

**MONUMENTS, MATERIALITY, AND MEANING IN THE CLASSICAL
ARCHAEOLOGY OF ANATOLIA**

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation studies Classical archaeologists' perceptions of their discipline's social context in Anatolian Turkey. Greco-Roman sites (100 BCE-300 CE) are important in the Turkish economy, but play a smaller role in national identity. Historically, archaeologists have been disconnected from these concerns; now, they are called to practice "stewardship" and collaborate with locals to create knowledge about the past. Initial chapters place Turkish archaeology in historical context. In late Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia, the past was deployed as polemic about civic and ethnic identity and material evidence used for political ends. In the early modern period (1400-1800), European travelers suggested that Anatolian sites had a space and time distinct from their Ottoman surroundings, but connected to Europe. Ottoman and Turkish modernizers resisted European appropriation of sites, successfully asserting control over sites and artifacts between 1880 and 1930. Today, tourism growth in Turkey has fired debates

about whether sites should be used for entertainment or scientific research.

Remaining chapters explore how archaeologists, architects, conservators, government, and NGOs view this debate. Interviews illuminate attitudes toward public outreach, stakeholders, site management, tourism, and authenticity. Archaeologists agree that public outreach is important, yet outreach in practice focuses on academic and foreign audiences. Local residents are seen as disinterested in archaeology and receive little attention. Although their conservation efforts are effective, archaeologists see management as peripheral to excavation. Some resist participation, fearing that they will be marginalized if other groups become involved. Few Turkish sites have management plans or consult with non-archaeologists. Growing archaeological tourism leads to conservation impacts and inauthentic presentations of the past. Archaeologists, however, continue to take a reactive rather than proactive stance. They prefer sites that allow romantic contemplation of the past, an experience incompatible with mass tourism. With experience, they become more aware of tourism and management – yet this awareness is acquired only slowly.

The dissertation concludes with recommendations: 1) adding training in conservation, management, and ethics to archaeology programs; 2) integrate site management and outreach activities into research designs and funding applications; and 3) broaden the definition of archaeology itself, to build political capital and improve stewardship of the past.

Chapter 1: Value, Materiality, and Place in Archaeological Stewardship

This dissertation is a study of Classical archaeology in Anatolia and its engagement with the ethics and politics of the discipline. It examines the history of Western interest in Greco-Roman civilization in Ottoman territory, and assesses how that history continues to shape the practice of archaeology today through a focus on the perspectives of European and American archaeologists currently working in Turkey. Turkish archaeologists direct two-thirds of the archaeological projects in the country. However, since the history of archaeology in Anatolia is so strongly colored by the attitudes of Western archaeologists and their methods, an examination of their particular history and attitudes forms a useful prologue to a broader consideration of the discipline as it exists in Turkey today. The aim of the dissertation, then, is not to present a holistic picture of archaeology in Turkey, but to examine the history and practices of one influential subgroup. This chapter presents an overview of current issues in archaeology and introduces the theoretical framework that guides the dissertation as a whole.

Archaeology worldwide is in a period of introspection. Spurred both by the development of ethical codes within the discipline and the demands of indigenous groups for recognition as partners in archaeological research, academic archaeologists are redefining the social role of their discipline and questioning how archaeological knowledge is produced. At the same time, the global tourism boom has led to the

increasing commodification of archaeological sites and their use as engines of economic growth by governments. Development, especially for large infrastructure projects, has led to widespread destruction of archaeological sites in many countries around the world. As a result of these pressures, archaeologists no longer have the exclusive ability to define the time, place, and meaning of their research.

At the same time, professional associations call for archaeologists to serve as “stewards” of sites and artifacts. Archaeologists are therefore placed in many competing, and often incompatible, roles: they may be asked to be scientists, tour guides, education specialists, park managers, or promoters of local economic development. It is clear that they cannot do all of these things by themselves, yet equally clear that all of these issues are important to the future of archaeology in society. Although anecdotal evidence suggests that there is widespread concern about these issues, there has thus far been little research on how archaeologists personally and as a professional group conceptualize their roles on sites and in society more broadly. In this dissertation I explore these issues through the lens of interviews with archaeologists, conservators, architects, and government officials, most of whom work at foreign-run excavation sites in Turkey. The dissertation focuses mainly, though not exclusively, on the experience and perception of Western (European and American) archaeologists, and seeks to make a contribution to the larger study of role that the archaeology of Anatolia has played in the Western imagination. It also gives a preliminary consideration of how archaeology, and foreign projects in particular, fit into Turkish society, economy, and identity.

Contention over archaeology’s social role has been a central feature of the discipline since the 1960s. The processual or ‘New Archaeology’ movement asserted that

archaeology's proper role was as an empirical science that aimed to identify objective facts about the past. Using logical positivist methods, it moved archaeology away from its traditional associations with history and attempted to align it with the natural sciences. This approach built on archaeology's historical connection to the development of empiricism, classification, and the Newtonian "atomized, agent individual" (Thomas 2004:39). Processual analysis minimized the psychological and individual aspects of human behavior in favor of an emphasis on the role of technological and environmental factors as explanations for cultural evolution (Trigger 1989:294). Processual theorists such as Binford (1962, 1965) expected that this empirical approach would allow theory building about the underlying universal 'processes' in human culture. On the social level, processualism was attended by the increasing professionalization of the discipline and an emphasis on methodological expertise. Professional status, and the prestige of science, helped gain social standing for archaeology and positioned it as a neutral, depoliticized practice (Smith 2004:42).

From the 1970s, however, archaeology's claims to scientific neutrality were challenged by indigenous groups, post-colonial theorists, and other contemporary scholars, who pointed out that archaeology, in the guise of objective science, had been used by governments as a means of repressing indigenous identities. In response, Native American, Indigenous Australian, and other social movements challenged the supposed neutrality of archaeological science and pushed archaeologists to confront the effects of their work on Indigenous cultures (Smith 2004:22-25).

The post-processual movement in archaeological theory reacted to these developments while reflecting the postmodern turn in the social sciences. Post-processual

theorists objected to the idea that archaeologists could be objective, impartial observers (Shanks and Tilley 1989:2). Archaeological data, far from being value-free, was rather a series of competing narratives constructed through discourse. However, the creation of discourse was to be seen as intimately related to the relations of institutionalized power in which the speaker was involved (Shanks and Tilley 1987:51). As a result, theorists such as Ian Hodder (1999) sought to explore the way that different individual experiences affected the production of archaeological data, and championed the notion of “multivocality”.

Implicit in the post-processual approach is that no single discourse is inherently superior, but that each way of reading archaeological data is a product of the discursive conditions surrounding it. This line of reasoning can lead to an interest in multiple voices in the past, the agency of individuals, and such themes as interiority, identity, and the body in the interpretation of archaeological data (Hodder 1999). Post-processual archaeologists have also explored the phenomenology of landscape in antiquity (Tilley 1994), the role of memory in past societies (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Bradley 1998), and how recent social movements such as nationalism and modernism have affected our understanding of the past (Meskell 1998; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Thomas 2004). The presence of multiple voices among practitioners of archaeology themselves has also been explored, most notably in Turkey at Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2000).

While these ideas have become mainstream in the archaeological literature, post-processual archaeology is subject to criticism on a number of grounds. Post-processualism has been criticized for using dense, inaccessible theoretical language in arguing for a wider public dialogue on archaeological knowledge, which is ironic given

its ostensible commitment to empowering diverse communities of discourse (Smith 2004:47). More seriously, post-processual archaeologists still rely on empirical, processual techniques for gathering archaeological evidence. This means that the possibility of multivocal interpretation begins at the point of interpreting excavation data, rather than considering other kinds of information as legitimate sources of knowledge about the past. The maintenance of the positivist stance in fieldwork may thus help to explain why archaeologists often remain unengaged with the political implications of archaeological fieldwork. In response to this problem, a few post-processual archaeologists have experimented in collaborating with community groups in designing research projects or interpreting archaeological data in Australia (Lilley and Williams 2005:236-240), the Southwestern United States (Anyon *et al.* 2000), and Turkey (Hodder 2002). However, this has not become a mainstream practice, and debates continue about what an archaeology that was engaged with other stakeholders might look like.

In the subdiscipline of Classical Archaeology, which generally refers to the study of the Greco-Roman cultural area from approximately 1000 BCE to 600 CE, these trends are also present, if less prominent than in anthropological archaeology. Archaeologies of Greece and Rome have long been subsumed within departments of Classics, which has limited their exposure to other theoretical trends, and ensures that most Classical archaeologists come out of backgrounds in philology and history rather than anthropology. Ian Morris attributes this trend to efforts by Classicists to retain control of archaeology, out of concern that new information recovered in excavations would displace ancient texts as the center of study (Morris 2000:38, 52). While the advent of postmodern and post-processual theory has broken down old ideals of Hellenism and the

prestige of Classical philology, the lack of a clear alternative alignment for Classical archaeology has led to its relative isolation with respect to other branches of the discipline (Morris 2000:71).

While the boom in survey archaeology in recent decades has led to a dramatic expansion of knowledge about rural settlement and land use in Greco-Roman civilization, excavation projects tend to retain a traditional focus on uncovering and identifying monumental architecture, sculpture, and urban plans – a practice partly informed by the urban and monumental bias of ancient geographic texts like that of Pausanias (Shanks 1996:50). While Classical archaeologists are not unaware of theoretical trends, they are more likely, because of the historical and pedagogical history of their subdiscipline, to focus on monumental architecture in their programs of excavation and publication.

Cultural Resources Management and Modern “Governmentality”

As suggested above, archaeology’s embrace of science since the 1960s has led to increased prestige for the discipline, but has also placed archaeology in a cooperative relationship with state and international institutions that has consequences for archaeology’s role in society. The passage of new heritage laws in many countries in the 1960s and 1970s established archaeological sites as objects of government regulation and management by nation-states, and turned archaeologists into ‘professionals’. In the United States and Europe, archaeology has become part of the urban planning and environmental impact assessment process, known generally as Cultural Resources Management (CRM) in the United States or Archaeological Heritage Management

(AHM) in Europe.¹ A majority of archaeologists in these countries now work in CRM/AHM, either for private sector firms or within government agencies. Work carried out under the rubric of CRM is intimately connected to the goals and process of government. In many nations, CRM archaeology is mainly reactive, conducting salvage archaeology in response to development but unable to initiate research designs or choose excavation areas. In most cases, the emphasis is placed on meeting technical requirements, to the exclusion of broader theoretical concerns (Smith 2004:41). Systems of site registration and the proliferation of heritage-related parks, moreover, have given the state the primary role in controlling and interpreting archaeology to the public.

On the international level, the activities of UNESCO have created a system of international standards for archaeology that asserts important, but controversial, notions about the social role of archaeologists and archaeological material. The 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage asserts that “deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world”, and focuses on identifying and preserving archaeological material with “outstanding universal value”. The convention’s main focus is on monuments, and groups of buildings (UNESCO 1972: Article 1). Besides the identification of such structures of “outstanding universal value”, the Convention also enjoins member states to integrate heritage sites into their national education and planning policy, to create and staff agencies charged with maintaining heritage sites, to ensure conservation, and to encourage scientific research (UNESCO 1972: Article 5).

¹ I use the two terms interchangeably here.

The Convention explicitly makes archaeological site management and conservation the duty of the state, and places scientific research under the auspices of government. In its prioritization of empirical research and scientific training, it reflects the ascendancy of processual thinking in the 1970s. The convention has led, most notably, to the establishment of the World Heritage List, a register of such sites of “outstanding universal value”. However, disparities in governmental resources, and the bias toward monumental architecture, has meant that the World Heritage List disproportionately reflects European and North American heritage, while the past of the global south – many parts of which have no tradition of monumental architecture – is dramatically underrepresented. UNESCO’s creation in 2003 of the Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage is, in part, a reaction to such critiques. This convention seeks to recognize and protect a wider scope of cultural practices, including dance, music, arts, folklore, and oral history (UNESCO 2003). Because of its focus on living cultural practices, however, this convention seems unlikely to have much effect on the monumental bias within heritage management.

Beyond the specific problems of monumentality, the notion of “outstanding universal value” creates problems for archaeologists who are interested in issues such as gender, class, agency, and non-elite identity, questions which are best answered through a focus on less substantial traces of human activity (Joyce 2006:14-15; Tainter and Bagley 2005:65-66). The World Heritage Convention, by specifically excluding such materials from consideration, encourages states to maintain their focus on monumental and unique, rather than typical, archaeological remains. This raises the question of the role of archaeologists in heritage preservation – an issue accentuated by Article 5 of the

Convention. This article identifies all the activities normally done by archaeologists – scientific research, conservation, public outreach, and training – as the responsibility of the state.

Two major trends affecting the practice of AHM/CRM on the national and international levels, however, suggest reasons for concern about state supervision of archaeological practice. The first is the ongoing boom in heritage tourism. Global tourism is by some measures the world's largest industry; Turkey alone has seen tourist numbers triple since the 1990s. High visitor volumes at archaeological sites can create significant challenges to site preservation. Destinations such as Pompeii, Giza, Knossos, or Ephesus receive over a million visitors each year, causing sometimes-significant damage to ancient monuments and materials (Papadopoulos 1997; Hawass 2000). Because they are significant profit centers for governments, sites with evocative monumental architecture are aggressively promoted in international tourism marketing.

The second trend is the dilemma posed by salvage archaeology associated with development projects. Recent large dam projects have led to the loss of significant archaeological zones under the Alqueva Dam in Portugal (BBC 2002), the Three Gorges Dam in China (Harrington 1998), and the Southeast Anatolia Project in Turkey (Shoup 2006). While some infrastructure projects, like the Athens Metro, are well funded and are accompanied by substantial salvage excavation (Hamilakis 2001), most are not so fortunate. In the context of heritage management, archaeologists are called to protect and manage sites, yet often have no say in setting tourist priorities or in potentially destructive development decisions. As a result, archaeologists are beginning to find that they are no longer the sole proprietors of sites when their interests diverge from those of

the state, which can present dilemmas when state priorities conflict with their research interests.

Two important notions underlie the practice of CRM/AHM. As Smith (2004:81) suggests, archaeology benefits from access to archaeological data from salvage projects, professional respect, and *de facto* authority over archaeological sites, expressed as “stewardship”. In accepting this role, however, archaeologists implicitly agree to help the state achieve its goals vis-à-vis archaeology, whether it be the promotion of heritage tourism, the construction of dams or roads that destroy archaeological sites, or shaping national identity through governments’ interpretation of archaeological data. In these situations, archaeologists choose access to data over preservation of archaeological materials. However, the aura of scientific authority with which archaeology is invested may also have the effect of legitimizing controversial development projects, as I have suggested in the case of Turkey’s Southeast Anatolia Project (Shoup 2006). The second feature is a corollary to this alliance with the state: in CRM/AHM contexts, archaeology is reduced to largely a technical practice. Data recovery in salvage excavations is often carried out without sufficient budgets for framing research questions or analyzing data, and excavators have little choice about what to excavate. In the 1960s and 1970s, when states used scientific and technocratic management approaches to gain prestige (Smith 2004:70), the relationship between archaeologists and government was less problematic. However, the advent of neoliberalism has states to prefer private sector solutions to development problems – which translates in many Mediterranean countries to an emphasis on the tourist industry as the source of economic growth. This has gone so far as the privatization of some heritage sites in England and Italy (Palumbo 2006). The

tourist industry, however, values sites as sources of entertainment and spectacle rather than for their ability to yield data about archaeology. As a result, the relationship between government and archaeologists has begun to break down.

Ethical Codes in Archaeology

Increasing threats to archaeological sites, together with growing demands by indigenous groups and post-colonial societies for a greater role in defining narratives about the past, have led to self-examination by archaeologists, sparking conversations that reconsider the scope of archaeological activities and the ethics of archaeological practice. The first major project to discuss and define archaeological ethics was sponsored by the Society for American Archaeology (Lynott and Wylie 2000a). The six principles of archaeological ethics that emerged from these discussions have since influenced statements of ethics from many other organizations that deal with the material remains of the past, including the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) and the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), and they are relevant for discussing the definitions of archaeological practice that are current within the discipline.

The SAA's six principles include 'stewardship' 'accountability', 'commercialization', 'public education and outreach', 'intellectual property', and 'records and preservation'. Archaeologists are called on to avoid the antiquities trade, eschew monopolistic attitudes toward knowledge, and to curate the records of excavations. More importantly for the discussion here, archaeologists are also given the role of caretakers of and advocates for the archaeological record, enjoined to refuse participation in the antiquities trade, and required to consult with groups affected by archaeological research (Society for American Archaeology 1996).

These notions are echoed in the EAA's Code of Practice, which calls on "every archaeologist to ensure the preservation of the archaeological heritage by every legal means." It also states that "in carrying out [salvage projects], archaeologists will, wherever possible, and in accordance with any contractual obligations that they may have entered into, carry out prior evaluations of the ecological and social implications of their work for local communities" (European Association of Archaeologists 1997).

The AIA Code of Professional Standards (Archaeological Institute of America 1994) contains similar exhortations, noting that "the purposes and consequences of all archaeological research should be carefully considered before the beginning of work," and that "all research projects should contain specific plans for conservation, preservation, and publication from the very outset." Beyond care of the resource, they are called on to perform public outreach and local consultation: "archaeologists should consult with appropriate representatives of the local community during the planning stage, invite local participation in the project, and regularly inform the local community about the results of the research".

Implicit in all of these codes, which set the standards for the dominant Anglo-American and European communities in world archaeology, is that archaeologists are obligated to consult with local communities, to allow stakeholder groups to influence the planning of their projects, to conduct educational efforts, and to consider themselves as 'stewards' of archaeological materials, both sites and artifacts. On the face of it, these principles represent a dramatic redefinition of the practice of archaeology. It is unclear, though, to what extent these principles have actually affected the way archaeologists behave in practice. None of these ethics codes defines what activities meet these criteria,

nor do they impose sanctions for noncompliance. Calls for “consultation” and “collaboration”, while superficially opening the way to a truly multivocal practice of archaeology, could as equally be satisfied by *pro forma* notification of excavation plans as by truly collaborative research. There is a tension between the duty to preserve the material basis of archaeology and the need to negotiate the meanings of artifacts and sites with others. While formerly there was consensus that the basis of archaeology was simply material, it is now conceived of as both a social and a material practice.

As Smith notes, “at one level, [archaeology] seeks to accommodate Indigenous knowledge claims and answer the moral charges made against it. At another level the discipline seeks to maintain unfettered access to its data, and cannot jeopardize the authority of expertise and professionalism that ensures that access” (2004:31). As the controversies over repatriation of human remains in the wake of NAGPRA have shown, accountability to other constituencies is not always compatible with the preservation of archaeological collections. The result is something of a paradox: archaeologists as “stewards” bear ultimate responsibility for the protection of sites and artifacts, yet at the same time they are expected to share authority over sites and the knowledge they produce, regardless of the results. Because of problems such as these, the definition of archaeological responsibilities remains unsettled.

Archaeology and Ethics in the Turkish Context

An archaeological discovery in June 1999 left residents of Ağlasun, a village near the Roman-period archaeological site of Sagalassos, asking themselves questions about their own identity. DNA tests conducted by the Belgian excavators at the site revealed that the site guard and 14 workmen employed by the project were related to an ancient skeleton discovered under a fallen column in the Sagalassos agora. As the national newspaper *Hürriyet* reported,

Now the residents of Ağlasun are saying that they are the “builders of Sagalassos” because “they were our ancestors”. But they are also quite confused. Some people in the area approach the situation in terms of nationality. Their reaction is to say, “we are Greek”, or “we are not Turkish”.

Some see a more pragmatic aspect to the matter. They think that in the shadow of this new discovery Sagalassos will become better known, regional tourism will improve, and there will be benefits for themselves by dealing with the issue this way (*Hürriyet* 1999).

The discovery of this surprising family relationship illustrates the powerful role that archaeological discoveries can play in redefining individual, regional, and national identities. There is an underlying uneasiness in the story, however. Villagers are left contemplating whether they are “really Turkish”, and wondering, if not, to whom (and to where) they belong. According to one of my informants, some officials in the Ministry of Culture were unhappy that the DNA test results were revealed, and warned the Sagalassos project for not securing government permits for such testing. This informant also implied that the real issue was the potential damage to the ideology of “Turkishness” that has guided official policy since the beginning of the Turkish Republic in 1923. A small piece of data from a little-visited mountain region, 100 kilometers north of the

tourist resorts of Antalya, became something with the potential to destabilize not only local but national identity.

The reasons that archaeology has such social power are connected to the long relationship between Turkey and the West, where archaeology has served as a site of contention over the meaning and control of spaces in Anatolia. This dissertation, while situated in the Turkish context, focuses on the Western side of this relationship. While archaeology in North America and Australia extends back to the late 19th century, and in northern Europe to the 18th century, archaeological interest in Anatolia stretches back centuries earlier. Examining this long prehistory of archaeology in Anatolia offers the opportunity to better contextualize contemporary debates about the relative value of monuments, relationships between archaeologists and other social groups, and the role of the state in knowledge about the past.

By the 15th century, travelers from western Europe began searching for the places discussed in ancient texts, and early archaeological research focused around recording inscriptions, collecting artifacts, and describing monuments on behalf of aristocratic European antiquarians and collectors. The first excavation projects in Anatolia were tied, in the early 19th century, to the colonial ambitions of European powers, sparking Ottoman and later Turkish resistance to the control of archaeological sites by foreign projects. The 20th century saw the Turkish state consolidate control over archaeological sites and develop several generations of well-trained domestic archaeologists, who now operate two-thirds of the research projects in Turkey. There is little role for the private sector, and regional archaeology museums are staffed and supervised directly by the central government. In the early 21st century, archaeology has become wedded to economic

development through the merger of the Ministries of Tourism and Culture, and archaeologists find themselves encouraged to take an active role in transforming their sites into appealing destinations for mass tourism.

Classical archaeology is weakly integrated into contemporary Turkish identity. Although the state uses its embrace of Classical archaeology and its regulation of sites as evidence of its westernization, secularization, and modernity, few Turks identify closely with the Greco-Roman heritage. Sites without monumental architecture, while important from the scientific perspective, receive relatively little attention in the popular media. Turkey has developed a strong indigenous cadre of archaeologists but foreign training is still the norm. The Turkish academy, moreover, is relatively isolated from the international scholarly community. By contrast, foreign projects are better funded and many of the best-known and most-touristed excavation sites are run by foreign researchers.

The issues of social engagement, site stewardship, and the role of the state are very current in Turkey today. The merger of the Ministries of Culture and Tourism in 2003 has led to increased governmental intervention to promote site management efforts and tourist development. Though archaeologists are sometimes skeptical of these demands, there is an increasing awareness that they are expected to incorporate site management and community consultation activities into their work. This is especially the case for archaeologists from outside of Turkey, who are both more familiar with discussions about archaeological ethics and are better resourced in comparison with their Turkish colleagues. Turkey, then, offers a promising field in which to assess how

archaeologists adjust their practices to new definitions of their discipline and the changing relationship with the state.

Theoretical Perspectives

Throughout this dissertation, I will try to unravel the interconnected strands of three important concepts as they apply to archaeologists' definitions of their discipline, to the problems of site management, and, to a lesser extent, to the social role of archaeology in Turkey today. In this case study of a group of European and American projects in Anatolia, we have an opportunity to examine a long period of evolution of attitudes toward the past and its material remains. At Classical sites in western Anatolia there have been many different ways of relating to the cultural and material traces of the past. In the Roman period (1st century BCE – 4th century CE), nostalgia for the Classical Greek past of centuries before led a wide range of representations of the past to be incorporated into the urban fabric through sculptural decorations on buildings and through processions and public events memorializing the city's history. Early modern European visitors (15th-18th centuries) read the same urban environment through the lens of ancient authors, while insisting that Classical sites were fundamentally different from, and superior to, the contemporary Ottoman landscape that surrounded them. In the 19th and 20th centuries, large-scale excavation projects uncovered dozens of ancient cityscapes, which fueled both the Western interest in Hellenism and, later, the new Turkish state's utopian project of modernity. Since the 1980s, the growth of tourism has led these same sites to be heavily marketed as easily consumable spectacular entertainments for international tourists, with the aim of using ancient cities as engines of economic growth.

Each of these periods exhibits different formulations of the role of the past in society and of what constitutes archaeological practice. Archaeological sites in Anatolia, then, are palimpsests of meaning, where traces of previous beliefs, practices, and attitudes toward the past are still visible underneath contemporary ones. Rather than being neutral, objective sites of scientific research, archaeological sites are socially produced. They are created by discourses and spatial practices, performed by different groups of people over a long span of time – in the case of some sites in Anatolia, 600 years or more. As a result, multiple, sometimes contradictory, ideas about the significance of sites may coexist among archaeologists and in popular culture. In this light, the “multivocality” surrounding archaeological sites can be said to be something that extends not just across contemporary stakeholder groups, but that stretches back into time, so that previous social constructions continue to have agency in the present. For example, Western scholars’ centuries-long practice of collecting artifacts from Ottoman territories continues to shape the attitudes towards archaeology of Turks and non-Turks alike, although the export of antiquities was outlawed over a century ago. Understanding problems of archaeological site management, and archaeologists’ changing conceptions of their own discipline, thus requires us to trace historical constructions of archaeological places.

Valuing Materiality and Monumentality

Problems of site management, and of archaeological epistemology more generally, have a lot to do with deciding what is significant. Archaeology is the site of a “contest of values” that has both a material and a social dimension. Archaeological remains can be valued for their ability to symbolize the past, for their informational value about the past, for their aesthetic appeal, or for their economic role (Lipe 1984:4-8). Each

of these values is constructed through different social processes. Symbolic values often follow political ends, as with Mussolini's excavations at the Roman Forum. Aesthetic values – exemplified by the role of the art market in creating demand for certain types of antiquities – are mutable and reflect larger social trends more than archaeological knowledge. In recent decades, the combination of global tourism and a cultural interest in nostalgia have served to invest archaeological sites with new economic importance as destinations (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Social forces from outside of archaeology are now playing important roles in shaping sites.

These forces can in turn affect the focus of research as archaeologists try to maintain their influence and social position. As Rosemary Joyce (2006) points out, archaeology deals with mapping traces of human activity in the past, some of which are monumental and intended to last, and some quite intangible or temporally ephemeral – but both valuable from the perspective of positivist science. The heritage industry, however, focuses on evocative examples of monumental architecture, a view of significance that “lends itself to nation-building projects while failing to connect to individual actors other than leaders who are assumed to be necessary for such projects to be carried out... it is that uninterrogated point of view that dominates much thinking about cultural heritage, including assessments about what it means to preserve archaeological sites and monuments” (Joyce 2006:15). This tension between monumentality and the trace has been evident in Classical archaeology, which has historically focused excavations exclusively on monumental architecture while avoiding research into less tangible traces of human activity, however revealing they may be of the daily life of individuals in the past.

Decisions about what to value are also conditioned by the social and political conditions of archaeological production. Methodologies are shaped by potential academic rewards, by fundraising concerns, by the commercial potential of sites, by government pressure, by the interests of different ethnic or political groups, and by national law and regulatory frameworks (Mathers *et al.* 2005:7-8). Archaeologists are no longer the sole arbiters of archaeological value, but find themselves in contention with other groups over what is important at sites. Governments may insist on running sites as tourist attractions, valuing the spectacular aspects of monuments over their potential to yield scientific data. Indigenous groups may demand that their traditional worldviews play a role in shaping research. Local residents may look to sites for employment, economic development, or continued traditional land use. Yet archaeologists are often not aware of how these constraints shape their work and thus the production of archaeological knowledge: “what is missing in the consciousness of heritage management practitioners generally [is] an understanding of the values underlying the Western management ethos and an openness to alternatives” (Byrne 1991:23, quoted in Mathers *et al.* 2005:9). In the chapters that follow, I will identify archaeologists’ assumptions about value and significance – both in the material and social realms – at archaeological sites, and explore how it relates to conservation outcomes, multivocality, and the spatial politics of the site.

Archaeological Sites and the Politics of Space

Finally, I identify spatiality as an important part of the conversation about archaeological value. Debates about the value and meaning of archaeological sites are fundamentally debates about the meaning of space and place. The spatial turn in the social sciences in the last three decades has challenged the traditional Cartesian notion of space as a fixed, empty medium for action. Rather, space comes into being through social processes, implying that there can be as many kinds of spaces as there are social systems. Different political economies will be reflected in the spaces they create (Lefebvre 1991:6).

Place, as distinct from space, is produced through such social processes. While the two terms are often used interchangeably, I will use the term “place” in the sense set out by Harvey (1996). Following Alfred North Whitehead, Harvey defines place as the spatial location of relationships between a set of cultural, biological, or social processes. Places are “systems of extensive connection” resulting from the interaction of people and the environment that result in “permanences” that define a particular area of space for a given amount of time (1996:261). Harvey connects these “permanences” to de Certeau’s notions of spaces that become “subjects of will and power”: when the users of a space share a common understanding of its meaning, the space itself can operate on its users as if it had social agency (De Certeau 1984:126).

Archaeological sites, then, can be expected to reflect a set of social values. Rather than being natural places, the very idea of the archaeological site is produced by individuals, institutions, and governments, often in the form of narrative. In the Turkish

case, these institutions are invariably far away from sites themselves and the communities around them. Archaeological sites as a category of place are the product of the exercise of power at a distance, and are continually sites of contestation over significance and control.

In understanding how archaeological sites came to be a distinct kinds of place, I follow Shaw (2003a:89), and suggest that Michel de Certeau's distinction (1984:34-38) between "spatial strategy" and "spatial tactics" is useful in identifying power relationships around archaeological places. In his formulation, "spatial strategies" are practices and discourses that serve to define a hegemonic set of meanings and appropriate behaviors at particular places, a set which de Certeau calls "the proper". "The proper" is, in essence, the use of power to define a place. Social groups without the power to act strategically are reduced to "spatial tactics", or efforts to subvert the meaning of space from within the set of rules and ideas established by spatial strategies. In other words, relationships of power play themselves out as attempts to make rules about places.

One condition for the production of archaeological knowledge is that archaeological sites have just such a set of rules about access and action. For instance, an excavation project generally uses fences, warning tape, or other measures to restrict public access to sites; states have laws about who is allowed to excavate at sites; and projects have a social hierarchy and code of behavior that is quite different from that in local settlements. These rules, in turn, shape the kind of archaeological knowledge that it is possible to produce. Because the creation of place and the rules that surround it is basically a political endeavor, tracing the strategic and tactical moves around a particular space should be able to shed light on why places come to have particular meanings and

characteristics. In the Turkish context, archaeological sites were created through a series of strategic moves by European explorers, scholars, merchants, and soldiers. The central drama of Ottoman, and later Turkish archaeology, is the struggle by the state to gain power over a kind of place.

Research Questions

The construction of ideas about value, materiality, and place – and their deployment as tools of spatial and political strategy – help to explain why archaeological discoveries like that at Sagalassos can have such potent effects in the present. While it is clear that local, national, international, and disciplinary communities each have their own ways of conceiving of archaeological space, this dissertation does not aim to present a comprehensive look at all of these. Rather, it focuses on the attitudes of archaeologists and archaeological project members, with particular attention paid to the American and European archaeological communities.

This emphasis should not be taken to suggest that Turkish archaeological practitioners are less effective, or less important for understanding the social position of the discipline in Turkey. Rather, my approach is shaped by an interest in the changing relationship between foreign archaeologists and Turkish society. Until the mid-20th century, the story of archaeology in Anatolia was the story of European, and to a lesser extent American, explorers and excavators. The basic ideas behind archaeological practice, the legal frameworks for regulating archaeological sites, and the models of training archaeologists employed in Turkey originate ultimately in Euro-American precedents. For these reasons, a consideration of the role of the foreign communities in

Turkish archaeology forms a necessary prelude to further studies of Turkish archaeological practice and, more generally, the role of archaeology in Turkish society.

The dissertation reports the results of a series of interviews. Ethnographic research on the practice of archaeology, however, is a relatively new development. While post-processualism focuses on archaeologies of the body, gender, social class, agency, identity, or memory, only a few of its practitioners address on these issues in the context of fieldwork itself. Yet anyone who has worked on an archaeological project knows how important the unspoken elements of archaeological culture are in shaping the behavior of archaeologists and physical interventions in a site.

Discussions around ethics codes, however, have stimulated interest in archaeological ethnography. Recent anthropological observations of archaeological fieldwork outline approaches toward integrating diverse voices into positivist science. In his introduction to a recent volume of essays on archaeological ethnographies, Matt Edgeworth notes that archaeological sites are distinct, well-bounded communities, and therefore ideal sites for ethnography. Such studies, moreover, may help us reconceptualize our research paradigms (Edgeworth 2006b:6). Articles in his collection include examinations of how power relationships shape archaeological knowledge (Yarrow 2006; Wilmore 2006), how individual identity is shaped through fieldwork (Van Reybrouck and Jacobs 2006), and the relationship between site planning, local communities, and the tourist (McClanahan 2006; Karlsson and Gustafson 2006). Other publications offer some examples of overcoming obstacles to collaborative practice: Sandlin and Bey (2006) offer an example of archaeologists learning a more reflexive and socially conscious practice at a project in Belize, while Lynn Meskell discusses an

Egyptian village which, tired of tourists who ignore their modern culture in favor of the local ruins, constructed a museum that told their history from their own perspective (Meskell 2005).

However, the research reported here differs from previous work in that it directly investigates how archaeologists perceive their own responsibilities and engagements with respect to issues of site management, public outreach, tourism, and Turkish society more broadly. The interview program focuses on several issues connected to the theoretical discussion above. The project intended to illuminate what views of archaeological significance archaeologists actually held, and how they related to the many different approaches to valuing Anatolian archaeology that have appeared in the past 600 years. Given the persistent interest in postcolonial archaeologies, it is interesting to enquire whether attitudes formed by the long struggle between the Ottoman Empire and the West over archaeological materials and sites remains a factor in debates about the social roles of archaeology in Turkey today.

The research was not designed to reflect the viewpoints and voices of all of archaeology's many constituencies, but to suggest what is the range of "typical" views among one part of the discipline toward the ethical demands being made on archaeologists. While most writers on archaeological ethics have a strong interest in and knowledge of the issues, it is not clear whether the values articulated in ethics codes are held by archaeologists in the field in principle, or carried out in practice. Learning how practitioners define the scope of their discipline, and their relationship with the public, will hopefully be a useful contribution to discussions of how to operationalize the values of multivocality, stakeholder consultation, and collaborative site management.

It is also unclear, despite the growing literature on the subject, the extent to which archaeologists are engaged with the concept of stewardship. While they are given *de facto* (and to some extent *de jure*) responsibility for the sites where they work, many project members see management planning as an unwelcome distraction from the “real” work of excavation and publication. Gathering information on attitudes toward the ethic of stewardship, and on what management activities are actually performed, will hopefully be useful in determining whether archaeologists subscribe to these values, and how they affect actions at archaeological sites.

Finally, the call for collaboration, along with the increasing use of heritage sites as tourist attractions, calls attention to how archaeologists conceptualize the relationship between the space of the site and the space outside it. Especially in the context of Classical urban sites, there are clear boundaries – physical, legal, and conceptual – between archaeological space and the space around it. Because materiality and space shape the experience of the past, it is important to examine how practitioners view the space in which they work. Through analysis of my interview data, then, I will examine attitudes toward tourism, authenticity, and the experience of archaeological space.

Outline of the Dissertation

In the chapters to follow I will examine aspects of these questions, with special focus on the distinctions among attitudes of archaeologists, government officials, and heritage-related non-governmental organizations (NGOs) about Classical archaeological sites in Turkey. Chapter 2 examines how residents of the Greek cities of Anatolia in the Roman Empire constructed their history in the urban landscape. This was a period of intense cultural nostalgia for the Athenian Classical past, yet this history was expressed

spatially through new monuments, architectural sculpture, and oral history rather than through the conservation of old structures. History was, moreover, closely integrated into the politics of contemporary identity and political competition between cities. This example illustrates that ancient and modern ways of constructing the past were quite different, but also that both are fundamentally the product of political choices.

To trace the emergence of the modern understanding of Classical sites as spaces where the physical antiquity of objects is the precondition for speaking authentically about the past, Chapter 3 offers close readings of three early archaeological expeditions to Anatolia: those of Ciriaco d'Ancona (1450s), Spon and Wheeler (1675-76), and Chandler and Pars' expedition for the Society of Dilettanti (1763-65). The texts that resulted from these expeditions show how European travelers used the power of narrative to remove archaeological sites from their Ottoman present and connect them to an idealized Hellenic geography drawn from ancient authors such as Strabo and Ptolemy. They also create a nostalgic construct of the past that, in contrast to that discussed in Chapter 2, took pains to conceal the relationship of sites to their contemporary Ottoman context. These first two chapters set the stage for a discussion of how archaeological sites are understood today. Chapter 4 examines the role of the Turkish state in archaeology. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism manages archaeological sites as national patrimony while seeking to develop them as tourist attractions – two goals that are often in tension. Because most tourist sites represent the Greco-Roman and Christian heritage of Anatolia, further tensions arise between the history of these sites and the Turkish and Muslim identities of their contemporary inhabitants.

The second part of the dissertation explores the conflicts between different understandings of archaeological spaces in Turkey today through interviews with and ethnographic observation of archaeologists, officials from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and heritage NGOs. Chapters 5 through 7 are based on interviews conducted in 2006 and 2007 with over sixty archaeologists, conservators, architects, government officials, journalists, and NGO members working in Turkey. Although many professional orientations and levels of experience are represented in this group, the dominant perspective is from personnel on foreign-run Classical excavation projects. I asked participants about their opinions and experiences in three broad areas: public outreach and audiences for archaeology, stakeholders and site management planning, and tourism and the experience of visiting archaeological sites.

Chapter 5 examines the relationship between archaeologists and the public. I asked them about who they felt had moral ownership of archaeological sites, who they thought were the most important audiences for archaeological work, and who they saw as stakeholders in site management. Archaeologists are enthusiastic about public outreach, and are aware of the complex and overlapping constituencies for archaeology. In practice, however, public outreach efforts do not reach all of the groups that are perceived to be “owners”, in the broad sense, of archaeological sites. This disparity arises from concerns that some parts of the public – especially local residents, but non-experts more generally – were not “interested” in archaeology. Global and national audiences are normatively perceived to have western, scientific values, while local audiences are perceived not to value scientific practice. The answers to these questions, then, reveal differences between

those perceived to have a stake in archaeological sites as places, and those who have a stake in archaeological knowledge.

Chapter 6 explores respondents' views of the site management process. I asked who should be involved in site management, what kind of management activities occurred at respondents' sites, and whether these efforts had changed the way that they felt about archaeology. Underlying the diverse answers were differing definitions of what kinds of activities were "really" archaeology and which were peripheral. Many respondents feel, somewhat contradictorily, that site management was not "really archaeology", but are reluctant to give decision-making authority to groups who were perceived to not understand the social role of archaeology in the same way that archaeologists do. Control over archaeological space thus is one area where the "contest of values" around archaeology is played out.

Chapter 7 focuses on tourism, examining respondents' narratives about the nature and purpose of archaeological space. Archaeological professionals are ambivalent about tourism: they want visitors to learn "correct" ways of seeing archaeological sites, and are concerned that collaborative planning may privilege other goals, such as economic development, over their own. Personally, they prefer to experience sites as windows into the past, where the ability to enter a different time is produced by a combination of academic knowledge and evocative ruins. Government, by contrast, sees archaeological sites as spaces of spectacular experience that contribute to the tourist economy. Different ideas about place experience, then, seem to underlie conflicts over appropriate land use at archaeological sites.

Chapter 8 concludes with an examination of the lessons of these chapters for ongoing debates about the appropriate role of archaeology in society. Three recommendations are offered: that archaeological education include discussion of ethics, history, and political economy of archaeology as part of the core curriculum; that research designs include site management planning, stakeholder consultation, and public education as an integral part of archaeological practice; and that the discipline as a whole engage in a larger conversation about the boundaries of archaeological practice.

Chapter 2: Materializing the Past in Roman Asia Minor

Both tourism and Classical archaeology in Turkey are concentrated along the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts of Anatolia. The same area was also the heartland of the Roman-period florescence of urban life between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE. The long period of prosperity under Roman rule brought an unprecedented building boom that transformed even modest provincial centers into monumental urban landscapes. Much of this construction was spurred by competition among cities for prestige and privilege within the Empire. In negotiating for status, cities used history and myth to craft unique identities for themselves. As a result, much cultural production in the eastern Roman Empire was marked by an interest in and nostalgia for the Greek past, especially that of the Classical period. Local histories, historicizing travel narratives, and an emulation of Classical Athens (480-431 BCE) in oratory, poetry, and prose sought to emphasize the separate identity and history of the Greek part of the empire.

While the third-century orator Philostratus described the period as the “Second Sophistic”, a revival of the Sophist philosophical movement of the Classical period (Anderson 1993:15), both the climate of inter-civic competition and the nostalgic trends visible in that period clearly have roots in the Hellenistic era (Ng 2007:4). This chapter examines three areas in which references to the past were used to craft contemporary identity. The popularity of local histories and travel literature (*periegesis*), the incorporation of mythological references in civic building programs, and the use of

ancient artifacts in temple treasuries are all examples of how the past was used to negotiate the relationship between the Greek past and the Roman present.

In a sense, the historicizing trends of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods in Asia Minor are distant ancestors of the modern discipline of archaeology. The monumental landscapes that archaeologists seek to recover today were at that time quite new, yet were part of a discourse about the past that sought to establish political and cultural power in the present. Sites in the region – urban centers such as Pergamon, Aphrodisias, and Ephesus – remain important in archaeology today and serve as elements of Turkey’s tourist marketing. An examination of ancient attitudes toward monuments, history, and the social role of the past helps to advance the argument of this dissertation in several ways. It places early modern and modern definitions of archaeological practice into its deeper historical context, illustrating that conceptions of the Greek past in Asia Minor have been constructed and reconstructed over an exceptionally long period of time. These conceptions, moreover, can be seen in each case to have distinct political and social goals in their contemporary context: in other words, history is deployed intentionally and has specific aims. Finally, we learn that the use of material evidence as a source of truth about the past is not the same in all times and places – with the implication that archaeology’s emphasis on material objects as the sole source of historical knowledge may, in itself, be an historically contingent process.



Figure 2-1. Greece and Asia Minor, with sites mentioned in the text

Antiquarian Culture in the Roman East

After a generation of military supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean, Rome gained direct control of western Asia Minor in 133 BC, when the last of the Attalid kings of Pergamon left his kingdom to the people of Rome as a bequest. A century of unrest and rebellion followed. Only after Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BC finally united Roman territory under a single ruler did the long prosperity brought by the *pax Romana* begin. While not every province benefited equally from Roman rule, the province of Asia became rich. An unprecedented flourishing of urban life characterized the next three centuries, when even small provincial centers were adorned with new marble structures,

expensive waterworks, and other urban amenities. Competition for political advantage within the Imperial context led civic benefactors to erect monuments that leveraged cities' histories and foundation myths to argue why they were deserving of Imperial patronage. This climate of competition provided incentives for cities to create mythical narratives that tied them to the great events of both mythology and the historical past.

In the midst of these dramatic changes to urban landscapes, self-consciousness about the past flourished in the Greek-speaking communities of the Roman Empire. This took two main forms. On the one hand, a romanticized view of the Classical Athenian past came to dominate education. This ideal past was an arena for expressing Greek cultural supremacy in the absence of political power. Classicism also served as a bridge between Greek and Roman elites, providing a shared set of cultural and educational knowledge that enabled the creation of a pan-Mediterranean aristocracy (Goldhill 2001a:158; Swain 1996:65-68). On the other hand, literature celebrated local history and the features of individual cities, offering a forum for an assertion of local, *polis*-based identity and for competition among cities for imperial patronage. These two historicizing trends in literature – the Classicizing and the localizing – were interdependent and dominated cultural production in the Greek provinces during the first two centuries AD.

The Classicizing ideals of the Second Sophistic were especially evident in education. The *paideia* of elite Greeks at this time was centered on appreciation and imitation of a narrowly defined canon of works from the Classical period and the Classical Attic dialect (Anderson 1993:105; Swain 1996:68). Elite men trained for political and civic careers by recreating speeches and debates from the Peloponnesian war and other historical events. Referring to such distant events could provide a forum for

raising delicate political issues in an accepted and safe way, a “means of communication between the Greeks and their rulers” (Swain 1996:67).

This focus on a distant, idealized Classical past also characterized history writing in this period. Synthetic or world histories either sought to explain the rise of Roman power (Appian, Cassius Dio), or contented themselves to deal mostly with the Greek past before Alexander, with a secondary interest in the Hellenistic monarchies (Cephalion, Jason of Argos). Likewise, the novel, which flourished as a genre in this period, invariably dwells in a romanticized, and distant past. The surviving novels and fragments are all set in the Classical or very early Hellenistic periods, and shift between urban and idealized rural settings (Swain 1996:109-10). As Bakhtin notes, time in the ancient novel is that of a static past that is not intrinsically linked with the present of the reader (1981:97).

Notably missing is an attempt to portray the contemporary history of the Greek part of the Roman Empire as a distinct topic. As Ewen Bowie notes, “no Greek seems to have been tempted to write a history of the Greek world (as a whole) and *only* the Greek world, nor even a treatment of the empire from the sole point of view of the Greek provinces” (Bowie 1970:16). Although Graham Anderson (1993:101) warns against overgeneralizing this trend, it is apparent that the works that deal exclusively with Greek history and culture, such as that of Pausanias, avoid reference to Rome and its rule. Instead, they dwell on the Greek past, using memory as a source of cultural capital that could be used to reinforce the identity of Greek cities in the Empire. As James Porter (2001:76) notes of Pausanias, such works “[make] memory into an antidote against decline”.

Issues of identity, then, were not negotiated on the level of world history. Instead, the other pole of literary production sought to construct identities for individual cities and regions. Local history became a full-fledged genre in the Hellenistic period and continued to be popular in the Roman Empire. While no local histories survive complete, we have a sense of their typical contents. Important themes were the founding of cities (often by semi-mythical individuals), the important deeds of their native sons, their notable monuments, and their role in historical events or association with famous persons – a model for which Strabo is the exemplar (Higbie 2003:243)

Local histories are attested from across the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire. Histories of Ephesos, Herakleia Pontica, Smyrna, Alexandria, Aegae, and Pallene were written in the Roman period, representing cities that were both large and small, and peripheral and central to the traditional Greek heartland.² There were also a number of other historicizing genres that focused on selected elements of local history. Hermogenes of Smyrna, for instance, wrote on *The Foundations of Asian Cities*, while Philo wrote an index of cities and their famous men.³ Literary treatments of particular temples, festivals, and artifacts also became popular in the second century (Boardman 2003:19). Athens, as the traditional apogee of Greek civilization, was the main focus of these works, and individual works on its festivals, sacrifices, laws, and ancient buildings are attested, while sophistic speeches such as Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaic Oration* offer stereotyped praises of its glorious history.

² Ephesos: *Suda*, s.v. 'Ephesos'; Herakleia Pontica: Jacoby (1957), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrH)* 435; Smyrna: *FGrH* 579; Alexandria: *FGrH* 628-629; Aegae: *FGrH* 746-747; Pallene: *FGrH* 277.

³ Hermogenes: *FGrH* 579; Philo: *FGrH* 788-792.

As this brief overview suggests, the widespread historicizing literature of the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods dwelled on the Classical past, the foundations of cities, and the unique aspects of Greek culture. This was not history for its own sake, but was part of an effort to find a new source of political and cultural power for cities that were now under the political rule of Rome. Another genre, *periegesis*, used this interest to create narratives about contemporary Greek culture. By using movement through space to demonstrate historical connections between places, periegetical writers such as Pausanias linked local histories into the broader sweep of Greek cultural history.

Pausanias and Periegetic Literature

Periegetic writing is the historical genre of the second sophistic that most closely examines the physical, monumental remnants of the Greek past. *Periegesis* takes the form of a guidebook or itinerary through a particular territory, and particularly flourished in second century CE Ionia, the central part of the Aegean coast of Anatolia that will be discussed often in this study (Bowie 1970:25). Periegesis could outline an itinerary across a large region or a specific city: the historian Arrian's *Bithynika*, for instance, outlines local myths, shrines, and cult practices from his home region of northern Anatolia. Periegesis could also focus on one city alone, like Telephus of Pergamon's now lost *Periegesis of Pergamon* (FGrH 505). It was also familiar enough as a genre that it was incorporated into oratory. Aelius Aristides' first *Smyrnaean Oration*, for instance, celebrates the visit of governor P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus to Smyrna in 157 CE (Behr 1981:II.356). It does so, however, by tracing his processional route through the city, using the monuments he passes as points of digression on how the city's history demonstrates its present importance: the city's past, as expressed in its spaces and

monuments, surrounds and shapes current events. Other attested works with a place-based theme include histories of divine epiphanies, such as those of Menodotos of Samos, and histories of individual religious events or shrines (*FGrH* 541 F1; Dillery 2005:514). Plutarch's work on the festival of statues at Plataea, for example (*FGrH* 388), falls into this genre. *Periegesis* as a genre thus specifically engages both place and architecture. It places the reader in the phenomenological position of the traveler, and uses particular places and monuments as departure points for discussions, not only of geographical characteristics, but how particular places are connected to mythological stories and historical events.

Pausanias is the most famous of the periegetical writers, but is also different from the others because he adds the dimension of time to his narrative. In his *Periegesis*, space and architecture are intimately connected to myth and memories of Greek antiquities from the Classical period and before. A native of Magnesia ad Sipylum (modern Manisa in Turkey), he was born in the 110s CE and lived until at least 180. The ten books of the *Periegesis* were probably composed over a long period from about 165 to 180 CE (Bowie 2001:23). The book leads the reader on a tour of mainland Greece, beginning in Attica (Book 1), circling the Peloponnese (Books 2-8), and ending up in Boiotia (Book 9) and Phocis (Book 10). In style, Pausanias follows the conventions of the genre: the work is a travelogue, reporting distances between towns, and emphasizing evidence gathered both through eyewitness and from local informants. Pausanias proclaims his interest as *panta ta Hellenika*, "all things Greek" (Hutton 2005:57). He is interested in temples, shrines, sacred groves, votive statues and other offerings, and other remnants of the past. While he offers some measurements and topographical detail, this kind of information is not as

prominent in his text as it is in geographers such as Strabo, due to the fact that his primary interest lay in antiquities and stories from the Greek past (Hutton 2005:81). Pausanias places the reader in “the phenomenological position of the traveler” (Elsner 2001:5).

While this style long led critics to see the work as a sort of “ancient Baedeker”, concerned with the boring practicalities of travel (Hutton 2005:24), recent scholarship has identified an underlying structure to the work that suggests an artfully constructed message about the relationship between contemporary Greek identity and the remains of the Classical and pre-Classical past. Athens and Delphi stand at the beginning and end of the book, while its center (Books 5 and 6) focuses on Olympia, the site of the Panhellenic festival and the symbolic heart of Greece. This structure, as John Cherry (2001:248) suggests, is “a carefully selected set of elements intended to structure a *Grèce imaginaire*, meaningful to provincial Greeks under Roman rule as they wrestled with problems of cultural and political identity.”

The effort to construct an ideal of Greece is accomplished in the text not only by its macroscopic structure but also through the way that Pausanias relates specific places to historical events. At Olympia, for instance, he presents the statuary of the *Altis* or sacred grove not in their spatial order but according to the type of monument: the reader takes separate perambulations through the *Altis* to examine altars, statues of Zeus, votive offerings, and statues of Olympic victors. This organization presents his ideal concept of Olympia: “these objects, grouped as trips around the Altis... stand metonymically for the key aspects of Pausanian Olympia: its ritual primacy, its prime deity, the long history of

Panhellenic worship at the site... and (at greatest length) the Olympic games” (Elsner 2001:17).

The way that Pausanias structures his discussions of larger landscapes shows a similar desire. Although his overall itineraries are linear with regular radial branches, not all areas of territory are treated equally. He does not always give distances or details of landscape features that would be useful in a true travel guide, but rather focuses on particular springs, hills, or groves when they reflect an interesting mythological or historical tradition. As Hutton notes, “rather than conforming to the exigencies of a practical guide, the *Periegesis* reflects Pausanias’ capacity for seeing the landscape as an embodiment of mythohistorical traditions... the itineraries Pausanias traces through the Argolid replicate and respect the traditional dominance of Argos over the region” (Hutton 2005:116-117). He uses past traditions to shape his own construction of the contemporary landscape of Greece. Nodes in the landscape, in fact, function as portals into the past. Natural features and ruins alike are catalysts for the evocation of mythological stories, with the result that “Pausanias’ own spatial grid is highly selective. He links places by location and distance but constantly interrupts the spatial flow with temporal shifts into mythological (and less often historical) time” (Cohen 2001:96).

Pausanias, then, works to materialize the corpus of Greek mythology and to project it onto contemporary space. Although he is passionate about the material remains of the past, the values he finds in places are not derived exclusively from materiality. Rather, materiality is integrated into a literary framework: “Pausanias’ s trip to Greece began in reading and in images derived from reading. It shares with most travel narratives a fundamental and unresolved tension between the nature of a lived experience and

reading and writing about that experience” (Cherry 2001:251). The initial appearance of the text as a simple, objective catalogue or corpus is therefore misleading. Its real aim is to create an artfully structured “Greece” that roots contemporary Greek identity in a storied past.

Making the Past Present: Heroes and Founders

In Pausanias, then, we find an appreciation for the antiquity of old temples, shrines, groves, and individual relics like those on display at Olympia, and a desire to structure the description of such material to present the view of a Greek past that is emptied of the Roman present. But how typical was he of attitudes toward the physical past more generally in the Greek world? Pausanias’ agenda benefited from the fact that it was relatively easier to elide Rome during a period when the province of Achaia was relatively poor, with few major cities and a depressed population compared to the Classical period (Alcock 1993:38).⁴ In Pausanias’ home province of Asia, however, such a project would have been much more difficult.

The cities of Roman Asia experienced a building boom in the first and second centuries AD. Big cities such as Ephesus and Pergamon are famous for their monuments from this period, but excavation has shown that even minor provincial centers such as Sagalassos could enjoy the full range of civic amenities (Waelkens 1993). In these new civic landscapes, the historical structure of urban space played only a minor role. In Asia Minor the building boom of the Roman period obscured many Hellenistic cityscapes and presented an image of both novelty and wealth. Ironically, the wealthiest province of the

⁴ Although Athens itself prospered under Roman rule, as the lavish construction in the Agora and elsewhere suggests (Alcock 2002:51-54).

Roman east, and the center of Classicism in literary culture had almost no architectural remains preserved from that period.

This is not to say, however, that the past had no role in these new urban landscapes. Rather, builders and patrons had to find creative ways of incorporating references to individual cities' history and identity into civic space. Celebrating connections with the distant past played an important social and political role for Greek cities, especially after their political independence had been lost. The common origin of different cities (*syngeneia*) through legendary founders could become grounds for asserting friendship or kinship between cities, or provide the basis for treaties, loans, or other arrangements (Curty 1995). Such connections also served as a means of competition – in petitioning the Roman authorities for special privileges, Greek cities used their legendary histories as contemporary political tools. Correspondingly, references in sculpture, inscriptions, or of special monuments (heroa) dedicated to city founders, gave such legends a place in the urban environment.

The result that emerged was in its own way just as historicizing as Pausanias' text, but with a different set of social goals for the past. History was deployed in urban spaces not to reject Roman rule, but to incorporate local identity, Greek culture, and Roman power into a coherent picture that could be put to political use (Ng 2007:234). The Asian poleis of the high empire used a number of strategies for celebrating their civic histories and connections to the shared mythological narratives that connected Greek-speakers throughout the Mediterranean. Old temples could be used to symbolize a city's glorious past, but the implementation of new sculptural programs or civic rituals could be equally effective at making the past a tangible part of the present. The complex interplay

of old structures, new iconography, and civic ritual can be seen at three cities that play an important role throughout this dissertation: Ephesus, Pergamon, and Aphrodisias.

Historicizing Urban Space: Ephesos

Visitors to Ephesus today see primarily the Roman city, with some Hellenistic monuments still evident. However, this urban shape had several antecedents. The Bronze Age settlement was at Ayasoluk, near contemporary Selcuk. The first Greek settlers, led according to legend by Androklos, built their town below the Koressos hill, while the Classical city was founded by Croesus near the site of the Artemision (Scherrer 2001:61; Strabo 14.1.3; Herodotos 1.26). In response to flood dangers, this town was moved by its Hellenistic king Lysimachos to its current location in the 280s BCE (Scherrer 2001:59-61). This refoundation of Ephesus included a wall following the natural contours of the nearby peaks, a port near the location of the later Roman one, and a typically Hellenistic grid plan (Parrish 2001:11). The Hellenistic remains of the city remain largely unexplored archaeologically, partly due to the fact that the monumental quarters were covered by Roman-period construction (Scherrer 2001:66).

Augustus' long visit to Ephesus in 29 BCE inaugurated a long building boom that dramatically transformed the city. In this period, the 'State Agora' in the saddle between Mt. Pion and Mt. Preon was constructed, which included a new *bouleuterion*, a large open agora with a Temple of Caesar and Roma, a *temenos* of Augustus and Artemis, a *prytaneion*, a long stoa, and monumental Doric gates at the west and south ends of the square. A new gymnasium east of the State Agora replaced a Late Hellenistic facility on the same site, and a new stadium was built to the north, outside the city walls (Scherrer 2001:70).

New building again picked up under Domitian, when a bath and gymnasium complex was constructed along the harbor. The *plateia* was redecorated and furnished with a number of *nymphaea*. The Hellenistic tradition of honorific tombs reappeared with the monument to Celsus along the *embolos*, and local benefactor T. Claudius Ariston sponsored more monumental construction in the State Agora (Rogers 1991:89). Under the Antonines building continued, with the construction of the Olympeion and the gymnasium in the Koressos district. Rogers notes that by 104 CE, 24 of 35 monuments along the major thoroughfares of the city were of Augustan date or later (1991: 89, 95, 103). By the 170s CE, the appearance of the city had been dramatically changed from a century before, both in public spaces and in elite domestic architecture. (Scherrer 2001:78). The walls of Lysimachus and the temple of Apollo were perhaps the only remaining signs of pre-Roman Ephesus.

At the same time, however, references to civic and Greek history were common in this new urban space. Ephesos offers plentiful evidence for the cult of its legendary founder, Androklos. Son of King Codrus of Athens, Androklos led the Greek colonization of Ionia as a whole and Ephesos in particular. In legend, he was instructed by the Delphic oracle to look for a boar, which he found below Mt. Pion, the site where the Lysimachan and Roman city flourished (Strabo 14.1.21). By 150 AD, a wealth of references to Androklos dotted the urban landscape. He appears in a statue in the new Vedius Gymnasium built about 150, in the relief sculpture of the Artemision, in mosaic pavements in the Agora, and in a relief and an honorary epigram on the wall of the theatre. Even the boar is commemorated, in a statue along the harbor road (Rogers 1991:107). Most prominently, a heroon for Androklos was constructed in the second

century BCE along the *embolos*, or main street leading to the Magnesian gate. Ten meters wide and six deep, the structure stood two stories high and held a sculptural program that, while fragmentary, appear to have been placed on the pediment of the structure (Thür 2004:165-167). It depicts mounted riders, combat, and, crucially for the identification of this monument, the legendary boar that led Androklos to the site of Ephesus.

The presence of this structure along a main thoroughfare suggests that the origin story of the city was prominent in public consciousness. Thür (1995:103) moreover suggests that the heroon was built to celebrate Ephesus' freedom from Attalid rule after the bequest of Attalos III's kingdom to Rome in 133 BCE, and thus represents a symbolic refoundation of the city. History, then, was marshaled to help commemorate and interpret contemporary political life. Though Rogers (Rogers 1991:108) suggests that interest in Androklos revived in the Imperial period, the identification of this heroon confirms that the historicizing trends discussed here stretch into the late Hellenistic period if not before.

Consciousness of civic history could also be performed in the urban landscape, as Guy Rogers has shown in his discussion of the endowment of a regular procession through the urban and periurban landscape of Ephesus by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 AD. Salutaris, an equestrian who served in military and governmental roles in several provinces of the Empire, created his procession in consultation with the *demos* and *boulé*. The procession consisted of twenty-nine statues, which were borne from the Temple of Artemis to the Magnesian gate, through the State Agora and down the *embolos* past the elite villas and commemorative monuments. The procession then passed through the Tetragonos Agora to the theater, where the statues were briefly displayed before the

procession moved to the Koressos gate and back to the Artemision (Rogers 1991:112-113; Figure 2-2).

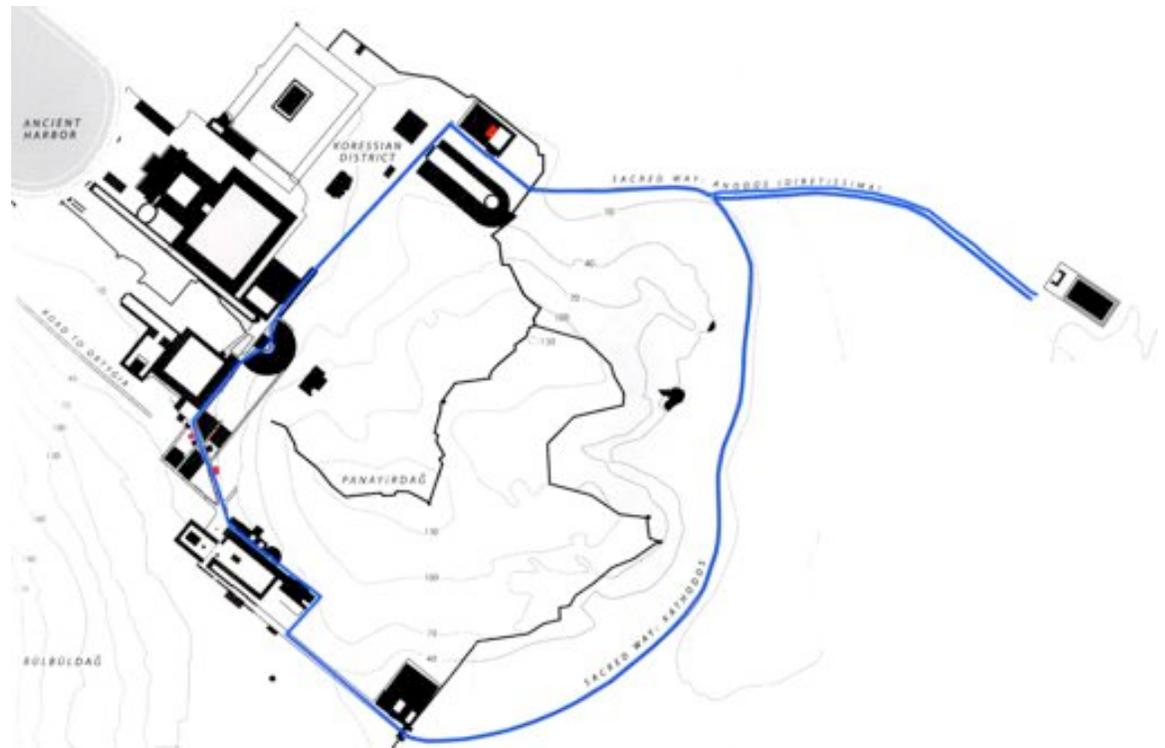


Figure 2-2. The Route of the Salutaris Procession (Ng 2007:285. Reprinted with Permission.)

The procession allegedly took place approximately every two weeks.⁵ It included statues representing the Ephesian community, its Roman rulers, and the history of the city, all under the supervision of Artemis. Statues of the tribes, *demos*, *boulé*, *gerousia*, and *ephebeia* represented the political institutions and age-classes of Ephesian citizens. Statues of Rome, the equestrian order, Trajan, his wife Plotina, and the Roman Senate embodied the political order that dominated the Mediterranean world. The remaining five statues referred specifically to Ephesian history. The three founders of the city,

⁵ The inscription indicates that the procession was this frequent, though it is impossible to confirm if this was carried out in practice.

Androklos, Lysimachos, and Augustus were represented, along with Euonymos and Pion, the god of the mountain above the city (Rogers 1991:80-85).

The statues were borne through the city in a route that, as Rogers suggests, retraces the history of the city backwards. Through the Augustan-era structures of the state Agora, the procession wound its way through the Lysimachan city to the district known as Koressos, the site of the oldest settlement. Beginning and ending at the temple of Artemis, the procession enacted the city's history within the context of the goddess' continued sponsorship. Ultimately, Ephesos' legitimacy is defined by her origin nearby. The enactment of this procession on such a regular basis suggests that Ephesos' history must have been intimately familiar to its residents, despite continued change to its cityscape. Here, time is mapped onto space, suggesting that Ephesians may have associated particular parts of the city with different phases of its history. Historical consciousness is thus rooted in place, as much as in material objects: along with Augustus, Androklos, and Lysimachus, the mountain Pion represents the connection between the present, the past, and the land itself. Rome is not rejected, but it is assigned a particular place that does not undermine the distinct identity of the city (Alcock 2002:94).

Sculpture and Identity at Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias did not take its current shape until around 150 BCE, when it was founded along traditional Hellenistic lines and provided with a rectangular grid. The city grew considerably in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, when the grid took on the Roman pattern of major north-south and east-west thoroughfares that combined with an 'urban armature' of monuments to create impressive vistas that referenced Roman power (Ratté 2002:10, 21). While major monuments such as the theater, the agora, and the temple of

Aphrodite, are late Hellenistic in date, much of the city was refashioned in the Imperial period.

The first phase of building was sponsored by C. Julius Zoilos, a freedman of Augustus, who was responsible for the construction of the north Agora, the theatre stage building, and the new temple, all begun in the late 1st century BCE (Ratté 2001:121). Another early monument of Roman Aphrodisias was the *Sebastian*, a center for the cult of the emperors, constructed probably between the reigns of Tiberius and Nero (ca. 35-55 CE). The building, which served as a center of the Imperial cult and a demonstration of Aphrodisias' connections with Rome, was a long, porticoed building with a strong axial plan more typical of Roman than Greek architectural sensibility (Smith 1988:89-92). Its sculptural program, placed in the three stories of porticoes, presents the imperial family, personifications of the conquered peoples of the Empire, and mythological scenes that identified Rome with the physical world and the larger context of Greek culture (1988:97).

Except for the innovative architecture of the Sebasteion, the layout and cityscape of Aphrodisias up to 100 CE resembles other Hellenistic cities in the Meander valley such as Magnesia and Priene, which also had city centers that focused on an urban temple next to a large Ionian-style agora (Ratté 2001:119). The 2nd century CE, however, saw significant changes. The Antonine and Severan periods saw the construction of a new bouleuterion north of the north Agora, with architecture partly inspired by the Roman *odeion*. A new Agora was constructed, just south of the old, one with lavish 'Asian'-style porticoes and flanked by a new bath complex on the west and a basilica to the south. Another bath complex was constructed about the same time near the theatre (Ratté

2002:19). Later in the 2nd century, the space to the east of the temple of Aphrodite was walled off and a new tetrapylon was built as its monumental gate. North-south and east-west streets were widened and took on a typically Roman axial emphasis, marking a final phase in the monumentalization of the city.

For the resident or visitor to Aphrodisias, the civic vistas of the mid-2nd century would have presented a lavish aspect, marking a provincial town that enjoyed special imperial favor. While the temple precinct of Aphrodite existed by the 6th century BCE, the city itself was not founded until around 100 BCE (Ratté 2001:119). The cityscape created by the first century CE remodeling of the theatre stage building, North Agora porticoes, temple approach, and bouleterion reflected the Imperial present far more than the Hellenistic past (Ratté 2002:21).

In the midst of this novelty, sculptural programs on the new monuments sought to establish a location for the city both within the Empire itself and within the landscape of Greek history. The reliefs of the Sebasteion are one example of this self-fashioning. The three-storied porticoes (12 meters high) were decorated on their top two stories with reliefs that present a cosmological vision of Aphrodisias in the Roman world. The second story of the south portico presented a wide variety of Greek myths alongside Roman stories such as the Flight of Aeneas and the story of Romulus and Remus. Another panel depicts the Polis of Aphrodisias crowned by the goddess Roma, but this is the sole reference to the city itself. Opposite this register, on the north portico, reliefs depicted the personified *ethné* of the Empire, including Jews, Sicilians, and Cretans (Smith 1988:54-69). The reliefs of the second story support those of the third both literally and metaphorically: this top register celebrates imperial victory over peoples at the fringe of

the Empire, including Armenia and Britain, while juxtaposing the victories of the Emperors with those of the Olympian Gods (Smith 1987:100-101).

Though not explicitly historicizing, the Sebasteion reliefs suggest how contemporary politics and local identity could be integrated with the larger stream of Greek culture and religion. Some of the claims are implicitly historical: by calling attention to the connections between Aphrodite and the Julian emperors, the city connects itself to the history of Rome as well as to the larger history and visual culture of the Greek world. The end product was a hybrid identity for the city, but one rooted in the tissue of a common past (Alcock 2002:92-93).

In some contexts, Aphrodisian builders did celebrate the city's legendary history. The civic basilica at the southwest corner of the civic center, built about 100 CE, prominently featured reliefs of Ninus and Semiramis, legendary Babylonian rulers, along with legendary Phrygian king Gordios and Greek hero Bellerophon. These frieze panels, situated at the center of the east side of the basilica, depict these figures in the context of omens, oracles, and sacrifice, ways of representing city founders found throughout Asia Minor (Yıldırım 2004:27). Another statue base honoring "Bellerophon the founder" (*Bellerophon ktisteis*) was also found in the Tetrasyon area, confirming that the city promoted the legendary hero as its founder (Smith 1996:54; Erım 1986:101).

Efforts to establish ancient credentials for the city extended into the 3rd century, as confirmed in a letter from Gordian III in 239 CE. Here, the emperor acknowledges the city's ancient pedigree as justification for granting it privileges (Yıldırım 2004:36). The presence of legendary founders on the basilica associates them with current administration of the city, personified by the emperor.

Another, more subtle invocation of Aphrodisias' legendary origins may be present on the monument to C. Julius Zoilos, the city's Augustan-era benefactor. As Smith notes, the presence of the legendary Cretan king Minos in the monumental sculpture plays a double function – he was seen as one of the judges of the underworld, but also invoked the alleged Cretan homeland of the original inhabitants of Caria (Smith 1993:53). Carians were said to have migrated from Crete during the time of Minos (Pausanias VII.2; Strabo 14.2.27); Carian Aphrodisias could thus claim Minos too. Here, the myth's literal truth was not as important as associating the city with the larger sphere of Greek history. An association with Minos was an assertion of membership in the wider realm of Greek culture. As Hall has noted, the emphasis on founders and kinship formed a crucial element of a city's identity, while placing it in relationships of mutual obligation with other cities and the Roman authorities (Hall 1997:38).

Creating a Hellenic History at Pergamon

Pergamon also reflects these themes. Located in ancient Mysia, it was not always a Greek city: the first settlement on the acropolis dates to perhaps 1000 BCE, and a non-Greek dynasty called the Gongylids ruled the city until the 4th century BCE. Only a few remnants of walls remain from this period (Radt 2001:44). Refounded by Hellenistic king Philetairos in 281 BCE on a grid plan, the city was expanded under Eumenes II (197-159 BCE). A new agora was laid out near the south gate, and a three-leveled gymnasium was built along the hillside parallel to the newly paved road up to the acropolis. On the Acropolis, the temple of Athena had its stoas realigned to face the new royal palace, and the famous Pergamon altar was constructed along with the theatre and adjacent temple of Dionysus (Radt 1999:79; 2001:45). An important element of the Attalid refoundation and

expansion of Pergamon was to give the city a Hellenic identity, both through the establishment of civic institutions and through the promotion of mythological narratives that tied the city into the Greek world. To this end, the Attalids promoted Pergamos, a previously obscure son of Neoptolemos (and thus grandson of Achilles) as a founder of the city. The dynasty's donations to Delphi, for instance, emphasize this connection (Scheer 2003:222). The Great Altar, built under Eumenes II in the 160s BCE, promotes the other legendary founder of the city: Telephos, the son of Herakles and Auge, an Arcadian priestess of Athena. After his mother was magically transported to Mysia, Telephos was adopted by the local king Teuthras and then established the city of Pergamon, while his mother founded its temple of Athena. The Telephos frieze of the Great Altar is the centerpiece of Attalid attempts to assert both their Greek identity and their status as patrons of Greek culture throughout the region (Stewart 1996:111; Ng 2007:33). The historical identity of Attalid Pergamon was, then, promoted for concrete political reasons.

As at Ephesus, Roman Pergamon was “the scene of continuous and massive building activities,” especially in the Antonine period (138-191 CE) (Radt 2001:49). Roman construction, however, entered into a dialogue with the Hellenistic identity of the city. A typically Roman square grid was used to expand the city northward into the plain. In a strong political statement, the new temple of the emperor Trajan on the acropolis served as the grid's datum, in counterpoint to the Hellenistic grid, which had been based on the alignment of the temple of Athena (Parrish 2001:9). The center of gravity of the city in the mid 2nd century had shifted to the lower town, where a new theater, stadium and amphitheater marked Pergamon as an important Imperial center. The 4th century BC

Asklepieion, the shrine of the god of healing, was substantially remodeled under Hadrian in 123, perhaps at his personal instigation. Old structures were demolished and a new understory for the entire precinct was constructed. The new precinct now took on a library and educational function in addition to its healing duties. The new buildings at the shrine included a round temple of Zeus-Asklepios, which was a half-scale copy of the Pantheon in Rome, and a colonnade along the sacred way leading back into the city (Hoffman 1998:43; Radt 1999:220).

Pergamon in the mid-second century had a dramatically different aspect than its Hellenistic or Classical forbears, but retained important features of its past. Visitors to the city would have been struck by the novel combinations of Roman, traditional Hellenistic, and simply innovative architecture that characterized the city. Strong sight lines along the gridded streets and up to the agora would have reminded residents and visitors alike not only of the munificence of civic benefactors who had given baths and theaters to the city, but of the supremacy of the emperors, whose temple, the Trajaneum, was clearly visible from most parts of the lower town. The Trajaneum, however, shared the acropolis with the Great Altar and the story of Telephos. That the altar, and the myths it contained, continued to form an integral part of Pergamene identity can be seen from local coinage: Radt reproduces a joint bronze issue of Pergamon and Ephesus from the time of Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE) that depicts Herakles and Auge on its reverse (Radt 2001:52), while bronze coins from the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 CE) show the west side of the altar (Kästner 1998:145, Plate 23). The Hellenistic monuments of the city were in dialogue with Imperial innovations, creating an identity for the city that was at the same time contemporary and fiercely proud of its past.

The examples of Pergamon, Ephesus, and Aphrodisias demonstrate that cities in Asia Minor in the late Hellenistic and especially the Imperial were not disconnected from their history simply because of the absence of old structures. Founders and heroes helped materialize the past into new urban landscapes, and were actively deployed in the creation of contemporary identities. This trend was historicizing rather than historical: the city's ability to celebrate its past did not hinge on the testimony of old objects or the preservation of old buildings, but on the deployment of sculptural images suggesting well-known mythological and historical narratives. Here the historical concept precedes its monumentalization. In Roman Asia, it was the context of urban euergetism that shaped the past in the service of the contemporary social order. Mythology, worship of the emperors, the fame of local benefactors, and local origin stories coalesce into a single, coherent narrative. Unlike Pausanias, whose narrative stressed continuities within Greek history while minimizing the Roman present, these cities celebrated the present while simultaneously glorifying the past.

Displaying History: Temple Treasuries

A third mode of constructing the Greek past in the Roman context, one which displays a sensibility most similar to modern archaeology, can be seen in the collections of old artifacts held and displayed in temple treasuries. Greek temples played complex social roles. They supervised civic ceremonies and were served by priests elected from the local political elite. Temples had a significant economic role as major landowners and sources of individual and civic loans. The temple of Aphrodite at Ephesus, for instance, came under repeated scrutiny from Roman governors because of its crucial function as the most important financial center in the province of Asia (Rogers 1991:44). Some of

this financial clout came from gifts given by individuals, who wanted to signify their devotion to the god. Such gifts were recorded in temple accounts, which were sometimes inscribed for public viewing. Account inscriptions have survived from Didyma, Delos, Ilion, Halikarnassos, Samos, Lindos, the Rhodian Peraia, and Perge, suggesting that the practice was widespread during the Hellenistic and Roman periods alike (Dignas 2002:236ff). Here, we examine examples of this practice from Didyma, Lindos, and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.

Especially significant gifts were displayed to the public in special rooms. As such, temple treasuries have been compared to ‘museums’ where pilgrims could come in contact with tangible evidence of the temple’s glorious history. When past events or ancient objects were commemorated, “such commemoration most often took place in a sanctuary and reflected the role that the Greek gods were thought to have played in an individual’s or a city’s success” (Higbie 2003:254). While no such temple museum has been discovered archaeologically, surviving epigraphic and literary evidence suggests their contents and social function. Despite their superficial resemblance to the modern museum, the physical antiquity of temple offerings was only one part of the value of the objects displayed. Other considerations, including legitimation, political competition, and the pursuit of prestige for the temple itself led to the commemoration of historical objects.

Some inscriptions that record temple offerings take the form almost of a catalogue. At Didyma, for instance, the surviving tablets, ranging in date from 320 to 70 BCE, list gifts and their givers in chronological order. Dignas shows, however, that these records were not a comprehensive history of temple donations, but rather carefully

chosen selections of yearly accounts that had been originally composed on papyrus. The treasures that originally made the temple famous, for instance, had been taken to Susa by the Persians after they crushed the Ionian revolt in 494 BCE (Dignas 2002:238). Nor did they record a permanent collection of artifacts: metal offerings to Didyma could be melted down to make new equipment for the temple as needed. The inscription of such accounts was, rather, intended to honor the dedicators before the public, and to generally advertise the importance of the shrine (Dignas 2002:242). There may be a subtext of transparency, too: at Delos, it is suggested that the inscription of temple treasures publicly was a means of advertising the honesty of the priesthood's financial management of the site (Dignas 2002:236). At Didyma, then, we find records of objects that are important for reasons *other* than history, whatever their aesthetic or historical interest may have been.

A seemingly more "historical" approach to the public presentation of temple treasuries is found in the record of offerings given to the temple of Athena at Lindos. Inscribed in 99 BCE, the Lindian Chronicle lists gifts that trace the temple's prominence from historical times into the mythical past: a drinking cup from Minos, two wicker shields from Herakles, and bracelets from Helen of Troy, but also caltrops from Alexander, weapons from Pyrrhus, and shields from Philip V.⁶ In highlighting these gifts from famous historical figures, the Lindos Chronicle does not record all gifts to the temple. By the same token, not all of these objects still existed at the time that this list was prepared, since many likely burned in the temple fire of 392/1 BCE (Shaya 2002:138-143). The intention, then, cannot have been to simply record offerings. Rather,

⁶ Lindos Chronicle B18, B23, B70, C103, C113, C127 respectively.

the inscription creates a carefully structured ‘chain of testimonies’ that proves the sanctuary’s origins in the remotest past. It also had an element of spatiality: objects that represented long distances, famous people, and great time depths were equally desirable because they “represented the Lindian past as a story of widening horizons”, demonstrating the important role of Lindos in the Greek world (Shaya 2005:430). While visitors to temples no doubt were attracted by the antiquity of the objects, that significance was artfully and selectively deployed in ways calculated to support the temple’s institutional power.

The political benefits of situating a temple firmly in such mythological time could, in fact, be independent of the holdings of temple museums. An inscription from the theater at Magnesia on the Maeander presents a similar chain of testimony about the temple’s ancient history. It was prepared as part of the Magnesians’ efforts to secure international recognition for a new festival of Artemis instituted in 208 BC. Along with the festival, a new temple was constructed under the supervision of the architect Hermogenes, and large prizes for festival participants were endowed. Along with recognition of the festival, Magnesia also sought recognition of the temple’s *asylia*, or immunity from taxes and invasions. To that end, teams of ambassadors traveled from Spain to the Persian Gulf publicizing the festival and securing at least 151 endorsements of the new festival and status of the goddess from other cities (Gehrke 2001:287).

The ambassadors used a historical narrative, later inscribed in the temple precinct, which resembles the Lindos Chronicle in that it connects the political history of the shrine and the city to important historical events. The chain of testimony begins with the Magnesians’ recent efforts to protect Delphi against the Celtic invasion, to the city’s

colonial foundation, to the participation of their putative Thessalian ancestors in the Trojan war, and finally to the legendary Aeolus, son of Hellen, the eponymous ancestor of the Greeks (Gehrke 2001:292). It commemorates the particularities of local history while ultimately connecting the city to the universal narratives of Greek cultural identity.

While the Magnesian inscription shares an historiographic approach with the Lindian Chronicle, it seems that it did not need objects to be credible. Likewise, in the case of the Lindos Chronicle and the records of Didyma, the curation and display of objects could be useful and desirable, was not a precondition for historical claims. Rather, the narrative itself, rather than physical evidence of the past, was the precondition for establishing historical legitimacy of the shrine and the city. We are faced, then, with a third mode of constructing history, one which documents the importance of particular institutions while ultimately connecting them to the common foundations of Greek identity.

Value and Materiality: Placing the Past

Rather than being the product of independently verifiable literary and archaeological evidence, the popular understanding of the past in Roman Asia Minor was the product of a matrix of shared memory that was based on the interconnection of Panhellenic, local, and Roman consciousness. As Gehrke notes, the combination of stories about the gods and the activities of legendary founders formed a set of common ideas about the past that were central to Greek identity. They formed an “internally highly structured and interconnected space of past time that was common to all, a bundle of inclusive identities which merged in the exclusive identity of the Hellenes... ubiquitous

and especially characteristic was the precise and loving arrangement of a space in which the things we call myth and history meet” (Gehrke 2001:297).

One of the two poles of Hellenic identity, then, was membership in the mytho-historical time of Hellenism. The other measure of Greek collective identity, however, was membership in the *polis*, a political and communal unit located in a particular place. Being Greek meant belonging to a place. Such place-based identities were clung to desperately – even after centuries in exile, the Messenians tenaciously held on to their ancestral cults and memories of their homeland (Alcock 2002:159-161). Despite the widespread interest in Atticism and the Classical past in education, Jones suggests that “when we pass out of the world of literature into the actual world in which these people moved, the home-city, the *patris*, is a central, perhaps the central, focus of loyalty and cultural memory” (Jones 2004:20).

As the examples here have suggested, the legitimacy of the *polis*, in turn, was demonstrated through its roots in mytho-historical time. These two concerns were reflected in the twin trends toward Classicism and localism in history writing from the Hellenistic period onward. Such efforts are characterized by Gehrke as “intentional history”, “that which is designed to project a sense of belonging and conscious self-categorization into the past” (Gehrke 2001:298). The role of particular monuments or objects in this “intentional history” is complex. Arafat notes that displays of old objects in antiquity “exemplify antiquity with a purpose, rather than antiquity *per se*” (Arafat 1996:78). Narratives about the past preceded the objects, and informed the materialization of history. At Ephesus, for instance, the geography of Androklos’ pursuit of the boar to the base of Mt. Pion were commemorated in Salutaris’ sculptures: one

represented Androklos, and another the mountain itself (Rogers 1991:108). The two sculptures materialize the mythical story and create a link between the visible landscape and the invisible founder. In the Lindos chronicle, it was the priesthood's version of the origins of the temple offerings that was inscribed. Later, the inscriptions themselves were used as evidence that the ancient stories were valid (Shaya 2005:432). Materiality was thus recruited to add authority to traditional claims based in oral history. Gabba's reflects on the equivalent process in Rome, noting that:

it seems clear that monuments, statues, toponyms, whose significance was for various reasons unclear, were at first invested with fantastic meanings of different kinds, but always related to legendary episodes or episodes of earliest Roman history... In a complete reversal of roles, the monuments then became the documents that guaranteed the historicity or credibility of the legends or stories, which had grown up (Gabba 1981:60).

If we consider that the purpose of history writing was not to establish an abstract truth but to establish community identity, this process was eminently suitable. Symbols of the past were part of a culture of display that made *seeing* an important building block of identity (Goldhill 2001a:179). Yet "autopsy [of ancient objects]... is simply but one way to help determine the historical record" (Dillery 2005:505) in Greek history, competing with other sources such as oral history and religious belief. Given its role in establishing both inter- and intra-community relationships, we should also question how firm was the line between the past and the present. Compressed into the fabric of the urban landscape as processions, statuary, architectural elements, and stories, the past was spatialized by its sheer ubiquity in the urban fabric.

Pausanias, with his focus on the age and decrepitude of monuments, seems to offer an exception to this trend. Yet as we have seen, ancient monuments in his text are in tension with his overall aim of presenting a vibrant Greek past. Though the monuments are the necessary building blocks of his narrative, they are also selectively and artfully

arranged. He does not care about structures simply because they are old, but because their age provides a convenient window into a historical past; such fusions of objects and stories form the basis of what can be seen as an argument about the continued significance of Greek history and identity under Roman rule. His journey through Greece, then, is not an objective report or catalogue, but an artfully constructed version of Greek history.

The euergetic urban monuments found in cities such as Ephesus, Aphrodisias, and Pergamon promoted a different kind of synthesis of Greek, local, and Roman. Mostly endowed by local notables, monuments that blended mythical founders with imperial themes sought to articulate that Greek cities were a constitutive and prestigious part of the fabric of the Roman Empire (Alcock 2002:39). Here, again, the significance of monumental references to the past lies not in their content or documentary properties, but in the relationship between symbols of local identity, symbols of local power, and urban space. Filling urban space with monuments that demonstrated the equality between the local and the Roman served to affirm the power of urban elites both at home and in the larger Roman world.

Temple treasuries are a third distinct means of deploying the past. They purposefully curated artifacts and retained them for the testimonials that they could provide to the history of the institution. Yet the physical properties of the object, *per se*, were not paramount: textual attestation could easily substitute for objects that had become lost. As Higbie notes,

in [temples at] Sicyon, Epidauros, Halikarnassos, and Lindos there developed parallel traditions about the history of the site. For all four places, different though they were in function and size, a belief arose that they had a splendid past that was not adequately represented by the contemporary structures and objects (Higbie 2003:287).

This created the need to fill those gaps through inscriptions. The ability to relate objects and texts to one another in a way that supported the political and economic aspirations of the shrine was of paramount importance, however interesting the artifacts in temple treasuries might be.

This survey of the social uses of history in late Hellenistic and Imperial Asia Minor is not intended to be comprehensive, but to introduce themes that reappear in later attempts to retrospectively understand Greco-Roman society in the area. We have learned, here, that visions of the past can be expressed in a variety of media: as literary texts (as in Pausanias, for instance), in architectural programs like that celebrating Androklos at Ephesus, and through the testimony of objects, as in temple treasuries. In each case the material and spatial is in a complex relationship with the textual. Both Pausanias and the temple records at Lindos illustrate how material evidence was artfully chosen to make statements about identity and political position. History in these examples is “intentional”, in other words designed to suggest ideas about power in the present.

These case studies provide an important comparative perspective for archaeology. For archaeologists, material evidence provides the most legitimate basis for hypotheses about ancient social and political life. In the same period that Classical archaeologists study, however, material evidence was *not* necessary to construct a vision of history. Rather, material evidence was used selectively to reinforce a literary or mythologically based narrative about the past. We may question, then, whether this approach applies in other periods as well, and wonder what effects such pre-modern techniques of constructing history have had on the practice of archaeology itself.

The evidence presented in this chapter also suggests how much social and cultural context shapes the experience of space. The spectators of the Salutaris procession would have experienced the environment of the embolos at Ephesus in a radically different way than do modern tourists, despite the fact that many of the monuments along the way remain recognizable. By the same token, readers of Pausanias' narrative experience of the landscapes that he writes about in ways that are intimately shaped by the text, as Sutton (2001) and Cherry (2001) suggest. Monuments themselves, then, do not carry an *a priori* meaning but must be interpreted through a cultural or textual lens. In examining the social context of Anatolian archaeology today, then, scholarship must try to determine what lenses shape the way that archaeologists and others see the spaces in which they work.

The chapters that follow attempt to establish such a context, by reviewing both the prehistory and history of archaeology in Anatolia, and the current attitudes among a subset of archaeologists working in the region today. By determining what social and political factors shaped the discipline of archaeology, we can observe a similar process of selection and omission in the constructing narratives about the past. Now, as in antiquity, monuments are deployed in a conscious arrangement of values that makes a statement about identity, memory, and time. It is hoped that this examination sheds new light on the relationship between archaeology, politics, and contemporary identity in Turkey.

Chapter 3: Classical Travelers and the Crafting of Archaeological Place, 1400-1800

Classical antiquity is a foundational element of modern identity in the West. Its prominence, however, obscures the fact that the very concept of “Classical antiquity” was painstakingly created between 1400 and 1800 by generations of scholars and travelers who visited the Mediterranean from northwestern Europe. The new popularity of ancient texts in western Europe after the Renaissance led to a widespread revival of interest in the Greco-Roman world. This interest arose at a time when actual contacts between western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean were relatively limited. However, a few travelers did visit ancient sites, and the information they brought back helped create the idea that ancient space and time could be discovered and experienced in the present: a concept that in turn is a precondition for scientific archaeology. In this chapter, I trace the evolution of this idea through the eyes of Medieval and early modern travelers from western Europe who visited Anatolia and the Aegean. I explore the way that they understood the role played by the monumental, material, and spatial in building an idea of the past, who they considered their audience, and consider how the legacy of their narratives continues to affect the practice of archaeology in Anatolia. Not all of the sites discussed here are drawn from Anatolia: along with Miletos and Ephesus, Delos also features prominently. This reflects an effort to select examples that are discussed in more than one of the travel

narratives examined here, with hopes of providing a sense of how notions of Classical space and Classical history evolved over the course of the early modern period.

Sutton has noted that Pausanias' narrative technique relies on the creation of a "selective landscape" that used both description and silence to create a landscape infused with history, but separate from the present (2001:184-185). Early modern travelers to Anatolia did much the same thing, creating an image of archaeological places that set them apart both in space and time from their Ottoman surroundings. I rely on two theoretical notions to help interpret this phenomenon: Bakhtin's (1981) notion of the "chronotope" and de Certeau's (1984) idea of the "spatial strategy" (see p.22 above). Bakhtin suggests that all literary genres have a way of treating space and time that is peculiar to themselves. For him, these unique space-times – *chronotopes* – are in fact fundamental to the nature of a genre. Thus the chronotope is "a formally constitutive category of literature." Moreover

in the literary and artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history. This intersection of axes, and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope (1981:84).

Chronotopes are produced by efforts to assimilate real historical time and space into a literary discourse. They are never a complete representation of a particular space or time, but a selection of elements that, deployed together, develop their own logic. Here, I suggest that the concept of the "Greco-Roman world" relies on just such an artfully designed fusion of space and time. Moreover, I suggest that the practice of marking archaeological sites off from their surroundings as special kinds of place, existing in a distinct ancient time, is partly a result of the chronotope created through the writings of travelers who went in search of the Classical.

Travel narratives from the late Middle Ages to the Enlightenment illustrate the evolution of this chronotope and share enough features that we may consider them a distinct genre. The Aegean and Anatolian travel narratives of Wilhelm Von Boldensele (1332), Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1414-20), Ciriaco of Ancona (1445-48), George Wheler and Jacob Spon (1675-76), and William Chandler (1765-66) share common plot elements and similar ways of treating space and time. Their narratives are structured as linear itineraries through the contemporary world, and give the reader a putative first-person perspective. However, they carefully construct this perspective to give the reader a bifurcated sense of space and time. In the narrative, arrival at an ancient site marks a transition into a space and time defined by ancient texts rather than by contemporary geographic details. As a result, these places are suffused with a special kind of space and time – a chronotope – that is distinct from its surroundings.

Travel narratives about archaeological sites also came to play an important role in defining and shaping real physical spaces in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. As European travelers named ancient sites, defined their boundaries, and discovered new sources of knowledge about the past, they attempted to shape real space to match the literary ideal. The result was the creation of new places – archaeological sites – that came to be “objects of will and power” (Harvey 1996:263) in their own right. The practice of Classical geography was also contemporaneous with the European attempts to appropriate Ottoman space for commercial and cultural purposes. In this sense, Classical geographers’ creation of special nodes of space-time around archaeological sites helped assert European scientific authority within Ottoman space and built the Orientalist case for the superiority of European cultural understanding.

As such, archaeological travel narratives of the early modern period were part of what Michel de Certeau terms a “spatial strategy” (1984:37).⁷ Using space strategically is an effort to shape what meanings a place has and what behaviors are acceptable there. Creating this sense of “the proper” is key to defining the identity of a space, and thus its permanence. Spatial strategies often reinforce “the proper” using the power of vision, including detailed recording, observation, and marking of boundaries. Because they assert that places have an existential identity that is only partially connected to physical facts, they allow people to perceive continuity of place in the midst of change: a site looks much different before and after excavation, but the assertion of its existential “placeness” allows us to assert that it is somehow still the same. Archaeological description in itself can be considered a spatial strategy, since it creates new spatial meanings through the process of excavation, recording, and analysis. As European travelers visited sites in the eastern Mediterranean, they used the texts of ancient geographers to suggest that sites had an existential identity that was distinct from that of the surrounding space and its people.

In the discussion that follows, I trace the emergence of the chronotope of Classical antiquity, discuss its strategic use by Europeans in defining spaces in the Ottoman Empire, and examine its change over time up to the birth of scientific archaeology in the mid-19th century. The travel texts examined here were instrumental in constituting “the ancient world” as a chronotope that influenced European culture. Their visits to and descriptions of archaeological sites suggested not only that the ancient Greek and Roman culture known from literary texts was real, but also that it somehow existed

⁷ For the application of de Certeau’s concept to archaeological spaces, I am indebted to a suggestion of Wendy K. M. Shaw (2003a:89).

still and could be recuperated with sufficient attention to, and control of, the places that contained it: places that happened to be within the Ottoman Empire. The discussion focuses in particular on three sites that were commonly visited during this period: Delos, Ephesos, and Miletos. Unfortunately, the four texts I examine here do not fully overlap. Though it is outside of Anatolia, Delos is an important site in the travelogues and allows comparison of the early narrative of Buondelmonti (who did not visit Anatolia) to his later predecessors who visited both Delos and the mainland.



Figure 3-1. Greece and western Anatolia, with sites mentioned in the text

Before Greece: Wilhelm von Boldensele and Medieval Travel in the Aegean

In the Middle Ages long-distance travel between western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean was difficult, expensive, and potentially dangerous. Although there were regular connections established by merchants, diplomats, and pilgrims, the number of travelers from west to east was never large (Ciggar 1996:22, 29). Even during the height of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Venetian pilgrim trade transported only 300-400 people per year from Italy to the Holy Land (van der Vin 1980:10). Commercial voyages from Italy to Anatolia passed through the Aegean islands, but rarely allowed passengers to disembark, with the result that few of these travelers would have seen ancient ruins (Yerasimos 1991:27).

As a result, western European geography before the 15th century drew its knowledge of the eastern Mediterranean not from geographic observation, but from literary sources, especially the Trojan cycle (as rendered in Latin) and the letters of the Apostle Paul. Naturally, the resulting cartography had a strong bias toward ancient history rather than modern politics. Instead of depicting practical itineraries, maps depicted a symbolic landscape centered on Jerusalem, Delos, or Delphi. Even the Crusades had little effect:

the increasing traffic [between the west and the Mediterranean] did lead to more interest, but this was precisely in the old, existing literature. The information found in pilgrims' narratives and in crusade chronicles is not put to use. This may explain why most thirteenth and fourteenth century maps do show Troy, which was known from Classical literature but which no longer existed, while Constantinople is often omitted (van der Vin 1980:131).

The revival of Greek learning in western Europe did not begin in earnest until the early 16th century, when a program in Greek studies was established in Paris (Augustinos 1994:5).

An interest in the legendary past, and some knowledge of ancient geography, was thus present in Europe in the Middle Ages. Yet the study of antiquities *per se* was not widespread in Europe: “the interest, admiration, and appreciation which have placed Greek antiquity in a central position in our own time contrast with the total indifference of the Middle Ages” (van der Vin 1980:2). The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, however, mark a transition between these poles of enthusiasm and indifference. In the travel account of Wilhelm von Boldensele, we see the beginning of the efforts to blend accounts of ancient monuments with those of Classical texts to create a distinct kind of time and space for archaeological places.

Von Boldensele visited Anatolia in summer 1332 as part of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Like many pilgrims, his journey took him through the Aegean islands to Constantinople before proceeding along the coast of Asia Minor toward Palestine. A German nobleman who had also served as a Dominican monk, von Boldensele seems to have been gathering information of a military nature as well: he prepared his *Hodoeporicon ad Terram Sanctam* (“Journey to the Holy Land”) in 1336 at the request of Cardinal Talleyrand de Perigord, a supporter of French King Philip VI’s proposed crusade against the Turks (Zacour 1956:684). His text was influential on better-known travel writers: it was copied wholesale by Ludolf von Sudheim, and constitutes much of the factual frame upon which Jean de Mandeville hung the fantastic details that distinguish his much more popular travel-tales (Higgins 1997:51).

Von Boldensele’s itinerary took him to important ancient sites, including Troy, Ephesus, Patara in Lycia, and the Pyramids in Egypt. While he must have frequently seen

ruins of the ancient world, they do not form an important part of his accounts of ancient places. On his visit to “Troy”, for instance, he remarks that

where the straits run into the Mediterranean Sea, on the Asian side Troy used to stand, that famous, old, and powerful city. It stood on beautiful, level ground, and the wide view that it has in the direction of the sea is very attractive... Because of its great age, hardly any traces of this once great city can be found (van der Vin 1980:576).

It is hard to say whether von Boldensele actually visited Alexandria Troas (considered in the Middle Ages to be the site of Troy), whether he saw ruins on the Asian side of the Dardanelles from shipboard, or whether someone simply pointed out somewhere along the coast where Troy was reputed to have stood. Nonetheless, it is clear that while the physical location of the site is important to him, the presence of ruins *per se* does not determine the significance or identity of the place. Rather, the crucial element is von Boldensele’s ability to give the romance of Troy a spatial location. He is aware that the passage of time can change a place, but he is willing to assert its essential identity despite such changes. While he may have preferred to see more ruins, the site *is* Troy, regardless of whether any physical remains are visible.

In his journey to Ephesus, we find the same emphasis:

Then I came to Ephesus, where the holy Apostle and Evangelist, St. John, whom I have already mentioned, retired, still living, into a tomb. At this place a very large and beautiful church stands over his grave; it is covered with lead and is in the shape of a cross. The church is richly decorated with mosaics and marble. The city of Ephesus, however, stands on a beautiful, strong and fertile site, a few miles from the sea. The Saracens, who are called Turks, are in possession of this place, and of almost the whole of Asia Minor; they have driven out the Christians, killed them or made slaves of them, and they have destroyed the magnificent churches which are mentioned in the Apocalypse, except for the church of St. John the Evangelist, in which behind the altar, I saw his tomb; this they have left undamaged, and they have adapted the building to their profane cult according to the law of Mohammed (van der Vin 1980:576).

For von Boldensele, Ephesus is the Church of St. John. The nearby city, probably the later Ayasoluk and its Selçuk castle, is interesting to him for its aesthetic and strategic position, but there is no mention of ruins. As at Troy, he describes the aspect of the site and its relation to the sea. The Turkish conquest, in his view, is interesting insofar as it

alters the biblical geography: they have destroyed the churches of the Apocalypse. The touchstone of his geographic imagination here is the historical narrative of the bible. The city exists in the present, not the past tense, even though in his time it was already abandoned. The church, moreover is not a representation of antiquity, but a living tradition. Boldensele emphasizes the *changes* in Ephesus after its conquest by the Turks, but for him these changes do not make the site different in the existential sense. Ephesus is not defined by its ruins, but by its association with the text of the Bible.

Only when he arrives in Egypt does von Boldensele exhibit awareness of how ancient monuments can provide evidence of the past. Upon reaching the pyramids at Giza, von Boldensele rejects the medieval tradition that they were the “barns of Joseph”, ancient granaries. Rather, he identifies them as “*monumenta antiquorum*”, monuments of antiquity, and records a Latin graffito carved on one of them from the reign of Trajan carved by a Decimus Cetiannus. In this he is among the earliest epigraphers, and one of the first travel writers in the European tradition to grasp the potential of monuments to provide information about a factual rather than a legendary past (van der Vin 1984: 30, 577).

In his visit to Anatolia, however, von Boldensele only notes the places already known to him from the bible and the romances of Troy: the illustration of the literary ideal is the center of interest, while monuments are interesting, but optional. Temporally speaking, ancient sites are not clearly marked off from the present: Troy and Ephesus are literary and geographical *topoi*, but they are not yet integrated into a *chronotope* that blends time into these spaces, setting them apart as a distinct category of place whose primary identity was their ability to suggest particular periods of time.

'Turcia Nomen Accipit': Cristoforo Buondelmonti and the Ancient World under Ottoman Rule

Only in the 15th century, with the rise of Renaissance interest in ancient geography, did travelers begin to see the former centers of pagan Greek civilization as a coherent geographical entity. Before this period, there was literally no such place as “Greece” in the Western geographical imagination (van der Vin 1980:137). New translations of Strabo and Ptolemy into Latin added to an Italian literary culture that was already well versed in Virgil, Ovid, and romances based on the stories of Alexander and Homer (Augustinos 1994:5). This rediscovery coincided with the Ottoman conquest of the Italian principalities in the Peloponnese and the remnants of the Byzantine Empire. The creation of “ancient Greece” as an imagined space and time, therefore, took place in the context of the Ottoman Empire’s rule over the heartlands of Hellenic culture. In order to recuperate the lands of Homer, Strabo, Virgil, Plato, or Pliny as part of a European past, writers had to reckon in one way or another with their conquest by a dynasty that was Muslim and Asian in origin. As Europeans grappled with this fact, they relied extensively on texts. As Said notes of Orientalism more generally:

In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these (Said 1978:177).

As “ancient Greece” was created, then, it was always, implicitly or explicitly, a selective, text-based project opposed to contemporary political realities.

Cristoforo Buondelmonti played an important role in this development. A Florentine priest with family connections among the Italian princes of the Aegean Islands, Buondelmonti traveled in Crete, the Cyclades, and the Dodecanese between 1414 and 1420, at a time when Venice and Genoa were still powerful in the Aegean (Manners

1997:73). He summarized his travels in two works: the *Descriptio Insulae Cretae* (Description of the Island of Crete) of 1417 and the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (Book of the Islands of the Archipelago) of 1420. Influenced by the recent translation into Latin of Ptolemy, he was one of the first travelers to describe Greece as a contemporary geographical concept, and to try to infuse the islands of his day with information about their ancient history. His work marks a transitional moment between the ideal geography of the Middle Ages and geography based on observed facts (Manners 1997:75). It also marks the formative stages of the genre's distinct approach to blending space and time in the description of ancient sites.

The *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, Buondelmonti's description of the Aegean islands, was dedicated to Cardinal Giordano Orsini. He takes as his purpose telling his itinerary and the affairs of the islands from past to present day:

Ergo, precor, cape munusculum a longis itineribus missum, in quo multa antiqua patrum narrata succincte videbis, et heroum magnalia antiquorum per totum congesta germinantur. Cernes insuper montes cum fontibus, una in pascuisque campis descendere nymphas, et in arentia saxa egas vagantes ubique; deinceps portus, cum promontoriis illis adstantibus scopulis, et oppida cognosces et maria pandentur in ipsis (1825:52).⁸

Therefore, I pray, receive this modest letter about a distant journey. In it, you will see briefly told both stories of the men of old and the great deeds of heroes from throughout antiquity. You will see high mountains and their springs, the places where nymphs descend into the fields and meadows, and goats wandering everywhere among the parched stones. You will also see ports, with their rocky promontories standing beside them, and you will know their fortresses and the seas stretching out around them.

From the beginning of his narrative, Buondelmonti draws a connection between time and landscape. His narrative about Greece is situated in an ancient past. The features of the landscape blend with the deeds of heroes and the homes of nymphs, which the reader will be able to 'see': certain places are transformed into windows through which the ancient past can come into the present. Although it does note practical facts of settlements,

⁸ *Sic*. Buondelmonti's Latin is difficult, sometimes to the point of incomprehensibility. Translations are my own, with reference to the French of Legrand (Buondelmonti 1897).

promontories, and fortifications, Buondelmonti's text is not to be a catalogue of present-day settlement in the Aegean. Rather, the islands are a canvas upon which stories from antiquity can be projected into contemporary space.

Buondelmonti bounds his discussion with a careful geographic description of the Aegean and the territories that border it: his subject, the Archipelago, stretches 450 miles from Rhodes to Cape Malea, and 500 miles from Crete to Tenedos. To the west is "greater Greece". He notes the Aegean Sea's derivation from Aegeus, the father of Theseus. To the east, the sea is bordered by Asia Minor, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, and Baetulia, "sed postquam Turci eam diu possedere ab iis Turcia nomen accepit" ("But after the Turks had conquered [these provinces], they received the name of 'Turkey' from them") (1825:53). Ancient names and events come first: what *is* is distinguished from what is *now*. The past serves as a medium in which the present is inscribed: *Turcia* appears as a temporally bounded and contingent reality that is existentially inferior to the past.

The present, however, must serve as a practical means of entry into the past, as the organization of his narrative suggests. The islands are presented in the usual order that mariners sailed from Italy to Constantinople and back again (van der Vin 1984:16). He moves from the Ionian islands south along the edge of the Peloponnese to Crete and Rhodes, north through Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos to Constantinople, then west and south along the coast of Thrace to Euboea. Here he shows his debt both to the standard sailing route, while giving a nod to the etymology of the Cyclades, which make a rough circle.

A mixture of practical geography and mythological pastiche is typical of Buondelmonti's method. He begins by framing islands in terms of their ancient names, proceeds to describe their size and geographical details, and then fills out the picture with references from ancient Latin authors. His description of Delos, for instance, follows this pattern. He again begins with its literary prominence and etymological origins:

Restat nunc insulam indicare *Deli*, de qua saepe inter auctores habetur mentio, et famosissima in medio Cycladum exsplendebat. Quam olim mobilem [*sic*] vetustas asserit, et multis in modis vocata fuit: *Delos*, *Asteria*, *Corama*, *Midia*, *Lagia*, *Cineto*, *Purpile*, et nunc *Sdiles* dicta est (1825:90).

It remains now to discuss the island of *Delos*, which is often mentioned by the authors, and which shines most famously among the Cycladic islands. Its nobility was attested in antiquity, and it was called many different names: *Delos*, *Asteria*, *Corama*, *Midia*, *Lagia*, *Cineto*, *Purpile*, and now *Sdiles*.

The weight of Delos' history is encapsulated in its many names, of which its current one is something of a footnote. Buondelmonti continues by expounding the etymology of the island's name. He tells the story of Leto, who chose the island as the birthplace of Diana and Apollo. He describes the characteristics of Diana, mistress of Dryads, Oreads, Naiads, and Nereids, "quae inter Graecos hodie venerantur, et affirmant quamlibet exercere officium suum" ("Who are venerated among the Greeks today, and whom they say each have their own duties") (1825:91). Again, the past is inserted into the present in unexpected ways. Buondelmonti also etymologizes the ancient Greek name *Delos*, suggesting that it means *manifestum*, "clear" or "visible". Its other ancient name, *Ortygia*, is explained by the great number of partridges (Greek *ortyx*) that are found there.

From etymology Buondelmonti moves to natural wonders and historical episodes. "In pede etiam montis huius [Mt. Cintius] fons est qui crescit et descrescit eo tempore et hora Nili fluminis, quod mirum est" ("At the foot of this mountain [Mt. Cynthius], there is a spring that rises and falls at the same time as the river Nile, which is a wonder") (1825:92). He notes the fame of the temple of Apollo, and tells the story of Brutus, whose

correct reading of an oracle given him on Delos helped him succeed Tarquin as the first Consul of the Roman republic (1825:92) – a Delian connection to Buondelmonti's Italy.

Only at this point, two-thirds of the way through his description of Delos, does Buondelmonti turn to the physical details of the island. He notes its two parts: Delos, the smaller, being four miles in circumference, the other (Rheneia) ten. In the whole discussion, which spans five pages, the antiquities of the island merit only a paragraph.

For our purposes, however, it is quite revealing:

Igitur in Delo, prope olim templum vetustum, in plano, praeparatum columnarum idolum videmus, quod in tanta magnitudine iacet, quod nullo modo nos, qui mille fuimus, erigere potuimus argumentis rudentum galearum, sed ad suum pristinum dimissus locum. Insuper hinc inde plus quam mille idolorum omnium magisterio laudabili videntur prostrata. Altera denique humilibus montibus cultivata erat, et per eam habitationes infinitae parabantur, quarum portaeque fenestrae versus templum prospectabant. Quorum in medio terris erigitur, in qua post desolationem templique caerimonium idolorum recreabant (1825:92-93).

On Delos, in the plain, we saw a great idol lying next to an ancient temple adorned with many columns. It lay there in such a size that in no way could we, who were many, re-erect it with the ropes and equipment on our galleys. Instead we left it undisturbed in its place. Besides that we saw there more than a thousand fallen idols made with remarkable workmanship, and others still standing on their small platforms. Around these there were also many houses, whose doors and the windows looked toward the temple. In the middle of these houses a tower had been erected, in which, after the destruction of the temple and the end of the pagan ceremonies, the local residents would take their rest.

A single, huge "idol" was visible among the columns, so large that they could not stand it up again, and had to leave it where it fell. It is curious that the first instinct should have been to raise the statue up again – the longing for a restoration of the past, put into action, and a foreshadowing of future interest in re-erecting ancient structures. This statue was one of more than a thousand other such 'idols' of great craftsmanship that also lay fallen in the area. Small houses clung to the cultivated hillsides around, looking at the site of the old temple. Immediately after this archaeological episode, Buondelmonti closes his description of Delos with three lines from the *Aeneid* (III.78-80): the exiled Trojans land

on the island, and leave their ships to worship at the ancient temple of Apollo, bringing the narrative full circle back into ancient literature.

This narration reveals the beginning of the process of creating ancient Greece. It is important for Buondelmonti's purposes that more of his narrative dwell in a space and time of mythology. His aim is not really to describe the contemporary island of *Sdeli*, a stopping point on the way to Constantinople, but to convince the reader that *Sdeli's* ancient *alter ego* is more real than *Sdeli* itself. Mythological stories are embedded into a real geography, so that the island is not simply a harbor on a trade route, but a subject of a drama involving Jupiter, Leto, Juno, Diana, and Apollo – the latter two being born, physically, on the island. The nymphs and dryads that follow Diana are not simply poetic figures, but real objects of veneration by the present-day inhabitants *today*.

Buondelmonti then connects the history of the island to important moments in the history of Rome: Brutus, through his cleverness at the oracle, wins the right to succeed King Tarquin as the first consul of the Republic. This anecdote is significant because of the book's dedication to the Cardinal Giordano Orsini, a senior diplomat in the Papal Curia and zealous defender of the Papacy's territorial rights in Italy. Apollo and his oracle thus become relevant for the constitution of power in Italy: from the beginning, then, Buondelmonti uses his newly designed ancient spaces for political purposes.

Only now, once the mythological and etymological basis for the island's new identity is established, does Buondelmonti narrate something of his experience there in two brief vignettes. The large statue that the party finds and tries to erect, plus the presence of "more than a thousand" others, gently suggests the superiority of antiquity over the present. On the low hills around the temple a great number of contemporary

houses all face the ancient temple in mute testimony. The past is the literal center of the island, while the affairs of the present are peripheral.

The main material Buondelmonti uses to create ancient Greece is literary. As van der Vin notes,

the revival of interest in antiquity during the Renaissance did not immediately have any demonstrable results with regard to the ancient ruins. After all, the emphasis of Humanism was very strongly on literary activities: manuscripts, and to an important extent inscriptions as well, were diligently studied but there was little or no interest in the other tangible remains of ancient civilization. The picture of antiquity that people tried to build up in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under the influence of the Renaissance, was almost entirely determined by literature, and not by the surviving monuments and objects (van der Vin 1984:306).

In his dependence on literary sources, Buondelmonti is not so different from von Boldensele or his Renaissance contemporaries. Yet he tries to integrate the material evidence into his descriptions as well. On Delos he maps the literary details onto the geographic realities of the island, spatializing his mythological instances. Moreover, he uses the ruins of antiquity as testimony that parallels and enhances the mythological information. Ruins at this point are not primary sources, but they do function as part of the emerging temporalized space of his narrative: the chronotope of Classical antiquity has arrived.

Ciriaco of Ancona: The First Archaeologist?

Buondelmonti's compatriot of a generation later, Ciriaco Pizzicoli of Ancona, combines his predecessor's tendencies with his own passionate interest in antiquity. Ciriaco (1391-1452) was born to a patrician merchant family. He traveled widely from the age of nine, worked in the family shipping business, and served in political office in Ancona. Well connected with Italian princes and with Pope Eugene IV, his governing passion was for antiquity (Bodnar and Foss 2003:xvi). Largely self-educated, Ciriaco

became obsessed with the monuments of the Roman past from boyhood, and used his commercial and political travels as springboards for visiting ancient sites in Italy, Sicily, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt. In the manner of his renaissance contemporaries, he was captivated by ancient authors and expressed his ideas in syncretistic language that invokes the muses and the pagan gods as much, or more, than the Christian. Ciriaco's legacy to archaeology came out of his voracious cataloguing of inscriptions and monuments. His surviving letters and diaries transcribe and translate dozens of Greek inscriptions, many of which have since been lost. He also took pains to describe, measure, and draw in detail the ancient monuments that he encountered on his travels.

Ciriaco visited dozens of ancient sites in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands, first in the late 1420s and again in 1443-1448. He wrote of his travels in letters to friends and in his personal notebooks, most of which were destroyed by fire in 1514 (Bodnar and Foss 2003:380). Because he never prepared his travels into a unitary narrative, and because only fragments survive, Ciriaco's work is different than Buondelmonti's. Enough, however, survives to compare the two authors' approach to constructing ancient sites. Here we will examine his visits to Delos and Miletos in the mid-1440s. Ciriaco, far more than Buondelmonti, was interested in using the material remains of antiquity, especially monuments and inscriptions, to define ancient places.

In April 1445 Ciriaco visited Mykonos, Delos, Naxos, and Paros. His excitement about monuments is palpable and occupies center stage in his diaries. On Delos he frames the island briefly before beginning his description:

Ex Micono Delon venimus, sacram et nobilissimam Cicladum insulam, comperimus et primum ad magnam rotundam prope theatrum et marmoream basym epigramma...(III.4)

From Mykonos we journeyed to Delos, the famous sacred island of the Cyclades, and the first thing we found was an inscription on a large, round marble statue base near a theater...⁹

Not only is the island “famous” and “sacred” – references solely to its ancient reputation – but the first thing he sees is an ancient inscription.

Ciriaco recorded a dozen other statue fragments, bases, and inscriptions, including the colossus of the Naxians, a “colossal statue of Apollo twenty-four cubits tall” (III.9).

This is likely the same statue seen by Buondelmonti. Ciriaco made drawings of the temples of Apollo and Diana, the gymnasium gate, the theater, baths, and the water-filled portico that he identifies as a “*naumachia*”, or theater for mock naval battles (III.11-20).

He then moves from physical traces of antiquity back to literature, quoting Solinus on the etymology of the island:

there was a second flood in Achaëa, in the time of Jacob the patriarch and Ogyges. It is to be noted that, when continual night had overshadowed the day for nine months and more, Delos was illuminated by the rays of the sun before any other land. It therefore got its name because it was the first place restored to sight. The era between Ogyges and Deucalion, of course, is given as 600 years (III.25, quoting Solinus II.18).

Ciriaco then concludes his discussion with a prayer to Mercury:

Good luck. Nurturing Mercury, father of the arts, of mind, of wit and of speech, best lord of ways and journeys, who by your most holy power have long blessed our mind and heart, just as you have made safe and easy our most pleasant journeys by land and sea through Italy, Illyria, Greece, Asia, and Egypt: so, our bright spirit, be pleased to assist our wit, mind, and speech both now and through all my life and on this happy favorable, fortunate, most pleasant Day of the Lord [Sunday], the third day before the Ides of April [13 April 1445], as I depart from once-sacred Delos, birthplace of Phoebus, through the Aegean for Mykonos... (III.27).

In terms of its content, Ciriaco’s text is quite different from Buondelmonti’s.

Rather than literary excursus, it largely consists of inscriptions, drawings, and a list of ancient buildings. In this Ciriaco seems much closer to the modern archaeologist. In terms of structure, however, the two are similar: both frame their introductions to the island with literary references to its ancient identity, and both take pains to couch

⁹ Fragment numbers and translations from Bodnar and Foss 2003.

observation of monuments within the frame of ancient texts. Ciriaco goes farther than Buondelmonti, however, by boycotting the modern entirely. His Delos is a real place, but its reality in the present is constituted by ancient artifacts and literary excerpts. He never uses the island's modern name and does not mention its inhabitants. To emphasize this point, Ciriaco always calls the island "sacra", celebrating the island's pagan significance.¹⁰

Of course, Ciriaco's diaries were perhaps meant for his eyes rather than those of others. A sense of his more polished work can be gained from a letter recounting his February 1446 journey to "Juno's Samos, Artemis' Ephesus, and the ancient palaces of Miletus". Addressed to his friend Andreolo Giustiniani-Banca, a humanist scholar, merchant, and resident of Chios, the letter mostly describes Miletos, dealing only briefly with Samos. The section on Ephesus, if there was one, is now missing.

The letter, numbered 30 in Bodnar's collection (Bodnar and Foss 2003), introduces his voyage with five stanzas of poetry, in Italian, sung "with holy voice" by "my spouse Calliope" (30.3). Again, Ciriaco prepares the reader to step into the past. His ship, "to the rejoicing of all the nymphs" put in at "the Pythagorean port" of Samos, but left early in the morning for Miletos (30.4).

Ciriaco's description of the site is worth excerpting at length:

...et quamquam insignia ille veterum relicta nobis monumenta sua me iam adolescente sim memor, iterum atque iterum revisere haud ingratum fuerat; statimque una soleri nauta comitatus Pantheo, ilico quod ad triginta stagiorum iter a litore antiquissime civitatis vestigia separat propriis pedibus superavimus.

Et primum, quod e magnis et nobilioribus veteritatis suae reliquiis nostramque ad diem fere integrum, maximum illud suum de marmore tyburnoque lapide theatrum placuit revisisse; cuiusce amplitudinis fastigia effecerant, ut accolae et omne ferme per Graeciam vulgus, Mylesiae quondam nobilissimae civitatis totius Ioniae metropolis nec minus

¹⁰ Compare, for example, 1.10: "ut... sacram Delon... indagarem" ("that I might explore... sacred Delos"); or 22.2: "Miconem venimus, insulam Delo sacrae proximam" ("we came to Mykonos, near the sacred island of Delos").

sapientissimi Thaletis gratia memorandae antiquo tam et celebri abolito nomine, palatia tantum vocitent, et urbis locum et utique vestigium omne tantum vetustas et nostri temporis ignavia gentis mutare valent (30.5-6).

...although I remember having seen as a youth the signal monuments of [Miletus'] antiquity that remain for us, it has been far from unpleasant to visit them over and over again; so, accompanied by the skilled seaman, Pantheo, we walked the distance of thirty stades that stands between the coast and the ruins of the ancient city.

The primary reason was my decision to revisit one of the great and more notable remains of [the city's] antiquity, almost intact even to our own day: its famous, great theater of marble and travertine stone. Its towering bulk caused the inhabitants and almost all the common people of Greece to forget the ancient and celebrated name of the noble city of Miletus, the metropolis of all Ionia, which should be remembered no less because of the great sage Thales, and call it simply, "the palaces" [*palatia*], so great is the power of the long passage of time and the laziness of the people of our own era to alter the location, and indeed every trace, of a city.

Although his main interest is in visiting a physical monument – the theater – Ciriaco carefully frames the experience of the site with literary references to nymphs, Pythagoras, and Thales. The experience of the physical monument rests, as it were, on a bed of literature.

Unlike at Delos, here we learn Miletos' contemporary name – "Palatia". But this small token of the present is nonetheless drawn into the past: the current settlement is called Palatia because the theater's great size reminds people of a palace. The theater itself – the trace of antiquity – continues to have agency in the present: it "caused them to forget". The problem is not that that antiquity is not still powerful, but that the "laziness" of the local people has made them wrongly interpret its importance – instead of the literary fame of Miletos, or its former political prominence, or the significance of the philosopher Thales, the people seize on the size of the theater as the primary importance of the place. This observation reinforces our impression that for Ciriaco knowledge of ancient culture in literature must precede and shape the experience of ancient monuments. Materiality has power, but it is not always trustworthy – a theme we will see in other writers as well.

Ciriaco's insistence that literary culture is the necessary frame for geographical understanding is made clear in his description of the Muslim rulers of Anatolia. He never calls them 'Turks', but rather as 'Teucrici', Trojans, or as 'barbari'. This choice must have been programmatic. Ciriaco was a seasoned administrator and diplomat who had personal contacts with Pope Eugene IV, Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, Sultan Murat II, and John Hunyadi of Transylvania, and he had visited most of the Aegean ports, including many then in Ottoman hands (Bodnar and Foss 2003:xiv). Instead, however, he cast the Ottoman state, then in the process of consolidating its control over the Aegean and the Balkans, as a player in the ancient drama between a Hellenic Europe and a Barbarian Asia. Ciriaco suggests to the reader that the ancient landscapes are somehow more real, more legitimate, than the contemporary ones. His efforts to reinforce the chronotope of the ancient world, rather than being a neutral scholarly endeavor, also seek to undermine the legitimacy of Ottoman rule. The present time disappears into the ancient past, but at the same time that past becomes the basis of political action in the present.

Spon and Wheler in Anatolia

For their time, Buondelmonti and Ciriaco were unusual for their travels, their erudition, and their interest in antiquities. They bequeathed to later scholars and travelers a well-developed picture of Greece and Anatolia as places whose authentic identity derived from ancient history and mythology, and whose contemporary histories were to be understood as a distortion or perversion of that past. Archaeological sites thus became spaces defined by time and enmeshed in the Classical chronotope.

Travel by Europeans to the Ottoman Empire became much more common after 1510, as is reflected by the rapid increase in published travel narratives, from 14 between 1490 and 1510 to 52 between 1510 and 1530 (Yerasimos 1991:14, Figure 4). As Classical knowledge became more central to European education, and the physical possession of antiquities became a ground for competition between aristocrats, interest in the location and physical contents of archaeological sites increased. This new social relevance of antiquities in Europe, combined with the first stages of commercial penetration of the Ottoman Empire by European capital, meant that the study of archaeological sites began to take on an aspect of “spatial strategy”, the use of space to produce social power. Obscuring the Ottoman presence by reference to a more important, more real past could thus involve archaeological places in a contest over the legitimacy of Ottoman rule.

This process was reflected in literary travel narratives. Jacob Spon and George Wheler, who visited Greece and Anatolia in 1675-76, “were the first to travel Greece in the primary intention of identifying and describing her Classical monuments, and the

accounts they wrote founded the modern tradition of Greek travel-literature” (Constantine 1984:7). Wheler, an English country curate, met Spon, a doctor from Lyons, in Venice. In June 1675 they embarked for the Aegean, traveling along the traditional sea route – nearly the same as Buondelmonti’s – via Dalmatia, the Ionian Islands, Zante, Tenos, Chios, and Tenedos to Constantinople, with archaeological side-trips to Delos and Troy. From Constantinople, they ventured overland south through Bursa to Smyrna, and then to Ephesus, Pergamon, Sardis, and Laodicea. In 1676 they sailed to Athens and the Peloponnese before returning to Italy and then western Europe.

Dr. Spon published his version of their travels in a French edition in 1678, under his and Wheler’s names. When Wheler heard that an English translation was being prepared, he rushed to complete his own edition, unwilling “to permit any thing to come out in English with my name, which was not in all points agreeable to my own sentiments” (1682:iii). Wheler’s work reprints most of Spon’s text wholesale, though he added a substantial number of coins, descriptions of plants, and his own opinions on antiquarian points where they differed from the doctor’s. Ironically, although Spon was a better Classicist, it was Wheler’s work that was more widely read, both in England itself and in French and German versions on the continent (Constantine 1984:33). Because of this, I focus here on Wheler’s text rather than Spon’s.

The *Description of Greece* was the first major text since Ciriaco’s to collate coins, inscriptions, and monuments, and many of these materials, now lost, are still used by scholars. It served as the major guide to the antiquities of Greece and Anatolia until the expedition of Chandler and Pars a century later. In addition to the archaeological and botanical descriptions that form the core of the book, Wheler and Spon treat the reader to

a mix of ethnographic observation, descriptions of strange animals such as the chameleon, harrowing travel stories of shipwreck and plague, and legends both modern and Classical. Their travels, moreover, were assisted and enabled by the network of contacts maintained by the English merchant community in Smyrna, and the reader receives hints of their social role and interface with Ottoman culture.

Despite its hybridity, however, the heart of the book is not so much a travelogue as an exercise in creating Classical space. Wheler finds himself interested in a wide variety of features of the Ottoman social and political landscape. His archaeological narratives are just as idealized as Ciriaco's, however, and in his "Greece" contemporary Ottoman reality is secondary to the identification of ancient sites. In Wheler's version of the Classical chronotope pioneered by Buondelmonti and Ciriaco, both traces of the past and the sometimes harsh realities of life in 17th-century Anatolia are made vivid, although the past always takes precedence over the present. In the discussion to follow I will examine his method, which combines inscriptions, coins, monuments, text, and topography to trap Ottoman places in the web of Classical time.

Like their 15th century forebears, Wheler and Spon visited Delos. It was in fact the first place along their journey where they stopped for the express purpose of seeing antiquities. Their boats were idled at Tinos for a few days, so Wheler, Spon, and "two other gentlemen" hired a boat and rowed to Delos. Wheler's narration of the place typifies his method: he begins by stating its location, dimensions, and contemporary name, "Zdeli", a plural that encompasses both Delos and neighboring Rheneia. In doing so, he stakes his claim to accuracy, noting that this name is a "corruption of *Eis Delous*, which, being not observed by Strangers, hath been the occasion of mistakes in many

Modern names of places in these Countries” (1682:53). Wheler then turns to the ancient significance of the island:

Now the great reason, why it was so celebrated among the Ancients was, because it was the reputed Birth-place of Apollo, as Pindar, Homer, and Callimachus tell us... That superstition rested not there [in the Cyclades], but diffused itself through Greece, and the most Northern Countries beyond (as from Strabo and Pausanias in his Attica is apparent) who sent presents thither...

But the Destruction of Corinth by the Romans was the last great cause of its Riches and Wealth. For because of the convenience of its situation, the goodness of its Ports, but especially its freedom from all Impositions, Merchants flocked thither from all parts (1682:53).

Wheler then illustrates the importance of this commercial activity by reproducing an honorary inscription brought from Delos by the Marquis of Nointel. Covering a page and a half, the inscription honors Patron, son of Dorotheus, who fulfilled an office for the *synodos* of the Tyrian merchants based at Delos. From the first, then, the material evidence is marshaled in support of the literary, rather than the other way around.

This is important for framing his presentation of the current state of the island: “but this its Greatness and Glory being long since obscured, it now remains, that I give you an account of its present miserable condition” (1682:55). Here the narrative moves into the mode of an itinerary, where the travelers move across the island, finding structures and attempting to rise to the challenge of identifying them.

The travelers disembark in a small bay and find 11 granite pillars on a square foundation, called “the schools” in a local tradition. Walking a stone’s throw south, they find an oval foundation 300 feet long and 200 wide, surrounded by a portico and partly filled with water, that they judged to have been a *naumachia*. This was perhaps based on Ciriaco’s description (Bodnar and Foss 2003:157). Continuing east, they find “a vast heap of admirable white marble” that they identify as the temple of Apollo based on a beautiful torso “above four or five times bigger than Nature, and no less than a Colossus,

for the shoulders are six foot broad” (1682:56). This statue had stood upright until a few years before, when an English captain had tried to carry it off, but finding it impossible simply broke off the head. The colossus of the Naxians has become a *topos* in descriptions of the island’s antiquities.

Walking southward, they find a ruined portico with King Philip’s name on it, and then a theater. “From the Theater Eastwards, passing over a world of Ruins, we began to ascend the high Rock, called anciently Mount Cynthus” (1682:56). Atop the mountain he discovers another point where the evidence of literature is insufficient to understand his environment. Finding an altar dedicated to “Serapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates, and the Dioscuri”, he observes that they “perhaps had a temple there, though not mention’d by Ancient Authors” (1682:59). Here a dialectic between ancient authors and material evidence is in view, with Wheler hesitant to draw conclusions from material evidence where it is not supported by literary references.

That evening the party returned to their boat but found the sea too rough for rowing. Worse, they see from a high point that their ships embarked without them, leaving them with no water and little food. The party found water, but not before Wheler indulged in the melancholy contemplation of cannibalizing his companions. The weather calmed and they rowed the next day to Micone, where they caught up with their ships (1682:60-62).

Wheler’s trip to Delos closely reflects his overall method in presenting ancient sites. *Naming* the site comes first. The ancient name is presented, then compared to the present-day, which may be the same or a “corruption”. He then introduces evidence from inscriptions, literature, and coins. His use of inscriptions is programmatic: whereas

Ciriaco collects as many inscriptions as he can find, Wheler selects examples that confirm the identity of the site. He values the presence of the onomastic over the content of the inscription, which is usually otherwise unconnected to his discussion. This concern for accurately locating ancient sites pervades Wheler's narrative. He only turns to reporting his own experience once he has firmly established the identity of his subject. This takes the form of a first-person itinerary, describing ruins in the order that he encounters them and presenting inscriptions and the plans and façades of buildings based on his measurements. At some sites, he reports on the state of the Christian population and its churches, details about the local customs and economy, and collects botanical specimens.

Spon and Wheler's trip to Ephesus in late 1675 provides another example of the process. Beginning with the city's name (uncontroversial in this case), Wheler moves immediately to the geography:

Ephesus is built in a fine Plain, stretched in length West-ward to the Sea, I believe four or five Miles; and may be, in many places, two at least broad; so encompassed about with high mountains, and rocky Clifts on the North, East, and South sides, in so just a proportion, that I can fancies it resembleth nothing more, than the *Cirques*, and the *Stadiums*, of the Antients. It hath the Mountain Gallecius on the North-side from the Sea to the Passage, through which the River *Caister* runs. Parallel to that, South, it hath the Mountain *Corresius*, if I guess right, out of *Strabo*...(1682:253).

This introductory passage reveals the degree to which Wheler's concern with identifying ancient landscapes colors his vision of the site. As we have already seen, he uses ancient geographers as a means of fixing geographical features into a Classical context. Beyond that, his orientation toward ancient monuments makes the bowl of the valley suggest a theater or a circus: a metaphorical appropriation of geographical features into the ancient world.

Then, as now, their approach to the site was from the site of present-day Selcuk:

the City was built on the south side of the River, principally upon two Rocks, about half a Mile from each other. The first is near the East end of the Plain; whereon the Castle now standeth, guarded by the *Turks*: which seemeth to be of no older date, than the later *Greek* Emperours; being built of other more antient Ruins, as the Fragments of more curious pieces of Marble, carelessly mixed among the other Stones, assured us (1682:253).

The entry into the site, therefore, is one that also passes through time: from the time of the Turks and the Greek Emperors into “more antient Ruins”. As at Delos, Wheler stops to transcribe two inscriptions from the area of the fortress that secure the site’s identity as Ephesus before mentioning the present-day village of forty or fifty modest thatched houses, “without one Christian among them” (1682:255). The party then visits the church of St. John, now converted into a mosque, which Wheler does not find impressive: while some of the columns inside are nice, the roof is ill-proportioned and many columns are in the “ill-favored modern Greek fashion” (1682:256). They continued on horseback up a hill, where they were led by their Armenian guide to the cave of the Seven Sleepers.

Passing into the area of the ancient city, Wheler’s powers of description are overwhelmed: “Going yet forwards under the same Hill, yet still West-wards, we past by many vast Heaps of Ruins, now without form, or likeness to any thing with a Name” (1682:257). He is able to identify the stadium and an amphitheater, the latter of which he suggests must have been where the partisans of Artemis met to defend the goddess in the story of St. Paul – an effort to reconcile the material and literary records that falls somewhat flat.

The ruins reputed to be those of the Temple of Artemis come in for special attention. These ruins, now known to be the Temple of Apollo, were apparently long associated with Artemis. Here Wheler takes issue with Spon’s description of the temple, judging by the number of columns at the east side that it must have faced eastward and

not westward as Spon suggests (Spon 1678:I,334). Ultimately he declines to speculate too much, since

nothing of very great certainty can now be reported from this rude heap; only that here was the Temple of *Diana* once built, as the vast proportion of the Pillars, that lie toward the East-side, and the nearness to the Lake *Selenusia*, which was dedicated to *Diana*, and lieth near the River, on the North-West of the Building, (Wheler 1682:258).

It is curious that in this case he accepts the identification of the temple rather uncritically – especially since he is more willing to challenge the attribution of the marble tower to the west as “St. Paul’s prison”. This structure he correctly describes as a watchtower, dismissing his Armenian guide’s story that St. Paul had been incarcerated there. Wheler is willing to dismiss local tradition, but not the ancient sources: what is in Strabo *must* exist.

Wheler concludes his description with a discussion of coins: first demonstrating that the river flowing by Ephesus was indeed the Cayster¹¹ (with a coin reading ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΥΣΤΡΟΣ), and then listing other Ephesian coins known to him. The section on Ephesus ends with an affected exhortation:

When I had seen, and considered all this Desolation, How could I chuse but lament the Ruin of this Glorious Church! To see their Candlestick, and Them removed, and their whole Light utterly extinguished! These Objects ought to make Us, that yet enjoy His Mercy, tremble, and earnestly contend to find out *from whence we are fallen* (1682:257).

Following on his detailed discussion of antique structures, the sudden piety seems out of place – especially since it is followed immediately by a description of local plants.

The examples of Ephesos and Delos illustrate Wheler’s method of merging space and time: he begins with information from ancient texts and fills in this framework with whatever monumental evidence is available. In his description of Miletos, however, the material and textual evidence come into conflict, and Wheler cannot make a decision.

¹¹ Today’s Küçük Menderes.

Here Wheler is handicapped by not having been to the site. Instead, he relies on the narrative of Dr. Pickering, of the English community at Smyrna. On reaching the village of Palatsha, two hours' ride south of the Meander, Pickering's party spent a day in viewing the scattered ruins, which included a theater and an old Greek church. They also found an inscription reading ΠΟΛΙΣ ΜΙΛΕΣΙΩΝ ("The City of Miletos") (1682:269). While in other situations Wheler accepts such inscriptional evidence as proof of an ancient site's identity, here he is more hesitant. Wheler notes that Strabo puts Miletus south of the Meander by 20 miles, after Pyrrha and Herakleia, which would be difficult to cover in only two hours. But by the same token "The little River *Latmus*, or *Lamus*, or *Lycus*, according to *Ptolomy*, near which this Place is, and the Wetness of the Ground, mentioned by Strabo, seem to be against us; and to call it antiently by the Name of *Pyrrha*" (1682:269-270).

The conflict between the two sources leads to an impasse: "And here *Strabo* thinks, he sheweth his Art in Geography very much: So that it is too hard a matter to determine the question between *Strabo*, and the Inscription" (1682:270). Though he cites similar inscriptional evidence to prove the identity of ancient cities, here Wheler cannot bring himself to undermine the authority of Strabo.

The primacy of the ancient geographers in Wheler's narrative, and his willingness to obscure the Ottoman landscape, is further suggested in the way he integrates natural features into his Classical topography. On the way from Bursa to Smyrna, he is told that two different streams are the ancient Granicus River and attempts to sort out the problem:

From this Kan [where they had stayed the night] is a little Walk to a small Stream, which they say is the River *Granicus*. But this upon more collect Thoughts, I do not believe; nor that the River we passed the day before, and this, are one and the same River: For I have noted in my Journal, That we passed by the River supposed the *Granicus*, against the Stream; which is impossible, if the other be true, having passed it the day before running

West-wards... The examining of which made another Error manifest to me; which is, That the Lake and River passing by *Lupadi* [Lubat], is not the *Ascanius*, as is generally believed; and that the mouths of it, and the *Granicus*, are a vast way off one from the other, if any credit may be given to *Ptolomy's* Tables. My Opinion is, first, That that Lake before-mentioned, North of *Olympus*, and the River from it, is the true *Ascanius*, emptying it self into the *Sinus Cianus* of the *Propontis*: For both *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* make the *Ascanius* to be in *Bithynia*, as all Geographers place it: only a French-man, one Monsieur *Phide*, will have it in the middle of *Galatia*; which is manifestly false (1682:227).

A rural *han* on a modest creek becomes the locus of a wide-ranging geographical discourse that attempts to sort out the “true” topography of western Anatolia. The *han* and the stream disappear in the process, but what emerges is more abstract geographic entities, such as Galatia and Bithynia, that are objects of contention among armchair geographers in Europe. This passage is symbolic of the way that the Ottoman landscape of 1676 is only a point of departure, a necessary tool in giving ancient texts real spatial counterparts. In the process, Ottoman places fade from view and are ultimately surplus to Wheler’s needs. It also suggests that Wheler’s audience is exclusively European, while Ottomans themselves are offered no role or authority in the construction of the past.

Much of the charm of Spon and Wheler’s text lies in its diversity: besides disquisitions on Strabo, coins, and monumental architecture, we are also treated to discussions of local plants, the charms of Ottoman hospitality, the dangers of bandits, and the beauties of the landscape. Yet at their heart, Wheler and Spon’s voyages in Anatolia amount to a re-mapping of the Ottoman landscape: the major impact of their text is to demonstrate, by comparing Strabo’s descriptions to contemporary landscapes, that the ancient texts discuss real places whose remains still exist. As Spon notes in the preface to his book:

Pour moy, je n’ay pas à la verité negligé toutes ces particularitez [of contemporary life], lorsque je les ay pû apprendre avec facilité et avec peu de frais: mais il ne sera pas mal-aisé de voir, quand je n’en ferois pas un aveu sincere, que mes plus grandes recherches ont eu pour but la connoissance des Monumens antiques des pays que j’ay vûs dans ce Voyage, et que ç’a été ma plus forte inclination (Spon 1678: Preface).

For my part, I have not in truth neglected these details [of contemporary life], inasmuch as I was able to learn them easily and without much danger. But it will not be difficult to see, even if I were not sincere about it, that my greatest efforts have been toward the knowledge of the ancient monuments of the countries I have seen in this voyage, and that this has been my strongest inclination.

In executing this proof, there is a tension between the travelers' reliance on and reverence for the ancient geographers, and the notion that observation can be used to improve upon the knowledge in the text. Spon and Wheler collect material evidence mostly in order to prove the correctness of their geographical descriptions: the content of most of the inscriptions and coins they cite has little relationship to their narrative except in that they illustrate the place name under discussion. Yet at the same time, the mere fact that they reproduce these inscriptions forces the reader to notice their content, which includes places and people not attested in the ancient authors. While material evidence remains subordinate to the textual, it begins to take on an importance of its own.

Spon and Wheler had wide ambitions: they sought to show this continuity not just over a few places but over the whole landscape, including rivers, valleys, mountains, and bays. This translates into an ambiguous experience of time in the text: descriptions of ruins and ancient events shift seamlessly into the vicissitudes of travel in 1675, as the text moves directly from contemplation of the Lysimachan walls of Ephesus to the danger of bandit attacks. The time of the past has a sense of still and calm, while the present is chaotic, inconvenient, and full of dangers.

In Wheler's text we also see the chronotope of antiquity beginning to take on a strategic aspect. Wheler's knowledge of artifacts and inscriptions allows him to establish "truths" about places that are not evident to their contemporary inhabitants. Near Ephesus, for instance, he and Spon come upon some ruins and "were soon ransacking those Stones, to see if from them we could learn any more, than from the more stupid

People of these parts” (1682: 250-251). Another such moment came during their stay in Akhisar, where they discovered an inscription bearing the name of the ancient city:

A great many *Turks* came staring upon us, to see what we did; who, when we told them, That the Stone had on it the antient Name of the City, in the time of the Pagans, and was called *Thyatira*, wondred at the News; while two or three of them told us, They knew where there were more of them (1682:230).

Wheler’s fixation on the “stupidity” of villagers untutored in epigraphy, and his evident pleasure in re-educating the residents of Akhisar, show his desire to exercise his geographic knowledge in the “strategic” sense: he is not averse to using local informants to help him locate sites, but their knowledge is implicitly of an inferior order: they can identify, while he can understand and interpret.

Here we see how the Classical chronotope is not simply intended as an alternative to local understandings, but a replacement for them. Wheler may be largely conducting his research for the armchair archaeologists of Europe, but on the spot it is clear that he wishes that he could impose his own set of historical and geographic meanings onto the understandings of the citizens of Akhisar – to replace what he considers an inferior, debased knowledge with a correct and superior one.

Chandler’s Ionian Antiquities

Richard Chandler was commissioned in 1764 by the Society of Dilettanti to record, in a more systematic way than previously, ancient monuments in Asia Minor and Greece. The Dilettanti were founded in London in 1734 by an aristocratic group of young Englishmen who had been to Italy. By the 1760s the group found itself with substantial surplus funds and resolved to sponsor an expedition to Asia Minor. They chose Chandler, a Classicist and editor of the *Marmora Oxoniensa*, an important edition of the Arundel Marbles (Clay 1971:xi). He was assisted on the expedition by the artist William Pars, a

professional portrait painter, and Nicholas Revett (Wilton 1971:xxii). The group sailed in June 1764 for the Mediterranean. They spent March-August 1765 in Asia Minor, then crossed the Aegean to Athens and Greece, where they stayed until June 1766 (Clay 1971:xii).

Chandler's expedition was different from previous travels to Greece in that it was a "professional Classical enterprise, in its organization and its purposes distinct from any before it, but anticipating many to come" (Constantine 1984:188). Out of these travels came five major works: *Ionian Antiquities* (Society of Dilettanti 1769), an illustrated catalogue of monuments in Asia Minor; *Inscriptiones Antiquae* (Chandler 1774), cataloguing inscriptions discovered on the journey; *Travels in Asia Minor* (Chandler 1775) and *Travels in Greece* (Chandler 1776), which reprinted Chandler's diaries; and *History of Ilium or Troy* (Chandler 1802). These works built extensively on their predecessors in travel to the Aegean, including Spon and Wheler. Yet the comprehensiveness of Chandler's synthesis of previous knowledge, in addition to the meticulous scale drawings prepared by Revett and Pars, surpassed previously available works, making the results of the Dilettanti expedition the standard reference texts for European classicists. They were also important touchstones for the romantic philhellenism of the early 19th century: Goethe and Hölderlin, for instance, both drew heavily on these works, which in turn shaped European, and especially German, Classicism in the 19th century (Constantine 1984:207).

In Chandler's work both ancient monuments and modern customs have a more vivid and concrete presence – and are more carefully distinguished one from the other. *Travels in Asia Minor* has a rhythm of its own: as the party travels between sites,

Chandler reports in detail the conditions on the road, relationships with local *agas* and villagers, and the circumstances of their lodging. When they reach their destination, however, the tone changes, and he adopts a voice that reports the historical context of the site and the visible monuments and inscriptions, into which the circumstances of Ottoman Anatolia do not intrude. When this description is finished, Chandler returns to the realities of travel. The effect is one of moving between times as the narrative shifts in and out of antiquity. There is a contrast, often left implicit, between the broken-down ruins and squalid villages of the eighteenth century and the idealized cities of the past.

Chandler's narratives on Ephesus and Miletos in *Travels in Asia Minor* illustrate this deft shuttling between times and its effects on the reader. The party's arrival illustrates his flair for romantic detail:

Aiasaluck [Ayasoluk/Selcuk] is a small village, inhabited by a few Turkish families, standing chiefly on the south side of the castle-hill, among thickets of tamarisk and ruins. It was dusk when we arrived, lamenting the silence and complete humiliation, as we conceived, of Ephesus... The caravansera [*sic*] being full, we were distressed for a place to stay, but after some time a Turk offered us a shed by his cottage, open to the south-east, the roof and sides black with smoke. Some martens had made their nests against the rafters; and we were told, their visits were deemed to portend good... A shrill owl, named Cucuvaia from its note, with a night-hawk, flitted near us; and a jackal cried mournfully, as if forsaken by its companions, on the mountain (1775:114).

Chandler and his party were not much impressed by Ayasoluk's castle ("a large and barbarous edifice") or the mosque: "The inside is mean, except the kibl  [qibla]... The minaret is fallen... The fabric was raised with old materials" (1775:115-116).¹² They quickly concluded that Ayasoluk was not, in fact, the site of Ephesus. The next day a violent thunderstorm soaked the party through their humble shed and made the plain of the Cayster impassible.

¹² Chandler chooses not to mention the building's former service as the church of St. John the Evangelist, although he must have known of it.

The following day they reached Ephesus, and the details of travel disappear from Chandler's text:

Ephesus was situated by the mountains, which are the southern boundary of the plain, and comprehended within its wall a portion of Mount Prion and of Corissus [Panagır Dağı and Bulbul Dağı]... This city, as well as Smyrna, was built by Lysimachus, who also enrolled its senate, and provided for its civil government.

We entered Ephesus from Aiasaluck, with Mount Prion, and the exterior lateral wall of a stadium, which fronted the sea, on our left hand... We measured it with a tape, and found it six hundred and eighty-seven feet long. The side next to the plain was raised on vaults... The seats, which ranged in numerous rows one above another, have all been removed.

The preaching of St. Paul produced a tumult at Ephesus, the people rushing into the theatre, and shouting "Great is Diana." The vestiges of this structure, which was very capacious, are further on in the side of the same mountain (1775:120-121).

Here he abandons both the romance of ruins and the realism of shabby lodging, instead interweaving description and measurement with literary and historical references. Notably, the doubts and temporizing seen in Wheler are absent here: Chandler is confident that the mountains he sees *are* Prion and Koressos, and that their identities are self-evident enough not to require debate. From the stadium, the party reached the northern gate and walked toward the theater, noting the presence of colonnades and "ample edifices" with vaulted substructures (1775:123). From the theater they walked up the Marble Road and the Street of the Curetes to the Imperial Forum, noting the "prostrate heap of a temple" in the Imperial Agora, "which fronted 22 degrees east of north. The length was about one hundred and thirty feet, the breadth eighty" (1775:124). Approaching the Imperial Forum, Chandler discovered "a square altar of white marble" and a square tower attached to the Lysimachean wall (1775:123). This latter is no doubt the legendary "St. Paul's prison", dismissed by Wheler, and which story Chandler does not repeat.

After describing the Lysimachean walls and Mount Prion, Chandler returns to historical narrative, summarizing the narratives of Strabo (14.1.21) and Pausanias (7.2.8)

on the location of the original foundation of Smyrna, the arrival of Androklos and the Ionians, the siege by Croesus, Androklos' struggle with the Carians, and Lysimachus' refoundation of the city on its present site (1775:127-129). He then brings the story to its conclusion by noting the city's final abandonment in the 14th century, and its current inhabitants:

The Ephesians are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependence, and insensibility; the representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness; some, the substractions of the glorious edifices which they raised; some, beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions... We had occasion for another to dig at the Corinthian temple; and sending to the stadium, the whole tribe, ten or twelve, followed; one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre... one of them had on a pair of sandals of goat-skin, laced with thongs, and not uncommon. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front.

Such are the present citizens of Ephesus, and such is the condition to which that renowned city has been gradually reduced...(1775:130).

The effect is to counterpoise a past full of measured detail, impressive structures, and historical moment, with a decrepit present crowded with uneducated peasants, ramshackle dwellings, and romantic decay. The Classical past is a node of reason and achievement, while the Ottoman present, if it is lucky, can claim at best only to be a survival or remote echo of those times. Yet both exist in the same space, and the presence of the past thus becomes a useful tool for displaying mastery over the present.

Chandler's discussion of Miletos shares many of these features as well. Again, he prefaces his discussion of the site with a charming and personal account of his approach to the place:

In the morning it lightened [*sic*] and rained; with awful thunder, at intervals, on the mountain-tops, which were enveloped in fleecy clouds. We left the village at seven, and travelled along by the foot of Mycale, on the edge of the plain, which is very extensive, and skirted round with mountains. Mycale rose very high on our right hand, appearing as a single ridge, with many villages on its side. By the way were flowering shrubs, and we enjoyed the fragrance and dewy freshness of spring in autumn. We came in two hours near Kelibesh, where our guide was bemired. From this place we afterwards examined the ruins of Priene, which we now passed. At ten minutes after one we were ferried over the Maeander, now called Mendres, below it, in a triangular float, with a rope. The man

was a black, and in his features strongly resembled a satyr. The stream was smooth and placid, but muddy (1775:145).

Note how in this account the ancient topography is integrated seamlessly into his experience: “Mycale” looms over the valley, while the river *is* the Maeander, whatever it may now be called. The boatman is not an Ottoman but a *satyr*, introduced into this Classical landscape without his knowledge.

On arrival at the site Chandler’s transition is not immediately to historical narrative, as at Ephesus. He starts with its contemporary name and moves directly to exposition of its monuments:

Miletus is a very mean place, but still called Palat or Palatia, *the Palaces*. The principle relic of its former magnificence is a ruined theatre, which is visible afar off, and was a most capacious edifice, measuring in front four hundred and fifty-seven feet. The external face of this vast fabric is marble, and the stones have a projection near the upper edge, which we surmised, might contribute to raising them with facility...

On the side of the theatre next to the river is an inscription in mean characters rudely cut, in which “the city Miletus” is mentioned several times. This is a monument of heretical Christianity. One Basilides, who lived in the second century, was the founder of an absurd sect called Basilidians and Gnostics, the original proprietors of the many gems, with strange devices and inscriptions, intended to be worn as amulets or charms, with which the cabinets of the curious now abound... In this remain the mysterious name [of Jehovah] is frequently repeated... (1775:146).

This passage clearly shows the degree to which Chandler synthesized his predecessors while improving upon them. The three central details in this passage – the contemporary toponym, the theater, and the strange inscription invoking Jehovah – are found in both Ciriaco and Wheler (in the latter via his friend Pickering). Chandler, however, adds to these details from his own knowledge and observation. He gives a better version of the contemporary Turkish name, Palat (today’s Balat), instead of Palatia. He offers a measurement of the theater’s façade along with a speculation on the technology of its construction. Finally, he puts the strange inscription in its historical context, noting that it stemmed from an obscure heretical group. While his predecessors

are present, they are enhanced and supplemented with his own observations, which are foregrounded and obscure the prior material.

Chandler's survey of the rest of the site of Miletos is somewhat cursory:

The whole site of the town, to a great extent, is spread with rubbish, and overrun with thickets. The vestiges of the heathen city are pieces of wall, broken arches, and a few scattered pedestals, and inscriptions, a square marble urn, and many wells. One of the pedestals has belonged to a statue of the emperor Hadrian, who was a friend to the Milesians... Another supported the Emperor Severus, and has a long inscription... From the number of forsaken mosques, it is evident, that Mahometanism has flourished in its turn at Miletus... but one, a noble and beautiful structure of marble, is in use, and the dome, with a tall palm-tree or two, towers amid the ruins, and some low flat-roofed cottages, inhabited by a very few Turkish families, the present citizens of Miletus (1775:147-148).

Here his description of the current site extends to the current inhabitants as well.

But, as it turns out, the modest present village forms a point of departure for more expansive observations on the meaning of that history:

The history of this place, after the declension of the Greek empire, is very imperfect... Miletos was once exceedingly powerful and illustrious. Its early navigators extended its commerce to remote regions. The whole Euxine sea, the Propontis, Egypt, and other countries, were frequented by its ships, and settled by its colonies. It boasted a venerable band of memorable men; Hecataeus, an early historian, and Thales, the father of philosophy. It withstood Darius, and refused to admit Alexander. It has been stiled the metropolis and head of Ionia; the bulwark of Asia; chief in war and peace; mighty by sea; the fertile mother, which had poured forth her children to every quarter, counting not fewer than seventy-five cities descended from her. It afterwards fell so low as to furnish a proverbial saying, "Milesians were once great": but if we compare its ancient glory, and that its subsequent humiliation, with its present state, we may justly exclaim, Miletus, how much lower art thou fallen! (1775:148-149).

Finished with his physical description, Chandler brings our attention back to the ultimate reality of Miletos as he conceives it: its history of colonization, philosophy, and resistance to tyranny. It is to this past that we should contrast the Turkish village of Balat: as humiliation and decline from a golden age.

Chandler's writing demonstrates some changes in the approach to painting ancient geography from that of his predecessors. Like Wheler and Spon, Chandler's text shifts back and forth between a static ancient time and a chaotic and dangerous modern one. The synthesis of text and material evidence that he uses to place the reader into an ancient

time, however, is more seamless and less artificial, while the breaks between present reality and ancient history are more sharply marked.

Topographically, Chandler is more confident than Wheeler: he demonstrates little doubt about location of the ancient geographical features he references. He also is less interested in mountain ranges and other features of the landscape. Rather, the expedition focused on refining their knowledge of specific ancient cities through careful measurement, observation, and scale drawing. The effect is to create nodes of Classical space inside the unruly, sometimes lawless landscape of Ottoman Anatolia. This move from the general to the specific implicitly asserts that the presence of ruins make places worthy of attention by Europeans. These places, once chosen, are to be studied in intimate detail that confers upon the scholar and researcher the power to understand and thus control them. This presages the later situation of archaeological excavations as places created and controlled by Western scholars for a Western public: places of science radically differentiated from the space around them.

An after-effect of Chandler's more specific attention to ancient urban sites is that he seems to feel freer to make more detailed observations of contemporary Ottoman culture and society. His text is much more engaged with – and even sympathetic to – the human geography, settlement patterns, and local customs of the contemporary landscape. While never enthusiastic about the people he meets, he is markedly less judgmental than Wheeler and finds good things to remark about them. It is as if the increasing confidence in his control of the ancient world allows him to be more relaxed in the face of the present.

The Effectiveness of the Classical Traveler

Richard Chandler stands at the end of a process, then four hundred years old, that created the chronotope of Classical antiquity. His fine balance of material and literary evidence, along his sensitive incorporation of contemporary political and social observations alongside the antiquarian research, represent the acme of the Classical traveler as a literary genre. At this point the genre had reached its canonical shape, with its own internal rules and features that shape time and space in the text.

From von Boldensele to Chandler, descriptions of antiquarian travels share a common plot. The author is traveling on an itinerary: in Buondelmonti's case, in a circle around the islands of the archipelago; in Spon and Wheler's, overland through Anatolia. Reaching an archaeological destination is a break in this itinerary and forms a node within the story. Upon reaching a destination, the author frames the place in the reader's mind with reference to Classical history: Delos, for instance, is the island famous for its association with Apollo; Ephesus for the church of St. John and/or the cult of Artemis. Only after the place is situated in its ancient literary context can the author begin to describe the physical geography of the site. Descriptions focus on ancient buildings, ruins, and inscriptions, and where possible these are connected to references in ancient texts. The description may close with a reflection on the differences between the present and past uses of the site, always to the detriment of the former, as in Chandler's lament for Miletos (1775:149).

There are two types of time in the Classical travelers. Arrival in a locale known to be ancient marks an interruption in natural time and its replacement with an existential ancient time that is essentially unmoving. Explorations of the site, and discovery of

material evidence, largely take place in this ancient time, although there may be some sudden shifts back and forth. When these shifts occur, however, they almost always mark something negative that takes place in the present: for example, bandits at Ephesus in 1766 (Chandler 1775:144), or marooning and hunger at Delos in 1675 (Wheler 1682:61).

In these narratives there are also two types of space: spaces of travel and voyage, by sea or land, which take place in contemporary time, and in the early modern writers are noted down to the day; and spaces of antiquity, which are placed outside of cyclical natural time and have a sense of stillness. The first is mundane, vernacular, always moving, while the second is profound, still and universal, because connected to a grand historical narrative. One gets the sense that upon arriving at an ancient site, the authors are suddenly stepping into something larger than their individual journeys. Ancient sites thus form space-time nodes that are distinct from their surroundings.

The material and the text are caught in a complex relationship. The archaeological site is a portal into universal Classical time, yet without the text no such time could be constituted. Site and text stand in a dialectical relationship, although a gradual change is evident in that relationship. At the outset, in the late Middle Ages, the text stands in a foundational and constitutive position, while the details of the material evidence are ephemeral. Ciriaco felt that the theater at Miletos, by the power of its materiality, could make people forget the past. Spon and Wheler are hesitant to believe material evidence if it contradicts Strabo. By the time of Chandler, however, repeated iterations of the Classical itinerary have given almost equal prominence to the material evidence, which now has been assimilated into literature enough to take on a textual persona of its own.

The wholesale transfer of the idealized, placeless chronotope of antiquity onto the real landscape of Anatolia created a dissonance that felt strange even to its practitioners.

Spon, for instance, took a moment at Delphi to wonder at his own project:

Ce que je trouvois de plus bizarre, que le lieu le plus celebre du monde eût eu un tel revers de fortune, que nous fuissions obligez de chercher Delphes dans Delphes même, et de demander où étoit donc ce Temple [of Apollo], lorsque nous étions sur ses fondemens. (Spon 1678:II,57).

What I found most bizarre, was that the most famous place in the world was in such a reverse of fortunes, that we were obliged to look for Delphi in Delphi itself, and to ask where this Temple [of Apollo] was, even while we were standing on its foundations.

The identity of Delphi is not contingent on the existence of physical evidence: it is “le lieu plus célèbre du monde”, regardless of whether there are any ruins left there. It is nonetheless troubling that the literary should not have an obvious physical counterpart. It is telling that Spon sees the discovery of such evidence as almost an obligation, as if these monuments *had* to be found lest the whole Classical project unravel.

While Classical travel narratives proliferated in the 19th century, they largely follow the formula established by Wheler and Chandler. Influential travelogues such as Arundell’s *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia* (1828) and Ross’ *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* (1843) are striking in how much they consider the idea of the Classical as a separate space and time as a self-evident truth, and focus on interweaving material and literary evidence, to the almost total exclusion of Ottoman society. In Arundell’s 32 pages on Ephesus (1828:26-57), for instance, 30 describe the architectural remnants or tell stories of the ancient city, while Selcuk/Ayasoluk is barely acknowledged.

Although earlier collectors changed the appearance of sites through their removal of sculpture and inscriptions – Spon, Wheler, Chandler and others note these depredations in their texts – it is hard to imagine that the sight of Chandler measuring a

temple façade dramatically changed the sense of place enjoyed by local residents. Even if it made them question their own understanding of their surroundings, archaeological inquiry did not yet have the power to alter their use of space. After 1840, however, appropriations of these nodes of Classical space-time as the exclusive property of the western archaeologist – in the moral sense, if not in the legal – became more and more common.

This operation, however, was only possible because of the restructuring of space performed in Classical travel narratives. Their intention was to transform the meaning of these landscapes by constituting ancient sites as evidence of the superiority of the past to the present – and by implication the superiority of European over Ottoman understandings of space. As we have seen, Spon found it hard to imagine leaving Delphi without finding the monuments that made it famous, however strange that effort seemed, while Wheler, for his part, sought to use his mastery of epigraphy to reshape the residents of Akhisar’s understanding of their own history. Likewise, Chandler (1775:246) notes that generally “we had endeavoured to avoid, as much as possible, communicating with the people of the country”; Ottoman realities were a secondary concern to the erection of his Classical edifice, which was so important that he did not hesitate to include in his narrative places, like the Temple of Artemis, that did not physically exist.

To return to De Certeau, these efforts can be seen as the exercise of “spatial strategy”, in that they try to redefine the meanings of ancient sites and shape “the proper”, the set of appropriate behaviors and uses for a place. Although at the close of the 18th century, the effect of antiquarian travelers on sites was not nearly as comprehensive as the controls established later during the age of “big dig” archaeology,

the work of these Classical travelers in establishing the independent reality and authority of ancient geography was a precondition for that control. As Said notes, *à propos* of Orientalist writers in general:

Direct observation or circumstantial description of the Orient are the fictions presented by writing on the Orient, yet invariably these are totally secondary to systematic tasks of another sort (Said 1978:177).

The “systematic task” at the heart of the Classical geographic explorations was to create of a series of nodes within Ottoman territory that were infused with cultural and scientific truths that could be “read” only by educated Europeans – who thereby arrogated to themselves the right to “harvest” certain parts of that landscape, namely antiquities. This process laid the groundwork for the construction of the great European collections of archaeological artifacts that were so crucial for the composition of Enlightenment and later modern culture; it also worked in tandem with commercial interests to give European powers moral and practical tools to increase their economic control over Ottoman territory. As *institutions*, sites now acquired a moral and political force and significance that was, until the rise of the Ottoman Museum and the antiquities legislation of the 1880s, almost entirely controlled by Europeans.

Chapter 4: Colonialism, Archaeology, and the Rise of the State, 1800-2000

In the wake of Chandler's expedition, archaeological research in the Near East became increasingly systematic. During the 19th century, growth of topographic survey and scientific excavation methods made archaeological sites into discrete objects of knowledge that were in even greater contrast to their surroundings than they were in travel narratives. They also became sites of contention between a reforming and modernizing Ottoman state and European researchers, who were intimately connected to the colonial, cultural, and economic ambitions of their governments. Ottoman reformers asserted control over archaeology and archaeological sites through legislation and the promotion of Ottoman research. While they were partially successful, it was only with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 that the state gained effective control over archaeological places.

Despite this ultimate success at stopping the export of antiquities and bringing archaeological sites under state control, Turkey essentially imported European ideas about the value and social purpose of archaeological sites. Rather than insisting on maintaining Ottoman traditions of the display of old objects, Ottoman and later Turkish archaeologists sought to compete with Europe for legitimacy in archaeological research. At the level of the site, this translated into the state assuming the role of chief promoter of archaeological systems of value through the establishment of protected areas and an

extensive system of provincial museums. The audience for archaeology remained a highly educated and largely western one.

Only in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, have transformations begun in the spatial and social aspects of archaeology in Turkey. The growth of mass tourism has dramatically expanded the audience for the traditional Classical urban centers, as millions of visitors tramp through sites such as Ephesus or Hierapolis as part of package holidays to the Mediterranean. Among archaeologists, this shift has created concerns that these new visitors understand archaeological sites as spectacles without context, rather than rooting their appreciation in knowledge of archaeological research. At the same time that the audience for Classical sites has changed, archaeology in Turkey has expanded from its roots in the excavation of monumental structures, and now incorporates extensive field survey, conservation, and salvage archaeology alongside the traditional “big dig”.

These changes have added new layers to the palimpsest of meanings carried by Classical sites in Turkey. Besides their role as emblems of Hellenism established through Classical travelogues, in the last two centuries these sites had served in turn as tools for westernization, means of protesting ethnic nationalism, and elements of a neoliberal program of economic development through tourism. In this chapter, I examine the historical development of these agendas and set the stage for a discussion of debates within archaeology today.

Archaeology and Imperialism in the 19th Century

Though travelers such as Chandler produced accurate and detailed records of sites, it was only with the growth of European colonialism in the Near East that the Classical world could be turned into a real place. As Shaw notes:

While both ancient Greece and the Holy Land had long been imagined as shining utopic visions, their production as physical locations and their subsequent cartographic and archaeological exploration coincided with the very material growth of European colonialism (Shaw 2003a:67).

In the first half of the 19th century, connections between archaeological research and the commercial and military interests of European governments became increasingly explicit, such that archaeology could be seen as part of Europe's increasingly unequal diplomatic and economic relationship with the Ottoman Empire.

France's early 19th century occupations of Ottoman territories epitomized this trend. Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt was accompanied by a large scientific and archaeological expedition that produced the *Description de l'Egypte*, a series of lavishly illustrated volumes that recorded the country's antiquities in unprecedented detail. In scale, it puts Chandler, Revett, and Pars' *Ionian Antiquities* to shame: 160 scholars and thousands of draftsmen and assistants worked at preparing meticulous ink and watercolor drawings of Egyptian antiquities and landscapes. The final series, published between 1809 and 1822, includes 10 volumes of text, 885 plates, and the first topographic map of Egypt. The comprehensiveness and detail of the effort reflects the fact that "the *Description* was designed to replace, and, indeed, reconstruct Egypt. The *Description*... was considered better than Egypt itself" in French eyes (Godlewska 1995:15). It is the Classical chronotope as seen in Chandler or Wheeler, but executed with the resources of the Enlightenment state.

This ideal of replacing contemporary Egypt was not simply utopian, but provided the excuse for French colonization. Once Ancient Egypt could be invoked as a real place superior to the present, it could be used to justify the “improvement” of present-day Egyptians through the beneficence of French rule. While the notion of mapping the ideal onto the real is familiar to us from the discussion in Chapter 3 above, the *Description* represents a significant departure, in that it is primarily the French state that used this displacement for its own political purposes.

After 1798 French military expeditions included archaeological research as a matter of course. When France dispatched 13,000 men in support of the Greek revolution of 1828-1830, for instance, the army brought a research expedition along with it. The Expedition Scientifique de Morée spent 1829 to 1831 in topographic, botanical, geological, and zoological research in the Peloponnese and the Cyclades, supported logistically by the French army. The archaeological section of the mission, under the direction of Guillaume Blouet, executed drawings of extant monuments and undertook systematic excavations, including the first digs at Olympia (de Grummond 2002:164, 420-421). A few years later, many of the same personnel worked in Algeria in the wake of the French invasion of 1830. Military field reports from the Algerian campaign routinely included dozens of pages of notes on the antiquities of the areas being patrolled by French troops (Greenhalgh 2002:376).

British research, too, reflected the new connection between the state and archaeology. Austen Henry Layard’s excavations at Nimrud (1845-1851) and Nineveh (1847-1851) led to the discovery of Assyrian civilization and created enormous popular interest in Britain. Layard, however, began his time in the Ottoman Empire as a

diplomatic attaché to the British Ambassador, Stratford Canning, who aggressively promoted British archaeological research in Mesopotamia, at Halikarnassos, and other Aegean sites (Maisels 1993:38-40; Gerçek 1999:29-30). A generation later, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was formed by British philanthropists under the sponsorship of Queen Victoria. The PEF was the first permanent archaeological expedition, and still exists today. Founded as a private organization to conduct topographic mapping of Palestine and its archaeological monuments, it had the support of high-level cabinet members who saw it as an opportunity to counter French claims to Jerusalem and to improve Britain's military knowledge of the region (Silberman 1982:87). Many members of the PEF expeditions went on to diplomatic and military careers, including Charles Wilson, who helped draw new European boundaries for the Ottoman Empire in 1882, and a young H.H. Kitchener, later hero of Khartoum, commander in the Boer Wars, and Viceroy of India (Silberman 1982:124).

European colonial interests in Anatolia initially took the form of economic penetration of the region. Connections between archaeologists and European capitalist concessions were strong and long-standing: Ciriaco d'Ancona was, after all, a merchant first, while Spon and Wheeler relied on the English commercial colony at Smyrna to accomplish their work. This tradition continued into the late 19th century, when Ottoman grants of railroad concessions to European firms played an important role in shaping archaeological practice.

John Turtle Wood, who discovered the site of the Artemision at Ephesus, was a railroad surveyor first. His interest in Ephesus, and the cartographic techniques he used to discover the site of the temple, derived from his experience producing cartographic maps

for the railroad (Shaw 2003a:114). Karl Humann's work at Pergamon also grew out of his job as a railroad surveyor for the Ottoman government after 1861. Untrained in archaeology, Humann became interested in Pergamon while surveying the area, and began lobbying Prussian officials for funds to help him excavate. Humann and Alexander Conze, director of the Prussian Royal Museum's sculpture collection, collaborated in the 1878-1886 excavations of the Great Altar of Zeus and other monuments at the site, which were quickly, and quietly, transported to Berlin (Karl and Dörner 1991; Marchand 1996:93-95). Railroad construction during this period was exclusively financed by foreign investors, who sought commercial and transportation monopolies within the Empire. Western capital became so influential within the Ottoman economy that French and British commissioners took over the administration of the Ottoman public debt, along with large parts of the Empire's tax revenue, in 1881 (Zürcher 2004:84).

The Tanzimat and Ottoman Resistance

Given the parallels between foreign appropriation of archaeological objects and foreign appropriation of Ottoman territory and revenue, it is no surprise that Ottoman reformers saw archaeology as a political pursuit. The period of Ottoman modernization after 1839, known as the *Tanzimat* or "reforms", saw efforts to slow the flow of archaeological materials out of the Empire and to reassert control over archaeological spaces. Along with the establishment of parliamentary representation, government centralization, universal citizenship, and educational institutions along western lines (Zürcher 2004:50), the reforms included the reorganization of the Imperial antiquities collections as the Imperial Museum, the introduction of legislation designed to control the activities of foreign archaeologists, and an active collecting policy by the state.

The first of these new institutions was the Ottoman Museum. Although relics of the past were often preserved in the Imperial treasury, Ottoman interest in preserving Greco-Roman artifacts was largely a reaction to European greed for antiquities (Shaw 2003a:36). Antiquities collections were present in the Magazine of Antique Weapons in the ancient Aya Irini church by 1846, while local collections at Jerusalem and Aleppo were established around the same time (Shaw 2003a:50, 72). The presence of antiquities side-by-side with displays celebrating the military prowess of the empire illustrates that ancient artifacts were an element of Imperial self-presentation from an early date – even if “the collected antiquities bore more value as signs of participation in European practices than as aesthetic or historical artifacts” (2003:58). Rather than conforming to Western notions of archaeological display, they reflected an Ottoman view of the past.

This began to change, however, in 1869, when the Magazine of Antiquities and Magazine of Antique Weapons were renamed the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*). The aim of the new museum was to reorganize the Imperial collections along Western lines, as a means of demonstrating the equality of Ottoman modernity to that of the other European nations. The museum was placed in the charge of Safvet Paşa, the Minister of Public Education, who required governors to send all antiquities discovered in their provinces to the capital, and who created the first catalogue of the museum’s holdings (Shaw 2003a:87). In 1872 the German Anton Philip Déthier, a Classically-trained epigrapher, was made head of the museum. Déthier continued the new, aggressive collections policy and helped draft the first Ottoman antiquities law (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) in 1874. In 1873, the Tiled Pavilion in Topkapı Palace was chosen as the site for a new museum, which opened in 1880 (Gerçek 1999:95). Though he was a strong

advocate for Ottoman interests, Déthier's role in Westernizing Ottoman museum practice and antiquities policy presages the key role of European scholars in shaping domestic archaeology in Turkey.

After Déthier's death, he was replaced as Museum director by Osman Hamdi Bey, son of a prominent family in the Ottoman government (his father had been Grand Vizier). Osman Hamdi had studied law and painting in France, and on his return began his governmental career as administrator of the 6th district of Beyoğlu in Istanbul, a cosmopolitan district with a strong foreign presence. He was appointed to head the Museum in July 1881, and served as director until his death in 1910 (Cezar 1995:134-142, 165). Under his direction, the museum became the center of Ottoman resistance to European appropriation of antiquities. Central to this struggle was Osman Hamdi's efforts to establish an Ottoman archaeological presence throughout the Empire. To this end, he initiated archaeological projects, most famously at Baalbek on the slopes of Mount Lebanon. Some of his efforts were preemptive: his work at Nemrud Dağı, for instance, was intended specifically to preempt Conze's ambitions on behalf of Prussia at the site (Shaw 2003a:109). To demonstrate that the quality of Ottoman archaeological work was on a par with that of other nations, Osman Hamdi insisted that reports be published in French as well as Ottoman Turkish for circulation in Europe. He also oversaw the continued collection of artifacts from the provinces and assigned government representatives to monitor the activities of foreign archaeological projects, a practice which remains a feature of fieldwork in Turkey today. His archaeological work, like his art career, was devoted to resisting European claims of Ottoman "backwardness" and establishing the Empire as an equal player in museums and archaeological fieldwork.

Ottoman efforts to resist the European appropriation of antiquities and territory is evident in the evolution of Imperial antiquities law. The 1874 law, passed during Déthier's tenure, reflected a desire to control the growth of foreign archaeological excavations and to appropriate antiquities for the new Imperial Museum. It was specifically addressed toward foreign nationals, reflecting the presumption that archaeology was exclusively a foreign practice. Immobile objects such as buildings remained the property of the state, while mobile ones could be exported. The law set up a formula whereby finds were divided evenly between state, landowner, and excavator (Shaw 2003a:90). This marked the first time that the state had asserted a right to control the export of antiquities.

The 1874 law had limited effects on the mining of the Empire for artifacts. Archaeologists found creative means of circumventing the law: Humann purchased the area around the Pergamon acropolis, securing an additional one-third share, and then arranged to purchase the state's remaining third at a low price – giving him (and Prussia) all of the finds. By this means he was able to export hundreds of tons of material back to Berlin, including the Great Altar of Zeus (Marchand 1996:94). In response to this and other circumventions of the law, Osman Hamdi Bey helped secure the promulgation of a new antiquities law in 1884.

The 1884 law was a significant change in several respects. For the first time, it defined antiquities according to archaeological criteria, rather than by reference to their monetary value. The state now asserted ownership of *all* archaeological material, on land and under water. Export of artifacts was prohibited, and excavators had to secure explicit permission from the state to excavate even on private lands. These changes, which

represented a radical strengthening of the law, came as a shock to western archaeologists, who had come to see exporting finds as their right (Gerçek 1999:115). Significantly, the new law also required cartographic mapping of sites prior to issuance of a permit, creating a means of defining archaeological space in the eyes of the law. Shaw notes that these efforts to spatially contain archaeological exploration, while in one sense effective, nonetheless took place on European terms – it was the European definition of the space’s meaning that was now affirmed and institutionalized by the law (Shaw 2003a:112-114).

The 1884 law, while establishing a firm framework for state control, was not completely effective either. Sultan Abdülhamid II often ignored it, preferring to use archaeological materials to secure political advantage in his negotiations with Western powers. One result of this was the conclusion of a secret treaty between the Sultan and Theodor Wiegand of the Deutsche Archäologisches Institut (DAI) allowing German projects the continued ownership of half their finds (Shaw 2003a:118-120). Abdülhamid’s use of archaeological artifacts as diplomatic tools maddened reformers such as Osman Hamdi, who sympathized with the constitutionalist movement, which sought to deprive the Sultan of his absolute power. Because of his politics, Osman Hamdi was not allowed to leave Istanbul for over 10 years (Marchand 1996:201).

The climate of impunity toward the 1884 law led the Imperial Museum to suspend all excavation permits in 1905 pending its revision. The 1906 *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* offered a refined version of what constituted an antiquity, offering a long list that for the first time included Islamic buildings and objects, while reaffirming state ownership of all antiquities. It established a central commission for antiquities and put the Ministry of Education in charge of local museums. Local museum agents were now to oversee

excavations and make regular reports to the Imperial Museum (Shaw 2003a:126). With amendments, this law continued in force until 1973, and many of its provisions remain standard practice at archaeological excavations in Turkey today (Gerçek 1999:116).

Osman Hamdi and his associates, then, mounted a dynamic defense of Ottoman ownership of antiquities within the Empire. For all that, the response was reactive. Citing de Certeau's (1984) concept of strategic and tactical space, Shaw notes that Europeans were allowed to define the strategic space of antiquities – the concept of the 'site' as a space for investigation of the past – while the Ottomans were limited to tactical efforts to gain and keep power over such spaces. The idea that archaeological space was somehow different from ordinary space was reaffirmed in the 1884 law, which required topographic surveys to describe and create boundaries for sites. The policy of collecting materials from the provinces into the Imperial Museum in Istanbul was intended to preempt their acquisition by foreigners, but had the effect of mirroring the cosmopolitan collecting practices of institutions such as the British Museum or the Louvre. Antiquities policy was used as a means of containing and controlling foreign archaeologists. Yet in doing so, Ottoman laws affirmed Western archaeological paradigms and notions of archaeological value: Osman Hamdi Bey sought to Europeanize Ottoman archaeology, rather than asserting a new paradigm for understanding the past.

Antiquities Policy in the Turkish Republic

The 20th century marked the ascendance of the Turkish state as the main controller and promoter of archaeological practice, especially after the establishment of the Republic. After his death in 1910, Osman Hamdi was succeeded as director of the

Imperial Museum by his brother Halil Ethem Bey. Halil Ethem was equally dedicated to securing state control over Anatolia's archaeological resources, and until his death in 1931 increased efforts to stop the export of archaeological artifacts. Western archaeologists, however, never really accepted Halil Ethem's increasingly firm efforts to deny the export of archaeological finds. They worried seriously about the impairment of their ability to acquire new artifacts for museums and state collections. In the wake of World War I, much of Anatolia was under Allied occupation, and archaeologists seized the opportunity to establish new digs. Invading armies had taken the initiative to do this during the war: the French army even began excavations during the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. When not on the front line, a regiment of Senegalese troops was put to work excavating a Classical and Hellenistic cemetery near the ancient city of Elaeus (Chase 1916:202).



Figure 4-1. Turkey, with sites mentioned in the text.

The Republican government that came to power in 1923 took a much harder line than its predecessor on the export of antiquities. Two American case studies illustrate how hard Western archaeologists found it to adjust to this new paradigm. Shortly after the Greek armies occupied Smyrna and its hinterland in 1919, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ACSCA), whose board included advocates of extreme Greek nationalism such as Edward Capps, took the decision to aggressively seek archaeological concessions in the Greek-occupied parts of western Anatolia. ASCSA and Harvard University began an excavation at the site of ancient Colophon, about 35 kilometers south of Smyrna, with the explicit aim of acquiring artifacts for the Fogg Museum at Harvard. The excavations were shut down after the retreat of the Greek army in summer 1922 (Davis 2003:155).

The Princeton team working at Sardis since 1908 also saw the Greek occupation as an opportunity to secure artifacts for the collections of the Metropolitan in New York. As Atatürk's armies approached Smyrna in 1922, T.L. Shear, director of the Sardis project, seized the opportunity to "save" antiquities from the site by shipping 58 crates of material to the Metropolitan. After the eventual Turkish victory, Halil Ethem insisted that return of the Sardis artifacts was a precondition for the resumption of American archaeological research in Turkey. The Sardis Committee, a group of philanthropists connected to the Metropolitan and who had funded much of the excavations, refused. It took lobbying by the State Department, former Sardis director H.C. Butler, and J.P. Morgan to convince the museum to return the artifacts to Turkey. Only after the artifacts returned did waiting American archaeologists, including Francis Kelsey of the University of Michigan, receive their excavation permits for the 1924 season (Goode 2007:38-40).

The 1920s marked a period of changing attitudes among foreign archaeologists working in Anatolia. Until this time,

Western archaeologists and the institutions that supported them had rarely taken local views seriously. Prior to World War I, it was expected that Western expeditions would receive at minimum half of whatever antiquities they discovered... [museum] trustees wanted to fill their exhibition halls with treasures; for them, these were primarily business ventures. Yet what was beginning to happen in the early 1920s, wherever nationalist movements strengthened, was an increasing resistance to business as usual (Goode 2007:38).

This pattern of nationalist resistance to the colonialist claims of archaeology had been evolving for some time in the Ottoman Empire, but it was only with the establishment of the Turkish Republic and its nationalist government in Ankara that the state gained the power and political will to enforce their goals. From now on, acquisition of archaeological artifacts by foreign teams was no longer possible: archaeologists had to be satisfied with excavation results as their primary reward for their research. Arguably, this made access to archaeological sites themselves even more important for archaeologists.

Archaeology and Identity in the Turkish Republic

The Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, in the wake of dramatic social changes in Anatolia caused by the First World War. The former Ottoman Empire had been reduced to Anatolia and a part of Thrace, 40% of its pre-war extent, with the remainder of the Empire divided between France, Britain, Italy, and Russia. Between war casualties, the influenza of 1918, the Armenian genocide, and the population exchange with Greece, at least one-fifth of the prewar population of Anatolia had been killed or expelled. At the same time, millions of Muslim refugees from Greece and the Balkans crowded into Anatolia. The new Republican government was faced with the challenge of crafting a new national identity for a diverse and traumatized population. Mustafa Kemal

Atatürk and the Republican leadership promoted a sweeping program of secularization, and worked to establish Turkish ethnic identity as the basis of the new state. Both of these efforts took shape as part of a utopian, modernist vision for Turkey's future.

The major reforms aimed at the secularization of Turkish society were introduced by the Kemalist government after 1924. The first wave of reforms was aimed at religion: in 1924-1925, the Caliphate and the ministries for *Şeriat* (Islamic law) and *Vakıflar* (pious foundations) were abolished, seminaries and Sufi dervish lodges closed, and the fez banned. The Gregorian calendar and the western-style weekend were also introduced, making Friday – the Muslim sabbath – a day of work rather than rest (Çağaptay 2006:13). In 1926, a secular civil code was introduced. Adopted directly from French and Italian law, the code established broader rights for women in matters of divorce, marriage, and inheritance. In 1929, the Republic adopted the Roman alphabet, breaking another symbolic association with Islam and the Islamic world (Zürcher 2004:176).

The utopian and modernist character of Kemalist reforms also had a spatial dimension that was reflected in architecture. The new capital, Ankara, was centrally planned along formal modernist lines and was intended to represent progress, cleanliness, and the future – in direct counterpoint to Istanbul. At the same time, the government sought to “colonize the countryside” through the construction of model villages on the pattern of Ebenezer Howard's “garden cities” (Bozdoğan 2001:67, 97). Kemalist modernism made extensive use of archaeological symbols: Hittite and Sumerian sculptures were used as the official symbol of the capital city, of Ankara University, and in official propaganda materials. State institutions such as Sümerbank (which financed

textile production) and Etibank (which financed mining), founded in 1930s, looked directly to Sumerian and Hittite civilizations for their names and iconography.

Although archaeologically-derived iconography was widespread in the 1930s, it did not always find a deep connection to popular consciousness. Sibel Bozdoğan (2001:57) notes that Turkish modernism, like many other non-European modern movements, sought to change society and behavior through spatial and ideological interventions. As a result, “the recognizable symbols and exterior forms of modernity, rather than its substance, rapidly became the primary preoccupation of republican modernizers” (2001:57) Architecture was assumed to be able to unproblematically transmit social ideas; in practice, however, such ideas did not always find a place in local identity. There remains to this day a gap between official approaches to Turkish history and vernacular awareness of the past.

Kemalist westernization took place in the context of an increasing emphasis on ethnic Turkish identity as the basis of the state. This development marked a break with the past. While Turkish nationalism, expressed by writers such as Yusuf Akçura, had been present in the cultural milieu for a generation, it was never a dominant discourse (Ersanlı 2002a:339). Rather, intellectuals in the empire had sought non-ethnic forms of identity to unite the disparate communities of the empire. For the reformers of the 1850s, “Ottomanism”, which promoted equal rights and equal citizenship as a means of transcending ethnicity and religion, seemed to offer a solution. The Young Ottoman movement of the 1870s and 1880s, by contrast, saw Islam and Islamic culture as the core identity of the Ottoman Empire (Finkel 2005:475, 478).

Although Atatürk's nationalist revolution had initially stressed Islamic heritage, after 1924 the new state chose Turkishness as the definition of the nation. This definition was not without its complications: Kemalism stressed Turkish territory (Anatolia and Thrace), shared heritage and culture, and the Turkish language as the basis of Turkish identity. However, the preexisting ethnic diversity of Anatolia and the widespread immigration of Muslims from the Balkans meant that none of these three elements was unproblematic: in 1927, for instance, 14% of the population spoke languages other than Turkish (Çağaptay 2006:15-17). To address this issue, the state promoted ethnic assimilation. The "Citizen Speak Turkish" campaign of the 1930s used both fines and physical intimidation to force Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Arabic- and Kurdish-speaking Muslims to use Turkish in public. Citizens were, moreover, forced to adopt Turkish-sounding last names (Çağaptay 2006:57-59).

The quest for a pure and unproblematic source for Turkish identity led the Kemalist regime to search for proto-Turks in the historical and archaeological records. Atatürk was interested in the potential of scientific archaeology to assist in the formation of a new national identity. At his instigation, the Turkish History Institute (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) was formed in 1932. It organized the first and second History Conferences of 1932 and 1937, which formulated a state-sponsored Turkish History Thesis. The History Thesis asserted that Turkish civilization in Central Asia stretched back thousands of years, that Turks were an Aryan people, that the Turkish language was the root of the Indo-European languages, and that Hittite and other prehistoric archaeological material demonstrated the presence of proto-Turks in Anatolia before the Classical period (Ersanlı 2002b:804-805; Sezer 1999:271). One of the intentions of the History Thesis was to

reconcile the two central elements of the new republican state: Turkish ethnicity and Anatolian geography. By asserting an identity between Turks and Hittites, the relatively recent arrival of Turkish culture in Anatolia could be downplayed. Although the extreme, and academically unsupportable, claims of the History Thesis were taught in schools for a relatively brief period, the ideas behind it remained influential in milder forms into the 1960s and beyond (Copeaux 1997:76-77).

A key element of the Kemalist program of modernization was the reform of Turkish educational institutions along Western lines and the development of a cadre of Turkish intellectuals and professors. In the early years of the Republic, Atatürk sponsored a generation of students who received archaeological training abroad, including important figures such as Remzi Öğuz Arık (Sorbonne, 1927-1931) and Ekrem Akurgal (Berlin, 1932-1940) (Goode 2007:52). In July 1933 Darülfünun, the Imperial university that had been established in the Tanzimat period, was closed. It opened the next day as Istanbul University, but with an entirely new teaching staff. Over 30 of the new professors were Jewish refugees from Germany, who were recruited by Atatürk's government in the wake of Nazi laws removing Jews from professional positions. Many of these professors went on to do important work in archaeology and in Turkish and Classical philology (Reisman 2006:9, 21).

In 1935, the *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi* (Faculty of Language and History-Geography or DTGF) was opened in Ankara. This forerunner to Ankara University initially emphasized historical philology in its curriculum, including Sumerian, Assyrian, Hittite, and Classical languages. Study of these languages was intended to provide further support for the tenets of the Turkish History Thesis (Berk 2004:120). In both Istanbul

University and the DTCF, German exiles played an important role in developing curriculum and training a generation of Turkish archaeologists that became professionally active in the 1940s and 1950s (Özdoğan 1998:118; Katoğlu 2000:425).

Although Western archaeologists often resisted the new order in Turkey, the Republican government was to prove more consistent and effective than its predecessor at asserting its sovereignty over archaeological sites and artifacts. The hard-line stance toward the export of artifacts, however, was accompanied by an open-minded attitude toward research. In archaeology, the Turkish History Institute's efforts led to a boom in excavations by Turkish academics: between 1935 and 1948, it sponsored 25 projects, mostly focused on pre-Classical periods. These included major Bronze Age sites like Alacahöyük, Hacılar, and Kültepe (Gerçek 1999:164). Atatürk himself supported research into Hittite culture, personally visiting H. Zübeyr Koşay's work at Alacahöyük, and H. H. von der Osten's excavations at Gavurkale for the Oriental Institute of Chicago (Gerçek 1999:165; Goode 2007:48). Finds from these sites were rapidly incorporated into state iconography, most famously the "Hittite Sun" discovered in 1935 at Alacahöyük, which became the symbol of Eti Bank and other institutions (Shaw 2003b: 39).

The Kemalist regime, then, countered the imperialist traditions within archaeology by continuing Osman Hamdi Bey's program of importing Western models of archaeological practice. Although Atatürk encouraged excavation of sites that reflected the emerging nationalist and Turkish ideology of the new government, methodologically the Republican government sought to import modern training and excavation techniques. In terms of spatial practice on sites, then, little had changed: but the way that knowledge

derived from that practice was used ultimately supported the hegemonic ideology of Turkishness.

Archaeology and Society in Turkey 1945-1980

Anadoluculuk and the Popularization of Archaeology

While the excesses of the History Thesis were soon discredited, its legacy was a lasting focus on Hittite and other Anatolian civilizations among Turkish archaeologists, while foreign archaeologists retained an interest in the Hellenic and Biblical periods (Erciyas 2005:182). Classical studies thus occupy an uneasy position in modern Turkish society. How to fit Classical monuments, with their symbolic associations with Western Hellenism, into Turkish national identity has posed a persistent challenge. The initial approach was to promote Classical studies as a sign of Westernization and, by extension, of modernity. Translator and cultural critic Nurullah Ataç (1898-1957), for instance, asserted that European civilization was partly derived from knowledge of Greek and Latin and, that concepts such as democracy were intrinsic to those languages. Turkey's project of modernity, therefore, would depend on widespread education in Classical philology. As a member of the official state Translation Bureau and an advocate of language reforms, Ataç in the 1930s and 1940s promoted the use of neologisms that sought to capture Greek concepts in Turkish vocabulary, and used innovative Latin-based sentence structure in his writing that proved influential in later Turkish prose (Berk 2004:150-151). Despite his theories, the teaching of Latin and Greek never became widespread in Turkey and was ultimately repudiated by the anti-Kemalists in the Democrat Party, which came to power in 1950. Ataç's theories, however, remain emblematic of how elements of the Kemalist elite used Classicism used to promote, not

just legal and social reforms, but a new modern consciousness among contemporary Turks.

In the 1950s and 1960s a group of translators and scholars sought another means of aligning Turkish identity with Classicism and European culture more broadly, through the idea of *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism). Anatolianism saw the geography of Anatolia as the crucible of diverse cultural expressions, which were part of a trans-historical Mediterranean or Anatolian culture (Berk 2004:156). Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (1890-1973), who wrote under the pen name Halikarnas Balıkcısı (“the Fisherman of Halikarnassos”), popularized Classical archaeology through his travelogues about the landscape and ruins of the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, and wrote handbooks of Greek and Roman mythology for popular audiences. Kabaağaçlı argued that ancient Greek culture was basically Ionian in origin, and therefore Anatolian (Önal 1997:200-201). The implication was that the land itself had a form of historical agency, which meant that civilizations arising on the land shared common elements regardless of blood ties between them. Sabahettin Eyuboğlu and Azra Erhat, both translators and influential critics, continued this argument by suggesting that Turkish culture bears influences from all prior cultures of Anatolia (Copeaux 1997:296; Eyuboğlu 1967). For Eyuboğlu, contemporary Turkish culture stemmed from

a ‘Mediterranean culture’ where different cultures and civilizations had been dissolved and spread to the rest of the world. In Eyuboğlu’s Anatolianism, poets such as Homer, Yunus Emre, Mevlana [Rumi], Pir Sultan and Orhan Veli were detached from the qualities of their historical, social, and cultural environments they were born to and melted in the same pot of “Anatolian humanism” (Berk 2004:156).

For her part, Erhat was trained as a Classical philologist in Ankara in the 1930s, and produced numerous translations of the Greek Classics. She also coined the term *Mavi*

Yolculuk (Blue Voyage), referring to her travels along the Aegean coast and the accompanying literary celebrations of a historicized Classical landscape.

Kabağaçlı, Erhat, and Eyubođlu thus created explicit links between landscape, the ancient Greek heritage, and contemporary Anatolian identity. Copeaux (1997:296) observes that in their view “la nation turque actuelle est la résultante de tous les peuples qui se sont succédé en Anatolie depuis l’âge de la pierre, avec lesquels Seldjoukides et Oghouz ont mêlé leur sang”. This discourse is reflected, in a different form, in the collections of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (MAC) in Ankara. Established in its current form in 1968, the MAC displays focus on the prehistoric and Bronze Age civilizations of central Anatolia, especially Hittite, Assyrian, and Urartian sites. Finds from sites such as Çatalhöyük, Hacilar, and Alacahöyük are highlighted, while Greek and Roman materials are relegated to one small exhibit. Originally planned in the image of the Turkish History Thesis, the MAC was finally established after that theory had faded from prominence. Nonetheless, the museum works to support a version of Turkish nationalism that is rooted in the geography of Anatolia (Gür 2007:49).

Anatolianism suggests the landscape, history, and geography of Anatolia as a source for contemporary identity. Being Anatolian could include Turkishness, while retaining room for other ethnic groups such as Kurds, Armenians, or Greeks (Atabey 2002:532). Significantly for our discussion, Anatolianism implicitly offers archaeology, and Classical archaeology in particular, a role in defining contemporary identity, which may explain its lingering popularity among many Turkish archaeologists today.

Though it remains influential, Anatolianism (and the study of the Classics in particular) retains elite and cosmopolitan connotations in Turkey, and has never been a

serious rival to ethnic nationalism as a fundamental component of Turkish identity. In the same period, elements of the political right were also searching for alternative expressions of identity. In the 1970s, the nascent Islamic revival in Turkey led to the spread of interest in Islamic and Ottoman history, culture, and archaeology in secondary and university education, a trend which continues today under the Islamic-inflected AK Parti government (Ersanlı 2002:341). This tendency met resistance, however, from secular nationalists, who see a focus on Islamic periods of history or archaeology as steps on a slippery slope toward fundamentalism. Although these trends increased public awareness of archaeology and history, there remains a fundamental uneasiness about the role of archaeology in Turkish identity.

Institutional Transformations and the 1983 Law

The 1960s and 1970s saw a dramatic expansion in the institutional infrastructure of archaeology in Turkey. In 1971 the Ministry of Culture was established, and took over supervision of archaeological research and site preservation from the Ministry of Education. The period also saw the rapid expansion of Turkish museums and their staffs. The number of museums nationwide grew from 41 in 1955 to 83 in 1973, and reached 146 by 1988 (Gerçek 1999:190, 202).¹³ Along with these the number of open-air archaeological sites (*ören yerleri*, lit. “ruined places”) open to the public grew to 358 by 1980 (1999: 229). In 1979, in an effort to ensure the prompt publication of archaeological results and to encourage collaboration among archaeologists, the Ministry of Culture founded an annual symposium, the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (“Excavation Results Meeting”). At the symposium, held each May or June, project directors or their delegates

¹³ Today, approximately one-third of Turkish museums hold primarily archaeological collections.

are required to give a summary of the previous year's research. The Ministry of Culture publishes the proceedings the following year, ensuring that at least preliminary results of all archaeological work in Turkey is available no more than two years after it is conducted. Due to the rapid growth of archaeological work in Turkey during the 1980s, a separate symposium and publication was established for field survey and other research in 1983 (the *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* or "Research Results Meeting"), and was joined in 1996 by another series for Archaeometry (*Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı*). Though published as separate series, the three meetings take place concurrently and assemble most of the archaeological establishment in Turkey.

After the resumption of parliamentary government after the 1980 military coup, a new basic law on cultural and natural heritage aimed at harmonizing Turkish regulations with international standards. Law 2863, On the Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties, is Turkey's basic law on cultural heritage (Resmi Gazete 1983). Passed in July 1983, the law defines cultural and natural properties, defines criteria for protected areas, establishes a process for securing excavation permits, sets punishments for violations, and establishes government oversight bodies. It mirrors American and European environmental law in that cultural resources are considered analogous to natural resources in the eyes of the law.

The 1983 legislation, like that of 1906, asserts state ownership of all cultural and natural properties that are deemed to require protection, including both standing monuments, subsurface deposits, and chance finds (Article 5). The definition of such properties is broad and includes objects and places of "architectural, historic, aesthetic, archeological, and other importance" as determined by the Ministry of Culture. Sites and

objects related to Atatürk and the foundation of the Republic are specially singled out (Article 6).

Finders of artifacts are obligated to report them to the local museum (Article 4). Likewise, landowners must take care of such resources on their property and may not build in areas deemed to be sensitive (Articles 8-10, 14). All export of cultural or natural properties is forbidden (Articles 15, 32). Law 2863 also sets out the procedure for securing a permit for excavation, archaeological survey, and other research (Section 5, Articles 35-50). This section defines who may apply for permits, who may work at sites, and responsibilities for financial support and site protection. Punishments for illegal excavation can range from a small fine to imprisonment for up to five years (Article 74).

The law envisions the state as the sole authority over cultural heritage. It lays out cultural heritage as playing an important role in forming the national identity, paying special attention to artifacts and sites that are connected to the history of the Republic. Archaeological sites, even undiscovered ones, are essentially expropriated by the state, and no private ownership of new finds is allowed. In this sense, the law conducts a balancing act: the state wants control over all sites in its territory, to be in harmony with international standards, and also to promote a certain set of resources – those relating to Republican history – as more significant than others. A significant omission in the law is the lack of any specific provisions for the management and conservation planning of archaeological sites, or for creating a national inventory of archaeological properties.

The strengthening of national control was seen by the Ministry as part of an effort to bring Turkey's heritage management programs up to international standards. To that end, Turkey ratified the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1983, and soon after

nominated a number of sites to the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2002:XII.53). Historic Istanbul, the Divriği Mosque, Göreme National Park, Hattuşaş, Nemrut Dağı, Xanthos, Troy, Hierapolis/Pamukkale, and Safranbolu are now on the list, while 18 other properties – including Ephesus, Karain Cave, Sümela Monastery, the towns of Mardin and Konya, and Kekova – have been submitted to UNESCO for consideration. According to a Ministry of Culture employee, however, these properties remain on the tentative list due to UNESCO's concern about the lack of a current, effective site management plan at any of these sites. Here, shortcomings in the 1983 law and its implementation have left the proposed World Heritage sites languishing. There is, then, a contrast between the intentions of the law and its outcomes.

Trends in 1990s and 2000s

The Growth of Salvage and Survey Archaeology

The 1990s and early 2000s saw the emergence of salvage archaeology, survey research, tourism, and site planning as important elements of Turkish archaeology. At the same time that the number of archaeological projects in Turkey has grown rapidly – from 40 in 1979 to over 200 in 2007 – archaeological work has also expanded beyond the traditional academic excavation. As in other areas of the world, there has been a boom in archaeological survey projects, which numbered over 50 in 2005 (Yıldırım and Gates 2007:275; Bayram and Koral 2007).¹⁴ This includes many long-established excavation projects, such as Troy, Aphrodisias, and Sagalassos, which are now shifting resources

¹⁴ This number includes intensive, extensive, and epigraphic surveys.

into field surveys.¹⁵ These trends mark significant changes in the practice of archaeology and have implications for our understanding of the social role of archaeological sites.

Salvage archaeology, spurred by large infrastructure development projects, has transformed archaeological knowledge of eastern Anatolia, while also witnessing the loss of thousands of sites under the massive dams of the Southeast Anatolia Project. Salvage surveys and excavations preceded each of the project's major dams, which now have submerged hundreds of kilometers of the Tigris and Euphrates river valleys. Major publications of these salvage excavations include Özdoğan 1977 (the lower Euphrates); Algaze et al. 1994 (the lower Tigris and Euphrates basins); Kennedy 1994 (Zeugma); and Tuna, Öztürk, and Velibeyoğlu 2001 (the middle and lower Tigris). In the 2000s, the focus of salvage work has been on other types of infrastructure projects, such as the surveys associated with the Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhun pipeline, which travels from the Georgian border to the Mediterranean (Görür and İstanbulluoğlu 2006). In Istanbul, the construction of a new subway system under the Bosphorus has led to large salvage digs in the Yenikapı district. Excavators discovered the Byzantine maritime district of the *Portus Theodosiacus*, complete with eight well-preserved shipwrecks (Rose and Aydingün 2007). In short, large-scale academic excavations are now a minority of archaeological research in Turkey. By the mid-1990s, the number of salvage excavations alone conducted by the Ministry of Culture (104) exceeded the number of academic excavations (89), matching trends in the United States and Europe (Gerçek 1999:230). Turkey, however, does not have a strong private sector in archaeology, and most salvage projects are run by the state.

¹⁵ See Rose and Körpe (2006), Smith and Ratté (2006), and Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens (2003) respectively; for summaries of 2006 work, see Yıldırım and Gates (2007), p. 328 (Granicus), p. 316 (Aphrodisias), and p. 314 (Sagalassos).

In recent decades, then, archaeological practice has become less bounded to a clearly defined and carefully regulated site, but has become more spatially extensive. However, the public image of archaeology in Turkey, as in other countries, continues to revolve around the discovery of monumental architecture. This trend has, if anything, only been exacerbated by the boom in tourism since the 1980s.

The Tourism Boom

The period after the 1980 military coup marked the beginning of a new phase in Turkish archaeology, as the government discovered its potential as a tool to promote tourism and economic development. Turkey's economy had long been based on import substitution, the attempt to substitute domestic production for foreign imports. After 1980, however, governments adopted neoliberal policies of export promotion and sought to attract foreign investment. One element of this new economic openness was the encouragement of tourism (Utuklu 2001: 2, 15).

Until the early 1980s, Turkey received relatively few international tourists, while internal tourism was (and remains) even less developed. However, when the 1982 Tourism Encouragement Law cut the bureaucratic burdens for land development and provided subsidized loans for hotel construction, both tourist capacity and the number of visitors began a sustained and rapid increase (Göymen 2000:1034). While the national economy has grown 25% since 2000, international tourist arrivals have tripled: from 7.5 to 21.1 million per year between 1999 and 2005. Tourism, which generated \$5.2 billion in 1999, now attracts \$18.6 billion in revenue. This represents about 5% of Turkey's GDP (dDF Consulting 2007; *The Economist* 2007).

Because cultural heritage is used extensively to market Turkish tourism, this increase is also reflected in number of visitors to museums and archaeological sites (Figure 4-1). Altogether, museums and sites nationwide received 238,000 visitors in 1950. In the following decades, this number grew rapidly, reaching over 4 million by 1980. Between 1980 and 1990, however, visitor numbers tripled, to 14.5 million. Growth in the 2000s has been less explosive but still brisk: 19,663,000 people visited sites and museums in 2005 (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu 2005). A large component of the growth in the 2000s has come from the increase in internal tourism, as rising average incomes allow the middle class to vacation within Turkey.

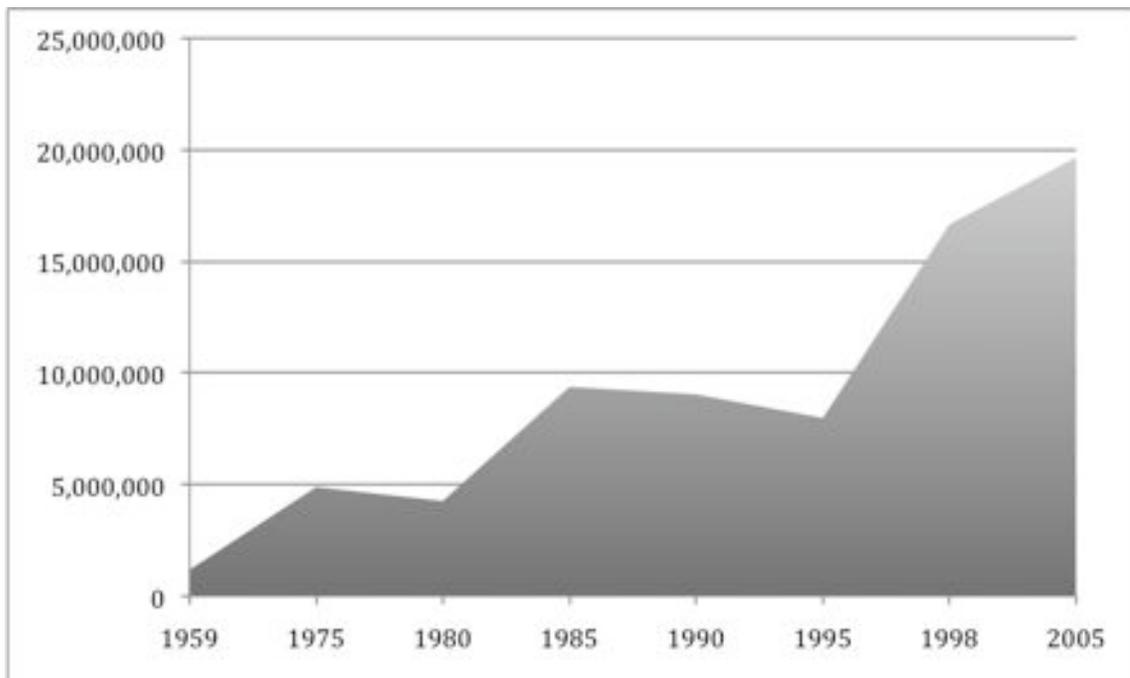


Figure 4-1. Visitors to Museums and Archaeological Sites in Turkey, 1959-2005 (Gerçek 1999:188, 227, 232; Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu 2005).

Archaeological sites are an important part of Turkey's touristic appeal. Visitors to archaeological sites totaled 8.5 million in 2005, and focused on a small number of Classical sites with significant monumental architecture. Ephesus has for decades been

the most popular archaeological destination, attracting almost 1.5 million visitors in 2007. Hierapolis joined Ephesus as the second most popular in the 1990s, drawing over 1.1 million in 2007. More generally, the most popular archaeological destinations reflect the concentration of mass tourism in Turkey on three regions: the Aegean coast from Izmir to Bodrum; the underground cities and ‘cave dwellings’ of Cappadocia, in Nevşehir province; and the Mediterranean littoral around Antalya. The latter of these was developed intensively in the later the 1990s and early 2000s. As a result, long-standing destinations such as Ephesus, Troy, and Pergamon have been joined in the top ten by sites along the Mediterranean, such as Myra (including the church of St. Nicholas), Perge, and Olympos, all of which receive 250,000 visitors or more each year. Hierapolis, though not on the coast, receives most of its visitors via beach resorts in Antalya or Alanya (Gerçek 1999:237; Kalender 2007).

If Classical archaeology is overrepresented in academic research, this phenomenon is even more marked in archaeological tourism: among the 10 most visited sites in 2007, only Troy has substantial remains from pre-Hellenic periods. The rest are representative of Greco-Roman civilization, suggesting that most tourists are not exposed to other periods of archaeology during their visits to Turkey. Foreign projects are overrepresented among the most visited sites: Ephesus, Hierapolis, Pergamon, and Troy, all run by foreign teams, accounted for 3.2 million visitors in 2007, or 38% of the national total (Kalender 2007). The attitudes and actions of foreign archaeologists toward tourism are therefore disproportionately important. The new stress on tourism also represents a new formulation of the role of monumental architecture. Rather than appreciating monumental structures based on knowledge of their role in ancient society,

critics of tourism assert that monuments are now simply appreciated as decontextualized spectacles. Significantly, archaeologists are not always in control of how sites are perceived, and have to contend with notions about the past promoted by tourism operators and popular guidebooks. The role of archaeologists in this popularization remains unclear. Mass tourism at archaeological sites also represents a reorganization of the space of the site to cater to large number of visitors, challenging sites' previous significance as places of romantic contemplation and scientific research.

Table 4-1. Most popular archaeological destinations, 2007 (Kalender 2007).	
Site	Visitors
Ephesos	1,496,608
Hierapolis	1,114,370
St. Nicolas' Birthplace (Myra)	475,514
Myra	464,449
Olympos	408,818
Aspendos	312,419
Troy	297,500
Pergamon	233,643
Perge	233,030
Phaselis	143,529
Total Visitors, Top 10 Destinations	5,179,880

The Merger of the Ministries and Archaeology's Economic Imperative

The state is doing its part to further promote these changes. How the current government conceives of archaeology's social role was succinctly expressed in 2003, when the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism were merged into a single agency. The merger, executed as part of an effort to streamline government and reduce bureaucracy, also reflects the pro-business orientation of the ruling Justice and

Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* or AK Parti). The new Ministry has been active in integrating archaeological sites into the tourist infrastructure by funding Turkish archaeological research and raising ticket prices at major sites. Many archaeologists opposed the merger, fearing that economic concerns would take precedence over research and conservation in governmental priorities. Thanks to the new Ministry's access to revenues from taxes on tourist establishments, however, an unexpected result has been a dramatic increase in the funding of Turkish-led archaeological projects. In 2002, before the merger, the Ministry of Culture spent 1.8 million YTL¹⁶ (\$1.3 million) on excavations. In 2006, in the wake of the merger, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was able to offer 10 million YTL (\$6.7 million) to support the same projects. This number increased again to 12.5 million YTL (\$9.25 million) in 2007 (Kılıç 2007). This new funding, if it continues, promises to reduce the long-standing disparity of funding between well-funded foreign projects and shoestring Turkish ones.

Along with more funding, however, have come new expectations. Since the merger, the Ministry has encouraged archaeologists in recent years to take a more active role in site conservation and management. In recent years, this has included a new mandate that foreign project directors spend 30% of their project budget on site improvement. The kinds of activities that might constitute "improvement" were suggested in 2006, when the Minister of Culture and Tourism formally requested that all archaeological projects in Turkey focus on the excavation and restoration of ancient theaters, so that the Ministry could have more venues for outdoor music and theater performances. The new instruction was received with derision by many archaeologists, especially those working at sites that predated the invention of the Greco-Roman theaters

¹⁶ *Yeni Türk Lirası* or New Turkish Lira. I use the mid-2006 exchange rate (1.33 YTL = 1 USD).

(who nonetheless received the Minister's request). While perhaps logical from the point of view of tourist promoters looking for ways to add value to existing infrastructure, the "theater letter" provoked concerns that scientific research was placed second to economic development, and that the Ministry was led by individuals with little understanding of history or archaeology.

Since foreign archaeologists hold the concessions to many of the best known and most frequently visited sites (Ephesos, Troy, Pergamon, and Hierapolis/Pamukkale, which receive 250,000-1.5 million visitors per year), these developments have made them wonder whether their work is, in effect, being used to build tourist infrastructure on behalf of the government. While in theory scientific research and tourist development should be able to coexist, the theater letter has created worry among archaeologists that their freedom to investigate scientific questions will be compromised.

New regulations suggest that the Ministry is indeed interested in expanding the role of archaeologists in conservation, planning, management, and public outreach. A regulation promulgated in June 2005 requires that projects create a site management plan that details 1, 5, and 10 year programs. Plans should include conservation, signage, display and restoration of monumental buildings. The regulation also encourages projects to conduct public education efforts and *anastylosis* (the reconstruction of buildings using original materials). It was followed in October 2005 by a regulation laying out the system for supervising and evaluating these site plans. A commission of seven members is to evaluate and approve the site plan. The commission should include the Assistant Undersecretary (*Müsteşar Yardımcısı*) of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism; the General Director of the Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (*Kültür Varlıkları*

ve Müzeler Genel Müdürü); the Director of the Excavations and Research Section (*Kazılar ve Araştırmalar Dairesi Başkanı*); two expert staff from the Ministry; and two representatives of academic departments. This committee will appoint teams to evaluate the progress of excavations and report back to the committee, which can require changes to either plan or practice. Failure to comply with the directions of the committee will cause project directors to lose their permission to excavate for one year or until they carry out the required changes.

In theory, these regulations give the Ministry significant new powers over archaeological projects, and mandate that projects place conservation concerns on an equal level with scientific research. Recent regulatory changes, however, have come in for criticism. Interviews conducted in 2006 and 2007 (see Chapters 5-7) revealed that this regulation has not yet been put into place at any site. Moreover, Ministry staff are aware that there are insufficient personnel to create a separate oversight committee for each of the over 100 active excavation projects underway in Turkey. In fact, simply providing the required government representative to all active excavation and survey projects has proven to be a major burden on local museum and General Directorate staff (Yıldırım and Gates 2007:275).¹⁷ Mehmet Özdoğan has protested that new regulations are overly rigid and bureaucratic and make unrealistic demands on archaeologists, who must deal with unpredictable conditions, limited budgets, suddenly changing personnel, and unexpected finds (Özdoğan 2006:104-110). Other archaeologists express worries that requiring them to spend all of their energy on site planning would leave little time and money for the work of excavation.

¹⁷ Yıldırım and Gates note this problem only in passing, but it has been confirmed to me in a number of conversations between 2003 and the present.

A Snapshot of Turkish Archaeology: 2007 Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı

As noted above, holders of archaeological permits must attend the annual symposium hosted by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The 29th Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı was held at Kocaeli University from May 28 to June 1, 2007.¹⁸ The profile of the participants provides a snapshot of the discipline and a baseline to which to compare the interview data that follows in the next chapter. At the five-day symposium, held in a university conference center, reports were presented on 111 excavation projects by project directors or senior staff members representing their directors. 68 presenters were Turkish (61%), 40 foreign (36%), and 3 dual citizens of Turkey and another country (3%). 70 projects (63%) were sponsored by Turkish institutions, 41 (37%) by foreign institutions. The discipline at this senior level is predominantly male, with 75 men (68%) and 36 women (32%) presenting.

Ankara and Istanbul Universities between them operate 25 of the 70 Turkish projects, 22% of the national total. Ege, Hacettepe, Selçuk, and Dokuz Eylül Universities account for 21 more. These six institutions represent 65% of all Turkish projects and 41% of the projects in Turkey. Of the foreign projects, 29 were European, 11 North American, and one Japanese. Germany had 11 projects, the United States 10, Italy 8 and France 4. Two projects were Austrian, and one each from the Netherlands, Belgium, UK, Canada, Japan, and Sweden. No foreign university had more than two projects in Turkey (Table 4-2).

¹⁸ Publication of the proceedings is expected in late 2008. For a list of projects active in 2006, see TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2007.

Turkey	70	63%
Germany	11	10%
United States	10	9%
Italy	8	7%
France	4	4%
Austria	2	2%
Other (UK, CA, NL, BE, SE, JP)	6	5%
Total	111	

In terms of primary historical phases studied, sites of the Classical period continue to receive disproportionate attention (Table 4-3). Fully 48% of all 2007 excavations in Turkey take place at sites best known for their Classical remains. Nine percent were Neolithic or earlier in focus, 20% focused on Bronze Age sites, 13% on the pre-Classical Iron Age, and only 11% on Byzantine and Islamic periods. Broadly speaking, foreign and Turkish projects are similarly distributed, although foreign archaeologists excavate a proportionately larger number of Bronze Age sites and almost no post-Classical sites. While these figures are from a single year, and inevitably oversimplify the complex chronology present at most sites, they point out that the Classical and Bronze Age periods continue to dominate archaeology in Turkey.

	Turkish Institutions		Foreign Institutions		Total	
Neolithic and Earlier	6	9%	4	10%	10	9%
Bronze Age	11	16%	11	27%	22	20%
Iron Age (pre-Classical)	10	14%	4	10%	14	13%
Classical	32	46%	21	51%	53	48%
Post-Classical	11	16%	1	2%	12	11%

Examining the data at a finer grain, however, the presence of distinct traditions and communities within archaeology are evident. Northern European archaeologists have a distinct Classical focus. Among the 11 German projects, 8 are Classical, 2 Bronze Age (Boğazköy/Hattusas, Troy), and one Prehistoric (Göbekli Tepe). The two Austrian and the Swedish, Dutch, and Belgian projects are also all largely Classical in focus. French and Italian projects, by contrast, are about half Bronze Age (2 of 4 and 3 of 5 respectively), with the remainder Classical. The Anglo-American tradition is even more diverse: among the 12 projects run by American, Canadian, and British institutions, 3 are Prehistoric, 4 Bronze, 2 Iron, 2 Classical, and one Byzantine.

More striking than national differences are differences in the geographic distribution of archaeological excavation within Turkey. The west and southwestern part of the country are dominated by Classical projects. The Aegean coast and its hinterland host 36 projects, of which 26 are Classical and none Prehistoric. Along the southwest coast between Alanya and Bodrum, 16 of 21 projects are Classical in focus. The European projects working in these two regions (8 in each region) all work at Greco-Roman periods, as do two of the three American projects in western Anatolia (the other project, Sardis, is pre-Classical but has strong connections to the Greek cultural sphere). In other words, Greco-Roman sites dominate the archaeology of western and southwestern Turkey – but foreign projects in this region are almost *exclusively* Classical.

	West	Southwest	Thrace/ Marmara	Central	Mediterranean	Southeast	East	Black Sea
Prehistoric	0	1	2	3	0	4	0	0
Bronze	7	1	1	7	1	9	0	1
Iron	1	0	0	4	4	0	3	0
Classical	26	16	4	2	0	2	0	0
Byzantine- Islamic	2	3	2	2	0	3	0	0
Total	36	21	9	18	5	18	3	1
% Foreign	31%	38%	0%	56%	40%	61%	0%	0%

Thrace and the area around the Sea or Marmara have fewer projects but a broader mix of periods. All of these are run by Turkish institutions. Central Anatolia is dominated by pre-Classical projects of the Bronze and Iron Age. In Southeast Anatolia, most projects focus on Prehistoric and Bronze Age periods, and many of these are conducting salvage work in advance of the construction of the massive Ilisu Dam on the Tigris River. These latter two regions have mostly foreign projects (56% and 60% respectively), and there are more American excavations here (4 each) than in other regions. In eastern Anatolia, three Turkish projects investigate Urartian-period sites around Lake Van, while there is a single Bronze Age excavation near Samsun on the Black Sea.

While these observations are generalized from data representing a single field season (2006), they suggest significant overall patterns. Excavations by Turkish institutions are about half Classical, and these are focused on the western part of the country. Turkish projects represent other periods nearly equally. Northern European archaeologists, however, are almost exclusively Greco-Roman in orientation, and largely work in the west and southwest. French and Italian projects share this Classical focus but are also present at earlier sites in the central and southeast parts of the country. American projects focus on a wider variety of periods and are concentrated in the central and

southeast parts of Turkey. Central Anatolia is characterized by an interest in the Bronze Age – mainly Hittite and related civilizations – while southeast Anatolia is home to both Bronze Age and prehistoric projects. Foreign projects are largely absent from the east, the Black Sea coast, and the Sea of Marmara regions, which overall have relatively few active excavations.

Three distinct traditions are therefore evident, each a result of different historical phases in Anatolian archaeology. The long-established Classical sites of the west and southwest coasts are largely the same ones noted in the 17th and 18th century travel narratives discussed in Chapter 3. Many of the Bronze Age sites of central Anatolia were the same ones investigated under the early Republic in the late 1920s and 1930s, and whose artifacts and iconography were marshaled in support of the Kemalist vision of modernity. Finally, interest in the Prehistoric and Bronze Age sites of the southeast was sparked in the 1970s by the massive program of dam construction on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers known as the Southeast Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi or GAP). In the interview results reported in the following chapters, only one of these traditions is examined in depth: the Classical tradition of west and southwest Anatolia, and particularly European and American projects within it. Classical excavations are the oldest and numerically largest segment of Turkish archaeology, and also the part of the discipline most affected by mass tourism. While it is hoped that a study of these projects will offer a useful perspective on Turkish archaeology as a whole, it should be remembered that this picture is inevitably incomplete: the Bronze Age sites of central Anatolia, the Neolithic sites of the southeast, and the Urartian excavations around Lake

Van constitute distinct archaeological cultures which are equally deserving objects of research.

Discussion

This brief overview of 19th and 20th century developments in Turkish archaeology serves to show the contours and provide the historical context for ongoing debates over the proper role of archaeology – and of Classical archaeology in particular – within contemporary Turkish society. We have seen three formulations of archaeological practice. In the middle and late 19th century archaeology became characterized by topographical survey, systematic excavation, and the desire to acquire artifacts for European museums. Its practitioners had connections to Western governmental and commercial interests, and often saw their work as part of national aims. Part of these aims included the enhancement of national prestige in a climate of competition between European powers, a prestige established by the physical possession of antiquities.

In the later 19th and 20th centuries, efforts of the Ottoman and Turkish state redefined the social role of archaeology. Exportation of antiquities was banned and the state assumed ultimate authority over sites. For foreign archaeologists, the prestige to be gained from archaeological excavations was now primarily academic, and their work came under state supervision. The struggle here was not so much over the value or meaning of sites as for control of archaeological space – from Osman Hamdi Bey onward, state administrators implicitly accepted notions of archaeological significance imported from the West. At the same time, Turkey created its own archaeological infrastructure by training a cadre of Turkish archaeologists, expanding the museum

system, and finally establishing a system of site protection and regulation. These new institutions were modeled on Western ones and reflected worldwide trends toward a closer association of archaeology and government during the 20th century (Smith 2004:100). During this period the relationship between archaeology – especially Classical archaeology – remained unsettled, with attempts to popularize archaeology in tension with nationalist and religious identity claims.

The 1990s and 2000s saw a transformation in archaeology. Tourism redefined both the audience and the public meaning of sites, while archaeologists themselves spread beyond the traditional excavation to salvage and survey research. The merger of the Ministries of Culture and Tourism in 2003 established a new formulation of the role of archaeology in society. With archaeological sites now seen as marketable commodities, archaeologists are faced with the possibility that they will no longer have exclusive control over the use or meanings of archaeological sites. Ironically, at the same time that large-scale, foreign-run, Classical excavations are becoming less typical of the discipline as a whole, governmental pressure is ramping up to continue and expand such projects – but with an eye not toward improving research but toward creating tourist attractions. In the chapters that follow we will examine how these different historical definitions of archaeological practice are reflected in the attitudes of archeologists themselves.

Chapter 5: Introduction to the Interview Data

As we have seen, archaeologists are facing a challenge to their traditional authority over archaeological knowledge. At the same time, they are facing calls from within the discipline to act as “stewards” of the archaeological record, to practice “consultation” with other stakeholder groups, and to engage with their diverse publics. The specific implications of these ethical commitments, however, remain unclear. In the chapters that follow, I report interview data that shed light on how archaeologists understand their responsibilities to other stakeholder groups.

To suggest that archaeologists should include diverse viewpoints in the creation and interpretation of archaeological data is now a mainstream position in the discipline. Post-processual approaches (Hodder 1999; Tilley 1993), together with the growing literature addressing archaeological ethics (Vitelli 1996; Lynott and Wylie 2000b), and the illicit antiquities trade (Brodie *et al.* 2001), have made many archaeologists aware of how archaeology engages with contemporary social concerns.

While these theoretical and ethical mandates in principle encourage archaeologists to take an active role in consulting non-archaeological stakeholders, there is little information about how archaeologists operationalize these ideas in the field. Recent ethnographic studies of the culture of archaeology have examined how the division of labor at archaeological sites constrains some workers’ ability to participate in the discourse about the site (Wilmore 2006:122) and how disciplinary culture is shaped in

the field (Yarrow 2006). As Edgeworth has noted (2006b:7), the most prominent practitioners of post-processualism are also proponents of ethnographic approaches in archaeology. Other works examine how archaeological projects interact with local residents. Onuki (2007) illustrates how working in partnership with local communities in Peru can help promote preservation of looting-prone sites in the off-season, while Sandlin and Bey (2006) trace how archaeologists learn to be more critical of their relationships to local people and the wider world of knowledge.

The most comprehensive effort to link archaeology to its larger publics has come out of the site of Çatalhöyük in Turkey. Ian Hodder has organized outreach to the diverse stakeholders in the site, including local farmers, government representatives, neo-pagan goddess worshippers, and the archaeological community (Hodder 2000, 2002). Other project members have examined the effects of the archaeological presence at Çatalhöyük on the local community (Shankland 1997, 2000; Bartu 2000), and the different ways that stakeholders in the site construct its meaning (Bartu 2007). These efforts by the Çatalhöyük team are foundational, yet isolated: it remains the only site in Turkey where extensive sociological research accompanies archaeological excavation.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that some projects are engaged in site planning, public outreach, or tourist development, but a bibliographic review suggested that fieldwork would be necessary in order to gather data on the attitudes of archaeologists toward public outreach and the scope of actual outreach activities. Recognizing this, I designed my research with the aim of discovering how project members in the field understand their obligations to the public and what challenges they face in fulfilling them. While many of these archaeologists are likely aware of the post-processual commitment to

dialogue, the extent to which such ideas are incorporated into day-to-day practice in the field is unclear. I was also curious about how they envisioned the role of archaeology in Turkish society and the role of tourism at archaeological sites.

Research in 2006

To shed light on these questions, the remainder of this dissertation reports the results of my 2006 and 2007 interviews with archaeologists, conservators, architects, and Culture and Tourism Ministry employees in Turkey. I conducted my first, larger series of interviews between June and August 2006. In this period I conducted interviews with a five or more members of teams at Sardis, Aphrodisias, Sagalassos, Gordion, and Hierapolis, and spoke with a smaller number of project members from Troy and Magnesia.

I began my 2006 research by contacting project directors to ask for permission to visit their projects and talk with their staff about conservation and management issues. I prepared an interview protocol, secured permission from the University of Michigan Institutional Review Board, and consulted the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) to determine whether I needed permission from the Ministry of Culture to conduct interview research. ARIT, like other foreign institutions, was designated as the reviewer of all applications originating in their countries by the new laws of 2003. The director of ARIT informed me, and a reading of the regulations confirmed, that interview research was exempted.

Making Contact

My original intention was to create a balanced group of Turkish, American, and European projects. To create this sample I made initial contact with 13 project directors via email, representing 3 American, 5 European, and 5 Turkish projects. Eleven of these projects were Classical sites, one Bronze Age (Troy), and one Iron Age (Sardis). The projects contacted were partly shaped by what contact information was available to me: while American and European projects often publish emails of their senior staff members, that was less often true of Turkish excavation. Turkish universities, likewise, do not always have comprehensive email directories of their staff. The pool of projects from which I solicited interviews, then, was shaped by the internet presence of the projects and selected more strongly for European and American projects than I had initially intended.

All of the American, three European and one Turkish director replied to my email, a total of seven out of 13. In the case of some projects, emails to several project members did not receive a reply. The most prominent lacuna in the data presented in this dissertation – the site of Ephesus – is a result of this problem. Five different senior project members were contacted by email by myself and by others emailing on my behalf, but I did not receive any responses. As a result, then, the sites at which I ultimately conducted in-depth interviews were shaped by projects' willingness to respond to inquiries. However, my own status as an American student likely increased the willingness of American projects to respond compared to those of other nationalities.

Among those projects that did respond and invite me to visit, their sites there were still logistical factors that shaped my ability to gather data. The process of ‘getting in’ to projects for the purpose of doing interviews itself illuminates some aspects of how archaeology relates to the society around it. My ability to visit projects was constrained by a number of factors, which in themselves reveal interesting information about how archaeological projects, and foreign projects in particular, operate in Turkey.

Regulation and the Role of the Government Representative

Regulatory restrictions on visitors to archaeological projects was an important constraint on my research. Projects must submit their final staff roster, along with their permit applications, the December before the planned field season, and it is very difficult to change these rosters after that date. People who are not on the official staff list are allowed to visit a site for no longer than three days under current regulations. Thus I had to plan my site visits to last no longer than three days. Because bureaucratic supervision of foreign archaeologists in Turkey is much more rigorous, Turkish projects may be reluctant to host foreign guests unless visiting under the auspices of another archaeological project. I hypothesize that this may account for my low rate of response from Turkish project directors.

Even when invited by a project director, visitors may only stay at a site with the permission of the government representative, or *temsilci*, who is assigned to monitor the project. In practice, the *temsilci* is given wide latitude to decide who is allowed to visit and where they may go. One *temsilci*, for instance, preferred that I, as a visitor, not enter the excavation house, storage facilities, or dorm buildings in which project members were

staying. This made the logistics of talking to project members, and of securing times and places for interviews, much more difficult.

Temsilcis are assigned to both foreign and Turkish archaeological projects, and serve as the official representatives of the state. They are charged with enforcing regulations regarding excavations, and have the power to halt excavations if they are concerned about its compliance with the law. Typically employees of regional museums, they are often trained as curators rather than archaeologists, and may not be experts in the material culture of the periods studied at the excavations where they are assigned. Their foreign language proficiency varies. Moreover, projects are in rural areas and often operate seven days per week, which means that government representatives are isolated from their homes and families, often involuntarily, for several months on end.

Projects normally receive a different representative each year, meaning that it is difficult to build long-term relationships between project staff and the representative. Because of all these factors, the individual personality and experience of the *temsilci* shapes their approach to regulating the excavation project. As a general rule, relationships between *temsilcis* and Turkish projects are more informal, to the point that the Ministry decided in 2006, due to a shortage of available personnel, to suspend the requirement that all Turkish projects have such a representative. On foreign projects, however, the relationship between the project director and the government representative is often formal, sometimes taking on the air of diplomatic negotiation.

This is reflected in the way that I was received on my arrival at my research sites. After meeting the project director, I was usually introduced to the site *temsilci* over dinner. *Temsilci* introductions were clearly an important moment as my presentation to

the official representative of the state. Implicit was the expectation that I be able to present myself as a serious researcher, discuss my research goals comfortably in Turkish, and be polite and respectful. Since their permission was needed for my presence on site, however, these moments were important for securing access. While in reality it seemed that the project director had overall choice, the *temsilci*'s tacit agreement was needed – they had veto power, but were not expected to use it unless I presented a clear problem to them for whatever reason. Generally, the *temsilcis* at the projects I visited were friendly and supportive of my research. In one case, however, the government representative was clearly not pleased with my presence on site, and insisted that I show him a permit for my research, even though no permit for interview research is necessary under Turkish law. Since this difference of opinion clearly made the project director uncomfortable, I chose to leave the site earlier than planned in order to avoid creating a problem for my host. As a result, however, I had to forego several planned interviews.

Gaining Access

Once introduced to the project director and the representative of the state, there remained the task of approaching project members and asking them to participate in my interviews. This was sometimes a difficult process, since this type of sociological research with archaeologists has not been conducted before in Turkey. Some project members were initially unclear about what my research entailed. In numerous conversations, I had to clarify that I was trained as an archaeologist, and had conducted recent fieldwork in Turkey, Israel, Croatia, and other countries. Several people I spoke to asked me somewhat confrontational questions: was I an archaeologist, really? What did these questions have to do with archaeology? Implicit was that planners or architects do

research on site management or public outreach, while archaeologists did something else. My status as a member of a Classical Archaeology PhD program at a well-known university was, in this regard, very useful at convincing people of my legitimacy as an interlocutor of archaeology. The currencies of institutional status and field experience were essential to legitimizing my work in the eyes of my interview subjects.

Creating social relationships with project members was also key to securing interviews. I accomplished this by visiting different excavation areas at research sites and asking questions about their work and results. After working hours, I participated in meals, cocktail hours, and after-dinner socializing where possible. Creating a social relationship with potential interview participants was important for getting interview access, especially among more junior members of the project. Project directors and senior staff members seemed to feel that it was part of their management responsibilities to participate in my interviews, and often acknowledged as much by scheduling time to talk in advance. Opportunities to speak with junior project members, however, were much more dependent on chance. Given the typically full schedules of archaeological projects, and limited leisure time among project members, it was difficult to conduct interviews during the workday. Rather, I had to corner potential subjects and sometimes repeatedly ask for interview times. Most of these were conducted after dinner, when most project members had free time.

Senior members of projects that I approached for interviews were generally willing to talk about the topics, although many expressed that their engagement with issues of public outreach, management, and tourism was somewhat grudging and something they felt forced into, rather than being a real choice. Many junior project

members, however, expressed doubt that they had anything useful to say about the topics I was questioning them about. Many chose to qualify their statements with the disclaimer that “I’m not an expert”.

After overcoming this initial reticence and beginning the interview, I found that most participants were actually quite eager to share their ideas and concerns about outreach, site management, relationships with local residents, and other issues. While there was an inhibition about representing themselves as experts, some project members clearly had spent a good deal of time thinking about the issues. Others reported that these issues were not ones they had thought about much before but recognized them as important. For some participants, the interviews themselves were a learning process: one young European architect approached me the day after our interview, and said that after thinking about his initial responses he wanted to conduct the interview again, since he thought his answers would be “better” the second time around.

Researcher Limitations and the Shape of the Data

My own subject position as male, American graduate student with only intermediate-level Turkish language skills certainly colors my data. The issue of language was certainly an important one: while most European archaeologists understand English well, second and third-language proficiency is less common among Turkish archaeologists. While I can communicate adequately in Turkish, I do not have mastery of the technical vocabulary that is necessary for effectively conducting interviews. This language gap made it more difficult to both secure interviews with Turkish archaeologists and to conduct them. Beyond this, Turkish project directors responded at a lower rate than foreign ones, either because the nature of my work was not clear, or perhaps because

they were wary of the additional bureaucratic burdens that come from having foreign visitors to Turkish-run archaeological sites.

More generally, my American nationality seems to have shaped responses to me and my work. My subjective impression is that American archaeologists, while more skeptical than Europeans or Turks about whether my research was “really archaeology”, accepted my presence on site more quickly and treated me more informally. European and Turkish respondents seemed to accept the nature of the research more readily, but treated me more formally as a guest and visitor. My gender, moreover, was presumably advantageous: as we have noted above (p. 143), archaeology is a largely male endeavor at the senior level.

Research in 2007

My 2006 research yielded 44 interviews, significantly more than my initial goal of 20. However, it was also apparent that these interviews drastically overrepresented the foreign and especially American perspective on the issues. While this project was always intended to focus primarily on foreign-run excavations, I felt that the data would be richer with a better representation of Turkish perspectives in general. I returned to Turkey in 2007 with the intention of filling in these gaps by carrying out a limited number of interviews with people in government, NGO members, and more Turkish archaeologists. I also wanted to use the opportunity to attend the 2007 Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı in İzmit, both because I knew that a broad range of archaeologists would be there, and in order to better understand how this meeting shapes the culture of Turkish archaeology.

In May and June 2007 I visited Istanbul, Ankara, and İzmit to conduct 15 more interviews, focusing this time on government officials, NGO members, and Turkish

archaeologists. In the government sector I spoke with current and former members of the General Directorate of Cultural Property and Museums, including the single site planner within the Directorate and two current members of the Excavation Section, which processes permits for archaeological process. I also spoke with two former advisors to the Minister of Culture, and a provincial director of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. I interviewed staff from NGOs including the World Monuments Fund, the Archaeological Settlements of Turkey Project, the Geyre Vakfı (Geyre Foundation), and the Toplumsal Arkeoloji Projesi (Social Archaeology Project). I also interviewed three prominent Turkish authors on cultural heritage issues. The remainder of my interviews were with academic archaeologists who direct or work at Assos, Seddülbahr, Pergamon, and Kırklareli Höyük. In securing interviews I was fortunate to have the assistance of Şengül Aydingün, a professor at Kocaeli University and member of the Istanbul Provincial Antiquities Council, which oversees salvage excavations in Istanbul province. She was instrumental in introducing me to several interviewees and offered very helpful suggestions on how to improve my interview for a Turkish audience.

About half of this second round of interviews was conducted at the 29th KST, which was held at Kocaeli University between May 28 and June 1, 2007. Kocaeli (formerly İzmit) is located 100km east of Istanbul; the university was moved to a new suburban campus after the old one was damaged in the 1999 earthquake that affected the Marmara region. The meeting itself was attended mostly by project directors, their assistants, and Turkish undergraduates. As far as I could tell, I was one of very few graduate students present at the conference. The conference was organized chronologically: papers on Prehistoric and Bronze Age periods were given the first day,

Iron Age and Classical papers on the second and third days, and late Antique, Byzantine, and Islamic papers the final day. Because, as discussed above (p.147), archaeologists working in different periods also often work in different geographic areas and come from different academic traditions, there was less social contact than might be expected among different groups. Many presenters, for instance, made a perfunctory appearance to give their papers and did not appear during earlier or later sessions.

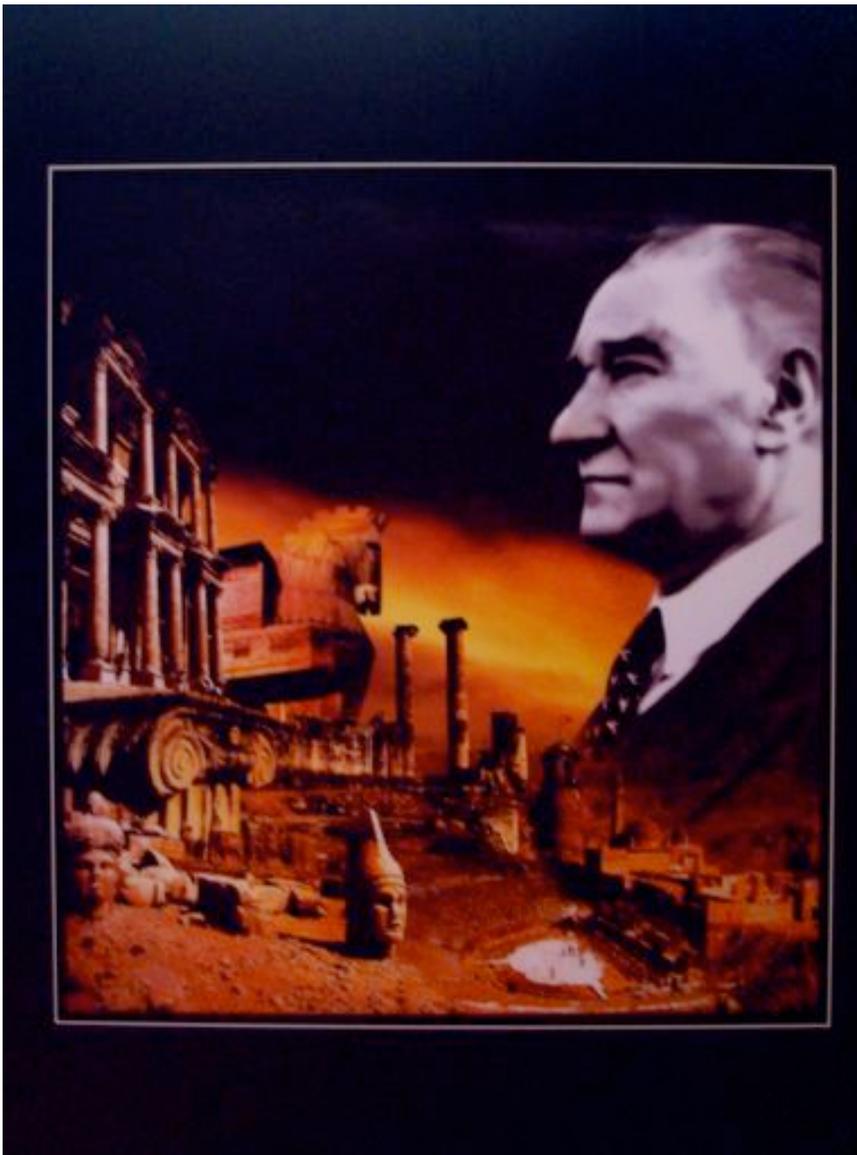


Figure 5-1. Atatürk as patron of archaeology (D. Shoup)

Literature and iconography at the meetings made it clear that the state uses this occasion to assert its role as the main patron of archaeology. Large posters were erected in the entrance foyer depicting Atatürk gazing over a pastiche of iconic ruins, including the Library of Celsus, a head from Nemrud Dağı, the Divriği Mosque complex and the Trojan Horse model from the site of Troy (Figure 5-1). The relationship between the state and archaeology was further emphasized at a special event held at Osman Hamdi Bey's summer home on the Sea of Marmara, now a museum. Conference participants were taken there by ferry on the evening of May 30. After a dinner for all conference participants, project directors were required to attend to a closed session with the Minister of Culture and Tourism, Atilla Koç, who gave a speech outlining new regulations and the Ministry's current priorities for archaeology.

Conducting interviews at the KST proved more challenging than anticipated. Because many participants preferred not to attend except on the days when they were presenting, there was a relatively limited window of opportunity to approach people for interviews. As at excavation sites, potential participants were quite busy and often distracted by other engagements, and therefore unavailable. Despite having some contacts at the meeting, it was difficult to get introductions to all of the people that I wanted to meet. The presence of several hundred people at conference venue at any given time made it more difficult than in site-based interviews to identify and recruit participants.

Limitations of the Data: Discussion

The data presented here, then, are shaped by factors both inside and outside of the researcher's control. The initial intention of the study was to contrast attitudes among foreign and Turkish Classical excavations. The final data, however, ended up being more

reflective of the Western – and especially the American – perspective than originally intended. This was a result of different rates of response to my email inquiries, my own identity as an American graduate student, the way that foreign visitors to archaeological sites are regulated, and my own limitations of knowledge and language abilities.

The structure of the conferences and digs where I was seeking interviews seems also to have presented an obstacle to data collection. My interest in how archaeologists conceive of archaeological space sites led me to choose to do interviews at active sites, on the assumption that participants would be more engaged with spatial issues when actually excavating. Doing research at active sites also promised a high concentration of potential interview subjects in one place. However, I did not anticipate the degree to which the tight schedules of excavations made it difficult both to secure permission to visit and conduct interviews, and to find time to speak with project members upon arrival. It is likely that if I had chosen to conduct interviews during the academic year I would have been more successful in securing time with some of the groups that are less represented here, especially German and Turkish Classical archaeologists. There were also some scheduling conflicts: at two projects, the times when I was invited to visit were after my return to the United States, so I was not able to take advantage of these opportunities.

Despite these caveats, the interview data are diverse and express a challenging range of ideas about the nature of archaeology, the discipline's role in society, and how texts, artifacts, and monuments are used to construct meanings about the past. The reader should keep in mind, however, that this is a partial picture, one that will hopefully be

complemented in future by further research, especially with Turkish Classical archaeologists.

The Interviewees

In total, my 2006 and 2007 interview programs yielded 59 interviews. Four interviews included more than one person, for a total of 64 respondents. Fifty-four were conducted in English, four in Turkish, and one in Italian. Interviews lasted from 30 to 45 minutes, and included 16 questions in the 2006 questionnaire. The 2007 questionnaire was modified and reduced to 7 questions, focusing on substantially the same topics but reflecting that fact that many of my 2007 respondents were not actively working on archaeological sites.¹⁹ Interviews were semi-structured: my questions provided a frame but did not keep conversations from going in unexpected directions. In some questions, I intentionally used terms such as “ownership”, “stakeholders”, or “authenticity” that have a loaded or technical meaning. The intention was to determine not only how interview participants felt about the question, but also whether they were familiar with terminology that was commonly used in the academic literature.

Respondents gave oral consent to be interviewed and were offered anonymity for some or all of the interview if they chose. I also assured them that I would allow participants to review any quotes that cited them or their projects in an identifiable way before publication. Ultimately, I decided to present all of the interview responses anonymously, with the exception of some comments from project directors about their site management plans (reported in Chapter 7 below).

¹⁹ Appendix 1 reproduces the questionnaires.

The 64 interviewees discussed here were more or less evenly divided between American, European, and Turkish nationalities: 22 respondents held Turkish nationality, 24 held American nationality, 2 were Latin American, and 19 were Europeans, including 6 from the UK, 6 Belgians, 2 Germans, and 5 Italians.²⁰ This sample inverts the actual ratio of Turkish to foreign archaeologists, since only 35-40% of research projects in Turkey are foreign-run. Twenty-one participants were female and 43 male. While the sample may underrepresent female archaeologists overall, the evidence from the 2007 Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı presented above suggests that field directors and senior staff at most projects in Turkey are predominantly male.

My sample focused mostly on archaeologists, and 54 of the 64 participants were directly involved in an archaeological project. Project members came from a range of professional specialties including archaeology, architecture, materials conservation, and site planning. Only 34 respondents identified themselves primarily as archaeologists, while eight were architects and five conservators. These three professions are examined separately at several points in the discussion below. An artist, tour guide, site planner, epigrapher, and safety engineer were also represented. However, professional identities are complex and overlapping: 6 project participants were involved in NGOs or the media, another 8 were or had previously been employed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Of the respondents not affiliated with archaeological projects, four worked with NGOs, two in journalism and publishing, and four in government.

46 of the 64 respondents were part of an academic institution, including six undergraduates, 18 graduate students, and 22 professors. This was roughly matched by

²⁰ Three Turkish/American dual nationals are counted under their country of birth.

the diversity of field experience among the sample. Of the 54 project members, seven had two years or less field experience. 19 had three years or more, while 16 were senior members with substantial responsibility for directing others. Twelve respondents were project directors. My sample, then, is substantially weighted toward more experienced project members. As we will see in the following chapters, these variables – of professional training, experience level, and nationality – help us to understand the differences in attitudes among different parts of the archaeological community.

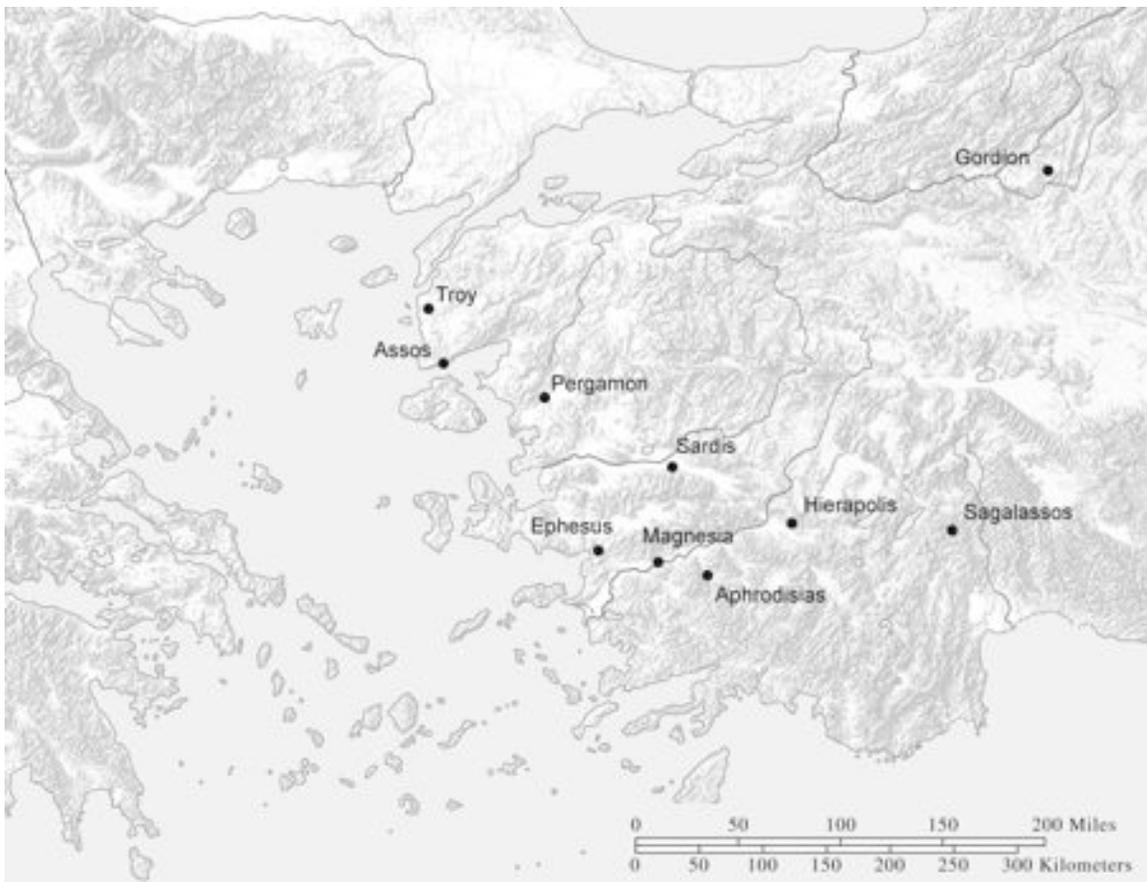


Figure 5-2. Interview sites in 2006 and 2007 (Ephesus included for context)

Chapter 6: Public Outreach and Archaeology's Many Audiences

In this chapter, I explore attitudes toward archaeology's relationship with the public, in particular about public outreach activities and the ownership of archaeological sites among archaeological project members working at Classical sites. The data in this chapter are derived from interviews with 49 members of archaeological projects, who were asked the following questions in their interview session:

- 1) How important is it to you that archaeologists be involved in public outreach?
- 2) What audiences are most important for archaeologists to reach?
- 3) In the broadest sense, to whom does this site belong?
- 4) What kind of public outreach activities happen at this site?

The first question was meant to gauge support for the concept of public outreach in the abstract sense. Given that there are many possible motives for public outreach, the second question sought to assess what kinds of people respondents felt a responsibility to communicate with. The third question explores respondents' perceptions of site ownership in a broad moral sense. I hypothesized that perceptions of audience and ownership will allow us to better understand archaeologists' motives for engaging or not engaging with particular stakeholder groups in archaeological sites. Finally, the last question allows us to compare the idea and the reality of outreach activities around individual sites. Because it asks respondents for their personal knowledge of outreach

activities, it also allows us to gauge which subgroups of the sample are more or less aware of public outreach as a practice.

The 49 respondents included in this sample were interviewed in field settings and queried about site-related public outreach activities. Represented in this subsample are respondents from Aphrodisias (14 respondents), Sagalassos (11), Sardis (9), Gordion (5), Hierapolis (5), Pergamon (2), Troy (1), Magnesia-on-Meander (1), and Assos (1). Like the rest of the interview research reported in this dissertation, the sample is intentionally weighted toward foreign archaeologists: it includes 20 North Americans (including one Puerto Rican and one Columbian working on US-led projects), 18 Europeans (from Italy, Belgium, Germany, and the UK), and 11 Turks. The sample includes 33 men and 16 women.

In order to allow analysis of the effects of disciplinary training, respondents were asked about their professional identity. Most identified themselves as primarily archaeologists (30), while eight identified themselves as architects and four as conservators. The remaining seven included an art historian, artist, epigrapher, tour guide, safety engineer, site planner, and general project assistant. I also wanted to be able to analyze results by the participants' level of experience and responsibility. For the purpose of analysis, experience is categorized by a combination of academic ranking and project responsibilities. The sample includes 6 undergraduates, 16 graduate students (including one postdoctoral student), 10 senior staff (individuals of any academic rank, but with a role in managing excavations), 9 project directors, and 8 consultants from outside of the academic system. Most of the conservators are included in this latter category.

Overall, respondents' attitudes were very positive toward public outreach. However, the data suggest that there is no consensus on which outreach activities or audiences are most important – or even to whom archaeological sites really belong in a moral sense. Rather, archaeologists have a complex mosaic of attitudes that cluster around spatial, political, and epistemological concerns: the balance between global and local interests, the role of the state, and how much knowledge of archaeology is required to have a say in archaeological sites.

Public Outreach in Principle and in Practice

It was hoped that exploring attitudes toward public outreach would shed light on the foregoing discussion of how archaeologists, especially foreigners, conceive of their relationship to other sectors of society. Classical archaeology has been posited as a source of European identity, and has occupied an uneasy position in Turkish society: thinkers like Ataç proposed the Classics as a crucial element of the Kemalist modernist project, while the *Mavi Yolculuk* group sought to posit Anatolianism as a counterpoint to ethnic nationalism. Meanwhile, ethics codes among European and American professional associations suggest that popularizing excavation results is a duty of the archaeologist. Given this background, how archaeologists feel about public outreach, who they see as important audiences, and what activities they conduct may reveal what connections archaeologists see between their work and contemporary identities.

Interview participants were asked how important it was to them that archaeologists be involved in public outreach activities. The intention of this question was to gauge whether respondents supported the concept in principle, and to provide a baseline to which to compare the more specific responses about audience and outreach.

Respondents seemed confident that they knew what the question was getting at: unlike other questions, none asked for clarification of what I meant by “public outreach”. While there may be some differences in understanding, the concept itself was familiar.

A large majority of respondents had positive attitudes toward public outreach: 37 of 49 respondents said it was important, very important, or the most important aspect of their work. The remaining 12 did not answer the question directly, but no respondent said that it was not important. As Tables 5-1 and 5-2 show, at least two-thirds of respondents identified public outreach as important across all nationalities and levels of academic experience.

	Americans	Europeans	Turks	Total
Most important	5%	6%	-	4%
Very important	45%	44%	55%	47%
Important	25%	28%	18%	24%
<i>Total Answering 'Important'</i>	<i>75%</i>	<i>78%</i>	<i>73%</i>	<i>76%</i>
No direct answer	25%	22%	27%	24%
Not Important	-	-	-	-
Total Respondents	20	18	11	49

	Undergrad	Graduate	Senior Staff	Project Directors	Other
Most important	17%	-	-	-	13%
Very important	17%	63%	50%	44%	38%
Important	33%	25%	30%	22%	38%
No direct answer	33%	13%	20%	33%	13%
Negative	-	-	-	-	-
Total Respondents	6	16	10	9	8

Results were similar when analyzed by profession. Although the sample for architects and conservators are small, archaeologists on average are more likely to describe public outreach as ‘very important’ (60%), while architects and conservators are more likely to see it as ‘important’ (50% and 44% respectively).

	Archaeologists	Architects	Conservators	Other
Most important	–	–	–	29%
Very important	60%	38%	25%	14%
Important	17%	50%	25%	57%
No direct answer	23%	13%	50%	–
Negative	–	–	–	–
Total Respondents	30	8	4	7

In sum, there is a consensus among archaeological project members that it is important for archaeologists to be involved in public outreach – not simply that public outreach *per se* was a good thing, but that archaeologists should be involved. Advocating an ongoing connection between archaeologists and the public, then, appears to be a relatively uncontroversial stance.

This consensus, however, masks a variety of qualifications and explanations that were offered in response to this question, including the following:

Q. How important is it to you that archaeologists be involved in public outreach?

It’s very important – one of the most important goals of our work. Scientists do research, it is very important for the scientific community, but [public outreach] is also an obligation for us.

Very much so – there seems little point to do all this work and just keep it in the academy.

Archaeologists should try to help visitors see things the way we see them – as places for imagination.

It should be the first priority to cater to tourists and visitors. Scientific research is of course also important.

In these responses, we get a foretaste of issues that will emerge in more depth below.

Arching across all four responses is a dichotomy between the scientific and the popular, with two respondents suggesting that sharing knowledge with the public is in fact what gives archaeology its social purpose. The definition of archaeological sites as “places for imagination” in the third quote foreshadows a theme discussed in depth in Chapter 8 below.

Support for public outreach also stems from the perceived self-interest of archaeologists:

I feel like we have to reach out to survive. Classical archaeology is stale, and needs more public outreach. It's overspecialized and losing its ability to address general issues and cultivate public interest.

We aren't going to get funding unless people understand how great the site is. It's important to keep the big picture of preservation and outreach to the public. Otherwise there's no point to the research.

[Public outreach] needs to be larger part of the package – since we get public funds and have low social relevance, we need to cultivate public interest.

These respondents, all senior staff members and professors at three different sites, worry that Classical archaeology as a discipline is threatened by overspecialization. Public outreach, by contrast, can build popular support for increased public spending on archaeological research.

Several respondents suggested that although public outreach was important, it should be seen as a specialized activity that is different from excavation:

[Public outreach] is extremely important. The role of an education officer should be done by someone who does just that – it shouldn't necessarily be done by the project director alone. Without public outreach the presentation is a little antiquated.

We [archaeologists] are not the most important ones [to do public outreach] because we have tunnel vision as far as what we see. As far as the visiting school groups go – we're the last people they need to talk to, other than to say that we're archaeologists and we live here and work here and really like it. They're not our target audience.

The first respondent is an American undergraduate with museum experience, the second an advanced American graduate student with long supervisory experience at his

excavation. Both suggest that education is a specialized task that is functionally different from excavation: if the project director alone is responsible for public outreach, it will be an “afterthought”; moreover, archaeologists’ “tunnel vision” and extreme focus on data collection makes them poorly equipped to do the type of general presentation that they feel is appropriate for school groups (who regularly visit archaeological sites in Turkey). These responses seem to implicitly suggest that the scope of “real archaeology” is in fact only excavation, and that non-archaeologists are necessary to bridge the gap between academic and public presentations.

The idea that archaeologists are not the best people to interpret sites, however, was limited to only a few respondents. Another interviewee, a European graduate student, felt that archaeologists were actually the best presenters:

[Public outreach] is very important. [Archaeologists] will be the ones who can present information correctly and convey information to public in an observant or objective way, without having archaeology hijacked by political agendas. They have the information, and can use it to promote a ‘myth-free environment’ in public consciousness.

His reasoning has less to do with the definition of the discipline, than with his concern that archaeology is used in the public sphere in inappropriate ways, so that archaeologists must present a “correct” version of the past for public consumption. The notion that archaeologists’ perspectives are, themselves, free of political agendas seems to reflect a traditional, positivist attitude toward the nature of archaeological data.

Underlying the consensus about public outreach, then, there is an overall tension between archaeologists’ roles as producers of scientific “truths”, and their desire to promote and maintain their social relevance and political position – whether the latter aim is presented on the idealistic grounds of sharing the excitement of knowledge, the pragmatic grounds of securing funding, or the political aim of shaping a “myth-free environment” in public discourse. Clearly, which of these aims is most important to

individual respondents will shape their beliefs about the important audiences for public outreach.

Audiences for Archaeology

If there was general agreement on the importance of public outreach, agreement on the identity of archaeology's "public" was more elusive. When asked who they thought were the most important audiences for archaeology, interview participants offered a wide range of responses, which have been aggregated into seven broad categories: "locals" and/or "workmen"²¹, the "general public" and/or "everyone", "students" and/or "young people", "archaeologists", the "Turkish public", "tourists", and "interested people". One respondent also mentioned military personnel. Most respondents named more than one audience (the average was 1.98), while no single audience was mentioned by more than 18 of the 49 respondents. The distribution, shown in Table 6-4, makes vividly clear how diverse are the conceptions of archaeology's audiences. It also shows clearly that most project members are aware of that complexity and see more than one audience as important to reach.²² The choice of "locals" as an important audience was fairly consistent across nationality, profession, and experience, with responses ranging from 27% to 50% for almost all categories (see Tables 6-5 through 6-7 below). Two important themes in the responses are the presence of a variety of spatial scales, ranging from the local to the global, and concern about what kind of knowledge and understanding of archaeology is held by different audiences.

²¹ "Workmen" refers to local employees of archaeological projects, who typically are employed to do excavation work and other heavy labor. They are almost always men.

²² Because most individuals named several audiences, the percentages add up to more than 100%.

Local Residents and/or Workmen	18	37%
Everyone/General Public	18	37%
Students/Youth	16	33%
Archaeologists	14	29%
Turkish Public	10	20%
Tourists	10	20%
Interested People	10	20%
Military Personnel	1	2%
Total Responses / Responses per Subject:	97	1.98

These two themes are evident among the responses that highlighted the importance of local outreach. There is a sense that promoting local knowledge of archaeology is important, either as a moral duty or in the hopes that local residents will develop a conservation ethic. However, many respondents viewed “locals” as having insufficient “interest” in the archaeological sites around them.

Locals [are the most important audience]. It will take some time to make them conscious over the long term. Don't be too romantic about it – use economic development, fame, or tourist arguments. At the moment, the economic argument is better than the aesthetic one for people who are hungry.

This respondent, a Turkish architect working on a European project, highlights how appeals to academic significance are insufficient to generate local interest. Other respondents, a Turkish and a British graduate student respectively, note that local consciousness of archaeology can change over time.

[The people of this village] are an important audience. They need to see the site as their own. This is their own culture. I've been coming here for 4 years and I can see the change in them.

There must surely be a local element in the things we do – the site can't exist outside of its geographic context. Many local people are interested because of the significance of the excavations. You can see the evolution of attitudes over time [since the project began]. Any education of that sort is of extreme value – not just for [giving local workmen] training in recording, but for conservation.

These two respondents are not specific about what it is that has changed, though they imply that feelings of local ownership have grown because of the archaeological project.

Another respondent, a senior European archaeologist, conceives of local outreach in terms of improving workmen's job skills on the one hand, and social responsibility on the other:

Workmen [are the] first [audience]. They have to have an affinity for what they're working on. Second, people living in the immediate environment. [This village], for instance, has been affected by development and the impacts of having 100 more people [the archaeological crew] living in a village of 4500. You must explain what you're doing – you can't expect their hospitality if you're not telling them what you're doing. Third, the general public. If they don't know history, information can be lost forever.

She makes the pragmatic point that archaeological projects in remote areas can depend on local goodwill for their success. She also draws an interesting distinction between the reasons for local outreach (improving work on site, ensuring hospitality) and more general outreach (preservation of historical knowledge).

This distinction between local and global significance was also evident in the second most common response (37%), which identified the “general public” as an important audience for archaeology.

It makes no difference [who the audience is] – every audience is important. Keeping it for the future is important. Let them come from Izmir, from Aydin, let tourists come. We're doing this for everyone – excavations are not just for the archaeologists. Young people, children, old people, for everybody.

The future's. It's not ours. It's information to preserve for the future... It's everyone's. Not just future Turks! The Bamiyan Buddhas, for example, were our [Turkey's] loss too.

These two respondents, both directors of Turkish projects, focus on archaeology's responsibility to the future, implying a connection between public outreach and conservation efforts. Because they perceive a universal relevance for their sites, they hesitate to pick a particular audience as more important.

Not everyone, however found the idea of a “general public” appealing. One Turkish-American project director problematized the idea:

It's hard to say who's most important. You could say it's important to reach the general public. But who are they? In Turkey it's upper-class and middle-class people that come to archaeological sites.

This respondent shows her awareness that “the general public” is something of a standard trope in talking about archaeological audiences, but also challenges that concept as a way of hiding a preference for outreach to people of higher class status. Although she was the only respondent to problematize the notion of “the general public” in response to this question, her assertion that middle- and upper-class visitors are a primary audience is in fact one of the conclusions reached in this chapter.²³

More than half of European respondents (56%) indicated the general public as an important audience, but only 30% of Americans and 18% of Turks did so. This suggests that the ideal of archaeology as common human patrimony resonates more with European archaeologists, while Turkish archaeologists are more connected to the specific social realities within Turkey. Differences by profession or experience, however, were not significant.²⁴

While students and the young were among the most frequently cited audiences, respondents who chose this audience did not explain their choices in detail. Their comments tended to be terse, as these comments from Turkish, American, and European graduate students suggest:

It's important to reach people that can reach others more easily – like schools and municipalities.

Young people are important. Older people have closed minds, but young people can still learn and will pass the information on to their children.

Children, primary school. They are Anatolians – it's their ancestors, but they don't know it!

Young people are interested in archaeology already, so we should cultivate that.

²³ Though, as we shall see below, a number of informants objected to the concept of “world heritage” when asked about site ownership.

²⁴ Here I use the term “significant” in a subjective sense, not a statistical one.

Given the fact that school tours come to many sites after the end of the school term in May, these statements may partly reflect interviewees' awareness that students are already regular visitors to their sites. However, the notion of educating youth about archaeology is connected with the general feeling that the interests of archaeology are well-served by increased public awareness.

Turkish respondents felt most strongly about the importance of students and youth: 55% chose this audience against 35% of Americans and 17% of Europeans. Among the professions, 43% of archaeologists named this audience, by contrast with 13% of architects and none of the conservators. Archaeologists, and Turkish archaeologists in particular, then, seem to feel that building a constituency among youth is especially important. This is clearly related to the ongoing uneasiness about where Classical archaeology fits into Turkish society. Respondents hope that wider education in Classical archaeology will help to build the discipline's social relevance in Turkey.

Twenty percent of respondents identified the Turkish public in general as an important audience for archaeology. This idea was most prevalent among Americans and among archaeologists: of 10 respondents who named this audience, 6 were American, 3 European, but only 1 Turkish. Likewise, six archaeologists named this audience, but no architects or conservators did.

The rationales offered for this preference – found almost entirely among American and European respondents – centered on the importance of teaching Turks about “their” history and finding a role for archaeology within Turkish society.

[The most important audience is] Turks. We should make [the site] more accessible to Turkish people and their history. [This site] was a city that must have been incredibly mixed. It's worth emphasizing that fact – you could use the synagogue and palaestra to illustrate this. It's important to provide a good example to Turks that is anti-nationalist.

Turks are one of many cultures that have been here. But given Turkish national pride this kind of cultural continuity can be both a boost to it [Turkish pride], while showing the larger historical bracket we're in [at this site]. From my time here Turks are not too closed-minded about history. This would be a good site for Turkish tourism.

Foreigners come to this remote site because they have an intrinsic interest. Turkish tourists have other options – if they decide to come here it's important to reach them. Even though there's no direct cultural link it's important for them to know about the cultures that they shared the land with. There's also an interest in the Anatolian past in particular amongst Turks. What we work with is part of Turkish cultural heritage. The more we can share what we know with Turks, the better.

These respondents, two American and one European graduate student, are grappling with how to insert Classical archaeology into contemporary Turkish identity. The first suggests that archaeology can be used as an example of multiculturalism that is in counterpoint to a monolithic narrative of Turkishness. The second makes a similar suggestion, and bolsters it with a strategic observation that appealing to nationalism along with diversity could make the latter more palatable. The third notes that the 'Anatolianist' approach may prove fruitful, given that there is no "direct cultural link" between the ancient Greek past and contemporary Turkey.

These statements, then, outline an explicitly political project: they seek to reform Turkish national identity to include the ancient Greek past. Despite the ostensibly neutral, scientific aims of archaeology, it is clear that at least a substantial minority of archaeologists dislike Turkish nationalism and would like their work to be deployed in a way that boosted the association between archaeological remains and national identity.

Twenty-nine percent (29%) of respondents noted that archaeologists themselves were an important audience. Several underlined the importance of good scientific publication as the *sine qua non* of their projects.

The most important audience in what sense? Most of our time goes into academic publications. If we're not doing the academic stuff right we shouldn't be here. Digging, recording, making results available correctly is basic. That needs to be done. That said, if we only do it [excavation] for aesthetics [i.e. to present an attractive site to visitors], we are doing ourselves a disservice. I like people who make theoretical physics accessible to me; we should do the same with our work.

I see my role as getting basic publication and recording at the highest, most detailed level - for a very narrow academic audience. My job is to get things dug, presented, and so on, and present it in a museum format. From that flows all other efforts. Our funders, the NEH for instance, want high-end science.

For these respondents, the science is basic and other kinds of outreach activities desirable, but secondary. This choice was also evenly distributed across nationalities and professions. However, undergraduates were the least aware of this audience (17%), while project directors were the most aware (56%), while graduate students and senior staff fell in between (Table 6-7). This no doubt reflects their different levels of involvement with publishing and preparing data. Professional academics face much greater pressures to publish the results of their research, and carry more responsibility for the outcome of projects than do students.

Ten respondents (20%) expressed their preference for an audience that was already sympathetic and informed about archaeology. Most of this group (6 of 10) was European, including these three senior staff members:

Naturally [our audience is] cultured tourism. People who have a certain minimum of historic preparation. Who know something about [our site], its history, and its monuments. Because otherwise, they will not be able to understand the beautiful pavements or paintings. They won't be able to contextualize it in the context of private architecture, lifestyles, ways of inhabiting here. This kind of information needs the most preparation. For them [cultured tourists] it's sufficient to have a good tourist guide, like the one that [the project director] wrote for [our site], which provides a good point of departure.

[The most important audience is] people who have a global interest in culture. People who want to have a cultural holiday rather than just regular tourism. It shouldn't be only for the elitely educated, i.e. archaeologists. But, you shouldn't be making Disneyland, either.

The professional audience. The public that wants to be educated. People who have an interest regardless of their background. Even wrong impressions from visitors can help archaeologists see things in a new way.

These respondents, from three different sites, explicitly avoid what they see as the “elitist” stance of insisting that all visitors have academic credentials, but they likewise feel that visitors should “want to be educated” and have “a certain minimum of historic preparation” before they visit the site. In their mind, the meaning of the site, and the key

aspect of experiencing it as a visitor, derives from the perspective of archaeological data. Certain kinds of knowledge about the past are essential for a “proper” experience and should be prioritized in outreach work.

While such “cultured” visitors are certainly tourists, not all tourists are seen to be cultured. One respondent, a senior member of an American project, noted that simply visiting a site does not equate to a real interest in archaeology:

But of course probably very few of them are coming to the site because of us [the archaeologists]. They’re coming to the site because they’re coming to Turkey, they’re going on an archaeological tour, they’re doing some kind of beach/site tour where they’re at the mercy of the tour directors. I mean, they can pick whatever tour they want but... I imagine the percentage of solo, self-propelled visitors is the tiniest fraction of the total visitor population. It’s hard to get here... This means the tour companies are a critical constituency [for public outreach].

Dealing with the realities of mass tourism, and how to communicate archaeology to such an audience, can be a challenge.

Tourism [is an important audience]. Last year I heard that 250,000 tourists visited the site. I presume archaeologists have to communicate with them, but it’s very difficult [to do so] I think. Most will be brought on buses and spend a short time. How to bridge that gap is tricky.

Tour companies, because they shape the experience of visitors, can be seen as an important audience but one with which archaeologists have very little communication.

“The tourist”, moreover, is a broad term that includes people with many different interests. Sardis, for instance, attracts Korean religious tourists, who pose special challenges as an audience.

It seems like there’s lots of different tourist audiences. For instance, you could cater to Korean Christian tourists [who frequently visit the site] or on the other hand you could create a neutral place. It would be great if [the site] were a space for dialogue.

Several respondents were positive about the potential economic benefits for the local village that tourism was perceived to offer.

The most important people to reach are tourists, both domestic and foreign. It’s providing an economic opportunity for the village. By bringing in more people there is a boost in the local economy.

Several others mentioned the ongoing boom in Turkish domestic tourism and saw Turks in general as an important audience to reach. Attitudes toward tourism will be considered in more detail in Chapter 8; for the discussion here it is important to note that the rationales for reaching out to tourists generally – promoting dialogue, ameliorating a low level of knowledge about archaeology, or promoting economic development – suggest that tourists are in general seen as less educated about archaeology and, like local people, in need of education about the “proper” ways of understanding an excavation site.

The range of audiences perceived by respondents suggests that archaeologists are aware of the complex and overlapping constituencies of archaeological fieldwork. A strong sense of obligation to a perceived global public coexists with a concern for reaching out to people in the host country and more specifically to communities around sites. The responses are strongly marked with the presumption that the global audience will be “already interested” in archaeology, while the local, village audience needs to be educated about its significance – both for their own economic and cultural benefit, and to help promote the conservation goals of archaeologists.

There were differences between Turkish, American, and European respondents to this question. No Turkish respondent named “tourists” or “interested people” as an important audience, while only one said that archaeologists were important. Turkish responses, rather, clustered around “local residents” and “students”. A majority (55%) saw “students and youth” as an important audience, followed by “local residents and workmen” and “archaeologists”. Turkish interviewees also offered fewer responses per person, suggesting that there is relatively more agreement about which audiences are a priority. American and European responses, by contrast, were much more evenly spread

among many answers. Americans were almost equally supportive of every audience: six audiences were chosen by 30-40% of respondents. “Interested people”, with 15%, was the only exception. Among European respondents, a majority (56%) favored the “general public”, followed by “local residents and workmen” (39%) and archaeologists (28%) (Table 6-5).

Table 6-5. Audiences: responses by nationality				
	Americans (n=20)	Europeans (n=18)	Turks (n=11)	Total (n=49)
Local residents/workmen	40%	39%	27%	37%
Everyone/General Public	30%	56%	18%	37%
Students/youth	35%	17%	55%	33%
Archaeologists	30%	28%	27%	29%
Turkish Public	30%	17%	9%	20%
Interested people/ cultured tourists	15%	33%	9%	20%
Tourists	35%	11%	9%	20%
Military Personnel	5%	-	-	2%
Responses per subject:	2.2	2.00	1.55	1.98

When these data are separated by profession, it was evident that architects and conservators held different attitudes. While 40% of archaeologists thought students and youth were important audiences, only 25% of architects and no conservators did. No architect or conservator thought that the Turkish public was an important audience, as against 23% of archaeologists. By contrast, both groups thought local residents and workmen more important audiences than did archaeologists (see Table 6-6). This may reflect the fact that, at the sites I visited, architects and conservators work more closely with local workmen on conservation and anastylosis projects than archaeologists do in their excavations.

	Archaeologists (30)	Architects (8)	Conservators (4)	Other (7)
Students/youth	43%	13%	–	29%
Local residents/ Workmen	36%	38%	75%	14%
Everyone/General Public	30%	38%	50%	57%
Turkish Public	20%	–	–	57%
Archaeologists	26%	38%	25%	29%
Interested people	23%	25%	25%	–
Tourists	20%	25%	25%	14%
Responses per subject	2.03	1.75	2.00	2.00

Some attitudes toward archaeological audience seem to be tied to academic experience, as well: 50% of undergraduates and 56% of graduate students saw students and youth as an important audience, while among senior project staff and project directors the rates were 30% and 22% respectively. Instead, 40% of senior staff and 33% of directors suggested that interested people and cultural tourists were an important audience. No undergraduate or graduate student, however, mentioned this audience.

	Undergrad (6)	Graduate (16)	Senior Staff (10)	Project Directors (9)	Other (8)
Students/youth	50%	44%	30%	22%	13%
Local residents/ Workmen	33%	50%	20%	44%	25%
Everyone/ General Public	17%	38%	40%	33%	50%
Turkish Public	33%	13%	30%	22%	13%
Archaeologists	–	31%	30%	56%	13%
Interested people	17%	–	40%	33%	25%
Tourists	33%	13%	20%	33%	13%
Responses per subject	1.83	1.88	2.10	2.56	1.50

Because so many of the responses are couched in the language of ongoing problems, and because so many people gave multiple answers, it seems advisable to take these results as a guide to the most current priorities and concerns among the respondents, rather than as a guide to their exclusive interests. Simply because informants did not name a particular audience does not mean that they would not agree that it was important if asked directly. Although responses were widely distributed, there do seem to be some patterns that reflect nationality, professional training, and experience.

Turkish respondents were especially concerned about local education and constituency building, reflecting the widespread perception (among Turks and foreigners alike) that the Turkish public as a whole does not have a high level of awareness of and investment in archaeological heritage. Foreign project members, on the other hand, preferred to share their results with an abstract “general public”, which seems often to refer implicitly to a normative audience that is well educated and Western. This trend overlaps to some extent with the preference – most strongly marked among European respondents – for communicating with “interested people”, who are already aware of and invested in cultural heritage as a concept and archaeological sites in particular.

Archaeologists are perceived as an important audience by non-Turks, but not by Turks. This may be a reflection of the fact that the projects I visited were mostly foreign-run, with sharper awareness of their responsibilities to publish for an international academic audience (one that is largely European and American). It may also be that for many Turkish respondents, building public awareness is seen as a precondition for the success of the scientific discipline itself.

These data strikingly illustrate that members of archaeological projects have a complex and nuanced sense of the audience for their work. They are aware that they can speak to audiences that are local, national, and international; amateur and professional; familiar with archaeology and less knowledgeable about it. An underlying theme cutting across these categories is the importance of building popular support for archaeology and establishing it as an important element of contemporary Turkish identity, whether by cultivating interest among locals, youth, the Turkish public, or tourists. Though this does not negate the importance of academic research, it does suggest that many of the archaeologists interviewed here have an implicit political agenda that shapes their work.

I also want to point to the prevalence of two dichotomies that we will explore in more depth in the chapters to follow. The tension between the local, particular audience and the global public is basically a spatial one, and connected to new ways of conceptualizing archaeological places in the current era of global tourism. The other dichotomy is epistemological: the issue of the “interested public” suggests a concern among archaeologists to defend and promote their status as custodians of authoritative knowledge about archaeological places. Those that saw local people and workmen as an important audience, for example, often qualified this preference with statements about the importance of *teaching* these people to value archaeological sites the “right” way. In other words, local people are an important audience precisely because they do not see archaeological sites in the same way as scientific professionals do, but nonetheless have an influence on site conservation because they live nearby. In the midst of these two dichotomies, the Turkish nation in the abstract stands in an uneasy, intermediate position

between local particularism and global audience, and between scientific and popular conceptions of archaeology.

Who Owns Sites?

The next question explored whether there was a difference in respondents' minds between the audience for archaeological work, and who had ownership, in the moreal sense, of sites themselves. With the question, "In the broadest sense, who owns archaeological sites?", I wanted to further investigate project members' understanding of the role of archaeological sites in society, and further probe the reasons for their sentiments about public outreach. Again, the answers were very diverse, and included similar kinds of responses as the question about audiences, but with some important differences. Students, for instance, were not identified as an owning group, while the Turkish state is identified as an owner by many respondents. The most strikingly difference is that for this question, there was a majority response: 52% of respondents chose "Humanity" or "World Heritage" as owners of archaeological sites. The next most frequent response was "the Turkish government" (28%), followed by "locals and workmen" (24%). "Turkish people" and "Anyone who is interested" were both chosen by 15% of respondents. Other responses included "archaeologists" (11%), "Western civilization" (9%), "Anatolian people" (7%), "nobody" (7%), and "the excavating country" (4%) (Table 6-8).

Although "Humanity/World Heritage" was the most popular response across the board, there is a discernable difference between foreign and Turkish perceptions of site ownership. For Americans and Europeans, "the Turkish Government" was the second most popular answer, followed by "Turkish people" and "Locals/Workmen". No Turkish

respondents, however, mentioned the Turkish government or Turkish people as owners of the site. Instead, they also preferred to conceptualize ownership by local people and “Anatolian people” as distinct from “Turks”. In addition, no Turk chose “Western civilization” or “the excavating country” as owners. Turks did choose “Locals/workmen” and “Anyone who is interested” at similar rates to their foreign colleagues, however.

These differences have interesting implications for understanding the different attitudes held by Turkish and foreign archaeologists. American and European respondents reflect both a greater commitment to a notion of world heritage with an acknowledgement of the power of the state: after all, they would not be able to continue their research without a respectful attitude toward government regulations. Turks, on the other hand, are pointedly unenthusiastic about the state, preferring a mix of international, local, and Anatolianist perspectives.

Table 6-8. Ownership attitudes by nationality

	Americans (n=19)	Europeans (n=18)	Turks (n=9)	Total (n=46)
Humanity/World Heritage	53%	56%	44%	52%
Turkish government	32%	39%	–	28%
Locals/Workmen	11%	33%	33%	24%
Turkish people	26%	11%	–	15%
Anyone who is interested	16%	11%	22%	15%
Archaeologists	16%	11%	–	11%
Western Civilization	11%	11%	–	9%
Anatolian people	–	–	33%	7%
Nobody	5%	11%	–	7%
Excavating country	–	11%	–	4%
Responses per informant	1.68	1.94	1.33	1.72

The data also suggest that different professions have different attitudes toward site ownership (Table 6-9). A majority of archaeologists (55%) saw humanity as a whole as site owners, followed by the Turkish government (34%) and local residents and workmen

(24%). Architects, however, were virtually unanimous in favor of the world heritage paradigm: seven out of eight saw sites belonging to humanity (88%), while no other answer had more than two responses. While only 3 conservators appeared in the sample, none saw sites as the general property of humanity. Rather, they only saw ownership as residing in local residents, Turkish people in the abstract, and the Turkish state.

Table 6-9. Ownership attitudes by professional training			
	Archaeologists (29)	Architects (8)	Conservators (3)
Humanity/World Heritage	55%	88%	–
Locals/Workmen	24%	25%	33%
Turkish people	10%	–	67%
Turkish government	34%	13%	33%
Western Civilization	3%	25%	–
Excavating country	3%	13%	–
Anyone who is interested	17%	13%	–
Archaeologists	17%	13%	–
Anatolian people	10%	–	–
Nobody	7%	13%	–
Responses per informant	1.82	2.00	1.33

When broken down by experience level, it is apparent that senior project members have different attitudes from undergraduate or graduate students (Table 6-10). While all groups had similar levels of support for archaeology as world heritage and for local ownership, awareness of the Turkish government’s role at the site grew substantially with experience, likely reflects the greater involvement of senior project staff in applying for excavation permits and interacting with state officials. Interestingly, the number of responses citing archaeologists and “interested people” as owners declined with experience, while the support for “humanity” rose. This may indicate that more experienced archaeologists are also more open to the participation of people outside of the discipline in archaeological sites.

	Undergraduate (6)	Graduate (16)	Senior Staff (10)	Project Directors (9)
Humanity/World Heritage	50%	44%	80%	56%
Locals/Workmen	33%	19%	20%	22%
Turkish people	17%	6%	–	11%
Turkish government	–	25%	40%	56%
Western Civilization	–	13%	20%	–
Excavating country	–	6%	–	–
Anyone who is interested	17%	25%	10%	11%
Archaeologists	33%	25%	10%	–
Anatolian people	–	19%	–	–
Nobody	17%	–	20%	–
Responses per informant	1.67	1.81	2.00	1.56

As is evident from the above, the most prominent discourse is the idea that archaeological sites belong to humanity as a whole, whether conceived of as World Heritage or as an abstract general public. While this concept is important, respondents conceptualized it in both ideal and practical ways. These three responses, with strong political overtones, represent the range of the more “ideal” replies:

[The site belongs to] mankind. You can't say it only belongs to Turkey, because it was not built by Turks.

It belongs to the people – the general public. It is part of Western heritage, as a Classical Greek city... I find it irritating that the Turks make a big deal out of it being theirs. They are a nomadic culture and it is now theirs. A visitor from Istanbul can say it's their site, can claim it. People from [the village] have perhaps a blood claim, but this is of a different kind.

[It belongs] to all of humanity. To everyone. Not just to Turkey, or the excavators, but to everyone. To those who have a desire to protect it, take care of it, that come after us and want to know the joy and privilege to see and understand the things that were here, how they lived, the stones of the people that walked here, lived here, worked here.

In the first quote, a European graduate student implies that ethnicity is a test for ownership, and that if that ethnic connection is absent, then ownership reverts to humanity. The second respondent, a European project director, unproblematically accepts the association between “Classical Greece” and “Western heritage”, but problematizes

Turkish custodianship as something temporally contingent. The final quote from a senior European excavator focuses on the affective elements: care for the site establishes rights to it. Underlying notions of “world heritage”, then is an uneasiness with granting Turkey moral rights to the site. Collective ownership by humanity is associated with the qualities of enthusiasm for archaeology, connection to Western civilization, or simply being not Turkish. This stance has political implications: to suggest that Turks have no more right to Classical sites than any other group of people is reminiscent of earlier efforts to elide the Ottoman and Turkish present in archaeological travel narratives.

Not all respondents agreed with this view; several acknowledged that the world heritage paradigm was prominent but wanted to problematize it:

I can give you a romantic answer – “[it belongs] to the world”; this is a typical archaeological answer. It’s cultural heritage, in this sense it belongs to all of us. But as legal property it is of the country of Turkey.

I can’t answer this question. “It belongs to the world” – you can always say that, but then, who’s the custodian? We’re very conscious that we’re in a country that has its own government, we get permissions every year... In a narrow but important sense it is the property of Turkey. Then, beyond that these are things that everyone has an interest in. Where the theoretical and practical aspects mesh I don’t know. With theft and destruction local authorities have to deal with it.

These two respondents, one a European project director and the other a senior American excavator, are concerned not so much about abstract rights but about the practical implications of a concept of universal ownership. The day-to-day concerns of enforcing the law and taking care of the sites can be addressed by the state, but the world community in the abstract has no mechanism for addressing such issues.

In one case, this concern for management outcomes appeared as a critique of the professionalization of heritage management, offered by a European project director:

Practically, it’s the Turks’. There’s World Heritage and all that, but [this site] is part of Rome, Iran, lots of peoples’ history... The concept of World Heritage needs to be responsible for everyone’s past. The idea’s fine but the practice is out of control, it’s being used to create a professional field. That’s nice, but what did it do to save the

Buddhas in Afghanistan? It's important in that people need to understand the past for modern problems, but it doesn't have a powerful modern constituency.

UNESCO's World Heritage program is here characterized as ineffective at providing such care of sites, however good it may be in principle. The respondent reveals his suspicions that "World Heritage" is simply becoming another industry that looks out for itself, but is not especially useful for fulfilling the responsibilities that come with ownership.

Another American project director reveals his sense of the complexity of ownership:

It's conventional to say that it belongs to all of us [but] stakeholders range from the global to the local. We regard scholars as temporary curators, and are conscious of our status as guests, that the project will end. We can't assume that the technology and funds will always be available for the site.

He problematizes universal ownership by noting that stakeholders are spread across many spatial scales, from the local to the global, and introduces the dimension of time: while archaeologists can provide care for sites in the short-term, the long-term prognosis is more doubtful.

Despite these problematizations, it is significant that the idea of universal ownership is the only one that received majority support across nationality, profession, and levels of experience. Despite this ostensible majority, there are quite different ideas about what it means in practice, as is illustrated in the discussion above and in the correlation between this response and other named owners. For instance, 10 of 26 respondents who named "humanity" did not name any other group as owner. Of the remaining 16 respondents, eight also chose the Turkish State as an owner, while seven chose locals and/or workmen as an owner. Three also saw site ownership residing in "Western Civilization". This may reflect a specification of both the ideal and the

pragmatic: while humanity is the moral owner, for the practical purposes of site preservation, either the state or local people must be given a role in site ownership.

The notion that the state is something of a temporary custodian for heritage owned by the world is reflected in other answers.

In the juristic sense, the Turkish state [owns the site]. It is the Turkish state's, and nations have a special relationship with their heritage. [However] the periods of history we study here are not only important for Turkey today but have broad general implications for the history of human culture. Thus it also belongs to mankind overall. National borders don't match those of ancient cultures. But this is a vague concept which doesn't replace the national interest.

The past should not be owned. Turkey should however be responsible for the availability of knowledge. I'm against the American and European system of giving ownership of sites to some groups exclusively – e.g. the Native Americans. Knowledge should belong to everyone.

Here two respondents, a European and a Turkish project director respectively, articulate a distinction between the juristic, legal custodianship exercised by the Turkish state, and the ownership of the intellectual products of the site, which are universal. For the second respondent, the state is seen not as an owner, but as a neutral guarantor of the availability of this knowledge. A large proportion of the foreign respondents, but only one Turk, named Turkey or the Turkish people as owners of sites. That the state has an obligation to preserve archaeological sites, but not full rights over them, is open to critique on political grounds: if groups other than the state own sites, should those groups also play a role in ensuring preservation and access?

Other respondents (two American graduate students and a European conservator) were more supportive of Turkish ownership:

The Turkish people are the owners. I think of it as, "we're guests here that are allowed to use the resource". The government supports this and makes it possible through the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Turkish people. Also to the public, to anyone interested, but it's right that the Turkish Republic owns the artifacts. It's Turkish land, but it does belong to everyone on some level. However, decisions should be made on a global scale. It's not an American site, not owned by [the excavating universities].

Primarily Turks – it's their land and responsibility. [Our American university] should inform Turks how to use the resource responsibly. I don't buy the world heritage idea.

The first two respondents blur “the Turkish state” and “the Turkish people”. The second feels that state control should be tempered by the participation of foreign institutions in decision-making, while the third again invokes the perceived ignorance of Turks about archaeology by suggesting that it is the responsibility of foreigners to “inform Turks” about the correct way of using the site.

The blurring of the “Turkish people” and “Turkish state” seems to be a function of academic experience. Of the 18 respondents who named one or both of these as owners, all of the graduate students (4), senior staff (4), and project directors (5) named the state. The five others (two conservators, one undergraduate, a tour guide and a freelance archaeologist) named the “Turkish people”. The lack of overlap may suggest that both responses reflect a sense that the Turkish nation as a whole is the owner, but that academics are more aware of the role of the state, perhaps due to their greater involvement with securing excavation permissions from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

A few European and American respondents opposed Turkish ownership of sites outright, by placing the claims of “Western civilization” against those of Turkey. One respondent, already quoted, noted that “I find it irritating that the Turks make a big deal out of it being theirs” (p. 190 above), objecting to the fact that Turkish custodianship of archaeological sites is a relatively new phenomenon compared to their age. Another respondent, an American graduate student, makes the same point even more forcefully:

I guess it's sort of imperialist-colonialist-piggish, but in the broadest sense it belongs to Western civilization. We're the ones who care. It's only relatively recently that Turks and Turkey and the Turkish government have been interested in their pre-Islamic past, and they're largely interested in it economically, in how can they sell it to western tourists, of how can they market their Classical heritage to people for whom Classical heritage is

important, for whom it's a key part of the present day. This is a gross generalization, and there are lots of Turks who care a lot. Probably the Turks who care most care more than any westerner who cares most.

Another respondent, a European graduate student, echoes this sentiment:

The interest comes from the outside. There's lots of money from [names two European cities] here... In the real world, the project belongs to the [European excavating country].

Both assert that “outsiders”, in other words European and American academics, have an important claim to the site because of their “interest” and their “care” for the site. Turks or villagers, on the other hand, are perceived to be generally uninterested in archaeology, and therefore are precluded from real ownership of the site. Money plays a role: willingness to *spend* money on a site confers ownership, while attempting to *earn* money from a site undermines the claim and is a sign of a lack of “care”. The fact that the Turkish state sees sites as potential revenue sources is thus an argument against its moral right to archaeological sites. Curiously, the first respondent quoted above acknowledges that this attitude is associated with colonialism, but does not abandon his belief that interest in and knowledge of a site (as judged by archaeologists) is the main criteria for ownership.

A very different kind of opposition to state ownership of sites is evident among the Turkish respondents. Strikingly, no Turk who participated in my survey suggested that the Turkish state or the Turkish people generally, were the owners of archaeological sites (though one, quoted above on p.191-192, did acknowledge the state's role in administering sites). Rather, they chose humanity, local residents, interested people, and “Anatolian people” as owners. This last response constructs a collectivity to which ownership can be assigned in lieu of the state. One respondent, a Turkish graduate student working on a European project, explains:

The site is mine – my great-great-great grandfather was living here [metaphorically]. Turks are only one element in the ancient population. Maybe 10% of the medieval

population was Turkic. But the site is mine because it comes from my own culture. For Anatolian people, “Turk” is only a name. No one is originally only a Turk here. I prefer to say [that] “Anatolian People” [are the owners].

This response is politically skilful, in that it undermines claims that Turks are “new arrivals” to Anatolia and thus have no connection to Classical sites. The mixture of Turkish and indigenous populations makes the proper collectivity “Anatolians”, rather than the state or “Turks”.

This contemporary version of *Anadoluculuk* is deployed not only in counterpoint to European claims but in opposition to the ethnic nationalism enshrined in the Kemalist state, as this Turkish graduate student reflects:

[The site belongs to] humanity, more particularly Anatolians, local people. [Requests anonymity.] They teach you in Turkey that there are no Kurds, and ignore the idea of ‘Anatolians’. I think this is a mistake.

Here “Anatolians” substitute for the Turkish state or nation, placed at an intermediate scale between locals and the world. That this elision of the state represents a rejection of nationalist politics is evident from the way that her comment was qualified: after requesting anonymity, she criticized the suppression of Kurdish identity in Turkey as an example of how state ideology was flawed. Publicly expressing such beliefs, however, is still perceived as risky. While the number of Turkish respondents here is relatively small, the responses are consistent in their avoidance of the state, suggesting that many Turkish archaeologists are indeed looking for an alternative to the state as the primary arbiter of the meaning of archaeological sites.

Their invocation of local residents as important site owners, is reflected in a group of responses that includes foreign archaeologists and Turkish archaeologists alike. In the eyes of both a senior European archaeologist and an American undergraduate, living close to sites confers a moral right:

[The site] belongs to nobody. More to people in this village than anyone else. The site has to function for us in scientific terms, but it must also function for the local community. They should be benefiting from it.

This is going to sound trite, and I wouldn't have said it with the same fervor before [working here] – but it belongs to the villagers. On the other hand, it belongs to the world. People need to realize the history of the world is all interrelated.

However, this sentiment is intertwined in some cases with a belief that villagers need the tutelage of archaeologists in order for these rights to be fully vested, as another European archaeologist suggested:

[At this site] we're looking at a mountainside where the villagers had no prior connection to the archaeology... I'd like locals to be the most attached to the site. However, we're in the "postcolonial muddle": we need to recognize the balance between the introduced ideas [about cultural heritage] and the final project...

Cultural heritage is an "introduced" idea that is not yet common; this respondent has an aspiration for locals to become attached to the site.

For many respondents, local ownership seems also to function as a different means of eliding the role of the state. Seven of the 11 respondents who named locals as site owners also named humanity or World Heritage, a 64% correlation. Two also named "nobody" as well as humanity. By contrast, only three of these 11 also named the state (27%). No other owner was named more than once. In other words many of these respondents would prefer to see a direct collaboration between the global and the local in ownership of sites, while avoiding the involvement of the nation-state.

Others, however, disagreed that such tutelage was necessary, noting that there was local interest in sites, but that their interests were different from those of archaeologists, as these two European and one American archaeologist suggest:

The site belongs to the people who live here. The workers were saying that they would like to show their guests around. But unfortunately they can't afford to bring guests [because of the increase in site entry fees]. They were complaining about this.

They live there, it's their land. Locals call the site "Bodrum" [lit. "the cellar"]. They like it – they come up to the ruins to pasture animals and to pick herbs like *kekik* [thyme], or to hang out and look at the stars.

I would hate to get into a situation where we're trying to make [local] people more aware of the resources – they're aware of them already.

A perceived lack of local interest, then, may simply be incorrect, as in the first quote, where it is high entry fees that inhibit local use and appreciation of the site. It may also be that the nature of local interest is quite different, as in the second example, which outlines local patterns of using the site that are quite different than archaeologists', both in schedule (night visits) and in uses (herb-gathering, pasturing, star-gazing). Such evidence of local interest contrasts with respondents who doubt that interest. It may be, then, that what archaeologists object to is not a lack of interest in the site, but lack of interest in archaeologists' particular ways of understanding it.

This sense that there is a particular, correct way of “caring for” or “appreciating” the site was strong among the group of respondents (15%) who felt that site ownership was in fact a matter of *choice*, and that people who showed sufficient interest and care could gain moral ownership of archaeological places. Here two European and one American graduate student share their ideas:

People that care the most about it [own the site]. I've worked here a long time, so it's become my place. The people who work here, people who live in the area and care about the place [own it]. It's not necessarily the local people that own it, if they don't care about the site. If a group of people care about it, it partly belongs to them.

[Local people] should be able to choose to own it and be part of it.

Mankind – you can't say it only belongs to Turkey because it was not built by Turks. It doesn't belong to Greeks; it does belong to the village, and to scientists [from our country], since without [our project director] there would be nothing here. Really, anyone who's interested can have a share.

This sentiment clearly does not center around finding practical solutions to day-to-day site management problems – it is unlikely that a well-informed tourist, for instance, would really be granted influence in site management simply by virtue of his or her enthusiasm. Rather, the principle that someone must care about a site suggests that there

are philosophical criteria that must be met to participate in discourse about the site. What this “caring” or “interest” consists of is somewhat less clear, but in responses discussed so far locals, tourists, and Turks are the only groups identified as not caring sufficiently, or not having sufficient interest in, archaeological sites. If, as suggested above in the discussion of audiences, it is *cultured* tourists that are an important audience for these respondents, we may guess that “caring” or “interest” really means accepting an archaeologist’s ways of understanding sites over other possible uses and meanings of the site. This conclusion is partly supported by the fact that the most common other response among those that thought “interested” people were the owners of sites was “archaeologists” (3 out of 8, or 38%).

Responses about ownership, then, suggest some provocative conclusions. There is a widespread acceptance of the notion that archaeological sites belong to the world in the abstract, but in practice this belief is used as a proxy for expressing concerns about the Turkish state’s ownership of sites. Many foreign archaeologists are uncomfortable with the Turkish state as the owner of sites. However, because their time at sites is limited to a few months a year, and they are dependent on the state for permits, they cannot express this outright. As a result, some promote a formulation of ownership that sees the state as the custodian of sites, but ownership as residing in “Western civilization”. On the other hand, some Turkish archaeologists see the state-sponsored discourse of Turkish ethnic nationalism as interfering with efforts to make archaeology relevant to Turkish society, and attempt to elide the state by appealing to *Anadoluculuk* or to World Heritage. Also underlying many answers is also the belief that there is a correct way of understanding and experiencing archaeological sites, one that is rooted in understanding the historical

data produced by archaeologists. If non-archaeologists adopt this perspective, they may share in ownership of the site, but if they choose other significances for the site then they may not. These two issues will be explored at more length in the conclusion; for now we simply note that they reflect different challenges and different perspectives on how to integrate archaeology more closely into Turkish society.

Public Outreach in Practice

Given the thoughtful and wide-ranging nature of the responses to my questions about important audiences and site ownership, and the general enthusiasm about public outreach, I expected to learn a lot about public outreach activities in practice. When I asked interview participants what kind of public outreach activities took place on site, however, I received surprisingly terse and unsubstantial answers. Many interviewees were not aware of whether there were any outreach activities. Because these data rely on self-reporting, they do not necessarily provide a comprehensive picture of what is going on at each site. However, these responses do help us understand the level of awareness and overall priority placed on different kinds of outreach activities. The discussion below is organized around the main audiences identified above.

Outreach to Students

As in responses about audience, students are mentioned frequently as foci of public outreach efforts. Five respondents noted that school groups often visited on field trips in May, at the end of the school year. However, the project staff had limited or no interaction with these groups and were not involved in organizing them. Exceptions to

this pattern included two sites (Hierapolis and Magnesia) where the project was working with local high school art programs, allowing students to use the monumental architecture on site as examples for drawing and painting courses.

Local museums were reported to be more involved with outreach to children than were archaeologists. At Gordion, an educational pamphlet for use by school visitors was prepared by museum staff. Including discussion questions and a worksheet, it includes spaces for children to draw geometric designs from pottery and to describe in writing interesting things they saw in the cases (Gordion Müzesi 2006). Another respondent noted that the wife of the museum director helped local schoolchildren put on plays at the site's theater. Only one archaeological project director, however, reported engaging with such efforts. He noted that "I have discussed with [local town's] mayor how to integrate the site into the curriculum of local schools, for instance speaking in *Lises* [high schools] about it". Such discussions had not led to an actual program by the time of our conversation, however.

It seems likely, then, that there is substantial demand among local schools for educational materials based on archaeological projects. Many projects, however, have not chosen to focus their resources on such efforts. As one European assistant project director reported, local schools were interested in the site but archaeologists were not able to match their interest:

Another activity is [local] secondary schools – they want to have [our site] as a thematic site for history lessons. [But] we don't do school stuff in Turkey. There's no time for it while we're here.

Outreach to Local Communities

As noted above, local people and workmen were identified as both an important audience and as owners of sites by a large proportion of my informants. However, few respondents could point to outreach activities focused on local residents. Two American graduate students offer examples:

[The *temsilci*] did hold a museum education day last week. Also [one of the co-directors] had a site tour day for villagers a few years ago. When the [new] museum opened there was a series of events and meetings – in Ankara and in [the local town].

Some years ago the mayor, who's now gone, had meetings with [the project director] and locals, and gave presentations about the excavations. People liked these still and remember them.

These examples suggest that much of this local outreach is in fact organized outside of the projects themselves: local museum directors, *temsilcis*, and municipal officials go out of their way to create initiatives.

Another respondent, an American assistant project director, describes 'on-the-job' outreach to local residents during regional survey work:

I think it's happening slowly. The regional survey has been a great source of public outreach because we spend weeks and weeks and weeks running around these villages talking to people and the initial contact usually involves going to the village and finding the mayor or saying 'where's the mayor' or if the mayor's not available the imam or... and then they introduce us to other people, and they talk about what's there.

One guy was showing the aqueduct, and then [the project director] was saying, well, have you ever been to the site? And the guy said 'no', and said that he didn't know that he could come. And he lived here his whole life...

The above quotations were the only substantive responses that illustrated outreach activities with local people. No project members reported organized efforts to teach local villagers about archaeological finds. Museum exhibits and village days, by contrast, were organized by museum directors rather than archaeological project staff.

The Turkish Public: Outreach to the National Press

On the national level, a wider range of project-initiated outreach was reported.

A majority of project directors noted contact with the regional and national press:

There's a scientific audience and traditional academic channels. But we also try to reach a wide public. For instance, I give a press conference [every year]. There was an article yesterday in *Hürriyet Ege* [the Aegean regional edition of the mass-appeal national daily *Hürriyet*] about the theater work, and local television [also visits]. There are other articles in local and national papers, including *Radikal* [a left-leaning national daily]. I have also written a guidebook to the site.

Every year [the project director] does ARIT tours – a picnic and talk about the site. Our *temsilci* cut a short DVD for [the local town], which is interested in having more people come in. A camera crew came for that. Turkish news people came [this year]; two years before that Discovery Channel Canada came and filmed, but I'm not sure if anything came out of that.

Another project member, a Turkish graduate student, reflected on how effective national exposure could be:

This site appears in the national media and on TV. This can be effective. For instance, in Cappadocia domestic tourism increased because of a TV show [the historically-themed soap opera *Asmalı Konak*]. Now there's a lot more local tourists there.

Aphrodisias is unusual in that a domestic “Friends of Aphrodisias” group (organized through a foundation called the Geyre Vakfi) assists in fundraising and organizes events at the site, raising its national profile. Respondents working at Aphrodisias were aware of the activities of the group. Two graduate students felt that its outreach efforts surpassed those of the archaeological team itself:

On site very little happens. Some donors, friends of Aphrodisias in Istanbul organize youth meetings where they stay in Denizli and come perform at the site for multicultural understanding.

One of the leaders in the Geyre Vakfi, the Istanbul friends of Aphrodisias... he's constantly bringing people here... and does all this stuff in the Bouleuterion and gives national presentations. He's definitely doing his own thing as far as outreach goes. [Last year] there was a dance performance in the theatre [organized by the Friends of Aphrodisias], and they choppered in string quartets and orchestras and did a full-on musical performance in either the Bouleuterion or in the theatre. I got to see it this year. I'd never seen it before. And it gets written up in the tabloids.

The role of this foundation, and the use of ancient theaters for modern entertainment, are discussed at more length in Chapter 7 below.

International Outreach

Project members were most aware of outreach efforts that occurred off-site and in their home countries. Much of this was focused toward academics and avocational archaeologists:

Mostly we're here for a short amount of time and focused on getting stuff done. We have a maximum of 9 or 10 weeks and our real effort has to be on that. On the other hand, a lot of us in the US give lectures at AIA meetings and at local chapters, while lots of people like [one of the project directors] go on [AIA] tours. The [US university] museum did an "ancient meal" dinner series [based on the fieldwork here] – one dinner was held in the museum itself.

For this senior American staff member, "getting stuff done" *ipso facto* excludes public outreach activities, which almost by definition occur off-site. Another respondent described outreach to secondary schools in his home country with excitement, but was surprised when asked if such outreach happens in Turkey as well:

And another activity that is becoming more traditional is that secondary schools are contacting the team if they have thematic teaching on the past or how to study the past. They always look for historians and archaeologists and more and more in a typical way come to us also. That's I think reaching out to the younger part of the [European] population.

Q. Do you do school stuff in Turkey as well?

A. School stuff in Turkey? No, no. When we're here, what we need to do is talk to people like you and work on site, so there's no time to. And we don't have a permanent presence here.

The greater awareness of national and international outreach efforts among interviewees is echoed in another response:

I'm not sure what [kinds of public outreach] happen in Turkey, I know that [the project director] goes and gives talks in New York, Istanbul, various universities, and at the national archaeology conference [the KST] that they have every year. I'm not sure how much it extends beyond academics.

Besides lectures, several foreign informants reported that their projects also were involved in Internet outreach and preparing materials for schools in their countries:

We have an Internet presence, a website – our site gets lots of traffic. Another area is secondary schools [in Europe] – they want to use [our site] as a thematic site for history lessons. We don't do school stuff in Turkey. There's no time for it while we're here.

The most outreach exists in [Europe] – we do public lectures and speak to school groups. [Our project director] writes stuff for the public, for instance the guidebook, plus goes to

conferences, and produces academic publications. There is no systematic outreach in Turkey, except at the KST.

Every project considered here does have a web presence, but only one respondent mentioned the Internet as a means of public outreach.

Guidebooks and Signage

The most common outreach materials available at sites I visited were guidebooks and maps. Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, and Troy have guidebooks available at the site, prepared by project directors (Erim 1989; D'Andria 2003; Korfmann 2005), while Sagalassos offers a map with detailed descriptions of the archaeological remains. These guidebooks usually reproduce the information offered by the on-site signage. Signage of varying date and quality is also ubiquitous at sites mentioned in this study. Signs consist of text and images, variously rendered on metal, wood, or plastic boards (Fig 6-1). In terms of content, signage usually focuses on periodization, architectural features, and other academically-oriented information, with little focus on social history. Text is usually offered in English and Turkish. While signage is an important aspect of public outreach, it will not be considered in depth here.



Figure 6-1. An example of interpretive signage from Aphrodisias (D. Shoup)

Critiques of Public Outreach

While informants at every site did offer examples of public outreach activities, there was also a minority that felt that efforts were insufficient or nonexistent, as these Turkish and American archaeologists suggest:

They don't want to do public outreach.

I don't think anyone does [public outreach] – not much has been done.

Another project director, though clearly aware of a range of possible outreach activities, admits that his project does not do much public outreach:

We haven't had many exhibits. We've done a few small events at the [university] art museums and internal events for docents. We don't go to schools or do articles in popular magazines.

In other words, public outreach outside of the traditional academic venues of museums and academic publication is not practiced at this project.

Discussion

The evidence suggests that the audiences best served by project-based public outreach are archaeologists, avocational archaeology enthusiasts, and the general public in Europe, America, and Turkey. In this latter category, it seems that foreign projects put more energy into home-country outreach. In Turkey, national-level audiences receive much more attention than do local ones. Local outreach, in fact, seems to be the *de facto* province of local museums rather than archaeological projects. This is logical, given the year-round presence of Turkish museum staff and the temporary presence of excavators. Yet given the widespread support for local outreach reported by members of excavation teams, their disconnection from its practice is surprising. While projects occasionally put on events for local residents, most of the contact reported between local people and archaeologists seems to be incidental. Villagers may picnic on site or walk around in the evenings, workmen may gain on-the-job insight into archaeology, or archaeologists may run into farmers in the course of field survey, but there is no systematic outreach with local residents. Given the widespread sense that this group is an important audience for, and even owner of, archaeology, this result is surprising.

This disparity seems to be rooted in informants' assumptions about what activities are included in the compass of archaeology. While they are aware that public outreach is important, it does not seem to be conceptualized as part of the practices that make up archaeology. Given limited time and resources in the field, doing archaeology well does not leave sufficient time for public outreach. In this formulation, outreach is an activity that is something extra, and not integral to archaeological practice. Admittedly, each individual's reporting of outreach activities is liable to be incomplete. But given that project directors, senior staff, and a variety of other project members were interviewed at five sites, along with the directors of three others, this composite picture seems to be representative of the range of actual outreach activities.

Despite this, project members had a variety of ideas for better public outreach programs. These included curriculum development for schools and youth outreach, the creation of a site tour or presentation for local residents, or special programs for different tourist groups – for instance, for the predominantly Korean Christian tourists who visit Sardis. Another project director felt that while he had plenty of ideas, government authorities were not willing to listen to him but instead prepared their own plans for the site and its environs without archaeological input. It is worth noting that, even where projects may be enthusiastic about public outreach, local political conditions may make it hard to propose or implement projects.

The Data in Perspective

Ayfer Bartu notes, *à propos* her work at Çatalhöyük, that

it is important neither to demonize nor to romanticize 'the local' or 'the local context'. What we label as local is neither monolithic nor static... Within such contexts archaeologists are located in multiple and complex ways vis-à-vis their worksites and the wider social and political issues surrounding these sites. Identifications will inevitably

cross-cut, complement and trouble one another, and they will feel different degrees of affiliation, shifting alliances for as well as alienations from those they interact with. There is no simple, undivided 'archaeologist's position' and most likely there cannot be any such position (Bartu 1999:93-94)

The data examined above reaffirm her observation. Archaeologists' understandings of audiences and site ownership are diverse and contain within them lively debates about the social role of archaeological sites and the responsibility of the discipline to the public. Yet at the same time, there is a contrast between my informants' overall enthusiasm for public outreach, and the actual activities at their sites. In practice, archaeologists most readily embrace those outreach efforts that are limited in time commitment (such as giving interviews to the press), or are an extension of their scientific publication work. Thus guidebooks, websites, and signage that reproduce results reported in academic publications are the most common kinds of outreach. These efforts, however, are most accessible to an educated tourist who travels to the site specifically to see the archaeology: "the general public" or the "interested person" is the therefore the main audience.

Generally speaking, then, projects are most efficient at reaching a national and global audience of educated people – those most likely to "choose to care" about archaeology. A majority of my interviewees, in fact, explicitly said that this general, global audience was in fact the real owner of archaeological sites. Yet respondents are also aware, sometimes for merely pragmatic reasons, that the participation and stewardship of local residents are important if sites are to be preserved over the long term. There is thus a tension between perceptions of the "local" or "village" level, and the "world" or "global" community. The local is perceived as outside the mainstream of Turkish society, despite the fact that even small villages in Turkey often have intimate connections to metropolitan areas in Turkey or Europe: many families have members in

Istanbul, Ankara, or Germany, and many villages have at least a few people who lived abroad and returned. In my interview responses, however, there is an implicit counterpoint between the normative, secular “Turk” of the cities and the “villager” who is conceded to have deep knowledge in particular areas, but not granted wide familiarity with global culture.

Superficially, this could be read as reflecting Orientalist attitudes on the part of archaeologists: uneducated “locals” need to be educated by benevolent Westerners before they become worthy of their own heritage. This trope certainly has a long history – recall Wheler’s desire to rewrite the history of Akhisar for its residents through a disquisition on epigraphy. Yet while overtones remain, more evidence points toward respect for local people and concern for their interests in sites. Interviewees felt real respect for local contributions to projects, and toward workmen and villagers as people. Yet although some respondents were willing to grant local residents an unconditional role in archaeological sites, many others held on to the precondition that locals “choose to own” sites by adopting a view of them that is similar to the academic and scientific orientation of archaeologists. It is posited as a choice that people can take: a virtuous choice is rewarded with ownership. By contrast, there is a widespread unwillingness to engage with those perceived not to accept the basic conceptual frameworks of archaeology. This suggests a basic dilemma that Ian Hodder has identified in a recent presentation (Shoup and Monteiro in press): must parties reach agreement on certain values before they can engage with each other, or should dialogue be open to those who do not accept the basic assumptions of archaeology?

Respondents' perceptions of the diverse constituencies for archaeology that have been identified here can be organized along two axes: one spatial, stretching from the local to the global, and the other epistemological, stretching from those who do not "choose to own" sites to the scientific community who do. Figure 4-1 illustrates graphically where different groups fall within this plane. While all of these groups are considered important audiences, public outreach by archaeologists is concentrated on the groups clustered on the upper right, highlighted in gray.

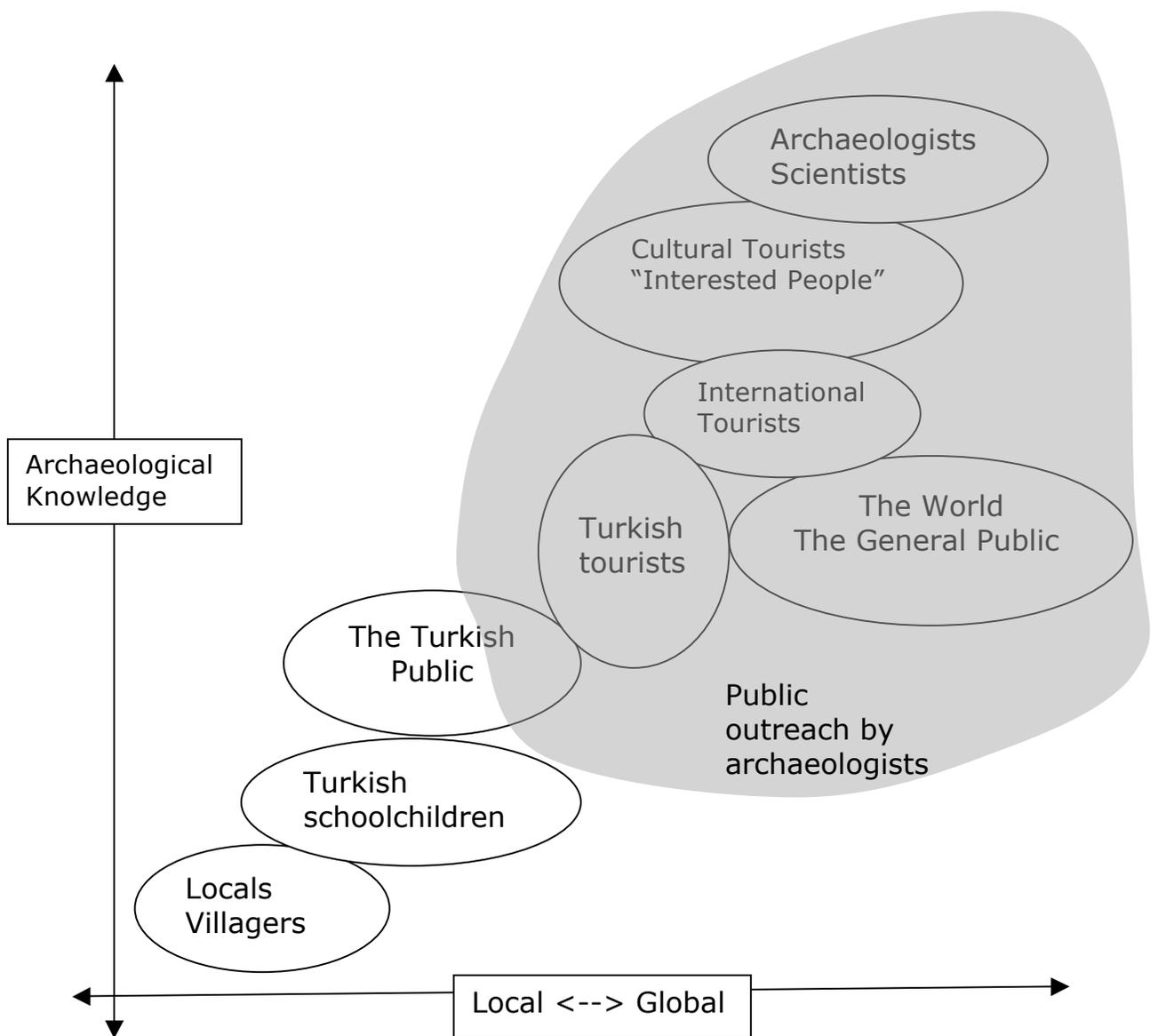


Figure 6-1. Audiences Arranged on Spatial and Epistemological Axes.

The spatial dichotomy between the global and the local, then, is informed by the perception that the “global” represents scientific, western values while the “local” does not. The Turkish state stands at an intermediate point between the two. Foreign respondents respected its role in regulating archaeological sites, although this respect seems to flow as much from their recognition of the state’s power to issue research permits as from affection for the government *per se*. The state is also trusted because it explicitly claims to uphold the values of science, and preservation: the heritage management paradigm that villagers are perceived to lack. Critiques of the state’s role revolve rather around whether it is properly upholding these values: being overly concerned about financial profit, as we have seen, undermines the state’s moral ownership rights in the eyes of some respondents.

It is inarguable that Turkish people, generally speaking, are not attached to Classical sites in the way that archaeologists themselves are. However, one might make the same argument about residents of many other countries as well. The real question, then, is what understandings of archaeological space *are* widespread? In what ways *are* local people attached to sites that surround their villages? On the national level, what place *does* archaeology have in the popular imagination? The hints we have seen in this dissertation suggest that there is a rich and interesting story to be pursued here, one which may help archaeologists understand better how to relate their work to contemporary Turkish society and achieve their goals of promoting local and national consciousness about the significance of Classical archaeology and the necessity of site preservation.

This discussion has identified three overarching issues that shape the debate about the social role of archaeological sites: spatial scale, epistemology, and identity. These

issues will be elaborated in further detail in the chapters to come. In the meanwhile, we have identified an important gap between theory and practice in public outreach that requires further investigation.

Chapter 7: Stakeholders, Site Management and the Control of Archaeological Sites

Ultimately, the meanings conveyed through public outreach efforts derive from the material objects present at the site itself, which makes its conservation and management an issue of concern for archaeologists. Both the Turkish state and the discipline itself are increasing their pressure on researchers to not simply generate information about the past, but also to ensure the preservation of the material corpus that is the ultimate source of that information. These pressures are met with mixed feelings by archaeologists, who want the state to have a minimal role in shaping archaeological research, yet also recognize the need for custodianship of sites during the 8-10 months of the year when excavations are *not* happening.

As Robin Skeates (2000:10) points out, archaeological heritage can be conceived of either as the physical traces of the past (monuments, artifacts), or as “an expression of the meanings, values, and claims placed on that material”: the process of finding meaning for that material culture in present-day society. The two definitions are, however, related: the material content of archaeological sites is the matrix in which their meaning is established. Though such artifacts and monuments can be given a range of meanings, their presence is the necessary condition for identifying a place as an archaeological site. Therefore, the preservation and presentation of these materials – in other words, conservation and management efforts – are important aspects of sustaining a site’s

meaning. Conservation of physical objects, however, is the outcome of a political process shaped by the institutions and constituencies for whom the site is important. Negotiation among these groups (the “stakeholders”) over how to manage the physical space of archaeological sites therefore shapes the future of the site’s physical fabric and the meanings given to that fabric – and, by extension, the site’s role in society.

This chapter examines how my informants saw their role in managing the physical space and material contents of archaeological sites. They were asked about the appropriate role of archaeologists in site management, what stakeholders should have a role in decision-making about sites, and how site management efforts had changed their practice of archaeology. Since archaeologists often serve as managers *de facto* (if not *de jure*) of the sites where they work, understanding these attitudes has implications for how archaeologists fulfill their role as “stewards” of the archaeological record. This chapter also examines in detail site management efforts at Hierapolis, Aphrodisias, and Gordion. I review how decision-making about site planning takes place at these sites, discuss the limitations of each approach, and draw conclusions that reflect on the larger issue of how material and spatial aspects of sites are understood differently.

Debates in Site Management

The notion of archaeological sites as “resources”, and the evolution of legal and bureaucratic structures charged with their maintenance and protection, was an outgrowth of the “conservation ethic” that developed over the course of the 20th century and became institutionalized in legislation in many countries in the 1960s (Skeates 2000:63; Carman 2005:46). It reflects both this increased interest in conserving the past, and the

importance of nostalgia for the past in popular culture worldwide during this period, especially in the most developed regions of the world (Lowenthal 1985:385).

However, development of national-level heritage management frameworks have been uneven. While most nations assert the state's ownership of the archaeological heritage, in practice archaeological site management is under-resourced and often overseen by people without formal training in archaeology (Cleere 1989:10). Managers, however, may not have formal training in site management, either:

archaeological heritage management as a distinct professional technique has developed in an uncoordinated way: heritage managers had been in post and hard at work all over the world for many years before the need was belatedly recognized for the establishment of a methodological and ethical framework within which they should work (Cleere 1989:15).

Despite the importance of management as a subfield, few academic archaeology programs teach management, conservation, or ethics as an integral part of their curriculum. Where archaeological heritage management is taught, it is usually in programs that specialize in conservation or historic preservation. In the last decade the need for more formally-trained site managers has led to the establishment of a number of new programs that offer Masters' degrees in heritage management. In Turkey, Middle East Technical University's Center for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment (TAÇDAM) was a pioneer in promoting an integrated approach between site planning, site documentation, and conservation. At Koç University in Istanbul, a graduate program in Anatolian Civilizations and Archaeological Heritage Management has been established more recently. In practice, however, institutional capacity for site planning and management remains underdeveloped in Turkey, as is discussed further below.

International norms for heritage management are set forth in the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management's (ICAHM, an arm of UNESCO)

1990 Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (ICOMOS 1990). This charter lays out best practices for archaeological site management. These include active recording of archaeological sites, integration of archaeology with land-use planning, long-term conservation planning (including local participation), and the presentation of heritage to the public. The state, moreover, should establish legislation that allows for sufficient salvage archaeology on development projects.

The charter suggests that “The archaeological heritage is the common heritage of all humanity” (Article 9), but also that “The ‘archaeological heritage’ is that part of the material heritage in respect of which archaeological methods provide primary information” (Article 1). Archaeologists are thus charged not only to identify and protect the heritage, but to act as mediators of its meaning for the public. The charter recognizes, however, that quite different skills are needed to discharge both of these tasks, and recommends that “academic archaeological training should take account of the shift in conservation policies from excavation to *in situ* preservation” (Article 8).

Sullivan (1997) suggests a model derived from standard urban planning practice for implementing these principles. The process she suggests begins with significance assessment: in other words, identification of the different values that the site holds, ideally through a consultation with stakeholders (groups of people with an interest in the site). Once the site’s values have been identified, the current physical condition of the site and the resources available for management should be assessed, followed by preparation of a list of “Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats” facing the site. SWOT analysis is a common technique in corporate strategic planning that has also found application in the urban planning context (McNamara 1999). Before preparing the

management plan itself, site managers should consult again with stakeholders to make sure the statement of the site's values has broad support. After consultation and preliminary assessment, the findings are rendered as a policy statement (Sullivan 1997:19-24).

Sharon Sullivan notes that archaeologists often resist using a formal process for managing sites. They often feel that they know their site best, and feel that preparing a management plan is a bureaucratic distraction without tangible benefits (Sullivan 1997:16). It is certainly true that without a realistic understanding of what resources are available for management, plans can set unrealistic goals that cannot easily be implemented. However, planning practitioners feel that much of the benefit comes from the process of engaging stakeholders and considering site values in a broader perspective (De la Torre and Maclean 1997a:12). In other words, they see consultation as building social value for the site, outside of the production of data.

Difficulties with site planning also have to do with resources available to archaeology in many countries. While the industrialized nations have greater resources for managing sites and promoting heritage in society, less developed countries face challenges establishing control over archaeological sites. In these countries, legal regulations on archaeological sites may be comparable to international standards, but they may lack the manpower, finances, or administrative capacity to actually secure sites from looters, tourist damage, or conservation problems. Turkey, for instance, has a long tradition of state ownership of archaeological materials, but has been unwilling thus far to commit the resources to supervise, plan, or guard the thousands of important sites in its territory. As we have noted above, the growth in the number of archaeological projects

has made it difficult to find sufficient museum personnel to act as *temsilcis*, with the result that many projects experience delays and museum work is disrupted. In the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (KVMGM), one staff member is tasked with site planning and management for all of the archaeological sites in Turkey. As a result, the ambitious new 2005 regulations that require site management councils (p.142 above) cannot be implemented even for a few sites. The increased pressure from the government for archaeologists to carry out management and conservation tasks reflects this mismatch between policy and implementation.

As a way of compensating for such shortfalls in institutional capacity, heritage experts encourage developing countries to partner with NGOs and other international partners to create management plans for heritage sites. NGOs tend to have less bureaucratic structures and more access to international funding (Comer 2006:23). In Jordan, for instance, site management plans for Petra were prepared by US National Park Service staff in consultation with the Jordanian Ministry of Culture and Tourism, while other conservation sites are operated by the Royal Society for the Protection of Nature (Akrawi 2006:30). Though in principle such efforts aim to transfer knowledge to developing countries, there are few studies that assess whether such efforts are effective – although there is general agreement that developing indigenous expertise is key to successful long-range planning efforts (Tosun and Jenkins 1998: 112).

Turkey combines a strong centralized state with relatively weak civil society institutions. Recent work has suggested under these conditions, collaborative planning that includes multiple stakeholder groups may be ineffective at decentralizing power. Göymen notes that in the context of Turkish tourism planning, efforts to promote

stakeholder involvement have further advantaged already powerful stakeholders, by transferring authority from the state to large corporations (2000:1028).

Because Turkey's institutional capacity for site management is underdeveloped, the KVMGM sees foreign archaeological projects as a potential source of assistance in conservation and management, and has progressively increased its expectations of foreign projects' involvement in these areas over the past decade. Therefore, foreign projects are given the *de facto* responsibility to manage the sites where they work. However, this poses some challenges: many archaeologists see conservation and site management as a parallel, separate field with interests that are different from those of excavators, or perceive management concerns as an unwelcome imposition into an already full research agenda (Smith 2008:63). This tension results from different understandings of the social and professional role of the archaeologist.

Following Baumann (1987), Smith notes that archaeologists are torn between two models for intellectual practice, those of the "legislator" and the "interpreter". The "legislator", after the tradition of the Enlightenment, is the model of the intellectual as the source of authoritative, institutionalized truth that must be accepted by others. The "interpreter" represents the postmodern paradigm of the intellectual as mediator and translator among different modes of knowledge, a figure who assists different epistemological traditions in understanding each other (Smith 2008:66). Hamilakis (1999:70) advocates that archaeologists play this latter role and see their work as a form of cultural production which, while engaged with the material remains of the past, does not limit itself to it. He problematizes the reification of the "archaeological record" as a

metaphysical concept, preferring to see the material traces of the past as fragmentary and socially constructed. Doing so changes the scope of archaeologists' responsibility:

Moreover, the very same notion of the 'record' implies that this has been entrusted upon archaeologists who are now responsible for its management. But if no such archaeological record exists, only fragmented material traces of past social practices, then the role of archaeologists as a steward and interpreter needs re-thinking and re-examination (1999:69).

The material and social aspects of "site management", then, exist in tension with questions about what it is that archaeologists *do* in society. De la Torre and MacLean (1997a:12) note that despite increasing awareness of site management problems in archaeology,

It is not universally recognized that archaeological sites have legitimate value to many groups and that the views of these constituents should be considered in decisions that affect the sites. This situation is evidenced by the fact that decisions continue to be made unilaterally based on the interests of particular groups.

There is a mismatch, then, between the state's expectations of archaeologists, and the way that they conceptualize their responsibilities. The interview questions discussed below explore this issue in more detail.

Archaeologists' Role in Site Management

There was a virtual consensus among my respondents that it was important for archaeologists to be involved in site management. While many answers did not address the question directly, none of the 41 respondents to this question felt that archaeologists should *not* be involved (Table 7-1). There was a wider spectrum of opinion on how they should be involved, however. Only 27% felt archaeologists should play a central role, 54% that their involvement was important but should be balanced with that of others, and 7% percent that archaeologists should be consulted about management decisions, but not play the central role in forming them. The sentiments noted above – namely reluctance by archaeologists to take responsibility for management – is evident among this group of

respondents. Responses to this question also illuminate different ways in which they understand the boundaries of archaeological practice.

Archaeologists should have a lead role	11	27%
Responsibility should be shared	22	54%
Not mainly archaeologists' responsibility	3	7%
No direct answer	5	12%
Not important	-	-

Those that thought archaeologists should be in charge of site planning and management framed this authority in terms of the need to protect scientific research. One respondent felt that giving authority to other groups might threaten the continuity of research. As one undergraduate American architect reflected:

It's important for archaeologists to be the ones in charge. Continuation of research is the most important thing. But if tourism is going to be developed it can affect the research. The local community should have a role – ideally it would be a consensus process.

Others (a Turkish graduate student and a Turkish museum professional) highlighted what they saw as archaeologists' better understanding of the sites.

They [archaeologists] are people who value evidence well. They can decide what's important.

Most important is that the manager knows the site well, including the archaeology. Archaeologists are better because they know the management issues better.

The priority expressed here is the creation of data; other activities are relevant insofar as they affect that basic interest. Implicit is that these data are the main source of the site's meaning and should thus be given priority in management decisions.

Other respondents felt that archaeologists' central role should be maintained in order to ensure that the public gets scientifically sound information. They contrast the correct knowledge of academics to the incorrect approach of government agencies or tour companies:

[Management should be led by] people, i.e. archaeologists and professors, who have understanding, love, and passion for the site. They are best able to explain why it's important. For government officials a stone and a sarcophagus are exactly the same.

I would combine professional management with collaboration between archaeologists and architects. The final say should be with archaeologists, since they know the scientific stuff. We have to avoid other interests controlling the site. I think that trying to make money from the site, or digging for aesthetics alone is not a good plan.

For these respondents, archaeologists are uniquely positioned to offer correct interpretations of sites. They perceive other interests, such as government or the tourism industry, threats to that understanding. In the first quote, from a senior American project member, the government is cast as only being interested in the quantity of artifacts rather than their quality – the control over material objects without reference to their meaning. The second quote, from a European conservator, imply that commercial tourist interests will distort the past for private gain, if not checked by the influence of archaeologists.

A majority (54% of interview participants) felt that archaeologists should not control the process, but have a say in it, along with other groups. Within these answers lie insights into the different ways that respondents define the limits of archaeological practice. Two archaeologists (a European and an American) reflect the view that planning is tangential to the purpose of archaeology:

[Archaeologists] should be closely involved – but there's a range of professionals in other areas who should participate. Archaeologists have to be involved in carrying it out. We're not primarily here to do that kind of thing. Archaeology has conservation as a by-product but it's not an essential thing. Dealing with the encroachment of commerce, roads, vegetation – we can't carry it all out.

Ideally it's important. But then it comes down to who does what. I'm an archaeologist, not a conservator, not a planner. It is important, but I'm not the person to do it because I don't understand the concepts behind planning. It's a concept we can appreciate, but not something we always engage in – especially those of us from a humanities rather than a social science background.

Despite the fact that the first respondent was an undergraduate and the second a project director, their sentiments are quite similar. A Turkish architect trained in planning echoes the point from the other side of the disciplinary divide:

Archaeologists can supply information [to planners]. They're scientists and I respect them, but they have no idea about management. Urban planners and city planners specialize in this topic. First, you have to think of a site as land. Then, add cultural heritage – a value. Then the question is, what do you do with that value? Archaeologists can speak to this to some extent, but they can't speak to the whole picture.

These respondents see planning and management as a distinct set of skills that are outside the bounds of what constitutes “archaeology”. The first depicts conservation and management issues as “by-products” of excavation that are not the responsibilities of archaeologists. The second respondent acknowledges that there is a range of planning concepts outside the ken of archaeology. The third articulates a very different way of conceiving of an archaeological site. She suggests that we start by seeing not a “site”, but a piece of land that is interconnected with other pieces of land, and imbued with particular values. Some of these values might be archaeological, while others might not.

A number of other interviewees also acknowledged the notion that other perspectives on site planning as legitimate. As an American undergraduate reflected:

[The participation of archaeologists] is sort of a given – archaeologists should have a say. Maybe not the final say, but there should be distribution of power. We're not here just to generate tourism – we're here to learn about cultures remote from us and find physical evidence for history. We're here on an academic basis and the locals don't see this as really important. Having archaeologists in a 3-way split with local town and government representatives would be a good way to do it. They are three different interests and it's important that none be overlooked. For me, archaeology is more important than tourism but I'm aware that it's a biased view.

This respondent tries to balance his own bias toward academic archaeological research with a recognition that this is only one of many ways of conceiving the significance of the place.

Answers to this question were similar across nationalities. Different levels of experience, however, led to different responses (Table 7-2). Undergraduate and graduate students were much more likely to feel that archaeologists should have the lead role in site management, while senior staff members and project directors were much less likely to feel this way, instead favoring collaboration. Less-experienced project members are

generally more defensive of archaeologists’ authority over sites, and feel more threatened by the inclusion of other interest groups, while more experienced members are more open to a process of consultation. The implication may be that academic training does not give students a sense of how archaeology intersects with other elements of society, while experience does.

Table 7-2. Site management attitudes by experience (n=41)

	Undergrad (n=6)		Graduate (n=16)		Senior Staff (n=7)		Project Director (n=5)	
Lead Role	2	33%	5	31%	1	14%	1	20%
Shared Responsibility	4	67%	8	50%	5	71%	2	40%
Not Main Responsibility	0	0%	2	13%	0	0%	1	20%
Not Important	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
No Direct Answer	0	0%	1	6%	1	14%	1	20%

In short, then, there seems to be a consensus that archaeologists should be involved with site planning, but ongoing doubts about what role they should play. Differences in respondents’ opinions, moreover, seem to stem from varying conceptions of what “archaeology” means and what archaeologists properly do. Some assert that archaeology simply means recovering and analyzing data through excavation, while other activities are peripheral. Others, while not disagreeing, felt that the scientific perspective might not be sufficiently represented, if archaeologists failed to advocate for their sites within the planning process. Overall, however, the understandings of archaeological practice revolved primarily around the production of academic knowledge.

Stakeholders and Site Management

As discussed in Chapter 6, respondents identified a range of publics and owners for archaeological sites that spanned the local and the global. The responses grappled

with what kinds of academic or cultural preparation were necessary in order to share in knowledge about and ownership of archaeological sites. In these questions, however, respondents were asked for a general statement of principle, rather than asked for specific prescriptions. Here we revisit the notion of participation and ownership in the context of site management – that is, real-world decision-making about what happens to sites – to determine whether perceptions about important audiences and site ownership remained the same when phrased in terms of a role in site planning and management.

Respondents were therefore asked what groups of stakeholders they thought should be involved in the decision-making process. In reviewing the responses, it is clear that not all respondents really understood the term “stakeholder”. Many instead seem to have discussed who they thought should be involved in the day-to-day running of the site. This in itself is an interesting point: “stakeholder” is a common term of art in environmental conservation and urban planning, but is poorly understood by archaeologists. Twenty-one percent of respondents (9 of 43) said that they didn’t know who were the stakeholders, or gave answers that did not name specific groups of people (Table 7-3). Among the remaining responses, there are some similarities to those presented in Chapter 5 above, with some interesting nuances. Over half of the respondents (24 of 43, 56%) named archaeologists or academic institutions as important stakeholders. Another 42% (18 of 43) named an institution at the local level: local people, local government, or in one case the local Jandarma (gendarmerie) post. Thirty-five percent (15 of 43) named the national government or institutions as stakeholders. Most of

these named the Ministry of Culture, while others named the national government in general or the local museum.²⁵

Table 7-3. Perceived stakeholders in archaeological site management (n=43)²⁶			
	Positive	Negative/Qualified	
National Government	15		35%
National Government	4	1	9%
Ministry	11		26%
Local Museum	5		12%
Local Level	18		42%
Local Government	11		26%
Local People	11	5	26%
Local Gendarmerie	1		2%
Outside Interest Groups	6		14%
Friends Groups/Vakıflar	2		5%
Private Donors	4	1	9%
Archaeologists/Academics	24		56%
Archaeologists/Academics	19		44%
Excavation Director	3		7%
Universities	6		14%
Architects	1		2%
Conservators	1		2%
Scientists generally	1		2%
Specialist site manager	5		12%
Miscellaneous			
Tourism Industry	5		12%
Schools	4		9%
Visitors/the Public	3		7%
Civil Organizations	1		2%
Don't know or no specific answer	9		21%

²⁵ The position of local museums in the local/national spectrum is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, they are often located in rural communities; on the other, staffing choices and museum policy are decided at the ministry level in Ankara. Here they are included in the national category.

²⁶ Because most respondents named more than one stakeholder group, responses do not add up to 100%.

Among the minor responses, awareness of private organizations' role in the site was also evident: 16% (7 of 43) named "Friends" groups, foundations, or private donors as important stakeholders. Another five respondents (12%) felt that a specially trained site manager should take the lead in decision-making about the site. Others suggested that representatives from the tourist industry, local schools, or the visiting public had a stake in site management decisions. In a few cases, respondents identified a group as stakeholders, but expressed skepticism or qualification about that group's role. While one person expressed their distrust of the government and another of the motives of private donors, the most common reservation was about the ability of local people to meaningfully participate in site planning. Some of these responses are discussed in more detail below.

Archaeologists as Stakeholders

Archaeologists are the most commonly cited stakeholder in archaeological sites (56%). Many who named this group did not explain their choice in detail, perhaps because they felt it was self-evident. Or perhaps because they had already expressed their support for archaeologists' role in site management. Some, however, conceptualized the range of stakeholders as being drawn entirely from within the academic disciplines connected to archaeology.

My main opinion comes from the local museum, since they are the immediate contacts. After them, [the stakeholders are] the community of Turkish archaeologists. We try to get the opinions of different archaeologists at Turkish universities, and also from students.

On interdisciplinary projects like ours, every discipline should have an equal say in things. Otherwise some fields will be ignored. Surveyors, archaeologists, a doctor, cook, zoologists. Every possible field should be involved.

These two European archaeologists (the first a senior staff member and the second a graduate student) see the community of stakeholders as drawn from different types of

academic expertise. The first suggests that the community of archaeologists as a whole, along with museum professionals, forms the relevant group of people and institutions. The second offers an intra-project perspective, emphasizing that different functions within the project team need to be heard in management decisions.

The Role of the State

Respondents who cited the Turkish government or the Ministry of Culture and Tourism as important stakeholders constituted 35% of the total. The responses engage with the concerns about the state suggested above: some interviewees felt that government agencies could assist archaeologists in negotiating local politics, while others were concerned that government might interfere with archaeological research.

At least three respondents felt that the involvement of government agencies as stakeholders was positive for archaeologists. One European graduate student thought that “we should include the Ministry of Culture [in management planning] as local advocates for our project”. In other words, she saw the government as potentially useful in negotiating with local interests. Others saw government agencies as potentially providing a broader perspective on management concerns. An American graduate student: “we should have government representation from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism [in management planning], so that we can get a broader sense of what’s happening in the rest of the country.” Another respondent, a Turkish graduate student, wanted to include many different agencies:

We need to integrate local authorities and civil organizations. So many people are involved in the archaeological site – the museum, the local Jandarma [Gendarmerie], the police – they need to be asked their opinions, because something they say may help with planning.

These respondents felt that government involvement had the potential to be quite positive in the planning and management process.

More common, however, was concern about how state control over the site would affect archaeological research, often expressed as a need for effective political maneuvering by archaeologists. One archaeologist, a Turkish graduate student, felt that “we need someone [to help with management] who has a good relationship with the government, and who can maintain that” – in other words, someone who can manage the political dimensions of the excavation. This is important given that agreement with Ministerial decisions is not optional, as a senior European archaeologist noted:

From the management point of view, we are obliged by Turkish law to agree with the Ministry. It’s important to have the opinion of villagers and touristic organizations, but the Ministry is the most important.

Government is a fact with real power over archaeologists, who are compelled to follow regulations in order to secure excavation permits. The fact that the top personnel of the Ministry are politically-appointed, and may frequently change, can result in seemingly capricious behavior by the state. One respondent, an American undergraduate, suggested spending more energy creating local connections as a way to counterbalance this problem:

It might be a better situation to have [the provincial government] more involved, since the Minister of Culture and Tourism changes every couple of years and can lead to radical changes in policy. The museum directors are also more long-term.

A Turkish undergraduate was more explicit about his concern: “Archaeologists are the stakeholders here. I don’t trust the government. If we give them power they’ll make bad decisions. Educated people should be the decision makers.” The concern that people with a “proper” understanding of archaeology should manage sites that was so evident in Chapter 6 appears again here. In discussing stakeholder involvement, these respondents

are most interested in how such a process could help maintain and support reinforce archaeologists' activities (and authority) at their sites.

Stakeholders on the Local Level

Local people and/or local government were seen as important stakeholders by 42% of interviewees. As with the responses about ownership and audience, there was substantial enthusiasm for local people as stakeholders, but it was mixed with a reluctance to trust their judgment when it came to decision-making. Again, this reluctance was primarily expressed as concern that local residents were insufficiently “interested” in archaeology, as a European graduate student suggests:

Primarily Turkish officials [are stakeholders]. This includes of course the museum director, officials of the Ministry of Tourism. I don't know if you could find interested local parties to participate.

Two respondents, both senior American archaeologists, identified this lack of interest as stemming from a lack of economic benefits for the local community.

People in [the village] are not interested in what's happening [at the site]. If you made a decision to ban tour buses at the site [so that people stopped in the village instead] it would be better for [the village].

The people of [the village] could be primary stakeholders if they took more of an interest in the site. This might change, though, if we did more adult education... Villagers lack entrepreneurship to do tourist development like a pension or anything beyond the most minimal facilities. There's nowhere to stay. Many people act as though their daily life is separate from [the site]. The world class site and museum here doesn't seem to ring with them. It could be that we haven't done enough; it could be our fault to some extent. Local people who work with us are committed to the site, but most people are not. It's puzzling to me why.

As in responses we have seen previously, the assumption is that locals are motivated by economic interests but not archaeological ones. The second quote expresses puzzlement about why villagers do not have an interest in archaeology, but also suggests some reasons why they might not – little public outreach by the project, and a lack of economic stake for local people.

Whether it is really archaeologists' responsibility to ensure economic development and work with local communities is an object of contention. One respondent saw working with local authorities as outside of his main responsibilities as a project director, saying that "since [my university] sent me here to spend their money, talking to the *Kaymakam* [Mayor] doesn't really fit in with my brief." He makes it clear that local politics lies outside his definition of archaeological practice, while his responsibility was primarily to his home institution. Another respondent, a European conservator, drew a line between scientific considerations and concerns about development:

Whether to include the villagers in management depends on how big the role is. They shouldn't have a say on scientific choices. But you should involve them in the running of the site. I don't think the mayor of the village should have a say in running the site, opening hours, and so on. He should be more involved in the discussion, though. On the other hand, what happens here does affect the village (i.e. the numbers of visitors to the area).

This respondent is conflicted, suggesting local involvement, but then immediately reducing that role to involvement in a "discussion", without any real authority to make decisions. The sticking point clearly has to do with a worry that the "scientific choices" will be compromised if local government gains authority over the site.

Not everyone shared this concern. Several respondents were unambiguously supportive of a local role in decision-making:

The people who live here locally, the people who were dispossessed, in order for the site to become an archaeological park, they're stakeholders. The people who have fields around it and who are worried that we're going to want to expand and take their fields. So that's the tightest ring, and then there's people that live in the nearby town who are looking for some kind of business [related to archaeological tourism].

The site technically belongs to the village. They can decide, along with the state, whether to exploit the site and how. Archaeologists can protest, but we can't blame them for trying to make money on what is their heritage, after all. Look at western Europe, where archaeological sites disappear under development pressure, and people make money from it. You can't blame people here for doing the same thing – that's an imperialistic view.

Though these respondents (two senior archaeologists, a European and an American) support local influence over site management, the normative idea of what "locals" want

continues to revolve around economic development through tourism. Local interest in archaeology is thought to center not around education or knowledge, but around money. The interests of archaeologists, as a result, are seen as difficult to reconcile with those of locals.

For a few respondents, skepticism about including local people or governments as stakeholders had to do with their perceptions of the difficulties of securing fair representation, given local political imbalances.

It would be important for small villages to have representation, but I'm not sure how to allocate shares of voice – [the local voice] should be influential, but it could be dominated by the provincial capital. But, on the other hand, people might not want lots of development.

These observations reflect the fact that the “local” interest is not monolithic, and notes the traditional subordination of local government to provincial and national entities: villages may be in competition with other towns or the provincial capital for influence and benefits that might derive from sites. Several project directors were also concerned that their local workforce be geographically balanced. One observed that “it would be nice to have someone from the village on the [management] committee, but it doesn't address the issue of village rivalries.” Because cash employment is scarce in a rural economy, if some villages benefit more than others from archaeological employment, the project can inadvertently stoke resentments and inter-village rivalries if it does not take care to distribute jobs fairly. In the quotes above, the respondents express a similar concern about management planning: villages each have an interest in the site, while the provincial government may have different, and contrasting agendas. When local interests are complex, representing them fairly may be seen as a more difficult task than excluding them entirely.

Other Interest Groups

Private entities, including foundations, corporations and non-profit groups were perceived as stakeholders by only 16% of respondents, but the dilemmas about what influence such groups should have over archaeology pose interesting questions.

Corporate sponsorship is an increasingly important source of funding for archaeology in Turkey, both for domestic and international projects. Turkish corporations have been involved in archaeological philanthropy at a number of sites: Koç Bank at Aphrodisias, the gas company Aygaz at Sagalassos,²⁷ and Efes Beer at Assos, to name a few.

One respondent thought that corporate sponsors should be involved in decision-making, partly so that archaeologists could have more influence on how the money was allocated:

I would say the people that give the money [are stakeholders]! Because a lot of times it seems like they make decisions without necessarily consulting the archaeologists... they really do determine what does happen here because they have a lot of the say about what to do with the money they provide.

On the other hand, not all such groups may be knowledgeable about archaeology, in which case including them in decisions may sidetrack academic research:

Investors are important [to include in the site management process] – although this is tricky because they give money without knowing anything about the archaeology. Giving them a say is problematic – how do you make them happy without damaging the project? But, they're a necessary evil.

One of the problematic issues was the difference between what archaeologists sought to gain from their work, and what private donors were interested in. Reconstructing ancient buildings, for instance, is popular with funders but does not always fit with archaeological aims, as one archaeologist observed:

There are a lot of companies sponsoring projects now – each [ancient] structure has its own sponsor. It has to be this way, because getting money [for archaeology] is hard – the sponsors put money in and only information comes out.

²⁷ Both Aygaz and Koç Bank are owned by Koç Holdings, a major domestic conglomerate.

In other words, these companies prefer to fund anastylosis projects or the excavation of large buildings because they produce a tangible result, rather than simply information about the past. The different goals of archaeologists and funders can produce friction. As one European graduate student put it, “it’s unfortunate that you need financial sponsors, because there are strings attached.”

A growing number of sites in Turkey also have ‘friends’ groups, usually made up of archaeology enthusiasts without formal training in the discipline. At some sites, they assist with fundraising, help raise the profile of the site, and occasionally organize events. Domestic-based friends groups tend to be composed of well-educated urbanites in Turkey, Europe, and America with elite connections. Their role in management plans will be discussed in more depth below.

Nationality and Experience in Stakeholder Perceptions

The nationality of the respondent does not make a substantial difference in the perception of stakeholders, with two exceptions. No Turkish respondent identified outside interest groups as stakeholders, compared to 16% of Americans and 19% of Europeans. Though this may be an artifact of a small sample size (8 responses), there is a widespread perception in Turkey that civil society is underdeveloped. Turkish and European respondents were also more likely to suggest that site management professionals were stakeholders (15% and 13% respectively) than were Americans (5%). Again, however, the sample size is too small to draw definitive conclusions.

Experience, however, does seem to affect archaeologists’ attitudes toward stakeholders (Table 7-4). The state is identified as a stakeholder at a higher rate among undergraduates (50%) and a much lower rate among project directors (20%). Given that

project directors are most involved in applying for permits, working with *temsilcis*, and navigating new regulations, this preference clearly does not stem from a lack of awareness of the state’s authority. Rather, this preference may reflect an implicit statement among more experienced project members that the state should have a less prominent role in site management, while the interests of local residents should be better represented in decision-making.

Table 7-4. Stakeholder perceptions by experience

	Undergrad (n=6)		Graduate (n=16)		Senior Staff (n=9)		Project Director (n=5)	
National Government	3	50%	5	31%	3	33%	1	20%
Local Level	2	33%	6	38%	4	44%	3	60%
Outside Interest Groups	0	0%	3	19%	2	22%	0	0%
Archaeologists/Academics	2	33%	9	56%	4	44%	5	100%
Specialist site manager	0	0%	0	0%	1	11%	1	20%
Miscellaneous	1	17%	4	25%	3	33%	2	40%
Don't know or no specific answer	1	17%	5	31%	2	22%	0	0%

Discussion

When archaeologists think about who should be involved in site planning, they are aware of the diversity of potential stakeholders in the process. The majority feels that archaeologists are stakeholders, both because archaeologists have more detailed knowledge of sites and because they prefer that scientific knowledge serves as the basis for decision-making. A large group also supported the involvement of local people as stakeholders. Yet there was also widespread concern about whether this group of people had sufficient “interest” in archaeology to warrant inclusion in decision-making processes at sites. The notion of “interest” in this context seems to serve as a proxy for a preference

that archaeological criteria should guide site management. People who do not share those criteria (such as villagers) should therefore be consulted, but not have real authority over the process. Even the respondents who are enthusiastic about local participation tend to assume that it represents a fundamentally economic interest rather than a cultural or scientific one, with the implicit judgment that such motives are less legitimate.

Similar concerns are raised in respect to the role of government agencies in site management. The state's ultimate authority over sites makes it a stakeholder, but it is also perceived to have different interests from those of archaeologists – either in cataloguing and monitoring material or in promoting tourism. Archaeologists see their job as largely placating the state, in order to provide them room to manage their own research. Finally, the private sector plays an ambiguous role: it is important because it can provide substantial funding, but it is dangerous because such donors have a different vision of archaeology from academics, and thus might promote restoration and anastylosis work that, while appealing to the public, is not scientifically useful.

A striking aspect of the discussion is that identifying stakeholders is only a point of departure for a larger discussion of the different interests that these diverse groups have in archaeological sites. Archaeologists have a pervasive concern that integrating other voices into the management process threatens to marginalize archaeology, though this concern decreases with experience. As we shall see in three case studies below, site management processes do allow non-archaeological interest groups to influence site management, although the effects on archaeologists' access to their data have not always been negative. In fact, the activities of other stakeholder groups provided an important impetus for the implementation of better site management and conservation policies.

Three Site Management Planning Efforts

It was previously noted that the 2005 amendments to Turkey's antiquities laws now require that every protected site should have a written site management plan and a standing management committee drawn from Ministry officials and professional archaeologists (p.142 above). Although these ambitious goals for site management had not yet been put into effect at any site as of 2007, these changes indicate a new interest in formalizing the archaeological site planning process in Turkey. This new trend builds on a history of varied approaches to conservation, interpretation, and management at individual sites. Here, I examine management planning at three sites – Hierapolis, Gordion, and Aphrodisias – and assess the different forces that shaped the process. Although all three of these sites are long-standing foreign excavation projects with significant monumental architecture, each site has different kinds of archaeological deposits, levels of tourism, and conservation issues. In all three cases, conservation problems were the starting point for site planning efforts, while other considerations such as visitor enhancements, economic development, or local consultation were later additions to the scope of planning efforts. Also, at all three of these sites, the initiative for more comprehensive planning efforts came at least partly from outside of the archaeological project, through private donors, other academic disciplines, or UNESCO's World Heritage programs.

Hierapolis/Pamukkale: Regulating World's Heritage

Hierapolis/Pamukkale is one of nine sites in Turkey inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The ancient city of Hierapolis was founded in the second century

BCE and, in its heyday between the 1st century BCE and the 3rd century CE was one of the most important cities of the Lykos valley. The city, which was monumentalized in early Imperial times, owed much of its importance to the presence of its hot springs and oracular temple of Apollo (D'Andria 2003). The waters from springs have left substantial calcium deposits across the zone of the ancient city, creating a layer of stone that prior to excavation covered some monuments up to a meter deep. Combined with its isolated location, this has meant that architectural preservation at the site has typically been superb.



Figure 7-1. Travertine pools at Hierapolis/Pamukkale (D. Shoup)

The archaeological remains of Hierapolis are often overshadowed in tourist promotion efforts by Pamukkale (“Cotton Castle” in Turkish), the famous mineral pools and deposits of white travertine stone that cascade down the cliffs below the ancient city (Figure 7-1). Ubiquitous in Turkish tourism marketing, tourists come to Pamukkale to splash in the travertines pools and bathe in a large swimming area above the ancient agora, where ancient columns, pavements, and mosaics are visible under the waters.



Figure 7-2. The theater at Hierapolis. The *scenae frons* is currently undergoing anastylosis (D. Shoup)

The Italian Archaeological Mission at Hierapolis began excavations in 1957. Since that time, it has excavated at the commercial Agora, the early Byzantine Martyrion above the city, the extensive necropoleis, the large Nymphaeum of Triton, the theater, the street of Frontinus and the Temple of Apollo (D’Andria 2006b:114, 119-121). Currently,

work focuses on the analysis and re-erection of the *scenae frons* of the theater, of which more than 90 percent of the original carving remains (D'Andria 2006a, Figure 7-2). Excavators led by Grazia Semeraro of the University of Lecce recently excavated four terraces near the Apollo sanctuary that were formerly covered by a hotel parking lot. They discovered evidence of a large Ionic peripteral temple, an oracular building with a large *bothros* (sacrificial basin) in its center, and a large and unique sacrificial ash deposit (Yıldırım and Gates 2007:330). A team from the University of Venice, under the direction of Annapaola Zaccaria Ruggiu, is excavating and consolidating a block of late antique houses with well-preserved wall-paintings called Block 104 (Zaccaria Ruggiu 2000; Yıldırım and Gates 2007:330).

The director of the Italian Mission, Francesco D'Andria of the University of Lecce, has also been actively involved in site management efforts and planning a new program of interpretative routes and signs. Hierapolis/Pamukkale is unusual among Turkish archaeological sites in that it has a comparatively long history of management efforts. The area was established as a national park in 1970. After Turkey's accession to the World Heritage Convention in 1983, it was among the first group of sites nominated to the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2002:XII.53). Soon after Pamukkale was inscribed on the list in 1988, environmental concerns led the Denizli Chamber of Architects to convene a symposium of local authorities, planners, academics, and tourist entrepreneurs to discuss the issues facing the site. In 1992, a site plan based on the concerns identified by this planning and protection symposium was published jointly by the Denizli Governorate, the Ministry of Culture, and the UNESCO World Heritage Center (Yüksel et al. 1999:355).

The site plan sought to deal with a range of environmental issues at Hierapolis/Pamukkale. The white travertine terraces were becoming dirty due to automobile pollution and discharges of wastewater from four hotels that had been built atop the archaeological site. The hotels were withdrawing unsustainable amounts of the natural mineral water that fed the travertines to fill their private pools, sometimes leaving the formations themselves dry. The impact of these facilities, plus that of cars and tour buses driving through the ancient site and the large number of visitors – already in the hundreds of thousands yearly – led to problems with pollution and damage to both cultural and natural resources (Dilsiz 2002:781; Yüksel *et al.* 1999:354).

In response, the planning and protection symposium proposed the removal of the on-site hotels and the construction of new entrances that would limit the amount of traffic moving through the site. The new plan began to be implemented in 1993, when the new north and south entrances were constructed. In 1998, two of the hotels had been demolished. By 2001, the last remaining hotels were removed, a new system for distributing the waters from the site had been constructed, and the old road up to the site had been closed to vehicular traffic, becoming instead a pedestrian route from the village for visitors who wanted to walk up to the site (UNESCO 2002:XII.54-55). In 2007, the vehicular route that cuts across the site from the north to south entrances was finally closed to traffic, with the result that the southern area of the site, near the pools, is now the most important for tourism (d'Andria, pers. comm.)

Other issues at the site have to do with development. While Hierapolis/Pamukkale is notable for incorporating local development strategies into overall planning for the region, sometimes these efforts have caused problems for the site itself. For instance, the

World Bank funded a project to provide new, tourist-oriented development at Ören Mahallesi, a village above the main site near the Martyrion of St. Philip. However, the project led to the pumping of new streams of wastewater into the ground, which came down the hillside and dirtied the water at the site itself. This problem led to the cancellation of the project and the World Bank's withdrawal (D'Andria, pers. comm.). Stakeholder interviews conducted in 1997 by tourism experts (Yüksel *et al.* 1999), moreover, found that while local residents and hotel operators appreciated the environmental improvements to the site, the closure of the old road up the travertines had had a negative impact on local businesses. Using the north or south entrances required tour busses to bypass the town of Pamukkale on the way to the site, meaning a decline in tourist income. Residents felt that implementation of the plan by the government had been inefficient, and that the planning process had not sufficiently considered the social and economic impacts of conservation measures (Yüksel *et al.* 1999:356-357).

Archaeology: An Unclear Role in the Management Mosaic

As the World Heritage Committee notes in its 2002 report (UNESCO 2002), the site management plan for Pamukkale/Hierapolis has had significant success in reducing environmental problems at the site, but some challenges remain. Pamukkale/Hierapolis is one of the most visited sites in Turkey, receiving 1.1 million visitors in 2005. Most of these visitors likely come to see the travertines and bathe in the pools, rather than because of an interest in archaeology; at the same time the traditional place of the travertines on the itinerary of many package tours guarantees many more visitors to the archaeological site than would otherwise come to this rural location.

Currently, the Italian research team has developed three itineraries for the site that guide visitors through different aspects of the site's history. One connects the Frontinus gate to the theater along the ancient roadway linking the two. The second focuses on the early Byzantine remains at the site, connecting the ancient temple of Apollo to the Martyrion of St. Philip along a recently discovered 5th-century processional route. The third explores the relationship between seismic activity and archaeology: structures on site show plentiful evidence of past earthquakes in the form of cracks, dislocated blocks, or spectacular collapses. The archaeological team seeks to preserve this evidence as part of the mosaic of the site's history (D'Andria 2006b:119). This is part of a broad commitment by the Italian Mission to preserve the historical palimpsest. Another effort in this regard seeks to preserve a number of middle Byzantine houses built into Roman streetscapes, rather than clearing them away to "restore" the Roman remains.

This effort to preserve the palimpsest of time on the site is sometimes in tension with the government's preference for reconstruction and clearly legible structures (D'Andria 2006b:120). There have also been differences of opinion between archaeologists and government officials about tourism at the site. Members of the archaeological team are frustrated by the behavior of some visitors, who stroll the site in swimsuits, throw litter around the site, and treat it as a spectacle rather than trying to learn about the past. Some also object to the fact that local people set up shop in the ruins, selling handicrafts and souvenirs. Local officials, however, are protective of the income that both locals and the state derive from tourism. They worry that imposing controls on tourist behavior might reduce visitor numbers, or that forbidding local residents from selling souvenirs on site would harm the village economy. The archaeological team

advocated for the north-south road to be closed for many years before it was shut down in 2007. Some members also propose the closure of the swimming pool because it damages the ancient ruins below. These changes, however, may lead to other conservation issues: due to the road closure, the area around the swimming pool is the sole entrance point for visitors. Concerned about the potential impacts on nearby monuments, the Italian Mission has decided to shift its efforts to the excavation and restoration of the nearby gymnasium (d'Andria, pers. comm.). There is also a difference of opinion on how to reuse the former hotel sites: archaeologists prefer a minimal, natural landscaping while local officials advocate a Turkish vernacular aesthetic of well-watered lawns, fruit trees, floral borders, and picnic areas.

Some of the gap between archaeologists' and tourists' consciousness stems from the fact that most visitors to the site only spend a few hours there, and sometimes do not even know about the ruins until they arrive at the site. The archaeological resource, therefore, is impacted by tourism without having the optimal effects on visitors. The museum on site, for instance, has relatively few visitors compared to the crowds at the baths – partly because tours do not always build in the cost of tickets or the time required to visit the galleries.

During my 2006 visit to Hierapolis, Professor D'Andria was working on a quadrennial report to the World Heritage Committee on the state of conservation of the site. His draft version reported satisfactory progress in conservation, research, and public outreach efforts, but identified several areas of ongoing concern. These included continued vehicular access to the site and the sheer volume of visitors to the site, which was perceived as unsustainable. While the report did not go so far as to suggest limiting

the number of visitors allowed onto the site, the report implies that it might be desirable to do so (D'Andria 2006c).

Despite the frustrations of archaeologists, however, there has been steady and remarkable progress made in the conservation and management of Hierapolis/Pamukkale since its inscription on the World Heritage List. Active collaboration between national government, local authorities, archaeologists, and UNESCO led to the removal of hotels, reduction of traffic, and the implementation of substantial conservation measures, which are now monitored by WHC and outside agencies. Compared to most other sites in Turkey, both the challenges faced and the effectiveness of the response have been striking.

There are, however, clear differences between the concerns of archaeologists, government, and local residents. Archaeology is only one of many roles that the site plays, and is sometimes overshadowed by tourism and conservation concerns. The impetus for the initial 1992 plan, in fact, came from local and national authorities who wanted to ensure the future of the site. This demonstrates the ability of the World Heritage designation to arouse local interest and accountability for sites. Archaeologists, for their part, express an interest in planning concerns, but feel that there is often not room for their ideas in the discussion. One respondent was concerned that archaeologists' conservation ideas – such as closing the road through the site – led local officials to perceive archaeologists as opposed to tourism (and thus to local livelihood). Others suggested that they would like to create programs to create more engaged tourism, but that government officials were wary of any proposal that might be seen as putting limits on tourists' access to the site or reducing the overall numbers of visitors. Their perception

was that local authorities in particular wanted to maximize the number of visitors and the revenue stream from the site, without an equal degree of concern for the quality of the visitor experience.

Gordion: Site Planning from the Academic Perspective

Gordion, originally a Hittite settlement, was the capital of the Phrygian kingdom that flourished in central and western Asia Minor in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. The most famous, and last, of the Phrygian kings was the legendary Midas, who died in 696 BCE. During the subsequent Lydian, Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, settlements continued on site, but were considerably smaller than during the Phrygian period.

Gordion is the type-site for the Phrygian kingdom and is the only large Phrygian settlement excavated so far. As such, it is important for understanding Asia Minor in the period between the end of the Hittite kingdom and the rise of the Achaemenid Empire. The site consists of two main sections: the city mound (the so-called *Midas Şehri* or “City of Midas”) and the zone of large tumuli several kilometers to the east. There are two main city mounds, one 10-12 hectares and the other 3-4 hectares in size, surrounded by a 20-30 hectare area along the Sakarya (ancient Sangarius) river where the Achaemenid-period settlement was located. The zone of tumuli includes around 100 burial mounds from the first millennium BCE, including the famous Tumulus MM, found to contain an intact wooden burial chamber with well preserved furniture, metal vessels, and textiles. Long thought to be the tomb of Midas himself, recent scholarship has established that Tumulus MM dates to one of his predecessors (Kohler 1995:208, Figure 7-3).

The first excavations at Gordion were conducted by the Körte brothers in 1900. The current University of Pennsylvania expedition began in 1950, and was directed by Rodney Young until 1973. Young's research concentrated on the Phrygian Destruction Level of about 700 BCE and on research into the tumuli, of which 29 were opened (Sams 2005:10-13). G. Kenneth Sams has directed the project since 1987, with Mary Voigt supervising the excavations. Excavation in the late 1980s and 1990s focused on securing detailed stratigraphy for the site, on the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age transition, and on the later Phrygian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods (Voigt et al. 1997; Goldman 2005; Kealhofer 2005:138).



Figure 7-3. The entrance to Tumulus MM, Gordion (D. Shoup)

Today, visitors to the site can view the large monumental gate at the city mound, which is undergoing consolidation. Inside the mound, the foundations of Middle Phrygian megaron structures – covered in sandbags to prevent erosion of the mud brick – are visible. Interpretative signs along the top of the mound explain to visitors what they are seeing. The site museum is located across from the entrance to Tumulus MM, about a kilometer to the east of the city mound. The museum, which is a branch of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (MAC) in Ankara, was rebuilt in 2001 and was nominated for a European Museum of the Year award in 2002 (although it did not win). It displays a wide range of finds from the site, although the most famous items from Tumulus MM are held in the MAC. The tumulus itself is accessible through a tunnel built into its base. The approximately 40,000 annual visitors are offered several interpretative panels before proceeding along the dark tunnel to a small viewing room where they can see into the ancient tomb chamber – now empty, but with wooden beams and floors in a good state of preservation.



Figure 7-4. The citadel gate, Gordion. Scaffolding allows injection of hydraulic lime into the structure (D. Shoup)

Progress In Conservation and Planning

Current excavators note that the work of Rodney Young, while groundbreaking for our understanding of Phrygian civilization, was not always attentive to conservation concerns. Sams observed that in previous generations, “among archaeologists in general there was no real consciousness about the need to preserve what was found, either objects or architecture. There was no sense of conservation ethics – you dug it and let it fend for itself” (Sams, pers. comm.). After Sams assumed the directorship in 1987, the project has placed a strong emphasis on conservation of buildings and artifacts at the site and undertaken an intensive program of publication.

Indeed, in its Phrygian levels, Gordion faces much more serious conservation issues than do typical Greco-Roman sites. The most prominent architectural features at the city mound are the citadel gate, the megaron structures from the Middle Phrygian period, and the terrace building complex. The citadel gate was excavated in 1955, but has been subject to progressive deformation due to earthquakes and penetration of water into its earth- and rubble-filled core (Goodman 2002:199). In response, a plan to stabilize the structure through the injection of hydraulic lime was proposed in 2000 and began implementation in 2005 (Figure 7-4). The Phrygian megara are mudbrick structures, and thus extremely prone to erosion by wind and water. The failure of attempts to cap the structures led to the reburial of Megara 1, 2, and 3 between the 1960s and 1990s (2002:197). At the terrace building complex, the limestone walls were being eroded by the freeze-thaw cycle and were stabilized by a system of capping and buttressing (2002:202). However, it was recognized by the conservation team that often these conservation measures affected the legibility of the site. The conservation approach to the terrace building complex addressed this issue by using the buttressing system as a schematic representation of known but eroded features such as wall lines, staircases, and door jambs (2002:205; Figure 7-5).



Figure 7-5. Terrace Building Complex, Gordion. Note the 'cap and buttress' system used to protect the mud brick (D. Shoup)

At Tumulus MM, conservators are also pursuing an aggressive program of conservation. The 1957 excavation caused substantial amounts of water from the drilling to soak the ancient tomb chamber, causing problems with mold and decay in the wood. The construction of a protective concrete shell around the wooden tomb chamber in 1960 also spattered many of the ancient beams with loose concrete. Conservation efforts are focused on removing later materials and creating stable chemical and atmospheric conditions for the continued preservation of the wood (Liebhart and Johnson 2005:193-197). Concerns about erosion on the outside of the mound led to the initiation of a project to channel water runoff and replant the sides of the mound with native vegetation (Miller and Bluemel 1999:226).

Site Management Issues

The materials conservation efforts, now ongoing for two decades, have also led to the creation of a preliminary site management plan for Gordion. The site faces some particular challenges as a potential tourist destination or site for local education. Gordion is in a remote location, is not accessible by public transportation, and is far from other tourist destinations. Those visitors that do arrive may visit the well-presented museum and the tumulus with ease. The city mound, however, is difficult for the non-specialist to comprehend. The proper approach to the site faces away from the road and is not easily discernable to the casual observer: some visitors scramble up the overgrown sides of the mound to reach the interpretative signs at the top. The reburied Phrygian megaron structures are visually clear, but not very legible in tourist terms and require substantial explanation to place them in context.

Gordion is, however, in a location that is important for modern Turkish history. The 1923 Battle of Sakarya, the turning point of the Turkish War of Independence, occurred over a wide area that includes the site, which is itself next to the Sakarya river (the ancient Sangarios). The Sakarya valley thus marks a founding site for the Turkish state, and the Gordion receives busloads of army officers who visit the archaeological site as part of their education about the battlefield.

Beginning in 2007, excavation at Gordion is on hold until conservation and management issues at the site are addressed. This includes preparation of a final management plan, completion of some conservation efforts, and the analysis and publication of the remainder of the artifacts and architecture excavated under Young. Conservation efforts at Gordion were directed by Mark Goodman, who died

unexpectedly in 2004. In 2005, Frank Matero of the University of Pennsylvania took over coordination of the conservation efforts and also initiated an effort to prepare a management plan for the site. A historic preservation class under his supervision prepared a draft management plan for the site during the 2005-2006 academic year, after which several of the participants joined the project to work on conservation. This draft plan (Baydoun *et al.* 2006) is seen as a template by project leaders.

The Draft Management Plan

The draft site management plan prepared by Matero's University of Pennsylvania class was developed as an academic class project and is not a final (or a legal) document. Professor Sams plans to recruit students and faculty in the Middle East Technical University Historic Preservation program to prepare the final document. Despite this, the Gordion plan is one of the few comprehensive site plans prepared so far in Turkey, and offers an example of the benefits and challenges of a planning approach in the academic setting.

The plan begins with an introduction, statement of context, and site overview. It moves on to a lightly-developed significance statement, and then discusses some of the values present on site, including historic landscapes, archaeological landscapes, and museum resources. In proceeding to recommendations, the Penn plan uses the "Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats", or SWOT model (described above, p.217).

The SWOT analysis identifies Gordion's strengths as including the archaeological resources, the facilities present on site, the good relationships between foreign researchers and government officials, the isolation and viewsheds of the site, and the "multicultural village" of Yassihöyük. Weaknesses identified include lack of a

management plan, conservation challenges, the fact that many important artifacts from the site are in Ankara, the lack of infrastructure, the size of the site, and the difficulty of access. Opportunities are seen as the potential for economic development through tourism and the ongoing research opportunities connected to the site. Finally, the threats to the site are listed as erosion, looting, development, and lack of local interest in the site (Baydoun *et al.* 2006:77).

Matero's class also provided a comprehensive list of recommendations for Gordion. The basic elements were a 5-year plan focusing on emergency conservation measures and site consolidation and a 20-year plan that emphasized the creation of low-cost, locally-based conservation and management techniques for the site. The long-term view stressed the establishment of full-time, permanent conservation staff, the education of local residents to assist in these efforts, and the expansion of local public education. The plan also offers suggestions on how to spur tourist development, including redefining routes on the mound, establishing a shuttle service from Ankara or the regional center, Polatli, and improving interpretation on site. The site plan focuses on conservation and local involvement, with archaeological research as only one among numerous values at the site. A basic assumption appears to be that the American commitment to the site will end at some point, leaving local experts and communities to manage the site. In order to do so, then, efforts must be made to establish sufficient training, public outreach, and infrastructure to give the plan a chance at success (Baydoun *et al.* 2006:116-119).

A shortcoming of the site plan, acknowledged by its preparers, is that it was prepared in an academic context, without extensive consultation either with the local community or the broader archaeological team. It is thus unclear to what degree the

suggestions reflect the desire of the various stakeholders in the site, or whether they are realistically implementable. Striking, however, is the emphasis on non-archaeological concerns as the key to the site's future, as well as the acknowledgement that the American project will likely not be a permanent presence in the area.

Like Hierapolis, at Gordion conservation concerns were also the catalyst for a consideration of wider issues in site planning. Conservation remains the primary focus of the project's site management efforts, and there has been substantial progress both in consolidating the Phrygian materials at the city mound and in protecting the tomb chamber in Tumulus MM. The American project also assisted in preparing the new museum displays in 2001, holds occasional site days for the villagers of Yassihöyük, and maintains good relationships with the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, which often has staff on site.

It is unclear, however, whether there are plans for the kind of intensive stakeholder consultation that would allow other parties to shape the future of the site. Decision-making about site planning remains largely in the hands of academic specialists, although it is important to note that these are led by people with specific expertise in historic preservation and conservation rather than in field archaeology. Project members would like the site to be relevant to local and regional residents, although currently there is little connection between the project and the local community. Overall, progress in conservation issues is notable while planning and consultation of other interest groups remains in the proposal phase.

Public-Private Planning at Aphrodisias

Aphrodisias was a medium-sized provincial center in inland Caria that grew in Roman times around a much older shrine of Aphrodite. Aphrodisias was known in antiquity for its sculptors and exports of both raw marble and finished work. The site is distinguished today for its fine preservation of both architecture and sculpture. Early modern visitors to the site included Chandler in 1765, Texier in 1835, and Osman Hamdi Bey in 1892. Between 1904 and the 1950s, French and Italian teams surveyed the city and excavated parts of the temple, baths, and agora (Erim 1989:6). The current project at the site began in 1961, led by the late Kenan Erim of New York University. Erim's team uncovered large areas of the monumental area of the ancient city, including two agoras, the bouleuterion/"Bishop's palace", the temple of Aphrodite, the theater, and a large bath complex (Erim 1989; Erim and Smith 1991; Figures 7-6 and 7-7). To enable excavation to proceed, the village of Geyre, previously located on the site, was moved to a newly-built village constructed by the state about 2 kilometers away. A few houses remain from the old village, and now house excavation offices and other facilities.

Since Erim's death in 1990, the project has been jointly directed by Christopher Ratté of the University of Michigan and RRR Smith of Oxford University. Professor Ratté will leave his directorship after the 2008 field season. According to Ratté, much of the research at the site has focused on analyzing and publishing excavation work conducted under Erim. This has included additional excavation to better understand monuments, but has also included a major program of conservation and analysis of the mosaics, architecture, and especially the large quantity of finely-preserved statuary

present at the site (Smith 2006). Since 2004, an interdisciplinary field survey has discovered a variety of rural settlements, aqueducts, and late antique churches in the countryside around the city (Ratté 2008a; 2008b). Currently, excavations at the site are on a hiatus after the completion of work at the Sebasteion in 2006. An anastylosis project to re-erect a portion of the Sebasteion was recently completed.



Figure 7-6. The south Agora at Aphrodisias (D. Shoup)

Site Planning at Aphrodisias

Site planning at Aphrodisias is unusual in that it has been led by the efforts of a private foundation, the Geyre Vakfi (Geyre Foundation or GV) that is dedicated to supporting the Aphrodisias excavations. During his tenure as director, Kenan Erim was successful in interesting a group of influential Istanbul residents in the archaeology at

Aphrodisias, including members of the Koç family, proprietors of one of Turkey's largest industrial conglomerates. They formed the Geyre Vakfi in 1987 under the direction of Mrs. Sevgi Gonül, an enthusiast of art and archaeology, founder of the Satberk Hanım museum in Istanbul, and member of the board of Koç Holding (Geyre Vakfi 2005:7). After Kenan Erim's death, R.R.R. Smith became director, and began lobbying the foundation for help in constructing a new museum wing to preserve and properly display the exquisite sculptures from the Sebasteion, previously stored outside without shelter.



Figure 7-7. The Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias (D. Shoup)

The Geyre Vakfi became interested in taking on the project, and in 1998 hired internationally-known architect Cesar Pelli, who had connections with some of the foundation members due to his firm's previous work on the master plan for the Şişli area

of Istanbul. To ameliorate the fact that the Aphrodisias museum had been constructed on top of archaeological deposits, Pelli proposed moving both the existing museum and the proposed new facility off the archaeological site, outside the ancient city walls. However, members of both the Geyre Vakfi and the archaeological team found Pelli's preliminary design for the museum uninspiring. More seriously, it was projected to cost \$10 million, well beyond the budget of the Geyre Vakfi for the project and a sum that fundraising consultants suggested that this sum could only be raised in the United States. This was not an option for the Geyre Vakfi, part of whose *raison d'être* was to enhance domestic involvement in archaeological research and conservation (Ratté pers. comm.).

After Gonül's death in 2003 the Geyre Vakfi was led by Ömer Koç, her nephew and an enthusiastic supporter of archaeology in Turkey. Koç and the foundation board decided in 2004 to start over with a different architectural firm, ideally with more Turkish involvement in the project. They retained the consulting services of Inskip and Jenkins, a British architectural firm known for its repurposing of historic structures and work on World Heritage sites. Inskip and Jenkins also had both personal connections to Aphrodisias and a Turkish partner, making them a more acceptable solution from the Geyre Vakfi's point of view.

The Aphrodisias project directors were willing to work with Inskip and Jenkins on the new museum, but insisted that a conservation and management plan for the site should precede a museum design. Inskip and Jenkins, therefore, began a program of intensive consultation with stakeholders in the site, including archaeologists, museum staff, Ministry of Culture and Tourism representatives, the Geyre Vakfi, the local governor and mayor, local police, and regional gendarmerie. Many of these groups had

not previously been included in discussions about the site. Topics included conservation and management issues, but also discussion of potential means of bringing more economic development to the village of Geyre and the neighboring town of Karacasu. Participants described the day-long intensive workshops as an ultimately positive process, especially for hearing diverse opinions about the site.

Inskip and Jenkins spent a substantial amount of time and money on this phase. Hired in 2003, by 2005 they were still working on the site management plan. While the archaeological staff at Aphrodisias, after some initial reluctance, became advocates of wide-ranging stakeholder consultation, Geyre Vakfi members remained skeptical due to its cost and lack of tangible results. As a result, Geyre Vakfi took the decision to fire Inskip and Jenkins in summer 2005. About the same time, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism awarded \$1 million YTL (\$650,000) to the Aphrodisias Museum for renovations. The Geyre Vakfi hired architect Cengiz Bektaş to design the new wing, which was eventually constructed at much less expense than proposed by Inskip and Jenkins (Ratté pers. comm.; Smith pers. comm.). The new wing began construction in late 2006 and is expected to open in spring 2008. Ironically, given Pelli's initial concerns, the new wing is still located on the archaeological site. However, it was designed to have a relatively low impact on the site: it does not use deep foundations, and the steel members of the structure are bolted rather than welded in order to enable its eventual removal from the site.

Due to the relatively sudden termination of the relationship between the Geyre Vakfi and Inskip and Jenkins, the site management plan was never completed, although it was entering its final stages. While the draft document was given to the Geyre Vakfi, it

has not been made public or shared with the archaeological project team. However, the process of preparing the document was perceived positively by members of the archaeological team, who reflected on its strengths and shortcomings. One senior staff member of the archaeological project reflected:

[Inskip and Jenkins] were really trying to plan for 50 years. It's unfortunate that others haven't thought of this before. The plan, however, hasn't changed the way that people do things here. Having outsiders come do it was problematic – the architect was not charismatic, and had few Turkish students working for him. Some of their team members didn't have a knack for people skills.

For him, the fact that Inskip and Jenkins were outsiders and had insufficient participation from Turkish colleagues made them less effective. Another senior project member felt that cultural differences between the British planning context and the realities of archaeological politics in Turkey led to a number of inadvertent cultural misunderstandings that soured the relationship between the Geyre Vakfi and the architectural firm. However, the planning process did succeed in engaging numerous stakeholder groups that had not previously participated in discussions about Aphrodisias, and was noticed by the Ministry as a successful example of domestic Turkish participation in developing infrastructure for archaeological sites. The Geyre Vakfi, for its part, is proud of this fact, and it seems likely that some of the problems they encountered working with foreign architects had much to do with their desire for the foundation's work to remain Turkish in funding, planning, and execution.

How does the Geyre Vakfi conceptualize its role?

This direct involvement by a Turkish NGO in funding and managing and archaeological site has, in fact, proved influential on the Ministry's thinking about the role of the private sector in archaeological site development. The Geyre Vakfi's constitution defines its role in the Aphrodisias project as “assisting the scientific research

and study being carried out at the ancient city of Aphrodisias” by giving courses, organizing conferences, promoting tourism, and especially promoting the display and appreciation of artifacts from the site (Geyre Vakfi 2005:7-8). A board member with whom I spoke, a retired senior manager in Koç Holdings, expanded on this by outlining his vision of the foundation’s role. He saw the foundation as a complement to state institutions: the Ministry, because of its wide responsibilities, would not be able to gather detailed information on the site or to show intense interest in it to the same degree that a private group could. He also noted that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is relatively unimportant on the national level, sitting 27th in the ministerial hierarchy, and that it suffered from regular turnover because its highest-ranking officials are political appointees. As a result, he saw cultural policy in Turkey as inconsistent, making long-range planning for sites difficult.

He also highlighted the fact that Turkey has a long history of private foundations stretching back to early Ottoman times, which represents an asset for getting people involved in archaeology on a wider scale. He found the relationship between archaeology and the Geyre Vakfi to be generally good. Tensions between the foundation and archeologists, he felt, arose from the fact that Geyre Vakfi members perceived archeologists as not being especially interested in displaying their finds for the public, while for Vakfi members, public presentation of artifacts was their central interest.

Aphrodisias as National Example

This in-depth discussion of the Geyre Vakfi’s integral role in preparing a site plan for Aphrodisias is relevant to larger questions of the future of archaeological site planning in Turkey. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, having noticed the Geyre

Vakfi's efforts, has become excited about the potential of private-public partnerships of this sort to improve site planning in Turkey overall. The 2005 revisions to the cultural heritage laws mandate the establishment of site management boards that bring together local, scientific, and Ministry representatives to consider development and conservation issues around sites. This regulation, however, has not yet been implemented at any site in Turkey. A General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (KVMGM) employee involved in archaeological site planning with whom I spoke in mid-2007 was hopeful, however, that Aphrodisias would be the first example:

Naturally, [the new regulations] need time to be implemented. A good example is Aphrodisias and the Geyre Vakfi. We have a great relationship with them. We've been in discussions with them and developed a Memorandum of Understanding [about their role in the site]. The Geyre Vakfi agreed to prepare a management plan on behalf of the Ministry. This will be the first implementation for us under the new regulations.

The Geyre Vakfi board member quoted above was also proud of its work developing a conservation and management plan for the site, despite the fact that the plan is not finished and has not been made available to anyone outside the foundation, including archaeologists. It was also reported to me that the then Minister of Culture and Tourism, Atilla Koç²⁸, has suggested the Geyre Vakfi's work to other archaeologists as a model for creating site plans. He has reportedly asked the Austrian project at Ephesus to establish a similar foundation to support that site and suggested the charter of the Geyre Vakfi as a model.

It may be, as one respondent suggested to me, that "foundations will be the future of archaeology" in Turkey, and take a leading role in coordinating management and public presentation of archaeological sites. It is, however, far too soon yet to see the effects of this trend (or whether it is, in fact, even a trend). However, it is clear that the

²⁸ The Minister is unrelated to the industrialist family that owns Koç Holdings.

notion of Turkish NGOs taking a strong role in fundraising, management, and promotion of archaeological sites has a strong appeal both to government and to archaeologists. More Turkish involvement creates the potential for better public education and increased public interest in archaeological sites, and may be able to leverage additional economic resources beyond what the government is able to provide. Having organizations with a local presence and interest may also ensure that government decisions respond to situational realities instead of bureaucratic ideals.

From the archaeological point of view, the most obvious concern about such a trend is the diminished influence of archaeological professionals on decision-making. As we have seen from the narrative above, the Geyre Vakfi took a number of decisions about site planning and museum constructions on its own, without conferring with archaeologists. This example suggests that, while archaeologists sometimes see other stakeholders as uninterested in archaeology, it may simply be that they approach archaeology with a different set of priorities.

There is also the question of whose interests private foundations in fact represent. The Geyre Vakfi's members are genuine enthusiasts of archaeology; they are also prosperous, well-educated, and well-connected individuals who are used to results-based approaches from the business world. There may thus be a tendency to value immediate results such as building a new museum wing over longer, less-tangible processes such as public consultation and long-range planning. The possibility that site funding might depend on wealthy donors rather than the government may lead to situations where the preferences of donors guide not only which sites are chosen for management and conservation, but what aspect of those sites are highlighted in the public eye.

While the enthusiasm of the government for the private-public model is understandable, there is also the open question about whether it is possible to extrapolate the Geyre Vakfi's model widely in Turkey. With hundreds of open-air archaeological sites already listed for protection, and tens of thousands more unregistered, it is doubtful whether there is sufficient public interest, and private money, for more than a handful to establish foundations like that which supports Aphrodisias.

The Effectiveness of Site Management Planning

As the above examples suggest, archaeologists acknowledge that different stakeholders have legitimate interests in archaeological sites, and express willingness to work with them. This is colored, however, by the belief that archaeologists generally have the correct understanding of what to do with sites, and an anxiety about losing influence over them. An examination of planning documents for the sites in question suggests that actual planning processes vary widely. There are, however, some important similarities between the three examined here. Although each approach started from very different conditions and concerns, the guiding role in the planning process in each case came from outside of the core discipline of archaeology. Conservation of materials and preparation of sites for tourism were the main focus, while community consultation was limited, incomplete, or not yet attempted.

While archaeologists recognize its desirability in principle, consultation with other groups is not the norm: only at Aphrodisias was a formal process engaging different stakeholders attempted, and that was put on hold for reasons outside of the archaeological team's control. While some in the KVMGM hold Aphrodisias' process up as a model, it still remains a theoretical one. In short, ensuring the conservation of archaeological

materials is a ubiquitous part of plans (and a necessary one), but there is no consensus about who to involve in the site planning process, or whether stakeholder consultation is a necessary part of management planning. Conservation efforts, of course, do not threaten to change archaeologists' definitions of the meaning of sites, but some archaeologists believe involvement of other stakeholders does carry that risk. This fear, that archaeologists will be marginalized by stakeholder involvement processes, may explain why one aspect is included in management plans while the other is not.

Four of the five sites where I conducted extensive interviews have initiated some kind of planning and management process in recent years. Besides originating mainly out of conservation concerns, as discussed above, participation at most sites seems to have been limited to the senior staff and project managers. Even some of the professional conservators on sites were not well-informed about the status of conservation planning, as these two respondents, both members of European projects, reflect:

We get informed about the yearly program in advance but don't have the [conservation] plan in hand. Our actions [as conservators] also depend on financing on a year-to year basis.

I don't know [if there's a site plan]. I'd be surprised if there's a long-range plan but I'm sure there's a short-range one. I think [the excavation] will go on forever here – they're not planning to ever stop excavating. I'm unsure if more anastylosis is planned.

When asked whether site management planning had changed the way that they thought about their work, only one of the respondents answered affirmatively. She noted that the presence of a site plan meant that more attention was given to immediately conserving fragile materials as they were excavated. Four respondents, all graduate or undergraduate students, said that while their horizons had been broadened by exposure to other issues, it did not make a major difference in their work, as these two answers from a Turkish and an American graduate student suggest:

I worked as a translator during the site planning process. The process was very useful. It didn't affect my own work but did change my perceptions.

I didn't have a big role in the process. I did get a better idea of the big picture concerns about long term issues. It hasn't really influenced my work.

Project managers and senior project staff had more awareness of the issues and a more nuanced attitudes that mix positive attitudes toward planning with wariness about its implications. One project director reflected that

The idea of a conservation plan is great. The inclusion of local environmental experts has been wonderful. It opened my eyes to something I'm skeptical about. The principle behind it is that everyone involved signs up to particular principles together as a basis for cooperation. Signing up to grand strategies is all very well, but if there's no money behind it there's no point. These ideas about planning come from Europe, where there's huge amounts of money to fund experts in different fields. But for excavators to do all this would swamp us. In the abstract a site management plan is a great thing. But setting up management structures alongside excavation is a recipe for disaster.

He concluded by saying that planning at his site "hasn't really changed the way we do things." One wonders whether the "disaster" referred to is the very loss of control over research agendas that seems to appear in the discussion above.

Discussion

As a conceptual framework, management planning is becoming a normal part of discussions about archaeological sites by government, academics, and non-governmental organizations alike. In its 2005 cultural legislation, the Turkish government has sought to create management councils to supervise sites, while archaeologists are increasingly aware of their responsibilities to conserve and interpret artifacts.

Among the projects that I visited for this research, there has been excellent progress toward building storage and conservation facilities for artifacts and consolidating fragile architectural remains. This is a hopeful trend for long-term preservation, given that a number of long-standing foreign projects – especially those operated by American teams – are pausing in their excavation activities.

However, practice has not yet caught up with theory in respect to community consultation. There is widespread agreement that archaeologists should be involved in planning and management, but archaeologists seem to understand this term in the limited sense of conservation of archaeological materials. Efforts by archaeological projects to include public outreach, economic development planning, and stakeholder consultation in their project plans are unusual. Where they exist, it is often conducted on the initiative of outside organizations, such as the Geyre Vakfi or UNESCO.

The barriers to archaeologists embracing the more comprehensive approach to planning are not negligible. Archaeological training rarely includes the political, economic, and managerial aspects of archaeology, while budgetary constraints may appear to pit management against excavation in a zero-sum game. Given that the proposed benefits of site management, such as community education, local economic development, or improved visitor experience are not rewarded by academic institutions, archaeologists may see such activities as detrimental to their careers. Finally, the fact that there is no fixed methodology or specific legal requirements for consultation also makes it understandable that projects should prefer to stay within their core competences of excavation and conservation. Excavation, data analysis, and publication have tangible benefits for archaeologists, while it remains unclear what benefits public consultation has for academic careers – beyond the satisfaction of fulfilling abstract professional responsibilities.

Here we see, as we did in Chapter 6, an interest and enthusiasm among archaeologists for becoming more involved in the public and community aspects of archaeology, and sincere efforts in many cases to address such issues. However, a gap

remains between intention and action, theory and practice. As we move on to discuss tourism and visitor experiences at archaeological sites, we will gain additional material with which to ascertain the nature of this gap and how it might be bridged.

Chapter 8: Tourism and Authenticity in Archaeological Space

The complex relationship between textual knowledge and the experience of archaeological spaces has been an ongoing theme in this dissertation. This relationship is also visible in archaeological tourism, which has catalyzed change in the political economy of archaeology. Tourism is now an important use of site space and source of value for archaeological sites, and must be accounted for in preparing site management or public outreach plans. Yet, as we have seen, archaeologists are reluctant to recognize tourism as a legitimate use of archaeological sites.

The growth of tourism in Turkey reflects global trends. Worldwide, international tourist arrivals have doubled from 440 million in 1990 to a predicted 880 million in 2007 (World Tourism Organization 2007a). By some estimates, tourism is now the world's largest industry by revenue: international tourism alone generated \$735 billion worldwide in 2006 (World Tourism Organization 2006a). During this time of rapid growth, heritage tourism has grown apace, although it is difficult to quantify its economic impact because heritage tourism can include such diverse activities as walking in a historic city, visiting a museum or park, or attending a performance. In Turkey, perhaps half of international tourists visit museums or archaeological sites, making heritage an integral part of this growing economic sector.²⁹

²⁹ This is a guess based on the fact that there were 20 million international visitors and 19.5 million visits to museums and sites in 2005. Many tourists doubtless visit more than one museum or site, while others visit

Given its increasing prominence worldwide, tourism has increasingly come to the attention of anthropologists and sociologists. Tourism plays an important role in shaping the identities of tourists themselves, as visitors seek to understand themselves through exposure to the tourist “other” (Urry 1990; MacCannell 1999:13). Scholars generally hold negative views about tourism, noting that it “wreaks havoc” on local communities and forms “a vanguard of neocolonialism” in developing countries (Stronza 2001:268). Other concerns include the commodification of culture and the resulting threats to the “authenticity” of places or peoples (Assi 2000; Jivén and Larkham 2003).

These critiques have adopted the perspective that tourism is generally an unwelcome imposition on host communities with mostly deleterious effects. In the last decade, however, more research on local attitudes toward tourism has revealed the extent to which host communities shape their own image for visitors and benefit from tourism in unexpected ways.³⁰ However, the perception of tourism as a negative imposition has contributed to the increasing popularity of alternatives such as “ecotourism”, “sustainable tourism”, and “community-based tourism”, which are perceived to have a more positive effect on host communities. As Stronza notes (2001:272), however, in practice tourism management in most countries continues to follow an external model, where decisions are made by central governments, and local participation in the industry is marginalized.

none. These figures offered here are specific to international visitors; domestic Turkish tourism, however, is also growing in economic importance.

³⁰ See, for instance, Cevat Tosun’s research on the effects of tourism on local culture in Ürgüp and Göreme, Cappadocia, Turkey (Tosun 1998, 2002).

Table 8-1. Turkish tourism statistics, 1990-2005 (World Tourism Organization 2006a).		
	1990	2005
International Arrivals	4.8 million	20 million
Tourism Earnings	\$3.2 billion	\$18.2 billion
Annual growth rate (Decade average)	7.2%	16.2%

The patterns of rapid growth and central authority are also evident in Turkish tourism. Turkey's 4.8 million international arrivals in 1990 grew to almost 20 million in 2005. The annual growth rate for Turkish tourism was 7.2% between 1990 and 2000 but 16.2% for the period 2000 to 2005. Earnings from tourism grew even faster, from \$3.2 billion in 1990 to \$18.2 billion in 2005 (World Tourism Organisation 2006a, 2006b; see Table 8-1). The conditions for this transformation were prepared during the period of economic liberalization in the wake of the 1980 military coup. The 1982 Tourism Encouragement Law (2634) cut the bureaucratic burdens for land development and provided subsidized loans for hotel construction, making it easier for entrepreneurs to build new facilities (Göymen 2000:1034). This rapid growth, however, has been concentrated on a few areas: Istanbul, the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, and a few inland destinations including Cappadocia, Konya, and Pamukkale. Tourist infrastructure in the rest of the country remains relatively undeveloped.

Cultural heritage is one of the cornerstones of the Turkish tourist industry. In 2005, the *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu* (the Turkish State Statistical Agency or TÜİK), recorded 11.1 million museum visits and 8.5 million visits to open-air archaeological sites (*ören yerleri*, lit. "ruined places"). Cultural tourism is disproportionately foreign, and concentrated on just a few areas: museum visitors were 52% Turkish and 48% foreign in 2005, and Istanbul alone had 5.5 million museum visitors, half the national

total. The top five provinces, including Istanbul, Konya, Nevşehir, Ankara, and Izmir, accounted for 81% of national museum visits. This concentration is even more pronounced among foreign visitors: 3.9 million foreigners (72% of the total) visited Istanbul museums in 2005, while the next largest number was in Nevşehir, which received only 370,000, or 7% of total foreign museum visits (Table 8-2; TÜİK 2005).

	Domestic	% Nat'l Total	Foreign	% Nat'l Total	Total	% Nat'l Total
Istanbul	1,696	30%	3,851	72%	5,547	50%
Konya	1,188	21%	346	6%	1,534	14%
Nevşehir	660	11%	370	7%	1,029	9%
Ankara	389	7%	185	3%	574	5%
Izmir	200	3%	127	2%	327	3%
Top 5 Provinces	4,133	72%	4,878	91%	9,011	81%
National Total	5,747		5,371		11,118	

Within these five provinces, which account for 81% of museum visits, tourists visit a restricted circuit of destinations. In Istanbul, most museum visits are concentrated on the Byzantine Hagia Sophia cathedral (Aya Sofya), the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, the Yerebatan Cistern, and Topkapı Palace – all located within 500 meters of each other in the Sultanahmet district of the city. In Konya province, most tourists visit the tomb of Mevlana Jelaleddin Rumi, now operated as a museum; in Nevşehir province the Göreme Open-Air Museum and the Hacı Bektaş Veli Museum are the largest attractions. All three of these sites reflect the secularist state's approach to classifying religious sites as museums. Finally, in Izmir province the archaeological museum draws the largest number of visitors (Table 8-3).

Istanbul	Aya Sofya Archaeological Museum Yerebatan Cistern Topkapı Palace
Konya	Tomb of Mevlana Jeleddin Rumi
Nevşehir	Göreme Open-Air Museum Hacı Bektaş Veli Museum
Ankara	Museum of Anatolian Civilizations
Izmir	Izmir Archaeological Museum

Officially designated open-air archaeological sites (*ören yerleri*) in Turkey attracted 8.5 million visitors in 2005. As in the case of museums, an extreme hierarchy of sites is evident. The top three provinces – Antalya, Izmir, and Denizli – receive over a million site visitors each year and account for 60% of site visits nationwide. Ephesus and Hierapolis/Pamukkale province account for the vast majority of the total visitors in their respective provinces (Izmir and Denizli). The next most-visited provinces, Nevşehir and Çanakkale, each receive over 700,000 site visitors. Just 5 of Turkey’s 81 provinces thus account for 78% of all archaeological tourism (Table 8-4; TÜİK 2005).

	Domestic	% Nat'l Total	Foreign	% Nat'l Total	Total	% Nat'l Total
Antalya	679	22%	1,631	30%	2,309	27%
Izmir	328	11%	1,506	27%	1,834	21%
Denizli	244	8%	760	14%	1,004	12%
Nevşehir	284	9%	495	9%	779	9%
Çanakkale	425	14%	285	5%	710	8%
Top 5 Provinces	1,960	64%	4,676	85%	6,636	78%
National Total	3,060		5,485		8,544	

As Table 8-4 suggests, most archaeological tourism is foreign tourism: 64% of visits to archaeological sites, a total of 5.5 million, are made by foreigners but only 3 million (36%) by Turkish citizens. Foreign tourism is also more concentrated: Antalya

and Izmir provinces together accounted for 57% of foreign visits to archaeological sites. Over 85% of foreign site visits were concentrated in the top five provinces (Antalya, Izmir, Denizli, Nevşehir, and Çanakkale). Among domestic tourists tourism is slightly more evenly distributed. Antalya and Çanakkale, the two most popular provinces for domestic archaeological tourism, accounted for only 33% of the total and the top five only 64% (TÜİK 2005).

Province	Site
Antalya	Alanya Aspendos Myra Olympos Perge Saint Nicholas' birthplace (near Myra)
Izmir	Ephesus Meryemana (The Virgin Mary's House)
Denizli	Pamukkale
Nevşehir	Göreme Open-Air Museum Kaymaklı and Derinkuyu underground cities İlhara Gorge
Çanakkale	Troy Assos

The most visited *ören yerleri* are nearly all sites of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Roman periods (ca. 200 BC-400 AD) (Table 8-5). Several have Christian religious significance, such as Meryemana near Ephesus (allegedly the Virgin Mary's retirement home), and the birthplace of Saint Nicholas (marketed as the home of Santa Claus). The exceptions to this Classical emphasis are the unique rock-carved churches and villages of Cappadocia, which are largely medieval in date, and Troy, which is largely of Bronze Age date despite its connections to Classical culture. In short, the typical archaeological site visit in Turkey involves a foreign tourist visiting a site with Classical ruins.

The economic importance of foreign visitors to archaeological sites is disproportionate to their numbers. About 40% of Turkish site visitors enter without paying an entry fee. Most of these are part of school or military groups that tour sites. Entry fees for Turkish residents are also much lower than for foreigners, ranging from 1 to 3 YTL. For foreign visitors, marquee sites such as Ephesus, Hierapolis, and the Aya Sofya have charged 10 YTL each since 2005. As a result, entry fee revenues mostly derive from areas with large numbers of foreign tourists: Antalya, Izmir, and Denizli provinces together produce 72% of state revenues from archaeological sites (26 million YTL or \$19 million) (TÜİK 2005).

Sites in these areas are partly popular because of their proximity to major beach destinations. Ephesus is a few kilometers from the major resort area of Kuşadası on the Aegean, while the Mediterranean beaches between Antalya and Alanya are blanketed with holiday hotels. Most visitors to Hierapolis/Pamukkale are bussed directly to the site from their hotels in Antalya, and many arrive still wearing swimwear and carrying beach towels. These tourists often stay for the afternoon only, and then return to Antalya without visiting the surrounding communities. Because Hierapolis/Pamukkale is the dominant destination in Denizli province, Denizli is in effect an extension of the Antalya-Alanya resort area. Tour groups, moreover, are an important element of archaeological tourism: in Antalya province, for instance, 40% of visitors come to archaeological sites as part of a tour (Antalya İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü 2007).

The rapid growth of tourism has been the result of government policy. Since gaining power in 2002, the Justice and Development Party government (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* or *AK Parti*) has continued to promote neoliberal policies that focus on

export promotion, including tourism services. The government's vision of the social role of cultural heritage was vividly illustrated in 2003 by the merger of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (the Ministry) is now charged with both coordinating tourism development and, through its General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums (KVMGM), managing museums and gives permits for archaeological investigations.

Since the merger, the new Ministry has aggressively promoted domestic tourism, which has increased in recent years, and has worked to develop tourist destinations outside of the traditionally dominant areas of Istanbul and the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts. As several of my interviewees noted, the merged Ministry now has access to the funds gathered through taxes on hotels and tourism licensing, in addition to the normal allocation of the KVMGM for archaeological work. This has increased the overall support for Turkish-run archaeological projects, as one staff member of the KVMGM Excavation Section noted:

Tourism brings in money and culture spends it... After the merger the marketing department of the ministry began to support excavation. Last year Dösım [the ministerial investment and finance arm, formerly part of the Ministry of Tourism] spent 7 million YTL [\$5 million] on archaeological projects – that is in addition to the money normally provided by the KVMGM.

Another respondent, a KVMGM employee involved with site planning, noted that “finances are generally not a problem. New [2005] legislation sets aside 10% of real estate taxes for preservation. In 2006 this came to almost \$100 million... These resources are enough to cover [site] planning needs.” Although it is unclear how much of this money actually makes its way to conservation or excavation projects, it does seem that these changes have increased the resources available to the KVMGM for archaeological sites. Whether this money will be spent on basic research or on preparing tourist

facilities, however, remains unclear. Since this increased funding has only begun in the last two field seasons, its impacts have not been widely felt, but may cause dramatic changes to Turkish archaeology if they continue.

While the Ministry of Culture and Tourism seeks to replicate the financial and marketing success of sites like Ephesus or Pamukkale on a broader scale, some archaeologists have raised concerns about the use of archaeological sites for mass tourism. When a site receives tens or hundreds of thousands of visitors, ancient monuments are subject to much more environmental stress than they were designed to handle, even in antiquity.

Beyond conservation, another concern among archaeologists is the possibility that the government's interest in tourism as an economic development strategy will affect archaeological research designs: for instance, many of my respondents complained about the 2006 letter from the Minister of Culture that was sent to all excavation projects. It requested that archaeological projects focus on the excavation of their ancient theaters, in order to provide more venues for the Ministry to stage performances. The fact that these letters were sent to many sites working in early historic or prehistoric periods – before the invention of theaters – was symptomatic for many of my interview subjects of the disconnection of the Ministry from the concerns of scientific archaeology. It also, in an ironic way, demonstrates the degree to which Classical sites dominate the public image of archaeology in Turkey.

Archaeological tourism, then, is a major economic force in Turkey. Promoting archaeology as a path to economic development, however, creates the potential for archaeological research to be subordinated to tourism. Classical excavation sites,

especially those run by foreigners, are the most significant tourist destinations and therefore play a disproportionately large role in understanding this tension. Because Classical archaeologists are on the front lines of archaeological tourism, they have the opportunity to shape tourist experience and the public image of archaeology in Turkey. To understand whether they embrace or reject this role, my interview research included questions on tourism and related issues:

- Many sites in this region are major tourist destinations. What are the pros and cons of archaeological tourism in your view?
- What makes a site authentic? Is authenticity important to you?
- What do you think of the practice of reconstructing ancient buildings, also known as *anastylosis*?

The Pros and Cons of Tourism

As we have seen, many archaeologists prefer to communicate with well-educated visitors who have an understanding of archaeology that is similar to their own. They are reluctant to engage with groups who value archaeology in different ways, whether these differences are rooted in economics or aesthetics. Yet since the most-visited sites in Turkey are integrated with beach and resort tourism, there seems to be a tension between these attitudes and the realities of the tourist economy: mass tourism, by definition, caters to non-experts and focuses on providing enjoyable but undemanding experiences. While many tourists are archaeological enthusiasts, most of the 8.5 million visitors³¹ to archaeological sites in Turkey have a casual interest, or none at all, in archaeology – yet by their sheer numbers they constitute one of archaeology’s main publics. To gain a more

³¹ In reality, the number of total site visitors is probably lower than this, since many tourists visit more than one archaeological site while in Turkey.

specific understanding of archaeologists’ attitudes to this important constituency, I asked what attitudes my project-affiliated respondents had about archaeological tourism.

When asked “what are the pros and cons of tourism?” 31% of respondents expressed generally positive attitudes toward tourism and only 5% negative ones. However, responses were dominated by ambivalence: the remaining 64% recognized both advantages and disadvantages from tourism’s increasing visibility in archaeological sites. Responses centered around five broad themes: the integrity and identity of the site, the relationship between archaeology and the public, the role of economics, effects on the local community, and effects on archaeologists (Table 8-6).

Positive Aspects (n=58)		
Public Education	25	43%
Increased Funding for Archaeology	19	33%
Helps the Local Economy	9	16%
Good Publicity for Archaeology	7	12%
No Answer	18	31%
Negative Aspects (n=58)		
Conservation Impacts	32	55%
Changes to Site Identity	17	29%
Loss of Control by Scientists	15	26%
Financial Motives	10	17%
Bias Toward the Monumental	7	12%
Effects on Local Culture	5	9%
No Answer	5	9%

Conservation and the Identity of the Site

The most common concern (32 respondents, 55%) was related to the conservation impacts of mass tourism on archaeological materials. While seeing and touching the physical remains of the past is a central part of the appeal of visiting a site, it is also potentially destructive, as one senior American archaeologist reflects:

³² Because respondents offered multiple answers to this question, totals exceed 100%.

The negatives are mainly that tourism is destructive of the site. These places are generally inviting: if you bring people into the site with signage they want to touch, play, and enter the past in a literal way. [When I worked at Troy] I saw that people liked to play Achilles and climb the Troy VI wall. This will have its impacts, and then you need to have a reconstruction plan.

The physicality of the past is a central part of its appeal, but also the most susceptible to damage. Yet the alternative – restricting access – is also unappealing, as two senior archaeologists (American and European) reflect:

I'm uncomfortable with the numbers of tourists coming in and the development of theaters as tourist attractions – how good is it for them to be treated that way? It can cause damage. One worries about the misuse of antiquities. But then are you being an elitist and restricting access?

The bad things about tourism are related to the presence of big numbers of people on the archaeological site. Even to walk on the ancient road can have a dangerous effect on the stones and their preservation. When you have tourists, you also have to deal with cleaning, management, building paths, and having sanitary facilities for them. For example, if you go to the swimming pool at Pamukkale, with the wonderful marble ruins under water, the water is dirty and unpleasant, rather than nice.

Tourism carries with it requirements to manage a large visitor infrastructure. Many respondents stressed the importance of a good management process for dealing with both conservation problems and visitor needs:

Visiting destroys, but if you can control it well then maybe it's not so bad. But it's a problem to be in the mindset of just picking up after the damage is done.

It's not a question of whether you like it or not. The previous excavation director here did not want to see normal people coming to his site. He wanted it to be exclusive to the educated. But this is impossible now. The question is more how to manage tourism – you can do it in a good or bad way. How you influence the tourist infrastructure is an important thing. It can spoil the site without management, but with good management it can be a good opportunity for a site.

I see mostly pros – why are we doing all this [excavation] if it's not for the public? Ephesus is just badly managed. In a way it's doing us a favor by taking the heat off everyone else.

These responses – from a staff member of the KVMGM Excavation Section, and two foreign project directors – acknowledge the need for forward-looking planning as a means of minimizing tourist impacts, and recognize that the historical tendency has been to do repairs after the fact instead of integrating conservation and tourism management concerns into the research plan from the beginning. It is evident that concerns about

conservation impacts, in themselves, did not necessarily make respondents opposed to tourism. Rather, it raised issues of appropriate management and control of the site to deal with the resulting problems.

Relationships with the Public

Among the positive aspects of tourism, my informants were most excited about the ability of tourism to inform the public and create excitement about archaeology. This was the most commonly cited positive aspect of tourism (25, 43%). However, it was often expressed as a *potential* benefit that was not currently being achieved, as these respondents (a European conservator, American graduate student, and senior European archaeologist) remark:

Tourism is a positive. If a larger number of people get in touch with the past it could trigger interest in archaeology, art, architecture, and get them to think about where they came from.

One would hope that it would educate the person who's traveling, would open their eyes to the variety of cultures, something beyond their own country. Especially for Americans, because they are an imperial power – it's important for them to see something different.

I'd like to stress that on the one hand it has to do with education. One of the obligations we as archaeologists have is to promote awareness of facts about archaeology. Tourism is a major aim for that. If they visit [our site] they want to have fun and learn something.

In principle, then, these respondents see education as important. Yet they make their statements conditional (“if”, “one would hope”, and “a major obligation”) rather than positively stating that tourists do benefit in this way. This may be a reflection of the reluctant stance toward public outreach to tourists that we have seen in Chapter 6.

When talking about actual visitors to sites, the tone was often less enthusiastic. The concern reflected in Chapter 6, that tourists did not want to learn about the site or were only interested in the past as entertainment or spectacle, is also present in these replis. Two American archaeologists, both graduate students, reflect:

Tourism is a mixed thing. As an archaeologist I want people to know what we're doing – for them to come to [our site] and get excited. Otherwise we'll have a very small audience. At [our site] we're used to tourists, so that's good in a way. But the idea of archaeology as entertainment makes me a little bit uncomfortable. When does tourism become too much? It's something I struggle with.

Tourism is good if properly run. From my view I've not seen tourism done well... [But] it educates, ideally, tourists and travelers about common cultural heritage. Ephesus, however, has been destroyed by tourism. Tour guides there give hideously incorrect or skewed facts to entertain the crowds. This question gets into the philosophy behind tourism – do we entertain or educate? I think education should be the main focus, and that entertainment should come through that. It would be nice to have a way to spark the interest of bored tourists, but there's an overall problem: people are not interested enough. If you're coming to a site, you should have an interest and you shouldn't be given unrealistic facts.

Here there is a basic struggle over what the *experience* of sites should be like and the role of archaeological values in shaping that experience. There is a perceived disconnection between the mental worlds of archaeologists and tourists that has its counterpart in physical separation between the two groups, as this European archaeologist observes:

For now there is a total separation [between tourists and archaeologists]. The tourists don't stop, don't enter, don't ask anything, don't speak with us. Sometimes a Turkish guide stops to talk with us so he can share with his group news that is a little more accurate and full. But we see tourism as a negative element, because there are mass flows of tourists that are brought in groups like blind people to the most important buildings. That's all. The tourists don't see anything else. For us here in [our excavation area], we have no contact at all with them. There's not a positive element now in tourism.

Her image of tourists as “blind people” highlights a belief that archaeological tourism as it is usually practiced is a passive experience in which tourists do not take the initiative in choosing where to go. The different ways of experiencing the site have a counterpart in the physical separation of archaeologists from visitors by fences, as if to mark certain parts of the site as different in an existential sense. Such measures, while reasonable from the point of view of conservation, no doubt increase this feeling of separation from the public. These quotations reflect that, even though archaeology presents an opportunity for education, visitors are not always interested in what archaeologists want to teach.

However, as we saw in Chapter 6 above, public outreach efforts by archaeologists that might change this perceived disinterest are also limited.

The Economics of Tourism

Economic impacts play an important role in archaeologists' thinking about tourism. While fully one-third of respondents (19, 33%) saw participation in the tourist economy as a way to secure additional funding opportunities for archaeological projects, many others (10, 17%) saw financial considerations as potentially damaging to the scientific integrity of archaeology.

Given the poor economic situation for archaeologists, we need to be broad-minded economically – also important to have social functions. Tourism is a check, a way of making sure that archaeology is socially accountable.

International interest is a positive because you can get funding from international institutions. The reason we are studying is to make it available to people – so they can learn more about the site.

Tourism is a great source of money and public outreach. It's an opportunity to increase archaeology's public.

These respondents (a European graduate student, a Turkish graduate student, and an senior American archaeologist) are aware that archaeological tourism can be a cash cow both for Turkey and for archaeologists themselves, who perceive that fundraising is easier for sites with established “social relevance” demonstrated through tourism.

Beyond conservation issues, a number of respondents were worried that archaeology was taking a back seat to tourism in the wake of the 2003 merger between the Ministries of Culture and Tourism. One respondent noted that “there are conservation problems that arise when the tourism side starts to see ancient theaters as a source of income.” Because sites can provide entertainment, there is a danger that these interests will overshadow scientific research, as these two senior American archaeologists suggest:

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism merger is symbolic. It encourages us to do stuff that's not academically au courant, like spending huge amounts of cash on restoring

monuments, which is fun but not academically sound (or original). It's hard to justify. In one sense it's great because it's fun! Government pressure to do restoration does help private fundraising, too. It gives stakeholder status to the foundation that supports us, too, because they spend so much money on the site.

There are two issues here. Tourism focuses archaeological research on sites that produce something touristically comprehensible. That creates a problem for other excavations and for museums that attract tourism. Others will sink – what will happen to the museum that has important collections but not a lot of touristic value? It's a real danger to archaeology if you value the touristic stuff more.

This tension between scientific research and entertainment illustrates the risks of a tourism-based approach to archaeology. Another informant, a European architect, suggests a compromise between tourist and governmental sources of funding:

Without tourism there wouldn't be as much money here. Basically it's a good thing. On the other hand, it is a risk that the site would become completely dependent on tourists. People will come to the site with pleasing tourists in mind and lose their scientific objectivity. So enough government funding is important to take the pressure off. The Turkish and foreign governments should both give money. The government gets the benefit of the site, so they should do their part with site maintenance and continued funding.

Another problem with income from tourism is its distribution. A contentious point is that revenues from site entrance fees, which amounted nationally to 36 million YTL (\$25 million) in 2005 (TÜİK 2005), go directly into general Ministry funds, and are not returned to the site.³³ There is therefore little incentive for archaeologists to do better tourist outreach or to help to promote their sites, since any increase in revenue will not be matched by an increase in support for site conservation. As an senior American archaeologist notes:

The increase in tourism is good if it brings more money for archaeology. I'm not sure that it does since all revenues go back to the central government. Thus there's no incentive to work hard at marketing your site and increasing revenue.

The central problem is that sites that suffer more impacts from tourism do not receive a proportional increase in funds for preservation or research efforts. Rather, funds are distributed to other museums and sites.

³³ A similar policy exists in other neighboring countries, including Greece.

Effects on the Local Community

Comments about tourism impacts and distributional issues, however, were not limited to archaeological sites. Fourteen respondents (21%) mentioned the effects of tourism on local economy and culture. One KVMGM employee saw increased local awareness as a benefit:

The good thing about [tourism] is that it promotes local awareness. Locals are used to seeing ruins. We have some in every village. It's [a] unique [experience] to find 5000 years of history next to your village. Through tourism, villagers become more aware of this heritage when foreigners come. But visiting also brings problems. Many people have an interest in this – for instance people around Ephesus want to earn money from the site. You can draw a line around the site itself, but right outside that line there's lots of development.

Several respondents mentioned local economic growth through tourism, but a number of them also were aware of the gap between the potential and the realities of development.

Tourism is a value – a way of supporting local people. I really think this site belongs to local people. They'll defend it, too, if you give them ownership. Right now, however, it doesn't belong to them. They're hospitable and they like foreigners, but right now the villagers have little contact with them. Only a few jobs [related to the archaeological site] benefit the village.

In this Turkish graduate student's experience, disconnection between archaeologists and community is the norm. This disconnection may lead to proposals for tourism-related development that may not reflect the desires of the community, as this American graduate student suggested:

When we were talking last year about development, some of us said that there shouldn't be lots of hotel, café, and restaurant development. It would be sad to see the village lose its charm. Although there were a number of people who thought tourist development was a good idea, I thought that they were deluded about how much local people really wanted to have service industry jobs.

Tourism was also perceived as being at odds with local culture due to conflicting mores. An archaeologist at Sardis objected to the fervor of Christian religious tourists who visited the site, and behaved in a way that she perceived as disrespectful of local community norms. One European archaeologist felt that this culture clash could equally take place between cosmopolitan Turks from the cities and rural residents.

Tourism brings social violations to some extent – there is culture shock for the Islamic population of the village. Turks from Istanbul don't respect local culture. They go around [with their heads] uncovered, and dislike the villagers because they see them as ignorant.

Few respondents commented on local residents' views of sites. Those that did noted that although domestic tourism in Turkey was growing, the discussion of tourism revolved around the desires of foreign visitors. One senior Turkish archaeologist expressed his irritation with this phenomenon:

Cultural heritage should be an asset to tourism as long as it's well controlled and done according to international codes. One thing that irritates me is that sites should not be only for foreign tourists but for local tourists. We should try to promote local tourism first. The concept of local awareness is very new, and the Ministry still sees it [archaeology] as mostly for tourists.

This respondent was particularly concerned that the interpretative material at her European-directed site was aimed at a well-educated, foreign audience. She observed that even the Turkish signage used complicated language and technical terms that were difficult for local villagers, many of whom have no more than an 5th grade education, to understand.³⁴ As this anecdote and the outreach activities discussed in Chapter 5 suggest, there is a substantial gulf between locals and archaeologists that inhibits the desired outcomes of local education and engagement are likely to come about.

Nationality and Experience

A few attitudes toward tourism varied by nationality (Table 8-7). There were similar perceptions that tourism could help promote public education, support the local economy, and provide good publicity for archaeology. Levels of concern about conservation impacts of tourism were also similar across nationality. American respondents were less concerned about the loss of scientific control over sites as a result of tourism, but were more concerned about how it might affect the identity of sites.

³⁴ Until 1998, Turkey mandated only five years of compulsory schooling; eight years are now required.

European respondents tended to view the financial impacts of tourism differently than did Americans or Turks: they were much more positive about tourism’s ability to attract funding, and much less worried that financial motives would negatively affect archaeological practice. Turkish respondents were more reticent when talking about tourism: fully half declined to offer positive comments on tourism, suggesting that they see it as a less positive element of archaeological sites than do their foreign colleagues.

Table 8-7. Perceived positive and negative aspects of tourism by nationality

Positive Aspects	US (n=22)		EU (n=17)		Turkey (n=22)	
Public Education	12	55%	8	47%	7	32%
Increased Funding for Archaeology	5	23%	11	65%	5	23%
Helps the Local Economy	3	14%	3	18%	3	14%
Good Publicity for Archaeology	2	9%	2	12%	3	14%
No Answer	4	18%	2	12%	11	50%
Negative Aspects						
Conservation Impacts	12	55%	10	59%	12	55%
Loss of Control by Scientists	4	18%	4	24%	7	32%
Financial Motives	5	23%	1	6%	5	23%
Effects on Local Culture	3	14%	2	12%	0	0%
Changes to Site Identity	9	41%	4	24%	5	23%
Monumental Bias	4	18%	1	6%	2	9%

A few trends relating to experience were also noticeable (Table 8-8). Students, both graduate and undergraduate, felt most strongly about the benefits of public education through tourism and were most concerned about conservation impacts. The notion that tourism was good publicity for archaeology was also most typical of students, while more senior project members did not necessarily agree. Students were also the only group to express concern about archaeology’s effects on local culture. Senior staff and project directors had fewer comments about tourism overall. It is possible that this

reticence stems from a sense that it is impolitic to criticize tourism at a time when the Ministry (who must approve their permits) is promoting it.

Table 8-8. Perceived positive and negative aspects of tourism by experience

Positive Aspects	Undergrad (n=6)		Graduate (n=16)		Senior Staff (n=11)		Project Director (n=10)	
Public Education	5	83%	9	56%	3	27%	5	50%
Increased Funding for Archaeology	0	0%	5	31%	2	18%	1	10%
Helps the Local Economy	2	33%	7	44%	4	36%	3	30%
Good Publicity for Archaeology	2	33%	4	25%	1	9%	0	0%
Negative Aspects								
Conservation Impacts	5	83%	13	81%	4	36%	4	40%
Loss of Control by Scientists	1	17%	3	19%	4	36%	1	10%
Financial Motives	1	17%	3	19%	1	9%	1	10%
Effects on Local Culture	1	17%	4	25%	0	0%	0	0%
Changes to Site Identity	2	33%	6	38%	4	36%	2	20%
Monumental Bias	1	17%	3	19%	1	9%	1	10%

Attitudes Toward Tourism: Discussion

My respondents expressed mostly ambivalent attitudes toward tourism. The strong consensus that respondents shared about the benefits of public outreach was not evident here. The perceived benefits of tourism – public education, increased funding for archaeology, local economic development – were expressed as possible outcomes rather than concrete results. There was a sense that tourism was oriented toward entertainment rather than education, and that there was a significant gap between the way tourists and archaeologists experienced sites. Perhaps because of this disconnection, observations about the positive aspects of tourism were not focused on how tourists themselves benefit, but rather on how the presence of visitors might help local residents and archaeologists. Perhaps due to skepticism about their motives, benefiting tourists is not

much of a concern for my respondents; their discussion of the positive aspects of tourism revolve around helping archaeologists and local residents.

The perceived drawbacks of tourism are perhaps unsurprising. Conservation impacts are the most serious concern, followed by the commercialization of sites. Both of these pose a direct threat to the practice of archaeology. The first directly destroys the material that archaeologists work with, while the other threatens to co-opt research agendas toward economic development, eroding archaeologists' control over form, meaning, and access at their sites. As we have seen in other chapters, archaeologists' concerns about losing control of sites and having their research relegated to a lower priority than tourism are also evident here. Ultimately, there remains a perceived gulf between the ways that archaeologists and tourists experience the past. The rest of this chapter explores the role that the reconstruction of monuments plays in creating this divide, and how different conceptions of space lead to different beliefs about the appropriate ways of using archaeological sites.

Anastylosis, Reconstruction, and the Image of Turkey's Past

Greek and Roman culture is most often represented in the popular imagination by architectural forms. The creation of monumental urban landscapes was a central achievement of Greco-Roman culture, and the theaters, temples, streets, agoras, and bouleuteria of the ancient cities continue to exercise a strong hold on the modern imagination. They also serve as an essential element of the tourist industry in the modern nations that are home to these ruins. A staff member at Aphrodisias reports his surprise at seeing an image from the site while walking in New York City:

It was funny to see a photo of the Tetrapylon on the side of a city bus going up Madison Avenue. I guess I understand it because there are relatively few iconic, photogenic, reconstructed monuments [in Turkey]... So the [Aphrodisias tetrapylon] is one of these things that's broadcast all over the place. It's one of the poster children for the Ministry of Culture [and Tourism].

The tetrapylon – a four-sided monumental archway – is used to represent the modern nation of Turkey on the world stage, and to market it as a destination. Yet this monument itself is to some extent a modern creation. Reconstructed in 1988-1990 by a team of architects working with the NYU excavations, the tetrapylon at Aphrodisias is an example of the type of reconstruction termed *anastylosis* (Figure 8-1). Anastylosis refers to the re-assembly of surviving elements of an ancient monument. It is distinguished from reconstruction or restoration in that only a minimum of modern materials may be used – although in practice there is some ambiguity in the way that these terms are used (Vacharopolou 2006:199). Since anastylosis requires the architect to use minimal new materials, it allows little latitude for modern interpretations of ancient architecture. For this reason it is seen as a more “pure” approach to rebuilding monuments that helps guarantee the authenticity of reconstructions from the academic point of view.



Figure 8-1. The Tetrapylon at Aphrodisias, reerected 1988-1990 (D. Shoup)

Anastylosis projects use the principles enshrined in the ICOMOS Charter of Venice (1964), which mandates that monuments be maintained in their historical condition, with only such additions as are necessary for conservation. Any new materials must be visibly different from older materials, and at least 85% percent of the original material must survive (ICOMOS 1964). Today, most reconstructions of ancient buildings follow the principles of the Venice charter, rejecting approaches to reconstruction that rely on new material.

Many Classical sites – especially foreign-run projects – have invested in at least one major *anastylosis* project, often gaining sponsorship from private corporations. The result has been the creation of a wide range of photogenic, easily comprehensible tourist

attractions, as well as enhanced understanding of ancient building techniques. Besides the Tetrapylon mentioned above, some well-known anastylosis projects in Turkey are the Library of Celsus at Ephesus and the Trajaneum at Pergamon. Recent anastylosis work has also proceeded at Sagalassos, where the Heröon and the Nymphaeum in the lower agora are currently being rebuilt; Hierapolis, where the blocks of the theater façade are being analyzed preparatory to their re-erection; Aphrodisias, where one corner of the Sebasteion was completed in 2007; and Magnesia, where one façade of the agora has been partially rebuilt. The Bath-Gymnasium complex at Sardis, while well known, is an example of reconstruction that is *not* anastylosis, because it used mostly new material in reconstructing the monumental facade of the complex (Figure 8-2). There is a growing consensus that such interventions are unacceptable, since they compromise the authenticity of the material. As Schmidt suggests, “reconstruction... falls in the realm of tourist attractions, and as such should not be part of archaeological sites” (1997:50).

Anastylosis, and reconstruction more broadly, are intimately connected with tourism. Given conflicting ideas about whether sites should be entertaining or educational, decisions about whether to reconstruct buildings clearly affect the overall experience of the site visitors and archaeologists alike. Anastylosis is appealing because it aims to provide an appealing monument without historical speculation or compromising the integrity of the ancient materials. Yet anastylosis always requires the architect to choose a specific structure from many ancient buildings on site. Since many such buildings have long histories of remodeling and renovation, it also requires the choice of a single, fixed moment in time that may or may not be representative of the academic significance of the site. Moreover, it may unfairly minimize the importance of

other, less attractive remains on site. Anastylosis, then, while ostensibly a neutral and scientific way of creating tourist-friendly monuments, is shaped in practice by modern choices and concerns (Schmidt 1999:65).



Figure 8-2. The Bath-Gymnasium Complex, Sardis: an example of reconstruction rather than anastylosis (D. Shoup)

Because it provides legible tourist sites, anastylosis is popular with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. However, it is expensive compared to excavation: a single structure can cost millions of dollars of public and private funds to re-erect, and it is an open question whether the practice offers commensurate scientific benefits. Given these issues, I was curious how my interview participants viewed anastylosis and reconstructions. Each respondent was asked how they felt about anastylosis – an intentionally general and open-ended question intended to elicit whatever ideas and associations they had with the word.

The responses focused mainly on the issue of being able to “read” history. A positive aspect of anastylosis is that it allows the viewer to envision history more clearly, making the past “legible”. On the other hand, reconstruction means reconstructing a particular moment in the site’s history, which can detract from the layers of history at the site. Other respondents preferred to highlight anastylosis as a research technique into ancient architecture, although others problematized this by pointing out that it did not always have scientific validity. Finally, there was concern about to what extent anastylosis was simply a tool for tourism development.

Mention Charter of Venice	13	37%
Visual Impact of Roofs	5	14%
Questions about Scientific Value	5	14%
Dangers of Historical Imbalance	4	11%
Research Benefits	4	11%
Destroys Palimpsest	4	11%
Conservation Benefits	4	11%
Government Pressures Archaeologists	3	9%
Adds to Site Legibility	3	9%

The Promise and Peril of Reconstruction

Thirty-five of my interviewees were asked what they thought about anastylosis. Answers were quite varied and considerably less detailed than those dealing with tourism or public outreach. Respondents most frequently cited the principles of the Charter of Venice (37%). A variety of other themes were mentioned, but each by only 3-5 respondents (9-14%). These included concerns about the dangers of historical imbalance, the visual impact of roofs, government pressures to work faster, and questions about whether anastylosis is scientifically valuable. On the positive side, other respondents saw

anastylosis as a good research tool, a positive conservation measure for ancient architectural blocks, and an improvement to the legibility of the site. No respondent saw anastylosis as wholly negative, but only three showed unvarnished optimism about its implementation (Table 8-9).

When asked what they thought about anastylosis, the largest group of respondents chose to comment on the relationship between rebuilding monuments and the ability to “see” the past on site. Some people were enthusiastic partisans of anastylosis and restoration more generally, as a senior American archaeologist, a senior American architect, and a Turkish undergraduate reflect:

The more [*anastylosis*] the better – it allows the imagination to work. You should do what the general public needs to understand it. Well, maybe they don’t *need* it but they like it. For instance, the Roman forum without Mussolini’s three columns would be boring. People need something to wow them. If you have enough – 90% of the original material – you should do it [*anastylosis*]. You could do computer reconstructions, but it’s not the same. If I were in Pompeii I would re-paint the wall paintings and take the old ones down.

Personally I really like it. And not just anastylosis, where you’re closely guided by what remains. I am also interested in going beyond that into more fantasy [in reconstruction] as long as it’s based on sound theories... It seems to me reasonable to restore things as long as it’s clear that it’s fantasy. An example is the horse at Troy – it’s a good thing. Kids play on it.

If I could I would rebuild everything – I want to put roofs on the buildings at this site. You need to feel the space, how it was. An alternative might be digital reconstruction. It can help people understand the site. You shouldn’t construct buildings if you don’t have enough material, however.

These responses revolve around the *experience* of space, rather than particular knowledge. Anastylosis or reconstruction “allows imagination to work”, creates “fantasy”, or allows visitors to feel the space”. For the first respondent, the general public is expected to gain understanding of a site from the visual appearance of the monument.

Other respondents, however, were worried that an over-emphasis on individual monuments would detract from the experience of the site as a whole. Since typically only a few buildings at any site are reconstructed, they end up coloring the visitor’s sense of

what was important at the site. It also affects the viewer's understanding of time: if certain periods are highlighted in anastylosis, then remains from other periods may be removed or obscured, as this senior American archaeologist suggests:

You shouldn't do [reconstructions] that are too intrusive or that create distractions from the overall site. For instance, [at Ephesus] the Hanghäuser have a big visual impact on the site overall. At Pergamon, the Trajaneum is out of whack with the predominant [temporal] significance of the site.

This respondent is referring, first, to the recently completed roofs over the 2nd century CE residential structures known as the “Hanghäuser” because of their terrace location (Krinzinger 2000). The roof structures, though useful for conservation, have a substantial visual impact on an otherwise unroofed site. The second reference is to the Temple of Trajan, or Trajaneum, at Pergamon, a second-century CE structure that was partially re-erected in the 1970s (Nohlen 1999; Figure 8-3). While the rebuilt portions of the Trajaneum are evocative, this respondent objects to the fact that visitors will be most struck by a building of the second-century CE, while for scholars, Pergamon's main historical significance lies in its function as the capital of the Attalid kingdom between 282 and 133 BCE.



Figure 8-3. The partially reconstructed Trajaneum at Pergamon (D. Shoup)

A dialogue between three graduate students (American, Turkish, and South American) echoes this theme. The participants explore the range of distortions to site experience that anastylosis can create, but also share their sense of power of monuments to capture the imagination and invoke the past experientially.

Respondent A: Anastylosis is always weird and misleading. It creates strange spaces.

Respondent B: I'm very disturbed by the other side of the Celsus library [at Ephesus] – there's nothing there!

Respondent A: [With anastylosis] you privilege one moment never meant to be immortal. There are good and bad romanticisms, and this is a bad one.

Respondent B: Anastylosis is so attractive that it changes the focus a lot. The building you're looking at is maybe not the real center of the site, but you think it must be because it's been re-erected.

Respondent A: You can also end up with lopsided buildings, like at Aphrodisias. The Sebasteion there is a little odd because the rebuilt part is hunched in one corner [while the rest is in ruins].

Respondent C: I think the restoration of the Synagogue [at Sardis] is a good thing. It gives you something to visualize. You need something as the focal point of the site... As someone not so involved in the field [of archaeology], it gives me something to latch on to.

Here the central dilemma of anastylosis is plainly laid out. On the one hand, a particular moment in time is reified, yet usually in a way that is partial, literally “one-sided” as with the façade of the Library of Celsus. Presented with a romantic vision of a past moment, it is jarring to walk behind it and discover that it is *only* a façade. Schmidt (1999) echoes this sentiment in arguing that anastylosis and reconstruction are bad for archaeology: he notes of the Stoa of Attalos in Athens (a modern reconstruction) that “the new building changes completely the values of the site: its size and the completeness of its architecture capture the eye, making it appear so much more important than the low-level excavated ruins, which it relegates to the status of an insignificant rubbish heap” (Schmidt 1999:65). On the other hand, as Respondent C notes above, without something that helps visualize past cityscapes archaeological sites can remain inaccessible: visitors need “something to latch on to”, something they can easily recognize and classify.

Research and Conservation Dimensions of *Anastylosis*

In interviews, *anastylosis* was most frequently justified as a research tool. One respondent, a Turkish architect, was also concerned with the visual impacts of roofs, and felt that the viewer's understanding was an important part of the purpose. Yet she also felt that she learned important information about ancient building techniques by participating in an *anastylosis* project:

By rebuilding you get a good feel for ancient building techniques. The result should be different enough from the original state to help the viewer understand. For instance, the theatre [at our site] is not worth *anastylosis* because it is legible as it is. If the structure represents a unique typology, then it's definitely worth it. Roofs – if the value of the evidence is high and outweighs the landscape issues, then maybe roofs are OK... Sometimes I question what we're doing here [i.e. why are we doing *anastylosis*]. But for me, actually building this thing gave me a gut feeling about ancient masonry techniques that I think is useful.

The criteria for *anastylosis* thus include whether the building is unique and whether its reconstruction will improve the legibility of the site as a whole. The decision whether to roof the structure also depends on a balance between landscape and conservation values. Ultimately, the process is also seen to have research value for the insights it gives into ancient architectural practice. Yet the three aims are in tension: a better general understanding of the site through legibility seems to contrast with the emphasis on unique structures, while learning about ancient architectural techniques seems something of an afterthought compared to the potential for an improved experience of the site. Whether *anastylosis* serves to present the unique or the typical, the scientific or the entertaining, is an unsettled question.

Other respondents also felt that the practice had important academic benefits. However, one American conservator emphasized that the ultimate academic benefit was dependent on willingness to publish:

Anastylosis should be a way of understanding ancient building practice. However, the practitioners don't often write about what they learned. I worked with the re-erector of the Market Gate at Ephesus in the 1980s. [He] was adamant about learning [from anastylosis] but never published anything. Sagalassos, on the other hand, is a model [of publication].

Other interview participants were concerned about the conservation of the ancient stone, and here there was a debate about whether conservation was better ensured by reassembling the blocks (which requires some invasion of the stone material) or by leaving them in situ where they fell (where a larger surface area of stone is exposed to deterioration from the elements). This American archaeologist explored this dilemma:

I think that if you learn something from [anastylosis], and get a lot in return, then I can see the argument for it. But it always does a certain amount of damage to the monuments. In some cases it has been very good, and it's a given that it's more engaging for the general public. As an archaeologist I'm aware of the downside, which is that you never really have restoration of the building as it was meant to be used. You never have a roof over it, for instance, so you're exposing stuff [the upper elements of the structure] that was never meant to be exposed.

The limits of anastylosis have to do with damage to the stone, but also with the inevitable partiality of any reconstruction. Yet the fabric of some monuments might actually benefit from being rebuilt:

If you go round a site with blocks in the field, those are suffering more than they would if you put it back up. The understanding you get from doing it of ancient architectural decision-making far outweighs any fussy purist concerns. Invasion into the ancient stone is the only real conservation issue – but even to put up a statue in a museum you do this.

This European conservator normalizes invasion into the ancient materials by suggesting that it is no different than placing sculptures in a museum. Ultimately, there are trade-offs among legibility, overall visual impact to the site, conservation issues, and scientific data. There is an implicit understanding that touristic motivations underlie anastylosis, but that there should also be attempts to justify it on grounds of research, conservation, or stewardship in addition to the entertainment value that such structures can provide.

Other Motives for Anastylosis

Some respondents, however, were skeptical of claims that scientific considerations were the main motive for anastylosis. As an American undergraduate observed:

I think tourism is the major point of anastylosis. It's important for learning building methods, but I think that one of the biggest reasons is grabbing the imagination. People are disappointed to see just ruins.

In his opinion, “grabbing the imagination” of visitors and fulfilling their expectations of the site was the real point of anastylosis. Others, including a Turkish and a European archaeologist, were concerned that the motivation was primarily financial.

A limited amount [of anastylosis] is useful. The Turks, however, shouldn't be pushing it as much as they do. But [our project director] doesn't like to turn down money, so anastylosis gets done.

With [our anastylosis project] there is a serious problem with speed and the pressure to go faster all the time, for monetary reasons.

These two respondents refer both to the high cost of hiring workmen and equipment, and also to the fact that the government wants to see results in the form of an attraction that is marketable to international and domestic tourists.

The same uneasiness that respondents reported about tourism in general – its ability to prioritize entertainment over archaeological research – is also present in discussions about anastylosis. Respondents who are part of anastylosis projects deeply enjoy, and report learning from, the work of re-erecting ancient buildings. They search for academic reasons for the reconstruction work, but also wonder whether its scientific impact will be as great as its aesthetic and experiential impacts on the site. Anastylosis, because it makes such a strong visual statement, is also a positive selection of one moment in the site's history, and often negates the ability to see layers of time in the

landscape. As we shall see in the section below, all of these themes are important in the wider discussion of what are desirable experiences at archaeological sites.

Authenticity and the Experience of Archaeological Places

The skepticism we have seen about the tourist experience of archaeological sites suggests that archaeologists themselves have strongly-held but sometimes unarticulated beliefs about appropriate visitor behavior and experiences. Examining these attitudes may help clarify the contradiction between archaeologists' desires for a wide audience for their work, and a concern that visitors will cause problems for archaeology. In tourism studies, the idea of "authenticity" is often used to capture this notion of the "right" kind of tourist experience. Because the notion of "authenticity" is widely used both in scientific and popular discussions of heritage, I asked my interview participants what they felt constituted an authentic experience of an archaeological site.

"Authenticity" can refer to the perceived qualities of a place, and is often determined by a visitor's preconception of what a place "should be like". Tourist sites are often understood through the monuments and objects that serve to represent them in the public imagination. MacCannell (1999:136) notes that mental representations of tourist destinations, or "markers", help to shape visitors' ideas of place experience long before they actually arrive. In his view, touristic experience largely consists of comparisons between this mental picture and the actual sight itself. The experience of the destination is thus constructed through the interaction of the ideal and the real. Sites that do not correspond to their representations can create a sense of disappointment. Implicit in this process, however, is the notion that the truth of a place resides in its textual and

visual representations, rather than in the spatiality or materiality of the place itself (MacCannell 1999:116-119). We have examined just such textual mediations of the past in the Second Sophistic and among Classical travelers. These mental constructs create a set of expectations about what the place is “really like” that, if not met, can lead to a feeling that the experience of the place has been inauthentic. The experience of visiting a tourist destination can be compared to reading a document and deciding whether it is truthful or not (Jivén and Larkham 2003: 69, 78). Since Greco-Roman civilization is most often represented in contemporary culture by monumental architecture, whether monuments are “legible” becomes a test of their authenticity.

In the context of archaeological research, however, it is not experience but material that guarantees authenticity. As we have seen in the foregoing discussion of anastylosis, archaeologists seek to ensure that there is a sound academic basis for reconstruction, so that experience can be tied, through the testimony of material objects, into the framework of archaeological knowledge. This suggests another model for authenticity: the classification of material evidence of the past through scientific excavation, recording, and measurement. ICOMOS’ Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), discussed above, tried to strike a balance between the appeal of such reconstructions and the academic integrity of the monuments by insisting that reconstructions rely almost exclusively on ancient material in reerecting ancient buildings.

There are thus two distinct conceptualizations of authenticity in play: that of the material remains (or “object authenticity”) and that of experience and perception (or “experiential authenticity”). These correspond to different ways of valuing archaeological places. Among archaeologists, material evidence is the basis of archaeological

knowledge. Scholars of tourism, however, suggest turning away from physical objects as guarantors of authenticity. Steiner and Reisinger (2006:309) argue that “object authenticity” is an empirically unsound concept, because the meaning of an object is assigned through social processes, rather than having an objective reality. In the context of archaeology, this amounts to acknowledgment that archaeological truths (based on material evidence) are socially constructed.

An alternative is to focus more closely on the idea of “existential authenticity”. In tourism studies, this concept is offered as a way of understanding a traveler’s desire to be “in touch with themselves” or to be “really living” an unscripted, unstaged experience (Steiner and Reisinger 2006). In other words, authenticity dwells in *experience* and in the relationship between experience and identity. They attribute the increasing popularity of “alternative” tourisms such as ecotourism, heritage tourism, or international volunteer projects to this impulse, providing as they do apparently less mediated contact with host communities than do traditional package tours. This notion is echoed in studies of archaeology, too, where the experiential and performative aspects of fieldwork operate to give the archaeologist a sense of “really living” (Holtorf 2004:66).

In the UN system, there is also a turn toward the consideration of experiential values as elements of heritage. ICOMOS’ 1994 Nara Declaration on Authenticity, for instance, declares that “authenticity is an essential element in defining, assessing, and monitoring cultural heritage”, but also notes that authentic senses of the past can be derived from a wide range of values, including oral history and other less-tangible modes of valuation. The new UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage expands on this theme by recognizing such diverse practices such as

oral traditions, performing arts, rituals, festivals, knowledge, and techniques of craftsmanship as worthy of preservation (UNESCO 2003).

The limitations of monumental architecture as the primary way of experiencing the archaeological past are also being recognized in archaeological literature. Rosemary Joyce problematizes the focus on monuments as the primary way of experiencing the past, suggesting that this reflects an antiquarian or art historical view that is at odds with contemporary approaches in archaeological research:

[T]he significant past envisaged in World Heritage criteria is a past of peoples and nations, of cities and landscapes, but not of people and their actions and surely not of people and the actions through which, every day, societies were produced and reproduced... It lends itself to nation-building projects while failing to connect to individual actors other than leaders who are assumed to be necessary for such projects to be carried out (Joyce 2006:15).

Instead, she suggests that conservation and interpretation focus on “traces” of everyday actions, evidence that is less physically imposing, not unique, but more evocative of everyday experience and the agency of individuals (Joyce 2006:16).

For their part, Classical archaeologists have an outlook on monuments and authenticity that is shaped by the long history outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 above. They have training in Classical texts, are involved with the conservation and management of the monumental landscape, and are also visitors to sites, both in their professional capacities and as tourists. Given these complex and overlapping roles, their notions of authenticity should illuminate the way that they experience the past and how they conceptualize its social role.

Given that many archaeologists have backgrounds in critical theory, I expected a number of respondents to reject the concept of “authenticity” entirely. Only 6 of the 47 respondents, however, problematized the term. For those who had no answer about authenticity, I asked them what kind of experience they preferred when they visited

archaeological sites. While the ideas expressed in the responses are complex, there were a number of recurring concepts. A plurality promoted a romantic approach to site experience, while others stressed education, legibility, the presence of a historical palimpsest, or the experience of fieldwork as signs of authenticity (Table 8-10).

Romantic Discovery	16	34%
Teaching the Public	6	13%
The Experience of Fieldwork	8	17%
The Legibility of the Site	9	19%
Seeing the Historical Palimpsest	9	19%
Reject Concept of "Authenticity"	6	13%
No Useful Answer	14	30%

Among archaeologists, the legacy of romantic Hellenism is surprisingly strong, even though this attitude has not been academically *au courant* for more than a century. The most common response (16, 34%) was that an authentic site was one that was empty, isolated, quiet, and allowed a sense of discovery.

Authenticity means "to feel like the first person ever to discover it." You need interpretation and signs, but they shouldn't be obtrusive. I don't like the destruction of Late Antique remains in order to show the Classical stuff.

Sardis feels authentic because of its solitary grandeur in ruins... Crowding is the negative thing in Ephesus... It could also be me not liking the type of tourists at Ephesus. There's no place to quietly think. Whereas at Aya Sofya it's pretty quiet. You can feel the atmosphere. For me, I need to be in a centered, quiet place. There is a contemplative aspect of it to me.

Unexcavated sites are the most authentic. Termessos is a good example of this, although Sagalassos ties it! Spectacular scenery is important. There's not a lot of people living on [authentic sites]. Ephesus is very inauthentic because it's so scripted as to where you can go.

Here a European graduate student, an American undergraduate, and a senior American archaeologist reflect on their notions of authenticity. This view is fundamentally a romantic one: discovery, adventure, and emptiness are part of what an archaeological site "really is". Authenticity is defined here as a particular type of experience, which is suggested by the physical aspects of the site but not totally dependent on them. This view

was most common among Americans (47%) and Turks (40%), but less common among Europeans. Romanticism about archaeology seems also to decline with experience, from 67% of undergraduates to 17% among project directors. The persistence of these views, which echo 18th-century notions of the past as a venue for contemplation of the the modern world, is striking. As Holtorf suggests, the notion of discovery continues to be part of archaeology's broad popular appeal both within and without the discipline (Holtorf 2004:57-59).

Others said that an authentic site was one in which layers of time were visible, where the visible remains formed a temporal palimpsest (9 of 47, 19%). As a European architect noted:

Authenticity definitely does not mean reconstruction. It does not mean excavation necessarily, although we need it to reveal and study the site. For every site its image as a fallen-down site is important. I see the evidence of this process of decay as a general statement of its historicity. Excavation destroys this part. There has to be a deal [i.e. compromise] between scholarly and touristic desires and the historicity of the place.

Being able to see the process of decay is a guarantee that the site is an authentic place, because it proves the passage of time. European respondents were most likely to identify this type of historicity as the basis of authenticity (5, 28%). The notion of the palimpsest is similar in some ways to the romantic view, in that it is also a preference for an unexcavated, unrestored landscape on site.

Rather than embracing the unexcavated site as most authentic, some respondents insisted that legibility was an important criterion (9 of 47, 19%). This view of authenticity was most popular among Turkish respondents (5, 50%), and less so among Americans (11%) and Europeans (11%). Legibility means the presence of visible remains that conveyed a sense of the rhythm and structure of ancient space to the visitor, whether

this required interventions (anastylosis or signage) or not. An American undergraduate architect offers an example:

I'm unsure about authenticity. What I like are sites like Ostia that are legible, give you a sense of space, are quiet, where you can move around freely. Sites that are legible as to their ancient social function. The landscape is also an important factor.

The absence of legibility can lead to confusion, as this American graduate student suggests:

It would be bad if there was only one path through the site, and lots of diagrams, but no exploration. A sense of discovery and exploration is one reason why people come. I enjoyed Assos because it was vacant, abandoned. But it *was* hard to see what was happening without a guide. There's no information, for instance, on the Athena Temple – what it is, who was involved with it.

Ideally, the layout of the site will be structured in a way that allows the visitor to have a sense of free exploration, yet also find monuments that are easy to understand. Creating this experience requires a fine balance. As one European architect noted, “there is a fine balance between something that can't be read, and Disneyland.” This tension between legibility and accessibility on the one hand, and authenticity on the other, is a long-standing debate in literature about heritage management (Cleere 1989:13). Most striking in these responses is the implication that legibility – and therefore authenticity – is something that can be *created* through proper choices about signage, presentation, and paths.

A small group (6 of 47, 13%) argued that authentic sites had a strong educational aspect, identifying a site that had clear visitor routes, reconstructed buildings, and extensive interpretative materials as most authentic.

These things [sites] are modern ruins with their own charm as ruins. They should be well cleaned, well labeled, and accessible. If you left sites fallen-down and romantic, you don't learn much. You want shade, trees, benches, signs, nice walkways, a mix of the restored and the natural state. There's no one correct solution: you have to start with the site and go from there.

I like it to be clear to me what the site is about – I want people to be kind to me like I try to be to visitors. You need good signage, a good path and a good location for the path.

It works at some sites – Sardis, for instance, needs a lot of explanation to make sense. I really like the signage system at Aphrodisias – explanatory but doesn't get in the way of

exploration. At Troy, there's been a lot of intervention. It looks clean (I was pleasantly surprised by that), but the set order and route with "stations" I don't like.

These respondents, two European and an American senior excavators, prefer a site to be strongly structured and provide them with clear visual and textual cues to its meaning.

Rather than introspection and contemplation, the authenticity of a site is reflected in how easily it provides access to academic knowledge. This response was restricted to European (4, 22%) and Turkish (2, 20%) respondents.

Finally, another group (8, 17%) conceived of authenticity as stemming from the presence of archaeological practices on the site. One observed that "if you want an authentic archaeological site, you should have visitors actually sweat and get bored." Others suggested that tourists want to "see archaeologists at work" or that "an excavation site would feel more authentic" than one where no excavation was taking place.

Nationality, Profession, and Experience

There are distinct differences by nationality in the way that respondents conceive of authenticity (Table 8-11). American respondents were most likely to describe authenticity in romantic terms or in terms of the experience of fieldwork itself, but did not suggest that a learning experience was authentic. European respondents were much less likely to express the romantic view of authenticity. Instead, they felt most strongly that authentic sites offered an educational experience and testified to the passage of time on the site. Turkish respondents found authenticity in a legible site and in the experience of discovery.

	US (n=19)		EU (n=18)		Turkey (n=10)	
Romantic Discovery	9	47%	3	17%	4	40%
Teaching the Public	0	0%	4	22%	2	20%
The Experience of Fieldwork	4	21%	2	11%	2	20%
The Legibility of the Site	2	11%	2	11%	5	50%
Seeing the Historical Palimpsest	2	11%	5	28%	2	20%

More strikingly, attitudes toward authenticity vary widely by experience (Table 8-12). Experience makes project members less likely to take a romantic view of authenticity and less likely to be concerned about legibility. Experienced archaeologists are also more likely to reject the concept of authenticity entirely. Undergraduates, who have spent less time on sites, draw more of their knowledge of archaeology from texts. This seems to support the argument that the romantic view of authenticity is rooted in the textually constructed chronotope of Classical antiquity. Its correlate seems to be that spending more time on sites diminishes the power of this textual construct and creates more skepticism about notions of authenticity more generally.

	Undergraduate (n=6)		Graduate (n=16)		Senior Staff (n=10)		Project Directors (n=6)	
Romantic Discovery	4	67%	5	31%	4	40%	1	17%
Teaching the Public	1	17%	2	13%	1	10%	1	17%
The Experience of Fieldwork	1	17%	4	25%	1	10%	0	0%
The Legibility of the Site	3	50%	1	6%	2	20%	1	17%
Seeing the Historical Palimpsest	1	17%	5	31%	1	10%	1	17%

Professional training also plays a role. Architects and archaeologists have very similar attitudes toward authenticity, except that architects are much more likely (35% versus 11%) to stress the importance of legibility as a sign of authenticity. Since many of these respondents work on anastylosis projects that are focused on making parts of the site more legible, this attitude is understandable. Conservators had a much different perspective than either archaeologists or architects: two of the four respondents declined to answer the question, one suggested that authenticity lay in an educational experience, and the other than legibility was the source of authenticity. While this sample is quite small, it seems that conservators are less caught up in the desire to see the passage of time on site or feel a sense of discovery. This may reflect the different model of education that conservators receive, which is less connected to Classical studies and Classical texts.

Senses of the Inauthentic

Many of my respondents (19 of 47, 40%) approached the question by offering examples of what authenticity was *not*. Some, such as this European graduate student, objected to spaces that were dominated by reconstructions:

Up to a point anastylosis is good. I never want to see lots of concrete. For instance, Sardis doesn't have so much original material in its reconstructed bath buildings. If it's mostly original material anastylosis is OK.

This phenomenon is disturbing because structures like Sardis' Bath-Gymnasium Complex have a strong experiential effect on the visitor, but are constructed of a mix of new and ancient material. The appearance of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex incorporates speculation about how the structure looked in the 3rd century CE, and is not rooted entirely in ancient materiality. This disconnection between the material and experiential

bases of authenticity undermines the role of archaeological knowledge in producing a “correct” understanding of the past.

Others saw the presence of tourist infrastructure as detrimental to a sense of authenticity. This could be the physical trappings, such as fences, souvenir shops, and the presence of large tour groups. Others, however, objected to their movements being too tightly scripted, like these American, European, and Turkish archaeologists:

What’s real [is authentic], as opposed to a lot of reconstruction that makes things easier to read. When it goes a great deal beyond what was left you’re taking the first steps toward Disneyworld.

Ephesus is very inauthentic because it’s so scripted as to where you can go.

Some sites seem like circuses, with all the stuff that leeches on tourism – shops and food and clothes, like at Ephesus. It has a lot to do with how you explore the site. It would be bad if there was only one road and some diagrams but no exploration. A sense of discovery and exploration is one reason why people come.

I don’t like it when history and archaeology and history gets tweaked to satisfy the thirst of the masses, or when information gets degraded and sites get deformed just to make them accessible. It’s bad when history becomes [nothing but] a story.

A number of specific places were identified as inauthentic. The crowding and commercial development visible at Ephesus was mentioned most frequently: 8 of 47 respondents (17%) said directly that Ephesus was an inauthentic site, while 8 more criticized Ephesus in some other way, whether for overcrowding, poor management, or an excessive emphasis on making money. Other sites that were described as inauthentic were Troy (in particular the Trojan horse statue there), Pompeii, Knossos, and the Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis. In naming these sites, informants singled out either overcrowding or inappropriate reconstruction as the main detriment to the site’s authenticity.

The qualities that can detract from authenticity, then, are an overly structured, non-autonomous experience; the presence of commercial development; overcrowding; and the oversimplification of information for the purpose of entertainment (a “story”).

The Art of Authenticity: Two Frameworks

What is striking in this discussion is the degree to which authenticity, or the lack thereof, is the product of creative acts. All the versions of authenticity mentioned in the interviews involve a degree of choice and decisions about site management. In order to create the desired effect, they depend on a combination of ancient sites in their ruined state and selective interventions (access control, placement of signage, development of paths, use of anastylosis). Authenticity is thus the product of a series of management choices. It can be *created*. Archaeologists see their sense of authenticity, rooted in specialist knowledge, as superior to the kind of experience that is satisfying to tourists, who are content to consume a “Disneyfied” spectacle outside of its historical context.

Echtner and Prasad, in their discussion of tropes in contemporary tourism marketing, suggest that the dominant concept in the touristic image of the Middle East is the “myth of the unchanged”. Middle Eastern destinations – including those in Turkey – are promoted as “places where time stands still,” where you can enter the past (Echtner and Prasad 2003:669). At archaeological sites, ruined buildings – with or without anastylosis – are used to signal such timelessness to tourists.

As it turns out, an important dimension of archaeologists’ own sense of authenticity at archaeological sites revolves around the same idea. Very often, “authentic” sites are undeveloped, empty, lonely places where you can contemplate the past. The archaeologist desires to sit alone with his or her thoughts, immersed in the

passage of time. One is reminded of Richard Chandler and his companions in 1765, “lamenting the silence and complete humiliation, as we conceived it, of Ephesus” (Chandler 1971:75). Two features mark the archaeologists’ sense of existential authenticity. The first is a negative: signs of the modern must be absent. The erasure of the Turkish context, especially where it includes trinket salesmen, tour buses, or restaurants is a precondition for authenticity; to be reminded that archaeological sites are embedded in a modern social and economic context is to destroy this sense of authenticity. The second is a positive: legible ruins must be present, whether that legibility is established through anastylosis or is a product of the site’s preservation.

These desires are not so different from those of the tourist, who wants to see “the unchanged” and to enter the past through its monumental remains. What is it, then, that archaeologists object to about tourism? Only a minority of them really prefer to experience a site through a structured itinerary with earnest educational signage. But they critique tour groups for consuming sites superficially, as a visual entertainment. This superficiality, in fact, seems to be the crux. Disconnected from the context of archaeological data, there is nothing to distinguish ancient material from fanciful reconstruction. There is thus the risk that this unreality will take on a life of its own and become a simulacrum, where the reproduction becomes more important than the original that underlies it (Baudrillard 1988:174-176).

Experiencing the site and its monuments as romantic fantasy, then, is not problematic per se. However, the romantic chronotope of the Classical site depends, for its legitimacy, on an underlying stratum of empirical knowledge that establishes the past that is contemplated as “real” rather than only a fantasy. This empirical knowledge is

based on material remains: when archaeologists worry about the conservation impacts of tourism or critique tourist behavior, they may really be worrying about this potential loss of legitimacy for their own work.

If archaeologists' conception of what makes a site real is ultimately dependent on defining the meaning of place through archaeological data, then the legitimacy of archaeology itself depends on widespread acceptance of this approach to material evidence. At sites where tourism is minimal, where sites are largely known through academic publications prepared by the excavation team, this power to define archaeological place is largely uncontested. Mass access to sites poses a challenge, in that each visitor is offered the opportunity to draw their own conclusions about what a site means and to interpret it based on their own preconceptions, which more often than not are shaped by a popular culture that emphasizes spectacular entertainment. As a result, reconstructions, signage, and paths become areas of struggle between archaeologists and the public over the meaning of the site. Authenticity in anastylosis becomes important because visual cues from such monuments *are* the message that most visitors take away about the nature of archaeological places: it is hoped that authenticity of material can easily be transmuted into authenticity of experience.

Archaeologists' continued success as scientists, as academics, and with funding bodies, depends on fixing a precise and stable meaning for a site, subject to revision only by the results of archaeological excavation and research itself. The popularization of sites as tourist destinations, and the reproductions of select images from them on a global scale, undermines that control as visitors and enterprising tour guides seek to fit ideas to

these sites that are less rigorous (and perhaps more fun) than repeating scientifically sound research results.

Archaeologists' difficulties with integrating non-archaeological voices in site management processes, then, may have to do with this risk – that of losing control over the meaning of sites, and thus over the sites themselves. If they are only one of a variety of interest groups, then archaeologists will have to share sites with uses that may be unwelcome or even destructive of archaeological purposes. As a result, many archaeologists would prefer that sites not be visited by a large number of people, but rather only by people who understand archaeological ways of producing knowledge. This is possible when audiences are limited to the well-educated, cosmopolitan tourist who “chooses to care” about archaeological sites. But mass audiences, whether western or Turkish, are less likely to adopt this perspective fully.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendations

A Review of the Argument

In this dissertation I have argued that a variety of factors impinge upon archaeology's engagement with its wider social context. The discussion has illustrated that archaeologists are excited about bringing their work to a broader audience, but are unevenly successful in doing so. It has also highlighted several interconnected questions that illuminated the reasons for this disconnection:

- What practices constitute archaeology?
- How do archaeologists assign value to their sites?
- What role do material objects play in this valuation?
- How do the special qualities of archaeological places affect the answers to the questions above?

Revisiting the material covered so far may help us examine these questions. In Chapter 2, we examined the culture of displaying and writing about the past in second-century CE Anatolia. We found that the past was deployed in a number of ways: as a statement about Greek identity under the Roman Empire (as in Pausanias), as a building-block for contemporary identity, or as an affirmation of local civic identity and its place in the larger context of the Roman Empire.

Material evidence played an important, but not always essential, role in these constructions: old objects and places were desirable and interesting, but not the sole basis of historical claims. Citizens of Ephesus could dwell in a new urban fabric, but nonetheless believe in their own history as constituted through sculpture, myth, and festivals. Temple treasuries, by the same token, could mix old objects with texts referring to long-destroyed treasures in order to assert their own historical continuity.

In spatial terms, references to the Classical past were deployed in a variety of different environments: urban spaces could be suffused with sculptural references to the city's legendary past, temple treasuries formed a more restricted space for the display of ancient objects, and textually-constructed spaces like those of Pausanias created a picture of the past while eliding the present. There is thus no exact analogy to the modern notion of the archaeological site in this period. The closest counterpart is found in Pausanias – but in practice, there is little evidence of spaces that were set aside solely for study and contemplation of the past. In all of these contexts, however, the past was deployed deliberately to make statements about the present: as “intentional history” or “antiquity with a purpose”.

The past, in other words, was socially constructed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods that are the focus of modern Classical archaeologists. Examining this alternative construction of the past helps to de-naturalize our modern notions that archaeological sites can serve as special spaces that are gateways to an objective past. If there have always been many ways of constructing the past, our own approach may be equally contingent and shaped by politics. Examining this period also shows that material evidence is in tension with other kinds of evidence, and does not always play a central

role in making meaning about the past. Archaeological objects, rather than being neutral testimonials about the past, can be invested with quite different values depending on what kind of “antiquity with a purpose” dominates a particular period.

In Chapter 3, we examined how archaeological sites came to be invested with unique meanings, and marked off from their surroundings as special places that embody the past. Travel narratives in the period 1400-1800 created a complex relationship between the material and the textual. The texts of Ptolemy, Strabo, and Homer were foundational to a project of inscribing ancient history into modern space. Travellers’ texts, however, also incorporated the material remains of Greco-Roman civilization, a new kind of evidence that was sometimes at odds with the text. Assimilating the materiality of archaeological sites into textual narratives about antiquity, then, was a fundamental part of the process. As a result, ancient monuments such as theaters and temples took on textual authority.

One effect of the use of ancient texts and their latter-day derivatives as guides to real places in Anatolia was the establishment of two distinct types of space and time in the literature of archaeological travel. The space of the site – as in Pausanias – is separated from contemporary time. Spatially, it is clearly bounded and intensively filled with meaning. It also has a special kind of time: still, unmoving, a window into the past. The surrounding space has almost the opposite qualities. It is open, extensive, unbounded, a space of motion and travel (between archaeological places) filled with danger and confusion. I argue that in these Classical travel narratives, space and time on archaeological sites forms a *chronotope* in the sense set out in Bakhtin (1981). This had the ultimately (if not solely) political use of creating nodes within Ottoman territory that

are infused with meanings that only Europeans could use: a ‘counter-Anatolia’ that was stripped of its strangeness and placed into European culture.

The value of the past was created through literature. Material evidence becomes a powerful source of value only inasmuch as it becomes incorporated into text, as Cherry (2001:249) points out with respect to Pausanias and his readers. Travelers used their preexisting knowledge to select material evidence for textualization: the picture of sites is a selective one that focuses on monuments and architecture as the key features of the past. In these narratives, there is a trial-and-error process whereby travelers learn how to mark off the space of the site and to infuse certain elements of space with new meanings. The recursivity of the process, with its increasing emphasis on archaeological data, came over time to obscure the ultimately literary origins of archaeology.

European attempts to appropriate Ottoman space met with resistance, as we learned in Chapter 4. Reformers such as Osman Hamdi Bey sought to establish an Ottoman archaeological practice, build museum collections in Istanbul, and to eliminate the export of antiquities. The late 19th and 20th centuries saw the state gain power over archaeological sites, and by extension archaeological practice. Under Atatürk, the Turkish republic used archaeology as part of the official History Thesis, which asserted an ancient Turkish presence in Anatolia as a source of identity for the new state. The mid- and late 20th century saw the increasing prominence of Turkish archaeologists and a rapid expansion of museum infrastructure and the number of projects overall. Now there are over 100 excavation projects and a similar number of surveys each year, substantially more than in neighboring countries such as Bulgaria or Syria. By forcing archaeologists to give up collecting artifacts, the Turkish state changed the incentives for doing

archaeology. Research after the early 1920s had to be motivated by the production of knowledge about the past, rather than the acquisition of attractive objects for museums.

Until the later 20th century, the area of struggle between Turkey and the west centered around the spatial control of archaeological sites. Osman Hamdi and Halil Ethem, far from challenging the premises of archaeological practice, embraced them and sought to incorporate modern archaeological techniques into Turkish museology and excavations. The adoption of scientific approaches toward the past was intended to display Turkey's modernity to the world. Western models of valuing archaeological places were accepted as a means of demonstrating Turkey's right to control them and the artifacts they contained.

Archaeologists and the state, then, came to agree on certain basic practices of spatial management: sites should be carefully mapped, their borders drawn, and access controlled. This reinforced certain basic elements of the strategic definition of archaeological spaces that were begun by early modern travelers: archaeological sites continued to be marked off as a special category of space with their own kind of time, but gradually came to be controlled by the state as much as by foreign archaeologists. By setting itself up in antiquities laws as the primary owner and custodian of archaeological materials, the state primarily sought to control space and archaeological objects. The interpretation of these objects and spaces, and the values put on them, however, were left in the hands of archaeologists, both Turkish and foreign. The long struggle between Turkey and the west, then, focused on only some aspects of archaeology (the control of space and objects) while masking the basic agreement on the nature of sites themselves (value).

This situation changed only around the turn of the 21st century, when the ascendance of tourism as an economic force led the government to move from a supervisory attitude toward archaeological spaces to a stance that insisted on certain sites being modified to more easily accommodate tourism and special events. Under the law, stewardship and site management are now primary duties of the archaeologist, and are on a par with excavation and publication in terms of their stated importance to the state.

This redefinition of what archaeologists do reflects, to a great degree, the demands within the discipline itself for a practice of archaeology that is more engaged with questions of stewardship, management, and consultation. Given the unsettled and evolving notions of what archaeologists do, in Chapter 6 we explored how archaeologists working on foreign projects in Turkey felt about site ownership, public outreach, and the audiences for archaeology. We found that while there was consensus that public outreach was important, respondents had a complex sense of both audiences and owners of archaeological sites. In practice, public outreach efforts best served specialist audiences, foreign audiences, the Turkish national audience, and tourists. Local residents and schoolchildren received comparatively less attention from outreach efforts. Outreach efforts that were most similar to academic work – such as giving public lectures on research results, or writing on-site signage – were the most widely used. Other types of outreach, however, including to local residents and schoolchildren, were sometimes perceived as lying outside what constituted “archaeology”.

Underlying this disparity is concern among archaeologists about whether the public accepts the conceptual framework underlying archaeological practice. Many feel that tourists and people living around archaeological sites were not sufficiently

“interested” in archaeology, and that this was an obstacle to more full participation in “ownership” of sites. Ultimately, this concern stems from a debate about values. Global and national audiences are normatively perceived to have western, scientific values, while local audiences are perceived not to value scientific practice. The state lies somewhere in the middle – in situations where it is perceived to uphold scientific values, respondents approve of its role, but where it is not (as in the case of promoting tourism), respondents feel that it is behaving improperly.

The question, then, remains: must every group accept archaeologists’ ways of framing the value of archaeological sites in order to participate in conversations about their future? Responses seem to suggest that archaeologists are reluctant to recognize other ways of valuing sites as legitimate. This reluctance can perhaps be explained by turning to the trend noted in Chapter 4: since the state has asserted its control over space and the material objects contained in it, archaeologists’ remaining power lies largely in constructing meanings for spaces and objects. If their ability to assign meaning to the material remains of the past is seriously challenged, and other groups are given an equal right to define the meanings of archaeological sites, then the authority and relevance of archaeology itself is undermined. Given the trend toward challenging traditional archaeological valuations of sites as places for producing academic knowledge, it is perhaps unsurprising that ideas about appropriate audiences and ownership of sites should reflect a desire for the recognition of archaeologists’ authority to make meanings. It is an open question, however, whether such a refusal to engage certain constituencies is in practice an effective strategy for sustaining archaeologists’ authority.

The new paradigm for archaeological practice, currently promoted by the state and by archaeological professional bodies alike, envisions archaeologists as not only producers of data and meaning about the past, but as caretakers of the material remains from which such values and information are generated and of the spaces that contain them. As we saw in Chapter 7, some of the calls for archaeologists to engage with site management result as much from a lack of institutional capacity on the part of the state as from a view of archaeologists as inherently superior managers.

In talking with archaeologists about site management, it became evident that there were differing definitions of archaeological practice among them. While most agreed that archaeologists should be involved in site planning, many were also concerned that such activities lay outside of the scope archaeology proper. In discussing who are stakeholders in archaeological sites, however, a seeming contradiction arises: while many respondents did not feel that managing sites was “really archaeology”, there was also a reluctance to accept a decision-making role by groups who were perceived to not “understand archaeology”, in other words who had conceptions of the use of sites that went beyond the production of academic knowledge. There was concern that integrating other interest groups into the management process would lead to the marginalization of archaeologists within the process. While these concerns about “understanding archaeology” are similar to those seen in Chapter 6, here it is not so much a concern about values that is at stake. Rather, control of the space of archaeological sites comes to the fore as an issue. Given the increasing emphasis on tourism and development at sites, control of archaeological spaces is an integral precondition to the production of archaeological meaning.

In examining actual management efforts, a wide range of approaches is evident. Many sites have only informal management plans, while only a few sites (mostly on the World Heritage List) have management plans in place that used formal stakeholder consultation processes. Other sites are somewhere in the middle. The three examples we examined reflect this spectrum.

At Hierapolis, a World Heritage site with over 1 million visitors per year, the planning process was initiated through UNESCO and other consultants, with the support of archaeologists, who continue to be active in advocating for their preferred planning approaches. Conservation concerns at the site have led to dramatic improvement, with the removal of hotels on the site, road closures, and improvement of water quality. However, governmental, regional, and local stakeholders in the site primarily value Hierapolis for its ability to generate revenues for the local economy and for governmental coffers. Debates about conservation efforts at the site revolve around perceived injustices in the distribution of such revenues – local villagers, for instance, are upset that road closures have diverted visitors from the town of Hierapolis directly to the site. Archaeologists, for their part, are active participants in conservation efforts and in creating accessible tourist itineraries. They are concerned, however, that the emphasis on the economic values of the site have led to insufficient concern for the quality of visitor experience and an unwillingness to insist on measures that would protect the site, such as a crackdown on littering or a ban on itinerant vendors. They perceive that archaeological values are sometimes marginalized in the management process.

At Gordion in central Anatolia, the conservation and management process has been driven by conservators and academic planners. The project has made significant

progress toward consolidating the fragile Middle Phrygian remains at the city mound and stabilizing environmental conditions within Tumulus MM. The site has a draft management plan, prepared by historic preservation students at the University of Pennsylvania, but which has not yet been implemented at the site. The plan takes a broad view of the site's role in local society and economy. However, the project itself has had more limited engagement with non-archaeological stakeholders.

At Aphrodisias, the planning and management process has been driven by an NGO, the Geyre Vakfi (Geyre Foundation). Made up largely of wealthy avocational archaeology enthusiasts, the foundation has supplied funds for museum expansion and for the creation of a site management plan. Directed by an English heritage conservation firm, the planning process involved extensive stakeholder outreach through workshops on the future of the site. However, due to a change in the Geyre Vakfi's priorities, the final site plan document has not been produced nor the draft made public. It is thus unclear how Aphrodisias will approach the site management process in future.

In these three examples, it is striking that the site management planning process was initiated in each case outside of the archaeological project itself. While each project has been strongly involved in efforts to consolidate and conserve material remains on the site, consideration of the site's role in its political and social context has derived from outside groups. Where other stakeholders were most engaged, as at Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, it has been NGOs that have promoted the process. The degree of stakeholder involvement also seems to vary with the amount of tourist pressure at each site. At Hierapolis, which receives over 1 million visitors per year, there has been a strong debate between local, regional, national, international, and archaeological interests about the

appropriate development of the site. At Aphrodisias, with a medium-sized tourist base (~100,000 per year), there has been the incentive to construct a new museum wing and to maintain the profile of the site, but stakeholder involvement in the process has been sporadic. At Gordion, where there is little tourism or outside pressure, the planning process has remained almost entirely internal to the project.

If this (admittedly small) sample is reflective of the nation as a whole, it seems that the presence of tourism serves as a stimulus to wider social involvement in decision-making about archaeological sites. In other words, the more sites play an economic role, the more other constituencies compete for control. This undermines the notion that local residents are “not interested” in archaeological sites, but suggests instead that there may be a variety of legitimate interests – some of which do not mesh well with archaeologists’ traditional valuation of sites as places for producing academic knowledge.

In these examples, it seems that when other stakeholders are active in site management, archaeologists are at a greater risk of marginalization. This seems to confirm the concern among some archaeologists that opening the site management process to other groups will be detrimental to archaeology in the long run. However, it is also clear that the site management processes outlined here emerged from concerns that originated outside of the archaeological team. In other words, plans will be made for the future of sites with or without the participation of archaeologists, and it remains an open question whether the marginalization of archaeologists is a result of the involvement of a broader range of stakeholders or whether it is a result of archaeologists’ unwillingness to take the initiative in the process and frame the conditions under which it takes place. Archaeologists take a reactive, rather than a proactive stance in the aspects of

management planning that go beyond conservation, and therefore may not fully take advantage of their opportunities to shape the process.

The “contest of values” that currently surrounds many archaeological sites has much to do with tourism. Tourism, especially heritage tourism, grows out of several modern trends: the growth of leisure and the desire for authentic experience, which is seen to exist outside of modern society: “for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles” (MacCannell 1999:3). Yet as we have seen, such ideas of authenticity are constructed through texts and images, rather than stemming from unmediated experience. This cultural trope is not purely a modern one: as Cherry (2001:251) notes, the mediating power of texts is everywhere evident in Pausanias’ description of Greece.

For their part, archaeologists have ambivalent feelings about tourism. In principle they do not object to it, and want their sites to be open to visitors. However, they do not perceive many tangible benefits that tourism brings to archaeology. They can, however, identify clear negatives: the conservation impacts from visitors walking, climbing, or touching ancient stone can be severe.

Tourism is increasingly tied to decisions about the management of the landscape on sites with monumental architecture. Anastylis is becoming increasingly popular, despite the expense involved in rebuilding ancient stone structures. Government officials encourage the reconstruction of buildings because it is perceived to improve the visitor experience. Among archaeologists there are generally positive attitudes toward anastylis, but some lingering doubts about its academic validity. Respondents perceive tradeoffs between legibility, conservation, and scientific research: anastylis has the

result of making a site more legible, but if poorly chosen may direct visitor attention to structures that are academically less important. Anastylis can have positive conservation effects, reducing the surface area of stone that is exposed to the elements. Such interventions, however, destroy the historical evidence of decay and collapse, simplifying the picture of the past. Anastylis can provide useful insights into past construction techniques, but such results are not always published.

These mixed feelings about anastylis are partly produced by archaeologists' complex feelings about what kind of experience archaeological sites should offer. Asked what made a site "authentic", respondents focused on different ways of experiencing archaeological space. A plurality held a view of sites that has a clear connection to archaeology's heritage in romanticism and Orientalism. They suggested that empty, lonely sites with evidence of the passage of time were best able to evoke a contemplative experience. This view of authenticity incorporates some of the tropes seen in the early modern travelers we examined in Chapter 3: the archaeological site is seen as a space with a special kind of time: a chronotope, to return to Bakhtin's term. In the romantic view, the ruined nature of the site and the visibility of decay is an essential element of authenticity.

Other respondents emphasized the importance of legibility: the presence of monumental structures that could evoke imagination about the past. Implicit in this view is that some reconstruction of ancient structures is desirable. This also upholds the notion of the site as a special kind of space, but one that emphasizes a particular moment in time rather than the passage of time itself.

A few respondents preferred that sites offer visitors a structured itinerary with plentiful information panels and opportunities to learn about the site. This pedagogical approach, however, was rejected as inauthentic by more respondents, who objected to having their freedom of movement – and thus, implicitly, of imagination – restricted by a fixed itinerary. Others objected to oversimplification of the site through anastylosis, noting that anastylosis could erase the evidence of the passage of time that is crucial to the “romantic” view of authenticity. In its extreme form this leads to “Disneyfication”, a superficial presentation of a site that emphasizes passive visual consumption without allowing visitors to engage the space on their own terms. Ephesus was mentioned numerous times as the chief example of such a problem. The presence of tourist infrastructure, including restaurants and gift shops, was also seen to reduce the authenticity of the experience.

There are thus two elements, sometimes conflicting, that can make up an authentic experience of an archaeological site. The ability to see the *passage* of time on the site is in competition with the desire to access particular *moments* in the past. The presence of evocative ruins is necessary for both, although anastylosis is more effective at invoking the latter. The two are not mutually exclusive: some legibility is necessary to trigger the romantic experience, while reconstructed buildings themselves can be naturalized as part of the romantic topography of the site. Either way, the authentic experience of an archaeological site is seen to derive from the ability to have an (seemingly) unmediated experience of past time.

Yet, as we have seen, the very notion that archaeological sites constitute a special kind of space-time that are irrevocably different from their modern surroundings is a

notion that had to be painstakingly constructed through narrative over the course of centuries. Authenticity at these sites is something that can be *made*. It is an idea that emerged out of a colonially-tinged effort to appropriate nodes of space for European civilization, thus granting it power over parts of an empire that had been constructed as Europe's "other". If the uses of the past often are "antiquity with a purpose", as suggested in Chapter 2, we may thus wonder what purpose these conceptions of authenticity serve.

Discussion

Space and material objects play different roles in public outreach and in shaping site experience. As Chapter 6 discusses, the products of archaeological research are largely textual, and aimed at a global audience that is normatively well-educated and presumed to share basic assumptions about the importance of archaeological ways of knowledge. The production of archaeological texts is dependent on the study of the material remains of antiquity. These objects, after being mediated by a process of academic analysis, are rendered into narratives and enter the wider social discourse about the past.

If the practice of archaeology can be compared to a performance, as Tilley argues (1989), the audience for that theater (as archaeologists conceive it) is far removed from the site itself. There is a separation in many archaeologists' minds, then, between what occurs on site (the practices of archaeology) and what is represented about archaeological sites to the global public (information about the past). In representation, the processes of archaeology are obscured. Archaeologists desire to experience their site as a place suffused with past time, and the promise of this experience is one motivation for them to do archaeology in the first place. Their textual productions, though, are mainly empirical,

dealing with facts in the past. We may speculate that just as the textual evidence of Strabo or Ptolemy created the conditions for explorers such as Spon and Wheler to separate a real and transcendent past from a disappointing and dangerous present, for archaeologists today it is the practice of fieldwork that serves to confirm that the spaces they deal with really do have a distinct space-time, with a different existential identity, than that of surrounding towns and villages.

Generally speaking, the archaeologists interviewed for this dissertation learn about conservation and management on the job. The more senior archaeologists are much more aware of archaeology's position in society, while younger project members sometimes grappled with these issues for the first time in the course of our interview. This on-the-fly model of learning about conservation and management has not been entirely ineffective: many project directors are aware of the conservation needs of their sites and are taking proactive measures to address them. When we examine the larger social and political context of archaeological sites, however, the picture is different. Beyond providing signage on site, there is little public outreach to local communities. Site management plans, as a rule, do not include stakeholder consultation processes. Where they do, the initiative came from foundations, UNESCO, the Ministry, or other organizations. At sites with substantial tourism pressures, archaeologists find themselves in a defensive and reactive stance, often without the ability to affect decision-making about sites.

While some of the marginalization of archaeologists is no doubt a result of the actions of other stakeholders, the evidence presented here suggests that archaeologists have a hard time engaging with contemporary political struggles around archaeological

sites due to aspects of their disciplinary culture. Many archaeologists see engaging with local communities or the politics of tourism as outside of archaeological practice and thus an inappropriate use of a project's time and resources. Producing archaeological data through excavation takes precedence. At the same time, archaeologists insist that other stakeholders value sites in the same way that they do. If local residents, tourists, or other constituencies do not show an appropriate "interest" in archaeology, then they do not deserve a share in decision-making about sites.

Yet as we saw in Chapter 3, the very concept of "Classical antiquity" arises from a textual tradition, which asserts that archaeological space is separate from and implicitly better than the present. The deployment of this notion in the 19th and 20th centuries followed the enlightenment notion that empirical observation is the only legitimate source of knowledge, a notion that became fundamental to the operation of modern states (Thomas 2004:20-26). Critics of modernism, however, note that the ostensible empiricism and neutrality of government can be used as a means of hiding the operation of power (Scott 1998:4). Museums and scientific exploration could be included in this project: the "enlistment of culture for the purposes of governing" (Bennett 1995:19) formed an important subtext for the establishment of modern museums in the United States and Europe during the late 18th and 19th centuries (De Grummond 2002). Archaeology grew out of this matrix, and has been embedded ever since in the historical politics of colonialism and Orientalism.

The notion that positivist data collection is the only legitimate basis for understanding the past, then, is connected to problematic aspects of European modernity and can be seen to be socially constructed. This observation is not intended to cast doubt

about the validity of archaeological data as a testament to action in the past. It does, however, suggest that such attitudes handicap archaeologists' efforts to negotiate a political position for archaeology in the present.

As we have seen, archaeologists learn from experience that this model is insufficient to cope with the politics of archaeology in contemporary Turkey. Young archaeologists see archaeological spaces as places of romantic discovery, belonging to the world as a whole. They see the state as a stakeholder, rather than an owner – an entity on par with archaeologists themselves. As they gain experience, however, these views change. Senior staff members and project directors tend to reject a romantic view of sites (and the concept of authenticity more broadly), while accepting the importance of the Turkish state as owners of sites. At the same time, they are more willing to recognize the rights of local residents or government bodies to be consulted in decision-making around archaeological sites. These senior project members are usually involved in site planning and management and are involved in effective conservation efforts. Experience, then, seems to provoke a process of learning about archaeology's social position that dramatically affects the attitudes of its practitioners.

Nonetheless, the notion that archaeology consists of the recovery of data for a specialized academic audience remains tenacious, and leads archaeologists to take a largely reactive stance toward involvement with other stakeholders in archaeological sites. As tourism becomes an important land use around sites, however, archaeological voices are becoming more marginalized in decision-making. Given recent history, it seems likely that archaeology will become further integrated into the tourist economy, while the Turkish government insists on more commercial exploitation of archaeological

sites. If not addressed, this trend may further erode archaeologists' autonomy of research and access to data.

The question, then, is not whether the use of archaeological sites for tourism will affect archaeology, but rather what role archaeologists will play in the process. If they take an active stance in advocating for archaeological values within tourist planning, they may be able to shape development in a way that better respects and conserves both the material basis of archaeological knowledge and that knowledge itself. If archaeologists choose such an advocacy role, working with other stakeholders may be helpful in shaping the discourse around sites. In order to do this effectively, however, public outreach and popular education about archaeology can be employed to shape attitudes among NGOs, local government, and local residents.

Recommendations

There are therefore some obstacles that keep archaeology from engaging with its contemporary political context. To equip the discipline to be a better advocate of its own interests, the interview data presented here suggest several possible approaches.

We have noted above that less-experienced archaeologists tend to have the least knowledge of the social context of archaeological sites. Many of my respondents told me that they had never thought seriously about the questions I was asking in my interview, even though issues of professional responsibility and ethics have been discussed within the academy for over 20 years and generated a substantial literature. This is perhaps not surprising, since archaeology programs at the graduate or undergraduate level do not always include archaeological ethics, the history of archaeology, or site management in their curriculum. One way to strengthen the political position of archaeologists, then,

might be for archaeological education to include more discussion of these themes, preferably as a required subject.

Although conservation concerns are relatively prominent in the concerns of my interviewees, stakeholder consultation remains an unusual and marginal concept. Yet a thoroughgoing effort to involve other stakeholders in the management process has the potential to create new allies for archaeology, while educating different constituencies on archaeological approaches to understanding the past. When preparing research designs, then, archaeologists could integrate planning, management, and outreach activities. This would enable projects to take a proactive approach to stakeholder involvement. Such efforts might help to build a constituency for archaeologists, as they try to reshape the discourse about sites away from spectacular entertainment toward an understanding of the past that better meshes with the archaeological evidence.

The final recommendation is a more general one: archaeologists should broaden their notions about what constitutes “doing archaeology”. Many of my interview subjects asked me if I was “really” an archaeologist – the nature of my interview questions seemed to them to fall outside of their definition of the discipline. I was able to prove my status as an “insider” through discussion of my fieldwork experience in several countries. These credentials – having excavated on three continents – allowed them to relax and accept my legitimacy as an archaeologist. Yet it seems strange that to study archaeologists’ beliefs about archaeology’s social and political role should be seen as *a priori* outside of the discipline. The notion that research about archaeology is not really archaeology reflects, in my opinion, a hesitance to recognize the discipline’s practices as being socially constructed and politically situated. Yet, as this dissertation has shown, the

discipline is so situated, and sites themselves are implicated in the politics of development and identity in Turkey.

Archaeology must maintain access to the material remains of the past and work to ensure their preservation. Yet in order to do so, the discipline needs to assert its relevance on the world stage in new and creative ways. Broadening the definition of the discipline to include conservation, planning, management, and ethics might open the way for archaeologists to build the social and political capital that they need in order to maintain their role as stewards of the past.

Appendix 1: 2006 and 2007 Questionnaires

Perceptions of Site Planning and Interpretation among Archaeological Professionals in Turkey

Survey Instrument – Version 4/10/2006

I. Introduction

1. Tell me about yourself. Where are you from? How long have you worked in archaeology? What is your specialty?
2. Tell me about the research at [name of site]. What are your responsibilities? What's most important about this site?
3. If you could change something about the research that's being done here, what would it be?

II. Stakeholders and Public Outreach

4. Generally speaking, how important is it to you that archaeologists be involved in public outreach?
5. In your opinion, what audiences are most important for archaeologists to reach? Why?
6. Lately, archaeologists have been talking a lot about involving stakeholders in their research. What groups would be appropriate to involve at this site?
7. What kind of public outreach activities happen at the site? What do you think of them?
9. In the broadest sense, who does this site belong to? Why do you think so?

III. Physical Planning

10. Generally speaking, how important is it to you for archaeologists to be involved in the physical planning and management of an archaeological site?
11. Is there a management plan for this site? Who prepared it? Has it been useful to you as an archaeologist?
12. Many sites in this region are major tourist destinations. What are the pros and cons of archaeological tourism in your view?
13. What makes a site authentic? Is authenticity important to you?
14. What do you think of the practice of reconstructing ancient buildings?
15. What role should archaeologists play in deciding what happens to this site?

V. Relationship with government

16. What is the relationship like between government and archaeologists at this site?
17. Does that relationship affect the archaeological research here?
18. How would you change the relationship if you could?

Perceptions of Site Planning and Interpretation among Archaeological Professionals in Turkey

Survey Instrument – Version 5/27/2007

1. What are the most important issues facing archaeology in Turkey today?
2. What are the most important audiences for archaeology?
3. What role should archaeologists play in site planning and management?
3. For UNESCO, ‘authenticity’ is an important concept. In your opinion, what makes an archaeological site ‘authentic’?
4. In the broadest sense, who owns archaeological sites?
5. Tourism in Turkey is growing. What are the pros and cons of tourism for archaeology?
6. How do you perceive the relationship between government and archaeologists?
7. What has changed in the KVMGM since the merger of the Culture and Tourism Ministries?

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