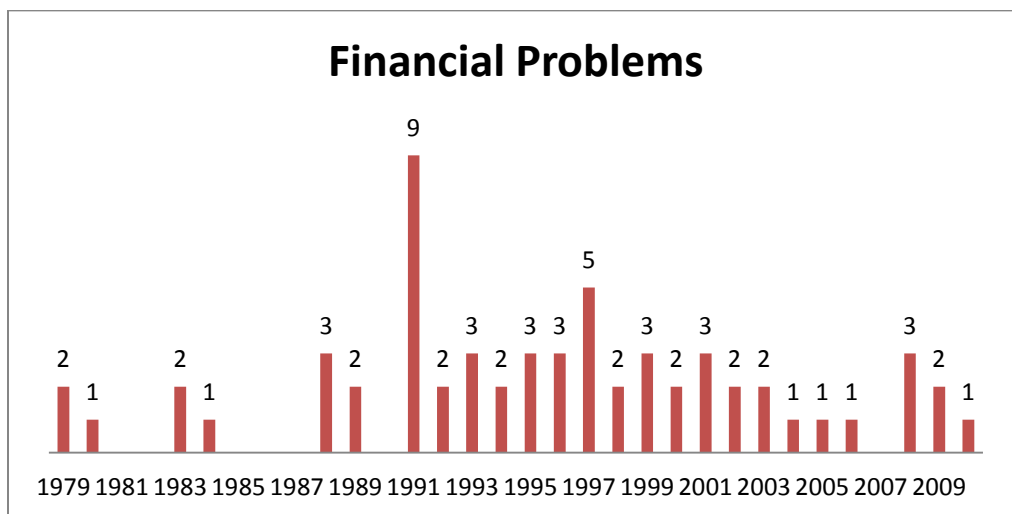


Figure 32: Distribution of budget-related comments in KST reports.

Foreign projects do not receive financial support from the Turkish government and so rarely mention the impacts of limited funding on research. With the exception of reports from the Porsuk Höyük excavations, which make clear that gaps in field seasons result from French Ministry of External Affairs budgetary cuts (Pelon and Tibet 1993), most foreign project presumably avoid mention of funding problems to avoid jeopardizing their permits, which depend on the continuity of their funding sources.

In cases where governmental funding is insufficient to complete the program of research, projects may look for sponsorship from other institutions as well as private firms and donors. For Turkish projects, funding from ones' own institution or project

funding through the Turkish Academy of Sciences is also sought. Interestingly, although some projects always look for additional financial support from the private sector and donors, Turkish projects have relied heavily on government funding. It is possible to trace roots of this reliance in the earlier and fully governmentally supported archaeological tradition of Turkey.

Because government funds come from various sources with their own institutional bureaucracies, allocation of funding from one government agency to another takes a long time, further delaying the arrival of funding. Archaeological project directors have been forced to find solutions, such as paying from their own pockets, or open lines of credit in local merchant shops. These solutions also foster the myth of the altruistic archaeologist as the one of the characteristic traits of an archaeologist in Turkey. As underlined earlier in this chapter, Özgüç memoir is full of references to working in difficult conditions, and most of the AST/KST reports refer sacrifices of the project team to finish the excavation season.

To summarize, already established hierarchical relations between survey research and excavation research is further enhanced by limited to no funding of surveys. On the other hand, under which conditions certain excavation projects obtained their governmental funds over the years has not been clear in legal documents. Thus, review of reports and funding sources suggest that obtaining funding is related not only to available sources, but also to political and personal interactions with other stakeholders, including members of the Ministry, local governments, private firms, etc., as well as the tourism

potential of particular sites. Thus, government funding becomes one of the elements that form identities among archaeologists in Turkey.

Site Management, Protection Zones, and Expropriations

In areas where excavations take place, another issue frequently discussed in KST reports is the protection, preservation, and sustainable management of archaeological sites and protection zones and the expropriation of private lands for protection of excavation. When an archaeological site is on private lands, excavation directors usually rely on the good will of the private property owner, as expropriation is not something that can be completed in a short amount of time. For instance, work at the Yenidoğan excavations was delayed because protection-zone registration took longer than expected (Tezcan 1980). In some cases, financial difficulties may not be the main reason for expropriation problems, as was the case in Kelenderis, where expropriation could not be completed because of political pressures (Zoroğlu 1994, 1996).

Similar to concerns voiced in AST reports, KST reports complain about the incomprehensive nature and enforcement of protection zones. Partial registration of an archaeological site as a protection zone (Zeyrek 2011), downgrading 1st Degree Protection Zones to 3rd Degree (Erkanal-Öktü and Çınardalı Karaaslan 2005; Özyiğit 1993; Aydıngün et al. 2011), urban development within protection zones (Işık 1993), and removal of earth from archaeological sites (Rheidt 1998) are only a few of the problems that have plagued the preservation and management of archaeological sites. Destructive activities conducted or permitted by other governmental institutions take place in protection zones and on other archaeological sites and present some of the biggest

conflicts in cultural heritage management in Turkey. While the state sets strict rules to preserve cultural heritage through Law 2863, a variety of ongoing damages to sites are clearly documented in KST reports.

Conflicts between other Governmental Institutions

Similar to AST reports, the General Directorate of Highways is frequently held responsible for the destruction of cultural heritage during road construction. A dam rescue excavation project, Tille Höyük in Adıyaman, noted that prior to the construction of the bridge and its associated road, the General Directorate of Highways' heavy machinery demolished sections of the mound, exposing a plethora of Roman period remains (French 1981). At Kelendris, the western necropolis area under the 1st Degree Protections was used as a timber storage area by the Forests Management Service for the province of Aydınçık; despite applications to change the use of this area, remaining parts of the necropolis were bulldozed and flattened for the expansion of the timber storage area (Zoroğlu 1998). Sand and stone quarry work permitted in the necropolis area of Sardis (Greenewalt 2002), prison guards at a nearby penitentiary carrying out agricultural activities around Şarhöyük, and anti-aircraft defenses set up on an occupation mound (Darga 1995) all reveal that the preservation of cultural heritage is not a priority of all government institutions. Of particular interest here are cases where archaeological landscapes are not deemed worthy of preservation, as such cases reflect the continuation of the object-oriented archaeological research of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Archaeological sites are mistakenly considered in isolation from their surroundings, and only the site, mound, or buildings of ancient sites themselves become centers of attention

from the perspective of the Ministry and other government institutions (if not also of some archaeologists). With this understanding, mining and other destructive land-use permits are given easily, because the action of mining takes place just “off site”. It is possible to trace roots of these conflicts at multiple sources that affect the formation of identities in archaeological practice.

In the first two chapters of this research, I highlighted the importance given to archaeology in the early years of the Republic and how this interest was abandoned after the World War II. Thus, it is possible to relate some of the conflicts that archaeologists have with other governmental institutions in archaeology’s loss of importance for state policies around that time. The object oriented research combined with the isolation of the discipline from the wider public until late 1990s, prioritization of excavation methods over survey archaeology and landscape studies, education system that solely focus on dating and stylistic properties of artifacts had not only established an archaeological tradition but also distanced archaeology and archaeologists from other stakeholders contributed to arising conflicts.

Comments on Museum and Museum Salvage Excavations

In addition to other government offices, archaeologists complain also about state museums, where all legal matters of archaeological projects are handled. KST report comments include a lack of storage space (Esin and Harmankaya 1988), denial of permission to work with museum collections (Lagona 1998), museum inventories obstructing research (Arik 2004), difficulty in carrying out bureaucratic paperwork, and the transfer of material for storage in another district’s museum when a local museum is

unavailable (Aytekin 2009, 2011). In terms of the insufficiency of museums, the most notable example is reported by the İznik Çini Fırımları excavations. For around 22 years and over three generations of excavation directors, the lack of storage space in the museum and its effects on work were routinely reported (Aslanapa 1987, 1988, 1992, 1993; Altun 1996–1999, 2001, 2003–2006, 2008; Demirsar-Arlı 2009).

Another criticism concerns the treatment of archaeological finds by district museums. The Aizanoi excavations in Çavdarhisar-Kütahya, for example, report that architectural fragments, inscriptions, and funerary stelae, originally exhibited in open-air fashion behind the temple, had been carried to the courtyard of the excavation house by the Kütahya Museum. Although the objects had been moved to prevent theft, the transfer of the objects had not been approved by the project director and this move meant that the objects could no longer be seen easily by the public (Rheidt 1996). In Kyme, planned work on prehistoric sections in the southern section of the site were denied by disapproval of the Izmir Archaeology Museum (Lagona 1998). Problems with the conservation of finds because of inadequate museum inventories (Zoroğlu and Arslan 1999) and conflicts with museums over the inventory of finds have prevented the study of material, as well (Arık 2004).

One group of comments of excavations carried out by museum archaeologists versus excavations carried out by academics was particularly interesting to read with respect to identity formations. In two cases, excavation directors harshly criticize salvage archaeology excavations conducted by museum staff. The Izmir Museum salvage excavations, conducted in the touristic town of Foça, were heavily criticized by the

director of the Foça excavations due to their excavation methods, including the use of heavy machinery, inappropriate collection of archaeological material, and lack of documentation (Özyiğit 2008). At Psidian Antioch, the current project director describes the archaeological work conducted by the Isparta Museum as “opening areas” rather than excavation because museum staff documented none of the building blocks they excavated and left without taking any conservation measures (Özhanlı 2010).

These rare comments reflect the debatable quality of museum salvage excavations and, more importantly, a division among the archaeological community between the museum archaeologist and the academic archaeologist. With this division of identities, it should be no coincidence that government representatives selected from museum staff are sometimes criticized for lack of experience and knowledge.

Lastly, and probably the most important criticism noted in KST reports, is the insider’s view of museum excavations found in the notes of Nuşin Asgari of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. In her report of excavations at the Marmara Island Saraylar village, Asgari (1980: 161) notes,

“This research should have initially started as a survey and as a result of the survey data collected there should be an excavation for archaeological problems that needed to be solved. But us, the museum staff, we have to start our work in the form of a rescue excavation. We are not prepared for the problems of this work in which we suddenly get involved, and thus we gain experience on the topic as we work on it and see what needs to be solved.”

It is possible to read this comment as a direct reference to “Archaeological Research

Design”, Lewis Binford’s seminal article in *American Antiquity* in 1964 as well as to some on survey research and such critiques of museum studies and archaeological research methods rarely find their way into AST and KST reports.

Although, the problematic nature of museum excavations and the inexperience of staff were reported already in the 1980s, the fact that such problems have yet to be rectified reflects that the transformation of the 19th century museum to meet today’s needs is yet incomplete, and it is questionable whether the government bodies have considered such a transformation to begin with. While grand openings promote new massive museums in Hatay and Gaziantep, along with the refurbishing of others, future improvements might do well to focus more on organizational structures and staff expertise.

One must note, however, that annual symposium reports provide only one side of the story. The problems summarized here are opinions of individual stakeholders: directors of excavation or survey projects. Occasionally other project members write sections of these reports, too, yet problematic aspects of fieldwork are usually avoided. Thus, although I identify the symposium as the meeting point for the governed and the governor, this venue is not totally open to every member of a field project. The potential conversation among archaeologists and the governing institution is strictly defined according to the hierarchical structure, thus conversations are limited to archaeologists who hold project permits with permanent positions at academic institutions, rather than the broader archaeological community, despite the fact that archaeological practice is a team effort and includes equally valuable voices and opinions. Thus, the symposium

establishes “the project director” as one major identity in archaeological practice in Turkey. Among project directors, excavation directors have higher statuses; they are called to meet with members of the Ministry, provided funds, and celebrated in publications prepared by the Ministry.

Based on AST and KST comments, it is clear that common issues, such as looting or urban development, are mentioned by almost every other project director. These are, in my opinion, mostly “neutral” or “positive” comments intended to guarantee further research. To what extent they actually contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage needs debate. Discussion of issues regarding the permit application, funding, or the current status of museums is limited almost entirely to Turkish project directors, while foreign archaeologists are almost silent on such issues.

Foreign archaeologists often choose not to comment on how archaeological practice is governed in symposium publications, although these issues are the center of informal debates among the scholarly community, regardless of academic status and nationality. Thus, I argue that the permit application process and government funding based on nationality establish another set of identities among archaeologists from Turkey. The divide is partly based on the unstated but almost universally acknowledged fact that it is easier for a foreign project to lose its permit by criticizing the policies of the governing agency. Other explanations may include proper senses of diplomacy, which prevent some foreign archaeologists from openly criticizing the institutions that allow them to conduct research in Turkey. Are there other problems that foreign archaeologists will avoid reporting at all costs?

In order to understand why projects are unsatisfied with governmental funding, other issues need to be highlighted, including how excavation budgets have been established. How does the ministry distribute funds? To what extents do personal and academic ties have impacts on permits or funding? Many questions remain.

Evaluation

As the fourth and final aspect of the analytics of government to be considered in this dissertation, this section presents two set of identities formed by academic structures and legal frameworks imposed by the state.

In the first section, the focus was the establishment of the three branches of archaeological education in the first two universities of the Republic; İstanbul University and Ankara University. As the oldest universities of the Republic, both institutions established their own archaeological traditions with the help of their prominent and influential researchers. Also, because these universities encouraged a system that only (or mostly) permits a vertical hierarchy to pursue higher education, archaeological practice in Turkey has been subject to several decades of academic inbreeding.

Furthermore, because topics selected for higher degrees are derived from the interests of the *hocalar* (Professors), with archaeological material coming from their excavation sites, archaeological practice and the production of knowledge has gradually narrowed. As I focus on the conduct of conduct in this research, this vertical hierarchy is one of the most significant applications of authority among the governed group of people; namely archaeologists.

In addition, because the academic structure in Turkey defines archaeologists as interested and educated in one of three major branches of archaeology – Prehistory, Protohistory and Near Eastern, and Classical – the most recent millennium and a half of human history is removed from the realm of archaeology and limited to art history or history. This leads to two things that severely harm our understanding of human history. First, the definition of an archaeologist is narrow. In other words, specialists in archaeobotany or cultural heritage management who can work across periods and landscapes are not considered to be *real* archaeologists, creating one set of identities.

Second, multidisciplinary studies between archaeology and other social sciences are discouraged. From the Byzantine period onwards, the vast amount of historical documents that can be incorporated in archaeology would only enrich our understanding of these periods. Because of the political connotations of the Byzantine empire, however, its archaeology is almost non-existent in Turkey. Archaeological work focused on the Seljuk and Ottoman periods is also limited.

Identities formed in the archaeological practice of Turkey, then, include archaeologists and specialists, Classical Archaeologists, Prehistorians, and Protohistorians, and members of the Istanbul “school of archaeology” or the Ankara “school.” These sets of identities explain also the high numbers of archaeological research projects in places such as Antalya, İzmir, Muğla, and Aydın, in relation to the territories of certain Classical Archaeology schools.

Such identities are not isolated from one another, however; they overlap from time to time. In the second part of this chapter, I focus on identity formations through

legal frameworks and the permit system, in particular. In order to establish these identities, I used reports of the annual symposia that have been systematically published since 1979. The symposium publications provide snapshots of more than three decades of archaeological practice in Turkey.

Through these reports, it was possible to demonstrate that archaeologists working in Turkey have been vocal about only certain sets of problems that they encountered during fieldwork, such as lack of funding or the impact of development. Thus, establishing these sets of problems was an initial step before presenting the other sets of overlapping identities that include Turkish versus Foreign, survey directors versus excavation directors, and project directors versus other practitioners in the eyes of the state.

Analysis of AST and KST reports revealed also that archaeologists have been silent about and distant from many political issues surrounding the past. Such an apolitical stance is considered to be a positive attribute of archaeologists by scholars like Akurgal. As discussed in Chapter 5, however, political instabilities and sensitivities are determining factors in the geographical distribution of archaeological work. Beyond Akurgal's personal opinions, then, this apolitical stance must derive also from the state itself, from its institutional structure, legal frameworks, and individual representatives that have been powerful enough to shape the conduct of a generation of archaeologists, reassuring their apolitical stance towards contested geographies, people, and pasts. Here lies also the value of the analytics of government, in that its four components allow for the visibility of such entangled relations, transformations, and problematic areas in

archaeological practice.

In the next and final section, by using the information provided through the analytics of government, I present changes and transformations in archaeological practice in Turkey through its shaping by the government. I discuss what the state aimed to accomplish and the result it achieved through the practice of archaeology since the 1950s. Furthermore, I provide the model to be used in applications of the analytics of government in archaeological practice in other parts of the world in conjunction with available data. Finally, I present a guideline that may improve our practice today.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, MODEL, GUIDELINES and FUTURE STUDIES

The premise of this study was to demonstrate how the changing policies of the state shape the role and function of archaeology and its production of knowledge. As a result, I present also the intended goals of the state and whether they were achieved. Although the establishment of archaeology as a discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been successfully investigated by a plethora of scholars, archaeology after World War II is a narrowly investigated topic. Yet, on one hand, beginning in the 1950s major developments occurred in archaeology, reshaping the practice not only in Turkey, but also throughout the world. On the other hand, such transformations are not limited to archaeology.

The state structure and its mechanisms, as we understand them today, despite carrying traces of past conditions and mechanisms, have been subject to transformations that changed legal frameworks and governmental institutions. Thus, a new way of archaeology and a new type of state have been functioning together for more than half a century, leading to something of a static condition. This interesting period, however, still lacked an in depth analysis. My research here, then, focuses on the transformation of archaeological practice in Turkey from the 1950s until the present and presents shifts in the meaning and function of archaeology, as the roles and functions assigned to it by the state were modified in relation to government policies and perceptions. As suggested in in previous chapters, profound changes in the roles played by archaeology have occurred over the last ten years, especially following the rise of the AKP government in 2002.

History of Research

As emphasized in Chapter 2, the direction in which archaeological practice evolved with state encouragement during the early Republican years of the early twentieth century needs to be understood within the context of what the state wanted to achieve through it. Among the many previous histories of archaeology in Turkey, examination of crucial projects is extremely limited, including such projects as the Keban, Ilisu, and Kargamış Dam projects, ethnographic and popular works on world renowned sites such as Çatalhöyük, and biographies of and memorial books on Turkey's most prominent archaeologists. The limited nature of previous investigations of such sources suggests that we have whole histories of archaeological practice yet to document.

Governmentality and the Analytics of Government

The “analytics of government” derived from Foucault’s concept of Governmentality focuses on the *conduct of conduct*. Governmentality, as La Perrière (1555) reminds, is all about “suitable ends,” implying the a priori importance of “required results” that may often contradict “best results” and thereby cause conflicts. The scale of conflicts is dependent on the strengths, authority, and/or power of the stakeholders involved, and for the purpose of this dissertation, these stakeholders are the governing institutions and the governed practitioners of archaeology. As discussed in the particular cases of the Marmaray and Ilisu Dam projects, shifting suitable ends define and redefine the role, function, and value of archaeology over time. The analytics of government provide the framework that enabled me to investigate the reciprocal relationships between these two primary stakeholders in archaeological practice in Turkey.

Although the definition of stakeholders used here encompasses a large group of people – from archaeologists to members of local governments, non-governmental organizations, and the public – because of the time and topical constraints of a dissertation, I focused only on the governor (the Ministry) and the governed (practitioners). In other words, I was able to investigate how government has shaped the conduct of others and the conduct of the self through mechanisms ranging from specific institutions to individuals through investigation of technologies of government, fields of visibility, rationales and thoughts of government, and the formation of identities.

This approach can be applied to studies on the historical development of transformations of archaeological practice by state policies for two reasons. First, as a model, it enables the researcher to investigate the reciprocal relationships between two stakeholders at multiple scales: the governor and the governed in this study. Second, the model is reflexive enough to enable the researcher to incorporate various sources of data that represent this reciprocal relation, rather than focus on the descriptive features of one aspect only.

On the other hand, I recommend that two additional items be integrated in the four-area framework defined by the analytics of government. The first of these is the impact of individuals. My research demonstrates that influential individuals, such as Ekrem Akurgal, Ertuğrul Günay, Ender Varinlioğlu, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, can have major impacts on the conduct of conduct based on their particular interests and agendas. Akurgal, called the Master of all Masters, became the founding father of Classical Archaeology in Turkey, and his research agenda, in conjunction with that of

Arif Müfid Mansel, has shaped the local tradition of Classical Archaeology and the geographic distribution of permits through today. The personal interests of Günay shaped repatriation efforts and culture policies during his tenure as Minister, between 2007–2013. Varinlioğlu's emphasis on the application of regulations initiated a phase of increased publication, although he was subject to political pressures. Finally, the political agendas of Erdoğan continue to shape the perceptions of archaeology in the eyes of the public, if not of the state. Thus, in future studies, researchers should integrate the impact of the individual or agency into analyses of Governmentality.

Second, I recommend that the analytics of governments should pay particular attention to governmental discourses and speeches about conflicting matters, such as clashes between preservation initiatives and development projects. In this research, analysis of the public speeches of various members of the government, especially those of former Prime Minister Erdoğan, were most informative about the real motives of the state with respect to the role and function of archaeology. Of particular importance was his use and manipulation of archaeological knowledge depending on the context and audience of the speech. Thus, it documented historical transformations and flexibility in state perceptions of archaeology.

Finally, because the establishment of archaeology all over the world took similar paths in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and because of similar traditions of governmental management of the practice, especially in Europe, the Near East, and parts of Asia, the analytical framework I propose here has potential to increase understandings of transformations in the role and function of archaeology under

particular state regulations in countries like Iraq, Greece, Italy, Syria, India, Pakistan, and China.

Technologies of Government

In Chapters 3 and 4, I investigated development plans and legal framework to define the instruments, procedures, and technologies the government uses to accomplish its rule, and examined changes in these technologies to answer questions concerning what the state aims to achieve.

Although the legal framework is a natural component of these technologies, a narrow focus on the legal framework alone prevents one from distinguishing the broader scope of things. Thus, the five-year development plans presented in Chapter 3, which were prepared by the State Planning Organization, itself established after the military coup of 1960, served to broaden the point of view in relation to other state policies. This new governmental institution was established to oversee economic, social, and cultural development in Turkey and often considered cultural heritage to be part of development policies.

Beginning in 1962 and punctuated by only a few one-year gaps resulting from political instabilities, the plans continue to provide overviews of development plans in Turkey. The transformation of cultural wealth, richness, assets, or heritage – the term depending on the period of use – into tourism incentives has always been a focus of the state. The only exception to this rule dates to the first development plan of 1962, in which not a single section was devoted to cultural heritage goals. It is possible to explain this

absence in terms of the concerns of the state to stabilize the country following its first military coup, and perhaps also in terms of the relatively self-centered archaeological practice of the era.

From the second planning period onwards, stated goals included cultural heritage, in its broadest description, and are found in sections on education and, after the early 1970s, on culture and tourism. From this particular change I was able to demonstrate that the role of archaeology within the ideological framework of the early Republic had shifted and was then perceived within the sphere of culture, both as a self-standing entity and as a component of tourism.

The second plan thus emphasized the value of cultural heritage and, as a first step, defined problematic areas, including a lack of museums and specialists, the integration of cultural heritage into broader frameworks, and limited archaeological work. The plan also acknowledged constant damage to heritage. Equally importantly, the plan defined areas to be developed for tourism, highlighting the Marmara, Aegean, and Antalya areas. These selections had profound impacts, not only on the emerging tourism industry in the years to follow (the 1970s and 1980s), but also on archaeological excavation and restoration projects in the same areas today. As demonstrated in Chapter 7, for instance, Jale İnan was critical of improper restoration work encouraged by the Ministry, whereas archaeological work in Phaselis in Antalya was initiated using World Bank Funds to promote tourism.

Also, it is crucial to remember that while the second plan was being prepared, the Keban Dam salvage project had been initiated. Preparations for rescue efforts played a

role in defining the weaknesses of archaeological practice in Turkey when international, rather than domestic, teams were called in to proceed with surveys and excavations. As stressed in Chapter 7, even though Classical Archaeology in Turkey was very well established by this point in time, it was perhaps neither scientific nor interested enough in the archaeology of southeastern and eastern Anatolia to have helped.

Restructuring of government institutions continued after the second military coup in 1971. Thereafter, an increasing wave of mass tourism activities resulted in cultural heritage being situated with tourism. In addition, as part of this restructuring during the third planning period, Law 1710 replaced the Ottoman Regulation on Antiquities, which had been in effect since 1906. Also, a separate Ministry of Culture was established for a brief period in 1971. Although mergers with other ministries were to come and go over the next 40 years, “culture” always remained in the title, either in the form of a self-standing ministry focusing on cultural heritage management, or in the form of a joint ministry with tourism.

These shifts from sectors of education culture and tourism and to the establishment of a Ministry for culture are reference points from which to assess changes in the role and function of archaeology. Despite the emphasis given to archaeology in the early years of the Republic, it was not institutionalized in the form of a Ministry directly dealing with culture. When we consider the school-teacher target audience of the first meeting of the Turkish Historical Congress and the emphasis given to integrating historical and archaeological research in school textbooks, it is understandable that the Republic considered archaeology and cultural heritage to be inseparable, requiring no

individual institutional mechanisms.

The third plan also focused on the improvement of museums and discussed the role of cultural heritage in tourism as well as illicit looting. By the fourth plan, museums were no longer considered to be active learning centers only to reappear as such in the fifth and eighth development plans. Such lack of continuity in goals, despite the fact that they were not actually achieved benchmarks, demonstrates lack coordination among governmental institutions in charge of protecting cultural heritage throughout the period I investigate. By the fifth plan, following the third military coup in 1980, the private sector was encouraged to participate in accordance with the liberal economic policies of Turgut Özal and the ANAP government. Although outside the focus of this study, it should be noted that from the fifth plan onwards there has been increasing emphasis on natural heritage.

For the first time, the sixth plan for the period between 1990 and 1994 introduces a specific period as the focus of state-based cultural policies: Turkish-Islamic period remains. As the reader may remember from the evaluation of the AST records in Chapter 7, the mid-1980s were notable for their lack of interest in the Seljuk, Beylik, and Ottoman periods (Ülker 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989). While no specific evidence connects these two items, it is nonetheless interesting that the sixth plan highlights Turkish-Islamic heritage as a focus of its interest. Focus on Turkish-Islamic remains was dropped, however, in the seventh plan, which first referred to an issue of significant emphasis in subsequent years: repatriation. In the same plan, terms such as movable and immovable cultural assets were introduced to the vocabulary, as well. Also, a revision of Law 2863 was proposed

because of the plans' primary focus on cultural heritage rather than natural heritage and the preservation of the environment. In the eighth plan, in addition to preventing illicit looting activities, a profound emphasis on repatriation efforts was included for the first time.

General elections conducted in 2002 resulted in the emplacement of the AKP government, and from then onwards we see a shift concerning the value of cultural heritage in the eyes of the government. Beginning with the ninth plan, only general and comprehensive goals are set for cultural heritage and its integration with tourism. This plan overlaps with the period of Günay's Ministry. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, more aggressive culture policies were developed during this period in combination with major changes to the permit process. Difference between established goals of the government and its actions stress again that the impact of individuals needs to be investigated as part of Governmentality research. The personal interests of individuals can now be shown to have transformed the role and function of archaeology in Turkey throughout its history.

The tenth development plan of the current period allows one to trace government aims up to the present. On an international level, nominations to various lists, such as the UNESCO World Heritage List, are referenced and Turkey's election to the UNESCO WHS committee coincides with its continuing to select sites for inscription systematically.

As Sevinç (2010) indicated, every government has come up with its own culture policies, rather than establish firm rules to be followed in future years without disruption. Seçkin (2010) pointed also to a lack of control mechanisms to monitor the achievement

of goals. The goals of the state are subject to change with changing governments, however, it might be naïve to expect that heritage rules remain unchanged. The state, based on its ideology in particular times, has the potential and power to make the modifications it desires, and this is made all the more clear by shifts documented in this dissertation.

The one consistent characteristic traced throughout the history of development plans is the integration of cultural heritage and tourism incentives. Other goals come and go over time with little assessment of their achievement. This lack of continuity or consistency, as well as of control or monitoring of goal achievement, suggests an almost random selection of various goals from previous plans, implying that the state had been far from applying its own rules. This situation changes only after 2002. As discussed with respect to legal implements in Chapter 4, Turkey's current government is keen on applying rules in order to get what it wants, which is ever changing. Furthermore, government documents such as Hedef 2023 indicate that the state is more adamant than ever to reach its goals in culture and tourism.

Legal Implements

It is telling that there had been no law on the preservation of cultural heritage before 1973. As development plans state, there was an ambiguity in the role and function of archaeology throughout the 1960s. This situation was only to be addressed towards the end of the 1960s. As Foucault argues, the emergence of government had ties to specific problems of the population in the sixteenth century (Foucault 2007: 88); likewise the detailing and structuring of new laws concerning archaeology were intended to regulate

archaeological practice and to address problematic areas in it, in addition to shape the practice towards the goals of the government. As iterated elsewhere, until the 1970s archaeology was at home in the Ministry of Education, because it was meant to educate people in Turkey about their origins, tying them to Anatolia. At the same time, the global goals of archaeology and its methods had been evolving. Thus, the legal system, implemented in 1973, is an example of the government learning about new realms of archaeology. For instance, although underwater cultural heritage was not covered by Law 1710, its directive included state ownership of underwater archaeological objects.

Throughout the various legal frameworks of Turkey are some constants, such as total state ownership or bans on the export of antiquities. These are basic rules inherited from Ottoman regulations; reflections of the Ottoman past, such as the government representatives, and are also clear examples of the power the state applies to its subjects through its apparatuses. Then there are the gradual modifications to who can or cannot obtain permits, under which conditions permits are re-issued, and the detailing of financial documents and calendars that are all indicators of the state both responding to problems of the practice and shifting the practice to serve its needs.

Over its long history, the majority of changes in the governance of archaeological practice occur after 2004, which indicates the clear focus of the current AKP government on the goals it achievement of its archaeological aims. The equivalent of such focused actions are seen otherwise only during the 1930s, when archaeology provided the foundations for a new nation in Anatolia. The AKP government period is different from other periods (except the early Republic) in that the government has decided to use its

full authority as previously justified by the legal framework. The state, shaped by the ruling government, has defined its goals and has acted on them in a focused way. While cultural heritage had already been a major component in the tourism industry, a more concerted collaboration among various government institutions to assure this integration has occurred under AKP government rule. Foreign research permits have been scrutinized heavily, however, and domestic permits have become more structured. While this restructuring has the potential to break decades-long powerhouse traditions in archaeological practice, it has created new centers for authority.

As part of these political agendas, archaeology and cultural heritage and, more specifically, repatriation have become major political tools in the international arena. Developed countries such as the US, France, Germany, and England are being forced to return artifacts, as research permits become tools for Turkey to demonstrate forms of power in political negotiations and as the government has systematically dug up artifacts from the closets of these first nation-states of the nineteenth century.

Fields of Visibility

Legal documents reflect the archaeological practices and geographies preferred by the state and clear preferences for excavation over survey archaeology, in particular. Law 1710 contains almost no specific regulation on surveys. While the later Law 2863 does include a few articles on surveys, its essential regulations concern excavation projects. Survey archaeology has thus maintained an inferior status when compared to excavations in the eyes of the Ministry. This result was later confirmed in Ministry publications' focus on excavations that take place in Turkey. This preference was dictated also by the

interests of the first- and second-generation archaeologists. In addition to preferred practices, the highlighted and obscured areas of archaeology in Turkey are revealed by this study.

The primary source for this analysis was the geographical distribution of research permits determined through analysis of AST and KST reports, UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and sites nominated for inscription. This analysis demonstrates that certain areas of practice in Turkey do indeed have preferred status. A common trend both in survey and excavation reports was an intense focus of research in the coastal areas of the Aegean and Mediterranean. Provinces such as İzmir and Antalya reached thirty permits per year for many years, whereas several provinces in the Black Sea and southern and eastern Anatolia have still seen no systematic archaeological work to this day.

Reasons for lack of research in these areas can be sought in political sensitivities and instabilities regarding the former and current citizens of these areas, including Armenian, Greek, and Kurdish populations subject to state policies. As revealed in chapter 5, security concerns in southeastern Anatolia was the primary reason for lack of research. In essence, this referred to the Kurdish insurgency, although this issue was only tangentially addressed in symposium reports. More importantly, I argue that the state benefits from the lack of research in these politically sensitive areas by preventing claims of ownership and alternative pasts and nations.

The second reason for lack of research is the dense vegetation cover in the Black Sea region. Because survey archaeology is still in its infancy in Turkey, widely successful remote sensing methods that have provided effective results in Mayan

landscapes under dense forest canopy are not widely known in Turkey and have yet to be applied. Because these areas are not suitable for survey using traditional pedestrian methods, they remain outside the scope of Turkish archaeology and have been fit only for architectural surveying.

The different purposes for which research projects are initiated are most visible in survey and excavation projects in southeastern Anatolia. Projects were mostly initiated as salvage projects prior to the construction of dams. Archaeologists are not keen on obtaining permits, and the government is not keen on providing permits in these rather difficult areas. Another reason for lack of research in this area is a result of the dominance of classical archaeology in archaeological education. Because undergraduate and graduate education in classical archaeology has dominance over Near Eastern studies, archaeological work is rare in areas that fall into the realm of the Near Eastern world in the southeastern Anatolia. This difference is even more visible in the distribution of excavation permits. Coastal cities on the Aegean and Mediterranean such as İzmir, Aydın, Muğla, and Antalya receive the majority of excavation permits and, in most cases, these permits support the excavation of Classical Archaeological sites. A Classical Archaeology tradition already established during the early years of the Republic was reinforced with the government's decision to develop tourism in these areas, contributing not only interest but also more funds to these areas.

In the last ten years, while research in coastal cities continues with high numbers of projects; archaeological work has also started to disperse across the country. The reasons for this can be sought in the establishment of new universities and archaeology

departments that are also spread across the country. Since the academic system requires faculty members to initiate their own projects in and around the province of the university, research has expanded to these neglected geographies. While the quality of such research is outside the scope of this study, it must be stated that archaeology faculty are not always trained best in the archaeologies of the provinces in which they are appointed. In addition, because Law 2863 requires survey projects to be conducted prior to excavations, young scholars begin their archaeological research with survey projects.

Among excavation projects initiated across Turkey, the longest-term projects were initiated by foreign researchers at the end of the nineteenth or in the early twentieth century and continue today. In addition, projects started by first and/or second-generation archaeologists of Turkey and continued by their students remain at the forefront of the tradition of archaeological practice in Turkey. The vertical hierarchical system that requires archaeologists to complete their higher education in the same institutions leads to the transfer of academic positions and excavation permits from professors to apprentices, not only leading to further calcification of archaeological traditions, but also to academic inbreeding.

Equally important here is the impact of the major archaeological projects. The projects known as “Big Digs” focus mostly on provincial capitals and major urban centers rather than on sites of lesser scale. Considering the dominance of agricultural economies in almost all periods of antiquity, the focus on capital or major cities, such as Gordion, Sardis, Ephesus, and the like, distance us from understanding rural towns and villages, which must have been far more numerous.

In addition, because the legal framework requires excavation projects to span at least ten years, peripheral sites, towns, and farmsteads that could be excavated in shorter periods of time are neglected by the Ministry, and archaeologists avoid working in such areas with fears of being unable to obtain permits. Thus, at a very fundamental level, we are establishing a biased vision of past life ways, constructed on the excavation results from major cities. In future study, it will be necessary to look at all data coming from a specific time period, for instance the Neolithic or Bronze Age, to determine to what extent the research area shapes the interpretation.

Despite the current abundance of projects in provinces other than Antalya, Muğla, Aydın, and İzmir, a geographical and chronological bias still exists in archaeological practice in Turkey. In the selection of priority areas, a potential to integrate an area into tourism through traditional methods or through inscription on the WHS list is the primary concern, instead of the scientific value of a site or landscape for understand the human past. Funding is also provided accordingly.

The selection of UNESCO WHS inscriptions maintains the same prioritized areas. In the last five years, Turkey has put increasing effort into nominating sites to the WHS. Turkey has also become an elected member of the World Heritage Committee to decide on inscriptions over the next four years. The motives behind this interest were discussed in Chapter 6, which defines government as a rational and thoughtful activity that oversees archaeological conduct to reach the suitable ends it desires.

In establishing fields of visibility, in other words, the availability of continuous records played a major role in defining which geographies and chronological periods

were preferred not only by the government, but also by practitioners for a variety of reasons. In addition, the publicly available information of the WHS sites and the tentative list of inscriptions further refined what geographies were fundamentally preferred by the governor. The public availability of information, especially official records, for the last ten years from a plethora of online sources has added depth to understanding major shifts which took place during this particular time period. Under these circumstances, a question needs to be answered is without this sort of publicly available data, would I have identified similar patterns and would the last 10 years of the AKP governance have still stood out as such drastically changing period? This is not only a rhetorical question but also an archaeological one. As an archaeologist, I would be able to trace general trends in changing policies towards governance of archaeological practice in Turkey in documents such as Strategic Development Plans that are available for the entire period I investigate in this research. Furthermore, the idea of fields of visibility operates on the assumption that highlighting of preferred actions is an operation way for government, thus, the abundance of data I am able to gather about the recent past is not only due to advantages of internet but also state's own desire to highlight what it aims to achieve through practice of archaeology. So, I conclude by confirming that the AKP governance would still stood out more different than previous terms.

Government as a Rational and Thoughtful Activity

In Chapter 6, I investigated first how specific knowledge is produced in relation to the interests of the state. In this section, the focus was the transformation of governmental institutions in archaeological practice and cultural heritage management towards the

suitable ends of the government. As discussed briefly earlier, shifts from education to culture or culture and tourism ministries are reflections of both the perceptions of the role and the function of archaeology in the eyes of the state. For this section, one of the major sources of data was graphs, publications, and various reports published by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Information from these sources confirmed or supported some of the general patterns I identified in fields of visibility, technologies of government, and formation of identities.

My investigations revealed the emphasis on available funding and repatriation from graphs published by the Ministry in the last ten years. Emphasis on funding is an indicator of the state as a rational and thoughtful actor, creating a perception that if funding is sufficient, there are no problematic issues in the practice. However, changes in the legal structure in the transfer of permits and the creation of the position of an assistant or co-director led to major discussions that stirred up the archaeological community. For instance, because repatriation became a tool in Turkey's international power plays, information regarding repatriation was presented in a form that emphasizes the achievements of the government by underlining the quantity of artifacts, such as the coin hoard repatriated from Serbia. One needs to consider the use and function of such repatriated items, however; though only rhetorically, one might question whether the number of visitors to the Antalya Museum changed after the repatriation of the 1856 coins of the Elmalı hoard or after the return of the Weary Herakles. Such repatriations are proud displays of power to impress the public; whether they are done for the good of the public remains debatable.

Analysis of Ministry of Culture and Tourism publications revealed also a lack of a Ministry publication about the history of surveys conducted in Turkey, whereas the celebration of excavation projects and their directors is in an official Ministry publication; this once again confirms the priority and importance of excavation projects in the eyes of the Ministry.

In a subsequent section, I investigated the perception of the discipline by government institutions. I also used reports published by the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works to demonstrate various and sometimes conflicting views on the preservation of cultural heritage or the perception of archaeology that similarly shapes the production of knowledge regarding archaeology. I stressed that one should focus on areas where conflict occurs among government institutions over goals to be achieved. It is not a coincidence that studies focusing on the development of archaeology often quote Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to demonstrate how his interest in archaeology and history shaped the formation of the discipline in Turkey. Likewise, my analysis of the discourse of current government members on conflicting areas reveals the slippery nature of what archaeology means to the current government. Thus, comparing an earlier perspective on the use and meaning of archaeology with the current one enabled me demonstrate clear transformations in the governmental use of archaeology.

For this study, I integrated writings and speeches of members of the government, especially in areas of conflict between cultural heritage management and development. For instance, analyses of speeches given by the former Prime Minister at the Ilısu and Kargamış Dams and at the Marmaray and Golden Horn Metro Bridge projects

demonstrated that archaeology is merely a political tool of the current state. Furthermore, the state has viewed archaeology as an enemy of the state for the first time, when the practice was not working in favor of its goals. This is a sad *first* in the history of Turkey. There is irony, however, in that archaeologists, once privileged members of the society serving in the national-building efforts of the Republic, were once again marginalized to serve other purposes for the state.

Such transformations are essentially what Dean highlighted as “shifting ends,” because these shifting ends in archaeology can represent the state’s sensitivities towards pasts that do not belong to them or towards an enemy that impedes development. From the earliest years of the Republic there have been politically and ideologically-loaded uses of archaeology. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk wanted to create a new nation; so too does the current AKP government. Both used the same tool but in very different ways. This is of particular interest and perhaps one of the most important conclusions of this study.

It is necessary to remember that at the time of the initiation of the Keban Dam Salvage in the late 1960s, the early Republican notion of archaeology was still alive. Archaeology was a tool to unify, not divide. Today, archaeological support of the preservation efforts of Hasankeyf has met with negative responses, with characterizations of it as a barrier to development. Archaeology has thus gone from a position of public support during the earlier construction projects, to one of enemy and barrier to progress today.

Finally, I demonstrated how commodification of archaeology manifest itself in various governmental documents ranging from the WHS nomination of Bursa and

Cumalıkızık, which focuses on an Ottoman past advertised as superior to its Byzantine and earlier pasts, to the Theater Letter, which leads to a biased production of knowledge about one particular era and one type of building, though not considered to be of ancestral importance to modern populations in Anatolia.

Formation of Identities

The limited response to the Theater Letter from the archaeological community leads to the final section of this dissertation in which I investigated the formation of various identities among archaeological practice in Turkey through government institutions and state-run academic structures. As a particular case-study of how the state applies bio-power, I first investigated how the academic system defined by the government leads to the definition of an archaeologist, whose only job is to excavate archaeological sites from three distinct periods of human history: Prehistory, Protohistory, and the Classical Periods. In doing so, the state left the realm of Byzantine and later periods to the scope of art history and history. In this way it may also aim to sever its ties with the contested past of Turkey, in which modern countries such as Greece also claim ownership.

Three biographic works focusing on four eminent scholars of Ankara University provided material to define the individual impact of certain academics in the rise of archaeological traditions or schools of thought; a lack of similar works on other eminent scholars at Istanbul University led me to provide only a general picture. Unequal availability of such data, however, indicated also the nuances of these schools of thought. The contribution of biographic work reiterates, again, the importance of integrating

analysis of the impact on individuals into governmentality studies. Because first-generation archaeologists are generally idolized and idealized by the archaeological community, however, now widely available critical assessments of their impact have the potential of causing ostracism from the archaeological practice.

In addition, because the academic system allows only a vertical hierarchy to pursue higher education and academic positions at the university level, academic and intellectual inbreeding plagues some Turkish universities. For many years, graduate students produced theses and dissertations from the projects of their professors; therefore, a narrow field of research comes into being. Combined with the hegemony of project directors over the landscapes and sites in which they conduct research, this has led to a territorialization in the archaeological practice of Turkey that forms a set of identities in relation to academic institutions and periods of interest.

Furthermore, the permit system imposed by the government leads to another set of identities building upon these others. There is only one venue in which archaeologists can openly interact with the government – the annual symposium – and it has thus become a showground for this interaction. Because of its hierarchical structure, however, the state is approachable only to those on the hierarchical top of the governed community: project directors and excavation directors, in particular.

To conclude, the current and universally acknowledged definition of archaeology is *the scientific study of the human past*; based on this definition the best practices of archaeology will entail implication of the definition. Otherwise, as archaeologists, we may be disappointed at times when archaeology becomes a tool of political and

individual agendas or is conducted outside a framework guided by science to answer questions regarding the human past. However, the conditions of our time suggest that our definition of archaeology is different from the current state's description and use of it. This, then, brings to mind possible revisions of how we define archaeology in current Turkey: a form of study of the human past with aims to integrate it into public service and cultural tourism incentives. Last but not least, in the area of conflict and problematic issues, I established a guideline to suggest revisions in current archaeological conduct to improve our practice.

Guidelines

The guidelines I suggest here are not genuine solutions to the chronic problems of archaeological practice in Turkey. At least two generations of scholars have discussed and voiced their own solutions, mostly verbally and rarely in print. The Classical Archaeologist Hasan Malay suggested that rural temples could be understood with short-term excavations using only the budget from one day of excavations at places like Ephesus (Malay 1987); Varinlioğlu emphasized the contributions of survey archaeology (Varinlioğlu 1993 and 1994); and Nuşin Asgari commented on how a proper museum rescue excavation can be possible (Asgari 1979). If the state is looking for solutions to problematic issues, archaeologists have a lot to contribute. Thus, like other custodians of our practice, and based on previous suggestions, current problems, and my personal experience in the field, I present a brief set of guidelines for the improvement of the practice.

When suggesting guidelines, a useful place to start is by questioning why

previous goals failed. Was it because of ever changing or non-existent cultural policies? Seçkin (2010) stressed that despite the many existing institutions of government to monitor certain things, there has never been a mechanism to monitor why certain goals remain unachieved. Thus, as an initial step, it is necessary for an institution to focus actively on cultural policies and monitors their progress. Should this institution be entirely governmental?

As this research demonstrated, a lack of dialogue between the governed and the governor is one of the problematic issues needing to be addressed properly in the future. Thus, the monitoring institution should represent both parties and should avoid becoming governmentally weighted, as appears to be the case with respect to the Evaluation Boards established by the 2011 and 2013 regulations.

A next step would be the revision of the legal frameworks that shape archaeological conduct. Over the last 34 years, the number of research projects has almost tripled. Such an increase in projects must have necessitated changes in how archaeological research is governed in Turkey. Although the Ministry has made changes in laws and employed new personnel over the years, the current picture suggests there is still some work to do. A crucial step is to raise and discard with some of the traditions inherited from Ottoman period phenomena. Why do trust issues between government representatives and project members endure, especially with foreign projects? In the twenty-first century, who would or could possibly dismantle monuments and ship them abroad? Surely not the scientifically credentialed holders of research permits. Both parties need to take necessary measures to create a better practice. Regardless of

nationality, isolated archaeological communities that fail to interact with the public or other stakeholders do not benefit the archaeology of the modern world.

The theme of isolation also brings me to the problematic issue of the narrow definition of an archaeologist in the legal framework. What is an archaeologist? In the legal framework, the constant emphasis is on graduation from an three-branch education system which confirms Shoup's conclusion (2008) that a broader understanding of an archaeologist needs to be introduced. Thus, to broaden this definition, we need to restructure the education and academic systems that rely on three-branch divisions and academic inbreeding.

A negative aspect of academic inbreeding and the narrow definition of archaeology is that excavation is preferred over survey archaeology. While I can accept that excavation may be the *primus inter pares*, the potential of survey archaeology needs to be acknowledged and taken of advantage of, especially in the densely vegetated areas of the Black Sea region, where application of remote sensing methods has the potential to increase our understanding of its history. On the other hand, while some problems can be solved with advanced technologies, issues related to political sensitivities and instabilities or the contested past and peoples of Anatolia are far more difficult to solve.

Future Studies

In past archaeologies, it was possible to generalize regarding the use of certain *pots and pans* over thousands of years of human history. As methods and understandings of archaeology have developed over time, archaeology has consistently moved from generalizations to more specific conclusions. I consider this study to be a *generalization*

of the transformations of archaeology in Turkey through changes in state policies from the 1950s onwards. In follow up to this dissertation, I plan to focus in more detail on select micro-analyses drawn from the multitude of evidence and events that speak to such changes over the last sixty years. In particular, I envision three specific areas of future research.

First, in order to assess how the state perceptions of archaeology evolved over time, I aim to investigate focus on how particular representatives of the state – cabinet members, prime ministers, and ministers – perceived archaeology. In order to do so, I am planning to conduct archival research at the General Assembly. This research would include investigation of Turkey's actions as a member of the World Heritage committee for the period 2013–2017, to assess the cultural and political perspectives of the state in an international sphere.

Second, ethnographic research is required to provide better understandings of the identities formed in archaeology in the past and present. Forty-five departments of archaeology spread across the country provide an excellent ethnographic pool. In relation to the formation of identities, a site-specific study on how bio-power is applied through the state media, as well as through the internal organization of particular projects, is another area that can be investigated. In this way – from macro to micro scales – we can learn about the conduct of conduct in archaeological practice in Turkey.

Finally, I plan to analyze the production of knowledge regarding certain chronological periods, such as the Neolithic Period, to investigate how geography and methods of research shape the grand narratives of these periods. The overarching

principle of these future areas of research is the human aspect that shapes our practice as well as the material culture that represents what archaeology means to me.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education

- 2006–2015 Ph.D., Department of Archaeology, Boston University.
Dissertation titled “Archaeological Entanglements: People, Places, and Politics of Archaeology in Turkey” (Major Advisor: Christopher H. Roosevelt)
- 2006 M.Sc., Settlement Archaeology, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
Thesis: *Çevre Kale Applications of Newly Developed Methods, Technology, and Data for Understanding the Iron Age City in Yaraşlı* (Advisors: Geoffrey D. Summers and Arda Arcasoy-GIS and RS).
- 2002 B.A., City and Regional Planning, Gazi University, Faculty of Engineering and Architecture, Ankara, Turkey.

Research Interests

Cultural Heritage Management; History of Archaeology in Turkey; Applications of Aerial Imagery and Remote Sensing (RS) Data and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in Archaeology; Anatolian Archaeology from Early Prehistory through the Late Iron Age

Fellowships

- 2012–2013 The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) and Research Center on Anatolian Civilizations (RCAC) Research Fellow in Cultural Heritage Management, Koç University
- 2013 Boston University, Graduate Student Organization, 2013 Spring Travel Grant Alternate (Awarded in April 2013)

- 2011 Boston University, Graduate Student Organization, 2011 Spring Travel Grant Alternate (Awarded in Summer 2011)
- 2010 Boston University Graduate Fellowship for the Fall 2010
- 2006–2010 Presidential University Graduate Fellowship, Boston University, Department of Archaeology
- 2005 Honor Student of the Settlement Archaeology Program (2003–2004 Academic Year), Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.

Award for Teaching Assistance

- 2009 Outstanding Teaching Fellow Award, Department of Archaeology, Boston University. Teaching Assistant for the Courses;
- Archaeological Sciences Class and Laboratory- AR 307
 - Lost Languages and Their Decipherment- AR 208

Academic Presentations

- Özgüner, N.P. 2013. "Archaeology and the State: Formation of Identities in Archaeological Practice in Turkey. RCAC Mini-Symposia: Cultural Heritage, Archaeology and State Policies, Istanbul; May 2013.
- Özgüner, N.P. 2013. "Türkiye Arkeolojisinde Problemler ve Farklı Kimliklerin Oluşumları". Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu Türkiye Toplantısı, İzmir; May 2013.
- Özgüner, N.P. 2013. "Local versus Foreigner: Identities Constituted by the Governance of Archaeology in Turkey". 7th World Archaeological Congress, The Dead Sea, Jordan; January 2013.
- Özgüner, N. P. 2011. "What is in a Theater? Rethinking Excavations of Ancient Monumental Buildings in Turkey." International Conference on Materiality, Memory and Cultural Heritage, İstanbul Turkey; May 2011.
- Özgüner, N. P., and N. Wolff. 2009. "Archaeologies of Scale: Approaching the Lydian Funerary Landscape through Remote Sensing and Micromorphology." Society for American Archaeology, 74th Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA; April 2009.
- Özgüner, N. P., and C. H. Roosevelt. 2008. "Aerial Photography and High-Resolution Satellite Imagery: Assessing Landscape and Land-Use Changes in Central Lydia." Society for American Archaeology, 73rd Annual Meeting, Vancouver, BC; March 2008.

Özgüner, N. P. 2005. "From Mountain Top to Lake Bed: An Aerial Archaeology Case Study on the Central Anatolian Plateau." Aerial Archaeology Research Group (AARG), Annual Conference in Leuven, Belgium; September 2005.

Publications

(eds) Çilingiroğlu, Ç. and Özgüner, N. P., 2015. Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu (TAG) Türkiye Bildirileri, Ege Yayınları, İstanbul

- Çilingiroğlu, Ç. and Özgüner, N. P., 2015. Başlarken in Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu (TAG) Türkiye Bildirileri, Ege Yayınları, İstanbul
- Özgüner, N.P., 2015. Türkiye Arkeolojisinde Problemler ve Farklı Kimliklerin Oluşumu; Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Yayınlarının İncelenmesi, in Teorik Arkeoloji Grubu (TAG) Türkiye Bildirileri, Ege Yayınları, İstanbul

Employment

2013–Present Archaeology Laboratory Technician, Koç University,

Department of Archaeology and History of Art

2013 Instructor, Summer School, Koç University
HUMS 123: Archaeology and Cultural Heritage of Istanbul

2010–2011 Publications Assistant, International Center for East Asian Art and Culture History, Boston University
Responsibilities included management of the METALBASE project and data mining for articles including information regarding ancient metallurgy

2010–2011 Turkish Language Instructor for Globally Speaking Language Classes, Boston University
Designed and taught a nine week class to introduce basic rules of Turkish grammar and Turkish cultural life to students from varying backgrounds (Thought undergraduate students as well as Boston University Faculty).

2007–2010 Teaching Fellow, Department of Archaeology, Boston University
Assisted professors, designed and graded exams; designed and led weekly lab sections; and designed and delivered two–three lectures for each class.

AR100: Great Discoveries in Archaeology (Profs. R. Elia and C. H. Roosevelt), *AR208: Lost Languages and their Decipherment* (Prof. M. Danti),

AR307: Archaeological Science (Prof. K. Borojevic), Two terms

AR505: Remote Sensing in Archaeology (Prof. F. Estrada-Belli)

- 2005–present Freelance Translator. Translated numerous documents, correspondences, and official reports for the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, the Central Lydia Archaeological Survey, and the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey.
- 2008 Project Coordinator for the DePaul College of Law Security Program for Cultural Heritage Management Workshop in Turkey, May–June. Also responsible for translation of all materials used during the workshop as well as the simultaneous translation from English to Turkish.
- 2004–2006 Research Assistant for Publications, Archives, and Translations, The Kerkenes Dağ Project, Ankara, Turkey.

Archaeological Fieldwork Experience

- 2003 Archaeologist, Burgaz Excavations, Datça Peninsula Research Project, Turkey, directed by N. Tuna.
- 2003 Archaeologist, Kerkenes Dağ Excavations, Yozgat, Turkey, directed by G. D. and F. Summers.
- 2004–2008 Archaeologist, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Salihli, Turkey directed by C H. Greenewalt, jr., and N. D. Cahill, Harvard and Cornell Universities.
- 2009–2010,
2005–2007 Archaeologist (Senior Research Assistant), Central Lydia Archaeological Survey, Manisa, Turkey, directed by C. H. Roosevelt and C. Luke, Boston University.
- 2011 Archaeologist, Gre Amer Rescue Excavations, Batman Turkey, directed by G. Pulhan, Koç University.

Guest Lectures

- 2013 British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), Guest Lecture for the BIAA-RCAC Fellowship on Cultural Heritage Management with the presentation titled “Archaeology and the State: Tracing the Problematic Aspects of Archaeological Governance and Formations of Identities in Archaeological Practice in Turkey”, May 2013.
- 2012 Gazi University, Faculty of Engineering and Architecture, Department of City and Regional Planning, Guest Lecturer in Basic Design Summer Studio, with the lecture titled “From Urban Planning to Archaeology: Aspects of Urban Planning Education”, Summer 2012.

Conference Organization

- 2012–2013 Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG)- Turkey Chapter, Organization Committee Member.
- 2013 ARHA 1st Annual Graduate Students Symposium: Cities: A Bigger Picture. An examination of the Heritage, Archaeology and Art of Anatolia from Prehistory through the Ottoman Empire.
- Task: Moderator for the Session IV

Public Outreach

- 2008–2011 Representative for the Department of Archaeology in the Graduate Student Organization (GSO), Boston University.
- 2007–2009 Contributor to Massachusetts Archaeology Month: Designed and coordinated the “Geographic Information Systems and Remote Sensing Lab Open House” in the Department of Archaeology, Boston University.

Professional Association

World Archaeological Congress (WAC)