

From Raqqa with Love:
The Raqqa Excavations by the Ottoman Imperial Museum (1905-06 and 1908)

by

Filiz Tütüncü Çağlar

B.A., Ankara University, 2003

M.A., Bilkent University, 2008

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of the Requirements for the Degree of
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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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The Ottoman Empire initiated a serious attempt in the archaeological exploration of ancient sites lying in its territory during the Hamidian period. By claiming ownership over the heritage of past civilizations, it aimed to counterbalance the European hegemony over its antiquities while constructing a new, “civilized” identity as part of its modernization programme. Adopting European archaeological practices, it became an active participant in the scholarly scene. Despite being latecomers and lacking sufficient resources and expertise, Ottoman archaeologists pioneered and promoted archaeology so successfully that, they were able to achieve the disciplinary criteria in archaeological practice established by their Western counterparts. However, due to ideological factors, their names are absent from the standard account of early history of archaeology while their accomplishments are yet to be recognized in historiography.

This dissertation examines two excavation campaigns undertaken at Raqqa by Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey on behalf of the Imperial Museum in 1905-6 and 1908 respectively and their finds collection housed within the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul. While documenting these two excavations and their corresponding finds thoroughly for the first time, this study also reveals the contributions of such key figures of Ottoman archaeology to the development of archaeology during its formative years. The history of Ottoman archaeology is yet to be written. Analyzing the field methods, collection strategies, and restoration practices of the two Ottoman archaeologists working at Raqqa within a historical and disciplinary context, this study offers insights into the practice and the conceptualization of archaeology as a discipline in the Ottoman Empire, a subject that has been overlooked in scholarship. Moreover, this study demonstrates the importance of the Raqqa excavations as exceptional cases in targeting mainly ceramic finds with no interest in the architectural remains of the site, a practice contrasting with contemporaneous excavations. Besides, a collection of fairly modest components, the Raqqa finds indicate an emerging

interest in the potential of artifacts as sources of information rather than being merely objects for museum display, thus representing a key milestone in the newly emerging discipline of Islamic archaeology.

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to Defne Orhun
and
my boys

“Archaeology is the search for fact, not truth [...].
So, forget any ideas you have got about lost cities, exotic
travel, and digging up the world. We do not follow maps
to buried treasure, and “x” never ever marks the spot.
Seventy percent of all archaeology is done in the library,
research and reading.”

Indiana Jones
(Jeffrey Boam)

Notes for the Reader

Throughout the dissertation, I referred to place names of modern towns and cities in Turkey with their original Turkish names as they were referred to in official records during the period under investigation. İstanbul, by contrast, had multiple names such as *Konstantiniyye* and *Dersaadet*, which I disregarded for purposes of consistency. Likewise, I referred to the cities Raqqa and Rafıqa as they are commonly used in English, instead of “al-Raqqa” and “al-Rafıqa,” the original names of the cities in Arabic. I used the names of the ancient cities as they are referred to in mainstream archaeological scholarship in English. All the dates are CE unless otherwise stated. The dates appearing on Ottoman primary accounts have been converted by using the calendar conversion tool on the website of the Turkish Historical Society (TTK) accessed online at <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/index.php?Page=Sayfa&No=385>.

Introduction

The history of Ottoman archaeology is a subject that has been mainly viewed through an ideologically biased perspective. Throughout the nineteenth century, European states considered themselves as the legitimate heirs to the Greco-Roman civilization and that it was their task to protect this legacy. The stereotypical perception of the Ottomans as vandals, who lacked the sophistication to appreciate the antiquities in their lands, was used to legitimize the exploitation of ancient sites and transfer of antiquities into Europe.¹ For instance in 1830, French officer Raymond de Verninac Saint-Maur (d. 1873) justifies the transfer of the Luxor Obelisk from Egypt to Paris as follows:

By stealing an obelisk from the ever-rising soil deposited by the Nile, or from the savage ignorance of the Turks – who to this day respect these graceful needles only for fear that they might fall and it would be impossible to carve up the debris – France has earned the deserved thanks of the learned of Europe, to whom all the monuments of antiquity belong, for they alone know how to appreciate them. Antiquity is a land that belongs by natural right to those who cultivate it in order to harvest its fruits. (Verninac de Saint-Maur 1835, 38, cited in Bahrani et al. 2011, 16)

Establishing a linear link with the glorious civilizations of the past, the modern nations of Europe used ancient artifacts as metaphors for power and symbols of “civilization,” by means of which they presented themselves at the apex of human progress. The competition over antiquities reached its climax towards the end of the century in connection with growing political rivalry between the imperial powers of the time. Ancient history thus became a realm of contestation, through which leading political actors legitimized their interventions in the Ottoman territory (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 61, 386; Üre 2014, 7).² Archaeology in the Middle East developed as a discipline within this socio-political and historical context serving for political agendas as well as antiquarian interests of the European states. The Ottoman Empire became the target of European expansionist policies with its vast but gradually shrinking territory and rich archaeological heritage, both Greco-Roman and Biblical (Bahrani et al. 2011, 16). As a result, Ottomans initiated several attempts to explore, protect, and display the ancient heritage of their country even though their involvement in the archaeological scene was not much welcomed by the Europeans. In 1883, French

¹ For a critique of the historiography of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, see Chapter 3.

² The political context shaping the archaeological discourse in Asia Minor and the Middle East during the nineteenth century has been discussed in relevant sections of Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

archaeologist Salomon Reinach (d. 1932) believed the Ottomans were not ready to participate in archaeological explorations or undertake any excavations:

En vérité [...] les Turcs n'ont aucun souci de ces choses, et le seul reproche que nous puissions leur faire, c'est de s'être laissés convaincre par les Grecs qu'ils avaient profit à s'en occuper. Leur religion est iconoclaste, et ils dépensent de l'argent pour des statues. Ils croient ainsi se montrer civilisés lorsqu'ils ne font que se montrer dupes.³ (Reinach 1883, 132-166. Cited in Hitzel 2010 and Eldem forthcoming)

An anecdote related by Henry Harris Jessup (d. 1910), an American missionary in Syria, reflects vividly the contention between Europeans and Ottomans over the possession of antiquities. Jessup mentions a British scholar, Dr. William Wright (d. 1889), who, upon finding out about the discovery of the necropolis at Sidon in 1887, wrote a letter to *London Times* in order to alert the authorities of the British Museum to “take immediate measures to secure these treasures and prevent their falling into the hands of the vandal Turk.” (Jessup 1910, 506-507). As *The Times* reached İstanbul, Osman Hamdi Bey, Director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*), who was in charge of the department of antiquities at the time, said in resentment: “I will show what the “vandal Turk” can do!” (Jessup 1910, 507). Immediately afterwards, he launched an ambitious excavation campaign at Sidon on behalf of the Imperial Museum, which brought outstanding fame and prestige to him and his museum internationally.⁴

Ottoman archaeology thereby emerged as a defensive response to this Eurocentric narrative.⁵ During the Tanzimat period (1839-76), the Ottoman Empire adopted European archaeological practices to explore ancient sites within its territory. By claiming possession over the heritage of past civilizations, the Ottoman Empire aimed not only to counterbalance the European hegemony over its antiquities but also to construct a new, “civilized” identity within the framework of its modernization programme (Bahrani et al. 2011, 32; Díaz-Andreu 2007, 110-118; Üre 2014, 36).⁶ Furthermore, imitating its European counterparts, the

³ “In truth, the Turks have no concern for these things, and the only criticism we can raise for them is that they have been convinced by the Greeks that they had to care about such things. Their religion is iconoclast, and they spend money on statues. They, thus, believe that they present themselves as civilized although they only present themselves as fools.”

⁴ A discussion of the Ottoman excavations at Sidon can be found in Chapter 3, Pp. 87-89.

⁵ My use of the term “Ottoman archaeology” is heuristic in this context. I will address the question of definition in Chapter 3.

⁶ For a meticulous examination of the transformation of the classical Ottoman civilization into the modern Turkish Republic and its implications for contemporary Turkish society, see Mardin 2006.

Ottoman state used archaeology as a tool to exercise power over its Arab subjects in the Middle East.⁷ It is within the context of such conflicting interests and complicated network of relationships shaped by shifting dynamics of power towards the end of the century that the Ottoman archaeological discourse originated and developed.⁸

This dissertation aims to demonstrate that despite coming to the stage relatively later than the Europeans with considerably fewer resources and lesser expertise, the Ottoman Empire soon became an active participant in the archaeological realm and made significant contributions in the exploration of numerous sites and the documentation of their remains. These archaeological investigations were largely implemented as part of the modernization scheme of the state. In fact, archaeology emerged and developed in the Ottoman world as an entirely elitist preoccupation in the hands of a small group of enthusiastic statesmen, bureaucrats, and intellectuals (Üre 2014, 8). Promoting and pioneering archaeology as a “scientific” discipline,⁹ they made remarkable efforts to achieve the criteria laid down by their Western counterparts and carry archaeological practice to the highest standards of their time. However, the concentration of historiographical interest on Osman Hamdi Bey has overshadowed the roles of other pioneers in the formation of the discipline. Consequently, the accomplishments of such neglected figures are not yet acknowledged in contemporary historiography of archaeology in Turkey, nor are their contributions to the field recognized. Furthermore, Ottoman archaeological practices are often absent from the standard account of the history of archaeology (Bahrani et al. 2011, 28). The exclusion of Ottomans from the story of archaeology at the turn of the century has generated a biased narrative of this period and its key developments (Eldem forthcoming).¹⁰ In this respect, an examination of the history of Ottoman archaeology within the context of social, cultural, and political events of the late Ottoman period is fundamental for revealing the complex network of relationships

⁷ A critical discussion of the Ottoman use of archaeology as a tool of imperialism has been offered by Hanssen 1998a and Makdisi 2004. A seminal study on Ottoman imperialism is by Deringil (2003).

⁸ See Chapter 3 for a brief discussion on the socio-political circumstances that shaped the Ottoman archaeological discourse.

⁹ I am using the term “scientific” synonymous to “methodological” or “systematic” in this context. True scientific advances in archaeology did not occur until the 1960s, which created much debate on the procedures of archaeological reasoning. Further information can be found in Renfrew and 2004, 40-41; Trigger 2009, 73-109, the key reference sources on the subject.

¹⁰ A critique of Western historiography on archaeology can be found in Chapter 3.

between leading powers of the time while also adding the local actors into the history of archaeology in its formative years.¹¹

With an aim to draw attention to such neglected aspects of Ottoman archaeology, the present study uses as a case study the Raqqa excavations of the Ottoman Imperial Museum conducted in 1905-1906 and 1908 by museum officials, Theodore Macridy (d. 1940) and Haydar Bey¹² respectively.¹³ The town of Raqqa in North Syria has been a well-known ceramic production center since the early Islamic period, which has been associated with a specific type of heavily potted, underglaze- and luster-painted stonepaste pottery. Traditionally known as “Raqqa ware,” these ceramics were highly sought-after collectibles in the European and North American art markets during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century. This great demand in Raqqa ware triggered illicit operations in the town during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Local officials called the Ottoman Imperial Museum in İstanbul for action against clandestine digging. It took several years for the museum to respond to this call due to financial and logistical deficiencies. Finally, the museum commissioned excavations in two campaigns with a two-year interval. The collection of finds, consisting mostly of ceramics, was brought to İstanbul along with other artifacts confiscated from dealers. In 1908, the entire collection was moved from the Imperial Museum to the Çinili Köşk [Tiled Pavilion], a fifteenth-century building located within the museum complex. Çinili Köşk housed the Raqqa collection until the majority of objects were transferred to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts [Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi – TİEM] in İstanbul in 1941.

Raqqa is one of the best-documented cities in the Islamic world thanks to the extensive archaeological research undertaken at the site over the last century. Although the history of settlement and industrial production in Raqqa is rather well documented,¹⁴ the history of this early phase of excavations and their finds has not been fully published thus far. The two archaeologists carrying out the excavations did not publish their findings at the time.

¹¹ Eldem (forthcoming) addresses similar issues in his study on the role and experience of Theodore Macridy in the Boğazköy excavations of 1907.

¹² I have not been able to find out the date when Haydar Bey passed away.

¹³ Chapter 3 offers biographical notes on both figures. An in-depth investigation of the two excavation campaigns can be found in Chapter 4.

¹⁴ There is a rich corpus of literature on the history and archaeology of Raqqa. For the history of the site, see Heidemann 2003 and 2006; Musil 1993, 325–31; al-Khalaf and Kohlmeyer 1985; Meinecke 1995, 410–414. For a history of the archaeological investigations on the site, see Milwright 2005 and 2010, 146–8.

In later decades, several studies alluded to the excavations briefly, as I will illustrate in Chapter 4.¹⁵ Ernst Kühnel (1938, 40-41, Pls. 22-23) included two vessels from the Ottoman excavations of 1906 in his catalogue of the Çinili Köşk collection. Except this small portion, the archaeological material retrieved in the two excavations has been awaiting documentation and analysis for over a century.¹⁶ The first substantial study that has brought the Ottoman Raqqa excavations to wider attention is Marilyn Jenkins-Madina's *Raqqa Revisited* (Jenkins-Madina 2006). However, Jenkins-Madina has focused on a group of wasters from Raqqa in order to seek answers to the conventional questions of provenance and chronology. It is Aysin Yoltar-Yildirim's important contribution in the same volume that examines the two excavation campaigns in the light of archival documents pertinent to the excavations. She translated the written correspondence to illustrate the Ottoman response to clandestine digging at the site. In addition, Yoltar-Yildirim published for the first time the excavation inventories in the library archives of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums, successor of the Ottoman Imperial Museum. Her study, however, provides merely a list of objects acquired from Raqqa through Ottoman excavations as well as confiscations (Yoltar-Yildirim 2006, 214-220). A key contribution of this study is that it enables correlating the excavation finds at the TIEM with their original records in the inventory books of the Çinili Köşk, as discussed in Chapter 5.¹⁷

In a subsequent study, Yoltar-Yildirim (2013) investigated the remaining portion of the archival material in the library of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums and Macridy's three letters, which he sent to Halil Edhem Bey from Raqqa. Examining the two excavation campaigns in their legal and historical contexts, Yoltar-Yildirim discusses the conditions that shaped the pre- and post-excavation processes. Her study provides a concise and valuable analysis of the excavations and their outcomes. She illustrates nine vessels from Macridy's finds collection merely with photographs but no further analysis. Despite stressing the importance of the Raqqa excavations for the historiography of Islamic archaeology, Yoltar-Yildirim has overlooked their implications for the history of Ottoman archaeology as well as the early history of archaeology in the Middle East.

¹⁵ For a review of the secondary literature on the Ottoman Raqqa excavations, see Chapter 4, 106-08.

¹⁶ For a summary of the history of research on Raqqa ceramics, see Chapter 5.

¹⁷ Jenkins-Madina 2006. For a critical review of the book, see Milwright 2006.

Building on Yoltar-Yıldırım's previous research, the present study investigates the historical, textual, and material evidence pertinent to the Raqqa excavations with an aim to bring in an archaeological interpretation to the excavations and their finds. Drawing from primary and secondary sources, I will examine the two excavation campaigns and their technical and practical aspects within the context of disciplinary developments and intellectual history at the beginning of the twentieth century. To complement textual sources, I will use the archaeological finds brought from Raqqa following the two campaigns, since these artefact collections as well as individual finds in each collection give us clues about the working techniques and collection strategies of the two archaeologists. On that note, this study documents the entire collection of finds for the first time by providing a detailed catalogue and analysis of this important corpus, presented in Appendix 4.

The catalogue of finds contributes to our understanding of the archaeological practices and field activities of Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey, which otherwise remain nebulous in textual accounts due to the absence of adequate evidence. Therefore, the catalogue is essential to support the historiographical argument of the present study. A detailed investigation of the Raqqa excavations enables us to evaluate the achievements and contributions of Ottoman archaeologists to the progress of the discipline. Drawing attention to the history of excavations carried out by the Imperial Museum, this dissertation aims to improve our knowledge of the disciplinary history of Ottoman archaeology and the development of its methods and techniques. Considering that archaeological activities and the new discoveries appealed to an educated public besides museum professionals, this dissertation will also contribute to our understanding of the intellectual history of the late Ottoman Empire.

Moreover, no thorough study exists on the practice and the conceptualization of archaeology as a discipline in the Ottoman Empire. The contribution of the present study will also be to tell the story of Ottoman archaeology from the viewpoint of the local archaeologists while offering a critical analysis of its methods and techniques. It should certainly be kept in mind that, in the context of Raqqa, the Ottoman archaeologists were not locals, but actually outsiders that presented Orientalist attitudes rather similar to their European counterparts in viewing Raqqa ceramics as extraordinary examples of Arab art.¹⁸

¹⁸ See Chapter 4, p. 122.

The Raqqa excavations should be taken into consideration within the context of Ottoman archaeological practices at the turn of the century. A turning point in the development of the discipline of archaeology was the appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) as director of the Imperial Museum in 1881, a position he retained until his death.¹⁹ In a short time, Osman Hamdi transformed the museum, which had been functioning little more than a depot of antiquities, into a world-class museum with a large collection of antiquities from a wide range of periods and sites across the empire. Inspired by the Tanzimat ideals to create a new Ottoman identity that would represent the ethnic and religious diversity of the empire, Osman Hamdi incorporated the ancient civilizations into the heritage of the empire and used the museum for the display of this collective identity (Eldem et al. 2010, 479; Shaw 2007, 258).²⁰

Meanwhile, Osman Hamdi introduced new legislative regulations to halt the removal of antiquities from the country and to control the excavations run by the Europeans and the Americans in the Ottoman territory. Proclaimed in 1884, *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*, the new law of antiquities, which became a subject of debate amongst the Western archaeological circles,²¹ brought firm restrictions on the activities of the Western teams within the empire. Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the museum, like its European counterparts, began to function as a professional institution that actively participated in archaeological research as well as public education. Its archaeological policies and practices, unsurprisingly influenced by the political atmosphere of the time, aimed to demonstrate that the Ottoman Empire had taken its part amongst the great powers of the world (Shaw 2003, 161-169).

Following the conventional approach of regarding Osman Hamdi as a chief milestone in the development of Ottoman archaeology (Cezar 1995; Eldem 2004), the present study limits its chronological focus to the period between his appointment as director of the Imperial Museum in 1881 and the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, when

¹⁹ For a discussion of Osman Hamdi's eminent role in the development of the Imperial Museum, see Shaw 2003, 97-130.

²⁰ I have discussed the shifting social and cultural dynamics that shaped the archaeological discourse in the late Ottoman period in Chapter 3.

²¹ French Orientalist Ernest Renan (d. 1892) was another European scholar disapproving the involvement of the "barbarian" Ottomans in the archaeological scene. He bitterly criticized the law in the following words: "This bylaw, a sad proof of the infantile ideas that are formed among the Turkish government in scientific matters, will be remembered as an ill-fated date in the history of archaeological research." Cited in Bahrani et al. 2011, 234-35.

archaeological activity in the Middle East ceased. In these decades, Ottoman archaeology not only made outstanding discoveries but also developed a methodological approach to the practice of excavation endeavouring to catch up with the disciplinary trends of the time. The scale and achievements of these campaigns were not consistent. In fact, they varied in their aim, scope, duration, and methodology, as I will elaborate in Chapter 3. This variation leads to a series of questions on the possible sources of influence and inspiration for the key actors of the discipline. Furthermore, questions can be multiplied: what is the value of studying the early history of archaeology in Ottoman Empire? Why should we bother to commemorate a group of archaeologists and celebrate their deeds that have sunken into oblivion? What makes such an attempt more meaningful than simply making “a parade of dead academics, dusty excavations, and silent libraries,” as Dyson (2006, xii) pointed out? (How) Can we benefit from the artifact collections of similar nature contained in museum depots that are to be examined? Can they enhance our understanding of the field techniques and working principles of Ottoman archaeologists and allow placing their contributions in a global context? By examining the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa and their respective finds, this dissertation aims to raise such new questions from a disciplinary viewpoint, addressing a theme that has been hitherto overlooked in scholarship. Moreover, it will seek answers to these questions even though their answers often do not go beyond speculations given the present state of the field.

Overview of the Research Undertaken

The initial step of this study has been the documentation of the excavation finds, the large majority of which are housed at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in İstanbul, where I conducted research from mid November 2011 until mid January 2012. The collection comprises ceramics, glass, and metal objects as well as small artifacts, which I examined and catalogued using formal methods of describing and illustrating.²² In the second phase, I analyzed these artifacts in terms of their technical characteristics within the context of existing literature on industrial production at Raqqa and in comparison with finds from broadly contemporaneous sites. More attention has been devoted to the ceramics due to their larger quantity, as well as their greater potential to inform us about the history of the excavations as Macridy conveys his observations on them in his letters. Instead of building a

²² See Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of the methodology I applied in the analysis of the finds.

typology on this small but eclectic collection with limited contextual information, I attempted a new methodology and classified the collection in two groups according to the acquisition dates of the objects. This method enables us to identify the similarities and differences in the approaches of Macridy and Haydar Bey to the artifacts. Besides, analyzing the artifacts within the context of each campaign allows generating new questions and speculations on the early field practices and collection strategies.

In addition, I carried out supplementary research in two other museums for shorter durations: in July 2011, I looked at the collection of Raqqa ceramics and their inventories in the Çinili Köşk [the Tiled Pavilion],²³ where the Islamic Arts collection is housed in the İstanbul Archaeological Museums, the successor of the Ottoman Imperial Museum. This collection did not prove to be useful for the present study since it does not include any finds from the Raqqa excavations. In May 2016, I visited the Ankara Ethnographical Museum to examine the Raqqa material in their collections. However, it has not been possible to locate the excavation finds transferred to this museum, as the original inventory numbers were not kept.²⁴

The most important resource in Turkey for the study of archaeology-related subjects is the archives of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum (İAMA). The library, opened in 1893, houses in its archives a substantial collection of visual and written records pertinent to the archaeological activities of the Imperial Museum, which is an untapped resource.²⁵ However, it has not been possible to conduct any research in these archives throughout the present research due to the ongoing restoration at the museum library. The lack of access to the archives has been a main setback faced in the course of present study.

In an attempt to overcome this hurdle, I conducted preliminary research at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* - BOA) in İstanbul, the main resource for Ottoman studies.²⁶ The archives have a large digital database allowing the researchers to search by key words and provide summaries of documents in modern Turkish.

²³ Kühnel (1938) has prepared a catalogue of its holdings.

²⁴ In Chapter 5, I have discussed the transfer of excavation finds in more detail.

²⁵ The documents pertinent to the Ottoman archaeological practices are official texts mainly written in Ottoman Turkish and, to a lesser extent, in French. In order to overcome the language constraint (for details, see Chapter 3) and to be able to have access to Ottoman archival sources, I have completed a one-year course in Ottoman Turkish. However, being at an intermediate level, I am not yet in a position to pursue research independently.

²⁶ There are different acronyms used for the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives such as İPMA, PMA, or PMOA. I use BOA (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), as it is the common form in Turkish historiography.

The documents at BOA consist of legal and bureaucratic communication, diplomatic letters, copies of correspondence between the administration of the Imperial Museum, the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezareti*), the main state institution responsible for archaeological activities, and the field directors of excavations. In addition, I also went through the digital copies of documents from the İAMA relevant to the Ottoman Raqqa excavations. Yoltar-Yıldırım's meticulous investigation of these documents forms the basis of the present study, as discussed in Chapter 4. Written mainly on bureaucratic and legal matters, these documents provide useful insights on the social and political circumstances surrounding the archaeological activities in late Ottoman period. These records do not, however, offer much evidence about the disciplinary development of archaeology.

An alternative source material used by the current study is the collections of archaeological material itself brought by Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey from Raqqa, which comprises mainly ceramic and glass artifacts along with a small group of metal and small finds. Despite its relatively modest size, the diverse nature of the collection gives clues about the repertoire of objects lying around the site and circulating in the art market. The notable differences between the contents and the condition of the two collections seem to suggest that the two archaeologists dug at different sites and perhaps employed distinct field methodologies. Thus, individual artifacts as well as the collections themselves provide insights into the approaches of the two archaeologists to the finds while offering clues about the way they treated, collected, and restored them. In this respect, this study will examine the finds collection within the framework of art historical and archaeological scholarship in order to place these uncontextualized finds into a historical context. Furthermore, by correlating this physical evidence obtained from the collection with written evidence, the present study aims to demonstrate the potential of such artifact collections for improving our understanding of the field techniques and working principles of the Ottoman archaeologists.

Previous Literature on Ottoman Archaeology

The secondary literature on the history of Ottoman excavations is meagre and fragmentary particularly in areas of methodology. Below is a discussion of the existing sources, their strengths and limitations, aimed at improving our understanding of the state of the field. Mustafa Cezar's seminal study, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi Bey* [The Westernization of Art and Osman Hamdi Bey] laid the foundation for the study of Ottoman archaeology in Turkish literature. First published in 1971, the book covers a wide scope of

themes from art and archaeology in the Ottoman Empire to the formation of the Imperial Museum drawing on a variety of primary and secondary sources.²⁷ Cezar focuses on the artistic career and contributions of Osman Hamdi Bey to the Turkish cultural scene at the expense of Osman Hamdi's role in Ottoman archaeology, a theme that remains secondary in the book. In contrast with his extensive use of archival documents throughout the book, Cezar's discussion of Osman Hamdi and Ottoman archaeology is largely based on secondary literature and newspapers of the late Ottoman period with hardly any reference to primary sources or the publications of Ottoman archaeologists (Cezar 1995, 281-325). Yet, being one of the earliest and most comprehensive studies on the subject of Ottoman archaeology, this study has been a key reference source that is extensively cited by subsequent studies.²⁸

The Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu, TTK) has recently published an encyclopaedic compendium on the history of archaeology in Turkey, entitled *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Çağlarında Türk Kazı Tarihi* [The History of Turkish Excavations in the Periods of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic]. Originally initiated by Hâmit Zübeyr Koşay (d. 1984) in the 1970s, the study was enlarged and completed by his students. It is a large compilation of six volumes containing archival documents from the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, mostly official correspondence regarding the major excavations undertaken in a wide time span from the late Ottoman era until the recent decades. The collection is valuable as a large anthology of documents, limited to the BOA, with no reference to the archival material in the Archaeological Museum. The book neither offers contextual information nor makes any critical assessments of the documents, thus failing to examine the history of the discipline in a systematic manner. Moreover, as its title suggests, the scope of the study has been restricted to merely the excavations, missing out the other means of archaeological practices, pre- and post-excavation activities. The rationale behind the selection of documents and the odd exclusion of other archaeological activities is nebulous. In contrast with its monumental size and encyclopaedic content, the study has little historiographical value and fails to serve as a reliable historical survey of Turkish archaeology. Furthermore, its nationalistic tone weakens

²⁷ On the formation of the museum see Cezar 1995, 227-279; Shaw 2003, 31-107. For a list of sources on the subject in Turkish, see p. 81, fn. 133 in Chapter 3.

²⁸ See, for instance, Koçak 2011; Üre 2014; Cinoğlu 2002.

its credibility as an objective account of Ottoman archaeology.²⁹ The book opens with quotes of Western politicians and intellectuals of the nineteenth century disgracing the Turks (Koşay et. al. 2013, XIV-XV). Along the same line, the overarching narrative of the book revolves around the concept of “treasures” that the Western archaeologists smuggled out of Turkey.³⁰ This is a paradigm that has dominated the archaeological discourse in Turkey from the beginning, as I will discuss in detail in Chapter 3.³¹

A study with a focus on the Ottoman policy towards archaeology is Alev Koçak’s *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*. Koçak (2011) briefly surveys the development of an active interest in archaeology and antiquities within the Ottoman Empire while tracing the changing attitude of the Ottomans towards the past heritage during the late Ottoman period. She analyzes the Ottoman regulations on archaeology and antiquities in a chronological order covering each bylaw in a separate chapter. Reviewing the foreign archaeological enterprise in Ottoman lands, she examines the relationship between the Ottoman state and foreign archaeological teams from the Ottoman viewpoint. She also demonstrates the efforts of the Ottoman government to promote an appreciation of antiquities amongst the local population in İstanbul as well as in the peripheries of the empire by founding museums and undertaking archaeological excavations. In contrast to her meticulous attention on the legal and political dimensions of archaeological practice in the Ottoman world, Koçak shows no interest in the socio-political discourse that shaped the archaeological

²⁹ The book touches upon the Ottoman Raqqa excavations very briefly and thus has little value for their study. See Chapter 4, p. 108 for a brief review of its discussion on the Raqqa excavations.

³⁰ The editors explain the aim of their study as follows: “We will investigate how and when the cultural heritage of the Ottoman state became the subject of Western explorations, where these excavations were undertaken and how our treasures over and under the ground were smuggled out of the country.” Koşay et. al. 2013. Vol I, Book I, p. 35. The book also includes statistical information on the smuggled antiquities between 2005 and 2010, along with a list of ongoing foreign excavations on the same page. Linking the illegal trafficking of antiquities of the past to present day, the authors explicitly state that “the Turks are not passive any more,” and it is time to claim ownership over the antiquities lying in their territory, which necessitates excavations to be undertaken by national teams as opposed to foreigners. (Vol I, Pp. 97-100.)

³¹ For instance, one of the leading Turkish journals of archaeology, *Aktüel Arkeoloji* has covered this theme in a recent issue (September/October 2015) entitled “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Batının Arkeoloji Yağması: Avrupa Müzelerine Eser Toplama Yarışı [The Archeological Plundering of the Western States in the Ottoman Empire: The Rush for Collecting Antiquities for the European Museums].” The majority of the articles in the volume focus on how foreign excavations removed antiquities from the Ottoman Empire. An interview with historian Yaşar Yılmaz (author of *Anadolu’nun Gözyaşları: Yurt Dışına Götürülmüş Tarihi Eserlerimiz* [Tears of Anatolia: Our Antiquities Taken out of the Country]) well reveals the nationalistic narratives of Turkish scholars.

For a critique of such nationalist approaches prevalent in the historiography of archaeology and Ottoman history in general, see Berktaş 1993; Eldem 2013.

practice at the time in the Ottoman Empire. Due to its focus on the policy, rather than the archaeological activity itself, the book does not offer much information on the theory, method, and the disciplinary developments.

A recent contribution to the field is, *Scramble for the Past*, a publication that accompanied an exhibition of the same name held at SALT Galata, İstanbul from November 22, 2011 to March 11, 2012 (Bahrani et al. 2011). The book, published in both Turkish and English, includes a wide array of case studies taken into account by an international team of scholars mainly on foreign archaeological activity within the Ottoman Empire. The thematic focus of this large collection of essays is the correlation between archaeology and the geopolitical goals of the Ottoman Empire on its archaeological sites that were subject to exploitation by the Western explorers. In the introductory chapter, the editors, Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem question the possibility of creating a non-western narrative in the historiography of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire (Bahrani et al. 2011, 13-43). The story of archaeology in Asia Minor and the Middle East at the turn of the century has, up until now, been told from the Western perspective. Creating a biased interpretation of the archaeological practices and disciplinary developments in the Ottoman world, this approach disregards the achievements and contributions of the Ottoman actors. Locating the work of Ottoman archaeologists into the context of the disciplinary developments at the turn of the century is essential not only for introducing alternative sources and approaches to the field, but also for developing a critical approach towards the conventional histories of archaeology in this region. In fact, an overarching aim of the book is to add the local actors, that is, the Ottoman archaeologists, to the existing account of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. However, the majority of the essays investigate the European explorations within their socio-political contexts. It is disappointing that none of the excavations carried on by the Imperial Museum was covered. In this respect, therefore, the book fails to achieve the stated aims of the editors to establish a “non-western” narrative.

Ottoman archaeology has recently become a subject of interest to scholars of post-colonialism such as Jens Hanssen. Hanssen drew attention to a different aspect of Ottoman archaeology, that is, the Ottoman use of archaeology as a tool for imperialism to legitimize its power over its Arab subjects.³² Hanssen discusses the Ottoman exploration of the necropolis

³² Hanssen 1998a and 1998b. Another historian that has tackled the subject from a similar viewpoint is Ussama Makdisi (See, for instance, Makdisi 2004).

in Saida (*anc.* Sidon) in 1887 within the newly emerging discourses of antiquity and modernity in İstanbul.³³ The sarcophagi collection brought from Sidon was the most sensational discovery of the Ottoman Imperial Museum that sparked a remarkable interest in the museum and rendered its recognition in Western circles. Hanssen emphasizes the role of the Sidon expedition in the administrative centralization of the empire during the Hamidian era (1876-1909). The appropriation of antiquities from the provinces reinforced Ottoman rule over these regions as well as their past heritage representing the Ottoman control both geographically and temporally (Hanssen 1998).

An Introductory Outline of the Chapters

This study uses Raqqa excavations as a case study to explore some of the many lesser-known aspects of Ottoman archaeology. In order to better assess the place of Ottoman archaeologists amongst their Western counterparts, it is essential to investigate their contributions and sources of influence as well as themes that are relevant towards the methodology of the discipline as it was developed and practiced by these key players in the field.

The dissertation is divided into two parts: the first part sets out the historical and disciplinary contexts by examining the early history of archaeology in three concentric frames, each covered in a separate chapter. Outlining the broadest frame, Chapter 1 reviews the evolution of archaeology from antiquarianism into a scientific discipline in the nineteenth century in various parts of the Old world, primarily the neighbouring regions of the Ottoman Empire within the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. It presents the major developments and the intellectual foundations of archaeology along with the emerging concepts, ideas, and methods as applied by different archaeological traditions. Given that the Ottoman archaeologists were trained in the field mainly by gaining hands-on knowledge from the British, French, and German teams, it is important to assess such disciplinary practices and trends of the time.

Raqqa was one of the first Islamic sites that was archaeologically explored. Therefore, Chapter 2 narrows down the frame to an examination of the birth of Islamic archaeology and its development at the turn of the century with an aim to place the two excavation campaigns into a historical and historiographical context. The chapter presents an overview of the first archaeological investigations undertaken at Islamic sites across the world. It also tackles the

³³ See Chapter 3, Pp. 87-89 for a survey of the Ottoman excavations at Sidon.

origins and evolution of the study of Islamic art and archaeology in Turkey from the late Ottoman times up to present in order to examine broader issues of ideological attitudes towards Islamic archaeology and their implications for the study of collections with a non-Turkish provenance.

Chapter 3 further reduces the frame and concentrates on Ottoman archaeology along with its origins, methods, and development within the socio-political and cultural context of the Hamidian era. The chapter also outlines the major historiographical issues prevalent in Turkish scholarship and their implications for the history of archaeology in Turkey. A subsequent section of the chapter covers the archaeological explorations carried out by the Imperial Museum with a focus on the achievements of Ottoman archaeologists, whose contributions are yet to be acknowledged in scholarship. With an attempt to bridge this gap, the chapter ends with biographical sketches of the leading figures of Ottoman archaeology, amongst whom were Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey.

The second part of the dissertation focuses on the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa and their corresponding finds. Chapter 4 lays out the history of the two excavation campaigns at Raqqa. Building upon Yoltar-Yıldırım's archival research, it addresses new issues on the technical and practical aspects of the excavations in order to improve our understanding of the methods, techniques, and overall development of Ottoman archaeology. A better-informed analysis of the methodology applied by the Ottoman archaeologists would allow placing their work into a broader context in the early history of archaeology, a field dominated hitherto by Eurocentric narratives that focus on the achievements and contributions of Western archaeologists.

Chapter 5 analyzes the artifacts recovered during the excavations in connection with the strategies of the two archaeologists, who brought the collections together. In the paucity of documentary evidence illuminating the methods of excavations, these objects serve a significant mission by providing clues about the way they were discovered, restored, and incorporated into the museum collections. The chapter also questions the differences between the approaches of the two archaeologists, as revealed by their respective collections, and speculates on the possible reasons of this distinction.

The present investigation has several implications for our understanding of the late Ottoman archaeological practices and the historiography of archaeology in Turkey. Examining the two excavation campaigns undertaken at Raqqa by the Ottoman Imperial Museum in the first decade of the twentieth century as a case study, this research is primarily

intended to counteract the paucity of studies on the history of Ottoman archaeology, which is yet to be written. Besides, documenting and analyzing the corpus of finds retrieved in these campaigns, this study presents them to a wider scholarly audience for the first time. Given the ongoing destruction of Syrian heritage in recent years, archaeological collections located outside Syria have gained more importance today. In addition, this dissertation applies a new methodology by using archaeological finds as a source of information for understanding the mindsets, approaches, and working techniques of the two Ottoman archaeologists, Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey. Despite their valuable contributions in pioneering archaeological practices in Turkey and laying the foundations of the discipline, such key figures in the formative phase of archaeology have fallen into oblivion. An examination of their achievements can improve our understanding of the formation of disciplinary traditions in Turkey. Furthermore, bringing Ottoman archaeology into view in the early history of archaeology, this study aims to create a balanced and objective narrative by contesting the Eurocentric paradigms of the Western accounts as well as the nationalist approaches of local historians that have dominated the historiography of Ottoman archaeology up to day.

PART I: THE BACKGROUND

Chapter 1 - From Antiquarianism to a Scientific Discipline: Archaeology at the Turn of the Century

Archaeology in the first half of the nineteenth century is widely associated with antiquarianism. The expeditions undertaken by legendary names such as Giovanni Battista Belzoni (d. 1823), Austen Henry Layard (d. 1894), and Paul-Émile Botta (d. 1870), were run as private monopolies aiming to recover as many objects as possible in order to enrich the collections of European museums and increase the prestige of such antiquarians. Excavations were carried out at a wide range of ancient sites from different periods such as Stonehenge, Pompeii, Athens, Babylon, Nimrud, and Nineveh. The diverse profile of excavators ranged from diplomats, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, and bankers to army generals with no formal training in archaeology, who all employed rather primitive and consequently destructive methods in the field paying little attention to the context, provenance or the historical significance of the finds. Apart from spectacular discoveries that would evoke a romantic fascination in the public, the excavation results were almost never published.³⁴

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, archaeology began to redefine its aims and methods before progressing toward a “scientific” discipline around the turn of the century. The practice to collect objects for museums and private collections was still prevalent. However, this passion was now accompanied by new questions on field methods and the study of artifacts. Growing critical awareness of the destructive nature of excavations created a necessity to record the vanishing information. Thus, pioneers such as General Augustus Pitt Rivers (d. 1900), William Flinders Petrie (d. 1942), and Heinrich Schliemann (d. 1890) established a methodology, which involved the study of artifacts and cultural sequences by using new tools. Stratigraphy, a core concept within modern archaeology, was introduced although its use was restricted to geological notions; photography began to be used for documentation; and pottery became a dating tool.

This chapter will survey the evolution of archaeology from antiquarianism into a scientific discipline within a time span of roughly three decades from the 1880s to the First World War, in keeping with the chronological framework of the present study. During this

³⁴ For the archaeological activities and groundbreaking discoveries of these early explorers, see Murray 2007 and Daniel 1976.

period, archaeological practice reached a climax across the whole world thanks to new movements of institutionalization and professionalization, until all archaeological activity virtually ceased with the outbreak of the war in 1914. It is my aim to examine the major internal developments in archaeology in the Old World with a focus on the history of concepts and ideas rather than discoveries, which thus far have been investigated principally by historians of archaeology. It is impossible in a single chapter to cover all the methods and techniques applied by different archaeological traditions in the regions under investigation during pre- and post-excavation processes, including conservation, preservation and artifact analyses. Thus, I will outline the key issues that concerned the pioneering archaeologists at this time, who laid the foundations of the discipline.³⁵ Referring to both primary and secondary sources, I will examine technical and non-technical histories of archaeology combining methodological issues with biographical stories of some key figures influential to the Ottoman archaeologists.

An evaluation of the intellectual foundations of the discipline is essential to contextualize the working principles of the Ottoman archaeologists excavating at Raqqa, whose approaches were influenced either directly or indirectly by the ideas and methods emerging at the time. Examining their work within the disciplinary framework of their time allows for a better understanding of their field strategies and the way they collected and handled the artifact collection that forms the core of the present research project. A comparative assessment of these methodologies facilitates placing the work and contributions of Ottoman archaeologists into the context of world archaeology at the turn of the century.

European Archaeology

Archaeology began in Europe as a result of rising fascination with history and the study of the past. In its intellectual dimension, European archaeology is closely linked to history and relevant disciplines such as classics, geography, and art history. Emergent ideas, concepts, and methodologies in these areas of humanities, thus, established an intellectual framework and set a model for archaeological practices elsewhere during the following decades, including the Ottoman Empire.

The discovery of Palaeolithic and Neolithic human remains, cave art, and tools since the beginning of the nineteenth century created a growing interest in evolutionary approaches

³⁵ For a concise bibliography on the history of archaeology, see Trigger 2009, 549-581 and Daniel 1976, 401-3.

to the human past in Europe, more particularly in Scandinavia, France, and Britain, countries where the discipline of archaeology originated (Daniel 1976, 122-151; Murray 2007, 127-280; Klindt-Jensen 1975). Developments taking place in the first half of the century in science, mainly in geology, paved the way for prehistoric archaeology, which laid the foundations of scientific archaeology. In 1859, *On the Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin (d. 1882) defined the principles of evolution, which generated considerable interest in the history of mankind. Excavations in caves and rock shelters at various sites in France and Spain between 1875 and 1900 yielded numerous cave paintings and prehistoric artifacts such as flint tools and hand axes, which were followed by long debates on how to classify them.³⁶

In 1836, the Danish archaeologist Christian Thomsen (d. 1865) formulated a taxonomy based on the assumption of a chronological evolution in human technology in a sequence of stone, bronze, and iron implements. The Danish Tripartite or Three-Age system, introduced a fundamental chronology, which formed the basis of the archaeology of the Old World (Rowley-Conwy 2007). This system of classification was later altered by the subdivision of the Stone Age into four periods: Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Mesolithic, and Chalcolithic, a categorization that is still valid (Evans 2007). Simultaneously, stratigraphy developed as a branch of geology that studies different layers of rock formations. William Smith (d. 1839), known as “the father of English geology,” was the first to acknowledge the significance of *strata* and the associated fossils. He devised the Law of Superposition, the principle that the earth consists of horizontal layers and those layers on the top are younger than lower layers (Harris 1997, 2-3).

Stratigraphy found wide acceptance in the archaeological arena even though it was viewed from a geological perspective until the early decades of the twentieth century.³⁷ It was Augustus Pitt Rivers, a wealthy English landowner and archaeologist, who first recognized the value of stratigraphy in archaeological research in the 1860s. Credited as the innovator of archaeological field methods, Pitt Rivers excavated a large number of prehistoric settlements in England, where he practiced the total excavation of sites and emphasized the importance of precise recording, vertical control (the profiles), and accurate measurement of artifacts.

³⁶ Daniel (1976, 122) discusses the contributions of De Mortillet, who canonized the sequence in his *Le Préhistorique* (1903) and of John Evans, who wrote *Ancient Stone Implements* (1872).

³⁷ Archaeological stratigraphy is a notion that developed after the First World War and canonized by Mortimer Wheeler and his student, Kathleen Kenyon in 1930s. For a discussion of the distinction between geological and archaeological stratigraphies, see Harris (1997, 1-13).

Drawing on the theory of evolution, he proposed a method of classifying material culture chronologically in terms of a typological sequence. His work, particularly between 1880 and 1900, displays strong attention to detail and meticulous application of stratigraphy, but still in the geological sense.

In addition to his contributions to archaeology, Pitt Rivers owes his reputation to his public role in heritage protection. He was appointed as the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments in England, a post for administering the Ancient Monuments Protection Act issued in 1882 for state protection of ancient monuments (Evans 2007). This early version of the act covered almost exclusively prehistoric sites before its coverage was broadened in 1910 to include medieval monuments (Fry 2014). The act is a fundamental threshold for the emergence of the idea of heritage and a growing interest in its protection across Europe. Its impact on the Ottoman Empire is reflected by the passing of the first Antiquities Law only two years later, in 1884.³⁸

An important development during this time was the organization of international congresses in Europe and Russia, where the archaeologists met, exchanged information and made their research public. These congresses accelerated the spread of ideas, theories, and methods of different traditions within prehistoric, Classical, Biblical, and Medieval archaeologies.³⁹ The principal dichotomy was between the evolutionists and the creationists, since both sides embraced archaeology as a means of finding evidence to support their theories about the true origins of humanity. Another aspect of these new developments was the growing sense of national rivalries between European states, which affected the way the ideas were received and shared. Areas such as archaeology, museology, and their respective congresses became grounds where ongoing political rivalries strongly affected the scholarly debates (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 380-381). The Ottoman Imperial Museum affirmed its involvement in archaeological research by actively participating in international congresses after the 1890s (Üre 2014, 114). In 1892, the government dispatched two officials, Abdurrahman Süreyya Bey and Kamil Bey to Lisbon Archaeology Congress, where they presented a collection of photographs of the Imperial Museum and its holdings. A noteworthy example is the appointment of Halil Edhem Bey to represent the Ottoman Empire in the

³⁸ See Chapter 3 for a summary of the legislative developments in the late Ottoman Empire for heritage preservation.

³⁹ Díaz-Andreu García (2012, 245-46) offers a list of international congresses on archaeology.

archaeological congress held at Moscow in 1892, a decision taken by Abdülhamid himself, who stressed that the museum would be best represented by somebody with comprehensive knowledge on archaeology (Karaca 2004, 384-385).

Aegean and Classical Archaeology

European historical and cultural thinking was built on the legacy of the Greco-Roman world. The obsession of the European intelligentsia with philhellenism in the nineteenth century stimulated the exploration of ancient sites and their standing remains. The remarkable number of archaeological surveys undertaken during this time at various corners of the Aegean world demonstrates the European preoccupation with tracing their roots to the legendary civilizations of the ancient times.⁴⁰ Likewise, Ottoman intellectuals developed a deep interest in philhellenism in the Tanzimat period as a result of their close encounter with the ongoing cultural trends in Europe (Tunalı 2013, 189-200). Emerging primarily in literature, the curiosity about antiquity soon spread to museology and archaeology generating the first archaeological enterprises in the empire, as discussed in Chapter 3. Classical archaeology served as a training ground for new generations of archaeologists, some of whom subsequently switched to and pioneered other sub-disciplines of archaeology (Dyson 2006). Several influential figures amongst them played important roles in the professionalization of the discipline in the Ottoman Empire while the excavations they conducted served as field schools, where the officials of the Ottoman Imperial Museum were trained in archaeological method and theory, as I explained in Chapter 3.

The three decades under discussion are dominated by the activities of a newly unified, ambitious participant in both the political and archaeological scene: Germany. In line with its political rivalry with other European states, Germany exercised its imperial power over the Ottoman Empire through the appropriation of antiquities (Illich 2007, 204). Conforming to the model laid out earlier by Britain and France and aiming to catch up with their museums, the Germans used diplomacy efficiently both in Greece and in the Ottoman Empire to obtain permissions to excavate at a large number of sites in the Aegean and to transfer their subsequent finds to Germany. Actively sponsored by the German government, these large-scale excavations carried out at some of the major sites in the Ottoman Empire led the way in

⁴⁰ Despite covering the same geographical area, Aegean and Classical archaeologies have been differentiated due to the difference in their chronological scopes.

the advancement of archaeological theory and the institutionalization of the discipline (Dyson 2006, xiii).

The technique of excavation in Classical archaeology began at Olympia, the most important sanctuary in ancient Greece, which was explored by the German Archaeological Institute (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – DAI) in Athens (Bittel 1980) (Figure 6). In 1874, Ernst Curtius (d. 1896), Professor of Classical archaeology at the University of Berlin, signed a contract with the Greek government, according to which, the German Institute agreed to cover the entire costs of the excavation while consenting to leave all the excavation finds in Greece, stressing that the primary aim of the excavations was scientific research. This formulation signifies a fundamental change in the purpose of archaeological fieldwork as the great majority of the contemporaneous excavations still were primarily aimed at the collection of objects (Murray 2007, 250-251).

Curtius was a well-informed scholar, who was aware of the recent developments in European archaeology. He directed the Olympia excavations from 1875 to 1881. In 1878 the team consisted of 250 workmen and 19 horse carts, the numbers increasing to 450 workmen and 50 carts in the following year. In addition to wheelbarrows, the team used horse carts to accelerate the pace of the work. A physician was hired to look after the team members. Working with one of the largest archaeological teams ever, and taking good care of logistic issues, the Germans displayed a high level of dedication to accomplish their mission in the best possible way (Fellmann 1973). For six seasons of work, the German Empire spent approximately 144,000 USD⁴¹, part of which was covered personally by the Emperor Wilhelm (Daniel 1976, 166). Curtius and his assistant, Wilhelm Dörpfeld (d. 1940), an architect who joined the team in 1877, introduced new methods of excavation and preservation with meticulous applications of stratigraphy (Murray 2007, 250-251). As a result, they uncovered the layout of the city of Olympia, the Temple of Hera, the great Altar of Zeus and the Olympic stadium and brought to light a great corpus of sculptural, numismatic and epigraphic finds, all of which were published immediately by Curtius in five volumes (Murray 2007, 250-251; Curtius et al. 1892).

The first tell excavation in Aegean archaeology is at Troy between 1871 and 1890 by the infamous Heinrich Schliemann (d. 1890) (Figure 6). His “great contribution” is widely

⁴¹ Daniel gives the amount in GBP as £30,000, which is equal to approximately £1.500.000 in modern days. The exchange rates have been calculated at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/default0.asp#mid>.

acknowledged for bringing the pre-Classical civilizations of the Aegean to light for the first time and demonstrating the potential of archaeology for reconstructing past lives that are otherwise known only through legends and myths (Daniel 1976, 140). Leaving his exceptional discoveries aside, which have been largely discussed in literature,⁴² I will only refer to his novel methods here.

Schliemann's earlier work at Troy (1871-1873) is widely considered to be rather controversial, and often harshly criticized for causing severe destruction in the stratigraphy of the site. In contrast, his later campaign (1878-1879), overseen by Rudolf Virchow (d. 1902), received positive appraisal, where Schliemann applied stratigraphy for the first time and rather attentively. As a result, he identified seven occupational levels on the mound, which he recorded in detail along with the position of finds coming from each level. He preserved all the artifacts since he regarded ordinary things valuable to recover a true picture of the past and illustrated, photographed, and published the excavation results with great speed. Nonetheless, it was in 1882 under Dörpfeld that the excavations at Troy reached a true scientific level. Dörpfeld studied the architectural layers of Troy systematically and set out a chronology, which came to form the basis of prehistoric Aegean history (Daniel 1976, 144-145). An interesting anecdote demonstrates the sharp contrast in approaches of the German and the Ottoman museum officials to archaeological finds: In 1885, the Ottoman Imperial Museum sold the potsherds recovered at Troy to the Berlin Museum, considering them trivial and unworthy of storage in the museum collections. The archival document says they would be of interest only to Schliemann (Shaw 2003, 117-8).

Another pioneer that contributed to the new methodology of using pottery as a dating tool is Adolf Furtwängler (d. 1907), who established a chronology based on painted Mycenaean pottery. In 1886, Furtwängler and Georg Löschcke (d. 1915) published the entire corpus of Mycenaean pottery (both complete and fragmentary) discovered until then in the Aegean islands and Cyprus in their *Mykenische Vasen* (Löschcke and Furtwängler 1886; Daniel 1976, 167).

In 1871, Carl Humann (d. 1896), a German engineer working for the Ottoman railway project, who later became one of the most eminent figures of Classical archaeology began his explorations at the city of Pergamon. Humann developed great interest for Hellenistic city planning and carried on excavations at Pergamon under the auspices of the Berlin Museum

⁴² See, for instance, Easton 2002; Silberman 1989.

(1878-86). He subsequently worked at a number of sites in the Aegean including Magnesia ad Meander (1890-93), Priene (1895-98), Miletos (1899), Didyma (1905), and Myus (1908) (Figures 6 and 7). His work opened a new path in Classical archaeology by focusing on the whole site rather than a single monument and applying the concept of large-scale exploration to ancient Greek cities. This idea was originally put forward in 1888 by Alexander Conze (d. 1914), who suggested that the purpose of archaeology should be to reconstruct ancient cities (DAI 1999, 29-39), a principle that inspired Osman Hamdi Bey (d. 1910), who made it official in 1884 in the Antiquities Law and declared it to all field directors working under the permission of the Imperial Museum (Shaw 2003, 117-8).

The law created great pressure and necessitated significant changes in the organization of the foreign excavations in Ottoman territory.⁴³ While prohibiting the transfer of monuments and finds from the country, it granted excavators all the scientific rights over their discoveries including mapping, illustrating, copying, and publishing. Following this, in 1884, the Oriental Branch of the Royal Museum (Altes Museum) in Berlin was established in İzmir in order to control and organize all the Prussian archaeological expeditions in the Near East. Humann was appointed director of the center, a position he kept until his death. Theodor Wiegand (d. 1936) moved the institute to İstanbul in 1899 forming the basis of the modern German Archaeological Institute (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut - DAI) (DAI 1999, 29-39).

A particularly influential figure for the personnel of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was Salomon Reinach (d. 1932), a French archaeologist, who mentored Osman Hamdi at the formative stages of the latter's archaeological career, as outlined in Chapter 3. In 1886, Reinach published a field manual, *Conseils aux voyageurs archéologues en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénique* (*Advice for Archaeological Travelers in Greece and in the Hellenic East*) for amateur archaeologists working in Greece (Reinach 1886). The book covers a large range of topics including epigraphy, fine arts, and numismatics, as well as giving instructions on fieldwork, equipment, and social interaction with the locals. Moreover, Reinach's book is a pioneering source of information for pottery studies. Distinguishing the painted vases from the unpainted ones, Reinach advises to document the painted ones with photographs, whereas it would be sufficient to sketch the unpainted ones, a practice still valid in archaeological practice today. He considers the vases with red or black figures to be the most precious and

⁴³ For the legislative changes to regulate the archaeological activities in the Ottoman Empire, see Chapter 3.

does not recommend documenting them by photography or *lucida* to avoid deformation. Instead, he suggests using tracing paper to take impressions of the patterns on vases.

Reinach's manual is worthy of attention not only for offering useful information on the core practices of archaeology, but also for exhibiting a relatively scientific approach to artifact studies that is well beyond its time. Stressing the value of finds as sources of information, Reinach advises his readers not to underestimate the coarse objects since "it is often of the poorest fragments that science makes the biggest profit from" (Reinach 1886, 90). In this regard, the book marks an important threshold in the progress of archaeology into a scientific discipline. It is particularly of interest for the present study since this manual was likely amongst the limited number of archaeological publications available to the staff of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, which may have influenced their approaches to archaeology.⁴⁴ Thus, it might have been one of the main sources of reference used by the "freshmen" archaeologists of the Ottoman Empire for their self-training. Given his close affiliation with Osman Hamdi Bey and the Imperial Museum, it can be suggested that Reinach's ideas and methods must have had a strong influence on the development of archaeological methodology within the Ottoman Empire, a subject further elaborated in Chapter 3.

Asian Archaeology: The Case of Anau

Anau in modern Turkmenistan has a distinguished place in the history of archaeology for being one of the earliest systematic excavations that employed scientific techniques. Excavations at the site began in 1886 under General A. V. Kamarov, the Imperial Russian governor of the Trans-Caspian area, who dug up a trench through the middle of the mound of Anau being aware that it comprised multiple occupational layers. The short expedition of Kamarov provided a chronological sequence of settlements in the sense of a modern sounding and laid the foundations for the study of the prehistory of Central Asia (Hiebert et al. 2003, 24-31; Schmidt 2003, 174-193) (Figure 3).

From 1903 on, Raphael Pumpelly (d. 1923), a geologist sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation in Washington, undertook the exploration of Anau for two seasons in 1903 and 1904, in search of evidence of early farming in the region. He was accompanied by a botanist, a zoologist, a geo-morphologist (his son), and an archaeologist, Hubert Schmidt (d. 1933), of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, who directed the dig with his three young assistants.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the archaeological method in Ottoman archaeology.

Trained by Dörpfeld in stratigraphy earlier in Troy, Schmidt established a ceramic sequence to identify different habitational layers. He began his exploration of the mound in 1904 enlarging the trenches each day and recording everything in detail his log-book. Distinctive finds and features were excavated carefully by Schmidt himself or his assistant Warner. They set up a datum point on top of the mound and recorded the finds with reference to the depth of their positions and the trenches, in which they were discovered. Paying close attention to stratigraphy, they studied soils, collected all the finds, sieved the soil to save small pieces, and most notably, carried out phytolith and faunal analyses on the remains. Then, these scientific samples were sent to Europe to be analyzed by specialists and the results were published in two substantial volumes in 1908 (Pumpelly 1908).

Anau was one of the best-documented excavations of its time. Thanks to its past records, it has been possible to correlate the 1904 excavations with the modern surveys and contextualize some of the past finds. In fact, the site was re-excavated in 1990s by an American team, who dug the backfilled trenches of 1904 (Hiebert 1999). A comparison of their sections to those illustrated in the 1908 report testified how meticulously and accurately Pumpelly and Schmidt excavated. Pioneering in their methodology, they conducted one of the first-ever interdisciplinary projects in the history of archaeology (Hiebert 1999).

Near Eastern Archaeology

Archaeological investigations in the Near East commenced with Biblical archaeology in the beginning of the nineteenth century as individual enterprises, consisting of mostly topographic surveys and historical geographical studies. Although the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853 interrupted archaeological activities in the Near East for roughly two decades, interest in ancient Near Eastern civilizations was revived particularly due to their Biblical associations (Hilprecht 1903, 190-201; Matthews 2003, 9). In the next stage, archaeological societies were founded that dedicated themselves initially to surveying and mapping the region. The third phase in the history of Near Eastern archaeology is the time of excavations undertaken by these societies mostly at the tell sites, a trend that continued until the First World War. During this period, attention culminated in the exploration of ancient Near Eastern sites lying in the Ottoman territory. The Ottoman Imperial Museum initially took part in this rush as overseer to monitor the activities of foreign archaeological teams. In this respect, both Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey were appointed commissars at various expeditions in the region, where they encountered different methodologies and gained the

opportunity to improve their field skills, as discussed in Chapter 3. They greatly benefited from this experience in the excavations they carried out on behalf of the museum in subsequent years. From this standpoint, the following summary of archaeological activities of various teams and individuals working in the Middle East is intended to contribute to our understanding of the disciplinary interactions amongst them.

The majority of early expeditions in the Near East aimed to study civilizations known historically through the Bible in order to prove the accuracy of the Biblical accounts. A groundbreaking event was the discovery of a cuneiform tablet containing the Babylonian flood story, which was remarkably similar to the Biblical story of Noah. George Smith (d. 1876), an official in charge of the Assyrian Department at the British Museum, presented the results of his finds to the Society of Biblical Archaeology in 1872 and published *Assyrian Discoveries* and *the Chaldean Account of Genesis*, both of which made a sensation (Smith 1875 and 1876). Such a parallel between the Bible and Mesopotamian civilizations aroused incredible curiosity in Near Eastern archaeology in both public and scholarly circles.

Systematic explorations in the Holy Land itself began with the foundation of the English Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) in 1865. The large ancient history served as a point of reference for the archaeological investigations in Palestine. The PEF mainly focused on the topography of Palestine in order to identify Biblical sites and verify their authenticity.⁴⁵ The society published a detailed map of the region, followed by large-scale surveys and excavations first at Jerusalem by Charles Warren (d. 1927) between 1867 and 1870 and by Frederick J. Bliss (d. 1937) between 1894 and 1897 (Macalister 1925, 30-39). Afterwards, Bliss worked at many other sites in Palestine. He had an ambitious choice of sites to be explored but limited amount of time as dictated by the Turkish permit.⁴⁶ Therefore, he excavated almost all the sites by means of soundings and tunnels, methods that downgrade his work because they were already considered out-dated and destructive (Macalister 1925, 47-48).⁴⁷ According to the terms of the Ottoman permit, the excavation finds belonged to the Imperial Museum, secured by the museum officer Şevket Efendi; the excavators could take with them merely illustrations, maps, photographs, and casts.

⁴⁵ Benzinger's article in Hilprecht gives an overview of the history of explorations in Palestine (1903, 581-622). Macalister also provides a summary of the history of excavations in Palestine (Macalister 1925, 13-75).

⁴⁶ Chapter 3 offers a brief discussion of the legislative changes regulating the excavation permits.

⁴⁷ For a summary of the results of Bliss's work, see Macalister 1925, 109-129.

The Holy Land ultimately became a region of interest for various other nations. The Germans participated in the exploration of Palestine in 1877 establishing the *Deutscher Palästina-Verein* (German Society for the Exploration of Palestine). Austria received a permit to excavate Tell Taanak in northern Palestine in 1902 (Macalister 1925, 63). The first American mission began at Samaria in 1908 directed by George Andrew Reisner (d. 1942) under the auspices of Harvard University and continued until 1910.

Meanwhile, the PEF declared its objective as the thorough exploration of the Holy Land, incorporating sciences such as topography, geology, botany, zoology, and meteorology (Macalister 1925, 30). The following paragraph by Immanuel Benzinger (d. 1935), one of the founders of Biblical archaeology, conveys the emphasis placed on the systematic and scientific investigation of the Holy Land, which takes precedence over traditional Biblical studies, and demonstrates the changing mentality and growing awareness of archaeologists at the beginning of the twentieth century:

[H]istorical antecedents of Palestine research must be kept in view in order to understand the peculiar development of our knowledge of Palestine as a science in our century. This development had to begin with a struggle against these overpowering traditions, and this struggle above all made manifest the need of undertaking a reliable geographical and scientific exploration of the land, the results of which would for all time to come put an end to the making of fables. Even the excavations in Jerusalem were performed in the interests of topography, having for their object the determining of the course of the walls and other important points; and in the case of not a few questions the contention in regard to the authenticity of sacred places has been the starting-point and goal of the discussions. Over against these the excavations undertaken purely in the interests of archaeology were accorded only a secondary place, although the finds, few in number, were so much the more weighty in significance. (Benzinger 1903, 584)

The archaeological enterprises of the Ottoman Empire in the Near East will be discussed in the following chapters. An initiative that is worth mentioning in this context is the foundation of a municipal museum in Jerusalem in 1901 by the orders of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Such an organization was necessary to control the excavations and accelerate the transportation of antiquities acquired from the various excavations in the Holy Land to İstanbul (St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013). There is no consensus on whether this establishment qualified to be a “museum” or not. Robert A. Macalister (d. 1950) (1925, 69-70) states that despite being named a “museum,” in fact, it was hardly more than a storage depot housing antiquities, whose direct transfer to the capital would be impractical and costly. However, Bliss, who took part in the foundation of the museum, mentions 465 objects housed by the museum in 1899, most of which consisted of “lesser pieces” or copies since the “more significant” ones had

been sent to İstanbul (St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013, 18-19). In 1900, Bliss prepared a handwritten catalogue of 594 objects, chronologically organized and installed in the cases of the museum when it was opened in 1901 under the directorship of İsmail Bey (St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013, 19-20). It is the first Ottoman museum opened outside İstanbul. Such regional museums inarguably functioned as tools of the Hamidian ideology of modernization, as discussed in the next chapter. Moreover, the Jerusalem Museum⁴⁸ was obviously part of Abdülhamid's project of "monopolizing the sacred sites of Islam" (St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013, 17-18). The Ottoman government exercised its sovereignty over the Holy Land by claiming rights over its archaeological finds, and thus, by appropriating its past. This was a political message both to the local population as well as to the European states exercising their power over the region. Hence, the Jerusalem Museum not only functioned as an institutional model for modernization but also as a stage where the Ottoman sovereignty was displayed (St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013, 7).

The Holy Land was not the only focus of archaeological activity in the Near East. A prominent expedition that introduced methodology to Near Eastern archaeology began in 1877 in Iraq in Tello, the Sumerian city of Lagash (Figure 5). It was Ernest de Sarzec (d. 1901), vice-consul of France, who directed eleven campaigns of excavations under the auspices of the Louvre. The excavations continuing until 1900 with intervals produced sensational finds belonging to Sumerian culture, one of the oldest civilizations of the world. Although Tello was put on the map for the great discoveries made by De Sarzec and his team, it is their innovative field techniques that are more relevant for the present chapter (Daniel 1976, 134). De Sarzec was not a trained archaeologist unlike many of his contemporaries, but his work in Tello demonstrates that he was ahead of his time for recognizing the efficiency of slow and long-term excavations. He initially dug trial trenches in the region surrounding Tello in order to ascertain the general characteristics of the site and subsequently began exploring the major mound, where Tello is situated. He conducted large-scale excavations uncovering rich architectural remains, sculptures, figurines, inscriptions and a great corpus of cylinder seals and cuneiform tablets, which he valued as sources of information rather than simply precious finds.⁴⁹ Pioneering in methodology, the Tello excavations accelerated the systematic

⁴⁸ The provincial museums in Jerusalem and elsewhere were also referred to as "Müze-i Hümayun" since they were branches of *Müze-i Hümayun* (Imperial Museum) in İstanbul.

⁴⁹ The first party of finds sent to the Louvre in 1881 raised great curiosity. But the antiquities law issued by Osman Hamdi in 1884 brought strict control over the mission; the Imperial Museum claimed and obtained the

exploration of the Babylonian ruins and inspired new expeditions in the region (Hilprecht 1903, 281).

Similar to other branches of archaeology, the Germans got involved in the exploration of the Near East much later than their counterparts. Their participation in Mesopotamian archaeology, which had been monopolized by the British and the French teams, caused a transformation in the emerging discipline of scientific archaeology. In 1887, the German Oriental Society (*Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*) was established and began their first excavations at the Neo-Hittite site of Zincirli (*anc. Sam'al*), dug for three seasons between 1888 and 1891 by Felix Ritter von Luschan (d. 1924) (Figure 7). It was a well-organized excavation that served as a field school to train new archaeologists, one of whom was Robert Koldewey (d. 1925) (DAI 1999, 29-39). Koldewey had studied architecture, archaeology and ancient history in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna; and had previously worked at Olympia, Assos, and Lesbos (Figure 6). He came to Mesopotamia along with members of the Royal Prussian Museum of Berlin in 1887 to conduct brief excavations at two Babylonian sites, Surghul, and Tell Abu Habbah (*anc. Sippar*) near Tello, the first German excavations in Babylonia (Matthews 2003, 12; Hilprecht 1903, 282-283) (Figure 5). In 1899, he began excavating Babylon under the auspices of the German Oriental Society, a project that continued until the First World War. In addition to his dramatic discoveries at the site, he also revealed the historical reality of the legendary city of Babylon. In methodological terms, Koldewey made a remarkable contribution to Mesopotamian archaeology by developing the technique to trace and excavate mud-brick features. Previous excavators had dug away mud-brick and inadvertently destroyed a large number of mud-brick monuments.

The attentive approach and accurate work of Koldewey made him one of the most influential figures of his time (Matthews 2003, 12). He also played a significant role in the development of the discipline for bringing up new archaeologists. The best known of his assistants was Walter Andrae (d. 1956), a young architect that carried out excavations in Assur between 1903 and 1914 (Figure 5). The ruins in Assur extended over an immense area posing a true challenge for its investigators, which Andrae overcame by opening trial trenches, deep stratigraphic soundings all across the site at intervals of 100 m. This is one of the first applications of stratigraphic principles to excavate and document the chronological

finds in the subsequent campaigns. For a detailed account on the long history of De Sarzec's excavations and discoveries at Tello, see Hilprecht 1903, 216-260.

sequence of a site in Mesopotamian archaeology. Andrae's strategy proved successful in providing a chronological framework for the history of Assur while producing a rich corpus of finds belonging to the Assyrian civilization, part of which was acquired by the Ottoman Imperial Museum (Vorderasiatisches Museum and Harper 1995, 18). The two German expeditions in Babylon and Assur represent a turning point in Mesopotamian archaeology at the turn of the century for introducing new methods and raising the standards of fieldwork to a much higher level. The so-called *sherqati* workmen trained in these excavations gained expertise in tracing mud-brick and were in demand at subsequent digs in Mesopotamia throughout the twentieth century (Matthews 2003, 12).

A *sine qua non* for the history of archaeology is W. M. Flinders Petrie (d. 1942), an Egyptologist who introduced systematic methods to the discipline and pioneered the prehistoric archaeology of Pre-dynastic Egypt (Murray, 274-6). He articulated the basis of modern archaeological methods and formulated his principles in 1889 leaving his mark on the history of the discipline. He was affiliated with the British Museum from 1881 to 1886. He came to a turning-point after sending a large collection of pottery and small finds from Egypt to the museum, which got rejected for not meeting the acquisition criteria of the museum due to their lack of "aesthetic" quality (Murray, 274-6). Considering this as a sign of ignorance, Petrie quit from his post to pursue his curiosity in scientific archaeology for it would allow him to raise more detailed questions regarding the development of the Egyptian civilizations (Daniel 1976, 135).

One of most important sites Petrie explored is Tell el-Hesi⁵⁰ in Palestine, which is identified as the ancient city of Lachish (Figure 5). The excavations, sponsored by the PEF started in 1890 and lasted for six weeks. Petrie dug a debris of 18 m with multiple occupational layers marked by different types of pottery, which turned out to be an instructive challenge forcing Petrie to develop a strategy to deal with this large corpus of pottery and their corresponding layers (Macalister 1925, 43-45). Despite being informed by geological principles, the stratigraphy technique he applied here is regarded as the most advanced of his time and was followed by many others in the following decades (Daniel 1976, 176; Harris 1997, 9). One of his significant contributions was the introduction of the system of seriation (sequence dating), which he applied on artifacts in order to offer chronological inferences

⁵⁰ Following Petrie, Bliss and Macalister excavated at Tell el-Hesi, the details of which can be found in Macalister (1925).

based on the idea that the human technology evolved over time and each culture had a different technique and style reflected on the artifacts they produced. Petrie subsequently established a cross-dating system by using pottery from Egypt and the Aegean while exploring the trade connections between the Egyptians and the Mycenaeans. This is one of the first instances in the history of archaeology when pottery was utilized as a dating tool (Daniel 1976, 176). He defined pottery as the greatest resource of the archaeologist: “For variety of form and texture, for decoration, for rapid change, for its quick fall into oblivion, and for its incomparable abundance, it is in every respect the most important material for study and it constitutes the essential alphabet of archaeology in every land.” (Petrie 1904, 15-16) Therefore, he believed that its study was crucial for archaeological research: “[...] it is the first duty of any excavator to make himself well-acquainted with it before he attempts to discover more. At present the archaeological experience that should be acquired before doing any responsible work in any country ought to cover the history of pottery century by century [...].” (4)

Furthermore, Petrie placed a strong emphasis on the necessity to care for and respect the monuments: the importance of meticulous attention to excavation, collecting, and recording the entire corpus of finds in relation to their exact find-spots, precision in planning and mapping the site, the excavations and the monuments, and publishing the results at the earliest. Moreover, he stressed the importance of a holistic approach to a site and the entire corpus of artifacts found on it, including monuments, inscriptions and objects (Daniel 1976, 175). In 1904, Petrie published a field manual entitled *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, in which he elaborates his methods for field surveys, excavations and post-excavation analyses while giving practical advice on a wide range of subjects including daily field tasks, how to hire and supervise workmen, the techniques of photography and conservation (Petrie 1904). Many of these principles are still valid today (Murray 2007, 277).

Against the backdrop of competitions between various institutions and individuals over shares of the Near Eastern archaeology, Americans also started their first expedition in Nippur, Iraq (Holod and Ousterhout 2011). The excavation was sponsored by the Babylonian Exploration Fund (BEF), established by William Pepper (d. 1898) and John Punnett Peters (d. 1921) of the University of Pennsylvania. A large team consisting of scholars (a professor of archaeology, a photographer, a linguist, an architect, director and assistants), 300 workmen and Bedri Bey representing the Imperial Museum began excavations in 1889. The work continued for three seasons under different directors and with various team members with no

substantial finds until 1900. It was during the final season in 1900, that 30,000 (Sumerian and Akkadian) cuneiform tablets dated between the fourth and the second millennia BC were found. This discovery created a great curiosity in the US in ancient Near Eastern civilizations, as a result of which, an association of American universities collaboratively founded the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and later in Baghdad to explore Egypt and Palestine (Murray 2007, 271-4).

The excavation methods applied in Nippur and the surrounding mounds were much behind the disciplinary trends of the time still applying the old tradition of tunnelling, which Peters describes as follows: “We sank small well-shafts or deep narrow trenches, in many cases to the depth of fifty feet or more, and pierced innumerable small tunnels [...] after the native method.” (Hilprecht 1903, 328) Peters obviously had no interest in the latest methods of excavation or developing a more systematic approach. He honestly admits that he was purely concerned about investigating the mounds and recovering tablets. He did not pay any attention to individual layers, thus disturbing strata, and ultimately failing to produce a chronological framework for the occupational history of the mounds he dug (328-29). His colleagues criticized Peters severely for failing to make a meaningful analysis and a satisfactory plan of the sites he worked at (343).

Another well-known figure, who had absolutely no interest in the scientific trends was Hormuzd Rassam (d. 1910). Rassam worked as Austen Henry Layard’s assistant in his exploration of the ancient sites of Nimrud and Nineveh in the 1840s (Figure 5). Together they filled the British Museum with sculpture and cuneiform tablets from the Assyrian civilization. After Layard retired, Rassam continued working in Northern Iraq being in charge of the exploration of Babylonia and Assyria on behalf of the British Museum from 1878 to 1882. Both his contemporaries and later scholars heavily criticize him for his “strange” methods of excavation, which caused serious destruction of the sites he excavated such as Babylon, Borsippa (*mod.* El-Birs), and Abu Harra (Hilprecht 1903, 260-279) (Figure 5). He had no interest in the advances made in archaeological technique and simply gave priority to collecting antiquities for the museum, an ambition shared by many others in the field including the French team at Kish (Ingharra), British archaeologists at Nineveh, and American archaeologist Edgar Banks at Bismya, which are badly excavated and poorly recorded excavation projects with no contributions to the disciplinary knowledge (Matthews, 2003, 14) (Figure 5). These examples demonstrate that the disciplinary methods employed at

various contemporary excavations were not consistent and, in fact, represented a wide array of techniques and approaches.

Archaeological Method at the Turn of the Century

In contrast to the considerable increase of scholarly interest in the history of archaeology in recent decades,⁵¹ the attention paid to the history and evolution of ideas, concepts, and methods during the formative years of archaeology remains inadequate.⁵² The most substantial challenge for the researcher examining the history of methodology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is posed by the scarcity of primary sources. The records of early expeditions were often kept as diaries or simply field notes describing various stages of the excavations. In addition, the excavators drew plans and maps of the sites and the structural features unearthed. Section drawings, if they were ever made, only showed walls or fragments of structures with no reference to the layers of the actual soil. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, photography emerged as a valuable tool of documentation but its use was limited due to its high cost. It was only some of the leading expeditions that published their results again with a strong emphasis on their discoveries rather than methodologies. Apart from some exceptions, early archaeological publications, including manuals and excavation reports, do not yield much information on the excavation techniques. A few of these early excavations were assessed by secondary excavations undertaken on the same site, which revealed some details on the field methods used in the past.⁵³

The insufficiency of evidence causes a challenge for the analyses and comparison of the field methods employed by various archaeological teams in different stages of archaeological work from excavation to discovery, from recording to preservation and publication, particularly in the case of early archaeological excavations. One of the pioneers of archaeological method, Kathleen Kenyon (d. 1978) was the first scholar to recognize the difficulty of examining archaeological methodology of early expeditions:

Excavation methods are a subject about which practically no mention is made in publications, and about which only people who have made prolonged visits to digs have any idea. In ordinary popular accounts of excavations, it is the results, which are

⁵¹ See, for instance, Daniel 1976; Trigger 2009 (first published in 1989); Murray 2007; Stiebing 1993; Christenson 1989; Moro Abadía 2013.

⁵² There are few exceptional studies on the subject such as Daniel (1976) and Trigger (2009).

⁵³ Examples include Leisten 2003; Hiebert et al. 2003.

stressed, and not how they are obtained. In full scientific reports, the methods can often be deduced, but they are seldom described, as it is taken for granted that the reports will mainly be read by fellow excavators who will not require to be told about methods. (Kenyon (1939, 29) quoted in Harris (1997, 14))

This analysis is valid for both European and Ottoman excavations ongoing during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries given the scant evidence documenting the activities of early archaeologists. Nevertheless, before lamenting the absence of adequate information, one should primarily exploit the existing primary sources.⁵⁴ To this aim, this section will attempt to bring together snippets of information from both primary and secondary sources in order to examine the different archaeological methods employed by different archaeological societies at the turn of the century. Such an analysis is meaningful for it would reveal the diversity of approaches and methods applied by various individuals and institutions on the field. The period under investigation witnessed an important transition as archaeology evolved from being simply a passion for discovering antiquities into a quest for knowledge about the sites and civilizations under exploration. The methodology varied from traditional and conventional techniques to innovative, eclectic and experimental attempts in developing more systematic approaches. As Edward Harris accurately summarizes “[t]he history of excavation methods reflects the changing attitudes of successive generations about what should be considered a valuable object” (Harris 1997, 14). Indeed, as mentioned above, the early nineteenth-century expeditions were simply looking for relics, monuments (especially walls and ditches), precious objects and complete vessels, while this tendency changed slowly but steadily towards the end of the century, the “valuable object” being defined as potsherds and artifacts that are potential sources of information. This remarkable shift in the purpose of the leading excavations dictated establishing new methodologies.

Earlier archaeological work consisted basically of digging random holes in the ground and removing the soil arbitrarily until the desired objects were discovered, a method still applied in clandestine excavations. Most of the archaeologists in the first half of the nineteenth century, such as Layard, Rassam, and Botta, carried this method one step further and used a tunnelling technique, which involved digging long tunnels that extend in a horizontal line on the ancient walls with regular shafts to allow light (Matthews 2003, 7). This was the most favourable technique to recover the largest number of artifacts in the least

⁵⁴ For instance, Ernst Herzfeld’s papers have been digitized and published, a valuable attempt that facilitates future research. Similar strategies can be applied to the Ottoman archival material.

amount of time. For instance, Layard discovered a 3 km-long wall-face decorated with sculpted reliefs in a very short time. However, due to the destructive nature of their methods, these earlier excavations were heavily criticized by the succeeding archaeologists, whose remarks reveal the rapid progress archaeological method went through at the turn of the century (Daniel 1976, 159):

[T]he most unsatisfactory of all excavation processes. Vertical shafts were dug to a certain depth, after which horizontal galleries were driven through the soil in the required direction. [...] It is very costly work; it is also slow, as the labor of carrying the waste soil through the ever-lengthening gallery cannot be hurried. Moreover, it is very dangerous. The workmen are liable to risks from foul air, from the running of gravel or other unstable material, or from a collapse of the gallery roof. The supervision of the workmen is next to impossible. [...]. In any case, the chance of finding antiquities is reduced to a minimum [...] and the superposition of chronological strata cannot be studied at all. (Macalister 1925, 33-34)

In 1849, Jens Jacob Worsae (d. 1885) introduced the concept of a formal trench in Scandinavian archaeology, which shortly gained acceptance elsewhere. Both Pitt Rivers and Petrie used a series of parallel trenches, which were successively excavated and then backfilled. In his later surveys, Pitt Rivers applied the open-area strategy, a different technique aimed to clear the entire site from the top to the natural subsoil in a series of spits, which allows one to record the depth of finds more systematically. Until the 1930s, the majority of the archaeological surveys employed the so-called arbitrary excavation technique, in which the soil is removed at regular intervals with arbitrary spits of c. 15 cm in depth, a thickness predetermined by the archaeologist. This method, which is still in use in some modern excavations, primarily aims to record the finds with relation to their positions disregarding their stratigraphic contexts.⁵⁵

Excavation techniques also differed according to the nature of a site, whether it is a multi-layered mound or a site representing a single settlement. In many Classical cities such as Olympia, Pompeii, and Ephesos, one particular occupational layer is the most prominent. Such sites were excavated by using the open-area technique, which facilitates planning the entire city and its architectural remains. In contrast, most of the archaeological sites in the Near East comprise mounds or tells constituting multiple occupational layers. A principal challenge in surveying such sites is the difficulty of isolating each layer and its corresponding

⁵⁵ A second method introduced in 1930s and advocated by M. Wheeler is the *stratigraphic excavation*, in which deposits are removed in conformity with their individual shapes and contours. For a comparative analysis of different strategies of excavation, see Harris 1997, 15-21. For a comparison of the old and modern methods in archaeological fieldwork, see Renfrew and Bahn 2004; Drewett 1999.

artifacts. Another well-known issue in the Near Eastern archaeology from the beginning has been the question of recognizing sundried mud-bricks, the most common building material in the region. Early missions in Mesopotamia entirely failed in this respect.

The German involvement in archaeology introduced striking improvements in archaeological methodology. Koldewey and Andrae revolutionized the excavation techniques in the Near East by introducing a “slow digging” technique to enable distinguishing the unbaked mud-brick walls from the debris surrounding them, and thus, overcame one of the problems that had been prevalent until then. Focusing on a single site to fully explore and document it certainly extended the time dedicated to excavation while reducing the amount of finds, therefore was not favourable to many others. Given that both Macridy and Haydar Bey worked closely with German teams throughout their careers, they must have been influenced and inspired by aforesaid names.⁵⁶ The methods and techniques they observed at these excavations⁵⁷ must have shaped their attitudes and outlooks towards their own explorations at Raqqa and elsewhere.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Sir Flinders Petrie noted in his manual published in 1904 that there were two objects of an excavation: “to obtain plans and topographical information, and [...] portable antiquities” (Petrie 1904, 33). This remark clearly reflects the state of the field at the turn of the century, when archaeology saw a dramatic transformation in terms of its aims and methods but was still in a transitory state. The archaeological enterprises, which had been run as private initiatives thus far, began to be undertaken by institutions such as archaeological schools and museums. The purpose of the leading archaeological missions of the time shifted from collecting objects to gathering information, from the exploration of individual monuments to the recovery of entire sites even though they were not yet concerned with wider implications of their finds (Bittel 1980). The time period between 1880 and the First World War, which forms the chronological framework of the present study, can be considered a transition period before archaeology became a scientific discipline in the first half of the twentieth century.

⁵⁶ In his memoirs, Haydar Bey acknowledges the meticulous techniques and attentive approach of Koldewey as mentioned in Chapter 3, p. 100.

⁵⁷ See Appendix 2 for a list of the excavations Macridy and Haydar Bey participated in.

⁵⁸ See Chapters 3, 4 and 5 for a discussion of archaeological methodologies applied in Ottoman excavations.

During this time, the first generation of trained-archaeologists emerged, who were ahead of their times in terms of introducing a systematic organization of fieldwork and the study of artifacts. Thanks to the efforts of such key individuals, archaeology as a discipline gained new perspectives with innovative methodologies and ideas although they were still in an experimental stage. A great majority of these archaeologists, such as Pitt Rivers, Petrie, Schliemann had become aware that excavation was necessarily a destructive practice, and thus, had to be conducted with great care (Daniel 1976, 152-189). This was certainly not a universal phenomenon as there were many exceptional figures, who paid no attention to the on-going disciplinary developments and their contemporaries' critiques (Matthews 2013, 15). It was particularly the activities of the German archaeologists such as Curtius, Dörpfeld, and Koldewey that raised the bar by establishing higher standards in fieldwork and enhancing the theory and method of archaeology. The new approach applied at sites such as Olympia, Pergamon, Priene, and later at Miletos was a turning point in its attempt to understand archaeological remains not in isolation but within the context of the entire settlement.

The present chapter sought to outline the concepts and methods introduced and developed by such pioneers at the turn of the century. The new criteria they formulated carried the quality of the archaeological work to a much higher level. In addition, the expeditions they conducted served as field schools bringing up new generations of well-informed, enthusiastic archaeologists. By spreading their knowledge and principles in the field, through their publications and archaeological congresses, they undoubtedly had a great impact on the new generation of archaeologists including the staff of the Ottoman Imperial Museum. The next chapters will question the extent to which Ottoman archaeologists caught up with the developments of their time and met these newly established criteria in their fieldwork.

Chapter 2 - The Birth of a New Discipline: Islamic Archaeology

Islamic archaeology originated as an independent discipline towards the end of the nineteenth century with its purpose restricted to the recovery of “antiquities” in a similar fashion to other sub-branches of archaeology that had developed relatively earlier. However, in the first decades of the twentieth century, its subjects of study, research aims, and methodologies evolved in line with the ongoing archaeological trends of the time.⁵⁹ The excavations gradually began to be undertaken for the purpose of exploring sites and archaeological remains in a systematic way with a lesser concern for collecting objects for museums. The period from the 1980s on saw a rapid increase in the number of archaeological research projects in a wide repertoire of sites particularly in the Middle East, a large number of which have recently ceased due to the current turmoil.

In order to contextualize the two excavation campaigns at Raqqa carried out by the Ottoman Imperial Museum in 1905-6 and 1908, this chapter provides a historical overview of Islamic archaeology from its origins until modern times with an emphasis on the internal development of the discipline at the turn of the century. The chapter starts with the definition of the term “Islamic archaeology.” This is followed by a brief history of the discipline traced back to the late-nineteenth century with a focus on the early archaeological activities. The third section presents the first archaeological explorations undertaken at Islamic sites in a wide geographical span from North Africa to Central Asia. These explorations, led by some of the pioneers of Islamic archaeology, consist of a wide range of investigations from excavations to field surveys with a focus on the architectural and epigraphic remains. In this respect, by introducing new concepts and methods, they made notable contributions to the formation of the discipline and the study of Islamic material culture. The fourth section examines the development of Islamic art in the Ottoman world during the Hamidian Era. It argues that the Ottoman government not only invested in but also promoted its Islamic legacy in order to avoid the collapse of the empire and to reappropriate its imperial image in the Middle East. The last section is a critical analysis of the state of the field in modern Turkey, which, at first glance, may seem irrelevant in this context but in fact has strong implications for the approach of İstanbul’s Museum of the Turkish and Islamic Arts (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi - TİEM) to the archaeological finds from Raqqa, which form the core

⁵⁹ For a concise introduction to the state of the field of Islamic archaeology and to its major issues, see Milwright 2010.

material of the present dissertation. Such collections recovered and brought from sites that lie outside the borders of modern Turkey have long suffered from negligence and lack of scholarly interest, as discussed below.

What is Islamic Archaeology?

Islamic archaeology is a sub-branch of archaeology that emerged in the late nineteenth century in order to investigate the material culture produced in Islamic periods and lands, where the ruling class has been associated with Islam (Milwright 2010, 3). The term “Islamic archaeology” defines a wide scope of archaeological investigations, including all kinds of field surveys, excavation, restoration and conservation practices as well as post-excavation analyses employed in order to illuminate the past lives of Islamic societies.⁶⁰ The accuracy of the umbrella term “Islamic” has been questioned since there is hardly any theme except the faith of Islam that unites the vast geography of the Muslim world that extends from Western Africa to South East Asia (Grabar 1971). Actually, the concept “Islamic” was coined only in the early years of the twentieth century although the European interest in Islamic material culture can be traced back to the Middle Ages, when the European travelers collected Islamic objects in their fascination with a romanticized, exotic Orient. They often identified these objects in a nomenclature of restrictive geographic or ethnic origin (such as Arab, Turkish, Persian or Moorish) or simply used the term “Saracenic,” which referred to the multiracial aspect of the Muslim society connoting the concepts of “eastern” and “medieval” (Roxburgh 2000, 32; Blair and Bloom 2009).

The Islamic world has been connected to many regions throughout the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world within a historical, socio-political and economic context. Timothy Insoll advocates that the Islamic material culture reflects religious elements and practices of Muslim societies; therefore, he claims that the Islamic faith is visible in the archaeological record. He views Islam as “a uniform superstructure composed of the fundamentals of belief, with a substructure of practices, cultures and their material manifestations” and emphasizes the richness and diversity of the Islamic material culture, which differed throughout ages and across regions (Insoll 1999). In contrast, Alastair Northedge suggests that the archaeology of Islam should be considered not as the archaeology

⁶⁰ Although the phrase “archaeology in the *dār al-Islam*” is often cited to be a more appropriate term, “Islamic archaeology” has been widely favoured due its convenience.

of a religion, but rather of a particular world culture dispersed over many different geographical regions (Northedge 1999, 1101). According to Oleg Grabar, despite the shared Islamic cultural elements in this large territory, the temporal and regional idiosyncrasies complicate the efforts to examine them in a collective manner. This great cultural diversity and the paucity of an aesthetic uniformity that exists neither spatially nor historically in the Islamic world are factors that preclude a holistic approach in the Islamic studies (Grabar 2006, 266). Therefore, the study of the Islamic material record should encompass multiple archaeologies such as Byzantine, Crusader, and the newly emerged Mediterranean archaeology.

Furthermore, in contrast to other sub-disciplines of Near Eastern archaeology, Islamic archaeology deals with the recent past of a living, dynamic culture touching upon ongoing issues, and thus, it necessitates a different approach to its material record than other sub-branches of archaeology. For instance, its paradigm signifies a remarkable contrast with Biblical archaeology, which may, at first glance, seem like its counterpart. However, while the latter, particularly in its early years, mainly dealt with the places and peoples mentioned in the Old Testament, Islamic archaeology covers a wide span of time and geography with no necessarily religious associations.⁶¹ Since it represents a culture that is still living in various parts of the world, the study of Islamic archaeology evolved in a similar way to the medieval archaeology in Europe, which developed somewhat later than other sub-branches of archaeology (Vernoit 1997, 2).

Due to the fact that Islam has been a literate culture from the beginning, Islamic archaeology is regarded as a type of “historical” archaeology, a form of archaeology that explores the material remains of the historically known societies by incorporating textual history with archaeological record. Written history tends to focus on upper classes, certain kinds of events and places. It relies on the accounts of a literate elite, which often represents a minority of the population, a point to be considered particularly in periods of low literacy. Moreover, it is often ideologically biased as it serves a political agenda. Nevertheless, the historical sources and oral traditions can inform and contextualize cultural material. These records can both complement and conflict with the archaeological evidence found at a particular site. Conversely, archaeological research can supplement and contextualize the

⁶¹ Introductory remark, *Journal of Islamic Archaeology*, ed. B. J. Walker, retrieved from <https://journals.equinoxpub.com/index.php/JIA>.

documentary evidence obtained through historical sources. On the other side, archaeology can provide a great deal of information on various aspects of past lives, which would normally not be reflected through textual accounts; thus, it may reveal a more objective and alternative picture of the past. Besides history, Islamic archaeology has also been strongly tied to the discipline of art history. The relationship between the two fields has been blurry due to their common interests and overlapping subjects. It is the difference in their approaches to the material culture that defines the borders of the two disciplines.⁶² Art history is an object-oriented field that is concerned with stylistic and formal characteristics, iconography and patronage issues whereas archaeology seeks to reconstruct past human activity by using all kinds of physical and literary evidence that is available (Milwright 2010, 4). Furthermore, archaeology analyzes the technological processes of a wide range of artifacts from flint axes to architecture, to pottery and glassware to examine the relationship between people and things. In recent decades, Islamic archaeology has evolved into an independent field of inquiry that employs distinct methodologies from those of art and architectural history. Nevertheless, despite the sheer contrast in the priorities and methodologies of the three disciplines, the scarcity of evidence on past Islamic societies often requires an interdisciplinary approach, in which archaeology, history and art history can complement each other's work in order to offer a more integrated and holistic picture of the past.⁶³

Historical Overview of Islamic Archaeology

Islamic archaeology in its formative years was viewed through an Orientalist perspective with an emphasis on the importance of Islamic civilizations for the continuity of Mediterranean antiquity (Redford 2007, 248). The rich quantity of archaeological evidence offered by recent investigations has revealed that the dynamic transitional period from late antiquity to early Islam was indeed marked by cultural continuity in the majority of the Mediterranean basin, particularly in the main urban centers of antiquity.⁶⁴

Scientific theories of evolution and positivism that gained wide acceptance in the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe heavily influenced the disciplines of archaeology and

⁶² Milwright (2009, 6) reviews the differences between the definitions of Islamic archaeology by leading scholars in the field and how they affect their approaches to material culture.

⁶³ On the history of the close interrelation between Islamic art and archaeology, see Ettinghausen 1951; Grabar 1976; Canby 2000; Watson 1999b; Vernet 1997.

⁶⁴ See, for instance, Bartl and Hauser 1996.

historiography. As early as the 1820s, G. W. Friedrich Hegel (d. 1831) formulated world history as a gradual universal entity reaching its climax in nineteenth-century Europe (Almond 2010, 109). Hegel's historical perceptions of Islam as a "destructive (*zerstörend*)" and "devastating (*verwüstend*)" (126-7) civilization were largely shaped by Edward Gibbon's (1776) *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which ascribed the fall of the Roman Empire to the rise of Islam. Ironically, Hegel's hostility was in clear contradiction with his aesthetic theory that romanticized and idealized the Muslim culture, particularly in the realm of poetry (113).

In mid-nineteenth century, August Comte (d. 1857) put forward a principle that applied the law of progressive evolution to history. In fact, this Eurocentric conception of historical progress rooted in the Enlightenment, made a lasting impact on Orientalist scholarship and even stimulating the Muslim intelligentsia. Subsequently, Islam was purged from its contemporaneous religious attributes, and instead, was perceived simply as a threshold in the linear evolution of mankind. The European history viewed Islam, in a similar fashion to its treatment of Christianity, as "medieval and superseded" and thus, was eventually bound to pave the way for scientific positivism (Vernot 1997, 1; Lewis 1993, 16). At the same time as secularizing Islamic civilization, this notion also regarded Islamic material culture as an exotic, unchanging entity in the past, which derived from the ancient Near Eastern civilizations and served a historic mission by bridging the gap between the late Antique and early Medieval traditions within the linear development of humanity that culminated in modern Europe (Blair and Bloom 1999, 217).

This particular conception of Islam is embodied in Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, a term he coined in 1978. According to Said, Orientalism is "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western Experience." He further describes the notion of the "Orient" as follows:

The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles. (Said 1978, 2)

Even though the European interest in the Orient, which refers to the Middle East in the present context, had begun to intensify as early as the eighteenth century, research avenues and funding institutions became available to Islamic art and archaeology only in the last decades of the nineteenth century (Vernoit 1997, 1-2). An impetus that rendered Islamic art worthy of scholarly attention particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century was the emergence of an active art market, where antiquarians, dealers, and collectors contributed to the emerging discourse on Islamic art at the time.⁶⁵

A new phenomenon between 1893 and 1910 was the organization of temporary exhibitions of Islamic Art in Europe, a new attraction for the Western connoisseurs (Lerner, et al. 2010; Roxburgh 2000, 19). Significant for being the first displays of Islamic art, these exhibitions did not take place at museums as opposed to the way ancient or prehistoric artifacts were exhibited. Instead, they were held at world fairs, where fine arts and architectural “replicas” were displayed right next to machinery and commercial products, all of which were arranged on the basis of national origin (Kerner 2013, 231). The first general exhibition of Islamic art was held in 1893 in Paris, followed in 1897 by *The Collection from the Orient, General Art and Industry Exhibition* in Stockholm. These one-man exhibitions displayed the private holdings of a single collector, who combined the roles of connoisseur, scholar, and dealer. Following the same trend, Friedrich Sarre (d. 1945) put his own collection on public display in Berlin in 1899. The shows culminated in 1903 at *L'exposition des Arts Musulmans* in Paris at the Pavillon de Marsan (the Marsan Gallery) (*mod.* Musée des Arts décoratifs) (Çakır Phillip 2009, 137). This was followed by *L'exposition d'art musulman d'Alger* in 1905 in Algeria (Roxburgh 2000).

The common characteristic of all these exhibitions was the method of installation, in which objects were displayed as commodities in the sense of a retail store that was designed like an Oriental bazaar. The Islamic objects were isolated from their true functions and meanings but yet were identified with religion rather than with region, marking a major shift in the way the Western connoisseurs had approached them until then (Vernoit 1997, 3, 8).⁶⁶ Through an Orientalist viewpoint, these objects simply represented “a past glory, relics of a

⁶⁵ For instance, the high demand in Islamic ceramics in the Western markets made a strong impact on the excavations in the Middle East, as discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁶ In this context, the term “nation” refers to a large group of people with strong bonds of identity.

now diminished and corrupted ‘Oriental’ culture” rather than a living one (Roxburgh 2000, 12).

The most comprehensive exhibition of Islamic art, *Meisterwerke der Muhammadanischen Kunst* (The Exhibition of Masterpieces of Muhammedan Art) was held in Munich in 1910, bringing together 3600 objects. The director of the organizing committee, Hugo von Tschudi (d. 1911), and scholars including Friedrich Sarre, Ernst Kühnel (d. 1964), Max van Berchem (d. 1921), and Fredrik Robert Martin (d. 1933), formed the conceptual framework of the exhibition with the aim “to endow Islamic art a place equal to that of other cultural periods.” The exhibition was indeed a manifest against the conventional notion of viewing Islamic art purely as a decorative artistic and folkloric tradition. In many aspects, it was an innovative exhibition that presented a radical break from the Orientalist tradition with its new techniques of installation serving as the model for future museum displays (Roxburgh 2000).⁶⁷ In this respect, the exhibition caused disappointment in the public arena and failed to satisfy the expectations of its audience. However, it was the most academically advanced exhibition organized up until then, and one that was undeniably beyond its time on an intellectual, aesthetic and museological level. The exhibition took the first step to transform the reception of Islamic art in the West (Kerner 2013, 235).

A guidebook was published in conjunction with the exhibition, which included a brief survey of “Muhammedan” art demonstrating the emerging scholarly discourse on Islamic art (Roxburgh 2000, 23). A four-volume publication came two years later in the form of an exhibition catalogue, which was edited by Kühnel, Sarre and Martin with essays by Max van Berchem. All are pioneers of Islamic archaeology whose contributions are discussed below.⁶⁸ The book included short chapters about each medium of art as well as descriptions of objects by scholars, collectors and epigraphists bringing a critical approach against the mainstream conceptions of Islamic art at the time (Roxburgh 2000, 25).

Nevertheless, Western curiosity in the Islamic world did not purely derive from aesthetic concerns, but came into existence in conjunction with political aspirations of the European states and Russia. In the nineteenth century, the territorial expansion and cultural development of these states brought them into close contact with Islamic culture generating a growing curiosity in Islamic studies, which emerged as a new field of inquiry in Western

⁶⁷ Two recent studies on this exhibition are Troelenberg 2011 and 2012; also see Lerner and Shalem 2010.

⁶⁸ See Roxburgh (2000) for a list of publications on early exhibitions.

scholarship and a great source of inspiration for the artists, authors and designers throughout the nineteenth century. Hence, archaeological practices of this period cannot be considered outside the context of European imperialism and colonialism (Díaz-Andreu García 2007; Üre 2014). In Western Europe, the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 served as a gateway to the “mystical” world of Islam, and was followed by the occupation of Tunisia and Morocco. The French government also funded the journeys of travelers such as Charles Texier (d. 1871) and Xavier Hommaire de Hell (d. 1848), who traveled to the Middle East identifying the major sites and their respective ruins including a considerable number of sites of the Islamic period (Blair and Bloom 2009). These were not solely touristic journeys but also served for diplomatic purposes indicating the close connection between archaeology and politics at the time (Vernoit 1997, 20). Furthermore, the British military occupation of Egypt in 1882 created a similar encounter with the Islamic heritage of Egypt, which had been overshadowed by the fascination with Egyptology until that time (Reid 2015, 169). The waste heaps of Fustat aroused interest of scholars such as Stanley Lane-Poole, Henry Wallis, and Nicholas Fouquet, who collected and published pottery samples (Milwright 2010, 12).⁶⁹ As a result of the growing interest in Islamic art and architecture in the European and North American artistic scene, the locals in the Middle East also began to recognize the value of their own heritage. Paradoxically, it was the Western interest in these Islamic antiquities of the country that sparked an appreciation amongst the local population.

The impact of imperialism was also evident on the development of Islamic archaeology in Central Asia, where the first official excavations began after the Russian occupation around 1880 (Rogers 1974, 54). In fact, Russia’s inclination towards Islamic archaeology (likewise, prehistoric and Byzantine archaeologies) was a natural consequence of its geographic location afar from the Classical world and Biblical lands (Rogers 1974, 50-52; Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 259). Actually, Russian fascination with Islamic art was not a new phenomenon. The ruling elite and scholars of Russia had been collecting and studying Islamic art since the eighteenth century (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 261-262). However, the Russian penetration into Central Asia stimulated great interest in the study of Islamic history and architecture while simultaneously leading to the removal of numerous objects, particularly, illuminated manuscripts to the museums of Europe and Russia. Another immediate implication of these military operations for archaeological research was the production of

⁶⁹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the history of research on Islamic pottery.

detailed topographical maps, which facilitated future surveys in the Middle East and Central Asia (Rogers 1974, 49).

To sum up, Islamic archaeology in its early stages was pretty much monopolized by the work of European and Russian archaeologists, whose research agendas followed the colonial interests of their respective states (Rogers 1974, 46-56; Milwright 2010, 12). These encounters with the Islamic material culture generated new modes of research in Islamic studies, a field that had been dominated up until that point exclusively by historical studies of the Islamic religion and literature. The earliest subjects of archaeological interest were numismatics and epigraphy. *Monarchiae Asiatico-Saracenicae Status* by George Kehr (d. 1740), published in 1724, is considered to be the first academic work on Islamic coinage, the first type of artifact that was subject to investigation both in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁰ The Austrian Ottomanist Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856) studied a group of Ottoman inscriptions and undertook an architectural survey.⁷¹ Moreover, the European travelers J. T. Reinard and Carsten Niebuhr (d. 1815) are worth noting for their contributions in recording Islamic inscriptions (Milwright 2010, 12). In the Ottoman Empire, the chance discovery of ancient coins and hoards, both Islamic and non-Islamic, aroused interest from early times on (Koçak 2011, 21). Drawing on Ottoman archival documents, Koçak (2011, 21-27, 165) surveys the changing Ottoman policy concerning ancient coins and suggests that the Ottoman government, as opposed to existing assumption that the first legal regulations on antiquities date to 1869, in fact began to articulate legislative procedures much earlier in 1847, for the coins, and in 1850 for other classes of antiquities. The scope and the scale of archaeological activity thus grew gradually incorporating different classes of materials into the study of Islamic material culture including inscriptions, art and architecture and pottery. These disciplines are all within the scope of archaeological research today (Petersen 2005, 100).⁷² The wide-array of definitions of Islamic archaeology and multiplicity of approaches to the study of material culture is well reflected in the practices of early twentieth-century enterprises. What follows is a concise history of such archaeological initiatives at the turn of

⁷⁰ Koçak (2011, 21-27) surveys the changing Ottoman procedure concerning ancient coins based on Ottoman archival documents.

⁷¹ Hammer-Purgstall also translated part of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* into English. For details, see Tezcan 2009.

⁷² A concise list of early publications on Islamic material culture can be found in Milwright 2010, 11-12. For a list of early publications on Islamic Art and Architecture, see Bloom et al. 2009.

the century conducted by various institutions and individuals in different parts of the Islamic world.

The First Archaeological Investigations in the Islamic World

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the leading museums and collectors of the world dedicated much time and effort in the acquisition of new objects to enrich their holdings of Islamic art. Therefore, they undertook the first archaeological explorations at Islamic sites and shaped the archaeological research agenda with their market demands stimulating both clandestine and official excavations in the Islamic world (Grabar 2006, 266). As a result, the early exploration of Islamic sites was predominantly aimed at the recovery of artifacts that would help secure funding for future excavations (Vernoit 1997, 1).⁷³ These artifacts often functioned merely as decorative commodities valued primarily for their aesthetic qualities as opposed to their potential to inform about the societies to which they belonged (Rogers 1974, 26).

In fact, archaeologists working in the Middle East in particular were not unfamiliar with Islamic material remains as they often encountered Muslim burials or Islamic artifacts at the sites they excavated. However, Islamic levels at the majority of the tell excavations were rapidly removed and discarded with no attempts to record or document the artifacts since their foremost objective was to reach the earlier occupational layers representing more “sophisticated” and “advanced” civilizations, a practice shared between Classical and Near Eastern archaeologies (Walmsley 2007, 15-18; Schick 1998, 81). The mainstream convention broadly perceived Islamic art simply as an artisanal achievement or an ornamental method in “a secondary position in great artistic currents” and considered it interesting only as a source of exotic inspiration (Grabar 2006, 266).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, both public and scholarly interest in Islamic culture flourished as a result of the cultural and political encounters of the European states and Russia with the Muslim world creating new fields of investigation. In contrast to earlier antiquarian missions, the majority of the studies during this time aimed to describe, map and photograph the sites and their respective monuments as fully and accurately as possible. Following the ongoing trends and approaches in other sub-branches of archaeology,

⁷³ In Raqqa, for instance, the clandestine excavations were indirectly funded by dealers in the Western art market. Jenkins-Madina (2006, 26-33) reviews the factors behind the emergence of a market for pottery found in Raqqa.

a considerable shift occurred in the purpose of archaeological surveys; systematic methods began to be applied to the excavations of Islamic sites, which were often conducted by a small team of two or three archaeologists assisted by a larger team of local workmen (Northedge 2005b, 395). However, the purpose of early archaeological activities had been restricted merely to the recovery of artifacts and the reconstruction of architectural structures and layouts with hardly any theoretical concerns. It is only in the last decades of the twentieth century that the academic level of scholarship in Islamic archaeology caught up with other sub-branches of archaeology (Rogers 1974, 26; Milwright 2010, 19-20).

The study of early archaeological explorations at Islamic sites poses several challenges to the historiographer due to the meagre number of both primary and secondary sources. First, not all of the expeditions were published at the same quality and to the same extent (Grabar 1006, 260). Some of the publications fully document the archaeological activities and their outcomes while others, if they were ever published, restrict their scopes to their discoveries. Second, it is difficult to have a grasp of archaeological methodologies from the early publications, as they do not offer much information regarding field methods before and after the excavation process. Third, secondary literature often focuses on the history of discoveries overlooking disciplinary developments. Moreover, explorations of Islamic sites at this time were undertaken by teams of diverse origins, and hence, were published in a wide range of languages, including Russian and Spanish, thus, presenting additional hurdles of accessibility.

Samarqand has been widely accepted as the first Islamic site that was subject to archaeological explorations. Excavations at the site were commenced by the Russian army in 1875 and continued at Old Samarqand (Afrasiab) by the Russian archaeologist and Orientalist Nikolay I. Veselovsky (d. 1918) of the University of St. Petersburg in 1885 under the auspices of the Imperial Archaeological Commission (Veselovsky 1895) (Figure 3). Veselovsky dug seven trenches in different sections of the city and planned the site (Litvinskiĭ n.d.). However, his investigations were restricted to trial excavations resulting in haphazard discoveries, none of which were fully published. The finds were housed in the archaeological museum, opened in 1896 in Samarqand, accompanied by an Archaeological Society soon afterwards (Shaw and Jameson 1999, 81). Following Veselovsky's advice, the Imperial Archaeological Commission initiated preservation and restoration projects at the Gur-i Mir (Gur-e Amir), the madrasa of Registan and the Bibi-Khanym mosque (Morrison 2008, 27).

In her recent study, Yoltar-Yıldırım questions this common scholarly notion. She suggests that, in fact, Samarqand may not be the first Islamic site to be excavated since Veselovsky's interest concentrated on the pre-Islamic Soghdian city of Afrasiyab. Hence, she asserts that it is essential to re-evaluate the purpose and results of this expedition with particular reference to the original Russian sources (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 75).⁷⁴ However, Veselovsky did not work only at Afrasiab, but also participated in the investigation of a number of Islamic monuments such as Gur-i Mir, a site in Samarqand, where the Timurid-period structures are located. In addition, Veselovsky and later Sergey F. Ol'denburg (d.1934) explored the madrasa of Ulugh Beg at Samarqand (1895–6), the shrine of Ahmad Yasavi at Turkestan City (1898-99 and 1906), and the Rukhabad mausoleum in Samarqand (1908) (Pugachenkova and Rtveladze n.d.; Litvinskiĭ n.d.). These expeditions were followed by publications on the monuments of Samarqand with reference to their inscriptions and primary Muslim accounts, mainly travel guides to the Muslim shrines of Samarqand (Vyatkin 1901; Morrison 2008, 62).

Subsequently, more systematic explorations were conducted in and around Samarqand from 1904 onwards by Vasily V. Barthold (d. 1930) and V. L. Vyatkin, an Uzbek-Russian archaeologist (Litvinskiĭ n.d.). Vyatkin continued the excavations in the city and discovered the fifteenth-century observatory of Ulugh Beg in 1908 near Samarqand (Vernoit 1997, 3; Rogers 1974, 51; Vyatkin 1912). As a result of such comprehensive investigations, Samarqand came to be one of the best-documented sites in Central Asia with a large number of publications dedicated to various histories of settlement on the site and its corresponding monuments.⁷⁵

The second Islamic site in Central Asia subjected to archaeological investigation was Merv, a multi-period city on the Silk Road, whose vast landscape of ruins impressed many diplomats and travelers throughout the nineteenth century (Figure 3). The earliest surveys on the ancient sites of Merv were conducted and published by European travelers, one of whom was the Irish correspondent, Edmund O'Donovan (d. 1883), who published the first sketches of the city in 1882. Following the Russian invasion, the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway led to growing attention in the ruins of the city and motivated the first archaeological excavations in 1884 by General A. V. Kamarov. Using his troops as an excavation team, he

⁷⁴ I have not been able to refer to the Russian sources due to the language barrier.

⁷⁵ See the bibliography provided by Blair and Bloom (2009, 435).

opened a shallow trench in Erk Kala and published his findings in the local newspaper, *Turkestanские Vedomosti* in 1886. Although far from being scientific, this was an important expedition in being the first step towards the archaeological exploration of Merv (Masson 1963).⁷⁶

In 1890 the Imperial Archaeological Commission launched an expedition to explore the Trans-Caspian region with a particular focus on the ruins of Merv. A Russian Orientalist, Valentin A. Zhukovsky (d. 1918) spent three months at Merv and opened three trenches on the mounds of Erk Kala to establish the chronological frame of the site. He was not an expert and, in fact, was quite inexperienced in archaeology. Therefore, his work heavily relied on textual sources and focused on the historical period from the Arab conquest to the Sasanian period. In 1894 he published his excavation results along with finds that consisted of pottery, figurines, bone objects, and coins (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 262; Zhukovsky 1894).

This was followed by a more systematic survey conducted on behalf of the American Carnegie Institute by Raphael Pumpelly (d. 1923), a geologist by origin, who was well aware of the archaeological potential of the region particularly in terms of its settlement patterns. In 1904, Pumpelly invited Hubert Schmidt (d. 1933), a German archaeologist who had previously taken part in the excavations of Troy, to undertake excavations at several places. Schmidt opened trial trenches at Erk and Gyaur Kale and a number of sondages to have a fuller understanding of the stratigraphy of the site. Since the trenches were dug simply as deep soundings, they failed to expose complete structures, complicating efforts to establish a relationship between the different occupational layers indicated by fragments of paved floors and mud-brick walls. The excavations revealed a large corpus of material comprising pottery, figurines, coins and *osteca* (inscribed bones) (Puschnigg 2010, 9-10). On the basis of the ceramic and numismatic evidence, Schmidt suggested a continuity of occupation down to a depth of 12 m, failing to recognize the multi-layered character of the site. Furthermore, he established a system of relative chronology and collected and published materials according to stratum. Despite their preliminary character, the inaccuracies in their conclusions and failure to establish a reliable chronology, these American-German excavations were the first professional archaeological explorations at Central Asia. For their multi-disciplinary excavation methods (the use of soundings, planimetric and stratigraphic observations, and

⁷⁶ For a summary of the history of Russian excavations at Merv, see Masson 1980.

illustrations of plans and even sections), they surpassed the archaeological standards of their time.

The foundation of the Turkestan Archaeological Society in 1893 accelerated excavation and conservation activities in Central Asia often with a focus on the Soghdian remains but with occasional reference to Islamic periods. For instance, at Anau Kamarov reported Muslim burials on top of the mound. Moreover, Pumpbelly and his team encountered a *kufic* inscription on the façade of the mosque in Anau, dating it to 1444 (Pumpbelly 1908, 25). The archaeologists used this date as a *terminus ante quem* to ascertain earlier cultural strata in relation to the deposit accumulated, where each century corresponded to a layer of roughly 76 cm in depth (Pumpelly 1908, 54-550). Additional work on the Islamic remains of Central Asia was conducted by a group of Orientalist painters accompanying the Russian armies, whose illustrations of the Islamic monuments played a significant role for the documentation and description of many Islamic monuments in the region that do not survive today (Blair and Bloom 2009, 432).

In North Africa, systematic archaeological explorations began as a result of the political ambitions of France. The first Islamic site excavated in the region was Qal'at Bani Hammad, in Algeria, the capital of the Hammadid dynasty during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Figure 4). The site was first identified in 1886 by M. Méquesse and excavated in 1898 by Paul Blanchet (d. 1900), and M. Robert from the Archaeological Society of Constantine for only eight days due to the lack of sufficient funding (Beylié 1909, 2; Blair and Bloom 2009, 155; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013; Vernoit 1997, 3; Northedge 2005b, 394).

More systematic excavations were undertaken by General Léon de Beylié (d. 1910) in 1908 that continued for three and a half months (Beylié 1909). The excavation team, led by Beylié, consisted of a professor of fine arts, M. Georges Marçais (d. 1962), who made all the drawings, a soldier of the Colonial army, M. Gransset, who made the plans and served as field director during the last two months; and eighty workmen. In the course of their work, they revealed three major monuments: the Palace of Menar, a tower that was used as a lighthouse, communication tower and later as a dungeon, the Lake Palace, the palace of the Hammadid emir, and the Great Mosque. The architectural monuments at the site survived in different levels of preservation; some stood almost intact such as the Palace of Menar while others were preserved only at the foundation levels, yet allowing to reconstruct their layouts. The team also found the remains of a Roman settlement and evidence for a well-developed water engineering system at the site (Beylié 1909, 19, 59).

Beylié published the results of his excavations promptly in 1909 in a comprehensive book, which offers a rich corpus of historical, topographical and archaeological data (Beylié 1909). He made extensive use of photographs, illustrations, and plans, all very detailed and of exceptional quality, providing a level of documentation that was far ahead of its time. Even though the majority of the book is dedicated to the architectural structures, other finds such as pottery, coins, or fragments of painted and sculptured stucco panels, were also documented meticulously in detailed illustrations with scale. Considering that he had no formal training in archaeology, Beylié deserves credit for his pioneering attempts to survey the site and its material remains systematically.

The Islamic sites of Spain suffered from a lack of scholarly interest in the nineteenth century since the leading European archaeologists of the time who could read and speak Arabic preferred to work in the Middle East, where they could benefit from the political and economic support from their governments. Spain at this time was largely dominated by unrest caused by the French invasion, political upheavals and economic crises, factors that delayed the archaeological initiatives particularly at Islamic sites. The tenth century city of Madinat al-Zahra' in Cordoba was the largest and the most important Islamic site on the Iberian Peninsula that was explored throughout the twentieth century (Ruggles 1991, 131) (Figure 4).

It was the Orientalist literature which aroused early curiosity in the city of Madinat al-Zahra'. Pascual de Gayangos (d. 1897) partially translated Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Maqqari's (d. 1632) monumental *Nafhu-t-Tib Min Ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tarikh Lisanu-d-din Ibni-l-Khattib* (*The Wind's Breeze on the Juicy Andalusian Branch and The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*) into English between 1840-43. It was a compilation of Andalusian geography, history and literature that included vast depictions of the palaces of Madinat al-Zahra'. The book inspired and stimulated some Spanish enthusiasts to discover the legendary city, whose location had been uncertain up to then (Ruggles 1991, 131-133). Gayangos and Pedro de Madrazo (d. 1898) identified and located the site in 1843 and the following year, they attempted to excavate it with the expectation of finding the architectural marvels depicted in the romantic stories. However, they could not accomplish their mission since the land where the city stood was privately owned (Ruggles 1991, 133-134).

Despite such early interest in the site, it was not until 1910 that the excavations at Madinat al-Zahra' commenced. The Spanish team directed by Ricardo Velázquez Bosco (d. 1923) explored the city for a total duration of eleven months in the form of trial excavations

with occasional attempts to employ systematic methods (Vernoit 1997, 3; Northedge 2005b, 395). The excavations began at the palace of Alamiriya and later moved to Madinat al Zahra', which lay in a private estate; its land was gradually acquired by the state over time. Therefore, the investigations focused on the residence of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordoba without addressing the site in its entirety (Ruggles 1991, 135-136).

Bosco published the results of his excavations in 1912 in a concise book, which includes plans, photographs, illustrations and descriptions of architectural remains along with other finds discussed in comparison with other palatial examples from North Africa (Bosco 1912). Given that Bosco was an active architect at the time, his focus on the architectural remains is not surprising. Nevertheless, he deserves much credit for attempting to document the site along with the entire repertoire of finds including palatial structures; a sophisticated water engineering system consisting of aqueducts, water pipes, cisterns and wells; architectural sculpture, stucco panels, tiles, ceramics, inscriptions, small finds, and glassware. He illustrated these with detailed photographs and scale-drawings. Moreover, he discussed their technical characteristics within the context of similar examples from contemporary sites and established a chronology on the basis of evidence from the excavations of Qal'at Bani Hammad (Bosco 1912, 73).

Despite the critiques raised against his methodology, Bosco's work was nonetheless commendable for displaying exceptional qualities within the standards of its time, including the profile drawings of ceramic objects as well as his analyses of ceramic finds, classified in major groups according to their surface decoration and vessel forms (Ruggles 1991, 135-136). He grouped the fragments of vessels together to facilitate future restorations. Furthermore, at a period, when attention concentrated merely on glazed ceramics, Bosco included even the unglazed objects made of red earthenware in his discussion of the finds, an indication of his interest in the emerging "scientific" approaches to material culture.⁷⁷

The development of Islamic archaeology in the Middle East was predominantly shaped by the alliance between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. With the support of Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft founded in 1898, German archaeologists began large-scale expeditions in Palestine and Mesopotamia, an enterprise that consequently led to the exploration of Islamic sites (Vernoit 1997, 3).⁷⁸ Intended as part of the German contribution

⁷⁷ In this context, the term "scientific" is used synonymous with "methodological" or "systematic."

⁷⁸ See Chapter 1, Pp. 31-32.

to the overall study of Mesopotamian archaeology, the foremost Islamic expedition of the time was undertaken at Samarra in Iraq, which is notable for its large scale, long duration, and systematic methods (Northedge 1991, 81) (Figure 5).

Samarra had been visited and described by many nineteenth-century travelers (Figure 5). The first scholarly exploration was by French archaeologists de Beylié and Henry Viollet (d. 1914) at the beginning of the twentieth century (Northedge 2005b, 394). Viollet made a sounding in the Jawsaq al-Khaqani and published two articles reporting his findings.⁷⁹ Ernst Emil Herzfeld visited Samarra for the first time in 1903 and published his explorations in 1907 (Herzfeld 1907; Northedge 2005b, 386). Later, he made a second visit together with Sarre, during which they spent one week in Raqqa (Sarre 1909; Sarre and Herzfeld. 1911–1920). The results of this visit, which was the first major exploration of the site, were published in *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet* in 1911. Subsequently, Sarre, through his personal connections, secured a permit for excavation from the Ottoman government. The expedition began in 1911 under the directorship of Herzfeld and went on for a total of approximately twenty months. During the two seasons, the excavations were undertaken at about nineteen different sites by a large team of almost two hundred workmen under Herzfeld's supervision, who visited each site every three or four days (Northedge 2005b, 391).

Northedge suggests that the excavations were conducted along the walls of structures without clearing the center of the rooms, a technique, according to Northedge, that was probably preferred to trace the walls of unfired pisé. Using this technique Herzfeld was able to draft the ground plans of the architectural structures. In the second season, they laid out a 25m grid over the vast Caliphal Palace, that is the Palace of al-Mu'tasim, in order to clear it, although Northedge believes that the work did not necessarily follow the contours of the grid, and thus, failed to fulfil its objective (Northedge 2005b, 392). Other sites explored were the Palace of Balkuwarra, the Great Mosque and the Mosque of Abu Dulaf. The excavations provided detailed knowledge of the layout of the mosques and the palace. They also led to the discovery of a large corpus of Abbasid wall paintings that once decorated the Caliphal palace. These form the basis of our current knowledge on the subject.

In keeping with the German approach to Mesopotamian archaeology, Herzfeld and Sarre aimed to explore the site in its entirety. Herzfeld gave priority to the documentation of

⁷⁹ For a list of Viollet's publications, see Northedge 2005b, 386, fn. 3.

the site as a whole, and therefore, gave priority to the exploration of architectural remains. The period of occupation was relatively short although it did have distinct phases. The notion that Samarra lacked multiple habitational layers must have shaped his excavation strategy throughout the campaign. There is no evidence indicating that the excavators used stratigraphy, since they might have regarded it as unnecessary (Rogers 1974, 59). With one exception, they did not dig under floors. Therefore, the finds were recorded only in relation to the sites they were discovered with no reference to the occupational sequence (Northedge 2005b, 392).

The excavations were merely documented in two preliminary reports that include general descriptions of the site, leaving out the details of architectural features as well as chronological questions.⁸⁰ After the excavations were over, Herzfeld dedicated the rest of his life to publish the results of the Samarra Expedition, which came out in a six-volume series, *Ausgrabungen von Samarra* between 1923 and 1948.⁸¹ Four volumes by Herzfeld were dedicated to the architectural remains and their decorations, while one volume by Sarre was devoted to the ceramics and the other one by Carl Lamm (d. 1938) to glass (Milwright 2010, 16). Despite its shortcomings, this publication was the first comprehensive publication of an excavation undertaken at an Islamic site. These works had a crucial role in establishing the basis of our current knowledge of early Islamic art and architecture.

The publications of Samarra were produced on the model of the publication series of German excavations undertaken at ancient Near Eastern sites, which had an obviously strong impact on the way the Samarra project, was directed. Nevertheless, the Samarra expedition displays sharp contrasts with the contemporaneous German excavations in Mesopotamia, particularly the Babylon and Assur expeditions. Excavations at Babylon continued for fifteen years and at Assur for eleven years whereas the Samarra expedition had to be completed within twenty months due to the limited amount of funds and the impending possibility of war.⁸²

⁸⁰ The first of the two reports is a monograph published after the first season of excavations: Herzfeld 1912. The second one on the work conducted in the second season was published as a journal article: Herzfeld 1914. Also see Northedge 1991 and 2005b, 394 and Rogers 1974, 58. The results of the expedition have been re-evaluated recently by Leisten 2003.

⁸¹ A list of Herzfeld's publications can be found in Northedge 2005b, 386.

⁸² Samarra excavations were funded by Deutsche Bank, Baurat Georg Heckmann ve Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften (Çakır Phillip 2009, 137).

After the excavations came to an end, the first shipment of stucco panels and small finds were sent to Berlin in thirty-four cases in 1913, despite the resistance of Halil Edhem Bey (d. 1938), the director of the Imperial Museum, who refused to share the finds with the Germans based on the newly proclaimed Antiquities Law of 1906 (Çakır Phillip 2011, 383-397).⁸³ When the excavations were over, Herzfeld reported that they left 105 cases in Samarra containing almost three hundred wall paintings and small finds, which were transported to London during the British occupation of Iraq in 1921. The material in these cases was subsequently dispersed to over twenty museums in Europe and America (Çakır Phillip 2011, 383-397).

The Ottoman Imperial Museum took only a small share, which is now housed in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in İstanbul (Şahin 2011). This collection chiefly consists of architectural fragments such as column capitals, floor tiles, and wall paintings, in contrast with the finds from the Raqqa excavations of the Imperial Museum, which comprise merely ceramics, glass and metal objects. The distinction between the two collections might be an indication of the difference between the approaches of the two expeditions; the Samarra mission had a clear focus on the architecture, while the Ottoman Raqqa excavations were aimed at the recovery of mainly ceramics.

The exploration of Islamic sites by the Islamic states never reached the same level as that of European excavations. The Ottoman Empire was the only Islamic state that was not under European colonization. Its archaeological attempts remained rather limited due to its internal circumstances, as will be outlined in Chapter 3. The only other Islamic state that participated in the exploration of its own Islamic history was Egypt. In fact, the first museum of Islamic art was opened in 1880 in Cairo, by the orders of the local ruler, Khedive Ismail Pasha (r. 1863–79). The Museum of Arab Art, as it was called at the time, was initially housed in the al-Hakim Mosque until it was moved to its new building in 1903.⁸⁴ The museum staff conducted various excavations in 1910 in order to develop and enrich its holdings.⁸⁵ Its major excavation project was undertaken at Fustat between 1912 and 1924 by ‘Ali Bahgat (d. 1924), a local archaeologist and the founder of Islamic archaeology in Egypt

⁸³ See Shaw (2003, 126-130) for the implications of the revised law of 1906. More information on the series of legislative precautions of the Ottoman Empire can be found in Chapter 3.

⁸⁴ Ferec 1988. The museum catalogue was written by Herz in 1895, which was translated into English by Lane-Poole (1896).

⁸⁵ The first excavations undertaken at Derneke (Southwest of Asyut) recovered rich textile finds (Ferec 1988).

(Vernoit 1997, 5). During the twelve-year campaign, the excavation team cleared a large portion of the town, dug some soundings and recovered numerous artifacts including ceramics, metal and woodwork, tiles, small finds and even rug fragments, which in fact formed the largest collection of the museum.⁸⁶ The archaeologists were criticized by their European contemporaries for neither recording the stratigraphy nor the finds in relation to their locations, thus failing to comply with the disciplinary trends of the time (Vernoit 1997, 5; Lane-Poole 1898). However, the expedition was certainly an important contribution to the Islamic archaeology in its early years as being one of the two major excavation campaigns directed by Muslims themselves.

Another site important for the early history of Islamic archaeology, although not entirely Islamic in character, was Tell es-Safi near Gaza in Palestine (Figure 5). Frederick J. Bliss (d. 1937) and Robert A. Macalister (d. 1950) explored the site between 1899 and 1902. The site is reported to consist of several occupational levels crowned by the ruins of the Crusader fortress of Blanche-Garde built in 1144 on the acropolis. The excavations were conducted by digging shafts in the sense of modern soundings to find out the nature of the deposit at depths varying between 7.5 m to 12.5 m. The first 1.5 m yielded a corpus of Islamic pottery, which was identified as “Arabic” by the excavators. This marks the first recognition of Islamic occupational levels known to us thus far by means of stratigraphic excavation (Milwright 2009, 5; Bliss and Macalister 1902, 28-29).⁸⁷

In addition to excavations, Islamic sites were also explored through surveys conducted by some of the most notable pioneers of Islamic archaeology in its early history. One of them was the Swiss epigrapher, Max van Berchem (d. 1921), who still retains an exceptional reputation in the history of Islamic studies. He began his career as an Arabist in non-Islamic surveys and excavations, including surveys of the German prehistorian the Baron Max von Oppenheim (d. 1946), a familiar name in the early history of archaeology in Raqqa for his attempts to smuggle antiquities from the region (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 86). Between 1886 and 1895, van Berchem collected the Arabic inscriptions in Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, which he published in his remarkable work, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicorum* in 1894 (Berchem 1894). Besides its value for documenting and cataloguing this vast repertoire

⁸⁶ Ibid. In a recent study, Reid (2015) examines the development of Islamic archaeology along with its corresponding institutions in Egypt within their cultural and political context.

⁸⁷ “Islamic” levels have been historically associated with the medieval to the early modern period. See Flood 2007.

of inscriptions, his manual is also an important source for demonstrating the potential of inscriptions for the study of Islamic institutions and diplomacy (Rogers 1974, 60; Vernoit 1997, 3). Thus, he emphasized the potential value of material culture as historical documents and primary sources of information for the history of Islamic civilizations. Van Berchem's holistic and historicizing approach inspired and influenced the next generations of scholars all across the world.

Another influential scholar of Islamic archaeology was Friedrich Sarre, whose name appears often with respect to his work in the late Ottoman Empire as an Orientalist, an epigrapher, and founder of Islamic art and archaeological studies in Germany. Although his contributions to the archaeology of Samarra are well known, other aspects of his work, such as his survey on thirteenth century Anatolia, have been overlooked.⁸⁸ Sarre began to study Islamic monuments of Anatolia following the advice of Carl Humann (d. 1896). In the summer of 1895, he traveled from İzmir to Beyşehir for two months and one year later published his report along with photographs and illustrations in his famous monograph, *Reise nach Kleinasien [Journey in Anatolia]* one year later (Sarre 1896). This study is one of the earliest in history on the thirteenth-century Seljuk art and architecture and remains a major reference source on the subject up to present. Sarre was also a talented and prolific illustrator, whose illustrations frequently demonstrated that archaeological drawing is superior to photography as a recording tool. His initial focus was on architectural monuments, which he interpreted and dated by using their inscriptions (Rogers 1974, 58). Sarre continued his travels in the Middle East and the Caucasus between 1897 and 1900, which were mostly self-funded, but also facilitated by support from the state as well as from his personal contacts. His comprehensive trip in Anatolia and Persia convinced Sarre to pursue his interest in Islamic art, to which he dedicated the rest of his life. He considered Islamic art as a continuation of Achaemenid, Persian, and Sasanid cultures (Çakır Phillip 2009, 135-136). Later he participated in the German excavations at Ba'albek (1898-1905) and Miletos, and was responsible for the Islamic period layers (Wulzinger et al. 1935; Sarre 1925). He mostly dealt with small finds and pottery, which was, and still is, the norm for Islamic scholars working at non-Islamic excavations at the time (Rogers 1974, 58; Pancaroğlu 2011). After taking part in the foundation of the Museum für Islamische Kunst [Museum of Islamic Art] in Berlin in 1904 along with Wilhelm von Bode (d. 1929), Sarre began his major survey of Islamic

⁸⁸ A recent study addressing this *lacuna* is by Blessing 2014.

Mesopotamia together with Herzfeld in 1905. The two archaeologists planned sites, collected sherds and inscriptions, and recorded every possible feature providing extensive documentation for a large number of sites in the Middle East including Raqqa (Sarre and Herzfeld 1911–1920). Their travels were followed by the explorations of Samarra in 1910 on behalf of the Museum für Islamische Kunst as discussed earlier (Rogers 1974, 58). Sarre also took part in the formation of the *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi* [*Museum of Islamic Foundations*] in İstanbul, where he worked under the supervision of İsmet Bey in installing the exhibitions, dating the objects, and cataloguing the carpet collection (Çakır Phillip 2009, 137).

Another important pioneer in the study of Islamic architecture during the first decade of the twentieth century was a Czech theologian, traveler and writer Alois Musil (d. 1944), who published his travels in the area of Jordan and northern Hijaz in a valuable report that incorporates detailed architectural descriptions of Islamic sites with geographical and ethnographic details of the regions he traveled.⁸⁹ The major contribution of Musil was the discovery of the eighth-century desert palace, Qusayr ‘Amra, located to the east of Amman (Figure 5). This complex attracted considerable attention for the exceptional wall paintings decorating the interior of its bath-house (Musil 1907; Schick 1998, 81; Walmsley 2007, 16).

Other sites were surveyed in the Middle East by Rudolf Brünnow (d. 1917) and Alfred von Domaszewski (d. 1927), who traveled through Southern Syria and Jordan in 1897 and 1898. Although their work primarily concentrated on the Roman ruins, they also documented a number of early Islamic sites. The two men photographed the friezes of the palace of Mshatta and planned and photographed other early Islamic desert castles and monuments, including the Amman citadel, Khan al-Zabib, Umm al-Walid, Qastal, and Muwaqqar (Schick 1998, 80). Later, Antonin Jaussen (d. 1962) and Raphael Savignac (d. 1951) from the *École Biblique* in Jerusalem further documented the early Islamic desert castles in Jordan, which Musil had recorded earlier, such as Kharana, Qasr al-Tuba, and Qusayr ‘Amra (Walmsley 2007, 16; Schick 1998, 81).

The early explorations of Islamic sites in Syro-Palestine focused almost entirely on standing architecture, which stimulated both public and academic attention to the field of Islamic archaeology (Walmsley 2007, 15-16). These architectural surveys of the early twentieth century formed the basis of more systematic investigations undertaken by K. A. C.

⁸⁹ Walmsley (2007) offers a list of their publications in his bibliography.

Creswell (d. 1974) and Jean Sauvaget (d. 1950) in the next decades while serving as a departure point for later archaeological explorations.

The Ottoman Approach to its Islamic Legacy

The Ottoman Empire was one of the most successful empires of the Islamic history and the longest to maintain its influence over a vast territory, thus, had a great awareness of older traditions and foreign cultures (Grabar 2006, 251). The Sultans collected antiquities, including a large body of Chinese ceramics, and had a strong interest in the historical legacies of their territories, as discussed in detail in the next chapter. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the study of the past changed radically as a result of the growing awareness on history and archaeology in the Ottoman intellectual arena. In order to stop the smuggling of antiquities by the Europeans, the Ottoman government increased its control over the respective excavations and their finds (Shaw 2003, 110-130; Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 116). The Antiquities Law passed by the new museum director Osman Hamdi Bey (d. 1910) in 1884 not only brought firm restrictions over the ongoing archaeological enterprise of the foreigners in the country, but also stopped the transfer of artifacts discovered in these excavations at least to a certain extent although it could not suffice to prevent the use of antiquities as diplomatic gifts by the sultan.

A key development at this time is the integration of Islamic history into the Ottoman past largely motivated by the loss of the Ottoman territories in Europe in the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Reiterating his caliphate, Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1908) promoted the Islamic identity of the empire in order to secure the support of the Muslim subjects within the empire against rival Christian powers (Deringil 1998; Shaw 2003, 172).⁹⁰ Such Pan-Islamist policies of the Hamidian Era marked a radical shift from the Tanzimat ideals of fostering the multi-cultural identity of the empire (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 114, 131). Consequently, a new understanding emerged on the significance of Islamic patrimony, which came to be worth studying and preserving, as part of the Ottoman national history. These histories formed the basis of the new, modern Ottoman identity, a rather short-lived concept before

⁹⁰ For a survey of the newly emerging ideologies of the Hamidian era, see Kayalı 1997, 30-38.

Turkish nationalism entirely dominated the scene in the post-war decades (Díaz-Andreu García 2007, 116).⁹¹

It was during this time in 1889 that the first collection of Islamic objects was put on display in the new building of the Imperial Museum. The collection remained stable for a long time without being catalogued or published except a brief mention by Halil Edhem in an article of 1895 that emphasized the significance of Islamic civilization for the history of mankind (Shaw 2003, 175). A crucial development for Islamic archaeology was the expansion of the Antiquities Law in 1906 to include the Islamic antiquities in its scope (Shaw 2003, 126-130). In contrast to the ancient artifacts, referred to as *asar-ı atika* [“ancient works of art” or “arts/artifacts of antiquity”] in the Ottoman terminology, the Islamic artifacts were assigned a different title, *asar-ı nefise-yi islamiyye* [Islamic fine arts]. The difference was not only in the nomenclature, but also in the way these two classes of artifacts were treated. While the collection of ancient antiquities remained in the main museum building, the Islamic artifacts were moved from one place to another in the following decades. In 1908, they were transferred to the Çinili Köşk [the Tiled Pavilion],⁹² which became the first Museum of Islamic Arts in fitting with its fifteenth-century architectural style. A portion of the ceramics collection is still housed in the Çinili Köşk although the majority was moved to an imaret building within the Süleymaniye Mosque complex in 1914, where it was re-opened as Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi [The Museum of Islamic Foundations].

A phenomenon with strong implications for the development of Islamic archaeology in the late Ottoman Empire was the flourishing relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, which shaped the academic and cultural scene in both countries. A momentous event was the Oriental voyage of Kaiser Wilhelm II. During this expedition, Kaiser visited Abdülhamid twice, first in 1889 and second in 1898 on his way to Jerusalem (Karacagil 2014).⁹³ In Damascus, he was greeted by thousands of Muslims, affirming that Germany was

⁹¹ Chapter 3 elaborates the social and political atmosphere in the late Ottoman era that shaped the archaeological discourse.

⁹² The restoration of *Çinili Köşk* undertaken by the Ottoman government is subject worth further investigation for a better understanding of the Ottomans’ approaches to heritage preservation at the time.

⁹³ Wilhelm made three visits to the Ottoman Empire in 1889, 1898, and 1917. The first and the third visits were limited to İstanbul. The official purpose of his second visit was to participate the opening ceremony of a new church in Jerusalem. The journey, which lasted approximately one month, began on October 13, 1898 and covered cities such as İstanbul, Haifa, Jerusalem, Beirut and Damascus. For a detailed account of the journey, see Karacagil 2014.

to be the next protector of Islam (Rogers 1974, 55). In return for the political and military support of Wilhelm, Abdülhamid generously granted him some of the newly discovered archaeological masterpieces, including the elaborate façade of the Mshatta Palace in Transjordan.⁹⁴ It was the first Islamic monument taken to Europe in 1903 (Walmsley 2012, 132). The display of the façade in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (*mod.* Bode Museum)⁹⁵ in Berlin brought the majority of the Europeans into contact with the Islamic architecture for the first time, immediately causing controversies and debates over its origin and date (Rogers 1974, 56).

The Ottoman neglect of Islamic monuments of Greater Syria during the Hamidian era was a point of criticism both by the locals and the foreigners. One such event is the plastering of the mosaics in the Umayyad Mosque (also known as the Great Mosque) of Damascus (Watenpaugh 2007). Another incident that raised severe criticism against the Ottoman authorities was the big fire that took place at the same mosque in 1893 causing serious damage to the structure. The *Evkaf-ı Hümayun* [Office of Imperial Waqfs] undertook a long and expansive restoration program afterwards, which went on until 1902 and generated much discussion on the style of re-construction since the *Evkaf-ı Hümayun* cleared out all the original elements of the mosque replacing them with new pieces designed in the style of the surviving fragments (Watenpaugh 2007, 38). Osman Hamdi advocated that the restoration should aim to return the mosque to its original state and later on, his principles were followed till the end. The most popular and the most widely circulating journal, *Servet-i Fünun* dedicated a large space to such debates on its restoration and documented the work in detail stage by stage (*Servet-i Fünun* 597-98, 1318/1902 cited in Çelik 2011). Like many of the imperial endeavours of the time, the restoration program, which incorporated the Arab past into contemporary Ottoman identity, was well advertised by the Ottoman government for the purposes of political and cultural propaganda (Çelik 2011, 467, 472).

In addition, Abdülhamid initiated a program of monumental construction throughout the empire as a response to European expansionism. He spent a considerable amount of money on building and renovating mosques, tombs, and *tekkes* in order to testify that he could still sustain and maintain the empire (Buzpinar 1991, 25; St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013, 7).

⁹⁴ After the discovery of the palace, its photographs had been circulating amongst archaeologists, who showed them to Wilhelm II. Pancaroğlu (2011) suggests that the archaeologists, diplomats and bureaucrats arranged its transfer to Germany as a “gift”.

⁹⁵ In 1932 it was reconstructed in *Museum für Islamische Kunst* in the Pergamon Museum.

Part of this program was the formation of provincial museums, *Âsâr-ı Atîka Müzeleri* [the Museums of Antiquities], in the cities of Jerusalem, Konya, Bursa and Bergama, which would function as branches of the Imperial Museum in İstanbul. The first museum was opened in Jerusalem in 1901 by Osman Hamdi Bey, İsmail Bey and Frederick J. Bliss, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Abdülhamid's investments in Jerusalem, which also included a project to develop the Muslim quarter of the city, should be viewed within the context of his efforts to "monopolize the sacred sites of Islam" in the face of the pressure applied by the Biblical archaeologists working for the Palestine Exploration Fund.⁹⁶ The other three museums remained simply as depots of antiquities and never truly served their original missions. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the role of its museums, the prominent institutions of modernity, increased in promoting the new Ottoman identity. Their narratives served the agenda of the emerging nationalist ideologies during this transition period, which characterizes the last decades before the domination of the advancing Turkish nationalism.

Islamic Archaeology in Turkey

Archaeology at the beginning of the twentieth century became a favourite tool for nationalism all across the world.⁹⁷ In Turkey, it was in the early Republican period of the 1930s, relatively later than some other countries in the Middle East (e.g. Iran and Egypt), when archaeology truly began to serve nationalistic ideas. A turning point was the classification of Turkish art as northern by the Austrian art historians, Josef Strzygowski (d. 1941) and Heinrich Glück (d. 1930), in contrast to Islamic culture, which belonged to the southern class along with Greek, Byzantine, and Mediterranean cultures (Pancaroglu 2007). This theory fitted well with the Kemalist secularization program, which strove to distinguish the Turkish culture from the Islamic. The Turkish Historical Society, established by Atatürk in 1931, hastily formulated the *Turkish History Thesis* and integrated the entire material culture of Anatolia from the Bronze Age to the pre-modern era into a Turkish history (Redford 2007).⁹⁸ Viewing medieval

⁹⁶ For an in-depth discussion on the Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, see St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013, 17.

⁹⁷ A compilation of essays by Kohl and Fawcett (1995) investigates the relationship between archaeology and nationalism in a comparative approach. Another valuable collection on the interaction between archaeology and cultural and national policies with a focus on the Middle East is edited by Meskell 1998. Also see Silberman 1989.

⁹⁸ For a critique of the Turkish History Thesis and its implications for the construction of the Turkish identity, see Çağaptay 2006, 51-54.

Anatolia through a nationalist perspective, this approach essentially aimed to strengthen the notion that Anatolia reached its civilizational climax after the arrival of the Turks.

After the Second World War, conservative groups doctrinated the concept of “Turkish-Islamic synthesis” as a mixture of Sunni Islamic dogma and Turkish nationalism in the face of Communism. This concept still remains a strong component of the Turkish national identity. Art historical scholarship embraced this notion by combining the two elements under the problematic denomination, “Turkish and Islamic Arts,” which promotes the perception of the Turkish art as a field of study fairly independent from the Islamic Art. Islamic art was eventually integrated into the Turkish national history project but with a rather shallow focus, which has restricted its scope merely to the region within the modern boundaries of the Turkish Republic ignoring contemporary developments in neighbouring lands.

A common issue in all Islamic countries has been the inadequate scholarly interest in Islamic art and archaeology since the formation of the discipline. As a result of the paucity of Muslim scholars in the field, no theoretical formulations or concepts came out of the Muslim world, while the field of Islamic studies has gained considerable popularity in Western universities, whose research continues to dominate the scholarship (Grabar 2006, 266). In Turkey, the first chair of Islamic art and archaeology was opened in 1954 at Ankara University under the directorship of the German art historian, Katharina Otto-Dorn (d. 1999) (Redford 2007, 247). Until the 1960s, Islamic art was taught by German professors in the universities of İstanbul and Ankara, while Western art was taught by Turks.

Islamic archaeology, on the other hand, is a subject that is still absent from archaeology programs of modern Turkish universities. The one exception is a program recently opened in 2014 at Katip Çelebi University in İzmir.⁹⁹ Archaeology departments in Turkish universities have their chronological parameters limited to the period that extends from prehistory to Late Antiquity. Therefore, studies of the Byzantine and Islamic periods are covered by either history or art history programs, neither of which applies modern archaeological methods to their investigations. In Turkey, historians heavily rely on textual sources, overlooking the potential of material culture. By contrast, Turkish art historians tend

⁹⁹ Another recent event that seemed promising for the development of the discipline, but was short-lived, was the organization of the First International Congress of Islamic Archaeology, held in İstanbul on 8-10 April 2005. Unfortunately, its proceedings were not published and it was not resumed. <http://tr.ircica.org/islam-ardeoloji/irc392.aspx>.

to focus on merely formal descriptions, stylistic analyses and taxonomic classifications of objects and monuments with neither any concern with the social and economic context nor any interest in interpretive analysis of the material remains (Pancaroglu 2007). Even though there is a recent increase amongst Turkish art historians that utilize a wider range of methods and analyses, the traditional approach still seems to dominate the scholarship.

The dominant nationalistic ideologies have also made a strong impact on the field of museology, restricting the scope of interest in Turkish museums to the modern limits of the country leaving out the sites that lay previously within the Ottoman territory. The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, where the majority of the Raqqa finds are now housed, is a good example that reflects this approach of prioritizing sites according to their locations with respect to modern geographical boundaries. After the two campaigns of excavations at Raqqa had finished, the finds were brought to İstanbul and later they were dispersed to several museums across the country. The main part of the collection was eventually brought together within the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. However, except for a small group of exquisite objects put on display, the entire collection has always been kept in storage, with a large corpus of material still to be inventoried. Due to the focus of the museum on local histories, sites such as Raqqa have suffered a lack of both scholarly attention and public interest. Such artifacts from sites located outside the borders of modern Turkey are labeled with the name of the modern countries. Hence, the Raqqa collection, classified within the “Syrian” category, is considered secondary to “Turkish” art, whose alleged superiority is demonstrated by the amount of space and attention given to it at the museum. It is put on display simply because it represents the “Islamic” component of the museum holdings.

The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts went through an extensive restoration program, which was completed in 2014 with a brand new section devoted to Islamic Archaeology.¹⁰⁰ This is where artifacts from Raqqa and Samarra are currently on display. The contents of the displays, however, are not new but simply a refurbished version of the past exhibit and with a new title that emphasizes the “Islamic” origin of this “non-Turkish” material.

The museum displays are arranged in a chronological order from the early Islamic period until the late Ottoman era, the same way as it was in the past. Located at the entrance

¹⁰⁰ The English translations of the information boards are erroneous. For instance, Islamic archaeology is translated as “Islam archaeology” and Fırat (The Euphrates) is translated as Tigris.

of the museum, this “new” section represents the early Islamic period. It consists of two parts next to each other; the first one reserved for Samarra while the latter exhibits the ceramics from Raqqa. Both parts incorporate architectural visuals of the cities with sound and light effects intended to give the visitors an experiential connection with the two medieval cities. The attempt of the museum to promote its Islamic collection is unequivocal and certainly valuable. However, in the absence of a global outlook and an inclusive narrative, these attempts remain merely cosmetic. Should the museum move away from this nationalist model and revise its categorical distinction between “non-Turkish” material, it will not only create a dialogue between different cultures of the Middle East, but also may allow its audience to address questions of contemporary politics and international relations.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to build a contextual framework for a better understanding of the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa and their resulting finds by outlining the early history of Islamic archaeology, its formation in the Ottoman Empire, and later trajectory in modern Turkey. Scholarly interest in Islamic culture began rather early in Europe and Russia around the eighteenth century largely due to the high demand for Islamic objects in the art market but at the same time as a result of the encounters of these expansionist states with the Islamic civilization. Perhaps the earliest form of scholarly writing about Islamic material culture was on numismatics. The great impetus for the initial formation of the discipline of Islamic archaeology was the recovery of artifacts to be supplied to the art market. The impact of Western connoisseurship on the reception of Islamic objects continued into the late nineteenth century. However, in the first decades of the twentieth century, the pioneers of Islamic archaeology generated new questions on the nature and the meaning of Islamic objects stimulating new academic interest in the Islamic culture. Subsequently, a considerable number of field surveys were initiated along with the first excavations at sites, where the main occupational levels date to Islamic periods. These early twentieth-century studies are crucial for their photographic documentation and meticulous descriptions of the architectural monuments, many of which do not survive today (Blessing 2014, 2). Furthermore, they transformed the study of Islamic art and archaeology from a purely Orientalist field of interest into a systematic, and gradually, scientific discipline.

Islamic archaeology emerged as a discipline during a dynamic period in the history of the world at the turn of the century. The Ottoman Empire was facing a period of social and

political flux while the majority of the Muslim world had been colonized by the European states, whose military activities shaped the archaeological practices in North Africa and the Middle East leading to the exploration of Islamic sites. Russia was another expansionist power with a strong interest in Islamic art and archaeology that initiated the first archaeological investigations at the Islamic sites in Central Asia (Milwright 2010, 13). The only Muslim polities that contributed to the study of Islamic archaeology were Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, whose attempts remained rather inadequate and fragmented primarily due to the lack of an established archaeological tradition, sufficient financial resources and trained specialists to undertake systematic surveys.

European expansion within Ottoman territory resulted in the removal of antiquities from the Ottoman Empire to Europe. The alleged Ottoman neglect of antiquities was often used as a justification for their removal. In order to prevent the smuggling of antiquities and to control the activities of the foreign archaeologists, the Ottoman government took serious legal and institutional precautions. The first initiative was the foundation of the Imperial Museum to house antiquities and to undertake national excavations, followed by the proclamation of two antiquities laws, the first one in 1884 and the second, in 1906 (Shaw 2003, 110-124, 126-130; Koçak 2011, 100-102, 160-164). Under this law, which remained in effect until the 1970s, the Islamic antiquities were accepted as part of the country's heritage for the first time. The first collection of Islamic art was formed in 1889. The main reason why Ottoman interest in Islamic art arose much later than the ancient art is the fact that Ottoman approach to museology followed the path laid out by the European model. It was the European ambition for Greco-Roman and later Near Eastern antiquities that created a growing awareness in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it began to claim rights over the antiquities in order to integrate these ancient civilizations into its own imperial heritage. This awareness gradually expanded to embrace the Islamic legacy of the empire in order to promote the Islamic identity of the empire. Thus, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Islamic art and archaeology became a field of interest also for Ottoman intellectuals although it did not fully develop until the beginning of the twentieth century (Shaw 2003, 183). It was promoted as a part of the Hamidian program of Pan-Islamism in order to augment the "Islamic" identity of the empire to resist against the increasing Arab nationalism (Rogan 1991). The Ottoman government undertook restoration programs, opened museums and initiated surveys to promote and protect its Islamic heritage even though these attempts remained rather modest and incomplete.

At a time when the Ottoman archaeological agenda was dominated by the exploration of ancient civilizations, Raqqa was the only Islamic site that was explored archaeologically by the Imperial Museum. An inherent question since the beginning of the present research has been whether Raqqa had a special place or was treated differently due to its Islamic character in comparison with other sites investigated by the Imperial Museum. What was the main motivation behind its exploration? I will attempt to address such issues in the rest of this dissertation.

Chapter 3 - The (Hi)story of Ottoman Archaeology¹⁰¹

Curiosity in the remote past started early in the Ottoman Empire. Ancient artifacts have been subjects of interest for various sultans such as Mehmed II (r. 1444–46; 1451–81), who had a vast collection of antique and Byzantine statuary (Raby 1983),¹⁰² or Murat III (r.1574-1595), who brought a pair of large marble urns from Pergamon and placed them inside the Hagia Sophia.¹⁰³ The literature is meagre on subjects such as the Ottoman sultans' interest in antiquities and the history of collecting in the Ottoman world. Shaw (2003, 31-44) has made a major contribution to the latter although her focus is on the late Ottoman period. The earlier centuries await attention. The extensive use of spolia in imperial architecture throughout the empire is often interpreted as an indication of the sultans' appreciation and appropriation of the ancient legacy of the land they ruled over. Shaw (2003, 35-44) sees the use of spolia in architecture as an early means of public display of antiquities, thus constituting an important step towards the formation of the modern museum (Rogers 1982). It is even asserted that Yavuz Sultan Selim collected and brought ceramics from Raqqa during his eastern campaign in 1516 although the claim has no firm basis.¹⁰⁴ A well-known anecdote is the encounter of Abdülmecid (r. 1839-1861) with a group of stone slabs lying on the ground that bore an inscription containing the name "Constantine." Considering them valuable for bearing the name of a legendary ruler, the Sultan ordered that they should be lifted off the ground and taken under protection (Özkan 1999, 453-54). Thus, they were carried to the Hagia Irene, which had been converted into a "proto-museum" by Ahmed Fethi Pasha, the Marshal of the Imperial Arsenal (Tophane-i Amire Müşiri) in 1846 (Shaw 2007, 256). The collection housed at the Hagia Irene had been classified into two groups: *Mecma-i Âsarı Âtika* [Magazine of Antiquities] and *Mecma-i Âsarı Esliha* [Magazine of weapons and military equipment

¹⁰¹ Here, the term "archaeology" is used in the widest possible meaning to include all kinds of archaeological practice including field surveys, and pre- and post-excavation activities. What constitutes archaeology has changed over the years since archaeology evolved from a curiosity in exotic remains and discovery of treasures of the past into an analytical discipline. For a descriptive definition of the discipline and its scope see Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 12-18.

¹⁰² Mehmet II's collection consisted of a large number of objects including Byzantine imperial sarcophagi, capitals of ancient columns, and pedestals along with statuary.

¹⁰³ Koçak (2011, 21) briefly traces the interest and policy of the Ottoman sultans towards antiquities prior to the nineteenth century. Ali Artun (2010) makes a comparative analysis on the collections of the Renaissance palaces and those of the Topkapı Palace in his examination of the traditions of collecting in the Ottoman world.

¹⁰⁴ Özarslan (1964-65, 24) does not cite any sources for this claim but only mentions that they are housed in the Çinili Köşk. I have not been able to find any evidence to support her claim, which is worth further investigation.

acquired as spoils of war] (Shaw 2003, 48; 2007). Besides, Abdülmecid also took care of immovable monuments. In 1856, the hippodrome was cleared from the rubble surrounding the Egyptian Obelisk and the Serpent Column, which were enclosed by fences (Atasoy 1983). He also undertook an extensive restoration at the Hagia Sophia in 1847 carried out by the famous Italian-Swiss architects, Gaspare and Guiseppe Fossati (Ortaylı 1983, 199-200). Such attempts towards the protection of antiquities and ancient monuments reflect the cultural environment that began to shape with the Tanzimat reforms beginning in 1839.

During the Tanzimat era (1839-76), interest in the ancient past transformed from being merely an imperial endeavour into an intellectual trend that spread amongst the public within the context of a radical flux in state and society occurring at his time. The Ottoman interest in archaeology should be taken into consideration within the context of modernization project of the empire that began with the Tanzimat. As Ussama Makdisi suggested, in this new culture of modernity, “the Ottoman Empire sought to culturally define itself as an equal player [...] on a world stage of civilization” (Makdisi 2004, 31-32). The intellectuals began to search an equivalent term to translate “civilization” in the form of a new ideology (Tanpınar 2013, 159). Thus, a project of modernity informed by European practices, archaeology served as a tool to construct a new imperial identity and to take “one more step in the incorporation of the empire into a culture of modernity” (Çelik 2011, 469-470; Makdisi 2004, 41). A new consciousness about heritage developed amongst the educated class, bureaucrats, and local administrators leading archaeology gradually towards institutionalization and professionalization.

Throughout the nineteenth century, ancient sites with Mesopotamian and Classical remains within the empire became areas of exploration for Western archaeologists.¹⁰⁵ The strong Western interest in the archaeological remains located within the Ottoman territory stimulated the newly founded Imperial Museum to initiate national archaeological projects. Osman Hamdi Bey and his team undertook the first official excavation in 1883 at Mt. Nemrud, followed by others around the empire. Despite the concentration of early interest in ancient Near Eastern and Classical sites, the Ottomans also began to research, collect, and preserve Islamic material by the end of the century following the museological trends of the time. As a result of the socio-political climate, the Islamic heritage of the Empire gained

¹⁰⁵ In this context, I use the term “Western archaeologists” to refer to “European and North American” archaeologists in its historical and cultural, rather than geographical, meaning.

greater emphasis. This focus on Islamic heritage was intended to unify the Islamic domains of the empire.¹⁰⁶ Thus, an Ottoman discourse on archaeology had developed at the turn of the century, that is to say, archaeology gained visibility in bureaucratic documents, popular publications, school textbooks and visual culture (Bahrani et al. 2011, 37). The first decade of the twentieth century represents a clear departure from earlier antiquarian interests into a well-established discipline with its somewhat institutionalized museums and relatively academic character.

The history of Ottoman archaeology is yet to be written. With the exception of a few valuable yet brief discussions,¹⁰⁷ historians have largely overlooked the subject. Topics that have received attention include the history of collecting in the Ottoman Empire or Ottoman sultans' attitude towards the antique past.¹⁰⁸ This chapter is a concise introduction to the history and historiography of Ottoman archaeology. As its title suggests, it is intended as a general overview from an archaeological perspective rather than an exhaustive survey of the history of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire.

The chapter outlines the sources and limitations of Ottoman archaeology, its aims, methods, and development over the period under study. Hence, the chronological scope follows the earlier chapters, focusing roughly on the period between 1881 and 1914. I will begin my discussion of the historiography of archaeology in the Ottoman world with a critique of the prevailing issues that dominate the scholarship. Then I will examine the socio-political context at the turn of the century, that is, the internal and external circumstances shaping the archaeological discourse in the Ottoman Empire at this time, when archaeology emerged as a new source of knowledge and gradually developed into a discipline. This will be followed by an outline of the archaeological activities of the Imperial Museum under the directorships of Osman Hamdi and Halil Edhem and a review of the archaeological techniques and methods employed by the Ottoman archaeologists. The final section concentrates on the intellectual and social history of archaeology by commemorating¹⁰⁹ its leading actors, questioning their sources of influence and inspiration and by analyzing their

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Ottoman approach to Islamic material culture.

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, Shaw (2003, 31-44) on the traditional practices of collecting in the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰⁸ For a concise discussion of the subject, see Paksoy 1993.

¹⁰⁹ I borrowed the verb "to commemorate" from Bruce G. Trigger (2009, 550) in order to to emphasize my mission to bring the contributions of Ottoman archaeologists into view and celebrate their achievements.

practices in order to make visible their contributions that have long sunk into oblivion. Within the context of disciplinary history of archaeology, this study has implications for archaeological theory and thought in its formation years. In a broader sense, the subject is of interest to archaeologists and non-archaeologists, particularly social historians, as a part of the intellectual history of the late Ottoman Empire.

Historiography

1. Nomenclature

The term “Ottoman archaeology” is often used in a dual sense:¹¹⁰ first, it refers to the archaeology that studies the material culture of the Ottoman period and second, as an anachronistic term, it denotes the archaeological activities undertaken by the Ottoman state and its institutions.¹¹¹ An alternative approach is by reconceptualizing the latter within the framework of “Turkish archaeology,” as employed by many Turkish historians, who begin the history of Turkish archaeology with Osman Hamdi Bey, the first director of the museum with a “Turkish” origin.¹¹² A more accurate, but clumsy expression would be “archaeology in the late Ottoman period,” which fails to differentiate the practices of the Ottomans from those of the other states. The attempt to tackle the archaeological practices of the Ottomans discretely from their counterparts is essential for scrutinizing the formation and the development of the discipline in Turkey. For the sake of convenience and practicality, the present study employs the term “Ottoman archaeology” for the archaeological enterprise of the Ottoman state and the Imperial Museum.

¹¹⁰ Baram and Carroll (2002, 12) questions the difference between an Ottoman period archaeology and Ottoman Archaeology without acknowledging the use of the term to refer to the archaeology undertaken by the Ottoman state.

¹¹¹ For a definition of the field, there are two entries in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. C. Smith. New York: Springer Science + Business Media: 1. Walker, B. (ed.) 2014. “Ottoman Archaeology: Localizing the Imperial”. Pp. 5642-53, 2. Petersen, A. “Ottoman Empire: Historical Archaeology”. Pp. 5653-5664. Halil Inalcık also uses the term Ottoman archaeology for the archaeology of the empire. A canonical introduction to the field is Baram and Carroll 2002.

By contrast, many scholars use the term to refer to archaeological practices undertaken by the Ottoman state and its institutions such as Eldem 2015, Hanssen 1998, Ortaylı 1983, Holod and Ousterhout 2011.

¹¹² For instance, Koşay et. al. 2013; Cinoğlu 2002. For a critique of this approach, see Eldem 2015.

2. Historiography of Ottoman Archaeology

The Turkish historiography of the Ottoman Empire is largely dominated by a traditional approach that favours political history by attributing sanctity to textual documents as primary sources, particularly those generated or utilized by the state and its circles. Texts are transcribed, translated, and, in some cases, treated uncritically with no attention to their contexts. Therefore, they remain as primary sources awaiting analyses at a secondary level to contextualize them within a theoretical framework (Eldem 2013, 4). This approach has become an established convention in Turkish historiography of the late Ottoman Empire, which downgrades its credibility and validity.

Furthermore, Ottoman history has long suffered from the problematic relationship it has had with the nationalist historiographies in modern Turkey and other successor states of the Ottoman Empire. The tradition of history in Turkey dictates a Turco-centric approach blended with a Turco-Islamic synthesis, creating a historiographical monopoly that privileges the official history over alternative accounts and approaches. Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the Turkish state has commissioned the Turkish Historical Society to produce material to serve its nationalist propaganda (Berktaş 1993, 246). Likewise, as Eldem suggests, mainstream historians in Turkish academia have followed similar principles to disseminate Turkish nationalism by “Turkifying” the Ottoman history (Eldem 2010).

This historiographical tradition has several implications for the study of Ottoman archaeology. The nationalistic approach caused an overemphasis on certain figures and a neglect of other prolific individuals, whose equally valuable contributions to Ottoman archaeology are generally overlooked. A case in point is the habit of beginning the standard history of Turkish archaeology with Osman Hamdi Bey, the so-called “father” of Turkish archaeology and museology, whose life-story has dominated the entire narrative of the history of Ottoman archaeology.

Another common tendency in traditional histories of Ottoman archaeology has been the disregard of other fields of study.¹¹³ Thus, scholarly attention on the subject has remained limited to the conventional framework of Ottoman historiography. Moreover, following the traditional, text-based methodologies of Ottoman historiography, Turkish scholars dealing with the history of archaeology have largely concentrated on archival texts and their

¹¹³ See Eldem (2010) for a critique of such historiographical tendencies and traditions in Ottoman history.

translations. As a result, the legal and bureaucratic nature of the textual material form the basis of their discussions and shape their choice of topics to explore, creating a biased and limited narrative of the history of archaeology (Eldem 2010).

Modern Turkish historiography of Ottoman archaeology principally focuses on the large corpus of documents from Ottoman archives reporting on illicit activities, legal texts such as those outlining new regulations, or records of conditions for issuing excavation permits. Many studies simply list a chronological inventory of events, legal and bureaucratic changes concerning archaeology and report on various archaeological activities without making any critical analysis or drawing broader socio-political conclusions from them.¹¹⁴ Perhaps, the most popular theme has, thus far, been the foreign archaeological enterprise within the empire and its impact on the formation of the Imperial Museum and subsequent archaeological discourse. The focus on foreign enterprise overshadows the archaeological practices of the Ottoman state itself leading to a disproportionate emphasis on foreign projects, while few publications address issues regarding the history of excavations carried out by the Ottomans.¹¹⁵ As a result, alternative fields of study that are not directly relevant to official history or covered in the textual documents such as intellectual trends and methodological developments in the history of Ottoman archaeology have been entirely overlooked.

By contrast, international scholarship on the history of archaeology has focused on theoretical issues overlooking local sources and accounts for viewing Ottoman enterprises through post-colonial debate. The standard picture is more complicated than what appears on the mainstream Western sources with “intricate webs of interactions between the East and the West,” as discussed below (Bahrani et al. 2001, 28).

An intriguing drawback is that, unlike European and American historiographies of archaeology,¹¹⁶ Turkish historiography of Ottoman archaeology in particular has been undertaken by historians, not archaeologists. This is chiefly due to the linguistic barrier since the majority of the Ottoman archival sources are in Ottoman Turkish, a language that is conventionally taught only in history and literature departments of Turkish universities and is

¹¹⁴ The best example for this type of approach is the recent encyclopedic compilation by the Turkish Historical Society, reviewed in the Introduction of the present study (Koşay et. al. 2013. Also see Mülâyim 2009.

¹¹⁵ See, for instance, Koçak 2011.

¹¹⁶ Trigger (2009, 549-581) offers a comprehensive discussion on the general historiography of archaeology.

not available to the students of archaeology and art history. Hence, the virtual border set by the language revolution in 1930s obstructs the archaeologists wishing to read Ottoman sources and complicates the efforts to study the history of their discipline prior to the Republican era, thus, rendering late Ottoman period a *terra incognita* for archaeologists.

Alternative Approaches

New methodologies are essential to be able to tackle new themes and to ask new questions. The historiographer of archaeology in Turkey is required to examine both internal and external sources critically in order to offer a balanced interpretation. The internal sources are primary accounts written by local historians since the late Ottoman period. The external sources taken into account by the contemporaneous European actors, generally offer a biased view of Ottoman archaeology reflecting the political dynamics of the time and the ongoing rivalries over the antiquities (Eldem forthcoming). The Ottomans have been presented typically as vandals lacking the sophistication to appreciate and protect the antiquities lying in their territories. For instance, Eldem points out an article by Salomon Reinach, who severely blames the Ottomans for being only concerned with either selling or destroying antiquities. He also complains about intellectuals, who perceived the importance of archaeology, but are in the way of the Western interest in science and collecting as all they can achieve is confiscating and storing the antiquities in their museums with no audience (Reinach 1883 Cited in Hitzel 2010 and Eldem forthcoming). Eldem (2011, 326) cites Reinach's statement:

As to the Greek and Roman antiquities that are in its hands, or that lie on the domains it possesses, [the Turkish government] has the right to consider them more or less as we consider construction rubble in France. These are assets it is allowed to profit from, and which it can convert into cash. . . . The antiquities of each people will then be entrusted to their natural protectors. We will applaud the efforts of the Greeks of Turkey to form art collections in their country; but we shall not forget that Greek works deserve to be everywhere where the genius of Ancient Greece has formed minds capable of loving and understanding it.

Reinach's above comment is particularly interesting since it predates the Ottoman Antiquities Law of 1884, which brings strict legislative regulations. The law remained as a point of disapproval for Reinach even though he managed to build a long lasting friendship and cooperation with Osman Hamdi. It should also be noted that Reinach was the mentor of Osman Hamdi in his archaeological career. The two had met when Osman Hamdi invited Reinach to classify and catalogue the collection of the Imperial Museum right after he was

appointed director in 1881 (Reinach 1882; Eldem et al. 2010, 444).¹¹⁷ Reinach was not alone in his dislike and critique of the Ottoman presence in the archaeological scene. Many Western sources from this period and early twentieth century display a similar disapproval of the Ottomans' activities in the field reflecting the political rivalry between the states.¹¹⁸

The Turkish scholarship on the history of Ottoman archaeology developed as a response to the abovementioned Western narrative and formulated a nationalist discourse that has numerous shortcomings. An objective account of the history of the discipline, thus, requires the examination of primary sources, the majority of which are located in the archives of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum. However, despite their potential, these archives have been much less exploited because of the difficulties posed by their being uninventoried and undigitized thus far. Besides the documents in Ottoman Turkish, there is also a collection classified as "documents in foreign languages," that await exploration.¹¹⁹ Additionally, there are other alternative sources, which could potentially contribute to the study of archaeology in the Ottoman world, including the publications of the Ottoman archaeologists themselves or the archaeological findings from the excavations they undertook.

As a result of the paucity of attention in archaeology in public circles in the late Ottoman period, the museum became the foremost institution where archaeology found adequate representation. Therefore, the dominant theme of the history of archaeology has been the history of the Imperial Museum, with a particular focus on the period under the directorship of Osman Hamdi. Presenting museology as the only visible aspect of archaeology in the Ottoman world, this approach views archaeology merely as a tool for enriching the museum holdings. This view of archaeology that developed in the late Ottoman times has been the main paradigm in archaeological historiography. An immediate effect of such a shallow outlook is its disregard for the study of archaeology for its own sake as well as some other relevant themes such as the sociological and methodological dimensions of archaeological practice.

Archaeology has been represented in Turkish historiography as an independent scientific discipline much later in the early Republican era of the 1930s, when the state and its

¹¹⁷ Reinach (1910) published an obituary exalting Osman Hamdi.

¹¹⁸ For instance, Eldem (forthcoming) points out the deliberate attempts of the German archaeologists at Boğazköy to simply reduce the contributions of Theodore Macridy to that of a commissar capable of administering the local population and easy to cooperate with.

¹¹⁹ Edhem Eldem, *pers. comm.*, March 2015.

newly founded institutions promoted archaeological research extensively. The concentration of historiographical interest in modern scholarship has been on these two themes; that is the foundation of museology by Osman Hamdi and the so-called “golden years” of Turkish archaeology. This disproportionate emphasis created a neglect of the history of archaeology to be treated as an independent discipline. Therefore, other promising subjects such as its historical and methodological development and its place within the history of the world archaeology are yet to be explored.

The general consensus amongst Turkish historians of archaeology is that the Ottomans did not have a clear mission to study their own past and archaeology obtained a socio-political character only in the Republican period (Özdoğan 2002, 111; Tanyeri-Erdemir 2006, 382).¹²⁰ Ensuing the abovementioned tradition, mainstream historians generally acknowledge that the Ottomans imported and practiced archaeology as part of their “process of modernization” with the aim to acquire antiquities for the museums (Özdoğan 2002, 114; Arık 1953). For instance, one of the few archaeologists interested in the history of archaeology in Turkey, Mehmet Özdoğan simply ignores the archaeological practices taking place in late Ottoman period and reduces the role of Ottomans in the history of archaeology to simply a group of legislative improvements: “The most significant contribution made by the Ottomans to archaeology prohibiting the export of antiquities which at that time might be considered as revolutionary.” (Özdoğan 2002, 115).

Partly due to the belief that Ottoman archaeology lacked a systematic research strategy, scholars have concentrated on the question of why and how archaeology started, rather than how it was practiced or how it developed over time. Imported from Europe, archaeology certainly bore a strong European influence with an emphasis on Greco-Roman antiquities. The Turkish-Islamic heritage was not considered worth studying or even preserving until the last decades of the nineteenth century. However, it is misleading to claim that archaeological research in the Ottoman Empire was merely inspired by aesthetic concerns and did not have any academic or political aspirations. Given the small number and limited extent of the studies on the historiography of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, one should avoid sweeping generalizations at least for the present.

Socio-Political Context

¹²⁰ A critique of this approach can be found in Üre 2014, 35.

Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire emerged and developed during a period of radical social change and political flux. The rich archaeological potential of the vast territory under Ottoman control stimulated an intense interest in archaeology, as discussed in earlier chapters.

Antiquities removed from such legendary sites as Ephesos, Troy, Pergamon, Halicarnassos in western Anatolia, and Mesopotamian sites such as Nimrud, Nineveh, and Babylon reached Europe. These finds created a great curiosity about these ancient sites, stimulating new explorations. After the 1870s, archaeological enterprise began to be commissioned and financed by state-sponsored institutions, rather than individuals (Karaca 2004). In order to benefit from the favourable environment in the Ottoman Empire and the absence of legal enforcement, European states chose their ambassadors and consuls from among those who had some education and experience in archaeology (Türkoğlu 1986, 119). High demand for antiquities from the Western world intermingled with political and diplomatic relations creating a strong competition and global rivalry over the ancient sites and the possession of antiquities. The imperialist powers secured their access to antiquities in the Ottoman land by utilizing various types of diplomatic, political, and even military methods of enforcement.¹²¹ At the turn of the century, a complex network of interactions among states and individuals representing Europeans and Americans, Ottoman authorities, and local administrators had prevailed the archaeological scene.¹²² In the meantime, the thriving market of art and antiquities in the West created a rising demand in ancient and medieval objects triggering both official and clandestine excavations across the Ottoman land.

As the looting of sites and removal of antiquities intensified, the newly emerging intelligentsia of the empire responded by taking legal action and initiating local digs. Western interest thus generated a local curiosity and awareness, and the Ottoman Empire began to undertake archaeological explorations of its own. As a result of this dramatic shift in the position and approach of the Ottomans towards the archaeological wealth of their territories, the Ottomans conveyed the message that the antiquities lying within their empire were the indigenous wealth of their land. As archaeological scholarship became politicized in the West, Ottoman policies became interested in controlling the archaeologists working in the empire. That is the political agendas of rival powers caused archaeology to digress from its academic

¹²¹ Akin (1993, 237) mentions the frequent use of navy ships for the transportation of European archaeologists to the sites and for the removal of the discovered antiquities.

¹²² A new study to shed light on the subject is in press: Çelik, Zeynep. 2016. *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

realm and become a political tool. The illegal transportation had reached to such a level that the state officials could no longer remain passive and had to take action. The initial response of the Ottoman government was to take legal precautions (Koçak 2011).

As a consequence, the Ottoman government issued laws to prevent individuals from removing finds out of the country (Cezar 1995, 327-333, 536-537; Paksoy 1993). Due to the shortcomings of the earlier legislations on antiquities of 1869 and 1874, Osman Hamdi felt the necessity to revise them. The new antiquities law, *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnamesi*, (February 21, 1884), was largely a response to the large-scale transport of antiquities to Europe in previous decades (Shaw 2003, 110; Cezar 1995, 327-333; Koçak 2011).¹²³ The proclamation of this new law marks the beginning of a new phase in the formation of the museum and the birth of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. The law secured the prevention of the removal of antiquities and enlargement of the collection of the Imperial Museum.¹²⁴ For the first time with the implementation of this law, the removal of all classes of antiquities, now recognized as State Property, was prohibited.

Thus, Osman Hamdi sought to prevent the export of archaeological finds from Ottoman lands, but also to store all new discoveries in his museum. His success lies not only in proclaiming a strict law, but also creating the opportunity to generate state subsidy for the museum and archaeological excavations under its auspices (Akın 1993, 238).

However, Osman Hamdi's passion for antiquities contrasts with Sultan Abdülhamid's lack of interest in the topic.¹²⁵ He gave away antiquities from ancient sites as diplomatic gifts to European states, as mentioned in the previous chapter. In this way, considerable numbers of antiquities did leave Ottoman custodianship and were transferred to European museums despite the law and Osman Hamdi's disapproval (Tabbaa 2006, 221). These were removed only from the ancient sites and not the museum. None of the antiquities in the Imperial Museum were gifted away, however, thanks to Osman Hamdi's determination (Cezar 1995, 499).

By the end of the nineteenth century, awareness of the value of antiquities reached to a high level amongst Ottoman intellectuals. In response to European demands in the export of

¹²³ The text of the law can be found in Çal 1997.

¹²⁴ The law was in effect until 1973 (Akın 1993, 238).

¹²⁵ The cultural events and intellectual developments of the period of Abdülhamid II can be found in Hanioglu 2008.

antiquities, the museum issued permits only for teams with high scholarly standards in a bylaw issued in 1897 (Karaca 2004, 388). They were required to document scientific proficiency in archaeology. Permits were not as easy to secure and the export of antiquities was banned except for a very small selection of scientific samples of pottery fragments, which had to be sent to İstanbul for the approval of the museum prior to their ultimate dispatch.

It is against this intellectual and cultural background that archaeology emerged as a new subject of knowledge in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman commitment to modernity led to a strong enthusiasm for archaeology, in which the state presented itself as a “scientific” modern power that could compete with the West on the same ground. The rapidly changing political atmosphere had a strong impact on the Ottoman archaeological discourse. Thus, in the beginning of the twentieth century, with the incorporation of the Islamic heritage of the empire into the Imperial history, archaeology and museum displays began to reflect the quest for a new imperial identity (Shaw 2003; Üre 2014).¹²⁶ The Ottoman Empire already had an unconventional and complex position in between orientalist, colonialist and nationalist discourses of the time. The Ottoman archaeological discourse borrowed the imperialist narratives of the West.¹²⁷

It is also interesting that Ottoman archaeology did not have an explicit nationalist agenda. The “Turkification” of Ottoman history started during the rule of Abdülhamid II as a result of the failure of the newly constructed Ottoman identity, which can be viewed as a part of the nation-building attempts (Eldem 2013, 10). However, these developments in the political and historical scene did not have any impact on archaeological practice until the 1930s, when archaeology became a favourite tool in what Redford (2007, 243) has called the “national project of writing a history of the Turks”.

Archaeological Practice in the Ottoman Empire

Archaeological practice gained visibility in the Ottoman world around the mid-nineteenth century in the public scene particularly due to the growing concern on the removal of antiquities by the foreigners excavating in various parts of the empire. The initial response of the Ottoman government to this illicit export of antiquities was the foundation of an

¹²⁶ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the Ottoman approach to its Islamic heritage.

¹²⁷ Scholarship on the subject is increasing. Hanssen (1998) and Makdisi (2004) have made valuable analyses on how the Ottoman discourse of modernity was reflected in the Ottoman archaeological explorations of Sidon and Ba'albek.

archaeological museum, the Imperial Museum in İstanbul and taking legal precautions, as mentioned above. There is ample literature on the foundation of the museum; so this subject will not be covered here in detail (Cezar 1995, 227-279; Arık 1953, 1-5; Gerçek 1999; Eyice 1985; Yücel 1999).¹²⁸ This section will instead concentrate on underexplored themes and overlooked issues relating to Ottoman archaeological practices, and the particular milestones in their development into a discipline in the Ottoman world. Rather than listing a chronological inventory of excavations undertaken by the Imperial Museum, extensively covered by earlier studies (Koçak 2011; Cezar 1995; Mülayim 2009), what is intended here is an examination of general on-site activities, field techniques, and the development of archaeological practice in the Ottoman world.

Osman Hamdi's appointment as a museum director in 1881 marks a turning point in the formation of the museum and its collections. He made notable contributions in terms of enlarging the museum holdings, the application of systematic methods in the display of objects, the beginning of national excavations, and systematic publications by the museum staff.

1. An Idealist Project: The School of Archaeology

The developing discipline of archaeology in the early twentieth century clearly demanded specialization (Lock 1990, 177). The under-staffed Imperial Museum lacked professionals equipped with the essential technical skills. It was necessary to recruit staff at the museum, who would be able to conduct excavations, conserve and restore the finds and organize the artifact collections. This necessity led to the idea of opening a museum school around the year 1874 under the directorship of Anton Dethier (Kocabaş 1969; Cezar 1995, 243-245).

The regulations of the school of archaeology, named *Âsâr-ı Atîka Mektebi* suggests it aimed to train staff in archaeology in order to conduct field investigations and excavations under the auspices of the Imperial Museum for “the discovery of antiquities across the Ottoman country” (Cezar 1995, 244). The students to be admitted to the school were required to be proficient in languages (French, ancient Greek, Latin, and Turkish), so that they could

¹²⁸ A concise history of the Imperial Museum during its formation years can be found in Shaw 2003, 31-107. The Turkish literature on the subject is rich although the main focus is on the period starting with Osman Hamdi Bey: See, for instance, Pasinli 2003, 11-34. For a list of publications on the collections of the Imperial Museum and its first catalogues, see Arık 1953, 41. Eldem (2015) offers a critique of the Turkish historiography on the subject.

communicate with foreign archaeologists and also read primary texts and inscriptions. In the first instance, two hundred students were to be accepted to the school and paid a salary of two hundred *kuruş*. Their training and education would last two years and the successful graduates would be commissioned in the excavations or various departments of the museum. The curriculum would include courses in archaeology, numismatics, drawing, casting, *moulage*, photography, and mineralogy. Such courses were aimed to equip the archaeologists with skills necessary for not only discovering artifacts but also documenting and examining them. The emphasis was on epigraphy and sculpture, the prioritized artifacts of the time. The regulations also state that the students would be required to take part in archaeological excavations as part of their training program (Kocabaş 1969). The school project, however, could not be realized. Cezar claims that the proposed program of the school was unfeasible due to its high costs and ambitious curriculum (Cezar 1995, 515-516). Serbestoğlu and Açıık (2013) speculate that, due to high construction costs, the museum administration had to make a choice between a new museum building and the school. One should also keep in mind the negative impact of the Russian War of 1877-78, which caused a severe economic crisis (Cezar 1995, 515-516). Another possible explanation is that Dethier was not able to pay much attention to the project due to old age and poor health. His attempt to bring antiquities from the provinces to İstanbul failed since he could not receive money from the account department. Furthermore, since he did not speak Turkish, he may not have conveyed his plans effectively to the members of the *Meclis-i Maarif* (Committee of Education), who despised antiquities simply as “broken pieces of stones.” Subsequently, Osman Hamdi took over the museum administration; instead of a school of archaeology, in 1893 he opened a fine arts academy, the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* within the premises of the Imperial Museum (Cezar 1995, 455-475). Modeled on *L’Académie des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, the academy had a curriculum with a strong emphasis on artistic training, and the teaching of subjects such as history, mathematics, geometry, and architecture in addition to sculpture, drawing, and oil-painting (Serbestoğlu and Açıık 2013, 167). The number of the students had reached to two hundred in 1895, most of whom were of non-Muslim descent. However, the academy also aimed to train specialists in the restoration and conservation of the Ottoman cultural heritage. The regulations of the academy elucidate the concept of “cultural heritage” with a long list of materials including “carpets, fabrics, tiles, book binds, inlays, weapons, any object that can corrode and deteriorate” (Georgeon 2006, 283-4).

The Ottoman archaeologists were trained in the field mainly by observing and assisting Western archaeologists they were commissioned to control. The large number of foreign excavations was disproportionate to the small number of museum staff available to be appointed as commissars.¹²⁹ This meant the staff had to move constantly from one site to another. Working with the leading academic bodies and institutions of the time such as the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the British Museum as well as a large variety of established and senior archaeologists coming from different schools gave them the opportunity to observe, gain hands-on knowledge, and take on the tradition in the field. Moreover, being able to participate in excavations of diverse types of sites belonging to different civilizations from a wide chronological span, they became experienced in different field techniques and learnt how to deal with various issues. Thus, they acquired the necessary theoretical and practical skills rapidly and progressed in their professions as archaeologists. In fact, it was not only the Ottoman archaeologists that were trained in the system of applied archaeology. Many Western archaeologists, at the time, learned how to excavate in similar ways.¹³⁰

2. Archaeological Method and Field Techniques in Ottoman Excavations

The ways in which Ottoman archaeologists practiced archaeology are yet to be investigated. The field techniques they used, the development of archaeological method, their excavation techniques, collection strategies, recording systems and restoration practices are all subjects to be explored. This is not an easy task given that the subject is yet to be addressed in scholarship. This brief overview is intended as a point of departure for future studies. It is undoubtedly important to contextualize this analysis in order to see how Ottoman archaeological techniques compare to those being practised by contemporary European and North American archaeologists working in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³¹ Hence, one can ask whether Ottoman archaeologists were “mainstream” in their approaches or were following different directions. Many other questions can be generated. A key point of investigation is the extent to which the Ottomans developed a “scientific” approach to

¹²⁹ In archival sources, this position is referred to as “hafriyat memuru,” literally meaning an excavation officer.

¹³⁰ For instance, Hogarth was trained in Petrie’s excavations in Egypt (Lock 1990, 178).

¹³¹ See Chapter 1 for an overview of the archaeological method at the turn of the century.

archaeology.¹³² Did they have a notion of or sensitivity about the destructive nature of the excavations and the fact that they had to be operated carefully? Needless to say, thorough answers to such questions require a more extensive research than the scope of this study allows. However, an analysis of the publications of Ottoman archaeologists does provide some meaningful insight into the mindsets and approaches of their authors.

It is quite difficult to follow the progress of excavations from the published excavation reports, as they do not provide sufficient evidence for field techniques. Nor do they offer many clues about the way the excavations were conducted, how the finds were recorded, or how the teams were supervised. The main emphasis of such reports is on the discoveries and their importance. However, these documents serve an important purpose of recording the major activities on the site, revealing the aims and objectives of the archaeologists in the field and to reveal the technical and analytical procedures of an excavation. In addition, they convey archaeologists' observations while providing insights on the priorities of the excavation teams, their work ethics and perceptions of various materials unearthed. Thus, they allow for an evaluation of the working environment and mental attitudes of archaeologists as they practised their discipline. Publishing these reports, the archaeologists not only aimed to present archaeology to the interested public in the Ottoman intellectual circles, but also sought a means of demonstrating their achievements to international scholarly arena.

By reading their reports in a critical manner, one can reach some general conclusions about the archaeological tradition surrounding the Ottoman archaeologists at the turn of the century. It can be clearly observed that, like their contemporaries,¹³³ they were mainly concerned with discovery rather than with analysis and paid more attention to provenance and origin than socio-economic or cultural questions. Their publications were lengthy, descriptive accounts rather than reflective essays or analytical examinations on their findings. There is no mention of the application of stratigraphical or seriation methods, unlike the work of pioneers at the time such as Petrie and Hogarth (Petrie 1904; Lock 1990). Nor they provide any details on the order of digging or any descriptions of the excavated layers. However, they do discuss topographical information and identify various features such as areas of burning or

¹³² See Chapter 1 for the criteria of “scientific” archaeology at the turn of the century.

¹³³ Lock (1990, 180) makes similar observations for D. G. Hogarth, one of the most prolific and active British archaeologists of the time.

architectural elements related to water use, and assess the available evidence obtained through different material in a holistic sense.

The most handsome publications of Ottoman archaeological research were prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey to report on his outstanding explorations at two sites: Mt. Nemrud in Adıyaman, excavated in 1883, and Sidon (*mod. Saida*), in Lebanon, excavated in 1887 (Hamdi and Osgan 1883; Hamdi, Reinach, and Chantre 1892) (Figures 5 and 7). These two missions were Osman Hamdi's first excavations, both of which were operated to gain him and his institution visibility in the international scene (Eldem 2010, 403; Hamdi, Osgan and Eldem 2010). Discovered originally by Otto Puchstein, Mt. Nemrud was a site that the Germans were intending to excavate. Before the Germans arrived, Osman Hamdi Bey and Yervant Osgan Effendi surveyed the site, copied the inscriptions and took casts of the statues (Figure 8).¹³⁴ They then quickly published their results as a book, which received positive responses from the international circles.

In keeping with the prevalent mentality of the time, the Ottoman campaign at Mt. Nemrud unsurprisingly had its focus on the lengthy inscriptions and their translations, which enabled a better-informed interpretation of the function of this extraordinary burial site. This was a task that required great skills in transcribing and translating ancient Greek. The proficiency of their work and its positive reception demonstrates that Osman Hamdi and Yervant Osgan were not much behind their contemporaries in terms of their acquired skills as archaeologists. They were able to read inscriptions, classify them in terms of their epigraphic style, and discuss them critically within the framework of previous research on them. Clearly, they neither lived in an isolated world nor perceived themselves away from the Western scholarly circles and their established tradition of archaeological practice.¹³⁵

In fact, it was the excavations at the royal necropolis at Sidon in 1887, which brought the actual fame and reputation to Osman Hamdi and his museum. It was a fairly difficult operation, for which Osman Hamdi used every means available including all kinds of support from the local officials and the Navy Department. The team dug tunnels leading to the floor of the underground burial chambers and built a primitive railway system to extract eleven out

¹³⁴ For a review of the early explorations and archaeological activities on Mt. Nemrud and other Commagenian sites in its vicinity, see Brijder and Garlich 2014, 175-297.

¹³⁵ Schwertheim (1999, 125-128) offers a review of the first explorations at Mt. Nemrud by the German archaeologists Conze and Puchstein. Both the Ottoman and the German teams worked at the site simultaneously in a competitive manner. For the results of the German team, see Humann and Puchstein 1890.

of the twenty-six sarcophagi, which were slid on greased skates. They were then loaded onto ships and transported to İstanbul to be displayed at the Imperial Museum, which had wide repercussions both in Turkey and in Europe. For the display of the newly acquired sarcophagi, a new museum building was constructed in 1891 by the French architect Alexandre Vallaury in neoclassical style and was named as the “Sarcophagus Museum” (Shaw 2007, 258).

Regrettably, grave robbers had damaged many of the sarcophagi, including the most outstanding piece of the collection, the “Alexander Sarcophagus,” which was discovered in hundreds of fragments (Figure 9). Yervant Osgan Efendi, sculptor and professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, undertook the arduous task of restoring the sarcophagi.¹³⁶ Assisted by one of his students, he executed a delicate work with great effort and remarkable precision bringing the pieces together with no use of stucco. Almost no trace of repair is visible even today. His meticulous work was not only praised by Osman Hamdi, who acknowledges his contribution in several places in the book, but must have been also applauded in international circles.

In addition to sarcophagi, the excavation team also discovered a group of bowls, vases, fragments of jewellery, terracotta figurines, and a large amount of bones. Osman Hamdi provides a long description of the excavations in the first half of the book along with the technical details of their finds, their measurements, the way they were extracted and restored. He also records his personal observations and some anecdotes about their daily life experiences in the field and during their subsequent journeys in the region. Osman Hamdi restricts his discussion to the excavations leaving the more difficult task of analyses of the finds to experts: Theodore Reinach (d. 1928) examined the sarcophagi,¹³⁷ Ernest Chantre (d. 1924) the skulls and bones,¹³⁸ and Ernest Renan (d. 1892), to whom Osman Hamdi sent the inscription on the so-called Tabnit’s coffin to ask for his help with its translation (Koçak 2011, 107). Osman Hamdi was well aware of his limits as an archaeologist, and often sought the professional expertise of his colleagues. For instance, in the beginning of the book, he raises questions on the sheer difference in the styles of sarcophagi. Admitting his deficiency

¹³⁶ A brief biography of Yervant Osgan Efendi can be found in Chapter 3.

¹³⁷ Theodore Reinach, Director of the *Revue des études grecques*, was the younger brother of Salomon Reinach. Osman Hamdi worked closely with both archaeologists at different times.

¹³⁸ Neither Reinach nor Chantre, Assistant Director of the Lyon Museum, participated in the excavations; they must have analyzed the material subsequently in İstanbul.

in the field, he invites the experts saying “C'est aux archéologues à résoudre ce problème” (Hamdi, Reinach, and Chantre 1892, 4). Reinach's discussion occupies the majority of the space in the book, which may be an indication of the emphasis given to finds analyses. In the final chapter, Chantre examines the skulls recovered from the tombs. The study of skulls in order to seek answers for the origins of the skeletons found inside the tombs reveals that the Sidon expedition aimed to achieve global standards of ongoing research in the discipline.

The second volume of the book presents the visual materials, most probably illustrated by Osman Hamdi himself as testified by their superb technique and photographic standards. The high quality of the two publications indicates the Imperial associations that facilitated their execution reflecting their distinctive missions.¹³⁹

All other archaeological explorations conducted by the Imperial Museum staff as part of the Ottoman archaeological agenda were much more modest in the way they were undertaken and published. In fact, due to the shortage of qualified staff in the museum in the 1890s, Osman Hamdi commissioned several French archaeologists to conduct fieldwork on behalf of the Imperial Museum. In 1890, Chantre was sent to Kültepe (*anc.* Kaneš) to examine the site for a possible excavation, where he discovered alabaster figurines, now kept at the museum (Figure 7) (Cezar 1995, 311). In 1893, Osman Hamdi excavated the Temple of Hekate at Lagina along with a team of French archaeologists (Figures 6, 7, and 10) (Koçak 2011, 110-111). In 1894, Jean-Vincent Scheil (d. 1940) excavated Tell Abu Habbah (*anc.* Sippar) (Figure 5) under the auspices of the Imperial Museum, a dig sponsored by the sultan himself (Koçak 2011, 110; Cezar 1995, 325; Scheil 1902). Except from these relatively large-scale projects, the Imperial Museum commissioned numerous small-scale excavations at various corners of the empire. These campaigns were often run under limited logistical circumstances by modest teams consisting of the director himself and several workmen. At times, they simply aimed to document and preserve a group of monuments or inscriptions while there were relatively more ambitious ones with larger targets such as excavating a site to unearth antiquities for the Imperial Museum. For example, in two articles published in 1881 and 1888, Demosthene Baltazzi examines a group of ancient inscriptions by making typological comparisons and dates them through correlation with numismatic evidence

¹³⁹ It is worth mentioning that neither book has been translated into Turkish thus far although they were reprinted in 1987. This negligence indicates that the Turkish historiography of archaeology, which limits its scope to the borders of modern Turkey, has had no interest in Ottoman archaeology and its explorations due to its nationalist inclination. It should also be noted that, for some curious reason, the reprinted edition of Sidon included only the first part written by Osman Hamdi and the plates, omitting the rest of the book.

(Baltazzi 1881).¹⁴⁰ On the basis of epigraphic and numismatic evidence, he claims that Myrina and its neighbouring towns were within the control of Pergamene kings. The extent of his knowledge of available literature and his proficiency in epigraphy is rather remarkable.

In a later study, Edhem Bey,¹⁴¹ Osman Hamdi's son, reports on his excavations in Tralles, where he dug for two seasons (Edhem Bey 1904). He begins by acknowledging the earlier excavations of 1888 by Humann and Dörpfeld, who planned the city and discovered some sculptures. Edhem Bey mentions he put in some soundings in the same area to discover some of the missing pieces of these previously discovered statues. He then discusses his discoveries by classifying them according to category: architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions. He also questions the possible functions of the Roman and Byzantine architectural remains and dates them on the basis of architectural evidence in comparison with contemporary sites such as Perge. His discussion on the sculptural and epigraphic finds is notable for demonstrating his grasp of previous research and literature on them. He clearly has an up-to-date knowledge on ancient sculptures, and the regions to which they were attributed by the scholarship of the day. Edhem Bey is well informed on sculptural traditions and styles, which enables him to make detailed analyses on his discoveries. His meticulous use of art historical methods of analogy, comparison, and typology is worthy of attention. In analytical terms, Edhem Bey acknowledges alternative explanations and other plausible interpretations to the ones he puts forward. His confidence in the field is easily discernible, which allows him to severely criticize theories of leading names in the field such as Maxime Collignon and Salomon Reinach.¹⁴²

The most prolific of all the Ottoman archaeologists was surely Theodore Macridy, who participated numerous surveys and excavations and dedicated his entire life to archaeology. He published his findings in French in the leading international journals of the time such as the *Revue Biblique*, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, and *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. As his publications clearly demonstrate, Macridy had a good command of archaeological

¹⁴⁰ Biographical information on D. Baltazzi and other Ottoman archaeologists can be found in the remaining part of the present chapter.

¹⁴¹ Edhem Bey took the surname "Eldem" after the surname law. However, some scholars, particularly archaeologists, dealing with the early archaeological explorations of ancient sites confused him with Halil Edhem Bey.

¹⁴² Edhem Bey published another article in 1908 on a votive relief in the collection of the Imperial Museum, in which he responds in a very confident manner to critiques against his theories.

terminology and a grasp of the archaeological issues and disciplinary practices that existed at the time. Thanks to his advanced drawing skills, he generally mapped and planned the sites himself although he also sought help from others when necessary (Figures 18, 19, and 20). For instance, he acknowledged the contributions of P. Vincent, an architect, who helped draw plans at Ba'albek in return for examining Macridy's discoveries at Sidon (Macridy 1902).¹⁴³ Like Osman Hamdi Bey, when Macridy did not feel confident on a subject, he followed the advice of European colleagues, as well as seeking local knowledge and entrusting certain issues to the experienced workmen in his team.

In 1913, Macridy explored the Temple of Apollon at Claros along with Charles Picard, Secretary General of the French School of Athens (Picard and Macridy 1915) (Figures 6 and 13).¹⁴⁴ The two excavators then co-authored an article, which gives some interesting details about their excavations and discoveries. In the context of the present study, which concentrates on early approaches to pottery, the methodology of these two archaeologists in handling the ceramic finds, which they discuss in the topography section, especially deserves attention. They were evidently aware of the use of pottery as a dating tool. Their association of coarse, hand-made pottery with prehistoric periods may be correct since they were found inside a cave, at a considerable depth of over twenty meters. They describe the characteristics of their pottery finds building comparisons with those reported from the neighbouring sites. Judging by the quality and technique of pottery, they identify mainly three different phases of occupation, which they test against architectural evidence and primary literature.

Macridy and Picard attempted to provide precise measurements of the remains of the temple as well as its decorative friezes. They are able to identify different phases of architecture and date them. In their analyses of the temple and its architecture, they build comparisons with contemporary examples from the region such as the Didymaion and Artemision at Ephesos and with reference to earlier publications as well as primary literature (Picard and Macridy 1915, 41-44). They use the surface finds represented by Attic, Hellenistic and Roman pottery to establish a chronology for the sanctuary.

¹⁴³ In his excavation reports, Macridy generally included maps, plans, and illustrations he made himself. See, for instance, Macridy 1902 and 1911 and Figures 18, 19, and 20.

¹⁴⁴ Picard (1944) wrote an obituary about Macridy after his death giving much credit to his hard work and arduous efforts. Their relationship was probably not a compulsory collaboration dictated by the operational conditions, but a genuine cooperation shaped by their common interests.

As discussed in Chapter 1, approaches to ceramics analyses were changing in the first decades of the twentieth century. Petrie developed the system of seriation and wrote about how to document pottery finds by means of drawing and photography (Petrie 1904, 16, 88). Likewise, Salomon Reinach highlighted the importance of pottery in archaeological research and advised on how to document pottery finds in excavations (Reinach 1886). Meanwhile, German scholars had developed more systematic methods collecting everything they found (Bittel 1980). In addition to archaeologists, ceramics had become a sought-after material for European and North American art historians, connoisseurs, and museum curators.¹⁴⁵ In contrast to growing interest in ceramics amongst Europeans and North Americans, however, there is no indication of such a tendency in artistic and scholarly circles within the Ottoman Empire. Ceramics, at this time, began to appear in publications, whose scope ranged from museum guides to newspapers and archaeological reports. It is worth mentioning that the *Usul-i Mimari*, an encyclopaedic compilation on architectural history of the Ottoman Empire, has its focus on tiles and their decorative schemes.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Ottoman archaeologists mentioned ceramic finds in their publications and occasionally discussed their technical characteristics. However, there are no publications that specialized on ceramics from this time.¹⁴⁷

Macridy was aware of the fact that pottery evidence could be used for determining the chronology of a site. For instance, at Akalan, where he first conducted a survey by means of soundings, he identified two successive occupational phases on the basis of pottery evidence (Macridy 1907, Figs 3-4). In an earlier publication based on his work at Sidon, he makes a long list of the ceramic finds along with short descriptions including dimensions, photographs and drawings of them. Here, he identifies all the pottery as being of Cypriot origin¹⁴⁸ and ascribes them to the same period based on the strong parallelism in the style of the artifacts (Macridy 1904).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 5 for an overview of the history of research on Islamic ceramics.

¹⁴⁶ The book was officially prepared by the Ottoman State for the Vienna World Exposition of 1873 (Launay et al. 1873).

¹⁴⁷ A detailed examination of the İAML archives may prove useful in further pursuing this strand of investigation.

¹⁴⁸ The Imperial Museum had a large collection of terracotta figurines from Cyprus, which must be the source of reference for Macridy's attribution (Macridy 1902).

¹⁴⁹ At Sidon, Macridy worked together with Baron von L'andau from Berlin.

The Pioneers of Ottoman Archaeology

In keeping with the trend in Europe, archaeology in the Ottoman Empire was also an elite preoccupation practiced by amateurs with varied backgrounds: diplomats, bankers, and military staff. Coming from aristocratic families, they had been educated in European style. Yet, the life of an archaeologist at the turn of the century in such rough circumstances was inherently an adventure.

The singular focus on the activities of Osman Hamdi has led to a neglect of the contributions of other important figures of the period. The contributions of these scholars need to be situated within the wider context of Ottoman archaeology. Except the two brothers, Osman Hamdi Bey and Halil Edhem Bey, biographical information on the other key players of Ottoman archaeology is scarce in publications. An overview of their lives, however, would help in gaining an understanding of their motivations, in turn contextualising their aims and approaches regarding excavations and subsequent publications. Biographies would also elucidate the social networks in which these individuals were involved. This context is important for providing a background for their archaeological practices, which are likewise largely unexplored (Trigger 2009, 557).

Aimed as a point of departure for future research, this section will focus only on the most notable figures of archaeology, who were all affiliated with the Imperial Museum and had been appointed to serve in various positions. Despite their small number, they worked hard as a team and often multi-tasked to carry out a great variety of chores inside and outside the museum. For instance, Macridy was originally employed as a scribe, responsible for conducting official correspondence in French, but ended up becoming the most active archaeologist of the museum dedicating his entire life to fieldwork. Besides, they all had excellent language skills, which allowed them to follow international books and periodicals of archaeology and the ongoing disciplinary developments. Some of them, such as Macridy, Baltazzi and Edhem Bey, published their own reports also in European periodicals, which gave them the opportunity to reach an international audience and gain a reputation amongst their counterparts. In fact, they did not have much choice, unless they wrote books, since there were no publishing companies printing archaeological bulletins or journals in the Ottoman capital at the time, an absence that suggests how small the archaeological audience was in the Empire.

1. Osman Hamdi Bey

As mentioned previously, the most notable character of Ottoman archaeology is doubtless Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910), a “hero” in the nationalist narratives of the history of archaeology in Turkey. Besides, he is an iconic figure of Ottoman painting, museology and modernism, as a talented artist, a bureaucrat, the founder and the director of the Imperial Museum.¹⁵⁰ He was the oldest son of the grand vizier İbrahim Edhem Pasha (?1818-1893), who was one of the first Ottomans to be educated in Europe. In 1857, he sent Osman Hamdi to Paris, where he spent twelve years and was trained as a painter. After returning to Turkey, he was appointed at different official positions, including a two-year assignment in Baghdad as assistant to Midhat Pasha. Subsequently, he served as assistant director of Protocol in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1867 and 1873, he participated in the World Exhibitions of Paris and Vienna respectively as the director of the Turkish Pavilion. For the latter, he prepared a catalogue of Ottoman costumes, *Elbise-i Osmaniyye* with photographs (Hamdi, Launay, and Sébah 1873; Ersoy 2003; Eldem 2014).

In 1881 he was appointed as director of the Archaeological Museum, then housed at Çinili Köşk. He restored the museum, employed new staff, including his brother, Halil Edhem Bey as assistant director, and enriched its collection by bringing together a large collection of ancient and medieval artifacts. One of the most substantial problems he faced was the traffic of antiquities, which he tackled by issuing a new law in 1883, as mentioned earlier. Afterwards, he was responsible for granting permissions to foreign excavations in the Ottoman territories.¹⁵¹ In the same year, he undertook the first national excavations within the empire at Mt. Nemrud. His second excavation in 1887 at Sidon made a tremendous impact on the international circles for his discovery of a large group of sarcophagi including the so-called the “Alexander Sarcophagus,” the “Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women” and the “Lycian Sarcophagus,” which are some of the most striking objects exhibited at the İstanbul Archaeological Museum.

In 1883, he founded and became the first director of the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul. Meanwhile, Osman Hamdi continued his career as a painter, the primary source of

¹⁵⁰ Osman Hamdi Bey’s publications reflect his multidisciplinary interests, a list and summary of which can be found in Cezar (1995, 335-341).

¹⁵¹ An English account on Osman Hamdi’s biography can be found at Eldem 2004, 2010 and Radt 2013. There is ample literature in Turkish on his life, work, and legacy.

his reputation. Inspired by Orientalist European painters, he initiated figurative narrative and portrait painting in Turkey. He painted in a realistic style and paid great attention to detail, using photographs to achieve precision.¹⁵² His work was celebrated internationally. He was also a member of the Royal Academy in London and received an honorary doctorate from the University of Oxford.

In contrast with his great fame in Turkey as an archaeologist, Osman Hamdi's true contribution to archaeology was more bureaucratic in nature. He played a vital role in the Turkish cultural scene transforming the Imperial Museum into one of the world's leading archaeological museums that actively contributed to archaeological scholarship. Moreover, he introduced European exhibition methods and undertook the first Ottoman archaeological excavations (Gerçek 1999, 320-325).¹⁵³

Osman Hamdi Bey did not have a formal education in archaeology. In fact, he was well aware of his limits as an archaeologist, as discussed above. Yet, recognizing that the museum was short staffed in qualified personnel, he took on field excavations, which was certainly befitting of his adventurous character. Pushing his passion for painting into the background, he dedicated great effort and time to archaeology and the museum even though it often meant neglecting his artistic urge. An article published in *Servet-i Fünun* in 1906 mentions that he went to the museum everyday. In the same article, he notes that he learnt how to dig from Carl Humann and relates his connection with Conze: "Conze rejoiced for my achievement as if it was his own (Radt 2003). He expressed this many times both orally and written to encourage and motivate me about future enterprises" (Cezar 1995, 498). Thus, he built close ties with foreign scholars and benefited from their experience and expertise (Üre 2014, 111).

Osman Hamdi did not favour antiquities from certain periods over others, but valued and protected them equally, as illustrated by the case of the İlyas Bey inscription: The discovery of an inscription from the early fifteenth century, in which the emir, Menteşoğlu İlyas Bey, was highly prized, had created so much confusion that it was decided to destroy it. When asked for advice, however, Osman Hamdi vehemently opposed this, saying that it should be protected as the legacy of an important historical figure (Cezar 1995, 500).

¹⁵² Cezar (1995) offers an in-depth discussion of Osman Hamdi's artistic career and a meticulous examination of his art.

¹⁵³ For a list of the excavations Osman Hamdi directed, see Cezar 1995.

2. Halil Edhem Bey

Halil Edhem [Eldem]¹⁵⁴ (1861-1938) was the youngest son of İbrahim Edhem Pasha and the younger brother of Osman Hamdi Bey. There is almost a twenty-year age difference between the two brothers, but this appears not to have affected their good relationship and remarkable cooperation. However, the difference in the deeds and the outlooks of the two brothers clearly reveal the generation gap between the two, an outcome of the changing social and political conditions at the time.

Also educated in Europe, Halil Edhem Bey was a multi-disciplinary scholar with an international reputation. He studied natural sciences and chemistry in Zurich and Vienna and received his doctorate in philosophy in Bern. He spoke French, German, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. Upon returning to İstanbul in 1885, he served in various government positions and in 1892 was appointed assistant director of the Imperial Museum responsible for the collections of coins and Islamic antiquities. In 1897, he organized the International Ottoman Exposition.

Carrying on the legacy of Osman Hamdi, Halil Edhem made important contributions to the development of archaeology as a discipline within the empire and initiated Islamic archaeology as a sub-discipline of it for the first time.¹⁵⁵ Given Halil Edhem's strong interest in Islamic art, and the fact that the exploration of Islamic sites was not amongst Osman Hamdi's priorities, it can be suggested that the decision to excavate Raqqa might have been Halil Edhem's. At present, the only evidence to support this hypothesis is the correspondence between Halil Edhem and Macridy. Future research in the archives may produce more substantial evidence.

Receiving honorary degrees from the universities of İstanbul, Basel and Leipzig, Halil Edhem was a member of the Turkish Historical Society and a founding member of the Permanent Commission of Antiquities. He initiated a tradition of historical preservation in Turkey and made notable contributions for the protection of cultural heritage. He founded the *Evkaf-ı İslamiyye* (the Museum of Pious Foundations – the predecessor of the modern Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts) in 1914 and the Topkapı Palace Museum in 1924

¹⁵⁴ Names in square brackets are surnames adopted after 1934.

¹⁵⁵ Halil Edhem's contribution to the study of Islamic material culture is yet to be investigated.

(Shaw 2003).¹⁵⁶ Halil Edhem's contributions during the early Republican era are also beyond argument, but remains outside the scope of this study.

His multi-disciplinary publications include guidebooks and catalogues, a textbook on geology, and several articles and books on Islamic material culture: a monumental catalogue of coins (Halil Edhem 1915a),¹⁵⁷ epigraphy, painting and illumination.¹⁵⁸ He also published a catalogue of the Arabic, Byzantine, and Ottoman lead seals in the Imperial Museum in 1904 (Halil Edhem 1904). He is one of the first scholars in Turkey to recognize the value of Islamic art. His monograph on Kayseri and its monuments is still an important reference source today (Halil Edhem 1915b).

Halil Edhem's deep knowledge of history and archaeology was based on his own initiative. He was involved in several excavations at sites such as Miletos (Balat), Sidamara (Konya), Alabanda (Aydın), and Akalan (Samsun) (Figures 6 and 7). However, as Eldem has suggested, his true contribution to archaeology was in the field of epigraphy (Eldem et al. 2010, 257). During his collaboration with Max van Berchem in his epigraphical surveys in Anatolia, he contributed to the latter's publication of the collection of inscriptions, which is the first compilation of Islamic inscriptions in Anatolia (Berchem and Halil Edhem 1910). This inspiring and educative collaboration enabled Halil Edhem to pursue further work on Seljuk and Ottoman epigraphy. After Osman Hamdi's death in 1910, Halil Edhem took over the directorate of the museum, a post he retained until his retirement in 1931.

3. Demosthene Baltazzi

Demosthene Emmanuel Baltazzi (1836-1896) was a member of a Levantine banker family originally from Venice that had settled in İzmir in the eighteenth century (Baltazzi 2002, 340-341; Oğlakçı 2007, 85). Breaking from tradition, Demosthene rejected the family business and instead devoted his life to archaeology. His grandson, Alex Baltazzi describes his grandfather's mansion in Buca, İzmir, as being decorated with ancient sculptures (Baltazzi 2002). During his visit to İzmir in 1863 Sultan Abdülaziz was hosted in this house.

¹⁵⁶ For Halil Edhem's personal notes on the Museum of Pious Foundations, see Bahrani et al. 2011, 418-21. Another interlude in the same volume conveys Halil Edhem's notes on the role of museums for public education (Bahrani, et al. 2011, 480-81).

¹⁵⁷ This catalogue has been added as the sixth volume of the existing catalogue of Islamic coins, which was prepared by his elder brother, İsmail Galib Bey.

¹⁵⁸ A bibliography of Halil Edhem's publications can be found in Kınal 2013.

Baltazzi was a self-trained archaeologist, who became one of the leading figures of Ottoman archaeology. His career as an archaeologist began in the course of his excavations in his family land at Kyme, Myrina.¹⁵⁹ In 1880, he was officially commissioned by the Imperial Museum as a commissar to oversee the foreign excavations. He initially worked at the Myrina excavations in Menemen, İzmir, conducted by French archaeologists Salomon Reinach and Edmond Pottier between 1880 and 1882, during which he hosted all the archaeologists in his mansion in Buca. Partly due to his success in these excavations and partly owing to his great estate and wealth in land-property, Baltazzi was appointed assistant director of the Archaeological Service in the Province of Aydın in 1880-81 on the recommendation of Osman Hamdi Bey (Özyiğit 2015).

Baltazzi conducted several excavations in the region on behalf of the Imperial Museum in 1888-1889 and discovered a fairly large corpus of antiquities. In 1887, he participated in the Sidon excavations along with Osman Hamdi Bey. He spent the latter years of his life in İstanbul due to his appointment at the Imperial Museum (Baltazzi 2004-13). He donated his rich collection of coins and books to the library of the Imperial Museum.

4. Yervant Osgan Efendi

Yervant Osgan Efendi (1855-1914) (Figure 11) was an eminent painter and sculptor with significant contributions to the Ottoman archaeology (Alp 2015; Holod and Ousterhout 2011, 160). He was born in İstanbul to an Armenian family as the son of writer Hagop Osgan and the grandson of Osgan Gotoghian, a master of casting at the Imperial Mint (Eldem et al. 2010, 423). In 1866, he went to Italy, where he studied in Venice until 1872, then, in the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome until 1877. He was educated in architecture and sculpture with the leading artists of the time such as Bechetti, Masini, and Monteverde (Eldem et al. 2010, 423). In 1878, he opened a studio in Paris, where he worked on and exhibited large-scale figural sculpture in bronze (Cezar 1971, 421; Uzun 2010).

Upon his return to İstanbul in 1881, he became a close friend to Osman Hamdi and was involved in the foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul. He was appointed as the assistant director and professor of sculpture at the academy, where he taught until his death in 1914 (Eldem et al. 2010, 423).

¹⁵⁹ The first comprehensive study investigating Demosthene Baltazzi's life and archaeological practices has been recently published by Gökdemir (2016).

Together with Osman Hamdi, Yervant Osgan traveled extensively in Antakya, Urfa, and Antep for two months in May and June 1883 working at the ancient sites of Zincirli (*anc.* Sam'al), Qal'at Saman, Arslantaş.¹⁶⁰ Together, they excavated Mt. Nemrud, mentioned above, where Osgan made plaster casts of the reliefs recovered at the site and co-authored the subsequent publication. His exceptional restoration work on the sarcophagi collection from Sidon brought him much appraisal and fame. The scholarly emphasis on his artistic achievements has overshadowed his contributions to archaeology, which remain largely unexplored.

5. Theodore Macridy¹⁶¹

Theodore Macridy (1872-1940) (Figure 12) was born in İstanbul as the son of a Greek military physician, Ferid Mirliva Konstantin Macridy Pasha. Macridy Pasha was the owner of a large collection of Byzantine coins, which he sold to the Imperial Museum in 1892-1893. In a letter he wrote to Halil Edhem Bey in 1895, he expressed his deep respect for the museum and promised to contribute to its development in the best way he could (Eldem forthcoming).

Our knowledge of Theodore Macridy's life story is based on some fragmentary references and two obituaries (Ogan 1941; Picard 1944). He studied at the *Mekteb-i Sultani* (*mod.* Galatasaray School), the most prestigious and influential school in İstanbul at the time and was appointed at the Imperial Museum in 1892 at the age of twenty-one as a secretary of French correspondence. In time, he improved his knowledge on archaeology and became a commissar for the museum inspecting the foreign excavations conducted under the permission and control of the Imperial Museum. He worked at sites such as Ephesos, Ba'albek, Jerash, Sidon, and Hattuša (Figures 5 and 7). In some of these excavations, he participated in the project by actually digging and in this way trained himself as an archaeologist. As he gained more field experience, he began to conduct excavations on behalf of the Imperial Museum at Sidon (1902, 1904), Notion (1904, 1907), Akalan, Claros, and

¹⁶⁰ Edhem Eldem has published Yervant Osgan's journal, which he wrote during their travels in southeastern Anatolia. (Osman Hamdi Bey et al. 2010).

¹⁶¹ Macridy's name appears in different forms in the literature: The original form in Greek is Θεόδωρος Μακρίδης. He used "Theodore Macridy" in his publications. Most European scholars referred to him as "Macridy-Bey" while the Ottoman archival sources refer to him as "Todoraki Makridi."

Raqa (1905-1906).¹⁶² His numerous publications of his discoveries at these sites demonstrate his never-ending tenacity and determination.

Moreover, in the projects Macridy took part, he was praised for his organizational talent and his social skills in dealing with local landowners and workmen. He is particularly known with respect to his participation in the Boğazköy excavations led by Hugo Winckler (d. 1913), where they discovered Hattuşa, the capital of the Hittite Empire (Figure 7). Their collaboration had actually begun in Sidon in 1904, and continued in the course of their explorations at Boğazköy between 1906 and 1912 with intervals (Boehmer and Güterbock 1987). In the beginning, Macridy dug in the area known as Büyükkale in Boğazköy, where he discovered the southern and the eastern gates of the city as well as a large tablet archive. The fact that he did not publish any of his discoveries raises the possibility that Winckler might not have given him the opportunity to do so. Macridy later uncovered the neighbouring site of Alacahöyük with his own team. In a letter to Halil Edhem, he reported that he had agreed with Winckler to publish an independent report on his findings at this site (Macridy 1908).¹⁶³ As Eldem put forward, although his responsibility at the site was restricted to assisting the directors in the field and overseeing their activities, Macridy always strove to use this opportunity to improve his archaeological knowledge and field skills (Eldem forthcoming).

Macridy's intense field experience in ancient and Classical sites, explored by various teams of diverse traditions, must have afforded him a broad vision and useful technical skills, from which he benefited in his own excavations. Moreover, having worked at such a wide array of sites must have equipped him with confidence as an archaeologist, which can be clearly gleaned from his publications. He expressed his opinion of archaeology in a humorous style in a letter he wrote to Halil Edhem from Sayda dated 1904: "[...] I must admit that archaeology is something awesome, but I'm afraid one should still be making a few bucks for not starving to death." (Eldem et al. 2010, 366)

Macridy voiced his financial concerns occasionally in his correspondence with Halil Edhem. As Edhem Eldem has suggested, the relationship between the two was of a unique type in that he both approached Halil Edhem with great respect as his senior supervisor and, at the same time, shared his feelings in a sincere and friendly way (Eldem forthcoming).

¹⁶² Appendix 2 provides timelines of field activities of Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey.

¹⁶³ Eldem (forthcoming) offers meaningful insights on the complicated nature of Macridy's relationship with the German team.

After serving the museum for thirty-eight years, Macridy retired and moved to Athens. He became the founding director of the Benaki Museum from 1931 to 1940. He died in İstanbul in December 1940.

6. Haydar Bey

Haydar [Sümerkan] Bey (1878 - ?) was one of the most active and erudite officials of the Imperial Museum although neither his biography nor his contributions have been the subject of scholarly examination (Koşay et al. 2013, Vol II: 21, 33). Information about his life and work is restricted to his memoirs, which he wrote in 1941, snippets from the reports of foreign excavations and some Ottoman archival documents (Sümerkan 2014).

Haydar Bey went to Paris in 1896 to study at the *L'Académie des Beaux-Arts*. Upon his return, he was employed at the Imperial Museum in 1898 serving as an archaeologist, conservator, and commissar, participating in both foreign and national digs at a variety of sites. His first and probably best-known involvement was the excavation of Bismya (*anc. Adab*) (Figure 5) in Iraq initiated by the American diplomat and antiquarian Edgar James Banks (d. 1945) in 1903 (Banks 1912). The expedition was conducted under the auspices of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago until 1905. In his memoirs, Haydar Bey notes the difficulties of working with Banks, since he was not an archaeologist, but an antiquarian concerned mainly with exploiting antiquities. In fact, an Ottoman document mentions Haydar Bey with reference to his achievement in detecting the illegal trafficking a group of antiquities by Edgar James Banks, as a result of which he received a letter of appreciation from Osman Hamdi Bey (Sönmez 2012). Victor S. Persons (d. 1940), a civil engineer, also working for the University of Chicago took over the excavations at Bismya, with whom Haydar Bey traveled extensively in the region visiting Sumerian and Akkadian sites of Lagash and Nippur (Koşay et al. 2013, 399) (Figure 5).

Subsequently, Haydar Bey replaced Bedri Bey¹⁶⁴ in 1906 to work at the German excavations at Babylon. The excavations had been going on since 1899 under the directorship of Koldewey.¹⁶⁵ Haydar Bey speaks of Koldewey's systematic approach with much respect and appraisal. After working at Babylon for one and a half years, he asked for permission to

¹⁶⁴ Bedri Bey was another archaeologist working for the Imperial Museum, whom I have not included in this section, as I have not been able to find much information in secondary sources about his life and achievements.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter 1, Pp. 31-32 for details.

leave the site due to being homesick. His return journey was an adventurous one: first, he visited the Babylonian sites in the vicinity of Baghdad and oversaw the excavations at Assur, and then, he traveled from the Gulf of Basra to Bombay, where he spent three weeks waiting for an Italian ship to take him home.

He must have reached İstanbul in the fall of 1907, where he remained until his next mission in Raqqa. Leaving the city on July 23, 1908, the day of the Revolution (which he refers to as “the day of the declaration of liberty”), he reached Raqqa via İskenderun and Aleppo (Figures 5, 7). In his memoirs, surprisingly Haydar Bey mentions about his Raqqa excavations merely in a brief paragraph: “I excavated Raqqa for two months. I unearthed [a group of] fairly precious Arab faience and other objects and returned to İstanbul via the same route. The Raqqa objects I brought were added to those already existing at the Museum and enriched its collection” (Koşay et al. 2013, 399).

Working as a commissar previously, Haydar Bey was commissioned to undertake excavations on his own for the first time at Raqqa in 1908. Textual information on this campaign is limited to several, brief reports Haydar Bey sent from Raqqa. Although he mentioned that he kept weekly reports, these have not yet been located at the İAMA.¹⁶⁶ His efforts to provide regular updates on his fieldwork bring to mind the possibility that, like Macridy, he might have written letters to Halil Edhem. Such possibilities can only be addressed through subsequent research at the archives of the İAML.

After Raqqa, Haydar Bey worked at a large number and variety of sites including Benghazi (*anc.* Cyrenaica) (Figure 4) in North Africa (1911), Yalvaç (Psidian Antioch) (Figure 7) in 1910 (along with William Ramsay from the University of Oxford), Kavala (1912) along with Charles Picard, the island of Rhodes (1913) and many others. After serving at the museum for forty-three years, he retired in 1940.

Conclusion

From an early stage, Ottoman archaeologists recognized archaeology as a distinct discipline, whose methods and techniques they sought to learn following Western guidelines. Collaborating and cooperating with Western archaeologists at ancient sites as inspectors and commissars, they acquired practical skills and experience. Subsequently, they gained academic knowledge on a broad range of fields, developing the self-confidence to launch

¹⁶⁶ For a summary of Haydar Bey’s explorations at Raqqa see Chapter 4.

fieldwork on their own. They conducted explorations at numerous sites on behalf of the Imperial Museum. The variety of archaeological schools and traditions they encountered and the diversity of sites they were exposed to gained them a broad perspective along with multi-disciplinary skills. As a result, they examined, documented, and protected a substantial number of artifacts and monuments across Ottoman territory. Their breadth of interest was unusual even amongst their contemporaries in the West.

Against the background of strong rivalries existing at the time between states, institutions, and archaeologists, the Ottoman archaeologists managed to maintain good relations with foreign archaeological schools, and scholars working within Ottoman territory. Regrettably, their Western colleagues generally failed to acknowledge their attempts and contributions.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, an examination of field reports published by Ottoman archaeologists reveals that they were highly motivated, technically competent, and academically sound members of the archaeological circles of their time. They had serious academic concerns, paid meticulous attention to their work and made solid achievements, which are not yet acknowledged fully in scholarship. Even though they participated in the world of archaeology relatively later than their counterparts, they were able to catch up with the disciplinary trends in a short time. It would be unfair to criticise them for adhering to aims and methods that are now either outdated or old fashioned.

They certainly did not have a groundbreaking presence in the discipline, nor did they excel in the techniques of their day. Yet, they possessed all of the qualities of an excavator, which Petrie had listed in 1904. Striving to be thorough, careful, well disciplined and systematic, they gained a place amongst the new generation of archaeologists emerging in the years before the First World War. The principles and standards they set have formed the foundations of the discipline of archaeology in Turkey with lasting contributions.

While the history of foreign archaeological explorations in the Ottoman Empire is fairly well documented, the excavations undertaken by the Ottoman Imperial Museum still await scholarly attention. In the current state of knowledge about archaeological practices in the Ottoman world, and the paucity of research, questions certainly outnumber answers. In fact, it is difficult to even estimate what sort of documentary or visual records survive from these excavations. Given that the Ottoman archaeological tradition sprung from the Western

¹⁶⁷ As Eldem (forthcoming) conveyed, there are exceptional accounts as well such as Charles Picard's obituary on Macridy. Having had the opportunity to observe Macridy's work at close quarters, Picard (1944) praises his skills and achievements.

canon, which had a strong emphasis on documentation, it is plausible that the Ottoman archaeologists attempted to document their fieldwork by means of keeping daily or weekly records. Thus, field notes, personal logs, plans, sketches, and photographic records may have survived. Hence, what is needed is a thorough research in the archives of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum, which would be feasible only after initial processes of restoration, inventorization, and digitization are complete. Personal records in private holdings may also prove useful.

PART II: THE RAQQA EXPEDITIONS OF THE IMPERIAL MUSEUM

Chapter 4 - The Excavations at Raqqa by the Ottoman Imperial Museum (1905-6 & 1908)

The town of Raqqa¹⁶⁸ in the middle Euphrates region has been well known as an early Islamic ceramic production center (Figure 5). The present study uses the term Raqqa to refer to the twin cities of Raqqa and Rafiqa, which gradually unified into one urban cluster in 796 (Figure 14).¹⁶⁹ The city gained a considerable reputation towards the end of the nineteenth century as a result of the flourishing interest in “Raqqa wares” in the Western art market. These were a group of underglaze- and luster-painted stonepaste (also known as “faience” or “fritware”)¹⁷⁰ vessels, which were associated with the city of Raqqa. This intense demand in the ceramics triggered numerous clandestine excavations in Raqqa and elsewhere in the Middle East. Unable to cope with so much illegal trafficking, the local authorities called the Imperial Museum to take action against the illicit digging at the site. Under these circumstances, the museum could no longer remain passive and commissioned the first official excavations at Raqqa.

The excavations were conducted in two separate campaigns, during 1905-1906 and 1908, led by museum officials Theodore Macridy and Haydar Bey respectively.¹⁷¹ Each expedition lasted for a couple of months and neither was published at the time. Moreover, they had been largely forgotten until Marilyn Jenkins-Madina’s seminal study on Raqqa ceramics, *Raqqa Revisited* came out in 2006 with a substantial contribution by Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım. The latter’s study on the archival documents and the Çinili Köşk inventory books brought the excavations to wider scholarly attention for the first time. Her translation of the inventory books of the Çinili Köşk provides the complete list of artifacts excavated in Raqqa in the two Ottoman expeditions along with objects confiscated in the Aleppo region before and after the excavations (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 214-220).

¹⁶⁸ As Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013, 73) suggests, Macridy undertook his excavations in Rafiqa. It is not clear whether Haydar Bey continued his archaeological activities in the same area or in a different spot. Speculative assumptions on their dig spots have been offered in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁹ For a discussion of the history of Raqqa, see Chapter 5.

¹⁷⁰ Stonepaste is an artificial type of ceramic body developed by the Islamic potters to substitute the kaolin-rich clays found in China. It is also referred to as “quartz-frit,” “fritware,” “faience,” “artificial paste,” and “kashi.” Stonepaste is regarded as the most accurate term since it originates from the Persian name for this material and its composition does not contain any “frit” (Mason 2004, 8; Milwright 2010, 154). A detailed discussion of the “Raqqa” stonepaste can be found in Chapter 5 of the present study.

¹⁷¹ See Chapter 3 for their short biographies.

In her second study in 2013, Yoltar-Yıldırım published the remaining portion of the archival records, comprising hundred and fifty documents, along with Macridy's letters to Halil Edhem from Raqqa. In this study, she examines the history of the Raqqa excavations in their legal and historical contexts emphasizing their importance for the Imperial Museum and the historiography of Islamic archaeology (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 73-74). Yoltar-Yıldırım illustrates merely a small portion of finds from Macridy's excavations with an attempt to correlate them with textual evidence from Macridy's letters (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 81, 84-85). Nevertheless, her contribution remains limited to the translation and analysis of the archival documents in the absence of a detailed examination of the archaeological material. Therefore, the existing literature has left many critical questions unanswered including the implications of the Raqqa excavations for the history and historiography of Ottoman archaeology. Nor has it identified the place of the two excavations within the context of disciplinary developments in the archaeological scene in early twentieth century.

This chapter aims to build on previous research on the history of the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa. It will bring together information from both primary and secondary sources in order to situate the two excavation campaigns within a historical context of the disciplinary developments at the time. In the present study, it is intended to address questions mainly on the technical and practical aspects of the excavations, which were not raised by Yoltar-Yıldırım. This study will bring in an archaeological approach to the excavations and their collection of finds for the first time while introducing a new corpus of archaeological material to the study of the archaeology of Raqqa. In fact, excavation, which is only one of the practical aspects of archaeology, is surrounded by a number of technical and professional procedures that determine the realities of archaeological fieldwork. The excavators were required to demonstrate their practical abilities in uncovering artifacts and features, as well as collecting, describing, and preserving them. In doing so, their decisions were contingent upon several interrelated factors in the logistical, financial, and professional realm. Such a methodology is essential to a proper understanding of Ottoman archaeology, its methods, techniques and historical development, essential for placing Ottoman archaeology into a broader context of world archaeology at the turn of the century. Moreover, an examination of methodological issues furthers our understanding of the role of Ottoman archaeological explorations for the documentation of many archaeological sites, thus, the formation of Turkish archaeological tradition.

Yoltar-Yıldırım questioned the primary purpose of the excavations and whether they were “scientific” explorations or merely antiquarian enterprises.¹⁷² She came to the conclusion that they were salvage excavations mainly aimed at the recovery of artifacts and their acquisition for the museum (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 88). However, one should acknowledge the non-applicability of equating old and modern standards, as it would be misleading to evaluate such early excavations with modern criteria. The current state of available evidence makes it difficult to assess the exact purpose and nature of these excavations. I believe that the archaeological finds from the two projects may compensate, at least to a certain extent, for the paucity of textual documentation as they give us clues about the field methods of the two archaeologists, their working techniques, and collection strategies. Thus, the finds may allow a comparison of their approaches and reveal some technical details about the working principles of the Ottoman archaeologists in general.

It is beyond doubt that, at this stage, many questions await to be answered on the nature and purpose of the excavations. For instance, besides recovering artifacts, did the Ottoman expeditions also aim to examine, record and document the site itself and its architectural remains systematically? Coming from the same archaeological tradition and having a similar formation, did the two archaeologists follow the same methodology? Can we differentiate between their approaches to the fieldwork they conducted and the artifacts they collected? Were they aware of the emerging disciplinary methodologies at the time? I will speculate on such questions in order to place the two Ottoman archaeological missions at Raqqa into a broader historical and disciplinary context. Given the meagre number of studies on the history of Ottoman archaeology, the answers to these questions remain as elusive as ever. Therefore, this chapter will generate more questions than answers to serve as a point of departure for this understudied subject for future research. By doing so, it aims to draw scholarly attention to the field while addressing an important *lacuna* in the historiography of Ottoman archaeology.

Review of the Sources

Any study dealing with the history of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire requires the examination of the records kept at the archives of İstanbul Archaeological Museum Library

¹⁷² Here, the term “scientific” is used synonymous to “systematic” or “methodological” rather than the modern usage of the word.

(İAML). The archives house a vast collection of primary sources, including excavation reports, field notes and correspondence between the museum and the archaeologists on the field dating back to the foundation of the Imperial Museum. However, the fact that the archival sources are neither fully inventoried nor digitized poses a major limitation for current research, as it becomes a great challenge searching for necessary records inside the archives. A further setback encountered in the course of the present study is the ongoing restoration at the library. As a result, the museum administration will not issue any research permits until 2017.

In addition to the İAML, the İstanbul Prime Ministry Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* - BOA) also contain documents concerning the two Raqqa excavations. Yoltar-Yıldırım examined a large portion of these in two different studies, which constitute the main reference source for the history of the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006; 2013). Her research was carried out in two stages. The first part, published in *Raqqa Revisited* in 2006, draws on fifty documents in the İAML, the BOA, and the Topkapı Palace Museum (TSM). Examining the historical context of the excavations, she analyzed and translated the texts, mainly the official correspondence between Raqqa, Aleppo, and İstanbul. Her study is also significant for publishing for the first time the inventory books of the Çinili Köşk, which contain the entries for finds from the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 192). She has made a great contribution by tracing the provenance of the archaeological material from Raqqa in Turkish Museums today. Her second study is based on the remaining part of the documents (approximately hundred and fifty in number) in the aforesaid archives as well as Macridy's letters to Halil Edhem providing a more comprehensive account of the two campaigns and the issues surrounding them.¹⁷³

The Raqqa excavations of the Imperial Museum have also appeared in other studies generally with a focus on Macridy's campaign. The main reference source on the Ottoman archaeology, Mustafa Cezar's *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi Bey (The Westernization of Art and Osman Hamdi Bey)* provides a brief paragraph on the Raqqa excavations, which relies on merely an article of Aziz Ogan (1941) on Theodore Macridy. Following Ogan, Cezar misdates Macridy's arrival at Raqqa to January 14, 1905 while not

¹⁷³ Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım generously shared with me her own copies of archival documents related to the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa. I did not go through every single document but looked at some of the more relevant ones to see if they include any details about fieldwork or the working techniques of archaeologists. The bureaucratic correspondence is not very helpful in this respect. What I found worth further investigation is the financial documents dealing with budgets and salaries.

providing any dates for the second expedition by Haydar Bey (Cezar 1995, 321). Despite his extensive use of archival sources in dealing with the subjects of museology and art, Cezar disregards the primary texts in his discussion of the Raqqa excavations.¹⁷⁴

Uğur Cinoğlu surveys Macridy's biographical story in his MA thesis, where he summarizes his archaeological investigations at Raqqa. His discussion is based on three archival documents located in the İAML and Cezar's study, thus misdating the beginning of the excavations again to January 14, 1905 (Cinoğlu 2002).

Alev Koçak reserves a short paragraph for the Raqqa excavations, which also relies on Cezar's study. She mentions how, as a result of the intense illicit digging in Raqqa,¹⁷⁵ Osman Hamdi sent Macridy in 1905 to conduct excavations at the site and points out that what Macridy brought to the museum is not clear (Koçak 2011). Likewise, the Turkish Historical Society (TTK) series on the history of excavations in Turkey lists the Raqqa excavations amongst the twenty sites excavated by the Imperial Museum. The authors define them as "typical salvage excavations" intended to prevent the illegal trade of antiquities in the hands of the Circassian immigrants, who had been recently relocated from the Caucasus to Raqqa (Koşay et al. 2013). The dates of the excavation are again given inaccurately as January 14, 1905, with no reference to any sources (272).

The meagre amount of evidence on the secondary literature on the Raqqa expeditions makes it essential to refer to the remaining archival sources for further investigation. Given that both Macridy and Haydar Bey participated in numerous excavations very actively, primary records of other projects they took part in may also yield useful evidence and valuable insights on the field methods and working techniques of Ottoman archaeologists.¹⁷⁶ The remaining part of the chapter will set out the geographical setting and historical context of the two campaigns along with an evaluation of the archaeological practices.

¹⁷⁴ A fuller review of literature on the history of Ottoman archaeology can be found in Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁵ For the circumstances that led the Imperial Museum to undertake excavations at Raqqa, see below.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix 2 gives a list of the excavations that Macridy worked at.

The Setting and the Background:

1. Raqqa

Located on the northern bank of the Euphrates River (Figure 5), the city of Raqqa has a long history of settlement that goes back to the Babylonian period.¹⁷⁷ In the Hellenistic period, Seleukos II Kallinikos (r. 246-226) founded a city Kallinikos/Callinicum (Figure 14). The city was destroyed by the Sasanian in early sixth century but then was rebuilt by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (r. 527-565).¹⁷⁸ It was taken over in 639/640 by the Muslim army led by 'Iyad b. Ghanm, who gave it the name *al-Raqqa*, meaning “marshland, swamp” due to the seasonal flooding of the rivers. In 771-772 the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur built a walled, garrison city, *al-Rafiqa* [the companion] approximately 200 m to the west of Raqqa. In 796, caliph Harun al-Rashid built a residential palace for himself and made the twin cities of Raqqa/Rafiqa the new capital of the Abbasid Empire in a time when the territory of the empire extended from Northern Africa to Central Asia (Robinson and Cook 2010, xxxi, Map 5; Henderson et al. 2005, 130). The two cities grew into a large Caliphal metropolis that exceeded Damascus and became the largest urban center in Syria with regional markets and long-distance trade links distributing its products over a vast geography (Robinson and Cook 2010, 275). Producing a wide range of ceramics and fine glass, Raqqa thrived as an extensive industrial center and played an important role in terms of urban development in the Islamic world historically and economically.

After a period of decline in the ninth and tenth centuries, the city experienced a brief revival beginning with the reign of 'Imad al-Din Zangi in 1135 and continuing under the rule of the Ayyubid dynasty after 1182 (Milwright 2005, 200). This period is marked by restorations and new buildings commissioned by the Zangid-Ayyubid rulers within the walled enclosure of old Rafiqa. The building activities dated to this period include the construction of the so-called Qasr-al Banat, possibly the Baghdad Gate and some restorations conducted in the congregational mosque. Moreover, in this period the industrial production increased considerably in the area between the congregational mosque and the eastern wall. The archaeological investigations have revealed a large number of kilns used for manufacturing

¹⁷⁷ For an in-depth history of the site, see Heidemann 2003 and 2006; Musil 1927, 325–31; al- Khalaf and Kohlmeyer 1985; and Meinecke 1995.

¹⁷⁸ A detailed history of Raqqa and Rafiqa can be found at Heidemann and Becker 2003; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 5-6.

the glazed stonepaste pottery, traditionally known as “Raqqa ware.” As a result of culmination of the industrial and commercial activities, “Raqqa ware” was mass-produced and distributed overseas bringing prosperity to the city. After the Mongol invasion of Syria in 1258-59, the city went into permanent decline, never to return to its medieval glory (Milwright 2005, 200).

2. Circumstances that Led the Imperial Museum to Undertake Excavations at Raqqa

Interest in Islamic ceramics culminated in Europe and the United States during the late-nineteenth-century, stimulating a considerable demand for Islamic wares in the art market. This demand led to a proliferation of archaeological excavations in the Islamic world, few of which were official and most of them clandestine. Raqqa was already a renowned site for its ceramics and glassware industries, and thus it became an immediate target of such illicit digging. The artifacts from the site began circulating in the hands of smugglers. The Ottoman archival documents reveal that the trafficking of antiquities had started at the site as early as 1899 (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 195).¹⁷⁹ They mention that antiquities, when detected, would be confiscated on the basis of the new regulations issued by the Imperial Museum (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 195). The local officials constantly reported the potential of the site and the great amount of ceramics lying under the ground. However, as the official correspondence reveals, the Ottoman government had neither the means nor the interest to maintain a robust protection of the antiquities within its territory. Thus, due to the logistical deficiencies and overall weakness of the rule of law and enforcement power, the government failed to respond to the demands of the local officials to undertake sanctioned excavations (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006).

The documents also demonstrate that around the beginning of 1900 the local inhabitants, that is Circassian refugees, were permitted to reuse the bricks from the site to build houses for themselves (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 196). The government asked for a fee of 4 *kuruş* [piasters] per thousand bricks in the form of tax, which was intended to fund the official excavations and the shipment of discovered finds (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 76, 90n34). However, it is not clear whether the bricks and the stones under question were loose pieces lying around the site or if the law permitted the locals actually to dismantle the walls of

¹⁷⁹ The letter, dated Nisan 28, 1315 in the Rumi calendar, was written by the Directorate of Education in Aleppo (İAML box 9, dossier 1315/doc. 536).

medieval structures. The permission was revoked at the end of the year since the local authorities believed that the quest for bricks was actually intended to disguise the search for antiquities. Yet, the practice seems to have persisted, as demonstrated by a letter to the Imperial Museum dating to 1904 from the Director of Education in Aleppo, who noted that they could fund the excavations by selling the bricks on the site (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 198). In February 1906, Osman Hamdi Bey sent a letter authorizing Macridy to sell the bricks and the marbles from the Raqqa excavations and collect the money along with the fines received from the smugglers.¹⁸⁰

The fact that the bricks were removed and sold by the local authorities is a clear indication that they were not regarded as valuable or as part of the historical heritage. Given that the architectural pieces, mostly of marble, found at classical sites received considerable attention during the same time, it is intriguing that the architectural ruins at Raqqa were not given the same importance. The fact that the ruins of Raqqa generally consisted of bricks, a mundane material compared to marble, may reveal the Ottomans' lack of concern in protecting them. This contrast in the treatment of architectural remains may be an indication that the consciousness about the value of medieval heritage had not developed yet in the Ottoman world. Moreover, it signifies that the Ottomans did not yet have any interest in documenting or understanding sites and their monuments in their entirety but were simply trying to save aesthetically appealing pieces for museum display.

In 1901, Germans (most likely Sarre and Herzfeld) applied for permission to excavate at Raqqa. The permit was not given, with the excuse that the museum would not be able to provide enough security to them, although this sounds like a diplomatic way of rejecting their application (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 196-197 and 2013, 77, 90 fn. 35 and 90 fn. 36).

An unusual letter dated to 1902 from the Director of Education in Aleppo mentioned some "crooked and twisted" pieces, presumably wasters.¹⁸¹ The Director also expressed his concerns for some of the pieces that had broken due to poor packaging. Additionally, he noted that they included broken pieces for they thought that these pieces might be able to provide information about shape, color, type, and also about the production site as well as the method

¹⁸⁰ Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013, 82, 91n71) notes that Macridy sold "ordinary bricks and marble" from Raqqa to raise funds for the museum. However, it is not clear what is meant here by the word "ordinary." The letter itself may be more illuminative.

¹⁸¹ The letter is dated Zilhicce 22, 1319/Mart 19, 1318 (İAML Box 9, dossier 542/no document number). The present summary is based on Yoltar-Yıldırım's translation (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 197).

of their manufacture. It is rather striking to find such archaeological insights from someone, who was not even an archaeologist and at a time when even the archaeologists did not pay much attention to such aspects of pottery evidence! This is a curious comment remarkably ahead of the disciplinary developments of its time. Perhaps, the Director himself was a collector of pottery. Or, from an optimistic point of view, this comment may be hinting at the growing awareness on the value of antiquities, especially ceramics, as potential sources of information. One can only speculate at this stage.

The common theme in the entire correspondence is that the local officials insistently beseeched an officer from the Imperial Museum to commission systematic excavations at the site to halt the ongoing pillaging. Due to logistical and financial complications, the museum could not respond to this demand until 1905. Ultimately, Theodore Macridy, the museum officer in Ayasuluk-Ephesos was commissioned in mid-November to undertake the first official excavations at Raqqa.¹⁸²

The First Campaign: 1905-6 by Theodore Macridy

Our knowledge of the first campaign of excavations in Raqqa currently relies on the archival documents as well as the three letters that Macridy wrote in French to Halil Edhem Bey from Raqqa, mentioned earlier. The majority of the correspondence comprises formal and bureaucratic texts, which do not offer much insight concerning the nature and scope of the archaeological work conducted at Raqqa. The following discussion primarily relies on Macridy's letters, which, in contrast to the archival documents, provide vivid details about his life and work conditions on the site as an archaeologist.¹⁸³ Although these letters have a highly respectful and formal tone, at times, Macridy writes in a truly sincere and somewhat informal style enriched with his quirky sense of humour.¹⁸⁴ These letters, therefore, are great sources of information for reconstructing the history of Ottoman archaeology and the mindsets of its individual actors.

¹⁸² See Türkoğlu (1986, 119-128) for a summary of the early archaeological investigations at Ephesos and its surroundings.

¹⁸³ Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013) has already summarized and discussed these letters in her article.

¹⁸⁴ Edhem Eldem (forthcoming) makes similar observations on Macridy's letters from Boğazköy.

In his initial letter dating to December 14/27, 1905, Macridy reports that he has arrived at Raqqa on December 14 after a long and tiring journey via Aleppo (Figure 5).¹⁸⁵ Haydar Bey, another official from the Imperial Museum, who conducted the second excavation campaign at Raqqa in 1908, had accompanied and assisted him in his trip perhaps because he was more experienced in the region. At the time, Haydar Bey was the museum representative at the German excavations at Babylon led by Koldewey.

The two eventually reached Aleppo on the night of December 2, 1905, where they visited the Director of Education to inquire about the cash allocated to fund the excavations. The Director complained to them about the severity of the illicit operations of the antiquity trade, in which even the *kaymakam* [local governor], the *jandarma* [the rural police], and the local inhabitants were involved. Macridy said that he would protect his own finds but would not accept any responsibility for the rest of the antiquities, which had to be taken care of by the state. Although the governor of Aleppo was disappointed for not receiving anything from the excavations, he nonetheless agreed to supply two *jandarma* officers and, if necessary, more soldiers. Two days later, Macridy received a telegram about the transfer of money, informing him that a total amount of 50 *liras* and 4800 *kuruş* had actually arrived long time ago. When Macridy went to receive the money, the official told him about a relief sculpture that was brought to Aleppo from the desert and showed a sketch of it to Macridy and Mr. Grepin, an official from “the debt”,¹⁸⁶ who stayed at the same hotel as Macridy. Mr. du Pognon, ex-general consul of France, who was in charge of archaeology for the French government, asked Macridy to take an impression of its likely Aramean inscription.¹⁸⁷ With a strictly duty-bound sense of responsibility, Macridy refused his request fearing that Osman Hamdi would be furious if he found out about it.

Macridy continues his letter on December 21 after spending two days in bed due to his sickness caused by the smoke from the brazier in his room. He mentions his correspondence with one of the diplomats in the region, Xanthopoulo, consul of Austria-Hungary. Before

¹⁸⁵ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, December 14/27, 1905*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 80. I am grateful to Najat Sghyar for her help in translating the letters from French to English.

¹⁸⁶ It is not clear what this word means. It could possibly refer to “Ottoman Public Debt Administration” (*Düyun-i Umumiye İdaresi*) that was established in 1881 to warrant the payments, which the Ottoman State owed to the European creditors after its bankruptcy in 1875 – Europeans collected Ottoman taxes to pay off debts to European lenders. I am grateful to Dr. Martin Bunton for this information.

¹⁸⁷ For further information on the inscriptions collected by Pognon, see Montgomery 1909.

leaving Aleppo, Haydar Bey and Macridy made several visits to the local officials to prepare for the excavations.

On the way to Raqqa, they passed through Deir el Hafir (*mod.* Dayr Hafir) and Meskene (*mod.* Maskanah) (Figure 5). The weather was extremely cold. After five hours of walking in the heavy snow, they finally arrived in front of Raqqa. But they were not able to cross the Euphrates because of the snow. This was such an extraordinary situation for the region that the local Bedouins thought the end of the world had come. The two men had to spend the night across the river. Haydar left the next day and Macridy walked for two more hours finally reaching Raqqa in a rather miserable state. The snow was 25 cm thick and the Euphrates was frozen. Macridy was given a cold and humid cell inside the courtyard of the congregational mosque, whose only furnishing was a mat on the floor.¹⁸⁸

The *kaymakam* himself was not available, thus Macridy met the deputy *kaymakam* instead, for whom he did not have a good word to say, calling him an “être hideux” [hideous being]. Hearing that shovels and picks had been sent to Raqqa previously to destroy crickets, Macridy asked for permission to take them to use in the excavations. He was told they were not available and no one knew where they were. Macridy became furious at this, began to shout in anger. The tools turned out to be in the house of the former *kaymakam*’s son, who was refusing to return them before his father’s arrival. The *jandarma* took the tools from him by force, and Macridy seized them and brought them into his room. Only then, he was finally able to calm down. Along with shovels and picks, he had fifty *zembils* (baskets used on the field for collecting finds) that he brought from Aleppo, whose transportation cost three times their value. The deputy *kaymakam* assured him that the site would be protected by two rounds of *zaptiehs* [policemen] and guards, none of whom Macridy trusted for they were also involved in the illegal trafficking of antiquities. Macridy depicts the town and its ruins as below (Figure 14):

The [modern] village of Raqqa is located to the west¹⁸⁹ of a huge wall constituting the Arab city of the Abbasid Caliphs. Walls are built of unfired bricks that look like mounds after being washed by the rain.¹⁹⁰ In the center, there is a large mosque, whose

¹⁸⁸ Macridy’s room was most likely in the enclosure of the congregational mosque of Rafiq. It is, however, not clear whether he stayed in the same room until the end of his campaign or not. His second and third letters are much shorter and do not provide as many details about his life as the first one.

¹⁸⁹ Macridy writes “l’ouest” in his letter but perhaps it was a mistake since the modern village of Raqqa lied to the east of the walled city, not the west. See Figure 14.

¹⁹⁰ See Figure 15.

minaret is still in good condition. One can see a series of arcades [decorating] the façade of the mosque,¹⁹¹ and a large inscription, in the middle of which one part is missing.¹⁹² The inscription seems to be dated to the restoration of the mosque. The rest of the building has been demolished and its material was reused in the construction of the current mosque. Further at the southeast, one can see the remains of a palace known as the Kiosk of Harun al-Rashid. One can still see some “niches” like a *mihrab* or stalactites in the corner.¹⁹³ Everything is in ruins and the excavations are extremely dangerous there. At the easternmost side of the walls lies a gate known as the Baghdad Gate. The area inside the walls has thousands of holes opened by illegal excavations. Such destruction must have taken almost ten thousand days. The ground is full of broken faience fragments. One can see thousands of plain, terracotta cylinders that were used to support the pottery kilns. Judging from the huge amount of fragments spread around, Raqqa was a major faience factory.¹⁹⁴

Macridy’s description of the town is noteworthy for it conveys interesting details on the overall condition of the site as well as his personal observations of it. Previously, he had been involved mainly in classical sites. Therefore, the idea of excavating a medieval Islamic city might have seemed to him as a challenge, at least in the beginning. Judging by his heavy field schedule during those days, it is most likely that he did not get a chance to obtain much background knowledge before arriving at Raqqa.¹⁹⁵ Thus, his observations are all the more valuable for demonstrating his professional skills and potential as a self-trained field archaeologist.

From his description, one can easily discern that it is actually the walled city of Rafiqa that Macridy is talking about although he makes no mention of its name. While considering it mainly as an Abbasid city, he also acknowledges the later restoration phase at the mosque based on the inscription on its façade.¹⁹⁶ However, it is not clear whether he read the inscription himself or with assistance.

Based on Macridy’s description of “niches” and “stalactites in the corner” as well as the ruinous state of the building, one can speculate that the palace he identifies as the Kiosk of

¹⁹¹ Macridy draw a crude sketch of the arcades on the same page. A photograph of these arcades can be seen in Heidemann (2003, 267, Tafel 9: 9. 1), which confirms that the mosque belonged to the Abbasid period. The mosque complex has a minaret on one side, a tomb in the center, and the arcades on the other side. The caption says: “façade of the qibla - Riwaq with the restoration inscription.”

¹⁹² Gertrude Bell (1911, 58) mentioned the same inscription over the central arch, which had been published by Max Van Berchem and gave the translation as: “The mosque was restored by the Atabeg Nur ad Din in 1166.”

¹⁹³ Figure 16.

¹⁹⁴ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, December 14/27, 1905*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem.

¹⁹⁵ See Appendix 2 for Macridy’s excavation itinerary.

¹⁹⁶ Max Van Berchem published this inscription in his *Arabische Inschriften* (Bell 1911, 58).

Harun al-Rashid to the southeast of the city is actually the Qasr al-Banat, a post-Abbasid palatial structure that dates to the Zangid/Ayyubid period (Toueir 1985; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82) (Figures 14 and 16). It may be the locals, who attributed it to the period of the legendary ruler, Harun al-Rashid. Despite his lack of experience in medieval Islamic sites, Macridy had such a keen eye and the essential skills as an archaeologist that, for instance, he was able to identify the terracotta cylinders as kiln rods used for supporting the vessels while firing. Furthermore, seeing the large amount of pottery fragments and kiln utensils on the surface of the soil, he was quite certain that Raqqa was a major ceramic production center.¹⁹⁷

The excavations were delayed because of the heavy snow that covered the entire town and Macridy could only begin digging on December 17. He conveys the situation as follows:¹⁹⁸

I started a trench in the west¹⁹⁹ of the city where I found the foundations of private edifices and 183²⁰⁰ silver Abbasid coins stuck to each other. I am sending them today to the museum as a group. I also found an *oenochóe* H. 013 milky white with magnificent iridization,²⁰¹ another one, slightly chipped, the handle is missing H. 0.25,²⁰² some bowls, dishes, etc. and a small animal figurine, lid of a *küp* [jar], a bronze ring with a carnelian and an inscription,²⁰³ some chipped vases and about 20.000 fragments some of which are inscribed. If we can readjust them, they would be worth a fortune. Needless to say I do my best to reconstitute something but it is a painful business requiring a tremendous effort. All shades of color exist and ornaments are various but the destruction is such that everybody mocks me seeing me busy readjusting the fragments. On the other hand, there is an enormous amount of fragments stuck to each other by the effect of fusion of a vitrifying material covering them. I am much confused about these fragments. What should I do with them? Transfer them to Constantinople? That would be too expensive. Leave them here? I cannot say they are of no value. I will do my best to find a use for them.

¹⁹⁷ Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 80; Letter from Macridy to Halil Edhem, Raqqa, 14/27 December, 1905 (Edhem Eldem's personal collection)

¹⁹⁸ Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, December 14/27, 1905. Letter.

¹⁹⁹ Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013, 80) translated it as "eastern" probably because she read it as "l'orient," a rather possible confusion in the case of Macridy's scrawled handwriting.

²⁰⁰ Macridy wrote that he found 183 coins in his letter, but 182 coins in his telegram. (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 198.)

²⁰¹ This jug must be TİEM 1672. See Appendix 4, Pp. 254-55.

²⁰² Macridy's measurements are in the metric system, which was already in use in the Ottoman world since the mid-nineteenth century.

²⁰³ The ring is listed in the Çinili Köşk inventory book with the inventory number 2548 as part of the collection that was excavated by Macridy in Raqqa and entered the museum in March 1906 (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 214; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 80, fn. 61.). It was not transferred to TİEM but could not have been located in the Çinili Köşk either.

In his letter, Macridy writes “l’ouest” but his possible confusion of the east and west in his earlier description of the location of the modern village makes one doubt about the location of his trench in relation to the enclosure wall. Again, it may not be in the west of the walled-city since the area to the eastern section in the vicinity of the wall is potentially richer in remains as his discovery of private edifices testify. Another possible explanation is that, in his statement, “west of the city,” he might have actually meant “west of the city wall”. In the absence of further evidence, the exact spot of his trenches remains undefined.

One would hope that the later excavation teams exploring the city would mention the possible location of the Ottoman investigations in their publications. However, their reports do not include any reference to the Ottoman excavations, a disregard perhaps due to the difficulty of distinguishing between the Ottoman trenches and those of the clandestine excavations of the time particularly during the first half of the twentieth century.²⁰⁴

Nevertheless, this paragraph clearly signifies Macridy’s enthusiasm in the fieldwork he was conducting. He was obviously excited about his discovery of a hoard that on December 31 he sent a telegram to the museum reporting about it and its dispatch to İstanbul.²⁰⁵ In a second telegram on the same day, Macridy requested “two or three rolls of” *seccotine*, a kind of adhesive he used to repair the broken vessels (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 198).

His depiction of the other finds is also worth consideration. For instance, the archaeological jargon he uses, referring to jugs as “oenochoes,”²⁰⁶ is a clear indication of his archaeological formation and previous experience as a classical archaeologist. It is obvious that he was not familiar with Islamic ceramics since he shows a genuine curiosity in the glazed wares. Throughout his letters, he places much emphasis on the necessity to bring the fragments together to restore the vessels. The source of his motivation is vague. His remarks on the value of some ceramic vessels as “worth a fortune” seems to reveal that he was aware

²⁰⁴ The entire area of the walled town is now built over making it impossible to trace the earlier trenches. (I am grateful to Dr. Marcus Milright for this information.)

²⁰⁵ I have not been able to find any details as to where this coin collection is located at the present. Yoltar-Yıldırım does not provide any information and nor the TİEM inventory books have records of such a large collection of coins.

²⁰⁶ Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013, 80, fn. 59) has located these two pieces in the museum inventories as nos. 4054 and 4137. I catalogued the one at TİEM, No. 1672 (4137) in the Appendix 4: The Catalogue. The other one has a new inventory number of 1984 and is in the Topkapı Palace Museum.

of the high prices paid for these vessels in the Western art market.²⁰⁷ This is probably the reason why he strives so hard to restore as many vessels as he could. His tremendous efforts in this aspect are certainly worth attention. However, coming across such a large quantity of wasters, he was confused as to what to do with them. Although he believed they were of some value, he was hesitant to ship them to İstanbul due to the high cost of transportation, but at the same time, he was not keen to leave them in Raqqa either.

We can speculate that if Macridy had more time in Raqqa, he would have given more serious consideration to the material he came across. However, under these circumstances, he did not seem to get the chance to concentrate on the context or the significance of the archaeological material he unearthed. Even by analyzing his handwriting, one can see that Macridy wrote his letters hastily. He was well aware of his responsibilities and duties, which he wanted to accomplish as quickly and satisfactorily as possible, but was not willing to spend a long time in Raqqa.

He continues his letter commenting on the immediate necessity of conserving the ruins:²⁰⁸

We should also take the [issue of] conservation of the ruins very seriously. Everyone here has stolen and is willing to start again once I am gone. Especially that they are now guided by the excavated places. We should start by giving an exemplary punishment to the thieves. Some of them have been caught while conducting [illegal] excavations, others while transporting the antiquities to Aleppo. I will begin an investigation based on the documents I received from Aleppo from the *Maarif Müdürü* [Director of Education]. [...] We do nothing to preserve our prestige and interests [...] Everyone is getting rich here thanks to the trafficking of antiquities and, at this moment, there are still hidden things here.

This paragraph exposes how Macridy embraces his secondary role: an idealist commissar, who is determined to protect the ruins from illicit diggers. Stressing the large amount of archaeological material awaiting to be explored under the ground, he not only highlights the potential of the site but also seeks efficient means of preventing the locals from digging and the *jandarma* from receiving bribes in return for turning a blind eye at the activities of the diggers.

²⁰⁷ For the monetary value of Raqqa pottery in the American art market at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Jenkins-Madina 2006, 17-18. For instance, Charles Freer paid \$ 6,000 for a large underglaze- and luster-painted jar now in the Freer Gallery of Art.

²⁰⁸ Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, December 14/27, 1905. Letter.

Additionally, Macridy attached two account documents to his first letter summarizing his monetary expenses. The first document is a list of his travel expenses, some of which he had to pay from his own pocket, and the money he paid to purchase excavation equipment. The second document lists the cost of crates used for packaging the antiquities and the charge for their transportation. Before signing his letter, Macridy notes what he heard rumours of two “beautiful” sarcophagi in Antioch, where it would be possible to find more antiquities and promised to inquire about it through his personal contacts. He also mentions his plan to return via Ba'albek and Beirut in order to “close the business that had been going on for long,” an ambiguous statement that is hard to interpret in the absence of contextual information.²⁰⁹ However, bearing in mind his earlier involvement in the excavations at both sites, he must have referred to a half-completed task that he intended to settle (Hanssen 1998). Finally, he frankly expressed his reluctance about excavating in Raqqa since he would not be able to publish his finds and would have to contend with the difficult life and work conditions: “The excavation in Raqqa will be in vain for me since I cannot publish anything and life and work are so painful. I will do my best [...] to make them as lucrative as possible for the museum and deserve my treat. You know which one it is: Notion.”²¹⁰

Considering Macridy's previous involvement in the excavations of classical sites, one can speculate that he was unfamiliar to the archaeological finds he recovered in Raqqa, as they bore a sharp contrast with the artifacts he had encountered previously. Therefore, it is rather plausible that he did not feel confident enough to publish the finds he discovered due to his lack of expertise in Islamic material culture. However, with a strong sense of mission, he assured Halil Edhem that he would strive to bring in the museum as many artifacts as possible. In return for his, what he perceives as a sacrifice, he expresses his strong desire to dig at the site of Notion, an Ionian site in Western Asia Minor (Figure 6).²¹¹ From this particular sentence, one can infer that Macridy identified himself primarily as a classical archaeologist, at least at the time of writing.

²⁰⁹ The excavations at Ba'albek were directed by Daniel M. Krencker, on whom Macridy had a downer. He expressed his dislike of him in one of his letters to Halil Edhem (Eldem 2015).

²¹⁰ Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, December 14/27, 1905. Letter.

²¹¹ Notion is a site in modern İzmir near the modern town of Ahmetbeyli on the western coast of Anatolia (Figure 6). Macridy excavated the site twice in 1907 and 1913. He discovered the Apollon Clarios Temple in the second excavations, which he published in Picard and Macridy-Bey 1915 (Figure 13).

As fieldwork gained momentum in Raqqa during the following weeks, Macridy's letters largely diminish in length for he was extremely busy striving to excavate and, at the same time, restore as many vessels as possible. In his second letter, dated January 5, 1906, Macridy reports only on the most essential matters:²¹²

I am writing hastily about the excavations here. I found some nice pieces or should I say I made them, considering the number of fragments I had to readjust. At this moment, I am a millionaire in fragments that I spread in the mosque's courtyard by squares [...]. I walk between the squares and take out the fragments that fit each other, and then I immediately stick them with *seccotine*.²¹³ Without sticking them for a while, it is impossible to find the fragments and I should take all of them to Constantinople or leave them here. Many of fragments completing each other constitute one piece more or less presentable. The work here is huge and painful. I do not have time to eat or sleep, which badly affects my health. Some fragments are of extraordinary beauty. I never thought Arab art could reach to such a level of perfection. I will make a collection of all the samples in a crate.

Leaving aside Macridy's approach to restoration and its technical aspects to be discussed in Chapter 5, here, I will look into his field methods. Macridy was a pragmatic person of practical knowledge. Spreading the sherds in the mosque's courtyard in square grids must have facilitated detecting the matching pieces easily while also saving him time in restoring multiple vessels simultaneously. Gluing them on the spot was a fairly efficient solution since he was struggling to complete his work at the earliest. Despite his complaints about the difficult living conditions, Macridy seems rather content and satisfied with the results of his work as long as he was able to join fragments and form whole vessels that were more or less "presentable," a term by which he probably meant suitable for museum display. He did not feel the necessity to conceal his lack of knowledge in Islamic ceramics, but confessed quite frankly that he was surprised to find Arab art so sophisticated. It is intriguing that Macridy identifies the ceramics as "Arab" in a similar way to contemporary and earlier archaeologists and art historians in Europe.²¹⁴ This parallel might be an indication of his familiarity with the European scholarship.

²¹² Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 5, 1906*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem.

²¹³ *Seccotine* was a brand of adhesive that dried fast and dissolved in the water allowing the pieces to be disarticulated later. In 1940s, it was used for temporarily restoring vessels on the field. See, for example, Margaret A. Little and Janice H. Carlson. 1997. "Analysis of restoration materials: The Campbell Collection at Winterthur Museum" *Objects Specialty Group Postprints, Volume Five*, Pp: 52-74.

²¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Marcus Milwright for pointing out this detail.

Nevertheless, one can easily discern that Macridy did not have high expectations while coming to Raqqa, and thus, was fairly surprised by the quality of the ceramics, which exceeded his expectations. What is more intriguing in this context is the way he expresses his astonishment, which bears traces of the Orientalist discourse highly influential at the time. Despite his lack of expertise, he perceives himself as an authority to determine the “true” significance of the Arab art. By doing so, he clearly positions himself as a “westerner” that holds the privilege to make value judgements about the artistic achievements of “other” cultures.

Instead of dispatching everything he has found to İstanbul, Macridy prefers to make a selection of representative samples, which he packs in a crate along with an inventory list. Noting the high number of fragments with inscriptions, he lists his finds as follows:²¹⁵ “[t]wo beautiful, complete *krassés*,²¹⁶ a jar h. 0.40 with three handles, small, green-glazed bowls, and a plate in numerous fragments, on which I can read in blue “mureffi” [elevatory].²¹⁷ If this piece was intact, it would have alone covered all the expenses.” In the last part of his letter, Macridy notes that amongst all the hard work, he also has to work like a carpenter to recycle the old tobacco crates and make new ones for the shipment of his finds. Moreover, he reports that he caught someone excavating at the site at night. Since the deputy *kaymakam* did not do anything, Macridy wrote to the Director of Education in Aleppo. The Director gave a *ceza-i nakdî* [monetary punishment] to the digger, which, Macridy believes, directly went into the officials’ pockets. He bemoans that it should have gone into theirs instead.²¹⁸

Macridy’s third letter, dated January 19, 1906, has a similar tone to the first two:²¹⁹

I work day and night and still do not have any time to eat. For now, I have 4 crates ready to go, 1 containing [only] fragments and the others [contain] fragments of presentable objects discovered, among which: a *leğen*, green-blue glazed basin in 5-6

²¹⁵ Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 5, 1906. Letter.

²¹⁶ I could not find any information about this particular vessel form and its origin. It may be a form in the ancient Greek world.

²¹⁷ Macridy copies the inscription as *مرفع* from the root: *refea* > *reffa'a* > *mureffi*. (I would like to thank Prof. Mehmet Kanar for his help in translating this word.)

²¹⁸ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 5, 1906*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem.

²¹⁹ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 19, 1906*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem.

fragments but no missing pieces,²²⁰ a footed fruit bowl covered with Arabic inscriptions inside and outside with only part of its rim missing.²²¹ In many fragments: small bowls, dishes, etc., a drinking cup lacking part of its magnificent rim.²²² There are also fragments of extraordinary beauty. Unfortunately, we excavated everywhere but there is no hope of excavating further good pieces in the unexcavated areas.

In addition, Macridy reported that the *mutesarraf* [Governor of the *sancak*] of Deir Zor sent him (naturally by order of the museum) seven crates containing ceramics along with a *defter* [notebook]. When he was pulling them out of the car, he was disturbed by the noise caused by their loose packaging. He had to demolish the crates and make new ones for he wanted to make sure they would arrive İstanbul in good shape. He reports that he would send his inventory list of these pieces and the *defter* the same week.²²³ He describes the material coming from Deir Zor as follows:²²⁴

In these pieces that are very inferior to those of Raqqa there are some big *küp[s]* [jars]. They are nice but all are chipped and bottomless. For the rest, if I had to choose, I'd leave them on the sides of the Euphrates or even on its bed. But since it is *amanet* [trust], I will pack them and make sure they will fit in the least number of crates possible. Nothing to publish – no inscriptions.

This paragraph reflects Macridy's mentality as an archaeologist as well as his approach to the ceramics. The jars, which he found of lesser quality, were probably unglazed vessels used for storage purposes. He considered them not worth publishing or even transporting to İstanbul since they had no aesthetic value nor any inscriptions, Macridy's criteria for publishing. As discussed in the previous chapter and apparent from this statement, inscriptions at the time were one of the privileged fields of interest for archaeologists. In contrast, pottery, particularly the unglazed or undecorated types of it, ranked much lower in the hierarchy of "appealing" materials, as I will discuss in the next chapter. As a last note, Macridy stated that he would be able to leave Raqqa in 20-25 days and, if the museum permitted, he wished to explore the site of Rusafa next, which was located eight hours from Raqqa in the desert.

²²⁰ Çinili Köşk Inv. No. 3998/TİEM 1982; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 81, fn. 66. This piece could not be located at the TİEM.

²²¹ Çinili Köşk Inv. No. 4004/TİEM 1579; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 81; See Appendix 4, Pp. 231-32 for a detailed description of the vessel.

²²² Çinili Köşk Inv. No. 3921/TİEM 1594; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 81. This piece could not be located at the TİEM.

²²³ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 19, 1906*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem.

²²⁴ Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 19, 1906. Letter.

After his third and last letter, Macridy corresponded with the museum only through telegrams.²²⁵ The three telegrams he sent on January 22 offer details on the cost of the transportation of antiquities from Raqqa to İstanbul. While he dispatched the complete vessels and relatively well-preserved ones, he left behind the largest pieces and those that he could not restore (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82). After his last letter, it is not clear how many more days he continued working in the field. It can be suggested that the excavations would have gone on for sixty-four days at most, considering that they started on December 17 and continued until Macridy dispatched his finds from Raqqa on February 17, 1906.²²⁶ He sent a telegram on that day reporting his final dispatch of fifteen crates of antiquities including both his own finds, as well as the antiquities confiscated in Deir el Zor, which he sealed with lead and sent to İskenderun via Aleppo (Figure 5). Later on, he sent another telegram from İskenderun on March 6 to report that the crates were loaded on a ship named *Nemçe Oranu* along with the shipping documents (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82, 91n72; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 199).

A letter sent by the Director of Education of Aleppo on April 12 gives a summary of Macridy's excavation campaign and confirms the shipment of the finds. Based on Macridy's own assessment, he estimates the total value of the excavated finds was to be 1500 *liras* (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 199; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82, 91n74). The entire cost of the excavation was 150-200 *liras*. Macridy believed that the antiquities still buried on the site were worth 1000-2000 *liras*, which could be unearthed by spending 5000-10000 *kuruş*.²²⁷ The Director acknowledges that they were not able to prevent the smuggling of antiquities for it was impossible to protect the site from illegal digging. Therefore, the Director beseeches the Imperial Museum to continue excavations at Raqqa (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 199).

We learn from the Çinili Köşk inventory books that the crates reached İstanbul in March-April 1906. The collection consisted of thirty-nine objects including thirty-six ceramic, two glass, and one metal artifacts.²²⁸ Later in 1906, other dispatches were received although the museum inventory records do not specify which month they arrived. A letter

²²⁵ Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006, 198-199) summarized three of the telegrams in her first article and the remaining ones in the second one (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82, fn. 70-71).

²²⁶ There is a discrepancy in the sources about the duration of the excavations. The Director of Education of Aleppo wrote that the excavations continued between fifteen to twenty days (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 199) while Cinoğlu (2002, 24) states that they lasted for three months.

²²⁷ I have not been able to locate any tools for monetary conversions of Ottoman lira.

²²⁸ Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82; Appendix 4 provides a detailed catalogue of this collection.

from the directorate of the Imperial Museum dated April 12, 1906 verified that the museum demanded the excavations to be continued (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 193).

The Second Campaign: 1908 by Haydar Bey

After Macridy left Raqqa in 1906, the Circassian refugees continued their clandestine excavations and illegal trafficking of antiquities (Jenkins-Madina 2006, 240). The clandestine digging on the site continued during the two-year interval between the two campaigns as documented by the correspondence between the local authorities and İstanbul. A telegram dated to 1907 complains about the active “robbers,” whose number reached five hundred (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 199).

As a caution to protect the site and its antiquities from pillaging and smuggling, the museum commissioned Haydar Bey, an official who had accompanied Macridy in his journey to Raqqa in 1905, to lead another expedition in Raqqa. Due to the lack of textual evidence, this is a lesser-known episode in the history of the excavations at Raqqa although its implications are as significant as the first campaign. However, the corpus of finds may potentially provide clues about his approach to the artifacts.

Haydar Bey arrived at Raqqa in August 1908 and began excavating on August 3 (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 200). In a telegram dated August 27, he notes that he began collecting objects from the first day on and would be sending weekly reports. He sent his next telegram on September 4, as promised, where he announced that the excavations had been successful. This probably means that the quantity of the finds he had discovered was satisfactory. He also added that he had money to last for another three weeks and expressed that he was willing to go on if the museum allocated more funds. He also states that unless he continued excavating, the site would badly suffer from illegal digging (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 201). By the end of September, he had already prepared the first batch of finds to be shipped to the museum (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 86).

The excavations continued until October 5. Surprisingly, only one month after Haydar Bey had asked for additional funds, he was ready to give up as he had decided that further work would not produce more finds (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 86). Simply by looking at the artifacts he sent to the museum, one would easily understand his position. Although they were

more than twice the number of Macridy's finds, their level of preservation was much poorer and chances to be displayed in the museum were not as high.²²⁹

In November 1908, Haydar Bey sent his finds to İstanbul in six crates, which contained a total number of eighty-eight²³⁰ objects consisting of thirty-nine ceramics, twenty-eight glass objects, five made of semi-precious stone, three bone items, and eighteen metal artifacts (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 193; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 86).²³¹ The route was the same as Macridy's shipment: first to İskenderun overland and from there to İstanbul by sea (Figure 7). There are two telegrams from the local officials confirming the shipment of antiquities and the postage of their papers (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 201-202). They arrived at the museum by the end of the month.

After Haydar Bey left Raqqa, further clandestine digging was reported, as documented by the telegrams sent to the Imperial Museum by the local officials.²³² During her two-day visit to the site in 1909, the British archaeologist Gertrude Bell also mentioned that the surface of the site was honeycombed by such activities (Bell 1911, 59-60). She noted that she saw numerous examples of "Raqqa ware" along with a few fragments of "exquisite," gold-embossed glass, likely "lustered" pieces (Vernoit 1997, 5). Besides, she mentioned that some of the kilns and original factories were brought to light, where the surface was full of wasters of bowls and jars (Bell 1911, 60). The Ottoman archival records demonstrate that the local administration insisted that the museum continued the excavations at Raqqa. However, the museum was unable to commission further excavation work at the site probably due to financial and logistical difficulties.²³³

²²⁹ See Chapter 5 for a detailed examination of Haydar Bey's finds collection.

²³⁰ Yoltar-Yıldırım gives the total number of objects as 88 in 2006, but 87 in her 2013-article.

²³¹ See Appendix 4 for detailed descriptions of the artifacts.

²³² Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006) provides the names of the dealers and gives details of how they smuggled numerous antiquities from Aleppo to Europe. Two of the most ambitious ones were Baron Max von Oppenheim and N. Marcopoli.

²³³ It should be kept in mind that Haydar Bey conducted his excavations at Raqqa after the Young Turk Revolution, which may have affected the ongoing excavations at the time. The impact of the revolution on archaeological practices is yet to be examined.

Evaluation of the Archaeological Work

The two excavation campaigns at Raqqa were never published and their records have not yet been explored entirely. Our knowledge is rather limited on the logistical organization of the Raqqa expeditions, particularly in the absence of sufficient documentation. The reason for this absence may be that, due to time limitations and lack of staff, neither Macridy nor Haydar Bey paid enough attention to the documentation of the site, its ruins, and the excavation work they conducted. A more optimistic possibility is that their notes, sketches, drawings, and photographs may actually exist but have not yet been identified in the archives. As I have discussed in Chapter 1, it is not easy to examine archaeological methodology of such early expeditions since excavation methods are hardly mentioned in reports or publications. Therefore, although the first scenario may well be the case, it is also quite likely that the İAML archives might contain some sources that would offer some information regarding the mentality of the Ottoman archaeologists and how they operated these excavations. It is, however, by no means comparable to, for instance, Samarra excavations, one of the best-documented Islamic sites excavated around the same time. Herzfeld recorded, documented, and published the entire campaign, reaching two years in duration from the beginning to the end.²³⁴ Our knowledge on the Raqqa excavations merely comprises snippets of information based on the official correspondence between the local officials, archaeologists and the museum as well as Macridy's letters to Halil Edhem.

A major challenge from the beginning of first interest in Raqqa up to the end of the second campaign was financial complications, which delayed the official excavations at the site and limited their span. If the museum could afford to appoint official staff to excavate the site from the beginning or to supply adequate funds to its two archaeologists later, Raqqa could have been investigated more fully. This points to a dramatic contrast between the Ottoman excavations and their Western counterparts.

Another striking difference from the Western expeditions is the size of the excavation teams. In comparison with the large number of people taking part in the Western teams, the two Ottoman archaeologists at Raqqa excavated the site only with a group of workmen although the number of people employed in each team remains unclear thus far.²³⁵ Workforce

²³⁴ These are now kept in the archives of Freer and Sackler, the MET, Smithsonian and in Berlin.

²³⁵ The German excavation in Samarra had 250-300 workmen along with many specialists and technicians. (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 88).

was drawn from the local population of Raqqa, which might have created communication problems since neither Macridy nor Haydar Bey likely spoke Arabic well. There were no other specialists to assist the directors, who, in most of the cases, had to multitask uniting the roles of field director, a field archaeologist, illustrator, conservator, and commissar.

The finds were recovered almost entirely by chance since there were no preliminary surveys or studies of the maps that would allow for the excavations to be designed more systematically. By contrast, Herzfeld had read some of the original Abbasid sources before beginning to dig at Samarra. In the case of Raqqa campaigns, it is not clear how Macridy and Haydar Bey prepared for the excavations. Perhaps their tight schedules did not permit any pre-excavation work. Although both archaeologists were provided useful information by the local officials regarding the areas potentially worth exploring, neither of them, for unknown reasons, paid attention to these suggestions (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82, 85, 88).

Both Macridy and Haydar Bey tried to keep records and announce their discoveries instantly in their letters and telegrams (Cinoğlu 2002, 8). Haydar Bey also kept weekly reports, which have not yet been located in the İAML. Even though they were not as systematic as their European colleagues, their descriptions, mainly in writing, demonstrate their efforts for documentation and record keeping. Some of Macridy's illustrations from elsewhere survive that include sketches, drawings of finds, and architectural plans (Eldem forthcoming; Figures 18, 19, and 20).²³⁶ In contrast, there is no evidence whether the two archaeologists planned the site or illustrated their finds at Raqqa. Photography, which was a rather popular yet limited means of documentation at the time, was not used here either.²³⁷

It is not clear whether Macridy or Haydar Bey were aware that Raqqa was a multi-period site with several cultural sequences. There is no evidence of their interest in the chronology of the site, perhaps because they assumed that the entire site belonged to the Abbasid era. This can be the reason why they did not pay attention to the stratigraphy, a point of critique Sarre raised against the work of Macridy. Erroneously dating his excavations to 1909, he criticized Macridy for being unscientific due to his lack of attention to stratigraphy and the architectural context (Sarre and Herzfeld 1911, 24-28; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 25). This is an unfair judgement given that the majority of the excavations at the time did not

²³⁶ Although Eldem mentions these illustrations in his draft text, he did not include any images. Therefore, I did not get the chance to view them.

²³⁷ Macridy may be familiar to this new technique of documentation at this time since he requested film rolls in one of his letters to Halil Edhem from Boğazköy, where he worked directly after Raqqa (Eldem forthcoming).

employ stratigraphy. On the other hand, one can speculate that, coming across such a diverse repertoire of archaeological materials and a very large range of ceramic types, Macridy and Haydar Bey may well have considered the possibility that these materials represented different periods, social classes or cultures.

Both men, particularly Macridy, had a strong interest in restoring the ceramics, the most ample archaeological material at Raqqa. Considering his long-term involvement in classical site excavations, we can suggest that he might have aimed to bring in remarkable objects to the museum. In the absence of marble sculpture or remains of marble pieces of architecture, ceramics might have seemed to him a good substitute. The great popularity of ceramics and the high demand for them in the Western art markets must have eventually convinced Macridy of their importance, and he has clearly privileged this class of finds over others, as I tried to elaborate in Chapter 5.

The two groups of artifacts excavated, collected, and dispatched to İstanbul by Macridy and Haydar Bey bear striking differences. Macridy gave priority to complete ceramic vessels and aesthetically appealing ceramics. The objects he sent are larger in size and higher in quality. In contrast, Haydar Bey seems to have shipped almost everything he found without making any particular choices including mundane objects as well as more significant pieces. His collection chiefly consists of fragments of ceramic and glass vessels, tabourets, and tiles, small finds, as well as fragments of metal implements and jewellery. Although larger in quantity and more diverse in its range, this collection is poorer in quality. It is likely that the site was largely exploited in the clandestine excavations until the second campaign started in 1908 although this cannot be the only explanation.

The clear contrast between the contents of the two collections may be due to the fact that the archaeologists excavated at different parts of the city. However, the current state of evidence does not permit envisaging the exact locations of the Ottoman trenches during the two campaigns.²³⁸ The kiln utensils and wasters amongst the finds of Macridy indicate that he excavated a kiln site (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82). Whether his other finds came from the same site or its vicinity remains a moot question at this point. However, given that he lived in the

²³⁸ A telegram sent from Baghdad to İstanbul in 1901 states that the Germans, who applied for a permit to dig at Raqqa, wanted to excavate in the area that was inhabited by the tribes in the desert. (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 196, doc. 540).

enclosure of the congregational mosque of Rafiqa,²³⁹ it is probable that he excavated either within the walls, where the industrial zone was located after the twelfth century²⁴⁰ or somewhere in the vicinity of the industrial district that lies between the walled city of Rafiqa and the modern village of Raqqa.²⁴¹

Before Macridy began excavating at Raqqa, a letter from the Director of Education in Aleppo to the museum directorate reported in May 1904 about an area yielding rich pottery finds based on the descriptions of Kazım Efendi, a teacher at the Aleppo high school, who was appointed by the Director to collect information about the site. Kazım Efendi mentioned the pottery sellers' street extending over a vast area that was the most promising section to excavate (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 77, 90n49). For some reason, neither Macridy nor Haydar Bey took this into consideration. Instead, it was a group of dealers who might have taken advantage of Kazım Efendi's description. This discovery, traditionally known as the "Great Find," brought to light about sixty fine vessels, all of which were complete and well preserved (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82, 91n86; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 27n41; Kouchakji 1923, 515-516). They appeared in the art market soon afterwards consolidating the fame of "Raqqa ware" in the subsequent decades. Fahim Kouchakji, an antique dealer, who wrote an article about the Raqqa ceramics and the Great Find in 1923, notes that all the excavations prior to 1908 were conducted in the western part of the city or in an area that he describes as "the neighbourhood of the dwellings of the present colony," which may correspond to the modern village. Misdating the Ottoman excavations to 1903, he mentions that, the Ottomans discovered the palace of Harun Rashid "under thirty feet of soil" in the same area. As Yoltar-Yıldırım also points out, this structure must be the Qasr al-Banat, which was thought to be Harun al-Rashid's palace by the locals (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 82). Kouchakji asserts that the Great Find was made in the same place by a Circassian immigrant, who dug up a trench near, what he called "the market place," and discovered this collection. Suggesting that they must have been buried before the invasion of the city, Kouchakji dates the collection to slightly later than the palace ware (Kouchakji 1923; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 85). Despite the fact that

²³⁹ Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013, 82) estimates the location of Macridy's trenches to be "in the eastern part of the walled city known as Qasr al-Banat," by which she must have meant "Rafiqa" instead of Qasr al-Banat. See Figure 14.

²⁴⁰ The industrial complex had moved inside the enclosure of Rafiqa, south of the congregational mosque (Heidemann 2006, 48).

²⁴¹ For details of the history and archaeology of the industrial complex at Raqqa, see Henderson et al. 2005 and Heidemann 2006.

Kouchakji's reliability is questionable, his suggestion of the localities may be correct. Indeed, Macridy might have worked around the Qasr al-Banat area, where recent investigations have found evidence for industrial production (Tonghini and Henderson 1998; Milwright 2005; Henderson et al. 2005). I will discuss the differences in the approaches of the two archaeologists in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The culmination of interest in Islamic ceramics in European and North American art markets towards the end of the nineteenth century resulted in clandestine excavations in a number of Islamic sites. Amongst others, Raqqa probably suffered most from the illicit digging because of its outstanding archaeological potential, having being a leading production center of ceramics and glass in the Early and Middle Islamic period. The local officials were not able to cope with the increasing activities of the smugglers, and thus, beseeched the Imperial Museum to undertake excavations at the site. The museum commissioned two excavation campaigns to prevent the clandestine digging and the trafficking of antiquities from the site. Even though these campaigns could not fulfill their missions entirely in halting the illegal operations, they were turned into opportunities by the efforts of the two archaeologists to enrich the collection of the newly founded Imperial Museum.

The Raqqa expeditions have more significant implications for the historiography of Islamic archaeology, as Raqqa became one of the earliest Islamic cities to be archaeologically explored. Each campaign lasted approximately two months, exceeding the standards of early archaeological explorations since they lasted relatively longer than those of some of the other Islamic sites excavated at the time such as Qal'at Bani Hammad.²⁴² When assessed within the context of early archaeological explorations in Islamic cities, the Raqqa excavations stand out in terms of their duration and consequences (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 75). Although the Raqqa excavations mark the beginning of archaeological research on Islamic cities in the history of Islamic archaeology, they have been overlooked for a long time. These excavations deserve more scholarly attention for they offer useful insights for the formation of the discipline and have strong implications for the history of archaeology in the Ottoman world.

Examining the history of the two excavation campaigns at Raqqa as a case study, this chapter aimed to serve as an introduction to the historiography of Ottoman archaeology. Its

²⁴² The first excavations at Qal'at Bani Hammad in 1898 lasted only eight days. (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 73.)

scope and contribution must remain limited at this point in the scholarship in the field. However, in contrast to the meagre number of studies on such an important subject, the archives contain a great amount of documents that await exploration. Particularly the vast collection of the İAML archives remains as an untapped resource for the time being. For instance, as Yoltar-Yıldırım pointed out, Haydar Bey had sent weekly reports to the museum, which are yet to be located in the İAML archives. These reports, if they can be detected, would undoubtedly illuminate our understanding of his on-site activities much better (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 86). After the restoration at the library is completed, the entire collection in its archives will begin to be digitized and made accessible for research. Considering the large number of excavations commissioned by the museum, future investigations on the history of Ottoman archaeology would certainly be promising and more likely to offer new outlooks on this neglected field of study. For the moment, the present study will attempt to fill this gap by using archaeological material as a primary source of information to enhance our understanding of the history of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 5 - Finds from the Ottoman Raqqa Excavations: Their Context and Analysis

As the two excavation campaigns in Raqqa came to an end in 1906 and 1908 respectively, the museum officials, Theodore Macridy in 1906 and Haydar Bey in 1908 dispatched their selected finds from Raqqa to the Imperial Museum in İstanbul. The resulting collection consists of ceramic, glass, and metal objects along with other small finds. The majority of these artifacts were inventoried but have not yet been fully published. This study aims to fill this gap by documenting the finds in a detailed catalogue and analyze them in terms of their technical characteristics within the context of existing literature on industrial production at Raqqa. To this aim, it applies the formal methods of describing, illustrating, and drawing comparisons with material from elsewhere.²⁴³ Focus is especially placed on the discussion of the ceramics due to their larger potential to inform us about the history of the excavations. Additionally, this chapter utilizes a new methodology and seeks to use the archaeological material as a primary source to tie in the Raqqa finds with the documentary evidence presented in the previous chapter in order to improve our understanding of the field activities of Macridy and Haydar Beys.

The conventional practice in archaeology for post-excavation analysis is to study the collected material and its potential for reconstructing past lives of societies, from the artifacts they have manufactured and used. This practice entails examining the artifacts within the context of their find-spots on the site and in relation to associated architectural and material finds. The Raqqa finds, however, were removed from their contexts with almost no documentation that survives. The fact that this sort of contextual evidence is lacking for the artifact collection under study restricts the number as well as the nature of questions one can ask regarding the relationship of the finds with the broader archaeology of Raqqa itself. Moreover, this is a relatively small collection of ceramic, glass and metal objects, which complicates the efforts to undertake systematic typological analyses or produce seriations.

Despite such setbacks, the two collections formed by Macridy and Haydar Bey are valuable for offering physical evidence in their field strategies and restoration practices.

²⁴³ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to undertake any scientific research on the material under study as TIEM policy does not allow PhD candidates to take samples for scientific analysis. For this reason, the proposed provenance and chronological inferences remain tentative.

Particularly, Macridy's letters allow placing his activities on site into a context while providing clues about his approach to the finds and their conservation. From an art-historical viewpoint, although smaller in quantity, Macridy's collection of finds surpasses that of Haydar Bey in quality. Conversely, from an archaeological perspective, Haydar Bey's collection poses more interesting questions with its diversity even though its components, by art-historical standards, are not as aesthetically appealing or presentable as those brought to İstanbul after the first campaign. The striking differences between the two collections raise a number of questions regarding the way they were formed and brought into the museum. A critical analysis of the collections, therefore, can contribute to our knowledge of field methods and collection practices in Ottoman archaeology while providing insights into the mindsets of the two archaeologists. This in turn can, to an extent, compensate for the paucity of textual evidence for the Ottoman Raqqa excavations.

The Context

Raqqa was a leading ceramic production center, and therefore, ceramics have been the focus of attention since the first archaeological investigations beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the value of "Raqqa ware" had reached its climax in the first decades of the twentieth century creating a great demand for these ceramics in the European and North American art markets (Jenkins-Madina 2006, 17-18).²⁴⁴ Both Macridy and Haydar Bey were well aware of this fact as can be discerned from their letters and telegrams discussed in the previous chapter. They knew that the museum commissioned the excavations at Raqqa primarily to recover ceramics and to halt the illegal trafficking of antiquities. This perception must have shaped their expectations as well as the way they designed and conducted the fieldwork on the site.

In fact, the strong fascination in the art market with "Raqqa ware," and in general, with Islamic ceramics during the beginning of the twentieth century marks a dramatic contrast with the existing disciplinary trends in the archaeological scene. As the previous chapters tried to demonstrate, a large number of archaeological expeditions around the world at this time chiefly aimed to recover architectural remains, sculpture, inscriptions, coins, and precious objects. Pottery, often encountered in the form of broken sherds rather than complete vessels, was perceived as the lowest ranking material in the hierarchy of finds. It was

²⁴⁴ See p. 116.

meaningful only to a handful of pioneers such as Schliemann and Petrie, who recognized its value for chronological assessments. Likewise, contemporaneous archaeological investigations at Islamic sites also focused their attention to architectural remains and inscriptions. Although pottery began to be collected after 1900 in the pioneering excavations of Qal'at Bani Hammad, Madinat al Zahra', and Samarra, it was not regarded being as important as other finds.

1. The Early Study of Islamic Pottery

The origin of Western scholarly interest in Islamic ceramics dates back to the beginning of the nineteenth century along with other classes of Islamic material culture. Although the earliest attention concentrated pretty much on complete vessels, a fairly large number of scholars also began to write about sherds in the first half of the nineteenth century. An earlier class of Islamic pottery that sparked curiosity was *baccini*, glazed ceramic plates attached to Italian church façades. Marryat mentions them in his survey published in 1857 (Marryat 1868). Likewise, Charles Fortnum, a pioneering historian of Islamic pottery, questions the origin of a plate fragment attached to the church of Santa Cecilia in Pisa in 1870, for which he suggests a Persian or Damascene provenance (Milwright 1999; Milwright 2010, 12). His study is particularly notable for two reasons: its early attempt to classify Persian ceramics and for documenting the presence of pottery production in Damascus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by means of literary evidence (Fortnum 1873; Vanke 1999). The earliest type of unglazed ceramics subject to study was the so-called sphero-conical vessels, a distinctive type of vessel, whose function has generated many different theories.²⁴⁵ Denon was the first scholar to draw attention to these objects in the beginning of the nineteenth century. A study by de Saulcy in 1874 published the examples from Tripoli for the first time (Milwright 1999, 351).

At Fustat, pottery fragments found in the waste heaps raised much interest while generating questions on the location of production centers as well as the nature of ceramic industries (Lane-Poole 1886, 274-80). Henry Wallis studied these sherds and addressed the issue of luster decoration on Islamic ceramics, an early attempt in the study of this type (Wallis 1889). He is also worth noting for his critical statement that pottery should not

²⁴⁵ Watson (2004, 128-132) describes these vessels and discusses their possible origins and functions with examples.

necessarily be ascribed to its find spot, as it was always a common article of commerce and exchange (Wallis 1887, 8). Fouquet published the first serious study of the pottery sherds found in the waste heaps of Fustat in 1900, which he studied in comparison with material from Syria (Milwright 1999, 349-351).

Despite the development of such new avenues of research, the study of Islamic pottery largely retained its art-historical approach until modern times. Thus, scholarly attention concentrated on the aesthetic aspects and decorative programs of pottery at the expense of its potential to inform about the social and industrial dynamics surrounding its production. By isolating objects from their broader contexts, this approach, in a way, legitimized the presence of unprovenanced ceramics in museum collections (Milwright 1999, 352). Following the attributions of dealers and connoisseurs, wares ultimately came to be associated with geographical regions, where they were found in large quantities. Hence, Syrian Islamic ware was simply referred to as “Raqqā ware.”

Analyses by specialists in the field of scientific archaeology have testified to the inaccuracy of these identifications based solely on stylistic attributions (Milwright 1999, 352; Tonghini and Grube 1989, 59). Moreover, archaeological scholarship has challenged such designations by introducing inter-disciplinary methodologies to the study of Islamic pottery. As a result, archaeological studies of Islamic ceramics tackle a wide range of issues regarding chronology, provenance, typology, distribution patterns and production techniques. An influential scholar is Robert Mason (2004), who combines scientific techniques with conventional methods of formal analysis in order to establish a revised chronology of Islamic glazed wares. Julian Henderson (2000) is another scholar that employs scientific methodologies on the bodies and glazes of Islamic ceramics, who has also conducted research at Raqqā extensively. A leading specialist on Islamic pottery is Cristina Tonghini (1995, 1996 and 1998) who, on the basis of her detailed field investigations at several sites in Syria, has proposed a new chronological framework for the main changes in ceramic production. At this point, it should be noted that Tonghini and Mason disagree in their interpretations of the evolution of Syrian glazed wares, and thus, offer different chronologies.

2. History of Archaeological Research on the Ceramics of Raqqā

The term “Raqqā ware” refers to a style of stonepaste pottery decorated with luster, polychrome-painted under transparent glaze or black-painted under turquoise glaze,

traditionally dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although it has been demonstrated that Raqqa was not the only center producing these types of ceramics, that it was a major pottery production center had been firmly established by the nineteenth century.²⁴⁶

The first person to recognize the importance of Syrian pottery was Gaston Migeon, who discussed a considerable number of different types and illustrated their technical characteristics accurately although his chronological assessments about the potteries of Raqqa were incorrect (Migeon 1907). In 1909, Garrett C. Pier discussed a pair of luster-painted “Raqqa bowls,” which he attributed to the ninth century (Pier 1909).

Two German archaeologists, Sarre and Herzfeld, visited Raqqa in 1907 and collected pottery samples from the site, although the results of their expedition did not begin to be published until 1911. In response to Pier’s article, however, Sarre wrote a letter to the editor of the *Burlington Magazine* and critiqued Pier’s attribution of the two bowls to the ninth century. Noting that the ceramics were not found in the city of Harun al-Rashid but came from the walled city, he suggested a date of eleventh-twelfth century based on architectural and epigraphic evidence. Besides, he conveyed his observations on Raqqa stating that the most common pottery on the site was the luster-painted type. He also mentioned that the vessels were often found in fragments, which were then restored by professional workshops in Aleppo before they were sold in the Western art markets (Sarre 1909).

During her visit to Raqqa in 1909, Gertrude Bell observed what she called “perfect specimens” of pottery, which, she stressed, deserved more attention: “No exhaustive study of Raqqa ware has as yet been made, though it is of the utmost importance in the history of the arts of Islam” (Bell 1911, 60). In 1909, the well-known collector and dealer of “Raqqa ware,” Dikran G. Kelekian (d. 1951) studied pottery from Fustat and Raqqa. His theory that styles and techniques were transferred across the Middle East during the medieval era is still valid today (Milwright 1999, 354).

The findings of Sarre and Herzfeld’s expedition were fully published by 1920, and constitutes the first scholarly study of surface ceramic finds collected at Raqqa and elsewhere (Tonghini and Grube 1989, 66). Sarre described Raqqa as a site where the locals dug to source luster-painted wares of the twelfth to fourteenth century, as these were the most sought-after in the market (Sarre and Herzfeld 1920, Vol IV, 20-21; Bloom 1975, 9). Sarre

²⁴⁶ For a chronological annotated bibliography on the historiography of Islamic pottery from Syria, see Tonghini and Grube 1989.

and Herzfeld discovered a kiln and a large quantity of wasters, as a result of which Sarre claimed that the pottery unearthed at Raqqa was locally produced and widely exported (Sarre and Herzfeld. 1911-20. Vol. I, 156-61; Vol. II, 349-64, pls. CXVI-CXX; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 25-26). Although he notes large unglazed jars, which were filled with fine, glazed vessels of smaller size, his analysis mainly concentrates on the glazed pottery, which he classified in four groups: 1) relief-decorated, monochrome (usually turquoise) glazed ware; 2) black-painted ware under a transparent turquoise glaze; dark brown luster-painted ware; and 4) miscellaneous types that combined the above techniques (Sarre and Herzfeld 1920, Vol IV: 20-21; Bloom 1975, 9; Tonghini and Grube 1989, 66). Sarre (1921) published his study of ceramics as a separate book, which is the first systematic study of the pottery found at Raqqa.

Fahim Kouchakji, an antiquarian originally from Aleppo, organized an auction sale in 1920 in New York City with his large collection of “Raqqa wares,” whose catalogue is an important document of the Raqqa ceramics sold in the art market at the beginning of the twentieth century (Kouchakji et. al. 1920). Three years later, he published a group of Raqqa pottery found in the excavations near the remains of Harun al-Rashid’s palace. The collection consisted of luster-painted, black-painted under turquoise glaze; monochrome-glazed relief-moulded; and polychrome underglaze-painted wares. Acknowledging the controversy over chronological issues, Kouchakji (1923) dated these pieces to the ninth century following Migeon.

Eustache de Lorey, Director of L’Institut Français at Damascus under the French Mandate conducted excavations at Raqqa and Rusafa in the 1920s but failed to publish his findings. Vignier in a later article noted that de Lorey had discovered a kiln in the eastern section of the wall enclosure of Rafīqa and wasters of *laqabi* ware. He also mentioned that the pottery found by de Lorey at Rusafa was different from that of Raqqa, as an indicator of local production (Vignier 1925). In 1938, Ernst Kühnel prepared a catalogue of the objects exhibited in the Çinili Köşk, which illustrates a group of ceramics from Raqqa including two pieces from the Ottoman excavations of 1906 (Kühnel 1938, 40-41, Plates 22 (TIEM 1582/ÇK 3923)-23 (TIEM 1585/ÇK 3925). It is an important contribution given that the Islamic material on display had never been fully catalogued and the excavation finds never published.

Arthur Lane’s pivotal study, *Early Islamic Pottery* came out in 1947, where he offered a new classification for ceramics from Raqqa as carved monochrome, underglaze-painted, and luster-painted wares. He suggested a chronological range between the dispersion of the

Fatimid potters in 1171 and the Mongol invasion of 1259, which gained wide acceptance in the following decades (Lane 1947).

In 1948, Jean Sauvaget collected a new group of sherds in Raqqa in order to establish the entire repertoire of ceramics produced in Raqqa. He found a diverse range of pottery, which he classified into fifteen different types. On the basis of his discovery of kiln furniture, traces of kilns, and wasters in the eastern section of the site, he concluded that they were locally manufactured in Raqqa from the Abbasid period to the thirteenth century (Sauvaget 1948). Relying on scientific analyses provided by P. Munier, he also proposed a distinction between the fabric and glaze types of pottery found in Raqqa and Rafiq (Sauvaget 1948; Milwright 1999, 363; 2005, 201; Tonghini and Grube 1989, 78).²⁴⁷

A further contribution to the classification of pottery from Raqqa was by Ernst Grube, who published the collection of Raqqa ceramics from the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Grube 1963), which is recognized as one of the largest and the finest collections of Syrian pottery in the west (Tonghini and Grube 1989, 82). Grube surveyed the literature on “Raqqa ware” up to 1963 and emphasized the complications caused by the lack of publications on pottery found in excavations as well as those in private and public collections. He illustrated thirty-one glazed wares, classified in four groups based on their stylistic and technical characteristics and dated them in comparison with material from elsewhere.²⁴⁸

After the 1950s, the city of Raqqa was subject to extensive systematic investigations by the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities in collaboration with the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, a team of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut at Damascus, and the British Archaeological Mission under the directorship of Julian Henderson from the University of Nottingham. The Syrian team investigated the Abbasid town and one of the palaces with a focus on the architecture overlooking other finds including ceramics (Tonghini and Grube 1989, 79-80; Tonghini and Henderson 1998, 114). The German team led by Michael Meinecke explored the Abbasid town and the palatial complexes to the north of the walled city between 1982 and 1993 (Meinecke 1991; Meinecke 1996; Meinecke and Heusch 1985). The British team undertook an interdisciplinary survey, entitled as *The Raqqa Ancient Industry Project*, to explore a 3 km-long extramural industrial complex in the modern suburb of Mishlab (Meinecke 1996; Henderson 1998 and 1999; Miglus 1999). The team led by

²⁴⁷ For a critique of Sauvaget’s work, see Bloom 1975, 14.

²⁴⁸ For a summary of his discussion, see Bloom 1975, 16-17.

Henderson excavated three tells, formed by the industrial debris from pottery, glass and stucco manufacture (Henderson 1999). Their investigations brought to light a vast corpus of evidence on the development and the evolution of the industrial activity and demonstrated that pottery and glass production continued in Raqqa from the Abbasid period through to the thirteenth century moving in between different quarters of the city.²⁴⁹ The German team conducted further work in the old city enclosure of Rafiqa. On the grounds of their discovery of large quantities of wasters related to “Raqqa ware,” they demonstrated that the industrial production continued in the twelfth century in the southern section of the congregational mosque and the Zangid/Ayyubid palace, Qasr al-Banat (Meinecke 1995, 413; Heidemann 2006; Milwright 2005, 200-201) ((Figures 14 and 16).

A recent publication by Jenkins-Madina (2006) traces the journey of Raqqa ceramics from their discovery to their acquisition by auction houses and museum galleries at the turn of the century. Jenkins-Madina provides an art-historical examination of a large group of complete vessels within the Raqqa collection at the MET along with a group of wasters from Raqqa housed by Turkish museums. The book is an important contribution to the study of Raqqa ceramics providing evidence on the historical context surrounding their story. The discussion entails a large, detailed catalogue of vessels and wasters, complemented by an inventory of the patterns and profiles attributed to a Raqqa origin. Yoltar-Yıldırım’s contribution in the same volume through her meticulous study on the Ottoman archival sources has been acknowledged in the Introduction and Chapter 4. The second appendix in the same volume, by D. T. Smith offers valuable scientific evidence that aid in resolving the issues of provenance and dating.²⁵⁰ The book fails to cover the finds from the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa, which have been documented and analyzed here for the first time.

In Turkey, the short-lived interest in Raqqa ceramics that culminated at the turn of the century rapidly diminished in the first decades of the twentieth century and turned into a complete neglect during the Republican era.²⁵¹ The Imperial Museum began displaying the ceramics from Raqqa in 1896 in its Islamic gallery on the second floor of the newly

²⁴⁹ The preliminary findings have been published in Henderson et al. 2002 and Henderson et al. 2005. For a survey of the evolution of the industrial workshops at different locations of the site, see Milwright 2010, 146-148; Heidemann (2006) discussed the history of the industrial and commercial area of the Abbasid period, *al-Raqqa al-Muhtariqa* referring to literary and numismatic evidence.

²⁵⁰ For a critical review of the book, see Milwright 2006.

²⁵¹ The possible reasons of this disregard have been discussed in Chapter 2.

constructed museum building. The entire collection of the Islamic artifacts was later transferred to the Çinili Köşk in 1908. A portion of the excavation finds was also put on display although it is not clear which ones (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 87).

A museum guide authored by Mehmed Vahid (1909, 117-18) mentions Raqqa ceramics briefly without specifying the provenance of objects. Therefore, it is not clear whether they are confiscated objects or excavated finds. Another guide, by Gustave Mendel (1909, 344-45), provides a longer description of the Raqqa objects in the Imperial Museum and notes their fragmentary state. He mentions the excavations by Macridy in the vicinity of the kilns, but does not refer to those by Haydar Bey, possibly since he wrote his article before the objects from the second campaign arrived. In the later decades, the popularity of Raqqa ceramics diminished in the art market causing a disregard for these finds. No attempts were made to examine, restore, or conserve them after the Ottoman period. The majority of the objects from Raqqa were transferred to TIEM in 1941, while some of its components have been dispersed in various Turkish museums in İstanbul, Ankara, and Konya resulting in considerable neglect. Two BA dissertations covered part of the Raqqa ceramics in museum holdings with a focus on the finest wares that were acquired in confiscations (Özarslan 1964-65; Şentürk 1982). The excavation finds have never been fully published until the present.²⁵²

The Collection

The catalogue presented in Appendix 4 reflects the initial stage of this research, which was primarily aimed at the documentation of the histories of the two Ottoman excavations at Raqqa along with their finds collection. The present study covers them fully for the first time. Formerly, Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006; 2013) published a list of the retrieved finds and illustrated a small number of them by merely photographs without any analysis. Adding on previous research, I compiled a detailed catalogue of artifacts acquired in the excavations in order to offer a more nuanced explication of these two important campaigns, which represent the earliest episode in the long history of archaeological research at Raqqa. The empirical inquiry of the material under study does not make a direct reference to the history of Ottoman archaeology. Yet, it is a crucial component of the present investigation providing tangible evidence in support of the main historiographical argument of the dissertation. The catalogue

²⁵² Yoltar-Yıldırım (2013, 87-88) reviews the display of the Raqqa material in the museum and Osman Hamdi's attempts to get it published.

entries allow for an assessment of the criteria required in the selection of individual objects such as aesthetic value, rarity, relative completeness and historical significance. These factors might have determined the priorities of the excavators in their selections of artifacts. Moreover, similarities and differences in the type and style of objects in the catalogue allow us to speculate about their provenances. A comparative study of these finds within the context of recent archaeological investigations may offer clues about the possible locations where the Ottomans excavated.

The collection of finds consists of a relatively small but diverse body of objects brought from Raqqa to İstanbul. Thanks to Yoltar-Yıldırım's detailed study on the inventory books of the Çinili Köşk, the earliest records of the Ottoman Raqqa excavations, it is now possible to trace the provenance of the majority of objects in the Raqqa collection of the TİEM.²⁵³ According to these records, Theodore Macridy dispatched thirty-nine objects in two parties from Raqqa in 1906. The first party, entering the museum in March,²⁵⁴ comprised thirteen pieces (one metal, twelve ceramic items) and the second party, whose month of arrival was not recorded, included twenty-six objects (twenty-four ceramics and two glass items).²⁵⁵ On that note, it is necessary to mention that the coin hoard which Macridy reports to have discovered is not recorded on the inventories, thus, cannot be located. The collection of finds from Macridy's excavations has been transferred to the TİEM in 1941 and is now housed there, except from five objects: a silver ring,²⁵⁶ whose current location is unknown, and four objects that were transferred from the TİEM to the Topkapı Palace Museum (*Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* - TSM) at a later date.²⁵⁷

From Haydar Bey's campaign, a collection of eighty-seven objects entered the museum in 1908,²⁵⁸ which was also transferred to the TİEM in 1941 except five pieces.²⁵⁹ Six

²⁵³ The inventory books are housed at the Topkapı Palace Museum Ayniyat Office and have been published for the first time by Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006, 192-3).

²⁵⁴ 1322 in the Rumi calendar.

²⁵⁵ See Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006, 214-5) for a list of objects excavated by Macridy.

²⁵⁶ Çinili Köşk inventory no. 2548.

²⁵⁷ Çinili Köşk inventory nos. 3927 (1598), 3928 (1590), 4000 (1993), 4054 (1984). (TİEM inventory nos. are given in brackets).

²⁵⁸ See Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006, 216-8) for a list of objects excavated by Haydar Bey.

²⁵⁹ These objects were never transferred to TİEM but their current locations are unknown. Çinili Köşk inventory nos. 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 3007.

of these are no longer in the TİEM collection: one has been transferred to the TSM;²⁶⁰ five to the Ankara Ethnographical Museum.²⁶¹ I was not able to catalogue the objects at the TSM since it was not possible to receive a research permit due to the ongoing restoration. The remaining twenty-four objects at the TİEM were not available for examination in the course of present research.²⁶² As a result, I have been able to catalogue twenty-two objects from Macridy's and sixty-six objects from Haydar Bey's collection. The remaining objects are missing from this discussion.²⁶³

The catalogue documents eighty-eight objects in total. It is a relatively small corpus of finds for an excavation collection although it gives a good idea of what the Ottoman archaeologists excavated and dispatched from the site. Due to its small size, it is difficult to find a considerable unity in it and suggest overarching analyses on the material itself. In this respect, the present study does not pretend to make an exhaustive or wide-reaching contribution to the existing scholarship on the industry of ceramics, glass or metal products at Raqqa. Nor does it intend to resolve the provenance and dating issues of the material under study. It is difficult to make such inferences merely by means of typology without scientific analyses, which have not been possible at this stage.²⁶⁴ Instead, the present study employs a new methodology and approaches the finds primarily as components of the two excavation collections rather than individual artifacts. Examined collectively, these finds can provide clues on the formation processes of the collections and enhance our understanding of the mindsets of the two archaeologists who brought them together.

The catalogue of objects offers rich evidence on the collection practices, principles of selection and professional attitudes of the two archaeologists that could not be provided by the list of finds published in previous literature. It reveals not only the expectations of the two

²⁶⁰ Çinili Köşk inventory no. 2938 (TİEM 1546).

²⁶¹ It was not possible to locate these objects as their original inventory numbers were not kept and the descriptions in the original inventory books did not suffice to identify them. Their Çinili Köşk inventory nos. are as follows: 3015, 3016, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024.

²⁶² TİEM inventory nos. 1594, 1582, 1591, 1592, 1982, 1671, 1962, 2116, 2054, 2031, 2047, 2046, 2048, 2038, 2714, 2748, 2734, 2050, 2201, 2199, 2157, 2057, 2065, 2056.

²⁶³ The numbers given in the inventory lists do not represent the total numbers of finds that were dispatched from Raqqa. For instance, it is not clear whether the museum received the 183 coins, Macridy reported to have sent or not. They have not been inventoried and, aside from Macridy's letter to Halil Edhem and his telegram to the museum, there is no documentation on their shipment or arrival. Moreover, the fact that the excavation finds have been spread over three museums complicates the efforts to document and study them.

²⁶⁴ See fn. 242.

archaeologists from fieldwork but also the required qualities in objects for museum display. Macridy obviously privileged aesthetic objects, that is, mainly glazed wares in complete form while he also collected mundane artifacts such as kiln utensils. Haydar Bey, on the other hand, seems to have valued all the different types of artifacts in the same level, which may be interpreted as an indication of his interest in their potential as sources of information rather than objects for museum display. In this regard, the collection strategies of the two archaeologists encompass both connoisseurship and “scientific” inquiry. In addition, the catalogue illustrates several ceramic vessels that Macridy restored himself, which offer material evidence on the early restoration techniques. Macridy’s meticulous attention for restoration, as can also be gleaned through his letters, deserves consideration. Likewise, the restored objects in the collection are worth further analysis, which would supplement the findings of the present study. On that note, the catalogue gives hints about the notion of heritage preservation during the beginning of the twentieth century, for which the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa constitute a notable example.

1. Methodology

The catalogue has been initially classified into two groups on the basis of acquisition dates of the objects to enable analyzing them within the context of each campaign. This method allows us to emphasize the similarities and differences in the approaches of the two archaeologists to the artifacts. It will not only give us clues on the collection practices they were engaged in and the way they handled the finds but will also help generate questions and perhaps also speculate on the qualitative differences between their attitudes.

In contrast to its small size, the catalogue contains a great variety of finds ranging from complete and fragmentary pottery, *tabourets*, kiln furnishings, tiles, figurines, beads, glass wares, bracelets, fragments of metal implements, and some objects whose functions are unclear. The first collection presented in Appendix 4.1 comprises Macridy’s finds from the 1906 campaign, which consists of merely ceramics. The second collection presented in Appendices 4.2-4.4, includes Haydar Bey’s collection from the 1908 excavations, comprising twenty-eight ceramic pieces, twenty-six glass and small finds, and twelve metal artifacts. The beads are classified according to the materials they are made of. Two animal figurines, made of terracotta, thus have been included in the ceramic catalogue. A fragmentary object made of mother-of-pearl, likely jewellery, has been catalogued at the end of Appendix 4.3 along with

the glass finds. TIEM 1725 is originally inventoried in the museum records as a group of fragments belonging to a single object but it actually comprises seven pieces belonging to different objects. I have catalogued six of them here separately as the seventh piece could not be located at the museum.

I have listed the objects in each catalogue in numerical order. Each object is entered with its TIEM inventory number with the Çinili Köşk inventory number given in brackets. Scaled photographs and archaeological illustrations follow the title along with a description of the object in terms of its type, class, form, decoration, and glaze and fabric types for ceramics. Next are proposed date, comparanda, and references to relevant literature. The significant finds have been documented in more detail by additional photographs.

A primary issue in cataloguing the ceramics in the present study has been the difficulty of establishing fabric type. The fabric list, given in Appendix 5, is based on visual analysis by a 10x magnifying lens. Basic identification criteria are the fabric's hardness, compactness, texture, color, and inclusions. According to this, the fabric consistency is defined in four groups, that is if the fabric comes off or crumbles when rubbed with fingertip, it is classified as "soft, friable, and sugary". If it comes off when scraped with a nail, it is classified as "medium," if it only comes off when strongly scraped with nail, it is classified as "hard, dense," and finally, if it does not come off at all, it is classified as "very hard, very dense."

Due to the absence of fresh breaks on many objects, particularly in Macridy's collection that consists of mainly complete vessels, determining the accurate fabric type has not been possible. A second complication in classifying fabric color is due to variations in firing observable in the same vessel. Furthermore, identifying the fabric inclusions was not always possible with a 10x magnifier. A level of inconsistency in fabric classifications, therefore, cannot be entirely ruled out. With this in mind, the fabric types have been classified in the widest possible means, creating a large number of earthenware (EW) and stonepaste (SP) types.

A fundamental question since the early stages of the present research has been, how to set up criteria to distinguish between EW and SP, seeing as there is no rigid dividing line between the two categories. This is the case particularly for the characteristic buff-colored fabrics that have been widely used in the Euphrates basin since the early Islamic period. A study by Blackman and Redford pointed out the question of how to differentiate between FW/SP and bodies of calcareous clay (Blackman and Redford 1994). They analyzed 168

sherds to correlate visual characteristics of Islamic glazed SP with categories of chemical composition to answer questions related to the production of glazed ceramics in Syria/Jazira in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. The results indicated that thirty-seven of the vessel bodies, resembling SP, were actually not made of SP, but of calcareous clay. The authors identified four different clay sources, which they interpreted as four different production centers. Other studies have testified the great variety of colors and consistencies in North Syria and demonstrated that Raqqa SP ranged from off-white to pale pink, buff, and to pale grey (Milwright 2005, 210).

Robert Mason applied petrographic analyses to Syrian SP fabrics and has identified five major types of petrofabrics, which he attributed to different phases and centers of production (Mason 1997). He has argued that at Raqqa, where the prolific production of SP and EW co-existed, different petrofabrics were used for vessels to serve for different functions and were associated with different workshops within the same center (Mason and Keall 1999; Mason and Milwright 1998). Cristina Tonghini suggested an intermediary category in addition to the FW (SP) categories. Based on the above studies, the fabrics that bear the characteristics of both SP and EW might represent a transitional group or perhaps a lower-quality class of SP. Therefore, the large number of fabric types may be an indicator of the large number of workshops in Raqqa. Thus, the possibility of multiple SP fabrics with various qualities (and accordingly, costs) co-existing should be taken into consideration. There is no doubt that the present fabric classification could be improved by means of scientific analysis (petrography or SEM), which was not permitted in the course of present research.

Another area where possible inconsistencies might exist is the classification of glaze types. I have classified the glazes according to their level of tendencies to drip or form pools. That is I have assigned the thick glazes that drips or pools to the alkaline group, while I classified the thinner glazes that do not drip or pool as the lead group. This classification may be revised in the future when scientific analyses can be carried out.

2. Ceramics

The present catalogue exhibits a great diversity in the types of pottery recovered at Raqqa. The entire corpus of complete and fragmentary vessels belongs to Macridy's collection. Macridy, as he promised in his letters, made a selection of different types of wares he

encountered in the field. He gave priority to complete and glazed vessels, which come in both open and closed forms: jars, juglets, plates, bowls with raised feet, large serving dishes, beakers, etc. Some of the pieces in the collection testify his vigorous efforts for the restoration of vessels, as strongly emphasized in his letters, in a rather hasty manner as discussed below.

Jenkins-Madina has defined two pieces in this collection as wasters although Milwright suggested that such slightly deformed vessels might still have had a market value as second quality wares (Milwright 2006).²⁶⁵ Macridy seems to have subscribed to this notion as can be gleaned from his comment on a severely iridized juglet, which clearly shows that he did not view it inferior to other wares: “[T]he iridization makes the objects beautiful but most of the time they lose drawings and colors, which we can only distinguish by wetting them.” The absence of unglazed pottery in Macridy’s assemblage is probably a result of his fascination with glazed wares, or to put it more precisely, his disinterest in the unglazed ones. Even though he made no such remarks explicitly, judging from his observations in his third letter of the large, probably unglazed, jars confiscated at Deir Zor, it can be suggested that he perceived unglazed vessels as secondary quality.²⁶⁶ Given that the capacity of each shipment was fairly limited, he must have preferred to reserve that space for an object he considered more valuable. However, it did not necessarily have to be glazed ware, as exemplified by the kiln utensils he sent in his second dispatch.²⁶⁷ Although having no aesthetic appeal, Macridy obviously attached importance to these objects as evidence for pottery production on the site. By this choice, Macridy clearly demonstrates that he was not simply an antiquarian in search of collectible objects, but an archaeologist, who aimed to make meaningful inferences about the site he explored. His inclusion of kiln utensils also hints at his artifact-sampling strategy he implemented in the field. Keeping the promise he made in his letter, he shipped samples of material remains he encountered at the site.

On the other hand, Haydar Bey’s pottery collection exhibits a marked contrast with Macridy’s pottery-rich selection,²⁶⁸ since, curiously, it contains only three fragments of ceramic wares: two small sherds belonging to lustered bowls and an unglazed conical object

²⁶⁵ TIEM 1549 and TIEM 2139 (Jenkins-Madina 2006, 62 and 77; W48 and W76).

²⁶⁶ *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 19, 1906*. Letter; See also Chapter 4, p. 76 in the present dissertation.

²⁶⁷ TIEM 1920 and TIEM 1921.

²⁶⁸ See the conclusion section for a discussion of the contrast between the two collections and its possible reasons.

made of terracotta that may have served as a jug stopper.²⁶⁹ One of the sherds, TîEM 2030, has a harpy figure and the other one, TîEM 2031, a horse-head, both painted with luster on their surfaces. Figural decorations are rarely attested on characteristic “Raqqa ware,” which typically employs non-figural motifs in its decorative program such as arabesques, inscriptions, and pseudo-inscriptions. Haydar Bey might have recognized their extraordinary nature.

Haydar Bey’s collection displays further peculiarities such as the high proportion of *tabourets* (one near complete and twelve fragmentary examples), accompanied by tiles, beads, figurines, and some unidentified objects. *Tabourets* are low stands with short legs, resembling small coffee tables that were made of wood, metal and ceramics.²⁷⁰ They come in a wide range of sizes and forms from hexagonal to rectangular and triangular occasionally with large round holes at the top perhaps intended for inserting objects such as flasks, inkwells or oil lamps.²⁷¹ They probably had a versatile use both as a table to place food and drinks over the top and as a stand to support a metal tray, on which food and drink were served. It has also been suggested that they functioned as pot stands containing a portable stove inside to keep the food warm.²⁷² The majority of the surviving ceramic examples are relief-moulded and covered with a transparent turquoise glaze. Their shapes often have borrowed elements from architecture such as miniature niches and arches decorating their lateral walls (Graves 2012, 72-76).

Tabourets were fairly common decorative items in the medieval Islamic world. Numerous complete examples are encountered in public and private collections across the world while excavations at several sites in the Middle East, including Hama and Harran, have revealed *tabouret* fragments (Graves 2012, 67). Traditional scholarship has regarded them as characteristic products of the Raqqa potteries, often attributed to the Ayyubid period. However, in the absence of sufficient archaeological evidence, dating or provenancing these items remain problematic.

²⁶⁹ TîEM 2030, TîEM 2033 and TîEM 2133.

²⁷⁰ Graves (2012, 63-79) provides a detailed analysis of the form and function of *tabourets*.

²⁷¹ Graves (2012, 68-72) uses the term *tabouret* for hexagonal shapes while naming the rectangular, box-like shape as a “stand.” However, in traditional scholarship there is no such distinction and *tabouret* is a widely accepted term for a variety of shapes.

²⁷² Watson (2004, 298-300) suggests that this form imitates what was originally wooden furniture.

The large number of *tabouret* fragments in Haydar Bey's collection may indicate that he dug in the vicinity of a workshop or a store specialized particularly in *tabourets*. Perhaps, in addition, the same workshop or store also produced or sold tiles, glazed inscription panels and other elements of architectural decoration made in relief-moulding technique. In fact, given the consistency in the quality and the similarity in the production and decoration techniques of *tabourets* with tiles and other architectural elements, it is plausible that they were all executed in the same workshop. The lack of written evidence, unfortunately, impedes the interpretation of Haydar Bey's artefact assemblage.

3. Restoration of Ceramics

A large proportion of the ceramic objects in the present collection has been restored. Their restorations pose intriguing questions regarding the dates, origins, and techniques of the restorations. The inventory books of TIEM unfortunately do not specify any details on the dates and origins of restorations of the objects in the present catalogue. Even though it is not possible to determine at first glance when and who might have restored the objects, the consistency in the difference of techniques suggests that probably different individuals or workshops restored them at different times. In the absence of written records, adequate documentation, and scientific analyses, the assumptions offered by the present study will certainly remain tentative.

Restoration of pottery is a common practice in the collection history of Islamic ceramics. The reuse of old fragments and fabricated sherds has been often encountered in museum collections. Recent studies have suggested that the early restorers kept miscellaneous sherds in their collections to fill the gaps when needed, as well as fabricating sherds from scratch by firing and glazing them according to their needs (Norman 2004; Hogan 1998). Another common method is the sandwich method, which involves casting or moulding fragments to fit the curvature of the original dish (Norman 2004, 84-85). Since many different types of restoration methods were in use since the medieval period, one must approach Islamic ceramics in private and museum collections with a certain measure of scepticism.

Due to the difficulty of applying a consistent approach to analyze the restorations on Islamic ceramics as a whole, scholars have emphasized the necessity to treat each object individually (Lapérouse et al. 2007). This would certainly necessitate a more extensive

treatment than the present study may afford. What is intended here is simply to detect some of the restorations that Macridy might have executed himself.²⁷³

In his letters, Macridy places a strong emphasis on the necessity of restorations and makes constant remarks upon his endless attempts to repair as many vessels as possible: “I found some nice pieces or should I say I made them, considering the number of fragments I had to readjust.”²⁷⁴ A likely candidate in Macridy’s collection for the above-mentioned object is the vessel inventoried as TİEM 1590.²⁷⁵ This is a segmental bowl, underglaze-painted in blue and black, which was restored by joining an extraordinary number of foreign fragments. Although the pieces have been chosen from related types of ceramics, in this case, black-painted under turquoise glaze, many of them clearly do not belong to the original vessel. It is rather unlikely that Macridy discovered a vessel, which was such excessively restored. Therefore, the restoration must have been executed in the post-excavation process. Considering that the Imperial Museum was understaffed at the time, it is a remote possibility that it was restored by the museum. Likewise, it is highly unlikely that TİEM restored it, since the museum had neither any interest in the Raqqa collection *per se* nor any specialized staff to execute such an eccentric restoration. Indeed, the crude style of its restoration points to an amateur conservator, most likely Macridy himself. Providing he made his above statement in his second letter dated January 5 and dispatched this vessel was in the first party that arrived at İstanbul in March, it might well be the vessel that he mentioned in his letter.

Another ware that Macridy might have possibly restored himself is TİEM 1595.²⁷⁶ The vessel has been restored in such a clumsy and crude way that it is clearly not the work of a specialist. The fairly large chunks of dried excess glue overflowing from the cracks again points to an amateur. This glue must be *seccotine* that Macridy requested in one of his letters to Halil Edhem as well as a telegram to the museum directorate (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 198). It is a high-quality, water-soluble adhesive that was imported from Europe at the time. Macridy’s choice of this particular adhesive that can be removed easily when necessary is a good sign of his meticulous care for the artifacts.

²⁷³ Haydar Bey’s collection has only three restored objects (TİEM 1548, TİEM 2044 and TİEM 2055), neither of which seem to have been executed by him, thus, will not be covered here.

²⁷⁴ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 5, 1906*. Letter. From the private collection of Edhem Eldem.

²⁷⁵ See Appendix 4, Pp. 243-44 for a detailed description of the object.

²⁷⁶ See Appendix 4, Pp. 245-46 for a detailed description of the object.

There are other crudely repaired objects that might have been restored by Macridy such as TİEM 1631, TİEM 1668, TİEM 1843, and TİEM 1847. The first two vessels have been restored by simply re-joining the sherds; no gap-filling technique was employed and the gaps are left empty. TİEM 1843, however, was restored in a different technique by employing gap-filling. The original base of the bowl is missing, which probably had a slightly raised foot. The large gap in the center of the bowl was simply curved into a flat base by using a gap-filling agent, likely plaster.

Although there is only limited textual evidence on how Macridy restored the vessels he unearthed, the artifacts themselves bear important clues as to his skills and approach as well as his methods and tools. For a better understanding of the restorations applied to the Islamic ceramics in the TİEM collection, further investigation of the adhesives, fillings and over-paints by a conservation specialist is needed. Scientific analyses can easily identify the type of adhesives used for these objects, and thus, can reveal not only the date of their restorations but also the technical characteristics of objects and their individual histories.

4. Glass and Small Finds

The collection of glass and small finds, discovered and brought by Haydar Bey in 1908, consists of twenty-five glass objects and one small artifact made of mother-of-pearl. Despite its small size, the collection comprises a diverse range of mostly fragmentary jugs, bottles, beakers, one molar flask, a goblet, and pieces of jewellery (mainly bracelets and beads).²⁷⁷ The best-preserved object in the collection is a restored beaker produced in the flaring-rim form, a characteristic of medieval Syria that was reported from many sites in the Islamic world.²⁷⁸ A large portion of objects was made of clear glass by blowing technique. Another common technique of production is marvering, also referred to as “trailing,” which often creates objects with thick, opaque walls. The examples in the Raqqa collection were made in a similar style with a base color of greyish tones, with added black and white dots. Glass objects have thus far been dated by their stylistic and technical characteristics. It has been suggested that cut and colorless glass, a common style in the early Islamic period, left its place to colored glass from the eleventh to the thirteenth century on. Marvered glass was

²⁷⁷ The catalogue of the collection can be found in Appendix 4, Pp. 302-327.

²⁷⁸ TİEM 2055; for comparanda from Samsat, see Redford 1994, 91, Fig 30.

produced in the Islamic world for a lengthy span of time from the eighth to the thirteenth century (Hasson 1983, 111-112). Comparative examples have been reported from many sites. At Fustat a marvered kohl bottle was dated to the eighth century (Scanlon 1966, 103, pl. xxxv, no. 21). In Samarra only one piece was found dating to the ninth century (Lamm 1928, 108, Taf. VIII, no. 297). At Hama, marvered glass was dated to 1100-1400 (Riis and Poulsen 1957, 62-69). Hasson suggests that enamel painting, introduced in the twelfth century at Damascus and Cairo, superseded the marvered glass.

Glass industry was well developed in Raqqa from the early Islamic period onwards. Archaeological investigations have revealed a large amount of evidence for the production of glass in different sections of the city during different periods. Glass was mainly manufactured in Tell Zujaj, a site, where the British team identified three phases of industrial activity along with a complete glass workshop with remains of beehive shaped furnaces, furnace bricks, dribbles of glass, glass moils and cast glass. Scientific analysis of glass samples revealed the widest compositional range of Islamic translucent glass found so far. The investigations also identified a major change in glass technology occurring around the late eighth/early ninth century in Raqqa and elsewhere in the Islamic world (Henderson 1999).

Glass was a widely used material in the Islamic world. Lamps, window grilles, lanterns, storage and serving vessels such as bottles and beakers, inkwells, glass weights for minting coins, in the form of insets on jewellery were made in a wide range of manipulation techniques (Milwright 2010, 89; Carboni and Adamjee 2002). There are, however, numerous problems related to the study of Islamic glass. Glass objects bear inscriptions only in exceptional cases. Moreover, they circulated across the world and reached as far as Southeast Asia, China, and Europe as luxurious trade items, as containers for oils and perfumes or simply as cullet (lumps and discarded broken pieces to be recycled). Thus, the composition and form of a glass object can point to different provenances complicating the efforts to determine its place and date of production. Therefore, excavated objects from securely dated archaeological contexts are extremely valuable as they provide comparative material to facilitate establishing chronologies and determining the origins of unprovenanced glass objects in private and public collections. In this respect, recent scientific investigations have offered important information on the compositions and manipulation techniques of glass objects produced in Raqqa (Henderson et al. 2004). However, it is necessary to correlate this scientific data with archaeological evidence offered by sites such as Samarra, Jerusalem, and Samsat for a fuller understanding of the development of glass production.

5. Metal Finds

The catalogue in Appendix 4.4 contains twelve metal objects brought in by Haydar Bey in 1908.²⁷⁹ Almost all of them are fragmentary with poor levels of preservation, and are covered on the surface with a green patina due to corrosion (La Niece 2003). The contents consist of a range of implements, simple tools, jewellery, and accessories, made of copper or alloys of copper and iron. Comparative material has been reported from the excavations at Hama, Damascus, Aleppo, and Jerusalem (Armenian Garden and Damascus Gate) (Milwright 2010, 89). This is a modest collection of metal artifacts; it should be borne in mind that the majority of the metal finds Haydar Bey brought are dispersed at various museums today and are difficult to locate and identify as their original inventory numbers are not retained. Yet, despite its small size, this collection is noteworthy for it allows a better understanding of Haydar Bey's outlook. He clearly strove to include as many objects as he could from all classes of materials, gathering a collection that resembles assemblages of modern excavations with different types of materials.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to document the collection of finds excavated and brought from Raqqa in 1906 and 1908. It is a relatively small but diverse group of artifacts comprising ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts, which yet gives a good idea of the repertoire of objects lying around the site and circulating in the market. Studying the collection within the framework of art historical and archaeological scholarship, the present chapter attempted to place this group of uncontextualized finds into a historical context.

The great demand in the Western art market at the turn of the century for "Raqqa wares" triggered both official and illicit excavations on the site from the late nineteenth century on. As a result, the study of "Raqqa ware" was pioneered by dealers and connoisseurs, whose attention concentrated on the visual characteristics and stylistic features of complete and fine vessels. In contrast, archaeological research beginning around the same time developed an interest in sherds recovered from the Islamic occupational layers. These studies were mainly concerned with the technical characteristics of the wares, their provenances, chronologies, and evolutions over time (Milwright 1999, 376).

²⁷⁹ The catalogue of objects can be found in Appendix 4, Pp. 328-339.

The Ottoman Imperial Museum commissioned excavations against this background during a time when demand in Raqqa ceramics culminated in the Western art market. Both campaigns were conducted to recover ceramics from the site and stop the ongoing clandestine digging. In contrast to the other Islamic sites that were archaeologically investigated at the time, as well as other contemporaneous expeditions elsewhere, the two Raqqa campaigns were exceptional in their approaches for targeting merely ceramic artifacts.

The two Ottoman archaeologists acknowledged the importance of Raqqa ceramics and knew that they were commissioned to basically recover pottery from the site, which must have been an unusual mission at the time. As clear from the written correspondence, they both devoted much effort to the recovery of as many artifacts as possible to obtain, on behalf of the museum, at least a reasonable portion of available finds at the site, which had been heavily plundered for a long time.

Macridy completed his mission in the best possible way by unearthing, restoring, and dispatching a fair number of lustered and underglaze painted glazed vessels. As he promised in his letters, his intention was to find the largest possible number of “presentable” wares and make these campaigns as lucrative as possible for the museum. Complete vessels were few and hard to find. Therefore, he collected as many fragments as he could and strove to reconstruct vessels with his own efforts. All the complete vessels, lustered pieces in the present catalogue were brought into the museum by him. In this respect, his approach to the ceramics was following the museological trends of his time. Furthermore, his collection of finds also displays his skills as a restorer, who put much effort in the restoration of many vessels.

By contrast, the assemblage of finds brought by Haydar Bey has a curious scope including a few small ceramic sherds, a large proportion of *tabouret* fragments, several tiles, fragmentary glass and metal objects, and beads. Except from a few complete pieces, such as a restored *tabouret* and a glass beaker, the majority of these finds would have no chances to be displayed in the museum. However, in comparison to Macridy’s assemblage, Haydar Bey’s collection does not only contain ceramics but also other materials, most of which is small, fragmentary and fairly modest in quality. Whether this diversity of finds was a personal choice or a result of the circumstances on the field remains a moot question for now. Why did Haydar Bey fail to discover more ceramic finds? Was he simply less fortunate or perhaps not as ambitious as Macridy and everybody else? Or was he not able to hit the right spot to dig? Many questions await answers.

Such notable differences between the nature and the overall condition of the two collections might hint at the possibility that the two archaeologists dug at different sites. The kiln utensils amongst the finds of Macridy combined with his descriptions of the location of his trench in his letters indicate that he might have excavated in the vicinity of the industrial district in the walled city of Rafiqa, where industrial production intensified in the Zangid/Ayyubid period. The objects in his collection seem to conform to this chronological span. On the other hand, it is likely that Haydar Bey dug his trench(es) in an area with less potential to produce ceramic finds. There is unfortunately no evidence to help us identify the approximate location of his trench(es) although the İAML archives may contain written records, which are yet to be discovered.

The absence of architectural pieces in the two collections is worth noting. Except from a few tiles in Haydar Bey's assemblage, neither archaeologist brought any stucco, relief-moulded plasters or marble pieces although they probably encountered them. Gertrude Bell observed and photographed such pieces lying around in the site. Their choices to leave them behind is most likely due to the difficulty in dispatching finds, and particularly, the high cost of shipment especially considering that the funds provided by the museum were rather limited. Therefore, both archaeologists had to be rather careful and picky in their selection of artifacts while sending them to İstanbul.

The post-excavation processes of the two campaigns also raise interesting questions. At the time of dispatch, what did the two archaeologists prioritize in their collections? It is possible to glean Macridy's feelings and motivation from his writings. He clearly had a strong sense of responsibility and was rather ambitious in his selection of the pottery finds. This ambition and determination can be easily discerned from his restorations. Haydar Bey, instead, seems to have been confronted by an apparent paucity of ceramic vessels in a rather curious way. The range and quality of items in his collection indicate that he probably did not have to make a selection but simply dispatched every single artifact he found. A primary question is, what was his motivation in dispatching these fragmentary objects? Participating in German excavations for a long time, did he practice similar collection strategies? Could it be because he had adapted to the new perceptions of archaeological methodology that he viewed sherds and fragmentary artifacts as sources of information?

Although there is no direct reference in textual sources indicating that the two archaeologists intentionally brought these pieces for their "scientific" value, one can argue that they must have been familiar with the notion of collecting all kinds of artifacts for their

potential to inform about the history of the site. For instance, Macridy's confusion over the wasters is an indication of this notion.²⁸⁰ Moreover, given that the two archaeologists had taken part in some of the most systematic excavations of the time such as Ephesos and Babylon, it is plausible that they might have followed the methods and approaches of the Europeans they witnessed on the field.

It is difficult to move beyond speculations and explain the reasons behind the difference between the two collections at this early stage of research although it is a question surely worth pursuing. The current state of evidence, unfortunately, does not suffice to illuminate the circumstances that might have shaped the choices, approaches, and mentalities of the two archaeologists. It is beyond doubt that a thorough investigation of the archival sources would allow a better interpretation of the historical and disciplinary context of the two excavation campaigns at Raqqa and their implications for the birth of Islamic archaeology.

²⁸⁰ Chapter 4, Pp. 118-19.

Conclusion

The Ottoman discourse on archaeology was shaped in the Tanzimat period, an era during which the empire suffered from almost constant crises in the military and financial domains. The reforms of 1839 constituted a modern Ottoman state, as it is understood in today's terms, with a series of newly established institutions and policies (Deringil 1998, 9). The changes in the social structure created a new class of intellectuals, who were strongly influenced by the ongoing cultural trends in nineteenth-century Europe. Striving to break from traditional arts and sciences, they embraced new cultural values informed by European modes of thinking. It was not a homogeneous group comprising people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds. However, these intellectuals all seem to have united around the same ideal, that is the ultimate goal of "civilizing" the folk by means of education, art, literature, and a lifestyle influenced by Western fashion (Tunalı 2013, 190).

This new cultural atmosphere stimulated a growing awareness amongst the statesmen, bureaucrats, and intellectuals as well as in the public of the protection of historical and archaeological heritage. Such changes in the social and cultural spheres coincided with an intensifying Western interest in the ancient sites lying within the Ottoman country. The contention with Western claims on antiquities gradually created a response to the ambitious exploitation of antiquities and transformed the Ottoman perception of archaeology both at an administrative and public level (Eldem 2011). An immediate outcome of this external pressure concurring with the internal transformation was the involvement of the Ottoman Empire in the scramble to collect antiquities from the ancient sites within the body of a proto-museum in 1846 (Shaw 2007, 256). The early attempts at the recovery and collection of antiquities remained rather rudimentary and inadequate due to several factors including the instable political environment of the Tanzimat era as well as the lack of trained staff in the museum.

In the last decades of the century, however, archaeology gained more visibility and public attention thanks to the remarkable efforts of Osman Hamdi Bey, the so-called "guardian angel" of Turkish archaeology (Cezar 1995, 286). After being appointed as director of the Imperial Museum in 1881, Osman Hamdi realized the necessity to introduce strict legislative measures in order to control the archaeological activities of the foreigners within the Ottoman territory. As the new antiquities law, *Âsâr-ı Atîka Nizamnamesi*, was passed in 1884, the directorate of the Imperial Museum became the main authority to give away

excavation permits and monitor all the excavations undertaken within the empire. Causing much discomfort amongst the European and American archaeologists, these rigid regulations significantly reduced the removal of antiquities from the country although they could not entirely prevent the smuggling or the transfer of some large-scale monuments given as diplomatic gifts by Sultan Abdülhamid II to various European rulers.²⁸¹ Due to the military weakness of the empire, diplomacy gained a vital importance, for which archaeological remains of the country served as an ideal resource (Deringil 1998, 10). Obliging the Western institutions excavating in the Ottoman Empire to leave their finds in the country, these legal changes had a significant impact in enriching the holdings of the Imperial Museum, where all the finds from excavations in the country were collected and displayed.

Meanwhile, Osman Hamdi initiated national excavations on behalf of the Imperial Museum collaborating with teams of European specialists. A small number of these campaigns, including the Mt. Nemrud and the Sidon excavations, were realized by imperial sponsorships (Eldem et al. 2010, 403) and had rather ambitious scopes. They were primarily aimed at demonstrating the Ottoman ownership of antiquities lying within the imperial borders and conveying the message that the Ottoman Imperial Museum could stand on equal footing with its European counterparts (Eldem 2011, 281). Indeed, these campaigns achieved their goals in gaining an international reputation for the museum and rendered the recognition of the Ottoman presence in the archaeological realm. This was a short-lasting prestige, however. In a short span of time, the Imperial Museum had taken its place amongst the leading museums of the world containing an expansive collection of antiquities. Displaying these as the empire's cultural patrimony, the museum had fulfilled its mission successfully in proving the commitment of the Ottomans to "civilization" (Tunalı 2013, 201). Nevertheless, as a scientific institution, it never actually reached the level of European museums in terms of commissioning large-scale explorations operated by its own staff. With the exception of Mt. Nemrud and Sidon expeditions, the excavations undertaken by the museum remained as short and modest campaigns carried out with much smaller teams and limited budgets. Therefore, these excavations never made the same impact in international circles and were hardly acknowledged in the scholarly community.

The Ottoman Raqqa excavations should be viewed as part of the increasing initiative to undertake national excavations in order to partake in the competitive scene of

²⁸¹ Chapter 2 offers a brief review of the monuments transferred to Europe during the Hamidian period.

archaeological investigations in the Middle East. They were direct responses to the clandestine digging and the illegal transfer of antiquities (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006 and 2013). Examining the Raqqa excavations of the Imperial Museum and their respective finds within a historical and disciplinary context in early history of archaeology, the present study has demonstrated that the Ottomans actively participated in the archaeological investigations of the ancient sites lying in their territory and made significant contributions to the formation and the development of archaeology in Turkey.

The Orientalist discourses of the nineteenth century ignored the Ottoman presence in the archaeological realm with ideological purposes and created a Eurocentric narrative of the early history of archaeology in Asia Minor and the Middle East, as I have discussed in the Introduction. As a result, the role and place of Ottoman archaeologists have remained nebulous in both Western and Turkish historiographies. Through an examination of the two excavation campaigns at Raqqa and their respective finds, this study has presented Ottoman archaeologists' constant efforts for recognition in the scientific scene. Identifying their achievements for the exploration and documentation of numerous ancient sites, this dissertation has revealed the necessity to reconsider the traditional paradigms of historiography of archaeology.

The thematic structure of this dissertation was determined by the nature of the material available for study. The Raqqa collection at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts imposed limitations for a ceramics-centered analysis. Rather than attempt an internal typology or seriation on a small and highly eclectic repertoire with scant contextual information, the collection was instead evaluated as a reflection of early field practices and collection strategies of the two Ottoman archaeologists excavating at Raqqa.

In his interesting compilation on the history of archaeology, *Tracing Archaeology's Past*, Andrew L. Christenson asserts that the history of archaeology has two aspects of context: "The first is the sociopolitical context within which archaeology has taken place in the past. The second is the context within which the history of archaeology is written" (Christenson 1989, 75). The present study well illustrates this definition in its pursuit of a context for a group of uncontextualized finds that has been locked in a museum depot for almost a century. As it has come to an end now, it is interesting to observe that the story of these finds is actually surrounded by multiple layers of contexts, each of which is covered in a separate chapter.

The initial step in this research has been cataloguing and analyzing the finds in their modern contexts, the museum environment. The catalogue of this collection can be found in Appendix 4. The documentation of these artifacts, which have long suffered from the paucity of attention particularly from the Turkish scholars, has been the immediate contribution of this study. In the second phase, I examined them in the context of the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa, a process that generated several implications for the study of Ottoman archaeology, particularly in terms of its methodology and sociology.

To compensate the absence of textual records, this study has employed a new methodology by using archaeological material as a primary source of information on the field techniques and collection strategies of the two archaeologists, as elaborated in Chapter 5. This approach has proven to be particularly efficient for the excavations Theodore Macridy carried out since it has been possible to correlate the physical data with textual evidence, namely, the letters Macridy wrote to Halil Edhem. Haydar Bey also mentioned in his telegrams that he sent weekly reports to the museum, which have not been located so far. While the lack of adequate documentation makes it difficult to go beyond tentative speculations about his mindset and field strategies, the particular collection he assembled provides important clues about his approach to artifacts and even the fieldwork itself.

In spite of the fact that there are only two years between the two campaigns, their outcomes have been rather different. Even though neither archaeologist published their work and findings, the first campaign by Macridy drew more scholarly attention while the second one by Haydar Bey was less known and hardly mentioned in subsequent literature. This contrast may be an outcome of the difference in the class and quality of the objects each archaeologist brought into the museum. Macridy's finds collection consisting of alluring ceramic vessels in complete form must have naturally generated more interest than Haydar Bey's collection of fragmentary and small-scale finds, even though the latter poses more interesting questions for an archaeologist looking at them more than a hundred years later.

An examination of the methodologies of the archaeologists brought to light some of the forgotten figures of Ottoman archaeology, who pioneered the discipline in Turkey by undertaking multiple different tasks and positions in the Imperial Museum. A critical reading of the excavation reports published by the Ottoman archaeologists provides insights into their methodologies and approaches, as I have discussed in Chapter 3. Some common characteristics emerge from these reports shared by the members of the Ottoman archaeological community. Apparently, all the archaeologists had a full command of the

archaeological terminology of the period, as discussed in Chapter 3. Being proficient in Greek and Latin, they were able to read inscriptions. They had a grasp of existing scholarship on the sites they explored, probably an indication that they had access to international publications in the museum's library. Despite their aspiration to make great discoveries for the prestige of their museums, they were aware that scientific research primarily required an accurate documentation of the sites and their remains. Therefore, before excavating a site, they first conducted a survey and collected surface material, which enabled identifying occupational phases. In addition, they employed ceramic evidence for establishing the chronology of a site, an indication that they recognized the potential of ceramics for dating. As such, it can be suggested that these archaeologists were not behind their Western counterparts in terms of their professional skills and competence in fieldwork even though their names have sunken into oblivion. The present study has intended to bring these key actors of Ottoman archaeology into view, make their voices heard, and emphasize the creativity, endurance and commitment with which they carried out their missions. The scarcity of information about their lives and contributions has been a significant setback in the course of present research. Future investigations on their biographical and professional lives would surely add to our knowledge on the cultural and intellectual history of the late Ottoman period.²⁸²

A third phase in the present research has been the examination of the Raqqa excavations and their finds within the context of disciplinary developments across the Old World, and, more specifically, the newly emerging discipline of Islamic archaeology. The Ottoman excavations at Raqqa stand out as an exceptional case in both contexts due to the fact that their target was to recover mainly ceramics with no interest in the architectural remains of the site. The increasing market value of Islamic glazed wares in Europe and North America stimulated the illicit digging of Raqqa while creating a substantial academic interest in these objects, as tackled in Chapter 4. By contrast, the leading expeditions of the time both within and outside the Ottoman soil were chiefly concerned with locating sacred and legendary sites known from ancient texts, discovering colossal monuments, sculptures, and inscriptions. Efforts of pioneers such as Petrie and Furtwängler to draw attention to the importance of pottery did not gain acceptance for another decade or so, as discussed in Chapter 1. Despite the growth of interest in Islamic pottery in the Western world in late

²⁸² For the intellectual and cultural developments of the late Ottoman period see Deringil 1998; Ortaylı 2007; Hanioglu 2008.

nineteenth century, the situation in the excavations of Islamic sites was not much different. The early explorations of sites such as Samarra, Qal‘at Bani Hammad, and Madinat al-Zahra’ were aimed at discovering architectural monuments, mainly palatial residences, in order to reconstruct the exotic story settings depicted in Oriental tales. These were followed by inscriptions and coins – in fact, the study of Islamic coins goes back to the eighteenth century, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (Milwright 2010, 12). Such finds were essential for making the names of these archaeologists heard in the international community and gaining prestige to their institutions. The Ottomans closely followed these trends established by European archaeology and began to display a strong interest in the “scientific” aspect of archaeological research by the first decade of the twentieth century. The artifact collection retrieved from Raqqa at this time, containing rather modest finds in terms of their aesthetic quality, clearly reveals an emerging interest in the potential of artifacts as sources of information rather than simply being objects for museum display. In this respect, they seem to suggest that the Ottoman archaeologists employed careful collection procedures, an indication of their academic concerns. As a consequence, it should be emphasized that the Ottoman excavations at Raqqa represent a milestone in the birth of Islamic archaeology that exceeded the standards of early archaeological explorations.

The findings of the present dissertation have some important implications for the historiography of Ottoman archaeology as well as the early history of archaeology in Asia Minor and the Middle East. As the Raqqa expeditions demonstrate, the choice of sites to be explored by the museum was often dictated by external circumstances rather than a systematic program structured by the museum staff as part of their research agenda. In the case of Raqqa, it was the increasing demand for Islamic ceramics in Western art markets, which triggered both official and illicit excavations on the site. Although clandestine digging had probably started earlier at the site, the first letter from the local officers reporting the illegal export of antiquities dates to May 1899 (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 195). In the meantime, German archaeologists, probably Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, applied for a permit to excavate at Raqqa in 1901, but were rejected due to the local authorities’ concern that it would not be possible to avoid “molestation” and provide sufficient security for them (196). This application seems like it might have initiated, if not accelerated, the museum’s decision to commission excavations at Raqqa. In other words, although the pillaging of the site and its remains was the main motivation for the Raqqa excavations, the explicit German interest in the site appears to have provoked the museum directors to get into the act. Notwithstanding, it

took more than five years for the museum to commission the first museum official, Theodore Macridy to excavate at Raqqa.

The delay in the Ottoman response to clandestine digging and the illegal trafficking of antiquities raises several questions, especially considering that the museum officials were actively participating in other excavations in the meantime at sites such as Ephesos, Ba'albek, Palmyra, and Hattuša. These were all large-scale excavations sponsored and directed by European institutions, to which the museum administration apparently gave priority instead of commissioning its own excavations (Koçak 2011, 102-19). In fact, it was a pragmatic choice given the financial difficulties and the shortage of staff in the museum. The museum acquired a large number of antiquities from these excavations without having to supply funds, yet claiming ownership over the excavations (Eldem forthcoming). Moreover, a hidden factor behind this decision must be the hesitation to give free rein to Western archaeologists as the possibility of the export of antiquities caused a deep concern for the museum administrators. This concern, generated by the emerging patriotism amongst Ottoman intellectuals at this time, was due to the tight position of the Ottoman Empire between the rivalries of the great colonialist powers of the time, particularly Britain, France, and Germany (Trigger 1984, 365). Patriotism was in fact a common phenomenon in historical and archaeological discourse in nineteenth-century Europe (Silbermann 1989, 1). It was an idea that arose as one of the key tenets of the European Enlightenment and found wide acceptance among Ottoman intellectuals of the Tanzimat period. As Eldem (forthcoming) suggested, and as evident from Macridy's letters from Raqqa and Boğazköy, the museum officials also adopted such patriotic attitudes in their professional lives as a means to maintain a stance against Western exploitation and to acquire recognition by the Western scientific community.

Both Macridy and Haydar Bey investigated Raqqa hastily in order to salvage as many antiquities as possible with the limited resources of the museum. In fact, it is evident from Macridy's letters that he was sent there particularly for this mission. Although he did not display much eagerness or enthusiasm about being in Raqqa, his discontent did not seem to have affected the quality of his work. Macridy worked hard with discipline and did his best for the excavations to be "as lucrative as possible" for his museum, as he promised in his letter to Halil Edhem.²⁸³ Nevertheless, he did not display the same zeal when it came to publishing his finds. In fact, he was already an established archaeologist at the time, who had

²⁸³ Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, December 14/27, 1905. Letter.

three articles published in leading European journals (Macridy 1902, 1904, and 1905). The most plausible explanation for this reluctance is his lack of knowledge and confidence in the subject of Islamic ceramics; in his letters, he explicitly uttered his unfamiliarity with this class of material even though his inexperience was accompanied by his admiration.²⁸⁴ There might certainly be other practical factors such as being appointed to other work soon after the end of the Raqqa expedition. Although his close encounter with the ceramics of Raqqa might have generated some interest in Macridy, in the end, it was a field entirely out of his expertise. For this reason, his determination to abstain from publishing his own excavations and finds should be interpreted as an indication of Macridy's professionalism rather than his inadequacy.

Another theme that emerges from the findings of the present research is the financial difficulties, which had serious implications for the span, extent, and logistical conditions of the excavations at Raqqa and elsewhere. The official correspondence between the local administrators and the museum as well as the reports of both Macridy and Haydar Bey clearly demonstrate that Raqqa could have been investigated more fully if the museum had been able to afford to commission excavations earlier or, at least, supply adequate funds to its archaeologists in the course of their campaigns. The dramatic contrast between the economic conditions of the wealthy European and North American states and the Ottoman Empire, which had an unstable financial state, was certainly evident in the ways they practiced archaeology. In one of his letters from Boğazköy, Macridy criticizes how the money was wasted by the excavation teams working at Ba'albek, Babylon and Miletos (Edhem forthcoming). The financial aspect was (and still is) a key criterion in archaeological research shaping the circumstances and durations of excavations, a subject that has been overlooked in scholarship thus far.²⁸⁵ Given the large number of financial records surviving from the late Ottoman period, future research on subjects such as budgets, expenses, and overall logistical organization of the excavations would be promising and worth pursuing.

While opening up new lines of inquiry for the field of Ottoman archaeology, the present dissertation drew attention to the necessity to write the history of Ottoman

²⁸⁴ Macridy, Theodore. *Theodore Macridy to Halil Edhem, January 5, 1906*. See Chapter 4, Pp. 122 for Macridy's comments on Islamic ceramics.

²⁸⁵ Scholars have cited details on excavation budgets and salaries of the museum staff. For a list of the museum staff and their salaries in 1900, see Gerçek 1999, 122. Koçak (2011, 176, Tables IV, V and VI) offers a list of allowances and expenditures of the Imperial Museum. However, the financial conditions that shaped the Ottoman archaeological practices are yet to be examined.

archaeology, which is not an easy but an essential task for several reasons: 1) An investigation of the foundations and development of the discipline of archaeology would enable a better understanding of its current state and future directions in modern Turkey; 2) Establishing the role and place of Ottoman archaeologists within the context of world archaeology will allow revealing their contributions to the formation of the discipline in Turkey; 3) An analysis of the nationalist and colonialist discourses dominating the historiography of Ottoman archaeology would enable us to comprehend the relationship between archaeology and politics both in the past and in modern times.

The historiography of archaeology requires the incorporation of archival evidence with archaeological material in order to offer a better-informed analysis as well as an unbiased and objective account. In Turkey, where the majority of the archival sources are in Ottoman Turkish, the language barrier set by the linguistic revolution of the 1930s has kept archaeologists away from examining the history of the discipline, as pointed out in Chapter 3. As a result, the field has been dominated by historians, whose approaches and areas of interest greatly differ from those of archaeologists. As Trigger pointed out:

[A]rchaeologists know from experience more about how archaeology works than do historians. Writing the history of any scientific discipline requires familiarity with two separate fields. On the one hand, substantive knowledge is needed of historical methodology, including ideas about disciplinary formation, as well as a sound understanding of the history of Western culture, in the context of which archaeology as we know it has arisen. (Trigger 2009, 551).

In this respect, a newly emerging interest in theoretical archaeology amongst the new generation of archaeologists in Turkey may have repercussions on the history of Ottoman archaeology in the near future.²⁸⁶ The fact that the study of Ottoman archaeology can tap into a remarkable range and number of primary sources could perhaps encourage archaeologists to step into the field. An alternative to documents written in Ottoman Turkish can be the large corpus of literary sources taken into account in Western languages by local and foreign archaeologists working in the Ottoman Empire. These include personal records and letters (although they are not easy to reach), published and unpublished field reports of Ottoman archaeologists, and the publications of the museum itself, such as the museum catalogues prepared by Dumont (1868), Goold (1871), Reinach (1882), and Joubin (1893). In this regard, the archives of the İAMA yet remain as an untapped resource with its large collection of

²⁸⁶ For instance, see Erdur and Duru. 2003; Çilingiroğlu and Özgüner 2015.

photographs and written documents in Ottoman Turkish and French. The collection is in the process of being inventoried and digitized at present as part of the ongoing restoration in the museum. In the near future, it will be integrated with the online database of the BOA giving researchers digital access to its collections.

During the Hamidian era, new media were employed for the documentation of various geographical, social, cultural and economic aspects of the Ottoman provinces including their archaeological remains. These records include a large corpus of maps and photography albums, and *salnames* (annuals published in major provinces), which demonstrate the growing consciousness about the historical legacy of the empire and offer a rich amount of evidence for the study of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the large amount of archival material from this period has generated an intense scholarly interest in late Ottoman studies. The history of archaeology has remained a marginal field with only certain aspects of it viewed as worthy of attention such as the life and contributions of Osman Hamdi. The concentration of historiographical interest on Osman Hamdi, however, has overshadowed the merits and contributions of other influential figures such as Macridy, who was a prolific scholar with a more in-depth knowledge and substantial technical expertise on archaeology.

This dissertation has attempted to incorporate evidence from different sources and contexts in order to show the potential of the study of Ottoman archaeology to improve our understanding of the intellectual history of the late Ottoman period. The history of Ottoman archaeology would greatly benefit from a critical reading of the archival sources in connection with the collections of objects retrieved from the excavations undertaken by the Imperial Museum. Such a systematic examination of both textual and archaeological evidence can pave the way for a better understanding of the institutionalization process of archaeology in the hands of a small group of enthusiastic officials. Furthermore, it can provide insights on the mind-sets of Ottoman archaeologists, and broadly speaking, the Ottoman intellectuals, whose mentalities closely reflected the cultural transformations of the Tanzimat era. These reforms, conceptualized as *Ottomanism*, stimulated the construction of an Ottoman identity that would embody the ethnic and religious diversity of the empire (Özdalga 2005, 6; Eldem et al. 2010, 479). Ersoy (2007, 133) asserts that with its secular and inclusivist aspirations, the Ottomanism project was “inherently flawed by the irrepressibly dynastic and Islamic undertones embedded within the historical image of a professed Ottoman nationhood,” and was gradually replaced by “Islamic Ottomanism” in the Hamidian era (Hanioglu 2008, 143).

As I elaborated in Chapter 2, Abdülhamid II adopted a Pan-Islamist²⁸⁷ policy to contend with growing nationalism across the empire, which in turn, led to a strong Turkish nationalism after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 (Deringil 1998, 11).

As Shaw remarks, it is within this “dynamic setting of shifting identity” that Ottoman archaeology and museums emerged and developed (Shaw 2003, 28). The Tanzimat failed to achieve its mission to create a “multicommunal harmony” and was replaced by conservative ideologies in the Hamidian era. Yet, the Ottoman intellectuals, including Osman Hamdi and his team, strongly advocated the ideals of the Tanzimat even though they remained in a tight situation in between the idea of westernization and the emerging ideology of nationalism during the period under study. This affiliation with Tanzimat ideals was clearly manifested in their policies and actions within the museum itself. As a result, both archaeology and the museum remained as elitist projects reflecting an identity promoted by merely a small group of bureaucrats and intellectuals (Üre 2014, 8).

The growing interest in the Islamic legacy of the empire during the Hamidian era brings to mind the question whether the Ottoman excavations of Raqqa, an Islamic city with a rich heritage, represent an ideological shift in the archaeological agenda of the Ottoman Empire towards the promotion of the Islamic identity. Was targeting an Islamic site a deliberate choice representing an attempt towards participating in the newly emerging discipline of Islamic archaeology? No matter how tempting this theory might seem, there is no basis for such a claim under the current state of evidence. The documentary sources comprising the official correspondence, Macridy’s letters, and Haydar Bey’s reports and memoirs do not reflect an attitude that favours the Islamic character of Raqqa, a site where the main occupation levels date to the Islamic era. It seems more plausible that Raqqa was not viewed necessarily different than any of the other ancient sites explored by the museum. In fact, considering that the Greco-Roman or ancient Near Eastern antiquities did little to serve for the promotion of Islamic identity, Raqqa could have been easily turned into an opportunity. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Ottoman Empire in the Hamidian era was seeking means to promote its Islamic legacy. However, it did not seem to have used archaeology for this purpose perhaps because archaeology remained secondary amongst the interests of the Ottoman government. In this regard, it can be claimed that Ottoman archaeology and its

²⁸⁷ Kemal Karpat (2001) defines Pan-Islamism as a proto-national ideology that led to the “politicization of Islam.”

agenda did not necessarily serve the political concerns of the state but actually followed the interests of Ottoman intellectuals, which reflected a strong European influence. The choices of sites were, thus, made by a group of individuals, that is the administrative staff of the Imperial Museum, who were in full charge of archaeological practices and museological operations, rather than the state itself.

In this respect, the present study has revealed a striking difference between the Ottoman approach to archaeology as a tool of modernity and that of Republican Turkey, which promoted nationalism through archaeological research. While the Ottoman Empire used archaeology for creating a new and “civilized” imperial identity, the Republican approach constructed its ideology through national and ethnical identities by moulding archaeological discourse in the service of their ambitious nationalistic programme. This Turco-centric ideology dominating the archaeological scholarship caused negligence of certain fields of research that are not within its area of interest, Islamic archaeology and Ottoman archaeology being amongst them (Eldem 2010; Berktaş 1993). On that note, the study of early history of archaeology in the Ottoman context has an important potential for informing us about the changing attitudes in Turkey to the archaeological recovery of the past.

The history of archaeology during its formative years in the nineteenth century is a history of professionalization and the advancement of knowledge. However, today it is no longer considered simply as the history of a scientific discipline, but rather, as a process that was shaped by the aspirations of its practitioners, and in a larger context, the political, social, and cultural policies of the dominant powers of the time (Gillot 2010). Integrating different strands of evidence on early archaeological practice in the Ottoman Empire, the present research has aimed to offer insights into scientific, cultural, political, and intellectual history of the late Ottoman period. Moreover, using the Raqqa excavations as a case study, this dissertation has demonstrated the necessity to produce an accurate narrative of the history of Ottoman archaeology, which has long suffered from the ideological rivalries between the Orientalist interpretations and the nationalist historiographies.

Raqqa is an important city in history in many aspects and it has become all the more so because of the severe destruction in recent years caused by the ongoing civil war in Syria

(2011-present).²⁸⁸ Therefore, any attempt to record its past heritage and historical remains is crucial. The museum collections in Turkey have a large quantity of archaeological material from Raqqa. They consist of different classes of artifacts acquired by means of excavations, confiscations, as well as purchases and donations. The majority of them are inventoried while there is a considerable amount of uncontextualized, uncatalogued, and uninventoried material that came originally from Raqqa, which are yet to be examined and analyzed in a broader context. The present study was primarily aimed to serve as an initial step towards documenting a group amongst these neglected objects from Raqqa and place them into a context. Their stories unfolded from their immediate contexts opening up many new horizons of research for the future.

²⁸⁸ Reports of the destruction of archaeological heritage in Syria can be found on the website of APSA (Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology): <http://apsa2011.com/apsanew/category/apsa-reports/> (accessed August 19, 2016).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Timeline of Archaeology (1839-1914)

1839	Mahmud II dies; Abdülmecid I succeeds and proclaims the Tanzimat reforms.
1840	An official notice has been sent to provinces for the collection and transportation of antiquities to İstanbul.
1841	Charles Fellows starts excavating in Xanthos under the auspices of the British Museum and ships a considerable amount of antiquities including the reliefs from the Harpy Tomb and the Nereid Monument to England.
1842	Osman Hamdi is born.
1842	The French Consul in Mosul, Paul Emile Botta begins investigations at the mound of Kouyunjik.
1843	Botta starts excavations at Khorsabad that would continue for four years until 1846.
1845	The British consul at Baghdad, Austen Henry Layard, in his first month of excavations in Iraq, discovers the ancient city of Nimrud.
1845	Layard begins working at Nimrud.
1845	Antiquities from various parts of the empire have been collected at the Hagia Irene.
1846	Fethi Ahmet Paşa classifies the collection at Hagia Irene in two groups: the weapons and the antiquities.
1845-46	The British ambassador Stratford Canning has been given permission by Sultan Abdülmecid to remove twelve marble friezes, originally belonging to the Mausoleum, from the Bodrum fortress, which he transports to the British Museum.
1846	It is publicly announced that the Ottoman Imperial Museum is opened.
1847	Layard discovers the Assyrian palace at Nineveh and ships sculptures to England.
1847	The first Ottoman excavation in Turhala, Thessaly. Finds including marbles with reliefs, a sarcophagus containing mummies, bones and jewellery are transported to İstanbul.
1847	Fossati Brothers start restoration work at the Hagia Sophia. Medallions struck from gold, silver and bronze are prepared for those participating in the restoration.

1847	Archaeological Society of Delhi is founded.
1848	Layard publishes <i>Nineveh and Its Remains</i> , which becomes a best-seller.
1849	Gustave Flaubert visits the Imperial Museum at Hagia Irene.
1850	Fethi Ahmet Paşa lays out a set of rules and procedures to regulate excavations - the first Ottoman attempt to control antiquities.
1852	The Museum of Ancient Costumes (<i>Elbise-i Atika</i>) is opened.
1853	Ottoman government seeks the possibility of excavating at Mosul itself by rejecting to extend the permissions of the British and the French archaeologists. A local doctor, Mehmed Murat is instructed to examine the area, who prepares a map of the excavation site and reports the large number of antiquities.
1853-56	The Crimean War. It has three major outcomes for the world of archaeology: 1. The British-Ottoman alliance facilitates the permissions of the British archaeologists, 2. The war creates an intense touristic interest in Constantinople, 3. Mesopotamian archaeology pauses.
1856	<i>Elbise-i Atika (Musée des Anciens Costumes Turcs de Constantinople)</i> is published by G. J. Brindesi.
1857	The British vice-consul in Mitylene and Rhodes, Charles Newton is given permission to excavate in Bodrum on condition that he would grant the duplicates to the Ottoman government.
1857	The Ottoman government receives an offer from the ruler of Samos to conduct excavations in Anatolia on behalf of the Ottoman government and accepts it.
1857	<i>Catalogue of the Oriental Museum</i> is published by C. Oscanyan in London.
1859	The Military Museum is opened in Harbiye.
1859	Darwin publishes <i>The Origin of Species</i> .
1860	Fiorelli undertakes excavations at Pompeii (until 1875).
1861	Abdülaziz I comes to power.
1862	Abdülaziz accepts the founding membership of the Belgian Antiquarian Society.
1863	The first university, <i>Darülfünun</i> is opened in İstanbul.

1863	Two hoards including 492 coins have been discovered in Antalya and transported to the Imperial Museum.
1863	John Turtle Wood receives permission to excavate at Ephesos.
1863	<i>Defter-i Meskukat-ı Osmaniye (The Book of Ottoman Coins)</i> is published by Pascal Bilezikçioğlu.
1864	Anton Dethier and A.D. Mordtmann publishes the ancient and Byzantine inscriptions in İstanbul.
1866	In an attempt to build a new museum building, a plot has been located near Çemberlitaş but the project is not realized afterwards.
1867	<i>Paris Exposition Universelle</i>
1867	Abdülaziz visits the Louvre Museum.
1867	The German railroad engineer Carl Humann begins his exploration of Pergamon.
1867	A group of cuneiform tablets from the Imperial Museum are displayed at the Paris Exhibition.
1867-68	Wood transports antiquities from Ephesos to the British Museum.
1868	The first catalogue of the museum, <i>Le Musée Saint Irène</i> , is published by Albert Dumont in <i>Revue Archéologique</i> .
1869	The first use of the word “museum” in official correspondence.
1869	Edward Goold is appointed the first director of the Imperial Museum, who introduces a tighter set of regulations on archaeological work and trade of antiquities.
1869	E. Goold collects antiquities from around the Marmara region.
1869	Wood discovers the Temple of Artemis.
1871	The first inventory and the catalogue of the museum collection is published by E. Goold.
1871-73	Wood carries on excavating the Temple of Artemis and sends all the finds to England.
1871	Schliemann is given permission to excavate at Troy.
1871	Carl Humann begins excavating in Pergamon.

1871	George Smith, a minor official in the Assyrian Department of the British Museum, publishes <i>The History of Ashur-bani-pal translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions</i> .
1872	Anton Dethier works on the Serpent Column and copies the inscription in the Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus.
1873	Schliemann discovers what he considers to be the treasure of King Priam in Troy and smuggles it to Athens.
1872-73	The Imperial Museum is reopened and Anton Dethier is appointed as its director.
1872	The Holy Relics section at the Topkapı Palace is opened to public for the first time.
1872	The first entrance fee is charged to visit the Hagia Irene.
1873	A new building is sought to house the Imperial Museum.
1873	<i>Elbise-i Osmaniye (Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie)</i> is published by Osman Hamdi, Victor-Marie de Launay and Pascal Sebah for the Vienna International Exhibition.
1873	<i>Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani</i> is published for the Vienna Exhibition.
1873	Carl Humann sends all the finds from Pergamon excavations to Berlin.
1873-74	88 crates of antiquities have been brought from Cyprus to İstanbul.
1874	Ottoman government promulgates a new set of regulations for antiquities (<i>Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi</i>).
1875	The Ottoman government undertakes excavations at Crete.
1875	The Hagia Irene is opened to the public as <i>Müze-i Hümayun</i> (the Imperial Museum).
1875	A project to open the School of Archaeology (<i>Izzettiniye</i>) is approved by the sultan.
1875	The artifacts in the Hagia Irene are divided into two: the military equipment is moved to Maçka and the archaeological material is moved to the Çinili Köşk.
1875	German excavations at Olympia (1875-1881).
1876	Abdülhamid II ascends the throne (reigns until he is deposed in 1909).

1876	Dethier approves the sale of 847 gold coins to raise funds for the museum.
1877	The first museum commission is founded with eight members.
1878-79	C. Humann sends the Zeus Altar from Pergamon to Berlin with the permission of Abdülhamid II.
1879	The daughter of an amateur archaeologist discovers the first known example of prehistoric art, in a cave at Altamira in Spain.
1880	The archaeological collection at the Hagia Irene is transported to the Çinili Köşk, which is opened as the new Imperial Museum.
1880	The British team headed by Smith and Henderson begins excavating at Kargamış.
1880	Pitt-Rivers begins carrying out excavations in Cranborne Chase, Dorset.
1880	Petrie begins excavating Egypt.
1881	Osman Hamdi Bey is appointed director of the Imperial Museum.
1881-83	On behalf of the American Archaeological Institute, Henry F. Bacon and Joseph T. Clarke commission the first excavations at Assos.
1881	S. Reinach and E. M. Pottier excavate Myrina (Menemen, Ali Ağa Çiftliği, İzmir). The finds have been shared between the Imperial Museum and France.
1881	Formation of Public Debt Administration.
1882	S. Reinach publishes a new catalogue for the Imperial Museum.
1882	Geoffrei de Ville Hardoin publishes <i>Conquete de Constantinople</i> in Paris.
1882	<i>The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe</i> is founded in Cairo and lists 800 relics to be preserved.
1882	<i>Sanayi-i Nefise</i> The Academy of Fine Arts is opened in İstanbul under the directorship of Osman Hamdi.
1883	<i>The coins of the Turks in the British Museum</i> is published by S. L. Poole, Class XXVI in London.
1883	The press declares that Osman Hamdi is preparing for an archaeological expedition on behalf of the Imperial Museum.
1883	The first excavations of the Imperial Museum at Mt Nemrud. Results are published in <i>Le tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh</i> by Osman Hamdi Bey and Yervant Osgan Efendi.

1883	Excavations are undertaken at Grinian by the Imperial Museum.
1883	The Orient Express railway opens between Constantinople and Baghdad.
1884	Osman Hamdi issues a new regulation to control archaeological activity and the trade of antiquities.
1885	As a result of German interest, D. Baltazzi, an adjunct of the museum, is ordered to remove the inset piece in the Kurşunlu Cami in Bergama and transport it to the Imperial Museum.
1885	Potsherds from Troy are not considered as important or as worthy of displaying in the Imperial Museum and thus are given to the Berlin Museum.
1885	A secret revolutionary group (Union and Progress, later known as the Young Turks) is formed in Salonika in the Ottoman Empire.
1886	Salomon Reinach publishes a manual for amateur archaeologists working in Greece (<i>Conseils aux voyageurs archéologues en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénique</i>).
1886-89	Ali Mubarak (Minister of Public Works in Egypt) publishes his twenty-volume <i>al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya al-jadida</i> , an encyclopaedic survey of the towns and villages of Egypt.
1886	Investigations begin in Anau, Turkmenistan by General A. V. Kamarov, the Imperial Russian governor of the Trans Caspian area.
1886	Stanley Lane-Poole publishes <i>The Art of the Saracens in Egypt</i> in London.
1887	Osman Hamdi Bey and Demosthene Baltazzi excavate the Royal Cemetery at Sidon on behalf of the Imperial Museum and discover the famous "Alexander Sarcophagus."
1887	Joseph von Karabacek publishes <i>Das Arabische Papier</i> .
1889	The Imperial Museum establishes the Islamic Arts Section.
1889	Under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, H. V. Hilpreth and J. H. Haynes start excavating at Nippur (funded by the newly established Babylonian Exploration Fund of the university). The project continues for four seasons in varying length until 1900.
1889	Max van Berchem's trip to the Near East: art and architecture studied in its context for the first time.
1890	Petrie excavates Tell El-Hesi.

1891	Max van Berchem starts to publish <i>Notes d'archeologie arabe</i> .
1891	The inauguration of the new Imperial Museum building.
1891-92	Sanctuary of Hekate in Lagina is excavated by the Imperial Museum in collaboration with the French archaeologists.
1892	The Sidon excavations are published in <i>Une Necropole Royale a Sidon</i> in Paris.
1893	Wilhelm Dörpfeld begins his excavations of Troy.
1893	A. Joubin publishes a new catalogue for the Imperial Museum.
1893	The Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus is restored by the Ottoman state after a fire.
1893	Sippar is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1894	Kadeš is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1894	Osman Hamdi Bey is granted honorary doctoral degree by the University of Pennsylvania.
1895	Osman Hamdi Bey becomes a member of the University of Pennsylvania Archaeological Society.
1895	Bozöyük is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1895	Halil Edhem introduces the Islamic objects in the Imperial Museum in an article on the museum collection, which is the first publication on the Islamic collections.
1896	With a decree of Albülhamid II, the Austrians are given permission to export antiquities from Ephesos.
1896-1906	Seven consignments of antiquities are shipped to Vienna.
1897-98	Theodore Macridy becomes the government representative at Ephesos excavations.
1898	Theodore Macridy is sent to Söke-Balat.
1898	Alois Musil discovers extensive wall paintings in the Islamic bath complex at Qusayr 'Amra.
1899	Excavations of Babylon by Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft directed by Robert Koldewey begin.

1900	Theodore Macridy is sent to explore Thessaloniki-Langaza.
1900	Germans begin excavating Ba'albek. Theodore Macridy is appointed as the representative of the Imperial Museum (continues until 1902).
1900	University of Pennsylvania excavations at Nippur conclude (began in 1888). Haynes discovers a large collection of Sumerian tablets.
1900	Arthur Evans purchases Knossos and begins excavations.
1901	Yortan is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1902	Palmyra (Tadmür) is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1902-03	Tralles is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1902-06	Theodore Macridy is appointed as a commissar at Ephesos.
1903	A new wing is added to the Imperial Museum building.
1903	John L. Myres publishes <i>The Early Pot-Fabrics of Asia Minor</i> .
1903	Excavations at Assur are continued by a team from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft led initially by Robert Koldewey (continue until 1913).
1904	The first Islamic art section is opened in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (now the Pergamonmuseum).
1904	Petrie publishes <i>Methods and Aims in Archaeology</i> .
1904	Scientific excavations begin at Anau, Turkmenistan led by Raphael Pumpelly.
1904	The first provincial museum is opened in Bursa, which housed a collection of Greco-Roman, Byzantine and Islamic artifacts.
1904	Theodore Macridy is sent to Saida (Sidon) accompanying Winckler.
1904	Theodore Macridy returns to Ayasuluk, Ephesos.
1905	Alabanda is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1905	Theodore Macridy leaves Ayasuluk.
1905	Theodore Macridy starts excavating at Raqqa.
1906	The revised antiquities law brings restrictions on the sale and traffic of Islamic arts.

1906	Hugo Winckler begins excavations at Boğazköy (Hattuša) for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (continue to 1911); Theodore Macridy is appointed as representative, where he worked for 5 years with intervals.
1906	Theodore Macridy sends the Hattuša finds from Samsun.
1906-09	Rhodes is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1907	Henri Saladin and Gaston Migeon publish the first volume of their two-volume <i>Manuel d'art musulman</i> in Paris.
1907	Theodore Macridy works at Taşözü-Samsun.
1907	Theodore Macridy receives the title “conservator” along with a salary rise.
1907	Theodore Macridy excavates Alacahöyük.
1908	Young Turk Revolution and the restoration of the Constitution of 1876
1908	Haydar Bey undertakes the second campaign of excavations in Raqqa.
1908	A third wing is added to the Imperial Museum.
1908	<i>A Century of Archaeological Discoveries</i> is published by Michaelis.
1908	Excavations at the Qal'at Bani Hammad in Algeria by General de Beylie
1908	Ulugh Beg Observatory is discovered in Samarkand by Russian archaeologist V. L. Vyatkin, which had been partly destroyed in 1449.
1908	Sakçagözü is excavated by John Garstang.
1909	Sidamara is excavated by the Imperial Museum under the directorship of Halil Edhem Bey.
1909	Taşöz is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1909	Abdülhamid II is deposed; Mehmed V succeeds and rules until 1918.
1910	Langaza is excavated by the Imperial Museum.
1910	<i>Meisterwerke der Muhammadanischen Kunst</i> (The Exhibition of Masterpieces of Muhammedan Art) is held in Munich.
1910	Excavations at Madinat at-Zahra in Spain by R. Velasquez Bosco
1911	Ernst Herzfeld along with Friedrich Sarre begin excavating Samarra, Iraq until 1914.

1911	First excavations of Tell Halaf, Syria, by Max von Oppenheim (continues to 1913).
1911	Excavations of the Hittite city of Carchemish, northern Syria, by D. G. Hogarth of the Ashmolean Museum with Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence (continues to 1914).
1912	Excavations at Uruk by Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft begin (continue to 1913).
1913	Theodore Macridy excavates Sidon together with French archaeologist Conteneau.
1914	T. E. Lawrence and Leonard Woolley undertake an archaeological survey of the Negev in January.
1914	First World War begins.

Appendix 2:

1. Timeline of Theodore Macridy's Field Activities

1892: Appointed secretary of French correspondence at the Imperial Museum.

1897-98: Commissar at the Artemision excavations in Ephesos, which are led by D. G. Hogarth of the British Museum.²⁸⁹

1898: Commissar at the German excavations in Söke-Balat (*anc.* Miletos).²⁹⁰

1900: Excavates a Macedonian tumulus in Thessaloniki-Langaza, which contains one burial from the fourth century BC.

1900: Commissar at the Ba'albek excavations directed by Otto Puchstein and Schulz, which continues until 1905.

1902-3: Commissar in Tedmür (*anc.* Palmyra) excavations accompanying Zuberheim in his survey to map the site and take casts.

1902: Commissar at the Ba'albek excavations.

1902-06: Spends a couple of months at Ephesos every year and works in the ancient city with the Austrian team led by Otto Benndorf.

1901-04: Excavates Saida (*anc.* Sidon) on behalf of the Imperial Museum. In 1904, he accompanies Hugo Winckler from July to August.

1904 (August): Departs for Ephesos; on his way, drops by the excavations on the island of Cos (İstanköy).

1904: Excavates Notion on behalf of the Imperial Museum

1905 (October): Accompanies Hugo Winckler from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in his survey of Boğazköy (Hattuša), which lasts only for a few days.

1905 (November): Leaves for Raqqa and begins excavations on December 31.

1906: Returns to Boğazköy (Hattuša) and ships finds to İstanbul from Samsun.

1906: Travels to Kayseri from Yozgat.

1907: Excavates Taşöz, Samsun.

1907: Promoted to be a conservator; his salary increases to 1500 kuruş.

1907: Excavates Alacahöyük.

²⁸⁹ Previously, J. Wood dug the site of the Artemision by means of soundings at various spots of the ancient city and its environs to discover the place of the sanctuary for ten years between 1864-1874.

²⁹⁰ After Macridy, three other commissars were appointed by the Imperial Museum to the Miletos excavations: Ahmed Feridun Bey (1899), Kemal Bey (1900), and Vansel Efendi (1901-3).

1907: Continues excavations in Notion.

1909: Excavates Akalan, Samsun.

1910: Carries out excavations in Bakırköy, İstanbul.

1910: Continues excavations in Thessaloniki-Langaza.

1910: Continues excavations in Notion.

1913: Continues excavations in Alacahöyük.

1913: Excavates Sidon together with French archaeologist Conteneau.

1914: Excavates the Hebdomon hypogee in Bakırköy.

1914: Gets promoted to become a classification clerk at the museum and receives a pay-rise.

1916: Continues excavations in Bakırköy.

1921: Participates in the French excavations in İstanbul.

1924: Promoted to the position of specialist on Greek, Roman, and Byzantine antiquities.

1925: Excavates the Monastery of Lips in İstanbul along with E. Memboury.

1925: Excavates the tumuli in the station area in Ankara (the so-called *İstasyon Tümülüsleri*).

1925-30: Becomes the assistant director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

1926: Excavates the Hippodrome, Yedikule, and Bodrum Camii (The Church of Myraleion) in İstanbul.

1928: Excavates Koska-Simkeşhanı.

1931-40: Founds and directs the Benaki Museum in Athens.

1940: Returns to İstanbul.

2. Timeline of Haydar Bey's Field Activities

1903-5: Commissar at the Bismya excavations (*anc. Adab*) in Iraq directed by Edgar James Banks (1903) and Victor Persons (1905) from the University of Chicago.

1905: Travels to Lagash and Nippur.

1906: Works as a commissar for one and a half years at the Babylon excavations led by Koldewey.

1907: Visits Assur.

1908: Excavates Raqqa.

1910: Surveys in Yalvaç, Isparta (*anc. Psidian Antioch*) together with William Ramsay.

1911: Excavates Derne-Bingazi in North Africa.

1912: Excavates Kavala (Thasos) with Charles Picard.

Appendix 3: Theodore Macridy's Letters to Halil Edhem Bey

1. The First Letter (December 14/27, 1905)

Rakka le 14/27 Décembre 1905

Mon cher Bey

Ils voilà enfin à Rakka après un long et très pénible voyage. Nous sommes arrivés à Halep le 2^e au soir avec Iboaidar Bey. Le lendemain nous avons été voir le Iboarif Iboaduna et avoir des nouvelles pour le haxvalé. Il nous a dit que l'argent n'était pas venu et télégraphia sur le champ au Ministère et au Dousie. Les renseignements qu'il m'a donné pour Rakka ont été trop peu rassurants. A partir du Gaima comm jusqu'au dernier des employés, la gendarmerie et la population entière continue à trafiquer les antiquités et ne cesse de fouiller. J'ai alors catégoriquement décliné toute responsabilité concernant un vol qui serait fait pendant la nuit aux fouilles menaçant de quitter immédiatement Rakka en laissant toute la responsabilité au gouvernement local. En deux mots: ce que je découvrirai je le porterai dans ma chambre et j'en serai responsable mais par contre ils doivent faire bien garder la place pendant la nuit.

Le vali s'est un peu formalisé de n'avoir rien reçu (dépêche ou tahrirat) concernant les fouilles de Rakka néanmoins il a ordonné qu'on donne deux gendarmes et s'il était nécessaire aussi des soldats muphez. Deux jours après j'ai reçu la dépêche pour les 50 livres de la dette ainsi que le haxvalé de 4800 piastres qui était arrivé depuis longtemps mais qu'on avait oublié. J'ai vu Iboadun Grepus

de la Dette qui habite le même hôtel dans un appartement
séparé. Il m'a parlé d'une statue qui a été trouvée à une
saline du désert dont une partie était déjà arrivée à Halyp.

Le lendemain j'ai été à la dette où j'ai rencontré aussi
M^r du Pognon ancien consul général de France qui
s'occupe d'archéologie. M^r Geyssin m'a montré aussi
le croquis de la statue et M^r du Pognon s'est empressé
de lui demander un estampage et une photographie.
M^r Geyssin croyant peut être la chose insignifiante a
immédiatement sonné pour nous faire voir
la statue et faire estampier l'inscription. J'étais sur
des charbons ardents faisant des signes où M^r Geyssin
qui ne comprenait pas. Enfin on est venu nous dire
que la caisse a été expédiée à Alexandrette et l'autre
partie n'était pas encore arrivée à Halyp. Au départ
du consul j'ai dit à M^r Geyssin que la statue ne doit
pas être vue par personne sans quoi S. E. Etamdy
Bey sera fâché et M^r Geyssin, qui n'en avait pas une
idée de la statue, s'est empressé de donner des ordres
sévères à ce qu'un rayon même de lumière ne
puisse pénétrer dans la caisse.

C'est une statue c.-à-d. relief de la plus haute
importance. D'après ce que j'ai pu juger de l'inscrip-
tion par le croquis elle paraît être araméenne.

Si c'est possible laissez moi la faire publier par
Landon (c.-à-d. travail Winckler signature Landon)
qui en revanche donnera quelques mille francs
pour continuer Sidon.

Le 21 Décembre 1905. Je reprends aujourd'hui ma narration
que j'ai dû interrompre par un malaise assez
fort dû au mangel qui m'a retenu deux jours au lit.

A Halep j'ai été souvent chez M^r Xanthopoulos consul
d'Autriche Hongrie que je connais de Damas. j'y ai
conduit aussi Haïdar un soir de réception et nous avons
rencontré parmi les invités Hamid Bey qui m'a
demandé de vos nouvelles. J'ai vu que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser qu'avant hier
ici. Véritablement Hamid Bey est un homme dis-
tingué et très affable. Le lendemain j'ai été chez lui
mais ne l'ayant pas trouvé j'ai déposé une carte
à mon retour à Halep j'ai vu le vôtre et lui remis
votre carte d'introduction. Bref après avoir pu arranger
un peu mes affaires avec la dette et le mois nous
sommes sortis avec Haïdar en voiture accompagnée
d'une autre chargée de matériel pour le forage.
Le temps était extrêmement froid mais beaucoup
de routes gelées. Le soir nous sommes arrivés à Deir el
Zafir où nous avons couché dans une cabane en
forme de ruche, comme toutes les maisons du village.
Le lendemain nous sommes arrivés à Merkeni
où toute la place était prise par un bimbachi et des
sous-officiers qui allaient à Bagdad. Il nous a fallu
coucher dans le poste des soldats qui pendant la nuit
firent main basse sur notre panier à provisions.
Haïdar a failli avoir la berlue en constatant que
son tenek de baklava ne contenait plus rien.
Le jour suivant j'ai été malade en route et le soir arrivés
à Baamam nous avons trouvé encore la place prise
par l'ex-valet de Bagdad Abdul Vahab Pacha et ses
femmes et sa suite. La neige tombait par des flocons épais
et pas la moindre place pour se caser. Désespéré j'ai com-
mencé à jurer en grec και εγω ομολογω, και εγω ομολογω, και εγω ομολογω et il

nous a mis dans un endroit où il gardait de la chaux vive.
Nous avons pu avec une pelle ouvrir une petite place
pour nous cacher sans la moindre peur d'attraper des
microbes. Il nous fallait voir le matin au sortir de ce trou
que nous avons payé plus cher que la meilleure chambre
du Pera palace. Nous ^{mes} sommes hâtés de partir car la
neige continuait d'une façon terrible. Après 5 heures de
marche nous sommes arrivés en face de Rakka.
Pas de bateau pour passer et pas d'endroit pour s'abriter.
Nous criions nous menaçons mais on nous rit au nez.
Nous proposons une somme presque aux quelques arabes
qui sont groupés autour d'un feu sous une misérable
cabane de branches mais on nous répond épouvantés
Shely! Shely! La neige inconnue dans le pays a tellement
épouvantés les bedouins qu'ils croyaient à la fin du monde.
Nos soldats voyant la neige nous avaient abandonnés
depuis la veille, les cochers ne s'occupaient que de
leurs chevaux et nous autres nous étions dans la
rôtine dételée. Voyant qu'il n'y avait d'autre moyen je
prends l'avant une misérable hutte des branches dans
laquelle il y avait deux bedouins d'une saleté exceptionnelle.
Nous y plaçons nos lits et une partie de nos effets résignés
à y passer la nuit. Heureusement qu'il y avait des brousses
dont je me hâte de faire une provision pour entretenir
un feu qui servira à nous chauffer et nous éclairer.
Je passai la nuit à entretenir ce feu dans lequel
à part également la moitié de notre toit rustique.
Daidar qui ne résiste pas à l'insomnie rouflait sous
ses couvertures tandis que je montais la garde. Deux fois
les bedouins se sont approchés de notre camp et ils n'ont
reussi à nous voler qu'une grande arabe en fer émaillé.

Le matin Haidar m'a quitté poursuivant sa route et moi après une marche de deux heures j'ai pu enfin passer l'Euphrate et arriver à Rakka dans un état pitoyable. J'ai de là envoyé des hommes pour porter les effets laissés sous la garde de mon domestique (un Arminien de Haleb).

On m'a donné une cellule dans la cour de la mosquée froide et humide contenant comme meuble une misérable natte. La neige continuait toujours et le désert est couvert de 25 centimètres. L'Euphrate a gelé. Jamais on ne se rappelle ici un froid si rigoureux.

Le caïmacam a été mis en disponibilité et il y a un être hideux qui sert comme vétéral. Il montre un empressement énorme à tout ce que je lui dis et n'exécute rien s'excusant toujours et répétant sans cesse qu'il exécute fidèlement les ablutions et les prières 5 fois par jour.

Ayant eu qu'on avait dans le temps envoyé à Rakka des pioches et des pelles pour la destruction des sauterelles j'ai demandé un ordre du vilayet pour les prendre. Arrivé ici je ne trouve rien personne ne connaît rien. Je me leve alors le fez d'un côté grimacant criant faisant le diable en quatre et disant qu'il me fallait les pioches en le champ ou "si vous ne les trouvez pas donnez moi alors vos outils au moyen desquels vous avez trafiqué tant les antiquités". Tout le medjlis se regardait ébahi de cette sortie mais moi j'étais hors de moi adieu que pouva à la fin. Bref la saroumado a eu son effet et le matériel se trouva être caché chez le fils de l'ex-caïmacam mais qui ne le livrait pas jusqu'à l'arrivée de son père. Je demandai alors des gendarmes

pour aller les prendre de force et on s'est empressé d'aller me les porter sur le champ. Ayant mis la main dessus je me suis tranquilisé et je les ai portées dans ma chambre. J'ai apporté aussi de Balise 50 Zembils dont le transport a coûté presque 3 fois leur valeur. ! تارناو، ب، ت


J'ai entendu dire le bekil du Baïmacam. Restait la conservation des ruines pendant la nuit pour laquelle nous sommes convenus après des longs pourparlers de faire circuler deux rondes une des Zaptiüs l'autre de mufezis également vœux les uns que les autres. Moi de ma part je m'y rends avec deux Gircassiens et si j'attrape quelqu'un il paiera pour les autres et servira d'exemple. J'ai attendu 3 jours pour la fonte des neiges et nous avons commencé les foibles Samedi passé.

Rakka comme situation actuelle est la plus terrible des exils. Manque absolu de végétation arbres jardins légumes fruits inconnus. Pains (pidde) exécrable boeume sophistiqué à 30 piastres l'ocque pétrole 10 piastres l'ocque charbon (venant de Biredjik) 1 piastre et boulgour. Boissons vinaigre olives fromage pomme de terre haricots pois chiches etc. etc. inconnus. Œufs rares mais bon marché et poissons de fleuve. Viande chère, on femelle de mouton une fois par semaine. Il y a des personnes qui ont entendu parler des citrons.

J'ai pu à grande peine me faire faire une table rustique pour écrire et quelques escabeaux comme un bûche d'arbre aminci. Je ne suis pas habitué au mangal qui continue à me rendre malade j'ai essayé de rien passer mais l'humidité a eu une réaction furtive sur mes rhumatismes qui me font terriblement souffrir.

Le village de Rakka est situé à l'Ouest de la vaste

enceinte constituant la ville arabe des Califes Abbassides. Les murs sont construits en briques non cuites qui lavées par les pluies ressemblent à des tertres. Au milieu se dresse une grande mosquée dont le minaret se trouve encore en bon état. De la mosquée on voit une série d'arcades de la façade et une grande inscription {نور الدين} au milieu dont une partie manque. Elle me paraît dater de la restauration de la mosquée. Le reste de la construction a été abattu et servit à la construction de la mosquée actuelle. Plus loin au S.E. on voit les restes d'un palais dit Kiork de Haroun er Rachid. On voit encore des niches en genre de mihrab et des stalactites au coin. Tout est ruiné et les fouilles y sont extrêmement dangereuses. À l'extrémité E. de l'enceinte existe une porte dit de Bagdad.

L'intérieur de l'enceinte présente des milliers de trous provenant des fouilles clandestines. Il a fallu presque 10000 journées pour faire cette destruction. Le sol est partout jonché de fragments de faïences émaillées, on voit aussi des milliers des cylindres simples en terre cuite qui servaient des supports aux fourneaux des potiers. Il paraît que Rakka était une fabrique importante de faïences à en juger par la quantité considérable de fragments épars. J'ai commencé une tranchée à l'ouest de la ville où j'ai trouvé les fondations d'édifices privés et 183 pièces en argent abassides qui formaient un amas collées les unes aux autres. Je les envoie aujourd'hui par groups au Djuséi. J'ai aussi commencé une tranchée une autre légèrement ébouchée l'arc manque H. 0,25 des bols, assiettes etc. une petite figurine d'animal un couvercle de  une bague en bronze échanton coralline inscription coréenne quelques rares ébouchés et environ 20,000 fragments dont quelques uns inscrits. S'il y a moyen de pouvoir les rajuster, ça représenterait une fortune.

Inutile de vous dire que je prends tous les soins possibles pour pouvoir reconstituer quelque chose. Mais c'est une affaire pénible qui demande un travail considérable. Toutes les nuances existent et les ornements les plus variés mais la destruction est telle que tout le monde se moque de moi en me voyant occupé à rajuster des fragments. D'autre part il y a une quantité énorme des fragments qui sont collés les uns aux autres par un effet de fusion de la matière vitrifiante qui les couvre. Je suis fort embarrasé avec ces fragments que faudra-t-il en faire les transporter à Gousple ça coûtera énormément cher, les laisser ici je ne puis dire qu'ils sont sans valeur. Je ferai de mon mieux pour pouvoir en tirer quelque chose.

Il faut prendre en sérieuse considération aussi la conservation des ruines. Tout le monde ici a volé et tout le monde est prêt à recommencer de plus belle à mon départ d'autant plus qu'ils ~~recherchent~~ ^{seguident par} les endroits escarés. Il faudrait commencer par la punition exemplaire des coupables il y a des personnes qui ont été prises opérant des fouilles clandestines et d'autres transportant des antiquités à Haleb. J'ouvrirai une enquête me basant sur des papiers qui m'ont été remis par le Moudir Moarif de Haleb et je demanderai la permission des coupables. Il faudrait télégraphier au vali de Haleb à ce que l'application sévère de la loi soit faite à l'égard des coupables. Sinon la gendarmerie prend un Bakich et les laisse tranquilles. Pour 1 kilo de Tabac et 2 kilos de sel la régie et la dette perçoit une amende et emprisonne les délinquants et nous ne faisons rien pour sauvegarder notre prestige et nos intérêts. C'est le seul moyen efficace. J'attendrai une dépêche pour savoir si le vilayet est averti et ce n'est qu'alors que je ferai quelque chose. Tout le monde s'est enrichi ici par le trafic des antiquités et ^{on} pour le moment encore il y a beaucoup des choses cachées ici.

(3).

Voici où en est la situation ici

J'ai reçu aussi le talimat dans lequel j'ai vu que mes frais de route aller et retour sont de 2200 piastres dont je n'ai pas encore avis. Si vous permettez une légère observation, jusqu'à Italeb il y a 237 heures réglementaires ce qui donne pour nous fait à raison de 5 piastres l'heure 2370 piastres. Quant à la distance qu'il y a entre Italeb et Rakka elle est calculée à 46 heures mais il faut dépenser le triple pour y arriver. C'est 5 longues journées de voyage et si on va à pied même on dépense plus que 230 piastres. Seulement la moitié de la somme ne suffit pas pour bakrich aux zaptis. Plusieurs fois j'ai dû payer de ma poche, grâce aux calculs du mohasebedji, l'excédent de la dépense mais cette fois-ci je n'ai pas le sou et par conséquent je me trouve dans l'impossibilité de le faire. D'autre part j'ai dû dépenser beaucoup d'argent pour m'acheter un tas d'objets qui ne me serviront plus à mon départ d'ici. Voici un aperçu approximatif de l'argent qui reste pour les fouilles.

Argent reçu.	Dépenses.
20 livres à Smyrne	Piastres 1250 Solde des dépenses à Notion.
50 livres à Italeb.	" 2370 Frais route aller et retour Italeb.
4800 piastres "	" 1000 " " " " Rakka Koz.
2200 Itardjnah.	" 2000 indemnités de 40 jours
Total Piastres 14560	7940 Fouilles et transport
Selon calcul du Murie	Total 14560.

Mais si l'arithmétique n'est pas une chimère

20 livres calculés même à 103 font	Piastres 2,060 ~
50 " " " " "	5,150 ~
Plus piastres	4,800 ~
et piastres annoncés comme frais de route	2,200 ~
	Total: 14,210

Il y a une erreur de 350 piastres dans le calcul.
Il reste donc spécialement pour les fouilles, confection des
caisses et transport des antiquités 7500 piastres au lieu
de 12360.

Pour ce qui concerne mon voyage à Hamah et Antioche —
Dans cette dernière ville il y a deux beaux sarcophages au
dire de M^r Bepin et d'autres qui les ont vus ainsi qu'une possi-
bilité d'y trouver d'autres antiquités. Quant à la ligne de Haleb
Hamah je ne crois pas trop néanmoins je demande des
renseignements d'un ingénieur de la ligne qui se trouve être
mon ami. En faisant ce voyage je retournerai par Baalbek
et Beyrouth ce qui servira à terminer cette affaire de Baalbek
qui traîne depuis longtemps. Les fouilles de Rakka seront in-
grates pour moi je ne pourrai rien publier et la vie et le tra-
vail y sont des plus pénibles. Mais je tâcherai soyez en certain
mon Bey à les rendre le plus lucratives pour le Musée
et mériter une récompense bien gagnée. Vous la connaissez
d'ailleurs c'est Notion.

Vous trouverez ma lettre bien longue mais il faudra m'en
excuser en considérant la solitude absolue dans laquelle
je me trouve et ne voyant constamment que la bière com-
mune de la mosquée qui est déposée en face de ma cellule.

En vous priant de vouloir bien présenter mes amitiés à
tous mes collègues j'ai l'honneur de vous saluer respec-
tueusement en main.

Votre serviteur dévoué

 J. Maerdy

Rakka le 5 Janvier 1906

Mon cher Bey

Je vous écris deux mots en
toute hâte concernant les
fouilles d'ici. J'ai trouvé quelques
jolies pièces ou plutôt je les ai
fabriquées, si on prend en consi-
deration le nombre de fragments
que j'ai dû rajuster.

En ce moment je suis million-
naire en fragments que j'étale
dans la cour de la mosquée
par des carés, ^{les parties d'} comme un
jardinier. Je me promène entre

ces canis et je retire les fragments
qui s'adaptent les uns aux autres
et je les colle immédiatement avec
de la résine. Sans les coller
provisoirement c'est impossible
de trouver les fragments et il
faudrait ou emporter le tout
à Gouda ou laisser sur
place beaucoup de fragments
qui se complétant constituent
une pièce tout soit présentable.
Le travail entrepris est énorme
et pénible, je n'ai pas le temps
ni de manger ni de dormir
ce qui a une très mauvaise
réaction sur ma santé.

Il y a des fragments d'une beauté
extraordinaire, je ne croyais jamais
que l'art arabe ait pu atteindre ce
degré de perfection. Je ferai une
collection de tous les échantillons
dans une caisse. Je commençai
déjà à emballer une partie des trou-
vailles dont je vous enverrai la
liste la semaine prochaine.

Il y a beaucoup de fragments avec
inscriptions. Outre ce que je vous ai
écrit l'autre fois j'ai 2 jolis krassés
entiers une jarre H. 0,40 à trois anses
email vert des petits bols et un plat
en fragments très nombreux sur le
fond duquel on lit en orn. bleu. مرفع
Si cette pièce était intacte elle aurait pu
couvrir à elle seule toutes les dépenses

Enfin je l'achurai mon Bey de pouvoir
vous contenter malgré l'énormité
du travail. Je suis obligé à faire le
marangoz aussi pour les caisses.
fort heureusement j'ai pu trouver
ici des vieilles caisses à tabac que
je repare pour y placer mes trouvailles.

L'autre jour j'ai attrappé quelqu'un
qui faisait des fouilles pendant la nuit
jusqu'à présent le vekil du cai ma
cam n'a rien fait. J'en écris au
moaif Mudarr de Halep voyons ce
qu'il s'en suivra On a perdu ^{جزای} ^{دفعه} ^{دفعه}
qui a pris le chemin de leur poche
Je suis en train de le faire prendre
celui de notre caisse etc. etc.

En vous disant respectueusement
les mains

vosre serviteur devoue

زنده ایچانی کوره بان

Macridy

Rakka le 19 janvier 1906.

Mon cher Bey.

Quelques mots encore aujourd'hui
 Je travaille nuit et jour et je n'ai
 pas le temps même de manger.
 J'ai pour le moment 4 caisses
 prêtes contenant 1 des fragts. et les
 autres avec des fragts présentables
 les pièces découvertes entre lesquelles
 une v^{ie} envette émail vert-bleu en
 5-6 fts mais ne manque rien, une
 sous coupe comme un fruitier actuel
 couvert d'inscriptions arabes en dehors
 et dedans manque un peu des
 bords.^{en} beaucoup des fragts, des petits
 bols assiettes etc. une coupe à boire
 manque une partie des bords magnifique

Il y a des fragments d'une beauté
extraordinaire. Malheureusement
on a fouillé partout et on n'a pas
en travaillant cette espérance qu'on
gagne dans des endroits non examinés.
D'autre part cette faïence ne dure
qu'au contact de l'air en sortant
du sol est friable. L'irisation
embellit parfois les objets mais
plus souvent ça fait perdre
les dessins et les couleurs. Il
faudrait les humecter pour
pouvoir les distinguer.

Le Mutessarif de Serr Zor
vient de m'envoyer (naturellement
sur l'ordre du Musée) 7 caisses
avec un defter contenant des
faïences. On les descendant de

voiture les caisses faisaient un fracas
épouvantable par l'emballage
défectueux. j'ai dû alors les
deballer démolir les caisses et en
refaire d'autres parce que dans
l'état qu'elles étaient elles seraient
arrivées en puce.

Cette semaine je vous enverrai
avec mes listes l'inventaire de
ces pièces et le دفتر.

Dans ces pièces qui sont énormé-
ment inférieures à celles de Rakka
il y a quelques grands : ۱۰۰۰ qui
sont jolis mais tous ébréchés et sans
fond tandis que pour le reste, si
c'était moi à choisir, je l'aurais sans
crainte laisser reposer sur les bords
de l'Euphrate ou même dans son lit.

Mais comme c'est un amanet je
l'emballerai tout en tâchant qu'il puisse
tenir dans le moins des caisses possibles
Rien pour publier aucune inscription

Rosafa à 8 heures d'ici dans ce
désert mérite la peine d'être visité
ce que Glemont Garneau m'a aussi
conseillé l'endroit est très important
mais désert et sauvage mais
il faudra dépenser pour une exeu-
sion 600-800 piastres

Je pense pouvoir quitter Rakka
dans 20-25 jours et je vous
prie de me communiquer vos
ordres.

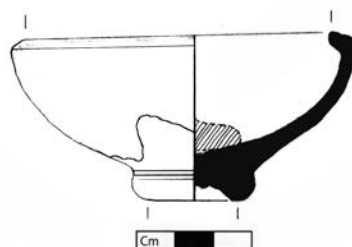
En vous disant respectueuse-
ment les mains je suis
votre serviteur dévoué

J. Maunay

Appendix 4: The Catalogue

1. The Catalogue of the Ceramic Finds from the 1906 Raqqa Excavations by Theodore Macridy

1. 1549 (4053)



Dimensions: h: 4.5 cm, d: 9.2 cm, bd: 3.5 cm,

Description: Monochrome-glazed, small, hemispherical bowl with an inverted²⁹¹ rim. Celadon imitation? Faint traces of blue decoration on the interior. Rim fragments of another vessel adhered on the interior during firing. Base unglazed; crudely shaped. Vessel restored. No visible decoration on the exterior; vaguely visible traces of blue paint on the interior.

Glaze: Transparent lead-alkaline glaze with a greenish tinge. Occasional iridescence and crazing. Incrusted on the exterior; iridescent on the interior.

Fabric: Fabric 4. SP. White, medium-coarse, sugary, friable. Small grained. Frequent inclusions: angular brown, small round black, sand. Few small voids. Medium fired.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: TIEM 1842.

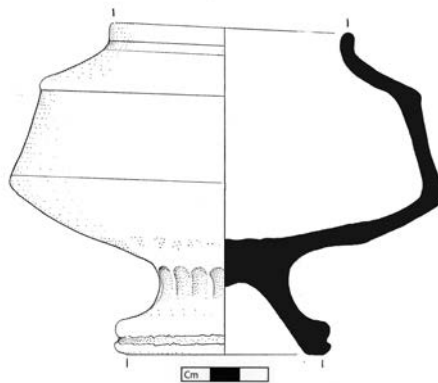
Literature: Jenkins-Madina, 2006, 62, W48.

Details:



²⁹¹ Jenkins-Madina refers to this rim type as “incurving” or “overhanging”.

2. 1553 (4001)



Dimensions: h: 11.5 cm, rd: 8.4 cm, widest d: 15.5 cm, bd: 7.5 cm

Description: Luster-painted bowl with a raised foot. Unusual form. Exterior painted entirely except its foot. The upper surface of the vessel is decorated with foliage and scrolls with alternating blue dots. Between the shoulder and the belly is a pseudo-inscription band outlined in brown. The decoration ends with a wave pattern above the foot. Design severely worn; hardly visible. Its design pattern, color scheme in chocolate brown and cobalt blue and matte finish are features of characteristic “Raqqa lusterware.”

Glaze: Luster corroded. Transparent alkaline glaze with a greenish tinge. Exterior surface looks matte due to corrosion. Interior walls glassy with occasional crazing. Pools in the center. The foot and the base unglazed. Glaze drips above the foot.

Fabric: Fabric 1. SP. Fires cream on the upper part, but darker on the foot. Hard, compact, dense, granular. Comes off when scraped with nail. Grain size small-medium. Frequent inclusions: small round black, angular brown, large carbonate, small sand. Very small voids.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

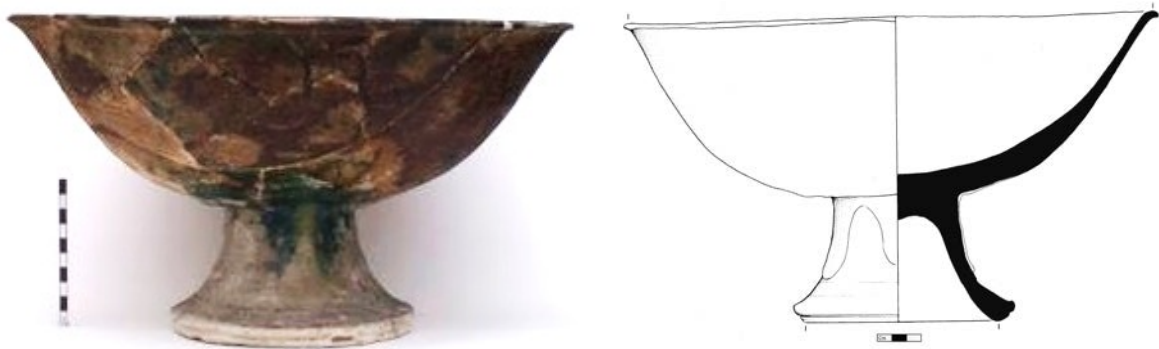
Literature: Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 214.

Details:





3. 1579 (4004)²⁹²



Dimensions: h: 20.5 cm-21 cm, rd: 36.4 cm, bd: 13.4 cm

Description: Black-painted under turquoise large bowl with a raised foot. Self-slipped. Glazed except the foot. Black-painted decoration on the interior and the exterior, both of which is invisible due to heavy corrosion. Rim painted in black. On the exterior, a continuous, horizontal (inscription?) band, c. 5 cm in thickness, can be vaguely discerned below the rim. Illegible due to heavy corrosion. Interior surface seems to bear an overall pattern that is no longer visible. The foot and the base unglazed. Vessel restored.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Alkaline. Matte finish, characteristic of Raqqa. Pronounced crazing all over the surface. Large thick drops above the foot.

Fabric: Fabric 4. SP. White, medium-coarse, sugary, friable. Small grained. Frequent inclusions: angular brown, small, round black, sand. Few small voids.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Literature: Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 81; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 215.

Details:



²⁹² As mentioned in Chapter 4 (p. 74, fn. 292), Macridy mentions this vessel in his third letter dated January 19, 1906. He describes it as follows: “a footed bowl with Arabic inscriptions inside and outside. Only part of its rim missing.” The missing section of its rim was restored subsequently possibly right after it arrived at the Çinili Köşk as it is a rather old restoration. The interest in these wares diminished considerably after they were transferred to the TİEM.



4. 1584 (3922)



Dimensions: h: 11.5 cm, rd: 9.5 cm, widest d: 20 cm, bd: 7 cm

Description: Luster-painted bowl with a hole-mouth and a ring base.²⁹³ Shape distorted during firing. Vessel restored and gap-filled. Approximately 40-50% of the vessel missing. Majority of the exterior surface decorated with an abstract design painted in reddish brown. The exterior surface has a matte appearance possibly due to decay. It must have been originally lustered, but there is no visible trace of luster.²⁹⁴ Overall design resembles “foliage-fill” and “spindly-foliage” motifs mentioned by R. Mason (2004, 113). Occasional traces of light cobalt blue paint under the glaze. Ring base painted in brown on the exterior. Base unglazed; lost its original color due to dirt.

The crude restoration obscures its interior surface. A thick piece of plaster has been placed like a ridge in the center probably during the restoration process to support the original walls.

Glaze: Transparent alkaline glaze with a greenish tinge. Pools on the lower sections of the interior and drips on the exterior walls above the base.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. Difficult to see what lies underneath the dirt. Fabric seems to have the characteristics of stonepaste with its hard and compact texture. Light brown. Small/medium grained. Inclusions not clear. Fabric 1?

Date of Acquisition: March 1906 (First dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: TIEM 1595; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 130, MMA15; p. 141, MMA26; p. 146, MMA31.

Literature: Jenkins-Madina, 2006, 174; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 84; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 214.

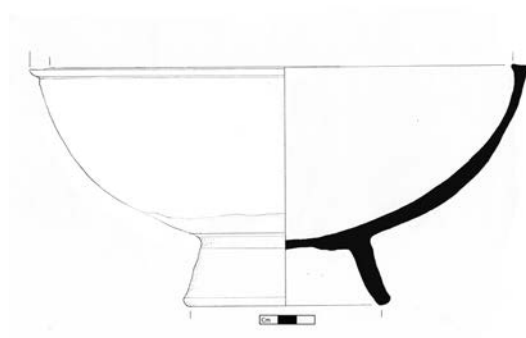
²⁹³ Jenkins-Madina refers to this particular shape as “segmental bowl with upper section sloping to small rimless opening.”

²⁹⁴ A study based on examples from Raqqa and Ma’arat al Numan suggests that the Syrian lustre ware of the late twelfth-early thirteenth century lacked the metallic shine. This matte look was the characteristic of the period in Raqqa. (“Technology of Islamic Lustre” Pradell et al. (2008, 126.)

Details:



5. 1585 (3925)



Dimensions: h: 13-13.3 cm, rd: 27.5 cm, bd: 11.4 cm.

Description: Luster-painted bowl with a raised foot and a flat rim.²⁹⁵ The profile is similar to what both Mason and Jenkins-Madina classify as “cono-segmental bowl” with slight differences in the rim and the foot.²⁹⁶

The vessel is partially restored. The surface is worn and matte. Interior has interlacing vegetal and leaf motifs painted in chocolate brown luster and cobalt blue, which serves as background for a large inscription in the center. The inscription translates as “barakatullah.” It is outlined in brown luster and painted in cobalt blue. It is likely a blessing for the owner. On the exterior, a horizontal band (5 cm in width) runs parallel to the rim that comprises alternating single and double spirals.²⁹⁷ Below is a horizontal band painted in brown luster (1 cm in thickness).

Glaze: Transparent alkaline glaze with a greenish tinge. Drips on the exterior surface above the foot. The base has been lightly glazed with a glaze type that has higher content of lead as it is much thinner.

Fabric: Fabric 9? No fresh breaks. Fabric difficult to discern. Creamish white SP. Hard, compact, well-levigated. Occasional voids on the base. The surface is smooth due to the slip, but the core is grained. Medium-size grains. Granularity visible. Frequent quartz, small, round black inclusions.

Date of Acquisition: March 1906 (First dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: Jenkins-Madina, 2006, 144, MMA29.

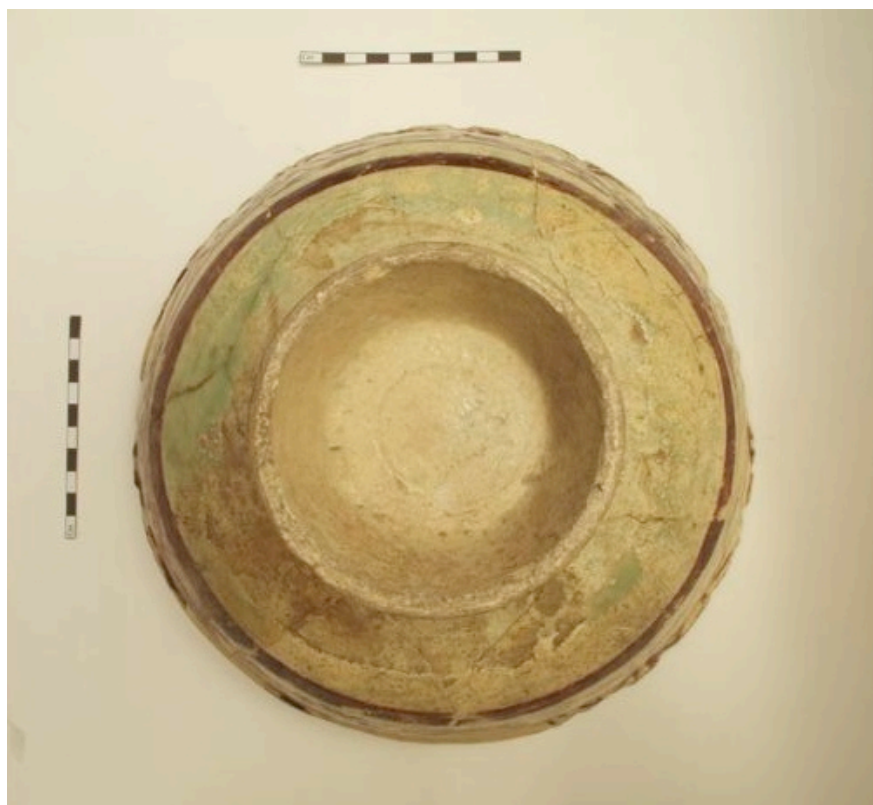
Literature: Kühnel 1938, 40-41, Plate 22; Mason 1997, 190; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 168, 174, Profile 13 (slight differences on the form of the rim and the base); Ölçer 2002, 74.

²⁹⁵ Mason classifies this rim profile as “hammer-rim,” while Jenkins-Madina uses the term “flat-rim,” which I prefer to use for the time being.

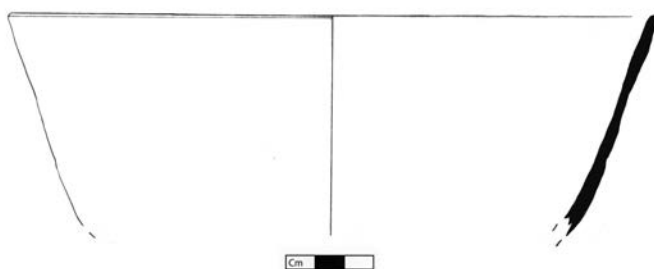
²⁹⁶ Jenkins-Madina 2006, 174, Profile 13.

²⁹⁷ Mason defines this type as “Syrian Stonepaste Group 7 - Spiral-back.”

Details:



6. 1588 (3931)



Dimensions: h: 7.5 cm, d: 20 cm

Description: Rim and wall fragment of a lustered bowl painted in chocolate brown and cobalt blue. The rim is painted in brown. Interior has a second band right underneath the rim, which is then followed by a horizontal band that resembles a pseudo-inscription in cursive script running exceptionally upside down. The motifs are outlined in brown and filled in with pale cobalt blue. Background filled with spirals and scrolls. Exterior surface decorated with stylized leaves and thin branches with dots painted in free hand style.²⁹⁸

Glaze: Transparent colorless glaze with a greenish tinge. Thin. High content of lead. The surface remains in very good condition. No crazing or iridescence. Retains the metallic shine of the luster.

Fabric: Fabric 16. SP. Pure white. Well-levigated. Hard, brittle, compact, dense. Fine-grained. Small inclusions, sand (?), very small black inclusions, quartz, which seems like it has melted and fused (some areas have darker shades of off white/greyish white), occasional voids. Fabric resembles the “Tell Minis” ware.

Date of Acquisition: March 1906 (First dispatch from Raqqa).

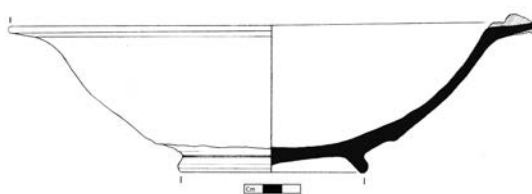
Literature: Mason 1997, 113.

²⁹⁸ The dots in the background resemble Mason’s (1997, 113) SS.17 “dot-pattern.” Jenkins-Madina does not include either patterns.

Details:



7. 1590 (3929)



Dimensions: h: 7.4-8.1 cm, rd: 28-28.4 cm, bd: 9.8 cm

Description: Segmented bowl. Underglaze-painted in blue and black. Restored by joining fragments of different vessels and gap-filled with plaster. Surface severely worn. Brittle, hard-fired. Decorated with concentric horizontal bands on the interior with alternating vegetal motifs painted in cobalt blue and black. “Dash-back” motif on the exterior.²⁹⁹

Glaze: Transparent alkaline glaze with a greenish tinge. Corroded and crazed. Drips above the foot. Matte and dull on the interior.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. Cream, compact, small grained. Surface slipped, smooth. From the cracks and voids the interior looks more grained. Sandy/salty look. Few large voids. Occasional inclusions: angular brown, carbonate, small round black, frequent sand (?).

Date of Acquisition: March 1906 (First dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: Milwright 2005, 212, Fig. 11: 1, 10; Fig. 12: 1, 6.

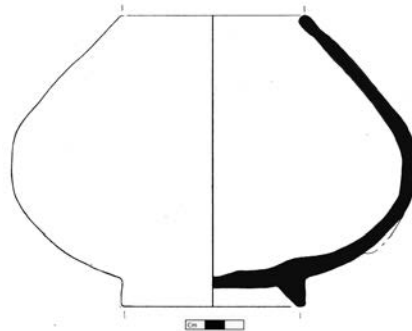
Literature: Mason 1997, 113, SS.13.

²⁹⁹ Mason 1997, 113.

Details:



8. 1595 (3924)



Dimensions: h: 15.2 cm, rd: 8.8 cm, widest d: 20.8 cm, bd: 9.3 cm

Description: Lustered, polychrome, underglaze-painted bowl with a hole-mouth and a ring base. Decoration in brown/black and cobalt blue under clear glaze. Paint applied thinly. Rim painted in black. Two, thin, horizontal parallel lines under the rim. Two horizontal bands of stylized leaves (?) on the shoulder; upper ones painted in brown, lower ones in blue color. Decorations on the lower section of the vessel unclear due to heavy corrosion. Surface has a matte gold look.

Extremely crude restoration probably at two different stages. First is in better quality. Gaps filled with plaster. In the second stage, fragments glued together very loosely. Large glue drips between cracks.

Glaze: Transparent alkaline glaze with a greenish tinge. Thick and dense. Crazing. Pools on the interior, large drips on the exterior.

Fabric: Fabric 1. SP. Pale pinkish brown. Hard, compact; comes off only when scraped firmly with nail. Frequent, medium-sized inclusions: small black, angular brown, carbonate, medium sand. Small voids.

Date of Acquisition: March 1906 (First dispatch from Raqqa).

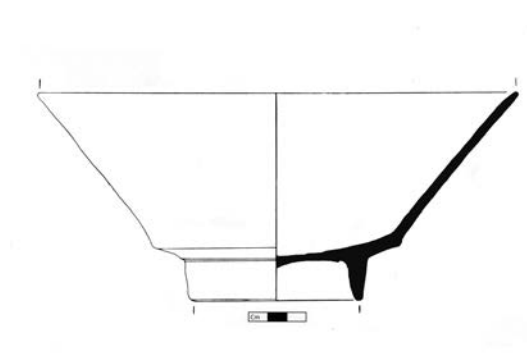
Comparanda: Jenkins-Madina 2006, 130, MMA15; p. 141, MMA26; p. 146, MMA31.

Literature: Jenkins-Madina 2006, 130.

Details:



9. 1597 (3926)



Dimensions: rd: 24.5, bd: 8.6, h: 10.8-11 cm

Description: Lustered biconical bowl, restored and gap-filled in with plaster. Slip visible on the base. Fragments of another vessel stuck in the center of the bowl during firing. Decorated with chocolate brown luster and cobalt blue. Rim painted in brown (c. 1.5 cm in thickness). The central motif has been worn and is no longer visible except from a thick circular band painted in brown luster. The interior walls has been divided into nine registers with nine radiating stripes outlined in brown and painted in cobalt blue. Each register has a vertical, lozenge-like palmette motif filling up the space with its leaves. Exterior surface decorated with brown vertical stripes painted in free-hand style looking like brush strokes. Each line is c. 4.3 cm high and placed with 1.1 cm intervals.³⁰⁰

Glaze: Transparent lead-alkaline glaze. Has a yellowish tinge. Surface has a matte appearance yet survives in good condition with no crazing or drips.

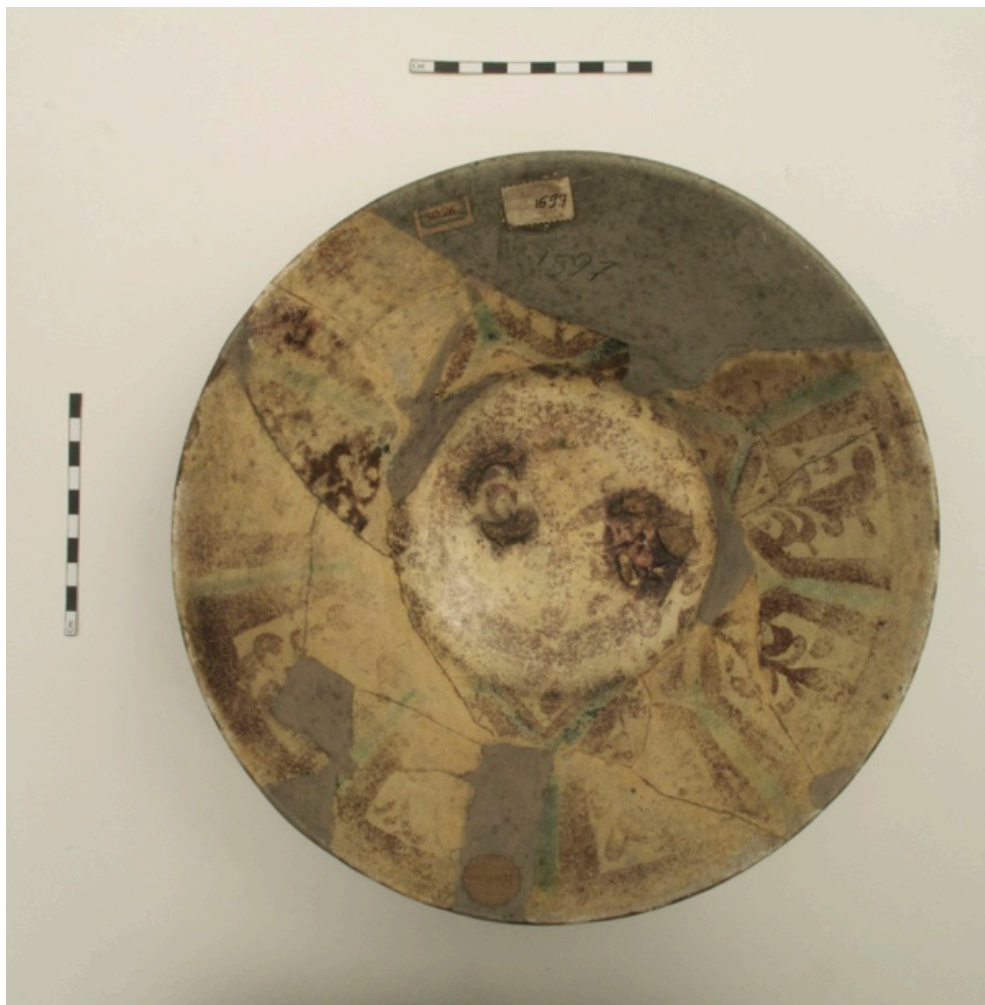
Fabric: Fabric 1. SP. No fresh breaks; difficult to discern the fabric composition. Pinkish, pale-brown. Hard, compact, granular. Inclusions not visible. Large voids on the base.

Date of Acquisition: March 1906 (First dispatch from Raqqa).

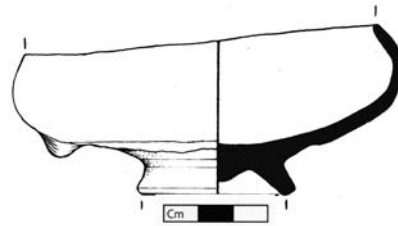
Literature: Jenkins, Madina 2006; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013, 85.

³⁰⁰ For a similar motif, see Mason 1997, p. 189, fig 18, ABS.03.

Details:



10. 1631 (4279)



Dimensions: h: 4-4.7 cm, rd: 10 cm, widest: 12 cm

Description: Monochrome glazed, small, hemispherical bowl with a ring base. Rim broken. c. 30 % of the vessel missing. Old, crude repairs. Distorted shape; vessel leaning towards one side. Base unglazed.

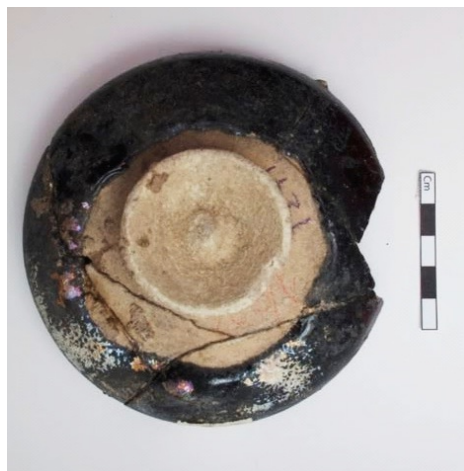
Glaze: Thick manganese glaze in very dark aubergine color. Drips on the exterior. No crazing.

Fabric: Fabric 6. EW. Light, grayish brown. Medium hard, granular, medium/large grained. Frequent inclusions: small black, small angular brown, occasional carbonate, occasional small sand. Few small voids.

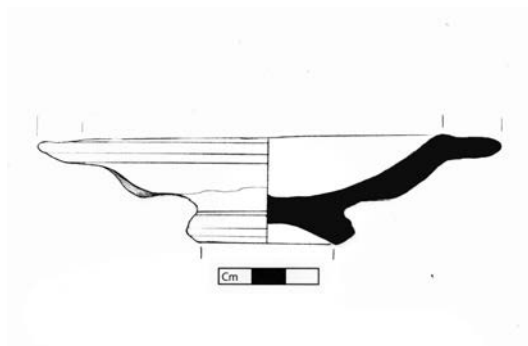
Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: TIEM 1632.

Details:



11. 1632 (4278)



Dimensions: h. 3 cm, rd. 14 cm

Description: Monochrome glazed small dish with an everted rim and a ring base. Base unglazed.

Glaze: Thick manganese glaze in aubergine color. Pronounced crazing all over; glassy finish. Drips on the exterior above the base.

Fabric: Fabric 6. EW. Light grayish brown. Hard, dense, medium/large grained. Frequent inclusions: small black, small angular brown, occasional carbonate, occasional small sand, small basalt (?). Medium voids.

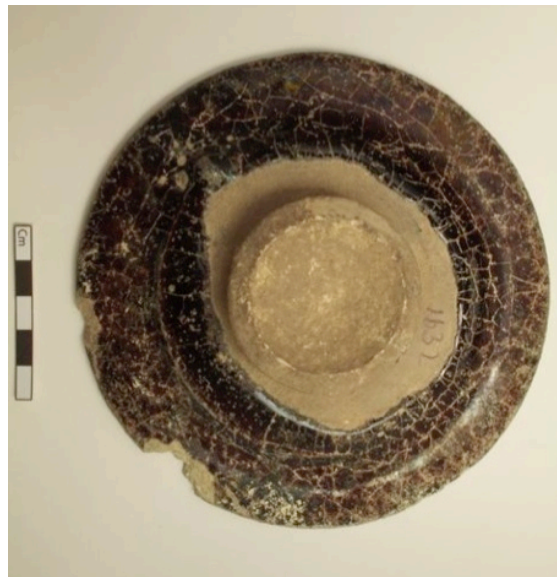
Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: TiEM 1631.

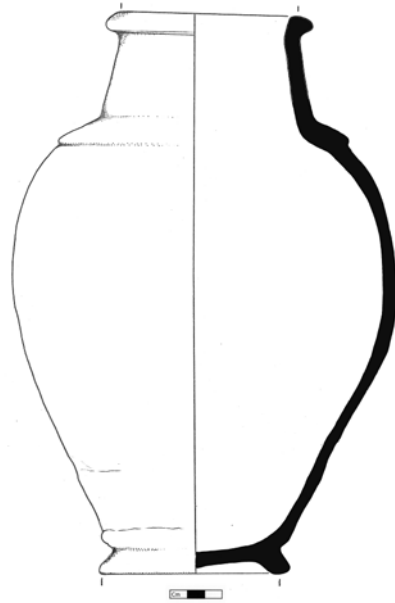
TiEM 1631 and TiEM 1632 have different shapes, similar dimensions and the same type of fabric and glaze. Glaze applied more thickly on 1632, which resulted in extensive crazing. They might have been produced in the same workshop since both of them have been found by Macridy. It would be interesting to find comparative examples from the later excavations, which might facilitate identifying the workshop that produced this type of ware.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Haddon (2012, 687, Fig. 5) reports a lustered, aubergine-glazed bowl excavated at the Aleppo citadel.

Details:



12. 1668 (4006)



Dimensions: h: 32.4 cm, rd: 10 cm, bd: 10.3 cm, widest d: 22.2 cm

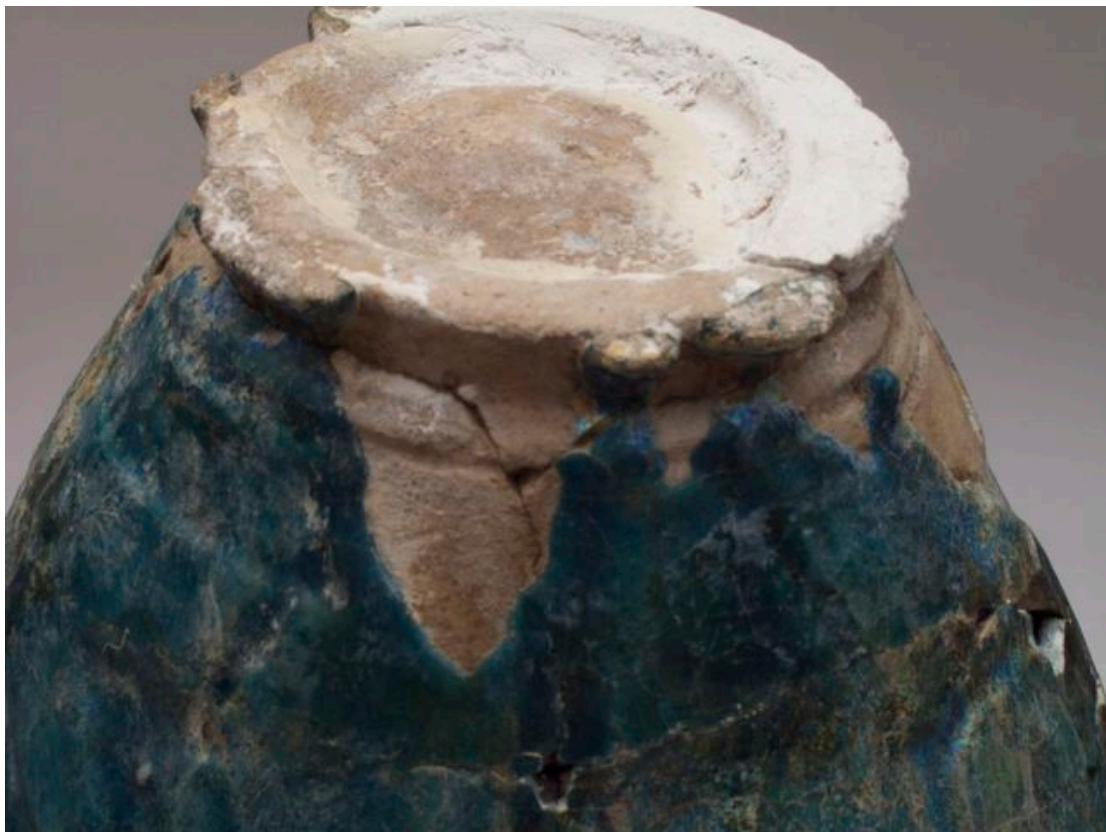
Description: Relief-moulded, turquoise-glazed jar. Difficult to discern the decorative motif on the relief. Body surface divided into three, equal sections by three vertical stripes in raised relief. Base unglazed. Interior lightly glazed. Vessel restored; some missing fragments.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise glaze. Alkaline. Thick drips around the base. Pronounced crazing and heavy iridescence. The surface has been largely corroded with some areas relatively better preserved.

Fabric: Fabric 7. EW. Grayish brown. Coarse, hard, granular; does not come off when scraped. Medium/large grained. Inclusions not clear. Very large voids.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Details:



13. 1672 (4137)



Dimensions: h: 14.5 cm, bd: 6.2 cm, rd: 5 cm, widest d: 10 cm

Description: Monochrome turquoise-glazed juglet with a trefoil mouth. Part of the rim and the handle missing. No visible painted decoration. Surface heavily corroded and worn.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise glaze with pronounced crazing. Alkaline. Heavily corroded. Iridized. Flaking off. Drips above the foot. Light glaze on the foot and the base. Interior of the base unglazed.

Fabric: Fabric 3. SP. Cream. Medium-soft, sugary, friable. Medium grained. Sparse inclusions: Few black, some angular brown, carbonate, sand. Few, small voids.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Literature: Jenkins-Madina, 2006: p. 74, W70.

Details:



14. 1842 (4003)



Dimensions: h: 6.2-6.6 cm, rd: 12 cm, bd: 5 cm

Description: Monochrome glazed small hemispherical bowl with an inverted rim and a high foot (celadon imitation?). Interior surface well preserved and glassy. Rim and the exterior surface incrustated and opacified. Base unglazed.

Glaze: Transparent alkaline glaze with a green tinge. Glassy. Occasional crazing. Drips on the exterior, slight pooling on the interior.

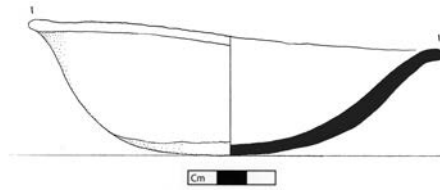
Fabric: Fabric 4.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: TİEM 1549.

Comments: Same glaze and fabric as TİEM 1549. Same profile except the foot. 1842 has a higher foot with a better finish.

15. 1843 (4002)



Dimensions: h: 4.2-4.6 cm, rd: 14.3 cm

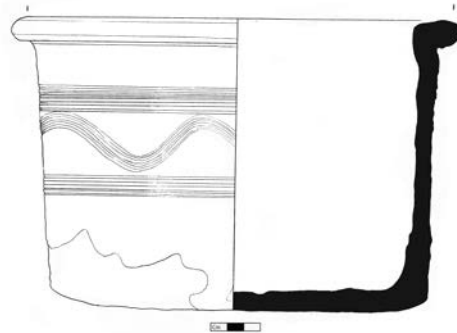
Description: Hemispherical bowl with an everted rim. Black-painted under turquoise glaze. Shape distorted. Base completely restored. Original base does not survive. (Originally, the base was probably not rounded.) Rim painted in black. Interior decorated with two concentric circle bands painted in black. Traces of a pattern in the center; not clear as the base is missing. 'S-back' design on the exterior.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Alkaline. Drips on the exterior walls. Occasional intrusions and voids in the fabric caused lumps and holes on the glaze surface.

Fabric: Fabric 5? No fresh breaks. Difficult to discern the fabric composition. The unglazed section on the lower part above the base has a smooth, compact surface that looks like polished. Cream color. Consistency not clear. Visible inclusions are small round black, larger angular grey, brown, frequent sand.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

16. 1847 (3999)



Dimensions: h: 17.4-18 cm, rd: 25.7, bd: 22.8-23 cm

Description: Large, manganese-glazed basin with vertical walls, flat base and everted rim. Thickly potted. Exterior decorated with a simple combed band that consists of a horizontal wave-pattern in between two parallel lines under the rim (6 cm in height). Base unglazed. Vessel restored crudely.

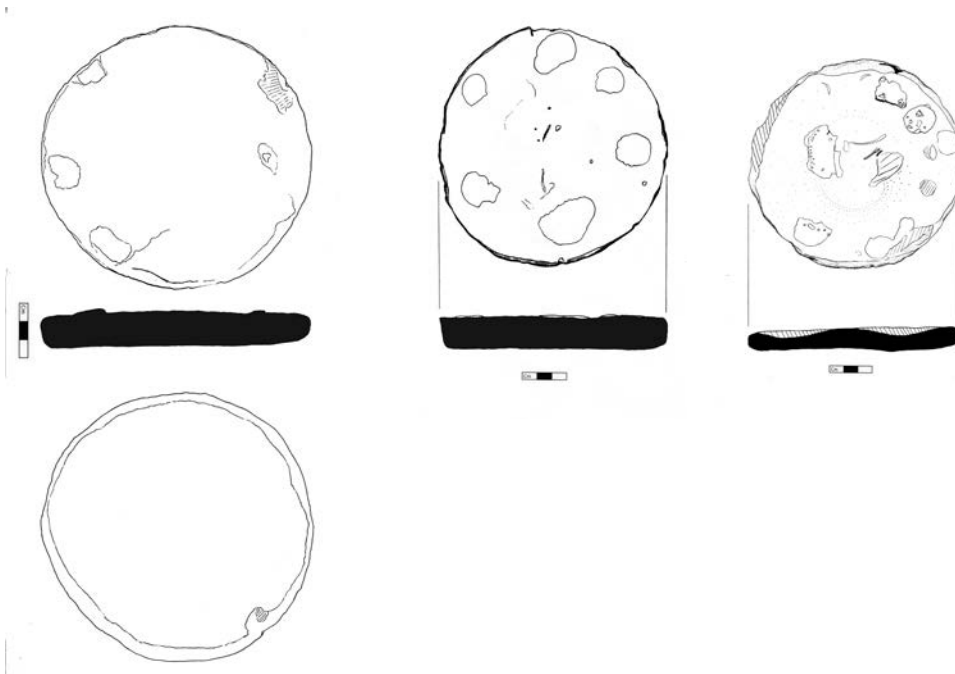
Glaze: Manganese glazed. Very dark aubergine color. Thin. Survives in poor condition.

Fabric: Fabric 14. EW. Pale brown with brown slip. Compact, dense, hard and heavy. Comes off only when heavily scraped.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: Unglazed basins of similar type with diverse rim profiles have been reported from Rafiq by Milwright 2005, 203, Fig. 4: 5; 204, Fig. 5: 1; Fig. 6: 2.

17. 1920 (4143)



Dimensions:

- 1) d: 14.9 cm, thickness: 2 cm
- 2) d: 15.7 cm, thickness: 2 cm
- 3) d: 15 cm, thickness: 1-1.6 cm

Description: A set of three terracotta discs with different glaze remains on them. They probably served as platforms in the kiln, on which vessels were placed during firing. Important as evidence that T. Macridy excavated a kiln site. They have very similar fabric characteristics. Probably made of the same clay.

Disc No. 1 has a smooth surface on both sides. Four spots of turquoise glaze on one side. Disc No. 2 has glaze stains on both sides; manganese on one side and turquoise on the other. Disc No. 3 has thick, green glaze on seven spots.

Glaze: The discs are unglazed except the glaze stains on their surfaces.

Fabric: Crudely shaped discs. Coarse fabric. Overall color represents the characteristic buff color on the Euphrates region. Visible color variations with chunks of pale brown, cream and grey. Sugary, gritty texture. Grain-size varies from small to large. Inclusions: frequent small round black, occasional round brown, large grey pebbles. Porous with large voids and even cracks in the fabric.

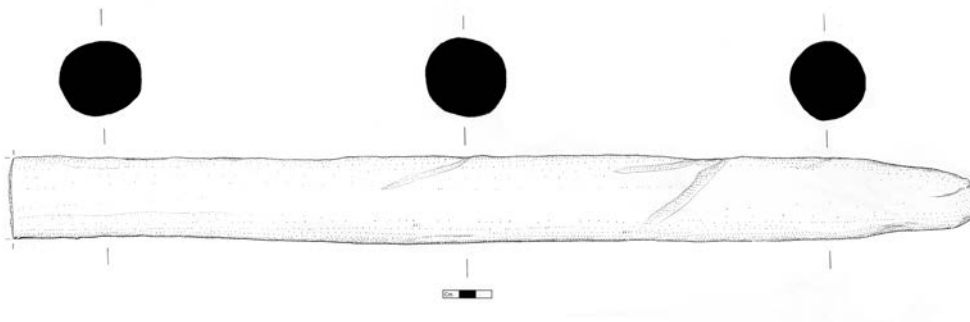
Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second Dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: Milwright 2005, 216, Fig. 15.

Literature: Referring to Yoltar-Yıldırım's list, Jenkins-Madina reports that there were four "roundels" but the fourth piece could not have been located in the museum.³⁰²

³⁰² Jenkins-Madina 2006, 23; Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 215.

18. 1921 (4144)



Dimensions: l: 59.5 cm, d: 3.5-5 cm

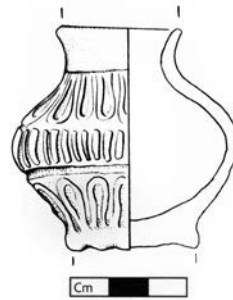
Description: Unglazed terracotta rod. Cylindrical. Undecorated. Functioned as a kiln utensil.

Fabric: Fabric 8? Greyish, pale brown. Very dense, compact, hard and heavy. Feels like it was made of stone. Small grained. Inclusions: large angular brown, frequent small round black, sparse carbonate? Small occasional voids.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Comparanda: Milwright 2005, 203, Fig. 4: 15; 216, Fig. 14.
MET Accession number: 52.130.26, 52.130.27

19. 1933 (4008)



Dimensions: h: 5.7 cm, bd: 3.2 cm, rd: 3 cm

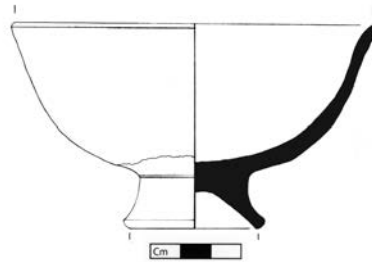
Description: Small monochrome turquoise-glazed vase with relief-moulded decoration. Well potted. Nicely finished. Feels like porcelain.

Glaze: Monochrome turquoise. Lead-alkaline (?) Appears matte due to wearing. Drips on the base. The base is lightly glazed with transparent, colorless glaze, likely with a high lead content.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. SP. White, brittle, compact, hard. Consistent, well-levigated. Inclusions not visible.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

20. 1934 (4009)



Dimensions: h: 6.8-6.9 cm, rd: 11.9 cm, bd: 4.2 cm

Description: Black underglaze-painted hemispherical bowl with a raised foot. Restored (probably medieval restoration). Well-potted. Rim painted in black. Exterior has dash-back motif. Interior has two concentric bands in black and a hexagonal, floral rosette in the center painted with a thin brush in free-hand style.

Glaze: Transparent, colorless glaze with a greenish tinge. Alkaline? No pooling but light drips on the exterior. Foot unglazed.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. Slip visible on the base. Consistency and color resembles Fabric 1. Dense, compact, brittle, granular.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Details:



21. 1935 (4010)



Dimensions: rd: 6.8 cm, bd: 4.6 cm, h: 7.5 cm

Description: Polychrome, splash-painted cup. Exterior relief-moulded with what resembles 'Elif' and 'Lam' letters repeated at regular intervals. Interior glazed with transparent colorless glaze. No pools or drips.

Glaze: The exterior has splashes of cobalt blue, black, clear glaze with transparent, colorless glaze with a greenish tinge. The glaze is thin and does not drip probably due to its high lead content. Crazeing on the inside. Corrosion and iridescence on the outside.

Fabric: No breaks. From what is visible on the base, the color and consistency resembles Fabric 1.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa).

Details:



22. 2244 (4011)



Dimensions: h: 4.6 cm, w: 3.5 cm

Description: Body sherd of a relief-moulded (*Laqabi* ware?) ceramic vessel.³⁰³ The pattern resembles a stylized bird outlined in thin brown paint and left plain in the center. Background painted in dark cobalt blue, which is worn and survives only partly.

Glaze: Exterior surface glazed with opaque white glaze; iridescent. Interior: clear glaze, iridescent.

Fabric: Soft, fine, white, small grained, well-levigated. Resembles Tell Minis fabric but less compact. Not brittle. Comes off when scraped with nail. Small grained. Very small round black inclusions, sand (?). Very small voids.

Date of Acquisition: 1906 (Second dispatch from Raqqa)

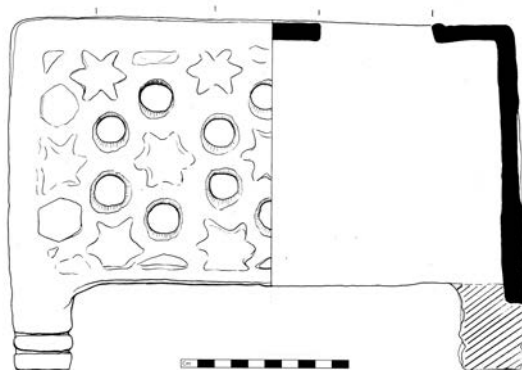
³⁰³ Recorded as “European faïence” on the ÇK inventories.

Details:



2. The Catalogue of the Ceramic Finds from the 1908 Raqqa Excavations by Haydar Bey

1. 1548 (3005)



Dimensions: h: 20-21 cm, l: 31.1 cm, w: 15 cm, wall thickness: 1-1.3 cm

Description: Molded, turquoise-glazed, four-footed, quadrilateral tabouret with two round holes on the upper surface. It is suggested to have functioned as a pot stand containing a portable stove inside to keep the food warm.³⁰⁴

The object is shaped like a box standing on four stubby feet. The upper surface is decorated with relief-moulded arabesques and vegetal scrolls. Each lateral wall has interlacing geometric rosettes that consist of six, round-pierced holes encircling a molded, six-pointed star in the center. The short sides are decorated with identical, relief-moulded, rectangular motifs resembling arches.³⁰⁵

The tabouret has been restored probably more than once although it is not clear at what stage. The restoration itself poses several questions. Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ of the original tabouret survives; the remaining part including one of the feet have been repaired. This restored section, which has been left unglazed, has been repaired with a completely different type of fabric that has a rather unusual, smooth texture and white color. However, the strong consistency in the design and decoration between the original and the restored section is remarkable. While the restored side-walls of the object has been decorated in the same fashion as the original, the restored upper section has been left plain entirely. The dissimilarity in the technique of restoration might suggest that the object has been restored more than once, although its dates remain moot. To speculate, it was either restored in the medieval period or in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century workshops of Aleppo.

³⁰⁴ Watson suggests that this form imitates what was originally wooden furniture (Watson 2004, 298-300).

³⁰⁵ Watson puts forward that the repeated use of the same molded elements on surviving examples might indicate the few number of workshops producing them. (Watson 2004, 300.)

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Thinly applied. Corroded, heavily crazed, iridized.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. The original section may be Fabric 8? EW. Greyish brown. Very hard, compact, dense. Coarse with medium-large grains that are fused tightly. Chunks of large white inclusions, probably quartz and/or carbonate. Inclusions: Occasional large angular brown, few round black, frequent quartz in greyish color. Frequent small voids.

Comparanda: TIEM 1556; Lane 1947, Pl. 60e; Grube 1963, figs. 4-5; Sursock 1974, nos. 29-30; Freer Gallery of Art and Atıl 1975, no. 37; Porter 1981, pl. xxvi; Grube 1994, nos. 327-29; Watson 2004, Cat. K.13, Cat. K.14; Hobson 1932, pl. 9; MET Accession number: 42.113.2

Literature: Ölçer and Baykan 2002, 68; Graves 2012.

Details:





2. 1725 (4283) a³⁰⁶



Dimensions: l: 10.1 cm, w: 5.7 cm, thickness: 1-1.6 cm

Description: Fragment of a monochrome turquoise-glazed object (perhaps some kind of a tabouret?) Function not clear. It is like a rod broken on the short ends while its longitudinal edges are rounded and glazed. Exterior relief-moulded. Interior plain turquoise-glazed.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Heavily, corroded, decayed, and crazed. Flakes off.

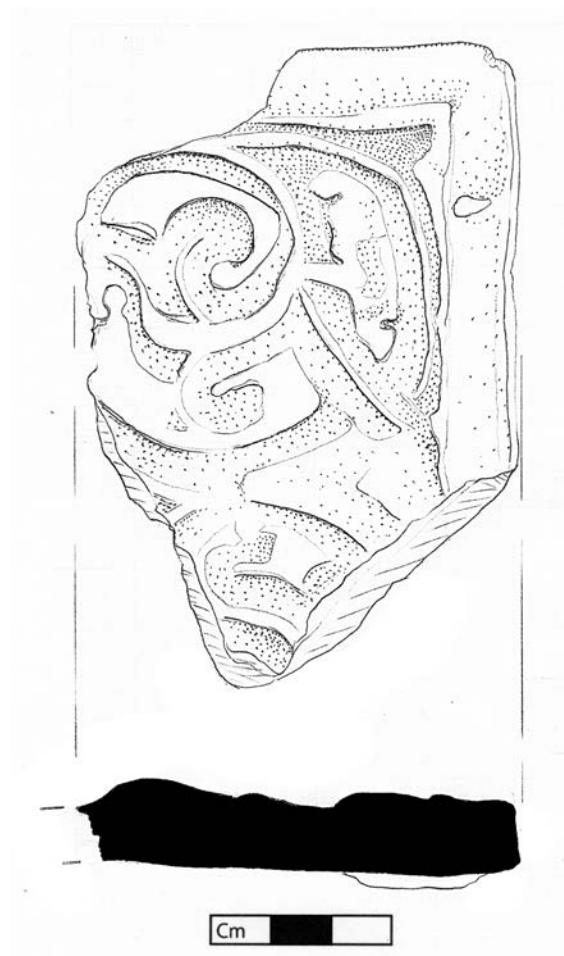
Fabric: Fabric 4. Creamish white. Soft, friable, sugary, comes off when rubbed with fingertips. Small grained. Occasional inclusions: small angular brown, small round black, very sparse quartz. No voids.

³⁰⁶ TIEM 1725 has a group of six objects. I assigned them letters 'a, b, c, d, e and f'. Both the museum inventory books and Yoltar-Yıldırım (2006) mention it as a group of seven objects. Unfortunately, the seventh object could not have been located at the museum.

Details:



3. 1725 (4283) b



Dimensions: l: 10.5 cm , h: 7.1 cm, thickness: 1.1-1.6 cm

Description: Corner fragment of a monochrome turquoise-glazed tile, inscription panel or tabouret. Function not clear. Decorated with relief-moulded, spiral-shaped vegetal scrolls. Backside unglazed, which might suggest that it functioned as an architectural ceramic.

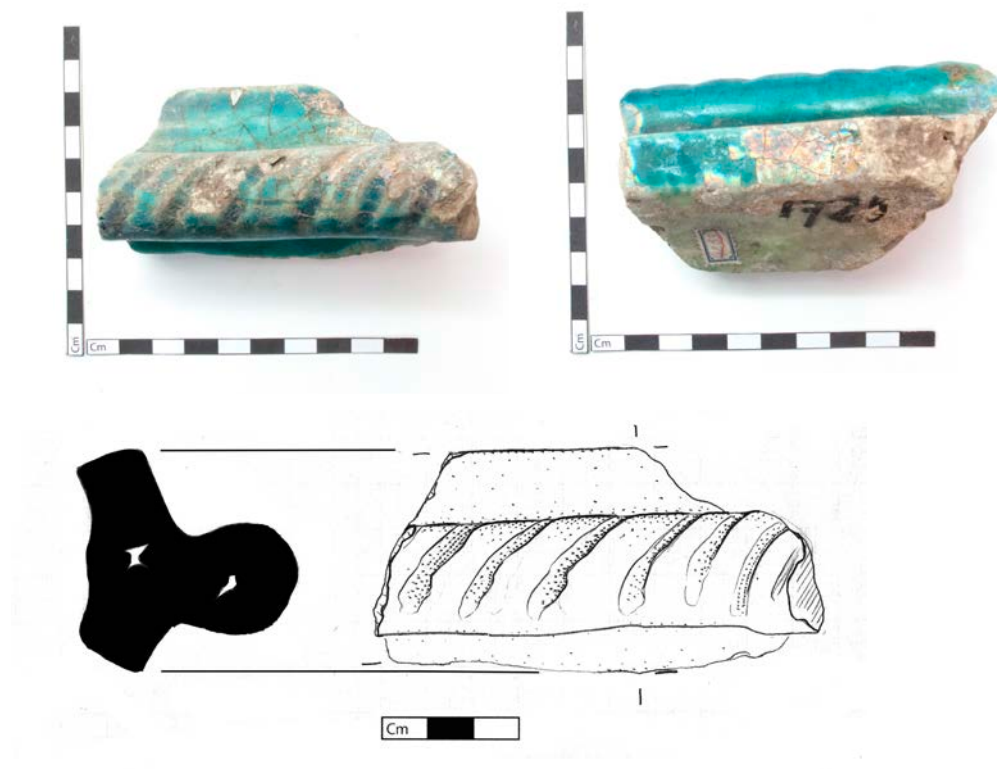
Glaze: Transparent turquoise glaze. Lead-alkaline. Preserved in good condition. Little crazing. Iridescent on the edges.

Fabric: Fabric 5. White. Soft, sugary, comes off when rubbed with nail. Small grained. Small inclusions: small angular brown. Medium voids.

Details:



4. 1725 (4283) c



Dimensions: l: 9.8 cm, w: 4.9 cm, d: 4.5 cm

Description: Fragment of a monochrome turquoise-glazed bar or rod perhaps used for architectural decoration or as a handle of some sort. Function not clear. Glazed on all sides. The two edges are broken. The projecting cylindrical part on the front side has been decorated with twisted filaments (incised or relief-moulded) in the form of a coiled rope. The area left underneath the 'coil' is narrower than the area above it.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Area underneath the 'coil' is in good condition with its glaze retaining its shine. Some crazing. Area above the 'coil' is in poorer condition; decayed, corroded and crazed. The glaze on the frontal side and the backside appears different as the backside glaze is much thinner, therefore has a greenish tinge.

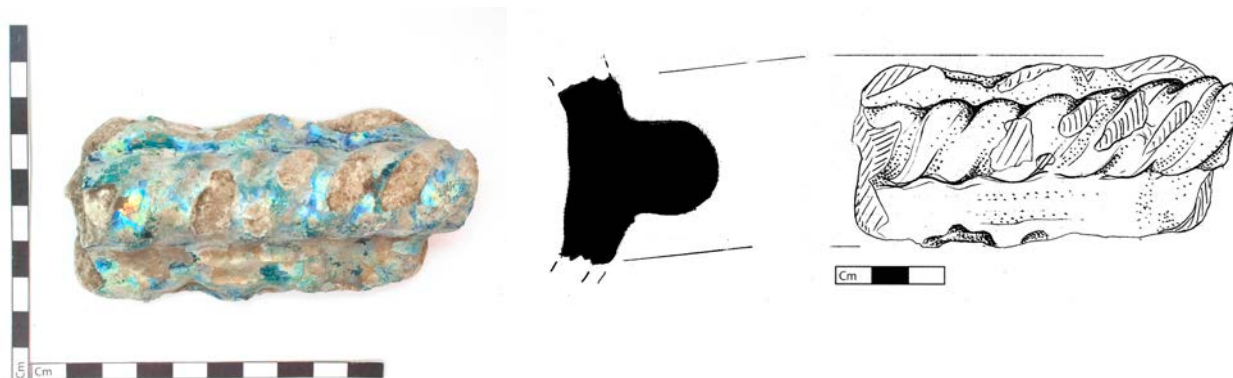
Fabric: Fabric 4.

Comparanda: TIEM 1725 d, TIEM 1725 e, David Museum Collection, 21/1982 (Folsach 1990, 108).



(Folsach 1990, 108, Fig. 140)

5. 1725 (4283) d



Dimensions: l: 10.5 cm, w: 5 cm, d: 4.2 cm

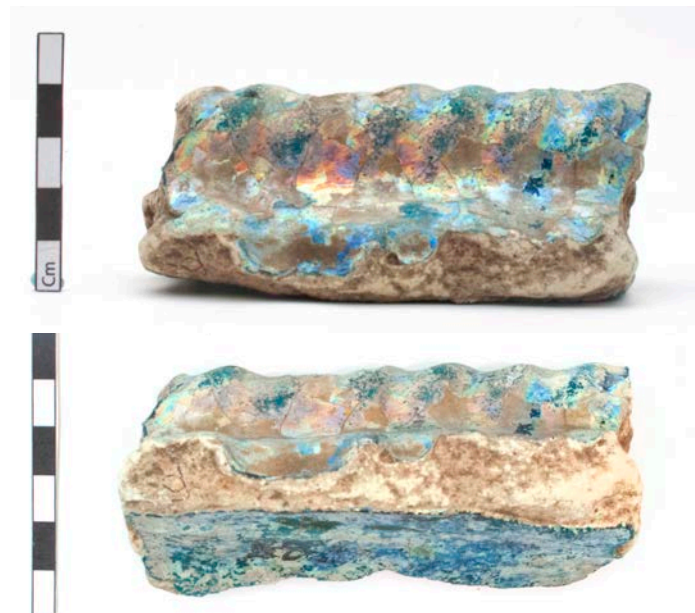
Description: Fragment of a monochrome, turquoise-glazed bar or rod perhaps used for architectural decoration. Function not clear. Glazed on all sides. Poorly preserved. Broken on all four sides. The projecting cylindrical part on the front side has been decorated with twisted filaments relief-moulded in the form of a coiled rope.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Glaze corroded, iridescent. Flakes off.

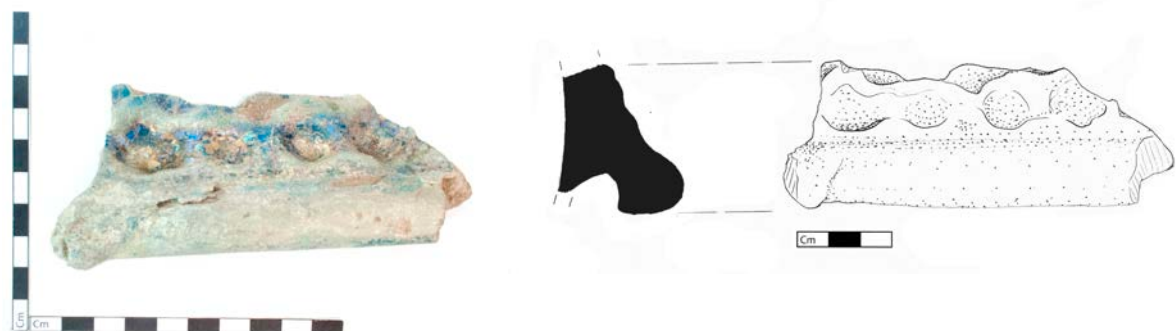
Fabric: Fabric 5.

Comparanda: TIEM 1725 c, TIEM 1725 e, Folsach 1990, 108, Fig. 140.

Details:



6. 1725 (4283) e



Dimensions: l: 12.5 cm, h: 6 cm, w: 3.5 cm

Description: Fragment of a turquoise-glazed object (perhaps a tabouret?) or architectural ceramic. Function not clear. Glazed on two sides. There is a ridge at the back probably where a piece of metal bar was inserted. Decoration: plain turquoise glazed. Frontal side finger impressions at regular intervals. Back side plain turquoise-glazed. The projecting cylindrical part on the front has been decorated (relief-moulded?) in the form of a coiled rope.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Severely worn and corroded. Lead-alkaline. Iridescent. Flaking off.

Fabric: Fabric 15. EW. Pale brown. Dense, compact.

Comparanda: TIEM 1725a, TIEM 1725b, TIEM 1725c, TIEM 1725d.

Details:



7. 1725 (4283) f



Dimensions: l: 8.1 cm, w: 7.7 cm, thickness: 1-4 cm

Description: Wall fragment of a monochrome turquoise-glazed tabouret? Function not clear. Glazed on both sides.. Exterior side decorated with finger impression. Interior plain turquoise glazed.

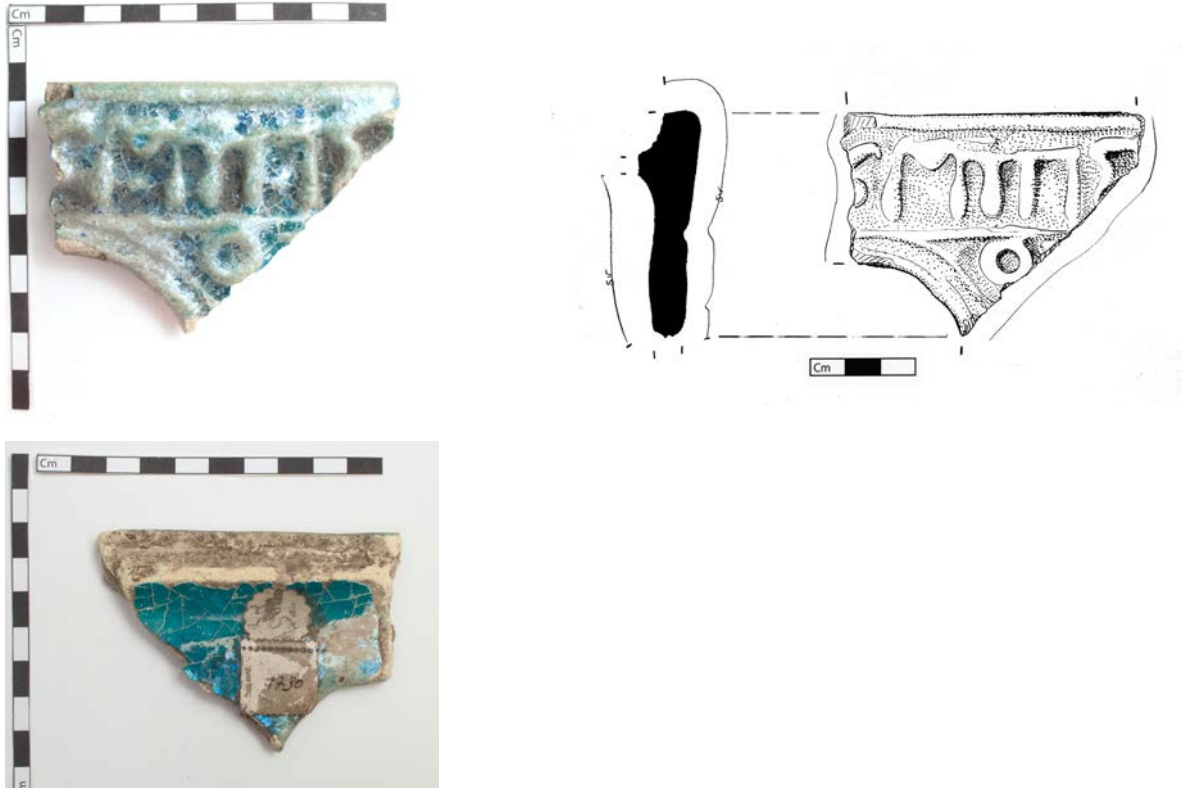
Glaze: Monochrome turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Glaze worn and corroded. Iridescent.

Fabric: Fabric 15. Cream/Pale brown. Hard, dense, compact. Doesn't come off when rubbed. Small grained. Small angular brown, small round black.

Details:



8. 1730 (2957)



Dimensions: l: 8.6 cm, w: 6.3 cm, thickness: 8-10 mm

Description: Fragment of a relief-moulded, monochrome turquoise-glazed inscription.³⁰⁷

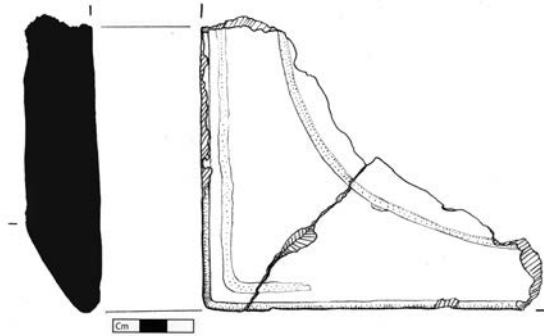
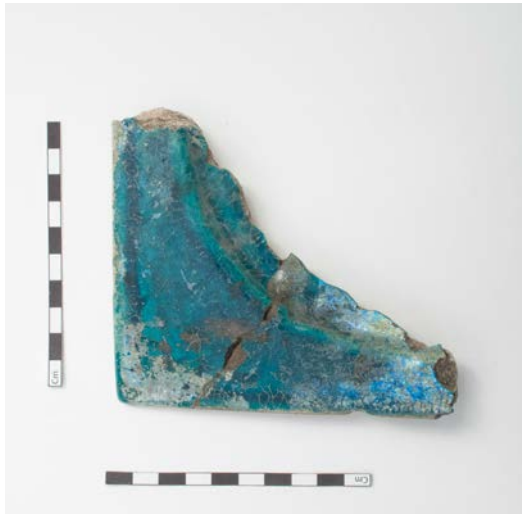
Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Front side corroded. The glaze on the back is matte and in better condition. Crazeing and iridescence on both sides.

Fabric: Fabric 4. SP. Yellowish white. Soft, sugary, friable, porous. Small-grained. Frequent inclusions: large, angular brown, small, round black, sand. Small frequent voids.

Literature: Yoltar-Yıldırım 2006, 216.

³⁰⁷ The original inventory of the Çinili Köşk refers to it as “faïence.”

9. 1731 (4284)



Dimensions: l: 12.6 cm, w: 11.1 cm, d., thickness varies btw 0.5 cm-3 cm.

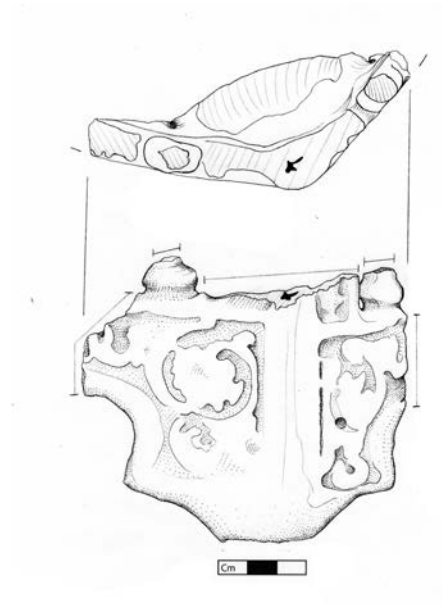
Description: Monochrome turquoise glazed corner fragment of a tile.³⁰⁸
Front side glazed. Back side unglazed. Restored.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline. Thin. Crazed. Iridescence. Corroded on the corner and the edges.

Fabric: SP. Color, texture, inclusions same as Fabric 4. Relatively coarser with large voids. White/cream. Sugary, friable, porous. Frequent inclusions: angular brown, frequent small black, sand.

³⁰⁸ Yoltar-Yıldırım lists it as “enameled terracotta,” which is a misleading definition.

10. 1732 (2954)



Dimensions: l (front): 7.5 cm, l (lateral): 5.5 cm, h: 9.7 cm

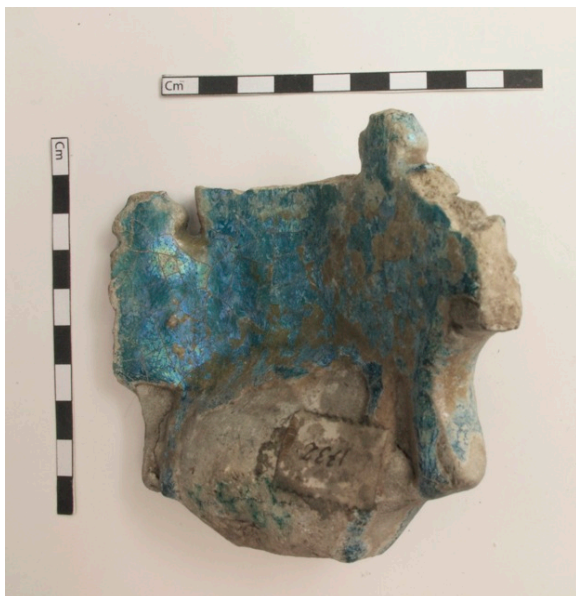
Description: Upper corner fragment and leg knob of a tabouret.³⁰⁹ Monochrome turquoise glazed. Front relief-moulded with patterns of vegetal scrolls and arabesques. Back plain turquoise glazed.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline (?). Thin. Corroded on both surfaces. Iridized on the interior.

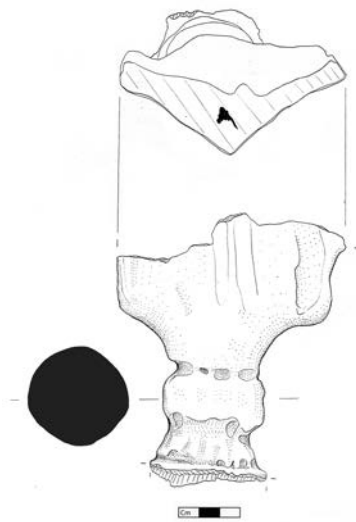
Fabric: Fabric 11 (?). Large, frequent voids, medium-grained. Frequent inclusions: sand, large angular brown, sparse, very small black. Hard compact, less friable than Fabric 4 and Fabric 5 yet comes off when scraped.

³⁰⁹ Yoltar-Yıldırım lists it as “faïence”. Catalogue entry defines it as “fragment of a kufic inscription”

Details:



11. 1735 (2955)



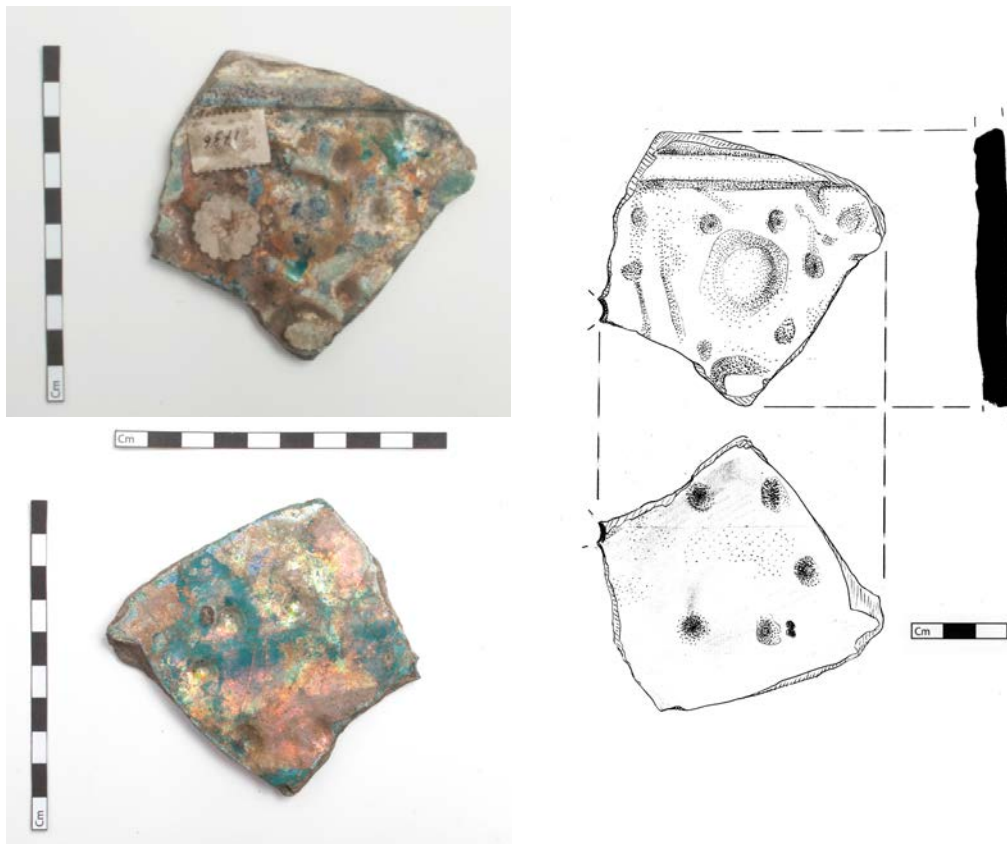
Dimensions: h: 12.5-13 cm, l on each side: 6.5 cm, wall thickness c. 1 cm

Description: Corner fragment and upper leg of a *tabouret* (?). Relief-moulded. Turquoise glazed. Exterior surface of the corner and raised patterns on the walls outlined in black paint. Leg plain glazed. Interior surface plain turquoise glazed.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline? Severely corroded and crazed. Heavy iridescence.

Fabric: Fabric 13. SP. Cream/Pale brown with patches of brown. Hard, compact. Medium-grained. Frequent inclusions: angular brown, small round black, sand, medium angular white. Medium voids.

12. 1736 (2956)



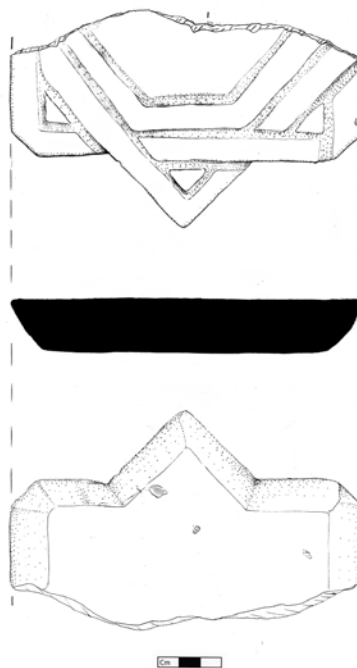
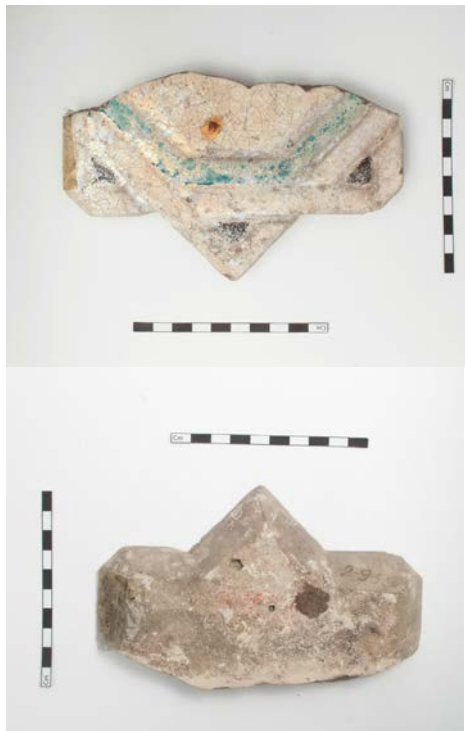
Dimensions: h: 8.8 cm, w: 9 cm

Description: Fragment of a monochrome-turquoise glazed tabouret? Broken on all sides except a small area that has glaze (probably the corner). Both faces glazed. One face relief-moulded, other side has 5 concave dots that look like finger impressions. They form a distorted circle. Exterior has a relief-moulded decoration with a circular impression in the center. Glaze corroded. Interior surface in better condition with severe iridization.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Crazed, decayed, iridized.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. Fabric 6 (?) When scraped, a brownish cream fabric appears. Porous, small-grained, sugary and friable but feels dense. Large voids. Coarse in texture.

13. 1800 (2959)



Dimensions: w: 16.6, h: 12.2 cm, thickness: 2.5 cm

Description: Fragment (almost half) of a polychrome tile in the form of an eight-pointed star? Surface outlined with a geometric, interlacing border in low relief. A hexagon painted in green outlines the central area. Triangles formed by the interlacing border on the points of the star are painted in dark brown/aubergine. The back of the tile is unglazed with a smooth finish.

Glaze: Transparent colorless glaze with a high lead content. Corroded, crazed, flaking off. Iridescence.

Fabric: Fabric 5. Cream, small-grained, sugary, friable. Frequent inclusions: large angular brown, small round black, sand, occasional small, round quartz, large voids.

Comparanda: TIEM 2138, TIEM 2139.

14. 2030 (2965)



Dimensions: h: 4.9 cm, rd: 28 (+?) cm

Description: Rim and wall fragment of a luster-painted biconical bowl. Rim painted in chocolate brown on both sides. Head and body of a harpy motif visible on the interior surface painted in brown. The exterior is decorated with spirals and arabesques painted in brown. The fabric, the glaze and the sphinx motif resembles the “Tell Minis” wares but the luster color and the scrolls on the exterior suggests a Raqqa origin.

Glaze: Remains in very good condition. No crazing, no drips, no iridescence. The thin appearance of the glaze should be an indicator of its high lead content.

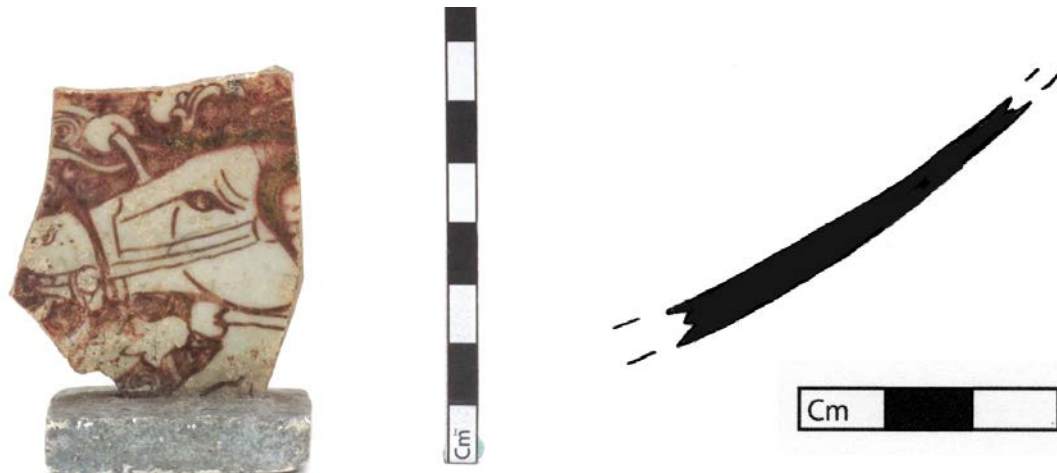
Fabric: Fabric 17. Fine, white fabric. Very small-grained. Compact and well-levigated. No visible inclusions.

Literature: Baer 1965, 17-28.

Details:



15. 2033 (2964)



Dimensions: h: 5.5 cm, w: 4.5 cm

Description: Wall fragment of a lustered, biconical bowl. A horse head motif on the interior and a plain, horizontal band painted in reddish-brown luster on the exterior surfaces. The fabric, the glaze and the design resembles the “Tell Minis” wares but the luster color points to a Raqqa origin.

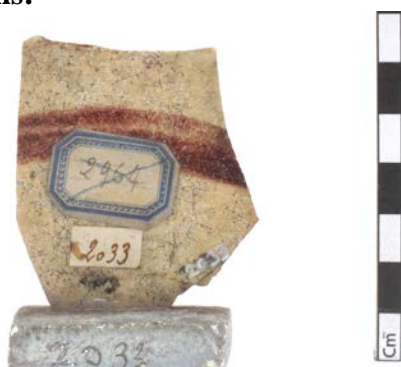
Glaze: Remains in very good condition. Thin. Fine. Lead.

Fabric: Fabric 17. Fine, white fabric. Compact; comes off when hardly scraped. No visible inclusions.

Comparanda: TIEM 2030.

Comments: Close parallels with TIEM 2030 in terms of vessel shape, decoration and fabric. Patterns on TIEM 2033 painted in reddish-brown while those on TIEM 2030 are painted in chocolate brown. Luster on 2033 better preservation.

Details:



16. 2037 (2962)



Dimensions: h: 4 cm, l: 6.5 cm, w: 2.5 cm

Description: Monochrome turquoise-glazed animal figurine. Head and legs broken.

Glaze: Front of the body, rear part and upper parts of the rear legs transparent turquoise glazed. Alkaline. Crudely applied. Glaze corroded and worn, flakes off. Small air bubbles on the frontal area.

Fabric: Fabric 18. SP. White. Compact, dense, comes off when scraped with nail hardly. Small grained. Few inclusions: sparse small, round black inclusions, chunks of crushed pale brown (crushed pottery?) and sparse sand (?). Small voids.

Comparanda: TIEM 2044.

Details:



17. 2044 (2960)



Dimensions: h: 5.4 cm, l: 8.7 cm, w: 3 cm

Description: Monochrome glazed terracotta animal figurine. Head and one leg missing. Partly restored. Heavy and compact.

Glaze: Transparent colorless glaze with a greenish tinge. Glaze hardly visible due to incrustation. Thick. Alkaline? Drips on the center near the belly.

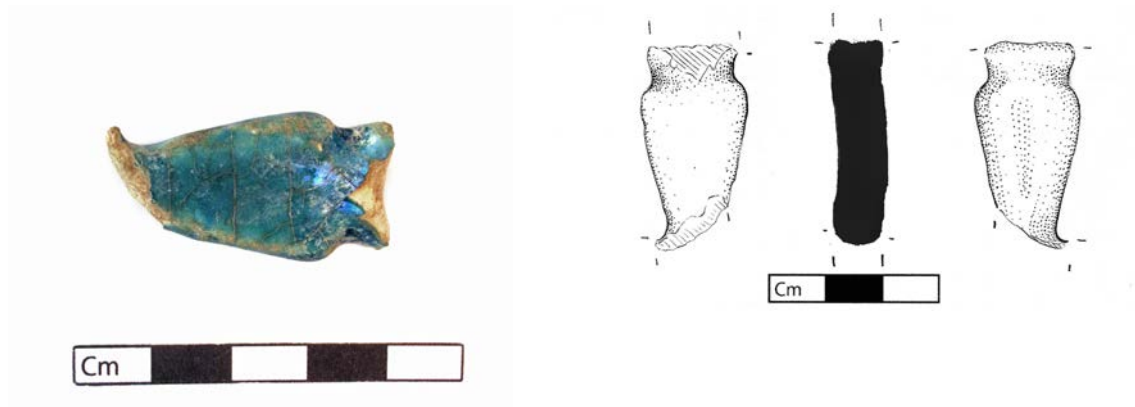
Fabric: No fresh breaks. Not clear whether it is EW or SP. Color varies between cream and pale brown with grey chunks. Very hard, compact, dense and heavy. Small grained. Inclusions hardly visible: sand (?), small quartz, small round black inclusions. Occasional small voids.

Comparanda: TIEM 2037

Details:



18. 2049 (2967)



Dimensions: l: 3.6 cm, w: 2.5 cm

Description: Small, tear-drop shaped baluster fragment from a monochrome, turquoise-glazed tabouret.³¹⁰

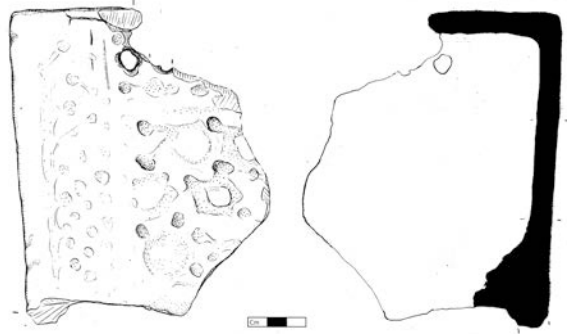
Glaze: Transparent turquoise-glazed. Lead-alkaline. Pronounced crazing, iridescence.

Fabric: Fabric 3? SP. Cream. Small-grained. Medium-soft, friable, granular. Inclusions: sparse small round black, round brown, frequent quartz, sparse red sand?.

Comparanda: Graves 2012: 69, Fig. 9; 70, Fig. 10; 74, Fig. 15.

³¹⁰ Graves (2012, 73) notes that such balusters were commonly attested in Syrian tabourets.

19. 2122 (2953)



Dimensions: h: 16.3 cm, w: 13.2 cm

Description: Upper corner fragment of a monochrome turquoise-glazed tabouret/stand. Surface heavily corroded and worn.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise glaze. Thin. Lead-alkaline? Corroded and decayed. Flakes off.

Fabric: Not clearly visible. Small/medium grained, hard, compact, frequent large voids on one of the walls, but no voids on others. Grey and cream chunks of clay not fused completely. Inclusions: occasional small round black, occasional quartz, sand.

Comparanda: TĪEM 1548, TĪEM 2125.

Details:



20. 2125 (2958)



Dimensions: h: 16 cm, w: 9,2 cm

Description: Wall fragment of a relief-moulded, monochrome turquoise-glazed tabouret?

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead-alkaline? Decayed, crazed. Heavy iridescence.

Fabric: Fabric 19. SP. Cream with greyish chunks. Compact, dense. Comes off when hardly scraped. Small grained. Very sparse inclusions: sparse quartz, sand (?). Small occasional voids.

Comparanda: TIEM 1548, TIEM 2122.

Details:



21. 2133 (2944)



Dimensions: h: 8 cm, d: 5 cm

Description: Unglazed, conical terracotta object with a screw. Functioned probably as a bottle lid. Body pierced with four triangles, all on one side. Broken on the bottom.

Fabric: Fabric 8? EW. No fresh breaks. Pale brown with chunks of grey (crushed pottery?). Hard, compact, dense. Small-medium grained. Inclusions hardly visible: small, round black, sparse large angular brown. Occasional voids.

Details:



22. 2138 (2941)



Dimensions: h: 17 cm

Description: Fragment of a pentagon-shaped, polychrome tile. (Same shape as TIEM 2139). Frontal surface glazed; reverse unglazed with two projecting knobs probably to attach it to a wall or floor. Broken on one end. Frontal surface decorated with incised, interlacing geometrical motifs painted in green and black. Background painted in white (slip?). A circular mark in the center, occurred probably during firing (could be the trace of a vessel that was placed on top the tile, perhaps an indication that the tile was used as a kiln plate at a secondary stage.)

Glaze: Transparent, colorless glaze. Thin. Lead. Corroded; matte due to weathering.

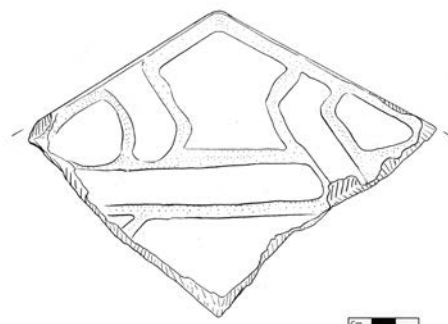
Fabric: Not well-levigated. Overall has a cream color but areas with mixture of cream, grey and pale brown. medium dense, comes off when hardly scraped with nail. Porous, small grained. Occasional large voids. Sparse inclusions: angular brown, chunks of crushed white material, few small round black, very few white quartz. Rare sand. Same fabric as TIEM 2139.

Comparanda: TIEM 1800, TIEM 2139.

Details:



23. 2139 (2942)



Dimensions: h: 13.2 cm, w: 17.5 cm, thickness: 2.5 cm

Description: Fragment of a polychrome, glazed polygonal (probably pentagon-shaped) tile. The frontal surface covered in white slip; decorated with incised geometrical patterns painted in green and black. Reverse surface is unglazed and has a knob to attach it to a wall or floor.

Glaze: Transparent, colorless glaze. Thin. Lead. Corroded and crazed. Matte due to weathering.

Fabric: Not well-levigated. Overall has a cream color but areas with mixture of cream, grey and pale brown. medium dense, comes off when hardly scraped with nail. Porous, small grained. Occasional large voids. Sparse inclusions: angular brown, chunks of carbonate, few small round black, very few white quartz. Rare sand.

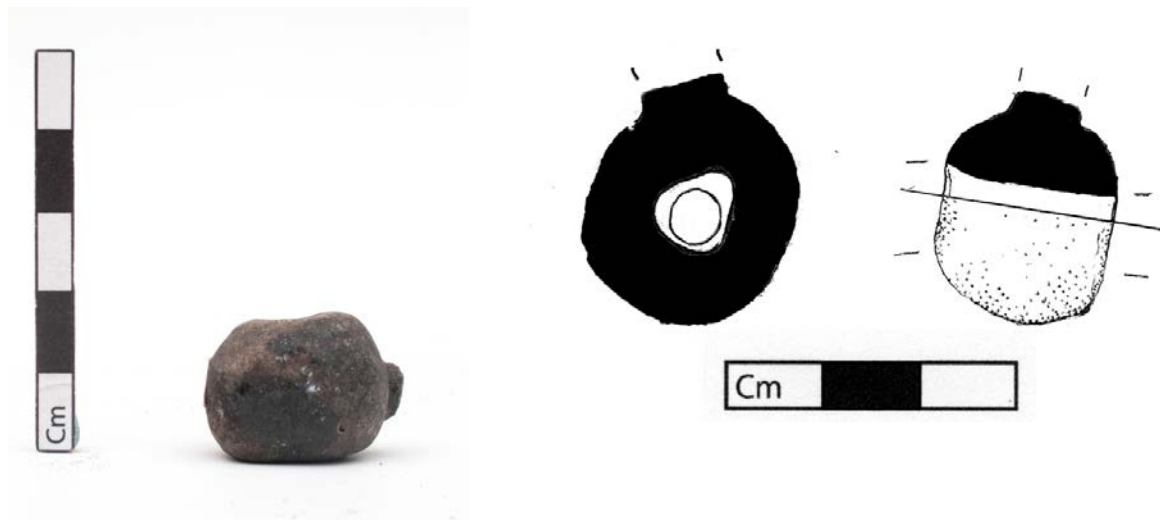
Comparanda: T1EM 2138, T1EM 1800.

Literature: Jenkins-Madina 2006, 77, W76.

Details:



24. 2158 (2970)



Dimensions: h: 1.5 cm, d: 2 cm

Description: Manganese-glazed terracotta bead? Worn on both edges of the hole. It may not be a bead but pierced fragment of an object as it looks like it has been broken. Exterior glazed, interior unglazed.

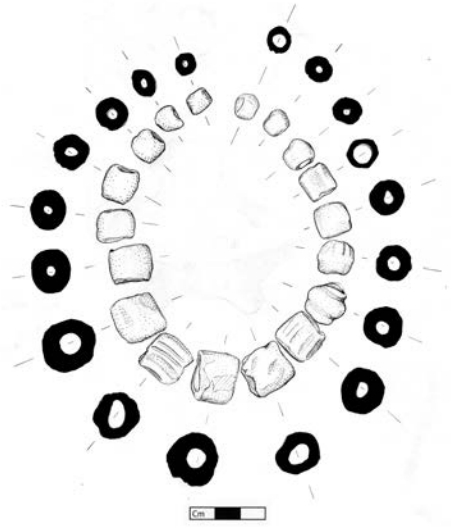
Glaze: Very dark brown, manganese. Thin. Worn.

Fabric: No fresh breaks; difficult to discern. Hard, compact. Probably terracotta/EW. Surface color misleading. Brown on the surface but when scraped a creamish brown fabric underneath. Small black inclusions. Chunks of crushed carbonate. No other visible inclusions. Small voids.

Details:



25. 2159 (2966)

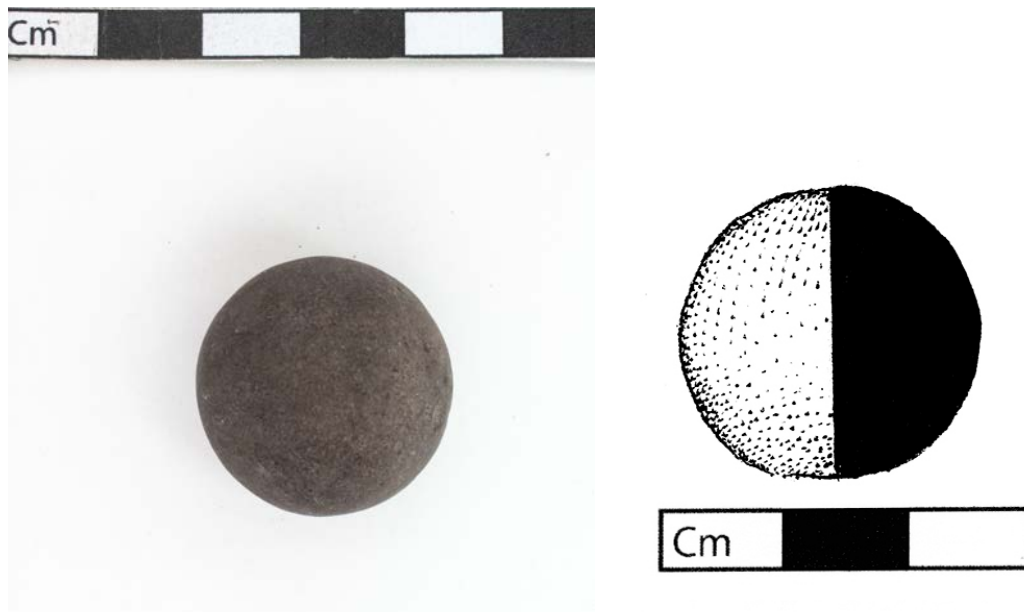


Description: A set of eighteen beads in various dimensions.

Glaze: Fifteen beads monochrome turquoise glazed, three beads monochrome green glazed. Glazes are all thin. Most likely lead.

Fabric: No fresh breaks; difficult to discern. SP. Generally hard, dense and compact but porous.

26. 2209 (2974)



Dimensions: d: 2.45 cm

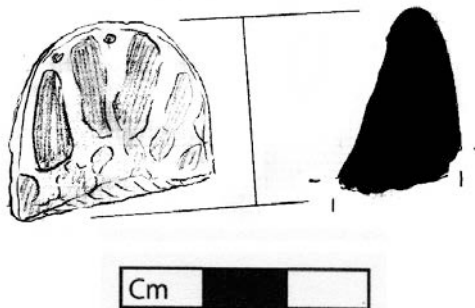
Description: Unglazed, small, solid terracotta ball. No decoration. Smooth surface. Function unclear.

Fabric: Fabric 15? EW. Brown. Hard, dense, compact. Frequent basalt inclusions in various dimensions, some carbonate? No other visible inclusions.

Details:



27. 2210 (2969)



Dimensions: h: 2.3 cm

Description: Fragment of an oval-shaped object. One half broken, other half well-preserved. Function not clear. Frontal surface decorated with six parallel bands painted in dark brown glaze. Paint partly worn.

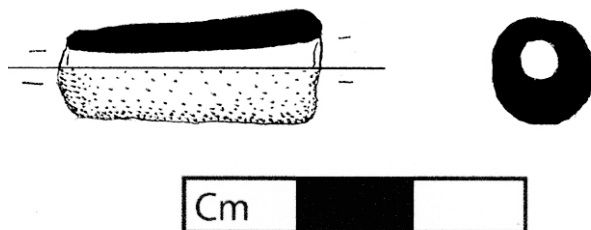
Glaze: Frontal surface glazed with transparent glaze with a greenish tinge and painted in brown, manganese glaze. Reverse surface unglazed.

Fabric: Fabric 3? SP. Very friable, sugary, soft. Cream. Small grained. Few inclusions: small angular black. Frequent medium voids.

Details:



28. 2252 (2972)



Dimensions: l: 2.4 cm, d: 0.8 cm

Description: Monochrome turquoise-glazed cylindrical bead. Occasional intrusions and voids in the fabric caused lumps and holes on the glaze surface.

Glaze: Transparent turquoise. Lead (?) Completely worn and corroded. Fabric exposed.

Fabric: No fresh breaks. Fabric not visible. From what is exposed on the surface, it can be suggested that it is porous with frequent large voids.

Details:



3. The Catalogue of the Glass and Small Finds from the 1908 Raqqa Excavations by Haydar Bey

1. 2052 (2986)



Dimensions: h: 4.52 cm, d: 2.3 cm (widest)

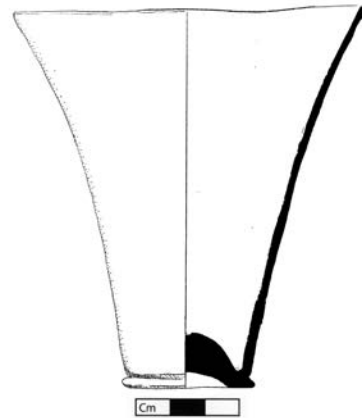
Description: Neck of a bottle. Broken on both ends. Shape distorted. Not symmetrical. Mottled, granite-look in white and grey color. Solid, compact and dense. Semi opaque. Semi translucent.

Comparanda: TIEM 2099.

Details:



2. 2055 (4298)

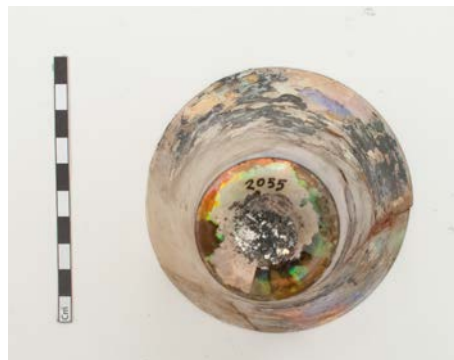


Dimensions: h: 11 cm, rd: 9.9-10 cm, bd: 3,8 cm

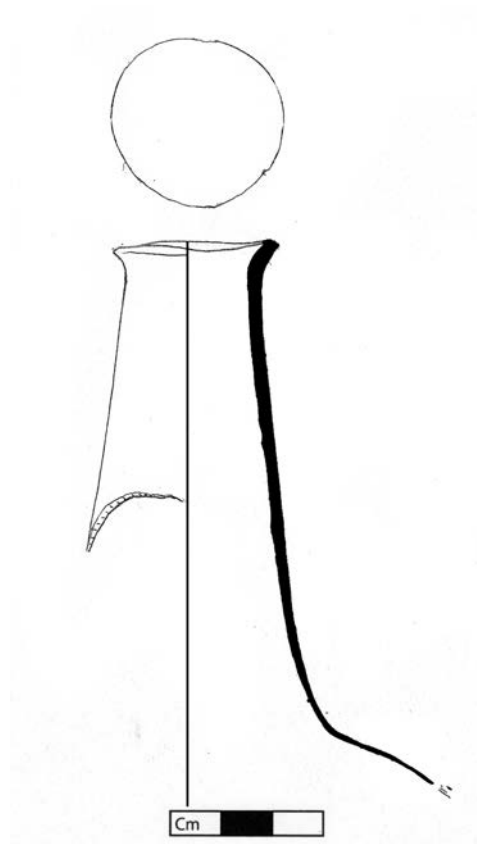
Description: Lustered beaker with a flaring rim. Free blown. Translucent. Restored. Heavy iridescence conceals the original surface. ÇK inventory books record “gilded decoration,” which is hardly visible. Luster is flaking off.

Comparanda: Redford 1994: 91, Fig 30.

Details:



3. 2060 (4303)



Dimensions: h: 10.3-11 cm, rd: 3.3 cm

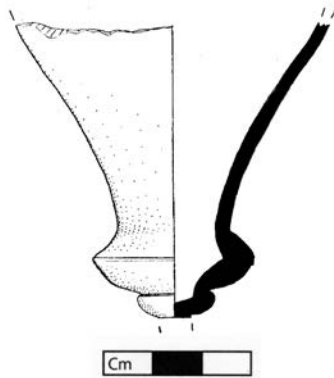
Description: Rim and neck of a bottle. Free blown. Translucent,,clear glass. Plain, undecorated. Iridescent. Frequent air holes.

Comparanda: TIEM 2086.

Details:



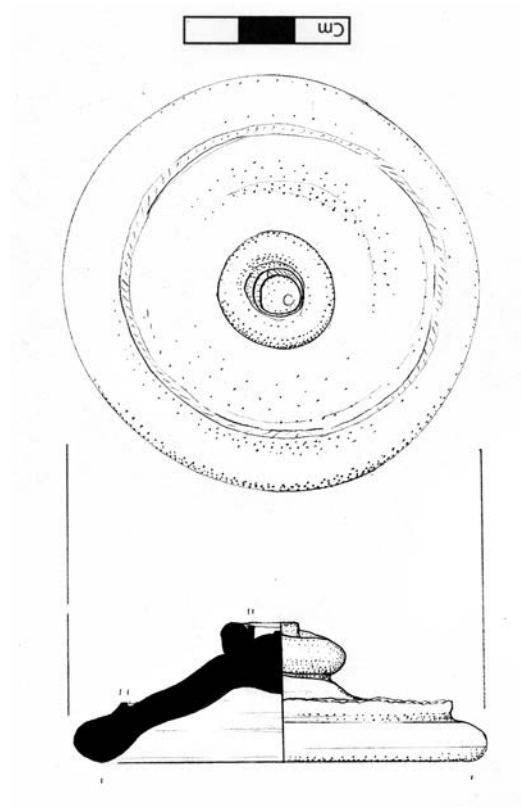
4. 2061 (4302)



Dimensions: h. h: 5.9 cm

Description: Fragment of a goblet in three pieces. Broken. Unrestored. Free blown. Clear, translucent glass. Iridescent. Surface worn, flaked off exposing the glass core underneath.

5. 2062 (4305)



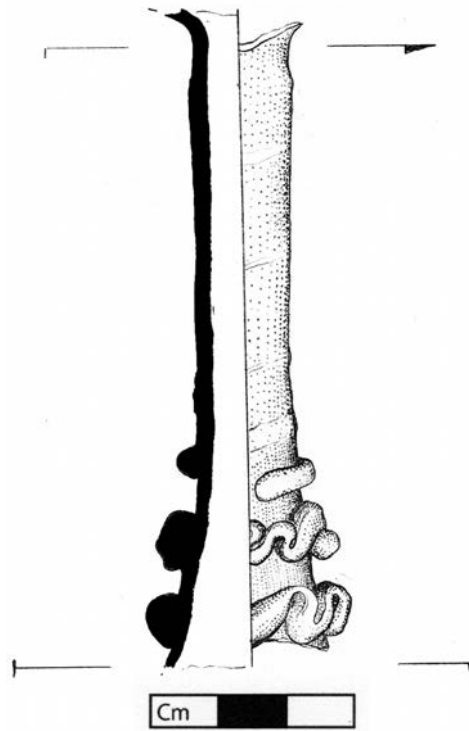
Dimensions: h: 2.5 cm, d: 7.4-7.6 cm

Description: Foot of a vase or goblet. Distorted shape. Moulded. Opaque, granite-look.

Details:



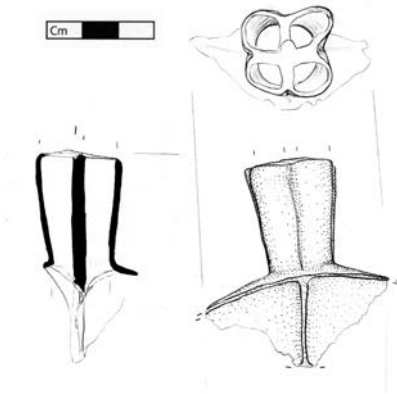
6. 2066 (4301)



Dimensions: h: 9.8 cm, rd: 2.5 cm

Description: Neck of a bottle with applied decoration in the form of wavy coiling. Broken on both ends. Opaque, granite-look.

7. 2079 (4304)



Dimensions: h: 5.85 cm, w: 5.1 cm

Description: Fragment of a molar flask? Broken. Clear, translucent glass. Blown and moulded. Slight iridescence. Exterior surface has traces of enamel, worn and flaking off.

Details:



8. 2082 (2999)



Dimensions: d: 7.5 cm, (thickness) d: 0.6 cm

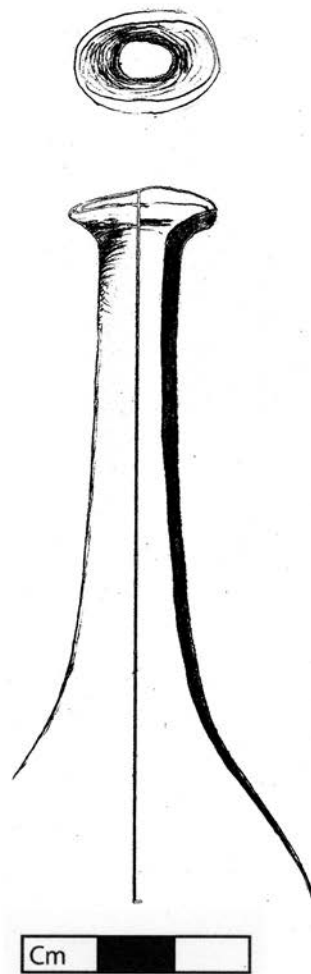
Description: Fragment of a twisted bracelet. Opaque. Black core with a mottled surface.

Comparanda: TIEM 2094; Uysal 2013, 138.

Details:



9. 2086 (2991)



Dimensions: h: 9.4 cm

Description: Rim and neck of a bottle. Free blown. Clear, translucent glass. Plain, undecorated. Compact. Rim distorted, not round. Exterior iridized.

Comparanda: TIEM 2060.

10. 2094 (3001)



Dimensions: d: 0.55-0.75 cm

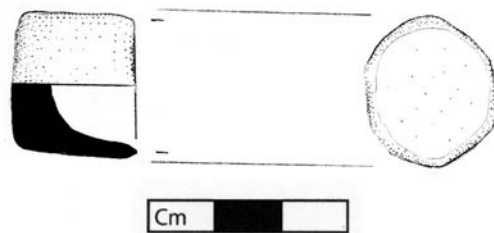
Description: Fragment of a twisted bracelet in two pieces. Core greyish light blue, surface mottled, granite-look.

Comparanda: TIEM 2082.

Details:



11. 2095 (2985)



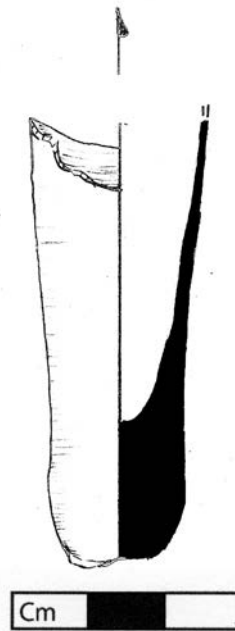
Dimensions: h: 1.95 cm, rd: 2.2 cm, bd: 1.95 cm

Description: Thimble/lid of small bottle? Hexagonal object with rounded corners and a flat base. Not broken. Semi translucent, cream color with a greenish tinge.

Details:



12. 2096 (2988)



Dimensions: h: 3.6 cm, bd: c. 10 cm

Description: Base of a bottle/kohltube?/*mukhula*. Free blown. Rounded at the bottom. Opaque. Mottled. Resembles granite. Hard and compact.

13. 2097 (2987)



Dimensions: h: 3.6 cm, body d: c. 10 cm

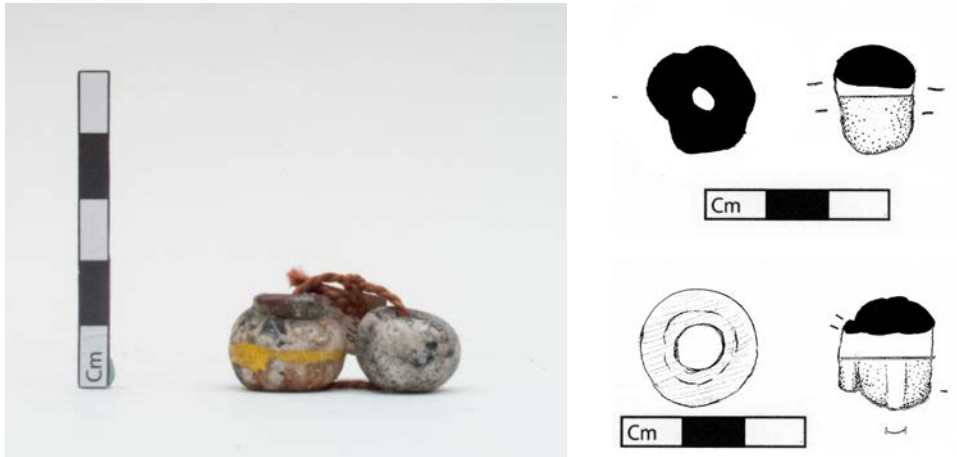
Description: Enameled body fragment with a fragmentary inscription. Semi translucent. The layers of the glass are visible on the section. Surface worn and decayed. Decorated with a horizontal inscription band incised on the enamel. The enamel has an opaque, green/tan color. It is flanked by a single row of small, molded dots.

Comparanda: Lukens 2965: 206, Figure 13-14; Kevorkian and Loudmer 1985: 267, Fig. 646.

Details:



14. 2098 (2984)



Dimensions: Bead 1: h: 1.55 cm, d: 1.85 cm; Bead 2: h: 1.4 cm, d: 1/45-1.8 cm

Description:

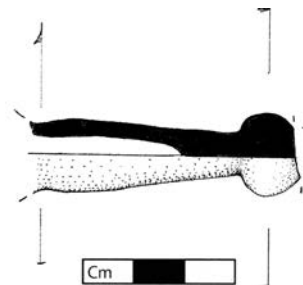
Bead 1: Opaque globular bead. Multicolored. Background mottled. A horizontal line painted in yellow runs in the center.

Bead 2: Opaque bead with a mottled effect in white, grey and black.

Details:



15. 2099 (2989)



Dimensions: h: 5.4 cm, d: 1.65 (widest)

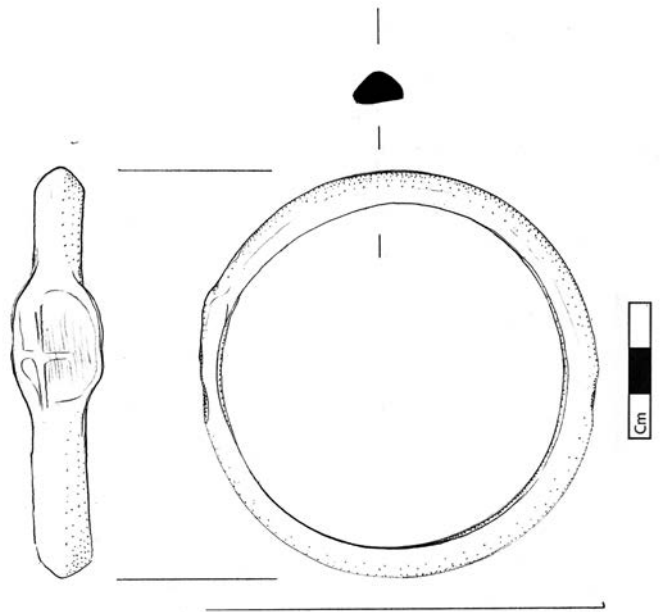
Description: Neck of a bottle. Blown. Compact and dense. Mottled, in black, white and grey. Opaque, granite-look. The upper surface is not flat. Might be broken.

Comparanda: TIEM 2052.

Details:



16. 2100 (2997)



Dimensions: d: 8.8-9.1 cm

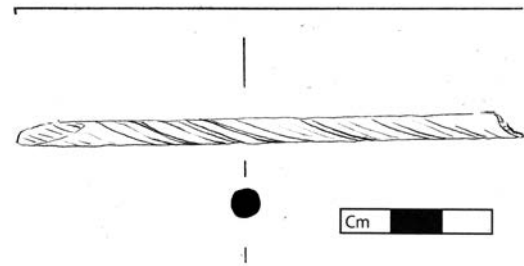
Description: Glass bracelet. Complete. Black with patches in gold and brown. Semicircular cross-section. Opaque. Surface slightly worn, slightly chipped. Complete.

Comparanda: Spaer 1992; Uysal 2013, 134.

Details:



17. 2156 (3000)

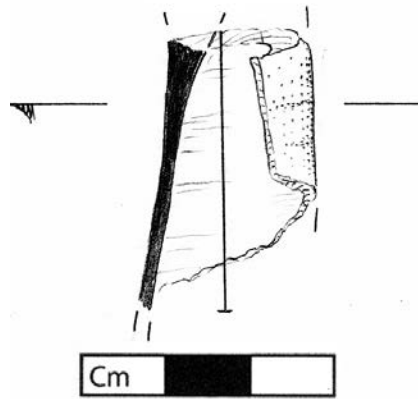


Dimensions: h: 10,1 cm, d: 0.55 cm

Description: Twisted cobalt blue probe with asymmetrical trails. Opaque. Broken on both ends. Surface partly covered with caliche.

Comparanda: Uysal 2013.

18. 2197 (2992)



Dimensions: h: 3.4 cm, d: 1.75 cm

Description: Neck of a small bottle. Green, translucent. Broken on both edges. Both surfaces covered with enamel that has partly flaked off.

Details:



19. 2198 (2993)



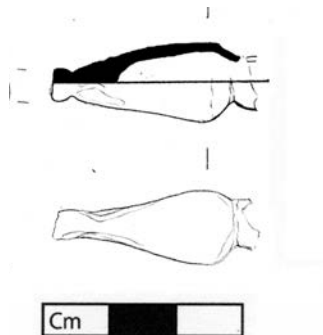
Dimensions: h: 3 cm, d: 2.4-2.5 cm

Description: Fragment of the neck of a small bottle. Marvered white threads against black background. Completely opaque. Covered with caliche.

Details:

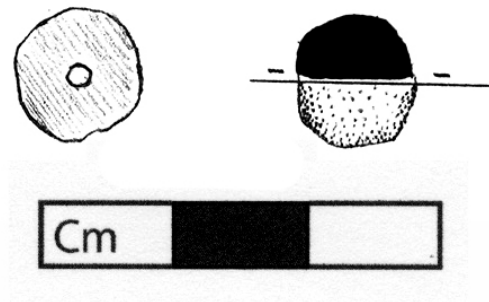


A small, light-colored, elongated object, possibly a fossil or mineral specimen, resting on a white surface next to a black and white scale bar. The object has a somewhat irregular, elongated shape with a slightly wider base and a narrower tip. It appears to have a textured surface, possibly with some internal structure visible. The scale bar is a vertical strip with alternating black and white segments, used for size reference.



Description: Fragment of a small perfume bottle? Free blown. Originally translucent; opacified and became iridescent. Broken on one end only. Very thin walls.

21. 2202 (3002)



Dimensions: h: 0.9 cm, d: 0.95/1 cm

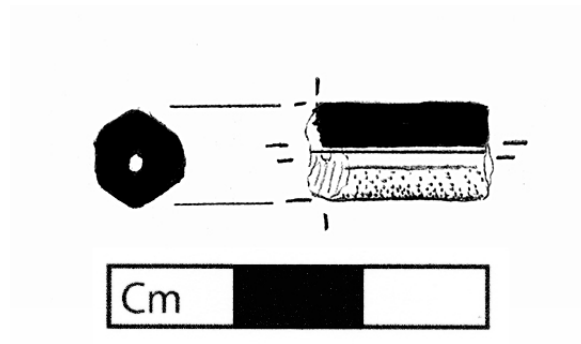
Description: Globular, opaque, marvered bead. White with thin lines of red and black. Smooth, polished surface. Chipped.

Comparanda: Then-Obluska and Laure Dussubieux 2016.

Details:



22. 2203 (3003)



Dimensions: h: 1.5 cm, d: 1.5 cm

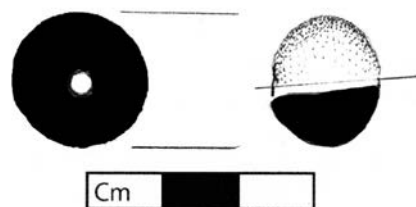
Description: Hexagonal, cylinder, monochrome turquoise bead. Opaque.

Comparanda: Then-Obluska and Dussubieux 2016.

Details:



23. 2204 (2998)



Dimensions: h: 1.45 cm, d: 1.8 cm

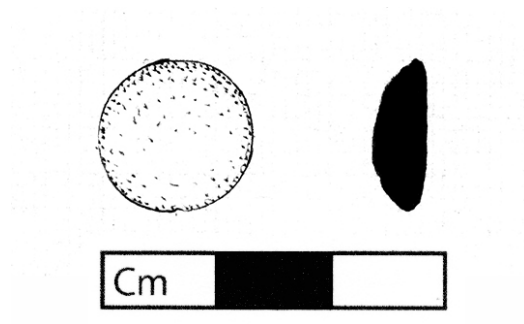
Description: Globular, monochrome brown bead. Surface smooth and polished. Chipped but well-preserved. Semi translucent.

Comparanda: Then-Obluska and Laure Dussubieux 2016.

Details:



24. 2205 (3004)



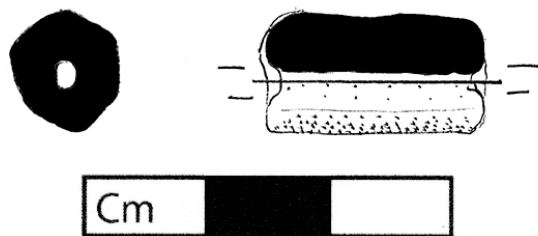
Dimensions: h: 0.45 cm, d.1.3/1.35 cm

Description: Opaque white hemispherical object. Function not clear. May have been used as an inlay. Surface corroded. Chipped.

Details:



25. 2211 (2973)

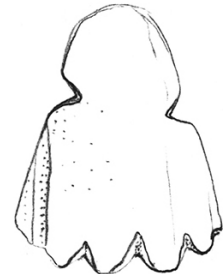


Dimensions: h: 1.85 cm, d: 0.85-1 cm

Description: Hexagonal, cylindrical bead. Pierced laterally. Opaque. Worn and chipped.

Comparanda: TIEM 2066; Then-Obluska and Laure Dussubieux 2016.

26. 2744 (2983)



Dimensions: h: 2.7 cm

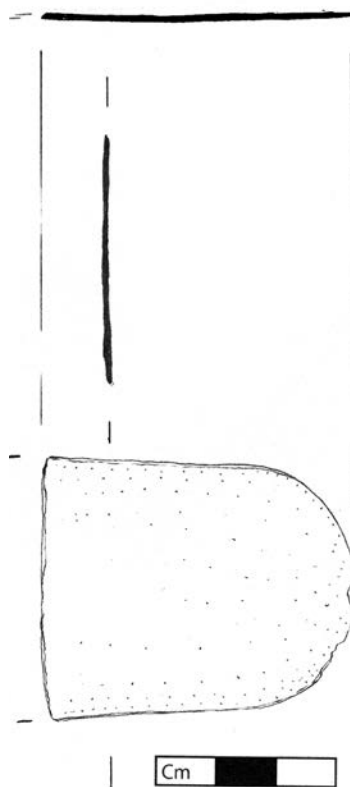
Description: Mother-of-pearl fragment. Chipped. Function not clear.

Details:



4. The Catalogue of the Metal Finds from the 1908 Raqqa Excavations by Haydar Bey

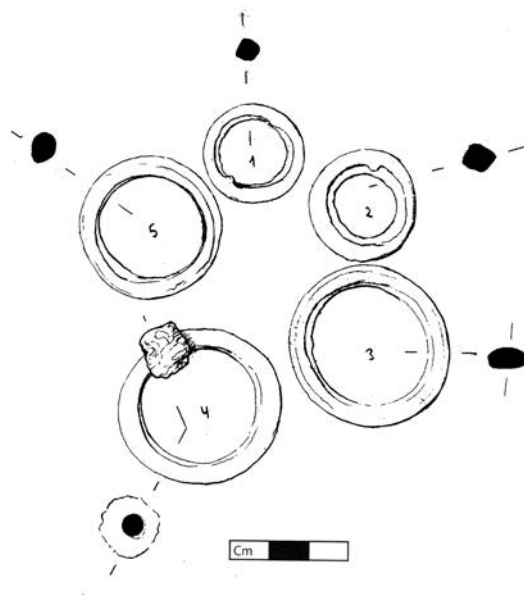
1. 2628 (3010)



Dimensions: h: 5.2 cm

Description: Copper/copper alloy slab. Function unclear. Green patina.

2. 2630 (3006)



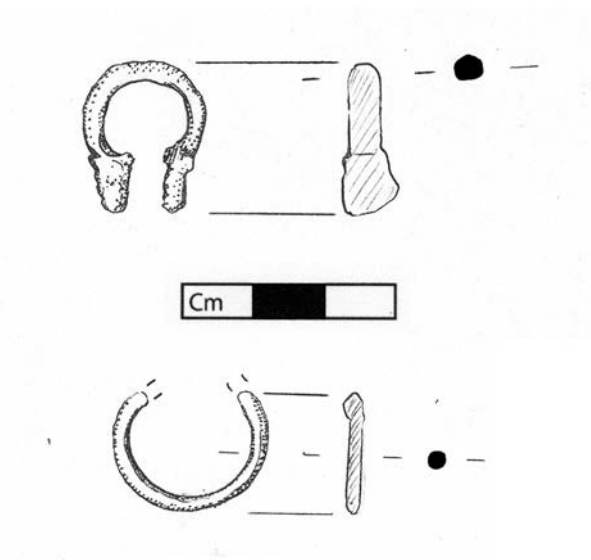
Dimensions: Ring 1 d: 2.5 cm, Ring 2 d: 2.8 cm, Ring 3 d: 4.1 cm, Ring 4 d: 4 cm, Ring 5 d: 3.65 cm

Description: A set of five copper/copper alloy rings in different dimensions. One of the larger rings has another metal substance (likely iron) stuck to it. Green patina.

Details:



3. 2631 (3019)



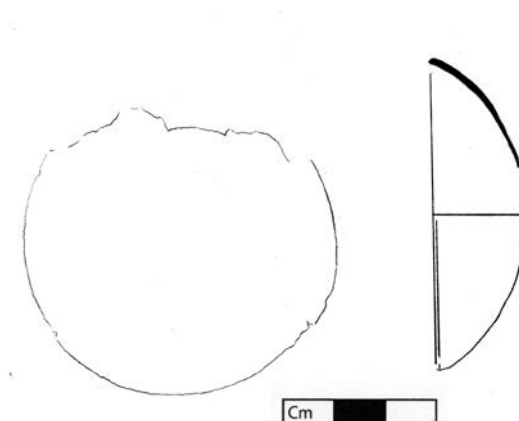
Dimensions: Clasp/Hook (?) 1 h: 2.15 cm, Clasp/Hook (?) 2 h: 1.7 cm

Description: A set of two clasps or hooks (?) Copper/copper alloy. The first one has a clip to fix it. Second one is plain, thinner and broken on the edges. Green patina on the surface of both objects.

Details:



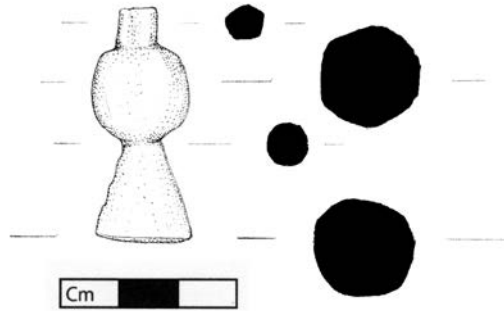
4. 2632 (3008)



Dimensions: h: 1.7 cm, d: 6.1 cm

Description: A small hemispherical bowl (?) made of copper/copper alloy. The central part is broken and missing. Green patina.

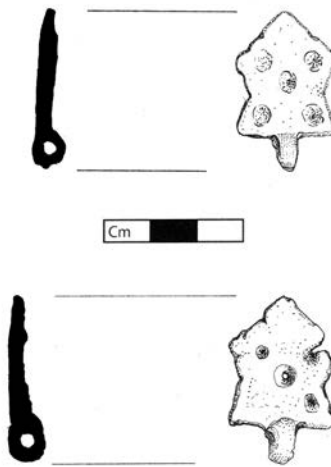
5. 2633 (3012)



Dimensions: h: 4.1 cm

Description: Foot of a copper/copper alloy vessel (?) Solid. Broken on the top, flat at the bottom.

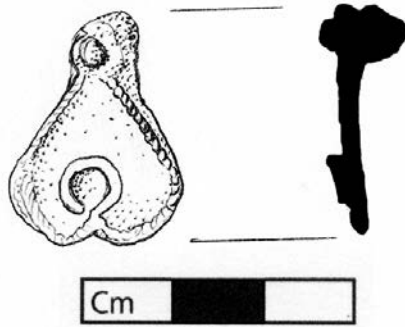
6. 2634 (3013)



Dimensions: Obj 1: h: 3.6 cm, Obj 2 h: 3.45 cm

Description: Buckles or pendants made of copper/copper alloy. Both pieces have loops on the top perhaps for hanging on a string or chain. Green patina.

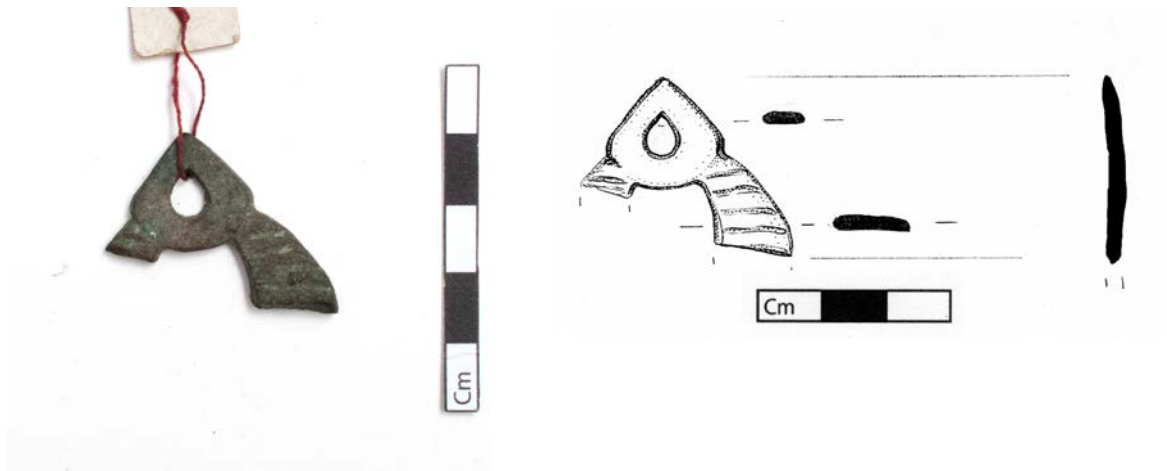
7. 2635 (3011)



Dimensions: h: 2.6 cm

Description: Fragment of a copper/copper alloy buckle/clasp (?) Green patina.

8. 2636 (3014)

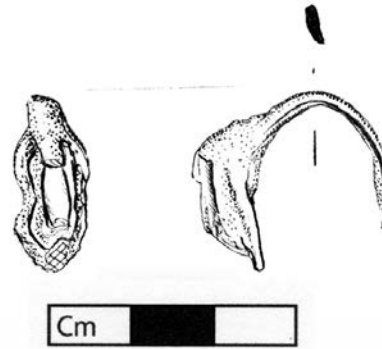


Dimensions: h: 2.8 cm

Description: Fragment of a copper/copper alloy buckle/clasp (?) Broken on one edge. Green patina.



9. 2637 (3017)

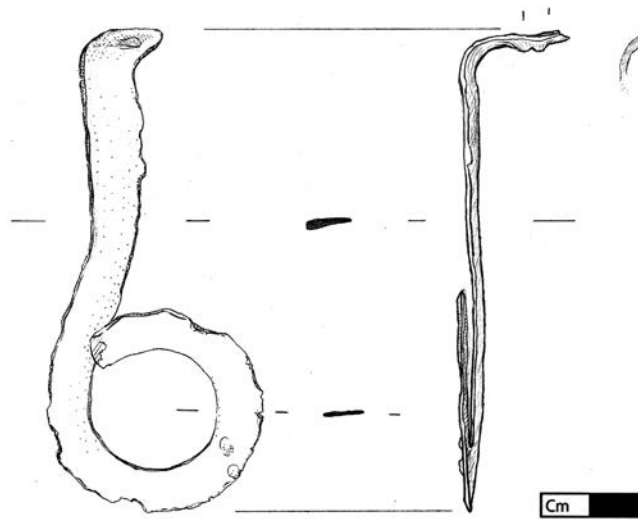


Dimensions: d: 2.4 cm

Description: Fragment of a copper/copper alloy ring. Broken on the shank. The stone is missing. Green patina.

Comparanda: TIEM 2653.

10. 2638 (3009)

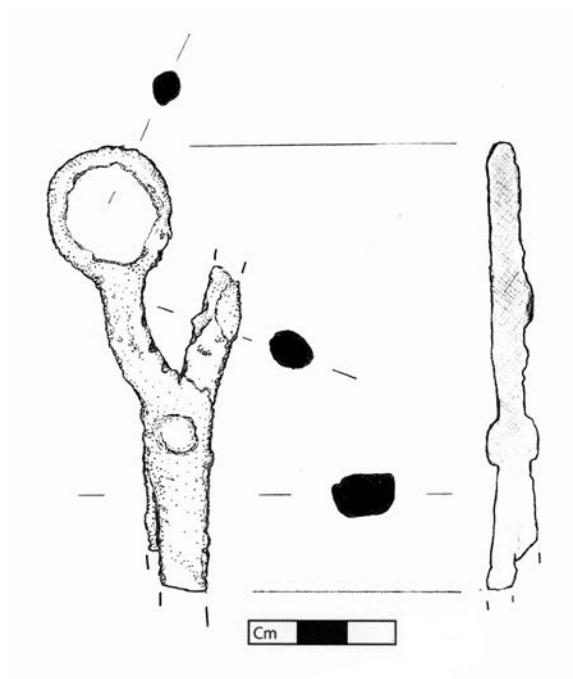


Dimensions: h: 9.5 cm

Description: Finger ring of an object. Beaten copper/copper alloy. Chipped on the edges. Green patina.



11. 2652 (3020)

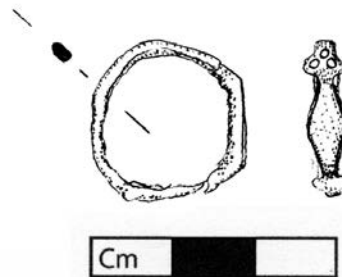


Dimensions: h: 9.15 cm

Description: Fragment of a pair of iron scissors. One of the finger rings, the handle, the screw and upper parts of the blades are preserved. The rest is missing. Heavily rusted and oxidized.



12. 2653 (3016)



Dimensions: Ring 1 h: 1.9 cm Ring 2 h: 2.3 cm

Description: Two rings. Ring 1, made of copper/copper alloy, is intact and has a flat bezel. Ring 2 is a mixture of two metals. The bezel part is copper/copper alloy and its shank is iron. It is broken on the shoulder. The other one intact. Both corroded. Green patina.

Comparanda: TIEM 2637.

Appendix 5: Fabric List

	EW/SP	Color	Texture/ Consistency	Grain size	Inclusions	Frequency	Voids	Firing	Comments
FABRIC 1	SP	Light/pinkish Brown	Hard, compact, dense, granular	Small/ medium	Small round black, angular brown, large carbonate, small sand, quartz	Frequent	Very small	Hard, brittle	
FABRIC 2	EW	Grey	Medium/ compact				Very large	Soft	
FABRIC 3	SP (Medium/ coarse)	Cream	Medium/soft, sugary, friable	Medium	Few black, some angular brown, carbonate, sand	Sparse	Small, few	Soft	
FABRIC 4	SP (Medium/ coarse)	White	Sugary, friable	Small	Angular brown, small round black, sand	Frequent	Small, few	Medium	Characteristic “Raqqa” fabric
FABRIC 5	SP (Medium/ coarse)	Creamy white	Sugary, friable	Small	Large angular brown, small frequent black, sand, few, large brown basalt, sparse large quartz	Frequent	Large	Soft	
FABRIC 6	EW (Close to SP in consistency)	Pale brown, grey brown	Medium-hard, granular, friable	Medium/large	Small black, small angular brown, occasional carbonate, occasional small sand	Frequent	Small- medium, few	Medium/hard	
FABRIC 7	EW (Coarse, compact)	Pale grey	Hard, very dense, compact, honeycomb texture	Large	Large basalt (?)		Very large (5 mm in diameter)	Hard	
FABRIC 8	EW	Greyish brown	Compact, dense, granular, smooth surface	Medium/large	Small round black, angular brown, large carbonate, frequent sand	Frequent	Small, few	Hard	

FABRIC 9	SP	White	Well-levigated, brittle, compact but comes off when scraped with nail hardly.	Small	Angular brown, sparse small black, sand, large carbonate, sparse quartz	Frequent	None	Hard	Harder and more compact than Fabric 4
FABRIC 10	SP	Grey	Well-levigated, brittle, compact doesn't come off when scraped.	Small	Angular brown, sparse small round black, sparse carbonate, sand	Frequent	Small, few	Hard	Similar to Fabric 9. (Same inclusions, different consistency)
FABRIC 11	SP (Coarse)	White	Sugary, friable	Medium	Angular brown, small frequent black, sand	Frequent	Large, occasional	Soft	
FABRIC 12	SP	Pink	Compact, dense, hard	Small/medium	Large angular black (1 mm in diameter), large carbonate, sand, quartz occasional angular brown	Sparse-medium	None	Hard	Very peculiar pink color with shades of red and brown. Rough surface finish
FABRIC 13	SP	Pale brown	Compact, dense, hard	Medium	Angular brown, frequent small round black, frequent sand, sparse quartz, medium angular white	Frequent	Medium	Hard	
FABRIC 14	EW	Yellowish brown	Compact, dense, heavy,	Small-medium	Small round black	Frequent	None	Medium	
FABRIC 15	EW	Pale brown	Well-levigated	Small	Small angular brown and round black	Sparse	None	Medium	
FABRIC 16	SP	Milk white	Compact, dense, hard, well-levigated, brittle	Very small	Brown/amber sand, very small black, quartz	Frequent	Small, occasional		Lustered
FABRIC 17	SP	White	Fine, compact, well-levigated	Very small	None		None		Lustered
FABRIC 18	SP	White	Compact	Small	Round black,	Sparse	Small		

			dense, comes off when scraped with nail		chunks of pale brown, sand				
FABRIC 19	SP	Cream with chunks of grey	Compact dense comes off when scraped hardly	Small	Quartz, sand	Sparse	Occasional		Turquoise-glazed

Appendix 6: Figures



Figure 1. The Imperial Museum as it was housed at the Çinili Köşk, c. 1900. Photograph by Sébah et Joaillier (Eldem et al. 2010, 154).



Figure 2. The museum personnel at the opening ceremony of the new extension of the Imperial Museum, November 7, 1903. Photograph by Sébah et Joaillier. (<http://sanat.ykykultur.com.tr/basin-odasi/haberler-duyurular/mendel-sebah-muze-i-humayunu-belgelemek>).



Figure 3. Archaeological sites mentioned in the text

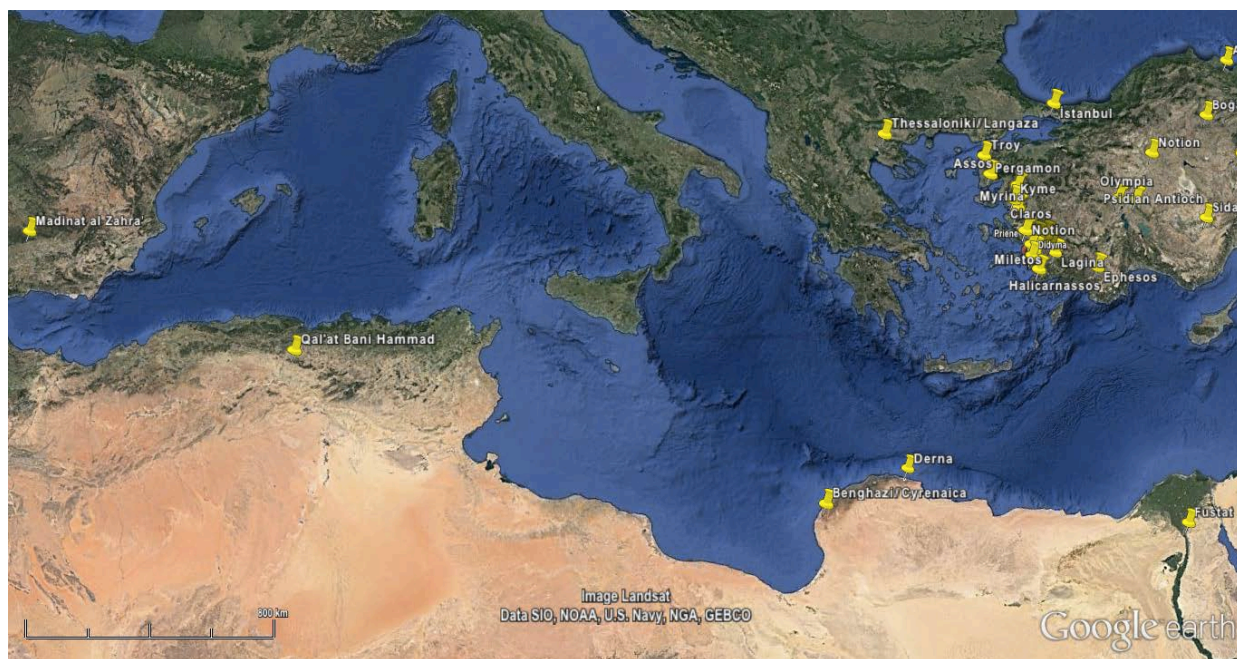


Figure 4. Archaeological sites mentioned in the text



Figure 5. Archaeological sites mentioned in the text



Figure 6. Archaeological sites mentioned in the text



Figure 7. Archaeological sites mentioned in the text



Figure 8. Osman Hamdi on the western terrace of the tumulus of Antiochos at Mt. Nemrud excavations, May 1883 (Eldem et al. 2010, 46).



Figure 9. The extraction of the Alexander Sarcophagus in Sidon necropolis, 1887 (Hitzel 2015, 42).

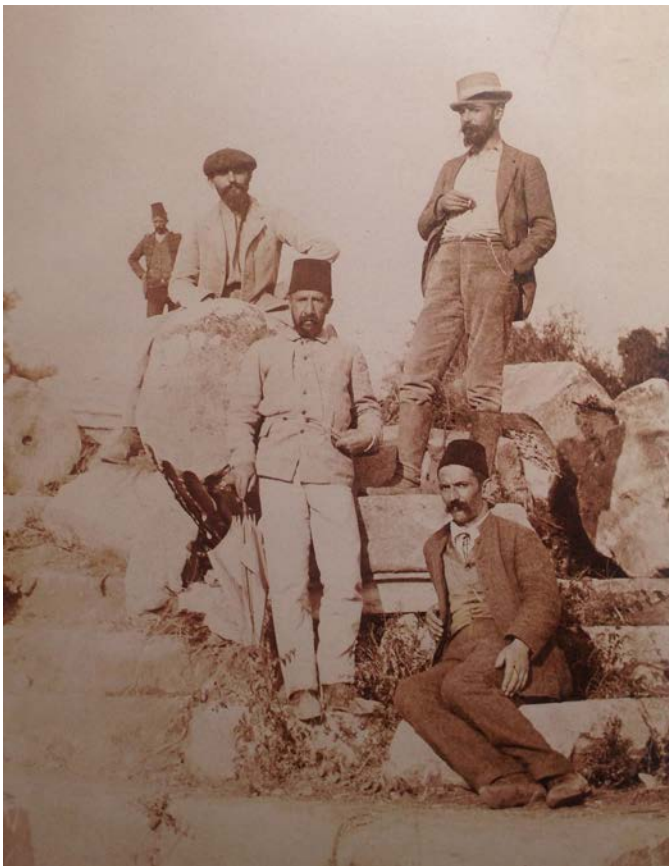


Figure 10. Osman Hamdi at the Lagina excavations with French archaeologists Chamonard and Carlier, 1892 (Eldem et al. 2010, 52).



Figure 11. Portrait of Yervant Osgan Efendi, 1914 (Eldem et al. 2010, 423).



Figure 12. Portrait of Theodore Macridy (Seeher 2012, 22).

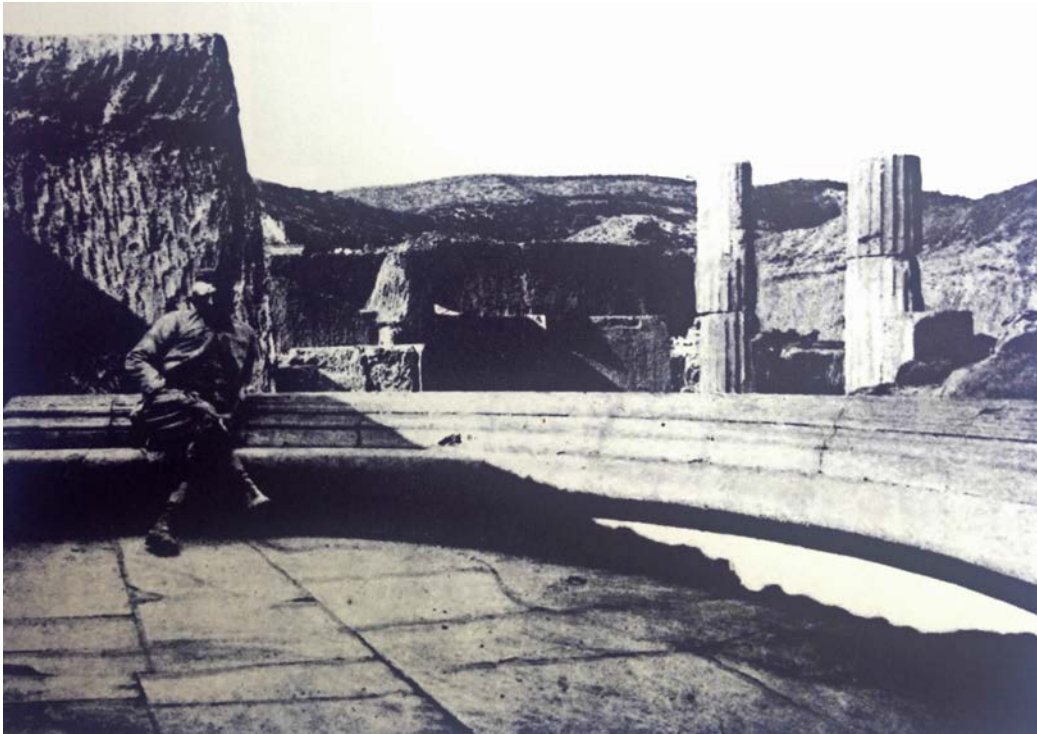


Figure 13. Theodore Macridy at the Apollon Clarios Hieron, 1913 (Eldem et al. 2010, 366).



Map: German Archaeological Institute/Jena University
 1) Dair al-Zakkā. 2) Roman-Byz. Square Building. 3) Walls of Kallinikos/al-Raqqa. 4) Congregational Mosque of al-Raqqa. 5) Mausoleum of Uwais al-Qarani. 6) Walls of al-Rāfiqa. 7) North Gate. 8) East Gate or Bāb al-Sibāl. 9) Bāb Baghdād. 10) West Gate. 11) Congregational Mosque of al-Rāfiqa. 12) Cistern. 13) Street Grid. 14) Qaṣr al-Banāt. 15) So-called 'Church'. 16) Square Complex. 17) Main Palace of Hārūn al-Rashīd. 18) Palace A. 19) Palace B. 20) Palace C. 21) Palace D. 22) North Complex. 23) Western Palace. 24) Eastern Palace. 25) East Complex. 26) Northeast Complex. 27) Hippodrom. 28) North Canals. 29) West Canal/Nahr al-Nil. 30) Sāmarrā'-Period Complex. 31) Tall Zujāj/Glass Tell. 32) Tall Aswad. 33) Ayyūbid Citadel. 34) Mausoleum of Yahyā al-Gharīb. 35) Wall of Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusain. 36) Main Street of al-Raqqa al-Muhtariqa.

Figure 14. The urban cluster of Raqqa, adapted from DAI/Heidemann
<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/voror/personen/heidemann/medien/map-al-raqqa-l.jpg>



Figure 15. The city walls of Rafiqa, which Macridy describes in his first letter (Photograph by Gertrude Bell, 1909. The Gertrude Bell Archive, University of Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/images/J_178.jpg).

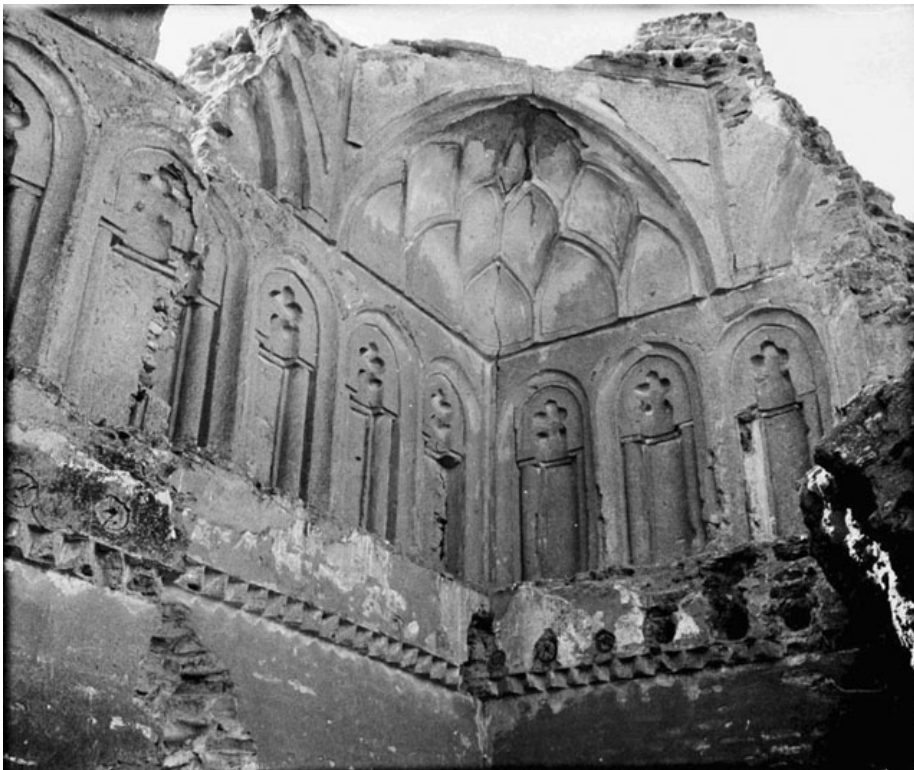


Figure 16. Detail from the Qasr al-Banat, which had been erroneously identified as the Palace of Harun al-Rashid. (Photograph by Gertrude Bell, 1909, The Gertrude Bell Archive, University of Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne, http://gertrudebell.ncl.ac.uk/images/J_184.jpg)



Figure 17. Pottery typology of Macridy in Sidon (Macridy 1904).

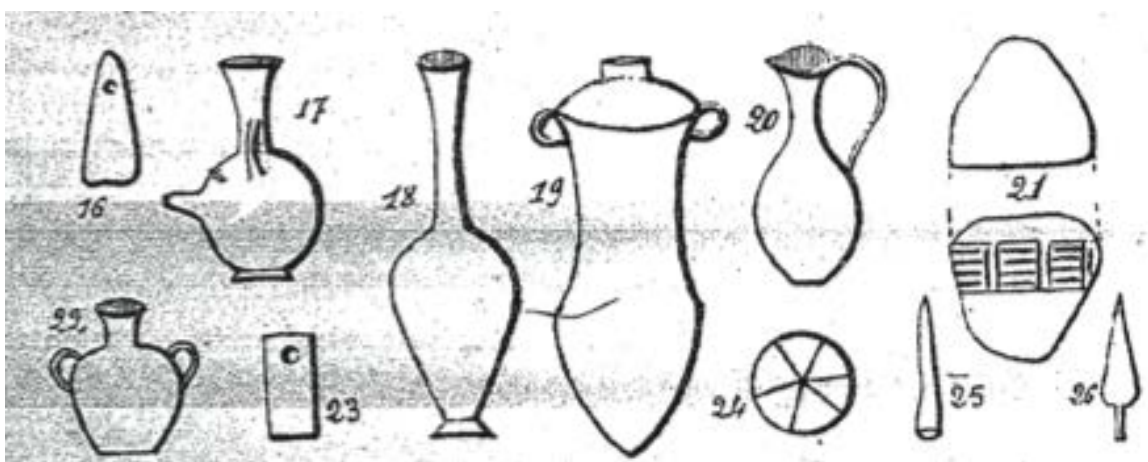


Figure 18. Illustrations of pottery from the 1904 Sidon excavations by Macridy (Macridy 1904, Pl. VI).

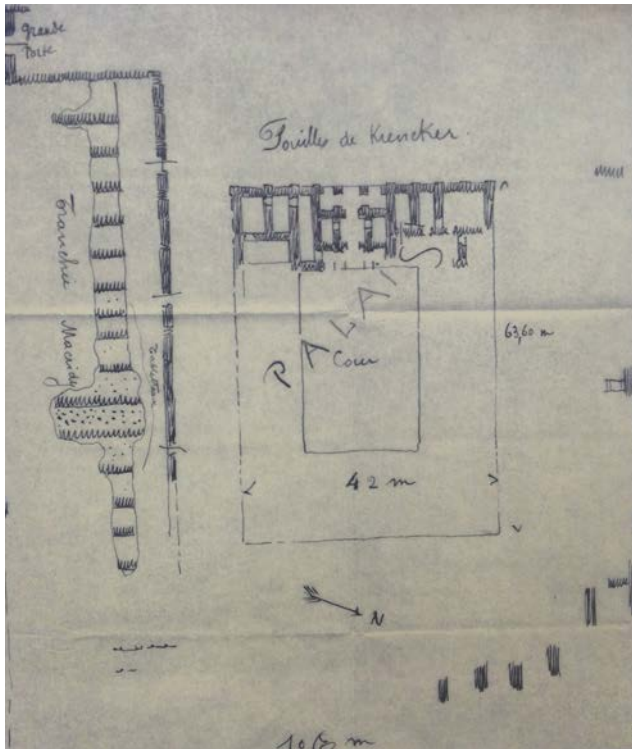


Figure 19. Macridy's plan of the excavation site at Boğazköy showing his trenches to the south of the palace, 1907 (Eldem et al. 2010, 367).

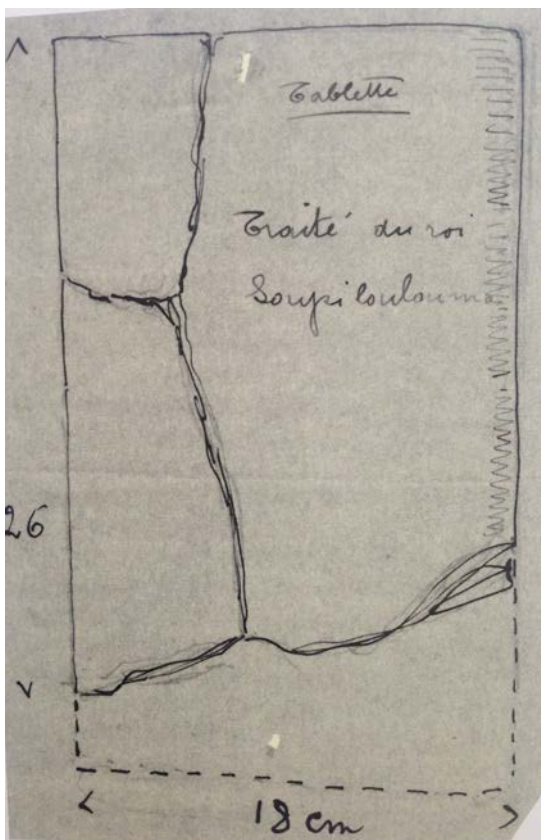


Figure 20. Macridy's sketch of a cuneiform tablet he discovered at Boğazköy, which documents a treaty signed by the Hittite King Suppiluliuma (Eldem et al. 2010, 366).