

THE MAKING OF TURKISH NATION:
POLITICAL USE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
FOR THE NATION-STATE BUILDING PROJECT
DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA IN TURKEY

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2012

To my mother,

Nilüfer,

and to my grandparents,

Adnan and Feriha,

pointing out that knowledge is a magic key for life.

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İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

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Türk Milletinin İnşası:
Türkiye’de Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde
Ulus-Devlet İnşa Projesi için Arkeolojinin Politik Bir Mecra Olarak Kullanımı

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ABSTRACT

THE MAKING OF TURKISH NATION: POLITICAL USE OF ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE NATION-STATE BUILDING PROJECT DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA IN TURKEY

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The Early Republican Era was a period containing an ambitiously organized process for the construction of a homogenous nation and a secular as well as a modern Turkish state. This process was nourished by the rise of Turkish nationalism emerging from the Republican reformers. The reformers' aim was to set up the fundamentals of the modern Turkish nation by "reaching the level of the contemporary Western civilizations." The process of the establishment of nation-states among the Western civilizations was seen as the model for a new nation state during the making of the Turkish nation.

This thesis aims to survey the use of archaeology as a political tool in the service of the Turkish state during the nation-state building project in the Early Republican Era. Therefore, nationalist archaeology is taken as main concern with emphasis on its causes and results. In order to understand the political use of archaeology in the Early Republican Era, the concepts of nation and nationalism is regarded in the first chapter. The westernization process of the Ottoman Empire is surveyed with emphasis on the transformation from empire to nation-state in the second chapter. In the third chapter, pseudoarchaeology and pseudohistorical approach to history writing by Kemalist ideology to reconstruct a new identity is surveyed through publications and attitudes of the newly established institutions of the new Turkish Republic in order to explain the significance of the political use of archaeology for the Turkish nation-state building during the Early Republican Era.

ÖZET

TÜRK MİLLETİNİN İNŞASI: TÜRKİYE’DE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE ULUS-DEVLET İNŞA PROJESİ İÇİN ARKEOLOJİNİN POLİTİK BİR MECRA OLARAK KULLANIMI

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Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, homojen bir ulus ile seküler ve modern bir Türk devletinin inşası için ciddi olarak organize edilmiş bir süreçtir. Bu süreç Cumhuriyetçi reformcular tarafından desteklenen Türk milliyetçiliğinin yükselişinden de beslenmiştir. Modern Türk milletinin temeli ‘muasır medeniyetler zirvesine çıkılması’ amaçlanarak düzenlenmiştir. Yeni ulus devlet için, Türk milletinin yapım aşamasında yeni model olarak Batı medeniyetlerinin ulus devlet inşası süreci dikkate alınmıştır.

Bu tez, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi ulus-devlet inşası projesi sırasında Türk devletinin hizmetinde siyasi bir araç olarak arkeoloji kullanımını ele almaktadır. Bu nedenle, milliyetçi arkeoloji nedenleri ve sonuçları üzerinde durularak ele alınıp vurgulanmaktadır. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde arkeolojinin politik olarak kullanımını anlamak için, birinci bölümde öncelikle millet ve milliyetçilik kavramları incelenmiştir. İkinci bölümde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Batılılaşma süreci imparatorluktan ulus-devlete dönüşüm süreci üzerinde durularak ele alınmıştır. Üçüncü ve son bölümde ise Kemalist ideolojinin yeni bir kimlik inşa etmek için tarih yazımına pseudoarkeoloji ve pseudotarihsel olarak yaklaşımı, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin yeni kurulmuş kurumlarının tutumu ve yayımladıkları yayınlar üzerinden, arkeolojinin Türk ulus-devleti inşası projesi açısından politik olarak kullanımını açıklamak için incelenmiştir.

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INTRODUCTION

Nothing happens by itself. For every action, there is an equal reaction. But for an action to happen, there needs to be a force to make it move. This is one of the principles of Newton's law of motion. Hence, this is a law of physics. However, it could be adapted to life in every aspect, or in this case, to the social sciences, history, the establishment of nation-states, or to the concepts of nations and nationalism. Since, interdisciplinary approaches and ideas work well for complex studies, it can be better to look at the big picture from different perspectives. For that reason, understanding the significance of the concepts of nation and nationalism may help to explain the conditions and circumstances that facing the newly established Turkish Republic during the in the Early Republican Era.

Nationalism is very organic in its nature. However, it is actually a parasite. Nationalism needs a host to live, reproduce and affect its surrounding and thus, there are many forms and types of nationalism. As in every modern nation-state, nationalism has constituted a major influence on the Turkish Republic since its establishment. The crucial focus for Turkish nationalism has been in the history writing attempts of the Early Republican Era. For a nation-state, history is critically important; references from the past are used to control the present and shape the future for the benefit of nation. This thesis aims to survey the use of archaeology as a political tool in the service of the Turkish state during the nation-state building project in the Early Republican Era.

A great number of studies have been published on the emergence, effects and causes of nationalist history writings and the political use of nationalist archaeology

since the 1980's.¹ In the case of Turkey, publications on the nationalist use of archaeology are much fewer for two major reasons. Firstly, archaeological activities in Turkey are still under the influence of nationalism and under the strict control of the Turkish government. Secondly, Turkish archaeologists are more concerned with excavation than the theoretical and historical elements of archaeology. However, Ayşe Özdemir's M.A. thesis has been crucial for the history of archaeology in modern Turkey. Özdemir emphasises the transformation in perceptions of archaeology from those in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire into its new use in the early twentieth century new Turkish Republic.² She completed an extensive literature survey for the purpose of her thesis, which examines how and to what extent the Kemalist ideology influenced the archaeological activities of the Early Republican Era as a practice and how Turkish archaeologists reacted to the political manipulation of archaeology by the state.

¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Don D. Fowler, "Uses of the Past: Archaeology in the Service of the State," *American Antiquity* 52, no. 2 (1987): 229–248; Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Social Theory and Archaeology* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Francis B. Harrold and Raymond A. Eve, eds., *Cult Archaeology and Creationism: Understanding Pseudoscientific Beliefs About the Past* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1987); Bettina Arnold, "The Past as Propaganda: Totalitarian Archaeology in Nazi Germany," *Antiquity* 64, no. 244 (1990): 464–478; Michael Dietler, "'Our Ancestors the Gauls': Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (1994): 584–605; George C Bond and Angela Gilliam, eds., *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*, *One World Archaeology* 24 (London: Routledge, 1994); Christopher Evans, "Archaeology Against the State: Roots of Internationalism," in *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Ucko (London: Routledge, 1995), 312–26; Karen D. Vitelli, ed., *Archaeological Ethics* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1996); Nadia Abu El-Haj, "Translating Truths: Nationalism, the Practice of Archaeology and the Remaking of Past and Present in Contemporary Jerusalem," *American Ethnologist* 25, no. 2 (1998): 168–88; Peter G. Stone and Philippe G Planel, eds., *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education, and the Public* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999); Julian Thomas, ed., *Interpretive Archaeology* (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2000); Alexander Stille, *The Future of the Past* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002); Michael L. Galaty and Charles Watkinson, eds., *Archaeology Under Dictatorship* (New York: Springer, 2004); *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004); Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Philip Duke, *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics*, ed. Yannis Hamilakis (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2007).

² Ayşe Özdemir, "A History of Turkish Archaeology From the Nineteenth Century to the End of the One-Party Period" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2001).

By surveying the political uses of archaeology in the Early Republican Era, this thesis aims to focus on the nation-state building project that the Kemalist ideology targeted. The orientalist approach, the Ottomans were seen as “barbaric” and “sick men of the Europe” by the Western nations. The purpose of the Kemalist ideology was to create a new Turkish nation-state with a common national identity that would gather existing values and duties without reference to the recent Ottoman past and culture. In order to overcome of the orientalist view of Western nations and improve the standing of the new Turkish Republic among Western and other civilizations of the world order, the positivistic discipline of archaeology was relied upon as concrete fact. Archaeology was subsumed into the Turkish nationalist approach for the benefit of the new Turkish nation-state.

The first chapter is a survey on the theories of nation and nationalism with an emphasis of the history of these two concepts as well as their interaction with the discipline of archaeology starting with the emergence of the modern nation-state. By reviewing these theories as well as the nationalist archaeology in European nations, it is possible to understand how the the concept of Turkish nationalism affected the practice of archaeology during the establishment of the new Turkish nation-state with regard to Kemalist ideology of the era.

In the second chapter, the transformation period is presented in order to observe the link between the Ottoman Empire and the new Turkish Republic in terms of the path that they both followed in pursuit of the westernization idea. Through examining the westernization process in the Ottoman Empire, the chapter examines the historical roots of the Kemalist ideology that dictated the Republican reforms and objectives of the Early Republican Era.

The chapter examines the Ottoman Empire as a historical background for archaeological activities and museology for the purpose of the new Turkish nation-state. This historical background – along with the differences in archaeological approach between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish nation-state – demonstrate how the use of archaeology changed from the European approach. With emergence of the idea of Turkish Nationalism and in order to save the Empire from collapse, young Ottoman intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century gave great importance to history writing and researching the historical roots of the Turks. The concepts of nationalism and positivism for the development of the new Turkish nation-state were known as the ultimate developments of the Republican reformers and Mustafa Kemal, it was therefore actually a continuation of the westernization attempts of the Ottoman Empire.

The final chapter focuses on the use of archaeology in service to the Turkish state in the Early Republican Era. The concept of pseudo-archaeology is examined in order to explain the practice of archaeology and the use of museums in the Early Republican Era. Archaeology was regarded as a positivist science and its use was manipulated for political purposes as a pragmatic approach to establish the benefits of the new Turkish nation-state. In order to be able to create the imagined and desired Turkish nation, an attempt was made to construct a new identity by erasing current collective memory of the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious Ottoman past.

The new Turkish nation-state was constructed with pragmatic aims of the Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists of the Ottoman Empire. The new Turkish Republic of the Early Republican Era was not constructed from the remains of the Ottoman Empire, nor did it rise up from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformers tried to erase and avoid the image of being a continuum of the Ottoman Empire by using archaeology in imagining the new nation-state.

CHAPTER 1

A THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL SURVEY

*“It is not easy to see how the more extreme forms of nationalism can long survive
when men have seen the Earth in its true perspective
as a single small globe against the stars.”*
–Arthur C. Clarke

1.1 Nation and Nationalism: What Lies Beneath?

Nation and nationalism have always been both complex and controversial in terms of approaching, theorizing and understanding what the meaning of these notions actually are. Although the concepts of nation and nationalism have existed in societies for a long time, academic study of the concepts did not truly started until the twentieth century. Since the concepts of nation and nationalism did not receive much critical academic examination mostly considered as something to be proud of, such as being a patriot. There were several approaches and theories of these concepts presented in the nineteenth century. These studies, although not completely adequate, gave a birth to questions of understanding of the serious inference that lies beneath the literal descriptions of these words.

There are several necessary factors to consider for proper understanding of the discourse on nation and nationalism. Some scholars point important factors in the problematic description of nationalism. There should be a common agreed description in order to be able to approach nationalism properly. Another important factor is identifying the historical emergence of nations and nationalism, which would help to define proper approaches for nationalism studies. Lastly, other

scholars believe that it is important to develop typologies in order to explain the different forms of nationalism. On the other hand, it is important to consider the inevitable integrity of the concepts of nation and nationalism. Since the dynamics of these concepts are parallel, it may be problematic to approach them separately in some cases. Nation and nationalism co-exist simultaneously and it would be inappropriate to try to explain one without regard to the presence of the other. Therefore, while nationalism is considered, it is also necessary to understand what nation means.

According to Virginia Tilley, if scholars spent some time on the definitions of terms in social sciences, then the most hotly debated arguments could likely be resolved.³ The etymological root for the word “nation” is derived from the Latin word *natio* in the time of the Roman Empire, literally means “something born”. However, in the Roman Empire, this word was more commonly used to define the native “community of foreigners”. Umut Özkırmılı states that in the ordinary way of speaking the word “nation” could be attributed a group of people who belong together by similar birth conditions.⁴ The meaning of the “nation” started to change in the medieval age. The term came to refer not only to people who belong together by the same root, or birth, but it also referred to people who shared the same values, aims and ideas.⁵ In order to fully understand the problems of this terminology, it is also necessary to consider the objective and subjective definitions of the term which form the most fundamental disagreement. Objective elements for a nation include ethnicity, language, religion, territory, common history, common descent and

³ Virginia Tilley, "The Terms of the Debate: Untangling Language about Ethnicity and Ethnic Movements," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20, 3 (1997): 497–522.

⁴ Umut Özkırmılı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2005), 13.

⁵ Liah Greenfeld, "Etymology, Definitions, Types," in *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, ed. Alexander J Motyl, vol.1 (San Diego; London: Academic, 2001), 252.

common culture. Subjective elements include self-awareness, solidarity, loyalty and collective will. Many scholars both conflate objective and subjective elements today since objective elements do not constitute a “nation” in themselves. Similarly, subjective elements are also not sufficient to define “nation” since these elements can also signify other forms of groups such as religious groups, voluntary associations, or families. As with the etymological root of the word “nation”, both the objective and the subjective elements are not sufficient to build an accurate framework to define a meaning for a “nation.”⁶ Another problematic for the terminology of “nation” is the common misuse of the words “nation” and “state.” Due to this misusage, Walker Connor claims that the term “nation” is not possible to define in either academic studies or through the world political scene. For example, the use of word “nation” instead of word “state” in the name of “United Nations.”⁷ The state is connected to sovereignty, power and authority over the population and the territory. In contrast, the nation is connected to both objective and subjective elements as described above. It is also necessary to mention that there are both multinational states, and stateless nations.⁸

Nationalism has been explained in various formats by academicians through the years. However, the most important problematic has always been the ambiguity, or the polysemy, about its description. Briefly, it has been described as ideology, politics, social movement, cultural norm, or a vision for presence in a nation. Nationalism is a “doctrine” for Elie Kedourie;⁹ a “political principle” for Ernest

⁶ Özkırıklı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, 20.

⁷ Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 92-100.

⁸ Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001), 2.

⁹ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 1.

Gellner;¹⁰ an “ideological movement” for Anthony Smith;¹¹ both an “ideology” and a “form of behavior” for J. G. Kellas.¹² John Breuilly treats nationalism in three different aspects: ideas focusing on writing and speeches of the nationalist intellectuals; sentiments focusing on languages and shared ways of life; and movements as political actions and conflicts.¹³ Although all these terms of description present ways for describing nationalism, they are still not adequate for explaining the general modern understanding of nationalism. According to Craig Calhoun, none of these descriptions explain nationalism at all, they are only able to narrow and limit the way of approaching and perceiving nationalism. A long time ago, Michel Foucault described nationalism as a “discursive formation,” a way of speaking that shapes our consciousness while continuing to create more questions and debate as to how to think of it.¹⁴ On this basis, Calhoun believes that nationalism is a “discursive formation.”¹⁵ He suggests that this is a better approach for shaping the framework of nationalism through cultural framing since the meaning of nationalism is not limited by reductionist descriptions. Özkırımlı also addresses nationalism as a “discursive formation”, one which shapes the consciousness and surroundings of a person in terms of ways of seeing and interpreting the conditions of daily behaviors and attitudes.¹⁶ Unfortunately, all academic studies presented up to the present day go no further than the effort of trying to explain the concept of nationalism. Regarding nationalism as a form of discourse is the most suitable

¹⁰ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 1.

¹¹ Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 51.

¹² James G. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 2nd ed., (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 4.

¹³ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 404.

¹⁴ Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 3. Also see; Timothy Brennan, "The National Longing for Form," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), 46-7.

¹⁵ Calhoun, *Nationalism*, 7.

¹⁶ Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 4.

understanding of the concept for twenty first century debates. In order to be able to comprehend nationalism properly, the framework should be expanded to ensure meaning is not limited to such attributions as doctrine, political principle or ideology.

1.2 Historical Overview of Nationalism

Alongside attempts to explain the terminological problematic, another aspect for the study of nationalism is the historical evolution of the debates of nationalism. The historical study of nationalism is broadly divided into three phases. Özkırmılı however, in reference to recent advanced studies of nationalism, suggests a fourth phase since he divides the third phase into two parts. These phases are described respectively as:

- I. the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, when the thought of nationalism was born.
- II. 1918-1945, when nationalism became a subject of academic research.
- III. 1945 to the late 1980s, when debates on nationalism were diversified due to the engagement of sociologists and political scientists.
- IV. late 1980s to present day, when the attempts to exceed the ‘classical’ debate of nationalism have been made.¹⁷

The concept of nationalism in the eighteenth century was one of the biggest debates in the twentieth century, in which Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner both rejected the first phase of historical overview. Anderson¹⁸ claimed that

¹⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2006), 5.

nationalism had never produced “grand thinkers,” while Gellner¹⁹ advocated that none of the eighteenth century grand thinkers actually made any difference to the concept of nationalism. Although Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner claimed that nationalism has never had its own “grand thinkers” or philosophers, it would be wrong to support this claim as there have been approaches by some who have been – directly or indirectly – engaged in the thought of nationalism.

According to some scholars, the date of the emergence of nationalism in the first phase could be traced back to either the German Romanticism of the eighteenth century or to the Enlightenment era.²⁰ Hence, the second half of the eighteenth century might be the most proper date to start searching for the first serious attempts of nationalism as a movement. The ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and his concept of *general will* paved the way for the development of the nationalism movement in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. Rousseau was an important thinker and significant figure for the French Revolution. He sets a date for the first organized approach from a group of people within a nationalist movement. Elie Kedourie did not take account of Rousseau because he thought that Rousseau did not provide a systematic theory for his concept of *general will*.²¹ On the other hand, not all the scholars agree with Kedourie since they believe that Rousseau’s position was significant in shaping the German Romantic nationalism. According to Elie Kedourie, Immanuel Kant was actually the beginning of the nationalism “doctrine”, which he believes was invented in Europe in the nineteenth century.²² In fact, Kant was not a nationalist himself, but his thoughts were inspired by his student Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), who was one of the two thinkers, who

¹⁹ Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 124-5.

²⁰ Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 12.

²¹ Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 33.

²² *Ibid.*, 1.

triggered the German Romantic nationalism in the nineteenth century. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) was the other thinker, who has been considered as one of the significant figures of the German Romantic nationalism movement in Europe.

As a disciple of Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte dared to change the *free will* theory of Kant. He claimed that the phenomenon of the external world was the result of both a universal consciousness and an Ego that encircles everything around itself.²³ This became the so-called theory of “organic compound” universal consciousness, which supports that all individuals cannot exist on their own unless they belong to an ordered whole. Alongside Fichte, Herder contributed to the nationalism “doctrine” through the “historicist” movement in the nineteenth century. His pinpoint thought for nationalism was language. Herder believed that people, who were talking the same language, could be considered as a nation. For this reason, every language is exclusive and original, which means that every nation has their own ideas. In order to understand the particular nation, one needs to understand the thoughts of the nation, which is history. Through language, history is the only way to understand a nation as a whole. In this case, according to Herder, language projects the “national soul”. This projection is important in terms of that nation being a unique and authentic society and being able to determine its own future based on its production of ideas.²⁴

The second phase was started in 1918 and lasted until 1945. This phase is for the consideration of the concept of nationalism in academic studies for the first time. There are two types of studies that researched the concept during this period. Firstly, the histories of particular nationalisms were researched. Through these studies, the questions of “why” and “how” were not interrogated. Instead, the historical

²³ Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 19. It is important to know that German union did not exist until the late nineteenth century. Austrian-Hungarian existed during the time that Herder was talking about “national soul”.

development of each particular nationalism was narrated positively. The narrative approach to nationalism was full of dubious assumptions.²⁵ In the second type of study, academicians aimed to identify typologies for varieties of nationalism. Developing typologies were easier than formulating a definition for nation and nationalism. Among several academicians of this phase, Carleton Hayes and Hans Kohn are considered as the most significant due to their dissolution of different typologies.²⁶

Next phase lasted from 1945 to the late 1980's. The post-World War II era was an entirely new phase for nationalism studies. The collapse of colonial empires and the establishment of new states in Africa and Asia drew attention from social sciences interested in the decolonization process as well as post-colonial subjects. This phase saw the birth of "modernization" theory in social sciences, which was eventually attributed to the emergence of nationalism discourse. The debates on nationalism were also altered by the engagement of sociologists and political scientists during this period. Scholars such as David Apter, James Coleman, Leonard Binder, Manfred Halpern, Lucian Pye and Rupert Emerson were all interested in the fundamental distinctions of "traditional" and "modern" societies. According to Smith, sociological and political science analysis along with modernization theory, were significant in drawing out the causes of nationalism from its Eurocentric establishment to a broader global perspective in the 1950's.²⁷ Apart from the "modernization" theory, neo-Marxist scholars created an entirely new perspective for nationalism during the 1970's, emphasizing the role of economic factors.

²⁵ John Breuilly, "Approaches to Nationalism," in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 156-8.

²⁶ Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 36-7.

²⁷ Anthony Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 17.

The last phase, which is the new phase that Özkırımlı separates from the third phase, started in the 1980's and continues until the present day. The 1980's were very important due to the emergence of great "classics" of the modernist approach to the concept of nationalism. Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism*, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*, were all published in 1983. These works set the start date for ongoing debates. Another component of this phase is the influence of recent studies that criticize previous ones. Scholars such as Craig Calhoun and Michael Billig, who did not have find the previous approaches satisfactory due to their explanations of nationalism as collaboration of single general theory, have tried to identify "the factors that lead to the continual production and reproduction of nationalism as a central discursive formation in the modern world."²⁸ In addition, the study of so-called "marginal" groups – blacks, women, ethnic groups, and postcolonial societies – brought new perspectives on nationalism discourse as well as studies that interacted with other fields such as multiculturalism, migration, racism, citizenship, and Diaspora studies. These were scholars such as Partha Chatterjee, Homi K. Bhabha and Nira Yuval-Davis. According to Özkırımlı, nationalism studies reached a new and advanced phase under these abundant new approaches and broader perspectives.²⁹

1.3 Theories of Nationalism

As was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, there have been various approaches and theories presented for nationalism throughout the twentieth century.

²⁸ Calhoun, *Nationalism*, 123. Also see; Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995). This work is the first systematic analysis for the case of reproduction of nationalism.

²⁹ Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 56.

On the other hand, recent studies have accepted nationalism as a discursive formation. Some scholars and the recent philosophical analyses on the subject of nationalism propose that nationalism cannot be theorized due to its uniqueness as a phenomenon. Despite that, some scholars such as Yael Tamir reject the thought of not theorizing nationalism and claim that diversity of national experiences should not be the way of establishing theories for nationalism.³⁰

There are three major groups among the theories, namely primordialism, modernism, and ethno-symbolism. Primordialists propound that nations have existed in an immemorial manner, in which nations are ancient and they are very natural to human existence. Against this, modernists claim that nations have emerged as a result of the causes and consequences of several conditions during the modernization process. Alongside primordialists and modernists, there are the ethno-symbolists, who argue that modern nations are the outcome of pre-existing ethnic communities and, are the result of the political and social conditions of demanding in human nature.³¹

Among primordialism and ethno-symbolism, modernist theory has always been the most favored since it was first presented. Modernist theory was developed as a reaction to primordialism in the 1960's by scholars such as Karl Deutsch, Hans Kohn, Elie Kedourie and Ernest Gellner. Later, nationalism studies accelerated with several crucial publications by Eric Hobsbawn, John Breuilly, Tom Nairn, Anthony D. Smith, Benedict Anderson and, once again, Ernest Gellner during the 1980's and the 1990's. Modernist scholars claimed that nations and nationalism are products of the last two hundred years due to the results of serious conditions during the modernization process in terms of industrialism, capitalism, secularism, urbanization,

³⁰ Yael Tamir, "Theoretical Difficulties in the Study of Nationalism," in *Theorizing Nationalism*, ed. Ronald Beiner (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 67-8.

³¹ Özkırıklı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, 35.

and the bureaucratic state.³² For this reason, it is not possible to think of nationalism without modernism since there were not any political, social and economic conditions in ancient times, or in the pre-modern times related to nations. Thus, nations have started to occur in the modernization era as a result of nationalism at the political, social and economic levels. As Eric Hobsbawm has already asserted “nations do not make states and nationalism, but the other way around.”³³

By regarding all three of the major theories as well as all of the various other approaches, the question that arises is whether is it possible to construct a common universal theory for nationalism, or not? The most likely answer to this question that it is not possible. According to Özkırımlı, there are two important reasons for our inability to present a common universal theory.³⁴ First, the theoretical problem of nationalism is not based on only one nation, group of people, or specific land. There are varieties of nationalism, and trying to explain all these nationalisms through a single common theory would not help, but just gloss over the actual problem. Second, there is the particularism of nationalism, which definitely does not provide a common ground to construct a general theory. Therefore, nationalism could be answered only within a specific context of a specific setting through knowledge of local history, state power, and other specific conditions.³⁵ This cultural framing helps to explain nationalism as a discursive formation.

One of the best fields of study for nationalism can be the discipline of archaeology. Due to the inevitable relationship between nationalism and archaeology, it is important to study this interaction. Therefore, the discipline of

³² Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 85.

³³ Erik J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 10.

³⁴ Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, 61-2.

³⁵ Calhoun, *Nationalism*, 25.

archaeology has been politically under the influence of nationalism throughout the years.

1.4 Archaeology and Nationalism: An Assessment of the Literature

Archaeology could be defined as the study of material culture of past societies based on interpretations made according to uncovered artifacts. It is also accepted as a discipline due to its systematic rules during the process of excavation. On the other hand, the excavation process might be called a nice way of destruction since it is done in accord with an archaeologist's very peculiar belief. By studying material culture, archaeologists actually interpret the past in the present time. Human existence and social life in terms of labor, diet, ritual and cultural practices are historically shaped on the basis of the interpretations of the discipline of archaeology. For this reason, archaeologists conventionally believe that the least imaginary past known is the past that archaeology presents because the discipline of archaeology is based on the tangible artifacts that the five senses could comprehend naturally.

According to Bruce Trigger, the discipline of archaeology is developed inside a social context.³⁶ In brief, societies play a crucial role in shaping the archaeology. Trigger suggests three major social contexts for shaping three different types of archaeological tradition which have been called nationalist, colonialist and imperialist or world-orientated.³⁷ Although Trigger was criticized by Ucko as being "unsatisfactory and too superficial three-fold classification,"³⁸ Trigger's suggestion paved the way for the academic studies of social contexts in which archaeology is

³⁶ Bruce G. Trigger, "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist," *Man*, vol 19, no. 3, New Series (1984): 357.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 358.

³⁸ Peter J. Ucko, "Introduction: Archaeological Interpretation in a World Context," in Peter J. Ucko, ed., *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 9.

affected. In this thesis, nationalist archaeology is going to be taken as the main concern.

Archaeologists and historians have been aware of the relationship between archaeology and nationalism since the beginning of the twentieth century. On one hand, by linking material culture through uncovered artifacts to a particular ancient people, and on the other hand, a desire to trace the possible ancestors of present people back to their imagined primordial origins has played an essential part in the development of the discipline of archaeology.³⁹ The study of the past through the discipline of archaeology has been the key value of nationalism discourse. This is due to the regard in which material evidence for the collective myths and origins is held. Archaeologists such as Grahame Clark and Glyn Daniel were significant, who emphasizing nationalist aspects of archaeological discipline. Clark devoted the last chapter of his book to nationalist forms of archaeology as well as society, where he marks that newly established nation-states appreciate the value of archaeology in the process of nation-building.⁴⁰ Later, Daniel also points to an encouragement of the nationalist archaeology approach during post World War I Germany in order to reconstruct the German national identity and regain national pride.⁴¹

The amount of interest in the relationship between archaeology and nationalism started to increase during 1970's and 1980's due to archaeological studies into the nationalist ideology of Nazi Germany as well as the fascist Italian regime. Archaeologists such as Reinhard Bollmus, Volker Losemann, Alain

³⁹ Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 1.

⁴⁰ Grahame Clark, *Archaeology and Society* (London: Methuen, 1939), 190.

⁴¹ Glyn Daniel, *The Idea of Prehistory* (London; New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), 143.

Schnapp, Alessandro Guidi, and Ulrich Veit published on these topics particularly.⁴² On the other hand, colonial archaeology drew attention in terms of its nationalist nature and references. Another group of archaeologists aimed to study the influence of nationalism on the interpretation of archaeological research at the colonial lands of the so-called the “Third World”: the African and Indian colonial archaeologies. W. Bray and I. C. Glover, Preben Kaarsholm, Augustine Holl and Marta Petricioli were interested in the colonial archaeology at the end of the 1980’s.⁴³ The first *World Archaeological Congress* (WAC) was held in Southampton, United Kingdom on September 1–6, 1986. At the very first *World Archaeological Congress*, the effects of the political aspects of archaeology both in the past and in the present were discussed on a global basis for the first time along with other archaeological topics. More than twenty volumes in major books series were published as a result of the conference between 1986 and 1994. *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*,⁴⁴ *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*⁴⁵ and *The Politics of*

⁴² Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1970); Volker Losemann, *Nationalsozialismus und Antike* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1977); Alain Schnapp, “Archéologie Et Nazisme,” *Quaderni Di Storia* 5, no. 1 (1977): 1–26; Alain Schnapp, “Archéologie Et Nazisme (II),” *Quaderni Di Storia* 11, no. 1 (1980): 19–33; Alessandro Guidi, *Storia della paleontologia* (Rome: Laterza, 1988); Ulrich Veit, “Ethnic Concepts in German Prehistory: a Case Study on the Relationship Between Cultural Identity and Objectivity,” in *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. Stephen Shennan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 35–56.

⁴³ W. Bray and I. C. Glover, “Scientific Investigation or Cultural Imperialism: British Archaeology in the Third World,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 24 (1987): 109–125; Preben Kaarsholm, “The Past as Battlefield in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe: The Struggle of Competing Nationalisms over History from Colonization to Independence,” *Culture and History* 6 (1989): 85–106; Augustine Holl, “West African Archaeology: Colonialism and Nationalism,” in *A History of African Archaeology*, ed. Peter Robertshaw (London: James Currey, 1990), 296–308; Marta Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum: le missioni archeologiche nella politica mediterranea dell’Italia, 1898/1943* (Rome: Valerio Levi, 1990).

⁴⁴ Robert Layton, ed., *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988).

⁴⁵ Stephen Shennan, ed., *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

*Past*⁴⁶ were publications, which covered the political aspect of archaeology at the conference.

In 1991, the stage for globally comprehensive study of the relationship between archaeology and nationalism was set. A symposium was organized by the *American Anthropological Association (AAA)*, called *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*. The symposium's aim was to examine and study the relationship between archaeology, nationalism and politics in a global perspective. Most of the papers, which had been presented in the symposium previously, were expanded broadly in order to be published in a book in 1995.⁴⁷ However, in this first symposium Turkey was absent due to a lack of coverage by Turkish archaeologists, or archeologists interested in the Turkish case of nationalist archaeology practices.

A year later, *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*⁴⁸ was edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, in which they argued for the relationship between archaeology and nationalism based on their theory that nationalism is embedded in the very concept of archaeology. They claimed that archaeology does not necessarily have to be based on specific conditions to be referred to as nationalist, such as Nazi Germany, fascist Italian regime, or African and Indian colonialism. However, archaeology and nationalism interaction actively exists in every aspect of national projects and nationalism discourse.⁴⁹ As a result, nationalism has been affecting archaeology for the last two hundred years. For this reason, the relationship of nationalism and archaeology need to be studied seriously

⁴⁶ Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal, eds., *The Politics of the Past* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

⁴⁷ Philip L. Kohl and Clare P. Fawcett, eds., *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, Reprinted, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3.

⁴⁸ Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, eds., *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe* (London: UCL Press, 1996).

⁴⁹ Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, "Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: An Introduction," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (London: UCL Press, 1996), 3.

in order to perceive in what political and sociological manner nationalism affected archaeology during the process of nation-state buildings and afterwards, since nationalism always reproduces itself in various ways.

Interestingly, when Díaz-Andreu and Champion wrote the introduction chapter of the book, *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, they most likely based their thought on Bruce Trigger's famous article, *Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist*. Trigger claimed "most archaeological traditions are probably nationalistic in orientation."⁵⁰ However, in 2006, after Trigger revised his pioneering book, *A History of Archaeological Thought*⁵¹, which was first published in 1989, he was not claiming the same idea anymore. In his revised book, Trigger criticized the thought of Díaz-Andreu and Champion, pointing out "nationalism is not embedded in the very concept of archaeology, where not all the archaeology is national in orientation."⁵² This seems to be an open-ended discussion. Although all archaeologies might not be intentionally national, there are always political, sociological, economical factors at work since archaeology is always based on the interpretation of data uncovered by an archaeologist surrounded by these internal and external factors.

Lyn Meskell edited a book published in 1998, *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, in order to examine the regions that had not yet been covered. She wanted to discard the Eurocentric perspective and the Orientalist agenda in studies of the relationship of archaeology and nationalism through the European countries and the United States. She also wanted to draw attention to the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean in

⁵⁰ Trigger, "Alternative Archaeologies," 358.

⁵¹ Bruce G Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 248-49.

terms of their significant role during the emergence of archaeology as a discipline.⁵³ She was successful in drawing attention through her sequel book, *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, edited and published in 2007. In this book, she aimed to cover the Near East and South Asia, rather than Europe and East Asia. The book, *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts*, is distinguished by the special geographical emphasis on the Near East through the relationship of archaeological practice and state politics.⁵⁴

The role of archaeology on nationalism discourse can be studied through several perspectives. The most fundamental relationship between nationalism and archaeology is based on nation-building. Due to the special mission of archaeology to study the human past, the history of a nation becomes a concern of the discipline of archaeology. Archaeology examines the data of material culture in order to reconstruct missing history, gaps in the historical narratives, displays of historical heritages, and collective memory of a society after the trauma of being a part of a monarchy, absolutism, or other type of exclusive control. For this reason, the ability to regain the knowledge of past is significant and fundamental to the nation-building process. For instance, Miroslav Hroch propounds that a nation is a large social group of people merging several different types of objective relationships and their subjective effects on the collective consciousness: economic, political, sociological, cultural, religious, linguistic, geographic and historic.⁵⁵ In addition, he also emphasizes that there are three major and irreplaceable factors for the nation-

⁵³ Lynn Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).

⁵⁴ Philip L. Kohl, Mara Kozelsky and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, eds., *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1-2.

⁵⁵ Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation Building Process in Europe," in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 79.

building process. These three factors are: a “memory” of common past; a density of strong linguistic and cultural ties; and equality of all members of the group as a civil society.⁵⁶

Knowing, owning and reconstructing the past are powerful tools. The study of the past through archaeology is crucial for nationalism and nation-building in terms of legitimizing the present condition. Historical narratives can also reconstruct the past for the process of nation-building. According to David McCrone, “the ‘narrative’ of the nation is told and retold through narrative histories, literatures, media, and popular culture, which together provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals.”⁵⁷ Díaz-Andreu and Champion point out exactly the same thought that this is “the public image of archaeology” on the society, on the nation.⁵⁸ This is further evidence for the interaction between archaeology and nationalism. For this reason, the public image of archaeology could also be supported by the discourse of Michael Billig, who presents that nationalism always reproduces itself through daily life.⁵⁹ This marks that archaeology is influenced by nationalism not only in the case of the nation-building process, but also that archaeology continues to be inevitably affected by nationalism since nations and nationalism are reconstructed artifacts of archaeology, where their interactivities are dynamically based on each other.

Another perspective for the relationship between archaeology and nationalism is the study the institutionalization of archaeology. A nation can create organized

⁵⁶ Ibid., 79.

⁵⁷ David McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism: Tomorrow's Ancestors* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 52.

⁵⁸ Díaz-Andreu and Champion, “Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: An Introduction,” 6.

⁵⁹ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 42-3. Also see, “Chapter 3: Remembering Banal Nationalism” in Billig’s book, which explains the case of reproduction of nationalism through a complex dialect of remembering and forgetting.

institutions in order to develop and propagate the consciousness of its existence.⁶⁰

Displaying the uncovered artifacts as national heritage in museums, which are institutionalized by the authority of the state, is a powerful example explaining the role of nationalism on archaeology. The creation of museums could be considered as displaying possessed artifacts. For instance, the wealthy merchants of Renaissance Italy looked at painters as agents to display in painting the merchants possessed antiquities. The painting would then be displayed next to the antiquity. About three hundred years later, the first great museums started to open for public audiences. These museums became significant in terms of displaying archaeological material culture for the state.

The relationship between archaeology and nationalism has existed for the last two hundred years, since the first echoes of the modernity. Nationalist archaeology has been important in the historical reconstruction of nation-states as well as for the new Turkish nation-state building project. The political role of archaeology was crucial for the Turkish state during its nation-building project in the Early Republican Era. It was believed that creating a homogenous Turkish nation with a desired past was only possible through erasing the undesired and undeveloped barbaric image of the Ottoman Empire in the face of the Western civilizations.

Archaeologists, especially interested in the historical nationalist aspects of archaeological thought have studied the role of nationalism in archaeology since the 1980's. The exotic realms of archaeology could be divided into two fundamental parts as field archaeologists and scholarly archaeologists. As much as the theories and approaches of nationalism, the aspects and limits of nationalism on archaeology are an excessively debated subject. In addition, besides the limited knowledge on the

⁶⁰ Díaz-Andreu and Champion, "Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe: An Introduction," 9.

historical background of archaeological methods and thoughts, it is important to remember that there is also an actual intended and chosen nationalist approach in the field of archaeology. Therefore, if archaeologists would like to present their results as accurate fact, the discipline of archaeology should work in cooperation with other disciplines and sciences in order not to be hypnotized by the power of authority.

CHAPTER 2

EMPIRE TO NATION-STATE: THE TRANSFORMATION

“What’s past is prologue.”
–William Shakespeare

2.1 Westernization Process in the Ottoman Empire

The establishment of the Turkish nation-state during the Early Republican Era under the direction of Mustafa Kemal in 1923 brought up reforms in many areas of society and state. After World War II, scholars considered the Turkish Republic as “one of the most successful models of a universally defined modernization process.”⁶¹ In order to understand the actual origins of these Republican reforms in the modernization process, as well as preventing false assumptions and interpretations of the Ottoman culture, it is necessary to look back and study the westernization process of the Ottoman Empire.

In the very beginning of the eighteenth century, the decline of the Ottoman Empire had started to affect the state of affairs. The second failure to take Vienna in 1683 was followed by giving up more of their European territories in 1718. This continued with the loss of Crimea to Russia in 1774, sealed with the *Küçük Kaynarca* treaty. The treaties of Carlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) were two critical defeats for the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶² This was not a sudden impact, but was the result of a series of several unsuccessful

⁶¹ Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, “Introduction,” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 3.

⁶² Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 38-40.

campaigns and wrong decisions. The obvious stalemate situation of the Ottomans had changed the balance of power in the Balkans as well as in the Middle East. These losses of territory forced the Ottomans into the phase of dissolution. Despite this fact – recent researches claim that – due to the smart diplomacy of the Ottoman officials, the loss of territory was not as crucial as it has been thought.⁶³ Although they had to give Hungary, Peloponnese, Podolia and Asow into the hands of the Habsburgs, the Venetians, the Poles and Russia respectively, they were still seen as a great power that had avoided a dictated peace.⁶⁴ Eventually, Ottoman officers became convinced that the reason for these defeats was the result of being oblivious to the events and innovations that the West had been going through. The great success of Peter the Great of Russia, who had improved the Russian military system based on the Western models of military technology, was the perfect example for the Ottoman officers who were still considering possible Western reforms to be applied in the Ottoman military system for the first time.⁶⁵

Due to the unavoidable loss of territories, a reform in the Ottoman military was needed desperately at the end of the eighteenth century. The best known serious attempt for the Ottoman westernization project was military modernization. This has become known as the *Nizam-i Cedid*, which means the New Order, in the Ottoman military system during the reign of Selim III (1789-1807). However, Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha actually performed the first known military reform for the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶ İbrahim Pasha was an Ottoman vizier between 1718 and 1730 during the

⁶³ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 203.

⁶⁴ Christoph K. Neumann, "Political and Diplomatic Developments," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, The Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 3 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51-2.

⁶⁵ M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 44.

⁶⁶ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 136.

reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730), which is also known as the “Tulip Era”. The “Tulip Era” has been a very controversial subject for scholars of the Ottoman Empire for a long time. Misinterpretations of historical narrations as evidence as facts have resulted in different paradigms for the meaning and historiography of the “Tulip Era.”⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the “Tulip Era” has been dismissed as an era of hedonistic pleasure rather than the first attributions of westernization for the Ottomans arising from the construction of the Ottoman palace *Sa’dâbâd*.⁶⁸ The eighteenth century Ottoman palace *Sa’dâbâd* has been the main focus for the “Tulip Era”, where courtly festivities took place. It was through the discourse of Ahmed Refik’s theme of *zevk u safâ* that the “Tulip Era” has been attributed as a time of pleasure for a long time.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the “Tulip Era” could still be attributed as the first conscious attempt at westernization in the Ottoman Empire whether, or not it succeeded as expected due to the readiness of the Ottoman society for innovation. Sultan Ahmed III was encouraged by the grand vizier, İbrahim Pasha, to send an officer to France in order to learn the new methods of government and education for the benefit of the Ottoman administration and military order.⁷⁰ In order to examine and report on the West, Yirmisekiz Ahmed Çelebi was sent to France in 1721 on the pretence of extending permission to the French to repair the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. This was a cover to create an occasion for Yirmisekiz Ahmed Çelebi to travel to France and “make a thorough study of the means of civilization and education, and

⁶⁷ Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and Its Development in Modern Turkey* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), 1-5. For another recent critical evaluation on the “Tulip Era” see, Selim Karahasanoğlu, “Osmanlı Tarihyazımında ‘Lale Devri’: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme,” *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* Bahar-Yaz, no. 7 (2008): 129–144.

⁶⁸ A recent MA thesis on this topic examines various discourses about the “Tulip Era”: Eva-Marlene Schäfers, *Sa’dâbâd: The Social Production of an Eighteenth Century Palace and Its Surroundings* (Unpublished MA Thesis, İstanbul Bilgi University, 2009), 15.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 16. Ahmed Refik (1881-1937) was a scholar of Ottoman history, who published a book on the “Tulip Era.” Due to his debated discourse on the “Tulip Era,” the ideas in his book have influenced historiography from the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire until the present day.

⁷⁰ Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 137.

report on those capable of application in the Ottoman Empire.”⁷¹ After the westernization attempts of İbrahim Pasha, the grand viziers Mehmed Ragıp Pasha (1757-1763), Muhsinzâde Mehmet Pasha (1771-1774) and Halil Hâmid Pasha (1782-1785) were continued to carry out westernization efforts for the Ottoman Empire. Due to the endeavors and partial successes of these earlier grand viziers, Selim III has been considered as the key reformist of the Ottoman westernization in the eighteenth century.⁷²

The beginning of the nineteenth century was a milestone for the Ottoman Empire in terms of the serious westernization movements under the reign of Selim III. It was also significant for the end of the long and incapable reign of Ottoman Sultans starting of the reign of Selim III. Christoph K. Neumann points out that when the dynamic Sultan Selim III appeared, the political balance was altered towards a centralized authority.⁷³ Until the nineteenth century, isolation from around the world was dominant for Ottoman foreign policy. However, in order to gain new strategies, detailed intelligence about the affairs of Western powers had become paramount inside the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴ Westernization movements were mostly conducted for military reasons because the Sultan and the high officers of the Ottoman government believed that the declining military power was the most important priority. As he had observed from the previous attempts by earlier grand viziers, Sultan Selim III looked for new paths to establish a new order for the good sake of his empire. Sultan Selim III had took Louis XVI as a “role model” as well as gathering officers and statesmen, whom were also interested in the western ways of a new order. Selim had

⁷¹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 45. Being one of the most well-known historians, Bernard Lewis’ book could still be regarded as a fine pioneer source. However, his material should be read carefully since Lewis has an Orientalist approach to the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

⁷² Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 144.

⁷³ Neumann, “Political and Diplomatic,” 66-7.

⁷⁴ Hanioğlu, *A Brief History*, 47.

corresponded with Louis XVI when Selim was confined prince in the Ottoman palace and he had asked Louis XVI about rebuilding the Ottoman army and regaining the territories that had been lost to Russia.⁷⁵ In 1791, Ebubekir Râtib Efendi was sent to Vienna as an Ottoman ambassador in order to examine and report on the European way of life in Austria. When he returned, Ebubekir Râtib had written about five hundred pages of *sefaretnâme* on his observations of the military system and life in Europe.⁷⁶ Understanding military strategies of Western powers was thought to be significant as a remedy for the collapsed Ottoman military order by Sultan Selim III. Therefore, due to the establishment of his *Nizam-i Cedid*, Selim III set his main objective as consolidating the Ottoman military system to create a stronger central Ottoman state organization against external and internal threats.⁷⁷ On the other hand, military reform was not sufficient by itself. However, Selim III was not aware of this problem since there were no other serious and adequate attempts to reform administration, education, or economy.

Another significant development besides the military reform was the establishment of permanent Ottoman representatives for the very first time in the essential European cities of that time. Ambassadors had been sent to European capitals, mainly Paris, during the eighteenth century from time to time at regular intervals.⁷⁸ However, there had not been any permanent representative settled in European capitals because Ottoman statesmen had been very narrow-minded about circumstances in Europe before the very end of the eighteenth century. The new

⁷⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 1: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 260. Stanford Shaw's book was one of the pioneer books of the period when it was first published. However, the reader should be careful since Shaw's viewpoint has a modernist approach to the history of the Ottoman Empire as well as his colleague Bernard Lewis.

⁷⁶ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 44.

⁷⁷ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd ed., (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 21.

⁷⁸ Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 85-94.

permanent Ottoman ambassadors were settled in London (1793), Vienna (1794), Berlin (1795) and Paris (1796).⁷⁹ At first, Ottoman ambassadors did not perceive anything about European way of life and technology since they were limited only to Ottoman culture and society. Thus, this change was probably a culture shock for Ottoman ambassadors because they had underestimated the results of the French Revolution in 1789. Also, language was another challenge for understanding the reasons and results of the French Revolution and age of enlightenment. Due to the lack of literary translations for some words in French, it was difficult to understand and express the ideology of the French Revolution to the Ottomans, including Selim III.⁸⁰ Regardless, these embassies became important places for observing European knowledge of new scientific and technological subjects, as well as new ideologies, in the following years for Ottoman intellectuals. Due to the opportunity of monitoring European life very closely, many of these Ottoman ambassadors and their officers became the fundamental ground for Ottoman reforms and westernization movements in the nineteenth century.

The reforms of Selim III were not actually integrated into the policies of the Ottoman system. Thus, Selim III was deposed during the revolt of the Janissaries in 1807 and he was imprisoned. Selim III was replaced by Mustafa IV (1807-1808). Mustafa IV eliminated all the reforms of Selim III because he thought that all the reforms were evil and they had destroyed the order of the empire instead of improving it.⁸¹ Later Selim was murdered and his cousin Mahmud II, who was supported by Alemdar Mustafa in 1808, made his claim to the throne. Alemdar Mustafa was a supporter of the reforms of Selim III and acted as grand vizier to Mahmud II.

⁷⁹ Zürcher, *Turkey*, 23.

⁸⁰ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol.1, 266.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 274.

Mahmud II (1808-1838) followed the new order project that his cousin Selim III had set up. Mahmud II became more successful than Selim III since he examined and learned from the mistakes of his cousin. Institutionalization of westernization movements was a success during the reign of Mahmud II since, for the first time, new regulations were extensively seen as formal policy.⁸² The new regulations of Mahmud II differed from the previous attempts, which had become the inception for later reforms in the *Tanzimat* era. Shaw points out and arranges three characteristics for the success of Mahmud II: the reforms had to be involved in every Ottoman institution, not only in the military system; the only way to embed reforms into the Ottoman institutions was to replace and rebuild the institutions; and the strategy for performing the reforms had to be carefully planned and support assured before establishing them.⁸³ These were the essential fundamentals enabled Mahmud II to reorganize and consolidate centralised authority in the Ottoman Empire.

From 1839 to 1876, after the Ottoman Empire finally became aware of taking the Western patterns of technology seriously in order to save the empire, attempts of westernization in the Ottoman Empire reached their pinnacle. This period of time was known as the *Tanzimat* era, which literally means “regulations”. *Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi*, which means the Noble Edict of Rose Chamber, was declared on November 3, 1839 during the reign of Abdülmejid I. His father, Mahmud II, had passed away before the launch of the edict. *Tanzimat* marked a new period in the Ottoman history, being the beginning of the new regulations era. The aim was to dissipate inequality and to create justice for all subjects whether rich, or poor, among the Muslim and

⁸² Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 63.

⁸³ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.

non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman society.⁸⁴ Reforms were performed in administration, education, military, law and bureaucracy. The honoring of all Ottoman communities without regard to their religion was a crucial step of the Ottoman government and the Sultan himself. In return for these reforms, the Ottoman government demanded full loyalty of all the Ottoman communities to the Ottoman Sultan.⁸⁵ Hopes were high for the salvation of the empire in the *Tanzimat* era, as well as nostalgia for old, prosperous times of the empire. The father of the *Tanzimat* edict was Mustafa Reşit Pasha who had created a group of men to assist the Noble Edict based on the program of the reforms of Mahmud II. The main aim of this edict was to strengthen the autocracy and centralization of power as an assurance to the Great Powers of the West and to elicit their recognition of the Ottoman Empire as a member of the European concert.⁸⁶ Until the edict of *Tanzimat*, the Ottoman government had dealt with issues only in the scope of defense of their territories and revenues. The traditional Ottoman government and statesmen had never been interested in equal rights among all subjects of the empire before the edict. Therefore, the purpose of the edict was to provide reforms in terms of religion and race; equality before the law; reorganization of the tax system; and setting equal rights among subjects on their property and life.⁸⁷ At the end of Crimean War and just before the Treaty of Paris of 1856, the edict of *Islahat*, the Reform Decree, was declared in 1856. The *Islahat* edict was mostly the same as the *Tanzimat* edict of 1839, however, twenty new articles made this edict more significant and solid than the previous one in terms of reorganizing and consolidating the rights of the non-

⁸⁴ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 66.

⁸⁵ Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 286.

⁸⁶ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 73.

⁸⁷ Zürcher, *Turkey*, 51.

Muslims in all aspects of life inside the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁸ It defined the limits of the non-Muslim communities' benefits as "without exception, of all my imperial subjects of every religion and sect."⁸⁹

Starting at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals endeavored very hard to save the empire, but nothing helped to stop the Ottoman decline. The major regulations in the Ottoman system of politics and society did not prevent the inevitable collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the twentieth century. Feroz Ahmad points out that, although these major reforms were not adequate to save the empire, they did "lay new foundations without which there could have been no nation-state."⁹⁰

2.2 Ottoman Empire at the End of Nineteenth Century

Ottoman history writing has always been in service to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman high-ranking officials of Sultan, grand vizier and ulema had been the ones who directly effected Ottoman history writing. The understanding of the historical existence of the Ottoman Empire as well as its state and power relationship were a product of the chronicler of the empire, *vakanüvis*.⁹¹ The official *vakanüvis* of the Ottoman Empire was actually a servant of the Ottoman Sultan as well as writing for the history of the Ottoman Empire. Since the *vakanüvis* was a loyal servant, who was assigned by the Sultan himself, there was no other choice than showing Ottoman history in a very subjective way that glorified the Ottoman Sultan and the Ottoman

⁸⁸ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 75.

⁸⁹ Carter Vaughn Findley, "The Tanzimat," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba, The Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 4 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 18-9.

⁹⁰ Feroz Ahmad, "The Late Ottoman Empire", in Marian Kent, ed., *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 5-6.

⁹¹ Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmî Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu, 1929-1937* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 48.

Empire. For the Ottomans, the world turned around them, as did the common history of the world.

Ottoman history writing was focused merely on the Ottoman Empire and it did not make any progress to integrate Ottoman history into the common world history during the Ottoman reign. Bernard Lewis argues that westernization reforms of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire brought important changes to the writing of history.⁹² However, the industrial revolution and the new movements in history writing in Europe in the nineteenth century did not affect Ottoman history writing.⁹³ Although the Ottoman *vakanüvis* did not pay attention to new perspectives on history writing in Europe, the young Ottoman intellectuals, who were able to read and write in foreign languages, became interested in these significant changes.

At the end of the nineteenth century, foreign intellectuals in Europe published on the poor conditions that the Ottomans had been going through. On the other hand, beginning in the 1870's, there was an attempt of counter-writing by other writers in Europe against the publications of these foreign European intellectuals in favor of the condition of Ottomans.⁹⁴ These were the first foreign writers interested on the past of Ottomans and their history. Young Ottoman intellectuals regarded these publications highly. These foreign writers from Europe triggered the idea of nationalism as "Turkishness", which was a historical shift in the intellectual life of Ottomans at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ This shift was a searching of the past of Turks in the

⁹² Bernard Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 422.

⁹³ François Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi, 1900-1930* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 94.

⁹⁴ Etienne Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine: Tarih Ders Kitaplarında, 1931-1993* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006), 35.

⁹⁵ Lewis, *The Emergence*, 347.

Ottoman Empire against the humbling publications of the most European writers, in which the Ottoman Empire was shown as the “sick man of Europe.”⁹⁶

One of the first remarkable writers was Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha, who was formerly known as Konstantin Polkozic-Borzecki (1826-1876).⁹⁷ He was a Polish immigrant who converted to Islam in the Ottoman Empire. He published a book named, *Les Turcs anciens et modernes*.⁹⁸ This book was first published in Istanbul in 1869, and a year later it was republished in Paris. The principal intention of this book was to emphasize the link between immigrated tribes from Asia and the Turks and the role of this link in the creation of origins of the Western Civilizations in Europe.⁹⁹ Later, this book of Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha would become the key justification of several reforms and arguments of the “Turkish History Thesis” and the “Sun Theory of Language” for the new Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal. Lewis points out that, according to Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha, the Turks belonged to the “Touro-Aryan race.”¹⁰⁰ Etienne Copeaux marks that Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha claims that the Turks were “the origins of the Latin civilizations and language.”¹⁰¹ The main aim of this book was to set the ideas together in order to change the contemptuous thoughts of Europeans against the Ottoman Empire and emphasize that Europeans were the descendants of the Turks by belonging to the same kin.¹⁰²

In addition to Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha, among other important European intellectual was a French writer namely David Léon Cahun (1841-1900). Due to his friendship with the Young Ottomans in Paris during the 1860's, he published writing on the Turks. He was interested in the history of the Turks and their location among

⁹⁶ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 31. Mardin, *The Genesis*, 11.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 31-2.

⁹⁸ Moustafa Djelaleddin, *Les Turcs Ancients Et Modernes* (Paris, 1870).

⁹⁹ Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet Ideolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1983), 29.

¹⁰⁰ Lewis, *The Emergence*, 345.

¹⁰¹ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 31.

¹⁰² Lewis, *The Emergence*, 345-6.

the world civilizations.¹⁰³ At the very first *International Congress of Orientalists* in 1873, Cahun presented a paper about a prehistoric Turkish tribe that had lived on the shores of an “Inner Sea”, which existed in Central Asia.¹⁰⁴ This paper would eventually become very important for the Kemalist project of “Turkish History Thesis” later in the 1930’s. Cahun’s reputation grew with the book that he published in 1896, *Introduction à l’histoire de l’Asie*.¹⁰⁵ This was an important book in terms of presenting the already existing knowledge of Turcology in a perceptible and clear way. As a result of archaeological excavations, the first “Orkhon” inscriptions were found and deciphered as evidence for an old Turkish language. Although Vilhelm Thomsen was the first one to publish on the “Orkhon” inscriptions,¹⁰⁶ Léon Cahun was known as the first writer to sum up all the knowledge of Turcology in a comprehensive publication of his own.¹⁰⁷

The common ground of these publications by Mustafa Celaledin Pasha and Leon Cahun could be regarded as the basis for the development of an interest in the past of the Ottoman Empire. These publications influenced the young idealist Ottoman intellectuals in terms of giving birth to such sentiments as nationalism, motherland, or Turkishness. Ottoman government sent young students to Paris in order to study the latest technology and art to acquire western knowledge at the end of the eighteenth century. Many of these students were closely influenced by the causes and the results of the French Revolution in 1789. Although the Ottoman government did not truly show an interest in the Western intellectual and scientific developments in Europe until the second half of the nineteenth century in terms of

¹⁰³ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 74.

¹⁰⁴ Leon Cahun, “Habitat et migrations préhistoriques des races dites touraniens,” *Congrès International des Orientalistes. Compte-Rendu de la première session*, Paris, 1873, c. 1, Paris, 1874, 431-441. Quoted in Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 33.

¹⁰⁵ Leon Cahun, *Introduction à L’histoire De l’Asie. Turcs Et Mongols Des Origines à 1405* (Paris, 1896).

¹⁰⁶ Vilhem Thomsen, *Les Inscriptions De l’Orkhon Déchiffrées* (Helsingfors, 1896).

¹⁰⁷ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 36.

performed reforms in the *Tanzimat* era, these young Ottoman intellectuals were starting to publish their ideas and influence the youth around them slowly.

Former Ottoman state bureaucrats and young Ottoman intellectuals came together and formed a secret society in 1865.¹⁰⁸ The formation of Young Ottomans in Paris was a reaction to the Westernization movements of the Ottoman Empire. There were three main ideologies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Ottomanism; Pan-Islamism; and Turkism, – also referred to Pan-Turkism or Pan-Turanism –. The intersection point of these ideologies was to gather all the communities under one flag and one nation of the Ottoman Empire, in order to stop the miserable situation and prevent the empire from its collapse. They believed in Ottomanism, which was regarded as the nationalist ideology of their era. This could be considered as the first serious attempt for the emergence of Turkish nationalism at the end of nineteenth century, which also set up the background of the Kemalist nationalist ideology during the new Turkish nation-state building project.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, Nazan Çiçek points out that the analysis of the Young Ottoman movement could give insights into the collective mind of the Turkish Republic in the twentieth century through to the policies of the Kemalist project.¹¹⁰ The Young Ottomans wanted to save the empire as well, neither the implementations of Western technology nor by the new *Tanzimat* regime. Instead, the Young Ottomans aimed to save the empire by regard to the ideology of Ottomanism. Şükrü Hanioglu argues that the ideology of the Young Ottomans was based on the Islamic notions of ‘commanding right and forbidding wrong’ (*al-amr bi'l ma'ruf wa'l nahy 'an al-*

¹⁰⁸ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 103.

¹⁰⁹ Selim Deringil, “The Ottoman Origins of Kemalist Nationalism: Namık Kemal to Mustafa Kemal,” *European History Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1993): 165–191. Selim Deringil summarizes the connection between the ideology of the Young Ottoman movement and the establishment of Kemalist nationalist ideology of the Early Republican Era.

¹¹⁰ Nazan Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans: Turkish Critics of the Eastern Question in the Late Nineteenth Century* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies; PalgraveMacmillan, 2010), 238.

munkar) and ‘consultation’ (*mashwarah*), rather than on the notions of the architects of the Western reforms of the *Tanzimat*, the bureaucrats Ali and Fuad Pashas.¹¹¹ For Ali and Fuad Pashas, absolute political enforcements from the top down were not seen as reforms for the sake of the Ottoman Empire, but instead a tyrannical bureaucracy of Western ideas benefiting conservative Ottomans. According to the Young Ottomans, Ali and Fuad Pashas had abandoned the *Şeriat*, the Islamic fundamentals of law in the Ottoman Empire, and had created a dualism in the law for Muslim and non-Muslim communities, which was seen as a negative outcome of the *Tanzimat*.¹¹²

Among the members of the Young Ottomans, three important figures emerge in terms of long term impact, arising from their writing activity during the nineteenth century. These people were Namık Kemal (1840-1888), Ziya Pasha (1829-1880) and Ali Suavi (1839-1878), who were the triumvirate of the Young Ottoman movement.¹¹³ One of the most important Young Ottoman writers, Namık Kemal (1840-1888), mentioned the Ottomanism ideology as well as the nationalist sentiment in his publications. When Şinasi escaped from the Ottoman Empire in 1865 due to his involvement in a plot against the *Tanzimat* reformer Ali Pasha, he left the journal *Tasvir-i Efkâr* to Namık Kemal. Namık Kemal used the word “vatan” (fatherland) extensively in his writings. He also used the expressions “ümme” (community), “Türk” (Turk), “kavim” (tribe), “mezheb” (denomination), and “millet” (nation, or in its traditional meaning, referring to a religious group in the Ottoman Empire).¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 104.

¹¹² Roderic H Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 225.

¹¹³ Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans*, 42.

¹¹⁴ Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 327.

Ziya Pasha was a Young Ottoman writer as well as a *Tanzimat* era Ottoman statesman. He contributed to the journal, *Muhbir*, together with Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi. After *Muhbir* was closed he continued to write for the journal, *Hürriyet*, in Paris with Namık Kemal. Although Ziya Pasha had acquired a classical Ottoman-Islamic culture from the classicist poet Fatin Efendi, as a protégé of the grand vizier Reşid Pasha (1800-1858) he learned about Western ideas and institutions that were implicated in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁵

Another figure was Ali Suavi, who had published his thoughts in the journal of *Muhbir*. He translated the word “nation” as “ümme” in Ottoman Turkish, which he had looked up in the Webster Dictionary.¹¹⁶ Instead of using the word “millet”, through the word “ümme” Ali Suavi aimed to gather the Ottoman communities under one flag as a whole. When Ali Suavi escaped to Paris and later to London he continued to write articles for the newspaper, *Ulum*. Although both Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi were part of the Young Ottomans, they had several disagreements according to analyses of their theories.¹¹⁷ Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi’s translations for the word “nation” were completely different. For instance, Namık Kemal claimed in his article, which was published in *Hürriyet* on November 2, 1868, the words “millet” and “ümme” were used incorrectly.¹¹⁸ Although Ali Suavi insisted on “ümme” for the translation of the word “nation”, the Ottoman intellectuals preferred to use the word “millet.” Namık Kemal claimed that, since the Young Ottomans aimed to build a homogenous community and a common sentimental value, the

¹¹⁵ Çiçek, *The Young Ottomans*, 45.

¹¹⁶ Ali Suavi, "Türk," *Muhbir*, 38 (July 12, 1868), quoted in Mümtaz'er Türköne, *Siyasi İdeoloji Olarak İslamcılığın Doğuşu*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994), 258.

¹¹⁷ Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 366.

¹¹⁸ Türköne, *Siyasi İdeoloji Olarak*, 257.

religious fundamentals must necessarily be emphasized.¹¹⁹ The Young Ottomans were dissolved and their members were sent to exile in 1867.

Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha and Ali Suavi were all able to escape to Paris after the exile. They continued their writings in both Paris and in London. However when they started to return to Istanbul at intervals, the Young Ottomans did not gather together again. Ali Suavi was the last one to return Istanbul. He was killed during his attempt to assassinate Abdülhamid II in 1878.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman intellectuals and young Ottoman students became disappointed at the restrained Ottoman regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II. However, Benjamin C. Fortna argues that, due to the paranoia and censorship of Abdülhamid II, his reign was seen as an era of absolute despotism and cruelty in the Ottoman Empire. In this era, Fortna argues that positive progress such as education for both girls and boys and developments in public services and pressing were forgotten.¹²⁰ Thus, the official history writing of modern Turkey saw the era of Abdülhamid II as a perfect catalyst to dis sever the Ottoman past since denigration was necessary for this break and for forgetting.

Started by a group of Ottoman students who had studied in the European-style education system at the Ottoman schools, the Young Turks were formed as an opposition to the ruling regime at the end of the nineteenth century. Hanioglu claims that the Young Turk movement could be traced back as far as the year of 1889, but the first important date was February 1902 when the First Congress of Ottoman

¹¹⁹ Ahmet Yıldız, *"Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene": Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etmo-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 51.

¹²⁰ Benjamin C. Fortna, "The Reign of Abdülhamid II," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba, The Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 4 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 40.

Opposition Parties was held in Paris.¹²¹ Here, the leaders of the Young Turks argued about approaches of how to bring down the reign of Abdülhamid II. The activities of the Young Turks led the Ottoman Empire and its regime to the revolution of 1908, then the counterrevolution of April 1909, the so-called “31 March Incident.” The Young Turk Revolution ended with the groups transformation into the Committee of Union and Progress (*CUP*). The CUP became the ruling party of the Second Constitutional Period at the very beginning of the twentieth century after ending the Ottoman Sultan’s reign over the empire.¹²² The Kemalist ideology of the Early Republican Era during the new Turkish nation-state building project was influenced by the political ideas and worldview (*Weltanschauung*) of the Young Turks, which has been kept and carried on by the Committee of Union and Progress.¹²³ Zürcher also claims that the political thoughts and ideology of the Kemalist republic were influenced by the Young Ottoman legacy in the last years of the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁴ This political thought was not the Islamic religion, but it was the positivism that influenced some of the Young Turks who had been in Paris during their exile.

2.3 Origins of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire

In order to comprehend the historical background for the establishment of Turkish archaeology and museology in the Early Republican Era, it is necessary to survey the expansion of archaeological activities and formation of museology in the

¹²¹ M. Şükrü Haniöğlü, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3.

¹²² M. Şükrü Haniöğlü, “The Second Constitutional Period, 1908–1918,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey: Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba, The Cambridge History of Turkey Vol. 4 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 66.

¹²³ M. Şükrü Haniöğlü, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 200-12. Haniöğlü describes the Young Ottoman philosophy of the late Ottoman Empire. This worldview points out that the ideology of the Turkish nation-state in the Early Republican period was shaped by the Young Ottoman philosophy.

¹²⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk’s Turkey* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris; PalgraveMacmillan, 2010), 136.

Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. The Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century could be considered as the formation of serious fundamentals for Turkish archaeology and museology in Early Republican Era establishments. The interest in archaeology and antiquity in the Ottoman Empire can be examined in two phases: the first phase taking place from sixteenth century antiquarianism to the nineteenth century, and the second phase continuing from the nineteenth century – with the establishment of the Ottoman Imperial Museum and the first archaeological excavations – to the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 (Fig. 1).

Antiquarianism has a long history throughout the ages since every human has been interested in their own past. Antiquarianism was the study of the ancient world by means of collecting antiquities.¹²⁵ It can be referred to as the stage of proto-archaeology, in which the antiquarians were mostly historians, who were interested in the financial value of the ancient artifacts rather than their cultural and historical context. These ancient artifacts were objects such as coins, medals, gems, or flint arrowheads. The development of antiquarianism in Europe points to the medieval period. European communities were interested in plundering ancient Roman sites and burials to recover ancient coins, gems, ivories, and even marble. Their knowledge of ancient Roman civilization was based on sites and stories from the Bible, which was controlled by the Roman Catholic Church. Due to economic conditions and increased trade, antiquarianism became attractive in the Renaissance era. In opposition, collection of spolia in the Muslim world of the East was not as attractive as in the West. Trigger suggests that this might have happened due to ignorance of pre-Islamic pagan civilizations according to the religious aspect of Islam.¹²⁶ Although historians such as Abu Zayd Abd ar-Rahman ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) were excessively

¹²⁵ Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 80-120. Ian Shaw and Robert Jameson, eds., *A Dictionary of Archaeology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 65.

¹²⁶ Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 77.

interested in past, the failure of interest in historical artifacts was unfortunately inevitable. During the sixteenth century, European travelers as well as artists, scholars, geographers and intellectuals who traveled to Constantinople and several other cities of the Ottoman Empire were attracted by the ancient civilization that had settled in Asia Minor before the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁷ They were also shocked due to the Ottoman ignorance of these antiquities of past civilizations. According to Wunder, this kind of ignorance had already shaped the image of the Turks in the West during the sixteenth century because a love of antiquity was an essential marker of a civilized society for the West in the Renaissance era.¹²⁸ However, Ottomans had not utterly ignored antiquity. Antiquarianism can be dated back to the time of Mehmed II in the Ottoman Empire. Mehmed II collected artifacts from the Byzantine period around Topkapı Palace.¹²⁹ Moreover, Ottomans used antique spolia in their architectural constructions of buildings, fortifications, or gates. In particular, Ottomans used Byzantine spolia for their constructions in both Constantinople and in Anatolia that suggests the Ottoman Imperial dominion after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. For instance, according to the Italian travelers of the sixteenth century, lion sculptures from the Byzantine Empire were taken down and repositioned around the gates of Constantinople during the Ottoman period.¹³⁰ Traveler accounts of the sixteenth century have been the best source for examining the attitudes of the Ottomans in relation to antiquarianism. The interest in Asia Minor continued to grow in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to Biblical references to the history of Christian and Roman Catholic religions in the area. This

¹²⁷ Amanda Wunder, "Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, no. 1–2 (2003): 89–119.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹²⁹ Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1989), 260–61.

¹³⁰ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2003), 40.

led European travelers, scholars and historians to focus investigation on traces of their own history in the realms of the Ottoman Empire. According to Neil Asher Silberman, the Ottoman Empire became at the tempting target for Europeans in terms of its religious, commercial and diplomatic location.¹³¹ In other words, previous civilizations in the realms of the Ottoman Empire started a quest for history as being a competition among the Europeans. In this manner, the European invention of the discipline of archaeology marks the background for the establishment of the modern Turkish archaeology. The European discipline started during the era of antiquarianism and continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Under the influence of westernization in the Ottoman Empire, the discipline paved the way to the formation of the Imperial Museum.

The second and most significant phase began with the historical shift in history writing within the Ottoman Empire, which led to the quest for the past through archaeological excavations and the Ottoman Imperial Museum. Alev Koçak argues that the nineteenth century *Tanzimat* reforms constituted several improvements through centralized bureaucracy. The reforms created better and stricter regulations among the public and social life of the Ottoman communities. More centralized regulations also established archaeological activities and antiquities for the Ottoman Empire.¹³² According to present documents, the nineteenth century could be marked as the beginning of the first serious archaeological activities in the Ottoman Empire. Archaeology starts to be seen in terms of a discipline for seeking the past, regarding cultural heritage, giving meaning to artifacts and displaying them

¹³¹ Neil Asher Silberman, "Nationalism and Archaeology," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. Eric M. Meyers, vol. 4 (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 104-5.

¹³² Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2011), 22.

in the Imperial Museum of the Ottoman Empire. The second phase should be examined in three stages according to three levels of processing of the Ottoman Imperial Museum.

The first milestone stage for the expansion of archaeological activity in the Ottoman Empire was the first attempt at the formation of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1845. Semavi Eyice¹³³ presents 1846 or 1847 for the first level of formation, while Wendy Shaw¹³⁴ suggests 1846. Although the dating for the formation of the first level has been debated, 1845 is regarded as the proper date according to recent research by Alev Koçak, whose study is based on the *Sicill-i Osmani*.¹³⁵ *Sicill-i Osmani*, or *Tezkere-i Meşâhîr-i Osmaniye*, are six volume Ottoman biographical registers that were written by Mehmed Süreyya Bey between 1893 and 1897.¹³⁶ This process was undertaken at the initiative of Rodosizade Fethi Ahmed Pasha (1801-1858), who has been broadly referred to as the founder of modern Turkish museology.¹³⁷ Fethi Ahmed Pasha was familiar with European culture and intellectual interests as well as known for his interests as an art collector.¹³⁸ He was also the son-in-law of Sultan Abdülmecid, which presumably affected the Sultan's decision about the formation of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1840. In 1845, Fethi Ahmed Pasha, who was the marshal responsible for the Imperial Arsenal (*Tophane-i Amire Müşiri*), rearranged the rooms around the atrium of Hagia Irene in order to place there two collections of Sultan Abdülmecid. The collections of Sultan Abdülmecid were scrupulously organized by Fethi Ahmed

¹³³ Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu," in *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, VI (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985).

¹³⁴ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 46.

¹³⁵ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 30.

¹³⁶ Mehmed Süreyya Bey, *Sicill-i Osmani*, ed. Nuri Akbayar and Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996).

¹³⁷ However, in my opinion, we must be careful with this reference since Fethi Ahmed Pasha was neither an historian nor an archaeologist. He was actually an ambassador for the Ottoman Empire as well as being charged with several high official positions through his life.

¹³⁸ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 30.

Pasha. He divided the collections into two parts that were referred to as the Magazine of Antique Weapons (*Mecmua-i Asliha-i Atika*), the collection of weapons and armors already stored at the arsenal, and the Magazine of Antiquities (*Mecmua-i Asar-i Atika*), the collection of artifacts that had been uncovered from excavations in Constantinople as well as throughout the realms of the empire that dated back to the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods.¹³⁹ Inventory of the collections started to increase due to Sultan Abdülhamid's own initiative to bring antiquities from all the provinces of the empire to Hagia Irene for displaying among the collection. The sultan's decision to bring all the antiquities to Hagia Irene is evidence marking a period of placing restrictions on trading antiquities within the territories of the empire for the first time.¹⁴⁰ It could be argued that the establishment of these collections started as a matter of pride by the Ottoman government against Western scholars and archaeologists, who were interested in Ottoman history more than the Ottomans themselves since there are not any visitors' records kept for the collections. It is impossible to know who visited these collections or why. French novelist Gustav Flaubert in 1851 and the French playwright Theophile Gautier in 1852, who both visited Istanbul, provide the earliest depictions of these collections provided.¹⁴¹ It could be interpreted that these collections were not open to the Ottoman public, but only to highly positioned visitors. In addition, when comparing the collections in the Ottoman Imperial museum with the collections in European museums, the collections in the Ottoman Imperial museum were based on military weapons rather than art and other treasury collections as found in European museums. It could be argued that the Ottoman interest of gathering collections in Hagia Irene was started

¹³⁹ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 48.

¹⁴⁰ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 33.

¹⁴¹ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 49.

as an idea of “territorial protectionism through its military power”¹⁴² and not from an interest in art and antiquity.

The earliest systematic archaeological excavations in the Ottoman Empire started during the reign of Abdülmecid. Two excavations took place in Mosul, first by the French in 1843, and later by the British in 1845. The excavations at the sites of Khorsabad and Nineveh paved the way for the beginning of the study of the Assyrians and Babylonians as well as Biblical archaeology. In 1844, the British archaeologists also started another excavation at the site of Halikarnassus, which is the present day Bodrum in Turkey. The artifacts that were uncovered during the excavations were taken to museums in France and Britain. This led the Ottoman government to question for the first time the ownership and export of archaeological artifacts from Ottoman territories.¹⁴³

Scholars have hotly debated the establishment of the first antiquity regulation by the Ottoman government for a long time. There are several suggested dates for the first regulation. Due to the article of Semavi Eyice, 1874 was broadly regarded as correct until the first half of the 1990’s.¹⁴⁴ Nur Akın also claimed that 1874 dates the first regulation.¹⁴⁵ In 1994, the archaeologist Osman AYTEKİN argued that the first regulation was established in 1863.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, Mustafa Cezar agreed with 1874 as the date of the first regulation in his two volume book that was published in

¹⁴² Wendy M. K. Shaw, “National Museums in the Republic of Turkey: Palimpsests Within a Centralized State,” in *EuNaMus*, ed. Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (presented at the European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2011), 928.

¹⁴³ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 39.

¹⁴⁴ Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu," 1602.

¹⁴⁵ Nur Akın, “Osman Hamdi Bey, Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi ve Dönemin Koruma Anlayışı Üzerine,” in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi: Sempozyum, 17-18 Aralık 1992*, ed. Zeynep Rona (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993), 234.

¹⁴⁶ Osman AYTEKİN, "Eski Eser Kaçakçılığının Anadolu'daki Tarihi Serüveni," *Zaman Gazetesi*, 11 Aralık 1994.

1995.¹⁴⁷ Lastly, Wendy M. K. Shaw also regards the regulation in 1874 as the first antiquities law in her well written book, although she interestingly refers to the regulation of 1869 as an “edict.”¹⁴⁸ However, the earliest date could be December 15, 1850 by Fethi Ahmed Pasha, according to the research of Alev Koçak into the official documents of the Ottoman government.¹⁴⁹ By 1860, the Ottoman government canceled most permissions for archaeological excavations to foreigners. Getting permission from the Ottoman government became harder than ever for foreigners due to their previously held attitudes towards exporting discovered artifacts to foreign museums. The ownership of artifacts and control of the archaeological excavations became a matter of pride for the Ottoman government. Displaying these artifacts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum emphasized their civilized European identity.

Due to the insufficient room for the increasing number of artifacts in the inventory of the Hagia Irene, the Ministry of Education, Safvet Pasha (1814-1883), began to develop a new space for the collections with the support of Sultan Abdülaziz. This could be marked as the start of the second stage in the process of establishing the Ottoman Imperial Museum. In 1869, with the attempts of Safvet Pasha and the grand vizier Ali Pasha (1815-1871), the Imperial Arsenal at Hagia Irene was officially renamed as the new Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Humayun*). The word *müze* started to be used by the Ottoman government for the first time as a sign of an institution that was universally accepted. This marked a significant period in Ottoman history among Western cultures that had already

¹⁴⁷ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Vakfı, 1995), 243.

¹⁴⁸ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89. I think there is a semantic mistake here in the distinction between the words “edict” and “law” that Shaw wants to emphasize. By using the word “edict,” Shaw actually wants to emphasize that the regulation of 1869 was less efficient than a “law”; however, “edict” and “law” are synonyms in Ottoman that the meaning is not different.

¹⁴⁹ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 47.

accepted archaeology as a science.¹⁵⁰ Among the establishment of the new Imperial Museum, Safvet Pasha issued a new regulation of antiquities in the same year, which became the first bylaw (*nizamname*) for the preservation of antiquities since the first attempt in 1850. These two significant events mark the beginning of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵¹ Edward Goold was appointed as the first director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum on July 1, 1869. He was a British teacher, who had previously taught at the Galatasaray High School (*Mekteb-i Sultani*) in Istanbul. Goold did remarkable work and published the first official catalogue of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1871.¹⁵² This catalogue was dedicated to Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, who had considerably supported the work of Edward Goold and Safvet Pasha. However, when Ali Pasha died on August 8, 1871, the successor new vizier, Mahmud Nedim Pasha (1818-1885), dismissed most of the deeds that Ali Pasha had embarked upon. Mahmud Nedim Pasha closed the Ottoman Imperial Museum and expelled Goold. According to Yücel the reason for this closure was perhaps articles published in the Western press about the new restrictions for archaeological activity by foreign archaeologists in the Ottoman territories due to the new regulation of antiquities that was issued in 1869 with the opening of the Ottoman Imperial

¹⁵⁰ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 85.

¹⁵¹ Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, "Introduction: Archaeology and Empire," in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, eds. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 13. Scholars through the years have broadly taken the regulation of 1874 as the first bylaw. On the other hand, recent studies show that the regulations of antiquities are in need of further study in order to avoid the wrong assumptions that have held for years.

¹⁵² Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 65-6. See, Appendix B. It is important to mention that Albert Dumont, who was a French archaeologist, came to Istanbul in 1868 and catalogued the two collections in the Hagia Irene. This publication has never been regarded as an official catalogue since it was published in the *Revue Archæologique* journal in 1868 as an article. However, it was the first cataloging attempt for the Ottoman collections. Albert Dumont criticized the order and display of the collections in the museum since lots of mistakes were made by the museum staff in terms of wrong – average – or inadequate information on tags, unrelated sections on displays next to each other, devastation of the exhibits by high moisture (Appendix A). See, Erdem Yücel, *Türkiye’de Müzecilik* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1999), 32.

Museum.¹⁵³ Mahmud Nedim Pasha appointed the artist Terenzio in charge of the collections at the Imperial museum without any official title.¹⁵⁴ The artist Terenzio, who was the son of a local shipping company owner, was recommended to Mahmud Nedim Pasha by the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy Ambassador, Freiherr Prokesch von Osten.¹⁵⁵ Curiously, Terenzio is known for his correspondence with Heinrich Schliemann, a German businessman, dreamer and treasure hunter, who was madly obsessed with finding Priam's Treasure in the Ottoman territories based on the descriptions of Homer in the Illiad. In 1870, Schliemann applied for an excavation permit in Hisarlik, but was rejected by Safvet Pasha. However, a year later, an edict of permit was given to Schliemann due to his friend John P. Brown, who was a commercial attaché at the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âli*).¹⁵⁶ After two years of excavation in Hisarlik, on June 17, 1873, Schliemann found Priam's Treasure, which was located in the Troy II level. Although he had agreed in the edict of permit to share all finds with the Ottoman government according to the antiquities regulation of 1869, he smuggled all the treasure to Athens. Schliemann told the detailed story of how he had found and smuggled the treasure in his journals:¹⁵⁷

I found the Trojan city wall, which runs out from the Scaean Gate. In excavating that wall further and directly by the side of the palace of King Priam, I came upon a large copper article of the most remarkable form, which attracted my attention all the more as I thought I saw gold behind it. Only he who for thirty years had dreamed of gold and had been looking for it there for three years was attracted by the gleam. In order to withdraw the Treasure from the greed of my workmen, and to save it for archeology, I had to be most expeditious, and although it was not yet time for breakfast, I immediately had "paidos" called. That is a word of uncertain derivation, which has passed over into Turkish, and is here employed in place of

¹⁵³ Yücel, *Türkiye'de Müzecilik*, 36.

¹⁵⁴ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 66.

¹⁵⁵ Kamil Su, *Osman Hamdi Bey'e Kadar Türk Müzesi* (İstanbul: ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi, 1965), 37. The recommendation of the Austrian-Hungarian Ambassador is a good example of how the European ambassadors in the Ottoman Empire prompted archaeological activity and museum bureaucracy for their state's own benefit.

¹⁵⁶ Ufuk Esin, "19. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Heinrich Schliemann'ın Troya Kazıları ve Osmanlılarla İlişkileri," in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Dönemi: Sempozyum, 17-18 Aralık 1992*, ed. Zeynep Rona (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993), 183.

¹⁵⁷ Ufuk Esin, ed., *Heinrich Schliemann: Kazı Raporları ve Mektuplarından Seçme Parçalarla Troya* (İstanbul: Sandoz Kültür Yayınları, 1991), 33-40. English translation is from Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 78-9. See Appendix C for the part of the presented page from Schliemann's journal about the discovery of Priam's Treasure on June 17, 1873.

“anapavsis”, or time for rest. While the men were eating and resting, I cut out the Treasure with a large knife, which it was impossible to do without the very greatest exertion and the most fearful risk of my life, for the great fortification-wall, beneath which I had to dig, threatened every moment to fall down upon me. But, the sight of so many objects, every one of which is of inestimable value to archaeology, made me foolhardy, and I never thought of any danger. It would, however, have been impossible for me to have removed the Treasure without the help of my dear wife, who stood by me ready to pack the things, which I cut out in her shawl, and to carry them away.

...That the Treasure was packed together at terrible risk of life, and in the great anxiety, is proved among other things also by the contents of the largest silver vase, at the bottom of which I found two splendid gold diadems; a fillet, and four beautiful gold ear-rings of most exquisite workmanship: upon those lay 56 gold ear-rings of exceedingly curious form and 8750 small gold rings, perforated prisms and dice, gold buttons, and similar jewels, which obviously belonged to other ornaments; then followed six gold bracelets, and on the top of all the two small gold goblets...I also found in the same vase two pieces of gold,...each of them has 21 perforations.

The Turkish Government, by the new decree, broke our written contract in the fullest sense of the word, and I was released from every obligation. Hence I no longer troubled myself in the slightest degree about the contract which was broken without any fault on my part. I kept everything valuable that I found for myself, and thus saved it for science; I feel sure that the whole-civilized world will approve of having done so. The new discovered Trojan antiquities, and especially the Treasure, fully repay me for the contemptible trick which Safvet Pasha played me, as well as for the continual and unpleasant presence of a Turkish official during my excavations, to whom I was forced to pay 4.75 francs a day.

If it is possible to look on the bright side, the smuggling of Priam's Treasure by Schliemann might have been the best thing that happened to the Ottoman Empire since it paved the way to the most serious antiquities regulations that it ever issued. Besides, the Ottoman Empire had become aware of seeing antiquities as not only something to compete with the West, but as a heritage of their own history and of their territories to be preserved seriously.

After Mahmud Nedim Pasha was demoted and exiled to another city of the Ottoman Empire, Ahmed Vefik Pasha was appointed as the new Ministry of Education. He re-established the Ottoman Imperial Museum, which was re-opened in 1872. Ahmed Vefik Pasha made Dr. Philipp Anton Déthier the new director of the Imperial Museum. Déthier was a more qualified director than Goold since he had studied history, classics, philology, archaeology, and art history at Berlin University.¹⁵⁸ He worked very hard for the Ottoman Imperial Museum, preserving and cataloging the antiquities as well as enlarging the inventory of the collections.

¹⁵⁸ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 88.

After the scandal of 1873 involving the smuggling of Priam's Treasure by Schliemann to Athens, Ahmed Vefik Pasha and Dr. Philipp Anthon Déthier worked to issue a new and more serious regulation. The Antiquities Regulation (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) was issued in 1874, which became the second official bylaw for the preservation of cultural heritage in the Ottoman territories, after the regulation of 1869.¹⁵⁹ This law was addressed to foreign archaeologists of the European states directly and was accepted as universal since it was published both in Ottoman and in French. Shaw remarks that an important point of the regulation of 1874 established by Déthier was that it actually legalized the antiquities export, which had been discouraged many times.¹⁶⁰ It is worth mentioning that the regulation of 1874 can be considered from two different viewpoints. The regulation of 1869 strongly enforced the ban on any exportation of antiquities as well as passing all the rights of excavation and preservation to the Ottoman government. However, this was useless since it did not prohibit foreigners, who had sought support from their embassies in gaining permission of the Sultan from exporting antiquities. Thus, the regulation of 1874 was not as strict as the regulation of 1869, on the other hand, it can also be argued that the regulation of 1874 was more realistic in seeking common ground

¹⁵⁹ Edhem Eldem, "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869," in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, eds. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: SALT, 2011), 281-82. According to Eldem's research, the regulation of 1874 was actually the second bylaw after the regulation of 1869 that was issued by the Ottoman government. However, Ottoman Empire historians have not considered the regulations of 1869 as a bylaw. The recent article by Eldem claims that the regulations should be re-studied. Furthermore, Eldem remarks the article, which was published by Ahmet Mumcu, has already claimed that the regulation of 1869 was the first and the fundamental bylaw. In my opinion Ahmet Mumcu's article, which was published in 1969, was never considered by Turkish archaeologists since he was a lawyer. On the other hand Semavi Eyice's article, which was published in 1985, was regarded as the pioneering one for the next twenty years since he was an art historian, who specialized in Byzantine History. However, today, interdisciplinary studies are considered more than previously, which leads social scientists to re-study and evaluate previous knowledge. See, Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye," *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 26, no. 3-4 (1969): 66.

¹⁶⁰ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89.

between the Ottoman government and the European states in order to protect Ottoman heritage and avoid the export of antiquities.¹⁶¹

Dr. Philipp Anthon Déthier encouraged the Ministry of Education to establish a school for archaeology and the preservation of antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Mektebi*) in 1875 as a branch of the Imperial Museum. Archaeologists excavating within the realms of the Ottoman Empire were mainly Europeans. There were no qualified Ottoman archaeologists who had studied archaeology, art history, classical history, or ancient languages to take a part in the various excavations around the Ottoman realms. Thus, the proposal to establish an archaeology school in the Ottoman capital was an important step in solving a large problem. It was crucial to teach about heritages that had been laid uncovered in the Ottoman lands in order to raise qualified and skillful Ottoman staff for archaeological excavations and museums. Although the idea of establishing this school was accepted by the Sultan, the school has never opened. Erdem Yücel argues that the reason for this was that not enough students to enroll were ever found for the school.¹⁶² As Shaw remarks, the school was looking for students who were required to know French, Latin, Ancient Greek as well as Ottoman. However, it was difficult to find students who met these requirements. It was ridiculous to seek for students who knew all these languages, as they were not actually academicians but they youths about to study archaeology for the first time.¹⁶³ The non-Muslim youth community of the Ottoman Empire had

¹⁶¹ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 84-5.

¹⁶² Yücel, *Türkiye'de Müzecilik*, 43.

¹⁶³ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 91-2. It is important to take this argument into consideration carefully since the present day situation for undergraduate and graduate programs in archaeology at universities are still struggling with this problem. Prospective archaeologists that graduate from these schools are expected to know several languages, which probably leads students to concentrate on learning languages more than being a scholar of archaeology and, learning the techniques of field archaeology and the preservation of the uncovered artifact. In order to interpret and publish uncovered data correctly, it should be more essential for students to learn how to recover the data and preserve it correctly. Unfortunately, making a publication has always been a more important priority for

more opportunity than the young Muslims to know these foreign languages. As a result of this unsuccessful attempt, the development of the Turkish museologists and archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire lagged for a while, until the very early Republican Era of the new Turkish Republic.

Dr. Philipp Anthon Déthier managed to collect artifacts from all over the Ottoman territories, hence the collection at the Imperial Museum expanded. The Tiled Kiosk (*Çinili Köşk*) was transformed into a new location for the Imperial Museum in 1875 (Fig. 2). All the collections that had been displayed in the Imperial Arsenal of Hagia Irene were removed to the Tiled Kiosk (Fig. 3), which Sultan Mehmed II had ordered to build in 1472. The new building of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was officially opened in 1880 with an elaborate speech by Münif Pasha (1830-1910), who became the new Ministry of Education after Ahmed Vefik Pasha. According to the speech of Münif Pasha, with the establishment of the Imperial Museum as well as the regulations on antiquities, the perception of the past for the Ottoman Empire had changed and their aims were same as the civilized countries of the West.¹⁶⁴

archaeologists than learning the fundamental necessities. In my opinion, this corrupt the perception of the actual reasons for archaeological excavation and preservation of cultural heritage in the first place.¹⁶⁴ “Diğer uygar ülkelerde olduğu gibi İstanbul’da da bir müzenin kurulması, ilerlemekte olan memleketimizin emeli idi. Hükümdarlara yaraşır gayretlerinin bu gibi medeniyet eseri tesislerin çoğalma ve genişlemesine sarf eden şevket ve azamet örneği padişahımızın hazretlerinin, bir büyük eseri olarak bu noksanın tamamlanması hepimiz için sevinç kaynağı olmalıdır. Bu gibi müzelerin faydalarını burada sayıp açıklamaya lüzum yoktur. Gelip geçmiş kavimlerin medeniyet derecelerini ve bunların kademe kademe ilerlemelerini gösterir. Bundan tarih ilmi ve sanat yönünden pek çok faydalar elde edilir. Arkeoloji iliminin Avrupa medeniyetince büyük etkileri herkesin malumudur. Eskiden bizde eski eserlerin kıymeti peki bilinmezdi. Avrupalardan birkaç sene evvel Kıbrıs’ta bir Amerika konsolosu oradan bir müze dolduracak kadar sanat eserini çıkarıp götürdü. Halen Avrupa ve Amerika müzelerinde mevcut eski eserlerin çoğu memleketimizin eski eser mahsullerindedir. Şimdiye kadar Avrupalılar memleketimizin eski eserlerini türlü yollardan alıp zapt etmeye devam etmekte ve bunu da bizde buna meyil ve rağbet görülmemesinden dolayı yapmakta idiler. Hayli vakitten beri Osmanlılar arasında dahi bu rağbet hâsıl olmuş ve bir müddet önce eski eserlere dair bir kanun ortaya konmuştu. Müze-i Humayun’un kurulması ise bunun en açık örneği olduğundan artık Avrupalılardan bu konuda hakkımızdaki fikir ve davranışlarını değiştirmeleri ümit olunur... Osmanlı ülkesinin her tarafı vaktiyle buralarda oturan medeni milletlere ait çeşitli eski eser ile dolu olduğundan, eğer vaktiyle himmet olunmuş olsaydı dünyada en mükemmel müze İstanbul’da olurdu. Bununla beraber şimdiye kadar toplanabilen eserler bir hayli olup bunlar arasında bu işten anlayan kimseler indinde kıymetli şeyler dahi vardır. Geçmiş kuşakların bu değerli eserlerinden istifadeye ve

The second stage of the formation of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was started during the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) who was appointed as the new director of the Imperial Museum after Dr. Philipp Anthon Déthier passed away in 1881. As Dethier had been, Osman Hamdi Bey was a qualified intellectual who had studied law as well as fine arts at the University of Paris. On the other hand, Osman Hamdi Bey became the first “Turkish” museum director among all the previous foreigner directors. The third level of processing of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was the building of the museum complex during the time of Osman Hamdi Bey. Besides being the museum director, Osman Hamdi Bey (Fig. 4) also directed a series of archaeological excavations at numerous locations within the territories of the Ottoman Empire. This fact also makes him the first known archaeologist in the Turkish history of archaeological activities.

Among the foreign archaeological excavations that had taken place in the Ottoman Empire and due to the archaeological excavations of Osman Hamdi Bey, the Ottomans also started to contribute to the field of archaeology in their own lands for the first time; this has been considered as the birth of the active “Turkish” archaeology today. The starting of archaeological excavation by Osman Hamdi Bey could be described as the beginning of the first seriously respected excavations in the Ottoman Empire. This is the beginning of the history of archaeological activities in modern Turkey as well.

Osman Hamdi Bey and the Imperial Museum staff led a great number of excavations with the cooperation of foreign archaeologists at numerous ancient sites in the Ottoman territories.¹⁶⁵ Baltacı Dimosten Bey, who was one of the official staff

buna karşılık bizde gelecek kuşaklara böyle armağanlar bırakmaya muktedir olacak hale gelmeye çalışmalıyız...” *Vakit*, No. 1735. 11 Ramazan 1297 (17 August 1880) quoted in Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış*, 1: 241-42. See Appendix D for the original text of the speech in Ottoman.

¹⁶⁵ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 102-19.

of the Imperial Museum; Halil Edhem, who was the brother of Osman Hamdi and was the next – the last – Imperial Museum director of the Ottoman Empire; Theodore Makridi Bey, who was the Ottoman Imperial Museum's commissioner at Baalbek and an Ottoman archaeologist, were all sent on excavations on behalf of the Imperial Museum and co-worked with foreign archaeologists at such sites as:

Tralles (Güzelhisar, Aydın) in 1888; Kültepe (Kayseri) in 1890; Sippara (Tell Abu Habbah, Iraq) in 1893; Mosul (Iraq) and Kadesh (Syria) in 1894; Bozöyük (Bilecik) in 1895; İskenderun (Hatay), Karaselendi (Selendi, Manisa) and Sakçagözü–Menderasa (Adana) in 1898, Island of İstanköy (Bodrum) and Palmyra (Syria) in 1902; Carcesh (Tripolitania) in 1903; Alabanda (Aydın) in 1904; Boğazköy–Hattuşuş (Çorum) in 1905; Karasamsun (Samsun) and Hilla (Baghdad, Iraq) in 1906; Alacahöyük (Çorum) and Gorikos (Mersin) in 1907; Notion (Kuşadası, Aydın) in 1907 and 1913; Limenas (Island of Taşoz) in 1909; Langaza (Thessaloniki) in 1910.

Osman Hamdi Bey (Fig. 5, Fig. 6) directed and carried out excavations himself at such sites as:

Grinian (Aydın) and Nemrut (Kahta, Adıyaman) in 1883; Sidon (Lebanon) and Pınarbaşı (Kayseri) in 1887; Lagina (Yatağan, Muğla) and Sandıklı (Afyonkarahisar) in 1893; Sidamara (Konya) and Aphrodisias (Denizli) in 1898; Yortan (Aydın) in 1901; Rakka (Aleppo, Syria) in 1905.

In the wake of numerous archaeological excavations, all the uncovered artifacts started to be sent to the capital in order to be preserved and displayed at the Imperial Museum. Osman Hamdi Bey ordered the repair of the roof and the floors of the Tiled Kiosk, which was the last transformed space of the Ottoman Imperial

Museum, immediately following his appointment as museum director.¹⁶⁶ Soon, the Tiled Kiosk became insufficient as storage of these new artifacts. As a result, in 1883 the first building of the School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) was added to the Ottoman Imperial Museum complex as a second building.

1887 was marked as a date for the famous find of the “Alexander Sarcophagus” (Fig. 7) as well as sixteen more sarcophagi that uncovered during the excavation by Osman Hamdi Bey at the ancient site of Sidon (*Sayda*).¹⁶⁷ Sidon was a newly discovered ancient site in Palestine. The unearthed find of the “Alexander Sarcophagus” has become as a significant discovery which made Osman Hamdi Bey’s reputation in the West as a successful and acknowledged Ottoman archaeologist and museum director (Fig. 8). The famous “Alexander Sarcophagus” is still considered the most valuable and important piece (Fig. 9). Alongside, the photographs of the archaeological discovery at Sidon in the book, *Une necropole royale à Sidon*¹⁶⁸ was an attempt to publicize the archaeological activity that was conducted by the Ottoman Imperial Museum and Ottoman archaeologists (Fig. 10). After a safe transport of the “Alexander Sarcophagus” and other sarcophagi to the Ottoman capital, a crucial problem appeared. The two buildings of the Imperial Museum complex did not have enough space for all the sarcophagi. Also, the doors of the buildings were not wide enough to carry the sarcophagi inside the museums. With the approval of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the new Ottoman Imperial Museum building (Fig. 11, Fig. 12) was built in three stages between 1891 and 1907 by the

¹⁶⁶ Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış*, 1: 256.

¹⁶⁷ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 104.

¹⁶⁸ O. Hamdy Bey and Theodore Reinach, *Une Necropole Royale à Sidon: Fouilles De Hamdy Bey, Texte & Plan Ches*, ed. Ernest Leroux (Paris, 1892).

famous French-Ottoman architect, Alexandre Vallaury, who was a good friend of Osman Hamdi Bey from the Ottoman School of Fine Arts.¹⁶⁹

During the time of Osman Hamdi Bey, two new regulations were issued in 1884 and 1906. The regulation of 1884 was the next after the regulation of 1874. The regulation of 1884 had the same intention as the regulation of 1869, which had completely banned the export of antiquities and controlled all artifacts from excavations, replaced the previous regulation of 1874.¹⁷⁰ However, foreign archaeologists were not happy with the outcome of the new regulations that made it difficult to export antiquities. The foreign archaeologists were subjects of their own empires, nations, and states. They were sent to the Ottoman realms with political and nationalist purposes during a period of competition to claim glory and advanced historical roots. For instance, the greatest plundering of all time happened in Pergamon under the regulation of 1874 and before the regulation of 1884, during the time of Osman Hamdi Bey. Carl Humann, who was a German railroad engineer and curious about archaeological excavations, went to the site of Pergamon in 1865.¹⁷¹ Humann excavated at the site of Pergamon illegally and without permission from the Ottoman Empire until 1878. During this time, Humann discovered the famous Altar of Zeus in Pergamon. After he received a permit from the Ottoman Ministry of Education, he acquired the right to take away two-thirds of his findings, according to the existing antiquities law.¹⁷² Humann took the unearthed Altar of Zeus from the excavations in Pergamon to the Altes Museum in Berlin, Germany, in order to emphasize the Altar as part of their own heritage and their historical roots with the

¹⁶⁹ Afife Batur, "Arkeoloji Müzeleri," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara; İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı & Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 310.

¹⁷⁰ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 100.

¹⁷¹ Alev Uluçay, "Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde Bergama ve Efes'teki Kazılar [Archeological Digs in Pergamon and Ephesos During Ottoman Empire]" (Unpublished MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 1997), 88-90.

¹⁷² Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 134.

ancient Greece civilization. Humann was amazed with this find as well as his ability to bring this significant piece of archaeological discovery to Berlin, since it was going to be competing with art works and archaeological finds at the British Museum in London and at the Louvre Museum in Paris. Humann told the Altes Museum in Berlin that “the greatest work of the ancient world was now in their hands.”¹⁷³ Getting hold of ancient artifacts in this manner might be referred to as one of many forms of looting for nationalist purposes. The oldest form of looting was robbery by soldiers as a reward for victory, which gained acceptance as being a supplement to soldiers’ inadequate payment.¹⁷⁴ However, the cause of looting seemed to have changed since the nineteenth century due to expanding nationalism. For instance, the greatest looting of ancient objects and art works found during the era of World War II was between the imperialist powers of the European nation-states. During World War II, Adolf Hitler imitated the looting by Napoleon, who took the art objects of the conquered nations back to France in order to display in the Louvre Museum.¹⁷⁵ Hitler’s Nazi Germany plundered the museums of the invaded nations of France, Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Hungary and the Soviet Union throughout Europe. The aim was different than Napoleon’s since the Nazis wanted to gain cultural objects to shape the historical roots of the superior white German race over the other nations of the world order. In this case, this was a form of cultural looting that led to cultural poverty of the invaded nations, which was one of the aims of Nazi Germany.¹⁷⁶ Nazi Germany is not an isolated case of cultural looting. At the end of the World War II, Soviet Union responded to Nazi Germany in the same

¹⁷³ “antik dünyanın en büyük yapıtı artık ellerimizin arasındaydı” in Uluçay, “Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde Bergama ve Efes’teki.”, 94.

¹⁷⁴ Gerard Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry During the Second World War* (Oxford; New York: Berg Publishers, 2004), 11.

¹⁷⁵ Ori Z. Soltes, “Art, Politics, and Memory: A Brief Introduction to the Story of Nazi-Plundered Art,” in *Absence/Presence: Critical Essays on the Artistic Memory of the Holocaust*, ed. Steve Feinstein (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 272.

¹⁷⁶ Aalders, *Nazi Looting: The Plunder of Dutch Jewry During the Second World War*, 43-4.

manner, with the cultural looting of art and ancient objects by the Red Army from Germany to Russia. However, for a long period this incident was kept top secret by the Soviet Union and later by the Russian government. Russians kept these objects of cultural loot at the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg secretly. The objects were not revealed to the world audience until the 1990's.¹⁷⁷

Attempts to catalogue artifacts in the museum were regarded more seriously than ever by the time of Osman Hamdi Bey. The publications of the catalogues of the Ottoman Imperial Museum developed the museum in terms of being as modern as Western museums.¹⁷⁸ Ancient historian Salomon Reinach was invited to Istanbul in order to catalogue the inventory of the museum. Reinach completed his work in 1882, which was published as the *Catalogue du Musée Impérial Antiquités*.¹⁷⁹ In the beginning of this catalogue, Osman Hamdi Bey wrote an introduction in which he mentioned the previous catalogue of Goold and the publication of Dumont. Osman Hamdi Bey invited another French archaeologist, André Joubin, to Istanbul in 1893. Joubin catalogued the inventory quickly published in the same year, 1893, as *Monument funéraires. Catalogue sommaires*.¹⁸⁰ In 1905, Osman Hamdi Bey invited French archaeologists and scholars from Bordeaux University. Due to the severe

¹⁷⁷ Konstantin Akinsha, Grigorii Kozlov, and Sylvia Hochfield, *Beautiful Loot: The Soviet Plunder of Europe's Art Treasures* (New York: Random House, 1995). There is also a work that published by Peter Bruhn about the cultural looting that was carried out by the Red Army from Germany to the USSR at the end of the World War II, in which the plundering of German museums are referred as trophies, see Peter Bruhn, *"Beutekunst": Bibliographie des internationalen Schrifttums über das Schicksal des im Zweiten Weltkrieg von der Roten Armee in Deutschland erbeuteten Kulturgutes (Museums-, Archiv- und Bibliotheksbestände): 1990-2000* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2000).

¹⁷⁸ Havva Koç, "Müze-i Hümayûn'da Yayın Çalışmaları (Cumhuriyet Dönemine Kadar) / Publications of the Müze-i Hümayûn (Before the Republican Era)," in *Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişimler ve Sanat - Günsel Renda'ya Armağan / Tradition, Identity, Synthesis: Cultural Crossings and Art in Honor of Günsel Renda*, ed. Zeynep Yasa Yaman and Serpil Bağcı (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2011), 151.

¹⁷⁹ This catalogue is available at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums Library. See Appendix E for the title page.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix F for the title page. A second catalogue by Joubin was also completed in 1893, *Catalogues des sculptures Grecques, Romaines, Byzantines et Franques*. Both catalogues were first published in French, and then translated into Ottoman. This might signify the priorities of Osman Hamdi Bey in presenting the catalogues to Western readers before the Ottoman readers.

situation of the museum budget from the Ministry of Education, Osman Hamdi Bey suggested a cut from his own wage in order to be able to hire Gustav Mendel.¹⁸¹ The best catalogue of the inventory of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was completed by Mendel after Osman Hamdi Bey passed away. Three volumes of *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines* were published between the years of 1912 and 1914.¹⁸²

Although Osman Hamdi Bey placed great value on the new regulation of 1884, Abdülhamid II as Sultan still had the final decision over the Ottoman government. As a result of the close relationships of Sultan Abdülhamid II with Kaiser Wilhelm I of Prussia and Emperor Franz Joseph I of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and – since these three empires were also going to go into the first World War together with an alliance in 1914, – the regulation of 1884 was ignored in order to continue to exporting the whatever artifacts the foreign archaeologists wanted.¹⁸³

As a result, archaeologists from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire took away a considerable number of the uncovered artifacts from the ancient site of Ephesos to Vienna between 1895 and 1906. John Turtle Wood discovered the ancient site of Ephesos in the 1860's and he received a permit from the Ottoman Empire to undertake the excavation in 1867.¹⁸⁴ According to Wood, his main purpose was to find the Temple of Artemis that was accepted as one of the seven-wonders of the

¹⁸¹ Koç, "Müze-i Hümâyûn'da Yayın Çalışmaları (Cumhuriyet Dönemine Kadar) / Publications of the Müze-i Hümâyûn (Before the Republican Era)," 157.

¹⁸² See Appendix G for the title page. The three volume catalogue of Gustav Mendel is still considered an important publication today by archaeologists and officials of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Mendel also placed the tables of inventories of previous catalogues by their number. Thus, Dumont catalogued 35 artifacts; Goold catalogued 128 artifacts; Reinach catalogued 590 artifacts; Joubin catalogued 191 artifacts in the first one and 136 artifacts in the second one. By 1914, Gustav Mendel catalogued 256 artifacts in the first volume, 542 in the second volume, and 615 in the third volume; with a number of 1413 artifacts in total.

¹⁸³ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 117.

¹⁸⁴ John Turtle Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus: Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877).

ancient world.¹⁸⁵ He found the great Theatre and the Odeon and succeeded in extending his permit for four more years after he found the Temple of Artemis. Wood exported the remains of the Temple of Artemis to the British Museum in England. However, due to his exporting of antiquities to England without sharing the duplications, the Ottoman government canceled his permit.¹⁸⁶ The excavation at Ephesos had its highlight with the Austrian archaeologist Otto Benndorf (1838-1907), who was the first director of the Austrian Archaeology Institute, starting in 1895. Carl Humann, who had exported the Altar of Zeus from Pergamon to the Berlin Museum, also worked with Benndorf. The most precious pieces that were uncovered and exported to Vienna from 1895 to 1906, during the thirteen seasons of excavation at Ephesos, were the Parthian Monument, the Amazon from the Altar of the Artemision, the bronze Athlete statue as well as the Child with a Goose. Although Osman Hamdi Bey tried to protect the uncovered antiquities from Ephesos from being taken away to Vienna, his efforts were useless against the Sultan's decision. Sultan Abdülhamid II ordered the issuance of a permit to Austrian archaeologists to export all the finds at Ephesos as a gift for the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor.¹⁸⁷ A museum was established on behalf of the Austrian-Hungarian Emperor with all the uncovered antiquities that were exported from Ephesos to Vienna.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., vii.

¹⁸⁶ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 52.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 153.

¹⁸⁸ The Ephesos Museum in Vienna houses the most glamorous pieces of the ancient site of Ephesos today. The museum, which was located in Ephesos, İzmir, seems poor in quality and quantity as well as not attracted as much as the museum in Vienna by the visitors in terms of the displayed antiquities. In addition that, before the establishment of the Ephesos Museum in Vienna, the Kunsthistorisches Museum had not have enough room for the display of all the artifacts from Ephesos, thus, a large amount of pieces had stored in the depots of the other museums in Vienna, which can be examined only by archaeologists and scholar with a permit, but not by the public visitors. See, Wolfgang Oberleitner, "Viyana'daki Yeni Ephessos Müzesi," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 3, no. 40-41 (1988): 3-8.

In order to prevent more archaeological finds from being exported outside the Ottoman territories, Osman Hamdi Bey worked to revise several of the rules last regulation of 1884. There was opposition to the revised regulation of 1906 from the German archaeologists especially, who wanted to take the uncovered finds from the Miletos excavation. In the end, all foreign archaeologists accepted to obey the bylaw. The revised regulation was issued in 1906 and it stayed valid as the fundamental law of antiquities until 1973.¹⁸⁹ Osman Hamdi Bey was significant in his efforts to develop the Imperial Museum, devising the regulation of antiquities and as the leading figure of the first national excavations by the Ottomans.

Osman Hamdi Bey also set up a library at the museum that consisted of fifteen thousand books at that time. He provided a great amount of books and journals from European capitals through his personal connections.¹⁹⁰ As a result of his endeavors for the Ottoman Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi Bey is accepted as the father of modern Turkish archaeology as well as museology. However, Osman Hamdi Bey was not actually an archaeologist himself. His success in the development of archaeology and museum activity in the Ottoman Empire were mostly due to his intelligence, eagerness, diplomacy and administrative skills.

The last stage for the development of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire was during the time of Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938). He became the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum after his brother Osman Hamdi Bey passed away in 1910. Halil Edhem Eldem had already worked with Osman Hamdi during his directorship at the Imperial Museum as the Assistant Director. Therefore he already knew about

¹⁸⁹ Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 160.

¹⁹⁰ Afife Batur, "Arkeoloji Müzeleri," 309. The Istanbul Archaeological Museums Library, which was established by Osman Hamdi Bey and carried on by his successors as the next museum directors, is not a public library today but it is still open for scholars, students and researchers to benefit from the archival materials and books for their studies. For that reason, I would like to thank Havva Koç, who is the director of Istanbul Archaeological Museums Library, for letting me observing all catalogues of Ottoman Imperial Museum.

the ongoing works and ideology that Osman Hamdi Bey embraced for the protection of antiques in the realms of the Ottoman Empire. He continued to carry out all the work and projects for the Ottoman Imperial Museum that had been started by Osman Hamdi Bey. Halil Edhem Eldem's aim was to develop the Ottoman Imperial Museum on the path that his brother Osman Hamdi Bey had started during his directorship. In this manner, Halil Edhem Eldem carried out archaeological excavations and place a great value on the enforcement of the 1906 regulation of antiquities. He was also the first museum director for the Archaeology Museum of the new Turkish nation-state during the Early Republican Era, making him significant in terms of early archaeological activities of the modern Turkish Republic and the transformation of the Ottoman cultural institutions into the new Turkish Republican cultural institutions until his retirement in 1931.¹⁹¹

The use of archaeology, which started as the creation of glamorous collections in the face of the West, developed into a political competition with Western nations. Archaeology evolved into the uncovered antiquities as cultural heritages of the Ottoman past against the Western idea of the underdeveloped communities of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, both archaeology and museums were used in the same respect during the Early Republican Era, to politically benefit the new Turkish Republic. In fact, archaeology has been used as a political tool in the West since the nineteenth century with the emergence of the modern nation-state. As a means of necessity and not to be left behind in this race, archaeology became a valuable tool for the aims of the new Turkish Republic. Archaeology allowed the Turkish Republic to write a glorious, advanced, imagined and desired past to better gather the new Turkish nation under one homogenous identity. Therefore, in order to

¹⁹¹ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 98.

comprehend the political use of archaeology during the Early Republican Era, one should examine the ideology and agents of the development of history writing in this era. The next chapter examines the origins and agents of Kemalist history writing during the Early Republican Era.

2.4 Kemalist History Writing of the Early Republican Era: Its Origins and Agents

During the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the main aim was to create a new Turkish nation-state with an entirely new Turkish identity in order to erase the unpreferable past of Ottoman culture. This was a social engineering project that proceeded under the initiatives of Mustafa Kemal, who has been referred as the great savior and the father of the Turks. The fundamental idea was to create a new modern and secular state as well as a homogenous nation under one flag with the same ideology. The project of building a Turkish nation-state was not only planned to proceed by gaining sovereignty of the state that governs the nation, but also, it was planned to organize a “forgetting project” in terms of dis-serving the Ottoman culture from the history of the new Turkish nation-state that was emphasized as modern and secular. It was thought that without an organized erasing of the Ottoman past it would never be possible to establish a new Turkish nation. In order to pursue this project there was a need for a new past that had to be constructed. However, as experienced from the already emerged Western nation-states, this was only possible with a serious history writing process. According to Büşra Ersanlı, the establishment of nation-states and the re-writing of the past emerged simultaneously.¹⁹² Hence, the use of historiography as a backbone was necessary for the new Turkish nation-state. The modernization and secularization project of Mustafa Kemal, which has been

¹⁹² Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 22.

referred as Kemalism, was embraced as the new ideology, starting from the Early Republican Era. The Kemalist ideology has always been thought as an original combination of ideas that was introduced by Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists. Although not widely recognised and as previously mentioned, the historians of the Turkish Republic have always known the historical roots of the Kemalist ideology, which can be traced back to the westernization movement of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish nationalism movement of the early twentieth century, as Hanioglu claims.¹⁹³

The Kemalist ideology, which was formed by the Republican People's Party (CHP) – single ruling party of the era –, was based on six fundamental pillars, known as Republicanism, Nationalism, Estatism, Populism, Revolutionism and Secularism. Paul Dumont claims that during the very first years of the new Republic regime, the doctrine of Republicanism dominated as being the constitutive element of the Kemalist ideology due to the adjusting of the new regime of the Republic over the *ancien régime* of monarchy.¹⁹⁴ However, among these six fundamental pillars, the notion of nationalism has always had a special significance in patriotic perception of nationalism for “Turkishness” awareness. The Kemalist historiography of the new Turkish nation-state was based on a nationalist approach that started to establish its outlines during the era of struggle for independence. Although the ethnic consciousness of “Turkishness” begun to be formed by the middle of the nineteenth century due to the works of European intellectuals, the “Turkishness” identity of the Kemalist historiography has been mostly linked with the Turkish nationalist

¹⁹³ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, “The Historical Roots of Kemalism,” in *Democracy, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey*, ed. Ahmet T. Kuru and Alfred Stepan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 55-6.

¹⁹⁴ Paul Dumont, “The Origins of Kemalist Ideology,” in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. Jacob M. Landau (Boulder, Colorado; Leiden: Westview Press; E.J. Brill, 1984), 28.

movement that started to develop during the second constitutional period.¹⁹⁵ This era was a time of transformation from empire to nation that directly influenced the perspective of the Kemalist history writing in its construction of the new Turkish identity for a new nation-state.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the First World War had an important impact on the collapse of the Ottoman government. Ottoman military and political leaders thought that the Ottoman Empire was engaged with a final dilemma, which was the decision of whether to remain outside the War. The decision was a dead-end for the Ottomans. The general view of explanation for the Ottoman Empire's decision to go in to the First World War on the side of Germany comes from an idea by the Committee of Union, who saw the absolute victor at the end of the First World War as the Ottoman regime. According to the recent study by Mustafa Aksal on the re-examination of the available sources, an alliance with one of the great powers of Europe would have been a great diplomatic attempt to prevent the long international isolation of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁶ As a result, the Ottoman regime saw an alliance with Germany as an opportunity for a major diplomatic attempt at the end of the First World War in order to regain the empire's political and economic security and independence.¹⁹⁷ However, the defeat of Germany ruined the plans of the Ottoman Empire. The end of the First World War was sealed with the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918. According to the articles of the Armistice of Mudros, the Allies of the Ottomans, namely Britain and France, who had already signed a secret pact during the war, were allowed to treat the Ottoman Empire as a

¹⁹⁵ Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi*, 24.

¹⁹⁶ Mustafa Aksakal, "Why Did the Ottomans Enter a European War in 1914? New Sources, New Views," in *Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman and Middle Eastern/North African Studies, A Tribute to Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj*, eds. Donald Quataert and Baki Tezcan (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010), 187-88.

¹⁹⁷ Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 17.

colony and the Ottomans were accepted as the defeated imperial government.¹⁹⁸

After the Armistice of Mudros, the Treaty of Sévres in 1920 cut the Ottoman Empire off from most of their territories. The Ottomans were left with Istanbul, while France took Lebanon and Syria, Britain took Iraq, southern Syria and Palestine, Italy took the southwestern part of Anatolia, and Greece took Eastern Thrace as well as Izmir. In Eastern Anatolia, an independent Armenian state was planned and the Kurds took the right of independence, although Mosul was left for the Ottomans. As a result the Ottomans were left with nothing but Istanbul. Although Sultan Mehmed VI had signed this treaty, the Ottoman community did not agree. The Ottoman community had anticipated the terms of the treaty and had already established a militant national movement.¹⁹⁹ Patriotic organizations were founded during the following years following the Treaty of Sévres. The Turkish nationalist sentiment, which was born during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire by the Ottoman intellectuals and the Young Ottomans, started to bloom in a new perspective during the time of struggle for independence between 1920 and 1922. This was encouraged by the resistance of the patriotic organizations and militant nationalism in favour of the current conditions of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the “Turkishness” awareness that had already presented in the writings of the nineteenth century by the Ottoman friendly Western writers started to develop among nationalist sentiment.

The Ottoman Empire consisted of different lingual, racial, ethnic and religious subjects from various backgrounds. There were Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Arabs, Christians, Jews and Muslims of several different identities, which were governed under the Ottoman monarchy. The clear identification of the

¹⁹⁸ Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003), 78.

¹⁹⁹ Zürcher, *Turkey*, 147.

“Ottoman” identity was emphasized in order to fortify the empire from external pressures, internal difficulties from the Young Ottomans and at the end of the nineteenth century, by their successors the Young Turks.²⁰⁰ From 1908 to 1919 could be considered the most important phase of the development of Turkish nationalism among Ottoman intellectuals in terms of their awareness of the ethnic consciousness of “Turkishness” instead of the “Ottoman” identity. For this reason, publications of immigrants from the Russian Empire with Turkish descent in the Ottoman Empire should be emphasized primarily, since these immigrants had an important role for the development of Turkish nationalism.²⁰¹

The new nation-building project aimed to establish a homogenous nation with the same identity, “Turkish” or, “Turk”. The Kemalist nationalism embraced the ethnic consciousness of “Turkishness” through the nationalist approach. This approach aimed to shape the new society under the same desired past that belongs to the Turks, whose “fatherland” had been Anatolia and who had brought civilization to the new world and influenced Western civilizations as the cradle of modernity and technology. During the Young Turks period from 1908 to 1918, the journals of *Türk Derneği*, *Genç Kalemler*, *Türk Yurdu* and *İslâm Mecmuası* gave birth to the ideology of the Kemalist history writing of the Early Republican Era.²⁰² Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924), Ahmed Ağaoğlu (1869-1939), Zeki Velidi Togan

²⁰⁰ Reşat Kasaba, “Dreams of Empire, Dreams of Nations,” in *Empire to Nation: Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Joseph W. Esherick, Hasan Kayalı, and Eric Van Young (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 214.

²⁰¹ Mithat Atabay, *II. Dünya Savaşı Sırasında Türkiye’de Milliyetçilik Akımları* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2005), 59; Alaattin Oğuz, “Rusya Türklerinin Türk Milliyetçiliğiyle İlişkileri,” *Doğu Batı*, no. 38, Milliyetçilik I (2006): 109–123; M. Şükrü Hanioglu, “Turkism and the Young Turks, 1889-1908,” in *Turkey Beyond Nationalism*, ed. Hans-Lukas Kieser (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 9.

²⁰² Masami Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 20-1. This is the Turkish translation of the book that was originally published in 1992 by Masami Arai, *Türk Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*. Masami Arai points out that studies that had been published for the development of Turkish nationalism in the Young Turk Era have a lot of gaps in terms of comprehending the idea that there was a difference between Ottoman Turks and Turks who had emigrated from Russia. In order to comprehend this difference of approach, Arai studied four important journals that were published during the Young Turk Era.

(1890-1970) and Necip Asım (1861-1935) became key figures during the Turkish Nationalist movement in the twentieth century. These figures also influenced the Kemalist ideology and Kemalist history writing that became the supreme fundamentals of the new Turkish nation-state. Thus, the roots of the historical process of the Turkish nation-building project and the background of the Kemalist historiography could be traced back to the late period of the Ottoman Empire.²⁰³

Yusuf Akçura was an immigrant from the Volga region of Russia to the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Kemal assigned him as the general secretary for the Turkish Historical Society. In 1932, Yusuf Akçura presided over the First Turkish History Congress. Akçura had become the key figure of Turkish Nationalism due to his article “Three Forms of Politics” (*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*) that was published in the *Türk* newspaper in 1904.²⁰⁴ Akçura evaluated the three forms of politics as Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in terms of each one’s individual effect and feasibility for the Ottoman Empire. He pointed out that Pan-Turkism should be the most practical choice for the Ottoman Empire since Akçura’s aim was the idea of the unification of all Turks under the Ottoman Empire. This article became the manifesto of the ideology of Pan-Turkism, as well as affecting the ideology of Kemalist historiography. This was not due to the ideology of Pan-Turkism, but because of the idea of the Turkish race for the Turkish nation.²⁰⁵ In 1908, Yusuf Akçura asked Necip Asım and Veled Çelebi (1869-1950) to establish an organization based on nationalistic sentiment. Hence, they decided to form the “Turkish Association” (*Türk Derneği*), which supported the idea of Pan-Turkism presented in

²⁰³ Sibel Özbudun Demirer, "Anthropology as a Nation-Building Rhetoric: the Shaping of Turkish Anthropology (from 1850s to 1940s)," *Dialectical Anthropology* 35, vol. 1 (2011): 112. Sibel Özbudun argues that the formation of the anthropological approach during the late Ottoman Empire set the ground for the nation-building project during the Early Republican Era by using anthropology as a scientific endeavor.

²⁰⁴ François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 37.

²⁰⁵ Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, 4th ed. (Ankara: TTK, 1998), 19.

the article, “Three forms of Politics” by Akçura.²⁰⁶ Another significant article by Akçura in this journal was, “Knowing and Becoming Acquainted with Turkishness” (*Türklüğü Bilmeli ve Bilişmeliyiz*), which emphasized the notion of “Turkishness” and the nationalist sentiment.²⁰⁷ However, Turkish Association felt pressure from not being able to publish their ideas as they had wished. Therefore, Yusuf Akçura attempted to set up another organization and he became one of the founders of the “Turkish Homeland Society” (*Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti*), founded in 1911. Within the “Turkish Homeland Society” and through the mentorship of Akçura, a new journal was started named, as “Turkish Homeland” (*Türk Yurdu*).²⁰⁸ The most significant fact about Akçura, which directly influenced the Kemalist ideology, was the purpose of history for the function of the nation. The studies on Tatar and Bulgarians by Şehabeddin Mercani (1818-1889), who was one of the significant figures of the Tatar enlightenment, highlighted to Yusuf Akçura the importance of archaeological and historical research for the past of the nation.²⁰⁹ Although Ziya Gökalp has always been the most well-known and acknowledged nationalist figure in terms of Kemalist history writing, immigrants from the Russian Empire with Turkish descent such as Yusuf Akçura and Ahmed Ağaoğlu were the ones who developed the notion of Turkism in order to gather all the Turks under one flag. These immigrants from the Russian Empire with Turkish descent were all interested in archaeology and anthropology, which were the cultural practices of the era with regard to positivism among the newly established nation-states.

The next important figure for the Turkish nationalist movement after Yusuf Akçura is Ziya Gökalp. According to Zürcher, the Kemalist ideology has always

²⁰⁶ Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 25.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁰⁹ Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri*, 79.

regarded Ziya Gökalp's cultural nationalism over Yusuf Akçura's ethnic nationalism.²¹⁰ Gökalp was interested in Western philosophy and sociology. He read the studies of famous French thinkers and sociologists such as Émile Durkheim, Gustave Le Bon, Alfred Fouillée and Gabriel Tarde.²¹¹ Durkheim's thoughts influenced Gökalp's published works especially during the era of struggle. As with his colleague Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp was also influenced by the works of Léon Cahun in terms of the ancient historical roots of the Turks and the ethnic consciousness of the "Turkishness".²¹² Although Akçura was one of the two important ideologues for the origins of Kemalist history writing, Ziya Gökalp has always been the most referred to figure in terms of works that influenced Mustafa Kemal directly. Gökalp's attitude toward the religious aspect of the Turkish nation was attractive to Mustafa Kemal in particular since he had an anti-Islamic attitude for the new Turkish nation-state in order to pursue a secular state. Thus, Ziya Gökalp's scientific interpretations for Islam were significant for pioneering religious reforms for the new Turkish Republic.²¹³ There is no doubt that the background to the ideas of Ziya Gökalp were based on previous European intellectuals who wrote about the history of Turks in their works. Furthermore, Ziya Gökalp's book, "The Principles of Turkism" (*Türkçülüğün Esasları*), has been considered as the most influential work for strengthening Turkish nationalism and focusing on the reforms of the new Turkish nation-state. This book was published in 1923, which was the same year of the declaration of the Turkish Republic, and it influenced the ideas of Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists. Gökalp outlined the aims of the new

²¹⁰ Erik Jan Zürcher, "Kemalist Düşüncenin Osmanlı Kaynakları," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, ed. Ahmet İnsel, vol. 2, 6th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 50.

²¹¹ Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac & Co. and The Harvil Press, 1950), 32.

²¹² Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 44.

²¹³ Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*, 82.

Turkish Republic in terms of emphasizing the intended policies of the government.²¹⁴ However, the anti-historicism that was performed by Gökalp, in his works evoked the denial of the roots of Ottoman culture and past. Gökalp regarded ancient ancestors such as Hittites, Sumerians and Akkadians as the origins of the Turkish nation in order to prevent the future of the new Turkish nation from the cruel judgments of Europeans. Nevertheless, Gökalp became the most crucial figure of the Turkish nationalism that affected the Kemalist ideology and the official historiography during the new Turkish nation-state building project that was carried out by the Kemalist Republican reformists.

Zeki Velidi Togan is another significant figure to be mentioned among Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp. Togan was also an immigrant from Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. As Copeaux points out, the most important figures for the Kemalist history writing were immigrants that escaped to Europe from the Bolshevik Revolution and then resided in Turkey after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. These historians and thinkers contributed much to the new historical studies for the construction of the Turkish nation-state.²¹⁵ Thus, the contribution of historians who were immigrants from the Russian Empire with Turkish descent, into the development of the Turkish nationalism is irrefutable during the Early Republican Era. Zeki Velidi Togan graduated from Kazan University and later studied with N. F. Katanov and V. A. Bogoroditskiy at the departments of archaeology, history and ethnography.²¹⁶ Thus, he became familiar with the discipline of archaeology. Togan came to Turkey in 1924 for the first time and decided to continue his teachings there. From 1927 to 1932, Togan gave lectures on

²¹⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, Studies in Middle Eastern history (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 353.

²¹⁵ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 46-7.

²¹⁶ *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, XXXII, 265.

Turkish History at the Istanbul University. In 1928, he published his lecture notes in a book, “Introduction to General Turkish History” (*Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*).

Copeaux points out that the first chapter most probably affected the Kemalist historiography directly due to its content on the ancient eras of Turkish history, which describes brachycephalic features of the Turkish race as well as prehistoric migrations that were organized by the Turkish race from Middle East to Asia and Europe.²¹⁷

Ahmed Ağaoğlu was another intellectual that emigrated from Russia to the Ottoman Empire. He was a close friend of Yusuf Akçura. He published his works in the journal, “Turkish Homeland” (*Türk Yurdu*) alongside Yusuf Akçura and other writers. The journal, Turkish Homeland was important for Ağaoğlu’s career in the development of his ideas of national identity and relations regarding religion.²¹⁸

Ahmed Ağaoğlu worked to spread the ideology of Turkism along with Yusuf Akçura, however it has never been easy to embrace Turkism ideology due to the multi-ethnic and multi-religious aspect of the Ottoman Empire that dominated broadly over the ideology of Ottomanism as well as Islamism.²¹⁹ During the early Republican period, Ağaoğlu gained the interest of Mustafa Kemal through his ideas of reform in the Islamic religion. The Kemalist reformists regarded the ideas of Ağaoğlu in terms of reform on Islamic religion. Ağaoğlu supported the establishment of a new regime as a Republic and the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate.²²⁰ Moreover, Ağaoğlu believed that modernization was parallel to individualism, which was leading the development of Islam. François Georgeon points out that according to Ağaoğlu, the role of women in Islam prevented the development of Eastern

²¹⁷ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 46.

²¹⁸ A. Holly Shissler, *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the New Turkey* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 166.

²¹⁹ Ahmad, *Turkey*, 44.

²²⁰ Shissler, *Between Two Empires*, 186.

Societies based on his observation of equal rights and education for women while present in Western societies.²²¹ Undoubtedly, Ahmed Ağaoğlu's ideas about women and religious activity within Islam influenced Kemalist ideology and reforms during the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

Necip Asım Yazıksız was referred to as the first Turcologist in the modern Turkish Republic. He knew French quite well, which allowed him to translate Cahun's works into Turkish. Léon Cahun's publications impressed Necip Asım Yazıksız, who published a book, *Türk Tarihi* (Turkish History) in 1900. This book was significant for its influence on the Kemalist historiography of the new Turkish nation-state as an adaptation from the major work of Léon Cahun's *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie* in 1896.²²² Yazıksız was also important in terms of the development of the nationalist sentiment for the new Turkish nation-state. In this manner, the works of Léon Cahun were introduced by Yazıksız. It is important to mention that, through Necip Asım Yazıksız's translations, the works of Léon Cahun attracted the attention of Mustafa Kemal.²²³

These figures got involved in the various offices of the newly established institutions of the new Turkish Republic, which were significant places for the spread of Kemalist ideology as well as the Turkish nationalism and positivist approaches for the nation-building project of the new Turkish nation-state. These figures' ideas and approaches designated the way, which the newly established institutions followed very firmly.

Although the Turkish Republic was founded on October 29, 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, Kemalist ideology has already started to be embraced extensively as a national movement throughout the years of struggle for

²²¹ Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi*, 110.

²²² *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, IX, 189.

²²³ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 37.

independence.²²⁴ Since the political transformation from an empire to a nation was necessarily in need of new ideology in order to construct a new identity for the society.²²⁵ The official and nationalist Turkish history writing for the Turkish Republic took the date of May 19, 1919 as the starting point for the modern Turkish history. This was the date that Mustafa Kemal arrived in Samsun, a city of the Black Sea Region. He continued to gather people under his ideology throughout Anatolia for the upcoming Independence War. The establishment of the Grand National Assembly in 1920 was significant as it was considered the first step of the Turkish National Movement during the era of struggle for independence. After the victory to gain independence, negotiations were started at Lausanne. The priority was to break off the articles of the Treaty of Sévres, obtaining the National Pact as a sovereign nation-state. The negotiations for the acceptance of the Treaty of Lausanne continued for a year. During that time, the Sultanate was abolished. This was a necessary step in order to prevent the status quo of the Ottoman Empire from returning. The abolishment of the sultanate was an obligation in stepping forward according to Mustafa Kemal and his nationalist supporters.²²⁶ In this manner, Mustafa Kemal's project of creating a new nation-state started to take place officially. After the sultanate, the second important symbol for the old Ottoman regime was the Caliphate. The Ottoman Empire was primarily an Islamic empire although it consisted of multi-religious communities. For that reason, the abolishment of the Caliphate after the Sultanate was entirely aimed at destroying the religious image of the Turkish nation. According to Mustafa Kemal, science should

²²⁴ According to Hanioglu, although it is referred as Kemalist ideology, Mustafa Kemal had actually never attempt to produce an ideology under his name. Kemalism has been started to be called by the followers and supporters of Mustafa Kemal and his reforms. See, Hanioglu, "The Historical Roots of Kemalism," 32.

²²⁵ Frank Tachau, "The Search for National Identity Among the Turks," *Die Welt des Islams* 8, vol. 3 (1963): 165–176, 165.

²²⁶ Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 52.

be above religion, since science leads to the secularism that was needed to separate state affairs from religious affairs in order to govern the new nation-state according to the advanced norms of Western Civilizations. By abolishing both the Sultanate and the Caliphate, sovereignty was given to society itself. Kemalism became the most important pillar of the Turkish Republic. Although Kemalism could be, referred to as the new state religion. It did also take its power from nationalism as well as from the positivist approach. The positivist thought of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), who was a French thinker, mathematician and sociologist, became significant for the state. Since this was a project of making a modern and secular nation-state, Kemalist positivists regarded highly the socioeconomic structure of Western nation-states, which had been ongoing since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The institutionalization process of the discipline of archaeology for the purpose of serving the state was one of the essentials of Kemalist history writing project. Archaeology could be used to construct a new desired and imagined past during the nation-state building project of the new Turkish Republic. The nationalism that had embraced every institution of the Early Republican Era was also a direct approach to the historiography of the new Turkish Republic. In order to support the historiography and the imagined constructed past of the new Turkish nation-state, the discipline of archaeology was just what was needed by the Republican reformists. The reformists chose to be blinded by nationalist sentiment and patriotism while being intellectually fully capable of knowing which path they had chosen. In other words, Turkish nationalism started at the end of the nineteenth century, developed into a movement during the struggle era, and was transformed into the Kemalist ideology. The ideology of Kemalism was embodied through

Kemalist history writing and all the institutions of the new Turkish nation-state as being part of the Kemalist nation-state building project of the new Turkish Republic.

The most important cultural institutions of the new Turkish Republic were the Turkish Historical Association (*TTK*) and the Turkish Language Association (*TDK*), which were founded in 1931 and in 1932, respectively.²²⁷ Turkish nationalism that paved the way to search for a new identity, was regarded as the new religion of the new Turkish nation-state as well as being used for constructing the new Turkish national identity through historiography.

²²⁷ In the next chapter I will examine the first publications of the Turkish Historical Association as well as the presentations of the First and Second Turkish History Congress. These were significant in terms of the political use of archaeology and its benefit to the nation-building project of Mustafa Kemal as social engineering.

CHAPTER 3
THE POLITICAL USE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

*“Who controls the past controls the future;
who controls the present controls the past.”*
–George Orwell

3.1 Archaeology as a Tool of the Kemalist Positivist Ideology

The rise of Turkish nationalism and positivism were excellent catalysts for the nation-building project of the new Turkish Republic. Hanioglu points out, Mustafa Kemal chose to strengthen Turkish nationalim with “scientism, fashionable racial concepts and popular Darwinian theories of evolution.”²²⁸ Therefore, Kemalist ideology became more important than ever during the quest for a new identity for the Turkish Republic. The abolishment of the Sultanate and the Caliphate as well as the declaration of an independent Turkish nation-state was not adequate enough to destroy the ties with the Ottoman past and culture. These were the steps that led to the political break-off from the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, a cultural break was also necessary. The secularization of the Turkish nation-state through taking control of the religion by the Turkish state gained power from science. The undesirable past was a priority to be solved by Mustafa Kemal and the Kemalist reformists of the new Turkish Republic. In this case, archaeology was politically used in the service of the Turkish state through nationalist and positivist approaches.

²²⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, “Nationalism and Kemalism,” in *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 161.

Within nationalism, positivist thought became one of the essentials of Kemalist ideology. As İsmet Giritli describes, Kemalist ideology can be portrayed as pragmatic and scientific due to its confidence in the use of rational and scientific methods of the intellectual mind in order to solve the issues of the new Turkish Republican regime.²²⁹ On the other hand, it is necessary to keep in mind that the reformers of the Kemalist ideology were once Ottoman themselves, who were influenced by the ideas of the Young Turks for the salvation of the Ottoman Empire. The Young Turks, who lived in European political and cultural centers for a while, were influenced by the positivist thought of August Comte.²³⁰ Mustafa Kemal, who was an old member of the “Committee of Union and Progress” (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), had read the works of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Western thinkers and sociologists. Hence, he was influenced by positivism personally.

In this manner, Comte’s positivist thought firmly dominated Kemalist history writing as well as Kemalist ideology during the Early Republican Era. Kemalist positivism believed that scientific knowledge was necessary for the development of the society. Once it was established, then all ideas would be based on the scientific knowledge, which was necessary for a secular and modern nation-state as was experienced in Western civilizations. According to Comte, positivism was real, useful, certain, precise, relative and constructive in terms of uniting society homogenously according to scientific and concrete facts and avoiding metaphysical

²²⁹ İsmet Giritli, “Kemalism as an Ideology of Modernization,” in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. Jacob M. Landau (Boulder, Colorado; Leiden: Westview Press; E.J. Brill, 1984), 251.

²³⁰ Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution*, 39. According to the journal *Mechveret Supplément Français*, Hanioglu points that the Young Turk movement was influenced by ideas based on August Comte’s philosophy of positivism. For more information on “the Young Turks and Positivism,” see: Hanioglu, *The Young Turks*, 203-205.

or spiritual speculations.²³¹ Therefore, positivism was a great power over the new Turkish nation during the Early Republican Era.

Mustafa Kemal must have known that nation-states are not only established with victories that gain territory, but also with history writing for the construction of new and glorious pasts for new nation-states. Thus, it is obvious that he read the works of European Enlightenment Era writers and thinkers. He also paid attention to the publications of Ottoman friendly writers such as Léon Cahun, Mustafa Celaladdin Pasha and Vilhem Thomsen. He wrote notes inside these writer's books.²³² The publications of Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp, Necip Asım Yazıksız and Eugène Pittard²³³ also set the stage for Kemalist history writing. In order to accomplish the new Turkish nation-state building project, Mustafa Kemal and Kemalist supporters of the Republican reforms used history writing as their main source for the construction of a new identity for the new Turkish nation.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Yusuf Akçura was one of the key figures of the Turkish National movement and influenced the ideology of Kemalist history writing. In his work, "History of Turkishness" (*Türkçülüğün Tarihi*), Akçura claimed that the most important cultural fact is linguistics, which could provide an accurate history for a nation's past. For Akçura, philological and historical studies of a nation's past were in need of archaeological and ethnographical research in order to understand the moral and material culture of past society from the very beginning of

²³¹ Mary Pickering, "Auguste Comte," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Major Social Theorists: Classical Social Theorists*, vol. I, eds. George Ritzer and Jeffrey Stepnisky (Malden; Oxford; West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 31.

²³² Millî Kütüphane and Atatürk Dokümantasyon Merkezi, *Atatürk'ün Özel Kütüphanesinin Kataloğu: (Anıtkabir ve Çankaya Bölümleri)*, Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı. Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Yayınları 16 (Ankara: Başbakanlık, 1973). Notes: 1860, 2902, 3252.

²³³ Eugène Pittard supervised the anthropometric survey along with her student Afet İnan, which Mustafa Kemal had supported to establish the race of new Turkish nation among the other races of European civilizations. See Chapter 3.2.

their existence.²³⁴ Furthermore, the “Turkish Association” that was founded by Akçura published a manifesto that described the policies of the association. According to this manifesto, one of the duties of the association was to support archaeological as well as sociological and ethnological studies.²³⁵ Akçura surveyed German and Slav nationalism as well as the research of the archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) who influenced Akçura in indicating the importance of historical and archaeological studies.²³⁶

Ziya Gökalp was aware of the significance of history writing and archaeological activities that had been conducted on by the Imperial Museum since the late Ottoman period. Archaeology was a great tool for the creation of nations and it was also essential for history writing. In his book, “The Essentials of Turkism” (*Türkçülüğün Esasları*), he also claimed that the discipline of archaeology as well as national and ethnographic museums, were crucial in order to strengthen national solidity among the new Turkish nation.²³⁷

In the cause of constructing a new Turkish identity, the scientific discipline of archaeology was relied upon firmly by Kemalist positivists. Comte’s aim through positivism, which was highly regarded by the Kemalist ideology, was to provide the necessary approaches in order to end the moral, social and political disorder that the Ottoman Empire left in the memory of the new Turkish nation.²³⁸ The approaches that Comte had used to overcome the French Revolution were used by Kemalist positivists to construct a desired past and get rid of the undesired Ottoman culture, past, and the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural structures

²³⁴ Yusuf Akçura, *Türkçülüğün Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1998), 19-20.

²³⁵ Arai, *Jön Türk Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliği*, 42.

²³⁶ Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri*, 79-80. For a biography of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, see, Wolfgang Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1970).

²³⁷ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 5th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1997), 84-91.

²³⁸ Pickering, “Auguste Comte,” 31.

of the Ottoman Empire. The use of the archaeology was the perfect lynchpin for the nation-building project in support of the Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*), interfering with existing history writing and displaying material culture was considered desirable in the new Republic museums of Turkey that aimed to create a new and imagined collective memory.

Archaeological activities that had been carried out since the late Ottoman periods were embraced in a different manner for the new Turkish nation-state during the Early Republican Era. The process of transformation from empire to nation-state was in need of a homogenous national identity. This identity could be legitimized through the use of archaeology for Kemalist history writing. For that reason, Mustafa Kemal believed more in Anatolianism than Turkism, which claimed that the historical roots of the civilizations of Anatolia and not the Ottoman culture were the actual ancestors of the new Turkish nation-state.²³⁹ On the other hand, the Turkish History Thesis, led by Mustafa Kemal, emphasized the Sumerians and Hittites as the ancient ancestors of the new Turkish nation. Without any distinguished attempt to categorize, all the ancient civilizations from Sumerians and Hittites to Greek, Roman and Byzantine civilizations had been considered the new Turkish nation-state's ancestors. The official state policy of Kemalist ideology used the discipline of archaeology to construct a new identity that would be homogenous for the entire Turkish nation. Due to the use of archaeology as a political tool by Kemalist positivists during the Early Republican era, the Ottoman past was not regarded as one of the periods in the past of the Turkish Republic. Özdoğan claims that the Turkish-Islamic periods of modern Turkish history have never been excavated and studied adequately since there has not been any subfield of Middle Age archaeology

²³⁹ Mehmet Özdoğan, *Türk Arkeolojisinin Sorunları ve Koruma Politikaları* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2001), 34.

in educational curriculum of Turkish universities.²⁴⁰ However, it is worth mentioning that this is actually not the case. Ottoman history has never been considered as a subfield of archaeological studies by Turkish archaeologists due to the fact that the Ottoman Empire has always been identified with its Islamic aspect, while the Turkish nation-state was established on the basis of *laïcité*, a secular and modern nation-state.

In order to understand the organized approach to the development of the discipline of archaeology in the service of the Turkish nation-state during the Early Republican Era, targets of Kemalist ideology have to be considered attentively. As was pointed out, Kemalist ideology was triggered by the movements of Turkish nationalism and the Turkish approach of Comte's positivist thought. In this manner, Kemalism influenced the politics of the Turkish nation-state as being homogenous and secular. M. Hakan Yavuz claims that Kemalist ideology became obsessed with the idea of "the security of secularism" since it was seen as "progress" and "civilization" against the Islamic religion of "backwardness" and "Oriental barbarism".²⁴¹ Republican reformists aimed to secularize the Islamic image of the Ottoman Empire in the name of becoming westernized and modern, in order to create a new collective identity for the new Turkish nation-state. For this reason, the pillar of secularism constructed a significant role for the path of social change and modernization.²⁴² The isolated Islamic image of the Ottomans was ignored by the state after the new Turkish Republic had filled in science and technology as the new state religion. This was a very pragmatic approach during the Early Republic Era. Through the help of the social sciences, the idea of "Turkishness" was adopted for the new identity of the Turkish nation. In this way, Kemalist ideology called the

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 39.

²⁴¹ M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46.

²⁴² Sabri M. Akural, "Kemalist Views on Social Change," in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. Jacob M. Landau (Boulder, Colorado; Leiden: Westview Press; E.J. Brill, 1984), 126.

notion of the Turkish Republic, “the people of Turkey, who have established the Turkish state, are called Turkish nation” without any regard to the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious communities of the Ottoman past.²⁴³ However, creating a homogenous nation was just a magnified idea since the Turkish nation had never been an ethnically homogenous state according to statistical information on the Turkish Republic in the 1930’s.²⁴⁴ The new secular and modern image of the new Turkish nation-state had always been very important in the face of Western societies. As Umut Azak points out, Kemalist ideology internalized the Western Eurocentric view of Orientalist discourse against the Ottoman past and had taken regard the West as the last phase of the evolution in terms of modernization and secularization progress of the new Turkish nation-state.²⁴⁵ Thus, the famous lines of Mustafa Kemal became the motto of the Turkish Republic on their path to create a new imagined and desired nation out of the Ottoman past. By emphasizing the scientific and technologically advanced phase of the West, Mustafa Kemal set the bar for the Turkish nation at the dawn of the transformation from an empire to nation-state with his phrase: “live as an advanced and civilized nation in the midst of contemporary civilization.”²⁴⁶ Furthermore, through the secularization of Islamic religion, Kemalist ideology also emphasized the adoption of rationality in state affairs. According to Fuat Keyman, this was “the will to civilization”, which was seized upon by Kemalist ideology and, in this way, it was thought to be possible for the new Turkish nation-state to reach the same advanced level that the Western

²⁴³ Soner Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who Is a Turk?* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 14.

²⁴⁴ Soner Çağaptay, “Otuzlarda Türk Milyetçiliğinde İrk, Dil ve Etnisite,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, vol. 4 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 257; Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey*, 57. According to the Statistical Annual, Çağaptay presents the ethnical and lingual population of the Turkish Republic between 1931 and 1938.

²⁴⁵ Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 11.

²⁴⁶ Ahmad, *The Making*, 53.

civilizations had already reached.²⁴⁷ Islamic religion was regarded as the reason for previous underdevelopment and was also the reason for the end of the Ottoman Empire.

The secularization process was also established with reforms among clothing, calendar, measurements, alphabet and script, which were regulated and adopted according to the Western model. Mustafa Kemal gave an important place to cultural issues since he believed that culture was one of the essential elements of a nation. Thus, he organized a serious cultural reform in terms of constructing the imagined past through shaping the collective memory of the new Turkish nation. According to Mustafa Kemal, culture was one of the most important fundamentals of the Turkish nation-state.²⁴⁸ Therefore, history writing became the most important need for this process in the Early Republican Era, since the new Turkish nation needed to learn about their cultural heritage and establish the link between their past and their identity. In order to address this issue, the first attempt was made to prepare and publish education materials for the middle and high schools of the new Turkish Republic.²⁴⁹ It should be mentioned that this was a crucial attempt in terms of developing common history knowledge in the young minds of the new imagined Turkish nation.²⁵⁰ Thus, a serious approach was necessary in terms of creating a common Turkish identity. Although publishing history notes only for middle and high schools was not adequate for the rest of the Turkish Republic, these publications

²⁴⁷ E. Fuat Keyman, "Modernity, Secularism and Islam The Case of Turkey," *Theory Culture Society* 24, no. 2 (2007): 221.

²⁴⁸ Afet İnan, "Atatürk ve Kültür," in *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Semineri: Seminare Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 105.

²⁴⁹ Eranlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 111.

²⁵⁰ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk always believed in the young generation as being the best builders of the future of the Turkish Republic. In my opinion, it is worthy remembering Alexander Pope's words from *An Epistle to Cobham*: "Tis Education forms the vulgar mind, just as the Twig is bent, the Tree's inclined". See, Alexander Pope, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham* (London: Printed for Lawton Gilliver, at Homer's Head against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1733), 6.

gave a substantial amount of information about the forming process of the famous Turkish History Thesis. According to Ersanlı, these publications are able to give crucial hints on the features of state politics and nationalism.²⁵¹ Through the institutionalization of the Kemalist history writing, the attempt was made to form nationalization within history. This attempt took the new history writing project to an official level under the control of the state. According to Copeaux, through the nationalization of history, three essential aims were conceived, which were described as:

- I. Dispelling the shadow of Islam over the Turkish culture
- II. Vanishing the Eurocentric vengeful view of the Turkish image
- III. Proving that the ancient roots of the Turks belong to Anatolia, which had always been their homeland through the ages.²⁵²

The *Turkish Historical Research Society (Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyet)* was founded in 1931 as a state institution under the initiative of Mustafa Kemal. In 1935, it was renamed the *Turkish Historical Association* after the language reform.²⁵³ The aim of the *Turkish Historical Research Society* was to investigate the past of the Turks and Turkey as well as rewriting the history of the Turkish nation. There was already a published history book called, “Outlines of Turkish History” (*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları*) that was replicated out of the first rough drafts in 1930.²⁵⁴ Since only a few hundred copies of this book were published and the book was only sent to chosen people, Mustafa Kemal’s actual intention was to get feedback about

²⁵¹ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 114.

²⁵² Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 55.

²⁵³ Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), 7.

²⁵⁴ *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930).

the Turkish History Thesis which was to be studied at middle and high schools.²⁵⁵ According to İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's article, the history book, "Outlines of Turkish History" was full of mistakes and the Ottoman archival sources were not regarded during the writing process.²⁵⁶ The first attempt was an epic failure and it had to be edited and republished. Therefore, the first major work of this society was to republish a history book named, "Outlines of Turkish History: An Introduction" (*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları: Methal Kısmı*), which was completed in 1931.²⁵⁷ This book was significant in terms of being the first serious publication in support of the Turkish History Thesis by an institution of the Turkish state. The intention was to prove the prehistoric background of the spread of the Turkish nation from the Middle East to both East and West by emphasizing the Turks as the cradle of all modern civilizations.²⁵⁸ Thirty thousand copies of this book were published to be used as a supplementary history course book in schools. As in the first edition, the republished book did not contain very much Ottoman history either.

After the establishment of the *Turkish Historical Research Society*, the First Turkish History Congress was held in 1932. The Turkish History Thesis was thought to have been put together by Mustafa Kemal. It was based on the fundamentals of nationalism and positivism as well as secularism. During the Early Republican Era, Kemalist ideology reached its peak through nationalism and positivism. A common culture and a common history were essential in order to establish a common identity and common duties for the social integration of the Turkish nation. The Turkish History Thesis was the best tool to use as an advocate for the past of the Turks. Thus, the Turkish History Thesis through the political use

²⁵⁵ Semavi Eyice, "Atatürk'ün Büyük Bir Tarih Yazdırma Teşebbüsü: Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları," *Bellekten* XXXII, 128 (1968): 510.

²⁵⁶ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Türk Tarihi Yazılırken," *Bellekten* 3, no. 10 (1939): 349.

²⁵⁷ *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları: Methal Kısmı* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931).

²⁵⁸ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 121.

of archaeology in service to the Turkish state was the most important piece of the cultural reform and Kemalist history writing.²⁵⁹ In order to understand the development of the political use of archaeology during the Early Republican Era, it is necessary to study the institutionalization of archaeology with emphasis on significant figures and events, which is covered in the next section.

3.2 Establishment of the Turkish Archaeology in the Early Republican Era

Archaeology had a significant political role in the Turkish nation-building project during the Early Republican Era, which was carried out by Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformers. From a very simple point of view, archaeological activities were one of the few things which the Ottoman Empire handed down that were not avoided by the new Turkish Republic. From the first excavation of the Early Republican Era in 1934, archaeological activities and the Ottoman Imperial Museum, which developed during the late Ottoman period, were started to appreciate by the new Turkish Republic. The transformation of the Ottoman Imperial Museum into the new Istanbul Archaeology Museum was the first significant event in archaeological activity during the Early Republican Era. The next step was in Turkish archaeology was the institutionalization of archaeology during the Early Republican Period as an aspect of the modernization project of the Turkish nation-state.

The discipline of archaeology became an important issue within anthropological studies in the Early Republican Era. The settlement of modern Turkey's Anthropological Institute took place in two phases. The first phase occurred between 1925 and 1929. The main aim of the Turkish Anthropological Research

²⁵⁹ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 104.

Center (*Türkiye Antropoloji Tetkikat Merkezi*) was designated by Mustafa Kemal in a greeting letter to the director, Nureddin Ali Berkol, in 1925 after the first journal publication of the Center, which was the Turkish Anthropology Journal (*Türk Antropoloji Mecmuası*). Mustafa Kemal specifies the objective as “the disquisition of the Turk and Turkish society.”²⁶⁰ The second and most significant phase started in the 1930’s, when anthropology was separated from the Medical School and received its own department. The first Turkish Anthropological Research Center, which was founded in 1925 under the Department of Medicine, was renamed the Turkish Anthropological Institute in 1929 and moving from Istanbul to Ankara in 1935.²⁶¹ This was the era in which anthropology became a great issue for the Turkish History Thesis in terms of race and language studies. These studies used for supporting the ancestors of the Turkish nation during the nation-building process as the origins of Western civilization. Şevket Aziz Kansu was the first Turkish anthropologist of the new Turkish nation-state, who was sent to the Paris Anthropology School in 1927 before returning and starting to work at the Istanbul University as an anthropology professor.²⁶² By the 1930’s, there was an increase in number of anthropology students that were sent to European universities as well as the volume of research that was conducted at the Turkish Anthropological Institute. Eugène Pittard (1867-1962), who was an anthropology professor at the Genève University in Switzerland, became a very famous and respected scholar with his book, “Races and History” (*Les races et l’histoire*) for Kemalist history writing.²⁶³ Pittard was already a well-known scholar in Europe due to his racial studies and publications on the Balkan Peninsula.

²⁶⁰ Şevket Aziz Kansu, *Türk Antropoloji Enstitüsü Tarihçesi (Historique De L’institut Turc D’anthropologie)* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), v.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁶² Fatma Arzu Demirel, “Türkiye Antropolojisinin Tarihçesi ve Gelişimi Üzerine,” *Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3, no. 4 (2011): 128–134.

²⁶³ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 52.

For instance, Marius Turda argues that Pittard's studies were well regarded by Romanian racial anthropologists and eugenicists during the interwar against Hungary in terms of claiming national territories by racial factors.²⁶⁴ Mustafa Kemal became aware of these studies and invited Pittard to come to Turkey and study the Turkish race. One of the students that was sent to Europe in 1934 was Afet İnan (1908-1985), who was the first female historian of modern Turkey and an adopted daughter of Mustafa Kemal. She was encouraged by Mustafa Kemal to major in history and sociology. Later, Afet İnan became an anthropology student of anthropologist Eugène Pittard. Mustafa Kemal personally ordered Afet İnan to conduct an anthropometric survey in Anatolia. Afet İnan carried out this survey of 64,000 people in Anatolia by measuring their skulls under the supervision of Pittard. This survey was later presented as a doctorate dissertation by Afet İnan.²⁶⁵ According to Nazan Maksudyan's argument, Afet İnan and Eugène Pittard's survey, along with all the anthropological studies of the Early Republican Era, was based on the racist and nationalist principals of the new Turkish state, which focused on the insult of "other" races, while exalting the Turkish race through the Turkish Anthropological Journal very clearly.²⁶⁶ In contrast, Suavi Aydın claims that it is not accurate to produce such a result by examining just one publication of the Early Republican Era because, despite İnan and Pittard's anthropometric survey, Turkish nationalism of the Early Republican Era was not racist but integrative on the basis of the historical

²⁶⁴ Marius Turda, "From Craniology to Serology: Racial Anthropology in Interwar Hungary and Romania," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 43, no. 4 (2007): 364. Some of the earlier publications of Pittard on the Balkans were; Eugène Pittard, *Dans la Dobrodja (Roumanie). Notes de voyage*. (Genève: Impr. du Journal de Genève, 1902); Eugène Pittard, *Les peuples des Balkans: esquisses anthropologiques* (Paris, 1916); Eugène Pittard, *La Roumanie; Valachie, Moldavie, Dobroudja* (Paris: Bossard, 1917); Eugène Pittard, *Les peuples des Balkans; recherches anthropologiques dans la peninsule des Balkans, spécialement dans la Dobroudja* (Genève: Georg, 1920).

²⁶⁵ Demirel, "Türkiye Antropolojisinin Tarihçesi ve Gelişimi Üzerine," 130.

²⁶⁶ Nazan Maksudyan, *Türklüğü Ölçmek: Bilimkurgusal Antropoloji ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İrkçi Çehresi, 1925-1939*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2007), 7-14.

“Turkishness” idea that was expressed as the ethnic and cultural background of all civilizations.²⁶⁷ Copeaux marks that although this survey was not able to be used in any scientific research due to its extreme theory, İnan’s anthropometric survey was one of a kind in its field, which influenced the current and next generations’ collective memory of the new Turkish nation in the Early Republican Era by publishing this survey in many Turkish cultural magazines.²⁶⁸ In this manner, it was possible to construct a link – not truly scientifically, but romantically – between the prehistoric settlements and ancestors of the Turkish nation, who were also believed to be the descendants of Western civilization. Şevket Aziz Kansu became a member of the Alişar excavations as the first Turkish anthropologist.²⁶⁹ However, it was clear that there were a great lack of Turkish archaeologists carrying out excavations of the new Turkish nation-state. The anthropological studies of the 1930’s had led Mustafa Kemal to pay a great amount of attention to archaeological excavations in order to uncover the prehistoric civilizations that had settled in Anatolia to construct a link for the essentials of the Turkish History Thesis.

Starting in 1925, two years after the declaration of independence and the Turkish Republic, the first group of students started to be sent to European universities as well as to American universities, aiming to explore various major branches of education as part of the new education project under the initiative of Mustafa Kemal.²⁷⁰ The number of new students started to increase each year as they continued to be sent to Europe and the United States. Moreover, all students received a stipend as well as scholarships for the tuition of their education from the Turkish

²⁶⁷ Suavi Aydın, “Nazan Maksudyan’ın Kitabı ‘Türklüğü Ölçmek’ Üzerine,” *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 155–184.

²⁶⁸ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden*, 54.

²⁶⁹ Demirel, "Türkiye Antropolojisinin Tarihçesi ve Gelişimi Üzerine," 130.

²⁷⁰ Nezih Başgelen, *Atatürk’ün Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderme Projesi ve Eskiçağ Bilimleri Alanında İlk Yetişenler* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2011), 13-4.

state in order to sustain their lives in foreign countries. During the establishment process of the *Turkish Historical Research Society*, Afet İnan pointed out archaeological excavations in Greece, Syria, Egypt and Palestine to Mustafa Kemal.²⁷¹ Thus, he encouraged the next group of students to major in the discipline of archaeology in order to improve the *Turkish Historical Research Society*. In this way, the Turkish Republic had actually taken a step forward in constructing the new Turkish identity over the imagined past by creating their own Turkish archaeologists and using archaeology as a tool for the politics of the nation-building process as being homogenous, modern and secular.

Under the orders of Mustafa Kemal, an examination took place to choose the first archaeology student to be sent to Europe. Remzi Oğuz Arık was selected.²⁷² He belonged to the first small group of students that were sent to Europe in 1926 with the support of the Turkish state. Remzi Oğuz Arık was the first archaeologist of the new Turkish nation-state who majored in archaeology as one of the students that were sent to Europe.²⁷³ He studied at Sorbonne University in Paris and then returned to Turkey in 1931.

By 1931, Mustafa Kemal had already considered the importance of the work of archaeologists among the Anatolian lands. However, the on-going excavations in Anatolia were all under the directorship of foreign archaeologists. As a result of Mustafa Kemal's inspections of these excavations and the museums of Bursa, İzmir, Antalya, Adana and Konya, he wrote a telegram to President İsmet İnönü on

²⁷¹ Afet İnan, "Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesinin Kuruluş Hazırlıkları Üzerine," *Tarih Araştırmaları I*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü (1957): 5.

²⁷² Rüçhan Arık, "Türk Kültürüne Yönelik Arkeolojik Araştırmalar ve Kubadabad Kız Kalesi Kazısı," in *Remzi Oğuz Arık Armağanı*, ed. H. Rıdvan Çongur (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1987), 71.

²⁷³ H. Rıdvan Çongur, "Remzi Oğuz Arık'ın Kısa Hayat Hikayesi," in *Remzi Oğuz Arık Armağanı*, ed. H. Rıdvan Çongur (Ankara: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1987), 240.

February 20, 1931 about the necessity of Turkish archaeologists in order to charge of the excavations and museums in Anatolia.²⁷⁴

The second wave of young Turkish students were sent to Europe between 1932 and 1935. Ekrem Akurgal, Sedat Alp, Afif Erzen, Suat Yakup Baydur, Rüstem Duyuran, Halil Demircioğlu, Jale İnan and Halet Çambel, who developed and carried out the discipline of archaeology and ancient history at Istanbul and Ankara Universities through the Early Republican Era, as well as considerably influencing the next generation of Turkish archaeologists and ancient historians. The number of students was greater than before, which required more budget to pay their tuition and stipend to live in Europe. This was a substantial amount of money and was an economic burden to the newly established Turkish state, which had recently come out of World War I and the War of Independence. In this case, it is worth mention that all of these students were sent to Germany due to the close ties of the Turkish and German governments in the 1930's, which had become stronger more than ever during the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century. Political relations between the Turkish and German states had led to them being allies during the World War I until 1933.²⁷⁵ However, due to the success of the National Socialist Party in Germany in 1933, the regime had changed for Germany as well as the agenda of the political and economic relations with the new Turkish Republic. Between 1933 and 1939, the Turkish Republic served the economic development of Nazi Germany. In order to establish an economic hegemony over the Turkish Republic, Nazi Germany

²⁷⁴ “Ancak, memleketimizin, hemen her tarafında emsalsiz defineler halinde yatmakta olan kadim medeniyet eserlerinin ileride tarafımızdan meydana çıkarılarak ilmî bir surette muhafaza ve tasnifleri ve geçen devirlerin sürekli ihmali yüzünden pek harap bir hale gelmiş olan abidelerinin muhafazaları için müze ve müdürlüklerine ve hafriyat işlerinde kullanılmak üzere arkeoloji mütehassıslarına kat'î lüzum vardır.” quoted in *Atatürk'ün Tamim, Telgraf ve Beyannameleri*, vol. IV (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 603. Also see, Appendix H.

²⁷⁵ Mustafa Alpay Ercan, “XX. Yüzyılın İkinci Çeyreğinde Türkiye-Almanya İlişkileri (1923-1945) [The Relationship Between Turkey and Germany in the Second Quarter of the 20th Century]” (Unpublished MA Thesis, Kafkas Üniversitesi, 2006), 6-20.

purchased import goods from the Turkish government with a very high amount of money, then sold these imported goods to the old customers of the Turkish government at double its actual price. As a result, the Turkish government eventually became dependent to Nazi Germany.²⁷⁶ However, the Turkish government became uncomfortable with the political and economic relations with Nazi Germany, which led them to loosen the ties and start to look for new allies in Europe.

Ekrem Akurgal (1911-2002) received a scholarship in the year 1931. He was sent to major in archaeology in Germany at Berlin University from 1932 to 1939. After he had accomplished his education and returned to Turkey in 1940, he was appointed as an assistant professor in the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (*DTCF*).²⁷⁷ In his retirement, Ekrem Akurgal wrote his biography, where he described why he had been selected to become one of the students for studying abroad. According to Akurgal, he was able to receive a scholarship due to his supreme knowledge of the Turkish History Thesis that he had demonstrated in the examination that was applied by the Turkish state in order to send students to European universities. Since the questions were based on the ideology of the Turkish History Thesis, which led the committee to choose students that were especially interested and knowledgeable about the contents of the Turkish History Thesis, Akurgal had passed the exam easily.²⁷⁸ Coşkun Özgünel marks that Ekrem Akurgal's school for archaeology education in the Turkish Republic was crucial for raising young students and for Akurgal's encouragement in carrying out the

²⁷⁶ Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945): Dönemin İç ve Dış Politikası Üzerine Bir Araştırma* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 350-51.

²⁷⁷ Başgelen, *Atatürk'ün Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderme Projesi*, 29.

²⁷⁸ "Hukuk konularında çalışmalarımın yanı sıra Atatürk'ün tarih tezine merak salmıştım. 1931 yılı boyunca günlük gazeteler Atatürk'ün ele aldığı tarih çalışmaları üzerinde geniş yayınlar yapıyor ve ben de bunları büyük ve derin bir ilgiyle okuyordum... Atatürk'ün tarih tezi üzerinde ise adeta uzman denecek bir düzeyde idim. Soruları güzel bir Türkçe ile yanıtladım... Demek hakkım yenmemiş, tersine arkeoloji bursu Atatürk'ün tarih tezini çok iyi bildiğim için bana verilmişti." quoted in Ekrem Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Tarihinden Birkaç Yaprak* (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 1999), 16-17.

researches and works that Mustafa Kemal desired to be published.²⁷⁹ Thus, Akurgal was one of the trustworthy advocates of the Turkish History Thesis for a long time.

In addition to Akurgal, Sedat Alp (1913-2006) was one of the students, who was received a scholarship and he was sent to Leipzig and Berlin Universities in 1932. Sedat Alp majored in archaeology, while taking various courses such as Ancient History, Sumerology, Hittitology, Ancient Languages and Cultures, and Akkadian during his university education abroad.²⁸⁰ During his studies in Leipzig, Sedat Alp heard that Hittitology was extensively popular among Turkish students studying abroad due to Mustafa Kemal's personal interest on the field of Hittitology. However, Alp was the only one who chose to stay in this field and graduated.²⁸¹ He completed his studies and received his doctorate degree in 1940, then returned to Turkey. In 1941, Alp was appointed as an assistant professor of Hittitology at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography. Sedat Alp became the first Turkish Hittitologist of modern Turkey.

Afif Erzen (1913-2001) was also selected as one of the students that was sent to Europe in 1932. He studied at Leipzig, Jena and Berlin Universities between 1934 and 1940. Erzen took courses in prehistory, philosophy, art history, geography, Latin and Ancient Greek languages and ancient history, while majoring specifically in classical archaeology.²⁸² Erzen returned to Turkey after he had graduated with a PhD degree in Ancient Classical History. He became an assistant professor in the Department of Classical Archaeology at the Istanbul University alongside the

²⁷⁹ Coşkun Özgünel, "The Archaeology of the Turkish Republic and the School of Ekrem Akurgal," in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 145.

²⁸⁰ Başgelen, *Atatürk'ün Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderme Projesi*, 33.

²⁸¹ Can Dündar and Fatma Sevinç, eds., *İlk Türk Hititoloğunun Yaşam Öyküsü: Sedat Alp* (Ankara: TÜBA, 2004), 51.

²⁸² Başgelen, *Atatürk'ün Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderme Projesi*, 37.

significant classical archaeologist, Arif Müfid Mansel and numismatist, Clemens Emile Bosch who had escaped from Nazi Germany.²⁸³

Suat Yakup Baydur (1912-1953), Rüstem Duyuran (1914-1992) and Halil Demircioğlu (1905-1972) were the other students on the train who were sent to Europe besides Ekrem Akurgal, Sedat Alp and Afif Erzen in order to study archaeology and ancient history under the personal initiative and encouragement of Mustafa Kemal.²⁸⁴ Suat Yakup Baydur specialized in ancient philology by the order of the Ministry of Education of the Turkish state. Upon his return in 1946, he became an assistant professor at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography as an ancient philologist.²⁸⁵ Later, he was appointed to Istanbul University. Rüstem Duyuran was sent to France at first, however, he was ordered to attend Berlin University in order to pursue a major in archaeology and art history. He returned to Turkey in 1939 and completed his major from Ankara due to the World War II. He was significant for his duties as a director at the Istanbul Archaeology Museums between 1954 and 1961 as well as among the other archaeology museums of modern Turkey.²⁸⁶ Among the young Turkish archaeology students, Halil Demircioğlu was sent to Berlin University to study ancient history. Mustafa Kemal personally advised and encouraged Demircioğlu to study ancient history especially since there were not enough Turkish publications and materials for Turkish History.²⁸⁷

Alongside male students, who were sent to Europe in order to be trained in the discipline of archaeology, female students also received scholarships from the Turkish state. Jale İnan (1914-2001) first received the Alexander Von Humboldt

²⁸³ M.Taner Tarhan, "Sevgili Hocamız Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen," *Anadolu Araştırmaları XIV* (1996): 4.

²⁸⁴ Başgelen, *Atatürk'ün Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderme Projesi*, 27.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 34-5.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 35-6.

²⁸⁷ Ahmet Ünal, "Ölümünün 4. Yıldönümü Dolayısıyla Prof. Dr. Halil Demircioğlu," *Bellekten XL*, 157 (1976): 118.

scholarship to study at Berlin University. Later, she won the scholarship of the Turkish state and enrolled in courses at Munich University, which were taught by the famous archaeologists Ernst Buschor and Hans Diepolder.²⁸⁸ Jale İnan worked together with Arif Müfid Mansel for the development of the classical archaeology discipline in Turkey at Istanbul University after the establishment of the Department of Archaeology in 1946.²⁸⁹

Halet Çambel did not receive any scholarship from the Turkish Ministry of Education, but she was one of the students, who went to Europe to study archaeology abroad during the 1930's. As a young successful female student, Halet Çambel achieved scholarships from both French and American governments. She chose to go to France to study archaeology at Sorbonne University in 1935, yet continued to study at Ècole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Institut Catholique and Ècole du Louvre, where she learned Hittite and Paleo-Hebrew languages.²⁹⁰

These students that were sent to Europe with scholarships were also expected to come back to Turkey during their summer vacations in order to participate and work at archaeological excavations, as well as traveling and observing the museums around Turkey for two months.²⁹¹ The archaeological excavations, which were started in order to construct a concrete link between the new Turkish nation-state and its new desired past, were encouraged and conducted during the Early Republican Era under the initiative of Mustafa Kemal.²⁹² These archaeological excavations, which were initially started under the direction of foreign archaeologists, continued with Turkish archaeologists after they returned to Turkey with majors in

²⁸⁸ Başgelen, *Atatürk'ün Yurt Dışına Öğrenci Gönderme Projesi*, 38.

²⁸⁹ Murat Dirican, "Türkiye Arkeolojisinde Bir 'Hanımefendi': Jale İnan," *Bilim ve Teknik*, 369 (1998): 87.

²⁹⁰ Murat Dirican, "Yaşamını Arkeolojiye ve Anadolu'ya Adanmış Bir Bilim Kadını: Halet Çambel," *Bilim ve Teknik*, 359 (1997): 74.

²⁹¹ Akurgal, *Bir Arkeoloğun Anıları*, 33.

²⁹² Yücel, *Türkiye'de Müzecilik*, 80.

archaeology, ancient history, ancient languages and anthropology from European universities.

Among the Turkish students that were sent to Europe to major in the field of archaeology and ancient history in 1932, the development of modern Turkish archaeology started a new phase in 1934 with the establishment of the Turkish Archaeological Institute.²⁹³ The Institute was affiliated with Istanbul University (*Darülfünun-i Şahane*). The University was formerly known as the Ottoman Imperial higher education institution but was transformed into Istanbul University as a result of the University Reform of 1933.²⁹⁴ Turkish archaeologists, Afif Erzen, Jale İnan and Halet Çambel joined the Turkish Archaeological Institute as academic faculty members. Later, due to the increase in the number of Turkish and foreign archaeologists and ancient historians, the Turkish Archaeological Institute was transformed into the Department of Archaeology at Istanbul University with several sub-departments such as Classical Archaeology, Prehistory and Near Eastern Archaeology.

After the establishment of the Turkish Archaeological Institute at the Istanbul University, the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography was founded in in 1936 as the first department of Ankara University. The first aim of the faculty was to emphasis the subjects of Turkish language, Turkish history and Turkish geography to support the ideology of the Turkish History Thesis. The common view was that the Turkish Archaeological Institute in Istanbul University was not adequate for ongoing studies in Ankara. Thus, another place in Ankara, which had become the new capital of the new Turkish nation-state, was set up mainly for anthropological and

²⁹³ Ufuk Esin, "Arkeoloji," in *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de Bilim: Sosyal Bilimler*, I (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 1997), 62.

²⁹⁴ Emre Dölen, *İstanbul Üniversitesi (1933-1946)*, vol. 4, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), 3.

archaeological researches. Ankara was also significant for Mustafa Kemal due to its location, since the city was at the center of the national borders (*Misak-ı Milli*)²⁹⁵ of the new Turkish Republic. However, there was a political reason for this modification, which was the actual case. Briefly, despite the University Reform of 1933 at the Ottoman Imperial higher education institution, Istanbul University was still a continuum *école* of *Darülfünun-i Şahane*, namely the Ottoman Imperial higher education institution, where the faculty was still distant to the new Turkish Republican regime as well as the cultural reform implemented by the Republican reformists in Ankara, in terms of their disquisitions on the Turkish History Thesis both anthropologically and archaeologically.²⁹⁶ Therefore, the establishment of the Turkish Archaeological Institute at Ankara University was a political attribute to pave the way for the Turkish History Thesis in the following years under the monitoring of the state power at the capital of modern Turkey. Hence, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-1965), who is known as the founder of the study of history of Turkish Literature and Turkish History of modern Turkey, resigned from his position at Istanbul University. He joined the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography at Ankara University in order to be involved in the national politics at a close range since Köprülü was finding the Turkish History Thesis and its methodological approach ridiculously wrong.²⁹⁷ However, he became more politically active in 1943, which was the year he resigned from his position at Ankara University and he

²⁹⁵ *Misak-ı Milli* literally means “national oath.” It can be referred to as the manifesto of the Independence War, which states the national borders of modern Turkey according to the claimed national integrity of modern Turkey.

²⁹⁶ Zafer Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012), 271.

²⁹⁷ Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, ed. Gary Leiser (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 5-7. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü published this book in 1935 for the first time. It was translated into several languages through the years. In 1999 edition of this book, Gary Leiser added a well-written and acknowledged introduction for the life of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and his scholarly works. For more information about the Köprülü effect on the First Turkish History Congress, see Chapter 3.3.

returned to Istanbul. In 1946, Köprülü and his three friends founded the Democratic Party (DP).²⁹⁸

The main courses that were taught by the departments at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography consisted of Turkish Language, History, Geography, Anthropology, Hittitology, Sumerology, and Indo-European Languages as well as Arabic and Persian Languages and Literatures. Especially, the departments of Sumerology and Hittitology were distinctly necessary for Kemalist history writing since one of the aims of the Turkish History Thesis was to create a substantial link between the Sumerians and Hittites as the ancestors of the new Turkish nation. German archaeologists and ancient historians, who were in need of a getaway plan from Nazi Germany, were invited to Ankara in order to be employed at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography. Benno Landsberger founded the Department of Sumerology, while his student from Germany, Hans Güterboch founded the Department of Hittitology at Ankara University. Alongside the scholars that were escaping from Nazi Germany, the Turkish students who were sent to Europe were employed by the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography. Şevket Aziz Kansu was employed as one of the first professors. After he returned to Turkey, he was appointed as a professor in the Department of Anthropology at the newly established Faculty of Languages, History and Geography in Ankara University under the initiative of Mustafa Kemal. Muzaffer Şenyürek was sent to the United States in order to major in anthropology at the Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. After he graduated in 1939, he returned to Turkey, where he started to teach as an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography.²⁹⁹ Meanwhile, the Departments of Sumerology

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 8.

²⁹⁹ Fikret Ozansoy, "Büyük Türk İlim Adamı Şenyürek'in Arkasından," *MTA Dergisi*, 57 (1961): 118.

and Hittitology started to graduate their first students. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ was one of the first graduates as a Sumeriologist from the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, who became the most famous Sumeriologist of modern Turkish history.

In order to legitimize the new Turkish nation-building project, the use of archaeology was a priority. However, the new Turkish nation did not have any archaeologists of their own to produce their own history writing of the desired, imagined past. Instead of foreign archaeologists who had already been part of the archaeological activity in the realms of Anatolia since the nineteenth century, it was crucial for the Turkish state to produce their own archaeologists with identical aims based on the nationalist and positivist pillars of Kemalist ideology in terms of supporting Kemalist history writing project. The use of archaeology as a political tool was not new for the establishment of the identities of new nation-states. The already established nation-states of West had already used the discipline of archaeology in their quest to build the past for their desired, imagined identities. Hence, the new Turkish nation-building project had their share of the use of archaeology for their own purposes.

3.3 Pseudoarchaeology and the Reconstruction of the ‘Turkish’ Collective Memory during the Making of ‘Turkish’ Nation-State

For decades, the history of the Ottoman Empire had been regarded as “the other” from the Eurocentric Orientalist point of view by historians who have thought that the history of the Turkish Republic was based on the beginning of modern Turkey in 1919. At the end of the 1970’s, a very crucial historical turn happened in the studying of the Ottoman history. This was considerable in terms of using the methods of modern historiography as a means of approaching Ottoman history from

a new perspective by the young generation of historians of the Turkish Republic.³⁰⁰ There were two significant events which took place in the year 1977. One of these was the first meeting of the *International Association of Ottoman Social and Economic History* (IAOSEH) in Ankara during the year 1977. The second event was the Ottoman history related publication of two Turkish academicians in the first issue of a new journal, *Review*, by the Fernand Braudel Center of Binghamton University in New York.³⁰¹ Contemporaneously, there were other historical turns happening in the social sciences. As mentioned in the first chapter, a new phase in terms of nationalism debates had started which, – as well placing emphasis on other branches of social sciences, – also affected thought about the place and use of archaeology through nationalism by historians and archaeologists. Thus, archaeology and nationalism become interesting to Turkish historians and archaeologists, which led these scholars to the serious study of the history of the discipline of archaeology in the Turkish Republic with an emphasis on Ottoman history. According to Ayşe Özdemir, the discipline of archaeology in Turkey has always been under the influence of nationalism.³⁰² This influence had been an open argument between archaeologists since the 1950's, which speed up during the 1980's.³⁰³ However,

³⁰⁰ Oktay Özel and Gökhan Çetinsaya, “Türkiye’de Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinin Son Çeyrek Yüzyılı: Bir Bilanço Denemesi,” *Toplum ve Bilim* Kış, no. 91 (2001): 8-9.

³⁰¹ Huricihan İslamoğlu and Çağlar Keyder, “Agenda for Ottoman History,” *Review* I, no. I (1977): 31–55. During the same year, this article’s Turkish translation was published. See, Huricihan İslamoğlu and Çağlar Keyder, “Osmanlı Tarihi Nasıl Yazılmalı? Bir Öneri,” *Toplum ve Bilim* Bahar, no. 1 (1977): 49–80. Today, three decades later, publications on Ottoman history have increased in number as well and are enriched in terms of their contents and knowledge. Despite this fact, the intent of this article is still important to consider today.

³⁰² Ayşe Özdemir, “Hayali Geçmiş’: Arkeoloji ve Milliyetçilik, 1923-1945 Türkiye Deneyimi,” in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin*, ed. Güneş Duru and Oğuz Erdur (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2003), 12-3.

³⁰³ For example see, Ekrem Akurgal, “Tarih İlmi ve Atatürk,” *Belleten* XX, no. 80 (1956): 77–80; Tahsin Özgüç, “Atatürk ve Arkeoloji,” in *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Semineri: Seminere Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975); Nermin Sinemoğlu and Semra Ciner, “Atatürk’ün Türk Tarih Tezi İçinde Arkeolojinin Yeri ve Önemi,” in *Atatürk ve Sanat Sempozyumu, 26-28 Ekim, İstanbul* (İstanbul: İDĞSA Yayını, 1981), 81–85; Coşkun Özgünel, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Arkeolojisi,” *Belleten* L, no. 198 (1986): 895–913; Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, “Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Türkiye’de Arkeoloji,” *Erdem: Aydın Sayılı Özel Sayısı II* 9, no. 26 (1996): 621–627; Mehmet

well-discussed publications were not presented until the end of the 1990's. Although archaeology and nationalism has always been an issue for the interpretation of the results of archaeological excavations, which have always been under the control of Turkish state, on the other hand archaeology was under the influence of nationalism during the Early Republican Era more than ever due to the political use of archaeology for the nation-state building project of Kemalist ideology.

According to Anderson, all nations are “imagined political communities,” which are distinguished by the style of how they were imagined.³⁰⁴ On the other hand, Etienne Balibar answers the question, “what makes the nation a community?” by answering that it is the “people” themselves.³⁰⁵ This means that all communities are imagined, unless there are people to form a community through accepting imaginary narratives on common name, values, duties and past; then that “imaginary” becomes “real”. Thus, archaeology could be established as a link between society's present and past on the basis of a tangible material culture, in term of being used as the political benefits of the nation-state building project which

Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey,” in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Lynn Meskell (London; New York: Routledge, 1998); Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Arkeoloji: Siyasi Yönlendirmeler, Çelişkiler ve Gelişim Süreci,” in *Bilanço 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 Yılına Toplu Bakış Uluslararası Kongresi, Ankara, 10-12 Aralık 1998*, ed. Zeynep Rona, vol. I (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 193–204; Ufuk Esin, “Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin 75. Yılında Atatürk Düşüncesinin Ulusal Kimliğinin Oluşturulma Sürecinde Arkeoloji'nin Yeri: Dünü, Bugünü,” in *Bilanço 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 Yılına Toplu Bakış Uluslararası Kongresi, Ankara, 10-12 Aralık 1998*, ed. Zeynep Rona, vol. I (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 277–288; Coşkun Özgünel, “Atatürk ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Arkeolojisi,” in *Cumhuriyetin Yetmişbeş Yılında Kültür ve Sanat, Sempozyum Bildirileri, 18-19 Mart 1999* (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 2000); Gül Pulhan, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Geçmişini Arıyor: Cumhuriyet'in Arkeoloji Seferberliği,” in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin*, ed. Güneş Duru and Oğuz Erdur (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2003); Mehmet Özdoğan, *Arkeolojinin Politikası Ve Politik Bir Araç Olarak Arkeoloji* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2006); Murat Ergin, “Archaeology and the Perception of Greek, Roman and Byzantine Eras in Early Republican Turkey,” in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 13–33; David Shankland, “Heritage, Nationalism and Archaeology in the Republic of Turkey,” in *Perceptions of the Past in the Turkish Republic: Classical and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Scott Redford and Nina Ergin (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 225–36.

³⁰⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

³⁰⁵ Etienne Balibar, “The Nation Form: History and Ideology,” in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 93.

consists of reconstructing a new identity through reconstructing a new collective memory for society. In this way, archaeology becomes a perfect tool that takes “imaginary” and develops it into “real”.

Archaeology is the study of the material culture of past societies.

Archaeologists believe that the least imaginary past to know is the one that archaeology presents because the discipline of archaeology is based on tangible artifacts that the five senses can interpret. According to the published and presented information of ongoing excavations, archaeologists have always interpreted the material culture as accurate and true units of information for the past.³⁰⁶ On the other hand, archaeology can be explained as being used for the reconstruction of the undocumented past. The undocumented past could be the material culture but can also be memory, or memory that is aimed at reconstruction through the uncovered material culture from excavations. In this case, the relationship between archaeology and memory synthesis can be crucial for the reconstruction of the past since archaeology can be used as a political tool to outline the framework of the collective memory of a society. In this way, the reconstruction of the collective memory of a society can be used for the reconstruction of a new identity for a new nation by means of the imagined past that the state would like to create for its nation.

Memory studies have been a part of historiography for decades. Memory has always been considered as misleading for historiography since the recall of the past through memory has always been thought as the reconstruction of the history through the manner of how one’s mind would like to proceed.³⁰⁷ By changing the

³⁰⁶ Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31.

³⁰⁷ Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2011), 112-37. In chapter five, Klein discusses the emergence of memory on the historical discourse by regarding the different approaches of scholars throughout the years. Also, for discussion of national narratives, collective memory and identity, see Chapter 1 in Victor

perspective, in terms of re-examining memory for the importance of national history writing, it is possible to understand the place of memory for the importance of nationalist archaeology, which is used as a reliable solid fact in order to reconstruct the unreliable narrative of memory that history writing has never trusted. Thus, the nationalist history writing needs memory due to its construction of alternative narratives of the imagined past in order to establish the foundation myths as well as the glorious past of the nation-state to be created.

Material culture that has been uncovered by archaeological excavations has been considered crucial for nationalist history writing, which was manipulated by the existing ideology of power for political purposes or in the name of reconstructing a more advanced past.³⁰⁸ In this case, the relationship between archaeology and memory is important to examine since recalling memory can be reconstructed according to the results of the interpretation of archaeological excavation.³⁰⁹ When it comes to thinking about the relationship between archaeology and memory directly, one could suggest that the memories of individuals must shape the collective memory of a society. However this kind of approach would be a misinterpretation, as Maurice Halbwachs argues on this issue. Halbwachs claims “one may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories.”³¹⁰ He means that individual memory is constructed by society. Thus, collective memory actually shapes individuals’ memories. Hence it is important to approach collective memory in order to reconstruct individual

Roudometof, *Collective Memory, National Identity, and Ethnic Conflict: Greece, Bulgaria, and the Macedonian Question* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 1-28.

³⁰⁸ Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 241.

³⁰⁹ Ruth Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, eds., *Archaeologies of Memory* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 1-13; Bjørnar Olsen, *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 109-28.

³¹⁰ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40.

memories. As a result, the reconstruction of the collective memory of a society, in terms of emphasizing a glorious past, has received help from various branches of the social sciences since the positivist thought of the era was a crucial factor for the establishment of “imagined” nations. The most useful field to study for the undocumented history was the study of material culture as it was seen in the West. Since uncovered material culture could be interpreted however the specific nation-state chooses, the glorious civilizations of the ancient Greeks and ancient Romans have always been excessively attractive to Western civilizations, along with biblical references of these ancient civilizations. However, Halbwachs never made a distinction for the time zone of memories. Memories which are based on the “contemporary past”³¹¹ and memories which are based on the distant past, could not be approached through the same method in terms of referring to both as the collective memory. Thus, Jan Assmann describes distant memories as the “cultural memory.”³¹² Assmann thinks that Halbwachs could not distinguish the difference between “communicative memory” and “cultural memory” and that Halbwachs refers to both as the collective memory without making any distinctions. Assmann’s distinction of the “cultural memory” could be attributed to the complementary factor of society’s collective memory. Another scholar, Paul Connerton, distinguishes “social memory”, – in other words Halbwachs’ collective memory – and the

³¹¹ Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas, “The Absent Present: Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past,” in *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, ed. Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas (London: Routledge, 2001), 3–18. Although archaeology has always been regarded as the study of material culture of the distant past, in terms of limiting the discipline in a specific distant time zone, the study of contemporary archaeology focuses on the most recent/contemporary past such as the twentieth and twenty first centuries.

³¹² Jan Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek: Eski Yüksek Kültürlerde Yazı, Hatırlama ve Politik Kimlik* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2001). Jan Assmann is an Egyptologist who explains “cultural memory” in terms of Maurice Halbwachs’s theory of “collective memory”. As an archaeologist, Assmann states the connection between cultural memory and objects in the distant past, such as material remains, are important for the reconstruction of the past of nation-states.

historical reconstruction of the past in his book, *How Societies Remember*.³¹³

Connerton's distinction of "social memory" and historical construction and Assmann's description of "cultural memory" fill the gaps in Halbwachs' theory of "collective memory"³¹⁴ that helps to understand the importance of the collective memory of society in terms of being a crucial element for the nation-building process and the importance of the political use of archaeology for the "imagined" past during the Early Republican Era.

Firstly, Connerton marks that all new beginnings are in need of recollection of elements to start an entirely new era.³¹⁵ Thus, during the establishment of a nation-state, the state is in need of their own past in order to gather their own society under common values and beliefs as well as duties in front of their state. Secondly, Connerton claims that knowledge of the human past could be possible through knowledge of their traces.³¹⁶ These traces could be various kinds of material culture uncovered through excavations such as bones, flint stones, foundational remains of a house, burials that reveals ritual customs, or inscriptions. Thus, the historical reconstruction is not dependent on "social memory", also it could affect the way "social memory" will be shaped in society. As Connerton claims, "despite this independence from social memory, the practice of historical reconstruction can in important ways receive a guiding impetus from, and can in turn give significant shape to, the memory of social groups."³¹⁷ For instance, the state could control the past, take away individuals' memories and keep social memory however the state

³¹³ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). In this book, Connerton refers Halbwach's "collective memory" as "social memory", which is the title of the first chapter, 6-40.

³¹⁴ For more recent comparative and critical study of the theory of Maurice Halbwachs' collective memory, see, Anne Whitehead, *Memory, The New Critical Idiom* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), 123-39.

³¹⁵ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 6-7.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

wishes. As a result, collective amnesia happens throughout the society even though the society tries to force themselves to keep its memory alive against the organized administrative forgetting of the undesirable past. In this manner, archaeology is the perfect way to uncover material remains in order to interpret the past in the way the state wishes. Gavin D. Brockett points out the necessity of the distant past for the establishment of the nation-state as well as for the Turkish Republic. Brockett argues that the distant past was necessary for the new Turkish Republic during its nation-building process, since this was a crucial attempt to break itself away from the recent past – the Ottoman past and culture – that led to the creation of the new Turkish nation-state's place in world history, sitting among all civilizations as the glorious nation as well as the ancestor of the Western nation who brought civilization and science to the Western nations.³¹⁸ As a result, the historical construction of the distant past became the part of the nationalist narrative of the new Turkish Republic, which determined the Turkish nation as a primordial and everlasting nation while ignoring the recent past of the Ottoman Empire.

This could be the way that social memory is reconstructed through new interpretations of the past by historical reconstruction. In this case, historical reconstruction could use the traces of human past by means of archaeology. This is also what Kemalist positivists think about the importance of archaeology for history writing. However, through the desire to reconstruct an imagined past for social memory, the use of archaeology turned into a pseudoarchaeology which became a way of using the discipline of archaeology politically in service to the state itself under the name of being scientific for the establishment of the reconstructed imagined past of a nation-state. According to Garrett G. Fagan's description,

³¹⁸ Gavin D. Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim National Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 174.

pseudoarchaeology presents itself as, “reconstructing the past through a scientific process.”³¹⁹ However, this is not the case since pseudoarchaeology becomes interpretation for the desired results in terms of being unprofessional and not scientific at all. On the other hand, the pseudoarchaeological approach to the interpretation of material culture is not actually an unprofessional mistake. Fagan claims that even trained academicians could be defeated by their egos, ideologies, or other personal beliefs; however since academicians belong to the environment of specific departments of universities, a criticism by others should denote the manner of their inaccurate way of interpretation.³²⁰ Regardless, pseudoarchaeology was the trend of the nineteenth century West during the establishment of modern nation-states. With regard to this trend, pseudoarchaeology had also become the political tool of the Early Republican Era. Since the new Turkish Republic had taken the West as “role model” in terms of the settlement and the development of the Turkish nation-state, it was inevitable that it would be affected by the methods and thoughts that the West had embraced. The West was accepted as the authoritative truth for modernity.

By the time of the declaration of the new Turkish Republic, the Turkish state had started a serious program for the transformation from an empire to a nation-state. The Early Republican Era was a time of forgetting and re-remembering the glorious and the best in terms of benefits to the Turkish nation. After the establishment of the *Turkish Historical Research Society*, the first objective was to set up history books for elementary, middle and high schools respectively, in order to explain and teach the glorious history of the Turks and their contribution to Western civilization as well

³¹⁹ Garrett G. Fagan, “Diagnosing Pseudoarchaeology,” in *Archaeological Fantasies: How Pseudoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public*, ed. Garrett G. Fagan (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 24.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

as to the other races of the world in terms of being the super ancestor of all races. For this reason, the Turkish History Thesis had to be presented widely and it had to continue to be consolidated and legitimized. As a result, a congress was organized where the Turkish History Thesis could be argued. The First Turkish History Congress was held in July, 1932. Mustafa Kemal attended every single session of the congress which, according to Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, implies the political significance to the Turkish History Thesis of the archaeological meetings during the first congress.³²¹ Due to its aim, the majority of the participants at the first congress were history teachers of the new Turkish Republic along with academicians, members of the *Turkish Historical Research Society* and other intellectuals. Only a few of the history teachers participated with papers, while the rest were there just to attend the first congress.³²² Emre Dölen suggests that the first congress was “a history teachers’ meeting.”³²³ As a matter of fact, the first congress appears to have been a perfect environment for history teachers to follow the arguments and ideas for the approval of the Turkish History Thesis, more so than to participate with counter ideas to analyze the discourses. It was history teachers’ important duty to be capable of teaching the Turkish History Thesis to the young Turkish pupils and students in order to install and develop history knowledge in the next generation. For this reason, Mustafa Kemal always implied the importance of history and history writing in his quotes and speeches, such as:

“It is not the mind, logical judgment, which makes the history, but maybe feelings other than these.”³²⁴

³²¹ Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31, no. 4 (2006): 383.

³²² Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 139.

³²³ Emre Dölen, *Darülfünun’dan Üniversiteye Geçiş*, vol. 3, Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), 64.

³²⁴ “Tarihi yapan akıl, mantık, muhakeme değil, belki bunlardan ziyade duygulardır.” quoted in *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, vol. II (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1997), 116.

“Writing history is as important as making history. If the writer does not remain true to the maker, then the unchangeable reality transforms into a confusing matter for humanity.”³²⁵

Therefore, for Mustafa Kemal, history writing was important at the dawn of a new nation-state building project since he was an outstanding reader. He had already read about the histories of the Western nation-states and their quest for identity in order to establish the fundamentals of their own nations. In this manner, the development of the Western nation-states were regarded by Mustafa Kemal as the primary model for the new Turkish nation-state, which was planned to have common identity, values and duties for the sake of a new homogenous nation and a secular state. In this case, the Turkish History Thesis became the narrative of nationalist feelings. Through its approval and learning of it by heart, it could have erased the undesirable Ottoman past in the collective memory of the new Turkish nation-state. It could also shape a new, better and more advanced past for the new Turkish nation-state. Thus, Mustafa Kemal encouraged all the academicians of the new Turkish Republic such as historians, archaeologists, anthropologist to research and development the Turkish History Thesis.³²⁶ This was the beginning of pseudohistorical theories, which found their path through the support of pseudoarchaeological activities and interpretations.

Trigger suggests that the discipline of archaeology has been practiced by nations “to enhance the group’s self-confidence by making its success appear natural, predestined, and inevitable, to inspire and justify collective action, and to disguise collective interests as altruism.”³²⁷ Shaw comments that European archaeologists’ approach to excavation in the realms of the Ottoman Empire led them to claim the

³²⁵ “Tarih yazmak, tarih yapmak kadar mühimdir. Yazan yapana sadık kalmazsa değişmeyen hakikat, insanlığı şaşırtacak bir mahiyet alır.” quoted in Hasan Cemil Çambel, “Makaleler, Hatıralar,” *Belleten* 3, no. 10 (1939), 272.

³²⁶ Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, 51.

³²⁷ Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 20.

heritage of the territories of the Ottoman Empire as well as the territories themselves as their own.³²⁸ By using the power of archaeology, Mustafa Kemal encouraged archaeologists and historians to claim the territories of the new Turkish nation-state as the heritage of the Turks by linking the historical roots of Turkish society with Western civilization, which were claimed to be the descendants of the Turkish race. Hence, with the pseudoarchaeological interpretations of artifacts, material culture that was unearthed in the excavations found its value through the narrative of the Turkish History Thesis.³²⁹

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Mustafa Kemal was close to the idea of Anatolianism, despite the fact that he regarded Ziya Gökalp's ideas as the fundamentals of Turkish history writing of the Early Republican Era. Anatolianism emerged against the criticism of the ideas of Ziya Gökalp since Gökalp's idea of Pan-Turkism could not go beyond being abstract in the hands of Republican reformists.³³⁰ Mustafa Kemal was interested in concrete and more tangible knowledge among the feelings of Turkish nationalism. Thus, the Early Republican Era archaeological activity also followed the path of Anatolianism. Turkish archaeologists of the new Turkish Republic supported Anatolianism as Mustafa Kemal. For instance, Mithat Atabay points out that Remzi Oğuz Arık believed that history was the memory of a nation, which can be considered as the common culture under the nation's collective identity.³³¹ Therefore, Mustafa Kemal believed in the idea of Anatolianism, not because of being against Ziya Gökalp, but instead by being close to the idea of claiming Anatolia as the home of the Turkish race, the home of

³²⁸ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 105.

³²⁹ Çiğdem Atakuman, "Value of Heritage in Turkey: History and Politics of Turkey's World Heritage Nominations," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 23, no. 1 (2010): 112.

³³⁰ Mithat Atabay, "Anadoluculuk," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, vol. 4, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 514.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 517.

the new Turkish nation-state. Mehmet Özdoğan claims that Mustafa Kemal formulated an ethnohistorical idea in order to support and prove that the Turkish race was related to the Sumerians and Hittites, which he integrated into his Turkish History Thesis as well as into the Kemalist ideology of the history writing process.³³² Pseudoarchaeology was used in service to the Turkish state with tangible artifacts for the nation-building project. It suggested and proved the Anatolian territories as the home of the Turkish race throughout ancient history. Due to this thought of Mustafa Kemal, conducting archaeological excavations in the realms of Anatolia was important. Therefore, archaeology was the perfect tool for political purposes. Since Western nations had been using archaeology for their claims of the past by means of the cultural heritages that they had found in the lands of Anatolia throughout the centuries, the new Turkish Republic could have also used this weapon of mass-digging in the face of the West for claiming the glorious history of the Turkish race and Turkish society during the nation-building project. Thus, pseudoarchaeological interpretations were attributed as “scientific” fact that imposed scientific absolute meanings to the archaeological artifacts in the discourse of cultural heritage.³³³

The First Turkish History Congress took place in an atmosphere of controversy between the academicians of école of Istanbul University and the capital of the Turkish state, Ankara. The academicians from Istanbul University, which was still called *Darülfünun-i Şahane* before 1933, were regarded as threats to the Turkish History Thesis and for the official history writing of Kemalist ideology.³³⁴ The congress was the reason for the University Reform in the following year, 1933. Furthermore, in 1936, the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography was opened

³³² Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey,” 116-17.

³³³ Atakuman, “Value of Heritage,” 112.

³³⁴ Dölen, *Darülfünun’dan Üniversiteye Geçiş*, vol. 3, 65.

at Ankara University against the thought and discourse of the academicians from the école of Istanbul University.

By surveying the papers and arguments of the First Turkish History Congress, it could be asserted that the opposition during the first congress was hotly debated by the participants. The arguments between the supporters of the Turkish History Thesis, the official ideology of the First History Congress, and the dissidents are worth examining to understand the mood of the first congress. Erganlı suggests that the first congress is very special and characteristic its “apologetic” atmosphere.³³⁵ The Turkish History Thesis did not welcome for criticism, but was only open to arguments that would develop its structure. Sibel Özbudun marks that the commissioned academicians for the history writing of modern Turkey were held under the strict inspection of the cadre that led by the Mustafa Kemal and Republican reformists who dismissed, silenced, or eliminated critics of the history writing process.³³⁶

The most crucial debates took place among Afet İnan and Mehmed Fuad Köprülü as well as Reşit Galib, Sadri Maksudi Arsal and Zeki Velidi Togan. Afet İnan was charged by Mustafa Kemal with the development of the Turkish History Thesis. In to the opening speech of Afet İnan to the congress, she identified herself as the person charged with this duty by saying “from a sense of duty” (*vazifem icabı*).³³⁷ This line of hers told frankly of her significance to the congress and the history writing process of modern Turkey. According to Aslı Daldal, the debate between Afet İnan and Mehmed Fuad Köprülü represents the controversy between the “official state-sponsored” history writing of Kemalist ideology and the actual

³³⁵ Erganlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 143.

³³⁶ Özbudun Demirel, “Anthropology as a Nation-building Rhetoric,” 119.

³³⁷ Afet Hanım, “Tarihten Evvel ve Tarih Fecrinde,” in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları*, ed. Maarif Vekâleti and Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti (İstanbul: Matbacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1932), 18.

“scientific” history writing.³³⁸ In her speech, Afet İnan claimed that the homeland of the Turkic race was in the Middle East and the autochthonous race of the Middle East was the Turks.³³⁹ Afet İnan also highly regarded the reconsideration of the French archaeologist, Jacques de Morgan, according to his book, *L'humanité préhistorique, esquisse de préhistoire générale*, who claimed that the people of Europe had come from the Middle East four thousand years ago.³⁴⁰ Thus Afet İnan tried to construct the race and homeland of Turkish society based on limited information of sources, which was her aim for the development of the Turkish History Thesis. In spite of Afet İnan’s claim, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü tried to explain the insufficient amount of primary sources and their level of study as very newly published to claim the prehistoric roots of modern Turkish history.³⁴¹ As appearing in the publication of the congress, Köprülü was very cautious about his words through out the sessions, which were debated not only in one, but through several sessions of the congress. Köprülü was aware of the aim of the congress and the Turkish History Thesis due to his experience of studying history for years both in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, he was a faculty member of Istanbul University where the academicians had been critical of the Turkish History Thesis. Due to being very cautious and starting with the words, “I agree with you” (*sizinle hemfikirim*) during his argument with Afet İnan, Köprülü was not allowed to specify the importance of his critique adequately. Köprülü was interrupted as a result of the critique by Hasan Cemil Çambel, who became significant for his contribution to archaeological activities during the Early Republican Era. Çambel claimed that the

³³⁸ Aslı Daldal, “Afet İnan, Fuat Köprülü ve Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi’nde Tartışmalar,” *Toplum ve Bilim* Bahar, no. 92 (2002): 234–259.

³³⁹ Afet Hanım, “Tarihten Evvel ve Tarih Fecrinde,” 30.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁴¹ *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları* (İstanbul: Matbacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1932), 42-7. Mehmet Fuad Köprülü gave a speech at the third session, which was after a 15 minute break following Afet İnan’s speech in the second session.

newly published information was not inadequate, but rather a power in terms of their claim for the Turkish History Thesis.³⁴²

The second crucial debate took place between Reşit Galib, Sadri Maksudi Arsal and Zeki Velidi Togan. However, Togan was not as cautious as Mehmed Fuad Köprülü since he ended up of resigning from his position at Istanbul University, and went to research in Vienna, Austria.³⁴³ Togan's book, "Introduction to General Turkish History" was considered crucial for Turkish history writing of the Early Republican Era. For this reason, he was an acknowledged academician for history writing process. However, his ideas and counter debates in the first congress were not welcomed by Republican reformists. Togan had a quarrel with Reşit Galib and Sadri Maksudi, – another Turkish historian who had emigrated from Russia as had Togan, – about the structure of the Turkish History Thesis. Reşit Galib's discourse about the book of Raphael Pumpelly³⁴⁴ was the fundamental basis for the Turkish History Thesis. Reşit Galib claimed that the drought in the Middle East led the Turks to spread to the West widely.³⁴⁵ Togan found this claim inaccurate in terms of the base of the sources that Reşit Galib presented. The argument continued with strong accusations from Reşit Galib, Sadri Maksudi and Şemsettin Günaltay against Togan, which ended with a catastrophe. Reşit Galib praised for not being a student of Zeki Velidi Togan at Istanbul University, since he was incapable of teaching the young students about the past of the Turks based on the Turkish History Thesis.³⁴⁶

³⁴² Ibid., 82.

³⁴³ Gün Soysal, "Rusya Kökenli Aydınların Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İnşasına Katkısı," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, ed. Tanıl Bora, vol. 4, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 491.

³⁴⁴ Raphael Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904: Prehistoric Civilizations of Anau, Origins, Growth, and Influence of Environment* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1908).

³⁴⁵ *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 161.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 397.

The presented papers about the Turkish History Thesis were mostly based on the secondary sources that were seriously criticized by Istanbul University academicians and some intellectuals. As a result, the importance of archaeological excavations was politically recognized in order to improve the Turkish History Thesis.³⁴⁷ As well as archaeological excavations, the need for raising more Turkish archaeologists was also apparent. Hence, young and successful Turkish students were sent to Europe to major in the fields of archaeology and ancient history. After the First Turkish History Congress, archaeological excavations started throughout the realms of modern Turkey. The first archaeological excavation began in Alacahöyük in 1934, with more than sixty excavations conducted throughout the borders of the new Turkish Republic, which the Turkish state funded through the *Turkish Historical Research Society*.³⁴⁸

The Second Turkish History Congress was held in 1937, five years after the First Congress. The Second Congress was different than the first one in a very strategic sense. The main aim was still the support and improvement of the Turkish History Thesis.³⁴⁹ There were interesting structural modifications. Firstly, the Turkish History Congress became international with foreign participants and audience for the first time. Secondly, there were not any platforms for after session questions, arguments and critics as had happened during the First Congress.³⁵⁰ Thirdly, the location of the Second Congress was Istanbul, not Ankara as it was in the First Congress. The Dolmabahçe Palace, which was the residence of the last

³⁴⁷ Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride," 384.

³⁴⁸ Afet İnan, "Türk Tarih Kurumunun Arkeoloji Faaliyetleri," *Belleten* II, no. 5-8 (1938): 5-12; Emre Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800- 1950* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2002), 120-1.

³⁴⁹ *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongrenin Çalışmaları, Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler, 20-25 Eylül 1937* (İstanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1943).

³⁵⁰ According to Ersanlı, this is the most important fact that distinguishes the Second Congress from the First Congress. See, Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 225. However, in my opinion, it is not the only one. There are several strategical factors that have to be considered together.

Ottoman Sultan, was an interesting choice. Tanyeri-Erdemir states that the location of the Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosphorus was perfect in terms of representing the new Turkish Republic's mission as a cultural bridge between Europe and Asia.³⁵¹ Besides structural modifications, there were also promotional strategies that happened during the Second Turkish History Congress. These promotional strategies were significant in terms of presenting archaeological excavations that had started right after the First Congress. For these reasons, the Second Turkish History Congress was extremely important due to its high degree of emphasis on archaeological excavations that were conducted from 1934 to 1937 throughout the realms of Anatolia and Thrace. Thus, it sounded more like an archaeological congress than a history congress. Due to the results of the archaeological excavations, an exhibition was displayed in the Dolmabahçe Palace during the Second Congress that was based on uncovered artifacts, photographs from the ancient sites as well as models of the cultural heritage sites.³⁵² All the participants of the Second Congress received a pin to wear, which had a Hittite figure of decoration on it. Furthermore, there were two archaeological trips organized at the end of the congress that took participants to the ancient sites of Troy, Boğazköy, Alacahöyük, and, of course, Ankara. As well as promoting the ancient sites of the Anatolian realms, it was also a matter of pride in terms of showing the archaeological excavations that were conducted personally by the Turkish archaeologists to the foreign scholars.³⁵³

The Second Congress was a cold war between the academicians from Ankara and Istanbul. The president of the Second Congress was Saffet Arıkan (1888-1947), minister of education, and the vice president was Eugène Pittard which was not

³⁵¹ Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride," 385.

³⁵² İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında*, 42-4.

³⁵³ Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride," 385.

surprising. At the opening speech of the congress, Arıkan pointed out that for the improvement of the Turkish History Thesis, archaeological excavation could provide better scientific results and interpretations.³⁵⁴ By using archaeological information, academicians from Ankara were still supporting the argument of Anatolia that Turks were the historical roots of Western civilization and that Turks belonged to the brachycephalous race. Afet İnan, due to her survey with Pittard, now believed that the skulls that were uncovered at the Hittite site shared characteristics with the skulls of the Turkish race.³⁵⁵ Other academicians from Ankara such as Şevket Aziz Kansu, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay, Kurt Bittel, and Hans Gustav Güterboch were also supporters of the Turkish History Thesis. The outcome of the First Congress was a disaster for academicians in Istanbul. The result of their arguments and quarrels against the Turkish History Thesis and the academicians from Ankara turned out not well for their sake since the University Reform happened in 1933, which ended with them losing their jobs in Istanbul University.³⁵⁶ For that reason, Istanbul was very cautious about the Second Congress. Even though they were still behind their word, they did not want to take as much attention as in the First Congress. For instance, Arif Müfid Mansel from Istanbul defended the Turkish History Thesis, stating that the historical roots of the ancient Greek civilization had come from Asia through Anatolia.³⁵⁷ At that time, Mansel was the departmental chair of Classical Archaeology at Istanbul University, which was a position that he might not have wanted to lose. On the other hand, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü from Istanbul was still against the Turkish History Thesis, however his argument was not as solid as at the First Congress. Besides Köprülü, another academician from Istanbul was İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, who also

³⁵⁴ *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 2.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 8-15.

³⁵⁶ I have mentioned the University Reform of 1933 previously. See, Chapter 3.2.

³⁵⁷ *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 210.

presented a paper at the congress. Uzunçarşılı's paper was about the post-Seljuks, pre-Ottoman period.³⁵⁸ Another academician from Istanbul, Ömer Lütfü Barkan (1902-1979), did not present his paper but it was published later in the congress proceedings. His paper was about the foundation period of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵⁹ These three scholars from Istanbul were historians of the Ottoman Empire. As is seen, only two papers were about the Ottoman Empire at the Second Congress. As Çiğdem Atakuman claims, one of the main aims of the Second Congress was to observe the reactions to the Turkish History Thesis in front of the foreign participants.³⁶⁰ Since the reactions at the First Congress were not as expected, even though it had been presented as a success for the Turkish History Thesis, this time it was important to observe the international audience at the Second Congress. Briefly, the aim of the Second Congress succeeded due to the strategic attempts. The foreign audience had not argued against the Turkish History Thesis since there were no after session questions. Besides, the fear of the academicians from Istanbul of losing their jobs due to the University Reform was a major factor. As a result, Ankara, being the capital of the Turkish nation-state, headquarters of the Turkish single-party government and the center of the official history writing program of the Turkish History Thesis at the Faculty of Language, and History, Geography, once again achieved its desires. The clear result of the Second Turkish History Congress as the victory of the Turkish History Thesis was also claimed in an article by Şemsettin Günaltay in the journal, *Bellekten*.³⁶¹ Günaltay claimed that the Turkish History Thesis was successful in front of the Turkish scholars at the First Congress, and it

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 499-506.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 1003-07.

³⁶⁰ Çiğdem Atakuman, "Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1938)," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8, no. 2 (2008): 229.

³⁶¹ Şemsettin Günaltay, "Türk Tarih Tezi Hakkındaki İntikatlara Mahiyeti ve Tezin Kat'î Zaferi," *Bellekten* II, no. 7-8 (1938): 337-365.

was successful again internationally in front of the foreign scholars as well as the Turkish scholars once and for all.³⁶²

The political use of archaeology continued to develop through museums that Kemalist ideology wanted to produce. Mustafa Kemal had an idea to establish a Hittite Museum in Ankara, the capital of the new Turkish nation-state. In this way, pseudoarchaeology and the “Turkish” collective memory was tried to legitimize themselves in museums by Kemalist ideology.

3.4 Legitimization of Pseudoarchaeology and the “Turkish” Collective Memory in Museums during the Making of “Turkish” Nation-State

The discipline of archaeology throughout the territories of the Turkish Republic as well as activities in museums worked together for the historical reconstruction of the new Turkish nation-state. As much as uncovering the claimed cultural heritage of the new “imagined” Turkish history, it was also important to display them for visitors to the Turkish nation. Carol Duncan describes museums as “identity-defining machines.” In this respect, museums could be the representation of a society as well as some of society’s authoritative truths.³⁶³ During the Early Republican Era, all museums were considered part of the collective memory of the new Turkish society for the nation-building process. From 1923 to 1928, twelve state-funded museums were established in Ankara, Istanbul, Edirne, İzmir, Bursa, Antalya, Konya, Adana and Sivas.³⁶⁴ Establishment of museums continued to increase in number during the Early Republican Era. By 1940, there were more than

³⁶² “Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, tarih tezinin dahilinde zaferiyle neticelenmişti. İkinci Türk Tarih kongresi ise tezin cihan âlimleri ilmî intikatlarına, arz edilmesi imkânı verilmişti. İkinci kongre daha parlak bir surette tetevvüc etti.” in Günaltay, “Türk Tarih Tezi Hakkındaki İntikatların Mahiyeti ve Tezin Kat’i Zaferi,” 338. Also see, Toprak, *Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*, 281-83.

³⁶³ Carol Duncan, “Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship,” in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), 286.

³⁶⁴ Ferruh Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999), 150.

fifty museums established with Turkish state resources throughout the new Turkish Republic. This is worth mention since it signifies the devotion of a substantial amount of budget for the creation of Turkish museums as well as conducting archaeological excavations. In particular, the Early Republican Era was preoccupied in this period with the thought of having limited funds and short resource due to the establishment of the new Turkish Republic from nothing, which was right after its War of Independence.

The use of pseudoarchaeology by means of political purpose in service to the Turkish state was embodied during the museumification project. For that reason, it is important to examine the meaning of political nature of museum displays for reconstructing national identity.³⁶⁵ One of the most significant parts of this museumification project was the transformation of Ottoman architecture into Republic museums that did not also house any remains from the Ottoman past, but broadly from the ancient civilizations of Hittites, Sumerians, Greeks, Romans, or even Byzantines. Pelin Gürol marks this architectural renovation into Republic museums as a symbol signified the end of the earlier political system of the Ottoman regime.³⁶⁶ This was the project of new national museum building by the new Turkish Republic. The establishment of the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* as the first archaeological museum of the new Turkish nation-state is significant for the history writing process and the support of the Turkish History Thesis. This is the most

³⁶⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992); Sharon Macdonald, ed., *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (London: Routledge, 1998); Timothy W. Luke, *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Edouwaye S. Kaplan, "Making and Remaking National Identities," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 186–197; Shella Watson, ed., *Museums and Their Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Lois H. Silverman, *The Social Work of Museums* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

³⁶⁶ Pelin Gürol, "Conflicting Visualities on Display: National Museums from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," in *NaMu IV*, ed. Peter Aronsson and Andreas Nyblom (presented at the Comparing: National Museums, Territories, Nation-Building and Change. NaMu IV, Linköping University, Norrköping, Sweden 18–20 February 2008, Linköping University Electronic Press, 2008), 124.

important museum for the nation-building project of Kemalist ideology. Aslı Gür points out a major question of significance for the study of archaeological museums rather than the other cultural projects of the Early Republican Era, which could be answered by: “museums as the public representations of the official discourses on nation, modernity and progress.”³⁶⁷ In this case, the construction of museums is a political setup for the creation of the “imagined” and desired past. Anderson argues that the post-independence states became visible politically through the museums, which were used as tangible constructions of the past.³⁶⁸ It should not be considered coincidence that the development of museology in nineteenth century Europe happened upon the emergence of the nation-state in Europe. However, this was not the only reason for the development of museology in Europe. The nation-state building process in the Early Republican Era followed the same path as in the West, using museums as propaganda for the historical reconstruction of the collective memory of society through the political role of nationalist archaeology. Hence, the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* started to go through its formation process in the Early Republican Era.

It has been known that the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was the first museum of the new Turkish Republic. However, the Hittite Museum was actually the first serious national museum building project of the new Turkish Republic according to a recent doctoral dissertation by Pelin Gürol Öngören.³⁶⁹ Mustafa Kemal’s project of the Hittite Museum was previously examined by İnci

³⁶⁷ Aslı Gür, “Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilization Museum,” in *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, ed. Esra Özyürek (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 42.

³⁶⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 178-85.

³⁶⁹ Pelin Gürol Öngören, “Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic [Kültürel Mirası Sergilemek, Kolektif Kimlik Tanımlamak: Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sine Müzeler]” (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2012).

Bayburtluoğlu.³⁷⁰ On the other hand, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar wrote an article, *For an Revolution Museum*, in the journal, *Ülkü*, in 1933 and described the museum project.³⁷¹ However, Gürol Öngören's doctoral dissertation examines the process of national museum project on an architectural level with emphasis on the collective identity that the archaeology and ethnography museums defines. The aim was to provide the knowledge that the newly established Turkish nation-state needed.³⁷² Due to the Hittites were believed to be the ancestors of the new Turkish Republic according to the Turkish History Thesis, the first archaeology museum that was designed as a “national” museum was called, the Hittite Museum. German archaeologist Eckhard Unger and Austrian architect of Swiss descent Ernst Egli worked together on the sketch plans and drawings of this project.³⁷³ The museum complex project was planned to consist of three buildings, which were a museum, an academy and a national library. However, this project did not succeed. Therefore, the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* became to the first state funded museum of the new Turkish Republic.

The *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was different than the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, not only being the first archaeological museum of the new Turkish Republic, but also being completely different in its reason for formation. This museum's formation could be attributed as one of the crucial parts of the historical reconstruction of the new Turkish nation-state. The museum's location, logo and collections signified the nation-building project that was applied during the Early Republican Era with regard to the Turkish History Thesis.

³⁷⁰ İnci Bayburtluoğlu, “Müze Belgelerine Göre Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kadar Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi,” *Ankara Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (1991): 96–124.

³⁷¹ Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, *Türk Müzeciliği* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), 45-52.

³⁷² Pelin Gürol Öngören, “Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminin Hitit/Milli Müze Projesi,” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 226 (2012): 22.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 22-33. See Appendix I, These sketch plans and drawings, which are from the Edhem Eldem archive, are used by Pelin Gürol Öngören with a permission. See Appendix J, three dimensional modelling of the Hittite Museum from the sketch plans and drawings is made by Pelin Gürol Öngören.

The *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was founded as the “Museum of Antiquities” (*Asar-ı Atika Müzesi*) in 1921 by Mübarek Galib Bey, who was the director of culture of that period. Due to Mustafa Kemal’s desire to create a Hittite museum for restoring and displaying the Hittite remains in Ankara, the new formation of the museum started. Although the first serious museum complex project of the new Turkish Republic did not succeed, idea of establishing a Hittite museum was never abandoned. Until 1938, the new museum in Ankara was called, the Museum of Antiquities. From 1938 to 1968, the Museum of Antiquities was renamed as the Ankara Archaeological Museum.³⁷⁴ The Ankara Archaeology Museum expanded went through a renovation slowly from 1938 to 1968. After completion of renovations in 1968, the museum was renamed as the, *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations*. The Sumerians as well as the Hittites were also attributed as direct ancestors of the Turks in Anatolia in the Turkish History Thesis. Therefore, for the Ankara Archaeology Museum – later the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* –, the aim of the museum was to store and display the cultural heritage of the new Turkish Republic. Thus, the museum never displayed any section of the Ottoman past or culture. As Pelin Gürol argues, the establishment of the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was a part of the nation-state building project that aimed to create a new Turkish identity, a new Turkish past through the new symbols of presented memory.³⁷⁵ In this case, this was an attempt to distinguish the new Turkish Republic from the Ottoman past as well as distinguish its history among Western civilizations. Melih Arslan claims that the establishment of the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was an important sign of the establishment of a new nation-state in the territories of

³⁷⁴ See Appendix K. This is the cover of the catalogue by Raci Temizer. Also see, Raci Temizer, *The Ankara Archaeological Museum* (Ankara: Ankara Turizmi, Eski Eserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği, 1966).

³⁷⁵ Gürol, “Conflicting Visualities on Display,” 124.

Anatolia.³⁷⁶ The logo (Fig. 13) of the *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was an interesting choice, its design drawn from one of the Hittite kings from Yazılıkaya, which is the open-air Hittite sanctuary.³⁷⁷ This could be represented as the will of the Turkish state, the separation of the new reconstruction of Turkish history from the Ottoman past. In terms of the museum's architecture, the building was a *bedesten* (Ottoman market complex), which was constructed by Mahmud Pasha (1420-1474) who was the grand vizier of Mehmed II (1432-1481), the Conqueror. This had been known as the Mahmud Pasha Bedesten (Fig. 14) until it was transformed into the *Ankara Archaeological Museum* in 1938.³⁷⁸ This transformation from an Ottoman bedesten to first archaeology museum of the new Turkish Republic represents the attempt at changing the cultural memory to the Hittites instead of the Ottomans.³⁷⁹ The collections of the museum were chosen to be displayed based on the civilizations that had been living in the realms of Anatolia throughout history. Interestingly, the collections never contained remains from the Ottoman Empire even though the Ottomans had also lived in the Anatolia for a very long time. The collections were chosen from the remains of the Paleolithic, Neolithic, Calcolithic, and Bronze Ages; artifacts were chosen from the Assyrians, Hittites, Phrygians, Urartians, and Lydians (Fig. 15). There were also collections of the late Hellenistic and Greco-Roman, the Byzantine and the Seljuk periods, however the amount of these artifacts in number were not much in contrast to the Hittites as well as the other civilizations. As mentioned previously, Anatolianism had always been preferred by Mustafa Kemal;

³⁷⁶ Melih Arslan, "Milli Müze Kavramında Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Gerçeği," in *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye'de Müzecilik III: Ankara'da Müze, Müzede Ankara Sempozyum, 21-22 Mayıs 2009*, Ankara (Ankara: VEKAM, 2010), 17.

³⁷⁷ For more information about Hattusha, the capital of the Hittite Empire, and Yazılıkaya with detailed drawings of the Hittite reliefs, see, Jürgen Seeher, *Hattusha-Guide: A Day in the Hittite Capital* (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 1999).

³⁷⁸ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, "Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi'nin (Yeni Adıyla Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi) İlk Kuruluş Safhası İle İlgili Anılar," *Belleten* XLIII, no. 170 (1979): 310.

³⁷⁹ Gürol, "Conflicting Visualities on Display," 126.

for that reason, it was not a surprise to pay attention to the Anatolian civilizations more than the other ancient civilizations. For that reason, find places of objects in the museum collections have been generally from central Anatolia (Fig. 16). The *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* was a very special formation in the name of reconstruction of a new cultural memory and a new identity during the nation-building project of the Early Republican Era.

The organized forgetting of the recent past that was administered by the Turkish state, had to legitimize itself through the discipline of archaeology. Following the declaration of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal and the new Republican reformists' main aim was to construct a new Turkish identity that was not related to the Turkish Republic's actual direct ancestors, the Ottoman past and culture. This was accepted as a pragmatic solution for the Early Republican Era. On the other hand, Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists were also born in the Ottoman Empire. They were once Ottoman youth and Ottoman soldiers before the declaration of the new Turkish Republic. However, regarding the Western nation-state as the only solution for the rise of the new Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists were placed into the Orientalist and Eurocentric discourse of the West. Mustafa Kemal was against this discourse in theory, but he as well as the Republican reformists could not actually resist in practice. Hence, the Western model of the modern and secular state, as well as the homogenous nation, had to be enforced in order to be embodied through the various cultural policies of the Kemalist ideology for the new Turkish nation-state building project. By using the Turkish nationalism of the era as well as the positivist thought for supporting the truth, the discipline of archaeology was legitimized in this process for political purposes.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the aim was to examine the political use of archaeology during the Early Republican Era. Due to the desire of establish a homogenous nation and a secular as well as a modern Turkish state, nationalist archaeology was used to reconstruct a new identity for society. This social-engineering project of Kemalist ideology was nourished by the rise of Turkish nationalism and positivist thought emerging from the Republican reformers. In order to understand the significance of manipulated use of archaeology for the Turkish nation-state building project in this era, the causes and results were sought to explain. By emphasizing two different eras of archaeological activities of modern Turkey, the relationship between nationalism and archaeology was pursued to examine. The first era was the emergence of archaeological activities in the Ottoman Empire as part of the westernization process. The second era was the development of archeology for the new Turkish Republic in a different direction during the Early Republican Era.

The project of the establishment of nation-states among the Western civilizations was seen as the perfect model for a new nation state during the making of the Turkish nation. Mustafa Kemal and the reformers' motto was "reaching the level of the contemporary Western civilizations." Therefore, archaeology was the perfect scientific ground for reconstructing a new identity and producing an "imagined" past through myths.

The reforms and developments, which were triggered and nourished by Kemalist ideology, were not actually sudden original ideas of Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists. The Kemalist ideology was in fact a product of the previous westernization attempts and developments that had already been going on in the

Ottoman Empire until its collapse. For the development of Turkish nationalism, scholars who emigrated from Russia into the Ottoman Empire as well as European Turkologists, who were studying the ethnic background of the Turks, influenced the ideas of Ottoman intellectuals. The westernization attempts and the nationalist ideas of Ottoman intellectuals shifted and developed through the approaches of Mustafa Kemal and the Republican reformists during the new Turkish nation-state building project. The ideas that these scholars presented in their publications about the “Turkic races” and ethnological relationships had an impact on the development of Turkish nationalism in the beginning of the twentieth century. In this manner, Kemalist ideology embraced the idea of Turkish nationalism and the effects of positivism on the Young Turks. This path became the root of the Turkish nationalism movement to create a new national identity. Although the collapse of the Ottoman Empire happened, the Early Republican Era might have become a transition period for the transformation of westernization ideas from empire to nation-state.

Starting in the decade of the 1920’s, there were major attempts to establish a new Turkish identity for the new Turkish Republic. By regarding Western civilizations as the “role model” that the new Turkish Republic should follow, archaeological excavations started to be used in the same context as Western nations had been using them for decades in order to establish their own historical construction of their past, which also claimed the superior identity of European nations among the rest of World civilizations and cultures.

During the Early Republican Era, the archaeological excavations were seen as the reliable part of the Turkish History Thesis, supporting this thesis with scientific facts. Although the Turkish History Thesis was questioned by some Turkish scholars and intellectuals, the effect of the thesis was strong during the Early Republican Era.

Frederick Douglas (1818-1895) once said “It is easier to build strong children than to repair broken man.” The nation-state building project of the new Turkish Republic was aimed to build a strong society through strong kids, who could depend onto a strong history writing with concrete facts of material culture. Therefore, youth students of the Early Republican Era learned the history of modern Turkish Republic through the history books that the Turkish Historical Association published. In these history books, the ancient civilizations of Anatolia were accepted as the direct ancestors of the Turks, which was the basic concept of the Turkish History Thesis.

Institutions of the new Turkish Republic served the aims of the Turkish History Thesis. Turkish Historical Association started to organize Annual History Congresses that could serve to the purposes of Kemalist ideology. First two History Congresses was important for the development of nationalist archaeology. In the First Congress, the importance of using archaeology as a scientific fact in service to the aims of Kemalist ideology was understood. In the Second Congress, the manipulated discipline of archaeology was used as a concrete fact to support the Turkish History Thesis. Material remains from archaeological excavations were used for the historical construction of the new Turkish Republic. These objects became political displays of the new Turkish Republic. The state-funded museums were established to support the results of archaeological excavations throughout Anatolia.

The positivistic approach of archaeology became a useful political tool for the creation of myths that were relied upon to lay the foundation of the new Turkish nation-state. The interpretation of uncovered objects was based on the ideological perception of the Turkish state. As nationalism was the most important ingredient of the foundation of the nation-states, so was the positivistic discipline of archaeology, due to the belief of its being based in scientific fact, affected by the nationalist

sentiment in this period. Thus, archaeology became the perfect political tool that paved the way to construction of a new collective memory for the Turkish nation. The aim was to create a new Turkish national identity that gathered society under one flag with common beliefs, values and aims.

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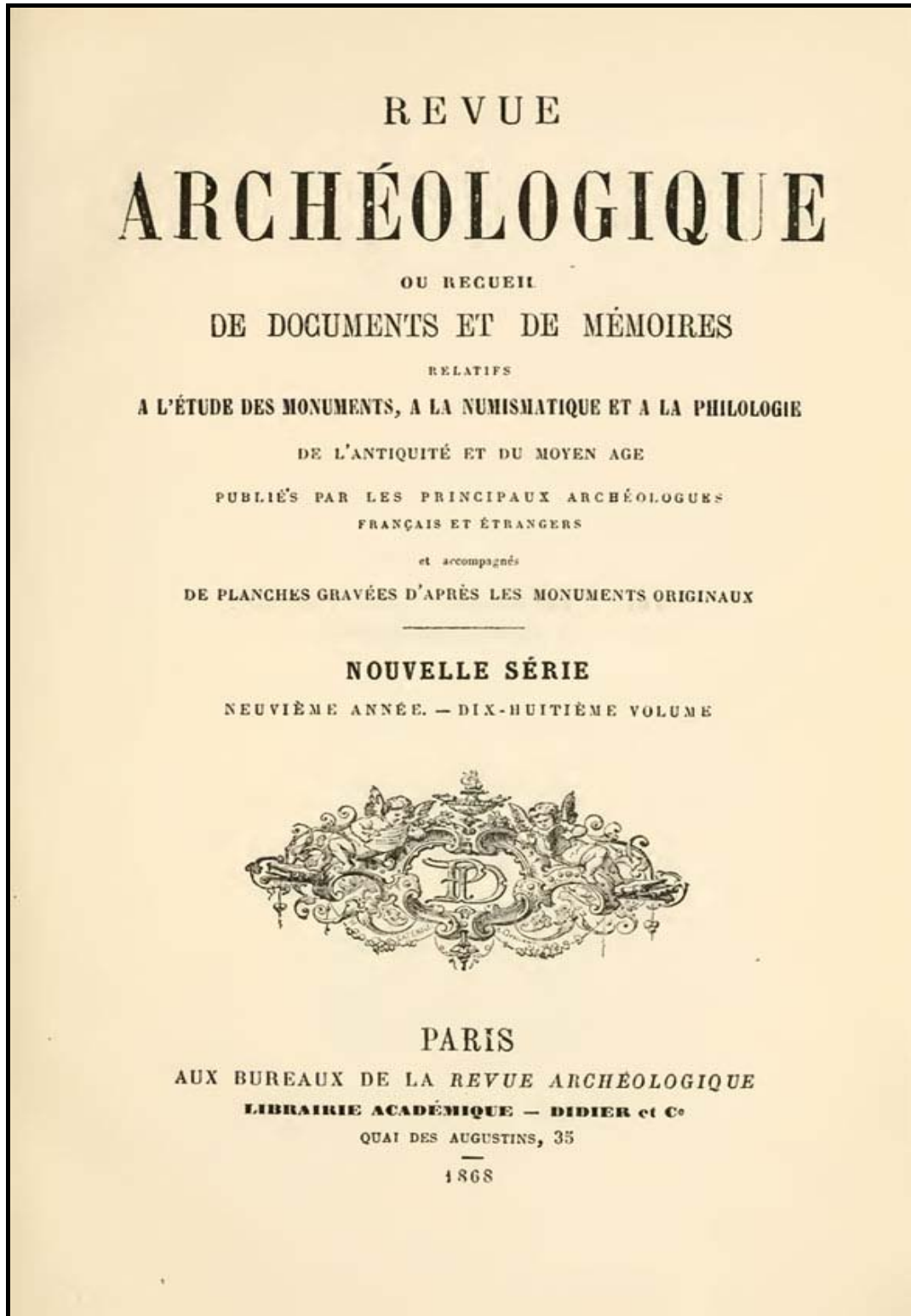
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APPENDICES

A. Publication of Albert Dumont in *Revue Archéologique*, 1868, first four pages



LE

MUSÉE SAINTE-IRÈNE

A CONSTANTINOPLE

ANTIQUITÉS GRECQUES, GRÉCO-ROMAINES ET BYZANTINES (1)

Le gouvernement de la Porte ottomane a réuni depuis quelques années dans le Vieux-Sérai (Séni-Sérai) un certain nombre d'objets antiques trouvés à Constantinople et dans d'autres parties de l'empire. Malheureusement le local occupé par cette collection fait partie de l'église de Sainte-Irène, aujourd'hui transformée en dépôt d'armes et inaccessible au visiteur qui n'est pas muni d'une permission spéciale. La plupart des archéologues passent ainsi à Constantinople sans voir ce musée formé à leur intention, et ceux qui ont la bonne fortune d'y pénétrer, ne peuvent l'étudier en détail sans des formalités qui se renouvellent sans cesse, sans des ennuis dont le moindre inconvénient est de perdre un temps précieux.

Les statues, les inscriptions et les bas-reliefs dans les salles de Sainte-Irène sont exposés sans ordre; plusieurs, cachés par des objets qui n'ont aucun rapport avec l'archéologie, ne peuvent être examinés qu'imparfaitement; d'autres ont beaucoup à souffrir du peu de soin qu'on en prend et même de l'humidité, et se détériorent chaque

(1) Je dois beaucoup pour cet essai de catalogue à l'obligeance de M. le docteur Déthier qui, depuis plus de vingt ans, étudie les antiquités de Constantinople, et qui met libéralement sa science au service de tous ceux que l'archéologie intéresse.

jour davantage. En même temps, et rien n'est plus regrettable, la provenance de chaque monument n'est indiquée par aucun témoignage digne de foi. Des étiquettes mobiles, par suite faciles à déplacer, font connaître en termes souvent très-vagues l'origine des objets *découverts en dehors de Constantinople*. Il serait à souhaiter que la Porte ottomane priât un archéologue européen de classer tous ces restes antiques. Les candidats, sans doute aucun, ne manqueraient pas pour une tâche qui promet un sérieux plaisir à celui qui en sera chargé.

Le Musée une fois mis en ordre, chacune de ses divisions principales s'enrichirait chaque jour de nouveaux documents. En tenant la main à ce que la loi ottomane qui attribue à l'État un exemplaire de toute antiquité trouvée en double dans les terres domaniales qui sont si nombreuses, fût observée ; en arrachant à la destruction une foule de monuments qui, dans toutes les parties de l'empire, sont mis en pièce sans profit pour personne⁽¹⁾, avec très-

(1) Les personnes qui ont visité au mois de mai dernier les ruines remarquables de Pompéiopolis, l'ancienne Soli, dans la Cilicie Trachée, ont pu assister à une exploitation des restes antiques aussi vaste que bien entendue. Les habitants de Tarsous, de Mersine et de quelques autres villes ou bourgades des environs, ont établi dans la vieille enceinte encore à peu près intacte, grâce aux matériaux dont elle se compose, une dizaine de fours à chaux qui ne chôment guère. Là, du matin au soir, on brûle les fûts de colonnes, les architraves, les fragments de statues et de bas-reliefs. Pour le moment, on ne renverse pas ce qui est debout ; les débris qui jonchent le sol suffisent. Mais tous les voyageurs ont vu à Baalbeck, dans le temple du Soleil, comment on s'y prend pour disjoindre les grosses masses quand elles ont résisté à la double action destructive de la nature et des hommes. On pratique à la base de la construction un conduit de quelques centimètres de hauteur et d'un demi-mètre de longueur. Un peu de poudre suffit pour un plein succès. (Voyez à ce sujet les remarques de M. de Saulcy dans son premier *Voyage en Terre-Sainte*, t. II, chapitre consacré à Baalbeck.)

Les ruines de Soli fournissent non-seulement une chaux très-prisee, mais de beaux matériaux de construction. J'y ai vu arriver le matin une caravane ; bêtes et gens ont travaillé tout le jour, et à la nuit un chargement considérable prenait la route de Tarsous, à six lieues de là. Une critique un peu scrupuleuse ne regardera jamais l'épigraphie de cette région comme permettant des inductions certaines pour les études topographiques. Dans tout l'Orient, du reste, les inscriptions font des voyages dont la science doit tenir compte. Pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, pris sur le Bosphore, un texte éphébique d'une grande valeur, parce qu'il est jusqu'ici sans analogue, se trouve pour le moment en partie au sommet de la colline de Péra, en partie à Ienikecci sur la côte d'Europe, à mi-chemin entre le phare de la mer de Marmara et celui du Pont-Euxin. La pierre dans son entier a été trouvée, il y a dix ans, aux environs de l'Hebdomon, au fond de la Corne-d'Or.

Ce qui se fait dans un coin de la Cilicie, se fait ailleurs et s'est fait partout. Le temple de Jupiter Olympéen, à Athènes, n'a pas disparu autrement. La destruction

peu de zèle et très-peu de peine, le nouveau Musée deviendrait vite une des plus intéressantes collections de l'Europe. Alors sans doute on lui consacrerait cette belle église de Sainte-Irène, dont il n'occupe aujourd'hui qu'une annexe sans importance. Avec ses mosaïques étincelantes, ses grandes inscriptions sur fond d'or, son style à la fois simple et majestueux, cette église, reste unique de la triple demeure impériale qui couronnait autrefois la première colline de la nouvelle Rome, est une des œuvres les plus parfaites et les mieux conservées de l'art byzantin primitif (1). Il n'est pas de palais, pas de construction si splendide qu'elle fût, qu'il fallût préférer à Sainte-Irène, si la Sublime Porte cherchait jamais pour un vaste Musée gréco-byzantin un local digne d'une aussi précieuse collection (2).

Tel qu'il est aujourd'hui le Musée de Sainte-Irène mérite d'être décrit. Il renferme un grand nombre de monuments inédits : quelques-uns sont de première valeur; tous ont leur prix pour les recherches d'archéologie figurée. Quant aux objets, très-rares du reste, qui ne sont pas tout à fait inconnus du public savant, ils doivent être rappelés ici, parce que tous, croyons-nous, peuvent être exa-

a suivi à toutes les époques la même marche, aussi naturelle qu'intelligente. On a commencé par les statues, qu'il est facile d'enlever, qui sont d'un transport peu dispendieux et qui du reste donnent rapidement une chaux excellente. On ne trouve plus un seul buste sur aucun des socles de la colonnade de Soli qui était le musée de la ville; il en est de même pour toutes les colonnades de la Syrie, — les architraves et tous les morceaux qui offraient prise sans trop de peine aux leviers sont venus ensuite, — les colonnes n'ont eu que le troisième rang; enfin, les enceintes ont plusieurs fois été respectées, en raison de leur solidité et de la difficulté de transporter des pierres énormes qui, par leur nature, ne pouvaient être soumises à l'action du feu.

C'est heureux pour les monuments de l'antiquité que l'Orient soit dépeuplé.

Les ruines de Pompéiopolis sont encore considérables; elles ont l'avantage d'être situées dans une région presque déserte, mais on peut prévoir le jour, surtout si la prospérité de Mersina continue à se développer, où le voyageur trouvera l'emplacement qu'elles occupent aussi peu encombré et aussi uni que l'esplanade des Invalides ou le Champ-de-Mars.

Ce n'est pas chez les seuls Osmanlis que les restes antiques sont traités avec aussi peu d'égards. L'an dernier, dans l'hôpital d'Égine, où on a formé un petit musée, les autels et les bas-reliefs servaient à improviser des foyers rustiques pour la cuisine de quelques Hellènes; à Tégée, le temple enfoui sous terre donne tous les jours un marbre très-fin que les habitants cassent facilement et qu'ils emploient à couvrir une route. A Thespies, en 1865, à l'église de Saint-Karalambos, un bas-relief d'une grande valeur était devenu une cible. Tous les voyageurs peuvent citer de pareils faits.

(1) Voyez le bel ouvrage de Salzenberg, *Allerchrist. Denkmæler*, 1 vol. in-folio.

(2) Sainte-Irène n'a jamais été transformée en mosquée, pas même en *médrisé*. Il n'y a donc aucun obstacle religieux à ce que sa destination soit changée.

minés à nouveau et qu'il n'est pas sans utilité, dans ce cas, d'indiquer aux érudits où ils les trouveront (1). Nous suivrons l'ordre qu'il serait naturel d'adopter si on entreprenait un classement méthodique des objets réunis à Sainte-Irène, nous arrêtant aux divisions suivantes :

- 1° Art grec ;
- 2° Art gréco-romain ;
- 3° Monuments des premiers siècles du christianisme ;
- 4° Monuments byzantins.

Cette notice comprendra quelques monuments qui étaient autrefois au Vieux-Sérail, mais que le gouvernement vient de faire transporter au Musée des Janissaires à l'Elbicci-Atika.

Les antiquités de Sainte-Irène occupent :

- 1° Une grande salle fermée, garnie d'armoires vitrées ;
- 2° Une cour intérieure qui précède cette salle ;
- 3° Une cour extérieure à la porte même du dépôt d'armes, à gauche en entrant.

Les monuments du Musée des Janissaires (2) sont exposés dans une vaste galerie dont la forme est celle du sigma carré des Grecs \square et qui par conséquent se divise en trois parties : le centre, l'aile gauche et l'aile droite.

Ce sera à ces indications que nous renverrons.

I

MONUMENTS GRECS.

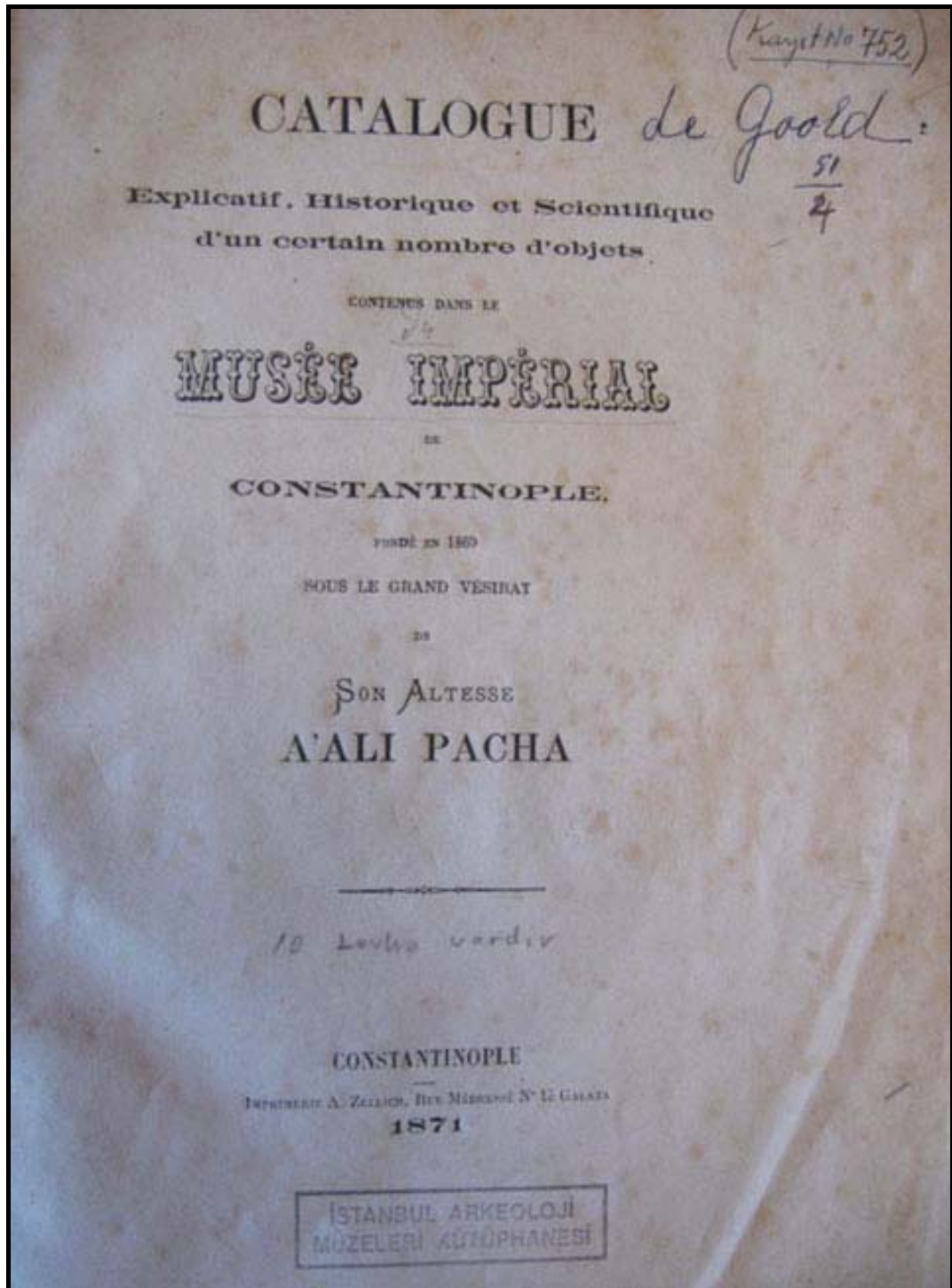
STATUES ET BAS-RELIEFS.

I. *Statues archaïques.* — Le Musée de Sainte-Irène possède quatre monuments d'un style archaïque très-pur, deux statues et deux têtes.

(1) Nous nous bornons à un simple catalogue descriptif ; mais il sera facile de voir que la plupart des monuments dont nous parlons sont dignes d'être dessinés et de faire ensuite le sujet de monographies spéciales.

(2) L'*Elbicci-Atika* est principalement consacré aux antiquités ottomanes. On y a réuni en particulier une curieuse collection des costumes des Osmanlis depuis l'établissement de l'empire d'Iconium jusqu'à la réforme de Mahmoud. On y trouve, à côté de tous les dignitaires de l'ancienne maison du Grand Seigneur, une quarantaine de fragments antiques.

B. Catalogue of Edward Goold, 1871



306 *Späth* *gegenüber* *dem* *Kontra.*
 Diese *waren* *die* *Kopfbänder* *bei* *den* *ersten*
den *Lebensgefäße*, *im* *Widerstand* *gegen* *den* *einfluss*
gegen *den* *Leben*, *deren* *einige* *unter* *anderem* *der*
zufall *der* *größten* *silbernen* *Vase*, *in* *welcher*
ist *ganz* *unter* *2* *schöne* *goldene* *Kopfbänder*
(No. 56 u. 57) *4* *prächtige* *große* *Kopfbänder*
gehörig *Opferstücke* *gefunden*; *darunter* *lag*
56 *große* *goldene* *Opferstücke* *große* *in* *einzelnen*
Formen: *5* *mit* *dem* *von* *kleinen* *in* *großen*
goldenen *Perlen* *in* *goldenen* *Köpfchen* *die* *offenbar*
von *anderen* *Lebensgefäßen* *hergenommen* *in* *geringer*
anzahl *die* *2* *kleinen* *goldenen* *Perlen*
Die *eine* *der* *Kopfbänder* *ist* *51* *cm* *lang* *in* *breite*
mit *zwei* *goldenen* *Ketten* *von* *welcher* *jede*
auf *jeder* *Seite* *ist* *erst* *39* *cm* *lang*, *mit* *2*
kleinen *goldenen* *Blütenblättern* *belegte* *Ketten* *unter*
Bedeckung *der* *Lebensgefäße* *unter* *anderem* *in* *dem*
einem *großen* *Lebensgefäße* *16* *Ketten* *hängen* *ein* *goldenes* *Blüten*
mit *Lebensgefäße* *unter* *anderem* *der* *Lebensgefäße* *nicht* *verändert* *ist* *die*
unter *hängen* *mit* *den* *enormen* *Stücken* *der* *Lebensgefäße*
Lebensgefäße *die* *größte* *Lebensgefäße* *haben*:
Lebensgefäße *dieser* *Lebensgefäße* *hängen* *von*
die *mit* *74* *mit* *ebenfalls* *mit* *goldenen* *Blüten*

۲ صحیفه

(التبیحہ - نومبر ۱۷۳۵ قی ۱۱ رمضان سنہ ۱۲۹۷)

شرائط اشترای اعلان

سنہ لکی ۲۰۰ آئی آئی ۱۱۰ لوج آئی ۶۰ پوسٹ اجرنٹک
سنہ لکی مجیدہ ایلہ ۸۷ غروشدر

پردہ فاقی اسلانتک بہر سطرین ۳ تکرری حالہ ۲ و باشا و شرکت
وامور صرافیہ اسلانتک بہر سطرین ۵ و حوائث سرہ سنہ شم
اجری بہت اسلانتک متاہلانت بہر سطرین مجیدی آئیہ ایلہ ۱۰ غروش
آئور ۰ پوسٹ اجری و ریلش مکتوبہ قبول اولتیز

براز و قندنیرو تنظیم و تواقسی تیم اولتقدہ اولان
موزہ ہمایون دوسکی بازار ارنسی کوفی باش وکیل
حضرتلر بہ بعض وکلای فحسام حضراتی حاضر
اولد قری حالہ رسم کشادی اجرا اولنہرق معارف
ناظری دولتو باشا حضرتلر بہ مکاتب عالیہ مدبری
عزتلو ارادہ توقلیس افندی و موزہ مدبری موسیو
دیدہ بر نطق ایراد ایلشدر . پاشای مشار
الیہک نطقی ز بردہ درج اولندی .
صورت نطق

سار ممالک متمدنہ اولدیغی کبی در سعادتندہ
بر موزہ تاسیسی اوتہ دنیرو ترقی جو بان مملکتک
اعزامالی ایدی . جل ہم ملوکا نلری بومقوله
تاسیسات مدنیہک تکثر و توسعہ مصروف اولان
ذات شوکت سمات حضرت پادشاہینک اثر جلیلی
اولہرق بونفصانک اکیلی جملہ مزجہ باعث فخر
و مسرت اولمیدر .

بومقوله موزہ لک فوائد و محسناتی بورادہ تعداد
و ابضاحہ حاجت بوقدر اقوام صالحہک مراتب
مدنیہ لری و بونک تدیریجی اولہرق صورت ترقیلرینی
کوستر بوندن فن تاریخ و صنایعجہ دہا جوق شی
استفادہ اولنور آثار عتیقہ فنک اورو یا مدنیجہ
اولان تاثیرات کلیہ سی جلہک معلومیدر .

مقدملری بزدہ آثار عتیقہک قدری بک بیلغز ایدی
اورو بالولر بوندن استفادہ ایدرک بورادن مملکتلرینہ
چوق شیلر نقل ایلدیلر حتی بوندن رقاچ سنہ اول
قبر بسدہ بر امر بقسا قونسلوسی اورادن بر موزہ
طلو لدرہ حق قدر آثار نفیسہ چبقاروب کونوردی

الیوم اوروپا و امریقا موزہ لرنده موجود اثار
عتیقہ اکثری ممالک شاہانہ محصولات قدیمہ سیدر .
شمدی بہ قدر اورو بالولر مملکتک آثار عتیقہ سنی
ہر صورتلہ اخذ و سلبہ دواہ ادوب بونی دہ بزدہ
بو کامیل و رغبت کورلما سنہ بناہ ایدرل ایدی
خیلی و قندنیرو عثمانلور بپندہ دخی بورغبت حاصل
اولوب مقدمہ آثار عتیقہ بہ دار برقاون دخی وضع
ایلدیشیدی سایہ مسوریت وایہ حضرت پادشاہیدہ
موزہ ہمایونک تاسیسی دخی بوشاکا ہد عادل اولدیغندن
ارتق اورو بالولرک بویادہ حقمرزدہ تعدیل افکار
و مسلک ایللری امید اولنور .

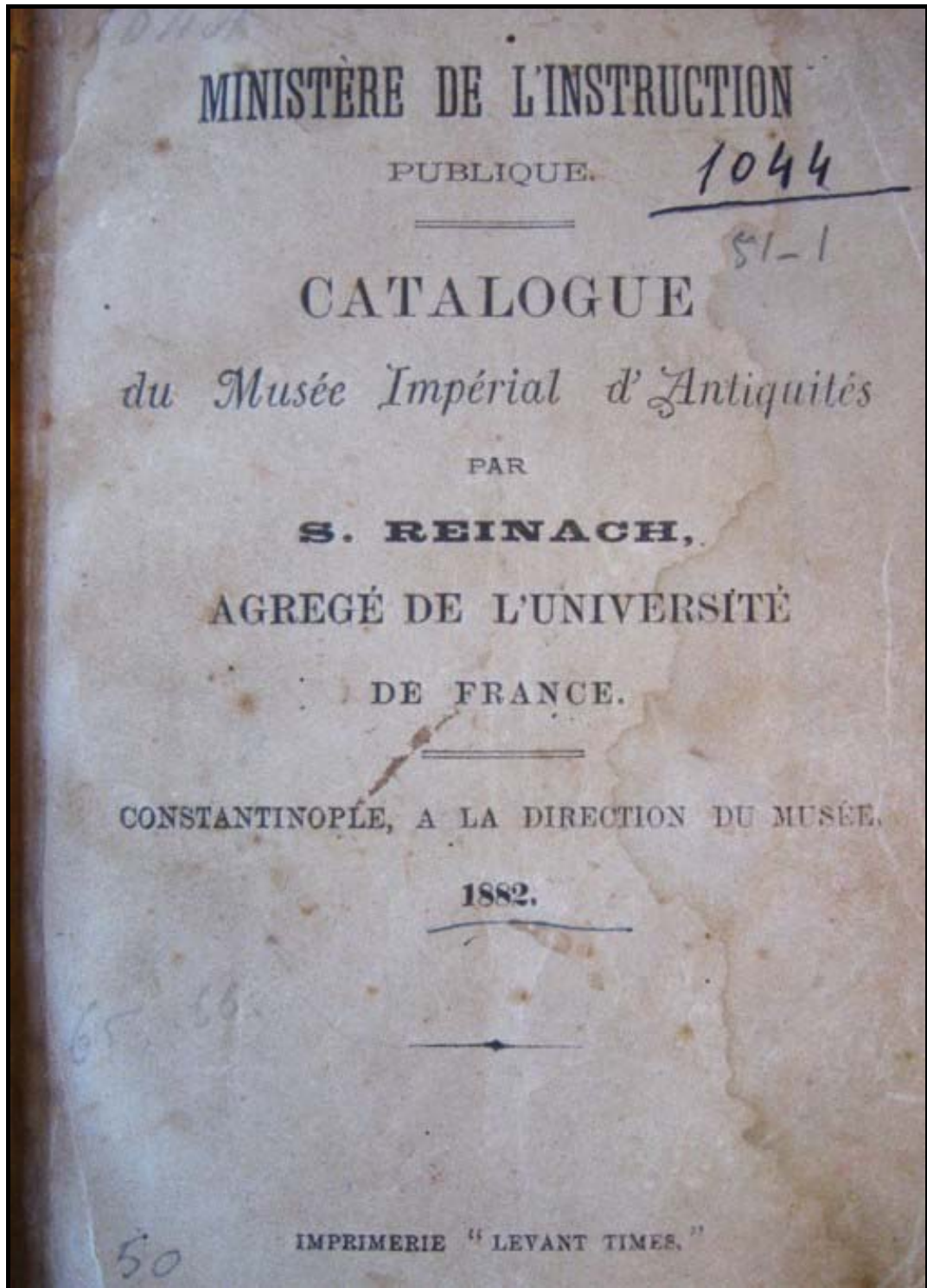
الیوم اوروپا دولتلری بونا ساندہ دخی کلی مصارف
اختیارلہ آثار عتیقہ تخری ایدرلر ایسندہ بونلر
مملکتلرینہ نقل اولنہ میوب آتندہ حفظ ایلدیلور .
ممالک شاہانہک ہر طرفندہ و قتیلہ بورازدہ ممکن
ملل متمدنہ بہ منسوب اتواع آثار عتیقہ ایلہ عملو
اولدیغندن اگر و قتیلہ ہمت اولنمش اولیدی دنیادہ
اک مکمل موزہ استانبولندہ اولور ایدی .

مع مافیہ شمدی بہ قدر جمع ایدلہ بیلان آثار خلیجہ
اولوب ایچرنندہ اربابی عنسدندہ قیملو شیرلر دخی
واردد سایہ معالی وایہ حضرت پادشاہیدہ کون
بکون توسیع و تزیین اولنہ جفی مجزومدر .

اشتنہ بو عتایت جلیلہ شہر یاری بہ تشکرلہ برابر
اسلافک اشبو آثار مقبولہ سندن استفادہ بہ بوکا
مقابل بردہ اخلافہ بوبلہ یاد کارلر بر اقمہ بہ مقتدر
اولہ حق حالہ کلکد سنی و اقدام ایللیر .

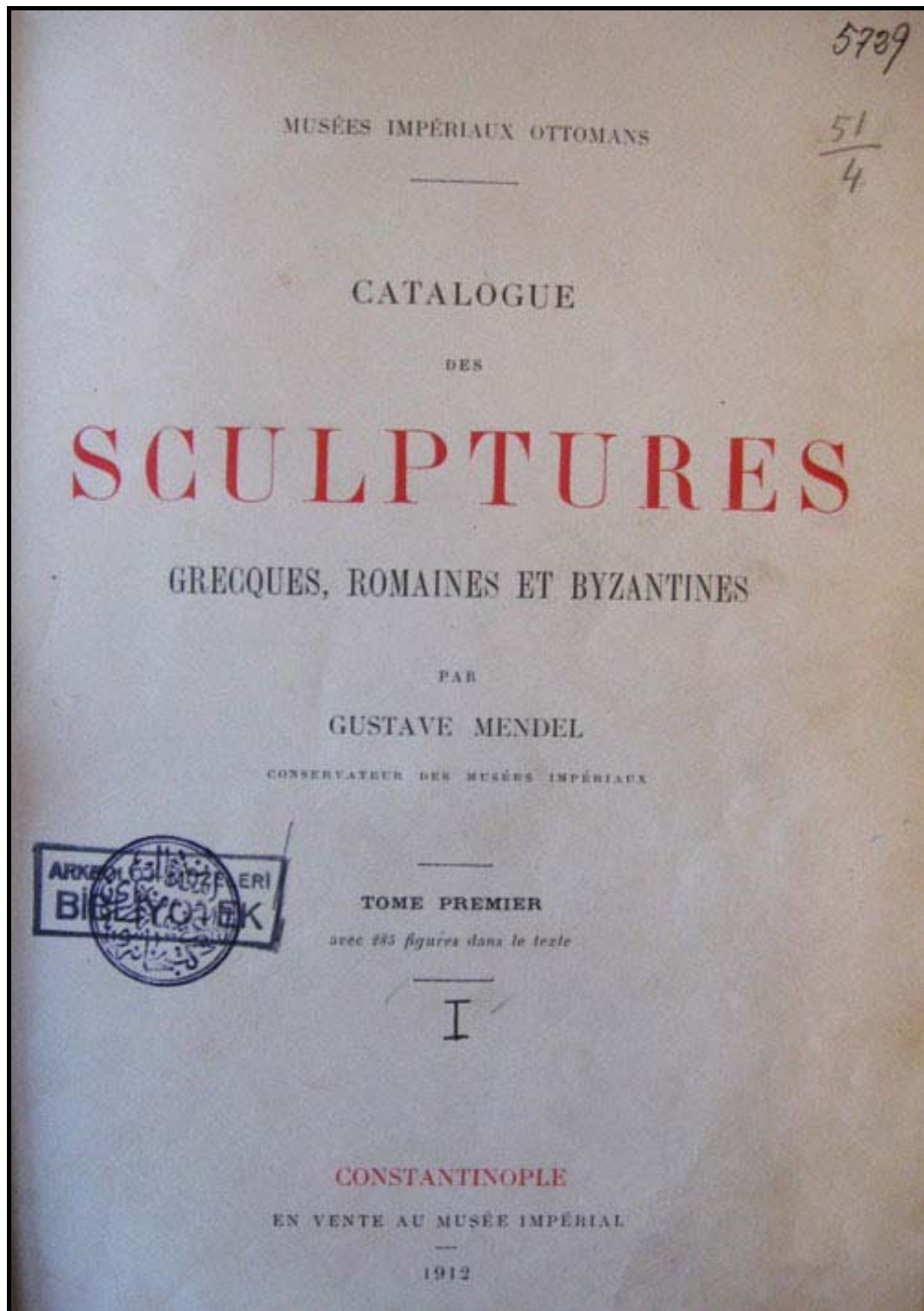
بو ایچنسدہ بولدیغمز بنا دخی برانقیہ حکمنسدہ در
ابوالفتح سلطان محمد خان ثانی حضرتلر بسک آثار
نقیسہ سندن و اوزمان اصول معمار بسنک بر کوزک
نمونہ سیدر کہ بومقصد ایچون بک مناسب اولہرق
انتخاب اولنمشدر .

بوموزہ ہمایونک نظمنندہ اسلاف کرام حضرتانک
وقوعہ کلان ہم جلیلہ لری تقدر و اعلان ایلہ
کشادینک مأموریت عاجزنامہ زمانہ تصادف
ایتمندن طولابی کندیمی بختیار عدا بدم .





G. Excerpts from Three Volume Catalogue of Gustav Mendel, 1912-1914



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51/4

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CONSERVATEUR DES MUSÉES IMPÉRIAUX

2

TOME SECOND

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CONSTANTINOPLE

EN VENTE AU MUSÉE IMPÉRIAL

1914

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CONSERVATEUR DES MUSÉES IMPÉRIAUX

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ARKEOLOJİ MÜZELERİ
BİBLİYOTEK

CONSTANTINOPLE

EN VENTE AU MUSÉE IMPÉRIAL

1914

678 - KONYA'DAN BAŞBAKAN İNÖNÜ'YE TELGRAF

(20. II. 1931)

20. II. 1931

Acele ve önemlidir.

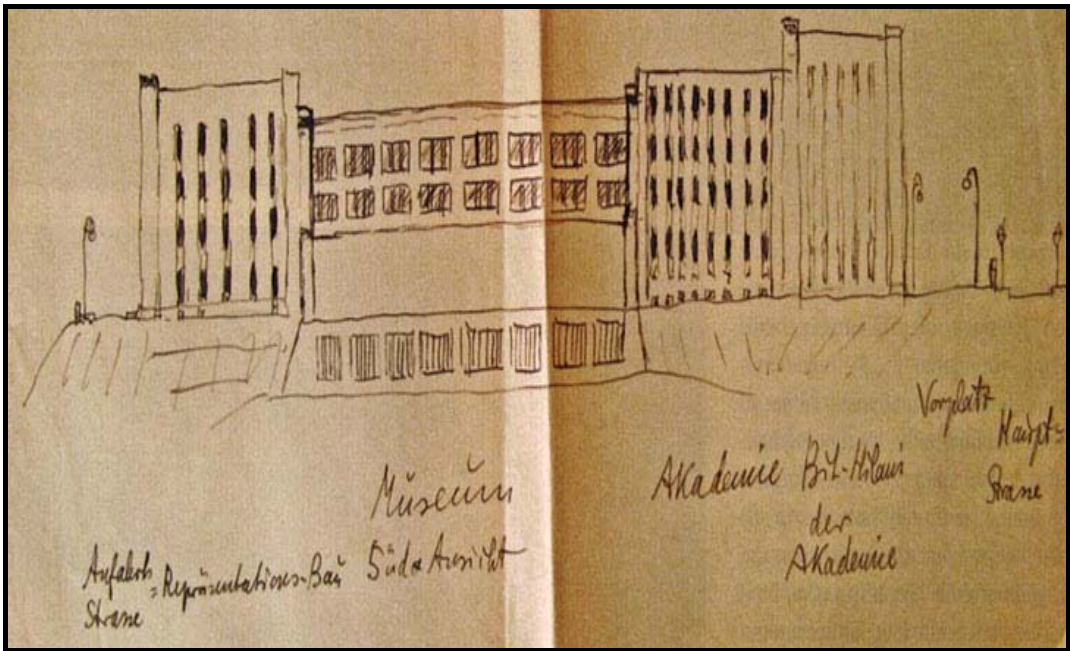
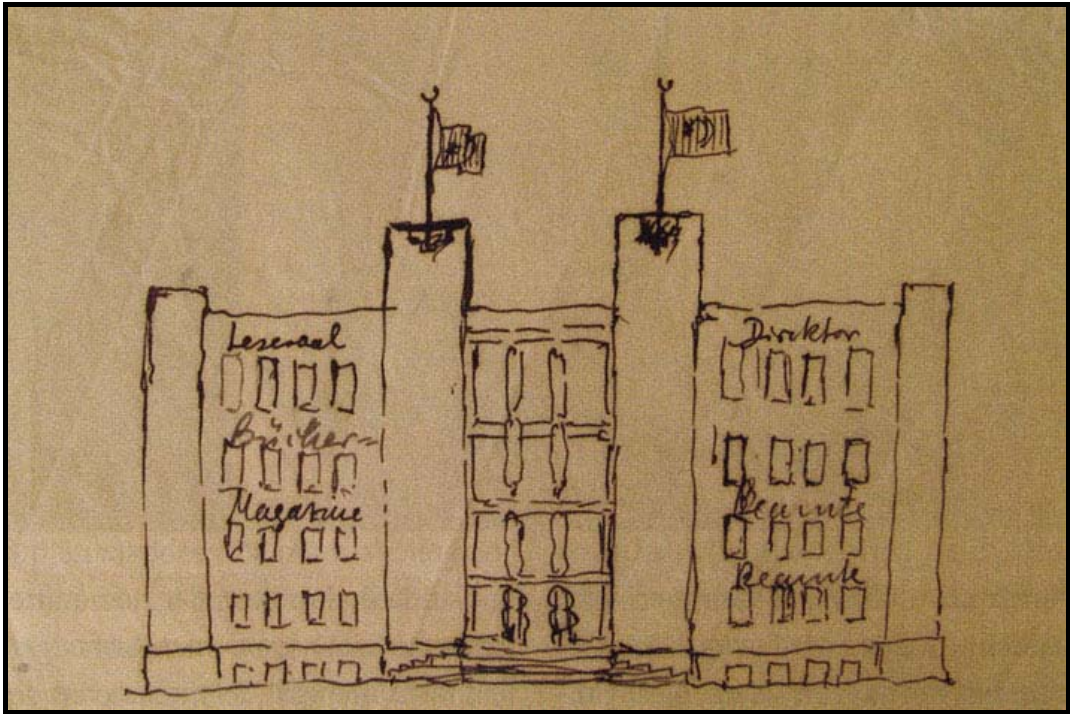
Son tetkik seyahatimde muhtelif yerlerdeki müzeleri, eski sanat ve medeniyet eserlerini de gözden geçirdim:

1. İstanbul'dan başka Bursa, İzmir, Antalya, Adana ve Konya'da mevcut müzeleri gördüm. Bunlarda şimdiye kadar bulunabilen bazı eserler muhafaza olunmakta ve kısmen de ecnebi mütehassısların yardımı ile tasnif edilmektedir. Ancak, memleketimizin, hemen her tarafında emsalsiz defineler halinde yatmakta olan kadim medeniyet eserlerinin ilerde tarafımızdan meydana çıkarılarak ilmi bir surette muhafaza ve tasnifleri ve geçen devirlerin sürekli ihmali yüzünden pek harap bir hale gelmiş olan âbidelerin muhafazaları için müze müdürlüklerinde ve hafriyat işlerinde kullanılmak üzere arkeoloji mütehassıslarına kat'i lüzum vardır. Bunun için Maarifçe harice tahsile gönderilecek talebeden bir kısmının bu şubeye tahsisi muvafık olacağı fikrindeyim.

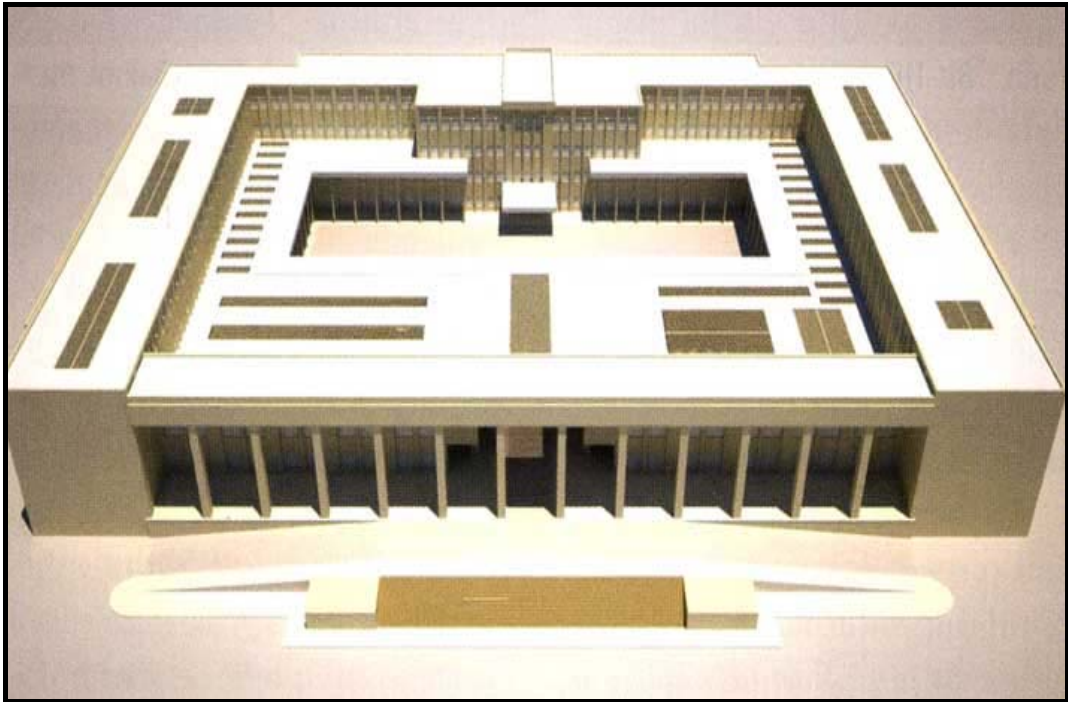
2. Konya'da asırlarca devam etmiş ihmaller sebebiyle büyük bir harabi içinde bulunmalarına rağmen sekiz asır evvelki Türk medeniyetinin hakiki şaheserleri kıymette bazı mebânî vardır. Bunlardan bilhassa Karatay Medresesi, Alâeddin Camii, Sahip-Ata medrese, cami ve türbesi, Sırçalı Mescid ve İnce Minare, derhal ve müstacelen tamire muhtaç bir haldedirler. Bu tamirin gecikmesi, bu âbidelerin kâmilen indirasını mucip olacağından evvelâ asker işgalinde bulunanların tahliyesinin ve kâffesinin mütehassıs zevat nezaretiyle tamirinin temin buyurulmasını rica ederim.

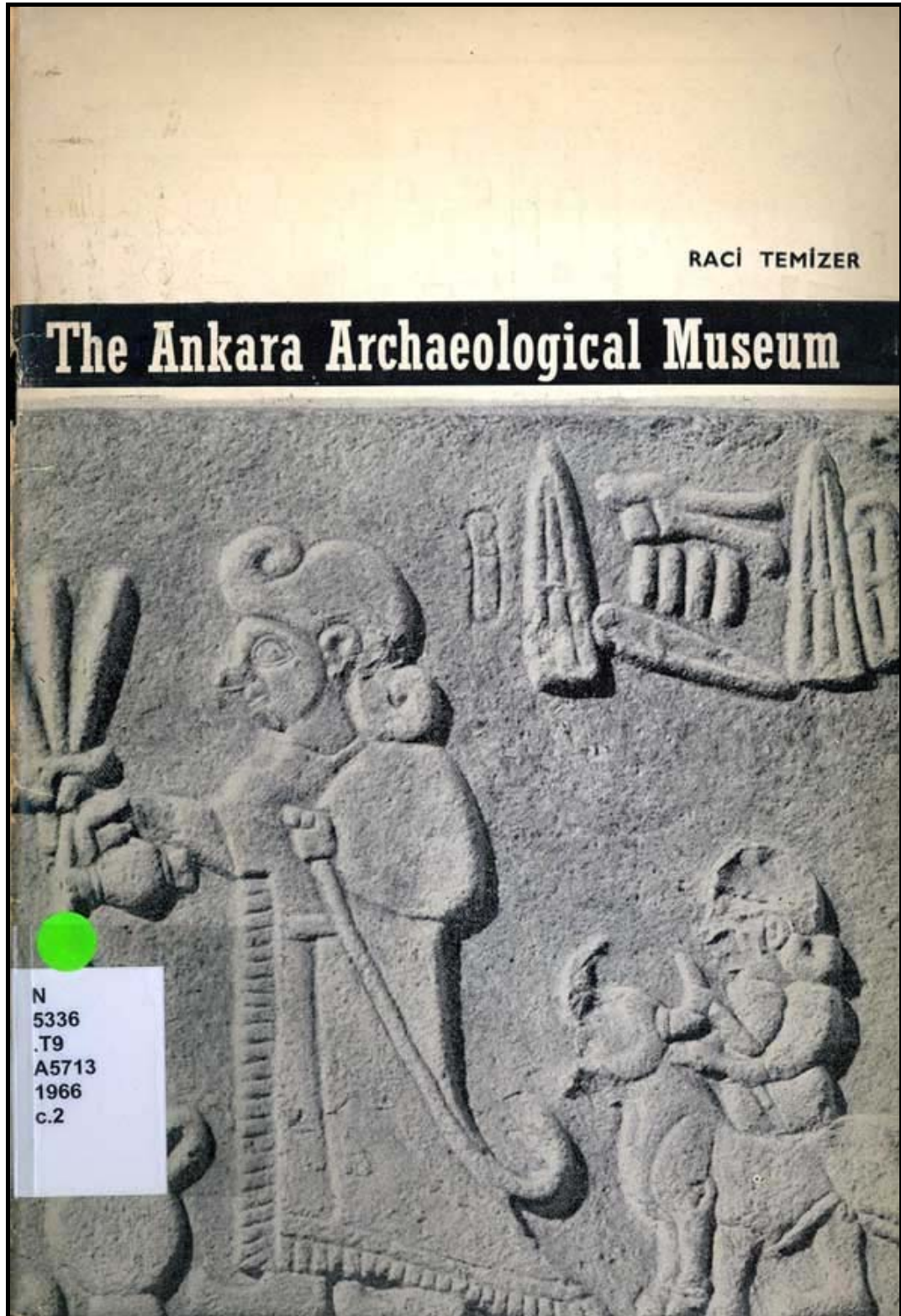
Gazi Mustafa Kemal

*Atatürk ve Müseler, Mehmet Önder, Halk-
evleri Dergisi, özel sayı: 1, 29 Ekim 1966,
s. 13*



J. Three dimensional modeling of the Hittite Museum from sketch plans and drawings





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L. MAPS

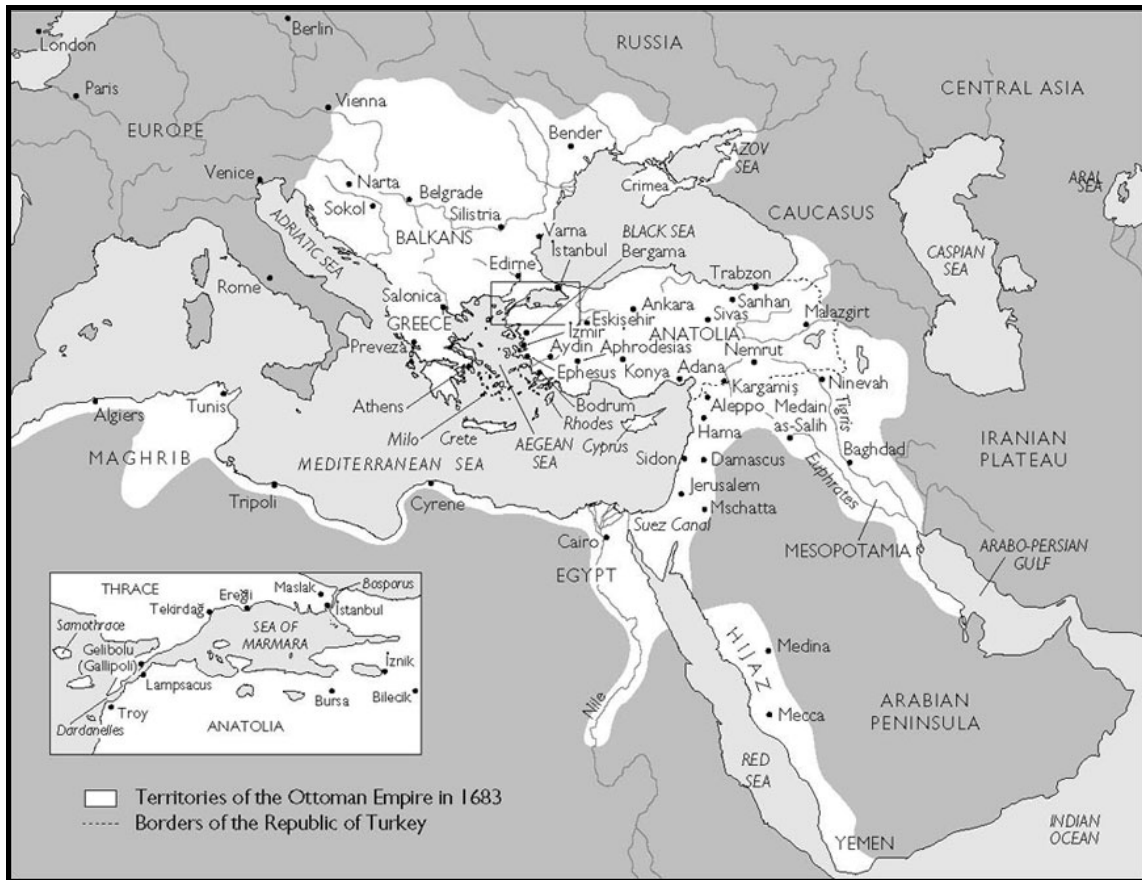


Fig. 1 Ancient and modern sites in and around the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey [Shaw]

M. FIGURES

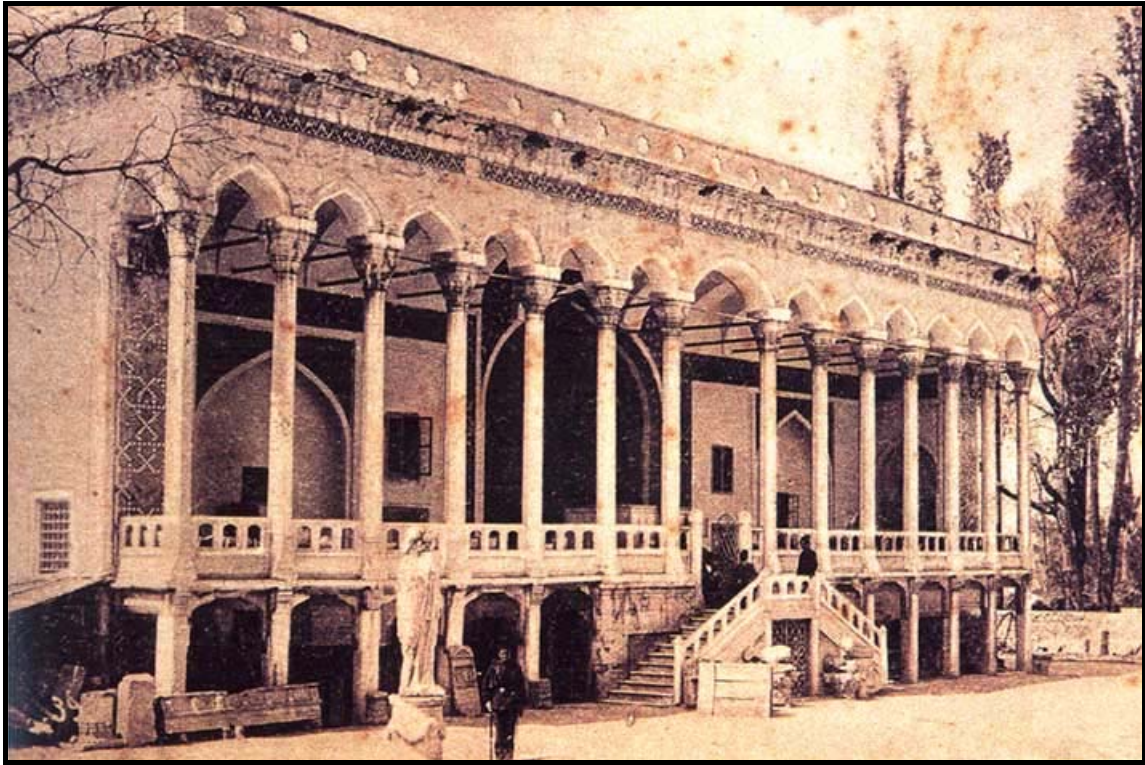


Fig. 2 The Tiled Kiosk, late nineteenth century [Cezar, 1995]



Fig. 3 Left side of the portico of the Tiled Pavilion, late nineteenth century [Cezar, 1995]



Fig. 4 Osman Hamdi Bey and a workman working at the excavation site of Nemrut, 1883 [Cezar, 1995]



Fig. 5 Osman Hamdi Bey at the Nemrut excavation [Cezar, 1995]

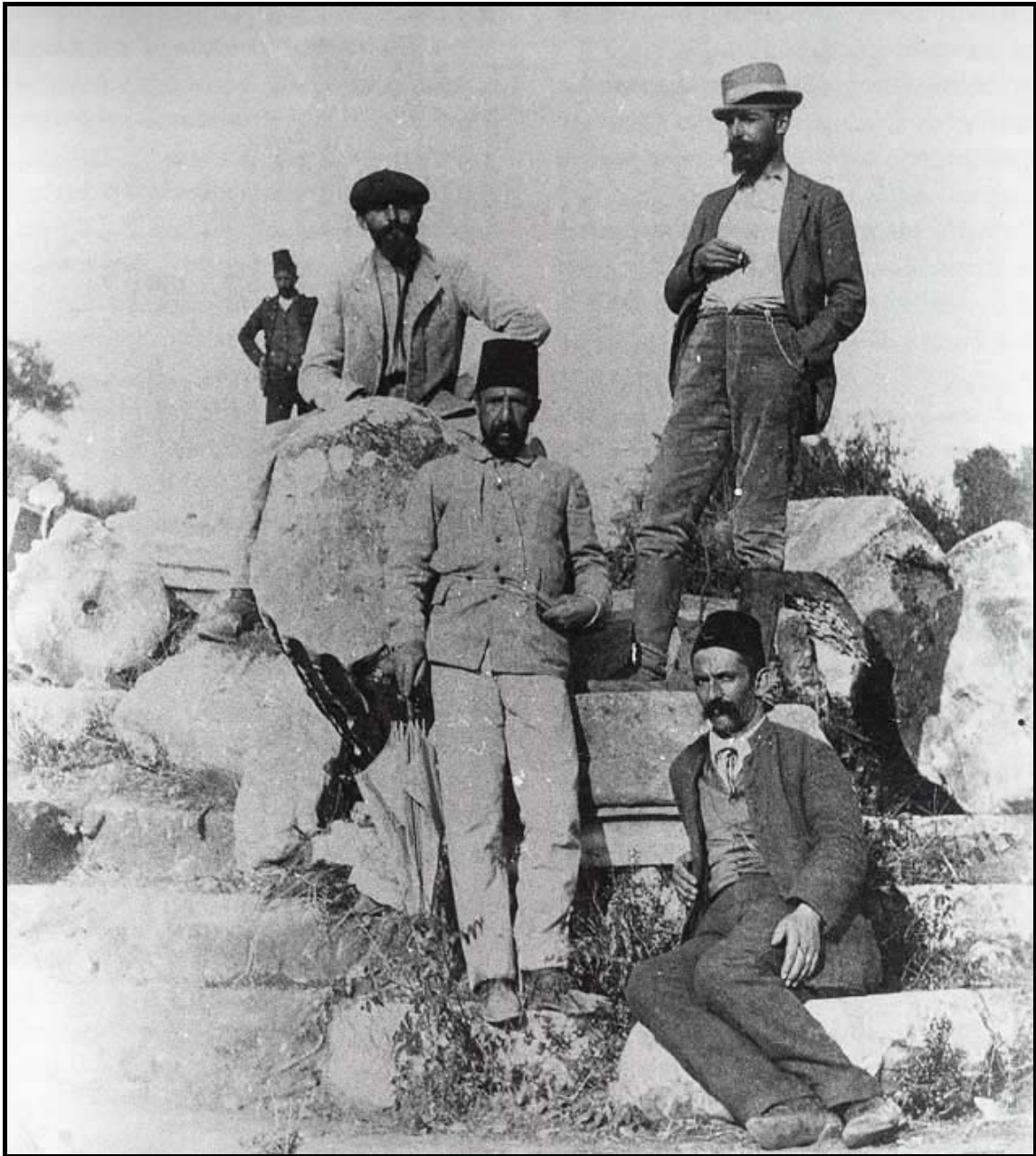


Fig. 6 Osman Hamdi Bey at the Lagina excavation [Cezar, 1995]

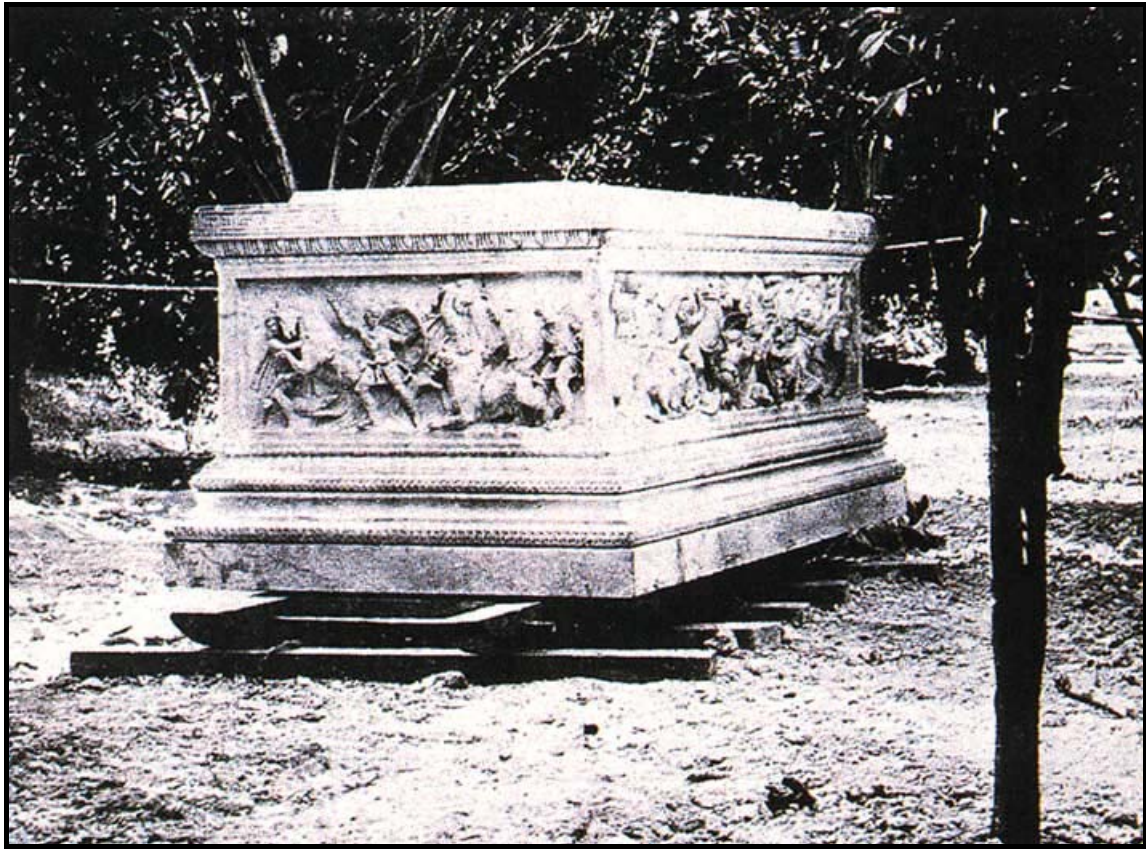


Fig. 7 The 'Alexander's sarcophagus' [Cezar, 1995]

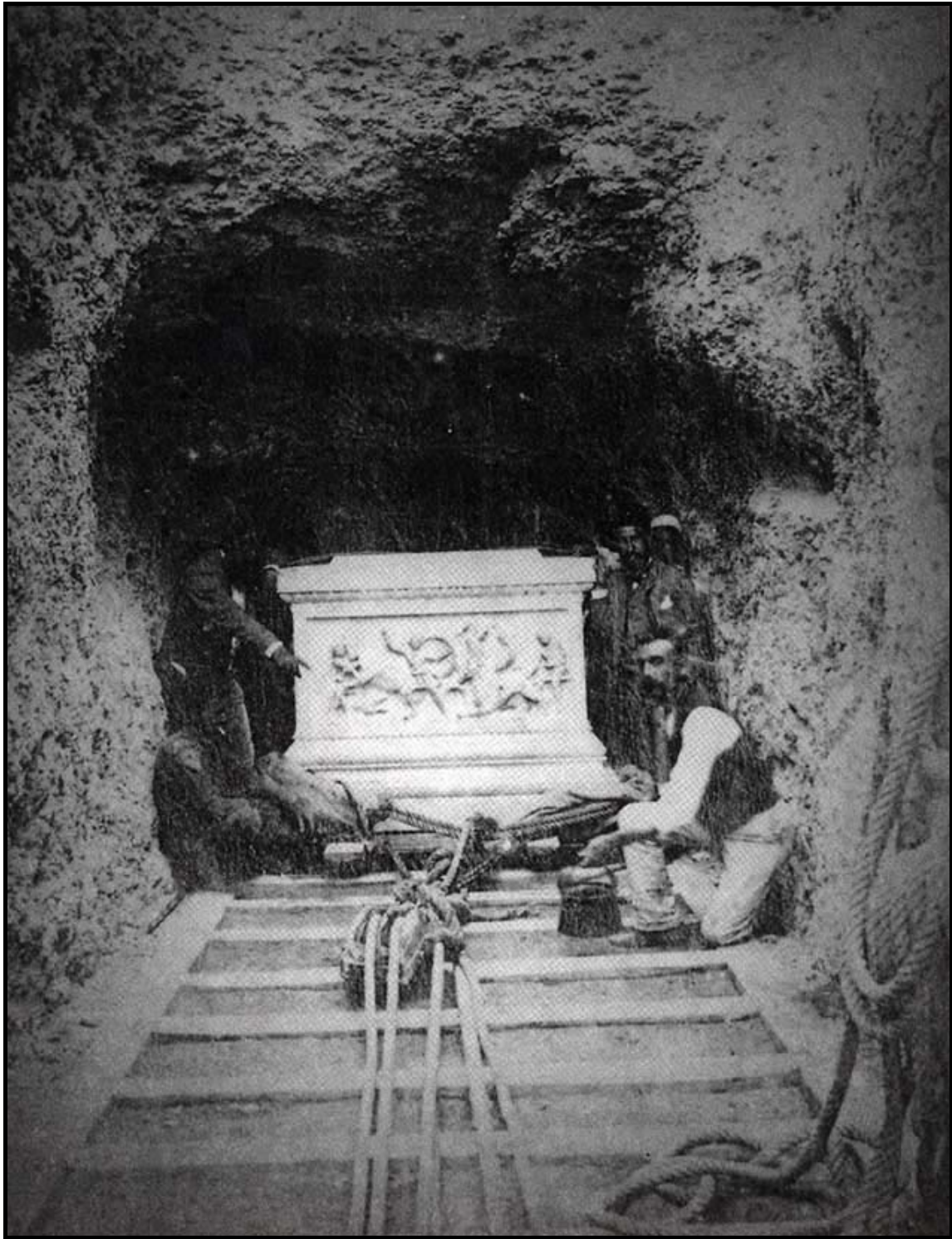


Fig. 8 Removal of Osman Hamdi Bey's discovery of the 'Alexander's sarcophagus' [Cezar, 1995]

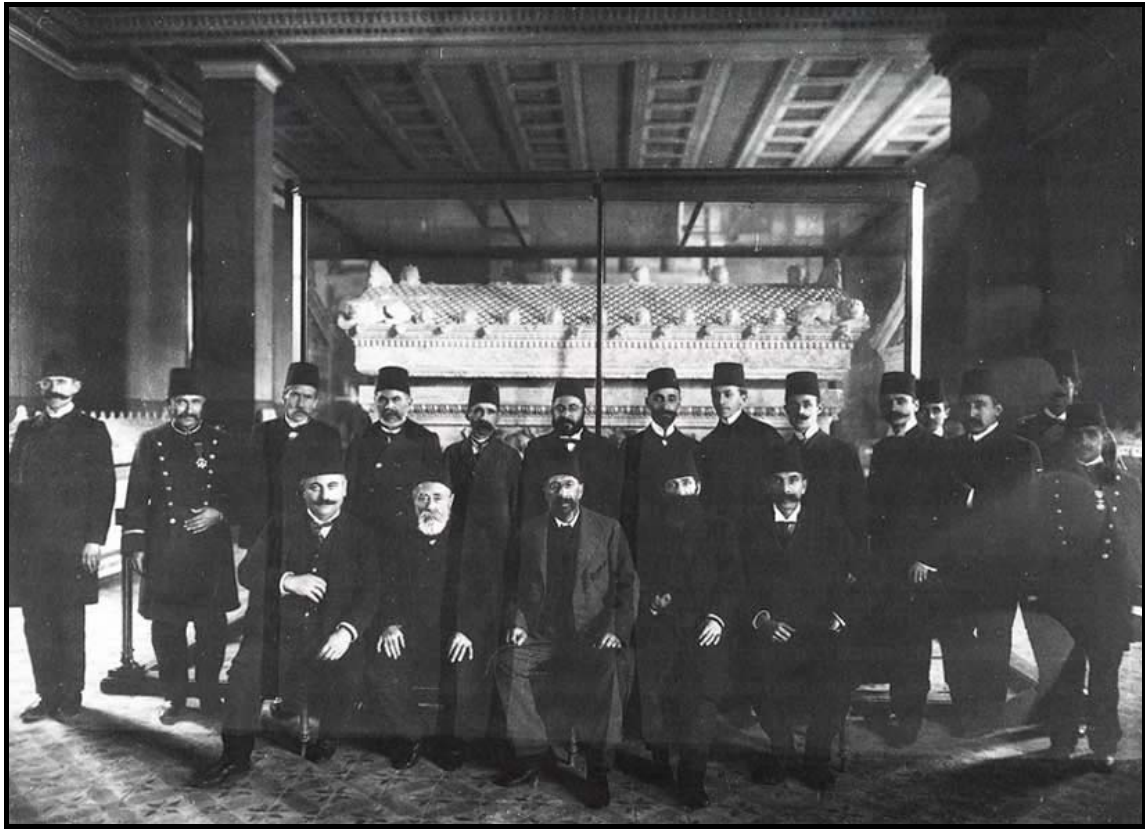


Fig. 9 Osman Hamdi Bey and museum staff in front of the ‘Alexander Sarcophagus’ [Cezar, 1995]

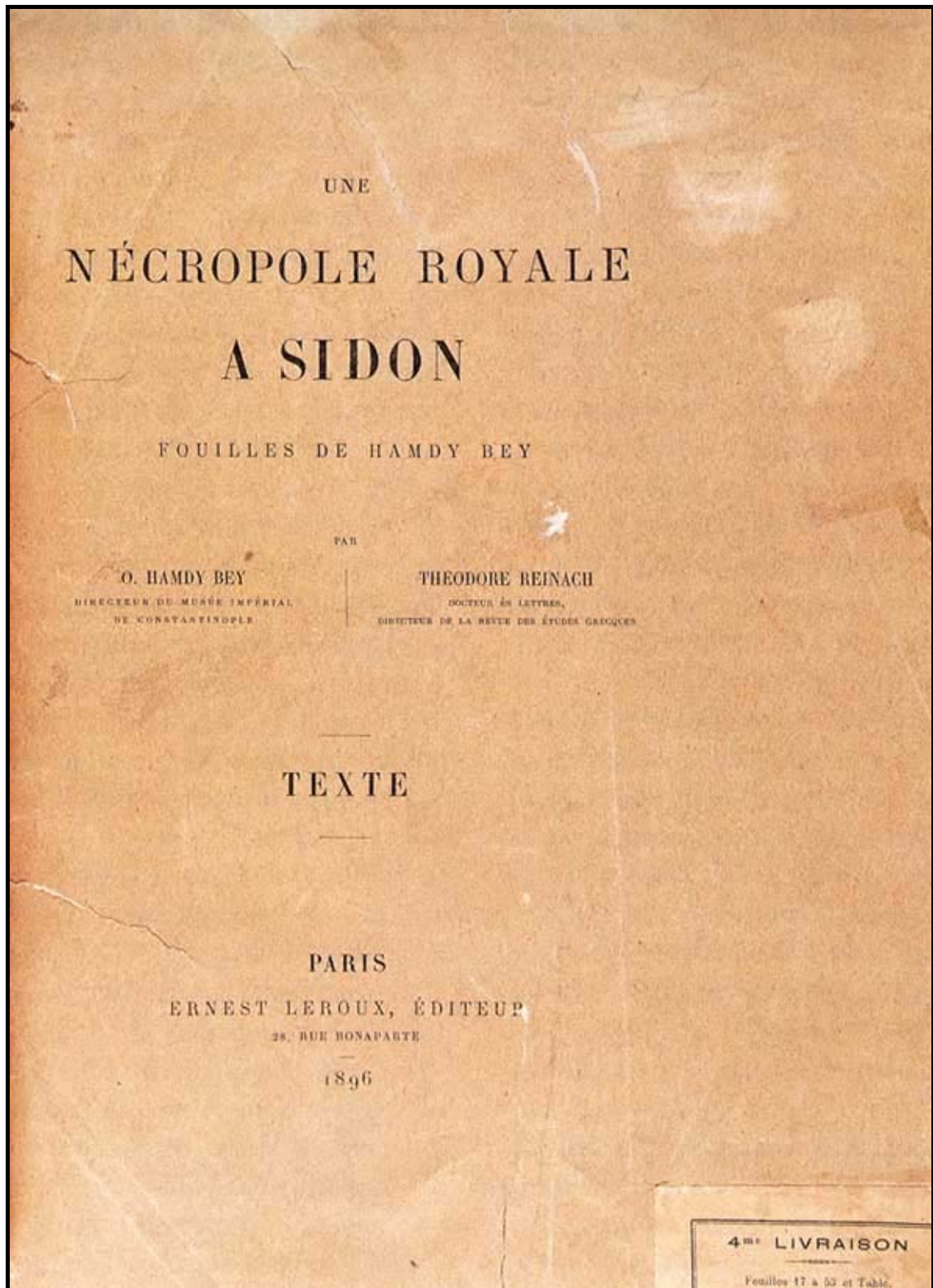


Fig. 10 Osman Hamdi Bey's publication of the sarcophagi at the site of the royal cemetery of Sidon [Cezar, 1995]

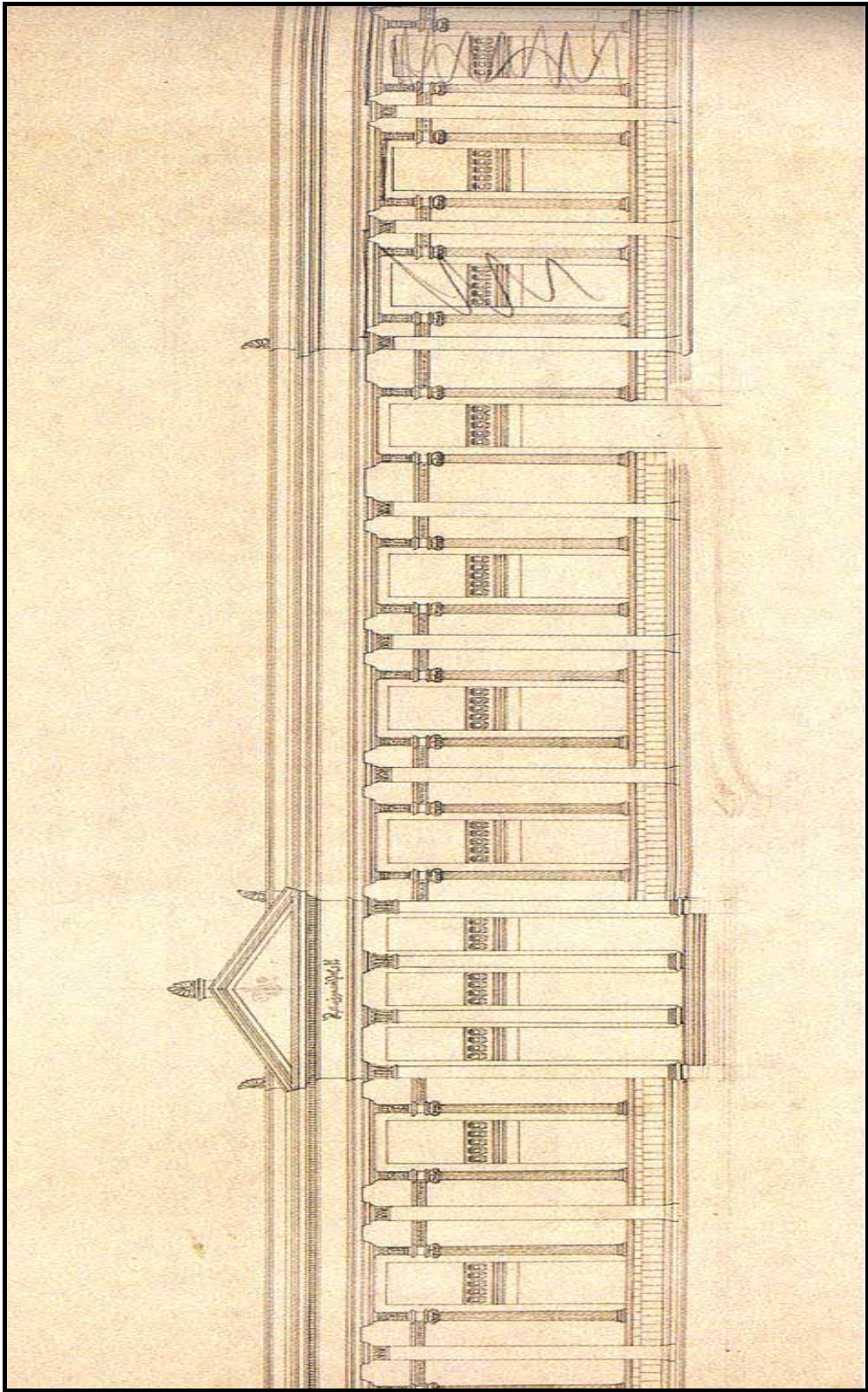


Fig. 11 Drawing of the façade of the new Ottoman Imperial Museum by Alexandre Vallauri [Cezar, 1995]

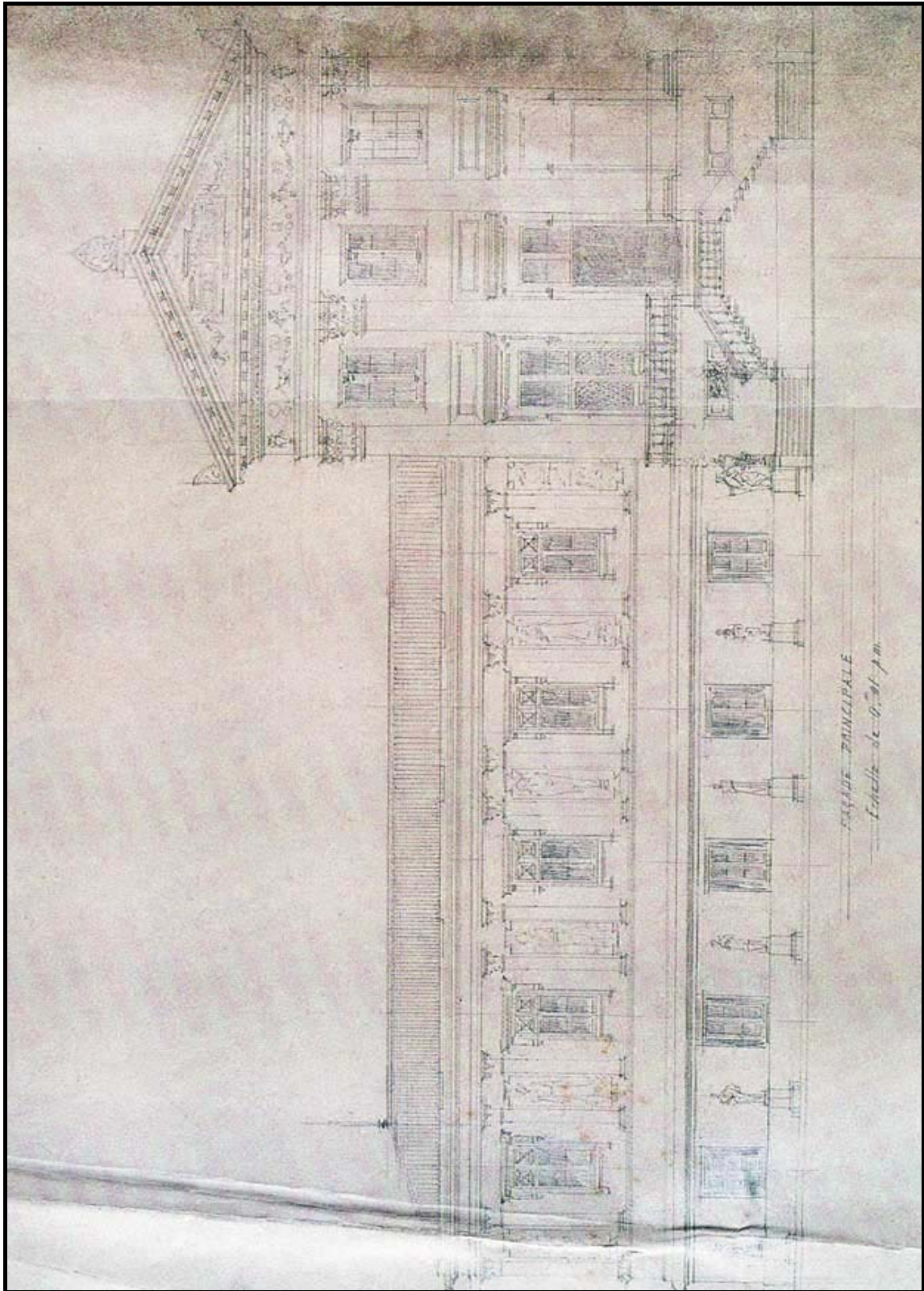


Fig. 12 Drawing of the façade of the principle building of the new Ottoman Imperial Museum by Alexandre Vallauray [Cezar, 1995]



Fig. 13 Logo of the Museum of the Anatolian Civilizations

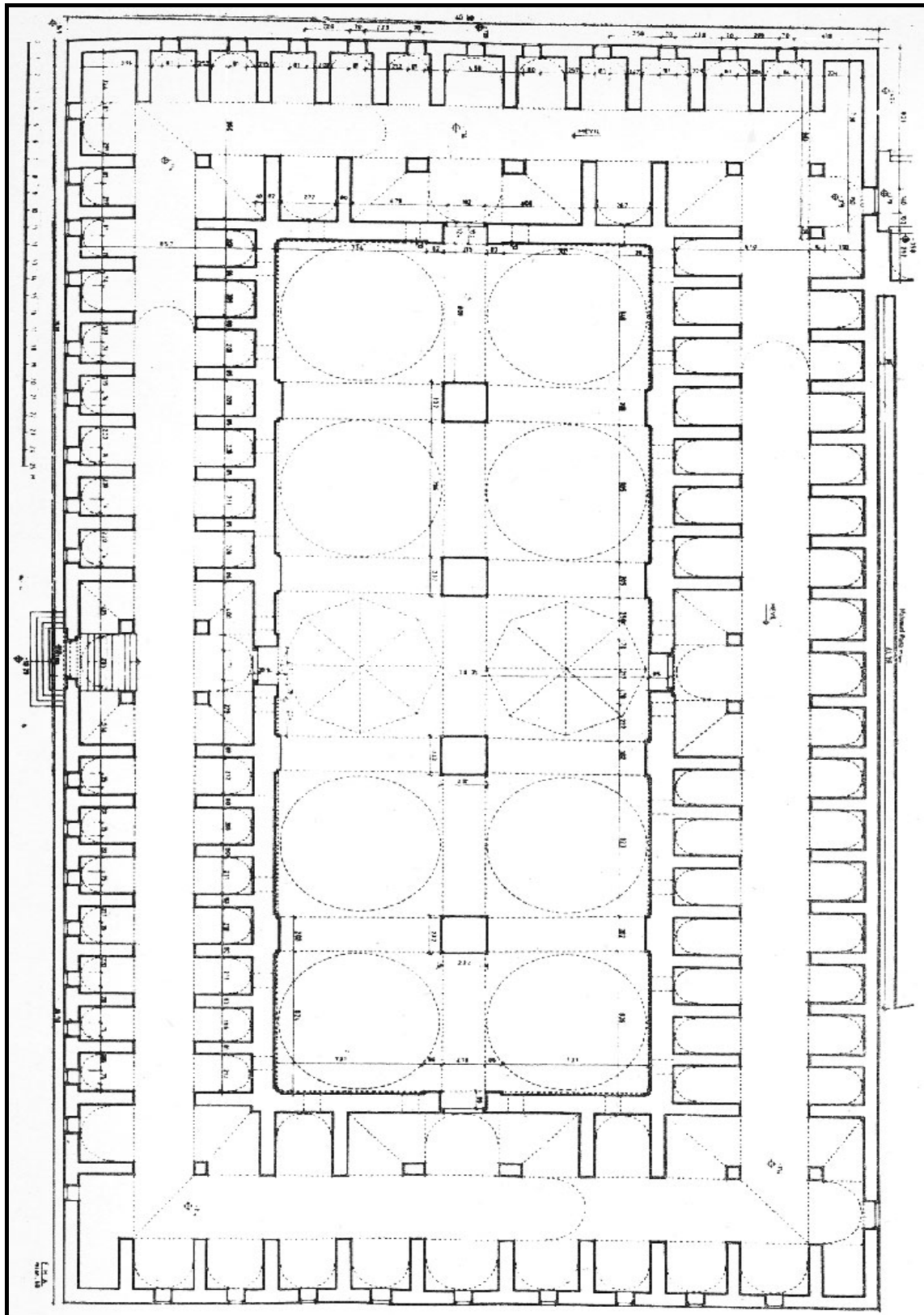


Fig. 14 Plan of Mahmud Pasha bedesten [Cezar, 1983]

PLAN OF THE ANKARA ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

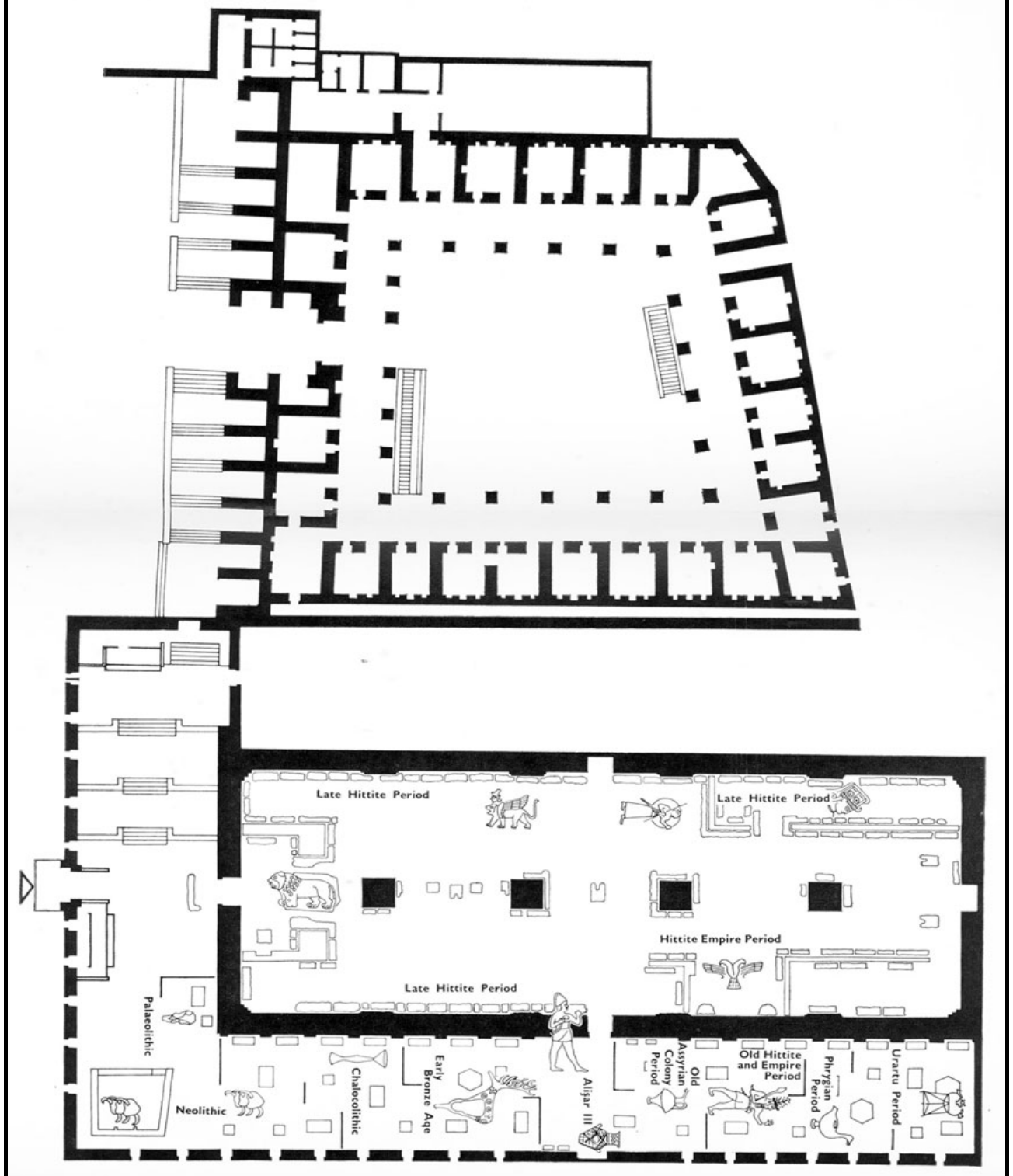
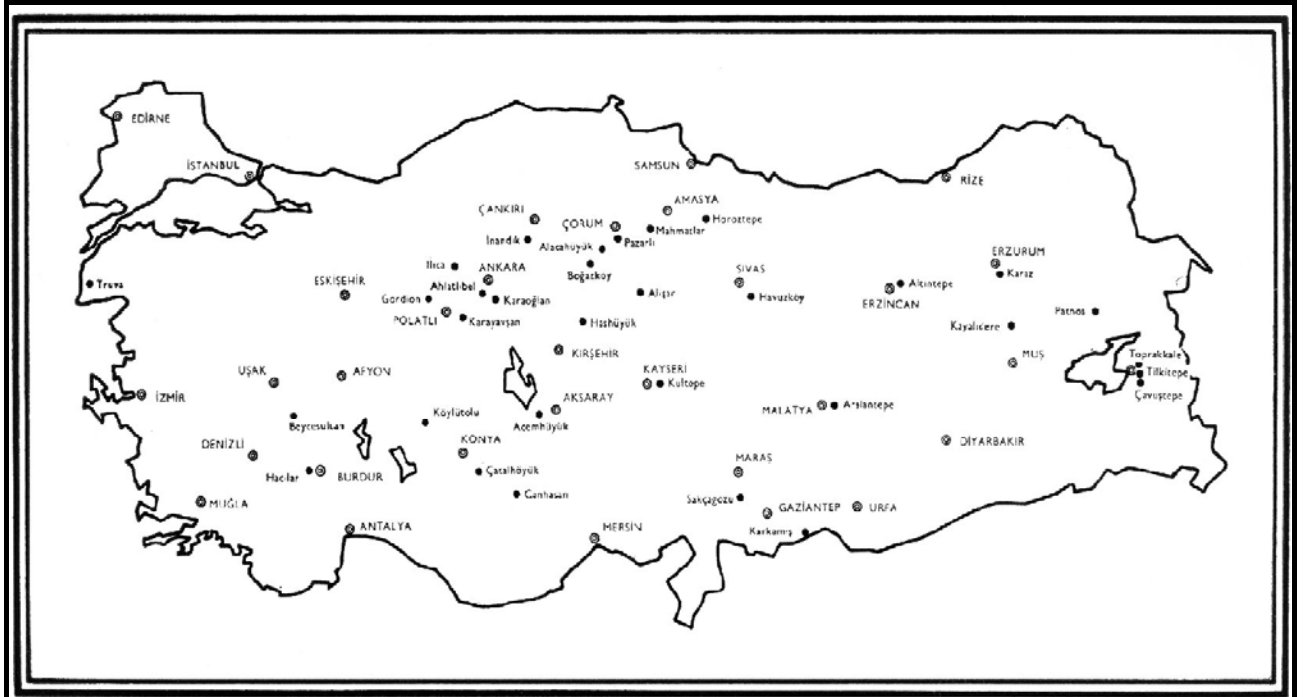


Fig. 15 The plan and collections of the Ankara Archaeology Museum [Temizer, 1966]



Find-places of objects in The Museum

| | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Troy | Horoztepe | Karaz | Acemhüyük |
| Gordion | Karayavşan | Patnos | Kültepe |
| Ahlatlıbel | Karaoğlan | Kayalidere | Arslantepe |
| Ilica | Boğazköy | Toprakkale | Çatalhöyük |
| İnandık | Alişar | Tilkitepe | Canhasan |
| Alacahüyük | Hashüyük | Çavuştepe | Sakçagözü |
| Pazarlı | Havuzköy | Hacılar | Karkamış |
| Mahmatlar | Altintepe | Köylütolu | Beycesultan |

Fig. 16 Find-places of objects in the Ankara Archaeology Museum [Temizer, 1966]