



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Homer, Troy and the Turks: Heritage & identity in the Late Ottoman Empire 1870-1915

Uslu, G.

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Uslu, G. (2015). Homer, Troy and the Turks: Heritage & identity in the Late Ottoman Empire 1870-1915.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

III

A Closer Watch on Schliemann (1882-1885)



View of the 'great Substruction Wall of the Acropolis of the second city on the west side' during the excavations in Troy in 1882. Plate 15 (55) in Heinrich Schliemann, *Troja. Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy*, 1882 (London 1884, reprint edition 1976 Arno Press Inc).

In October 1881, Ottoman authorities granted Schliemann a new permit to continue his excavations at Hisarlık. As a supplement to this *firman*, he was subsequently granted permission to explore the plain of the Troad as well. This gave him the opportunity to carry out ‘excavations on any other site of the Troad’. Schliemann’s tremendous dexterity in obtaining diplomatic support for his ventures yielded rich rewards yet again. This time it was the intervention of the powerful German chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) that enabled Schliemann to obtain a permit with such liberal conditions,¹ clearly showing that he profited of the strengthened relationship of the Ottomans with the German Empire in the 1880s.

Although the *firman* initially suggested flexibility and liberty, in reality Schliemann’s venture, again, turned out to be more difficult. Ottoman authorities did not tolerate such an extensive undertaking on their soil. This time Schliemann’s archaeological venture took place in a period in which the Ottoman Empire entered a new stage in its history of museology and archaeology.² With Osman Hamdi in charge, the Imperial Museum expanded rapidly, the Ottomans participated in archaeological research, and, in addition, a new antiquities regulation, *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*, came into force in 1884.

1. Profitable Political Conditions

The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was constantly in danger. Faced with emerging nationalism among the communities within their territories and confronted with the pressure of the great powers, the Ottomans tried to avoid the collapse of their Empire in every possible way. Disturbing political movements in France and Britain, in particular after the Turkish-Russian War, made the Ottoman position even more insecure. France - the dominant partner of the Ottoman Empire in the late 1850s and 1860s – strengthened its ties with Russia, the archenemy of the Ottomans, which provoked a breach in Franco-Ottoman

¹ Heinrich Schliemann, *Troja. Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer’s Troy, 1882* (London 1884, reprint edition New York 1976) 5.

² Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış* (Istanbul 1953) 1-4.

relations. Britain's colonial control in Egypt and Cyprus, with the occupation of Egypt in 1882 as a climax, also influenced the Ottoman-British affairs in a negative way. These political moves caused a strong Ottoman aversion against these powers.³ The German Empire, on the other hand, was making overtures to the Ottomans.

Although the powerful chancellor Bismarck essentially strove for German neutrality in Asia Minor and was convinced that the government should not be involved in Ottoman affairs,⁴ the German Empire could not resist the attraction of the creation of a German economic and military influence in the Ottoman Empire. An often-heard motive for the German intervention in the Empire was to bring culture to the unenlightened Turks as well.⁵

From the Ottoman point of view, the German Empire was the least threatening among the European imperialist powers. As a matter of fact, it was the only great power without any evident interest in a partial or complete disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Most of all, the German Empire was the only European power that had not colonized Muslim lands. Under these circumstances, Sultan Abdülhamid II adopted a positive attitude towards the rapprochements of the German Empire. As a result, the Turkish-German economic, diplomatic and military ties were strengthened and Germany became the leading influence in Istanbul from the 1880s until the Great War.

Within this framework, bilateral trade relations intensified and German commercial investments in the Ottoman Empire increased rapidly after 1880. Between 1890 and 1910 the German share in the empire's trade volume increased from 6 percent to 21 percent.⁶ In the military arena German advisers became the main trainers of the Ottoman army and the Ottoman military elite

³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History* (London 2004) 81-83.

⁴ Gregor Schölggen, *Imperialismus und Gleichgewicht: Deutschland, England und die orientalische Frage, 1817-1914* (Munich 1984).

⁵ See for Kulturpolitik: Susanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus. Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (New Jersey 1996) chapter 7, in relation to the Orient: 102, 190-220, 237.

⁶ Andreas Birken, *Die Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Europa und dem Vorderen Orient im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1980) 176.

adopted German military doctrines.⁷

Abdülhamid II maintained a close relationship with Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941). The Kaiser supported Abdülhamid II's Islamic politics and visited Istanbul twice, in 1889 and 1898. From the 1880s until the Great War, in the wake of the intensified bilateral relations and the close ties between the two emperors, the archaeologists from the German Empire had the opportunity to carry out a series of new excavations in the Ottoman Empire, frequently under favourable conditions. This was mainly possible due to the advanced diplomacy the Germans developed in order to mediate between Ottoman officials and German museum bureaucrats, diplomats, scholars and politicians.⁸

Schliemann, who owed his earlier permits mainly to diplomatic forces on Ottoman authorities, abundantly utilized the new opportunities. In view of the improved relationship between the Ottomans and the young German Empire, the Ottomans could not withstand the interventions of Bismarck, who not only supported Schliemann in getting a new permit to continue his excavations but also backed his intentions to explore the plain of the Troad extensively.⁹

2. The Excavations

Schliemann resumed his excavations for Troy on 1st March 1882. The focus of the season, which lasted until 21st July 1882, was the eastern half of the mound of Hisarlık. This was Calvert's land, which had been neglected until then. The excavation architects Wilhelm Dörpfeld (1853-1940), attached to the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), and Joseph Höfler (1860-1927) from Vienna accompanied Schliemann. To supervise the workmen at the site, Schliemann engaged three overseers as well. Two of them were foremen from Greece, and the third was Gustav Batthus, the son of the French consul at the Dardanelles.

⁷ Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 82.

⁸ Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 200-202; See also Ilona Baytar, 'İki Dost Hükümdar. Sultan II. Abdülhamid Kaiser II. Wilhelm. Zwei Befreundete Herrscher', *TBMM Milli Saraylar Başkanlığı Yayın*, 53, (2010).

⁹ Schliemann, *Troja*, 5.

Since this region of the Empire ‘was infested by marauders and highway robbers’, Schliemann maintained that he had requested Hamid Pasha, the civil governor of the Dardanelles, to give him eleven gendarmes for his safeguard.¹⁰ However, according to a letter of the local authorities, these gendarmes were supplied, not so much for Schliemann’s safety, but especially for the security of the excavations and the observance of the regulations.¹¹

Schliemann’s loyal employee Nicolaos Yannakis was once again his purser. He hired approximately 150 labourers, mainly local Greeks, but also Sephardic Ottoman Jews and about 25 Ottoman-Turks. Although Schliemann was not really enamoured of Ottoman authorities, he was quite elated about the Turkish workmen: ‘I would gladly have increased their number had it been possible, for they work much better than the Asiatic Greeks, [they] are more honest, and I had in them the great advantage that they worked on Sundays and on the numerous saints’ days, when no Greek would have worked at any price. Besides, as I could always be sure that they would work on with unremitting zeal, and never need to be urged, I could let them sink all the shafts and assign to them other work, in which no superintendence on my part was possible. For all these reasons I always allotted to the Turkish workmen proportionally higher wages than to the Greeks’.¹²

During the first season of 1882, unlike earlier years, Schliemann had to deal with two Ottoman overseers. Initially, his previous overseer Kadri Bey was appointed to inspect his actions, but Schliemann wanted to avoid complications caused by careful inspections. Thanks to the intervention of the German Embassy, he succeeded in getting rid of Kadri Bey, who evidently had not made things easy for him in the past, and got ‘einen schlichten Türken’ instead.¹³ The local authorities appointed a new overseer, Muharrem Bey. As usual, Schliemann paid his salary and provided him with lodgings. However, this was not the case with his co-delegate, Bedreddin Efendi, who was appointed and paid by the Ottoman

¹⁰ Schliemann, *Troja*, 7.

¹¹ Hasan Pasha to Schliemann, 22nd April 1882 (B 88/253).

¹² Heinrich Schliemann, *Troja*, 10-12.

¹³ Joachim Herrmann & Evelin Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890* (Berlin 1990) 313.

government.¹⁴

Considering the increased Ottoman desire to control the export of antiquities as well as to collect them for their own museum, a second overseer paid by the government suggests a more deliberate Ottoman wish to control Schliemann's archaeological activities at the Troad. The Ministry of Public Instruction clearly had no desire to leave the inspection of the excavations for Troy to someone who was financially dependent on the foreign excavator, in this case Schliemann, who had a tainted reputation.

Moreover, as a result of the growing interest in the preservation of antiquities, public opinion was already quite critical of 'incompetent officials' sent to excavation sites 'whose minimal salaries' were paid by foreign excavators. In a critical letter, published in the newspaper *Vakit* in 1880, the Minister of Public Instruction was urged to abstain from appointing such overseers 'who were completely incapable of managing such delicate undertakings'. The letter also argues that 'if the official at the site were learned and attentive (...) he would do his best to secure the benefits of the Imperial Museum'.¹⁵

Although Muharrem Bey had already been appointed as overseer, the local authorities eventually decided that he was 'scientifically not competent enough' to perform his job. Considering 'the importance of the occupation and in order to give no room for misappropriation', they requested the Ministry of Public Instruction by telegram on 22nd April 1882 to appoint two 'experienced' officials 'capable of the science of antiquities' for the inspection of the activities in Troy.¹⁶

The local authorities suspected Schliemann of keeping valuable discoveries hidden from them. The authorities were actually right. Schliemann wrote to Virchow on 14th May 1882 that he found 'hübsche Sachen', such as 'eine Schleuder (oder Gewicht?) von Haematitt, 1130 Gramm wiegend, auch einen

¹⁴ IBA: MF.MKT. 75/153: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882); See also letters from Hasan Pasha to Schliemann, 18th May 1882 (B88/320) and 1st June 1882 (B88/340).

¹⁵ *Vakit*, 01/Ca/1297 (11/04/1880), also published in Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul 1995) 286.

¹⁶ IBA: MF.MKT. 75/153: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882); MF.MKT. 75/155: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882).

ganzen Schatz von Bronzesachen, darunter ein höchstmerkwürdiger großer, 3 Zoll breiter Ring, ähnlich unseren Serviettenringen, der so K[sic]ünstlich gearbeitet ist, daß er, wäre er von Gold, einem Berliner Goldschmied Ehre machen würde. Da ich alles dieses im Geheimen beiseite gebracht habe, so kann ich Ihnen keine Zeichnung davon schicken, muß Sie auch bitten, nicht darüber zu sprechen, damit man in Constantinopel nicht davon hört'.¹⁷

Following the request of the authorities in the Dardanelles, the Council of Education decided on May 15th that Bedreddin Efendi had to be sent to the Troad. He was considered well-suited for this work and the already appointed overseer at the site would assist him.¹⁸ In fact, Bedreddin Efendi was experienced, competent to deal with archaeological excavations and, moreover, he was able to communicate in French.¹⁹ Indeed, Bedreddin Efendi was definitely not someone who would stand on the sidelines.

Schliemann saw Bedreddin Efendi's presence as exceptionally provoking. Although the failure of the archaeological venture of 1876 had also been largely due to an opposing overseer, Bedreddin Efendi's presence obviously went beyond that. According to Schliemann, Bedreddin Efendi was extremely uncooperative: 'I have carried on archaeological excavations in Turkey for a number of years, but it had never yet been my ill-fortune to have such a monster of a delegate as Beder Eddin, whose arrogance and self-conceit were only equalled by his complete ignorance, and who considered it sole office to throw all possible obstacles in my way'.²⁰

Protecting Trojan Patrimony

It is noteworthy that as soon as Schliemann got any resistance from the Ottoman side, he considered this as unwillingness, ignorance or deliberate opposition. Looking at the situation from an Ottoman perspective, however, one may argue that the authorities simply wanted to protect the Trojan patrimony. However,

¹⁷ Joachim Herrmann & Evelin Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890* (Berlin 1990) 306.

¹⁸ IBA: MF.MKT. 75/153: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882); MF.MKT. 75/155: 27/C/1299 (16/05/1882).

¹⁹ IBA: MF.MKT. 79/97: 12/Ca/1300 (21/03/1883).

²⁰ Schliemann, *Troja*, 12.

Ottoman efforts to participate in the nineteenth-century European custom of claiming antique heritage and appropriating classical civilization were clearly not recognized. Schliemann, like many of his contemporaries, was, or preferred to be, ignorant of the Ottoman process of political and cultural change, which resulted from their modernization and their practice of identity building in which they embraced the different historical layers of the land.²¹

Still, conflict is common to heritage, as Lowenthal underlines: ‘claims of ownership, uniqueness, and priority engender strife over every facet of collective legacies’. The increasing value of heritage also ‘aggravates conflicts over whose it is’.²² Nurtured within a western environment in which Hellenism prevailed and a dynamic appropriation of and identification with Homeric heritage took place,²³ Schliemann also believed, along with many of his contemporaries, that this heritage belonged to western civilization and had to be rescued from the people who were not seen as part of this culture: in our case, the Turks. Ironically enough, these Turks – present in Europe for ages – saw themselves as a European Power, especially since the *Tanzimat* with their western inclination. The Ottomans aspired to be included in European cultural history. Europeans

²¹ For the process of the Ottoman appropriation of classical heritage see among others: Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past. A story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul 2011); Wendy K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed. Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley – Los Angeles 2003) 96; Zeynep Celik, ‘Defining Empire’s Patrimony: Ottoman Perception of Antiquities’, in: *Essays: Osman Hamdi Bey. New Interpretations*, as part of the exhibition in the Penn Museum: Archaeology in Ottoman lands, 26th September 2010 – 26th June 2011: www.ottomanlands.com/essays/osman-hamdi-bey (19/08/2013); Ahmet Ersoy, ‘A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism: The Elbise-i ‘Osmaniyye Album’, *Muqarnas*, 20, (2003) 187-207, 188, 190. For the Ottoman appreciation of Troy see: Jorrit Kelder, Günay Uslu, Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu (eds.), *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey* (Zwolle 2012) in particular chapters 6.1, 7.2 and 7.3.

²² David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past. The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (London-New York 1996) 234-236, 248.

²³ Pim den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe’, *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens*, XII, (2005) 43-67; Eric Moormann, ‘“The Man Who Made The Song Was Blind” Representations of Homer in Modern Times I’, *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens*, XII, (2005) 129-150; Pim den Boer, ‘Neohumanism: Ideas, Identities, Identification’, in Margriet Haagsma, Pim den Boer and Eric M. Moormann (eds.), *The Impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities*, Proceedings of an international colloquium, Netherlands Institute Athens 2000, publications of the NIA IV (Amsterdam 2003) 1-25; Pim den Boer, ‘Homer in Modern Europe’, *European Review*, 15/02, (May 2007) 171-185; Pim den Boer, ‘Homer and Troy: From European to Disputable Lieux de Mémoire’, in: Kelder, Uslu, Şerifoğlu (eds.), *Troy. City, Homer and Turkey*, 112-118.

nations, on the other hand, clearly saw the Ottomans as the ‘other’. The European fear of the Ottoman imperial expansion until the seventeenth century had obviously been transformed into cultural prejudices directed against the Ottoman appropriation of Hellenistic heritage.²⁴

Within this framework, Schliemann’s opinion of the Ottoman-Turks did not differ from the dominant ideas in the West. The Ottoman authorities considered the preservation of antiquities of paramount importance. Schliemann, conversely, saw the Ottoman efforts to safeguard the Trojan artefacts merely as irritating obstacles, instead of as the expression of an Ottoman appreciation of its heritage and an important component of their cultural policy of including the imperial identity in the universal history of civilization.

However, the Ottoman practice of claiming antiquities differs to a certain extent from the European process. The dynamic appropriation of antique traditions, strengthened by education in the literature of classical antiquity, and the use of ancient heritage for western self-definition were less intense and occurred later in the late Ottoman Empire. In fact, the Ottoman drive to claim classical civilization was, to a large degree, a response to the European desire to appropriate the antiquities from Ottoman lands and the practice of removing archaeological objects from the Empire: thus excluding the Ottomans from the history of western civilization.

Classical artefacts linked western nations with the highly valued classical past. Owning these objects also suggested superiority. In this context, the Ottomans used the same artefacts to show Europe that classical heritage was in fact autochthonous and more native to the Empire than to the west.²⁵

Strict Supervision

Ottoman authorities decided to take a clear protective position on Troy by sending an experienced second delegate who was also financially independent of Schliemann. Bedreddin Efendi took his responsibility very seriously. He was cautious due to the fact that he had to deal with someone who had already

²⁴ Caroline Finkel, *Osman’s Dream. The Story of the Ottoman Empire* (London 2005) 455, 491.

²⁵ Zeynep Çelik, ‘Defining Empire’s Patrimony’, in: Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past*, 446-448; Wendy M. K. Shaw, ‘Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic’, *Muqarnas*, 24, (2007) 253-279, 258-260; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 171.

smuggled antiquities out of the Empire and with whom the Ottoman authorities had fought a one-year long legal battle. From this point of view, his mistrust and inflexibility towards Schliemann was more than understandable. Hence, Bedreddin Efendi warned the authorities frequently by expressing his suspicions of Schliemann. Schliemann said ‘he had the telegraph to the Dardanelles at his disposal, and he used it in the most shameless way to denounce me and my architects to the local authorities’.²⁶

Bedreddin Bey did his work accurately and consequently informed the authorities about the events at the site. He reported not only suspicious actions, but also the research developments at the site in general and the discoveries. Moreover, he even enriched his accounts with photographs of the new finds.²⁷ Contrary to Schliemann’s opinion that he was continually accusing him and his circle, it seems that Bedreddin Efendi was merely trying to perform his job to perfection and to meet the wishes of his superiors.

Schliemann, on the other hand, tried to circumvent this demanding delegate. When he started his exploratory diggings at various sites at the same time in June 1882, he evidently tried to exclude Bedreddin Efendi from these excavations. Bedreddin Efendi certainly did not readily accept this. On the contrary, he warned the Ministry of Public Instruction on June 26th. According to Bedreddin Efendi, Schliemann was, without informing him, ‘excavating a wide area’, whereby he ‘divided his workmen in little groups’ to ‘excavate at various sites at the same time’. Although Bedreddin Bey ‘warned him several times to inform him’, Schliemann resisted and refused to do so. Due to this attitude, as Bedreddin Efendi remarks, Schliemann was ‘obstructing him in the execution of his duty’ (fig. 1).²⁸

The decision of the Ministry was quite firm. Schliemann was strictly prohibited to carry out such exploratory diggings. Besides the emphasis on the strict observance of the antiquities law, the authorities also underlined the requirement

²⁶ Schliemann, *Troja*, 12.

²⁷ IBA: MF.MKT. 76/43: 22/B/1299 (09/06/1882).

²⁸ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, MH nr: unclassified, 09/Ş/99 (26/06/1882).

of the presence of the supervisor. Without the required supervision, Schliemann was forbidden to continue his excavations (fig. 2).²⁹ The civil governor of the Dardanelles sent a written warning to Schliemann in which he ordered him to avoid these illegal actions and that excavating without the presence of Bedreddin Efendi was out of the question (fig. 3).³⁰

Schliemann was constantly seeking ways to explore tumuli in and around the Troad. Although his permit did not extend to the European side of the Dardanelles, he clandestinely began digging on the Gallipoli peninsula in April 1882. Even though Bedreddin Efendi had not arrived yet, Ottoman authorities discovered Schliemann's moves a day and a half into the excavations.³¹ Consequently, he was ordered to stop his illicit excavations immediately since this was a fortified region.³² With the arrival of Bedreddin Efendi, however, Schliemann was really thwarted.

Soon after his arrival, Bedreddin Efendi persuaded the gendarmes, whom Schliemann believed to be engaged to protect him, to be watchful of the whereabouts of Schliemann. In fact, the loyalty of the gendarmes towards Bedreddin Efendi infuriated Schliemann: 'A Turk will always hate a Christian, however well he may be paid by him, and thus it was not difficult for Beder Eddin Efendi to bring all my eleven gendarmes over to his side, and to make so many spies of them'.³³

Due to Bedreddin Efendi's efforts Ottoman authorities forbade Schliemann and Dörpfeld – who had been hired to produce accurate maps and plans of the site with surveying instruments – to take measurements of any sort for more than five months. As soon as Bedreddin Efendi found out about the measurements, he reported this to Cemal Pasha, the military governor of the Dardanelles. Cemal Pasha, subsequently, communicated to the Grand Master of the Artillery at

²⁹ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, MH nr: unclassified, 16/Ş/1299 (03/07/1882).

³⁰ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1535, MH nr: unclassified, 18/Ş/1299 (05/07/1882).

³¹ David. A. Traill, *Schliemann of Troy. Treasure and Deceit* (New York 1995) 220.

³² Hasan Pasha to Schliemann, 22nd April 1882 (B88/253).

³³ Schliemann, *Troja*, 12.

Constantinople, Said Pasha, that he suspected Schliemann and his crew to use the excavations at Troy purely as an excuse for drawing plans of the fortress of Kumkale, which was an important strategic spot in the Dardanelles. Said Pasha therefore decided that Schliemann had to be forbidden to use the surveying instrument or even draw any plans at all.

Accordingly, Bedreddin Efendi kept a close eye on Schliemann's excavations and warned the military governor of the Dardanelles several times that Schliemann disregarded the prohibition and was taking measurements and making plans secretly. He even went so far as to prohibit Schliemann 'from taking notes or making drawings within the excavations, and continually threatened to arrest' Dörpfeld and Höfler 'and send them in chains to Constantinople in case of their disobedience'.³⁴

The Ottoman government, on the other hand, was extremely pleased with the performance of Bedreddin Efendi. As a result of this, he received compliments of the Grand Vizier, because he was doing his work 'with such a great energy and effort'. Moreover, the Grand Vizier praised his 'extraordinary attention and cautiousness regarding the protection of the antique objects'.³⁵

Although Schliemann tried to lift the ban through diplomatic mediation, this time the efforts of the German Embassy were not successful. His letter to Richard Schöne (1840 – 1922), director of the German Royal Museums, is exemplary for Schliemann's way of work. On 23rd July 1882 Schliemann asked Schöne 'Bitte erlangen Sie von Sr Majestät dem Kaiser einen autographen Brief an den Sultan wegen Aufnahme der Pläne von Hissarlik, denn sonst kommen wir ja nie zum Ziel'. According to Schliemann this letter had to include the information 'Daß mir aber jetzt der Großmeister der Artillerie auf Strengste verbietet die in großer Tiefe liegenden troian Hausmauern abzuzeichnen oder gar mit einer Schnur zu messen weil er vorgiebt Hissarlik läge zu nahe bei Kum Kale, obwohl es 2 Stunden Wegs davon entfernt liegt; Daß daher Se Majestät bäte diese albernen Einwände eines unwissenden Officiers durch ein Machtwort zu beseitigen u

³⁴ Schliemann, *Troja*, 12-14.

³⁵ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1534, MH nr: unclassified, 11/N/1299 (27/07/1882).

Befehl zu geben daß es augenblicklich gestattet werde Pläne der Akropolis u der Unterstadt von Hissarlik mit dem Meßtisch aufzunehmen, wenn Sie's nicht so machen kommen wir niemals aus der Stelle so lange Sie in Constantinopel durch ... vertreten sind'.³⁶ Yet, these 'Schwierigkeiten von dem t[sic]ürk',³⁷ would be difficult to overcome. The Grand Master of the Artillery refused to cancel the prohibition.

In September 1882, Schliemann's repeated messages to the German diplomatic bodies in Istanbul and the intervention of Bismarck resulted in a rather limited permission only. This permit merely allowed him to make new plans for areas below ground level. Measurements above the ground were still prohibited. Schliemann considered the permission useless. Finally, thanks to a personal meeting in November 1882 between the German ambassador at Constantinople and Sultan Abdülhamid II, Schliemann received permission to make the plans. Dörpfeld was then sent back to the Troad on the 18th of November to produce the principal site plan for Schliemann's new book *Troja*.³⁸

Results of the season

Official correspondence reveals that before the actual division in Çanakkale in July 1882, a shipment with antique works and broken ceramic objects from Troy had already been sent to the Imperial Museum in Constantinople. The broken pottery was included in the collection of the Museum and stored in the basement.³⁹

Early July 1882, Osman Hamdi received a letter from the Troad. Schliemann informed him that he was bringing the season to an end around 12th July. He invited Osman Hamdi to join the conclusion (fig. 4).⁴⁰ Bedreddin Efendi,

³⁶ Letter to Schöne, 23rd July 1882, in: Ernst Meyer, *Heinrich Schliemann. Briefwechsel II (1876-1890)* (Berlin 1953), (117) 144.

³⁷ Letter to crown prince Bernhard, 23rd November 1882, in: Meyer, *Briefwechsel II* (118) 144-147.

³⁸ Schliemann, *Troja*, 12-15.

³⁹ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98 ,99, 300, File nr: 1533, 05/07/1882; IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98,99,300, File nr: 1535, 13/07/1882; See also: Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1876-1890*, Schliemann to Virchow, 26/07/1882, (310) 328.

⁴⁰ Schliemann to Osman Hamdi, IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, MH

however, considered this invitation merely a cunning trick. He wrote to the Minister of Public Instruction that Schliemann's invitation 'was just one of his many plots' to get the much-desired permission to take measurements and to make plans at the Troad. By meeting Osman Hamdi personally, he said, Schliemann was hoping 'to persuade' him to arrange the permission for him. Furthermore, he implies that 'another reason why Schliemann invited Osman Hamdi Bey' was 'that he wanted to avoid a division at Çanakkale as required by the antiquities law'. Bedreddin Efendi believed that with the presence of Osman Hamdi, Schliemann aspired to arrange the division of the antiquities at Hisarlık instead of at Çanakkale.⁴¹ In this way, Schliemann could circumvent a thorough inspection by the officials of the customs house at Çanakkale. Given the fact that Schliemann appeared to have succeeded again in secretly exporting the most important finds to Germany, this presumption is well founded.

Ottoman authorities in Istanbul were evidently alarmed by Bedreddin Efendi's warnings. To realize a proper division of the finds, secure the correct course of events in the Troad, and, in particular, to stop Schliemann from excavating at various sites at the same time, Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the minister of Public Instruction and an eminent historian, decided that Osman Hamdi should be sent to the Troad. In his letter to Osman Hamdi, Mustafa Pasha stresses Schliemann's law-breaking activities. And so Osman Hamdi left for Troy. Although the authorities initially saw no objections to splitting up the finds at the site of Hisarlık, Osman Hamdi preferred the public sphere of the customs house at Çanakkale, where the actual division took place on 24th and 25th July 1882.⁴²

The assistant director of the Imperial Museum and a sculptor accompanied Osman Hamdi. As a consequence of this impressive delegation Schliemann could not dominate the division. In fact, the delegate claimed important artefacts. Schliemann, on the other hand, found it hard to give them up: 'Erst im letzten Augenblick kam der Direktor des Museums (....) um uns eine sehr verdorbene,

nr: unclassified, 05/07/1882.

⁴¹ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, MH nr: unclassified, 19/Ş/1299 (06/07/1882).

⁴² IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, MH nr: unclassified, 02/N/1299 (18/07/1882); IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, 09/R/1299 (24/07/1882).

aber doch brauchbare Metope, die wir gerne haben wollten, wegzunehmen'.⁴³

Still, Schliemann kept most of his best finds from the Ottoman authorities and found ways to export them to Berlin. Even though Bedreddin Efendi was extremely cautious, he did not succeed in preventing valuable finds from making their way to Schliemann clandestinely. This accounts for at least one of the two treasures found in 1882 – the one Schliemann talked about to Virchow.⁴⁴ As we already know, Schliemann kept this treasure secret, hidden from the Ottomans, and made sure that this treasure was not part of the division. Actually, this whole treasure was exported to Germany and catalogued in Berlin in 1902.⁴⁵

This also accounts for the bronze figurine he found and identified as the original or the copy of the Palladium. On 17th May 1882, Schliemann asked Virchow to be discreet about this discovery; otherwise, he uttered: 'kriege ich vielleicht schwere Unannehmlichkeiten'.⁴⁶ The figurine was broken into three fragments. Due to these circumstances he was able to obtain it in the division with the Turkish Government. The three pieces, he explained, 'were covered with carbonate of copper and dirt, and altogether undiscernible to an inexperienced eye'.⁴⁷

Schliemann certainly had heavy diplomatic backing: not only in obtaining permissions, but also concerning illegal exportations of artefacts. The help of the Italian vice-consul at the Dardanelles, Emilio Vitalis, in the illicit shipment of the above-mentioned treasure to Berlin, is just one example of this support.⁴⁸ The dragoman for the Turkish government, Nicolaos Didymos, was another collaborator. On 19th October 1882, Schliemann informed Virchow that

⁴³ Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890*, Schliemann to Virchow, (310) 328.

⁴⁴ Herrmann & Maaß, 306.

⁴⁵ Hubert Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, (Berlin 1902); Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 220-222; Susan Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy. Frank Calvert and Heinrich Schliemann in Hisarlık* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1999) 212.

⁴⁶ Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890*, 308.

⁴⁷ Schliemann, *Troja*, 169.

⁴⁸ Geraldine Saherwala, Klaus Goldmann und Gustav Mahr, *Heinrich Schliemanns 'Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer'*. Beiträge zur Chronik einer großen Erwerbung der Berliner Museen (Berlin 1993) 99, 105, 227; Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 212.

‘Didymos (...) bei der drohenden Gefahr seine Stellung und sein alles zu verlieren, 21 große Körbe mit herrlichen Altertümern heimlich nach Athen geschafft hat, (von denen ich die Kleinigkeiten, die soviel bewundert wurden, mit nach Frankfurt nahm)’. Schliemann clearly knew how to persuade officials to support him. In the case of the excavations of 1882, Schliemann obviously promised Vitalis and Didymos German decorations in return for their help.⁴⁹ After intensive lobbying the two partners received their medals in January 1883.⁵⁰

Ottoman authorities simply could not match Schliemann’s strategies and deception. Moreover, the Ottoman government lacked the international support Schliemann had gained for his venture. Schliemann was determined to leave no artefacts to the Ottomans at all. Concerning Trojan pottery, he told Virchow on 19th September 1883 that he ‘um den Türken davon nichts abzugeben, alle mehr charakteristischen Stücke separat legte und heimlich fortschickte’.⁵¹ Schliemann believed that he was saving the artefacts from the Turks, while the Ottomans were trying to protect Trojan heritage from Schliemann.

The excavation season of 1882 was considered successful. Dörpfeld and Höfler made great progresses in clearing up the stratigraphy of the site. They renumbered the six prehistoric strata and split the level above the burned second stratum of Priam’s Treasure in two. This was based on Dörpfeld’s important discovery that the city wall of Troy II continued in a northeastern direction after the fire. As a result of this discovery, Troy II was doubled in size.

Schliemann was actually immensely relieved by this discovery. After publishing *Ilios* in 1880, Schliemann had become sceptical with respect to the extent of the stratum that he had connected with Homer. The size of the settlement in which

⁴⁹ Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890*, 334-336.

⁵⁰ Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 226; Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890*, 345; see also letter Schliemann to crown prince Bernhard, 17th December 1882 and 26th January 1883 in: Meyer, *Briefwechsel II*, (121) 147-150, (125) 152-154.

⁵¹ Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1976-1890*, (368) 374-376.

he had found the treasures that he claimed belonged to Priam did not correspond with the descriptions of Homer. In fact, the settlement was too small in proportion to Homer's Troy.⁵² Dörpfeld's discoveries solved this problem. As Schliemann explains to Gladstone on 3rd May 1882, the architects had proved that the second stratum was 'a *large* city, which used Hissarlık merely as its acropolis and sacred precinct of its temples, as well as for the residence of its king and family. They have laid bare the ruins of two very large buildings in this city' ... 'These walls have been burnt by a fire put on both sides; this is proved by their vitrified surfaces' ... 'This large city, (...) is no doubt the *Homeric Ilios*'.⁵³

However, Schliemann's relief was a fleeting joy. Ernst Bötticher, a retired army captain, would give Schliemann a hard time with a different interpretation of the ruins at Hisarlık. According to Bötticher, Schliemann had not uncovered Homer's Troy or any city at all; Hisarlık was a crematorium. His theory gained more and more scholarly attention and acceptance. Upon this, Schliemann felt forced to resume excavations in 1890.⁵⁴

Trojan Pottery

Schliemann wanted to acquire as many Trojan objects as possible. He had his eye on the pottery collection of the Imperial Museum. This would be a fine addition to his collected Trojan works. He communicated his wish to Osman Hamdi in July 1882. In his letter he formulated his request very carefully, reassuring him that he was only interested in 'worthless, broken and imperfect pottery'. Schliemann asked Osman Hamdi to sell these ceramic objects to him.⁵⁵ Osman Hamdi was not impressed with the Trojan objects that 'had fallen to the museum's share of the finds from the excavations of the past few years'. In 1883, he complains to the Ministry of Public Instruction that, after making an inventory, many objects of the Museum's Trojan collection were not important

⁵² Schliemann, *Troja*, 1-3.

⁵³ Meyer, *Briefwechsel II*, Schliemann to Gladstone, 3rd May 1882, (116) 142-144.

⁵⁴ Traill, *Schliemann of Troy*, 233-235, 279-282.

⁵⁵ IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, 05/07/1882; IAMA: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1535, 26/Ş/1299 (13/07/1882).

and praiseworthy enough to exhibit. Indeed, as we already have seen, works that were part of the division were usually not the most valuable ones. Schliemann had illegally transported these out of the Empire before the division.⁵⁶

According to Osman Hamdi, as he communicated to the Minister of Public Instruction, Mustafa Pasha, many of the recently found artefacts, were ‘not of importance for the Museum’. He subsequently suggested to sell these objects to Schliemann, in order to buy other antique works ‘worthy to display’ with the money received. As a museum director, Osman Hamdi was primarily interested in expanding the Museum’s antiquities collection with more objects valuable enough to display.

The Minister of Public Instruction, perhaps alarmed by Schliemann’s reputation, did not immediately follow Osman Hamdi’s advice, but requested a specified list of the mentioned objects, which he desired to study first.⁵⁷

Determined to enlarge his Trojan collection with objects of the Imperial Museum, Schliemann called in the influential German diplomat Josef Maria von Radowitz (1839-1912) to mediate for him. In January 1884 negotiations with the Ottoman State were resumed in order to buy the ‘wirklich kolossalen Masse zerbrochener Terrakotta-Gefäße, die sie auf ihrem 2/3 Anteil in ihren Teilungen mit mir, in 1879, 1878 und 1882 erhielt[en]’ from the Imperial Museum.⁵⁸

A year later, on the expert advice of an official council, Ottoman authorities decided that the potsherds from Troy, stored in boxes in the Museum’s basement, were not valuable enough to preserve or to exhibit. According to Mustafa Pasha, no one else except for Schliemann would be interested in these highly broken terracotta pieces. Finally, after the approval of the Grand Vizier and the palace, it was decided to sell the broken pottery to Schliemann.⁵⁹

Apparently the Imperial Museum and the Ottoman state attached more importance to the suitability of artefacts for display, however, the financial and

⁵⁶ IAMA: K26/1, Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1536, 11/Ra/1300 (20/01/1883).

⁵⁷ IAMA: K26/1, Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1536, 11/Ra/1300 (20/01/1883).

⁵⁸ Herrmann & Maaß, *Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1876-1890*, Schliemann to Virchow, 22/01/1884, (391) 391-396, 392.

⁵⁹ IBA: I.D 75171: 19/B/1302 (04/05/1885); included in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 537-539, document 29.

political incapability of the Ottoman Empire in this period has to be taken into consideration as well.

Financial Limitations

Despite their intention to collect as well as to preserve and display ancient works, Ottoman authorities were seriously hampered by their financial weakness. The government had no budget to support archaeological ventures or to expand the Museum's collection more resolutely. In fact, Osman Hamdi's suggestion to sell the Trojan pottery preserved in the Museum's storage space in order to buy more admirable antiquities that he could exhibit is exemplary for the Ottoman situation.

The incapability of the Empire was a point of frustration to Osman Hamdi. His critical letter addressed to the Minister of Public Instruction is an instance of this. He stresses that the Germans were spending thousands of lira for excavation activities on Ottoman soil and for the exhibition of these objects in the museum in Berlin. 'As for the French', he utters 'for the excavations that have been continuing for 17 years, 50 000 francs have been spent yearly (...)'. 'It is regrettable that although in accordance with the new antiquities law, which requires that the discovered antique works have to be handed over to the Royal Museum, the works that have been discovered by the Germans in Didyma are left at the site to be transferred to the [Imperial] Museum. There is no possibility to acquire the necessary 100 lira for the transfer of these to Der Saadet [Istanbul]'.⁶⁰

The funding of the construction of the new space of the Museum in 1891 illustrates how hard-pressed for money the Ottomans were. Since the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction was insufficient, the funds for a new hospital, the budget for unexpected expenses of the government and the budget of the provinces were being used for the new museum.⁶¹ State-run funding was not attainable either for the first 'national' archaeological venture of the Empire

⁶⁰ This memorandum of 5 pages with number 355 (24 Januari 1316/1900) within the archives of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul was partially translated in modern Turkish by Aziz Ogan. See: Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıldönümü*, (Istanbul 1947) 11-13.

⁶¹ Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 275.

under the direction of Osman Hamdi. Thanks to the lobbying and the financial campaign launched by his father, Ibrahim Edhem Pasha, a considerable sum of money was collected for the benefit of the first archaeological activities of the Museum.⁶² The financial incompetence of the government even induced Osman Hamdi to donate his yearly salary to the construction of the new space of the Museum in 1901. The government, however, did not accept this personal offer.⁶³

3. The Ottoman Elite's Discomfort at the Ineffective Antiquities Law of 1874

The Empire's financial problems, together with its political weakness, created opportunities for foreign parties to undertake expensive archaeological ventures on Ottoman soil and to remove, legally or illegally, the discovered artefacts from the Empire. Yet, as we have seen above, it also created situations in which foreign persons, such as Schliemann, could buy artefacts from the Imperial Museum. The removal of antiquities by western excavators, however, infuriated the intelligentsia of the Empire more and more.

The antiquities bylaw of 1869 and the decree of Safvet Pasha in order to collect antiquities in the same year underlined the Ottoman tendency concerning the repossession of antique objects.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the bylaw and the decree proved to be inadequate to keep antiquities within the Empire. This urged the authorities to take action. The protection of the artefacts from foreign acquisition was considered a matter of vital importance. In his correspondence to the palace on this matter, the Grand Vizier stated that 'for some time inside of the [empire] people of various countries have been collecting attractive and rare works the protection of which needs to be kept in mind'.⁶⁵

⁶² *La Turquie*, 7th April 1883, 20th April 1883, in: Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 315.

⁶³ Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıldönümü*, 12.

⁶⁴ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89.

⁶⁵ *Rehnuma: Müze-i Hümayun* (Istanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1319/1902, ii, quoting the writ

The antiquities law of 1874, the promulgation of which had been stimulated by Schliemann's illegal actions of 1873, turned out to be ineffective as well. In fact, because of its vagueness and the absence of enforcement, large-scale illegal expropriation of antiquities found in the Empire continued.⁶⁶

The excavations of Pergamon (Bergama) – in which the German railroad engineer, architect and archaeologist Carl Humann (1839-1896) played a major role – is exemplary for the disregard of this law.

Thanks to his consultancy work on railway and road routes for the Grand Vizier Fuad Pasha, Humann had established valuable connections in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Moreover, he had supervised the construction of certain roads in Asia Minor and as a result he became acquainted with the area, particularly the west coast. Backed by the director of the Imperial Museum in Berlin, Alexander Conze (1831-1941), Humann acquired the property of the excavation site at Pergamon by following a cunning strategy. First of all, Humann undervalued the potential of the site so that he would be in a better negotiating position with the Ottomans. Secondly, he did not publish the findings of 1878 until 1880. In the meantime, although against the antiquities regulation, Humann persuaded the Ottoman authorities to sell the local property to him in a secret treaty. He also convinced the Ottomans to sell their one-third share of the finds to the Museum in Berlin for a small sum. Thanks to Humann's efforts a huge amount of antiquities arrived in the German Museum of Antiquities in Berlin. Included in these was the altar of Zeus, which was later reconstructed within the museum. It is evident that the deal between Humann and the Ottoman authorities was a consequence of corruption, but also the Ottoman bankruptcy.⁶⁷

However, displeasure with and opposition to the large-scale exportation of antiquities to the west was increasing as well. Exemplary in this respect is the

of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan (arz tezkiresi) for the new law, from the Topkapı Palace Archives (Maruzat Arşivi), translated into English by Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 89.

⁶⁶ Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 215; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 91.

⁶⁷ Marchand, *Down From Olympus*, 93-95; Richard Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods. The search for Classical Greece* (London 1987) 290; Margarita Diaz-Andreu, *A World History of the Nineteenth-Century Archaeology. Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (New York 2007) 115; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 108-110.

correspondence between Osman Hamdi and the director of the German Museum of Antiquities, Alexander Conze, in 1882. In order to maintain good relations with the Imperial Museum, Conze informed Osman Hamdi that he had sent him a number of publications on the excavations at Bergama (Pergamon). Conze also wrote to Osman Hamdi that he would send him a plaster cast of an Apollo statue found at the site. In exchange for these achievements, however, Conze asked Osman Hamdi for a stone set into the exterior wall of the Bergama mosque. Osman Hamdi ignored Conze's request, however, and merely replied that he would accept the plaster cast and, furthermore, that he requested copies of all the great statues of Bergama. In addition, to secure the stone in question, a museum official was sent to Bergama to remove the stone and include it in the collection of the Imperial Museum.⁶⁸

The Excavations at Nemrud Dağı

Presumably in reaction to Conze's plans to carry out new excavations at Nemrud Dağı⁶⁹ and Sakçagözü⁷⁰ – both located in south-eastern Turkey – in 1882, the Ottoman government decided to send Osman Hamdi and his associate Osgan Efendi to Nemrud Dağı to explore the site in 1883. Osman Hamdi's archaeological venture in Nemrud Dağı was the first archaeological project under the patronage of the Imperial Museum. This and more imperial excavations in this period were made financially possible thanks to the efforts of leading political figures, such as Ibrahim Edhem Pasha (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Izzet Bey (Director of the Post and Telegram Department), who started a campaign to collect money. Next to various ministers, the administrations of institutes such as the Eastern Railways and the Haydarpaşa Railways, and also the Ottoman Bank, supported the financial campaign. The operation generated more than 500 Lira, a vast amount at the time, which allowed Osman Hamdi to undertake his venture. To make the Ottoman archaeological enterprise noticeable on the European stage, the publication of

⁶⁸ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 109.

⁶⁹ Presumably the tumulus and holy seat of the 1st century BC Commagene King, Antiochus I Epiphanes; since 1987 a UNESCO World Heritage site.

⁷⁰ The ruins of a late Hittite city (8th century BC) were found here in 1883.

the impressive discoveries at Nemrud Dađı, with photographs and illustrations of the expedition and the huge statues from the first century BC, was published in French.⁷¹

It was obvious that the Ottoman ruling elite tried to undertake archaeological excavations, collect and preserve antiquities, and moreover, to protect artefacts from European acquisition. The above-mentioned financial campaign is a revealing example for this attitude. The articles and reports in newspapers and journals that stressed the importance of preservation and display of antiquities prove the increasing interest of the Ottoman intelligentsia in archaeology and museological practice, but they also emphasize the lack of means and understanding of the authorities in charge.⁷² Given their straitened circumstances, the Ottomans could not possibly rival with Europeans, on whom they were heavily dependent financially. Indeed, the Ottoman Empire, being the ‘sick man of Europe’ by then, was in the most unfortunate position of having no financial means and no political power.

Nonetheless, discomfort and remorse about such major expropriations of artefacts urged the enactment of stricter antiquities legislation. The need for a new antiquities law was the subject matter of the directive from the Grand Vizierate to the council of the Ministry of Public Instruction in November 1883. According to the directive, the antiquities regulation of 1874 had led to a situation in which ‘transport of rare and fine works to Europe’ continued. It also emphasized that in other countries, the excavators of similar works were only allowed to export plaster casts while the originals remained. The directive ordered that the new law had to include the restriction that only a copy of the artefacts would be given to excavators on imperial lands, and that the originals

⁷¹ Osman Hamdy Bey and Osgan Effendi, *Le tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh* (Constantinople 1883); Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 109; Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Aılıř ve Osman Hamdi*, 314-317; Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 193.

⁷² See: *Ceride-i Havadis*, 122, 12/L/1277 (23rd April 1861), *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, 40, 19/C/1281 (19th November 1864), *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, 81, 19/ř/1281 (17th January 1865), *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, 86, 26/ř/1281 (24th January 1865), *Vakit*, 1609, 01/Ca/1297 (11th April 1880), included in Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Aılıř ve Osman Hamdi*, 284-288.

had to be included in the collection of the Imperial Museum.⁷³

Soon after this decree, on 23rd February 1884, the revised Antiquities Law was promulgated, defining tangible heritage of the ancients as imperial property.⁷⁴

4. New Antiquities Legislation (1884)

Ottoman Claim to Ancient Heritage

*All of the artifacts left by the ancient peoples who inhabited the Ottoman Empire, that is, gold and silver; various old and historical coins; signs engraved with informative writings; carved pictures; decoration; objects and containers made of stone and clay and various media; weapons; tools; idols; ringstones; temples and palaces, and old game-areas called circuses; theatres, fortifications, bridges and aqueducts; corpses, buried objects, and hills appropriate for examination; mausoleums, obelisks, memorial objects, old buildings, statues and every type of carved stone are among antiquities.*⁷⁵

The new antiquities law, to a large extent adopted from the Greek antiquities law of 1834, clearly defined and documented antiquities.⁷⁶ The law declared that ‘all types of antiquities extant or found, or appearing in the course of excavation or appearing in lakes, rivers, streams, or creeks’, belonged to the state. The law identified all antiquities ‘as automatically part of the Ottoman patrimony’. It made the Ottoman Empire the legitimate owner of all the archaeological objects. Their removal or destruction was forbidden and, on top of that, the state had the right to confiscate private property for archaeological purposes. Excavators were not allowed to own the land and private persons could no longer possess antiquities ‘without the government explicitly relinquishing that object’. Besides, the law forbade the export of antique objects ‘without the express consent of the Imperial Museum’ and included instructions to limit such exports.

⁷³ Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 332 ; Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 215, Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 201.

⁷⁴ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 110-113.

⁷⁵ IBA: I.MMS. 78/3401: 23/R/1301 (21/02/1884), translated by Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 111.

⁷⁶ Meyer, *Briefwechsel II*, Schliemann to Humann, 7th February 1890 (326) 348-350; Humann to Schliemann, 9th February 1890 (327) 350-352. See also note 14 of chapter 2 of this study.

The law reflected an increased awareness of the historical and archaeological value of artefacts. The definition of antiquities demonstrates an improved archaeological understanding of artefacts and their relation with sites. Now the law prohibited the disturbing of archaeological sites: no construction was allowed within a quarter kilometre of the archaeological site and it was also strictly forbidden to lift the stones lying on the ground of such a site. This accounted also for ‘taking measurements, drawing, or making molds of antique stones as well as constructing scaffolding around ruins’.

Affected by nineteenth-century nationalism, the Ottomans created a law with which they aspired to strengthen their claim on their territories by claiming the artefacts left behind by former people who had lived on Ottoman territories.⁷⁷

The Ottoman determination to keep the antiquities within the Empire, however, was not successful. There was no effective implementation of this stricter antiquities legislation. Although the instructions for granting permits to excavators were followed, finds were often exported before their registration in the notebooks of finds, which was kept by a representative of the museum and the excavator and which had to be updated and signed daily according to the law. Moreover, because of the close ties between Sultan Abdülhamid II, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Emperor Frans Joseph I, the sultan repeatedly circumvented the law and granted exceptional permissions. The outstanding diplomatic savoir-faire of European archaeologists and classicists also played a major role in the circumvention of the antiquities law.⁷⁸ In the Troad, for example, Calvert ignored the new law as well and continued to scout clandestinely for potential archaeological sites.⁷⁹

Nonetheless, the strictness of the new law had a deterrent effect. It put many European archaeologists off excavating on Ottoman soil, including Schliemann. Although Calvert tried to convince him to reopen the excavations, his efforts

⁷⁷ See for review of the dialectic of the law: Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 110-115.

⁷⁸ Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, 102, 200-202; Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, 116-124.

⁷⁹ Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 215-219

were fruitless. The new antiquities regulation held Schliemann back from starting a new campaign at Hisarlık. He preferred Crete, at least for the time being.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ 'The Law on Antiquities', *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 10 November 1886; Heuck Allen, *Finding the Walls of Troy*, 217.

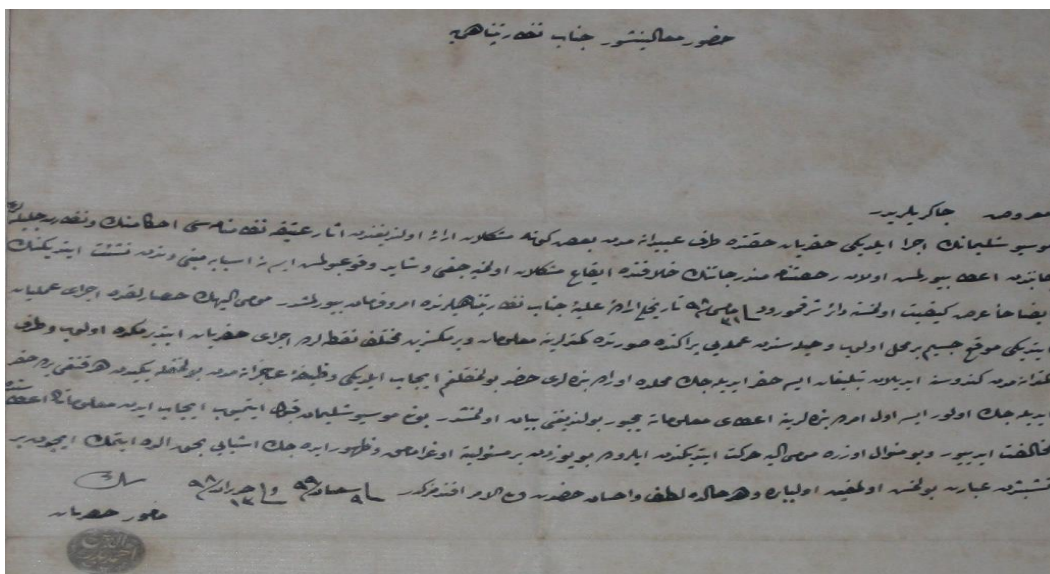


Figure 1

Schliemann tried to circumvent his demanding supervisor Bedreddin Efendi. When he started his exploratory diggings at various sites at the same time in June 1882, he tried to exclude Bedreddin Efendi from these excavations. Bedreddin Efendi did not accept this. He warned the Ministry of Public Instruction on June 26th. According to Bedreddin Efendi, Schliemann was ‘obstructing him in the execution of his duty’. Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: 26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File no: 1533, MH no: unclassified, 09/Ş/99 (26/06/1882) (Photo Günay Uslu, 2008).

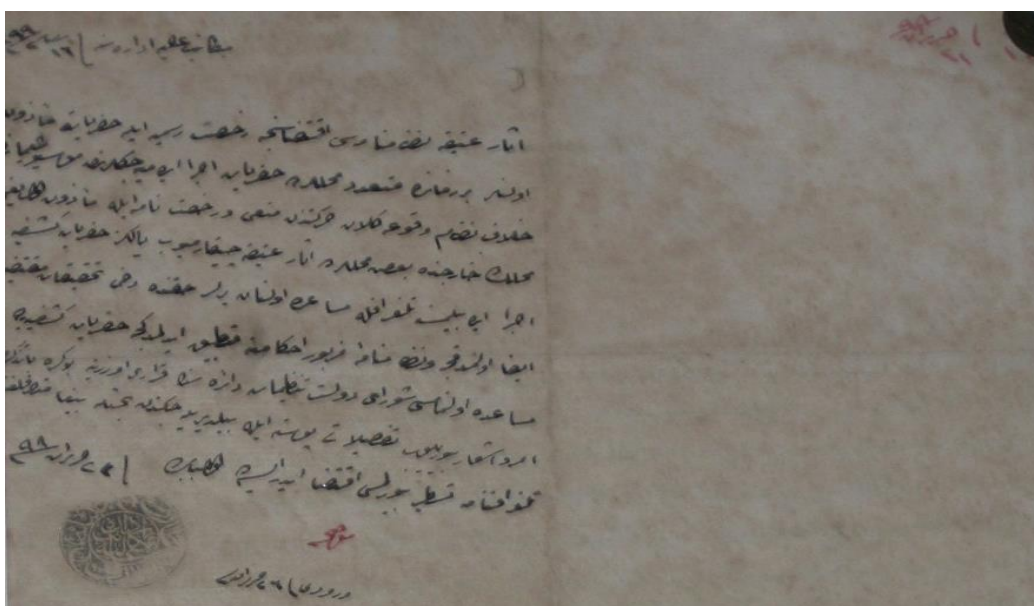


Figure 2

The Ministry of Public Instruction strictly prohibited Schliemann to carry out exploratory diggings. Besides the emphasis on the strict observance of the antiquities law, the authorities also underlined the requirement of the presence of the Ottoman supervisor. Without the required supervision, Schliemann was forbidden to continue his excavations. Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98,99,300, File nr: 1533, MH nr: unclassified, 16/Ş/1299 (03/07/1882) (Photo Günay Uslu, 2008).

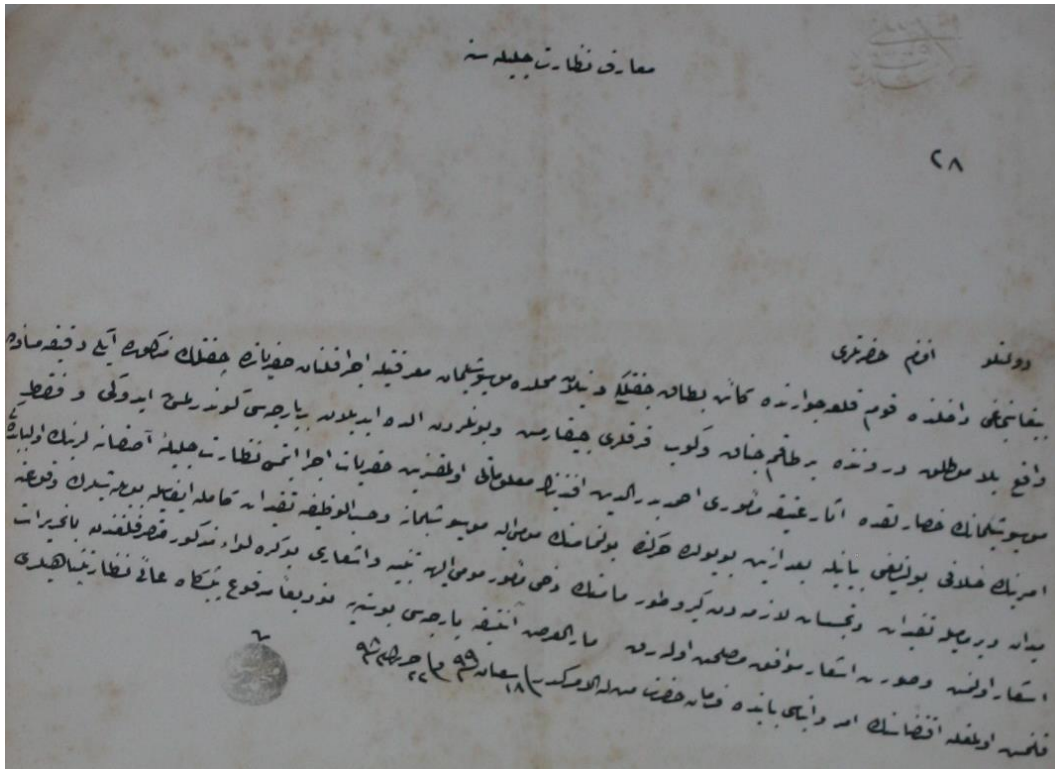


Figure 3

Letter from the civil governor of the Dardanelles, Mehmed Reşad, to the Ministry of Public Instruction, telling among others that Schliemann was ordered to avoid illegal actions and that excavating without the presence of his supervisor, Bedreddin Efendi, was out of the question. Also information about the transport of a discovered ancient object to Istanbul was included in the letter. Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: 26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1535, MH nr: unclassified, 18/Ş/1299 (05/07/1882) (Photo Günay Uslu, 2008).

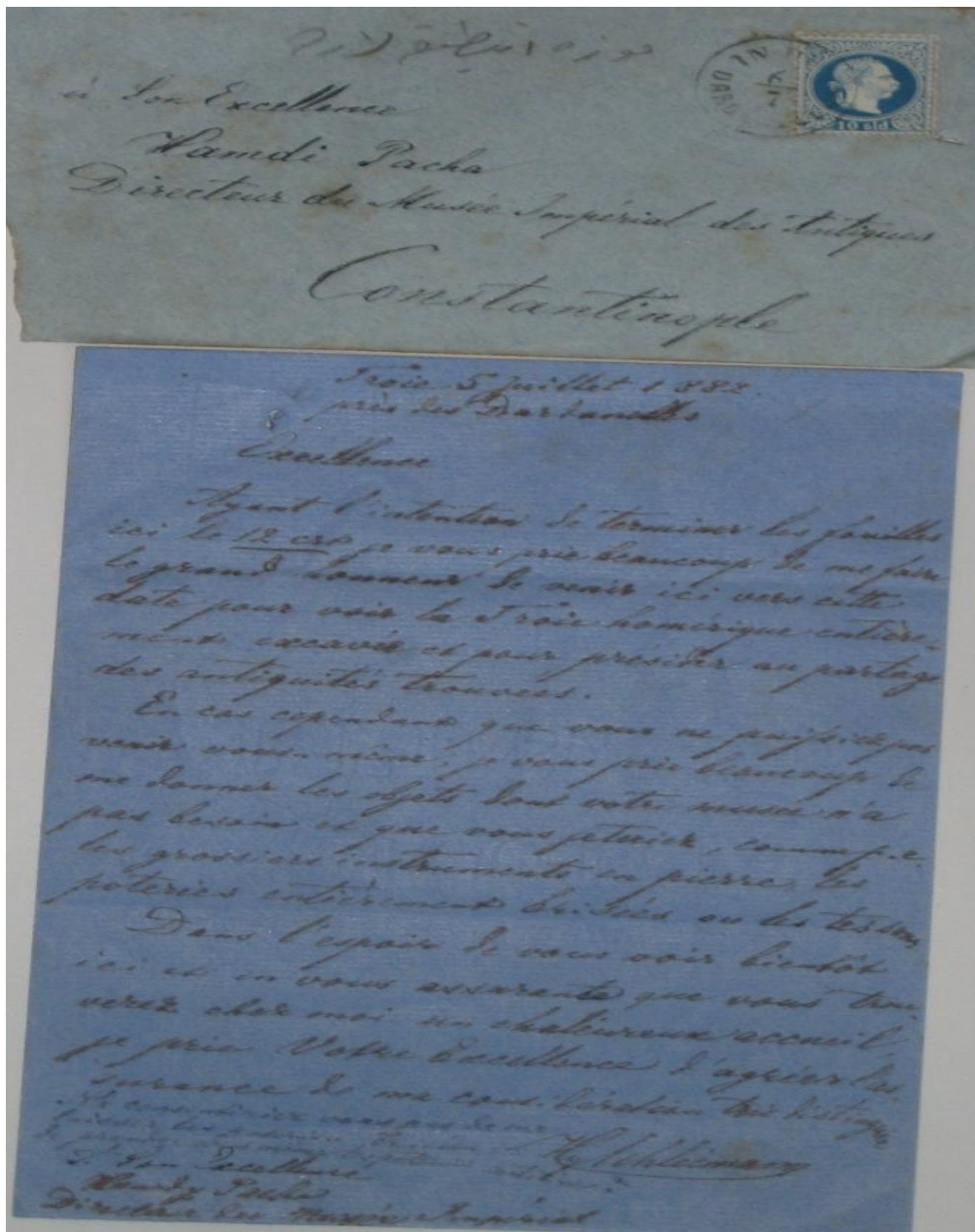


Figure 4
 Letter from Schliemann directed to Osman Hamdi Bey, director of the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. Schliemann informed Osman Hamdi that he was bringing the season to an end around 12th July. He invited Osman Hamdi to join the conclusion. Schliemann had his eye on the pottery collection of the Imperial Museum. He believed that these objects would be a fine addition to his collected Trojan works. He communicated his wish to Osman Hamdi in this letter, yet very carefully. He reassured Osman Hamdi that he was only interested in ‘worthless, broken and imperfect pottery’. Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul: K26/1, File: Eyüb Sabri 98, 99, 300, File nr: 1533, MH nr: unclassified, 05/07/1882 (Photo Günay Uslu, 2008).