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Digging Deeper: Cultural Property in the Ottoman Empire during the Great War and Allied Occupation 1914–1923

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Ceren Abi

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Digging Deeper:

Cultural Property in the Ottoman Empire

During the Great War and Allied Occupation

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Sarah Abrevaya Stein, Co-Chair

Professor Suzanne Slyomovics, Co-Chair

This dissertation examines the cultural property related activities conducted in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War and under the Allied Occupation. It studies the actions and policies predominantly of the Ottoman, British, French, and Italian states and institutions and to a lesser extent the Russian and Greek ones from the beginning of the war in 1914 to the end of the Allied occupation in Istanbul in 1923. This work draws from a range of different archives and

primary sources written in Ottoman Turkish, English, French, and Italian, such as government reports and communications between different governmental bodies, popular periodicals, archeological bulletins, memoirs, and books in order to present a new and inclusive way to look at the development of our relationship to cultural property and its uses, especially in times of armed conflict. This work also offers a map to the historical linkages between policies and practices regarding cultural property. The central argument of this work is that the First World War created an international push towards the creation of protection and preservation measures for cultural property and that belligerents employed these measures as an additional marker of civilization and a tool of war and occupation.

This study investigates how cultural property related activities, such as establishing museums and engaging in archeological excavations, was propelled by war, especially by the German destruction of cultural property in the first year of the war, and by the division (or the prospect of the division) of the Ottoman Empire. This work relates these topics to the different and sometimes clashing visions and plans regarding the nature of the Ottoman society, its past, and its future. I focus on the Ottoman Empire in its entirety, but I zoom out to look at wartime Greece and zoom in to Allied-occupied Istanbul to explore strategies of creation of public opinion via cultural property. I also study the reception of these cultural property related activities and their impact on the making of the international law.

This dissertation of Ceren Abi is approved.

Zeynep Çelik

Lynn Hunt

Sarah Abrevaya Stein, Committee Co-Chair

Suzanne Slyomovics, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

I dedicate this work to Canses, Füsun, and Reha and my committee.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archives in Turkey:

BOA Basbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

ATASE Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Arşivi

RA Republican Archives in Ankara

Archives in Italy:

ACS the Central State Archives (Archivio Centrale dello Stato)

Archives in the UK:

Kew the National Archives in Kew

British Library

Archives in France:

CAD Courneuve Center for Diplomatic Archives in La Courneuve (Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de La Courneuve).

CADN Nantes Center for Diplomatic Archives in Nantes (Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes)

Archives of the French Army, Ministry of Defense in Château de Vincennes (Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes)

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In transliterating Ottoman Turkish terms, I have used the transliteration chart of the International Journal of Middle East Studies and followed their word list. I have used the modern Turkish equivalent for Ottoman Turkish names; for example, Murat versus Murad. All the translations from Ottoman, Turkish, Italian, and French are mine. In the annex, I chose to use modern Turkish for certain terms and verbs to facilitate comprehension.

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I had the privilege of conducting archival research at a number of sites for my dissertation. I want to thank the archivists and staff at the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office (BOA), ISAM, Ataturk, and SALT Libraries in Istanbul; the Republican and Military Archives (Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Arşivi or ATASE) in Ankara, Turkey, the Central State Archives (Archivio Centrale dello Stato), the Rome National Central Library (The Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma), and at the Library of Modern and Contemporary History in Italy, the Center for Diplomatic Archives in La Courneuve (Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve), the Archives of the French Army, Ministry of Defense

in Château de Vincennes (Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes), the Diplomatic Archives Center in Paris (Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve) and in Nantes (Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes or CADN) in France, the National Archives in Kew and the archives of the British Library in United Kingdom, National Archives in Washington, DC and The National Archives in College Park, Maryland in the United States. I also indebted to Oliver Stein who shared his valuable work with me. Without their help this project would have been impossible.

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Introduction

When I started writing this dissertation, the terrorist organization ISIS was destroying the archeological heritage of the Middle East.[1] These acts, together with many other examples inadvertently helps us see how armed combatants can use destruction of cultural property for political purposes.[2] This dissertation aims to bring forward the flipside: discovery, protection, and preservation of cultural property as a weapon of war.[3] Moreover, by introducing Ottomans as

[1] @NatGeoUK, "Ancient Sites Damaged and Destroyed by ISIS," National Geographic, November 5, 2017, https://www.nationalgeographic.co.uk/history-and-civilisation/2017/11/ancient-sites-damaged-and-destroyed-isis; "Here Are the Ancient Sites ISIS Has Damaged and Destroyed," National Geographic News, September 1, 2015, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2015/09/150901-isis-destruction-looting-ancient-sites-iraq-syria-archaeology/; "A Monumental Loss: Here Are the Most Significant Cultural Heritage Sites Destroyed by ISIS," artnet News, May 30, 2017, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/isis-cultural-heritage-sites-destroyed-950060.

[2] There are many examples of armed conflicts destroying cultural property. Some of the important studies on Afghanistan and Iraq, for example, are: Llewelyn Morgan, *The Buddhas of Bamiyan*, Wonders of the World (London: Profile Books, 2012); Milbry Polk and Angela M. H. Schuster, eds., *The Looting of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad: The Lost Legacy of Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2005); Geoff Emberling et al., eds., *Catastrophe! The Looting and Destruction of Iraq's Past*, Oriental Institute Museum Publications, no. 28 (Chicago: Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, 2008); D. Vanessa Kam, "Cultural Calamities: Damage to Iraq's Museums, Libraries, and Archaeological Sites During the United States-Led War on Iraq," *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 23, no. 1 (2004): 4–11; Robert Layton, Julian Thomas, and Peter G. Stone, eds., *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, One World Archaeology 41 (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001).

[3] In the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which is also known as the Hague Convention of 1954, the term "cultural property" covers "(a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above; (b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a) such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a);
(c) centers containing a large amount of cultural property as defined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b), to be known as 'centers containing monuments'". "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention," accessed August 17, 2019, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html. I will use the terms cultural property and antiquities interchangeably as, in the period under discussion, the latter was the term associated with archeological artifacts.

active players in the creation of the legal and institutional structures of protection of cultural property, it aims to question the Eurocentric, linear and progressive narrative of the development of these structures. Historian Lynn Hunt points out that history is by definition a process of discovery.[4] In this work, I combine various European national literatures and Ottoman experiences that are generally studied in isolation from one another. My goal was to question the role of cultural property related activities during the First World War and Allied occupation of the Ottoman Empire. I question why and how the belligerents used cultural property and what was the impact of these uses in the aftermath of the war.

This dissertation is about cultural property related activities in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War (1914-1918) and the subsequent occupation of the Ottoman Empire by the American, British, French, Italian forces and by the Russian and Greek forces (1918-1923). By cultural property related activities, I mean archeological excavations; collection, storage and exhibition of historical artifacts; the removal of artifacts from where they were found; and the establishment and use of museums. I also use the term "cultural property related activities" to refer to the acts of protection and preservation of these artifacts and the regulations and laws created to achieve such goals. Above all, I use the term "cultural property" to refer to the contested quality of historical artifacts.[5] From the nineteenth century onwards, material remains of the past played

[4] Lynn Hunt, *History: Why It Matters*, Why It Matters (Cambridge, UK ; Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2018).

[5] There are multiple terms available to refer to similar concepts; cultural heritage, historical heritage, artistic/historical/archeological patrimony, national treasures, and national heritage, among many others. These terms might refer to different things in different languages. For example, the French *patrimoine* does not entirely correspond to the Italian *beni culturali*. Moreover, different international and domestic laws use different terminology with different meanings. I chose to use "cultural property" for it is mostly used in reference to material objects and major international conventions on the topic of protection in wartime have used the term. These conventions include the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, followed some fifteen years later by the 1970 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, and in 1999 the Second Protocol to the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. For a detailed discussion of the use of different

important roles in making colonial and imperial claims over the Ottoman Empire. The historical remains were also entangled with the history of the war and the occupation.

I argue that notions of the past, its material remains, and its investigation, preservation, and protection became matters of international import and were used by the British, French, Italian, Russian and Ottoman states as weapons of war and occupation during and after the First World War. Instrumentalizing cultural property related activities as weapons of war and occupation took many forms, from using protection measures as markers of a state's supposedly higher civilization to legitimizing its territorial claims based on ancient remains found in the Ottoman lands. My research brings together the themes of war and cultural property and situates these activities in a wide Middle Eastern and European context. I show that cultural property related activities were not a low priority in the war and occupation despite the heavy burdens of these periods, and in fact were part of those efforts. Moreover, the war and occupation themselves provided new opportunities to use the past and cultural property.

The Ottoman Empire, with its capital city Istanbul, encompassed many territories that were home to many ancient civilizations. From Mesopotamia to North Africa, the empire was dotted with the material remains of many different peoples. This was the case even when the borders of the empire shrank from the nineteenth century onwards. Housing many layers of the past and their remains made the Ottoman Empire an attractive destination at first for diplomats, travelers and scholars who were interested in the past, later for archeologists and tourists. In this sense, the experiences of the Ottoman Empire were similar to other so called "source countries"

terms see Manlio Frigo, "Cultural Property v. Cultural Heritage: A 'Battle of Concepts' in International Law?," *Revue Internationale de La Croix-Rouge/International Review of the Red Cross* 86, no. 854 (June 2004): 367, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1560775500180861.

such as Greece, Italy, and Egypt.[6] In this work, while my focus is the Ottoman Empire, I will make references to the empire's Mediterranean neighbors.

The Ottoman lands were attractive to Europeans and later Americans for multiple reasons. Firstly, the European states considered the Greek and Roman pasts as their own and therefore treated the remains as their natural possessions.[7] Secondly, this claim was not a mere intellectual act; it paved the way to claim territory or at least a sphere of influence where the remains of this specific past stood. Thirdly, Europeans also claimed that they were the only ones who were capable of appreciating the material remains of the past. They argued that their appreciation of the past and their ability to preserve the remains of the past were markers of their higher civilization vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

The Western interest in the material remains of the past became heightened in the nineteenth century parallel to European commercial and imperial expansion. With the establishment of disciplines like archeology and the founding of museums and schools of archeology this interest became institutionalized at the state levels. The Ottoman Empire tried to counter this surge of interest from Europeans with the establishment of an antiquities service, museums, and antiquities laws to regulate excavation and the traffic in antiquities. Each antiquities law was more protective than the previous one. At first there was the principle of sharing antiquities between the excavator, the land owner and the state, but when we come to 1914 all

[6] Egypt, though a nominal part of the Ottoman Empire, became a de facto British possession in 1880. See *Whose Pharaohs?* for an excellent account of the Egyptian case. Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002). Ibid.

[7] Consider the Elgin marbles that are still at the British museum today regardless of many pleas from Greece and the world in general. See for example Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011).

antiquities were considered as the property of the state. The pushback against the European encroachment was not wholly successful due to the gargantuan proportions of the task at hand as well as domestic and international troubles of the late Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century was operating in a rapidly globalized economy that left it peripheralized.[8] European financial encroachment not only weakened the state but also contributed to changes in the social structure of the empire. New ideologies like nationalism paved the way to independence movements within the empire and led to the creation of new nation-states in the ex-Ottoman regions.[9] The Ottoman state had to find ways to push back the European advances and win over domestic audiences.[10] Accordingly, the Ottomans borrowed and devised new methods and technologies to keep Europeans out and secure the loyalty of their own subjects. These included the creation of a constitutional monarchy and an inclusive citizenship and the establishment of modern schools, newspapers, political parties and factories.[11] The cultural

[8] For detailed discussion of Ottoman economic history and European economic penetration into the empire see Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century*, SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*, New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilization, no. 9 (New York: New York University Press, 1983); Donald Quataert, ed., *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1994).

[9] For example, see Fatma Müge Göçek, ed., *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East*, SUNY Series in Middle Eastern Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002).15-84.

[10] Deringil's classic work offers many examples of attempts to win over domestic audiences. Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London ; New York : [New York: I.B. Tauris ; In the U.S.A. and in Canada distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1998).

[11] The idea of citizenship was introduced in the promulgation of two decrees, the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane in 1839 and the Islahat Fermanı in 1856, which promised all Ottoman subjects "perfect security for life, honor, and property" and religious liberty and equality for non-Muslims. For both the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane the Islahat Fermanı, see James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*, Fourth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). For the impact of this idea on the peoples of the empire see for example Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2011). For reforms in the education field see Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, v. 22 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2001); Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial*

property related activities, from their collection to their protection, were among the methods used by the Ottomans to try to defend their sovereignty.

In this dissertation I focus on the early decades of the twentieth century, particularly the First World War and its immediate aftermath in the Ottoman lands; from 1914 to 1923. However, designating a start and end date is not as straight-forward as it might seem. War on Ottoman soil started on the Russian front and active military engagement began in December 1914. The end of the war, however, is more difficult to pinpoint. For example, the Ottoman military leader Fahrettin Paşa only surrendered Medina two months and eleven days after the formal armistice of 30 October 1918, which was signed in Mudros and supposedly finished the war.[12] Moreover, in certain parts of the empire, Allied occupations took hold during the war and continued into the post-armistice era, such as the case of British occupation in Mesopotamia in 1917. In this sense the war and occupation co-existed. In addition, the war and occupation in different Ottoman territories created different circumstances; while Greek occupation of Western Asia Minor resulted in a successful rebellion by the Turkish nationalists, the Iraqi revolt against the British in 1920 resulted in the creation of the British Mandate in Iraq that lasted until 1932. In this dissertation I choose the end of the Allied occupation of Istanbul (October 4, 1923) as the end date for my period of study because, as Istanbul was the capital of the Ottoman Empire, its occupation had great symbolic value, but also the end of the occupation signaled the relative stabilization of the new Middle East state system with the Treaty of Lausanne on July 24, 1923.

Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire (Oxford, Eng. ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). ; Michael Provence, "Late Ottoman Education," in Jørgen Nielsen (ed.), Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 115-128.

[12] See Feridun Kandemir, *Medine müdafaası: Peygamberimizin gölgesinde son Türkler*, Hatıralarla yakın tarih dizisi 7 (Çemberlitaş, İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları, 1991).

The actors and the sources of this dissertation are quite diverse. I wanted to go beyond the nation-state paradigm and incorporate as many voices as possible into my work. Accordingly, I have conducted research in France, Italy, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States. I have done archival research in the Ottoman Archives (T.C. Başbakanlık Arşiv Sitesi).[13] The Ottoman Archives are of course invaluable for finding sources, but they are also a great place to bump into old students, mentors, and colleagues whose own work inspires and whose advice improves one's work. I have primary and secondary sources from the Center for Islamic Studies (Islam Araştırmaları Merkezi or ISAM), Ataturk Library, SALT research center, Istanbul Research Institute, and ANAMED (Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations) in Istanbul. ANAMED's scholars are not only gamechangers in Istanbul's research scene but with the workshops and talks they offer, they helped me conceptualize my work. ISAM offered a wide range of primary and secondary sources and provided me with a great space to work. Ataturk Library was vital for not only its newspaper collections but also for the range of its historical book collections. In Ankara I benefitted from conducting archival research in the Republican and Military Archives (Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt ve Denetleme Başkanlığı Arşivi or ATASE). I am hoping to go back and make use of their digitalized catalogue that I did not get to benefit from the first time around. After Turkey, my next step was to go to Rome. I conducted research in Rome at the Central State Archives (Archivio Centrale dello Stato), which was very useful for introducing me to the Italian archival sources. However, I was unable to enter the Diplomatic Archives (L'Archivio Storico Diplomatico) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as

[13] Until the summer of 2018, the archives were named the "State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey – Department of Ottoman Archives" (The T.C. Başbakanlık Arşiv Sitesi – Osmanlı Arşiv). It is now called the Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey (T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı – Osmanlı Arşivi). The common name used for this archive is Başbakanlık (Prime Ministry) or just Arşiv (the Archive).

the necessary documents to enter that archive was not provided to me by the Turkish state in time. The Rome National Central Library (La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma) allowed me to track down books around the country that proved very important. The Library of Modern and Contemporary History was perhaps the best gem a student of history can find.

In France, after much confusion regarding the reorganization of the French archival universe, I conducted research at the Center for Diplomatic Archives in La Courneuve (Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve). I am thankful to the very patient archival staff for helping me make sense out of their collections, which are wide and exciting. I also worked at the Archives of the French Army, Ministry of Defense in Château de Vincennes (Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes). However, due to their recent (and admirable) digitalization efforts, I was not able to have access to all of the relevant material they have in their immense collections. My research in Nantes (Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes or CADN) proved the most fruitful and produced the most relevant sources. In the United Kingdom, I benefited immensely from the National Archives in Kew and the library and archives held by of the British Library in London. In the United States, I worked briefly at the National Archives in Washington, DC, where I looked at the navy's collections and various files in The National Archives in College Park, Maryland.

Most of these libraries and archives are organized and kept by the respective states and documents related to state actors appear prominently in their collections. Therefore, the state archives and libraries reflect nation-state perspectives. However, it would be wrong to assume that one state's archive contains a unitary perspective. From different divisions of an army to states' different administrative organs, the archives are teeming with conflicting motivations, ideas, and goals. This diversity can be observed for example in Chapter I when I talk about how different

sections of the Ottoman government clashed over the ownership of historical monuments and in Chapter II when I point towards the debates between different parts of the British government regarding the fate of the antiquities found in the Ottoman provinces by the British occupying forces.

The diversity in the archives is not limited to points of view. Cultural property related activities can be traced across immensely diverse sections of the archives. This has to do with the very nature of cultural property. When dealing with archeological artifacts for example, one can find sources in obvious places like the documents of the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Istanbul. However, one can also find documents in seemingly unlikely places like the papers of the Ministry of Public Works (Nafıa Nezareti), which was in charge of road building, and the military dispatches from the battle zones where soldiers unearthed valuable antiquities while digging trenches.

Digging through diverse sections of different state archives I came across the accounts and experiences of various non-state actors that were entangled with cultural property. They sometimes worked with the state actors, such as the case of Catholic Assumptionist missionaries operating in Istanbul, with whom I deal in Chapter III. In other cases, I came across non-state actors who reacted against state actors, like those Muslim citizens of Istanbul under Allied occupation whom I also discuss in Chapter III. My main goal, however, was to tell a connected story that brings together multiple actors.

My interest in telling a connected story comes from the divided nature of Ottoman studies. Nation-state, ideological, and disciplinary boundaries impair our abilities to see the links. Nonetheless, it is important to try to bring histories and experiences of various historical actors

together despite their perceived differences with one another. For example, the relationship between the Greek Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire has been traditionally told from a perspective of antagonism. However, Ottoman and Greek experiences with European involvement in cultural property are very much alike. Studying these two states separately just because they were on the opposite sides of the First World War would prevent us from registering the continuities in British and French cultural property practices. Similarly, separate studies might miss the connections as well as interactions of other Allies and Central Powers that might have shaped their behavior. In this work, I make their interactions one of the main themes of my story.

Historiography

This work stands on two historiographical foundations: one is the history of the First World War and the other is the history of archeology and the uses of the past. The history of the First World War is traditionally written from a diplomatic or military history point of view. This historiography not only perpetuates the Great Men narrative in explaining how the world and history work, it also perpetuates a Eurocentric narrative that casts European and American actors as the main movers and shakers of history. This is especially visible when one wants to study the Ottoman Empire and the First World War. For example, the classic work *The First World War* by John Keegan does not consider the Ottoman Empire as a full actor and spares few pages to the war on Ottoman soil, with the exception of accounts of the Gallipoli Campaign.[14] Though recently

[14] John Keegan, *The First World War*, 1st American ed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

there are studies that look beyond Europe, United States and elite political actors, Eurocentric and elite-focused accounts of World War I used to dominate the literature.[15]

The specific literature that deals with the First World War in the Ottoman Empire was also traditionally written from a military and political history perspective. The causes of the war and the reasons of entry into the war are amongst the favorite topics and these discussions used to revolve around a few political elites of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish nationalist historiography either focused on the Ottoman victories, such as Gallipoli in northwestern Asia Minor and Kut-el Amara in contemporary Iraq, or focused on the Turkish nationalist war of independence that followed World War I. These narratives were generally teleologically written and are filled with heroes and villains. Earlier nationalist historiography argues that the patriots who did not want to live under foreign rule heroically organized an independence war for self-determination. They fought not only against the occupiers but also against the corrupt sultan and elites in Istanbul who cooperated with the enemy and other groups who brought the empire into a devastating war and internal conflict. If and when Turkish accounts refered to Istanbul during this period, most call it "Armistice Istanbul" (Mütareke Istanbulu).[16] Most works on "Armistice Istanbul" were focused on the relationship between the Ottoman government in Istanbul and the nationalist one in Ankara. Thus, occupied Istanbul is portrayed as relevant only in respect to its connection to the nationalist movement.

[15] A good example of non-Eurocentric accounts in the field of military history is I. F. W. Beckett, ed., *1917: Beyond the Western Front*, History of Warfare, v. 54 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009).

[16] For example, see Tarik Zafer Tunaya, "Mütareke Devrinin Ozellikleri (1918-1922)," in *Prof. Dr. Umit Doğanay'ın anısına Hatıra*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1982), 483-412, for a popular example of this usage. He considers the armistice period to be from the signing of the Armistice (October 30, 1918) to the abolition of the sultanate by the national assembly in Ankara (November,1 1922).

In her seminal book about this period, Istanbul under Allied Occupation, 1918-1923, Nur Bilge Criss focuses on the contribution of Istanbul to the Turkish War of independence.[17] Criss challenges the older historiography by proving the deep relationship between Istanbul and the nationalist movement in Asia Minor and shows the contribution of underground organizations.[18] Her book is an impressive account that lays out the system that the occupiers created in the city. It is the first and most commanding source for anyone who is interested in this period. Her main argument nevertheless is in reference to the Turkish nationalist movement in Asia Minor.

This focus on Turkish nationalism along with the focus on military and diplomatic history is waning within Turkish historiography and elsewhere. The change was apparent especially in the study of Istanbul under occupation. Many scholars from Stefanos Yerasimos, Mehmet Torenek, Bulent Bakar, Jak Delon, Mehmet Temel to Zafer Toprak published articles and books about the social and cultural life under occupation including prostitution, literature, and Russian refuges in the city.[19] The centenary of World War I has provided an additional impetus to studies dealing with all aspects of the war, including cultural encounters,[20] and specifically those in occupied

[17] Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation, 1918-1923* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999).

[18] I should mention Bozkurt's dissertation entitled "Allied Administration of Occupation Istanbul" here. His work was immensely helpful in decoding the complex structures that the Allies created. Abdullah Bozkurt, "Itilaf Devletlerinin Istanbul'da Işgal Yönetimi" (2009).

[19] Stefanos Yerasimos, ed., *İstanbul, 1914-1923 Kaybolup Giden Bir Dunya Baskenti Ya Da Yasli Imparatorluklarin Can Cekismesi*, trans. Cüneyt Akalın (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 1996); Mehmet Temel, *Isgal Yillarinda Istanbul'da Sosyal Durum* (Ankara: Kultur Bakanligi Yayinlari, 1998); Mehmet Törenek, ed., *Türk Romanında Işgal İstanbul'u* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2002); Bülent Bakar, *Esir şehrin misafirleri: Beyaz Ruslar*, 1. baskı (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2012); Jak Delon, *Beyoglu'nda Beyaz Ruslar* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 1996); Zafer Toprak, "Istanbullu'ya Rusya'nin Armaganlari Harasolar," *Istanbul* 1 (1992): 72–79.

[20] The revision of World War I actually began earlier. The founding of the Historial de la Grande Guerre at Péronne and conferences held there kickstarted this process. See Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005) for their reappraisal of the historiography and the new horizons they discover. For other examples on cultural encounters see for example Justin Fantauzzo, "Rise Phoenix-Like: British Soldiers, Civilization and the First World War in Greek Macedonia, 1915–1918," in *Militarized Cultural Encounters in the Long Nineteenth Century: Making War, Mapping Europe*, ed. Joseph Clarke and John Horne, War, Culture and Society, 1750-1850 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 125–47, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78229-4_6; Mahon Murphy, "The

Istanbul. For example, Christine Philliou is working on non-nationalists in occupied Istanbul. In addition, Yavuz Selim Karakışla, who introduced me to the remarkable world of Istanbul under Allied occupation in his course by the same name, and who recently passed away, dealt with labor and gender. More recently, Lerna Ekmekçioğlu deals with Armenian identity construction in this period with an emphasis on gender.[21] The continuity between the Ottoman period and the Mandate period is also now recognized and studied. The best example perhaps is Michael Provence's recent work.[22] Thus the reassessment of the post-war era promises to be more inclusive.

The other literature this work builds on is the history of archeology and the uses of the past. Bruce Trigger's groundbreaking work on the development of archeology and archeological thought opened new ways to look at the history of archeology. He placed archeological thought and practice in changing social, political, economic, and cultural settings that influenced archeology since the beginning of the discipline to the late 1980s. His account of the different ways in which archeology was studied and the different meanings that can be attributed to it paved the way for further studies of this field and its interconnected concepts and practices. In the past couple of decades scholars started to investigate uses of material remains of the past in national, imperial, and colonial settings. Cultural historian Suzanne Marchand's Down from Olympus: Archeology and Philhellenism in Germany looks at Philhellenic academic, professional and institutional

'Hole-y' City: British Soldiers' Perceptions of Jerusalem During Its Occupation, 1917–1920," in *Militarized Cultural Encounters in the Long Nineteenth Century: Making War, Mapping Europe*, ed. Joseph Clarke and John Horne, War, Culture and Society, 1750-1850 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 343–63, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78229-4_15.

[21] Philliou, ibid., Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women, 1916-1923*, Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2005. And Lerna Ekmekcioglu, "Improvising Turkishness: Being Armenian in Post-Ottoman Istanbul (1918-1933)" PhD diss., New York University, 2010. Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016).

[22] Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

developments in Germany and their relationship with the German state and its imperialist policies. Bruce Kuklick' Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life explores the beginnings of American archeology in the Middle East and points towards the relationship between the present and the way we approach the past. He also studies the details and impact of the academic in-fighting on the development of the field. Stephen L. Dyson's In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries looks at the European and American relationship with the pasts of the Middle East covering two centuries and points towards imperial ambitions. Art historian Frederick N. Bohrer's Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe employs tools of postcolonial criticism on the representation and reception of Mesopotamia in Europe. He tries to avoid binary constructions of East and West, yet his focus is profoundly on the European and not the Ottoman dynamics. Marta Petricioli's Archeologia e Mare Nostrum: Le Missioni Archeologiche nella Politica Mediterranea dell'Italia 1898/1943 (Archeology and Mare Nostrum: Archeological Missions in Italian Mediterranean Politics) follows the construction of the Italian archeological missions abroad, first in the Aegean islands, then in Egypt and in Tripolitania (contemporary Libya) in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Afterwards, she examines the Italian archeological endeavors in the Ottoman Empire under Allied occupation. For this dissertation, Petricioli's work provided insights into the intricate relationship between the Italian scholarly and commercial establishments as well as revealing the intertwined relationship between Italy's expansionist policies and its use of archeology. Thankfully there are also new works regarding the Italian involvement in Middle Eastern archeology like Melania Savino's La

Mesopotamia nei Museu Italiani: Collezioni ed Esposizioni (Mesopotamia in Italian Museums: Collections and Exhibitions).[23]

Magnus T. Bernhardsson in his Reclaiming a Plundered past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq, Donald Malcolm Reid's Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I, and Nabila Oulebsir's Les Usages du Patrimoine: Monuments, Musées et Politique Coloniale en Algérie (1830-1930) focused on development and usages of archeology in specific countries in the Middle East.[24] There are other works which focus on nationalistic uses of the Middle Eastern pasts such as Neil Asher Silberman's Between Past and Present: Archeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East and James F. Goode's Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941, and Heignar Watenpaugh's important article "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon," to name a few.[25] Their

[23] Melania Savino, "La Mesopotamia nei Musei Italiani: Collezioni ed Esposizioni," *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 59, no. 1 (2017): 26–39.

[24] Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880-1930* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996); Frederick Nathaniel Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Stephen L. Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts: A History of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006); Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq*, 1st ed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005); Nabila Oulebsir, *Les Usages Du Patrimoine: Monuments, Musées et Politique Coloniale En Algérie, 1830-1930* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2004); Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*; Donald M. Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo ; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015). Heghnar Watenpaugh, ""Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon," in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 185–202.

[25] Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Possessors and Possessed: Objects, Museums, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire" 1999; Bahrani, Çelik, and Eldem, *Scramble for the Past*; James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941*, 1st ed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007); Zeynep Çelik, *About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*, First edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016); Neil Asher Silberman, *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*, 1st ed (New York: H. Holt, 1989); Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*.

work was one of the inspiration behind my master's thesis work on the creation of the Iraqi museums under the British mandate and my further interest in cultural property under imperial and colonial rule.

There have also been excellent publications on archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. Wendy Shaw's Possessors and Possessed: Objects, Museums, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire, her book based on her dissertation written at UCLA, paved the way for great works on the history of archeology in the Ottoman Empire. More recently, Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem's collection Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914 and more currently published Zeynep Çelik's About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire are the gold standards of the field. Scramble for the Past and About Antiquities not only provide an excellent examination of the historical developments of the Ottoman Empire from Layard and Renan's expeditions to Osman Hamdi Bey and the rise of interest in and changing perception of the antiquities from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth, they also provide new pathways to look at and understand these developments. The examination of the multiple relationships one can have with the past, like Yannis Hamilakis's article about indigenous archaeologies in Ottoman Greece, the role and perceptions of labour in the archeological excavations in the Ottoman empire analyzed by Zeynep Çelik in her later book are pathbreaking and extremely useful not only for this work but also for the field in general.[26]

[26] I should also mention, as other important books in the field, Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, First edition (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011); Véronique Krings and Isabelle Tassignon, eds., *Archéologie Dans l'Empire Ottoman Autour de 1900: Entre Politique, Économie et Science*, Etudes de Philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire Anciennes ; Studies over Oude Filologie, Archeologie En Geschiedenis, (Brussel: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2004).

However, until recently World War I was not a substantial part of this literature on the history of archeology and uses of the past. Most studies in this literature consider either the period until the beginning of the war or the period of the occupation. Nonetheless, it is possible to talk about an opening with the above-mentioned book edited by Stefanos Yerasimos called Istanbul 1914-1923. This book not only brought a fresh look at this period but also briefly alluded to the excavation activities of the Allies during the Gallipoli front. Suzanne Marchand's chapter on Kultur and the World War in her above-mentioned book and her article on German archeologists during the war was complimented by Oliver Stein's work, especially his recent article called "Archaeology and Monument Protection in War: The Collaboration Between the German Army and Researchers in the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1918" and opened up the German side of the archeological activities in the Ottoman Empire.

Discovering Catherine Valenti and Miranda Stavrinou's articles on French archeological schools and their war-time propaganda activities during the war and Richard Clogg's article on the British school and their war-time propaganda activities during the war was a great breakthrough for me to understand the universe of archaeological institutions in wartime.[27] Recently a full book was published on the archeological activities behind the battlefields during the First World War, albeit only regarding events in Greece, and it is extremely helpful in understanding the fuller range

[27] Miranda Stavrinou, "Gustave Fougères, l'École française d'Athènes et la propagande en Grèce durant les années 1917-1918," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 120, no. 1 (1996): 83–99, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1996.4589. Richard Clogg, "Academics at War: The British School at Athens during the First World War," *British School at Athens Studies* 17 (2009): 163–77; Catherine Valenti, "L'école française d'Athènes pendant la Grande guerre : une institution universitaire au service de l'Entente," *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* n° 204, no. 4 (2001): 5–14.

of the activities, from excavations and spy activities conducted by archeologists to the collections sent to the British Museum.[28]

Vassilios Varouhakis and especially Pinar Üre's impressive theses also had great bearing on this work. Varouhakis's work on Crete allowed me to understand the multi-actor competition about archeology in occupations or semi-occupation circumstances before the First World War. Üre's work is on politics and cultural politics between Russia and the Ottoman Empire and especially at the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople.[29] Her work allowed me to study a part of the occupation and cultural property related activities puzzle, the Russian part, to which I had no firsthand access. Similarly, Kalliope Pavli's work on the mutually constructive world of antiquities laws concerning Greece and the Ottoman Empire and on Greek archeological excavations during their Asia Minor campaign (1919-1922) opened the doors to the world of Greek sources and activities.[30] All these studies show us that archeology does not stop with the beginning of the greatest war that the world had seen until that day. What is more, they point to the cooperation between the national academic apparatuses, state bureaucracies, and their militaries.

[28] "Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines: The Macedonian Campaign (1915-19) and Its Legacy, 1st Edition (Hardback) - Routledge," Text, Routledge.com, accessed April 26, 2019, https://www.routledge.com/Archaeology-Behind-the-Battle-Lines-The-Macedonian-Campaign-1915-19/Shapland-Stefani/p/book/9781138285255.

[29] http://asorblog.org/2014/06/13/the-great-war-and-german-archaeology/ Clogg, Richard. Üre, Pınar (2014) Byzantine heritage, archaeology, and politics between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914). PhD thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). She published a section of her dissertation as well: Pınar Üre, *Konstantin Nikolayeviç Leontyev (1831-1891), Bizansçılık ve Şark Meselesi*, 1. basım, Tarih 119 (Osmanbey, İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık, 2015).

[30] Kalliope Pavli, *In the Name of the Civilization: The Ideology of the Excavations in Asia Minor during the Greek Occupation (1919-22) [Εις Το Όνομα Του Πολιτισμού: η Ιδεολογία Των Ανασκαφών Στη Μικρά Ασία Κατά Την Μικρασιατικήν Κατοχήν Υπό Της Ελλάδος (1919-22)]* (Giannena, Greece: Isnafi Publications, 2014); Kalliope Pavli, "For the benefit of the Greek 'Great Idea': excavations during the Asia Minor campaign (1919-22)," *International Journal of Sport Culture and Science* 1, no. 4 (December 12, 2013): 5–10, https://doi.org/10.14486/IJSCS27.

This work builds on these literatures and brings these often disconnected works into a conversation that enables us to see the bigger picture of the cultural property-related activities during the war and its immediate aftermath. It asks why all of these countries acted the way they did (issuing regulations regarding the protection of cultural property, engaging in excavations during the war, creating propaganda using cultural property, etc.), and argues that the First World War provided an opportunity for states to employ cultural property protection and preservation as weapons of war and occupation.

This work specifically contributes to a better understanding of a range of activities and policies in the field of cultural property that the Ottomans pursued in order to deal with the war vis-à-vis their own citizens and the world. In this respect, this work contributes to our understanding of the late Ottoman state and divisions within the governing Committee of Union and Progress. It also adds to the history of the home fronts and battlefronts of the Great War by exploring a previously little-examined aspect of the war and occupation.

Outline of the Study

The first chapter tries to answer the question of what kind of cultural property related activities the Ottomans undertook during the war and with what purpose. It begins with a short summary of cultural property related activities in the Ottoman Empire from the nineteenth century to the coming of the war and posits that when the war came the Ottomans were sophisticated yet overwhelmed actors in this global scene. I argue that the war provided new opportunities to use cultural property related activities to manage public opinion domestically, from the establishment of propagandistic museums to the creation of a monument protection unit to show that the Ottoman

administration embraced all the pasts of its territory, from the Byzantine to the Arab heritages, and thus embraced all Ottomans (despite contradictory policies like the Armenian Genocide and the persecution of Arab elites). With a specific focus on the first international monument protection unit, this chapter enquires into the relationships between militaries and cultural property in wartime.

The second chapter looks at the Allied sides of cultural property related activities during the war and occupation of the Ottoman provinces. This chapter puts forward that the Allies, with the exception of Russia, lacked a cultural property policy in the first years of the war. I argue that when the Allies developed cultural property related policies, they were heavily bound by the new international stance that valued the protection of cultural property. In addition, they had developed a tradition in the nineteenth century that deemed protection of cultural property as a marker of high civilization. However, these developments did not stop the Allies from looting cultural property during the opportunities provided by the war and occupation of Ottoman lands. They used these cultural property related opportunities to justify their occupation and even to make territorial claims.

The third chapter is a case study of Istanbul under Allied occupation that enquires into the uses of urban space and uses of the past by the occupiers and the occupied. I also ask questions about the relationship between different communities in an urban center. This chapter contemplates the impact of an occupation on peoples and spaces and asks how the occupation of the city shaped the occupiers and the occupied and their relationship to the city. I look at how the occupiers and the occupied used the cultural property of the city, especially its monuments like Hagia Sophia, to make claims to the city.

The fourth chapter is about the development of international law regarding protection of cultural property in times of war and in times of peace. This chapter argues that the war and its aftermath provided fertile ground for the development of such international law. The destructive acts of the German armies on the European front along with the prospect of ownership of the soon to be ex-Ottoman lands made European powers tread carefully; through issuing proclamations and regulations during the war to protect cultural property, they wanted make sure that they were seen to act in a legal framework. The architects of the League of Nations and the mandate system were interested in the creation of an international legal framework to regulate cultural property. However, the very dynamics that created these institutions also undermined the making and implementation of such international law.

As can be observed from the chapter divisions, this work is nourished by many historiographic traditions. This work contributes to the field of cultural history, as it encompasses cultural interpretations of historical experience, public rituals and performances, urban space, and memory. It also includes the development of concepts like cultural property protection and the laws that were created to enshrine these concepts. Therefore, it also contributes to intellectual and legal history. I also contribute to the field of conflict studies in general and the study of the First World War in particular by inscribing cultural activities into the study of the war but also reacting against what historian Duara calls "birthmarks of history": Euro-centrism and state-centrism. Instead of telling a unitary, coherent, and linear narrative that leads to a nation-state, I show in this dissertation that the Ottoman policies (from debates over protection and ownership of cultural property to the priorities in urban development to the future shape of the Ottoman society) were divided (shaped by Ottoman actors with competing perceptions and goals), and negotiations

regarding these issues continued well after the war.[31] This therefore challenges not only the linear and progressive narrative of the creation of the Turkish nation-state out of the ashes of the Ottoman empire, but also disrupts dichotomous constructions that portray actors as villains or heroes. I use multiple European and Ottoman actors to tell my story of the war and occupation in an inclusive manner, one that is focused on the interactions among diverse actors, their meanings, and their impact on the history of the Ottoman Empire as well as on the history of cultural property.

[31] Duara discusses this narrative as it relates to Chinese history. Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Chapter I

Ottoman Cultural Property Related Activities During the War, 1914-1918: Protection and Preservation

Introduction

When the war came, the Ottomans were already sophisticated players in the realm of archeological politics. The top echelons of the Ottoman government were very much aware of the potential uses of historical artifacts, as well as the ways in which the state could take advantage of various visual platforms, such as museums and newspaper articles about antiquities and excavations. However, much to their chagrin, the Ottomans were not fully in control of their antiquities. An example of this lack of control and the distress it caused Ottoman officials can be found in a memo from the Governor of Mosul to the Education Ministry regarding the flurry of European archeological activity in the provinces. In it, the governor begged the central authorities to not issue any more permits for new excavations, saying that the Ottoman officials did not have the means to control them.[32] In another example, the Islamic Museum in Istanbul lost its valuable carpets to thieves as soon as it opened in 1918. The political, economic, and infrastructural troubles

[32] Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Arkeoloji Siyaseti* (Istanbul: Koç Universitesi Yayınları, 2016). 90. Another letter from Mosul asks the government to wait until there is sufficient number of Ottoman experts to deal with antiquities to issue further permits. BOA, DH.ID..28-2.39 (1332 L 23)

of the empire prevented officials from successfully exerting control over antiquities. Ottoman elites knew the game, but they had severe limitations in effectively playing it.

This chapter explores the ways in which Ottoman actors utilized history to shape domestic and international public opinion during the war. The focus will be predominantly on uses of historical monuments, archeology and protection of relics and the preservation of cultural property and the next chapter will include an examination other institutions and practices that use visual technologies to shape public opinion, such as museums and exhibitions. The Ottoman government used these acts to shape the perceptions of their own citizens and those of their European counterparts regarding the capabilities of the state. The Ottoman government also reflected, with the same acts of selection, preservation and exhibition, their own visions regarding their current and future state and society. This chapter argues that the war created new opportunities—as well as new reasons—for collecting, preserving, and ultimately controlling cultural property.

This chapter will start with a summary of the cultural property related activities Ottomans undertook before World War I to set the historical scene. Afterwards it will look at the wartime cultural property activities; some were accidental and opportunistic; others were carefully planned to shape public opinion. That section is followed by a discussion of selective protection practices of the Ottomans and the goals of these selective practices. Next is an overview of the Ottoman-German relations that led to the establishment of the German-Turkish Monuments Protection Commando unit during the war.

Controlling antiquities: a summary of Ottoman actions before World War I

Like many others, the Ottoman state took an interest in establishing legislation and creating museums for the purposes of controlling antiquities. As early as the 1840s, the central government ordered provincial authorities across the empire to seek out antiquities, send the precious ones to the capital, and keep a watchful eye on the archeological activities of foreigners working within the borders of the empire. Around the same time, Rodosizade Fethi Ahmet Paşa (1801-1858), an Ottoman ambassador to various European states, established a collection of antique weapons in the Byzantine Chapel of Hagia Eirene, located in the garden of Topkapı Palace. This collection eventually included two galleries, with one composed exclusively of antiquities. This institution was the forerunner of the Imperial Museum, which opened in 1846 and expanded throughout the late Ottoman era. The museum was also located in the garden of the palace. A new building at Topkapı was designed and constructed to house the museum and opened in 1891.[33]

These early efforts of collecting and displaying antiquities paved the way for the establishment of antiquities laws. They also led to an increased awareness of antiquities and their potential value. While there are debates over the exact date of the first regulation, the relevant literature largely agrees that the first proper regulation was issued in 1869.[34] The 1869 Antiquities Regulation was prompted in part by the Governor of Aydın (in western Asia Minor), who was a vocal critic of the government's approach to archeology in the empire. He was among the many Ottoman governors who followed the capital's orders and sent antiquities to Istanbul, and it appears he was very well

[33] A detailed discussion of this can be found in Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).Wendy Shaw.

[34] Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations*, 47. Koçak reports that Semavi Eyice, Mustafa Cezar and Nur Akin argue for 1874 and Osman Aytekin argues for 1863. She argues for 1850, pointing towards rules and regulation written by Fethi Ahmet.

informed about antiquities practices.[35] He and others were disturbed by the high frequency of digs conducted without permits and the smuggling of antiquities out of the empire.

The awareness of antiquities and their importance seems to have expanded to some of the public by the late nineteenth century; Ottoman newspapers devoted more and more space to antiquities,[36] and some citizens started to take an active part in excavations. For example, a certain Mustafa Akra Efendi applied to excavate in Ambarlıdere, Ortaköy in Istanbul in 1873.[37] If Mustafa Akra Efendi owned the land he excavated, he would have had full ownership of the antiquities that he might have found. The increased interest by the public was noted by the Ottoman authorities and was noted in the new version of the Antiquities Law of 1874. Moreover, the ownership of the antiquities now had to be shared between the state and the excavator. When we come to the next iteration of the law, in 1884, the complete state ownership of antiquities was established. In the next Antiquities Law in 1906, the complete state ownership of antiquities was maintained, and the export of antiquities was made illegal. The latter provision would be challenged in a new antiquities law proposal in 1921 when the empire was under Allied occupation. We will deal with

[35] Provincial museums were opened, and provincial officials were assigned to collect and protect antiquities. For example, an early twentieth century document informs us that the head of the education departments were natural heads of the provincial museums and were responsible for the protection of antiquities. MF.MKT 836.47 (1322 Z 30 S) There were provincial museums of various sizes in Ankara, Antalya, Baalbek, Bergama, Bursa, Damascus, Jerusalem, Konya, Sinop and Sivas. Some were located within government schools or administrative offices. The museum of Sivas was established in the Sivas high school and later it acquired a library to go with it (MF. MKT 1082. 57 1326) It seems that there was a museum in Candia (modern Heraklion) in Crete (Petricioli 1990, 6). Moreover, provincial administrations were allowed to elect honorary museum officials. Even though I was unable to find a document explaining the process of election, there are many documents coming from the provinces informing the central government of their selection of the honorary members and payments that needed to be made to them in return for their purchases of antiquities. For example, Istanköy (in Rhodes) picked Yakovez Zerafi Efendi as the honorary museum officer (BOA. MF.MKT 1055, 1326 R 15 S).

[36] See for example: Ahmet A. Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals," in *History of Photography*, 40:3 (2016): 330-357.

[37] Koçak, 62.

that proposal in the next chapter, yet mentioning it here underscores the dynamic nature of the antiquities laws.

As Wendy Shaw noted, the first Ottoman museums were aimed only towards foreigners and the general Ottoman public was not considered as a relevant audience. For example, generally only foreigners visited the first Ottoman museum in Hagia Irene, the Arms Museum, and they required imperial permission to do so. The Archeological Museum initially only housed Greek and Roman antiquities. This was because Europeans considered those antiquities as a part of their history.

The Arms Museum in Hagia Irene and the later Imperial Archeological Museum were all within the walls of the Topkapı Palace, the ex-palace of the Ottoman sultans, revealing that they were unmistakably imperial state institutions. The government even instituted a special tax for the protection of ancient monuments and for the upkeep of the Imperial Museum beginning in 1906.[38] These steps showed both Europeans and Ottoman citizens that the Ottoman government was in control of its lands and its antiquities and that they were taking this issue seriously. The Ottomans hoped that their activities convinced foreigners and citizens alike to respect and abide by the Ottoman rules because that would be a sign of their effective government and thus their right to sovereignty.

This effort to display the strength of the imperial state is also visible in Ottoman collection practices. The Imperial Museum in Istanbul acted as the repository for all of the antiquities of the empire. Everything found within Ottoman territories, be they ancient coins found as new roads were built, or artifacts excavated by foreign or Ottoman archeologists like Osman Hamdi Bey in

[38] BOA, DH.MKT 2611.1. (1324 B 1 AAH/ 1906)

Sidon (in modern day Lebanon), were sent to Istanbul. In time the Ottomans started to establish local museums, yet these housed objects that were considered by the officials at the capital to be of lesser importance. The practice of sending important antiquities to high-profile museums was a common practice in Europe, as exemplified by the Louvre Museum in Paris and the British Museum in London, which housed antiquities collected from colonies and other sites abroad. This was an important practice of state legitimization, allowing states to domestically showcase their foreign power. Collecting, categorizing, and displaying antiquities in the metropole became a measure of the "civilized" status of the state; in addition, moving antiquities to capital cities allowed state elites and scholars to pass judgement on the inhabitants of the places whence the antiquities came. When Europeans expatriated antiquities from the Ottoman Empire—and when Ottomans removed antiquities from their provinces—there was an explicit message that the local people did not have the historical consciousness necessary for the protection and appreciation of the removed objects. For example, this attitude can be seen in a ticket stub to visit the ancient city of Baalbek in modern Lebanon. On this ticket, which included writings in three languages, only the Arabic urged visitors not to steal anything, reflecting Ottoman attitudes towards their Arab citizens. Accordingly, they maintained that transfer of antiquities to the capital city was not only legitimate but also necessary.

Despite these institutions and laws, there was no uniform way of handling historical artifacts between the sultans and the bureaucracy, or even between the different agencies within the bureaucracy. Sultan Abdülhamit II viewed antiquities as useful bargaining chips aiding him in his engagement with Europeans. This is best seen in the signing of a secret antiquities accord in 1899 with the Germans. This agreement contradicted the Antiquities Law of 1884, which declared all finds to be the property of the Ottoman government, by establishing that Germany was to keep

half of its archeological finds. This accord created much trouble for the Germans, as demonstrated by the case of the Mschatta Gate incident. The gate of this Sassanid castle in Syria was given by Abdülhamit II as a personal gift to the Kaiser in 1903. Museum bureaucrats reacted against this decision, yet the gate was already gone; they did what they were able to do to show their disapproval and denied further excavation permits to all Germans. According to the bureaucrats, this transfer of cultural property was illegitimate not only because it went against Ottoman laws but also because of the deal's secretive nature.

Another controversy surrounded Cemil Topuzlu, the mayor of Istanbul (between 1912-1914 and 1919-1920), who preferred wider roads and boulevards and modern parks and destroyed historical monuments, such as buildings and walls, to achieve them. He got into a lot of intellectual debates and bureaucratic battles with other civilian Ottoman elites who felt strongly about preserving these monuments.[39]

Just as there was no consensus on how to use historical artifacts, there was also no static definition of antiquities. With changes in the socio-political realities of the Ottoman state, the definition of antiquities and the collections of the museums also changed. Islamic antiquities started to be included in the collection of the museum in 1889; a few years later, they also became protected under Ottoman antiquities law and even acquired their own museum during World War I.[40] As with the non-Islamic antiquities, these developments were both a reaction to increasing European interest in Islamic antiquities (as exemplified by the opening of the Museum of Arab Art in British-ruled Cairo in 1883, excavations into the Islamic past in Samarqand by the Russians in

[39] Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hâtıralarım* (Istanbul: Güven, 1951).

[40] Wendy Shaw, "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 55–68.

1885, and the Exposition d'Art Musulman in Paris in 1893)[41] and a political and cultural innovation to create a more unified identity for Ottoman citizens.

On the Ottoman side, internal and external factors intertwined to create interest in Islamic antiquities. With the loss of Balkan territories, the demographics of the empire changed: Muslims were becoming a larger majority. Moreover, the loss of Egypt in 1882 and various European designs on Syria forced Ottoman elites to focus on ensuring the loyalty of their Islamic Arab populations. Accordingly, the Ottoman state started taking concrete actions to protect and patronize Islamic artifacts and antiquities. The Imperial Museum designated an Islamic Arts Division in 1889, and the government revised the antiquities legislation to include Islamic and Ottoman antiquities in 1906. In 1910, newspapers began to report thefts of Islamic antiquities around the country, such as tiles and carpets, which prompted governmental action.[42] In 1910, the Ministry of Public Education decided to set up a commission under the leadership of the director of the Imperial Museum in order to determine the "appropriate methods and sturdy provisions" for the preservation of "Islamic and Ottoman arts" in the empire, linking the religious and national terms together. In the following years these links were reinforced by official research and collection of antiquities related to the Ottoman dynasty, which linked the dynasty to the institution of the caliphate. On April 4, 1914, the Museum of Pious Foundations (Evkaf Müzesi) was opened, to coincide with the anniversary of the coronation of Sultan Mehmet V Reşad. Therefore, the link between the Ottoman dynastic and Islamic pasts and the idea that Islamic heritage was under the protection of the Ottoman state was underscored for the public.

[41] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, 14 (1 August 1997).".

[42] Shaw, "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923."

The development of legislation, establishment of museums and beginnings of Ottoman excavations went hand in hand with the proliferation of European and American private and public interest and activity in the archeological realm. Increased Western archeological interest and presence in the Ottoman territories created a difficult position for the Ottoman bureaucratic establishment. On the one hand, they had to cooperate with archeologists and various archeological institutions that were backed by European governments for Europeans had more funds and more trained personnel. On the other hand, they had to implement the law and resist the attempts to breach it. The division of antiquities at the end of an excavation season resembled an intricate game of chess: Europeans calculating to get the best pieces without upsetting Osman Hamdi Bey, the head of the Ottoman Imperial Museum who determined the allocation of future excavation sites, and Ottomans trying not to be too disagreeable so that the European excavation teams would return next year.

Europeans and Americans wanted to get the greatest possible number of antiquities and this was not always possible through legal channels. One possible way was to make deals directly with the Sultan, such as the aforementioned deal that Abdülhamit II made with the Germans. Other methods were more underhanded: American excavation funders asked their fellow Americans who visited the excavation site to take "souvenirs" back home to exhibit in American museums. Scandals erupted when an American bureaucrat was caught smuggling antiquities. It was common practice, in sizes small and large. For example, Valentine Everett Macy, an entrepreneur and trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art wrote American archeologist Butler working in the Ottoman Empire asking: "Can you follow the policy of having everyone who leave Sardis, whether they are visitors or not, take some 'fragments' with them?" [43] Illegal excavations and illegal trading

[43] Goode, *Negotiating for the Past*. 33.

of antiquities were ubiquitous despite governmental efforts. High demand created a great incentive for individuals in the empire to engage in this profitable yet illegal trade. We learn from documents of the Russian Archeological Institute in Istanbul that their members were possibly involved in a small-scale illegal antiquities trade, at least in Samsun, an important city on the Black Sea coast, during the early twentieth century. A letter from this Russian archeological institution reports that there was a certain Uzun Mihal, described as the only person interested in archeology in Samsun, who conducted secret excavations around Amisos, especially in the ancient necropolis from the Roman period. [44]

There was cooperation between European and Ottoman archeologists as well. For example, the famous German archeologist Wiegand, who would appear as an important actor in Cemal Paşa's Syria during the war, in 1899 returned archeological finds to the Ottomans that had been shipped to Berlin under a previous German archeologist. He returned the antiquities to show that he was taking Ottoman laws seriously and that he was an unobjectionable man of science.[45] However, this did not stop him from shipping the gate of Miletus along with 533 crates of finds to Germany, taking advantage of the chaos of the 1908 Revolution.[46] Nevertheless, the number of foreign nationals working at the Imperial Museum in various capacities, the scholarly engagements between Ottomans and Europeans—such as the revelations of the Sidon sarcophagi about the topic

[44] Pınar Üre, "Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)" (The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2014). 197-198.

[45] Marchand, *Down from Olympus*. 203

[46] Ibid. 215.

of polychromy in the Greek art[47] and the exchange of scholarly publishing—show that there was enough grounds for the two sides to cooperate.

And the War Came: **Business as Usual on the Antiquities Front?**

Most studies regarding archeology in the Ottoman Empire and the visualization of the past neglect the war years. This is probably the result of a presumption that archeological, museological, and other scholarly activities stopped during such a critical period for the empire. However, not only did German archeological excavations[48] continue for years, but the war also brought about and accelerated certain aspects of preservation, transfer, and study of antiquities by the Ottomans. If we zoom in to the Imperial Museum in the capital and its immediate surroundings, we can see examples of such activities. Halil Edhem Bey, the director of the museum, moved to the museum with his family to protect the collections when the museum's staff was called up for military service due to the war.[49] He turned this into an opportunity when he decided to do a new classification of the collections and to study them closely. He also used the opportunity to create the Ancient Mesopotamian Antiquities Museum (Şark-ı Kadim Müzesi) in the building evacuated by the School of Fine Arts, to which he transferred relevant antiquities from the main museum. [50]

[47] Çelik, *About Antiquities*. 49-53.

[48] Oliver Stein, "Archaeology and Monument Protection in War: The Collaboration Between the German Army and Researchers in the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1918," in *Militarized Cultural Encounters in the Long Nineteenth Century: Making War, Mapping Europe*, ed. Joseph Clarke and John Horne, War, Culture and Society, 1750-1850 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 297–317, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78229-4_13. I am grateful to Dr. Stein who let me read his work before it was published. According to Stein, while Germans were successful in continuing their major excavation in Babylon, many other sites were restricted or abandoned due to the number of researchers that were drafted into military service.

[49] Ayşe Özdemir, "A History of Turkish Archaeology from the 19th Century to the End of the Single Party Period" (Boğaziçi University, 2001). 34.

[50] Aziz Ogan, "Bay Halil Ethem," *Yeni Türk Mecmuası,* 73 (1939): 4–7.According to this article he continued to reside there for many years after the war as well. Halil Ethem published a book on Islamic monuments of Kayseri in

This museum was meant to separate Hittite, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian antiquities from Greek, Roman, and Byzantine objects that up until that point had been housed all together in the main museum. The German archeologist Eckhard Unger was hired to help with classification, and he went on to publish for the museum.[51] He continued his employment in this museum in the war years as well.[52]

Others also used the war years as an opportunity to continue their studies. Mehmet Raif bin Emin, for example, published his work detailing the monuments and antiquities around the neighborhood of the museum in his book *Sultanahmet Park and Its Antiquities*.[53] The agents of the Imperial Museum were not standing idle either. Bedri Bey, one of the inspectors of the museum, discovered a statue in Cyzicus (contemporary Balıkesir in northwestern Asia Minor) in 1917 and sent it to the Imperial Museum in 1918.[54] The army also helped transfer antiquities to the museum. For example, during the war, covers of sarcophagi previously discovered by Fethi Ahmet Paşa around Topkapı Palace were finally moved to the Imperial Museum, thanks to men

1915. (Kayseriye Şehri: Mebânî-i İslâmiyye ve Kitâbeleri, İstanbul 1334) Same year, his brother İsmâil Galib Bey published VI. Volume of Islamic coin catoluges of the museum (Meskûkât-ı Kadîme-i İslâmiyye Kataloğu: Meskûkât-ı Osmânî, I. Sultan Osman Han-ı Evvelden Murad Han-ı Sâlisin Âhir-i Saltanatına Kadar Olan Zamanı Müctemidir, İstanbul 1334). In 1917, Halil Ethem and German epigrapher Max van Berchem published the second volume of their work on Islamic inscriptions (Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, IIIe partie: Asie Mineure, fas. 1: Sivas, Divriği, Kahire 1910, fas. 2: ilâveler ve indeks, Kahire 1917). For his other academic works see https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/eldem-halil-ethem.

[51] "Osmanli Tarih Politikalari," *Sanat Dünyamız* 1 (1975): 321.

[52] BOA, I.MF..22 1332 S-2 1332 S 16 1 (13.01.1914). Eckhard Unger was also worked as a professor of history in the Department of Literature in the Darülfünun (Istanbul University). and I.MMS. 201 (1334 M 01).

[53]Mehmet Raif bin Emin, *Sultanahnet Parkı ve Asar-I Atikasi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Matba-ı Hayriye ve Asar-ı Atika Külliyatı Yayınlari Republished by Yay Yayıncılık, 2010).

[54] Sidney N. Deane, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 3 (1923): 341–80, https://doi.org/10.2307/497854.

sent by Commander of the First Army Mehmet Ali Paşa, "a soldier who knew that antiquities are national treasures."[55]

The war also provided opportunities for what I call accidental archaeology. War, from the fields of Western Europe to the hills of Gallipoli in northwestern Asia Minor, meant trenches. War also meant bombings and explosions. Especially with the development of new war technologies such as airplanes, belligerent sides could create havoc virtually everywhere and any time. While ceaseless digging, constant bombing, and destructive artillery fire created miserable conditions and massive death counts, they also led to accidental finds of antiquities. At least some of these were reported to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul.[56] This indicates that the awareness of archaeology and the need to salvage antiquities was not limited to a few exceptional officers.

It is possible to find a dizzying array of cultural property-related activities in the wartime empire in the Ottoman archives, from the establishment of a commission to study the history of groundwork and cisterns[57] in Istanbul to the transfer of antiquities found in ceaseless road construction schemes.[58] These all suggest that despite the limitations brought by the war, Ottomans tried their best to continue their usual activities, like research and the transfer of antiquities to the capital. They tried to use the war to their advantage when they could. Moreover, the war created new reasons for protecting and controlling antiquities. The war created, necessitated, and enhanced

[55] Abdulhak Şinasi Hisar, "Müzelerimizin Ilk Zamanlari," *Türk Yurdu* 261 (1956): 281. The scale of this activity is difficult to establish, however. The military archives are vast and opaque.

[56] BOA, DH.EUM.VRK 25.29. (1334 B 06)

[57] BOA, MF.MKT 1214.63 (1334 R 29)

[58] For example, BOA, DH.I.UM 19-01, 1/59, (1334 S 15 AH/ 17 June 1916). Ancient coins found in a road construction and were sent to the Imperial Museum. See BOA, DH.EUM.LVZ 30.76, (1333, Z 4 AH/ 13 September 1915). About transfer of a sculpture found in Yıldız, a centrally located neighborhood in Istanbul.

opportunities to use the past, and to use the techniques that allowed Ottomans to tell visual stories to legitimize their rule.

On the flipside, the abundance of archeological remains in the Ottoman Empire and their physical qualities were useful during the war for other reasons: construction materials and strategically located ruins could be used for military purposes. Ruins have a long history of being used as a quarry in societies around the world and this was the case in the Ottoman Empire as well. The necessities of the war and perhaps shifting manpower as well as shifting priorities of the state made archeological remains vulnerable. This is evident in a communique issued by the Ministry of Interior in 1917 called "Notification regarding the preservation of antiquities and national oeuvres". This notification castigates those bureaucrats (starting from the highest government officials to the lowly ones) who use antiquities to build military barracks, hospitals, and schools, and destroy those mosques and medreses which look a little rundown without paying attention to their historical and architectural importance. The notification complaints that these people do not follow the antiquities laws and act according to their own whims. It declares that it is necessary to preserve these buildings because these are antiquities and national monuments.[59] The fact that the Ministry of Interior felt the need to issue a notification is pointing towards the ubiquity of such occurrences around the empire. It might, at the same time a reference to the activities of the military leaders including Cemal Paşa in Syria that we will talk about in detail below after a brief discussion of Ottoman museological activities in wartime Istanbul.

[59] BOA, DH. UMUM 124. 111.(1335).

Ottoman Museum Building: New Museums of the Wartime Era

When the war came, the Ottoman Empire was dealing with the establishment of a new and more comprehensive state structure and this reshaped the relationship between the state and society. Support for studying, protecting, and preserving antiquities was one method employed by the Ottoman state to shape public opinion through material culture, but there were others as well. The establishment of new museums and museological practices was another such method adopted by the Ottoman state to influence citizen views.

An example of the use of material culture and the institution of the museum for propaganda purposes is the Police Museum. In order to deal with Armenian citizens who made socio-political demands that Ottoman elites found threatening, the Ottoman state used massive state violence, which turned into a full-fledged genocide during the war. The Ottoman state made many efforts in the international arena to justify its actions against its own Armenian citizens, from international conferences to positive articles published in prestigious foreign newspapers. On the domestic front, the Ottomans also decided to take advantage of the new institution of museums. Before the war there were already efforts to establish a Police Museum. This was in line with the Ottoman state's growing security apparatus, which was organized to discipline its citizenry. To create a Police Museum was to create a friendlier, more public face for this disciplining mission. The war did not stop authorities from trying to establish this museum; for example, book auctions raised money for the museum during the war.[60] The central government even sent orders to the provinces to collect Armenian bombs, tools to make bombs, photographs of Armenian bombers, and other

[60] BOA, DH.EUM.MH.111.60 (1333, Z 23 AH/ 2 October 1915).

things "worthy of exhibition" in the new Police Museum.[61] These were artifacts of a non-archeological kind, but they were used in a strikingly parallel way, to promote an image of the legitimacy and efficacy of the Ottoman state.

Ottoman government tried to use other visual methods, such as paintings, to shape public opinion. The most important Ottoman painters of this period were gathered in Şişli, Istanbul during the war, in an art workshop. Here, our Naval Museum director Ali Sami Boyar worked with Sami Yetik Onat, Ibrahim Çallı, Namik Ismail, Ali Cemal, and Avni Lifij to create art with historical and military themes.[62] Celal Esad (Arseven), a famous Ottoman artist and art historian, in his memoirs recalls getting summoned by the head of the Intelligence Service, Seyfi Paşa, and asked about what to do for propaganda purposes. Celal Esad recommended an exhibition. This idea was materialized as the works created in the workshop were taken to Vienna for a major Ottoman Art Exhibition.[63]

The preeminent newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* supported the propagandistic intention behind the exhibition, stating that the event would illustrate how civilized the Ottomans were. Not surprisingly, especially when considering that Seyfi Paşa is now considered one of the architects of the Armenian Genocide and that this exhibition took place in 1917, non-Muslim artists were not included in this representation of Ottoman "civilization." Additionally, *Tasvir-i Efkar* informed its readers that a museum to house these paintings was going to be established. However, this

[61] BOA, DH.SFR 62.58 (1334 Ca 14 AH/ 16 April 1916).

[62] "Ali Sami Boyar," Ahmet Akyol, http://archive.is/CUgZK.

[63] During the war, in the Ottoman capital, the Ottoman and German scholars planned exhibitions also in Berlin according to BOA, MF.MKT.1223.11 (1223 Ca. 3). According to this document there was a need to put together a commission to head the Ottoman exhibition in Berlin with Halil Bey at the head of it.

project never materialized.[64] These failed attempts point towards a lack of financial means due to the war, and not to lack of will, especially when one considers the great efforts and time dedicated to their planning, the attempts to collect artifacts for display, and the procurement and rehabilitation of their locations.

Another possible attempt to shape the public opinion and create loyal citizens can also be found in the planned move and expansion of the Naval Museum in Istanbul. This museum, which was established with the name of "The Museum and Library Administration Office" in 1897, was situated in a small building in the Imperial Dockyard.[65] Just before the war, Cemal Paşa had wanted to move the small museum to *Rumelihisarı,* a grand fifteenth century castle on the Bosphorous, built by Fatih the Conqueror. His wish was granted by *Meclis-i Vükela* (the Parliament of Representatives), which approved not only *Rumelihisarı* but also *Anadoluhisarı* (a similar castle on the opposite side of the Bosphorous) to be used as museums in 1918.[66] This transfer order specified that the castles were being given to the ministry as museums with the purpose of preserving the edifices as historical monuments. Cemal Paşa ordered the expropriation of some of the buildings inside the castle.[67] In his memoirs, Cemal Paşa mentioned that he assigned German Professor Zurcher, whom he worked with in Syria, to the project of transforming *Rumelihisarı* into the new Naval Museum in a manner that would preserve its previous importance.[68] Meanwhile he

[64] Gizem Tongo, "Ottoman Painting and Painters During the First World War," PhD diss., (Oxford University, 2017).

[65] "History," Naval Museum Command, "Naval Museum Command - History," accessed September 4, 2019, https://denizmuzesi.dzkk.tsk.tr/en/tarihce-1.

[66] BOA, MV. 211-4.

[67] "Bahriye Müzesi," *Turing Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belletini*, Temmuz 1955.

[68] Cemal Pasa, *Hatıralar* (Istanbul: Selek Yayinlari, 1959). 327. His actual words were: "Prof Zurcher (…) Istanbul'da Bahriye Nezareti müzesi yapılmak üzere bahriye dairelerine devrolan Rumeli Hisarının eski ehemmiyetine katiyen halel vermiyecek surette tarafımdan memur edilmis ve bu pek muhim iş ile gayet ehemmiyetli

assigned European-educated artist Ali Sami Boyar to the position of director of the Naval Museum. Boyar embarked on a new mission to bring the museum up to contemporary standards by building workshops for ship model-building and by printing the first catalogue of the museum, which was published in 1917. In the same year, he and a certain museum director Herr Witmer prepared a report about the new museum building. While ultimately the move never materialized,[69] these attempts to use history, in its material form and in the shape of museums, is clear. These castles were among the most visible signs of Ottoman authority, its military power, and its longevity. Fifteenth century to the twentieth these castles stood at the strategic chokehold points of the Bosporus, not letting any enemies into the capital. Associating that with the Ottoman Navy at the wartime was a clever way to remind citizens of the Ottoman might. The fact that they were built by the Mehmet II, the Conqueror, also was useful as a reminder of people of the glorious achievements of the Ottomans, especially against Christian belligerents. This might also be a warning against the Ottoman Christians, reminding them that they triumphed over Europeans before and thus they should not rely on the European support. The attempts to use historical monuments to shape public opinion was not limited to castles in Istanbul. We will see further attempts below.

Before moving on to other attempts to use historical monuments, I would like to mention other museums created in this period. A Pedagogical Museum[70] and Health Museum were

bir surette meşgul olmaya baslamıstı." "I assigned Prof. Zurcher to transform Rumeli Hisari, which was transferred to the navy offices, into a museum of the navy without hurting the previous importance of the building and he started working on this very important job with the high intensity it deserved". (My translation) I was unable to find the full name of Prof. Zurcher. The order regarding handing of Rumeli and Anadolu Hisarları can be found in BOA, MV. 211.4 (1336 Ra 18).

[69] "Ali Sami Boyar," Ahmet Akyol, "Ahmet Akyol Web Sitesi," archive.is, May 2, 2013, http://archive.is/CUgZK.
[70] BOA, MF.MKT.1223.42 (1335 Ca 9). This museum was established by a German professor by the name of Anschutz working in the University of Istanbul.

established in the capital during the war. The pedagogical museum was established by a German professor working in the capital, but its budget was provided by the Ottoman government. War might also have played a role here by providing the arena for cooperation between Germans and Ottomans. We do not know much about this museum. However, it might be explained as a part of wartime propaganda to show the power of the empire and its control over its citizens. More research is needed to establish these institutions' raison d'etre, choice of artifacts, and planned exhibition strategies, as well as their expected reception by the war-weary Ottoman public.[71]

The initiative for the Health Museum (Sıhhi Muze, Hıhzisihha Müzesi) came from the General Director of Health Dr. Adnan Adıvar in 1917, and the museum opened in Divanyolu in 1918. Unlike the other museums mentioned above, this one had a long life and its activities, mission, and exhibitions are well documented. Its mission was to educate the public regarding diseases and the ways to fight them, along with educating people on general health topics such as nutrition.[72] Painters were hired to create charts that made the material visually intelligible to the public. As with the other institutions, the fact that the state financed a museum during the war speaks volumes about the importance given to this initiative. In particular, the fact that the war was attended by famines and epidemics meant that the conflict may have acted as a catalyst that convinced government officials of the necessity of such a tool. Unlike Naval, Police, and an Art museum which have visible propagandic mission, Pedagogy and Health museums were more functional museums with missions to provide help that is immediately available and usable by the

[71] To best of my knowledge the Police Museum never opened and Pedagogical Museum did not last very long. According to an MA thesis, the first Police Museum opened in 2002. 99. http://acikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr/browse/1771/2428.pdf

[72] "İstanbul Sağlik Müzesi Tarihçe," accessed September 5, 2019, https://istanbulism.saglik.gov.tr/TR,49105/tarihce.html.Sergi Rapor, "İstanbul Sağlik Müzesi Tarihçe," İstanbul Il Sağlik Müdürlüğü, http://www.istanbulsaglik.gov.tr/w/sb/saggel/arsag/resim/sergi_rapor.pdf.

public. Nevertheless, the fact that these museums were indeed established during the war is a sign of the Ottoman government's power to take care of its citizens. Thus, all these wartime museum building can be taken as attempts to shape public opinion and provide support for the Ottoman government.

Preservation and Protection: What to protect and with what purpose?

The idea that antiquities need preservation and protection, including prevention from being taken abroad, was officially established via the creation of museums and the implementation of antiquities laws in the nineteenth century. Preservation and protection of antiquities also acted as markers of state control over a given territory, allowing the protectors to shape particular narratives about the antiquities, the past, the present, and the future. In the wartime Ottoman Empire, these markers gained existential importance.

In addition to laws and museums, a few years before the war, a civil initiative known as *Istanbul Muhipleri Cemiyeti* was established in order "to promote the city's aesthetic beauty, to publish the literature necessary to know its monuments and to plead to the government regarding the protection of historical and architectural monuments." Even though it was a civil initiative, the committee of this society was composed of people from the higher echelons of the Ottoman government and their official residence was in the Imperial Museum building. One of the acts of this society was against the head of the Istanbul Municipality, Cemil Bey (Topuzlu), who was engaged in urban renewal projects, such as the expansion of the main avenues of the city and the establishment of public parks. On one occasion, the society managed to stop Cemil Bey from tearing down a hammam built by the famous architect known as Mimar Sinan near Topkapı

Palace.[73] On another occasion, the society tried and failed to stop Cemil Bey from tearing down ancient walls to set up Gülhane Public Park.[74] Infrastructural projects thus had an uneasy coexistence with attempts to protect antiquities.

The war brought an end to this society; many of its members, foreign and Ottoman, were scattered around the empire and beyond. Regardless, its mission was continued by an official committee that was set up during the war to help the museum staff, who were struggling to find spare time besides their daily affairs at the museum. Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi (A Permanent Committee on Antiquities) thus was established in 1917 to protect, study, and preserve historical works of art and monuments.[75] The members of its board of directors expanded their goal by including antiquities belonging to private as well as public entities. Moreover, they included natural, unique, and public works to the list along with the entities covered by Article 5 of the Antiquities Law (Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi). Just like the Istanbul Muhipleri Cemiyeti, the members of Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi clashed with the Istanbul Municipality and fought against their attempts to destroy historical buildings. Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi also fought with other state entities, such as when Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909-1918) wanted to repair Topkapı Palace in 1918. They complained about the lack of consultation and protested the arbitrary nature and unscientific methods of these repairs. After issuing a 24-point report, the Encümen managed to prevent some of the damage posed by the sultan's repairs. [76]

[73] Aziz Ogan, "Türk Müzeciliğinin Yüzüncü Yıl Dönümü II," *Turing Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belletini* 62 (1947): 8–21.

[74] Topuzlu, *80 Yıllık Hâtıralarım*. 51.

[75] The idea was first mentioned a couple of months before the war. BOA. DH.II.28-2.33 (1332 Ca 4 Ah/ 29 April 1914).

[76] Ogan, "Türk Müzeciliğinin Yüzüncü Yıl Dönümü II." 17-21

The increasing activity and infighting between governing elites in Istanbul during the war over antiquities can be linked to an anxiety regarding foreign powers' attempts to capture Istanbul (a concern originating in the nineteenth century), which motivated the Ottomans to display their power and try to legitimize their rule over the city. The dispute over Topkapı Palace is illuminating because the palace was identified by the Commission for the Protection of Antiquities (Muhafaza-ı Asar-ı Atika Encümeni) as a monument of national heritage. During the war, the leaders of this commission considered this non-public, non-religious, sultanic structure to be the domain of the nation and claimed their authority over its preservation, even over the protestations of the sultan.

Another aspect of preservation and protection was the transportation of antiquities from the provinces. As mentioned above, this practice continued whenever possible as Ottomans tried to maintain some practices from peacetime. The transfer of antiquities was of paramount importance; it is apparent that they wanted to make sure that the antiquities were sent promptly to the capital.[77] The issue of transfer became even more pressing when the Ottoman Empire started to lose its territories in the Arab provinces. For example, in 1917, an order was issued to tranfer antiquities from Sayda, Damascus, Aleppo, Telhalef and Tranblus to Konya.[78] However, the war provided new obstacles and new opportunities to broaden the definition of transportation and to carry out preservation and protection measures in a highly political way. This strategy sometimes took on an opportunistic dimension. For example, the Ministry of Education, which was in charge of cultural property and museums in the empire, urged the Governorate of Syria to send a specialist

[77] For example, BOA MF.MKT,1227.11 (1335, L 6 AH/ 31 December 1916). A notice about the transfer of a box of antiquities found in Aleppo to the Imperial Museum. These transfers did not stop with the end of the war. For example, BOA DH.I.UM.EMK 113.60 (1337, Za 16 AH/ 31 August 1919), the officials in the capital inquire about the shipment of antiquities from Mosul.

[78] RA Cumhuriyet Arsivi, Ankara 180.9.00.29.169 1335

to the French Medical School in Beirut to pick up artifacts and books from the school's museum.[79] The Ottoman bureaucracy was able to do that because on September 9, 1914, the empire abrogated the capitulations to European states with decisions taken in Meclis-i Ali-i Vükela and signed by Sultan Mehmet V Reşad, and started to confiscate foreign states' property.[80]

The Ottoman state used its powers on its own citizens and their cultural property as well. According to a letter from the Hashemites to the British, dated July 18, 1920, the Ottomans removed to Istanbul "fifty shawls and certain precious gold-embroidered curtains belonging to the tomb of the Prophet's daughter, Fatima" and the office of the Director of the Haram El-Sherif had the receipt given by the Ottoman Ministry of Religious Endowments. There were other religious items such as the Koran of Caliph Osman, which was sent to Istanbul. However, this item's whereabouts were less clear to the British as there were other reports claiming that it was presented to the German Emperor, and still others claiming that it was in the hands of the Soviet government.[81] However for the Hashemites it was crystal clear, for they argued that Muzaffar Agha, the Nayeb el-Haram of Medina, "was forced by Fakhry (sic) Pasha to transport, (in company of Ziver Bet, the Sheikh of el-Haram) these relics including the said Koran to Constantinople where they were delivered to His Majesty Sultan Rashad at the palace of Tob-Qabu (sic) on the 15th of Shaban 1335 (6th of June 1917), on the day on which the holy relics of the Prophet are visited (in state)."[82]

[79] BOA MF.MKT 12.23.08 (1333 M 13).

[80] Şamil Mutlu, "Osmanlı Devletinde Yabancı Okullar," Doktora Tezi, (Istanbul, 1999): 19.

[81] "Telegram, from Arnold T. Wilson, Baghdad, to IO," 23 June 1918, British Library India Office Library and Records (hereafter IOR). IOR L/P&S/10/689.

[82] Ibid.

Why would the Ottomans remove holy relics from Islam's holy shrines? Were they simply trying to protect these important relics from the enemy advances, hoping that the infidel British would not get hold of them? Considering the fact that the Ottoman state considered and proclaimed itself as the protector of Islam, Muslim peoples, and Islamic antiquities, as evidenced by their patronage of Islamic museum and similar steps, this seem plausible. However, one needs to take into account the Arab Revolt of 1916, when the Hashemite Sharif of Mecca and his family revolted against Ottoman rule. One of the arguments for their revolt was the anti-Islamic policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Before the revolt, the Ottomans were trying to protect Islamic antiquities to legitimize their rule both to their citizens and to the larger world. The revolt, headed by the Hashemites, who claimed to be descendants of the prophet, posed a challenge to Ottoman claims to being the sole legitimate leaders of the Muslims. Accordingly, the protection of Islamic antiquities, in the shape of transportation and ownership in this case, became a matter of competition over legitimacy to represent Muslim society on multiple fronts.

Ottoman elites did not agree on how to prioritize what should be protected and lacked resources to implement their agendas fully. They did not have the luxury of favoring one policy with one specific focus, as the circumstances of the war deprived the state of resources and ensured that the domestic and international landscape was constantly in flux. Therefore, Ottoman elites applied multiple legitimization schemes, attempting to convince their citizens of their (Ottoman) right and ability to rule, using cultural heritage. One of the most important legitimization strategies during the war was employed in Syria by Cemal Paşa, who created and implemented an expansive

preservation scheme for monuments of the Byzantine, Arabic, and Turkish periods in Syria, with the help of German officers.[83]

One of the main leaders of the CUP, Cemal Paşa was the military governor of Syria as well as the General of the Fourth Army between 1914 and 1917, which gave him immense control over the province. He is infamous in the literature of World War I as his name is synonymous with *seferberlik* (mobilization), hunger, and ruin for many people in the Middle East.[84] For his military activities in the region, like the Suez Canal operations against the British, he busied himself with the construction of roads, railways, and fortifications. Meanwhile, because of increasing displeasure with Ottoman rule in the Arab provinces since the late nineteenth century, and more immediately because of the Arab Revolt that began in 1916, he had to exert and legitimize his authority to citizens and foreigners (Europeans and their colonial subjects) alike. He had a variety of tools at his disposal. While he hanged or exiled political elites and dissidents, he also engaged in public works, such as procurement of fresh water and establishment of ferry lines, along with cosmetic projects like the building of wide avenues in cities and engaging in landscape architecture. He paid particular attention to girls' education and opened schools. He also started a major historical preservation program[85] using yet another resource available to him: his German allies.

[83] Ömer Osman Umar, *Osmanlı Yönetimi ve Fransız Manda Idaresi Altında Suriye (1908-1938)* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2004); M. Talha Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria: Cemal Pasha's Governorate during World War I, 1914-17*, Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern History 15 (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, 2014). 194-196.

[84] See Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1997); Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar* (Istanbul: Selek Yayinlari, 1959). See Hasan Kayalı for Cemal Paşa's activities in Syria.

[85] Umar, *Osmanlı Yönetimi ve Fransız Manda Idaresi Altında Suriye (1908-1938)*. 345.

Cemal Paşa and the German-Turkish Monument Protection Commando

The German military presence on Ottoman soil was limited in the beginning of the war but increased in 1916.[86] This was partly related to the entry of Bulgaria and Serbia into the war on the side of the Central Powers, which allowed direct ground transportation between Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Among those military officers who arrived in the Middle East was Professor Theodor Wiegand, director of the Royal Museum's antiquities department in Berlin, and a prominent archeologist who had direct access to the Kaiser.[87]

Professor Wiegand was not the only German archeologist working for his government during the war. In 1914, for example, the famous German ethnologist and archaeologist Leo Frobenius embarked on a scientific mission to Arabia and Eritrea with a secret political and military objective: to launch jihad across North Africa and the Middle East to undermine the British Empire.[88] Archaeologist Georg Karo got involved with propaganda in the foreign press[89], and Max Freiherr von Oppenheim took up intelligence work. Others such as Freidrich Sarre, Ernst Herzfeld, and Walter Andrae were put to work by the German government in the Middle East and worked as liaison officers or communication commanders, thanks to their knowledge of languages and familiarity with the geography.[90] Other archeologists of various nationalities signed up for

[86] Edward J. Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War*, Contributions in Military Studies, no. 201 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001). 234.

[87] Oliver Stein, "German Military and Its Role in the Middle Eastern Archaeology" 2017. 3.

[88] Rocío Da Riva and Dario Biocca, "Leo Frobenius' Secret Mission in Arabia and Eritrea (1914–1915)," *Arabian Humanities. Revue internationale d'archéologie et de sciences sociales sur la péninsule Arabique/International Journal of Archaeology and Social Sciences in the Arabian Peninsula*, no. 6 (August 5, 2016), https://doi.org/10.4000/cy.3099.

[89] Marchand, *Down from Olympus*. 247.

[90] Stein, "German Military and Its Role in the Middle Eastern Archaeology."

positions to help their respective governments' war efforts, as we will encounter in the following chapters. Nonetheless, the path of Professor Wiegand turned out to be very different. He came to work for Cemal Paşa during the war in a way that was not planned by either Ottoman or German authorities. According to historian Hasan Kayalı, Professor Wiegand asked his superiors to be appointed to Istanbul so that he could "conduct scholarly observations in the entire region of Turkish operations." His wish was granted and, what is more, he got archeologist Carl Watzinger and architect Karl Wulzinger as interpreter and adjutant respectively. However, German authorities did not want to arouse Ottoman suspicions. Accordingly, they traveled with the Ottoman troops going to southern Palestine. In his memoirs, Cemal Paşa does not mention any suspicious activities of German personnel working under his command, including Wiegand. Moreover, Cemal Paşa had already employed several other German professors for his urban projects. Nevertheless, according to Dyson, Theodor Wiegand combined intelligence and archeological activities.[91]

When Cemal Paşa employed Professor Wiegand, both Cemal Paşa and Wiegand's German archeologist colleagues working in the Middle East were already engaged in studies involving antiquities and preservation initiatives of various scales on their own. German archeologists studied and excavated in their spare time. For instance, during his time in Mosul and Baghdad, Herzfeld finished a record of Islamic monuments that he had begun in peacetime, while Sarre studied Xenophon's march while he himself was marching with the Ottoman army. German military commanders were also engaged in archeology. When the Ottoman garrison under the command of Colonel Hans Guhr settled near Nusaybin, he took the opportunity to arrange an

[91] Dyson, *In Pursuit of Ancient Pasts*. 172.

archeologist and excavate with manpower provided by the Ottoman soldiers. Oliver Stein argues that these were not coordinated and not systematically recorded events.

Meanwhile, under his greater urban renewal and historical monument protection scheme, Cemal Paşa undertook various protection and preservation steps. For example, he "got rid of some additions that ruined the perfectness of Mescid-i Aksa" and "repaired the citadel of Jerusalem to turn it into a local museum" while also engaging in the preservation of citadels of Damascus and Aleppo.[92] Additionally he started renovation of historical Islamic monuments, such as Salimiyya Mosque, with the funding he secured from government sources and assigned German educator and scholar Dr. Jehlin to catalogue the Islamic library in Damascus.[93]

In his memoirs Cemal Paşa wrote that he employed Professor Wiegand in 1916 as inspector general of antiquities of Syria and Palestine.[94] Oliver Stein argues that Wiegand convinced Cemal Paşa to hire him in such a position. This appointment allowed Wiegand freedom of movement and support from both the German and Ottoman militaries. According to Oliver Stein, along with getting the support of the army engineers, the German government even issued a directive to all German aircraft units in the Ottoman Empire to support the archaeologists by taking systematic aerial photos of historical sites.[95]

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[92] *Hatıralar*.

[93] Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*. 304.

[94] Aziz Ogan, in 1917 was sent to Damascus where he became a Ottoman representative at the commission for the protection of monuments until 1918. He became close friends with Theodor Wiegand and when Ogan returned to Izmir Wiegand went to excavate in the area on the sites of Didyma and Pergamum. Melania Savino, "Narrating the 'New' History: Museums in the Construction of the Turkish Republic," n.d., 12.

[95] "German Soldiers and the Scientific Investigation of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918," October 2, 2015, https://www.mwme.eu/essays/german-ottoman/Stein_Scientists/index.html.

Wiegand was able expand his reach by becoming the head of the German-Turkish Monument Protection Commando unit (Deutsch-Turkisches Denkmalschutzkommando), adding many researchers and assistants. This group included the antiquities inspector of the Izmir area, Aziz Bey (Ogan), as the Turkish representative, possibly to appease the suspicions of Halil Edhem Bey of the Imperial Museum. This unit undertook extensive archeological trips, and conducted historical, archeological, and architectural surveys. They also ensured the protection of historical buildings that were under threat of destruction.[96] Among those buildings they protected was the monumental arch of Palmyra, the longevity of which they ensured by building a new foundation.

With this new unit, Professor Wiegand undertook extensive research and published an important book called *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien* (Ancient Monuments of Syria, Palestine and West Arabia) in 1917 with the money Cemal Paşa gave him from the army sources.[97] In the introduction Cemal Paşa explains his goals in publishing this book as well as establishing the Monument Protection Unit to protect, manage and make the antiquities accessible to the researchers. He goes into further detail in explaining his goals in undertaking such an endeavor as well as publishing such book. He cautions the readers not to consider this book as a worthless guidebook, for it is the first book about these ruins and valuable antiquities of the old civilizations in the country. He adds that this book and other steps taken will aid Ottoman antiquities specialists and their trips of study. Finally, he argues that this book presents a great source of beauty in the country so that the Ottoman citizens would acquaint themselves with the empire's precious antiquities. In terms of the audience for this book, as well as his other protection

[96] The British would do exactly the same thing for the Arch of Ctesiphon during occupation. See chapter II.

[97] Cemal Paşa and Theodor Wiegand, *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien: 100 Tafeln mit beschreibendem Text* (Berlin: Reimer, 1918). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/wiegand1918

work, Cemal Paşa was therefore targeting multiple groups. He clearly had the Ottoman antiquities specialists in mind, as well as foreign ones, as he later mentions the need to improve roads, accommodations, and transportation for local and foreign visitors. He contributes to the scholarly literature. The other section of the intended audience is the Ottoman citizenry in general. By reading this book and looking at the images of antiquities, buildings, and monuments that were left behind by the old civilizations and the Ottoman civilization, they would see the greatness of its past and be proud to be Ottomans. Cemal Paşa also had a didactic goal in mind vis-à-vis the Ottoman citizens; he shares his hope that the activities done in his command zone would be expanded to all Ottoman territories. In this way, all Ottoman citizens could fulfil their obligation to respect and protect antiquities.

The didactic attitude towards Ottoman citizens is also visible in his list of concrete goals in publishing this book, as well as establishing the Monument Protection Unit. Goal number two is to remove [contemporary] housing within or around ruins and stop people from using the ruins for construction materials. It is well known that ancient ruins were used as accommodation, as quarries for construction, and for other contemporary needs. Cemal Paşa was trying to put an end to these practices, even though the army itself was also an offender in these acts (see below). Nevertheless, combined with his goal of creating an inventory of all the antiquities in the zone under command, his control and protection scheme fits well with this didactic goal.

There are two important aspects of this book and this whole project of protection: their inclusivity and their perceived scope. The project is inclusive in three respects. One, it aims to benefit both Ottoman citizens and the foreign visitors, as the book being published in two languages (German and Ottoman) shows. It also aims to benefit scholars as well as general visitors. More importantly, this book, like the work of the monument protection unit, is inclusive of all of

the antiquities and monuments belonging to the Byzantine, Arabic, and Ottoman periods in Syria. The pages of this book sport pictures of various monuments, from mosques in Damascus to Petra in contemporary Jordan and are accompanied by explanatory texts. This inclusivity can be seen as a part of Cemal Paşa's attachment to the great Ottoman plan, the one in which all peoples of the empire, regardless of their ethnic, religious, and linguistic identity – and with all the different pasts that those identities entailed – would live together under the Ottoman government. This was a call to the citizens of the Arab provinces of the Empire especially, for the Arab Revolt that began in 1916 was still going on when Cemal Paşa was writing that introduction to the book. The survivors of the Armenian Genocide were also amongst the peoples subject to Cemal Paşa's reign. The unity of the Ottoman subjects was already gone, but Cemal Paşa was trying to restore it. This brings me to the second important aspect. Cemal Paşa was not undertaking this work for short-term goals only. He wanted this work to be only the beginning of an empire-wide project of control, protection, and accessibility of antiquities. The fact that his project involved improvement of the roads to the ruins and created accommodations and means of transportation for local and foreign visitors shows that Cemal Paşa, as late as October 1917, wanted to believe or appear to believe in a future in the Ottoman Empire with its Arab provinces and multiple peoples intact.

Published in Germany in both Ottoman and in German, this work made Cemal Paşa very proud, and he boasted in his memoirs about the popularity it found in European media and among intellectual circles.[98] The Commandos continued publishing their findings on Sinai, Palestine, and Petra even after the war under the same name.[99]

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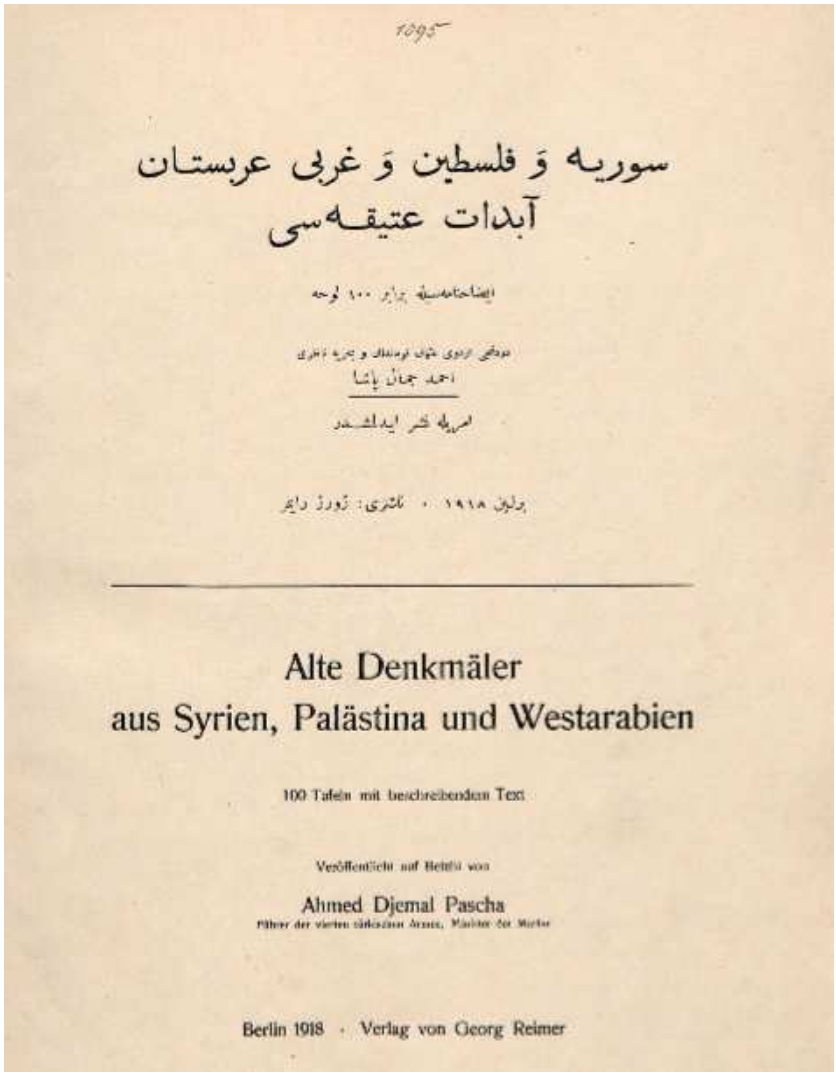
[98] *Hatıralar*. 330-331.

[99] "Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen Des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz Kommandos ; Heft. 3. Petra :: AMAR Archive of Mesopotamian Archaeological Reports," accessed April 27, 2019, http://digital.library.stonybrook.edu/cdm/ref/collection/amar/id/124410.



سوریه وَ فلسطین وَ غربی عربستان
آبدات عتیقه‌سی

ایضاحنامه‌سیله برابر ۱۰۰ لوحه

مؤلفی اردوی همایون فریقلك و بحریه ناظری
احمد جمال پاشا

طرفیله نشر ایدلمشدر

برلین ۱۹۱۸ · ناشری: گئورگ رایمر

Alte Denkmäler
aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien

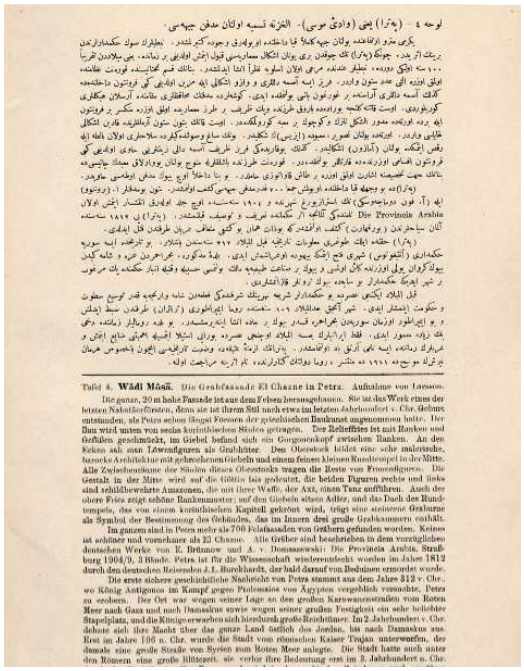
100 Tafeln mit beschreibendem Text

Veröffentlicht auf Befehl von

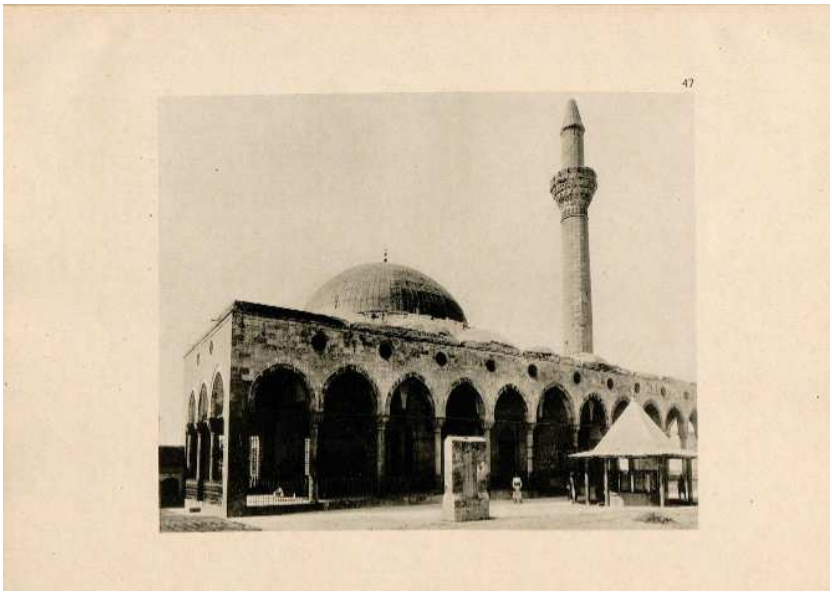
Ahmed Djemal Pascha
Führer der vierten türkischen Armee, Minister der Marine

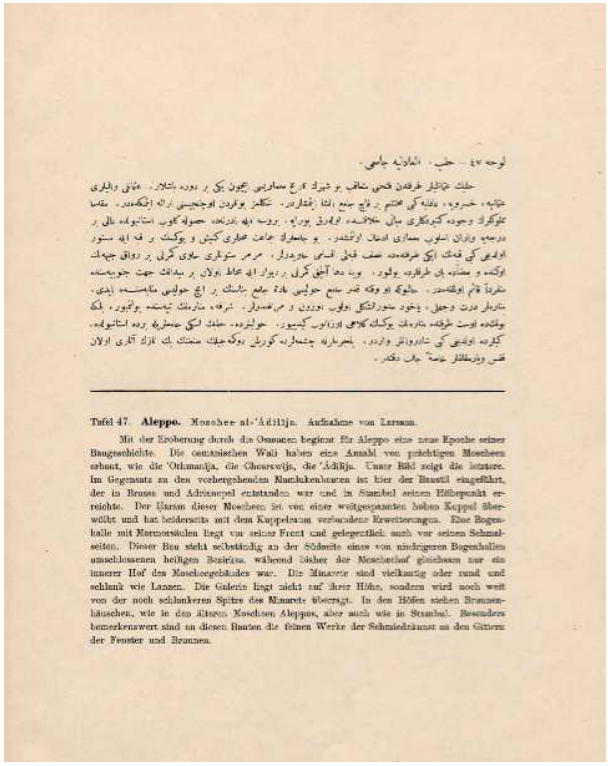
Berlin 1918 · Verlag von Georg Reimer

[Figure 1.1 The title page of Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien (Ancient Monuments of Syria, Palestine and West Arabia.]



[Figure 1.2 and 1.3 Pages from Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien (Ancient Monuments of Syria, Palestine and West Arabia) showing Petra on the left, information about Petra on the left in Ottoman and in German.]





لوحه ٤٧ — حلب. العادليه جامعي.

Tafel 47. **Aleppo.** Moschee al-'Ādilīja. Aufnahme von Larsson.

Mit der Eroberung durch die Osmanen beginnt für Aleppo eine neue Epoche seiner Baugeschichte. Die osmanischen Wali haben eine Anzahl von prächtigen Moscheen erbaut, wie die 'Otkmanīja, die Ghoeswije, die 'Ādilīja. Unser Bild zeigt die letztere. Im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden Mamlukenbauten ist hier der Bursil eingeführt, der in Brussa und Adrianopel entstanden war und in Stambol seinen Höhepunkt erreichte. Der Ḥaram dieser Moschee ist von einer weitgespannten hohen Kuppel überwölbt und hat beiderseits mit dem Kuppelraum verbundene Erweiterungen. Eine Bogenhalle mit Marmorsäulen liegt vor seiner Front und gelegentlich auch vor seinen Schmalseiten. Dieser Bau steht selbständig an der Südseite eines von niedrigeren Bogenhallen umschlossenen heiligen Bezirkes, während bisher der Moscheehof gleichsam nur ein innerer Hof des Moscheegebäudes war. Die Minarete sind vielkantig oder rund und schlank wie Lanzen. Die Galerie liegt nicht auf ihrer Höhe, sondern wird noch weit von der noch schlankeren Spitze des Minarets überragt. In den Höfen stehen Brunnenhäuschen, wie in den ältesten Moscheen Aleppos, aber auch wie in Stambol. Besonders bemerkenswert sind an diesen Bauten die feinen Werke der Schmiedekunst an den Gittern der Fenster und Brunnen.

[Figure 1.4, 1.5 Pages from Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien (Ancient Monuments of Syria, Palestine and West Arabia) showing Al-Adiliyah Mosque (Ottoman 16th Century in Aleppo).]

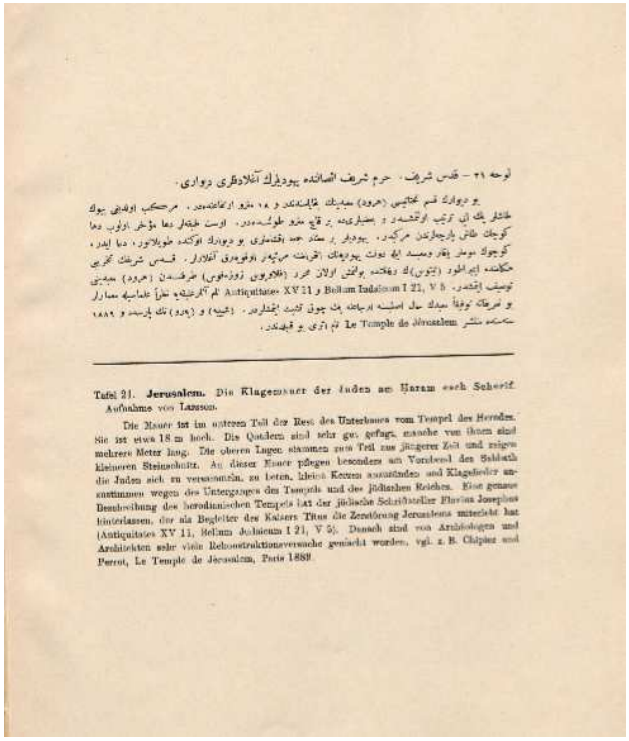
Despite Cemal Paşa's boasting, not everyone was impressed with the Commandos or their work. In a review article, René Dussaud, a French orientalist and archeologist, found the work

derivative and offered a series of observations that, despite the author's prejudice, are useful for understanding the characteristics of this German-Ottoman unit.[100] The first critique was about the pedigree of the unit. Dussaud vehemently criticized another scholar's argument that the Germans, in creating such a unit, were emulating Ernest Renan's mission in Phoenicia in 1860, commissioned by Napoleon III.[101] Dussaud rejected this comparison because he did not believe that the German scholarly contribution could ever match Renan's mission. The second characteristic he brings to the fore is the impact of this Commando unit, which our author found to be more destructive than scholarly. While Dussaud appreciated, for instance, the photographs of an archeological site, Hafir el-'Audja, he lamented the destructive establishment of military buildings on this site. The destructiveness of the intensified building activity for war purposes in the Ottoman Empire was also recognized by German archeologists as well.[102]

[100] René Dussaud, "Syria," Review of *Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien by; Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutschen turkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos*, by Th. Wiegand, A. Alt, W. Bachmann, C. Watzinger, T. 2, Fasc. 3, (Institut Francais du Proche-Orient Stable: 1921): 260-261, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4195132.

[101] Iskandar ibn Ya'qūb Abkāriyūs and J. F. Scheltema, *The Lebanon in Turmoil, Syria and the Powers in 1860: Book of the Marvels of the Time Concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country*, Yale Oriental Series. Researches, Vol. VII (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920). 181.

[102] Paul Clemen, ed., *Protection of Art During War*, vol. 1 (Leipsic: E. A. Seemann, 1919). 13.

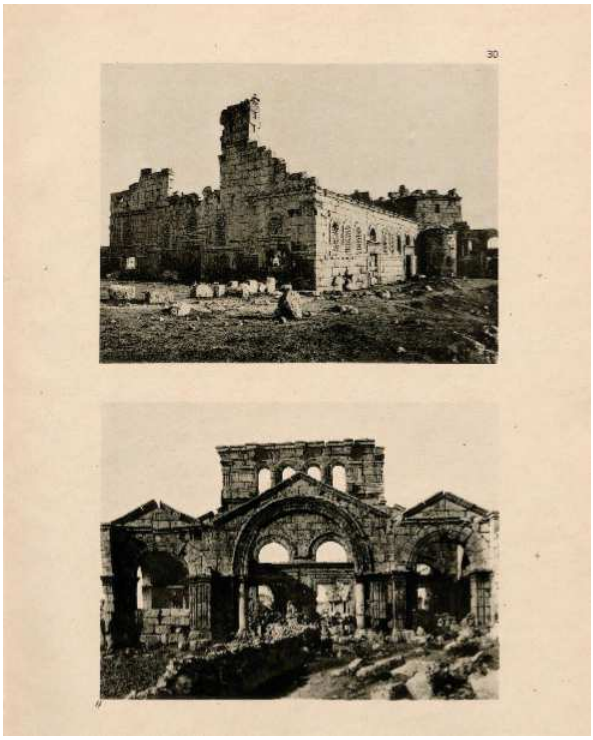


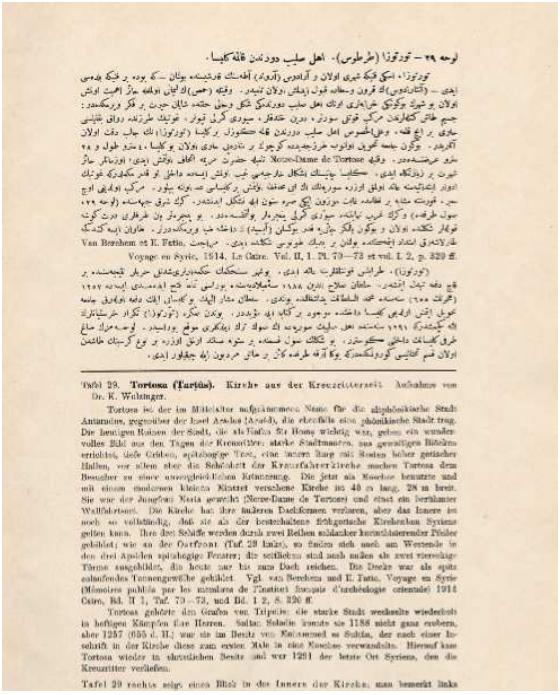
لوحه ٢١ – قدس شريف . حرم شريف الصانده يهوديلرك آغلاوقلرى دواري .

Tafel 21. **Jerusalem.** Die Klagemauer der Juden am Haram esch Scherif. Aufnahme von Lassen.

Die Mauer ist im unteren Teil der Rest des Unterbaues vom Tempel des Herodes. Sie ist etwa 18 m hoch. Die Quadern sind sehr gut gefugt, manche von ihnen sind mehrere Meter lang. Die oberen Lagen stammen zum Teil aus jüngerer Zeit und zeigen kleineren Steinschnitt. An dieser Mauer pflegen besonders am Vorabend des Sabbath die Juden sich zu versammeln, zu beten, klein Kerzen anzuzünden und Klagelieder anzustimmen wegen des Unterganges des Tempels und des jüdischen Reiches. Eine genaue Beschreibung des herodianischen Tempels hat der jüdische Schriftsteller Flavius Josephus hinterlassen, der als Begleiter des Kaisers Titus die Zerstörung Jerusalems miterlebt hat (Antiquitates XV 11, Bellum Judaicum I 21, V 5). Danach sind von Archäologen und Architekten sehr viele Rekonstruktionsversuche gemacht worden, vgl. z. B. Chipiez und Perrot, Le Temple de Jérusalem, Paris 1889.

[Figure 1.6 and 1.7 Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien showing Wailing Wall in Jerusalem]





[Figure 1.8 and 1.9 Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien showing Church of Saint Simeon Stylites (5th Century Christian Church).]

Indeed, war-induced construction led to the destruction of many historical buildings and archeological sites; for not only were historical buildings razed to the ground for strategic reasons, but they were also used as quarries. Wiegand and Cemal Paşa tried their best to stop this practice.[103] Nevertheless, Cemal Paşa in his memoirs underscored the exigencies of war and questioned the motives that drive other belligerents. For example, when German General Falkenlayn opposed defending Jerusalem in case of a British attack, claiming that he did not want to see the holy city ruined, Cemal Paşa called foul. The Ottoman official cited historical precedents and pointed out that "if the holy places in Jerusalem must not be turned into ruins, wouldn't the British army, who is Christian, avoid attacking and firing on the city?"[104] The proposed Antiquities Law of 1921, which I will cover in the next chapter, also addresses the issue of destruction. Article five forbids harm to any antiquities and old buildings, even forbids opening a stone quarry in its surroundings. However, articles seven, eight, and nine allow and regulate destruction. These articles put down the procedure to be followed if the destruction of a city wall, castle, or similar building was needed. Before their destruction, its pictures were to be taken and inscriptions were to be collected and taken to the Imperial Museum or a local museum.[105] While I believe these articles are related to urban developments, such as opening of new roads, it is important that destruction of cultural property and the ways to deals with destruction was now recognized and organized.

[103] Stein, "German Military and Its Role in the Middle Eastern Archaeology."11.

[104] *Hatıralar*. 213.

[105] Halit Çal, "Osmanlı Devletinde Asarı Atika Nizamnameleri," *Vakiflar Dergisi* XXVI (1997): 391–400.

Different Agendas for Protecting and Preserving: German and Ottoman takes

Together, Ottoman and German officials created and implemented an expansive historical monument preservation scheme for monuments of the Byzantine, Arabic, and Ottoman periods in Syria. Its significance lies in the fact that this unit, considered together with other actions taken by the Ottoman and German governments, offers some insights into why these people expended such efforts to preserve historical monuments during such a difficult time.

Early in the First World War, the Germans destroyed the Reims cathedral and burned the Louvain library (among many others) in Western Europe, which created a major international public outcry. People around the world mourned the loss of irreplaceable architectural, cultural, and intellectual heritage. The Allies also successfully used this destruction as a propaganda tool, condemning the Germans for being "barbaric Huns" who had no regard for civilization.[106] With this heightened academic and public interest in the protection of cultural property and accusations of barbarity and disregard for culture, Germans created monument protection and preservation units at or near the Western front as early as 1914. Many German and Austrian archeologists served in these preservation units that aimed to steer troops away from cultural artifacts and ensure their preservation.[107]

The establishment of the German-Ottoman collaboration came later and with different purposes. The arrangement of monument protection and preservation units in the Ottoman Empire

[106] Neal Ascherson, "Cultural Destruction by War, and Its Impact on Group Identities," in *Cultural Heritage in Postwar Recovery: Papers from the ICCROM FORUM Held on October 4-6, 2005*, ed. Nicholas Stanley-Price (Rome: ICCROM, 2005), 27.

[107] Marchand, *Down from Olympus*. 249.

seems to have been an attempt by the German state to substantiate their rhetoric of disinterested objectivity and to strengthen the German-Ottoman relationship. This is evidenced by the fact that along with building foundations to prevent the collapse of the historical buildings, protecting them against looters, surveying existing sites, and publishing their work, the German team also helped the Ottoman army to transfer Mesopotamian antiquities to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul before the arrival of the British occupiers. The Ottoman government was grateful to these German soldiers and even rewarded them with a medal.[108] The mission of the German military and the monuments protection unit was therefore threefold: to preserve and protect antiquities, to survey and study them, and to aid the Ottoman government with its archeological goals.

However, not everyone was in it for the policy of "friendship." According to Oliver Stein, Wiegand's initial plan was to use his military duty as a disguise to conduct research and collect antiquities for Berlin museums. Wilhelm von Bode, Director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum was interested in smuggling of antiquities. Thanks to the war and the German-Ottoman alliance, the antiquities were now within their reach like never before. Moreover, Bode, Wiegand, and others were in favor of taking advantage of the alliance further and pushing for the reconfirmation of the 1899 secret partition accord and even pushing for a post-war archeological concession. Still, it is impossible to talk about a united front on the German side, as many German scholars and the German military resisted this scheme. [109]

[108] BOA MF.MKT.1234 63 (1336 Ş 29). "Babil harabesinden çıkarılan eski eserleri İngiliz istilasından evvel kaldıran ancak Ane'de esir düşen Irak Ordusu'nda vazifeli Mülazım-ı Evvel Doktor Konrad Proviser ve bu eserleri İstanbul'da Müze-i Hümayun'a ulaştıran Yıldırım Ordusu'nda Yüzbaşı Walter Andre'nin Mecidi Nişanı ile taltifleri." "Second Lieutenant Doctor Konrad Proviser working in the Army of Iraq who removed the antiquities from the ruins of Babylon before the British occupation but was held captive in Ane and Captain Walter Andre of Yıldırım Army who transported these antiquities to Istanbul will be rewarded with the order of Mecid."

[109] Oliver, 2018: 4-5.

German-Ottoman cooperation in protecting and preserving antiquities was not only a strategic step for Germans in their war effort and post-war plans in the Middle East, but it was also a strategic necessity for their position on the Western front to counter anti-German propaganda. Faced with such Allied propaganda and in the face of the urgent need for measures to protect historical and cultural monuments in the warzone due to bombings and other military attacks that hurt cultural property, Germans also created art protection units in the Western war zone. This effort seems to be a decentralized response to these destructive developments. Different centers of power and people from different ranks in the military created a variety of art protection units; for example, German base commandos created one in the Italian front and the German civil administration created one in Warsaw. These were well known units and some scholars who were nationals of the Allies lamented the fact that they did not have similar formations.[110] While their work was used for counter-propaganda purposes, during the war, the activities of these units and their combined work (together with the work of Austrian-Hungarian armies) was published under a volume called *Kunstschutz im Kriege* (Protection of Art During War) only after the war.[111]

Meanwhile the work of the Monuments Commandos in the Ottoman Empire was left out of the German counter-propaganda efforts. This sounds contradictory to my earlier claim that this cooperation about antiquities was a strategic step for Germans. Oliver Stein provides two explanations for this. The first one is that the Germans did not want to exacerbate Ottoman distrust; the archeological relationship between the two states was very delicate before the war, and the Germans wanted to keep their activities beyond suspicion, perhaps not putting it under the

[110] I will talk about this further in the next chapter. IOR/L/PS/IO/689 28 June 1917 from Victoria and Albert Museum to War Office addressed to Sir Reginal Brade.

[111] Oliver Stein, 2018: 7. The original work was published in English too but to best of my knowledge, only the first volume regarding the activities in the Western front. Clemen, *Protection of Art During War*.

limelight. Despite the presence of Ottoman antiquities inspectors and the fact that the name of the unit indicated joint ownership, this was a German operation under Ottoman protection. The second reason is that the danger to the antiquities came not from exposure to battle, as in the Western front, but mostly from the construction measures of the Ottoman army.[112] I might add that, beyond not attracting the suspicion of the Ottomans, the Germans may have been wary of attracting European suspicions. Considering the fierce competition between European countries for Ottoman antiquities before the war, any archeological action by the Germans in the Ottoman lands was not going to be received positively by the European public.

Engaging in the protection of historical monuments along with investing in new museums and international exhibitions were strategic steps for the Ottomans. They were responding to European accusation of Ottomans being uncivilized and incapable of taking care of their antiquities. This way they were able to show that they understood the importance of antiquities and their protection. They used these and various visual methods to shape international and domestic public opinion.

Both Ottomans and Germans perceived protection of antiquities as a matter of national prestige and as a means to shape international public opinion. For the Ottomans, shaping domestic public opinion mattered too. Acting as the patrons of Islamic heritage by preserving mosques and artifacts and creating an Islamic museum, the CUP appealed to their non-Turkish Muslim citizens. Securing the loyalty of Muslim Arab citizens gained unprecedented importance during the war, especially after the launch of the Arab Revolt in 1916.

[112] Stein, "Archaeology and Monument Protection in War."19.

It appears that Cemal Paşa first began protecting non-Islamic artifacts and monuments with the establishment of the German Commando. However, it would be a mistake to conclude from this fact that Cemal Paşa only engaged in the protection of, say, the Roman and Byzantine past for the sake of the Germans. Talha Çicek's recent book that focuses on Cemal Paşa interprets his Syrian activities as a part of the modernizing ethos of the CUP. Together with his urban renewal projects, these cultural property related activities were an indication of his master-plan for the future of the Empire: modern, inclusive of all pasts (and presents) of the empire, yet under a Turkish or Turkified rule.[113] The fact that he insisted on publishing the *Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichungen des deutschen turkischen Denkmal-schutz-Kommandos* during the war points towards his embrace of multiple pasts of the Ottoman lands; he wanted to signal to the international public that the Ottomans were capable of controlling the past and present of those lands. Tellingly, it was not only Cemal Paşa who showed this interest in non-Islamic antiquities, as we can observe in the scholarly activities undertaken in the Ottoman capital during the war. The opening of the Ancient Mesopotamian Antiquities Museum, along with various scholarly studies about the pre-Islamic past, signal an interest in multiple pasts by the Ottoman elites. One can argue that the sensitivity towards antiquities, the recognition of the importance of pre-Islamic pasts, and the priority of actively protecting the material remains of these pasts developed in the Ottoman military as well, at least in the upper echelons. This did not mean that in the circumstances of war, the Ottomans always abstained from damaging antiquities. This was in line with the then contemporary practices and contemporary laws, which required the Ottomans only to protect antiquities *as far as possible*.

[113] Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria*. 190.

Protection and preservation also meant securing antiquities in the Ottoman capital or at least in places that were not in immediate danger of secession or foreign occupation. This too was a strategic goal. Especially with the British and Hashemite advances in Palestine and Western Arabia, the Ottomans started to send Islamic and pre-Islamic antiquities to the capital, as the loss of the holy cities of Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina became highly likely from 1916 onwards.

Conclusion

The Ottomans used cultural property to communicate a narrative that the Ottoman Empire was civilized, capable, in control, and thus legitimate to rule. Antiquities played an important role in this narrative. While Islamic antiquities gained unprecedented importance in the early twentieth century, antiquities of the pre-Islamic past were not neglected. The Ottomans continued to employ this narrative during the war, despite the many limitations that the conflict imposed on the Ottoman economy and society. The Ottomans not only continued their usual antiquity-related activities, such as undertaking scholarly studies, and transferring antiquities to the capital, but when possible, they also took advantage of war conditions. Furthermore, the Ottomans also introduced new institutions to go with their military aims: keeping territorial integrity and (at least the appearance of) the state's sovereignty.

The war also allowed the Ottomans to develop a special relationship with the Germans. In the realm of antiquities, this special relationship created the world's first international monument protection unit that aimed to protect a variety of cultural property during the war. This act, along with the many others described in this chapter, demonstrate how the war actually prompted cultural property related activities.

The anxiety of losing territory, even the capital city, loomed large for the Ottomans and nudged them to think creatively. From Armenian-made bombs to fifteenth century castles which we will see in the next chapter, the Ottomans considered a wide array of cultural property in the attempts to shape public opinion. They also took on contradictory policies; for example, Ottoman authorities committed genocide against their Armenian citizens and massacred their Rum citizens, all while engaging in activities that aimed to show their embrace of all historical periods and support for a multicultural future.

Chapter II

Allies in the Ottoman Empire: Wartime and Occupation Archeology 1914-1923

Introduction

In March 11, 1911, an American archeologist, Herbert Fletcher de Cou was murdered by a group of Bedouins in Tripolitania. The head of the American mission accused the Italian consul in Bengasi of preparing this plot and hiring the assassins with the help of the Banco di Roma representatives in the area because the Italians wanted to excavate in the same region.[114] Archeology was a dead serious business for all involved, perhaps to the point of murder. The competition for archeology in the late nineteenth century and early twenty century was fierce. Archeology meant more than just creation of knowledge and learning about the past. It meant opportunity, prestige, and dominance; a great weapon to have in wartime.

This chapter is about archeology, its institutions, and archeologists in war and occupation and it looks at how those were utilized, reinvented, and employed by the Allied powers. I will focus on the empire in general here and Istanbul more specifically in the next chapter. This chapter also looks at the Ottoman reaction to these activities, which varied from resistance to negotiation. It explores how the conflicting goals and disjointed actions of the Allies influenced the role played

[114] Marta Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum: le missioni archeologiche nella politica mediterranea dell'Italia, 1898/1943* (Roma: V. Levi, 1990). 128-129.

by archeology, as there were multiple plans, multiple actors, and multiple motives involved in this process.

Much fighting occurred on the Ottoman soil. British, French, Greeks, Italians and Russians all engaged in not only fighting but also study, excavation, collection, regulation and preservation of antiquities during the war, as well as looting. This chapter will focus on British, French, Greek, and Russian activities in the Ottoman Empire and British, French and Italian activities in the larger Aegean and Mediterranean range. Not only were these geographies linked and within the sphere of European interest and expansion, but also the same armies moved between these locations. People and policies travelled within this larger geography. For example, Sir George Milne of the British Army, Commander-in-Chief of the Salonika Expeditionary Force in 1916, transferred to Constantinople during the Allied occupation of the city.[115] Scholars moved around in the same geography as well. For example, French Byzantine History expert Charles Diehl, who during the early 1890s was excavating ancient sites in Algeria, was active in Istanbul under Allied occupation.[116]

It is possible to talk about three periods in the relationship between the Allied powers and cultural property related activities. In the first period, from the beginning of the war in 1914 to mid-1916, archeologists and schools of archeology were used in the intelligence and administrative fields. This was in line with earlier practices of the nineteenth century. This period also encompasses many examples of accidental archeology that resulted from the activities of day-to-day warfare, such as digging trenches and the explosion of bombs. The second period can be said to start with the establishment of the Archeological Service in Thessaloniki, Greece in 1916 by the

[115] Alfred Rawlinson, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-1922* (New York: Dodd, Mead and company, 1924).123.

[116] René Dussaud, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Charles Diehl, membre de l'Académie," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 89, no. 4 (1945): 572–87.

French, followed by official declarations of rules and regulations regarding handling of cultural property in warzones by each Allied power. In this second period the Allies started to systematize and institutionalize their cultural property related activities. The third period started towards the end of the war around 1917 and encompasses the occupation period. In the third period there were planned excavations, active protection and restoration measures and the establishment of museums by the occupiers. Period three involves intentional uses of cultural property related activities with defined political goals, such as that of making territorial claims on the Ottoman lands and legitimizing their occupation.

Of course, these periods are constructs and are not meant to imply a progressive development of a policy or methodology regarding the Allied relationships with cultural property related activities. The time periods I provide are porous; for example, accidental archeology occurs in all of the periods. Moreover, there is one big exception that does not fit to this schema at all: Russia. Nevertheless, I hope that this schema provides insight into the topic at hand.

I deal with mostly archeological activities of the Allies in this chapter and the Ottoman response to these activities. Here I focus on the use of archeologists and archeological institutions during the war, the establishment of new organizations necessitated by the war (such as the French Archeological Service and the Adana Museum), cultural property related activities undertaken by the occupiers, and their reasons for undertaking these activities. In the international law chapter, I focus more on the legal steps taken by the occupiers regarding antiquities and their protection. Here I start with a background on the war aims of the Allied powers and the situation on the ground in the early days of the war to provide a possible explanation for Allied activities regarding cultural property. I go on to outline the three periods and provide some examples to explicate the extent and meaning of the activities. After that, I deal with the problems the Allies had to deal with as a

result of their cultural property activities. The first problem was what to do with the antiquities they found during the war and occupation and how to engage with these antiquities. This problem included not only lofty policy issues to be dealt with in the higher echelons of a government; it also included the day-to-day behavior of ordinary soldiers in the battlefields. The second problem they had to deal with was the issue of whether to publicize their activities or conceal them from the domestic and international public. The third problem encompassed the first two: what to do with the local laws. I will explore the Allies' attitude towards the Ottoman Antiquities Law and the ways in which they dealt with it.

War Aims and the Situation on the Ground

The reasons for the outbreak of World War I and the war aims of the belligerent countries have an extensive bibliography. Not only did countries publish official versions of their reasons, but many scholars since then have produced lots of works about the question.[117] For the purposes of this chapter, it suffices to discuss the territorial aims of the Allies in the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, one needs to look at the secret agreements signed between the Allies during the war, which made territorial promises. The Constantinople Agreement (18 March 1915) was a set of secret assurances made by the Triple Entente during World War I. France and Great Britain promised to give Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and the Dardanelles territory (land on the coasts of Thrace and Asia Minor, which were part of the Ottoman empire) to the Russians in the event of victory.

[117] See for example James Brown Scott, *Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (New York: Oxford university press, American branch; [etc., etc.], 1916); Dwight Erwin Lee, ed., *The Outbreak of the First World War: Who Was Responsible?*, Problems in European Civilization series (Boston: Heath, 1958); Dwight Erwin Lee, *The Outbreak of the First World War: Causes and Responsibilities*, 4th ed, Problems in European Civilization (Lexington, Mass: Heath, 1975); Holger H. Herwig, ed., *The Outbreak of World War I: Causes and Responsibilities*, 6th ed., rev, Problems in European Civilization Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1997).

Italy was very interested in expanding into the East and various archeologists and other intellectuals published texts on Anatolia's potential for economic exploits (agricultural, industrial, commercial, and mining-related).[118] Accordingly, The Treaty of London signed on 26 April 1915 between the Triple Entente and Italy promised the Dodacanese Islands (which Italy had de facto held since 1912) and "in the event of total or partial partition of Turkey in Asia, she ought to obtain a just share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia." The Agreement of St.-Jean-de-Maurienne between France, Italy and Great Britain, signed on April 26, 1917, was more specific as it promised western Asia Minor, including Izmir, to Italy. The same agreement confirmed the Sykes-Picot Agreement between Great Britain, France and Russia, signed on May, 16 1916, which promised contemporary southern Iraq and Jordan to the British, while promising Syria, Lebanon and southeastern Turkey to the French. Meanwhile the Damascus Protocol, signed between The British and the Hashemites on 23 May 1915, promised an Arab state covering southeastern Turkey and Syria, and the Balfour Declaration, made by the British foreign secretary on 2 November 1917, promised the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. These overlapping promises paved the way for post-war re-negotiations.

Despite all these plans, the war did not go according to Allied expectations, for better and for worse. For example, the British initially did not have extensive designs on Mesopotamia. Instead of a carefully studied strategy, there were musings on potential futures of the Ottoman lands by various British governmental officials. The only goal of the Basra campaign that started

[118] See for example Roberto Paribeni, "L'italia in Asia Minore: Adalia," *L'Illustrazione Italiana* 1913. Giuseppe Bevione, *L'asia Minore E L'italia* (Torino1914); Roberto Paribeni, "L'asia Minore E La Regione Di Adalia," *Rivista Coloniale* X (1915). Giuseppe Capra, *L'Asia Minore e La Siria Nei Rapporti Con l'Italia* (S. Benigno Canavese, 1915); Giuseppe Capra, *L'Asia Minore e Interessi Italiani* (Societa italiana di esplorazioni geografiche e commerciali, 1915); Rodolfo Foa, *C'e Posto per l'Italia Nel Impero Ottomano?* (Genova, 1911); Maurizio Piscicelli, *Verso Il Sole Levante* (Roma: La Reale Societa Geografica Italiana, 1915). The issues of the journal of the Italian Geographical Society (Bollettino della Reale Societa Geografica Italiana) were filled with articles regarding Italian prospects in Asia Minor throughout the war and occupation.

in November 1914 was to protect Britain's oil flow from Iran and to protect Egypt from an Ottoman attack. When it started to become obvious that the war would be a long one, the British began to make more extensive plans. Accordingly, in 1915 the interdepartmental committee formed by Prime Minister H. H. Asquith to formulate war aims in Asia produced a report that put forward British interests. According to this document, Mesopotamia could be a place for Indian colonists where they could produce grain for the British empire. This was in line with prewar views of the viceroy of India who wanted Mesopotamia's annexation to India, to create a "second Egypt." Yet Mark Sykes, who worked at the War Office, was in favor of a provisional native administration with British advisors; if Basra were to be acquired, Baghdad and Mosul should also be acquired to curtail Russian influence and keep the passage way to India open.[119] In January 1916, the British government took another step to harmonize British activity in the Middle East and established the Arab Bureau in Cairo. Members of the Arab Bureau, together with the High Commissioner of Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, negotiated the future of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire with the members of the Hashemite family who became the leaders of the Arab Revolt in 1916. Despite some resistance and defeat, such as in Kut al-Amara, the British were able to conquer Baghdad in March 1917 and the Arab Revolt was by and large successful in getting the Ottomans out of the Arab provinces. However, developments like the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 by the foreign secretary Arthur Balfour clearly show that the harmonization efforts of the Middle Eastern policy were not very effective.

[119] Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*. 68-69. Sykes worked on a committee advising the Cabinet on Middle Eastern Affairs at the War Office at the time. His full name is Colonel Sir Tatton Benvenuto Mark Sykes, 6th Baronet (16 March 1879 – 16 February 1919)."Sykes, Sir Mark, Sixth Baronet (1879–1919), Traveller and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed April 28, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36394.

When the war began, most states did not have a plan to utilize archeologists and archeology to advance their war aims. First of all, most expected it to be a short war. This phenomenon even acquired a name in the literature: "the short war illusion".[120] This expectation alone would explain the lack of detailed plans or goals prepared by most of the Allied powers regarding use of non-military methods like archeology to further war aims.

Secondly, the line-up of belligerent sides was less than evident in the early phases of the war. Italy, Greece, and the Ottoman Empire all showed reluctance to participate in the war when it started, and their positions vis-à-vis the warring sides fluctuated. In the Ottoman Empire, just like Greece and Italy, there were various factions supporting different sides; some were pro-Allies, others pro-Central powers and yet others were in favor of neutrality. These divisions in all these cases led to late entry into the war. When they did enter, the new belligerents changed the dynamics of the war and disabled much of the pre-planning and agenda setting required to create war aims and actual policies to follow on the ground. Thirdly, there was the issue of financial and manpower considerations. Nevertheless, the Allies put archeologists to work in the service of their states, in an improvised manner at first.

The First Period: From the Beginning of the War to 1916

British and French Use of Archeologists and Archeological Institutions

The British and French governments were aware of the potential non-archeological uses of their archeologists and archeological institutions. Archeologists were equipped with extensive knowledge of the local languages, geographies and other conditions. This made them ideal for

[120] For example see Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (Harper Collins, 2013); Stuart Hallifax, "'Over by Christmas': British Popular Opinion and the Short War in 1914," *First World War Studies* 1, no. 2 (October 1, 2010): 103–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2010.517429.

intelligence gathering and policy making in the war. Opened in the 19th century, the archeological institutions, such as the schools of archeology which I will deal with below, were useful for monitoring the daily currents in foreign countries and exerting influence in their cultural and political scenes. The uses of British and French archeologists and archeological institutions in non-archeological endeavors evolved throughout the war.

Archeologist played very important roles in the British operations in the Ottoman Empire during the war. For example, T. E. Lawrence and Leonard Wooley had spent time in Carchemish, Egypt up until 1913, conducting excavations and observing the Turkish defenses near the Suez Canal. Their language abilities, familiarity with the geography, and up-to-date knowledge of Ottoman military movements (as well as activities of Germans in the Ottoman lands), made them ideal to plan operations and assist the British military on the ground. This is evident in activities of Lawrence during the Arab Revolt, such as the conquest of Aqaba, in modern Jordan, that earned him the nickname of "Lawrence of Arabia."[121] This type of intertwined activity goes all the way back to the early nineteenth century, with archeologist-diplomats like the French Paul-Émile Botta and the British Austen Henry Layard.[122]

Some of those involved with archeology ended up even shaping British war-time policies. Horatio H. Kitchener, who was Secretary of State for War during World War I, conducted surveys and produced maps of the Holy Lands for the British Palestine Exploration Fund in his youth. Younger archeologists like T. E. Lawrence, Leonard Wooley, David Hogarth (the keeper of the

[121] T. E. Lawrence is commonly known as Lawrence of Arabia thanks to the movie about him. Alec Guinness et al., *Lawrence of Arabia*, videorecording (Columbia TriStar Home Video, 1992). There is also an extended literature on him that starts in the 1920s and continues to this day. The latest book about him was published in 2018. Philip Walker, *Behind the Lawrence Legend: The Forgotten Few Who Shaped the Arab Revolt*, First edition (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[122] There is an extensive literature covering activities of both Layard and Botta. The latest is Shawn Malley, *From Archaeology to Spectacle in Victorian Britain: The Case of Assyria, 1845-1854* (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

Ashmolean Museum), and Gertrude Bell all played various roles before, during, and after the war in the Middle East. For example, during the war, Lawrence, Wooley, Hogarth, and Bell all became employees of the Arab Bureau established in Cairo in 1916 for intelligence gathering in the Arab lands along with coordinating Britain's Middle East policy.[123]

Most of the above-mentioned archeologists were highly trained alumni of European archeological schools. From the nineteenth century onwards, European powers used archeology to extend their knowledge of other countries, as well as to extend their own influence in these countries. Opening schools of archeology was a useful strategy to gain a legitimate foothold in foreign countries where European states were interested in expanding their influence. In Greece, all of the major Western powers opened their own archeological schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the French School in 1848[124], the German School in 1876, the American School in 1882, the British School in 1886, the Austrian School in 1898 and finally, the Italian School in 1907.[125] These institutions allowed their archeologists to undertake excavations, conduct research, and publish their findings for the benefit of expanding the world's knowledge of the past. These organizations allowed the brightest and most diligent minds of their countries to engage in a genuine search for knowledge. These establishments also acted as prestige institutions that

[123] Gertrude Bell is much less known compared to T.E. Lawrence, but she had an extensive literature and a movie based on her life as well. Jay Abdo, *Queen of the Desert* (Atlas Distribution, 2017). Paul Collins et al., eds., *Gertrude Bell and Iraq: A Life and Legacy*, First edition, Proceedings of the British Academy 205 (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2017); Liora Lukitz, *A Quest in the Middle East: Gertrude Bell and the Making of Modern Iraq* (London ; New York : New York: I.B. Tauris ; Distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Georgina Howell, *Daughter of the Desert: The Remarkable Life of Gertrude Bell* (London: Macmillan, 2006); Janet Wallach, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, Advisor to Kings, Ally of Lawrence of Arabia*, 1st ed (New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 1996).

[124] Luigi Beschi calls the establishment of French school in 1846. Luigi Beschi, "L. Beschi,L'archeologia Italiana in Grecia (1909-1940)," in *L'Archeologia Italiana Nel Mediterraneo Fino Alla Secondo Guerra Mondiale (Atti Del Convegno, Catania 4-5 Novembre 1985)*, ed. V La Rosa (Catania, 1986).107-120.

[125]Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*. 73.

reflected the value the individual states placed on scholarship and the study of the past. This was used as a marker of their civilized status.

Moreover, these schools were useful diplomatic institutions. According to Valenti, the French School was an emanation of French diplomacy from the beginning.[126] The Italian School in Athens was an extension of the Italian state, spreading its influence, as some Italian politicians considered scholarly/archeological missions better than military missions to shape public opinion.[127] Historian Pinar Üre relates that Russian diplomats, bureaucrats, and scholars explicitly expressed that the establishment of an archaeological institution in the Ottoman capital was a foreign policy tool to extend Russia's influence in the Near East.[128]

When the war came, the French and British archeological schools in Athens were located in an accidentally strategic location, since Greece did not enter the war until June 1917.[129] Greece's neutrality allowed foreign institutions to keep their doors open on its soil and continue their research and publication activities. The fact that these schools were kept open during the war by their respective governments was intended to show French and British strength; even in the times of war these respective governments were wealthy and dedicated enough to let scholarly works continue. In this sense, these schools engaged in multiple types of propaganda; not only did these schools organize "patriotic conferences" that aimed to rally the support of the Greek people for the Allied cause,[130] but also the studies and archeological excavations were signs of Allied strength

[126] Valenti, "L'école française d'Athènes pendant la Grande guerre.". 5.

[127] Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*. 17.

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

[129] For a detailed account of the British School at Athens during the war see Clogg, "Academics at War."

[130] Valenti, "L'école française d'Athènes pendant la Grande guerre."10.

and magnanimity. Hence, these schools actively participated in the creation and dissemination of Allied propaganda while continuing their scientific research and knowledge production. In the first two years of the war, the British and French archeological institutions seemed to try to adapt to the new circumstances and in a way continue their pre-war mission of furthering their governments' profile in foreign countries, albeit this time in a more aggressive manner.

Archeological Activities of the British and French Governments in the First Period

George H. Chase, a professor of archeology from Harvard University, admits he expected a report on archeology in 1915 to be a page with only the motto, *Inter arma silet [sic] archaelogia*.[131] To his surprise, this was not the case. He points out that some work was carried on without interruption, some new undertakings had been begun, and the war itself had been directly responsible for some discoveries.

There were many reasons to expect a halt to all archeological activities. As an article in the *British Journal* states, the studies of the Hellenic Society[132] were "seriously delayed by the war not only from the general preoccupation with more immediate emergencies, but by the fact that several of the most important collaborators are actively employed on Government service."[133] Moreover, the war caused the loss of lives of many scholars and students of archeology and related fields on the battlefields. Even if archeologists were not occupied with war-time duties, many

[131] "George Chase • Archaeology in 1915 — Classical Journal 12:200□208 (1916)," accessed April 23, 2019, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Journals/CJ/12/3/1915*.html. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3288206. This can be translated as "Amongst the arms the archeology falls silent" meaning that the war stops any archeological activity.

[132] http://www.hellenicsociety.org.uk/about-us/ The Hellenic Society is the common name for The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, which was founded in Britain in 1879 to advance the study of Greek language, literature, history, art, and archaeology in the Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern periods.

[133] Walter Leaf, "Some Problems of the Troad," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 21 (1914): 16–30. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30102756

European archeologists had been studying in countries that were now at war with their own, thus disabling any possibility of getting excavation permits. Even when they were able to get permits, which was the case in British Egypt or neutral Greece, the financial burdens of the war limited funding and manpower that would have been devoted to archeological excavations.

Despite these limitations, a few archeological excavations and research projects continued. For example, excavations of the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania continued in Egypt in the pyramid of Cheops in Giza in 1917.[134] In Greece, A. J. B. Wace, the new director of the British Archeological School in Athens, continued his scholarly activities, such as compiling catalogues, visiting and studying in museums, and carrying on with his explorations. His war-time additional job as director of Relief for the British Refugees from Turkey did not seem to affect his archeological enterprises as he spent June 1916 at Corinth, at the invitation of the American School, to continue the excavation of a Mycenaean site.[135] In the Ottoman Empire, the archeological excavations by the members of the Allied countries came to a halt. For example, Wooley and Lawrence closed their excavation house in Carcamish and secured it by entrusting it to a local guardian hoping that, once the war was over, they could pick up where they left off.

The first archeological activity in this period occurred during the Gallipoli Campaign in May 1915. This was an example of accidental archeology. The French soldiers encountered ancient graves when they were digging trenches. A couple of weeks later, many sarcophagi appeared due to an Ottoman bombardment. These graves turned out to belong to a necropolis of the ancient Greek city of Elaeus from the sixth century B.C. On July 8th, 1915 the official excavation began under father Edouard Dhorme, a Dominican Assyriologist, then a professor at the Jerusalem Bible

[134] William N. Bates, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology* 21, no. 3 (1917): 339–63, https://doi.org/10.2307/497255.

[135] "Annual Meeting of Subscribers," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 21 (1914): 198–203.

School. The soldiers provided the manpower. The finds were kept in a storage building, which was open for visits, with a museum at the front.[136] This goes to show the interest and support of military leaders of scientific activity, in this case archeology, which would continue in the second period. In this stage the archeological work was accidental and aimed at recording, salvaging what was found and taking notes to come back to after the war. The Allied militaries nevertheless engaged in surveys and excavations in more than a hundred sites.[137]

Second Period: A More Systematic Approach Emerges: 1916 to 1918

The war created serious limitations on archeological excavations and studies but it also created unique opportunities for archeological exploration. These archeological opportunities presented themselves in various ways. The first one was provided by unforeseeable political and military circumstances. For example, when the British and French soldiers were sent to Salonica in October 1915 to save the Serbian army from Austrian and Bulgarian attack, the British and French governments soon found themselves in a stalemate in Greece. "Apart from malaria, the greatest menace to the well-being of the British forces was sheer boredom" wrote historian Alan Palmer.[138] Moreover, Greece was one of the most important source countries and generals had professional archeologists at their disposal as enlisted soldiers. Availability of manpower stationed in an archeological heaven was probably what enabled the French to excavate, who were more systematic and organized than the British. Maurice Sarrail, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied

[136] Thérèse Krempp, "Le service archéologique de l'armée d'Orient, une archéologie en guerre," *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* N° 46, no. 2 (2017): 77–90.

[137] Léon Rey, "Observations sur les sites préhistoriques et protohistoriques de la Macédoine," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 40, no. 1 (1916): 257–92, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1916.1478.

[138] "Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines." Xvi.

Armée d'Orient, established an Archeological Service in May 1916.[139] Of course the archeological activities (undertaking archeological research, conducting archeological excavations, collecting and exhibiting antiquities) in neutral and later Allied Greece were not a result of boredom alone. There was a genuine interest in creation of knowledge.[140] There was tradition to uphold. The head of the French Archeological Service declared that since the end of the eighteenth century all of the French armies who fought in the "Orient" always considered it a duty to reserve a place for scientific research.[141] Moreover, Thérèse Krempp argues that the French had to turn their archeological activities into a more institutionalized form to calm and reassure the Greek community and local administration. Apparently, the Athenian press started to publish articles accusing the French army of looting archeological finds. These accusations seem to be based on facts. The Greek state had to approach the French and ask them to uphold the existing convention

[139]For a detailed report on the establishment of the Service and its activities until 1918 see Gustave Mendel, "Les travaux du service archéologique de l'armée française d'Orient," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 62, no. 1 (1918): 9–17, https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.1918.73940. For a scholarly examination of their activities see "Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines: The Macedonian Campaign (1915-19) and Its Legacy, 1st Edition (Hardback) - Routledge," Text, Routledge.com, accessed April 25, 2019, https://www.routledge.com/Archaeology-Behind-the-Battle-Lines-The-Macedonian-Campaign-1915-19/Shapland-Stefani/p/book/9781138285255, xvi. An incomplete biography of Sarrail can be found at "Maurice Sarrail | Chemins de Mémoire - Ministère de La Défense," accessed April 28, 2019, http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/maurice-sarrail.

[140] The head of the French Service archéologique Mendel even proposed to publish an album of "Eastern" decorative arts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that would be prized by art historians and turquerie enthusiasts. It is interesting that Mendel did not use the term Ottoman and that they humbly bragged about their contribution to the study of neglected monuments. Mendel writes: "Nous avons cru, en outre, devoir faire une place à une série de monuments qu'on a trop longtemps négligés. Il a existé en Orient, au xvme et dans la première partie du xixe siècle, un art décoratif fastueux et charmant : sculpteurs sur pierre et sur bois, ébénistes, imagiers, ce sont eux qui ont décoré les iconostases des églises et les plafonds des riches konaks, exécuté ces meubles domestiques ou cultuels en marqueterie d'ivoire, de nacre et d'écaillé, sculpté les fontaines consacrées par de pieux musulmans et peuplé les cimetières turcs de leurs stèles enguirlandées et fleuries. Le Service archéologique se propose, avec la collaboration de la Section photographique de l'armée d'Orient (dirigée à Salonique par le lieutenant GeorgesRémond), de constituer un album de ces bois, de ces marbres et de ces icônes. Ce recueil sera également précieux aux historiens de l'art et aux fervents de la 'turquerie'." Mendel, "Les travaux du service archéologique de l'armée française d'Orient." 16-17.

[141] « Toutes les armées françaises qui, depuis la fin du xviime siècle, ont porté nos couleurs en Orient, ont toujours considéré comme un devoir, venues sur ces terres historiques, lourdes d'un passé illustre, de réserver une place, à côté des opérations militaires, à la recherche scientifique. »Ibid. 9.

between France and Greece, including, for instance, its requirement that excavations must be controlled by a Greek official, which the French disregarded. Moreover, in October 1917, eleven crates filled with finds were sent to the Louvre Museum from Greece.[142] The British, who did not form an Archeological Service but excavated anyway, packed and shipped their finds to Britain in 1919, to the British Museum.[143]

Engaging in archeological excavations and doing it officially also had political and diplomatic benefits. Northern Greece was recently annexed from the Ottoman Empire and it might have benefited from establishing a bond of Greekness with the rest of the country. Ancient history that linked Macedonia to Thessaly and to Crete therefore was useful in creating this bond.

The British knew that they were not the only ones engaged in such activities. British museum officials were aware of their enemies' archeological activities in the midst of their military operations and they envied the proactive and organized attitude of the Germans in this matter. In a letter to the British War Office, a Victoria and Albert Museum official complains:

> I believe it is the case that the Germans usually arrange that the interests of their National Museum shall be properly represented in any military expedition which they send out, where artistic treasures are likely to be forthcoming. It has so often proved a misfortune in the past that the English Government has not followed this example, and I hope very much that, in this case at least, it may be possible to do something to remedy the defect, and that if artistic treasures of any kind are

[142] Krempp, "Le service archéologique de l'armée d'Orient, une archéologie en guerre."

[143] Andrew Shapland and Evangelina Stefani, eds., *Archaeology behind the Battle Lines: The Macedonian Campaign (1915-19) and Its Legacy*, British School at Athens - Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies, volume number IV (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017). xvi.

discovered, instead of being dispersed on the spot, they may be brought to here….[144]

On the Allied side, only the Russians engaged in cultural property related activities early in the war. The Russians had had extensive designs on the Ottoman lands since the nineteenth century and were planning accordingly. Unlike their British and French counterparts, Russians had a more concrete plan of archeological action that would be brought to life during the war. This plan was made to confirm the legitimacy and permanency of the Russian occupation of the Ottoman lands. Like the British and the French, they made use of archeological schools established in the countries they were interested in.

The Russian Archeological Institute of Constantinople (RAIK from here onwards) was established in 1895 but had to close their offices in Istanbul in October 1914, just before the Ottoman entry into the war. However, the activities of RAIK did not stop with their office closure. When the Ottoman Empire entered the war, the Russians started their Caucasus Campaign in 1914 and started their march into the Ottoman territories. They conducted many archeological and ethnographic studies in Eastern regions of the Ottoman Empire under their occupation that lasted until 1917, in places like Van, Erzurum in Eastern Anatolia, and Trabzon on the Black Sea coast.[145]

[144] British Library, IOR/L/PS/IO/689 28 June 1917 from Victoria and Albert Museum to War Office (addressed to Sir Reginal Brade) I could not find a response to this letter. British policy seemed to evolve slowly.

[145] Russians occupied Erzurum, Kars, Erzincan, Muş, and Bitlis, in February 1916, the last three of which were taken back in July and August of 1916 by the Ottomans. In March and April 1916, the Black Sea towns Rize and Trabzon were occupied, after which the Russian occupied Van. Nur Bilge Criss point out that this geographical configuration matched that of the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, concluded with the Allies. With the Bolshevik revolution Russia unilaterally withdrew from the war and signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Ottomans in 1918. See "Occupation during and after the War (Ottoman Empire) | International Encyclopedia of the First World War (WW1)," accessed April 26, 2019, https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/occupation_during_and_after_the_war_ottoman_empire.

These studies, particularly archeological ones conducted in the occupied territories, allowed the Russian Empire to make particular claims that would legitimize their presence. The first claim was that Russia had a historical and religious connection to the Byzantine Empire. This connection was recognized by the Allies as The Constantinople Agreement (18 March 1915), which promised Constantinople to the Russians. The head of RAIK was a believer in this agreement and even urged the Russian government to make specific plans, such as the conversion of Hagia Sophia back into a church, with services in Russian after the occupation of the city.[146] The final expedition of RAIK in 1917 was imbued with historical and religious meanings too. This expedition was to Trabzon, a historic city on the Black Sea coast of Northern Asia Minor that had special historical importance for being the capital of the successor states to the Byzantine throne. The expedition to Trabzon was conducted in 1916-1917, when the region was under the Russian occupation, with the aim of making a detailed architectural and archeological study of the Christian monuments.[147]

There was a second aim to this expedition that highlights the second claim that the Russians made to legitimize their occupation. This was the protection and preservation of antiquities under their administration, as the Trabzon expedition had to take necessary precautions for the preservation of Christian and Muslim monuments and protect them from plundering and destruction. Thus, the Russians made a second claim: that they were responsible for fixing the contemporary deplorable conditions of antiquities, because they alone knew their value. Along

[146] Emanuele Greco, "L'Archeologia Italiana Nel Mediterraneo Orientale Dalla Fine Del XIX Alla Vigilia Della II Guerra Mondiale," in *Nello Specchio Del Mondo: L'Immagine Dell'Italia Nella Realta Internazionale*, ed. Paolo Frascani (Napoli: Universita degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale," 2012), 375–88; Üre, "Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)." 240.

[147] Üre, "Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)." 242.

with the activities of RAIK, the Russian army also had a unit responsible for archeological preservation called "the Commission for the Preservation and Registration of Ancient Monuments," which operated in the occupied territories in 1916. This was a similar organization to the German-Turkish Monuments Protection Commando. The British and French would come to make a parallel claim from 1916 onwards, as I discuss in chapter IV.

Third Period: Occupation 1918-1923

Toward the end of the war, most of the Arab Provinces of the Ottoman Empire were under Allied occupation. The British took Baghdad in March 1917, and Jerusalem in December 1917. Damascus fell in early October 1918 and at the end of the month the Armistice of Mudros was signed between the Allies and the Ottomans. With the armistice, the Allies obtained "the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies."[148] The Allies, namely the British, French, Italians, Greeks, and Americans, occupied Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, beginning in November 1918, which I will cover in greater detail in the next chapter. The French moved on to occupy southeastern Anatolia in accordance with the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. However, Article 9 of the London Treaty of 1915 recognized Italy's right to receive a share in the division of the Ottoman lands. This share was to be in the Mediterranean region and this conflicted with the French interests. The Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne signed in 1917 gave France the Adana region and left the rest of the southwest to Italy, including the province of Aydın, which included the important port city of Izmir. Accordingly, French and Italian forces started to move into their allotted territories in 1918.

[148] "Armistice of Mudros | Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing - EBooks | Read EBooks Online," accessed April 27, 2019, http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Armistice_of_Mudros. Armistice of Mudros, article 7.

Nonetheless, Italian territorial claims were challenged by the Greeks after the signing of the armistice. Italians and Greeks had to face each other on the western coast of Asia Minor from 1919 onwards. The British and the French had their differences regarding the exact division of the Arab provinces as well. These chaotic circumstances allowed the Allied forces to deploy their people, military and scholars, on the Ottoman lands as the diplomatic discussion started in the European capitals regarding the eventual division of the Ottoman lands. Meanwhile, the Allies were not going to sit back and wait while they resolved their claims diplomatically. Each power did whatever they could to extend their spheres of influence on the ground and advance their claims to the Ottoman lands.

Museums Established by Occupiers: French in Adana and Italians in Antalya

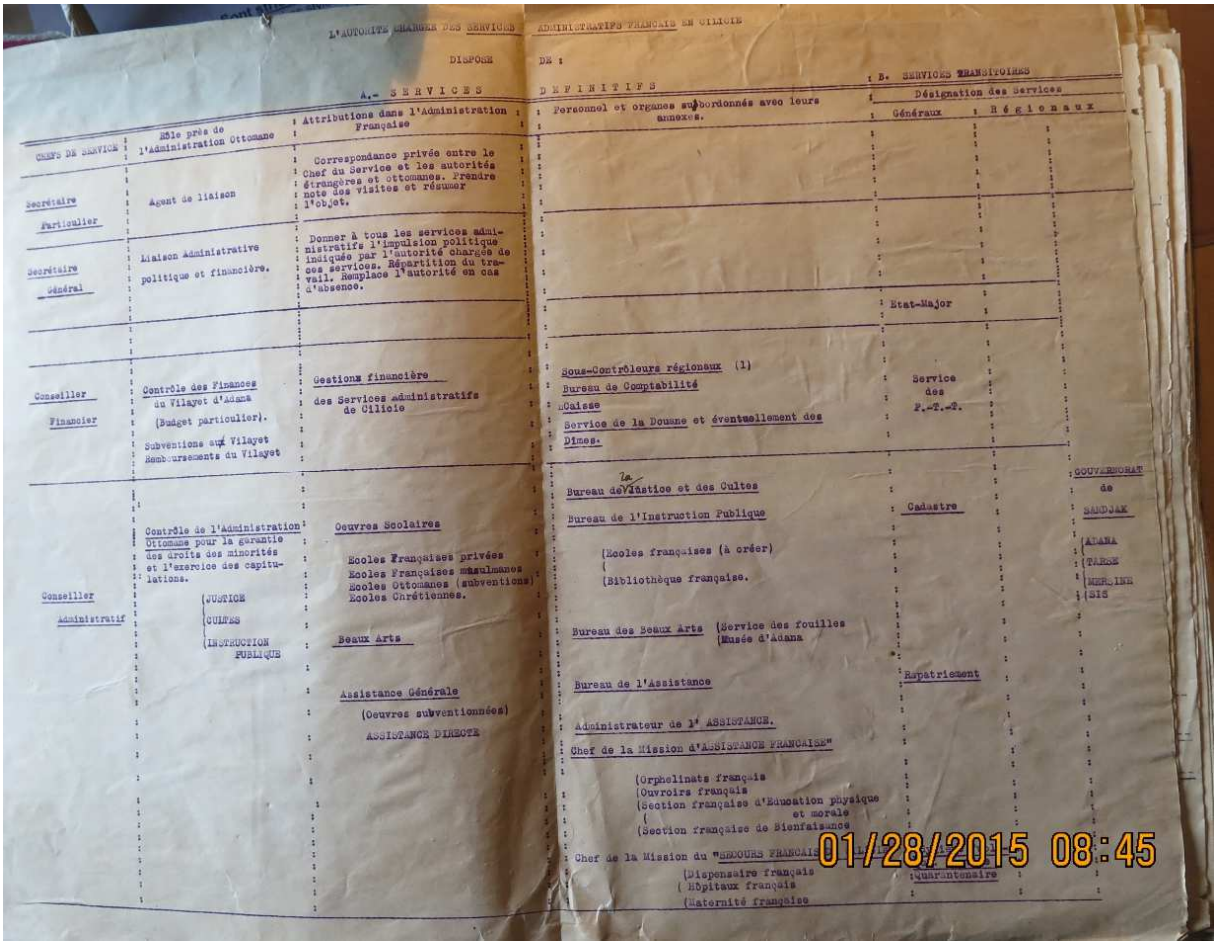
After the war, the French used the occupation to further their territorial claims in the Ottoman Empire and uphold their prestige. It appears that the occupation of the empire was a means to strengthen their hold on their North African colonies and protectorates as well. For example, the lieutenant colonel Abadie who was the commander of the colonial regiment in the Levant pleaded with the French government, which was in the midst of renegotiating the Sevres Treaty in 1921. He argued that leaving Aintab, the Cilician city in Asia Minor where he was stationed, would be "without a doubt a great blow to the French prestige in Levant as well as in North Africa."[149] Archeology was employed in this endeavor, as the establishment of the Adana Museum exemplifies. Before the French occupation, the Ottoman administration kept the antiquities in a hükümet konağı (the official headquarters of the Ottoman Empire) in Silifke. An earlier Ottoman

[149] Vincennes SHD GR7N 3213 (file "Revisions des Clauses Militaires Traite de Sevres")

law of 1874 had specified that antiquities found anywhere would have to be taken to the closest government mansion, or high school. They would be photographed, the best would be sent to Istanbul, and the rest would remain in these buildings. Colonel R. Normand, the French governor of the city of Adana during the French occupation of Cilicia (known as the Administration des Territoires Ennemies Occupés, Zone Nord), created the Adana Museum with "a ragtag collection of fragments found by military personnel and by local civilians apparently supporting the French forces, including two Greeks, two Armenians, and a Muslim (either Turkish or Arab)."[150] The Ottoman collection in the konak and the finds left behind at Zincirli and Kargamış by the Germans and the French respectively were later added to it. According to Colonel Normand it was the French thing to do to create a museum as soon as possible to protect antiquities.[151]

[150] Colonel R. Normand, "La Création Du Musée d'Adana," *Syria* 2, no. 3 (1921): 195–202. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4195125

[151] It is interesting to note that the official website of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism gives 1924 as the establishment of the Adana Museum, calling it one of the oldest museums of the Republic. "Adana Archaeological Museum," accessed August 23, 2019, https://www.ktb.gov.tr/EN-113882/adana-archaeological-museum.html.



[Figure 2.1 Organizational chart of the French administration in Cilicia with Adana Museum under Bureau des Beaux Arts. From Nantes MAE 1919-1921 160 1SL/1/V/160 Beyrout Cilicie Scheme of L'Autorité Chargée des Service Administratif Française en Cilicie.]

The supposedly unique Frenchness of setting up a museum in an occupation zone comes under scrutiny when we look at the Italian occupation of southern Anatolia. Italian military occupation paved the way for the establishment of a nucleus of a museum in Antalya at the Italian consulate in the city. The museum was constituted with bits and pieces collected by the Italian researchers in the area in the previous years and with objects donated by citizens of Antalya.[152] It is interesting to note that both French and Italian rhetoric about the establishment of their respective museums

[152] D'Andria, "L'archeologia Italiana in Anatolia." 99.

include underscoring the contributions of the local population to their museological endeavors. Colonel Normand declares: "As the reputation of the museum spreads advantageously every day and increasingly interests the public, all nationalities and all classes of people wish to cooperate in its enrichment. [T]he work, initially begun in a purely archaeological spirit, acquires from day to day a political character, uniting diverse races and enemies in a common thought, making people of the most various conditions interested in a French idea."[153] The Adana Museum therefore was presented as a unifying element for local peoples under the enlightened leadership of the French. This can be applied to the Italian museum in Antalya as well. Therefore, these museums, and their presumed acceptance by the local people, legitimized the French and Italian occupations and their territorial claims. The establishment of the Adana and Antalya Archeological Museums reflected the transfer of political sovereignty to the French and Italian authorities respectively.

On the eve of Italian occupation of southern Anatolia in 1919, the role of the occupiers was being discussed in various governmental and intellectual circles. Archeologist Biagio Pace for example, at Palermo University, was declaring that "with material vigilance, supported by the prestige of a strong policy, the Italian presence is destined to save cultural heritage [un patrimonio di cultura]."[154] This attitude was reported by the French observers of Italian activities: when faced with protests by the Ottoman administration regarding their archeological activities, "The Italians apparently stated that they were willing to hand over the objects removed provided a proper

[153] La Création du Musée d'Adana by Colonel R. Normand Syria,T. 2, Fasc. 3 (1921), pp. 195-202 http://www.jstor.org/stable/4195125

[154] D'Andria, "L'archeologia Italiana in Anatolia."98 in Vincenzo La Rosa, *L'Archeologia italiana nel Mediterraneo: fino alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale* (Centro di Studi per L'Archeologia Greca, 1986).. "La presenza italiana era destinata a salvare un patrimonio di cultura, con vigilanza materiale, appoggiata al prestigio di una politica forte." 'The Italian presence was destined to save the cultural heritage, with material vigilance, supported by the prestige of a strong policy.'

building was provided and proper measures were taken for their conservation."[155] Ostensibly, Italians assumed the right of ownership, or rather guardianship, due to the lack of a museum and protective measures to conserve antiquities.

Allied Excavations in Occupied lands

Along with using cultural property to make territorial claims and enhance the legitimacy of their occupation, the Allies took advantage of excavation opportunities that the occupation provided them. The British were fully cognizant of the fact that they would be ruling these lands (even though the exact borders were still in dispute at that point) and started to make plans for the future of the territory under their control. From 1917 onwards, Gertrude Bell was already in what would become Iraq, planting the seed of the Baghdad Museum.[156] However, there were other more opportunistic excavations. For example, in 1918 British archeologist Reginald Campbell Thompson, who was in Mesopotamia attached to the intelligence section, was commissioned to start excavations in the ancient city of Eridu (Tell Abu Shahrein). Campbell-Thompson started work under the auspices of the military. This work included authority to utilize military funds for

[155] Kew, FO 608/93 "Alleged Removal of Antiquities by Italians in Adalia" It is a report from the commander of the 17th corps and general of the brigade Ali Nadir to the General Staff Intelligence in General Headquarters in Constantinople. Date May 11,1919.

[156] For a detailed discussion of the creation of the Baghdad (or Iraqi) Museum in this period see Ceren Abi, "The Iraq National Museum and the Formation of the Iraqi State" (Leiden University, 2007).

the purchase of antiquities, presumably for export.[157] His work was continued by H. R. Hall later in 1919 in Eridu, Tell 'Obeid, and Ur (Tell Muquaiyir).[158]

Italians conducted many explorations covering a wide range of territory, from contemporary Kuşadası and Antalya on the coasts to Konya in the interior. For the Italians, this was a great opportunity to expand their sphere of economic interests in Asia Minor. This goal was demonstrated by the activities of Italian archeologist Biagio Pace, who personified the entanglement of archeology and ideology. The Italians' archeological explorations were often accompanied by other missions, such as the case of the exploration of the Meandre valley together with the Italian geographical mission. Meanwhile, they conducted excavations on the ancient Roman road that linked Konya to Antalya and collected antiquities in places like Bodrum.[159]

The Italians had been interested in this region since the late nineteenth century (the first Italian archeological mission to a foreign country was sent to Crete under Ottoman rule in 1899) and acted to explore and establish a sphere of influence up until the start of the First World War. As late as the summer of 1913, professor Roberto Paribeni, the director of the Roman National Museum, was conducting exploratory archeological visits and asking the Ottoman government for excavation permits.[160] Their demands were not received with open arms as the loss of Tripolitania (contemporary Libya) to the Italians in 1911 was still fresh in the memories of Ottoman officials. Nonetheless, the Italians kept proposing new initiatives like opening s service for automobiles,

[157] British Library, IOR/L/P&S/10/742 From Baghdad to India Office dated September 9, 1919, stamped P5745 1919).

[158] British Library, IOR/L/P&S/10/742 and Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision; Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973). XVI

[159] Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*. 206.

[160] Marta Petricioli, *L'Italia in Asia Minore: Equilibrio Mediterraneo e Ambizioni Imperialiste Alla Vigilia Della Prima Guerra Mondiale* (Sansoni, n.d.), 308. Petricioli, *Archeologia e Mare Nostrum*. 3.

bank branches and credit institutions, and sending engineers to the Antalya municipality to help with public works. Italians continued asking for various concessions in the region such as for use of hydraulic resources and production and distribution of electricity in the Antalya region well into 1914.[161]

When Greeks occupied Izmir on May 15, 1919, the Italians were not happy with this development. This was a clear indication that the British and the French were reneging on their territorial promises to the Italians. Supporters of the Greek prime minister Venizelos were in favor of Greek expansion in western Asia Minor and at first, they were successful. This set Italians and Greeks against each other as both sides tried to establish their historical claim to the same territory via use of the past and archeological excavations.[162] Propaganda was plentiful. A Cypriot professor from the University of Athens visited Rhodes and Adalia (both occupied by the Italians) and shared his observations with the British authorities. He transmits that "the [local] Christians were informed that the Italians had come to liberate them because they were descendent from Roman colonists, while the Turks were told they were being saved from the Entente."[163]

The Greeks had prior experience in setting up archeological service in the places that they took control of. For example, in 1912, when the Greek forces took hold of the Macedonian districts during the Balkan Wars, one of the first duties of the Governor-General of the districts was the

[161] Petricioli, *L'Italia in Asia Minore: Equilibrio Mediterraneo e Ambizioni Imperialiste Alla Vigilia Della Prima Guerra Mondiale*. 327.

[162] Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision; Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).

[163] The British authorities in Athens who translated this letter and sent it to the British Foreign Office added that, although this professor was Greek and therefore had pro-Hellenic leanings, he was also a scholar of high attainment and of sober judgement. Kew, FO 608/193 dated September 25, 1919.

establishment of an archeological service. On November 9, 1912 the first Ephor of antiquities of the Thessaloniki prefecture was created. Two more archeological areas were added a year later.[164]

When the Greek Campaign began in Asia Minor in May 1919, the Greek government, together with the Archaeological Society at Athens, started excavation and collection of archeological artifacts. They excavated at Nyssa and at Klazomenes, and at Ephesus (modern Seljuk) working on a Byzantine church on Ayasuluk hill. The collection was done by professionals as well as soldiers. The head officer of the Archaeological Department of the Greek High Commission in Smyrna collected and transported antiquities to Izmir to put them in the newly established archaeological museum.[165] Meanwhile, the military officers sent letters to the Greek High Commission informing them of the many Greek antiquities they noticed being used as spolia in buildings. Accordingly, the head officer of the Archaeological Department of the Greek High Commission asked the Army to contribute by collecting artifacts while marching into Anatolia.[166]

The driving motivation behind these cultural property related activities, for the Greek administration and the army, seems to have been political. A Greek army office for example wrote that collecting and showing these antiquities "would persuade the Greekness of Asia Minor, hence the Allies would realize that it has been Greek and should remain Greek." Even the Islamic and Ottoman monuments in the Greek occupation area of Asia Minor were considered Greek. Historian Kalliope Pavli refers to a Byzantine archaeologist who considered Ottomans as a barbarian race and thus "unable to create any valuable object" and argued that all monuments were made "by the

[164] Miltis Paraskevaidis, "Archaeological Research in Greek Macedonia and Thrace, 1912-1962," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962): 443–58.

[165] The website of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism argues that "the first archaeology museum in İzmir was opened to the public in 1927 at Ayavukla (Gözlü) Church in Tepecik after the work collection activities of three years." https://www.ktb.gov.tr/EN-113956/izmir---archaeology-museum.html

[166] Pavli, "For the benefit of the Greek 'Great Idea.'"

gifted Greek craftsmen of the Ottoman Empire, therefore the Islamic monuments were also Greek."[167] Nevertheless, the political reasoning was not the only one. There was genuine care for antiquities and scientific inquiry and preservation evidenced by the restoration of the Seljuk mosque and the Turkish baths of Ephesus.

[167] Ibid.

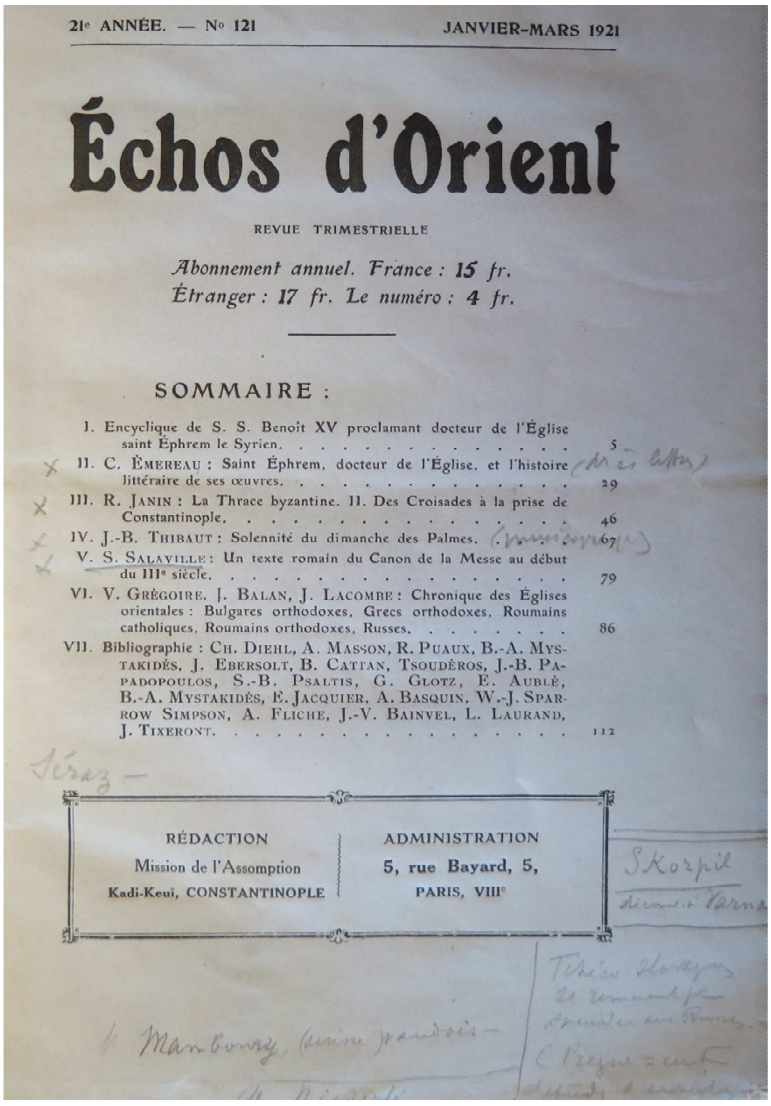
[Figure 2.2 and 2.3 Pictures from Gülhane Excavations showing excavation site above and French soldiers and an archeologist walking besides sea walls of Istanbul. CADN, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 1920-1925 71-IV Fouilles & Recherches Archeologiques.]

Meanwhile, the French excavated extensively in the occupied capital; in the eastern side of the old city in Gülhane (in Manganes) and in Makriköy (in Hebdoman), the suburb of the city where we will start our stroll through Istanbul under Allied occupation in the next chapter. French early Christian and Byzantine art historian Jean Ebersolt published a book and an article on their research activities and finds in Constantinople.[168] The French forces also conducted excavations in the Dardanelles region (in Elaeus).[169] The French had no official territorial claims in these locales. However, they were not only taking advantage of the favorable opportunities that the occupation provided, but they were also paving the way for further French presence in the post-war era. The French started to focus especially on the ancient Greek and Byzantine sites when Venizelos, who championed the Greek expansion into Asia Minor, established his Provisional Government in Thessaloniki and supported the French excavations through Rodokanaki, the head of the Byzantine antiquities department within the Provisional Government.[170]

[168] Jean Ebersolt, *Mission Archéologique de Constantinople (Avec 6 Figures et 40 Planches Hors-Texte)* (Paris, 1921), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015020473792 and Th Macridy-Bey and Jean Ebersolt, "Monuments funéraires de Constantinople," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 46, no. 1 (1922): 356–93, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1922.3037.

[169] Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı Ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1989).

[170] Krempp, "Le service archéologique de l'armée d'Orient, une archéologie en guerre."



21e ANNÉE. — No 121 JANVIER-MARS 1921

Échos d'Orient

REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE

Abonnement annuel. France : 15 fr.
Étranger : 17 fr. Le numéro : 4 fr.

SOMMAIRE :

RÉDACTION
Mission de l'Assomption
Kadi-Keui, CONSTANTINOPLE

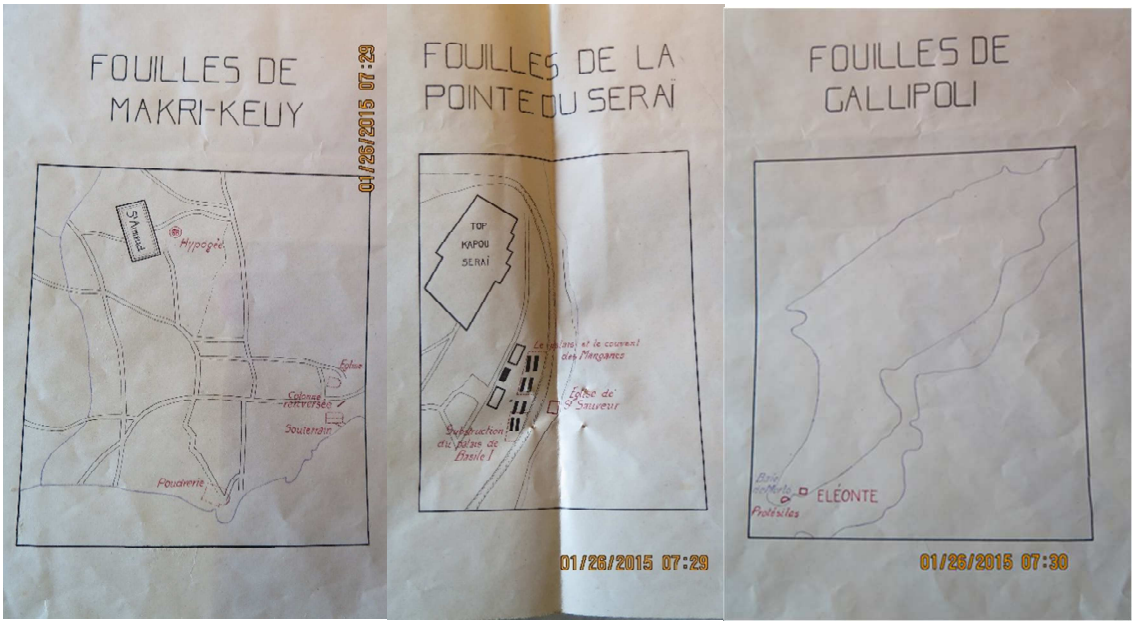
ADMINISTRATION
5, rue Bayard, 5,
PARIS, VIIIe

[Figure 2.4. Title page of Échos d'Orient, 1921. CADN, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 1921-1924 64-V École Française D'Archéologie a Constantinople]

These excavations were conducted in parallel to many scholarly activities done in the capital by the occupying French with the help of the local French presence.[171] Perhaps the most important of the local French in Istanbul were the Assumptionists, a Catholic mission active in the

[171] According to Tezcan, even a French arts teacher working in Galatasaray high school in Pera was used to draw the excavation plans and findings. Tezcan, 26. See also Ebersolt for activities of the French archeologists in Istanbul. Jean Ebersolt, *Mission Archéologique de Constantinople (Avec 6 Figures et 40 Planches Hors-Texte)* (Paris, 1921), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015020473792; See Diehl for an example of scholarly studies done with the help of the occupation. Charles Diehl, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin,* (Paris, 1920), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015058517320.

Ottoman Empire since the late nineteenth century. Their base in Kadıköy was home to a respectable scholarly journal that specialized in Byzantine history, *Les Échos d'Orient*, but it was also planned to be the basis of the future French Archeological School in Istanbul.[172]



[Figure 2.5 The Plan of French excavations in Makrikoy, Gülhane, and in Gallipoli. CADN, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 1920-1925 71-IV Fouilles & Recherches Archeologiques]

Ottoman Reaction to Allied Archeological Activities

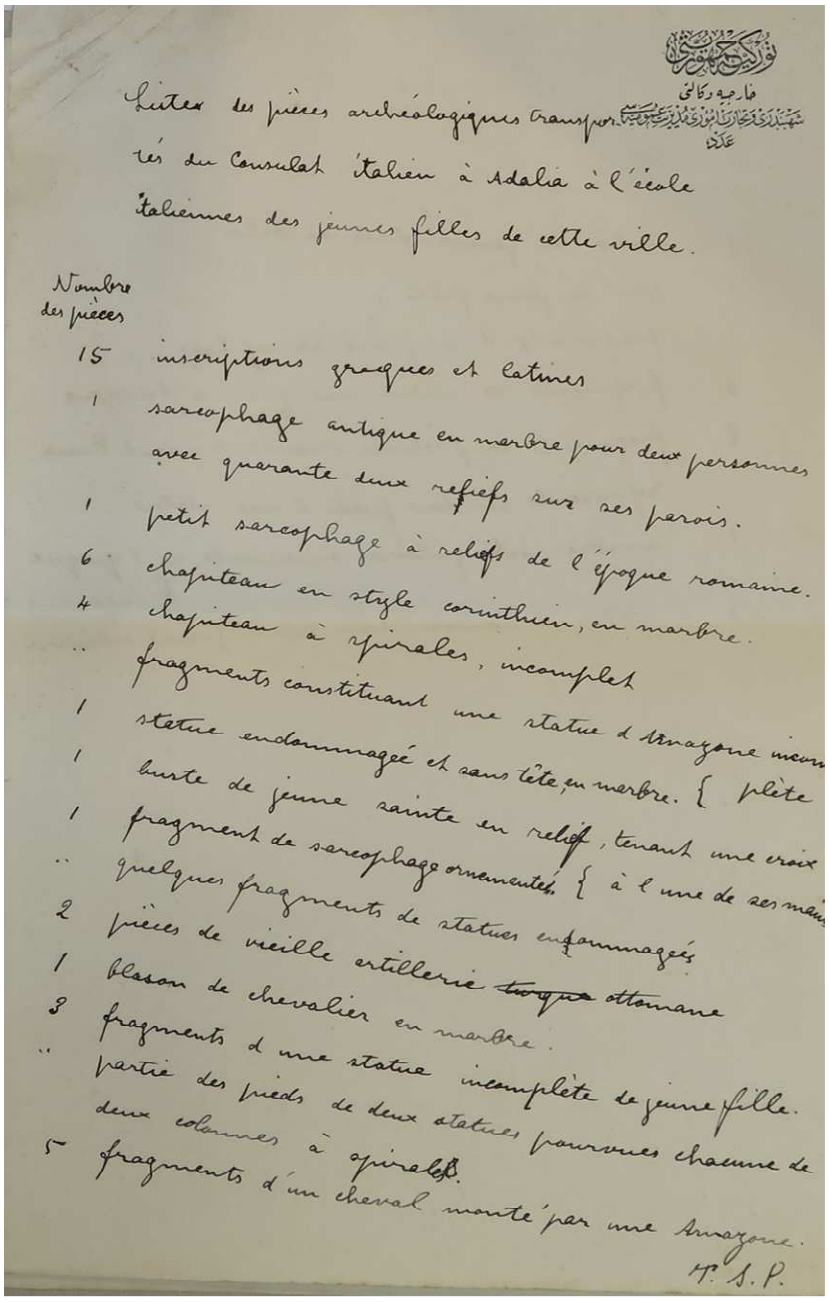
The Ottoman reaction to these activities were varied. Both the civil and military authorities were aware of the excavations and the need to protect cultural property and took various steps. First of all, they kept a close eye on the Allied cultural property related activities. For example, when the Allies removed oil paintings belonging to Sultan Abdülaziz when they occupied the

[172] CADN Haute Commissariat Puis Ambassade 36PO/1 Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 1920-1925 71-IV Fouilles & Recherches Archéologiques. From Director of the École des Hautes Etudes D. Serrus to General Pelle.)

Military Academy (Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane) in Istanbul, the Ottomans were watching. The Ottomans demanded that the paintings should be under the care of the Imperial Museum.[173] Secondly, they wrote reports and kept records regarding these excavations and collecting activities.[174] Thirdly, they made official complaints to the Allies. For example, when the Italians started to excavate in Adalia, the local authorities protested, but to no avail. When the Allies engaged in excavations, the Ottoman army urged the Allied high commissioners to transport antiquities unearthed to the Imperial Museum. The new nationalist government in Ankara also got involved in the business of accusing the Allies of engaging in unauthorized excavations and transporting finds abroad. For instance, in 1923 Adnan Bey contacted the French High Commissionaire and asked for the return of the archeological finds the French had taken to France. Adnan Bey in his letter shows that he has a detailed knowledge about when and where the archeological excavations took place.

[173] ATASE archives ISH 3A-3B 1527.75.5 (06.02.1335 Rumi, 6.02.1919)

[174] ATESE archives ISH-BDH 5769.189.36 (08.05.1335 Rumi, 08.05.1919) and ISH-BDH 5830.189.59 (10.05.1335 Rumi, 10.05.1919). BOA, DH.I.UM 5-2.239 (1337 Z 21) for example shows that the local officials were watching Italians excavating antiquities and inquire to the Ministry of Education of what to do about it. A year later the local authorities in Bodrum send the capital a memo about the Italian excavations in the Castle of Bodrum in DH.I.UM 5-2 245 (1338 Za 08).



Liste des pièces archéologiques transportées du Consulat italien à Adalia à l'école italiennes des jeunes filles de cette ville.

Nombre des pièces	
15	inscriptions grecques et latines
1	sarcophage antique en marbre pour deux personnes avec quarante deux reliefs sur ses parois.
1	petit sarcophage à reliefs de l'époque romaine.
6	chapiteau en style corinthien, en marbre.
4	chapiteau à spirales, incomplet
..	fragments constituant une statue d'amazone incomplète
1	statue endommagée et sans tête, en marbre.
1	buste de jeune sainte en relief, tenant une croix à l'une de ses mains
1	fragment de sarcophage ornementé.
..	quelques fragments de statues endommagés
2	pièces de vieille artillerie ~~turque~~ ottomane
1	blason de chevalier en marbre.
8	fragments d'une statue incomplète de jeune fille.
..	partie des pieds de deux statues pareilles chacune de deux colonnes à spirales.
5	fragments d'un cheval monté par une amazone.

M. S. P.

[Figure 2.6. The list of antiquities kept in the Antalya Italian Girls School according to the Ottoman authorities, in French.BOA.HR.138.75 (1925 04 11)]

Fourthly, the Ottoman archeological echelons tried to have decent relations with the occupying forces and their cultural-archeological personnel and institutions. For example, in 1920 the head of the Military Museum in Istanbul, Ahmet Muhtar, sent a book to the French High Commissioner on Istanbul's mosques and its Turkish monuments. The subject matter of the book sent by Ahmet Muhtar is meaningful. It seems that he was trying to underscore the "Turkishness" of the city to its French occupiers. A year later, in November 1921, the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, Halil Bey, sent a package of documents on the Imperial Museum to the Art and Archeology Library in Paris.[175]

MISSION ARCHEOLOGIQUE DE CONSTANTINOPLE

Les couvercles des deux sarcophages avant leur extraction.

PL. IX

[Figure 2.7 Picture from Ebersolt's book Mission Archaeologique de Constantinople showing extraction of a sarcophagus in Gülhane. An Ottoman official visible, perhaps posing in the background.]

[175] CADN, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 1920-1925 71-IV.

The relationship between Ottoman archeological circles and the occupiers went further than cordiality. For example, Theodor Makridi Bey, an official and archeologist of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, co-authored with the French Jean Ebersolt on Byzantine funerary monuments of Istanbul and on Cyzicus, an Ancient Greek site in Bandırma (in northwestern Anatolia) with Charles Picard during the French occupation of Istanbul.[176] The relationships of Makridi Bey and other Ottoman officials with French archeologists predated the war. Makridi Bey for example published articles on various archeological subjects, alone and in collaboration with French archeologist Picard before and during the war in the Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique.[177] Ebersolt published a catalogue of Byzantine seals in the collection of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul.[178] What is more, in the letters responding to Adnan Bey's accusations above, the French argue that the excavations in Gülhane and in Makriköy were mutually agreed upon by General Charphy and the director of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul via exchange of letters. The French would excavate in the name of the Imperial Museum; this would be done under surveillance of an Ottoman museum functionary and all finds would remain in the Imperial Museum.[179] All these activities show that there was scientific collaboration between the Ottoman museum circles and the French ones during the Allied occupation.

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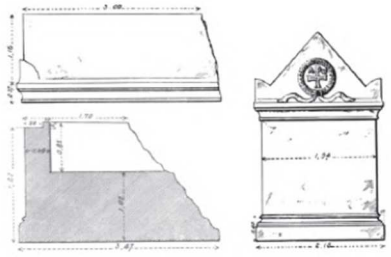
[176] Macridy-Bey and Ebersolt, "Monuments funéraires de Constantinople"; Charles Picard and Th Macridy-Bey, "Attis d'un Métrôon (?) de Cyzique," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 45, no. 1 (1921): 436–70, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1921.3055.

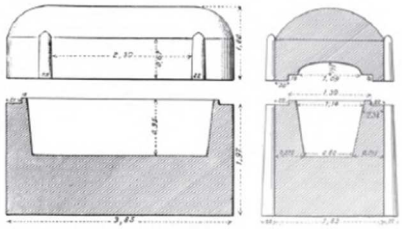
[177] Charles Picard and Th Macridy-Bey, "Fouilles du Hiéron d'Apollon Clarios, à Colophon. Première campagne.," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 39, no. 1 (1915): 33–52, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1915.3106; Th Macridy-Bey, "Reliefs gréco-perses de la région de Dascylion," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 37, no. 1 (1913): 340–58, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1913.3139.

[178] Musee imperial Ottoman (Istanbul) and Jean Ebersolt, *Catalogue des sceaux byzantins.* (Paris: Feuardent Freres, 1922).

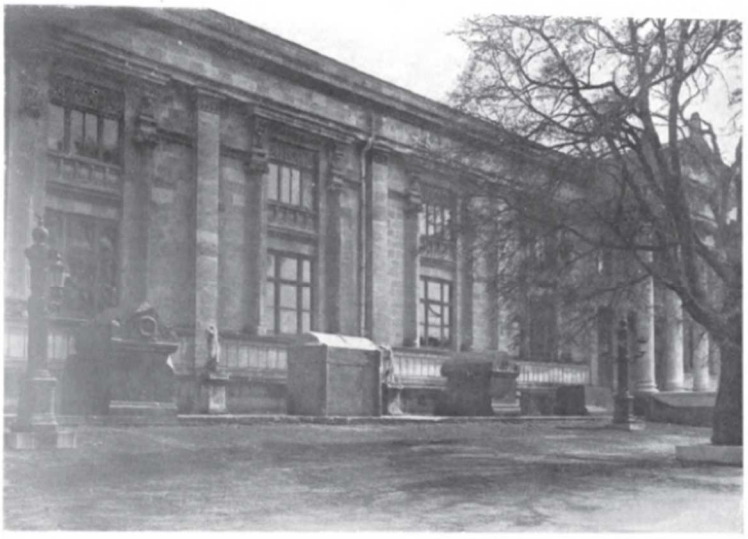
[179] CADN, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères 1920-1925 71-IV Fouilles & Recherches Archéologiques. Document is dated May 25, 1922. I could not find the letters mentioned in the Ottoman archives.



1. Sarcophage en porphyre n° I.



2. Sarcophage en porphyre n° II.



Les sarcophages en porphyre devant le Musée.

[Figure 2.8 and 2.9 Pages from Ebersolt's book Mission Archaeologique de Constantinople showing sketches of the sarcophagi found and sarcophagi placed in from of the Imperial Museum]

This collaboration however did not always occur on a friendly, reciprocal, and equal basis. This brings me to the last way in which the Ottomans dealt with the occupiers' archeological activities: trying to regulate these activities via drafting a new antiquities law. Halil Bey drafted an Antiquities Draft Bill (Asar-ı Atika Kanunu Layihası) in 1921. This Draft Bill encompassed many characteristics of the older Ottoman Antiquities Laws, such as the one in 1906, providing a definition of antiquities and protection measures. There was one exception; even though all antiquities were declared to belong to the Ottoman Empire in article twenty-nine, it allowed partition of the finds and article thirty-four allowed a portion to be taken abroad. This was a major issue that Osman Hamdi Bey, Halil Bey's brother and his predecessor as the head of the Imperial Museum, fought hard to change. Up until Antiquities Law of 1884, the law allowed the practice of partition. Why the change? Why in 1921? The historical context of the Allied occupation of the Ottoman lands is glaring. [180] Article twenty-nine of the draft bill of 1921 introduced a permission process and article thirty introduced limits to what kind of antiquities can be exported. Therefore, we can surmise that the Ottoman authorities who were writing this new draft were under pressure from the occupying forces and tried their best to limit European abilities to take away antiquities.

Meanwhile in Ankara other archeology related administrative steps were being taken by the nationalist government. On May 10, 1920, a Turkish Directorate of Antiquities was formed with the goal of protecting architectural monuments and ruins, as well as management of provincial museums. The next year it was transformed into a Directorate of Culture. In November 5, 1922 an

[180] There is a historical precedent to this type of change in Crete. Crete was under European control in 1897 and 1898, with British, Italian, American, and French military control zones. They also divided up the island into respective archeological zones. This archeological division continued after the end of the European military control when Crete declared its independence in 1899, the same year the Cretan Antiquities Law was passed by the new government. This law prohibited the export of antiquities abroad. However, due to the pressure from European states, an amendment was passed in 1903 to allow the export of duplicates, and those antiquities which were considered useless to the Cretan museum. Vassilios Varouhakis, "L'archéologie Enragée: Archaeology & National Identity under the Cretan State (1898 – 1913)" (University of Southampton, 2015). 98-99.

order regarding museums and antiquities were sent by the Ankara government to governors under their control. Yet due to many limitations, the Ankara government was unable to take many steps to further preservation efforts.[181]

Problems for the Allies: What to do with the finds? How to deal with soldiers?

It is not always possible to trace the fate of the antiquities found by Allied soldiers, such as the ones found in Gallipoli. However, there are examples of findings being sent to Europe. The shipments of found antiquities were also openly reported in archeological journals. For example, the article mentioned above that informs us about the hoard of coins dug out by a nameless soldier also notes that these coins were brought to England and came into the possession of Sir Arthur J. Evans.[182] We do not know who carried these coins and how they ended up in the hands of one of the most important archeologists of the era. Sir Arthur J. Evans was no ordinary collector, he was the archeologist who unearthed the Knossos palace in Crete and discovered the Minoan civilization, which is considered one of the earliest predecessors of ancient Greek civilization. He was also the ex-keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and a trustee of the British Museum. It is important to note that this article was published in 1919. The date is important because by this time debates about ownership of the antiquities had become very prominent in the highest offices of the European administrations.

[181] Emre Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in Ilk Otuz Yılında (1920-1950) Koruma Alanının Orgütlenmesi," *ODTU MFD* 16, no. 1–2 (1996): 59–97.

[182] William N. Bates, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology* 23, no. 3 (1919): 313–30, https://doi.org/10.2307/497464.

I would like to zoom in to the case of the Samarra antiquities to understand the confusion that antiquities created in the British government and the multiplicity of claimants and opinions about what to do with them. Here I will follow the dizzying bureaucratic trail that included the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum, the Foreign Office, the War Office, the India Office, the Civil Commission of Baghdad, and the Army Council's Trophies Committee.

On June 28th, 1917 the director of the Victoria and Albert Museum wrote a plea to the War Office asking for the recognition of the museum's rights to 70 cases of archeological artifacts that the Germans had packed and intended to dispatch to Berlin, but which were found by Britain's Mesopotamian Expeditionary force when they invaded Baghdad.[183] Apparently after this letter various cadres of the British government joined the conversation about what would come to be known as the Samarra Treasures. Sir Reginal Brade contacted the India Office and informed them about the Victoria and Albert Museum's claims. Sir Percy Cox, chief political officer of the Indian Expeditionary Force, and later the high commissioner of the British mandate of Iraq, confirmed that on July 8th, 1917, 93 cases were stored in the Civil Commissioner's office and Gertrude Bell examined one of the cases. The remainder were to be examined in more appropriate weather and a representative share would be sent to the Victoria and Albert Museum. About a year later, in June 1918, the War Office ordered the dispatch of the cases to England. However, the Civil Commissioner in Baghdad disagreed. According to him there was no urgency and they should rather wait for the forthcoming visit of Mr. L.W. King of the British Museum in the autumn of

[183] British Library, IOR/L/PS/IO/689 28 June 1917 from Victoria and Albert Museum to War Office (addressed to Sir Reginal Brade) Why would the Victoria and Albert Museum have a claim over these antiquities? I could not find an answer at the archives, yet one reason may be the fact that the Victoria and Albert Museum's new building opened in 1909 and might have been in need further collections. Another possibility is the Victoria and Albert Museum officials might have felt that these antiquities could contribute to Museum's mission, which is "improvement of the artistic quality of British design and production." "V&A · Building the Museum," Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed August 22, 2019, https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/building-the-museum.

1918. The War Office had no knowledge of the visit of Mr. King but reminded Baghdad of the upcoming visit of Sir J. Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, to Mesopotamia in the autumn. The War Office also argued that the issue should be discussed in the Eastern Committee of the War Cabinet before any action was taken. The Foreign Office agreed. The War Office accepted the decision to wait for Sir Marshall's visit but asserted that it was the War Office who had the complete authority over the matter. The involvement of the British Museum, in the shape of Mr. King, was apparently the result of recommendations of the Army Council's Trophies Committee.[184]

High level museum officials such as curators and directors, along with other intellectually informed ranks of British institutions, such as librarians, architects, editors and professors, signed a letter addressed to the British government pleading for the Samarra antiquities, "which the fortune of war has placed in its hands," citing their intrinsic and archeological value. More importantly however, they argued that the British government had the greatest responsibility in Europe to further the progress of Islamic studies by preserving these Islamic antiquities.[185] This was due to having millions of Muslim colonial subjects as a part of their empire. The confusion and very different opinions regarding the ownership of Middle Eastern antiquities bears testament to not only divisions within the British administration, but also the changing priorities and practices regarding cultural property.

Cultural Property and Soldiers

[184] British Library, IOR/L/PS/10/689 19 Sept 1918 from Secretary of Eastern Committee to War Office.

[185] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/689 November 30, 1920 To the Secretary of State for India

In March 1916, the Commander-in-Chief of Russia's Caucasian Armies, Nikolai Yudenich, issued a decree placing ancient monuments under state protection. However, this decree also reflects the problems the Russians were having protecting antiquities. The Commander-in-chief acknowledges that some Russian citizens, some of them from the Russian army, had engaged in destruction of monuments and secretly engaged in the antiquities trade.[186] The British suffered from the same issues. For example, an order issued on April 6th, 1918 in Mesopotamia required that anyone who wished to visit the ruins of Babylon or Birs Nimrud needed to inform their superiors and provide their details. But more importantly, all ranks were reminded that "the defacement or mutilation of the ruins and the removal therefrom of any bricks or other antiquities, whether lying loose or not, is strictly prohibited."[187] In a later telegram, the Baghdad administration admits that "articles have doubtless been smuggled out by officers and others."[188]

The interest of rank-and-file soldiers in antiquities is not only evident in military records but also ubiquitous in memoirs and scholarly journals. For example, archeologist Stanley Casson, who was stationed in Greece under the General Staff in Salonika under General Sir George Milne, Commander-in-Chief of British Troops in Macedonia, reports that an "industrious and enterprising" member of the YMCA who was in charge of their military canteen had in his spare time unearthed various antiquities. Casson returns to this site and does his own excavations later in 1921.[189] Casson was an alumnus of the British School of Athens, which unlike the RAIK in Istanbul did not have to close its doors thanks to Greek neutrality at the start of the war.

[186] Üre, "Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)."241.

[187] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/689 General Routine Orders, April 6, 1918.

[188] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/742 (from Baghdad to India Office dated September 9, 1919, stamped P5745 1919).

[189] Stanley Casson, *Steady Drummer* (London: G. Bell & Sons, ltd, 1935), 274.

Nonetheless, one need not be affiliated with an archaeological school to engage in archaeology. For example, in 1915 Captain George Augustus Auden of the British military found sepulchral inscriptions near Suvla Bay during the Dardanelles Campaign and made sure that they got published.[190] Captain Auden was a medical officer and a writer on archeological subjects. Another entry in the same journal informs its readers that a British soldier dug up in a garden a hoard of coins, including some ancient ones, in 1916.[191] The fact that the journal does not mention the soldier's name implies that he was of a low rank and thus shows that the interest in archeology was evident in various ranks of the military.

[190] William N. Bates, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (1918): 73–100, https://doi.org/10.2307/497361.

[191] Bates, "Archaeological News," 1919.

[Figure 2.10 A party of men from the 9th Battalion, South Lancashire Regiment tour the ruins of Troy during leave from the Gallipoli Peninsula. 1919 https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205194040]

It was difficult to control the soldiers' behavior vis-à-vis antiquities. In a letter written by a British Political Officer in Baghdad in 1919 reports damages done to the ruins of Babylon since the British occupation. He reports that walls were deliberately brought down to get "Nebuchadnezzar bricks" and further damage was done since his visit a month ago.[192] He writes: "No harm is done by people taking loose bricks, but destruction in order to obtain them is

[192] Nebuchadnezzar bricks were bricks stamped with his name. For further information see "Brick Stamped with the Name of Nebuchadnezzar II," Ancient History Encyclopedia, accessed August 26, 2019, https://www.ancient.eu/image/5240/brick-stamped-with-the-name-of-nebuchadnezzar-ii/.

deplorable, and may in after years be brought up against us by the Germans as proof that we are as 'barbarous' as they."[193] All these efforts to curb the destructive behavior of the soldiers point to the rising importance of public perceptions and expectations over protection of antiquities, even by the invading armies.

Public Perception and Publicizing Archeological Activity During the War

Public expectations over protection of cultural property were rising in importance but many officials feared that spending time and money on strictly non-military activities might be perceived negatively by the people in the home front. Therefore, those who engaged in archeological activity and those who authorized it faced a challenge: to publicize or not?

The first reason for concealing archeological activity would have been the fear of upsetting public opinion back home. Every activity needed to be productive and relevant to the war effort. For that reason the Bulletin of the British Archeological School tried to convince the public that their subscriptions to it "cannot be regarded as 'unpatriotic expenditure'" considering the national value of the school for rendering very special services to the war effort via training "specialists versed in the tongues, the topography and the racial peculiarities of the Near East (…)."[194]

The second reason for concealing archeological activity would have been the fear of being perceived like the Germans, whom the Allies had accused of taking advantage of the war to loot the lands that they occupied. Openly talking about their archeological activities could have turned them into targets for German propaganda and delegitimized Allied activities. For example, the India Office was careful. Writing to the War Office, they argued that archeological activity "raises

[193] British Library, IOR/L/PS/10/742

[194] "Annual Meeting of Subscribers, 1916-1917," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 22 (1916): 217–22."

a large question of the British Government in the eyes of the world. The methods of wholesale pillage pursued by the Germans in territories under their military occupation have been universally condemned, and nowhere more vehemently than in this country. It surely behoves [sic] us scrupulously to avoid any action that could give a pretext for similar charges against ourselves."[195]

Anti-Allied propaganda did take many shapes and reached many different corners of the Earth. An anti-British proclamation published in Hanar, a city in what is now eastern Ethiopia, made the argument that the British wanted to divide the Islamic world, reminding the readers that the British were the enemy who occupied Egypt, and that they considered Muslims as an obstacle to civilization. The writer of the proclamation claims: "Have you forgotten what these enemies of our religion said, 'we shall take the black stone (of Mecca) in a short time to the Museum in Europe and exhibit it.'"[196] This proclamation is surely calling on readers' religious feelings but it is very interesting that they use the practice of removal of historical and religious objects to make their point. The mere thought of uprooting such an important religious object and turning it into a museum object would have been considered sacrilegious. The practice of desecration of many other objects by Europeans clearly had not escaped the eyes of the peoples of Africa and was obviously unwelcome enough to be used in anti-British propaganda.

Despite these reasons that would make Allied officials think twice about publicizing their archeological activities, the scholarly journals are filled with news from the battle fronts regarding such activities. Some of these can be attributed to what I call accidental archeology. Combat can

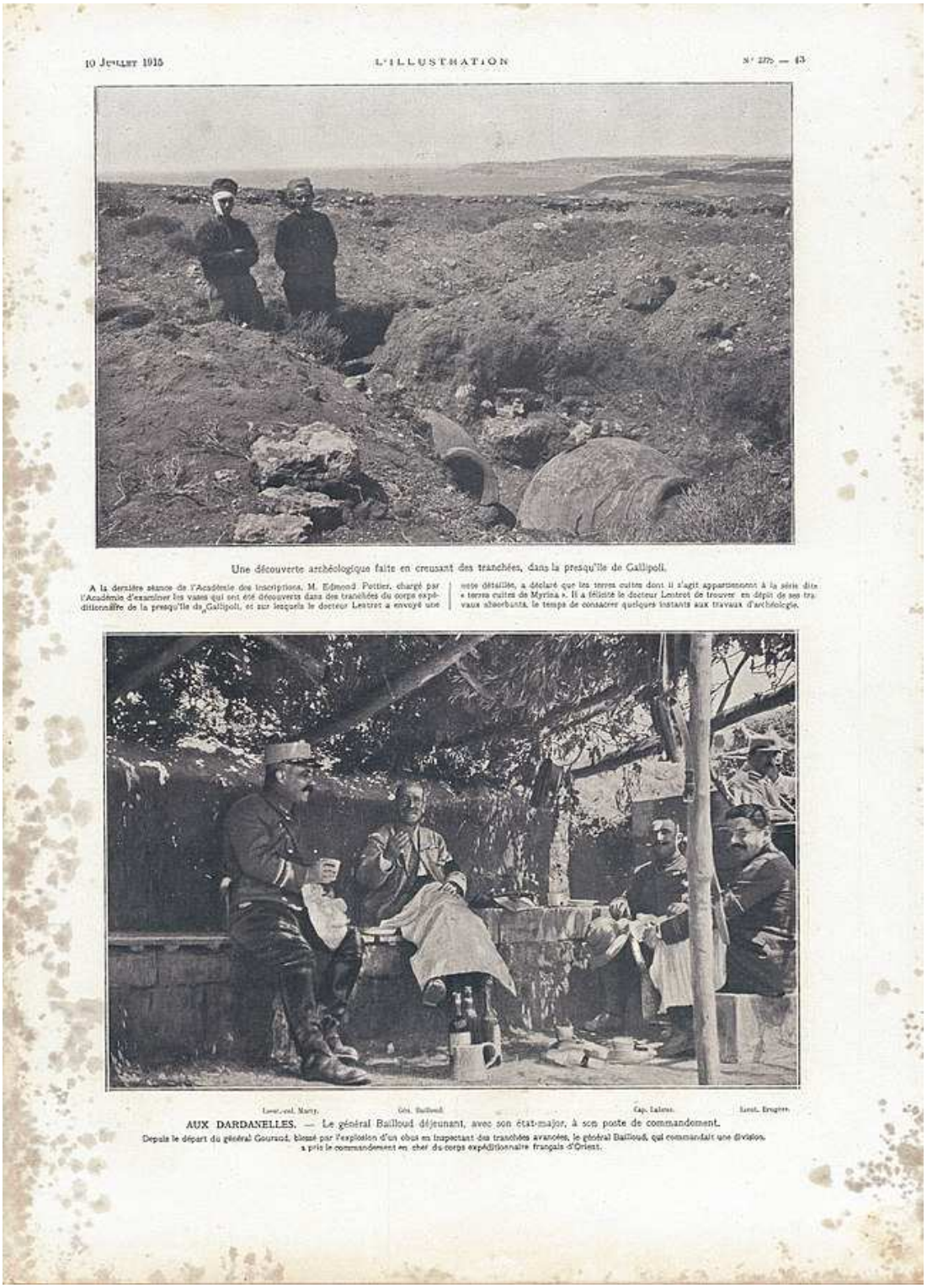
[195] British Library, IOR/L/PS/10/689. September 19, 1918 from Secretary of Eastern Committee to War Office.

[196] British Library, IOR/L/PS/11 94. The British thought this proclamation emanated from Turkish sources and that the document was based on an original fatwa of Seyhulislam (shuyūkh al-Islām) the highest religious official in the Ottoman Empire.

be conducive to archeological finds; digging trenches and exploding bombs could unearth many antiquities that dot the Ottoman lands. For example, as mentioned above, the French Expeditionary force at the Dardanelles opened a number of ancient tombs dated from the third to first centuries B.C.E and found vases and statues when digging trenches in 1915.[197] The digging of another trench in the same campaign led to the discovery of a necropolis. This accidental discovery was turned into a systematic exploration. This scholarly and professional exploration, which was often done under fire, was carried out from July 8 to September 30 and was published in the journal *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique* in a whopping 115-page report.[198]

[197] William N. Bates, "Archaeological News," *American Journal of Archaeology* 20, no. 3 (1916): 357–81, https://doi.org/10.2307/497170.

[198] "Corps Expéditionnaire d'Orient. Fouilles Archéologiques Sur l'emplacement de La Nécropole d'Éléonte de Thrace - Persée," accessed April 27, 2019, https://www.persee.fr/doc/bch_0007-4217_1915_num_39_1_3109?q=Corps+exp%C3%A9ditionnaire+d%27Orient.+Fouilles+arch%C3%A9ologiques+sur+l%27emplacement+de+la+n%C3%A9cropole+d%27%C3%89l%C3%A9onte+de+Thrace+[article]. 9



10 JUILLET 1915 L'ILLUSTRATION N° 2775 — 43

Une découverte archéologique faite en creusant des tranchées, dans la presqu'île de Gallipoli.

A la dernière séance de l'Académie des inscriptions, M. Edmond Pottier, chargé par l'Académie d'examiner les vases qui ont été découverts dans des tranchées du corps expéditionnaire de la presqu'île de Gallipoli, et sur lesquels le docteur Lenoir a envoyé une note détaillée, a déclaré que les terres cuites dont il s'agit appartiennent à la série dite « terres cuites de Myrina ». Il a félicité le docteur Lenoir de trouver, en dépit de ses travaux absorbants, le temps de consacrer quelques instants aux travaux d'archéologie.

Lieut.-col. Marty. Gén. Baillaud. Cap. Lalaux. Lieut. Brugère.

AUX DARDANELLES. — Le général Baillaud déjeunant, avec son état-major, à son poste de commandement.

Depuis le départ du général Gouraud, blessé par l'explosion d'un obus en inspectant des tranchées avancées, le général Baillaud, qui commandait une division, a pris le commandement en chef du corps expéditionnaire français d'Orient.

[Figure 2.11 Pictures from L'Illustration, the picture above shows archeological finds in the trenches taken during the Gallipoli Campaign Jan 10, 1915]

It is therefore easy to conclude that the war and its many setbacks failed to stop archeological activity. Moreover, instead of hiding the archeological activity for various reasons, scholars at least did not stop themselves from publishing their findings. It is possible to claim that there was a tone of pride in these writings; a pride that comes from being able to conduct scholarly work even in the dire circumstances of the war. They also convey a sense that the army has a duty to the lands they occupy that entails unearthing their archaeological heritage. Casson, whose memoirs were mentioned above, wrote about an archeological survey conducted by the Archaeological Section of the Armée d'Orient, both in the *Annual Journal of the British School of Athens* as well as in *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*.[199] In this report, he argues that there should be no hiatus in the complete archeological survey of the area occupied by the Armée d'Orient.

Scholars were not the only ones who publicized their archeological activities, however. In July 1915, the famous and well-circulated French journal *L'Illustration* published pictures from the Gallipoli Campaign, among which is a picture of discoveries made in the trenches by the French soldiers. Likewise, the collecting done by the Greek army in Asia Minor from 1919 to 1922 was covered by not only the Greek press but by the foreign press as well, such as the *New York Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* and *Le Temps*.[200] It is safe to say that both the French during the war and the Greeks after the war were proud of their archeological activities and willing or even eager to show them to the world. These published reports were fashioned to legitimize their belligerent activity, their war aims, and the conquest of new territories.

[199]Stanley Casson, "Note on the Ancient Sites in the Area Occupied by the British Salonika Force during the Campaign 1916-1918," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 40, no. 1 (1916): 293–97, https://doi.org/10.3406/bch.1916.1479.

[200] Pavli, "For the benefit of the Greek 'Great Idea.'"

Conclusion

When the guns fell silent, there was no single agreed-upon plan regarding the future of the Ottoman lands. Of course, there were secret agreements signed between France, Italy, Russia, Greece, and Great Britain during the war that made territorial promises. The British promised lands to the Hashemites and with the Balfour Declaration promised the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. These conflicting promises paved way for post-war re-negotiations. When the Paris Peace Conference opened on 19 January 1919, the Allies set up a special body called "The Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey" to settle the issues created by the secret treaties they had signed between 1915 and 1917. However, the Peace Conference itself contributed to the confusion as the Conference allotted to Greece Western Asia Minor, including Izmir. This went against the Agreement of St.-Jean-de-Maurienne, thus setting Italians and Greeks against each other.

This chapter showed how the parties to those agreements tried to shape the territorial division of the Ottoman Empire to their benefit using measures other than diplomacy at the Conference table and in the newly established League of Nations. The main alternative was military occupation, in which British, French, and Italians all engaged in the Ottoman lands as these debates were ongoing. However, these military occupations were accompanied by archeological missions and employed various narratives regarding the past and the antiquities to strengthen their positions both on the ground and at the diplomatic tables. War and occupation provided the Allies the opportunities to occupy Ottoman lands and excavate, collect, and send home the antiquities they found there. They used these activities to establish their legitimacy (as

belligerents and as occupiers) and make territorial claims vis-à-vis the Ottomans and other Allies. They emphasized the civilizational and humanitarian aspects of their undertakings and the territorial meanings of the archeology. Not only did museological and archeological activities serve as a marker for the transfer of territorial sovereignty from the Ottoman Empire to the Allies, it also caused the expulsion of all the other archaeologists from their excavations in zones that each power got to occupy.

War also required the Allies to establish new methods and institutions regarding interaction with the cultural property. But they had to be careful, as wartime events such as the German bombing of Belgium's cultural property started to change the public perception of European archeological activities. Just like the Ottomans, the Allies used archeology as a weapon against their enemies (and even against each other, over their clashing territorial and historical claims) and as a propaganda tool towards their own citizens. Moreover, the Allies willingly broke the international law regarding cultural property in times of war. Nonetheless, the promise of future ownership of these lands, together with changing public opinion, made them act in a more cautious manner, but not cautious enough to disregard exceptional opportunities provided by the war.

Chapter III

Occupation and the City: Uses of Urban Space and History in Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918-1923

Introduction

On December 12, 1922, General Charpy replied to the head of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, Halil Bey, who had recently inquired about French excavations in the city: "[F]ar from having destroyed and sacked [the city] during its stay here, the French Occupational Corps made an effort to contribute to the beautification of your admirable city and not only responded to the charitable needs of your refugees, but also used the means which it had at its disposal for excavations, for the supplementation of the patrimony of art, which constitutes the fame of your capital."[201]

[201] Quoted in Wendy Shaw's Possessors and Possessed, 216. This is after the treaty of Sevres signed August 10, 1920 that conditionally left Constantinople to the Ottomans. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*.

The Allied occupation of Istanbul was a curious one.[202] There was no siege or immediate fighting to take the city,[203] and the occupation lasted five years in total, including de facto occupation from 1918-1920 and a de jure occupation from 1920 to 1923. While there was no formal fighting during the occupation, the Allied administration tried hard to keep the city under its control and to implement the armistice article regarding disarmament. With time, their jobs became even more difficult as the Greco-Turkish War ensued in Asia Minor. Nor was there any apparent Allied intention of keeping the city. If we are to believe General Charpy, the occupiers even contributed to its beautification. Nonetheless, Allied forces ended up ruling the city for five years. In this chapter I ask how the occupiers and the occupied conceptualized and interacted with the urban space and the city's history. Moreover, I ask how the city was transformed by the war and Allied occupation. I focus on the relationship between the city's physical space and the occupying forces, as well as between the cityscape and the Muslim dwellers who made up the

[202] The Allies officially evacuated the city on October 2, 1923, four years, ten months and nineteen days after the de facto occupation and three years, six months and sixteen days after the de jure occupation. Turkish forces from Anatolia took over the city and made it a part of the new Turkish nation-state. The city lost its status as a capital city to Ankara in the following week.

[203] See for example documents in Kew, FO 286/756, for Allied displeasure of both Greeks and Turkish nationalists using Istanbul as a supply base for arms. This file includes documents on plans in case of disturbances, and map dropping competition. "Consulate and Legation, Greece (formerly Ottoman Empire): General Correspondence. Correspondence: Territorial Expansion 11 to 2250," April 1921, Foreign Office 286/ 756, National Archives, Kew, London.

slight majority of the city's population.[204] Here I mean those Muslims who started to see themselves as ethnic Turks starting from the late nineteenth century.[205]

Cities also played an important role in creating identities. From the nineteenth century onward, as the technology for capturing and using visual representations developed, Istanbul was used by the Ottoman state to communicate its power and ideology, both to its citizens and the world. Decisions regarding the city's administration, monuments, and image are therefore extremely important in terms of claiming sovereignty over the capital and the rest of the state. Accordingly, the Ottomans from this period on developed their capital along the lines of state-of-the-art theories and technologies, while at the same time recreating the capital and empire's past. Faced with the possibility of losing their capital city in the late nineteenth century onwards (which meant the possibility of losing their sovereignty and becoming a colony), the Ottomans adopted an Islamic and Turkish outlook in their relationship with the past.

The European occupiers were not complete strangers to the city. Istanbul had played a role in the religious and historical imaginations of many Europeans for centuries, particularly in the nineteenth century as Europeans gained economic influence in the city. Accordingly, the chapter starts with section 1 which is a historical survey of the qualities of the city that made the city alluring for millennia. I outline the geographic, military, commercial, and cultural qualities and

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[204] Servet Mutlu, "Late Ottoman Population and Its Ethnic Distribution," *Turkish Journal of Population Studies* 25 (2003): 3–38. According to this latest article the population in 1914 was the following: Muslims 560,434, Greeks 205,762, Armenians 84,093, Others 59,689 and total was 909,978. However, since population numbers was and is a controversial issue there are different takes. For most influential sources on the population question see:
Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Turkish and Ottoman Studies (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983);
Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, no. 3 (1978): 325–38.

[205] There were other Muslims in the city such as Arabs, Kurds, Albanians and so on.

delve on the religious importance of the city by two monotheistic religions, Christianity and Islam. Section 2 is about Allied Occupation in the twentieth century because, once Europeans became occupiers, they had to establish a new relationship with Istanbul and legitimize their presence there. This was not an easy relationship to figure out; the city was neither colonial, nor sovereign. Moreover, the occupiers were plagued by political, economic, and military problems. This chapter explores these challenges and argues that, even though the city provided the Allies with many opportunities, including archeological endeavors, the Allied occupation was filled with confusion and internal conflict. I ask, therefore: What kinds of symbols and tools did the occupiers and the occupied use in response to the occupation? By "response" I include resisting, enabling, accommodating, adapting and legitimizing the occupation. My answer comprises an examination of the use of urban space, including the built environment, by both occupiers and occupied. I also address both changes to the city and the changing relationship between the city, its past, and its inhabitants. Therefore, this chapter looks at the city as an active site where the occupiers and the occupied negotiate using the deployment of the cityscape, its history and its monuments.

The situation on the ground in 1918

In the early twentieth century, say in 1914, middle class Constantinopolitans could go from one of the city's outer suburbs Makriköy (present day Bakırköy) to a department store in Pera (present day Beyoğlu) by taking a train[206] to Sirkeci station[207] and then catching a tram that passed through the bridge on the Golden Horn filled with porters, merchants, and bureaucrats speaking many different languages, and wearing diverse clothing styles. The air would have been filled with

[206] Railways built by Belgian Baron Maurice de Hirsch. For a biography of Baron de Hirsch see "Baron Maurice de Hirsch," accessed August 30, 2019, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/baron-maurice-de-hirsch.

[207] Sirkeci stop was built by German architect August Jasmund. For a detailed article on Jasmund see Mehmet Yavuz, "Mimar August Jasmund Hakkinda Bilmediklerimiz," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 8 (April 2004): 181–205.

the fresh smell of the sea mixed in with burnt smells of soot coming from recent fires and coal smoke from the ferries. They would have passed through theaters, cafes, and parks, perhaps pausing to chat about the recent sporting events at the local clubs.[208] On the way back, they could have visited the museum behind the train station. If they hurried, they could be home before the street lights turned on. All this was possible because the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the global economy, technological innovations, and recent local and global political developments had changed the city.

[208] See for example,Murat Cihan Yildiz, "Strengthening Male Bodies and Building Robust Communities: Physical Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire" (University of California, Los Angeles, 2015), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4mw253hf.

[Figure 3.1 Necip Bey Map showing the Old City, Pera, and Uskudar to Kadıköy. 1918 http://www.istanbulurbandatabase.com/]

Urban Reconstruction

The transformation of the city was concomitant with the political and social transformations of the Ottoman Empire. The *Hatt-ı Serif* of Humayun (also known as *Tanzimat Fermanı*), which was promulgated by the Ottoman government in 1839, promised equality to all and guaranteed the rule of law. The state was the instigator and executor of these modern promises

to its people. Similarly, it was the Ottoman state that initiated the first serious attempt to reorganize Istanbul. A building regulation that encompassed principles prevalent in Europe at the time came into force the same year that the *Hatt-ı Serif* was implemented. This, like many regulations and plans that would follow, stipulated modern principles that widened, regularized, and paved roads. It also introduced public spaces and squares. Moreover, this regulation insisted on government supervision of building activities.[209] Therefore the state started to reorganize the city together with the rest of the empire with new laws and regulations. By changing the city, the Ottoman governmental elite wanted to show their power over and win the hearts and minds of its citizens and the respect of other states.

There were multiple attempts to regulate the cityscape like 1848 Buildings Regulation (Ebniye Nizamnamesi), 1863 Roads and Buildings Regulation (Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi) and the Docks Regulation (Rıhtımlar Nizamnamesi), and 1882 Buildings Law (Ebniye Kanunu).[210] The Ottoman government also set up a municipal apparatus, despite the immense human and financial costs of the wars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For example, Cemil Topuzlu, who was at the head of the Istanbul Municipality between 1912-1914 and 1919-1920, and others who followed him undertook many steps to improve and order the city. During the

[209] It is important to note that this regulation was found and published by Osman Nuri Ergin in 1922, which suggests an active interest in not only the urban development of Istanbul but also its history. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*, 9 vols. (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1914-1922).

[210] Murat Gul, *Modern Istanbul'un Doğuşu: Bir Şehrin Dönüşümù Ve Modernizasyon*, trans. Busra Helvacioglu (Istanbul: Sel Yayincilik, 2015). 53.

Balkan wars (1912-1913)[211], Topuzlu tried to make a detailed plan of the city[212], expand the narrow streets of Istanbul, create public parks, expropriate areas damaged by fires, introduce public toilets, and institute an effective garbage collection system. In his second term, he continued his endeavors, even as the city was under occupation.

These undertakings were unevenly applied to the city, with varying degrees of success. The Ottoman capital did not have a functioning, unified municipality system[213] or proper infrastructure throughout this period.[214] For example, the aforementioned Constantinopolitan would have had to rent a horse carriage to go to the train station and back, for the tram system was not extensive. He or she would also have had to deal with his or her own garbage, and to have had a well to supply water at home. Most of the houses in Istanbul were built of wood and the streets were narrow and unpaved, which led to many fires. Unpaved roads disrupted transportation, and narrow streets also disallowed installation of new transportation technologies such as the tramways. Moreover, the animals used for transportation contributed to public health problems of the city. Therefore, the city was particularly vulnerable to fires and diseases, despite having some of the trappings of a modern capital city.

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[211] The term "Balkan Wars" refers to two sets of wars. First one was between the Ottoman Empire and its Balkan neighbors Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. The Ottoman Empire was defeated and had to give up most of its Balkan possessions away. The second one was initially between the Balkan states themselves; Greece, Montenegro, Serbia and Romania attacked Bulgaria, but the Ottoman Empire got involved as well to recover lost territories in the previous war.

[212] For plans of the city just before the war, see Irfan Dagdelen, ed., *Alman Mavileri 1913-1914 1.Dünya Savaşı Öncesi Istanbul Haritaları* (Istanbul: Istanbul Buyuksehir Kultur A.S., 2017).

[213] Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yillik Hâtiralarim* (Istanbul: Güven, 1951): 111. Cemil Topuzlu argues that Istanbul did not have a proper plan or a map. This is not entirely correct. Since the 18th century there were many, mostly Europeans, who drew plans of the city. See Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul : Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986) for more information.

[214] Cemil Topuzlu complained that Istanbul did not even had "scientifically built sewers" in the early twentieth century, Cemil Topuzlu, 109. `

The vulnerability of the city was heightened by the wars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 onward, hundreds of thousands of people migrated to Istanbul from lost Ottoman territories.[215] During and after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, the city housed hundreds of thousands of refugees coming from the Balkans[216] and faced many dangerous epidemics, such as the cholera epidemic brought by the Ottoman soldiers fighting Bulgars during the war.[217] Fires destroyed one-sixth of the city[218] and local fire department services were inadequate.[219] Fires created thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of *harikzades*, or "fire victims," who joined the growing number of refugees on the streets of Istanbul seeking food and shelter. This in turn worsened the housing problem. The refugee problem increased with World War I as Ottoman Armenians and Rum[220] fled genocide inflicted by the Ottoman state and White Russians fled the violence of the Russian Revolution and subsequent civil war. Fires[221], combined with the capital's population growth, also created security problems. For example, a

[215] Murat Gül, *Modern Istanbul'un Doğuşu: Bir Şehrin Dönüşümù Ve Modernizasyon*, trans. F. Bursra Helvacıoğlu, (Istanbul: Sel Yayıcılık, 2015): 77. He argues that in 1885, the population of Istanbul increased from 382,376 to 873,875 in only three years.

[216] 400,000 Muslim refugees arrived from the former Ottoman territories as a result of the Balkan Wars. According to Aksakal the Balkan Wars "intensified Ottoman and Muslim feelings of vulnerability, sense of violation, and revenge". Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914 : The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, Cambridge Military Histories (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 23.

[217] See Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yillik Hâtiralarim* (Istanbul: Güven, 1951): 159.

[218] "Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye Zabıtnamesi, 1337-1338, Matba-i Bahriye, 1339-1923". "Bugün Istanbul'un altıda birinden biraz fazlası yangın yeridir. yani Istanbul'da 2.800.000 m2 arazi yangın mahalidir. ve 13 senede yanan evlerin adedi de 20.000dir. Bugün Istanbul'da mevcut olan mebaninin miktarı da 120.000dir." "Today a little more than one in sixth of Istanbul is a fire scene. So, 2,800,00 m2 land in Istanbul is a fire scene. And the number of houses burnt in the last 13 years is 20,000. The number of buildings that exist in Istanbul today is 120,000."

[219] Cemil Topuzlu, *80 Yillik Hâtiralarim* (Istanbul: Güven): 112-11,3 and "Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye Zabıtnamesi, 1337-1338, Matba-i Bahriye, 1339-1923".

[220] Rum refers to Ottoman citizens of ethnic Greek origin and of Greek-Orthodox Christian faith.

[221] See Sefika Surucu, "Istanbul Yangınları 1900-1923," Unpublished BA thesis (Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakultesi, 1978).

member of the General Assembly of Istanbul Municipality (Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye), Yuvanaki Efendi, relayed his experience of being attacked and robbed by bandits in the fire-ravaged Fatih neighborhood.[222] Rising delinquency and prostitution was extensively documented by the resident Americans as well; the authors of the great Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople (published in 1922) devoted many chapters to the social and criminal problems of Istanbul under occupation.

The wars drained economic and human resources[223] that would have dealt with the upkeep of the city.[224] The Ottoman government was largely unable to cope with the needs of the city, so much so that it had to accept financial control by the occupiers.[225] This was the case because the empire was in a state of war since 1911 (first with the Italians and later with various Balkan states)

[222] "Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye Zabıtnamesi, 1337-1338, Matba-i Bahriye, 1339-1923". "Yuvanaki efendi: Vasi bir mülk elyevm harab bir halde olduğu gibi bunun 20 sene bu halde kalacağını tahmin ediyorum. Bugün ahali pek meyus bir haldedir. Harik mahallerini şimdiki hallerine terk edecek olursak yalnız bazı ailelerin meskensiz kalmasını değil, bunun başka bir cihetten de mahzuru vardır. O da harik mahallerindeki yollardan geçenlerin maruz bulundukları muhataradır. Hatta bendeniz bir sene evvel buna maruz kaldım. Fatih harik mahallinden geçerken üzerime eşkiya hücum etti" "Yuvanaki effendi: Today a large number of properties are in ruins and I predict they will stay that way for 20 years. Today the people are crestfallen. If we are to leave the neighborhoods burnt by the fires as they are this will not only make some families homeless, but it should be avoided for another reason as well. That is, the perils lurking for those who happen to pass by from those destroyed neighborhoods. As a matter of fact, I myself was exposed to this danger a year ago. When I was passing through Fatih fire scene, I have been attacked by bandits."

[223] "Decrypts of intercepted diplomatic communications," 16 December 1920, Kew, HW 12/17. For a detailed report about financial crisis in Turkey.

[224] There are numerous references to the impossibility of rebuilding the city with the current budget of the municipality in "Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye Zabıtnamesi, 1337-1338, Matba-i Bahriye, 1339-1923". For example: "emanetin ise milyonlarca liraya baliğ olacak bu masarıfı tesviye ile yolları ve lağımları yaptırması bundan on sene sonra da hakikate inkilap edemeyecek bir hayaldir." And "Böyle büyük bir felaket geçiren bir şehir yalnız şehremanetinin varidatıyla imar ve tezyin edilemez, bu mümkün değildir" "To argue that the municipality would gradually construct roads and sewers that would cost millions of liras in a decade or even after a decade is a sheer dream that does not correspond to the reality." And "It is impossible to reconstruct and adorn a city which been through a disaster by the income of the municipality alone."

[225] Due to harsh financial circumstances Ottomans accepted financial control. "Decrypts of intercepted diplomatic communications," 25 January 1921, 7 November 1920, Kew, HW 12/17 shows the question of institution of the allied finance commission.

and lost a lot of tax-yielding territories as a result of these wars. Moreover, the wars thinned out the manpower to run the city and some of those who remained were reluctant to cooperate with the occupiers.[226] As a result, the haphazard and under-staffed infrastructural projects implemented by the government failed to meet the needs of most ordinary Constantinopolitans, let alone the incoming refugees. This problematic state was a constant both during the war years (1914-1918) and the occupation period (1918-1923) and represents an important continuity between these two historical periods.

New Technologies and a New Relationship with the Past

The Ottoman capital was the showcase in which new spaces and technologies were first introduced and used to legitimize the Ottoman state and to enhance its local and global prestige. For example, during the reign of Abdülhamit II (1876-1909) new spaces like factories and secular girls' schools were depicted via photography, one of the new technologies of the nineteenth century, to demonstrate how the empire was keeping up with the times and taking care of its citizens by providing goods and services.[227] Abdülhamit II also used official ceremonies and religious iconography to create a state ideology that emphasized his role as caliph. He engaged in what Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger called the "invention of tradition," creating a state with a glorious Islamic past and quasi-mythical founders who commanded loyalty and respect. He was not the only one who was engaged in inventing pasts. During this time of anxiety and significant

[226] For example, in a document written by General Milne to British High Commissioner in Istanbul on February 14, 1919 accepts that there is passive resistance to their occupation everywhere. "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 14 February 1919, National Archives, Kew, London, FO 608/102.

[227] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains : Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1998).

change, many Ottomans used several technologies and practices to develop new relationships with the past and with their capital city.

For example, the Ottoman Imperial Museum declared the empire's strong hold on its territories and indicated that Ottomans were "civilized" men who respected and protected history.[228] Another new institution, the Council for Ottoman History[229] (Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni),[230] contributed to the development of the "glorious Turkic past" narrative with its activities and publications.[231] The newspapers and journals that commanded larger audiences were also working on forging new connections with the past. According to historian Ahmet Ersoy, Ottoman illustrated journals aimed to expand and popularize historical knowledge by periodically providing images of historic monuments (called 'national images'). Publication of these images, "with the layered sense of temporality it evoked," contributed to the rise of popular engagement with history in an active and imaginative manner.[232] He also points out that these journals specifically published photographs of major Istanbul monuments and public spaces in an attempt to forge a collective sense of historical topography.

[228] See Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Possessors and Possessed : Objects, Museums, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire," PhD diss., (University of California, Los Angeles, 1999). for a detailed history of this museum.

[229] See "TÂRÎH-i OSMÂNÎ ENCÜMENİ - TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi," accessed July 18, 2019, https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tarih-i-osmani-encumeni.

[230] It is important to note that these new institutions were established in Istanbul first. Similar ones followed both in the capital and elsewhere in the empire.

[231] Ümit Kurt and Doğan Gürpınar, "The Young Turk Historical Imagination in the Pursuit of Mythical Turkishness and Its Lost Grandeur (1911–1914)," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 14`, no. 4 (February 3, 2016): 560–74.

[232] Ahmet A. Ersoy, "Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals," *History of Photography* 40, no. 3 (September 13, 2016): 330–57.

In the late nineteenth century, issues regarding history, belonging, and ownership of the Ottoman lands gained urgency. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Istanbul faced many days in which the fall of the city seemed not only possible but also imminent. Russians during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1878 and Bulgars during the Balkan Wars threatened to take the city. Later, during the Gallipoli Campaign of World War I, the Allies almost managed to reach the city. Moreover, the Constantinople Agreement, revealed by the Bolsheviks in 1917 to include promises by the British and French to hand over the city to the Russians, added to Constantinopolitans' fear of losing their city. The Bulgarian advance even prompted a heated debate in the Ottoman press regarding the possibility of moving the capital to a safer location. It also paved the way for the invented tradition of the celebration of the fall/conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans in the fifteenth century.[233] According to historian Mehmet O. Alkan, the Committee of Union and Progress started to celebrate the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans in 1910, but this celebration only started to appear in newspapers in 1914.[234] The anxiety over the possibility of losing the capital city is also evident in the destruction of a Russian monument. This monument was built by Russians in 1898 to commemorate the 1876-77 war's fallen soldiers.[235] This monument was located in Ayestanos (Yeşilköy), just outside the city borders. Its

[233] Mehmet Ö Alkan, "Ne Zamandan Beri Istanbul'un Fethi Kutlanıyor Ve Ayasofya'nın Camiye Çevrilmesi Isteniyor?," *Toplumsal Tarih* 272 (August 2016). *82.* The CUP started organizing these celebrations in 1910 but it started to grab massive media attention in 1914 onwards.

[234] The name of the conqueror was already in the Ottoman elite agenda as one of the dreadnaughts ordered by the Ottoman government to British and bought in 1913 was meant to be Fatih. Others were meant to be Osman and Reşadiye.

[235] Dilek Kaya Mutlu, "The Russian Monument at Ayastefanos (San Stefano): Between Defeat and Revenge, Remembering and Forgetting,"," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 1 (January 2007): 75–86.

destruction was considered such an important act that it was comissioned to be filmed by Fuat Ozkinay and is considered the first "Turkish" film.[236]

The commemorations of the conquest became even more glamorous due to the Gallipoli Campaign, as the threat of losing the city became even more of a possibility. These elaborate ceremonies, called "the national celebration" (Ihtilaf-ı Milli), started in Hagia Sophia with prayers, continued into Fatih Mosque, and passed through Divan Yolu and Beyazıt Square. Leading the crowds were three men dressed in Janissary garb (one of whom was the head of the Military Museum) followed by the organization committee and various military units. In Fatih Mosque, the first built by Fatih Sultan Mehmet and where his tomb stands, notables made speeches and participants prayed. These individuals included students and representatives from various associations, such as Turkish Hearth (Türk Ocağı), Muslim Traders Association (Müslüman Tüccar Cemiyeti), and the Navy Association (Donanma Derneği). Some continued to visit the cemetery of the soldiers who fell during the Ottoman siege, which is located near the city gate where Fatih Sultan Mehmet entered the city. Based on the descriptions of the path of the parade, and the fact that later meetings were held at this venue, it is possible that it also passed by the Monument for Fallen Ottoman Aeronauts (Tayyare Şehitleri Anıtı), which was started in 1914, finished in 1916, and reinforced the notion of continuous sacrifices made for the Empire. Along with all this symbolism, the Ottoman newspapers that reported on these celebrations called Istanbul the "new Kaʿba" comparing it to the holy site of Islam that attracts millions of devotees every year to perform the required service of hajj. This comparison to holy pilgrimage underscored

[236] In 2016 there was talk of rebuilding this monument as a result of rapprochement between Turkish and Russian governments. "Turkey Moves to Rebuild San Stefano Russian Monument in Istanbul - Turkey News," accessed July 18, 2019, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-moves-to-rebuild-san-stefano-russian-monument-in-istanbul--97191.

the perceived importance of the conquest not only for Ottomans but also for the whole Islamic world.[237]

Anxiety over a possible occupation of the city thus manifested itself on the streets of the city in the form of parades, celebrations of the Ottoman conquest, and the building and destruction of public monuments that represented the soldiers who died in pursuit of the city. This anxiety was harnessed by the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) and demonstrated by and large by the Muslim populations of the capital. Performances were reported by newspapers after spreading to the rest of the city and the empire. These narratives and images were designed to justify the loss of lives, massacres, genocide, hunger and disease of the war, and to remind the peoples of the empire that there was once a glorious past (however imagined) that could be achieved again. To the citizens of the capital, these public movements were designed to declare their rightful ownership of the city and to resist an Allied occupation.

Allied Occupation and the Use of City Space

The armistice that was signed between the Allies and the Ottomans aboard a British battleship, quite aptly named the HMS Agamemnon,[238] on October 30, 1918 included Article VII, which declared the "right to occupy any strategic points in the event of any situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies." Ten days later, the de facto Allied occupation of Istanbul occurred. However, it took place under drastically different circumstances than previous

[237] Alkan, "Ne Zamandan Beri Istanbul'un Fethi Kutlanıyor Ve Ayasofya'nın Camiye Çevrilmesi Isteniyor?" 83-86.

[238] Agamemnon was the name of the commander of the Greek armies during the Trojan War as it was told in Illiad. The name of this battleship, which fought also during the Gallipoli Campaign, reflects the British reverence for ancient Greek culture. Reflects British state's reverence for symbolism

occupations of Istanbul.[239] First of all, there was no siege or immediate fighting that occurred to take the city. Thus, the city was not physically damaged by the Allied takeover in 1918 and there were no casualties on either side. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, unlike the Latins and Ottomans in the past, the Allies had no open or official intention of holding onto the city, even though there were multiple plans for its future. Therefore, they presumably foresaw no immediate benefits to making changes to the city and its urban space. However, their presence in the city, as well the material and social repercussions of this presence, made a lasting but rarely recognized impact on the cityscape and its peoples.

[Figure 3.2 British sailors keeping watch over Boshorous and the Golden Horn from Galata Tower. The Allied navy ships are visible at the entrance of the Golden Horn. Imperial War Museum, Ministry of Information First World War Official Collection. Catalogue number Q14451]

The de facto occupation in 1918 was carried out by Allied military representatives.[240] British, French, American, Italian, and Greek navy vessels arrived in the city and stayed

[239] Istanbul was occupied only twice by foreign forces in its history. The first one was during the fourth Crusade in 1204 by an alliance of European forces. The second one occurred in 1453 by the Ottomans under Mehmed II, the Conqueror.

[240] Britain's representative was Sir Somerset Arthur Gough Calthorpe, Italy's Count Carlo Sforza, France's Admiral Amet and United States' Consul and Comissioner was G. Bie Ravndal. Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation, 1918-1923*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, v. 17 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 1999), 60. There was a Japanese representation in the city as well. Ambassador extraordinaire and high commissioner S. Sawada and military attaché T. Kobayashi. CADN IMG 2737 NOV7 2016)

throughout the occupation to reduce the possibility of an open resistance to the occupation.[241] In 1919 the Supreme Council in the Paris Peace Conference decided to establish a new body, that of High Commissioners, that was responsible for the occupation, in addition to the Allied military representatives. The High Commissioners of Great Britain, France, Greece, and Italy (and later the United States) were in charge of territories and of the inter-Allied Control and its commissions, including bodies for Police, Sanitary, Food, and Prisons, as well as the Censorship Bureau and Control of Telegrams, inter-Allied Requisition, and the Passport Bureau.[242] The Allies also divided up the city among themselves.

The Allies partitioned the city based on the respective power of each member.[243] The British acquired the most economically and politically significant parts of the city: Pera and Galata, for example, were the most important business centers of the city with large foreign and non-Muslim Ottoman population.[244] They also were in charge of the Besiktas and Yıldız neighborhoods, where the Ottoman palaces stood. These regions were the most modernized parts of the city in terms of urban planning and services. The French took over the southern neighborhoods, such as Bakırköy, strategically controlling entry to the Marmara Sea. The French were also in control of the Old City, which housed a high concentration of Muslims (along with housing Armenian and Greek populations in the areas around their respective patriarchates and

[241] See Atilla Oral, *Işgalden Kurtuluşa Istanbul* (Istanbul: Demkar Yayınevi, 2013). 8 for a detailed description of the entry of British, French, Italian and Greek military ships to Istanbul, their names and where they anchored.

[242] See Clarence Richard Johnson, ed., *Constantinople Today: The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922). 112. A little bit more on this is necessary. See "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 14 February 1919, Kew, FO 608/102 for a report on the conditions of prisons in Constantinople.

[243] To the best of my knowledge, there was no agreement put on paper regarding this division. Therefore, it is hard to understand who was making the decisions at any given time.

[244] See Stanford J. Shaw, *From Empire to Republic: The Turkish War of National Liberation 1918-1923: A Documentary Study*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000). 145.

Jews living near the Golden Horn). The British might have decided, or might have been forced by their allies, to stay out of the Old City, for the British were considered by and large as the archenemy of the (Muslim) Ottomans during the war, and the other Allied powers may have feared a British presence would cause resentment.[245] Compared to the others, the Italians were relegated to the economically and politically less important parts, particularly the Asian neighborhoods. Nevertheless, possession of the Asian side of the city gave the Italians control over access routes to the Asia Minor.

Istanbul became a stage for the enactment of rivalries among Britain, France, and Italy that mirrored greater disagreements over the eventual shape of the post-war order. During the period under consideration (1918-1923), the political fates of most of the Ottoman lands, such as the Levant, were decided in conferences, treaties, and in some cases on the battlefields during conflicts between occupying countries and nationalists. Disagreements between the British and the French about the future of Greater Syria, and among the British, French and Italians about the future of southern Asia Minor and Istanbul, shaped the relationships between the occupying powers in Istanbul. For example, as late as 1921, the Italian High Commissioner wrote to Rome about his fear that the British intended to turn Istanbul into "a kind of second Egypt".[246]

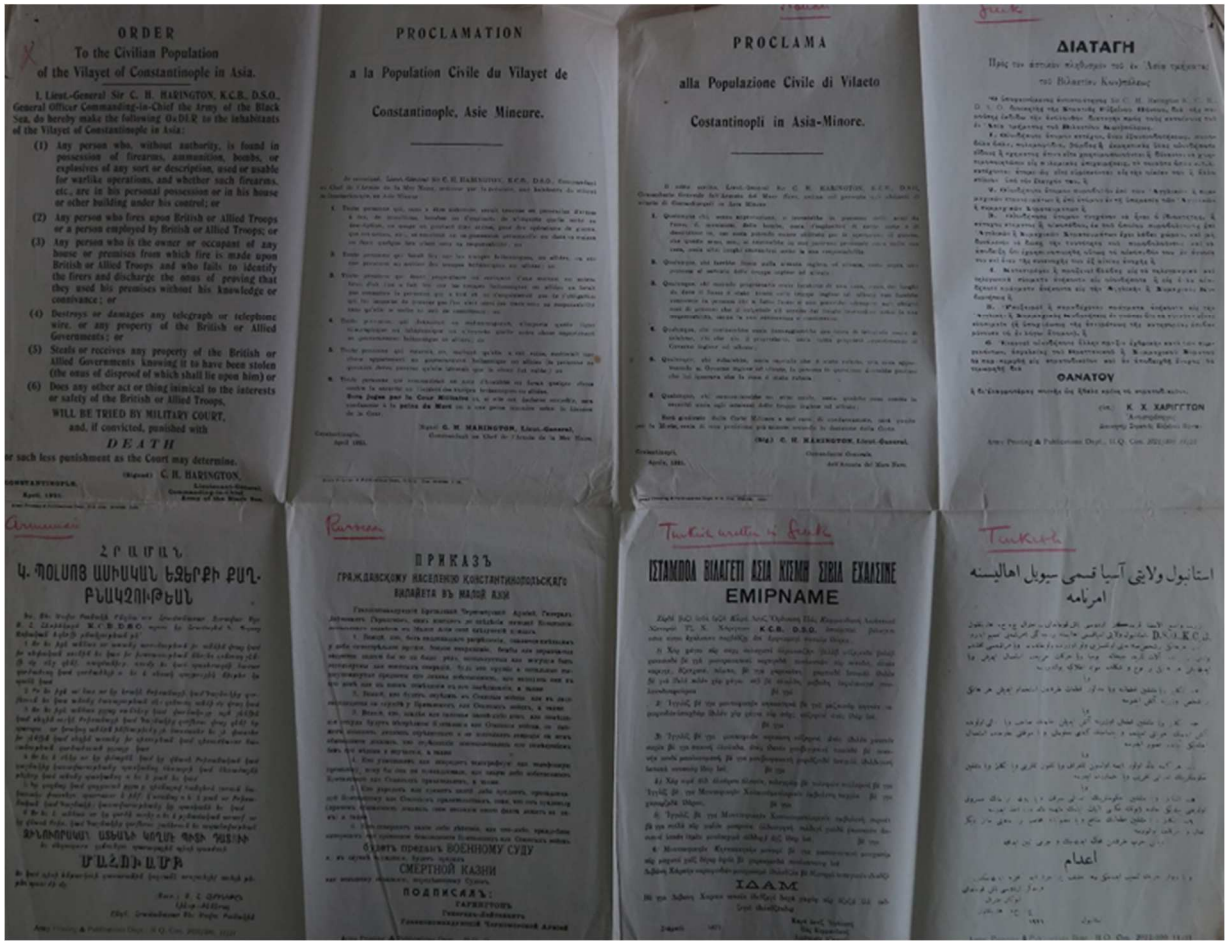
[245] This opinion lasted throughout the occupation it seems. We see close relationships with French and the Ottoman officers such as opening of the Pierre Loti house in the Old City during the occupation.

[246] Telegraph intercepted by the British government, "Decrypts of intercepted diplomatic communications," 4 February 1921, Kew, HW 12/19. Egypt was a de facto protectorate of British from 1882 to 1914.

[Figure 3.3 Photograph shows British troops marching by Nusretiye Mosque in the Tophane district of Istanbul. 1920. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c39313 Library of Congress]

The division of the city, however, was not an absolute one. Due to logistical problems, including the lack of housing to accommodate all of the occupying soldiers, forces were deployed in the city in a way that did not follow the Allies' lines of demarcation /division. The Allied soldiers also patrolled the streets mostly in mixed groups of military personnel belonging to different occupying countries which also included Ottoman police officers. Lack of absolute division and distribution of responsibility also reflected the feelings of uncertainty among the occupiers. For

example, in 1919, British General Milne[247] pointed out that the Allies did not know "exactly where lies their source *(of power)*, and upon whom should be laid the responsibilities".[248]



[Figure 3.4 Proclamation issued by the Allied Occupation in Istanbul (in 6 languages (English, French, Italian, Armenian, Russian, and Greek) Kew, WO93/96) regarding prohibition of carrying firearms]

American and Greek forces did not have an assigned part of the city. The Americans, who were a relatively small force, were stationed all over the city, including the Old City. This was

[247] "Milne, George Francis, First Baron Milne (1866–1948), Army Officer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed September 11, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35034.

[248] "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 14 February 1919, Kew, FO 608/102

through their mostly civilian and charitable institutions. The public resentment that might have kept the British out of the Old City may have been beneficial for the Americans, for they were able to open a school, a hospital[249], a Bible house, a YMCA, and a YWCA in Divanyolu. Americans enjoyed the reputation of being disinterested in empire-building and this made their presence more acceptable. It also helped that Americans had the economic resources to alleviate the problems that Istanbul was experiencing at the time. The British were not completely banished from the Old City, however. When the de jure occupation of the city began in 1920, it was the British soldiers who occupied key institutional structures, such as the Ottoman Ministry of War. Buildings occupied in the Old City were also used as British barracks. Hakkı Sunata, who was a student at Istanbul University during the occupation, remembered the allocation of half of a university building to Indian Muslim troops of the British army. However, due to fraternization between Muslim Indians and Muslim Ottomans there, they were replaced with Sikh Indian troops.[250] This replacement points towards another layer of complexity in the spatial organization of the occupied city, in which the lines dividing the occupiers and the occupied were not neatly drawn along religious, ethnic, or even colonial categories.

These and other spatial and institutional arrangements, such as establishing control over passports and the press, took a long time to figure out and were fiercely debated among the Allies between November 1918 and March 1920.[251] For example, in June 1919 when the Italians proposed the establishment of a provisional tribunal for civil and commercial cases between

[249] American Admiral Bristol Hospital moved to Nişantaşı on August 20, 1920 and it survives to this day as a reputable private hospital, albeit the name of Admiral Bristol was dropped from its name.

[250] I. Hakkı Sunata, *Istanbul'da Işgal Yılları* (Türkiye Iş Bankası Yayınları, 2006). 101-102.

[251] There are multiple books and theses about the Allied administrative establishment such as books of Nur Bilge Criss, Stanford J. Shaw Devrim Vardar, Atilla Oral, and Mümin Yıldıztas therefore I chose not to provide a detailed account of these.

foreigners and Ottomans, the British declined at first, arguing the need to wait for the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Turkey.[252] Even after the establishment of the inter-Allied tribunals, the inadequate legal procedures and disagreements about their administration created tensions among the Allies. The Ottoman administration's semi-symbiotic, semi-inferior, and not well-defined relationship with the inter-Allied administration contributed to these tensions. Despite being able to put together an intricate inter-Allied administration to deal with sanitation,[253] business contracts, legal complaints, media censorship[254], criminal investigations into theft and murder,[255] production of illegal alcoholic beverages, and even prostitution, this Allied administration did not work in perfect harmony within itself. [256] Until the de jure occupation of Istanbul in March 16, 1920, a year-and-a-half after the de facto occupation, the issue of leadership and the convoluted structure of the administration plagued the Allies and the city.[257]

In 1918 the French wanted their own General Franchet d'Esperey, Commander-in-Chief of Allied Armies in the Orient, to have the military command in Istanbul. The British disagreed, wanting this highest position for themselves.[258] This disagreement became especially important

[252] Criss, 67.

[253] See "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 24 February 1919, Kew, FO 608/ 87, for organization of medical services and public health in Istanbul.

[254] See Şirin Erzurum for a discussion of practical application of censorship in newspapers of Istanbul under occupation. She argues that due to limits of manpower there was no uniform application of censorship in all of the newspapers. Şirin Erzurum, *The Greek Occupation of Izmir and the Protest Meetings in Istanbul 15 May 1919-13 January 1920*, 1st edition, History 132 (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2015).

[255] See "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 24 February 1919, Kew, FO 608/ 87, for organization of police force in Istanbul.

[256] See "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 1919, Kew, FO 608/109, for debates over the establishment of an inter-Allied judiciary, and the issue of punishment of Turkish officers for executing Arab leaders.

[257] There are detailed studies explaining the Allied administration of Constantinople such as in Criss.

[258] Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation, 1918-1923*. 61

when the Allies decided to officially occupy the city in March 1920. D'Esperey contested British actions such as their occupation of the Ottoman Ministry of War and the postal and telegraph administrations.[259] Even though there was never an armed resistance, neither to the de facto occupation nor to the de jure one, the rivalry between the Allies continued well after the replacement of Milne and d'Esperey with General Charles Harrington and General Nayral de Bourgon. Moreover, there was discord between the British and French regarding the division of powers and the different loci of authority in Constantinople, particularly the Offices of the High Commissioners and Military Commands. While the French wanted to limit the High Commissioners' role in overseeing the implementation of the Armistice terms, preferring that the Military Commanders deal with the Ottoman government, the British wanted the latter to be only involved with military matters. In sum, there were major disagreements between Allied powers regarding the structure, hierarchy, and scope of the administration of the occupation.

The struggle between Allied powers was visible during General d'Esperey's visit to the city. On January 8, 1918 he entered the city with major fanfare. As Ethem Eldem points out, his entry into the city was not of great significance since the city had in fact, been occupied a couple of months earlier. However, both Turkish and foreign histories have picked (and transformed) this event to enforce their views about the occupation.[260] In particular, the French have used this moment to act as if they were the ones who were in charge, much to the chagrin of the British. The grand entrance of d'Esperey on horseback, the fact that it was mistakenly referred to as a white horse in the Turkish historiography for decades, as well as the path of the parade can all be read to

[259] Ibid. 63.

[260] Ethem Eldem, "Tarihte Gerçek Konusunda Küçük Bir Araştirma: Istanbul'un Beyaz Atlı Fatihi," *Toplumsal Tarih* 261 (September 2015): 31.

analyze the dynamics of the occupation, both historically and spatially. Eldem reminds us that a "conqueror with a white horse" is a very popular theme in the city's history as was the case for the entry of Baudouin I during the Fourth Crusade, and of Mehmet II in the fifteenth century when the latter was reimagined by Italian painter Fausto Zonaro in his 1903 painting. [261]

The alleged whiteness of the horse underscored the act of occupation and recognized the history of conquests of the city. However, unlike earlier occupations, d'Esperey's parade took place in Pera, which was wrapped in Allied flags, and completely avoided the Old City, where the most recognizable symbols of the city stood, such as Hagia Sophia and Süleymaniye mosques, and where the majority of the population was Muslim. Muslim observers at the time, and Turkish nationalist historians since then, point out that non-Muslims were cheering and welcoming d'Esperey "as once they did to the victorious Byzantine commanders"[262] thus pointing to the perceived longing for the Byzantine era of non-Muslims of the Empire. D'Esperey's entrance, therefore, pointed towards the divisions not only within the Allies but also within the Constantinopolitans themselves.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Ibid. 30.

[Figure 3.5 General F. D'esperey on his brown horse Louis Franchet d'Espèrey marching in Beyoğlu, February 8, 1919. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupation_of_Constantinople]

The issue of Byzantine heritage and the conquest of Byzantine Constantinople by the Ottomans deserves some attention. Much of the literature produced by Europeans and later by Americans about the city contends that Constantinople was the last stronghold of "western civilization" in the "east." It was widely held that the Byzantine Empire not only acted as the keeper of Greek and Roman learning and civilization in general, but that it also contributed to Western civilization on many levels, from architectural heritage to Justinian's law codes, making contemporary Western states its heir. The "recapture" of the city for an undetermined period of time was a point of pride for Europeans.

Reactions to Occupation and Changing Perceptions of Muslim Constantinopolitans

The Allied presence in the city from 1918 onward made a huge impact on how Muslim Constantinopolitans perceived the city and their place within it. Most importantly, it made them feel uneasy.[263] There were particular monuments that this uneasiness manifested itself, such as Hagia Sophia. European public was interested in this sixth-century monument, which was built by the Byzantines as a church and converted to a mosque after the Ottoman occupation of the city in 1453. As demonstrated by petitions sent by various institutions in Europe demanding the restitution of Hagia Sophia to Christendom,[264] and pleas made by others to repair and preserve the building,[265] the structure represented something important for the European public for religious and historical reasons.[266] The building, very much like the city, became contested ground in which debates about its belonging abounded. Mehmet O. Alkan asserts that the debates regarding the conquest of Istanbul are deeply intertwined with debates to this day over Hagia Sofia, which is the preeminent religious monument for not one, but two religions.[267] The Ottoman administration was aware of European public opinion and wanted to not only hold on to the Hagia Sofia, but to maintain it as a sacred Muslim space.

[263] One of the most important Ottoman writers of the day, Süleyman Nazif published many articles against the occupation. He then was exiled to Malta along with other undesirable Ottoman elites. See Syed Tanvir Wasti, "Süleyman Nazîf – A Multi-Faceted Personality," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 3 (May 4, 2014): 493–508, https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2014.886571.

[264] Kew, FO 608/116/6. "Treaties: Treaty of Peace, Turkey," 10 March 1919.

[265] Kew, FO 608/82. From the Society of the Protection of Ancient Monuments to Lord Curzon dated February 15, 1919. Sophia. "Society for Protection of Ancient buildings ask for the repair and protection of Hagia Sophia, may it remain in the hand of the Brits or not. We do not necessarily urge it to be turned into a church."

[266] Pleas and requests from the public regarding the future of Istanbul, its buildings and its peoples were not limited to Europeans. Muslim Indians and other colonial peoples on Istanbul also had requests.

[267] Alkan, "Ne Zamandan Beri Istanbul'un Fethi Kutlanıyor Ve Ayasofya'nın Camiye Çevrilmesi Isteniyor?"

The Ottoman governmental order that forbade the entry of non-Muslims into the Hagia Sophia also reflected domestic circumstances. The occupation of Izmir on May 15, 1919 by Greeks, created an atmosphere of fear among the Muslim populations of the capital that Istanbul might be next. The occupiers shared the Christian religion with the Rum, Armenian and Levantine citizens of the city, and the fact that historical occupants of the city had also been Christian created anxieties about the ownership of the city and its monuments.

The intertwined issues of contentious ownership and genuine political anxieties over the possible loss of the city were foregrounded in eight protest meetings in Istanbul between May 15, 1919 and January 13, 1920, which were held in reaction to the Greek occupation of Izmir. These meetings took place in neighborhoods with Muslim majorities, such as Fatih (named after Mehmet II, the Conqueror, whose tomb and mosque are also in this neighborhood) and Sultanahmet (where Hagia Sophia and Sultanahmet Mosque are located).[268] Şirin Erzurum observed that in the speeches made by Muslim women and men in these meetings, the rhetoric gradually moved away from disbelief about the occupation of Izmir and the invocation of Wilsonian principles to the defense of Ottoman rights to their lands. The right to exist and the right to sovereignty, the protestors argued, come from the fact that Ottomans created a high civilization. The speeches made therefore used a rights-based language for an aesthetic judgment. The speeches made during these meetings often used monuments to provide evidence of Ottoman civilization. Speakers referred to monuments built by Turks in different geographies like Central Asia and Egypt to provide

[268] Meeting were held in Beyazıt (May 18, 1919), Fatih (May 19, 1919), Usküdar (May 20, 1919), Kadıköy (May 22, 1919), and in Sultanahmet (May 23 and 30, October 15, and January 13, 1919). Beyazıt, Fatih and Sultanahmet are neighborhoods located in the old city of Istanbul where Muslims predominantly lived. Uskudar and Kadıköy are located on the Asian side of Istanbul and Usküdar was a predominantly Muslim neighborhood.

evidence of civilization.[269] However, the monuments in Istanbul were evoked by almost all of the speakers, who demanded that Istanbul should be allowed to survive as a Turkish-Muslim city and as the seat of the caliphate. The fact that Hagia Sophia used to be a church was not taken into account and the building was declared to be Turkish and Muslim.

The connection to religion, with the monuments as three-dimensional markers of Islam in the city, was also intertwined with the concept of conquest. Rıza Nur, a speaker at the Sultanahmet meetings, argued that one of the many virtues of Turks was conquest and that it was impossible to make a conquest unless one established a civilization. As if to reveal evidence of this claim, he pointed toward the Sultanahmet Mosque.[270] Another speaker, a woman called Nakiye Hanim, also made thinly veiled references to the conquest and conquerors when she asked: "Is there a single man that would leave behind the graves of Fatih, Selim, and Süleyman or the graves that are the timeless monuments of his ancestors?"[271] By making references to the graves not only of the conquerors but also of all their ancestors, she underscored that the sacrifices made to conquer the city legitimized Turkish Muslims' existence there and proved their ownership of the land.[272] This

[269] Erzurum, *The Greek Occupation of Izmir and the Protest Meetings in Istanbul 15 May 1919-13 January 1920*. 210-211.

[270] Ibid. 211.

[271] Ibid. 216. Fatih, which literally means Conqueror refers to Mehmet II (1432-1481), who took the city in fifteenth century, Selim refers to Selim I (1465-1520), who conquered Egypt and the holy cities in the Arabian peninsula and finally Suleyman refers to Suleyman I (1494-1566), also known as Suleyman the Magnificent in the West and as the Lawgiver in the Ottoman literature, who expanded the empire in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa.

[272] Mehmet O. Alkan in his article in *Toplumsal Tarih* points to the fact that the Committee of Union and Progress was in favor of and successful in naming sultans who came after Abdülhamit II as Mehmet V and Mehmet VII to remind the public of Mehmet II, the conqueror. Alkan, "Ne Zamandan Beri Istanbul'un Fethi Kutlanıyor Ve Ayasofya'nın Camiye Çevrilmesi Isteniyor?" 82.

was very much in line with Ottoman celebrations held during the war, which included visits to the tomb of Fatih and soldiers fallen during the occupation.[273]

In referencing Islam, the speaker also intertwined religion with Turkishness, saying "Eternalising of Istanbul, which is not only the center of the caliphate of Islam, but also the unmatched monument of the Turkish history and the single life center of the Turkish nation; as the capital city of the Ottoman Sultanate".[274] This is very much in line with the perceptions of Abdülhamit II (r. 1876-1909), who included maintenance of Istanbul as the capital city among the "four pillars of the state" that his rule was based on.[275] The continuous insistence of keeping the city as the capital of the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted from the essential position of the city in imperial symbolism and practices. The Ottoman sultans' accession ceremony was held in Topkapı Palace, the residential palace for the royal family up until the nineteenth century and also the site where the religious relics were kept. The palace was located roughly in the place of the Byzantine Great Palace, dominating the entrance of the Golden Horn and controlling the straits. The sultans then went to Eyup, outside the city walls, to visit the tomb of Ayyup al-Ansari where the girding ceremony, one of the ceremonial components of enthronement of an Ottoman sultan, was held.[276] In fact, this tradition was kept alive until the

[273] Meanwhile preservation efforts were continuing on an everyday level as well. According to Alemdar newspaper of January 17, 1921 the spice merchants of Egyptian Bazaar wanted to install a machine to ground their spices. In order to make sure this machine does not hurt the ancient building that is Eygptian Bazaar Yusuf Razı bey was sent by the Asar-ı Atika Encümeni to examine it.

[274] Erzurum, *The Greek Occupation of Izmir and the Protest Meetings in Istanbul 15 May 1919-13 January 1920*. 228.

[275] Selim Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23, no. 3 (August 1991): 345–59.

[276] There is footage of the enthronement ceremony of Mehmed VI Vahdeddin as last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire and caliph of Islam. It was filmed by Abdullah Kırbaçoğlu at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul on the 4th of June 1918. It was restored by MokumTV Amsterdam and put on Youtube. 11 May 2012, "Crowning of Mehmed VI as last

very end of the empire and with the help of new technologies like newspapers, it came to be celebrated by the masses. Ottomans also used film to record and disseminate the enthronement ceremony of Mehmet VI Vahdeddin as the last sultan of the empire and caliph of Islam on June 4, 1918. The film starts with a scene of Hagia Sophia, and in the middle of the film we see it again, but this time from an angle that allows us to see the tombs of Ottoman sultans located in the gardens of the Hagia Sophia. Thus, caliphate, sultanate, and historical monuments are presented as united and inseparable entities.

Speakers in the meetings frequently used the Hagia Sophia, and therefore the Byzantine past, to assure people of Ottoman legitimacy. Some Muslim residents even claimed that they were the legitimate heirs of the Byzantine Empire, which carried a subtext of challenging the Greek monopoly on Byzantine heritage. Others argued that the Ottoman Empire had actually outdone the Byzantines.[277] For example, Riza Nur argued that: "We are the owners of this country. We built these mosques. When we took Istanbul from Palaeologus, there was nothing except for the Sarayburnu and the area around Fener. We have given life to this giant city (…)".[278] This theme of terra nullius (there was nothing, we made it something) was not unique to the these proud

Sultan of the Ottoman Empire in 1918," "YouTube," accessed September 11, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLKghFyL8tg.

[277] To take another example from his speech given at Sultanahmet Square (next to Hagia Sophia), Rıza Nur says: "At the time when Byzantium was crumbling, the statesmen were busy with their rat race in this sanctuary [showing Hagia Sophia]. On the other hand, we united against this danger in front of this holy mosque… Let the whole of Europe hear this. We do not have any designs. However, we do want the land of our mothers (…)" and points out the moral superiority of Turks. Rıza Nur here tries to refer to the (perceived) divided nature of Byzantine politics and argues that the Ottoman occupation brought an end to political divisions that harmed the society. He concludes that the Ottomans are united and responsible towards the society; therefore they have the moral legitimacy to rule the lands that they have been ruling for generations. Erzurum, *The Greek Occupation of Izmir and the Protest Meetings in Istanbul 15 May 1919-13 January 1920*. 214.

[278] Ibid. 71.

Constantinopolitans; it was common in many conquest narratives, from the French conquest of Algeria to the British colonization of Australia.

Allied Attitudes Toward Making Changes in Constantinople

On November 28, 1919 the British Foreign Office grew alarmed when the prefecture of the city of Istanbul invited European architectural bodies who could be employed for the reconstruction of Constantinople along modern lines.[279] It is important to note that this invitation was brought to the attention of the Foreign Office by a British architect[280] who, claiming that his Italian and French counterparts were receiving the support of their governments, demanded British governmental backing for his application.[281] The second thing that is important to note is that, when this invitation was sent out, the Paris Peace Conference was in session. The combination of these two things made the British suspect an Ottoman maneuver to influence the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference regarding the future possession of Istanbul by stoking rivalries among the Allies. Accordingly, the Allies discouraged any reconstruction schemes until the peace terms were settled.

Undecided on how to proceed and mindful of the uncertain future of the city and the temporary nature of their occupation, the Allies were reluctant to make decisions and changes to

[279] See British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 28 November 1919, Kew, FO 608/ 87, about correspondences regarding reconstruction of Istanbul. Documents do not reveal which architectural bodies were approached.

[280] This British architect, Mr. Mawson, must be Thomas Hayton Mawson, who is a very important architect and urban planner. I would like to thank Dr. Umit Fırat Açıkgöz for bringing this to my attention.

[281] The fact that entrepreneurs approach the government to bid for the reconstruction of the city is not unexpected. They did because the British already took similar steps elsewhere that they have occupied, like Jerusalem. See "The British in Jerusalem 1917-1920: The Imagined City," September 21, 2015, https://www.mwme.eu/essays/british-french-egypt/_Murphy_Jerusalem/index.html.

the city.[282] Nonetheless, the occupying forces, as well as charities and refugees, opened countless cafés, restaurants, and many different types of clubs for their own use. According to Bilge Ar, by opening such establishments, the Allies tried to create a space in which they could continue their accustomed life-styles, especially after the Allied officials were allowed to bring their families to the city beginning in 1920.[283] Some of the soldiers and officers of the many armies stationed in the city threw and participated in parties, frequented bars, beerhouses, and theaters, created sports clubs, and engaged in other activities to pass the time pleasantly. Some treated their stay in Istanbul as a holiday and embarked on touristic visits to the many sites of Constantinople, from Roman ruins to various mosques in the city.

[282] Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation, 1918-1923. 60.*; Bilge Ar, "Isgal Altindaki Istanbul'da Kentsel ve Mimari Ortam" (Istanbul Technical University, 2006).

[283] Ar, "Işgal Altındaki Istanbul'da Kentsel ve Mimari Ortam."

[Figure 3.6 British soldiers at an Istanbul beach, enjoying themselves. From Imperial War Museum, Ministry of Information, First World War Official Collection, Q 14247. 1919]

However, uncertainty was not the only reason for Allied reluctance to make drastic changes to the city, for they also had serious constraints. The Allies suffered from a lack of resources. Relatedly, they had war-weary publics back home who celebrated the end of the war and were reluctant to see their governments spend further money on far-away lands after the successful conclusion of World War I. However, the end of the war did not bring any immediate solution to the Eastern Question, nor did it offer any clarity regarding the future of Istanbul. Regardless of their initial hopes that the occupation would be a short one, the Allies never forgot the potential military threats to the city. They had to prepare for suspected internal threats from within the empire and external threats like the Bolsheviks.

The Allies took steps to display their military might and to ensure that the citizens of the city, as well as the rest of the empire, knew that their capital was under occupation. The first and foremost action in this regard was their presence in the Bosphorus. Their arrival and long-stay are well noted in the contemporary Ottoman memoirs. The presence of American, British, French, Italian, and Greek military ships changed the perception of space in the city for its inhabitants. For example, historian Nikos Sigalas mentions an invitation for cocktails to be held in the Greek Averof ship, which was anchored next to Dolmabahçe Palace. According to this invitation, people were to be transferred to the ship on the quay of Dolmabahçe. Sigalas points towards the meaning of this specific location for the Helens (sic) of Istanbul, pointing out that "they did not even dare to look at sultan's palaces during the time of Abdülhamit II".[284] Along with a massive naval presence in a city built around water, the Allies used state-of-the-art technologies of war and civilian control, such as airplanes. Both the British and French forces maintained aerodromes in Istanbul and its surroundings to monitor the city and its environs; two remain to this day in Çanakkale, Turkey and another in Lemnos, Greece.[285]

Military might alone was not enough to rule the city. In order to justify their presence and run the city, the Allies had to act. An ordinance[286] issued by the Allies and distributed around Istanbul helps to explain these actions. This multi-lingual ordinance about taxes for roads is dated

[284] Giorgos Theotokas, *Leonis* (Istanbul: Istos Yayinlari, 2015): 41.

[285] Kew, AIR 5/847 Part 3, "War Diary, R.A.F. Constantinople," 12 December 1922, provides information on aerodromes in the Constantinople area, and includes maps of San Stephano, Kilidbahir aerodromes, as well as information on the French aerodrome in San Stefano, and others in Imbros, Lemnos, Tenedos. The Ottomans already had an air force and an aerodrome largely thanks to the Germans. However, during the occupation, the French and British divided this aerodrome and expanded it.

[286] Kew, WO 93/38 "Constantinople: proclamations," dated May 25, 1922, includes documents on proclamation of taxation for the repair of roads of vilayet (province) of Istanbul in view of articles 42, 43, 48, 49, 51 of the Annex to the International Convention signed at the Hague on the 18th October, 1907, concerning the laws and customs of war. There are other attempts to repair roads and collect taxes for repairs mentioned in the French achieves as well. 109

May 25, 1922 and was signed by the following: Lieutenant-General, Sir C. H. Harington, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces of Occupation; General Mombelli, Commanding the Italian Corps of Occupation; and General Charpy, Commanding the French Corps of Occupation. It subtly blames the Ottoman government for the lack of road repairs, which disallows the flow of normal traffic and "cause[s] prejudice to the population". This ordinance justified the taxation and repair of roads in several ways. The first justification is that it would benefit the population, both by providing better roads and with the added benefit of creating work. The second justification is for the city and its local administration, which would benefit from technical assistance.[287] The third justification concerned the Allied Corps themselves. Here the Allies raise military necessity and also cite the articles of the Hague Convention of 1907 regarding Laws and Customs of War on Land that allow them to collect taxes and engage in activities to ensure public order and safety.[288]

This document is illuminating, for it shows that the Allies used the built environment to legitimize their presence and to accommodate the grievances of the local population by ensuring

[287] Kew, FO 608/102. "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," February 14, 1919. There are documents showing that the British took over policing and sanitation "due to failure of local administration and German troops".

[288] Relevant articles mentioned are: Art. 42. Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised. Art. 43. The authority of the legitimate power having in fact passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all the measures in his power to restore, and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country. Art. 48. If, in the territory occupied, the occupant collects the taxes, dues, and tolls imposed for the benefit of the State, he shall do so, as far as is possible, in accordance with the rules of assessment and incidence in force, and shall in consequence be bound to defray the expenses of the administration of the occupied territory to the same extent as the legitimate Government was so bound. Art. 49. If, in addition to the taxes mentioned in the above article, the occupant levies other money contributions in the occupied territory, this shall only be for the needs of the army or of the administration of the territory in question. Art. 51. No contribution shall be collected except under a written order, and on the responsibility of a commander-in-chief. The collection of the said contribution shall only be effected as far as possible in accordance with the rules of assessment and incidence of the taxes in force. "Treaties, States Parties, and Commentaries - Hague Convention (IV) on War on Land and Its Annexed Regulations, 1907," accessed September 1, 2019, https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Treaty.xsp?documentId=4D47F92DF3966A7EC12563CD002D6788&action=openDocument.

the smooth running of the city by improving its infrastructure while providing them with jobs. Running the city and upholding law and public order required them to stay in the city. Wars and migration increased demands for medical facilities and personnel, along with such measures as quarantine services and immunizations to ensure public safety against epidemics. Accordingly, this period was marked by the opening of many clinics (which sometimes repurposed the spaces of pharmacies, offices, and even army bases) and hospitals, such as Admiral Bristol Hospital and Nursing School, which was named after the head of the American occupation force.[289] Displaced people, children, and the occupation forces were also in need of accommodation. In order to deal with orphans of the war and genocide, many orphanages were opened by a multiplicity of institutions. Along with the state institutions (both Ottoman and Allied), local non-Muslim communities and various international charities opened orphanages in this period. Barracks, mansions, and other public and private buildings were used to provide accommodation to refugees and occupation forces.[290] Local communities and international charities again played important roles in providing shelter and food to refugees all over the city. Nonetheless, due to the increase in the capital's population and the frequency of fires, there was an incessant need for more buildings and more services.

This situation provided many opportunities to occupiers and their citizens. Numerous companies were established in this period to build housing, sell insurance against fire, and provide a plethora of goods and services. This commercial opening aligned with the commercial demands

[289] Ar, "Isgal Altindaki Istanbul'da Kentsel ve Mimari Ortam.". 10-11. A new medical school was built in Arnavutköy. Another planned building was a fountain in honour of Pierre Loti, famous French writer who wrote about the Ottoman Empire. The Alemdar newspaper of October 14, 1919 refers to a decision made by the Istanbul municipality about building this fountain in Eyüp. But according to the newspaper, Rami, another neighborhood wanted it to be built there instead for they did not have a fountain there.

[290] Transactions in real estate increased especially after 1920 when the British were given the permission to bring their families to the city. Ibid. 91.

of Europeans since the nineteenth century. For example, Americans built new housing with proper infrastructure (sewage, electricity etc.) in Bebek, built a church in Gedikpaşa, and exported and sold American cars via a semi-official company called American Foreign Trade[291]. The occupiers and entrepreneurs from their home countries established new companies, opened branches, and built new entrepots to sustain the new traffic of trade. All of these opportunities were made possible by the reinstitution and extension of capitulations that were abolished during the first year of the war by the Committee of Union and Progress. Unfettered navigation of the straits was reinstituted with the occupation and committed to paper with the Treaty of Sevres. This treaty also set up a Commission on the Straits that was endowed with the right to make necessary changes to the infrastructure, as well as to acquire property and execute permanent works in order to ensure free navigation. The Financial Committee established by the same treaty also allowed the occupiers to control Ottoman debts, collection of fees, custom duties, and taxes, along with other commercial and financial issues. Various inter-Allied commissions established in Istanbul in this period tried to implement this treaty with varying degrees of success.

L'Information d'Orient, the official organ of the French Commercial Office in Levant in Constantinople (Office Commercial Français du Levant a Constantinople) provides some evidence of the acute awareness by the French government of the cityscape and the interest shown by the French in building activities in Constantinople. Moreover, in a 1921 article about experiments with prefabricated homes, the journal allows us to peek inside the experiences of the French in Istanbul. French call the housing needs of Istanbul "un peu special"; not only housing was subject to

[291] Ar, 35-31.

restrictions of the Ottoman municipality but also needed to be compatible with gender-separation and with the "oriental climate".[292]

Constantinopolitans were acutely aware of the quasi-colonial attitudes of the occupiers and of the changes that occupation brought to the city. The same journey from Makriköy to Pera, which began this chapter, would now offer different scenes in the occupation. When crossing the Galata Bridge the usual multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, and multi-class crowd would be peppered with Allied soldiers, from French colonial Senegalese troops to Scottish ones in kilts. Pedestrians would have to be careful not to be too distracted by the views of the Allied battleships in the Bosphorus, for they could be hit by a Fiat car imported by the American companies. They might have to visit one of the stores set up by charities like the American Near Eastern Relief to buy affordable basic foodstuffs. They could visit their daughter working as a clerk in one of the shops in Pera, a situation that would have been unthinkable for at least the Muslim middle-class families before the war. They might also visit one of the new bars just to check the veracity of the rumors about Russian duchesses and counts working as waitresses and musicians. They would try their best to not to stay out too late because drunk Allied soldiers would soon be rowdy. Once they were home they might try to make sense out of the heavily censored newspapers and wonder when the occupation would end.

Conclusion

[292] The design of the magazine is very much in line with other colonial imaginations prevalent in books, postcards and other journals that were published in the colonies and about the colonies. Note that there are no military ships in the Istanbul that this magazine portrays. *L'information D'Orient* 54, no. 54 (March 1, 1921).

General Charpy's letter to Halil Bey reflects the dynamics of the occupation well. The occupiers were victorious and confident about their military capabilities ("[F]ar from having destroyed and sacked [the city]"). They exhibited their capacities visibly and boldly in the middle of the city via their battleships in the Bosphorous and by posting inter-Allied police forces all over the city. But it was not only through military might that they sought to show their control over the city and legitimize their presence. They tried to keep law and order by establishing a new administration, responding to the needs of the refugees, repairing roads, and providing employment. The division of the city and the establishment of a new administration in this respect was not only a military necessity, it was also a civic performance that served to insert the Allied powers visibly into the texture of the city. The "conquest" of the already occupied city by General D'Esperey and the fanfare that accompanied it was also among those actions to claim the city, but it pointed towards internal rivalries of the Allies. This combined with the economic and political constraints back home in Europe, and with the serious difficulties on the ground in Istanbul, made the allies unsure of their standing in the city. Even though they managed to subjugate the Ottoman government to the point that the head of the Ottoman Imperial Museum had to ask the occupiers about those French excavations in Istanbul, they struggled to figure out what kind of a relationship they had with the city. Their reluctance to transform the cityscape permanently was related to this inability to establish a well-defined relationship to the city. Despite occupying it and despite having the historical, ideological, and practical arsenal to consider Istanbul as a possible colonial city, the Allies failed to conceptualize the city as such due to their political, economic, and military constraints along with the reactions of the Ottomans to the occupation.

Constantinopolitans were quite used to the presence of Europeans in their city. For Europeans were present and active in the remaking of the city in the nineteenth century. They were

in the city as teachers, missionaries, and engineers and their presence was visibly permanent in shape of dominating buildings like (Public Debt Administration) Duyun-u Umumiye in the old city. Constantinopolitans were also used to the European Orientalist gaze fed by imperial experiences and imaginations as the reflection of these were etched into the cityscape with buildings designed in an "oriental" style by Europeans such as the Sirkeci train station. Nonetheless, the nineteenth century Ottoman elites were disturbed by the increasing European involvement in the affairs of the empire and developed as well as borrowed techniques to deal with it. These techniques included uses of history and historical monuments. Moreover, Ottomans started to develop a new relationship with their capital city. For example, the caliphate card that started to be used by Abdülhamid II to increase his powers inside and outside the empire, paved the way for a rebranding of the capital as the center of all Muslims. They also employed the historical monuments to convey the legitimacy of the empire. During the Allied occupation they continued using these tools to claim ownership of the city and argue for their legitimate rights to the city.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Ottomans lived with the anxiety of possibly losing their capital city, their sovereignty, and their empire. With the Allied occupation this fear became a possibility and Muslim Constantinopolitans started to show their reaction, especially to the Greek occupation of Izmir in 1919 and de jure occupation in 1920 which led to establishment of a more concrete administration. Nevertheless, both occupiers and occupied had to focus on dealing with the damages on the city inflicted by the war. This meant continuing the efforts to improve the cityscape and services, ordering and organizing the built environment while negotiating the power over the past and future of the city using the monuments and spaces of the city.

Allied occupation of Istanbul acts as a corrective to traditional understandings of conflicts; the traditional understanding likes to have definite dates for a conflict's beginning and its end. In the case of the First World War, this is 1914 to 1918. For the Ottoman Empire this was not the case as struggles continue well after the armistice. Constantinople acted as a scene where negotiations within the Allies and between Allies and Ottomans was played out. Looking at Istanbul in this period demonstrates that the new world order was not entirely made by the peace conferences and that the making of this new world involved non-European agents. Moreover, this shows that resistance to the occupation was not in the monopoly of the Turkish nationalists in Asia Minor and that "patrimony of art, which constitutes the fame of the capital" was used as a tool in this resistance.

Chapter IV

Making of the International Law Regarding Cultural Property and the World War I

Introduction

From the nineteenth century onward, the Ottoman Empire was one of the most important and coveted archeological hotspot in the world, housing not only the "Holy Lands" and much of the Greco-Roman past, but also the lands where milestones for human history, like writing, was invented. Therefore, there were many archeological activities in the empire, which led to the establishment of national antiquities laws regulating the fate of cultural property. The development of Ottoman antiquities law was parallel to the development of other nations' antiquities laws, as well as the development of an international understanding of antiquities as things that needed protection. The idea of protecting cultural property in peace time was applied to the protection of antiquities in wartime as well.

This chapter explores the legal aspects of archeological activities conducted during and after World War I, and the attempts at creating new laws regarding cultural property. These attempts were colored by various contradictions and tensions. Most importantly, the war and its aftermath provided a fertile ground for the development of international cultural property law and the emergence of a new international public perception of cultural property. However, an all-encompassing international law failed to materialize in the interwar period. This chapter will provide a brief sketch of the development of the idea of cultural property as something to be

protected by law, and its application to international conventions dealing with war-time activities. The chapter will focus on the developments during the war and occupation that prompted these attempts to internationally regulate antiquities, and it will explore the political and cultural contradictions that ultimately hindered the implementation of international conventions safeguarding antiquities.

Europeans took up the cause of protecting cultural property in the nineteenth century and employed it in their colonies as further justification for their rule. The French in early nineteenth century Algeria for example, used the Roman Empire to help justify their colonization. The cause of protection, which was considered as the marker of civilization, brought European powers together to create international rules and regulations to use during times of war as well. However, up until World War I, these were recommendations at best, without punitive measures. This changed with two important developments during the war. The first one was the German destruction of cultural property in Western Europe, which the Allies condemned as "barbaric" and for which Rudyard Kipling famously immortalized the Germans as "Huns".[293] Accordingly, the Allies tried to stay away from such activities, to avoid being labeled looters or barbarians themselves. The second development was the division of the antiquities-rich Ottoman lands among the Allies. This meant that the Allies were going to be rulers of some parts of the Ottoman lands

[293] "For all we have and are" the poem starts with these following lines: "For all we have and are, For all our children's fate, Stand up and take the war. The Hun is at the gate! Our world has passed away In wantonness o'erthrown. There is nothing left to-day But steel and fire and stone!" It was first published in The Times on September 2, 1914, a month after the outbreak of what was to become known as The First World War. "For All We Have and Are," accessed September 11, 2019, http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_forall1.htm.

and therefore had to have long term strategies regarding their activities on the ground. These two developments made the Allies act cautiously vis-à-vis matters of cultural property and made them take steps to protect cultural property, such as issuing rules and regulations and engaging in investigations and repair work.

[Figure 4.1 Postcard entitled "the Savages" by famous caricaturist Maurice Radiguet, showing a German soldier trampling over books. In the background the library of Louvain is on fire. August 26, 1914.[294] From http://dingeengoete.blogspot.com/2015/08/this-day-in-world-war-1-history-august_25.html]

This heightened awareness for the political implications of antiquities made the Allies cautious but did not dispel confusion, as demonstrated by the case of the Samarra antiquities and the Lisbon affair mentioned before. Moreover, war and occupation provided archeological opportunities that were too good to pass up. Therefore, the Allies found themselves simultaneously

[294] A similar image by the same artist can be found in the Remembrance 14-45.eu website. This website has collections from the two world wars conserved in about fifteen themed museums in West Flanders, the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments. "2009.2.40 'Les Sauvages, Kolossal Kultur, après Louvain Reims' Musée de la Résistance, Bondues," accessed September 1, 2019, http://www.memoire14-45.eu/fr/search-notice/detail/s3bw3a3aiz79914ahwpfgobbl2jmalxmu53ho2ozds8yfrqj9i.

creating, upholding, and subverting laws--both national and international--that protected cultural property.

After the war, the League of Nations institutionalized European civilizational arguments with its introduction of the mandate system. The issue of cultural property was a part of this; the preservation of antiquities was among the sacred civilizational duties that were conferred upon the European powers in the shape of the mandate administrations. However, regardless of the international committees and declarations of cooperation, the individual mandatory powers did what they wished in their assigned Middle Eastern lands. First of all, the responsibilities of the League of Nations were contested from the beginning. Moreover, it was quite a powerless institution. Instead of becoming an institution to create and enforce international laws, it become a platform to air issues and internationalize grievances. The conflicts between the European powers themselves, the wish to punish Germany and the Ottoman Empire, and the wish to establish their "civilizational" and political dominance over the Middle East all contributed to the failure to create an all-encompassing and binding international law to protect antiquities. Moreover, the inherent correlation between the concepts of plunder and protection used by Europeans plagued achievement of an international law.

Background: International Law until World War I

Emergence of Protective Measures regarding Cultural Property

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when the concept of cultural property emerged. Most sources point towards the French Revolution as a crucial point for the evolution of the concept. Very much like a war, this revolution was a destructive process, often intentionally so. For

example, revolutionaries targeted the public statues of the monarchs, which they destroyed in 1792. Along with this intentional destruction came a new consciousness about the value of public objects and buildings, leading to a deliberate effort to inventory and conserve all objects "capable of serving the arts, sciences and teaching."[295] The justification for these steps was that these objects belonged to the nation, not just the elites, and that the people had the responsibility to hand down this heritage to posterity. In order to do this, they devised methods that would have a long conceptual lifespan; for example, the decree of October 13, 1790 ordered that historical assets be categorized, inventoried, and protected.[296] Other rules, regulations, and institutions were created such as the first *Commission des Monuments Historiques* in 1830. From this point onward, we can talk about the institutionalization of the concept of cultural property as well as the institutionalization of the administration of cultural property by the state. This institutionalization was also based on the fact that the French state created, patronized, and paid for selfsame cultural property reflecting its notions of public art.

The French revolution introduced a new attitude regarding the legal protection of monuments and works of art. However, the Napoleonic conquests that followed the revolution witnessed the appropriation of these principles to justify French plunder of European works of art, as the French invaders argued that their high civilization qualified them to be the protectors of European cultural property. French plunder was reprimanded in the international arena and was considered a violation of the laws of war.

[295] Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, 1st English language ed (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). 14.

[296] Ibid. 66.

Napoleon's actions and the backlash it created paved the way for the first proposal to create a European protective organization to safeguard (from the classic French term "*sauveguarder*") monuments and ancient cities in the nineteenth century. Moreover, these protective efforts went beyond Europe and included Western efforts to protect historical heritage in the Ottoman Empire and in Egypt.[297] For example, George Robbins Gliddon, the American vice-consul in Egypt published an appeal to the Antiquaries of Europe on the destruction of the monuments of Egypt in 1841.[298] However it took more than a half a century until the creation of the International Archeological Committee that was established by the International Archeological Congresses, held in Athens in 1905 and Cairo in 1909 and created to supervise archeological activities in Egypt, Greece, Italy, and other countries. By this time, the protection of cultural property had become a thoroughly Western affair.

Meanwhile, European powers were developing a sense of obligation towards protecting antiquities in countries under their rule or in their sphere of influence. The British Administration in India created its Archeological Survey of India 1861, a year after Egypt established theirs in 1860 and twenty-four years before creating a post of inspector of ancient monuments in Britain in 1885.[299] Museums in colonial Algeria developed parallel to those in the metropole from the 1830s onwards. When Tunisia become a French protectorate in 1881, the colonial overlords took it upon themselves to create an antiquities service and a museum.[300]

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[297] Ibid. 94.

[298] Donald M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 57.

[299] "History from 1784 to 1861," *Archaeological Survey of India*, http://asi.nic.in/about-us/history/. "History « Archaeological Survey of India," accessed September 1, 2019, http://asi.nic.in/about-us/history/.

[300] Charlotte Jelidi, *Les Musées Au Maghreb et Leurs Publics Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie* (Centre de recherche sur les liens sociaux (CERLIS), 2013). 26.

Historic preservation provided colonial European powers with a justification for their domination. French and Italian colonizers constantly referred to their Roman predecessors, implying that they had historical rights to the lands that they were "reoccupying". The French, British, and Italian imperialists gave precedence to excavations of Greek and Roman ruins, even clearing the surroundings of other existing monuments to make these prized items more visible. Meanwhile, Europeans also took up the job of protecting Islamic historical monuments and artifacts. This emerged from the conviction that only they could appreciate the Islamic past since the Muslims did not adequately care about it. A French scholar working for Morocco's Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines for example accused Muslims of letting their monuments fall into ruin "with as much indifference as they once showed ardor in building them."[301] Europeans' protection of Islamic cultural property also allowed them to underscore their collaboration with and respect for the Islamic establishment that was in place. For example, the first incarnation of the Antiquities Service in Morocco was called the Bureau of Historic Monuments and Imperial Palaces, signaling the value given to collaboration with the sultan of Morocco.[302] Preservation efforts also had to do with economic gains as well. A well-preserved, "unchanging" Islamic city and monuments attracted tourists and brought commendations for the enlightened approach of the colonizers towards the past by the international community. Finally, the efforts to preserve the medina was a way of maintaining segregation between natives and Europeans – where natives stayed in "traditional" spaces.

[301] Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). 117.

[302] Ibid. 133.

European powers were acutely aware of each other's activities and practices regarding the protection of antiquities. For example, when George Nathaniel Curzon, better known as Lord Curzon of Kedleston became the Governor General of India (1899-1905) he was shocked by the state of antiquities, calling it a scandal and pondering what Germany would have done if it were the ruling power in India.[303] Moreover the European powers were aware that they would be judged by their peers. "Government of India, not the Local administrations, would be always held in the judgment of the civilized world primarily responsible for maintaining intact this great inheritance" argued Lord Lytton, the viceroy of India between 1876 and 1880.[304] In this politico-cultural atmosphere, protection of antiquities was deemed the realm of the "civilized" Europeans and, as in many other fields, European powers were competing with each other.

Facing an increased interest in antiquities, the so called "source countries," meaning countries whose cultural property was being excavated and exported, from the newly-independent republics of Central and South America to Meiji Japan,[305] started to pass laws of antiquities to regulate and protect their historic remains. Greece, for example, opened its national museum in 1829 and its antiquities service in 1833, and passed its first antiquities laws in 1834. Egypt issued a decree as early as 1835 that banned the export of antiquities. The Ottoman Empire followed suit with the first Ottoman antiquities law in 1869. Both countries opened their own museums and antiquities services, Egypt in 1858 and Ottomans in 1891. Both Ottoman and Egyptian elites increasingly used these antiquities laws and museums as political tools as well. They resisted

[303] Roy Sourindranth, *The Story of Indian Archaeology 1784-19547*, 3rd ed. (New Delhi: The Director General Archaeological Survey of India, 2011). 78.

[304] Ibid. 80.

[305] Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. 16-17.

European encroachment in their lands using regulations, permits, and laws. Moreover, they used the existence of these antiquities and the relevant institutions like museums and national laws to claim their high level of civilization vis-à-vis Europeans, who claimed otherwise.

Institutions of cultural property, such as museums and antiquities departments, in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, French North Africa, and British India were managed by Europeans in their early years. Some of these European scholars felt strong loyalty towards their position and defended the antiquities of their host country. For example, when François Auguste Ferdinand Mariette was appointed as the head of the Egyptian antiquities service in 1858, he argued that "the time when Lord Elgin carried of the bas relief of the Parthenon is passed" and imposed strict rules for export of antiquities.[306] Nonetheless Europeans by and large considered antiquities as their domain, and they found ideological uses for the past and employed antiquities vis-à-vis their European rivals as well as the citizens of their colonies and other states like the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the very American consul that urged the protection of Egyptian antiquities also praised Champollion for delivering antiquities "out of the house of bondage" to the safety of European museums and denounced the 1835 Egyptian decree as "a new act of monopoly that interfered with free trade under the pretense of civilization".[307]

Plunder and protection of cultural property went hand in hand. Moreover, both were used for the same political purpose. The goal of international initiatives before World War I was to establish the superiority of European "civilization." The plunder and protection of antiquities

[306] Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*. 102.

[307] Ibid. 58.

therefore could be used to claim European superiority when the situation required. Europeans tried to thwart non-European attempts to protect antiquities.

Emergence of Protection of Cultural Property in Times of War

Once cultural property was perceived as something to be protected, consideration of its protection during war in particular became an international issue. Accordingly, parallel to the development of the concept of cultural property, discussions in Europe regarding rules concerning the destruction and plunder of cultural property in war go back several centuries. With the coming of the Renaissance, which invited appreciation of ancient Greek and Roman pasts, combined with the spirit of a republic of letters that encouraged appreciation of works of art, relics, monuments and ruins of all nations, these discussions grew. However, the dominant opinion was that the belligerents had the right to destroy enemy property, though destruction of "ornamental goods" was condemned.[308]

It was in the nineteenth century when rules and regulations regarding the protection of cultural property in war were put to paper. The "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the field" (Lieber Code) of 1863, written for the Union Army during the American Civil War, was the first national document that recognized the distinction of cultural property and its need to be protected against harm during a military operation.. Article 35 of the Lieber Code

[308] Roger O'Keefe, *The Protection of Cultural Property in Armed Conflict*, Cambridge Studies in International and Comparative Law (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 10.

states that[309]: "Classical works of art, libraries, scientific collections, or precious instruments, such as astronomical telescopes, as well as hospitals, must be secured against all avoidable injury, even when they are contained in fortified places whilst besieged or bombarded." Under Article 36, conquerors could seize and remove items, yet because their ultimate ownership was to be decided by the peace treaty, occupiers could not sell, give away, or wantonly destroy or injure these objects.

The notion that cultural heritage needs to be protected also surfaced in the international initiatives that tried to regulate the rules of war. t. In 1874 delegates from fifteen European states met in Brussels and drafted what would be known as the Brussels Declaration that, among other things, banned the destruction or seizure of enemy property not demanded by the necessity of war, and followed the Lieber Code in its protective initiative. Article 17 of the Declaration argued for the protection of buildings dedicated to art, science, or charitable purposes "as far as possible" and took a step further in asking the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings by distinctive signs beforehand.[310] Even though this document was not ratified by the participating states, it paved the way for further international conventions. The next year, the private Institute of International Law in Geneva issued a supplement to this Declaration called the Oxford Manual, which would go on to be the basis of two Hague Conventions on land warfare and their

[309] General Orders No. 100 : The Lieber Code INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIELD Prepared by Francis Lieber, promulgated as General Orders No. 100 by President Lincoln, 24 April 1863.Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field, prepared by Francis Lieber, LL.D., Originally Issued as General Orders No. 100, Adjutant General's Office, 1863, Washington 1898: Government Printing Office. Article 36: "If such works of art, libraries, collections, or instruments belonging to a hostile nation or government, can be removed without injury, the ruler of the conquering state or nation may order them to be seized and removed for the benefit of the said nation. The ultimate ownership is to be settled by the ensuing treaty of peace.
In no case shall they be sold or given away, if captured by the armies of the United States, nor shall they ever be privately appropriated, or wantonly destroyed or injured.". "Avalon Project - General Orders No. 100 : The Lieber Code," accessed September 1, 2019, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lieber.asp.

[310] "Project of an International Declaration concerning the Laws and Customs of War, Brussels, "Treaties, States Parties, and Commentaries - Brussels Declaration, 1874," accessed September 1, 2019, https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/135.

accompanying regulations, which were adopted in 1899 and 1907. The Hague Conventions, to which the Ottoman Empire was a signatory,[311] went a step further in approaching the issue of protection of cultural property. As Article 56 of the 1899 Convention put forward: "All seizure of, and destruction, or intentional damage done to such institutions, to historical monuments, works of art or science, is prohibited, and should be made the subject of proceedings," a clause that effectively made destruction of antiquities illegal and introduced the possibility of punishment.[312] Article 27 of the 1907 Convention echoes the Lieber Code and asks belligerents to spare cultural property "as far as possible," and repeats the Brussels Declaration by asking for the placement of signs by the besieged to indicate the presence of such property.[313]

The development of laws to protect cultural property in time of war attests to the above-mentioned European interest in protection. Moreover, these steps show an awareness of the need for international action when dealing with protective measures in times of war. Various European states got together in an internationalist spirit; however, they did not create a binding system with concrete punitive measures. The military goals of individual states were still supreme vis-à-vis

[311] As far as I can tell the Ottoman Empire signed and ratified the 1899 Hague Convention and signed that of 1907. I currently do not know if they ratified the 1907 convention or, if they did not, the reason why they did not ratify it.

[312] Laws of War: Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague II); July 29, 1899 Article 56: "The property of the communes, that of religious, charitable, and educational institutions, and those of arts and science, even when State property, shall be treated as private property. All seizure of, and destruction, or intentional damage done to such institutions, to historical monuments, works of art or science, is prohibited, and should be made the subject of proceedings." "The Avalon Project - Laws of War: Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague II); July 29, 1899," Text, accessed September 1, 2019, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hague02.asp.

[313] Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Hague, 18 October 1907: Art. 27. "In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not being used at the time for military purposes. It is the duty of the besieged to indicate the presence of such buildings or places by distinctive and visible signs, which shall be notified to the enemy beforehand." "Treaties, States Parties, and Commentaries - Hague Convention (IV) on War on Land and Its Annexed Regulations, 1907," accessed September 1, 2019, https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/195.

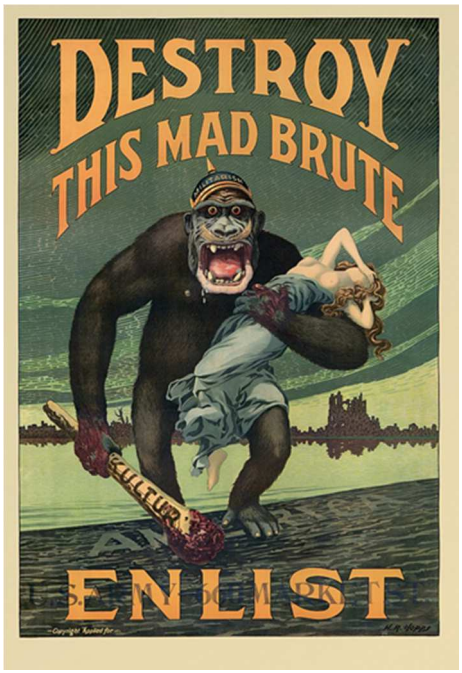
protection of cultural property and all they could do was to ask each other to protect cultural property "as far as possible".

The situation on the Ground in the Ottoman Empire during war and occupation

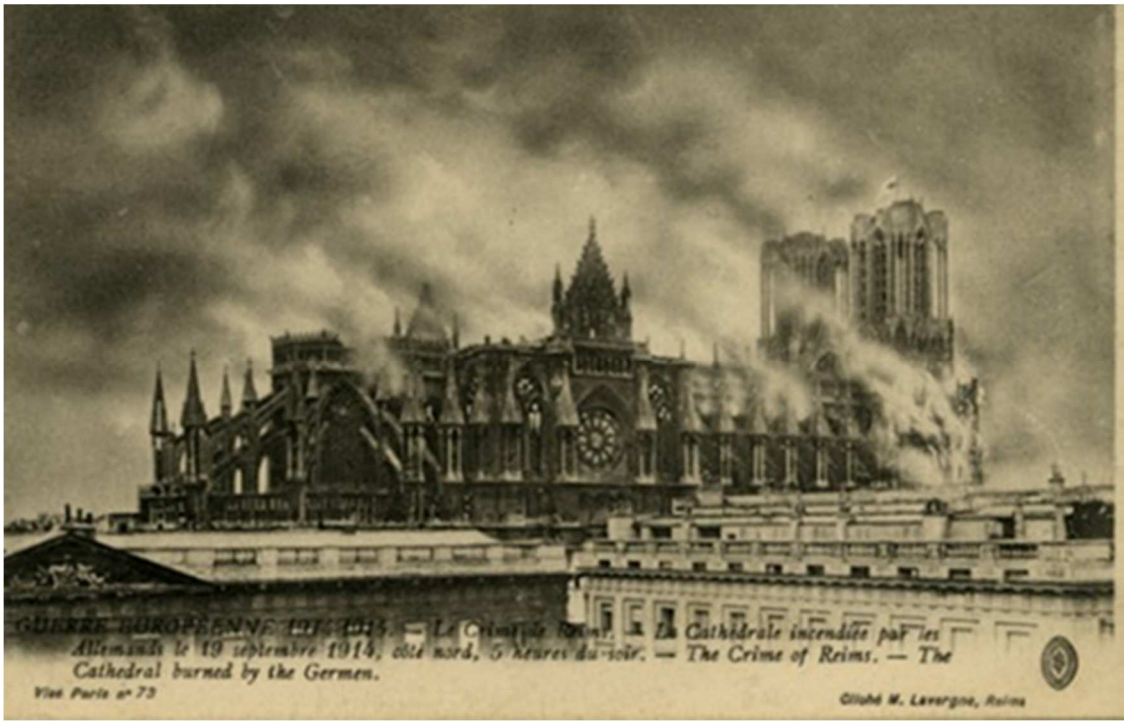
Allied Powers: Caution and Confusion

Destruction of cultural property by the Germans during the First World War created a major international outcry. The destruction of important monuments and national symbols like cathedrals and university libraries was turned to propaganda tools by the Allies, calling the Germans "barbaric Huns" who had no regard for civilization.[314] These acts of destruction in Western Europe become one of the two major developments that paved the way for a change in the international protection of cultural property law during and after the war. The other was the aspiration, and eventual achievement, of dividing Ottoman lands between European powers with the establishment of the mandate system.

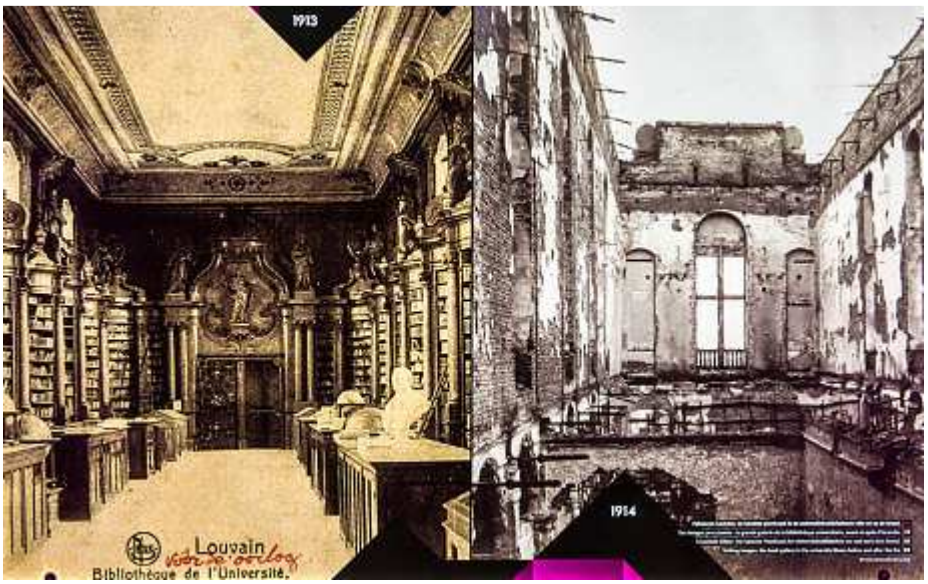
[314] Ascherson, "Cultural Destruction by War, and Its Impact on Group Identities." 27.



[Figure 4.2 Anti-German propaganda poster entitled "Destroy this mad Brute- Enlist" showing an ape wearing a German helmet invading the United States having conquered Europe. American Propaganda Poster 1917 designed by Harry Ryle Hopps. Imperial War Museum (Art.IWM PST 0243) https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/13610]



[Figure 4.3. Anti-German propaganda postcard entitled “the Crime of Reims” showing the burning of the Reims Cathedral 1914. https://www.rtbf.be/14-18/thematiques/detail_herman-van-der-linden-et-le-sac-de-louvain-aout-1914-le-traumatisme-d-un-intellectuel?id=8266398#]



[Figure 4.4 The ‘sack of Louvain’ and destruction by arson of the university library during the week 25-28 August 1914. shttps://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/11053962/The-city-that-turned-Germans-into-Huns-marks-100-years-since-it-was-set-ablaze.html][315]

With this heightened academic and public interest in the protection of cultural property, the victorious Allied powers in Ottoman lands were aware of the possibility of looking like looters and took measures to avoid such an impression. In Thessaloniki, the French Army of the Orient in February 21, 1916, circulated the first memo concerning "archaeological and artistic discoveries" This was replaced in the spring by the Instruction on the Conservation and Research of Antiquities which introduced the official protocol for actions to be taken by the soldiers in the event of

[315] These pictures were originally published in an eyewitness account of Albert Fuglister, a Swiss businessman based in Louvain, and present during 25-28 August, 1914 countered German propaganda in his Louvain ville martyre (Paris & London, 1916; 9083.f.14)For more information on the literature over German destruction of Louvain and Reims see “‘Sack of Louvain – Awful Holocaust’ (Daily Mail Headline, Monday 31 August 1914) - European Studies Blog,” accessed September 9, 2019, https://blogs.bl.uk/european/2014/09/sack-of-louvain.html. https://blogs.bl.uk/european/2014/09/sack-of-louvain.html

discovery of antiquities. This document wanted to avoid looting, circulation, and any action that may disturb the scientific inquiries.

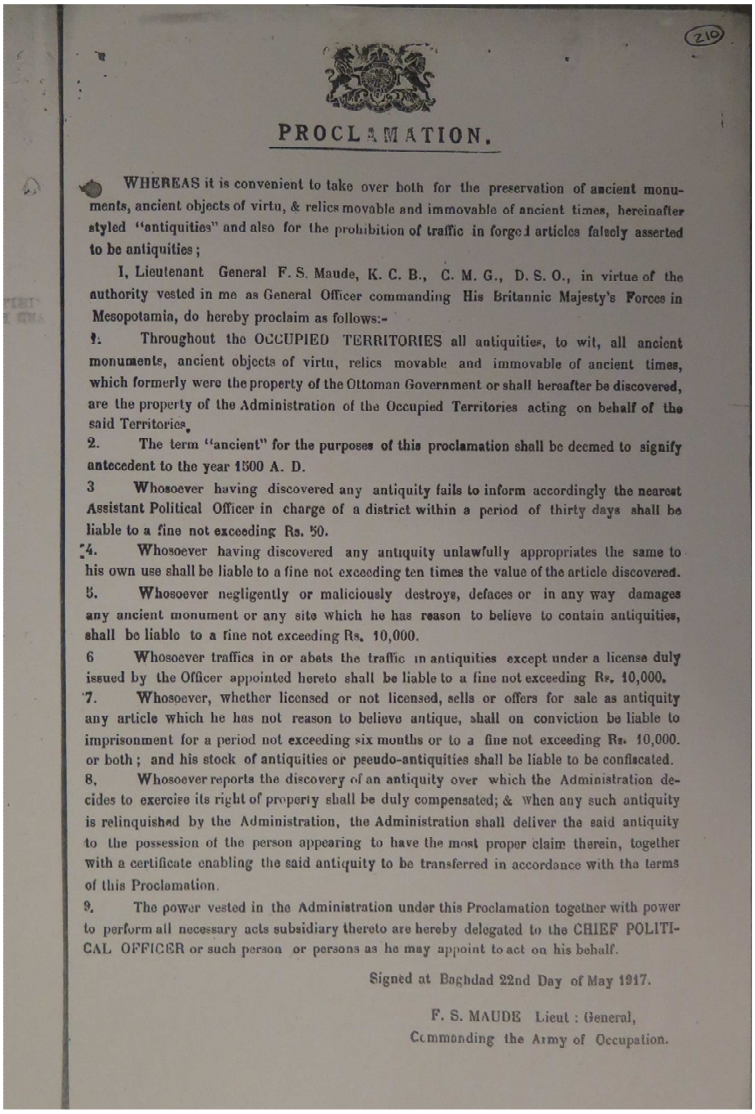
Within two months of occupying Baghdad in 1917, British forces issued a proclamation about the protection of antiquities. Per this proclamation, all antiquities were the property of the administration of the occupied territories and all unauthorized removal of them was prohibited. In April 1918, British authorities sent another order to all ranks banning the mutilation of ruins and removal of antiquities.[316] In early 1918, Captain R. Campbell Thompson, an official of the British Museum then serving in the Intelligence Branch within the army in Mesopotamia, was attached to the British forces in Mesopotamia and Palestine "with a view to the preservation of ancient sites and buildings" and to conduct research.[317] The British were not the only ones who took these steps. Faced with the destruction and smuggling of antiquities in his army, Nikolai Yudenich, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies entering Northern Asia Minor, in March 1916 declared that ancient monuments, without exception, were under state protection from destruction, and that plundering, sale, purchase, or unauthorized collection of cultural property were strictly forbidden in the areas occupied by the Russian army[318] Similarly, the Italians created regulations for the protection of historical and artistic heritage when entering Austria with an order by the Chief of Staff in August 1915, which was stricter than current Italian antiquities laws in its

[316] British Library, L/P&S/10/689, The text reads: General Routine Orders Saturday, April 6th, 1918. Visits to Babylon and Birds Nimrud 406. (a) All ranks wishing to visit the ruins of Babylon or Birs Nimrud whether they use the Rest House at Babylon or not, are reminded that they are to inform the Area Commandant, Hillah, stating their name. rand and unit or department, also date of their proposed visit. (b) The defacement or mutilation of the ruins and the removal of therefore of any bricks or other antiquities, whether lying loose or not is strictly prohibited. A.2251

[317] British Library, IOR/L/P&S/10/742 British Museum to Captain TW Holderness, February 11, 1919.

[318] Üre, "Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology, and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894-1914)." 241.

limitations regarding the movement of antiquities. They expanded this order in 1917 to avoid all expatriation, harm, and illegal trafficking of antiquities.[319]



PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it is convenient to take over both for the preservation of ancient monuments, ancient objects of virtu, & relics movable and immovable of ancient times, hereinafter styled "antiquities" and also for the prohibition of traffic in forged articles falsely asserted to be antiquities;

I, Lieutenant General F. S. Maude, K. C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O., in virtue of the authority vested in me as General Officer commanding His Britannic Majesty's Forces in Mesopotamia, do hereby proclaim as follows:-

1. Throughout the OCCUPIED TERRITORIES all antiquities, to wit, all ancient monuments, ancient objects of virtu, relics movable and immovable of ancient times, which formerly were the property of the Ottoman Government or shall hereafter be discovered, are the property of the Administration of the Occupied Territories acting on behalf of the said Territories.

2. The term "ancient" for the purposes of this proclamation shall be deemed to signify antecedent to the year 1500 A. D.

3 Whosoever having discovered any antiquity fails to inform accordingly the nearest Assistant Political Officer in charge of a district within a period of thirty days shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 50.

4. Whosoever having discovered any antiquity unlawfully appropriates the same to his own use shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ten times the value of the article discovered.

5. Whosoever negligently or maliciously destroys, defaces or in any way damages any ancient monument or any site which he has reason to believe to contain antiquities, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 10,000.

6 Whosoever traffics in or abets the traffic in antiquities except under a license duly issued by the Officer appointed hereto shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 10,000.

7. Whosoever, whether licensed or not licensed, sells or offers for sale as antiquity any article which he has not reason to believe antique, shall on conviction be liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 10,000. or both; and his stock of antiquities or pseudo-antiquities shall be liable to be confiscated.

8. Whosoever reports the discovery of an antiquity over which the Administration decides to exercise its right of property shall be duly compensated; & when any such antiquity is relinquished by the Administration, the Administration shall deliver the said antiquity to the possession of the person appearing to have the most proper claim therein, together with a certificate enabling the said antiquity to be transferred in accordance with the terms of this Proclamation.

9. The power vested in the Administration under this Proclamation together with power to perform all necessary acts subsidiary thereto are hereby delegated to the CHIEF POLITICAL OFFICER or such person or persons as he may appoint to act on his behalf.

Signed at Baghdad 22nd Day of May 1917.

F. S. MAUDE Lieut: General,
Commanding the Army of Occupation.

[319] ACS PCM Guerra Europea B73 Fascicolo 19-2 Tutela del Patrimonio Storico ed Artistico dei Territori Redenti. 25 May and 29 June 1917, B73. Letter from Commissione di studio per le opera storiche e d'arte di Unione Economica Nazionale to Paolo Boselli, Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri. It would be useful here to mention that after the war, the governor of Italian Tripolitania took measures to preserve roman and Muslim historical patrimony and created legislation for it. See Brian L. McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya An Ambivalent Modernism* (University of Washington Press, 2018).

[Figure 4.5. British Proclamation regarding protection of antiquities. Baghdad, May 22,1917. British Library IOR L&S/10/689]

The Allies not only issued regulations, but they also took more active steps to avoid the appearance of looters. For example, they inspected Bergama Museum (known also as Pergamon) in Western Asia Minor near Izmir to check if its artifacts were safe. In October 1919, after the Greek occupation of the Aegean coastal regions of Asia Minor, the British official in Bergama, Lt. MacLachlan, went to the museum together with the Kaymakam of Bergama, a Turkish caretaker, and four Greek officers to inspect the conditions of the museum's collection. Per reports found in the French archives, when they saw that in some parts of the museum the dirt was thinner, the caretaker explained that some objects were taken by the Germans during the war. When they left the museum, the guardianship was left both to the Turks and Greeks and a copy of its catalogue was given to the Kaymakam.[320] Other Allied activities included making casts of the antiquities and the restoration of fragile monuments like tiling in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, to not only ensure the survival of these historic monuments but also to curry commendation in the international public eye.[321]

These activities and the general sense of caution toward cultural property also had to do with the knowledge that the Allies would be ruling the lands that they occupied after the war. This was the second important development that shaped the war-time and post-war laws regarding cultural

[320] CADN, Occupation de Smyrne Correspondances avec les départements 3 B. 1. From consul general of France in Izmir to the French High Commissioner in Istanbul, Izmir, February 3, 1920.

[321] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/689. In a letter dated February 7, 1919 from British archeologist H.R. Hall to the Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia, Hall complains that a 2nd Lieutenant Wilson of an Indian Labour Corps was given permission to take casts of antiquities around the Ishtar Gate. Hall not only complains about this but also the fact that he sent a "native" to do the job as well. This shows not only the conflicting orders given by different branches of the British government but also the attitude of this British archeologists towards abilities of "natives". Kew, FO 608/52 Report by Major E.T. Richmond and a note by Commander D.G. Hogarht regarding restoration of tiling in dome of the rock, Jerusalem and on its condition in 1918. January 20, 1919.

property. The anticipation of future ownership and an understanding that this would bring scrutiny from the international public shaped the options of the occupiers and made them cautious. For example, Lord Curzon, the head of the Foreign Office, was reluctant to export antiquities from Mesopotamia, pointing out that eventually there would be local museums in what would be European mandates, and that the peoples of these countries would develop preservation schemes for their antiquities parallel with their "national development."[322]

Proclamations and preservation activities, however, do not imply that the Allies were fully prepared to take on antiquities' administration in the occupied territories of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, prior experience in other European colonies was not quite enough to meet the unique challenges created by the war and its chaotic aftermath.[323] Therefore, confusion within Allied governmental and civilian institutions, as well as competition between Allies regarding how to approach the question of antiquities during the war and occupation, were rampant.

The case of the Samarra antiquities and the Lisbon affair illustrate this confusion clearly. In the Samarra case, which centered around the question of what to do with antiquities left by German archeologists and found by the British Expeditionary Force, the British War Office demanded the antiquities as war trophies, while the India Office considered these artifacts its own, for it viewed Iraq as a potential colonization zone for British Indians.[324] Meanwhile, the British Museum, the

[322]British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/689 Letter from the Foreign Office signed by J.A.C Tilley to F.G Kenyon of the British museum. January 27, 1919.

[323] A similar confusion can also be found in Italian occupation of the island of Rodi, during the Italo-Ottoman war in 1912. See Rosa, *L'Archeologia italiana nel Mediterraneo*.

[324] Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*. 58.

Victoria and Albert Museum, and other British museums fought one another to become the destination of these antiquities.

Despite the multiple levels of conflict regarding the future of Samarra antiquities, this episode also signaled the beginnings of post-war international cooperation. Before the war, archeologists were a small international group who were as used to working together as much as they were used to competing over excavations sites. It was common, for instance, for a German archeologist to work on a British excavation, or vice versa. Therefore, even though the war pushed and pulled people to different camps, after the war the members of this elite international group still considered each other as respected colleagues. This was the case regarding the Samarra antiquities, when a group of British archeologists, museologists, and scholars, including people from competing institutions such the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the India Office invited German Professor Herzfeld to help sort out the Samarra antiquities. They emphasized the scientific necessity of opening the physical cases with the original excavator, who was an eminent scholar regardless of the contemporary anti-German feelings in the public.[325]

The infamous Lisbon affair illustrates the international confusion regarding not only the future of the Middle East but also the question of ownership of antiquities. This affair centered on the contested fate of a collection of Mesopotamian antiquities excavated by German archeologists and sent to Germany via the Mediterranean just before the outbreak of the war. The Portuguese government, despite being a neutral country until 1916, intercepted and confiscated these antiquities as war trophies as the ship carrying them took refuge from the war in Lisbon. After the war there were prolonged negotiations between Germany, Portugal, and Britain about the

[325] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/689 A letter from Kenyon to Mark Sykes. September 25, 1918.

ownership of these antiquities as the contemporary legal framework was not sophisticated enough to deal with this unprecedented affair.[326]

Taking the Exceptional Opportunity[327]

The document discussed above, in which Lord Curzon declared his preferences regarding the expatriation of the Mesopotamian antiquities, also provides extensive caveats. In line with the nineteenth and early twentieth century political and archeological context, Lord Curzon and most of the elites of the European countries regarded certain pasts, such as Greek and Roman civilizations and their remains, as their own. Moreover, they argued that because of their "civilized" status, only Europeans were able to study and appreciate those antiquities. Therefore, the export of antiquities was permissible according to Lord Curzon in the case of duplicates and those "antiquities where their inscription and significance can be more readily elucidated in a Western capital or where their antiquities is such as to leave little or no connection with the surviving city."[328] This section is therefore about Allies taking advantage of the situation they found themselves in during the war and its aftermath.

[326] İdris Yücel, "Between Science and Empire: The Diplomatic Struggle over Mesopotamian Antiquities in Lisbon (1914–1926)," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 31, no. 2 (2016); Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past*.

[327] In a letter sent by the British Museum to the Secretary State for War, the Director Kenyon communicate their desire to "take advantage of the exceptional opportunities afforded by the presence of British troops" in Palestine and Mesopotamia in the interest of the country and of antiquarian research in general. January 9, 1918. British Library, IOR/L/P&S/10/742.

[328] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/689 Letter from the Foreign Office signed by J.A.C Tilley to F.G Kenyon of the British museum. January 27, 1919.

British and French forces conducted archeological excavations and sent their finds to their capitals throughout the war. The most organized activities seem to have been carried out in northern Greece where the British and French forces were stationed towards the end of war.[329] The fact that the Greeks were their allies did not stop the British and French from sending their finds to the British Museums and the Louvre, as I have discussed in chapter three. When the Allied forces were on Ottoman soil they took this opportunity even further than they did in Greece. The Allies used the archeological activities and employed the preservation rhetoric for furthering their political and territorial claims vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire as well as each other. Along with the proclamation of regulations protecting antiquities, they also engaged in extensive excavations and started establishing museums such as one in Adana under French occupation.

Not all of these archeological activities and excavations had a well-thought out political agenda. For example, the American excavations in Sardis, near Izmir, were a result of seizing the moment. The fluid and foggy political atmosphere of the post-war years in the Ottoman Empire encouraged American archeologists to continue their excavations that they started before the war in now Greek-occupied Sardis. They shipped their finds to the United States to fill their national museums with Middle Eastern antiquities as a sign of their civilized status and their international reach. Howard Crosley Butler of Princeton University, the main actor of this episode, infamously known as the Sardis Affair, defended their action in the introduction of his book "Sardis," describing the mission in almost humanitarian terms, in which the antiquities were saved from a

[329] For a detailed study of these archeological activities see E Chairi, "E. Chairi's "L'oeuvre Archeologique de l'armee d'Orient," in *Archeologie Dans l'Empire Ottoman Autour de 1900: Entre Politiqu, Economie et Science*, ed. Véronique Krings and Isabelle Tassignon (Rome: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2004), 231–44; Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts, Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005). 296-7.

war zone.[330] Nevertheless, these self-described saviors never acquired an excavation permit nor one to expatriate antiquities and therefore, like all the other excavations mentioned above, they breached both Ottoman and international law.

International attempts to create new national and international norms and laws

How to deal with archeology in post-war negotiations?

The chaotic circumstances of the post-war Ottoman Empire and unclear future of its territories paved the way to extensive negotiations during the Paris Peace Conference (Jan 18, 1919 – Jan 21, 1920). Meanwhile, while the Allies were trying to conclude peace treaties, they were trying to create new institutions for the administration of the post-war order. Thus, archeology was one of the issues that was debated and for which an institutional arrangement was sought. These negotiations reflected deep distrust amongst the Allies themselves.[331] Yet, there was cooperation there too.

International cooperation can be seen in the petition addressed to the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and signed by British, French, American, and Italian archeologists. This petition called for the creation of a subcommittee for archeology under the League of Nations to inspect the mandatory states' archeological activities. This request materialized with the creation

[330] Howard Crosby Butler, *Sardis*, vol. 1 (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1922), http://fds.lib.harvard.edu/fds/deliver/400950962/ButlerSardisIPDFa.pdf.

[331] For example, see "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 22 April 1919, Kew, FO 608/116. Italians and British fear each other about archeological rights in Asia Minor.

of the International Committee in Paris in May 1919 within the body of the Peace Conference[332] and two international organizations both established in 1919: The Union Académique Internationale (UAI)[333] and the Committee of International Cooperation. The purpose of these two international bodies was to encourage cooperation and establishment of unified rules to govern scientific research. Regulation of archeology was included under their purview.

There were other national and international bodies that wanted to be a part of the making of new laws of archeology. As early as November 1918, the Royal Institute of British Architects urged the Foreign Office to organize the control of antiquities in the East and offered guidelines for doing so.[334] This initiative was turned into the Joint Archeological Committee by the British Academy in London in 1919 to help shape post-war archeological policy and regulations. British Museum officials provided information on the state of archeological affairs in the Middle East[335] and their opinion regarding the granting of concessions to excavate in Mesopotamia.[336] The French Ministry for Public Instruction and Fine Arts, working together with the Académie des Inscriptions

[332] "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 1919, Kew, FO 608/82.

[333] Initial members were representatives of National Academies from eleven countries have marked their accession (Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland and Russia, the United States) and National Academies of three other countries had given their agreement without being represented (Spain, Norway and Romania). The Union Académique Internationale currently has Academies members in 61 countries. "Union Académique Internationale - History," accessed July 18, 2019, http://www.uai-iua.org/en/uai/history.

[334]British Library, IOR/L/P&S/10/742. Letter from Royal Institute of British Architects to the Foreign Office. November 26, 1918.

[335] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/742. From Kenton to the Foreign Office, January 2, 1919.

[336] British Library, IOR/P&S/10/742 H.R. Hall from the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, attached to the Political Department in Mesopotamia, prepared a memorandum arguing for a regular system that takes into account historical claims of each nation. 22 May 1919. It is not surprising that the biggest chunk of sites goes to the British Museum, some to the British Archeological Committee or other British Archeological Societies. Hall is willing to admit French, only if they abandon "their unscientific exclusive claim to excavate in Persia".

et Belles-Lettres, one of the five academies of the Institut de France also come up with principles to guide the future of archeology in the Middle East.

These various national groups had very similar ideas. For example in the first meeting of the UAI in October 1919, a resolution asking for the following was accepted unanimously by all those present, including members of the Joint Archeological Committee and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Cooperation and coordination between British, American and French scholars, establishment of an egalitarian regime regarding all archeological activities in the mandates, establishment of an Antiquities Service that was in charge of administration, control of excavations, conservation of monuments and establishment of museums with analogues rules in each mandate, the creation of a technical committee composed of representatives of the three powers (American, British and French).[337]

This spirit of cooperation was not to be found on the ground, however. According to the reports of the British Museum, the activities of the French Administrator in Northern Syria, M. Brêmond, conflicted with the above-mentioned resolution adopted in the UAI. The British wanted to go Jerablus, to their excavations in the ancient site of Carchamish conducted by C.L Wooley and T.E. Lawrence before the war. However, in 1920, the area was transferred to the French administration and M. Brêmond instructed his French officers to take casts of the antiquities for the Louvre and a local museum, breaching what the director of the British Museum called "the recognized conventions of international archeology".[338]

[337] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/742. October, 1919.

[338] British Library, IOR L/P&S/10/742. From Kenyon dated February 3, 1920.

There were other international archaeological bodies, such as the International Archeological Committee, which was established before the war and revived in 1919.[339] Despite the rhetoric of cooperation, the British Joint Committee was hostile to the International Committee for it included smaller nations, such as Greece and Serbia, that the British thought had no business deciding on issues that might influence their own national policies. What is more, when we look at the composition of The Union Académique Internationale (UAI) and the Committee of International Cooperation we see that they are composed of members of national archeology committees, and therefore even these international bodies were sites in which nations struggled to put their interests first.

International Treaties

All of these international institutions were in favor of changing the Ottoman Antiquities law, which they found defective. According to a report by the Joint Archeological Committee, the law encouraged destruction of antiquities because it put on individuals the burden of reporting and transporting antiquities found on their private land to local authorities, who were often ineffective or corrupt. However, the biggest complaint was about the rigid prohibition of moving antiquities, which the committee claimed led to smuggling. They argued that this was very counterproductive

[339] "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to South and South Eastern Europe," 1919, Kew, FO 608/38.

for scientific reasons and that an equitable division of finds, like the one in Egypt, would stop smuggling.[340]

American and British archeologist were apparently anxious in 1919 about the return of three groups of findings excavated by German, Austrian, and American archeologists removed in the last few years of the war from Palestine to Constantinople. They argued that these finds should be returned to Jerusalem and placed in a new museum that was being established for archeological and educational purposes.[341] What is more important, they asked that the return of the artifacts be among the minor articles of the Peace Conference. All these debates about the future of archeology surfaced in the documents granting Ottoman territory as mandates to Britain and France during the San Remo Conference in April 25, 1920, as well as in the Sèvres Treaty that was signed by the Allies and the Ottoman Empire on August 10, 1920. According to article 421 of this treaty:

"The Turkish Government will, within twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, abrogate the existing law of antiquities and take the necessary steps to enact a new law of antiquities which will be based on the rules contained in the Annex hereto (…). The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of this law on a basis of perfect equality between all nations."[342]

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[340] "Basutoland: Constantine Makotoko Theko (Chief Theko Makhaola's son)," 1 January 1953- 31 December 1954, Kew, FO 141/687.

[341] British Library, IOR/L/P&S/10/689. From architect C.R Ashbee to Lord Curzon dated January 16, 1919. There was an museum in Jerusalem established under the Ottoman rule called Müze-i Humayun (1901-1917) and its collection was merged into the new the British Palestine Museum of Antiquities (1921-1930). St. Laurent, Beatrice and Taskomur, Himmet, "The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890-1930: An Alternate Narrative," *Jerusalem Quarterly* Autumn 2013, no. 55 (n.d.), https://www.palestine-studies.org/jq/issue/55.

[342] ANNEX. 1."Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year 1700. 2. The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat. Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the

While this article addresses the issues pointed out by the Joint Committee's report mentioned earlier, the next article (Article 422) carries the Allied agenda even further:

"All objects of religious, archeological, historical or artistic interest which have been removed since August 1, 1914, from any of the territories detached from Turkey will within twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty be restored by the Turkish Government to the Government of the territory from which such objects were removed (…)."

Different versions of this article can be found in the Peace Treaty with Germany as well. Along with Article 247, which demands reparations for the destruction of the Library of Louvain, Article 245 demands the restoration of the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs or works of art carried away from France during not only World War I but also during the war of 1870–1871. Moreover, Article 246 requires Germany to restore the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Ottoman authorities, to His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz. This Koran was said to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.[343]

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same to an official of the competent Turkish Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery. 3. No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Turkish Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity. No antiquity may leave the country without an export license from the said Department. 4. Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed. 5. No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorized by the competent Turkish Department. 6. Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archæological interest. 7. Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. The Turkish Government shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to eliminate scholars of any nation without good grounds. 8. The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Turkish Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find. "The Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Turkey Signed at Sèvres August 10, 1920," *Hellenic Resources Network*, "Sevres Treaty: Part XIII," accessed July 18, 2019, http://www.hri.org/docs/sevres/part13.html.

[343] The same article also requires the return of the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa which was removed from the Protectorate of German East Africa to the British crown. "The Avalon Project : The Versailles Treaty June 28, 1919," accessed July 18, 2019, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/partviii.asp.

While Germany was asked to return cultural property that it had acquired from other lands, the Ottoman Empire was asked to relinquish antiquities to the new mandates that had been part of the empire. One important difference was that while Germans were asked to return cultural property taken well before the beginning of the war, the Ottomans were asked only to return property seized after the beginning of the war.

The specific reference to the return of the Islamic artifacts in the German treaty had to do with the European sensitivity towards millions of Muslim subjects in their colonies. The war changed and heightened this sensitivity. It became a major concern especially with the Ottoman declaration of jihad during the war. Moreover, after the Arab Revolt of 1916 and the Damascus Protocol of 1915 that promised the Holy Lands of Islam to the Arabs, the British were now in an even more special position vis-à-vis the world's Muslims because they had millions of Muslims living in their colonies. Therefore, the protection of Muslim shrines, antiquities, and artifacts acquired a new urgency and importance.

The symbolic value of the ownership of the Muslim holy lands and its cultural artifacts was also known by the Hashemites. Accordingly, the Hashemites, having no representatives in Istanbul, asked via the British for the Korans and other valuable cultural artifacts that had been removed from Medina by the Ottomans during the war.[344] Moreover, as early as 1918 when the Hashemites were asking the British to push for restoration of a jewel known as El Kawkab el Durri and other precious stones removed from the Prophet's tomb at Medina by the Ottomans, they used the British claims as protectors of the Muslims for their own advantage. In a letter to the British

[344] The British reacted angrily to the "spoliation" of a holy tomb and to allegations that Fakhri Pasha melted valuable articles. "Letter from British Delegation for Lord Curzon dated April 18th 1919," ,British Library, IOR 31077 L/PS/11/151.

government the Hashemites hint towards their influence in the Muslim world which includes millions of British colonial citizens to get precious stones returned to them: "[Hashemite] King considers prompt and complete restoration of these treasures through initiative of His Majesty's [British] Government would have good effect on Arab and Moslem [sic] opinion".[345]

The fight for removed Islamic cultural objects continued after the war as well. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ottomans removed religions items to Constantinople. There is another facet to these policies regarding the return of Islamic antiquities. The British archives provide cases in which the British themselves removed Islamic artifacts. These cases, while not mentioned in any of the international treaties, caused heated debates within different British governmental organs. As in the case with the Samarra antiquities, different organs of the British Empire disagreed over the steps that should be taken and most of the time failed to agree on the facts as well. The best example that illustrates this confusion and the double standards used in decisions comes from a dispute over certain ancient Persian guns that were removed from Baghdad in 1917. One such gun was sent to England, presented to the king, and placed in the Tower of London. Sergeant G.F. MacMunn, the Major-General Commander-in-Chief of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, argued that these were considered interesting relics of the Mesopotamia Campaign and should be placed in a public place in the country of the two armies concerned, in accordance with ancient precedent.[346] The other one was sent to India and later presented to the Persian Government, with the understanding that the guns had been "taken by the Turks from the Persians-so have never really been the property

[345] "Letter sent by "King of the Hedjaz", dispatched by Sir. R. Wingate in Cairo on November 7th, 1918,"British Library, IOR 31007 L/PS/11/151.

[346] British Library, IOR/L/PS/11/151. June 23, 1919.

of the Arabs of Baghdad."[347] Nevertheless the India Office asked the War Office to return the guns to Baghdad as "an excellent impression will be produced, the effect of which at the present juncture may be far reaching, if the Civil Commissioner is enabled, as a result of his visit to England, to give the people of Baghdad so striking an assurance of the generous good-will entertained towards them by the British Crown."[348] Gertrude Bell, who was working in the Mesopotamian Government at that moment, brought to the attention of the British government the displeasure of certain Arab men of letters in Baghdad about the removal of the guns. She argued that addressing the mounting resentment was more important than maintaining hold of these objects. Interestingly, Bell referenced the Germans as a means to shame her fellow countrymen, warning that the British behavior "resembles that of Germans who looted to the astronomical instruments at Pekin"[349]

How to Proceed? Attempts to Create a New International System of Cultural Property Law

"We have been invited by the League of Nations to study in a general manner the problems of international intellectual co-operation. The League of Nations has given us this work. It did not define it because in its wisdom, it preferred that we should define it ourselves, and it did not wish to limit our field of activity. It did not define the task, but the result of this has been that all around me I have heard it said, not only in France but in other countries, that this idea of the League of

[347] British Library, IOR/L/PS/11/151. From War Office sent 11 Feb 1918.

[348] British Library, IOR/L/PS/11/151. May 23, 1919.

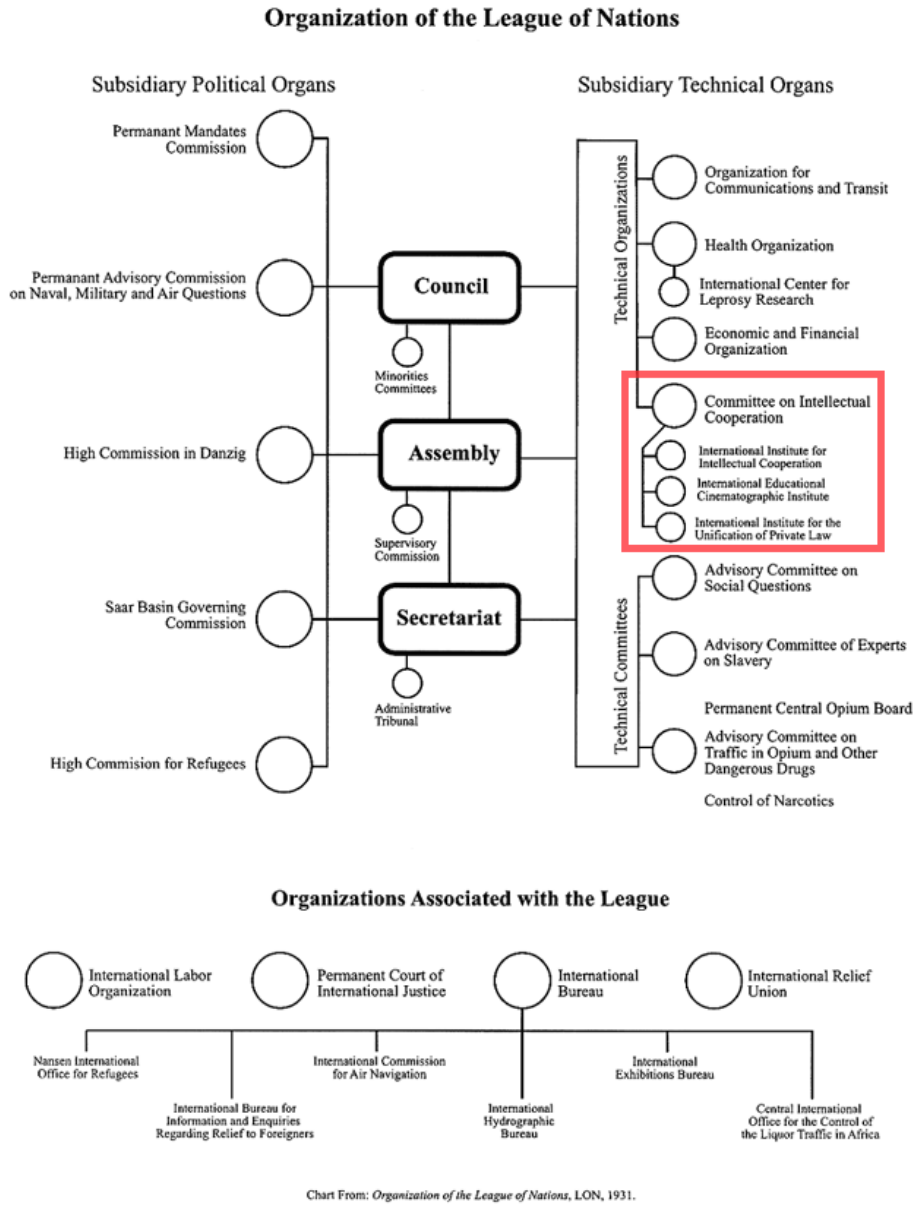
[349] British Library, IOR/L/PS/11/151. "From Bell Aug 13 1919 ," In 1920 Germans returned these. "Pekin Loot.," 1919.: "Pekin Loot," *Dunstan Times,* issue 2981 (18 August 1919), https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DUNST19190818.2.12.

Nations was a fine idea and a great idea, but that, when the moment came for its realization, the Committee would find it difficult to discover subjects for discussion, difficult to draw up a programme of work."

In the closing argument of the first session of the League of Nation's Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation, held in Geneva in August 1922, the chairman, M.H. Bergson verbalized the shared feelings regarding the League of Nations and the committee's work. The committee members and its chairman were very aware that they were a part of the making of a new post-war order and that aspects of this new order were far from concrete. The very shape of the League of Nations, its goal, and modus operandi were being shaped by several important developments. First, the League of Nations brought the victors of the war together but lacked the United States. It also did not include Germany. Second, despite not being a member the United States shaped the League of Nations. United States paved the way for a changed set of rules when it came to dividing up the territories gained during the war. This changed set of rules created the mandate system.

The mandate system on the one hand challenged the way in which colonial powers operated. European powers were no longer allowed to create new and "proper" colonies. Rather, with the creation of the mandate system they were endowed with "the sacred trust of civilization" to assist citizens of the colonies and territories who were no longer ruled by their former states. Because the League of Nations claimed to consider the different "stages of development" of the various peoples in the territories in question, it assigned different types of European administration. The peoples of the ex-Ottoman Empire were considered by the members of the League of Nations to be superior to peoples of say, South-West Africa and the South Pacific Islands. On the other

hand, the civilizational hierarchy through which colonial powers legitimized their reach was continued and legally institutionalized with the mandate system.[350]



[Figure 4.6 Organization Chart of League of Nations, box marked in red shows the Committee of Intellectual Cooperation https://libraryresources.unog.ch/lonintellectualcooperation]

[350] See Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. "Avalon Project - The Covenant of the League of Nations," accessed July 18, 2019, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp#art22.

The principle of civilizational hierarchy and the belief that those on top had the responsibility to spread their civilization for the benefit of "less-developed" peoples were also found in many other organs of the League of Nations, including the Committee on International Co-Operation. Accordingly, and despite the acceptance of a lack of concreteness of their definition and limitations, the Committee on International Co-Operation took important steps in matters regarding archeology.

This committee decided on the need to plan research and unify research methods in matters regarding archeology in their first meeting. Moreover, they called for the creation of international rules and regulations for the preservation and transfer of antiquities. The members of the Committee added that this international regulation should not only include classical archeology, i.e. Italy and Greece, but also Balkan countries, Turkey, and Asia. At this point, there was no talk of removal of antiquities, but the committee enthusiastically called for making a list of antiquities that were not discovered yet but were known to exist from historical records.

The next year, some of these proposals were refined. They moved from the idea of making a list of unknown antiquities to making a list of known antiquities. This was a common practice at the time, employed by the Italians in Italy and in their African colonies as well as in British India. Its roots went back to the 1790 French order mentioned above. This also meant that the Committee started to talk about the fate of antiquities in the newly minted mandates, such as Syria and Iraq. Accordingly, the report written for the second session of the League of Nations' Committee on International Cooperation, which gathered in Geneva on September 1, 1923 discusses the risks and rewards of removing antiquities and argues for keeping antiquities where they are "in countries where intelligent and strict supervision over works of art and antiquities is, or can be, exercised

(…).” This meant that antiquities should be removed from those countries where “strictly scientific coordination certainly does not hold the most important place” and where antiquities are subject to “inevitable pillage or even to destruction.”. They also had a solution for those countries that possessed antiquities but were not considered civilized enough: “In the case of countries, as, for example, Egypt, in which an almost infinite number of antiquities are continually being discovered in uniform series, a compromise between the above two methods might perhaps be found. In the case of such countries, objects, when discovered, might be divided up among the local collections and even among local museums and the museums in these countries which had contributed to the work of research either by giving scientific assistance or by supplying funds.”[351]

Cultural property related practices were also discussed in the third session of the International Academic Union in May 1922. A special committee that dealt with archeological regulations in mandated countries (“or countries occupying a similar position”, i.e. Egypt and the Ottoman Empire) consisted of specialists like the director of the British Museum Sir Frederick Kenyon and archeologists like M. Cawadias and M. Kyparissis. However, with meetings like these, members of the elite academic and state institutions tried to craft more detailed and international guidelines.

This special committee wanted to achieve two main objectives. The first was to grant equality to all nations in matters of excavation and research. The second was to preserve antiquities. This second objective was thought to be achieved in several ways. The method was to

[351] League of Nations, “League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation Minutes of the Second Session Geneva, July 26th to August 2nd, 1923.” (Geneva: League of Nations, August 26, 1923), “Digitized Collections: League of Nations Official Documents,” United Nations Archives, http://libraryresources.unog.ch/c.php?g=462663&p=3163194. https://biblio-archive.unog.ch/Dateien/CouncilMSD/C-570-M-224-1923-XII_EN.pdf.

educate the native populations, as well as foreigners inhabiting the country and travelers. This could be done by supervising monuments in situ, establishing "a central or a local museum in which all movable antiquities will be collected and stored, grouped in series representing the history and civilization of the country." Moreover, they argued for a benevolent policy in which the natives were taught to recognize antiquities and to appreciate the importance of such objects "for the honour and profit of their country; they should be shown the advantages of honest information by the award of prizes or of fair compensation."

These attempts to curb illicit excavations did not go far enough to include the illicit diggings done during the war by the Allies themselves. This is especially interesting given that the International Committee established in Paris was charged to investigate German removal of antiquities during the war but failed to include similar Allied actions in their investigations.[352]

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, protection of antiquities became by and large a marker of civilization, a duty of the state, and a tool for foreign policy. As part of this, the protection of antiquities became institutionalized. This was so because protection of antiquities was useful in making colonial claims, particularly by asserting that the native populations did not care about antiquities and it was up to the Europeans to safeguard this cultural property. They could also do this by claiming certain historical remains as their own specific heritage. For example, Europeans claimed Greek and Roman artifacts as their own, and asserted that those artifacts had nothing to do with the current

[352] Kew, FO 608/82 "British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to Middle East," 1919.

inhabitants of their lands of origin. . So, natives residing in antiquity-filled lands bore no relation to the ancient world, holding property mean nothing. Moreover, because protection of antiquities became a marker of civilization, it also became a tool of foreign policy, one that competed with other European imperial and civilizational claims. The example of plunder during the Napoleonic wars provides a good example; plunder of non-French European artifacts was legitimized as protection under civilized French rule. Likewise, plunder of Middle Eastern antiquities, say during the Sardis affair, was justified as protection of antiquities during a war, for scientific purposes only.

The war and occupation of the Ottoman Empire therefore provided great opportunities to employ this plunder and protection system. However, two developments, the German atrocities towards cultural property during the war and the aspirations over distribution of Ottoman lands among the Allies, paved the way for other contradictory policies employed by the Allies. On the one hand, they tried their best to avoid looking like looters. They employed many policies to protect the antiquities via regulations, and took active measures, like surveillance and repairs. On the other hand, they sent antiquities home, with and without any pretension of protection.

When the war come to an end, the bodies that were established during the Peace Conference, including the League of Nations, therefore institutionalized the practices of the Allied states, even though there was talk about international regulations to protect antiquities. Using the argument that these antiquities were the common heritage of all, these bodies pointed towards international tutelage and ownership. However, by qualifying this cultural property as the common heritage of

"civilized nations,"[353] they retained the right to expropriate Middle Eastern antiquities during the war. And the Allied forces paved the ground for similar activities in the post-war negotiations by creating national antiquities laws in their mandates that heavily favored Allied preferences and by establishing weak international bodies that failed to create international checks and balances in dealing with archaeological affairs.

The obstacles that prevented the development of an international law were parallel with other international and national troubles. For example, the wish for open international agreements, as stated in the Paris Peace Conference by American president Wilson, to replace secret agreements between parties had two obstacles. First, the control of the historical artifacts, and thus control of history, was employed as a weapon by Allied countries (Britain, France, Italy and Russia (until 1917)) to make claims about the future of the Ottoman lands and created clashing demands. Second, the mandate system that was created in the aftermath of the war institutionalized the civilizing mission, and archeology fit very well with this mission for it allowed expatriation of cultural heritage. An international law regulating these activities was therefore undesirable to the Allies. This distrust and the changed international perception regarding cultural property led to the development of some international regulations and organizations and cooperation to check the power of individual states. However, the very nature of the League of Nations, its powerlessness and the mandate system that institutionalized the perceived cultural hierarchies, prevented the creation of a binding and coherent set of international law.

[353] Kew, FO 141/687 "Basutoland: Constantine Makotoko Theko (Chief Theko Makhaola's son)," 1 January 1953-December 31, 1954.

Conclusion

(…) Death is intent on all of us,

Scores of funerals every day.

The dead are worthless, buried like beasts,

Most are dead, the rest will follow suit.

In a few months' time, Lebanon's death will be complete.

Desperate villages where starvation kills young and old,

Where children roam the streets like prey,

With even good people in pursuit.

Lebanese poet Yusuf Francis al-Birri wrote this poem that described the catastrophic famine in the Middle East in 1917. [354] About ninety years or so later, I was sitting in front of a computer doing a catalogue search in the old Ottoman archives, I found a letter written by soldiers on the battlefront, in Gallipoli in 1915, asking the Imperial Museum in Istanbul to send someone to look at some archeological artefacts they found while they were digging trenches.[355] This puzzled me, why did people care so much about archeology in a time of such human suffering? Back then, I was acquainted with the destructive aspects of the war, just like the human suffering

[354] "Literature (Middle East) | International Encyclopedia of the First World War (WW1)," accessed September 4, 2019, https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/literature_middle_east.

[355] BOA, DH.EUM.2.Şb.20.28 (1334 C 15)

Yusuf Francis al-Birri conveyed in his poetry. I was always interested archeology and museums, but this document I found at the Ottoman archives made me wonder about wartime archeology for the first time. Years later when I started to think about my dissertation project, I knew I wanted to study, at least in part, wartime archeology. Then, the topic took over my whole dissertation.

Events of the past two decades have brought new attention to the connections between armed conflict and cultural property. From the destruction of the Bamyan Buddhas in Afghanistan and the looting of the Baghdad Museum in the early 2000s to the destruction of Palymra in the mid-2010s, anyone who watched the news was aware of this connection between armed conflict and antiquities. Nevertheless, the questions about wartime archeology, and other cultural property related activities in the Ottoman Empire, was understudied. In this dissertation I hoped to fill in this gap.

These developments of the past two decades also brought forward many questions about the relationship between armed conflict and cultural property. Why would anyone go to the trouble of bombing an ancient site? What would be their goal? On the other side, why would people all over the world react so passionately to the destruction of an ancient site, when hundreds of thousands of people were suffering every day? To answer these questions in the context of the Ottoman Empire during and right after World War I, I had to start by finding out what kind of cultural property related activities the Ottomans, their allies, and their enemies engaged in. Even though a fair amount of destruction occurred, the issue that defined the role of cultural property during the war and its aftermath was its preservation and protection.

In the first chapter of this dissertation I argued that World War I became a milestone for the rhetoric and actions of protection and preservation of cultural property. In various chapters I

mentioned the impact of the German destruction of cultural property in Europe and its impact on international public perceptions and the decisions of the individual states regarding protection of cultural property. The German destruction paved the way to a heightened awareness about the protection of cultural property. More than ever before, the protection of cultural property became a marker of high civilization and destruction of it became a marker of barbarity. The German actions fed into Allied wartime propaganda. Protection of cultural property became a tool of legitimacy; it became another device to justify the war efforts against the Germans and shape domestic and international public opinion. It became a weapon of war, another means to fight the enemy.

The Germans took this propaganda and turned it on its head by creating monuments protection units. In this way, they not only institutionalized the protection and preservation efforts but also created concrete means to fight against Allied propaganda. In the Ottoman Empire, unlike what had happened in the Western Front, there was no large-scale enemy destruction of antiquities. The Germans here used the opportunity to engage with the archeological treasures of the Ottoman lands. Cemal Paşa's vision of creating an Ottoman future that would encompasse all the pasts and all the present peoples of the empire fit the German monuments protection mission perfectly. Cemal Paşa used the monuments protection unit and their work to send a message to the Ottoman citizens as well as the international public. He wanted to signal to the Ottoman citizens, some of whom were in open revolt against the government, and many of whom were suffering from the government's harsh policies, that the Ottoman lands were made up of multiple layers of the past and its various inhabitants could live together under the protection of the Ottoman government.

This inclusive narrative was not the only narrative that was created by the Ottoman government. During the war, in the capital, the government took steps to shape public opinion but

this time the narrative did not include non-Muslim citizens of the empire. The planned Police Museum meant to showcase Armenian bombs or the fine arts exhibition that excluded non-Muslim Ottomans painted a rather different picture of the Ottoman future. No matter the narrative, the war found Ottomans as sophisticated players of the cultural property scene; they were sharply aware of the power of antiquities, old monuments, and artefacts. The cultural property related activities in the Ottoman Empire did not stop during the war. The war created new opportunities, including the creation of new institutions such as museums and a monument protection unit, and it created new challenges, like the need to move antiquities and religious artefacts out of the Arab provinces as the Ottomans started to lose their hold on them.

Chapter II, like Chapter I, focused on cultural property related activities in the Ottoman Empire, this time on the activities of the Allied forces and the Ottoman response to these activities. I tried to make sense of why and how the Allies engaged in excavation, collection, and museum building during the war and in the occupation of various parts of the empire. In this chapter I argued that Allies did not have a cultural property master plan when the war started, with the exception of Russia. The unexpected developments, from the stalemate in Macedonian Front to German acts of destruction mentioned above on the Western Front, paved the way for the Allies to engage in archeological excavations and collection of antiquities. The Allied advance into the Ottoman lands, first in the Arab provinces during the war and later in various parts of Asia Minor and in the capital city during the Allied occupation, provided new possibilities not only to engage in archeological activities, with new goals in mind like claiming territory and/or expanding their sphere of influence.

Archeological expressions of territoriality were employed by Russians during the war and by Greeks, French, and Italians during the occupation. Geopolitical aspects of cultural property

allowed the Allies to make claims over Ottoman territory based on the past and its material remains. This particular strategy had been used before by the French (for example, during Napoleon's conquest of Egypt) and more recently by the Italians in North Africa. The occupation of the Ottoman lands, which were rather large and claimed by many different parties, offered new opportunities to employ this strategy. While the diplomatic negotiations were ongoing in Paris regarding the division of the Ottoman lands, various Allied states made used of extra-diplomatic means to further their political goals.

Along with using archeology as a means to claim territory, other cultural property related activities, such as establishing museums and taking steps to protect and preserve cultural property allowed the Allies to justify their occupation. By protecting antiquities and opening new museums in the occupied lands (and not only their preferred ones like ancient Roman or Byzantine monuments) they were able to portray themselves as engaged in a civilizing mission.

In Istanbul, the Allies were unable to use the civilizing mission argument forcefully. First of all, the capital city of the empire already had a large museum and many initiatives to preserve and protect the empire's antiquities. Secondly, despite uncertainties regarding the future of the empire and the city, the Allies had no intention of claiming and keeping the city for themselves. Accordingly, they were reluctant to make changes in the city, as I discussed in Chapter III. They took advantage of their occupation to make commercial and intellectual headway in the capital. Instead of using the civilizing claim, they used the "beautification" claim to justify their cultural property related activities like excavations.

The Ottomans however did not take either the beautification or civilizing mission claims at face value. Just like they did before the war, they employed various strategies to deal with

European activities, strategies that varied from push back against the Allies to cooperation with them. The Ottomans were very much aware of the cultural property related activities of the Allies and not only did they keep records, they also let the Allies know that they were doing so. For an empire that had been fighting for a decade and that was under foreign occupation, the availability of strategies to employ against the Allies was limited. The Ottoman officials in charge had to oscillate between protesting Allied activities like unauthorized excavations to negotiation in order to control the flow of antiquities outside the empire under a new draft antiquities law. Due to changing political circumstances, this draft antiquity law never entered into force. Meanwhile, the presence of occupiers in the city space, combined with the heightened awareness of the power of monuments, led Constantinopolitans to use the monuments of Istanbul to make territorial claims of their own.

The growing awareness of the power of cultural property, as well as the utility of protecting and preserving them, was also evident in the Allied forces' approach to their own members and their relationship to the cultural property. Even though the Allies broke the Hague Convention of 1907 and the Ottoman Antiquities Laws, they took steps to curb their own destructive effects on antiquities in the lands that they occupied. Specifically, they tried to reign in the destructive activities of their own soldiers, such as taking souvenir pieces from ancient sites or conducting unauthorized and clandestine digs. They created regulations in the middle of the war to paint themselves in a way to differentiate themselves from the Germans and reflect their higher civilization status, marked by their respect for cultural property (manage the behavior of their own soldiers vis-à-vis cultural property was also aimed to achieve this goal) This especially came in handy when, in the aftermath of the war, the Allies started to divide up the Ottoman lands amongst themselves.

In this dissertation I showed that the French, Italians, Russians, and British created new regulations regarding cultural property during the war. There was much confusion about what a marching army (or an occupying army) could do with the cultural property of enemy lands. There was much conflict over the proper steps to be taken especially in issues of ownership and management of cultural property. As we have seen in the British example, the confusion and conflicting plans over the post-war future of the Middle East, as well as rivalries between different branches of the government, was rampant. This confusion and rivalry influenced the making of the regulations during the war and laws in the war's aftermath.

Despite confusion and caution in making decisions regarding cultural property, the immediate aftermath of the war provided a fertile ground for the making of new laws to protect and preserve antiquities. This was because, as I mentioned above, the German destruction during the war created an unforeseen international reaction and created a consensus on the need to protect and preserve cultural property. The second reason, I argued, was the division of the Ottoman lands. This new opportunity for the European nations, shaped by the protection movement developed during the war, increased the sense of obligation towards their newly acquired territories. The division of these territories took a long time to figure out. The overlapping promises to Greeks and Italians in Asia Minor and Hashemites in the ex-Arab provinces combined with the emergence of a Turkish nationalist movement complicated the division process. In order create the borders, many European states resorted to use of cultural property to justify and straighten their claims.

In theory having common experiences regarding cultural property during the war and the establishment of an international platform, the League of Nations, would have been beneficial for the making of international law regarding the rules of war and occupation and cultural property. A spirit of international cooperation in intellectual and culture matters found their institutional form

in the League. Nonetheless, this body was unable to create an international law regarding the protection of cultural property. The Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments (Roerich Pact) signed in Washington, on April 15, 1935 is the only treaty on this issue signed by multiple countries.[356] Even though Mr. Georges Chklaver of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales of the University of Paris was involved in its drafting and the draft was discussed by the International Museums Office of the League of Nations, the European nations that held mandates did not initiate or sign this document. I argued that this was because mandate-holding states wanted to take the exceptional opportunity in the field of cultural property that came with having exclusive access to the antiquities of their mandates. Even when the European states called for equality for all countries regarding access to archeological sites and promised intellectual cooperation, the imperial rivalries disabled the realization of these promises.

The members of the League of Nations did call for preservation of antiquities and indeed investigated the German destruction of cultural property during the war. However, they did not, to the best of my knowledge, investigate the Allied activities and punish any illegal activities. The individual mandate-holding states instead tried to introduce new antiquities laws that would legitimize their wartime actions and would pave the way for a future in which they would benefit from ample exportation rights of antiquities outside the source countries. They not only broke the Ottoman Antiquities Laws but they also wanted to change it (and succeeded in their mandates) in a way that benefitted themselves the most.

[356] Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, United States, Venezuela. See "Treaties, States Parties, and Commentaries - Roerich Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions, 1935 - 8 -," accessed September 4, 2019, https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/ART/325-480009?OpenDocument.

In this dissertation, I hoped to fill a gap in the historiography regarding cultural property related activities in the Ottoman Empire during the war and under the Allied occupation. As it is widely emphasized in the current literature, the empire did not cease to exist at the end of the war and the impact of the empire and its experiences defined the future of the Middle East to this day. I hope that my study of events of the war and its aftermath in the Ottoman Empire not only helps to fill this gap but also contributes to our understanding of the development of the protection and preservation ethos and measures that we have today. Regardless of what Hollywood wants us to believe, as it was put forward in the 2014 movie the Monuments Men regarding American attempts to save works of art during the World War II, protection and preservation of cultural property in wartime has a much longer history. Its roots were in World War I in Europe and the Middle East.

My other hope in writing this dissertation was to bring together sources and events that are generally studied in isolation. Thankfully the historiography dealing with World War I and cultural property is going through an immense development. I was thus able to rely on great research done by many brilliant scholars. Here, I wanted to bring together individual states' cultural property related activities in wartime on Ottoman soil – those of Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Germany, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire itself – and bring them into dialogue with each other. By studying a larger canvas, we have seen that there was a unique international moment in the development of the protection and preservation ethos, institutions, and laws.

Yet there is so much else to do, so many questions to be answered and so many other connections to be made. Due to my own linguistic limitations as well as time constraints I was unable to study the Japanese, German, Russian, or Greek archives. It would have been very informative to have an understanding of the Japanese point of view vis-à-vis occupation and activities of the other Allied states. Thankfully, I was able to rely on scholarship of amazing

scholars who produced relevant scholarship in languages that I can work in. There are so many other possibilities of discovery and connection.

The centenary of World War I brought immense interest in the study of the war. Similarly, the destruction of cultural property during armed conflicts in the Middle East and Afghanistan paved the way for a rising interest in the preservation and protection of antiquities and produced many scholarly works that make us question the motivations, means, and measures related to these activities. This gives me hope that even destruction and devastation can lead to a better understanding of the world that we live in. Furthermore, the fact that a massive amount of scholarly work was created during World War I by those who were involved in archeology shows the devotion to the creation of knowledge even under the most horrible circumstances.

ANNEX I

Cemal Paşa's Prologue to his book on Archeology in Syria, Palestine and West Arabia Wiegand, Theodor ; Cemal Paşa Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien

Emir ve kumanda sahası Pozantı'dan Hicaz çöllerine kadar imtidan eden ve beka-ı milletimizin bu büyük ve kıymetdar kısmının bir çok muhtelif ihtiyaçlarını tetkik etmek fırsatını veren dördüncü ordu kumandanlığı duruhta ettiğinden sonra bu geniş mıntıkanın havi oldugu asar-ı kadimenin hüsn-ü muhafaza ve hüsn-ü idaresini ve araştırma erbabı için kolayca şayan-ı istifade bir hale getirmeyi düşünmüş idim.

Bu hususstaki mesainin hedef ettiği gayeler:

1-Asar-ı Kadimenin muhafazası için esaslı bir idare ve muhafaza vücuda getirmek

2- Harabeler dahilinde veya harabelere yakin adi binalari kaldırmak ve sairesinden halkın inşaat malzemesi tedarik etmesini men etmek

3- Harabelere giden yollari ıslah ve harabeleri ziyaret için icab eden yerlerde yerli ve yabancı ziyaretçiler için ikamet ve vesait-i nakliye yolu tanzim etmek

4-Mıntıkada mevcut bilcümle asar-ı atikanın mükemmel koleksiyonunu vücuda getirmek. Bu hususta bana yardım etmek ve ordu karargahına merbut muntazam bir yurt halinde çalısmak üzere Berlin müzeleri müdürü olup ihtiyat yüzbaşılığıyla ordu hizmetinde bulunan professor Viegand asar-ı atika müşaveri ünvanıyla hizmetime avd ettim.

Professor Viegand evvelen bir tetbi seyahati icara edip bana birkaç rapor verdi. Bu raporlara nazaran harabelerin muhafaza ve idare ve temizleme için icab eden tedbirleri askeri ve mülki ikamet tamim ettim.

Bu maksatları temin icin üzere Şam, Halep, Tadmur (Palmyra), Baalbek, Maan, Petra (ve vadi Musa) da yaptığımız teşkilat sıkı bir teftiş altında devam etmektedir. Evvelen bir çok harabelerden adi haneler inşaatı için taş koparılıp kullanıldığını öğrenmiştim. Harabelerin uzaklığı, mamur olan yerlere kadar yol ve vesait-i nakliyenin bulunmaması ziyaretçileri büyük meşgalet içinde bırakırdı. Harabelere nazaran muvafık merkezlerde oteller ve saire inşa etmek ve yolları tanzim eylemek ve emniyetli ve rahat bir nakliyat vücuda getirmek esaslarına dayanan projeler tedricen tatbike görev olunacaktır. Professor Viegand bu tatbia seyahati esnasında bütün harabelerin ve asar-ı atikanin pek muntazam bir fotoğraf koleksiyonunu vücuda getirdi. Kendisini Berline gönderip bu koleksiyonun basılmasını temin ettirdim.

Bu koleksiyon kıymetsiz bir rehber gibi telki edilmemelidir. Zira memleketimizde henüz bu harabeler ve eski medeniyetlerin kiymetdar asarı hakkında toplanmış hiç bir kitap yoktur. Binaaleyn bu koleksiyon ve diğer tedabir Osmanlı asar-ı atika mütehassıslari zümresine ve tedkik seyahatlarine pek kıymetli yardımda bulunacaktır. Bu koleksiyon bundan başka bize memleketin azim bir memba-i husainini tanıtmakta ve Osmanlı vatandaşlarına vatanlarının kıymetli asarından bir kısmını arz etmektedir.

Sözümü bitirirken bütün bu mesai esnasında bana pek mühim yardımlarını bol bol veren profesor Viegand ile muavinlerine ve kullanılmasına lüzum gördüğüm tedabirin tatbik ve neşri hususunda pek bu kıymetli yardımlarını benimle tesrik eden Suriye ve Filistin makamet-i mülkiye ve askeriyesine aleni teşekkürlerimi sunmak ve Suriye ve Filistin mıntıkasında başlanan bu mesainin

daire kapsamını Osmanlı vatanınının diğer kısımlarına dahi tesmil ve bu suretle eski medeniyetlerin ve Osmanli medeniyetinin bu topraklar üzerinde bıraktığı asara karşı bütün Osmanlı vatandaşlarının yerine getirmeye mecbur oldukları hürmet ve muhafaza vazifelerin yerine getirilmesi hakkındaki pek samimi temennilerimi sunarım.

Suriye ve Garbi Arabistan Umum Kumandanı ve Harbiye Nazırı Cemal

Teşrin-i evvel 1333 (Ekim 1917)

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