



Escola de Sociologia e Políticas Públicas
Departamento de História

**Pasts Returned:
Archaeological Heritage Repatriation Policy in Turkey and
the Plans for a Future Nation**

Maria Inês Teixeira

Dissertação submetida como requisito parcial para obtenção do grau de
Mestre em Gestão e Estudos da Cultura, ramo de Gestão Cultural

Orientadora:
Dr.^a Nélia Susana Dias, Professora Associada
Escola de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Departamento de Antropologia
ISCTE-IUL Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

Setembro 2015

Acknowledgements

To Professor Nélia Dias, my dissertation advisor, for her ever-present honesty, guidance and availability, never neglecting my concerns. She will always remain a role model and a major reference in my future academic adventures.

To Professor Caterina Foa, for her never-ending patience and companionship to help us students with this crucial moment of our education.

To Professor Lucienne Thys-Senocak from Koç University, for her provocative classes, sense of humor and availability. Thank you for introducing me to the issues of cultural heritage repatriation.

To PhD Aslı Zeren, for her initial guidance on Turkish heritage management issues and providing me with valuable resources for a great start.

To Professor Nina Ergin - inevitably present and kind in her advice when I was utterly disoriented about my academic future.

To my beautiful mother, as well as my best friends Fernanda and Bárbara, for their unconditional support in this time of change.

To my great treasure, Ali, who will always be a part of me.

Abstract

Archaeological heritage repatriation remains a critical topic in international media and raises complex questions surrounding national identity and notions of rightful ownership. *Repatriation* is defined as the return of an artefact to its country of origin after having been kept under the stewardship of a foreign museum. Over the last decade, Turkey played a central role due to its high number of requests for museums to return artefacts found in the Turkish soil. The case of the request for a Hittite sphinx from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin caused particular distress among European museums, largely because the strategy of the Turkish government to recover the artefact was based on threatening measures, rather than a predisposition for cooperation. This dissertation extends prior work written about the Hittite sphinx case, by shedding light on one particular aspect: the dream for a future Turkey rather than past conflict with Europe. I argue that Turkish archaeological heritage repatriation policy is a crucial tool for the construction of a future nation, and that the Hittite sphinx case is particularly useful for understanding the Turkish dream of acquiring autonomy in the international arena.

Keywords

Archaeology, Repatriation, Turkey, Hittites, Germany, Artefacts, Museology, European Union, Turkish Politics, European Relations.

Resumo

A repatriação de património arqueológico representa um tema crítico nos media internacionais e levanta questões complexas sobre identidades nacionais e a noção de legítima propriedade. *Repatriação* define-se como a devolução de um artefacto ao seu país de origem após ter estado sob o cuidado de um museu estrangeiro. Ao longo da última década, a Turquia ocupou o núcleo da discussão devido ao seu elevado número de pedidos de restituição de artefactos de origem turca, actualmente expostos em museus de todo o mundo. O caso da devolução de uma esfinge Hitita pelo Museu Pergamon em Berlim causou particular agitação entre os museus europeus, uma vez que a estratégia por parte do governo turco foi largamente baseada em medidas ameaçadoras, não numa predisposição para cooperação. Este estudo dá continuidade a investigação anterior sobre o caso da esfinge Hitita, focando um aspecto particular: o sonho de uma futura Turquia, não de um passado conflituoso com a Europa. Esta dissertação argumenta que as políticas turcas de repatriação de património arqueológico são uma ferramenta crucial para a construção de uma futura nação, e que o caso da esfinge Hitita é particularmente útil para entender o sonho turco de adquirir autonomia na arena internacional.

Palavras-chave

Arqueologia, Repatriação, Turquia, Hititas, Alemanha, Artefactos, Museologia, União Europeia, Política Turca, Relações Europeias.

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Glossary of Abbreviations

AKP: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* / Justice and Development Party.

ANAP: *Anavatan Partisi* / Motherland Party.

ICOM: The International Council of Museums.

ICPRCP: Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries.
of Origin or Its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation.

TÜRKSOY: *Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Teşkilatı* / Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts.

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

UNIDROIT: International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological heritage repatriation – the return of one or more artefacts to their country of origin - has become a subject of intense debate in the last decades and has come to represent hope for indigenous peoples, underrepresented nations and former colonies. The process of returning heritage, however, results in conflict and dispute more often than effortless cooperation. The following paragraphs start by discussing the importance of archaeological heritage repatriation as a research subject, later addressing the objectives, methodology, challenges and overall structure of this dissertation.

One of the strongest reasons why research surrounding archaeological heritage repatriation is on demand is that it remains a largely undefined, controversial field. Regulated mostly by conventions and good will, it is still in urgent need of revision and discussion regarding guidelines and boundaries. In fact, fields as diverse as economics, political science, fine arts, conservation, public relations, cultural studies and anthropology can participate in the repatriation dialogue and somehow contribute for innovative takes on the topic, as is much needed. Two additional reasons determine the importance of investigating heritage repatriation, particularly concerning archaeology. Firstly, it is a topical issue in contemporary times. As the Islamic State conquers yet more territory under a policy of implacable destruction and treasures of Syrian and Iraqi lands crumble before our eyes, self-proclaimed universal museums in the West – such as the British Museum in London and the Metropolitan Museum in New York – openly question the safety of developing countries in safeguarding archaeological collections, particularly in the Middle East. With serious economic, political and social shifts around the globe, the ongoing debate over *who owns what and why* is thus more relevant than ever, and its shadows of complexity seem to multiply rather than fade. The second reason why further discussion on the archaeological heritage repatriation topic is needed, is that policies of heritage repatriation adopted by a certain country provide special insight into its character at a point in time, also reflecting what it aims to become in the international arena. Selecting unwanted and wanted heritage is undoubtedly a political act: in fact, it almost emerges as a curatorial activity in itself. As governments pressure and negotiate for heritage, they are actively participating in what Homi K. Bhabha (1990) describes as the image of the nation, a double-faced discourse in which “meanings may be partial because they are *in media res*; and history may be half-made because it is in the process of being made; and the image of cultural authority may be ambivalent because it is caught, uncertainly, in the act of ‘composing’ its powerful image”.¹ Cultural heritage, including archaeology, is therefore one of many tools to build a national image, and the process of tailoring this image is never over. It is a continuous process of which archaeological policy and archaeology repatriation policy become a reflection. This will be particularly

¹ Bhabha, 1990: 362.

meaningful when analyzing Turkish governmental policy in Chapter 2, which is in all aspects directed towards maintaining and refreshing the image of Turkey as an innovative nation.

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the subject of archaeological heritage repatriation, particularly in the country addressed in this dissertation: Turkey. The research to date has tended to focus on the relationship between archaeology and politics in Turkey, as well as archaeological heritage repatriation and Turkey's relationship with the European Union. Three main authors have been powerful inspirations for the definition of starting points for my investigation, and they will be frequently referenced in future chapters of this dissertation. Art historian Aaron Haines' "The Hattusa Sphinx and Turkish Antiquities Repatriation Efforts" (2012) was a major pillar for my theoretical frame, as it provides a valuable account of Turkish archaeological heritage repatriation policy and its turning points at the beginning of the 20th century, examining the delicate dynamics between Germany and Turkey and their mutual interests in Anatolian archaeological sites. Additionally, Haines' text introduces relevant details regarding the chronology of the Hittite sphinx case which will be of invaluable support for the chapters to come. Scholar Kathleen Price's "Who Owns the Past? Turkey's Role in the Loss and Repatriation of Antiquities" (2010) was also a precious source, in light of the two heritage repatriation case-studies it provides (the Elgin Marbles case and the Turkey v. Metropolitan Museum of Art case), allowing a comparative view on the topic and exploring the various shades of influence, policy and power Turkey has operated with in past situations. Price also focuses more intensively on the alleged civilizational authority of Turkey and the determinant role of the country not only in reviving a debate at a global level, but also launching a wave of "massive, continuing repatriation of cultural property".² The third author is Çiğdem Atakuman, who examines notions of prestige connected to cultural heritage in Turkey, as well as state heritage discourse with the articles: "Value of Heritage in Turkey: History and Politics of Turkey's World Heritage Nominations" (2010) and "Heritage as a Matter of Prestige: A Synopsis of the State Heritage Discourse and Practice in Turkey" (2012).

While not without limitations, these authors bring crucial aspects to the table: firstly, current policies of heritage repatriation in Turkey seem to be strongly influenced by past and present tensions with Europe; secondly, from a historical perspective, Turkish heritage often worked as a tool for establishing national credibility, victory and legitimization to the eyes of the world, which shall be explored in the next two chapters; last but not least, Turkey seems to be going down a road of increasing independence and turning inward for talent and development, or at least drifting away from Europe as a source.

My dissertation extends prior work done on archaeological heritage repatriation in Turkey, using the case of the return of a Hittite sphinx from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin to the Turkish government (2011) as a case-study. It aims to examine a key factor that has been largely neglected or

² Price, 2010: 204.

only briefly mentioned in the literature I have collected on the case: the future of Turkey and its role in archaeological repatriation policy. Most scholars within this body of literature imply past conflict with Europe was the main motivation behind Turkey's archaeological repatriation strategy, mentioning future affairs only briefly. The objective of my study is to reflect on the connection between Turkey's archaeological heritage repatriation strategy and the plans for future Turkey, as tailored by the Turkish government. My research questions were: how does Turkey's contemporary archaeological heritage repatriation strategy articulate with the plans for the future of the nation? What kind of past does Turkey claim for its future? What is the dynamic between Turkey's desire for particular artefacts and the governmental projects for a more efficient Turkey in 2023? My thesis is that Turkey's goals for the future mattered just as much, if not more, than Turkey's past with Europe in defining its archaeological heritage repatriation policy. Therefore, more than a study about archaeology and its past, this dissertation addresses the creation of future narratives *through* archaeology. The vision of a renovated, idealized future Turkey is surely connected to intricate past relations with Europe and determined by them, but also sheds a fresh light on other facets of a debate that may not have been fully explored to present.

I have focused on Turkey for reasons that will hopefully shine through by the end of my study: its strategic geographical position, its boiling political and religious scene and awe-inspiring heritage were surely decisive. Additionally, having spent one academic year in Istanbul as a graduate exchange student, I have closely observed its political scene with advantageous insight. Having also intensely developed my Turkish language skills, I have become incredibly aware of dialogue and debate around me daily, in a time of political tension and neighboring chaos as the Islamic State advances, seemingly with no end in sight. I have thus become extremely involved in what Istanbul had to offer as a city and what Turkey could teach me as a country under hallucinating urban, social and political developments. Such factors ensured me that Turkey is one of the most moving, stimulating countries to discover. Furthermore, when it comes to the debate of cultural heritage repatriation, Turkey has played a crucial role and has put together an extensive wish list of artefacts displayed around the world, in the most powerful museums. For these reasons, I believe Turkey can represent the subject of cultural heritage repatriation in all its complexity. Additionally, as noted by Janet Blake in *The Handbook on the Law of Cultural Heritage and International Trade* (2014), two aspects make Turkey a country worth remembering when addressing archaeological heritage repatriation: firstly, it is a country with immense cultural wealth, having been home to at least eight great civilizations (the Hittites, the Persian Empire, Ancient Greece, Hellenistic Greece, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuks and the Ottomans). Secondly, due to the strategic geographical position of Turkey and its diverse neighbors, this cultural diversity is met with frequent illicit trade of drugs and arms, facilitating also the looting of artefacts, with which Turkey has long suffered. Due to this issue, one of Turkey's major challenges regarding archaeological policy has been to control the illegal export of artefacts, giving origin to what

has been largely perceived as a retentionist approach to safeguarding its own cultural heritage.³ Turkey is thus a nation that presents multiple advantages for the study of cultural property, archaeological trade and repatriation.

Selecting the return of the Hittite sphinx by the Pergamon Museum as a case-study was also not accidental. After a challenging quest for literature on the Hittite Empire, it became clear that further research about Hattuša as an archaeological site is urgent, especially in English language. Relevant work has been done regarding the daily life in Hattuša during the times of the Hittite Empire, the production and exchange of goods, religious practices and even the astrological orientation of Hittite monuments, as well as the practice of history-telling, the historical, mythological and linguistical aspects of the Hittite society; for a field with such limited, disorderly primary sources, the amount and quality of research is surprising and relatively prosperous. Effective research has also been accomplished in the fields of archaeology and conservation, noting the characteristics of the site, its peculiarities and preservation challenges. However, there is scarce investigation on Hattuša as an archaeological site of political significance for the current Turkish government. Moreover, because the Hattuša archaeological site is under the care of a German archaeological team (the German Archaeological Institute), research conducted on the archaeological site tend to be written in German language, inevitably reducing the scale of circulation and accessibility by global readers. Finally, more often than not, written information about Hattuša is directed toward other cultural heritage professionals, such as archaeologists and conservators, rather than the common reader. All such obstacles have inspired me to address this literature gap and the particular case of the repatriation of a Hittite sphinx by the Pergamon Museum, considered a successful case to the eyes of the globe, although not without obstacles. For these reasons, Hattuša as an archaeological site and the Hittite sphinx will be framed in a political and foreign policy context, rather than described from an archaeological viewpoint.

In order to address the proposed research questions, I relied on a variety of secondary resources, from German and Turkish journal articles to Turkish scholarship, Turkish governmental documents and UNESCO recommendations and declarations. Since the topic of archaeological heritage repatriation is anything but objective, it was crucial to adopt a relativist mindset and do intensive research for keywords not only in English and French, but certainly Turkish and German languages, in an attempt to build a clear, complete picture of the case-study in hand. After collecting the literature found on the case, I started by comparing their common points and the aspects they had failed to address in detail, as well as noting down the overall tone of each text and what side of the heritage repatriation debate it seemed to be taking, if any. The second step was to focus on the plans for future Turkey, particularly collecting documentation and announcements by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism about future projects and targeting the symbolic year of 2023, the centenary of the Turkish

³ Blake, 2014: 437.

Republic. The third step was to place the documentation about archaeological heritage repatriation policy in Turkey (particularly regarding the Hittite sphinx) side by side with the documentation collected regarding future projects by the Turkish government, and attempt to understand which points could correlate.

My research process faced some limitations, the most prominent being my beginner level of German language and my intermediate Turkish language skills, which do not yet allow me to fully understand the content of a complex journal article. I have attempted to address this issue by searching English-language versions of the articles I intended to use, as well as reaching out to English versions of common newspapers such as *Der Spiegel* and *Hürriyet Daily News*. However, this limitation still implies that the body of literature I have collected is largely restricted to English-language scholarship, and therefore I may have missed important German and Turkish scholarly work on the case which would certainly be precious additions of my research. A second struggle was related to the content of the literature found on the Hittite sphinx case: firstly, most articles were rather imprecise, referring to the involved parties as “Turkey” and “Germany”, rather than specifying actors for each action of the process. As much as possible, I have tried to be particular about who took each decision during the Hittite sphinx case. Furthermore, the given literature was also incoherent about the timeline of the case: for one same event, some studies would mention a particular date, while others indicated a different one. In order to decide which could be closer to reality, I attempted to find governmental documents (an announcement, a press release, a journal) that would refer to that matter, and evidently trusted the information released by the government more than that of different scholars. The third obstacle during the research process has been to discover an intricate, politically sensitive region in cultural heritage studies, in which each concept carries a large amount of implications. For this reason, it was necessary to establish the difference between return, restitution and repatriation from the start, and to restrict my analysis to archaeological heritage repatriation, rather than other types of cultural heritage. In the article “New Developments in the Restitution of Cultural Property: Alternative Means of Dispute Resolution” published in the *International Journal of Cultural Property* (2010), scholars Marie Cornu and Marc-André Renold state: “The handing back of property to the original possessor or owner is known variously as restitution, return and repatriation. Although there is not always a clear distinction in the texts between these terminological variations, it is clear that the various forms of dispossession are treated differently in law”. The authors proceed to explain that terms such as *restitution* or *return* of heritage are closely associated with a past illegal action by one of the parties involved, such as looting, trafficking, wartime plunder or illegal export. These terms also imply that, if an illegal action was somehow involved, it is easier to decide the rightful owner, and consequently to *return* an artefact. The term *repatriation*, on the other hand, may refer to delivering an artefact back to the country where it was found, but does not necessarily entail the notion of a clear rightful owner or a transgressor. For this reason, I have opted for the term *archaeological heritage repatriation* and have restricted my

geographical area of analysis to Turkey. A consequent forth challenge arises in the study of this topic, since archaeological repatriation cases often have no defined date of beginning and can linger for years, making the study of each case an arduous activity, particularly where no legal lawsuits are involved and negotiation is only loosely documented. Finally, the last obstacle during the research process has been to personally collect scholarly accounts about the Hittite sphinx case. After attempting to contact an influential German researcher at the Hattuşa archaeological site, whose name and position I shall not mention to preserve the individual's identity, it soon became clear that the topic of Hattuşa's management and the politics of the Hittite sphinx case were far too delicate and perhaps unsafe to discuss openly in a dissertation, due to possible governmental action. I was in fact prohibited by the Hattuşa researcher to interview the team at the archaeological site or quote any team member directly in my study, directions I have followed. In fact, while my first intention for this dissertation was to address managerial challenges at the Hattuşa archaeological site, I then decided to change the topic almost completely to address only repatriation policy instead of focusing on management practice, since my access to the archaeological team was highly restricted and collected data would be insufficient to back up any claims on the daily functioning of the site. This experience comes to show that archaeological heritage repatriation issues, far from being an abstract concern, are still very present and have serious practical consequences.

In order to understand in a critical manner how archaeological heritage repatriation policy has been addressed by the Turkish government, I found it important to start by introducing two main aspects: the definition of archaeological heritage repatriation and the cultural heritage system in Turkey. I believe this introduction is of great relevance for readers who are not entirely familiar with the concept of repatriation and its implications, as well as Turkish policy towards cultural heritage. Therefore, the first chapter of this dissertation, "Archaeological Heritage Repatriation and Turkey", introduces and summarizes the topic of archaeological heritage repatriation (1.1). It briefly addresses artefact looting and the landmarks in the development of the heritage repatriation debate, referring to iconic documents and organizations which have made contributions to the topic. The second part of the chapter (1.2) introduces the cultural heritage repatriation system in Turkey and the significance of archaeology in the overall political culture of the country. By the end of the first chapter the reader should notice the following points: not only is the archaeological heritage repatriation debate lengthy and complex, it also presents serious political consequences. Such is particularly true in Turkey, where the cultural heritage system strongly depends on governmental control. With these principles in mind, the reader will be more comfortable proceeding to Chapter 2: "A Hittite Sphinx Returned, a Future Ahead". The second chapter starts by introducing the Hittite empire (2.1). It addresses their significance for Turkish heritage, addressing also the pertinence of studying Hittite culture. I am convinced that this introduction is necessary because European audiences have been less exposed to the Hittite empire comparing to the Greek and Roman civilizations, for instance. A crucial civilization in the history of

Turkey and its surrounding Middle Eastern neighbors, the Hittites had less impact in the rest of Europe, not to mention other continents. In Portugal, particularly, the Hittites were not present and are mentioned rarely, if at all, throughout basic and higher education. However, as the reader shall notice, the Hittite empire left impressive architectural, artistic and even linguistic heritage. Additionally, while the study of the Hittites may not represent a priority in the majority of Europe's school and university curricula, this does not mean that Europeans had a weak role in preserving Hittite heritage, as proved by the second point in Chapter 2 (2.2). Here, I examine the cooperation between Turkish and German teams at the main Hittite archaeological site in Turkey, highlighting the historical significance of the cooperation between Turkey and foreigners in archaeological work. I also address foreign influences that have inspired archaeologists and museologists in Turkey. The purpose of this structure is for the reader to understand how Turkey was never actually detached from European influence – both positive and negative – and how the Turkish archaeological and museological initiatives were often represented by partnerships between Turks and Europeans, especially the French, the British and the German. This is relevant because when archaeology repatriation cases arise, and as will be stated in Chapter 1, the argument that *the country of origin of an artefact should keep that artefact* is not self-evident. Can the notion of origin really be applied when most projects are born from a partnership? Could it really be that Turkish cultural heritage belongs to Turkey only by principle, if German teams were constantly involved in the discovery, conservation and maintenance of that same heritage? It is this relationship between Turkey and Germany that one should understand before addressing the complex Hittite sphinx case. In subchapter 2.3, I provide a complete chronology of the case of the return of the Hittite sphinx from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin to the Turkish government, with the support of both governmental documents and previous scholarly work. I examine the landmarks of the Hittite sphinx case step by step, constantly focusing on the interactions between the German and Turkish sides, as well as the relation between the Turkish government and the control over Hittite archaeological heritage. I also provide a complete chronological table in attachment, which I believe will be particularly useful for understanding the overall progress of the case. Later, I explore some interpretations built on the Hittite sphinx case and Turkish archaeological heritage repatriation policy (2.4). This subchapter will allow the reader to engage in the particular debate regarding the Hittite sphinx, after being familiar with its chronology: what makes this case special in the context of heritage repatriation? How was alleged ownership of the sphinx justified by each party involved? How did the media address the conflict and how did the respective governments manage their relationship? After these particular questions are addressed, subchapter 2.5 will focus on the aftermath of the Hittite sphinx case, examining the relation between the Hittite sphinx case and the future plans for Turkey, designed by the Turkish government and meant to be achieved by 2023. By the end of the second chapter, the reader should have become aware of the ambitious cultural plans by the Turkish government, as well

as their strong connection to archaeology repatriation and how the Hittite sphinx case may have been, after all, strongly influenced by future prospects rather than only past endeavors.

By dividing this dissertation in two main chapters, I hope to openly welcome the reader and present a controversial topic in an accessible manner. I believe it is urgent to present cultural heritage – and particularly archaeology – as fields of study that *do* matter to common citizens, because they are directly connected to the politics, economy and external policies of a country. Hopefully, by the end of this dissertation, the reader will have become as fascinated by the topic of repatriation as I have throughout this journey.

CHAPTER 1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE REPATRIATION AND TURKEY

1.1. Archaeological Heritage Repatriation: Introductory Considerations

Art looting is not a modern practice. One of the oldest objects that is known to have been looted was taken as war plunder during the Akkadian period (ca. 2350–2150 B.C): the stele of King Naram-Sin of Akkad.⁴ Currently on display at the Louvre Museum in Paris, the stele was created to celebrate the military victories of king Naram-Sin, but was looted in 2250 BC by the Elamites, an influential people dominating the regions east of Mesopotamia. The Elamites took it to their capital in Susa, Iran. There, it was uncovered in 1898 by French archaeologists in Iranian territory. In the ancient world, Romans were also active in war plunder during the expansion of the Roman Empire through Italy, as Greek art was stolen and displayed ostentatiously as a trophy. As Molly Swetnam-Burland explains, “victors often targeted monuments evocative of a defeated culture's religious beliefs and history. Thus, plundering provided not just a means to display martial victory at home but could also result in the appropriation of a defeated people's self-conception”.⁵ Since times of international peace are practically nonexistent, cases of art plunder around the globe and through history are numerous and its agents diverse, “from the Roman imperial campaigners to the Norsemen raiders and the Christian crusaders through to the combatants in the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia”.⁶ However, most would associate the concept of art looting specifically with the modern era, particularly the Nazi appropriation of art throughout Europe. This was, indeed, a time of destruction and disposal of cultural heritage of diverse origins. During the Second World War, Germany “plundered 427 museums in the Soviet Union and damaged or destroyed 1,670 Russian Orthodox churches, 237 Catholic churches and 532 synagogues”.⁷ This was a time of extreme cultural heritage loss, as well as a period of humiliation and grief for other nations. However, the actions behind cultural heritage repatriation cases, regardless of space or time, are not always as clear and biased as these examples seem to convey – especially if archaeology is concerned.

A multifaceted and highly mediatized concept, archaeological heritage repatriation involves not only cultural considerations, but also political, ideological and surely legal aspects. Commonly, the parties involved share a precedent of unpleasant episodes in history – namely colonialism - and repatriation cases re-open wounds which have hardly ever healed. Where there is plunder, there is the feeling of violated ownership and a consequent identity crisis, sometimes at a national level. In an attempt to mediate such fragile relations, the Hague *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* took place in 1954 as an international treaty, with the specific purpose

⁴ Miles, 2008:16.

⁵ Swetnam-Burland, 2009.

⁶ Anon, 1997.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

of protecting cultural heritage during war. A second protocol to the Hague Convention would be effective in 1999, and by 2014 a total of 126 nations had ratified it.⁸ UNESCO and UNIDROIT have also established two key documents for reference under heritage repatriation conflict: the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* (1970) and the *Convention on Stolen and Illegally Exported Cultural Objects* (1995), respectively. The preparation of these conventions was itself subject to rumor: some claimed that these documents would contradict each other or be incompatible, resulting in little effectiveness. These assumptions were wrong, since UNESCO had actually invited UNIDROIT to draft a complementary convention and to get involved in the subject of heritage trafficking.⁹ Overall, these initiatives created and reinforced ethical guidelines for acquiring, caring, purchasing and keeping heritage from foreign countries.

Throughout the 2000s, the topic of the repatriation of cultural property was not neglected. Many conferences and guidelines were developed, of which three are particularly worth mentioning: the revision of the International Council of Museums' (ICOM) Code of Ethics in 2004; the *Athens International Conference on the Return of Cultural Property to its Country of Origin* in 2008, organized by UNESCO; and the *Conference on International Cooperation for the Protection and Repatriation of Cultural Heritage* in Egypt, 2010.

Timothy Ambrose and Crispin Paine refer to the ICOM Code of Ethics as “based around a set of minimum standards of professional conduct and performance and serves as a benchmark against which those working in and for museums can assess their performance”.¹⁰ One can understand why this set of guidelines matters for the topic of archaeology repatriation: museums are key agents in the preservation and display of cultural heritage. By incorporating these sets of guidelines in their collection policy, museums around the globe agree to abdicate of a fraction of individual power, in order to follow international standards. This allows for cultural property controversies to be discussed considering an international ethical mindset, rather than acting independently. It is also meaningful that the ICOM Code of Ethics is regularly revised, as social and cultural circumstances change. Along the same lines, the *Athens International Conference on the Return of Cultural Property to its Country of Origin* was the first international conference to gather professionals from the fields of museum studies, law, and arts experts to present individual repatriation cases and contribute further to the debate about heritage repatriation. According to the official website of UNESCO, the international conference reached a list of important goals, such as intensifying the study of the cultural heritage repatriation topic, as well as recognizing the importance of promoting discussion among younger generations. The

⁸ UNESCO (official website). Available at: [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=15207&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html]. Last accessed: 09.09.2015.

⁹ Prott, 1996: 59.

¹⁰ Ambrose & Paine, 2012: 19.

most interesting conclusion, from this dissertation's viewpoint, was that the "return of cultural objects is directly linked to the rights of humanity".¹¹ According to this perspective, international human rights would include the right to keeping *and recovering* cultural heritage, "an inalienable part of a people's sense of self and of community, functioning as a link between the past, the present and the future".¹² Two years later, the *Conference on International Cooperation for the Protection and Repatriation of Cultural Heritage* in Cairo, Egypt (7-8 April 2010) was a landmark in the heritage repatriation debate. This conference was organized by the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt, a governmental branch of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture with the goal of promoting, protecting and recovering Egyptian cultural heritage. Before an audience of official representatives of 22 countries as distinct as China, India, Bolivia, Chile, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Spain and the United States, a variety of underprivileged countries were given the chance to put together a list of requested artefacts they wished would return to their nations. For Egypt, the desired objects included the Nefertiti Bust on display at the Neues Museum in Berlin, the Rosetta stone on display at the British Museum and, for instance, the sculptured Dendera Zodiac currently at the Louvre Museum in Paris. Perhaps ironically, neither France, Great Britain nor Germany attended the conference. Additionally, underprivileged nations with an extensive background in the heritage repatriation debate, such as Ghana, Ethiopia, Mali or Sudan were also absent. Although not entirely inclusive, the Cairo Conference was still crucial for the archaeological heritage repatriation discussion. Not only did it provide a stage for underprivileged countries to speak of their sense of heritage ownership, but it was also organized by Egypt, a nation eager to recover its heritage, rather than a mediator such as UNESCO. Additionally, as a consequence of the conference, the debate on repatriation was once again revived. As Michel Guerrin (2010) provocatively asks in the newspaper *Le Monde* about the Cairo conference, "are all claims for artworks legitimate"?¹³ The question remains, perhaps stronger than ever.

Discussion regarding archaeological ethics, the competence to care for one's ancient heritage and the overall meaning of heritage for Humanity has gained momentum, at a time when the self-proclaimed Islamic State devastates ancient Middle Eastern heritage and the globe watches from a distance. Long debates regarding the validity of archaeological repatriation persist today, often with heated emotional argument and guilt thrown between nations, particularly where colonial pasts are concerned. Past atrocities committed by archaeologists and anthropologists in developing countries and former colonies in the name of science determine that, even today, archaeological activity is highly associated with the illegal export of artefacts, as well as exploitation and disrespect for local peoples

¹¹ UNESCO (official website). Available at:

[http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/pdf/Conclusions_Athens_en.pdf]. Last accessed: 22.09.2015.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ Guerrin, 2010.

and their cultures.¹⁴ Archaeology and notions of ownership are thus intimately connected, and modern archaeology has been largely centered on the question of the past as a possession.¹⁵

Three main factors must be considered when addressing archaeology and notions of ownership; firstly, there are diverse stakeholders for one single archaeological site, such as the government, collectors, museums, looters and smugglers and of course, archaeologists themselves. Scholars, local peoples and smaller communities also represent stakeholders, not only sharing an interest in their own cultural legacy, but also producing research and promoting their cultural institutions through word-of-mouth and volunteering. This numerous amount of stakeholders determines that moving an artefact from a museum or archaeological site to a different cultural institution in a different country carries serious consequences. Secondly, there is no single approach to heritage ownership, especially concerning archaeology. According to international law specialist John Alan Cohan, “in the first decades of the nineteenth century, many important archaeological monuments were unprofessionally removed from sites and shipped to museums and private collectors in Europe”, mainly because “excavation of sites was clearly a commercial endeavor”.¹⁶ This perspective has shifted drastically until our present times, and two main chains of thought currently participate in the archaeology repatriation debate, as explained by Carol A. Roehrenbeck in the article “Repatriation of Cultural Property – Who Owns the Past?”:

Two common but contentious philosophies are Cultural Internationalism, on one end of the spectrum, and Cultural Nationalism on the other. Adherents of Cultural Internationalism support the idea that everyone has an interest in the preservation and enjoyment of all cultural property wherever it is located. Thus, the cultural property belongs to the global community, and the country with the better resources to care for another country’s cultural property should retain possession. (...) Cultural Nationalists believe that a nation’s cultural property belongs within the borders of the nation where it was created. Nationalists emphasize national interests, values, and pride. They argue that such artifacts are important to cultural definition and expression, to shared identity and community.¹⁷

It is not uncommon to find a confrontation between these two perspectives in heritage repatriation cases. Usually, the country from where objects were taken will adopt a nationalist approach, while the country hosting the object in a museum or art gallery will tend to adopt an internationalist approach. The third and last aspect of ownership integrated in archaeology repatriation cases is that the debate between nationalist and internationalist has very real consequences in practice. It shapes museum policies and display strategies, consequently helping shape the perception of visitors about a certain culture; as

¹⁴ Lowenthal, 1990; Mihesuah, 1996; Thomas, 2000; Stutz, 2007.

¹⁵ Cohan, 2004: 355.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ Roehrenbeck, 2010: 190.

Chapter 2 will demonstrate, it can also have serious consequences on foreign policy and the reception of foreign archaeological teams in national territory; in historically underprivileged countries (damaged by war, for instance) the recovery of archaeological heritage can signify an acknowledgement of the suffering caused to that nation by another; consequently, the refusal to return an object can incite stronger nationalist behavior by those who were denied the recovery of their heritage, and weaken the chances for future cooperation. The awareness of these serious consequences for national and foreign policy has fostered the development of arguments for and against heritage repatriation.

1.2. Archaeological Heritage: Arguments For and Against Repatriation

The case against heritage repatriation increased due to constant insecurity issues in the Middle East, the cradle to various archaeological collections. More recently, the severe financial crisis witnessed in European countries, such as Greece or Italy, has contributed for the case against repatriation. After all, how could insecure, impoverished or unstable nations care for ancient heritage? This is a first argument against the repatriation of heritage: archaeological sites in countries such as Mexico, Turkey or Syria were often found not by locals, but by foreign archaeologists. The objects were later protected by foreign museums, making it illogical and even unfair that they are now forced to return them to the place of origin. Second, displaying a foreign object in an international museum is thought to increase its accessibility for museum audiences, promoting cultural tolerance by allowing visitors to contact with distant peoples and pasts that would otherwise remain unknown. Third, reference museums such as the Louvre Museum, the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art perform an encyclopedic function, allowing comparative perspectives between artworks of different ages and cultures. Such feature would surely be lost if artifacts were repatriated, leaving museum audiences, curators and researchers with less to reflect upon. A fourth argument claims that ancient objects perform noble functions for the overall knowledge of Humanity as pieces of an immense whole, and arguments for repatriation dismiss that purpose by placing a citizenship label upon them, thus amounting to “protectionist claims of culture”.¹⁸ Finally, as explained previously, notions of heritage ownership change drastically between nations - some justify ownership with the origins of a given item, while others justify it with who cared for the object most successfully and for longer; ultimately, as proposed by Rachel Hallote, repatriating artifacts could be the sacrifice of one country’s history for the sake of another:

When we repatriate artifacts to nations such as Greece and Egypt, we simultaneously destroy the evidence of the more recent history of other countries, including Britain, France and Germany. (...) Certainly Egypt and Greece are entitled to write new chapters in their history, but they cannot pretend the past did not unfold the way it did. Artifacts are not people, and as such, cannot be in exile. Many artifacts have only known one home since they were dug up, and for many of them

¹⁸ Cuno, 2014.

that home is in a Western museum. To take the artifacts out of museums is to degrade the history of Europe and the West.¹⁹

A narrative of internationalist notions of heritage ownership with no mention of the 2002 *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums* would be incomplete. This declaration was signed by leading museums of Europe and North America, and its goal was to stress the “the vital role they play in cultivating a better comprehension of different civilizations and in promoting respect between them. They also stress the need to address claims for restitution on a case by case basis, with attention to the historical and legal circumstances of acquisition”.²⁰ The declaration mostly enhanced the need to interpret each repatriation case individually, rather than following a principle that an artefact should mandatorily return to its country of origin. As influential, active institutions, European and American museums share a responsibility in the history of a given object, and therefore should be able to seek a mutually satisfying solution with the country issuing the request. In 2004, the General Director of the State Museums of Berlin, Mr. Peter-Klaus Schuster, supported this perspective:

Is it reprehensible to insist on the examination of each case of acquisition and restitution individually? Of course not, for any claim for unconditional return to the place of origin of a work would be legally questionable and would also show no respect for the history and fate of the object. For example, where and to whom does a Greek Attic vase of the 5th century B.C. belong, which was exported 2,500 years ago from Athens to Etruria, was excavated legally by a Delegation from the Vatican, sold to a Prussian monarch and lastly transferred from the royal collection to the nascent public museum some 170 years ago? Does the vase now belong to Athens, Vulci, Rome or Berlin? Moreover, many priceless objects would have been destroyed had they not been rescued by archeologists, as is the case with the Pergamon Altar, saved by German archaeologists.²¹

The case for repatriation is equally developed and focuses deeply on past injustice and misrepresentation of underprivileged cultures. The majority of arguments highlight the fact that the case against repatriation focuses too much on benefits for Western museums, audiences and archaeologists - at times not explicitly, but taking the dominance of the West as a premise. A strong argument in favor of repatriation is that the peoples from which artifacts have been taken in the past can hardly access the collections of Western museums today. Such point is valid as a vast majority of objects are of Middle Eastern, African, Latin American or South Asian origin, having belonged to former European colonies. A direct consequence of neglecting non-Western audiences is privileging European and American scholarship, directly confining collections research to a Western state of mind. Surely one may argue that European research is not necessarily Eurocentric and that international benefits can come from this

¹⁹ Hallote, 2011.

²⁰ Schuster, 2004.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

activity. There have been significant efforts by European museums to invite researchers from around the globe and make their collections more inclusive: the British Museum's International Training Programme is an example, annually opening its backstage to museum professionals from countries as distinct as Iraq, Armenia, India, Pakistan, South Africa and China. Heritage repatriation supporters, however, disagree that such efforts can ever compensate decades of misrepresentation. Other arguments suggest that artifacts can be best understood in their original context, inserted in the culture that produced them rather than the culture that found them. Once again, this argument could be confronted with the opposite view: an object is not necessarily better understood in its original context, because more often than not, the world has changed dramatically compared to ancient times. Curator James Cuno agrees with this perspective:

Sometimes archaeologists argue that antiquities have no meaning outside their archaeological context. If we don't know where they were found, antiquities are meaningless; of aesthetic value only. But of course antiquities have meaning outside their specific, archaeological context, all kinds of meanings: aesthetic, technological, iconographic, even, in the case of those with writing on them, epigraphic. Indeed, most of what we know about the Ancient Near East we know from unprovenanced cylinder seals and cuneiform tablets; the same is true as well of Mayan history, which we know primarily from unprovenanced ceramics.²²

Again in favor of heritage repatriation, many would argue that while objects must be cared for, such should not suggest an immediate image of the West as the ideal guardian of collections. If it does, perhaps we should reconsider our preconceived notions of safety and where it prevails. While removing, transporting, cleaning and attempting to preserve artifacts from archaeological sites, it was not uncommon for European archaeologists to cause irreparable damage. The case of the Elgin marbles, taken from Greece and under stewardship of the British for over 180 years, became the centerpiece among heritage repatriation researchers when "the findings of a Greek group of conservationists, who recently inspected the marbles, demonstrated that the very morphology of the sculptures had suffered as a result of the misguided efforts to make them whiter than white."²³ From the Greek perspective, the British Museum had failed to care for the artifacts, in fact modifying them to approach a western ideal of what archaeology should be. Additionally, the Greek team's report realized excessive intervention had actually deformed the sculptures and deprived them of the characteristics that made them classical in essence. Consequently, "the Greek culture minister said the team's findings fatally undermined the argument that under the British Museum's custody, the marbles had enjoyed better conservation and care than would have been possible in Athens."²⁴ While the lengthy, complex case of the Elgin Marbles is not a part of this dissertation's scope, it does imply that notions of care, stewardship and aptitude are not

²² Cuno, 2008: 9.

²³ Smith, 1999.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

printed in black and white, but are rather present in various shades of grey. The case against repatriation often invokes the damage Islamic State members have done to Iraqi heritage, destroying 3000 years of history in a matter of minutes: artefacts in the Mosul Museum in Iraq were broken to pieces with sledgehammers under the umbrella of idolatry accusations. Later, the terrorist group severely damaged the ancient city of Palmyra in Syria. The Islamic State does, in fact, use the slaughter of heritage as one of its strongest weapons for cultural submission and worldwide press coverage. Such policy is probably far from over, and unfortunately we are likely to witness further carnage at a human, urban, cultural and intangible level. Directors and curators of Western museums, such as Gary Vikan, former director of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, were quick to discredit heritage repatriation based on the activity of the Islamic State. Very fortunately, the Islamic State does not represent the entire Middle East, nor does it represent the Muslim world in its whole, nor the entirety of developing countries whose heritage has been taken by foreign nations.

Addressing Hallote's argument that repatriating heritage is degrading the history of the West, a valid question arises: whose history is worth degrading? Which history, among the multiple existing histories, deserves to be put down in favor of others, since this substitution process will necessarily take place? Many would argue in favor of heritage repatriation by stating that for centuries the West has actively degraded the histories of others and of their colonies in particular, including the ones in the Middle East. If not degrading them physically – because most objects were preserved and displayed in European museums, not always destroyed – European powers have dishonored and crippled their colonies' cultures by depreciating them through national press and cultural events at home, and through slavery, racism and claims of biological inferiority, misrepresentation and stereotype everywhere else²⁵; through remapping continents, rearranging countries and creating the Sykes–Picot Agreement (1916) and even acting as a catalyst for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which lasts to this day.²⁶ Even today, wealthy Gulf States undergo another attempt at cultural modernization and valorization, as museum brands such as the Louvre or the Guggenheim establish their franchising projects in the region. Sadly, as has come to be revealed by the Human Rights Watch, Guggenheim Abu Dhabi had been building its project at the expense of exploited Arab and South-Asian workers who were far from being protected by labor laws. It is fair to state that European and American museums have made relevant progress in integrating global heritage narratives and supporting developing countries' cultural heritage, but further initiatives must be taken.²⁷

Lastly, it is often argued that heritage repatriation would represent a valuable stimulus for renewed culture interpretations and celebrations, inspiring research in the context of a different nation and thus

²⁵ Mirzoeff, 2009.

²⁶ Lewis, 2002.

²⁷ Human Rights Watch, 2015.

inviting different publics and researchers to the museum.²⁸ Those who argue against repatriation convey the idea that heritage is global, shared and should be easily accessible, and thus remain in western powers such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom or the United States of America. The question may arise: is accessibility exclusively a privilege of these regions? Why can objects not be accessible also outside of these regions? When does it become truly necessary to give the countries of provenance the opportunity to touch, interpret and display heritage in their own terms, even if such implies a shift in tourism flow at a global level? Could one refer to insecurity in Africa or the Middle East without acknowledging past European contributions? Should museums attempt to argue in the midst of this wave of political controversies or attempt to cooperate regardless of past conflict?

Considering such intricate arguments, one can understand why the debate regarding heritage repatriation revolves around multiple shades of ethical and political considerations, and taking a clear stand for or against seems to carry serious consequences. One must also consider that there is currently no strict international law under which archaeological heritage repatriation is mandatory, precisely due to the complex ethical considerations that change from case to case.²⁹ Again, James Cuno argues:

Because it can make complex matters appear simple, and attractively controversial, the public discourse around the acquisition of unprovenanced antiquities has focused largely on the legal aspect of their ownership: either they are owned legally or they aren't. This does not mean, of course, that legal disputes over ownership are easy to resolve. As is always the case in matters of law, everything turns on evidence. Is there convincing evidence that the unprovenanced antiquity was removed from its country of origin in violation of that country's laws? Indeed, is there convincing evidence that allows us to identify its country of origin?³⁰

Once again, as expressed in the 2002 *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums* and as reinforced by the General Director of the State Museums of Berlin, Mr. Peter-Klaus Schuster (p.14), the idea of a country of origin is very problematic and not entirely obvious. Much like a living being, an artefact is mobile and is unlikely to have remained in the same place from its creation to its discovery by archaeologists thousands of years later. In the absence of a legal script that provides evident solutions, non-governmental organizations such as UNESCO provide special guidance and advice to cause little damage on the relations between the parties involved. At the same time, at least since 2010, the methods and solutions involved in heritage repatriation have been changing in form and degree of negotiation, presenting an array of possibilities from joint ownership of an object under dispute to the production of replicas, donations or long term loans of that object.³¹ While this certainly does not solve quests for ownership, the increasing appeal of online exhibitions, web curating and projects of art

²⁸ Simpson, 2009: 127.

²⁹ Cornu & Renold, 2010: 23.

³⁰ Cuno, 2008: 2.

³¹ Cornu & Renold, 2010.

democratization, such as Google Art Project, have made it relatively easier to let go of an object physically, but to still include it in an exhibition through digital means.

1.3. Turkey and Archaeological Heritage: an Intimate Relationship

With a remarkable list of 114 366 protected heritage properties, Turkey is gifted with a diverse, breathtaking legacy.³² Due to an equally vibrant past in which a variety of peoples have left their imprint, the country is now renowned for its Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman sites, as well as natural wonders such as the fairy chimneys in Cappadocia. Anatolia itself has “more than 3000 ancient cities: more ancient Greek cities than Greece and more ancient Roman cities than Italy”.³³ Only in January 2015, 13.972 foreign excursionists have crossed the borders of Turkey, and the number should increase to approximately 280.000 by August.³⁴ All in all, mass tourism and cultural heritage have long been critical to Turkey’s economy and national brand, with 13 properties inscribed in the World Heritage List and an impressive number of 52 properties inscribed on the tentative list.³⁵ Nonetheless, such inheritance is not free of complications. Baraldi et al (2013) provide a solid picture of the main challenges faced by Turkey regarding the management of its historical sites: firstly, most of the listed sites are inadequately protected, not to mention that only a small percentage of them is open to public; secondly, there is an evident lack of articulation between heritage professionals (museum curators, archaeologists, conservators), resulting in poorly interpreted heritage and incoherent discourses; thirdly, heritage management in Turkey is largely determined by lengthy administrative processes, and last but not least, there is an alarming lack of transparency in the entire process of caring for heritage. Highly dependent on a top-down, vertical authority model, the Turkish cultural heritage scene is mostly dominated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism - a governmental force - resulting in little autonomy for peripheral branches, extensive bureaucracy, strict hierarchies and nightmarish permit processes (in fact, permits for archaeological projects must be signed by the President of the Republic himself and be renewed each year). Needless to say, rules of protection and conservation of heritage directly “reflect the priorities of the state”³⁶, an uncomfortable truth in a country ruled by persisting censorship and a boiling youth eager to become the master of its own voice.

Due to the close relationship between State and cultural heritage, Turkey reveals a fascinating parallel development between changes in heritage management and ideological shifts. In what can be defined as a turbulent relationship with Europe, Turkey has long become an arena for the display of

³² Baraldi et al 2013: 73. Data from 2008.

³³ Price 2010: 203.

³⁴ Ministry of Culture and Tourism (official website). Available at: [<http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,36568/number-of-arriving-departing-visitors-foreigners-and-ci-.html>]. Last accessed: 15.03.2015.

³⁵ UNESCO Turkey (official website). Available at: [<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr>]. Last accessed: 15.03.2015.

³⁶ Baraldi et al 2013: 732.

more or less *europeanish* heritage, depending on the type of strategic webs it wishes to tailor and the national image it intends to convey. These conditions have long regulated the role of heritage in Turkey and the way it is displayed to the world. For instance, the periods in history in which Turkey intended to approach the European Union with the possibility of a full membership were accompanied by the enthusiastic nomination of non-Islamic heritage for UNESCO's World Heritage List, in order to highlight common cultural bonds with Europe; on the other hand, when Turkey was determined to construct a policy farther away from European influence, Islamic cultural heritage was put first in political discourse, as well as ancient heritage that proved Europeans had much to thank for: Turkey was then portrayed as the cradle of all civilizations, the birth of the ideals the European Union. Chapter 2 will develop this relationship in detail, but it is important to notice this intimate relationship between Turkish-European and Turkish-American relations and the selection of cultural heritage to display to the world. In a variety of ways, the Turkish government in all its shapes and forms through history has found a way to connect Turkish cultural heritage with a political meaning.

Turkey represents a unique example in the archaeological heritage repatriation debate. Its strategic geographical position determined that archaeological heritage under Turkish territory is extremely diverse and representative of more than one people, providing the chance for strategic use of each kind of heritage according to different political challenges. Simultaneously, due to this same strategic geographical position, the country has suffered from constant plunder and art looting, making it vulnerable to the interests of richer nations. Secondly, unlike countries such as Egypt, India or Iraq, which share colonial pasts, Turkey was never a colony – and yet, its protectionist attitude towards archaeology and claims for the recovery of artefacts are continuous, and are growing in strength since 2002.³⁷ Additionally, due to the influence of its vast and lengthy Ottoman Empire (1299-1922), Turkey itself displays artefacts of a variety of foreign countries in its museums. This has led some scholars to question whether Turkey would have the right to claim for its objects to be returned, if its own museums survive with collections of previous colonies.³⁸

This protectionist attitude towards archaeology by the Turkish government is reflected in a variety of ways. As was mentioned before, the government currently exercises authority in a top-down model, as archaeological museums and sites become more and more dependent on governmental rules. Additionally, Turkey relies on a blanket legislation (also enacted by countries rich in archaeological sites, such as Italy, Greece and Mexico) since 1983. According to this legislation, “once an object is covered by law, it becomes state property. If the object is removed illegally from the country, it is considered to be stolen property. (...) Two requirements must be fulfilled. First, the legislation of the country of origin must clearly establish state ownership of specific cultural property. Second, the object

³⁷ Haines, 2012.

³⁸ Cuno, 2008. Refer particularly to Chapter 3, “Turkey”.

in dispute must have been found within the state's territory."³⁹ This was not the first attempt to exercise power in archaeological discoveries: even in 1906, under the law of the Ottoman Empire, a new decree was adopted, declaring that all antiquities found in public and private properties belonged to the state with no need for proof or acquisition, that is, even at the act of discovery the artefact already belonged to the state for the simple fact that it had been found in Ottoman territory. Even after the establishment of the first Turkish Republic in 1923, this decree was maintained. In 1973 a new law was passed, but its principles were very much the same as the ones of the 1906 Decree. The underlying problem with these regulations is the same problem Turkey faces today when confronted with repatriation cases, which are invariably connected to geography: the Ottoman Empire was a shape-shifter. From its inception in 1300 until 1923, when the First Republic was installed, the empire was almost constantly expanding and regressing. At its height, in the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire spanned nations from three different continents. At its lowest, in 1920, the empire was reduced to only a fraction of what contemporary Turkey is today, having been partitioned between France, Italy and Great Britain shortly after the end of the First World War. This occupation was relatively short given the massiveness of Ottoman and Turkish history, but it comes to show how justifications of ownership based on territory may very well be undermined by the nation's own territorial shifts through time. One thing is apparent: archaeology is a precious possession to the eyes of the State.

This allegedly protectionist attitude towards cultural heritage is not synonym with lack of partnerships. In fact, some organizations devoted to the preservation of heritage in Turkey are Turkish partnerships with foreign countries. Such is the case of the prominent Turkish Cultural Foundation, a charitable organization established in 2000 with offices in Boston, Istanbul and Washington DC. According to the official website of the Turkish Cultural Foundation, its main goals are: "1) Promoting and preserving Turkish culture and heritage worldwide, through original programs and cooperation with like-minded organizations; 2) Supporting education, particularly in the area of humanities, for disadvantaged students in Turkey; 3) Supporting research, documentation and publication in the humanities related to Turkey; 4) Supporting the preservation of Turkish cultural heritage abroad; 5) Helping to build cultural bridges between Turkey and other countries to support a better understanding and appreciation of Turkish cultural heritage".⁴⁰ Another case is the German Archaeological Institute, a partner in preserving and discovering Turkish archaeological heritage with a department in Istanbul. Founded in 1929, the Istanbul department of the German Archaeological Institute is responsible for excavation sites such as Aizanoi, Bogazköy, Göbekli Tepe, Didyma, Milet, Pergamon and Priene. The German Archaeological Institute is a key organization to consider when studying the Hittite sphinx repatriation case, for the contract it represents between Turkey and a foreign entity with interests in

³⁹ Özel, 2010: 177.

⁴⁰ Turkish Cultural Foundation (official website). Available at:

[<http://www.turkishculturalfoundation.org/pages.php?ID=1>]. Last accessed: 24.09.2015.

Turkish heritage. The dynamics of this relationship were not always favorable, as will be developed in the next chapter, but Germany has also proven to be an ally in research, excavation work, student training and supervision of iconic archaeological sites in Turkey. After all, one can understand how Turkish cultural heritage does not concern Turkey only: it is, indeed, of universal value, not only for its cultural specificities but also because its maintenance and prosperity depends strongly on partnerships and foreign research, as well as foreign visitors. This leads to a rather interesting aspect of the cultural heritage system in Turkey: the direct connection between cultural heritage and tourism. Fatmagül Çetinel and Medet Yolal, authors of the article “Public Policy and Sustainable Tourism in Turkey”, develop this issue:

Turkey, as a developing country, adopted tourism not only as an alternative economic growth strategy, but also as a tool to create a favorable image on the international platform (...). Turkey has experienced an unexpectedly rapid tourism growth in terms of volume, value and physical superstructure (hotels, restaurants, bars, disco, etc.) in the absence of proper planning and development principles. In other words, tourism growth has taken place largely in a haphazard way and created socio-economic and environmental problems, which may be called unsustainable tourism development.⁴¹

When Turkey became popular, it was not ready to absorb an expansion in tourism, technologically, socially and economically, and has been marketed as a low price holiday destination. The Turkish authorities did nothing to control this growth: on the contrary it was seen as a success, as the yardstick was volume.⁴²

Turkey’s success as a mass tourism destination was not without consequences, occurring at the expense of the integrity of the most visited heritage sites, interfering in biological diversity and essential ecological processes. Cevat Tosun has been particularly involved in the issue of unsustainable tourism in Turkey, writing extensively on the topic. In the article “Tourism Growth, National Development and Regional Inequality in Turkey”, Tosun, Dallen J. Timothy and Yüksel Öztürk provide surprising numbers concerning tourism in Turkey:

Statistical data indicate that there has been a rapid growth in Turkish tourism in volume and value since 1982. Tourist arrivals were measured at 200,000 in 1963 and 1,341,500 in 1973, which is a 570% increase in a ten-year period. Between 1974 and 1984, international tourist arrivals increased by 90%. International arrivals accelerated between 1984 and 1994 by 206%, and in 2001 11,619,909 foreigners visited Turkey, an increase of 11% from the previous year. (...). In brief, it

⁴¹ Cetinel & Yolal, 2009: 36.

⁴² Cetinel & Yolal, 2009: 41.

is clear that Turkey has experienced a rapid growth in international tourist arrivals, revenues, and bed capacity.⁴³

One can imagine the consequences of this mass tourist intake for cultural heritage, particularly where archaeology is involved. These damages worsen as an increasing number of urban regeneration projects are executed, with engineering departments failing to consult cultural heritage experts or environmentalists before modifying entire neighborhoods, for instance.⁴⁴ The preservation of cultural heritage therefore remains a top priority in Turkey's cultural heritage policy. According to the newspaper *Hürriyet Daily News*, "between 2002 and 2015, nearly 4,000 cultural and historical artifacts across Turkey have been restored"⁴⁵ due to the support of the Directorate General of Foundations, or *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*. Founded in 1920, the Directorate General of Foundations is a Turkish governmental institution responsible for managing the estates and restorations of around 18,500 historical buildings and 67,000 estates.⁴⁶ Additionally, between 1984 and 2004, Turkey has submitted 30 requests for international assistance by UNESCO, of which 27 requests have been approved. This means that during the given period, Turkey has requested help from UNESCO to protect heritage inscribed on the World Heritage List, especially in cases of urgent conservation needs or emergencies (eg: earthquakes). The reason why Turkey has enjoyed this level of support by UNESCO is because it is classified as a State Party by the organization, having ratified its Convention in March 16th, 1983. The year was symbolic in the history of Turkey: in 1983, the victorious party in the elections would be ANAP, or Motherland Party, which presented a programme oriented towards the inclusion of Turkey in the European Union. Ratifying the UNESCO Convention had been the first step in order to achieve the goal.

If Europe's cultural status had been largely built upon its vast museums, extensive collections and its ancient civilizations, Turkey too was – and still is – determined to prove cultural nobility through archaeology. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism continues to represent the strongest authority for the fields of archaeology and cultural heritage, often being condemned for its lack of transparency and for fostering a vertical model of authority over the cultural heritage system. However, as shall be developed in the next chapter, the correlation between government and heritage policy has been the rule through the decades, not the exception.

⁴³ Tosun et al, 2003: 138.

⁴⁴ Ahunbay, 2006.

⁴⁵ Anon, 2015.

⁴⁶ Directorate General of Foundations (official website). Available at: <http://www.vgm.gov.tr/index.aspx?Dil=EN>. Last accessed: 25.09.2015.

CHAPTER 2. A HITTITE SPHINX RETURNED, A FUTURE AHEAD

Archaeological heritage repatriation cases often transcend the boundaries of time: lasting months, years or even centuries, some seem to lack a determined beginning or an end in sight. The story of the return of the Hittite sphinx by the Pergamon Museum in Berlin to the Turkish government has actually spanned half a century. What happened over the course of such a lengthy process and what caused it? How does the case of the Hittite sphinx reveal about cultural needs and goals of contemporary Turkey and how does it fit into the narratives of a nation? This chapter presents: first, an overall picture of the fallen Hittite kingdom; secondly, an account of the importance concerning governmental politics of archaeological heritage in Turkey; and third, a detailed chronology of the Hittite sphinx case, ending with my interpretation of the case and an analysis of its significance for the future of Turkish cultural heritage policy.

2.1. The Hittites: Who Were They?

Given the extraordinary legacy of the Hittites and their role in Near Eastern history, it is surprising how unfamiliar they remain at an international level in comparison to the equally influential Egyptian or Assyrian empires. Trevor R. Bryce, one of the leading hittitologists in the English-speaking world, acknowledges the overall lack of solid awareness regarding the Hittites: “‘They’re a biblical tribe, aren’t they?’ reflects a popular perception of the Hittites that has changed little in the last 150 years, despite all that has happened in the world of Near Eastern scholarship in that time”.⁴⁷ And much has happened indeed: as suggested by the Polish hittitologist Piotr Taracha (2012), after more than a century of existence the field of Hittitology has blossomed and has been developing groundbreaking research in the fields of philology, mythology, urban studies and archaeology. Excavations in the most relevant Hittite sites are ongoing and the last decade has witnessed an array of publications concerning aspects as vast as the international relations of the Hittite kingdom or Hittite magic rituals and daily activities.⁴⁸

Such an investment in the study of the Hittites is not unjustified: the Hittite Empire is thought to have been established around 1600 BC and to have been disestablished abruptly around 1178 BC, lasting for five productive centuries and occupying a territory correspondent to present-day Turkey, Syria and Lebanon; During the Bronze Age, Hittites were pioneers in the manufacture and use of iron, created impressive weaponry, chariots and fortifications⁴⁹. They also contributed to the foundations of European languages with their own Indo-European language, Hittite, from which a variety of modern

⁴⁷ Bryce, 2012: 3.

⁴⁸ Taracha, 2012: 218.

⁴⁹ British Museum (official website). “Explore/World Cultures: Hittites”.

Available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/cultures/middle_east/hittites.aspx. Last accessed: 24.07.2015.

Turkish cities are still named.⁵⁰ Perhaps more interestingly, the Hittites were pioneers in the practice of diplomacy and international affairs, having signed what is considered one of the earliest written peace treaties – the Treaty of Kadesh, signed between the Hittites and Egypt at the beginning of the 13th century B.C. Finally, the cosmopolitan, heavily fortified, carefully designed capital of the Hittite Empire went by the name of Hattuša and was located in present day Turkey. Hattuša (today known as Hattusha, Boğazköy and more recently Boğazkale) is considered to have been founded around 1650 B.C., displaying fantastic examples of Hittite art, architecture and urban planning, as well as marvelous animal figures and representations of Hittite high society through sculpture.

As one can understand, there is much charm to the lost empire of the Hittites. However, Hittite society was centered upon polytheism and magic, conducted by the authority of a king-Sun who was strictly isolated from his subjects. The Hittite society was also highly figurative in artistic expression. So why would the remaining heritage of this ancient, peculiar kingdom appeal to what is today a supposedly democratic Turkish government strongly inclined towards religion-oriented policy and Ottoman-inspired ambience? I will now address the significance of Hattuša as a strategic tool, not only for the Turkish government but also for other major key influencers – such as the Pergamon Museum in Berlin and the German Archaeological Institute - who share interest in the archaeological site. Such analysis will be particularly useful before moving on to the chronology of the Hittite sphinx case, in order to understand what was at stake during the repatriation process.

2.2. Hittite Archaeological Heritage: Turkish Policies, German Excavations

Founded by the mediatic figure Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2001, the Justice and Development Party – henceforth referred to as AKP – represents a conservative, centre-right to right-wing ideology⁵¹ often accused of drifting away from the principles of freedom of speech and secularism that presided the foundation of the Turkish Republic since 1923.⁵² Erdoğan, now fulfilling the role of the President of Turkey since August 2014, is frequently associated with neo-Ottomanism, a designation used to express the political will for closer ties with former regions under Ottoman rule and the revival of Ottoman traditions within present-day Turkey. This ideology has fully blossomed with the rise of AKP and has received international criticism, particularly since the party proposed a new presidential regime to substitute the parliamentary system. As an article published by *The Economist* entitled “Of Marbles and Men: Turkey’s Cultural Ambitions” (2012) explains,

⁵⁰ British Museum (official website). “Explore/World Cultures: Hittites”.

Available at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/cultures/middle_east/hittites.aspx. Last accessed: 24.07.2015.

⁵¹ Taşpınar, 2012; Çagaptay, 2014.

⁵² Tait, 2008.

The mildly Islamist government of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, led by the Justice and Development (AK) party, likes to think of itself as the heir of the Ottoman sultans. The Turkish authorities have recently launched a wave of cultural expansionism, building new museums, repairing Ottoman remains, licensing fresh archaeological excavations and spending more on the arts.

Along similar lines, Asu Aksoy and Burcu Yasemin Şeyben's argue in their recent article "Storm over the state cultural institutions: new cultural policy direction in Turkey" (2015) that AKP has been attempting to revolutionize the arts world policy since 2010, directing it towards a more conservative path - that is, investing in an ever-centralizing model for culture. Treating culture as an instrument for "city branding and image creation"⁵³ has been a major line of orientation of the cultural policy drafted by AKP, and it emerged on the party's initial years of government. Additionally, archaeology – presenting far less moral challenges for a conservative government than, for instance, contemporary arts – has been characterized by a major boom in the number of projects in Turkey (registering a growth of 29% between 2003 and 2008) and an equally impressive growth in state funding (from 1.7 to 21.1 million Turkish Liras)⁵⁴. This funding, however, is applied only to excavations planned and executed by Turkish scholars and archaeologists, and not by foreign teams. This aspect is extremely relevant for the case of the Hittite sphinx: Hattuşa, the provenance of the Hittite sphinx, has been studied and excavated by the German Archaeological Institute since its discovery.

Founded in 1832, the German Archaeological Institute is a governmental organization under the patronage of the federal Foreign Office of Germany.⁵⁵ The institute is responsible for at least 42 projects in Turkey, and its first excavations in Hattuşa were carried out during the Ottoman period in 1906 under the rule of Sultan Mehmed V. Two points are worth mentioning in order to fully understand the importance of foreign presence in Turkish archaeological sites during this period. First, the Ottoman Empire of the 19th century was highly guided by the dream of modernization, its rulers highly inspired by their journeys to European cities. Modernization was, in a variety of ways, equated with Westernization.⁵⁶ French influence was particularly important, especially for Ottoman museology and archaeology. The first archaeological museum in Turkey, the Ottoman Imperial Museum (present-day Istanbul Archaeological Museum) was founded in 1869.⁵⁷ It strongly reflected the efforts to modernize the Ottoman Empire in the light of museological prosperity in Paris. The second aspect to consider is the Revolution of 1908 by the Young Turks – a political movement against the political model of an absolute monarchy – which provoked not only the return of the constitution, but also a series of

⁵³ Aksoy & Şeyben, 2015: 186.

⁵⁴ Baraldi et al, 2013: 734.

⁵⁵ German Archaeological Institute (official website). Available at: [<http://www.dainst.org/dai/meldungen>].

Last accessed: 30.07.2015.

⁵⁶ Lewis, 2003.

⁵⁷ Shaw, 2011: 926.

improvements in urban organization, communications, education and even sports.⁵⁸ Therefore, the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were marked by an unstable Turkey seeking its own essence. Much of what happened in archaeological thought and practice during these periods – and particularly after the rise of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic in 1923 and considered by the vast majority of Turkish citizens the father of Turkish nationalism – was guided by the quest for ‘Turkishness’, national identity and modernity. As demonstrated by the example of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, archaeology became a matter of Ottoman and later Turkish pride.⁵⁹ Because Islam was perceived by modernists as the weakness of the Ottoman Empire - and the reason why Ottomans had been left behind in all kinds of technical and moral advancements, while Europe was moving forward -, the study of non-Islamic heritage became a priority during the Republic. Exploring Hittite, Greek, Roman and Byzantine heritage was of extreme importance for a new cultural plan. Such was the commitment to non-Islamic heritage that the Turkish Congress of History, founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, “attempted to prove Turks had *originated* from the Hittites and other notable ancient civilizations”.⁶⁰ For this reason, archaeology became the symbol of secularism per excellence:

Prior to this time, Turkish history and origins had been researched and published by Western historians who often portrayed the Turkish people and their ancestors as an inferior race. It was important to Atatürk that Turkey write its own history to show Europe the Turks were descended from notable civilizations that influenced the Greeks and other civilizations so highly esteemed by the Europeans. Turkish archaeologists began excavating more Turkish sites in order to validate these studies⁶¹.

The Kemalist Republic of Turkey was a natural culmination of the Young Turk-style modernization. In the new nation-state, antiquities found their value within the Turkish History thesis put forward during the early years of the Republic. In particular, proof of existence of Turks in Anatolia since prehistoric times became instrumental in affirming the territorial rights of the Turkish state against other ethnic groups (...). The primary endeavor of the Turkish History thesis was to prove the Turkish nation to be the equal of European nations or, more specifically, to lay claim to the primordial roots of European civilization by uncovering the genealogical connection thought to reside in the racial and linguistic origins of Turks and Europeans.⁶²

It is in this context of political instability and archaeological revival that German archaeologist Hugo Winckler (1863-1913) joined forces with the Ottoman Greek archaeologist Theodore Makridi (1872–1940) to start the excavations at Hattuşa in 1906; Winckler representing the German Oriental

⁵⁸ Stone, 2012: 137.

⁵⁹ Tanyeri-Erdemir, 2006: 382.

⁶⁰ Haines, 2012: 61; Fuhrmann, 2009: 143.

⁶¹ Haines, 2012: 61.

⁶² Atakuman, 2010: 112.

Society (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, founded in 1898) in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute, Makridi working on behalf of the Ottoman Imperial Museum⁶³. Since its discovery, Hattuşa has been highly internationalized in a variety of ways: not only was its investigation a partnership, but invaluable discoveries and research conducted by the German Archaeological Institute, as well as the exchange of young archaeologists between Germany and Turkey for training.⁶⁴ Even today, the German Archaeological Institute continues its excavations in cooperation with the German Oriental Society and its activity is partially funded by the Japan Tobacco Group of Companies. Perhaps due to this intercultural engagement in the name of Hattuşa and its excavations, the European community in general and particularly Germany were surprised by the development and the outcomes of the Hittite sphinx case.

2.3. A Sphinx and a Dispute: Chronology of a Case

Among the numerous gateways built and stylized for different purposes in the capital of Hattuşa, at the right side of the city's southern gate, are two awe-inspiring sphinxes (often referred to as "twin sphinxes") whose purpose was to safeguard and protect the city from all evil. One of them, a human-faced and lion-bodied masterpiece, has been the object of much turmoil and debate both in Turkey and at an international level. It is also the specific subject of this case-study and an embodiment of Hittite heritage.

The sphinxes were found, broken in pieces, by German archaeologists in 1915 and were temporarily taken from Hattuşa to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin in 1917, along with 10.400 cuneiform scripts in order to be assembled, cleaned and restored, according to the Ottoman State Archive⁶⁵ documentation. In 1924, the sphinxes as well as an array of other artefacts collected in Turkey were still at the Pergamon Museum. In that same year, the Pergamon Museum returned a generous quantity of artefacts to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, including one of the twin sphinxes found in Hattuşa⁶⁶, under the argument that the second sphinx was not yet completely fit for transportation to Turkey. It is not quite clear why this set of artefacts – including one of the sphinxes - was returned to Turkey during this period. Although the literature on the topic is silent, a pertinent hypothesis would be that, as mentioned previously in this chapter, the rise of Atatürk and the foundation of the Turkish Republic were followed by a serious effort to recover and re-interpret ancient archaeological heritage,

⁶³ Burney, 2004.

⁶⁴ Haines, 2012: 62.

⁶⁵ The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office, or the Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), is a repository for state documents related to the Ottoman Empire, currently located in the Kağıthane district of Istanbul.

⁶⁶ Alpman, 2011: 9.

including Hittite heritage. It is then probable that these artefacts were returned upon request by the Turkish government.

It was not until 1934 that the second Hittite sphinx was ready for display, and yet it was not returned to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum as the Ottoman Archives had suggested it would. Instead, it was put on display at the Pergamon Museum itself. At least until 1938, the year Turkey mourned the death of the leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, requests were issued asking for the sphinx to be returned, but the Pergamon Museum in Berlin was still hesitant to comply and the process remained stagnant.⁶⁷

With the advent of the Second World War, and until its resolution in 1945, negotiations for the return of the Hittite sphinx were simply nonexistent as the Pergamon Museum in Berlin struggled with drastic cultural policies under the Nazi regime. As the official website of the Pergamon Museum describes this period of heritage-related turmoil,

The cultural policies of the Nazi regime resulted in dramatic losses, in particular to the modern-art collections of the *Nationalgalerie* and *Kupferstichkabinett*. In 1937 hundreds of paintings, drawings, and prints were forcibly seized after being labelled as ‘degenerate art’. Many were sold to buyers in foreign countries as a means to raise foreign currency, while others were simply destroyed. Over the next few years, all the buildings on the *Museumsinsel* suffered severe structural damage during the bombing in the Second World War. Prior to and during the bombardment, the collections were removed and placed in storage, mostly at external sites. Those objects stored in areas subsequently occupied by the Red Army were confiscated in 1945 and transported to the Soviet Union as looted art. In 1958, the Soviet Union returned one-and-a-half million works of art to the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Despite this return, hundreds of objects that belonged to the original collections of the Berlin museums are still held in Russia today.⁶⁸

Until a few months before the end of the war, Turkey had remained neutral in the international arena. In 1945, however, it did join the Allies against Germany but never participated in combat. The end of the Second World War and the subsequent Cold War would determine the division of Germany in two parts, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin remaining in East Germany (or the German Democratic Republic, founded in 1949). Since Turkey had taken the side of the Allies, its relationship with East Germany did not favor negotiation, cooperation or any form of dialogue. It was only 29 years after the Second World War and 25 years after the formation of East Germany that Turkey actually acknowledged its formal existence and negotiations regarding the return of the Hittite sphinx began once more.

⁶⁷ Haines, 2012: 99.

⁶⁸ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (official website).

Available at: [<http://www.smb.museum/en/about-us/history.html>]. Last accessed: 04.08.2015.

The 1980s witnessed particularly interesting dynamics between Turkey and Europe, as well as between Turkey and its own archaeological heritage. As Çiğdem Atakuman explains in her article “Value of Heritage in Turkey: History and Politics of Turkey’s World Heritage Nominations” (2010),

From 1977-90, American policy in the Middle East was based on the so-called ‘Green Belt’ doctrine (...). The Green Belt policy sought to encourage various forms of Islam in the region against a Soviet threat which, it was feared, might sever American control over the flow of oil. Turkey’s ideological and economic direction became firmly integrated into US policies through the iron fist of the 1980 coup (...). During a rapid period of cultural, political and economic dislocation and realignment, the national education system, including the curriculum, was reorganized in line with the ideological mandates of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis that had been in the making since the 1950s as a religious-ethnicist reaction to the secular-ethnicist ideals of the Kemalist Republic. (...) The shift in the secular-ethnicist identity politics of the Kemalist Turkish Republic towards religious-ethnicist grounds has had major repercussions on the state heritage discourse and national education.⁶⁹

Several authors agree with this perspective.⁷⁰ After the 1980 Turkish *coup d’état*, the first elections were held in 1983 and the winning party, ANAP or Motherland Party, presented an enthusiastic programme with the goals of absolute inclusion in the European Union and economic development. Nevertheless, when considering the relations between ANAP’s political objectives and governmental attitudes towards archaeological heritage, tensions seem to rise. After all, Turkey wished to join the European Union, and yet followed a policy of reinforcement of Islam as the identity of the Turkish people, practically neglecting pre-Islamic heritage in its strategy for success. Drastic structural modifications in heritage organizations followed, such as the temporary elimination of the Ministry of Culture until 1983, as well as the substitution of a unified High Council of Monuments for several provincial committees composed of government officials. It is therefore clear that heritage policy became yet more centralized and dependent on governmental approval during this period, allowing even “destruction whenever it was deemed necessary by the conditions of a new era of economic expansion”.⁷¹ However, it was precisely during the 1980s that the Turkish government submitted its first nominations for UNESCO’s World Heritage List – and its selections are surprising.

In 1984, the Divriği Mosque in Sivas and the Old City of Istanbul were nominated for UNESCO’s World Heritage List by the Turkish government, still represented by ANAP. A useful perspective on the strategy behind these nominations is given once more by Çiğdem Atakuman:

⁶⁹ Atakuman, 2010: 114.

⁷⁰ Akın & Karasapan, 1987; Copeaux, 1998; Çetinsaya, 1999.

⁷¹ Atakuman, 2010: 115.

Both choices carried subtle messages of the state-supported ideological orientation. The Divriği Mosque (...) provided a fresh look at Islamic architecture that went beyond the stereotypical classics of Islamic architecture and provided evidence for the unique Turkish version of Islam (...). Istanbul, on the other hand, was a living monument to Turkish-Islamic tolerance. (...) The Ottomans and Turks had continued to preserve the Byzantine remains since the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453, at a time when Europeans hadn't the slightest notion of the universal ideals of tolerance and diversity.⁷²

The purpose behind such nominations was thus not to perceive Islam as a force of dissociation and partition, but to depict it as a modern, tolerant religion that had long stood for the ideals that the European Union and UNESCO itself had come to defend. By means of architectural and urban expression, Turkey successfully conveyed the values of multiculturalism and integration. The nominated sites were accepted in 1985. However, it is not the nomination of Islamic heritage but of archaeological sites that may surprise. From 1985 to 1987, five new nominations for UNESCO's World Heritage List followed: the Rock Sites of Cappadocia, Hattuşa: The Hittite Capital, the Mount Nemrut, the Hierapolis-Pamukkale ruins and the Xanthos-Letoon archaeological complex. None of these sites present an Islamic character whatsoever, but they were strategically chosen to appeal to European audiences. One must consider that during this exact period of two years, the Turkish government was preparing to apply for a full membership at the European Community, hoping to be granted entry into the European Union. It was of extreme relevance for Turkey to claim a shared Greek and Roman heritage, reinforcing the common ties between Turkey and its European neighbors. Hattuşa was a crucial link within this strategy: the Hittites were Indo-European speaking populations, and they had settled in Turkey. They had rivaled the Egyptian empire in influence and power, and their capital was in Turkey. This nomination represented the Turkish assertion that Europeans could *descend* in glory and ethnicity from Turks, as Anatolia itself was depicted as the very cradle of civilization. Thus, it was by means of using the-heritage of past civilizations and particularly of archaeological heritage that the Turkish government hoped to be recognized as an European state and consequently become a part of the European community. Hattuşa was actually accepted as a site of universal value and was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986 under the following criteria⁷³:

Criteria	Criteria description	Criteria description for Hattuşa
i)	“To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius”	“The city’s fortifications, along with the Lions’ Gate, the Royal Gate and the Yazılıkaya rupestral ensemble and its sculptured friezes, represent unique artistic achievements.”

⁷² Atakuman, 2010: 116.

⁷³ UNESCO (official website). Available at: [<http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/ç>]. Last accessed: 24.07.2015.

ii)	“To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design”	“Hattuša exerted a dominating influence upon the civilizations of the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C. in Anatolia and northern Syria.”
iii)	“To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared”	“The palaces, temples, trading quarters and necropolis of this political and religious metropolis provide a comprehensive picture of a Hittite capital and bear a unique testimony to the now extinct Hittite civilization.”
iv)	“To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates significant stages in human history”	“Several types of buildings or architectural ensembles are perfectly preserved in Hattuša: the royal residence, the temples and the fortifications.”

Table 1.2. Criteria for the nomination of Hattuša for UNESCO's World Heritage List.

The inscription of Hattuša on the World Heritage List as an outstanding masterpiece has certainly become an advantage for Turkey at an international level, and in 1989 the *Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or Its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation* (henceforth referred to as the ICPRCP) addressed the case of the Hittite sphinx in its report under Recommendation nr.2. The recommendation reported with satisfaction the amicable attitude between both parties, and hoped the situation could be solved through dialogue and “a mutually acceptable solution”. However, the atmosphere of cooperation and hope for integration would soon change. The outcome of Turkey’s application for full membership at the European Community was still rejected in 1989, as the inclusion of former communist-bloc states became a priority to the European Union. The Turkish government was caught off guard, and the enthusiastic nominations for the World Heritage List dropped drastically. In a way, the 1990s in Turkey represented the fall of a dream, with reactive cultural policy measures that last until today. In quite a dispiriting fashion, Turkey started being perceived and portrayed as a stagnated country without a defined identity, whether in cultural or religious terms. Turgut Özal, the head of ANAP, was quick to react to the rejection by the European Community and explains in his book *Turkey in Europe*: “You yourselves (Europeans) accept that your own civilization originated in Mesopotamia (where civilization flowered for the first time), then Anatolia, the Aegean basin, and Rome. We have at least as much right as you to adopt these ancient civilizations as our own, since they are those of our own land” (1991:345). The disappointment of not becoming a part of the European group gave rise to an increasingly inward policy focused on providing independence, pride and efficiency to the Turkish nation. Such was the

importance of this ideal that Turkey attempted to create its own equivalent to UNESCO: TÜRKSOY, ‘Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Arts’, founded in 1993 and meant to unify Turkic-speaking cultures through shared heritage recognition.⁷⁴ This could be characterized as an epoch of mistrust and perhaps bitterness towards the West, with multiple complications, such as the “destructive effects of the First Gulf War on the Turkish economy”, the American influence in Turkey’s domestic conflict with the Kurds, and the replacement of Communism by Islam as a global peril to Western eyes.⁷⁵ Turkey’s heritage discourse itself shifts from representing a cradle from which Europe had flourished to depicting its own identity as a bridge, a transition, a mosaic of diverse influences. This metaphor of Turkey as a bridge between East and West is still extremely popular today. It was not until 1999 that Turkey was granted a second chance as a candidate at the European Union’s Helsinki Summit, and it was followed by a new wave of nominations for UNESCO’s World Heritage List.⁷⁶ How does the Hittite case fit in this context? The current research fails to address this decade in a detailed manner regarding the negotiations between Germany and Turkey, but the consensus view is that no major advances were accomplished between the parties involved - requests continued, but no agreement seemed to be in sight.⁷⁷ At its 10th session, the ICPRCP addressed again the issue of the Hittite Sphinx, hoping to revive and mediate bilateral negotiations between Turkey and Germany. It is relevant to state, however, that several other museums (such as the Metropolitan Museum in New York) were subject to lawsuits by the Turkish government, as a means of pressuring the museums to return objects. The 1990s were therefore successful for Turkey in terms of recovering other artefacts, but not the actual Hittite sphinx.

In 2001, the ICPRCP reported that bilateral negotiations between Turkey and Germany seemed to have reached a point of stagnation, but that too would soon change. The 2000s brought yet another wave of transformation to Turkey, which proved crucial for the resolution of the Hittite sphinx case.

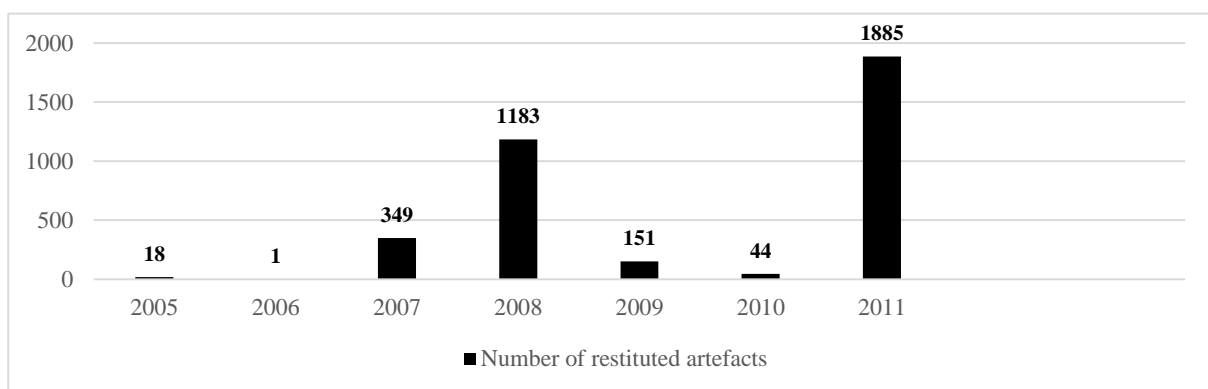


Figure 1.2. Number of restituted artefacts to Turkey (2005-2011) as provided by Gürsu, 2013.

⁷⁴ Atakuman, 2010: 118.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ Atakuman, 2010: 120.

⁷⁷ Haines, 2012: 99.

In 2002, AKP - *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, meaning Justice and Development Party - won the elections and appointed Ertuğrul Günay as the Minister of Culture and Tourism in 2007. As controversial as the party has come to be in international media – often accused of anti-democratic measures and turning their back on the West in favor of Middle Eastern neighbors - it is undeniable that Turkish economy went from critical to one of the fastest-growing in the world after AKP came to power, and Minister Günay was quick to understand cultural heritage-related tourism would be a major tool in supporting that growth. Alongside an extensive reconfiguration of foreign policy, archaeological excavations in Turkey benefited from a major increase in governmental funding (from an annual 1 million US dollars in 2000 to 20 million US dollars in 2010⁷⁸) and archaeological heritage repatriation became one of the highest priorities in the governmental agenda, as the following figure shows.

However, one must not confuse the significance attributed to archaeological heritage by AKP and the one attributed to it by secularists. While archaeology represented (and still represents) a force of validation of Turkish worth, AKP's use of it leans towards economic benefit and desire for autonomy from the West, rather than an ideological purpose such as proving common origins between Turks and other Europeans. This aspect shall be further developed at a later stage. For now, let us focus on the outcome of the Hittite sphinx case, certainly not an isolated occurrence but part of a complex whole that was the reinforcement of heritage repatriation efforts by the Turkish government.

As Figure 1 demonstrates, by 2010 the number of repatriated items to Turkey had started to grow, although with great variations from year to year. In September of the same year, after addressing the Hittite sphinx case in 2003, 2005, 2007 and 2009 in its reports, the ICPRCP issued what would be its last recommendation for Turkey and Germany at its sixteenth session. The recommendation explicitly “invites both parties to hold comprehensive bilateral negotiations as soon as possible”. Under the supervision of Minister Günay, attempts to recover the sphinx became stronger than ever, in fact being perceived by international media and American as well as European museums as a strategy of aggressive character. By February 2011, the Turkish government threatened to revoke Germany's archaeological license at Hattuşa if the sphinx was not returned. Although possibly perceived as drastic, the tone of the threat was very real: not long ago, the German Archaeological Institute had seen its excavation permits terminated at the Aizanoi archaeological heritage site. Nevertheless, this threat was not only unexpected, it was also rather shocking considering the past of cultural cooperation between Turkey and Germany. According to the article “Of Marbles and Men” published by *The Economist*, “German excavations are still the most important of foreign digs in Turkey, and for decades Turkish archaeologists have been educated in Berlin and other German cities, their studies subsidized by German government grants”.⁷⁹ In the article “The Hattuşa Sphinx and Turkish Antiquities Repatriation

⁷⁸ Haines, 2012: 99.

⁷⁹ Anon, 2012a.

Efforts”, Aaron Haines develops this perspective: “For the majority of the 19th and 20th centuries, archaeology in Turkey was performed primarily by foreign archaeological teams, with German archaeologists being one of the largest nationalities represented”.⁸⁰ The threat by the Turkish government of revoking German teams’ permits must be framed within this context. Additionally, the German Archaeological Institute was accused by Minister Günay of not doing significant advances at Hattuşa, allegedly having done little conservation and restoration efforts. While these accusations were refuted by German archaeologists responsible for excavations in Turkey (such as Felix Pirson, a member of the Istanbul Department of the German Archaeological Institute), the threat persisted and it soon became clear that the resolution of the case was fastly approaching.

On May 13th 2011, the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government in Germany published the Press Release No.171: “Turkey to Receive Hittite Sphinx”. The German government informed the public that after long decades of repatriation requests by Turkey, the Hittite sphinx would be returned as a “voluntary gesture of friendship” and would be completed by November 28th 2011, the 25th anniversary of the inclusion of Hattuşa in the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites.⁸¹ According to an online journal article published by UNESCO⁸², a bilateral agreement had been reached, as the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media Bernd Neumann and Minister Günay met on March 8th and signed a memorandum of understanding. According to the same article, technical experts planned to meet before May 31st, in order to begin planning the journey of the sphinx and accomplish its relocation with as little damage as possible. The process of relocation planning for the sphinx was also problematic. According to Ali Osman Avşar, the director of Istanbul Restoration and Conservation Center Laboratory, the Pergamon Museum allegedly claimed that removing the sphinx from the building would be difficult and even dangerous for the integrity of the artefact. The museum also suggested that disassembling the sphinx to pieces would be the only possible solution for effective transportation, since it had been wall-mounted from the start. Director Avşar, however, interpreted this suggestion as a veiled attempt to blame the Turkish technical team for destroying or breaking the sphinx, and consequently prove the Pergamon Museum was the best keeper of the artefact.⁸³ This situation comes to prove the fragility of interactions between Turkish and German

⁸⁰ Haines, 2012: 100.

⁸¹“Turkey to Receive Hittite Sphinx”, Press Release No.171 published online by the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government in Germany. Available at: https://plone.unige.ch/art-adr/cases-affaires/bogazkoy-sphinx-2013-turkey-and-germany/press-and-information-office-of-the-federal-government-press-release-turkey-to-receive-hittite-sphinx-13-may-2011/at_download/file. Last accessed: 24.07.2015.

⁸² UNESCO (official website). Available at: [<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/restitution-of-cultural-property/committees-successful-restitutions/bilateral-agreement-on-the-bogazkoy-sphinx/>]. Last accessed: 10.08.2015.

⁸³ Haines, 2012: 63.

teams, as well as the constant tension between the ‘country of origin’ of the artefact and the carer for that same artefact, a necessary confrontation in the majority of repatriation cases. The sphinx was eventually transferred as a whole, and arrived to Turkey in July 2011. The twin sphinx which had been on display at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum was also moved to Hattuşa. Both sphinxes are currently on display at the newly designed Boğazköy Museum in Hattuşa, alongside other artefacts discovered at the site by the German Archaeological Institute. As for the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, plaster artists Rainer Palau, Sandro Di Michele, Daniel Meyer and Katharina Riederer worked collectively to reproduce a replica of the repatriated Hittite sphinx.

2.4. Interpretations: the Hittite Sphinx Case and its many Faces

After a period of intricate negotiations spanning almost a century, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin accepted to repatriate the Hittite sphinx, a 3000-year old artefact, to the Boğazköy Museum in Turkey. After providing a chronology of the Hittite sphinx process, I now address particular interpretations brought up by the existing literature on the case.

Let us start by what made the Hittite sphinx case so peculiar and different from other archaeological repatriation conflicts in Turkey. As described in Chapter 1, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin was not the first institution to receive a request for artefact repatriation by Turkey. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the J.Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London are among the European and American museums displaying artefacts found in modern-day Turkey, and from which the Turkish government now intends to recover the collection items. However, it is the strategy used by the Turkish government to recover the sphinx rather than the request itself that causes the case to stand out. Threatening to revoke the archaeological permits of the German Archaeological Institute at Hattuşa and actually proceeding to put an end on one of their excavation permits in western Turkey was a change in conduct from the Turkish government towards European powers: a first try at an aggressive strategy that had not been applied in previous cases. Authors Alessandro Chechi, Anne Laure Bandle and Marc-André Renold characterize Turkey’s tactic to recover the Hittite sphinx as having three main aspects: the open condemnation of allegedly unethical or uncooperative behavior by the German teams, the strategic use of media to promote Turkish objectives during the process and the threat to break off cultural relations with the Pergamon Museum unless the sphinx was returned.⁸⁴

The German Archaeological Institute teams were often accused by the representatives of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey – such as Minister Ertuğrul Günay (2007-2013) or Minister Ömer Çelik (2013-present) – of being insufficiently committed and even neglecting the archaeological sites under their responsibility. In the aftermath of the Hittite sphinx case, on March 14th 2013, the new Turkish Minister of Culture and Tourism Ömer Çelik participated in a tough-provoking interview

⁸⁴ Chechi, Bandle & Renold, 2011.

with *Der Spiegel*, a German weekly news magazine. During the interview, he expressed the following views, considered by the interviewers as “serious allegations”:

Take a look at the excavations Japanese archaeologists are conducting in Kaman-Kalehöyük (...). The Japanese have been active there for over 25 years, and we will continue to grant them permits for another 20 or 30 years. Their work is exemplary. After they complete an excavation, they restore the ruins they found and re-establish an intact environment at the excavation site. (...) I do not want to make generalizations, because some German teams do conduct their work with great care. But there are also many that simply leave sites however they happen to look at the end of an excavation, disorderly and without having been restored in any way – a deserted landscape. Such an approach leaves us thinking: this is not sensitive treatment of valuable cultural artefacts. (...) In 2010, (...) an 11,500-year-old statue was stolen. For the duration of an excavation, the head of the excavation team is responsible for the security of the site and of the artefacts found there. In this case, the person in charge was a German. (...) I am not saying the head of the excavation team stole the statue, simply that he did not take the necessary security measures.⁸⁵

It was not the first time German archaeological teams were accused. In February 2011, the month when the German Archaeological Institute saw its permits threatened by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Minister Günay was reported by the *Deutsche Welle*, Germany's international broadcaster, as stating:

An important artifact was removed from Hattusa and never given back, although we have been asking for it for many years. Also, I have seen no major progress there for years, no restorations, not even the simplest preservation measures. If, in addition to all that, an artifact is not returned, then why should I let that institute continue to dig here?⁸⁶

Unsurprisingly, the German Archaeological Institute vehemently denied these accusations, voiced by Felix Pirson, the director of the Istanbul Department of the German Archaeological Institute, and Harmann Parzinger, the President of the Prussian Cultural Foundation. “In Hattuşa, we recently restored a segment of the city walls; that was a big project. Also, we restored the Lion Gate and built access roads for visitors”⁸⁷, claimed Mr. Pirson. Mr. Parzinger also issued the following statement in February 2011: “Given the particular nature and history of the German-Turkish relations, we need to find a new constructive way to solve this case (...). Threatening to close German digs in Turkey does not create a climate in which a positive solution can be found”.⁸⁸ It is worth noting that such statements go back and for using both Turkish and German media as vehicles for communication. While negotiations between the parties involved were often private or mediated by a third party, countless

⁸⁵ Evers & Knöfel, 2013.

⁸⁶ Güsten, 2011.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁸ Haines, 2012: 100.

short interviews and articles followed each step of the Hittite sphinx case, and media as distinct as the German *Der Spiegel*, *Deutsche Welle* or *The Local*, as well as the Turkish *Haber Türk*, *Today's Zaman*, *Hürriyet Daily News* and *Cumhuriyet* followed the advances closely. The media were thus relevant tools of interaction for both parties, and were key on transmitting the aggressive character of a threat that seemed so odd between Turkey and Germany.

A second aspect that makes the Hittite sphinx case special is the fact that contrary to previous cases since the beginning of the 1980s, Turkey did not actually take the Pergamon Museum in Berlin to court under a lawsuit, as it did with the Metropolitan Museum in New York, for instance. Haines argues that such a position is due to the financial cost and lengthy duration of court processes, which were nevertheless successful in their outcome.⁸⁹ Turkey did in fact recover its requested artefact from the Metropolitan Museum in New York, but considering the large amount of artefacts the government intends to recover from a diversity of museums around the world, an alternative strategy would have to be considered: “The recovery of the Hattuša sphinx was quick and simple for Turkey. (...) This strong tactic worked well and gave them the confidence to deal forcefully with other museums (...). It also gave them an opportunity to prove to Europe and the world that they had powerful resources to reclaim their antiquities from foreign countries”.⁹⁰ However, this does not mean that Turkey and Germany were in absolute disconnection from any authority or mediator. As mentioned during the chronological perspective of the Hittite sphinx case, UNESCO’s Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or Its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation (ICPRCP) was present ever since Hattuša was inscribed on the World Heritage List as a site of universal significance (1986), intervening with its first recommendation in 1989 and upon a request filed by the Turkish government to the committee. Consequently, although the ICPRCP has no actual jurisdictional power between states and is unable to rule or take decisions *in lieu* of a state, it provided a “framework for discussions and bilateral negotiations”⁹¹, not to mention its insisting recommendations which did not let the case fall into oblivion. The Hittite sphinx case thus offers an interesting pretext to attempt to understand the roles non-governmental organizations play at the archaeological heritage repatriation debate, particularly when evidence is not solid enough to actually file a lawsuit and an external mediator must be included to help find a mutually acceptable solution.

The case of the Hittite sphinx raises a third concern which is present in all heritage repatriation processes, although with varying shades: the one of ownership and how it can be determined. Particularly in our case-study, both parties argued for a rightful ownership, but until the very end of the process no agreement was reached regarding who was the owner by default. Surely the concept of ‘rightful owner’ is complex in itself, particularly if conflicting approaches to heritage ownership are

⁸⁹ Haines, 2012.

⁹⁰ Haines, 2012: 64.

⁹¹ Chechi, Bandle & Renold, 2011: 4.

considered. Published by the *International Journal of Legal Information*, the article “Repatriation of Cultural Property – Who Owns the Past? An Introduction to Approaches and to Selected Statutory Instruments” by Carol A. Roehrenbeck (2010) establishes the difference between two approaches of ownership, which have been mentioned in Chapter 1 and should again be recalled. Turkey is clearly following a cultural nationalist perspective, instead of an internationalist one. According to a cultural internationalist perspective, the Hittite sphinx could belong to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, if it were the organization that could best care for the artefact, as well as promote it to a wider audience. However, a cultural nationalist perspective would surely defend that the artefact belongs to Turkey because it was found in Turkish soil, regardless of how the country decides to care for the artefact. By now it is rather clear that Turkey strongly builds its argument upon Cultural Nationalist premisses. In fact, as referred in Chapter 1, Turkey is currently enacting what is referred to as a blanket legislation, that is:

the Turkish state has absolute rights of ownership and possession at all times after discovery (even before discovery) without performing any further affirmative act of appropriation. (...) Under the Turkish blanket legislation, once an object is covered by law, it becomes state property. If the object is removed illegally from the country, it is considered to be stolen property.⁹²

The problematic keywords in this definition are “removed illegally”. One must ask the question: what law of which historical time should be prioritized? Can national borders really support an argument for rightful ownership? As noted by Chechi, Bandle & Renold (2011), the Hittite sphinx process lacked a precious amount of evidence due to the disappearance of crucial documentation during the Second World War. The provenance of the Hittite sphinx was known, but an actual rightful ownership was not as evident, being uncertain whether the sphinx was protected by a partage agreement (under which Western museums could keep a portion of artefacts found abroad as long as they had financed the excavation) or if Germany’s possession of the sphinx was only temporary, as suggested by the Ottoman Archives. Additionally, it is a fact that a Turkish state recognized as such was only established in 1923, and Turkey could therefore lose authority in its argument by wishing to recover an artefact that not only belongs to a distant ancient past, but was also found and protected before the existence of the actual state, therefore functioning under different laws and mindsets. The Hittite sphinx – itself part of an ancient empire - was carried to Germany in the context of the Ottoman Empire, and therefore claiming ownership rights based on national borders can prove a weak argument. On that account, the case of the Hittite sphinx perfectly represents the complexities of resolving archaeological heritage repatriation disputes, particularly if an artefact traveled in a context of peace rather than armed conflict. The following table confronts the arguments provided by Turkey and Germany (particularly the

⁹² Özel, 2010: 177.

Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Pergamon Museum in Berlin as well as the German Archaeological Institute), as to why the Hittite sphinx should belong to their respective sides:

Arguments for ownership: Germany	Arguments for ownership: Turkey
<p>The German Archaeological Institute team defends that research on Hattuša has been ongoing, and restoration efforts did not stop. Since the beginning, the German Archaeological Institute has been responsible for the discovery and restoration of artefacts, and thus cares for the project.</p>	<p>The German Archaeological Institute has neglected its archaeological sites in Turkey during the last decades. Excavations or restoration work were not evident for decades at Hattuša, and therefore the German team does not care properly for Turkish artefacts.</p>
<p>Germany does not see any obligation towards Turkey to return objects acquired during the Ottoman Empire. As valuable documentation regarding the agreement on the Hittite sphinx was destroyed during World War II, it is not completely obvious whether Germany would have the right to keep a portion of the excavated items found in Turkey, or whether the sphinx was meant to be kept temporarily. It is thus unreasonable for the Turkish government to act as the rightful owner of the sphinx.</p>	<p>The Hittite sphinx was illegally taken from Turkey, as supported by documents from the Ottoman State Archives; these documents inform that the sphinx was supposed to be in Germany temporarily for restoration and later returned to Turkey, but instead it was put on display for German audiences. Additionally, the export of artefacts was allegedly forbidden in the Ottoman Empire from 1884 to 1906. Germany did not respect its contract with the Ottoman part, and now it must fulfill its obligations before an agreement can be made.</p>
<p>Turkey broke its promise to loan artefacts to museums in Europe, adopting a protectionist attitude towards heritage and making the loan process harder by raising obligatory insurance values for European museums.⁹³ Turkey is not willing to cooperate and put the universal benefit of heritage in the first place. It is implied that if Turkey receives artefacts, it won't make loan processes any easier and therefore less audiences will have access to the artefacts.</p>	<p>Ömer Çelik, Minister of Culture and Tourism from 2013 to present, claimed in an interview for <i>Der Spiegel</i> (2013): "We expect a certain standard. We cannot loan pieces to just anyone who asks. (...) We always look at how past collaborations with the same institutions went, whether the collaboration was successful or not. Collaborations only work when both sides make an honest effort".</p>
<p>Turkey is not respecting foreign teams in its archaeological sites, taking heritage permits hostage to obtain the artefacts it is requesting. Not only German teams, but also French teams saw their permits revoked, coinciding with periods of Turkish requests for artefacts kept in German and French museums.</p>	<p>Minister of Culture and Tourism from 2013 to present, Ömer Çelik, claimed in an interview for <i>Der Spiegel</i> (2013): "I would like to strengthen our collaboration with German archaeologists. In order to do so, however, certain conditions must of course be fulfilled". In the same interview, Minister Çelik congratulated and complimented Japanese archaeologists for their efficient work, showing the government is not critical of all foreigner archaeologists in Turkey. The Minister also claimed: "We revoked the permit because the team was not meeting the necessary standards. We have done the same with other Turkish and foreign teams".</p>

Table 2.2. Arguments for ownership of the Hittite sphinx by the German and the Turkish sides.

As this table demonstrates, arguments regarding the ownership of the Hittite sphinx are intricate and contradictory, stimulating the following questions: should ancient or current borders of a region determine its ownership over an artefact? Should national borders count towards the argument of rightful ownership at all? An argument frequently employed against Turkish ownership of the artefacts

⁹³ Haines, 2012.

is that Turkey itself does not represent an underprivileged country in terms of heritage acquisition and display: in fact, the Alexander Sarcophagus (4th century BC), the pride of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, was excavated by Turkish archaeologists in Lebanon in 1887. So what could keep Turkey from applying the same logic to its own collections, and return its foreign artefacts to their ‘countries of provenance’? Minister Çelik insists that these artefacts were excavated during the period of the Ottoman Empire and within its boundaries, which indeed included Lebanon.⁹⁴ The Hittite sphinx, on the other hand, was taken from the Ottoman Empire to a country that was not a territorial member of it. Such are the complexities of a very singular case, which in fact Germany has considered *sui generis*: as claimed in the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government released on May 13th 2011, “the two sides agreed that the case of the sphinx is unique and cannot be compared with other cases”. Minister Çelik himself declared that Turkey would not seek to recover more objects currently on display at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin if it can be proved that they have been taken legally from Turkey: the Pergamon altar, the pride of the German museum, is therefore a piece that Turkey does not intent to recover. However, one must still ask if the future will bring further threats from Turkey, as its current government believes the Pergamon Museum keeps five more objects that should have been returned along with the sphinx.

Finally, a fourth facet of the Hittite sphinx case is worth exploring: a strong contradiction between what is conveyed by the German government on the final official press release and what is orally conveyed by German and Turkish representatives in the media. On the Press Release No.171 (13.05.2011) published by the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, entitled “Turkey to Receive Hittite Sphinx”, one can read the following excerpts:

At the meeting of German and Turkish experts to discuss the future of the Hittite sphinx, it was today agreed that the statue (...) is to be handed over to Turkey as a voluntary act of friendship. (...) The transfer of the sphinx is to mark the start of a number of measures designed to step up German-Turkish cooperation in the museum sector and on archaeological projects. (...) The Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media Bernd Neumann and the Turkish Culture Minister Ertugrul Günay held talks on 8 March 2011 at which they agreed to find a solution acceptable to both sides to the problem of the sphinx. Bernd Neumann announced, ‘This solution has now been found, and represents a sound foundation for greater German-Turkish cooperation in the cultural sector’.

Confronting the expressions used in the press release, such as “cooperation”, “solution acceptable to both sides”, “sound foundation” and “voluntary act of friendship”, one would assume the advice of UNESCO’s *Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation* had been followed with little

⁹⁴ Evers & Knöfel, 2013.

obstacles and tensions. However, as shown by the excerpts taken from *Der Spiegel* with German and Turkish representatives both before and after the sphinx was returned, dialogue between the parties involved seems to have rarely been friendly, with accusations of arrogance and chauvinism from the German part and incompetence from the Turkish side. Similarly, the treatment of the Hittite sphinx case by the media in both countries seems to portray a state of cultural war rather than cooperation. For instance, *Der Spiegel* (2012) used the title “Art War: Turkey Battles to Repatriate Antiquities” when addressing the conflict; the *Deutsche Welle* (2011) reported the case with the headline “Turkey Gives Germany Ultimatum on Returning Hattusha Sphinx”; the *Art News* (2012), self described as the leading source of art coverage since 1902, released an article about the dispute with the title “Turkey Turns Up Heat on Foreign Museums”; another example is the article “Of Marbles and Men: Turkey Gets Tough with Foreign Museums and Launches a New Cultural War” by *The Economist* (2012), which makes a committed attempt to describe the motives and context behind Turkey’s requests for artefact repatriation, nevertheless describing Turkey as an ambitious country: “The Turkish authorities are using a mix of entreaty and threats to ensure they get what they want. They are refusing to led treasures abroad, dragging their feet on licensing foreign archaeological digs and launching public campaigns they hope will shame Western museums”.⁹⁵ Moreover, while attempting to analyze Turkish reasons behind the requests, *The Economist* article implies Turkey was not vigilant of its artefacts in the past, and that only recently the government experienced an awakening:

Foreign scholars saved a considerable number of Turkish artefacts from being commercially looted or destroyed by invading armies. This is rarely mentioned in Turkey’s discussions about its archaeological past. (...) Though Turkey passed a law in 1884 (updated in 1906) stating that all antiquities were the property of the state and could not be taken out of the country, this was only loosely enforced. For most of the 20th century Turkish authorities were happy to lend their treasures for foreign exhibitions and ignored the provenance of most pieces in Western collections. Today, however, the government argues that any object without the correct permissions or with gaps in its provenance has been stolen and so belongs to Turkey. Growing economic power and stalled talks over European Union membership make many Turks feel that it is time to turn their backs on the West.⁹⁶

Surely these are not depictions of a friendly relationship with plans for a cooperative future. Evidently, news headlines of Turkish news organizations are rather different in their tone and justification. A vast majority of titles refer to the longing for the sphinx itself rather than Turkey’s attitude towards European countries. *Today’s Zaman* (2011), an English-language daily news organization based in Turkey, announced: “Boğazköy Sphinx back Home after 94 Years from Germany”. *Hürriyet Daily*

⁹⁵ *Anon*, 2012a.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

News (2011) followed a similar tone: “Boğazköy Sphinx finally returns to Turkey after Decades in Germany”. Other headlines emphasize that artefacts were stolen and that Turkey is going through a struggle to recover what is rightfully hers rather than starting a war. Even in 2009, *Today’s Zaman* (2009) claimed: “Smuggled Turkish artifacts adorn world museums”. In 2012, journalist Abdullah Bozkurt wrote the following column for *Today’s Zaman*: “Campaign to repatriate stolen Turkish artifacts”. Bozkurt refers to Turkey’s strategy as a success and connects it to other achievements:

The Turkish government decided to review the licenses of several foreign archeologists whose governments are unwilling to cooperate with Turkey on the retrieval of stolen artifacts. Today, 48 out of 171 excavations in total are being conducted by foreign archeological teams. More and more funds are appropriated for excavation from the government's budget, with over TL 40 million allocated in 2011, up from TL 1.7 million in 2003. The campaign was further strengthened in March with a new policy of not lending artifacts to foreign museums that possess stolen art pieces from Turkey.⁹⁷

Once more, expressing a mirrored perspective in comparison to Germany, the Turkish media generally focused on what the government would consider a stolen, smuggled sphinx, separated from its homeland for decades; often, the underlying idea is that European museums have taken advantage of Turkish collections and have adorned their exhibition rooms with illegal artefacts. Although this is a short, summarized analysis with few examples under consideration, I have provided diverging takes on the Hittite sphinx case as they were constructed by both government and media – the two being closely connected, particularly in Turkey where increasing censorship measures shape the everyday reality - as well as to contrast these approaches with the vocabulary chosen by the Federal Government of Germany when releasing its announcement of the resolution of the Hittite sphinx conflict. Without question and as it is their mission, organizations such as UNESCO, the Global Heritage Fund and UNIDROIT kept a neutral tone in their announcements, particularly UNESCO’s *Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation* which acted as the major mediator between parties.

2.5. The Aftermath: a Hittite Sphinx and a Future Plan for Turkey

Most of the literature on the Hittite sphinx case explains the conflict between Germany and Turkey in great detail, but fails to address what happened after the sphinx was returned and how future plans also matter for the analysis of this conflict. Where did the sphinx go? What was its place of shelter and why was that place chosen? Here, one must still consider an absolute game changer in this debate: the Boğazköy Archaeological Museum.

⁹⁷ Bozkurt, 2012.

The Boğazköy Archaeological Museum is located 82 km southwest of the province of Çorum, in the district of Boğazkale (where the Hattuşa archaeological site is located). Opened since September 12th 1966, the museum is dedicated to the display of archaeological findings in Hattuşa, mostly by the German Archaeological Institute. The museum was completely refurbished in 2011, the same year the sphinx was returned to Turkey by the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. In July 28th, the sphinx arrived from Germany to Turkey in partnership with Turkish Airlines, and it was kept in a laboratory as well as its twin sphinx for some conservation work. Finally, both sphinxes were presented together on November 26th at the Boğazköy Museum. The process of arrival and display of the Hittite sphinx was a national event. Ertuğrul Günay, Minister of Culture and Tourism, was not only present at the Boğazköy Museum to receive the sphinx in July, but was also at the same museum in November of that year to celebrate the display of the artefact to the great public, and expressed to the media that this was a historic day for archaeology in Turkey. According to *Today's Zaman*, Minister Günay argued in November 27th 2011 that: “Now that this cultural heritage is on our soil, it is all ours. We are trying to protect this heritage and carry it into the future of humanity by the understanding that we are the fiduciaries of this heritage”.⁹⁸ Some questions are worth asking regarding the position of the Boğazköy Museum in this conflict. First, did the Boğazköy Museum matter as a destination as much as the Pergamon Museum mattered as an origin? That is, if the destination of the sphinx had been a different museum, would arguments for or against the return of the sphinx change? How significant is the fact that the sphinx was displayed at the Boğazköy Museum rather than the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, for instance, where it would have had greater exposure in terms of audience? I propose that the significance of the Boğazköy Museum is mostly related to nationalist and economic motives.

One must notice that the Hittite sphinx was not put on display in isolation on November 26th 2011, but displayed in pair with its twin sphinx, as they had been originally built in Hattuşa by the Hittites themselves. This means that the Hittite sphinx coming from Berlin did not join its pair at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, where it had been for the last decades, but *both* were transported to a region with considerably less tourists and undoubtedly less popularity among Turks themselves. Additionally, as mentioned by Boğazköy Museum’s archaeologist Tahir Aksekili to *Hürriyet Daily News* in July 2011, a modernized museum would be ready to receive both sphinxes: “The sphinx will be placed on the left side of the lion-figured gate at the entrance of the museum. The other sphinx that will be brought from the Istanbul Archaeology Museum will be placed next to it”.⁹⁹ This decision is noteworthy at a logical level – after all, the Boğazköy Museum is located close to the Hattuşa archaeological site and most of the displays are dedicated to artefacts discovered in the site, as is the case of the sphinxes. In that sense, one could state the unity of the findings was considered a priority, rather than its visibility in terms of public audiences in the short term. Additionally, the strategy of display at the Boğazköy

⁹⁸ Albayrak, 2011.

⁹⁹ Anon, 2011a.

Museum did not contrast greatly with the one at the Pergamon Museum, but authenticity goes a long way in the media: while in Berlin the Hittite sphinx was wall-mounted and displayed in pair with a replica of itself to achieve symmetry¹⁰⁰, the Turkish museum also displayed the sphinx as part of a symmetric pair, but gave it particular visibility in comparison to the rest of the collection as well as in the media, because both *original* sphinxes were used. The procedure of bringing both original sphinxes together in Hattuşa instead of Istanbul brings further consequences, because it directly contributed for the construction of a narrative of distance, longing and return around the departed sphinx. In a way, the Hittite sphinx became personalized, as if she had been taken away from its origin against her own will, returning after almost five decades to finally reunite with her twin: “A great longing comes to an end”, announced Minister Günay.¹⁰¹ This view of the sculpture as an object with a soul and a sense of belonging would be rejected by most scholars and enthusiasts of Cultural Internationalism, such as Rachel Hallote from Purchase College in New York: “Artefacts are not people, and as such, cannot be in exile”, she argued.¹⁰² However, keeping the Hittite sphinxes at the Boğazköy Museum does not seem to have been only a matter of logic and nationalism. The third reason, closely connected to the others, is related with economic growth.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, AKP - the ruling party in Turkey since 2002 - has had a major role in what concerns Turkey’s economic growth, precisely when the country was going through one of its most serious crisis. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, first Prime Minister and now President of Turkey, has developed a rather ambitious project and one of the most popular since the beginning of his rise to power: the “2023 Vision”, or a list of objectives to be reached until the centenary of the Republic of Turkey in 2023. This project intends to achieve major developments in fields as diverse as Energy, Economy, Foreign Policy, Health Care and even Transport. According to current Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, as stated in his article for *Foreign Policy* (2010) and reposted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs online,

At this point, the world expects great things from Turkey, and we are fully aware of our responsibility to carry out a careful foreign policy. Our "2023 vision", to mark the Turkish Republic’s centennial, is a result of this necessity. (...) Turkey’s foreign-policy objectives and its vision of how to achieve them are very clear. Turkey has multiple goals over the next decade: first, it aims to achieve all EU membership conditions and become an influential EU member state by 2023. Second, it will continue to strive for regional integration, in the form of security and economic cooperation. Third, it will seek to play an influential role in regional conflict resolution.

¹⁰⁰ Anon, 2011b.

¹⁰¹ Yıldırım, 2011.

¹⁰² Hallote, 2011.

Forth, it will vigorously participate in all global arenas. Fifth, it will play a determining role in international organizations and become one of the top 10 largest economies in the world.¹⁰³

Unsurprisingly, the party was quick to realize that cultural heritage and tourism would also be crucial tools for supporting development in this programme. Consequently, in 2007, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism released the document *Tourism Strategy of Turkey: 2023* online for free, in both English and Turkish languages, describing governmental goals for the following decades to further develop national tourism. Some of the objectives include: adopting a sustainable conduct for the development of environmental-friendly tourism; diversifying tourism products and regions, rather than focusing on dominant cities such as Istanbul; creating niche-directed tourism opportunities (developing cultural routes, thermal tourism, winter sports); and eliminating bureaucratic barriers to facilitate investment in Turkey from foreign nations. Additionally, Turkey intends to improve cultural infrastructures. According to *Today's Zaman*, Minister Günay announced on November 27th 2011: “We have spent more than 30 million Turkish Lira on archeological excavations, modernizing museums and protecting ruins.”¹⁰⁴ In light of these observations, one can better understand what the Boğazköy Museum represents in the wider frame of the Hittite sphinx case: not only does it represent a national symbol for a much awaited return, but it also represents an investment for promoting domestic tourism and achieving tourism decentralization in Turkey.

The Boğazköy Museum does not represent the only museum playing a central part in Turkey’s new tourism and foreign policy goals. In fact, what an aide to Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu described as his “most precious project”¹⁰⁵ until 2023 is a museological project: the future, brand new Museum of Civilizations in Ankara. The museum will be located nearby the Atatürk Cultural Center in Ankara, with 25,000 square meters in size and will be mainly devoted to archaeology. Its mission will be to showcase the diversity of civilizations that occupied Turkey from the Greeks and Romans to the Hittites, Byzantines and Muslims, by gathering artefacts from all over the country. The protocol for the construction of this museum has been signed in 2012 between the Minister Günay and Ankara Mayor Melih Gökçek, and the museum should be ready for opening in the symbolic year of 2023. However, it is the expectation placed upon this project and the announcements made by Turkish government representatives about the magnitude of the future museum that I intend to address, both in order to frame the Hittite sphinx case in a wider picture and to connect archaeological heritage repatriation issues with the plans for a future Turkey.

“Our dream is to have the largest museum in the world”.¹⁰⁶ With these ambitious words, Minister Günay described the plan for a future Museum of Civilizations in Ankara. According to his

¹⁰³ Davutoğlu, 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Albayrak, 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Anon, 2012a.

¹⁰⁶ Anon, 2012b.

announcements during the ceremony in which the protocol of construction was signed, the new museum should become the largest in the Middle Eastern region and in the Balkans, as well as one of the largest in Europe. He added: “We dream of a museum like the Topkapı Palace Museum.”¹⁰⁷ The Louvre is also a palace museum, and it is the most original museum with its collection and its architecture. Our aim is to become such a museum and compete with those museums in the world”¹⁰⁸. The article “Of Marbles and Men”, published by *The Economist* (2012), quotes an aide to Minister Günay as stating that “It will be the biggest museum in Turkey, one of the largest in Europe; an encyclopedic museum like the Metropolitan (Museum of Modern Art in New York) or the British Museum”. The fact that Turkey was inspired by universal museums in Europe and the United States of America to create its own influential museum is rather ironic: after all, having suggested that European powers constructed their museological cultures upon smuggled collections, Turkey still counts on a vast list of artefacts it intends to recover from the Louvre Museum, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, the Davids Samling Museum in Denmark, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Getty Museum and even the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon. The observation that the new Turkish museum in Ankara will “compete” with universal museums is also noteworthy: will the future Museum of Civilizations be energized by the reference of European and American museums only to attempt to surpass them in quality and size? How will this project setting the next universal museum affect Turkey’s influence in both Europe and the Middle East? Will it indeed contribute for an increasing engagement between Turkey and the European Union, or will the relationship weaken due to the increasing pressure for the return of artefacts? The diplomatic role of the new Museum of Civilizations in Ankara is truly an intriguing topic, particularly if one considers an underlying second purpose of the museum according to Minister Günay: to safeguard excessive archaeological findings that did not go on display at the hundreds of existing museums under the Ministry’s auspices, but were rather kept in storage rooms. “World museums always try to contact us to display the inventory artefacts”, he explained, “but we think we can display the excavation works in our new civilization museum”.¹⁰⁹ The increasing lack of storage room for archaeological findings, which has worried Turkish museums for some time, is being dealt with through the construction of more archaeological site museums in Gaziantep, Eskişehir, Kahramanmaraş and smaller regions in Anatolia with less touristic visibility, rather than negotiating loans with foreign museums. By opening new space for its own collections rather than accepting to loan objects for motives of lack of space, Turkey is taking the value and care for its own archaeological heritage seriously and facing its

¹⁰⁷ The Topkapı Palace is a large palace in Istanbul and currently a museum. It was home to various Ottoman sultans for almost 400 years, and today displays clothing, jewelry, daily items and diplomatic gifts belonging to the sultans.

¹⁰⁸ Anon, 2012b.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*.

challenges with little support from Western countries. At first, one may interpret this as more evidence that Turkey is unwilling to cooperate with European museums and that the government keeps showing a possessive attitude towards archaeological heritage. However, and considering the plans for future foreign policy, Turkey seems to be attempting to prove its worth, value and autonomy to the world, rather than turning its back on the West. The article “AKP’s Foreign Policy: Is Turkey Turning Away from the West?” by Kiliç Kanat (2010) supports this view:

It has become commonplace for certain analysts of Turkish politics to criticize Turkish foreign policy making during the Justice and Development Party’s (AK Parti) tenure for turning away from the West and leaning towards the Middle East. (...) In fact, this article, while not denying some recurring problems in Turkey’s foreign policy, suggests that Turkey is not turning away from the West; but striving to reconfigure and reformulate its foreign policy, reflecting the demands of an increasingly open and democratic society and adapting to the realities of a multi-polar world. (...) The AK Parti government tried to extend its focus and involvement to other regions of the world as well. Erdoğan has become the most traveled prime minister of the Turkish Republic.¹¹⁰

If Turkey has attempted to strengthen its ties with the Middle East, it has also focused on exploring new relationship forms with African and Latin American countries. It is pertinent to question if Turkey is indeed a country with dreams of superiority and power, or if it is backing away from European acceptance and walking towards innovative partnerships with other geographical regions. Particularly at present times, when Turkey’s support becomes essential for the West to fight the expansion and destruction of the Daesh in the Middle East, the Turkish government is aware of its crucial role as a mediator and facilitator. According to *The Economist* (2012), Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu announced to the Turkish Parliament in April 2012: “A new Middle East is about to be born. We will be the owner, pioneer and the servant of this new Middle East.” Perhaps sooner than we think, Turkey will unveil more facets of the intriguing prism that is its nation.

2.6. Conclusion

The case-study of the Hittite sphinx provides a valuable example of how archaeology remains a political topic nowadays, helping set the tone for the relations between European powers and the Middle East. This chapter addressed the chronology of the Hittite sphinx case, a lengthy process with a favorable ending for Turkey, but carrying potential damage for future Turkish and German cultural relations. The chapter also addressed the influential role of media and non-governmental organizations – such as UNESCO – during cultural conflict, the first expressing the views of the different parties involved and the latter acting as mediators. The plans of Turkey to become an influential global player by 2023 have been explored and related to its archaeological ambitions, such as building one the largest

¹¹⁰ Kanat, 2010: 205.

archaeological museums in the world. It is probable that requests for the return of artefacts from European museums and the United States of America will continue, now that Turkey intends to reinforce its collections and open space for the artefacts that were long hidden from the public eye. The future shall tell how other European museums will deal with Turkey's requests for artefacts, and if the future Museum of Civilizations in Ankara will in fact become a successful case-study for its diplomatic role.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to explore the ways in which future plans for Turkey, to be reached in 2023, helped shape Turkish archaeological heritage repatriation policy. It attempted to contribute to the overall body of knowledge regarding archaeology as property, Turkish archaeological policy and archaeological heritage repatriation in Turkey. Several limitations of my research ought to be acknowledged, and have been fully listed in the introductory section: my limited German and Turkish language skills which kept me from searching more deeply for primary and secondary sources; the underlying difficulty of establishing a clear timeline of a heritage repatriation case, when beginning and ending dates are rarely obvious, and the impossibility of personally interviewing researchers involved in the process. The sensitivity of this politically heavy topic was, in a way, an obstacle too: it was necessary to develop a constant awareness regarding the choice of the words, sources and definitions in order to treat both sides of the case respectfully. I believe this study could represent a starting point for further questions and interpretations, perhaps extending some of its content to other cultural fields and regions of the world. The reason why this study has been written in English is because it refers to a topic of universal interest, and can benefit from development by researchers around the world: the more diverse the perspectives on the topic, the more beneficial. Additionally, while studying abroad in Turkey, I have had the support of teachers and other students who have given me advice and sources to keep moving forward with my research in Portugal. As a gesture of respect and thankfulness, I write this dissertation in the English language, which both Portuguese and Turkish readers are more likely to understand. Consequently, other researchers interested in this debate and more knowledgeable of German and Turkish languages, for instance, can benefit from a wider range of primary sources and further develop this topic. Additionally, personal contact with Turkish researchers and experts would have been advantageous for this study, because it would register updated, informed perspectives to add to the collected literature. Nevertheless, regardless of the nation or community under concern, repatriation policies should keep being examined in the wider context of a particular cultural heritage system, which does present variations from place to place.

This study has shown that archaeology in Turkey represents a major cultural tool for managing international influence: archaeology has represented a narrative, a justification, a pretext and a path to nobility from Ottoman times to present days in Turkey. I hope to have informed the reader about these crucial aspects: the intimate relationship between Turkey's governmental shifts and the attribution of meaning to archaeology; the simultaneous fragility and power of Turkey when it comes both to its relations with Europe and its archaeology, being the territory of a fantastic legacy but a major target for art looting; the ambitious Turkish plan for the recovery of thousands of artefacts from foreign museums, through the application of pressure and threats; the plans by the Turkish government to achieve economic, social, developmental and touristic success in 2023, as well as to create a grand Museum of Civilizations in Ankara by the same year. Connecting these points, I believe this study

proved that future plans settled by the Turkish government have played – and continue to play – a major role in shaping heritage repatriation policy. Very likely, it will continue to play this part. Additionally, discussion regarding archaeology repatriation is most certainly going to continue, because a market for art looting still exists.¹¹¹ Under the blanket of idolatry and religion, precious Middle Eastern archaeological heritage has been torn to pieces by the self-proclaimed Islamic State and sold to other countries in return for arms and war equipment. It is undeniable that the art looting market is far from being over, and so the discussion about repatriation remains just as meaningful and relevant. For this reason, and due to the ever-present controversy around this topic, further research is required. Future research could be centered upon other Middle Eastern countries – or, in a later stage, countries around the globe with very different characteristics – which have used their own archaeological heritage and repatriation policies to answer present challenges and accomplish future dreams. Considering that archaeology is tied with the past, but is also a strong tool for the construction of a future, several questions could be asked from this point: will former colonies of the Ottoman Empire follow Turkey's lead and start demanding objects themselves in order to build a better future? Is this possibility less likely due to the turbulent times Turkey's neighbors are going through? To what point should a common past be shattered in favor of a national future, and is this destruction really necessary? How will Turkey's modern art museums be affected by governmental policies to pressure European neighbors? To what extent do archaeological policies (mostly under governmental control) affect modern and contemporary art policies (mostly under private governance)? Meanwhile, nationalist and internationalist arguments continue developing and keep the heritage repatriation debate wide awake: is it really true that developing countries cannot care for their heritage, especially when the notion of a homogenous 'Third World' is currently questionable? Were they ever presented the chance to do so? Is it true, on the other hand, that collections in European countries will be cared for unconditionally, when historically the continent was the core of two World Wars which left a trail of cultural destruction? As a country located in a crossroads of cultural, religious and historical influences, Turkey provides interesting possibilities for all these questions. Could Turkey represent the beginning of a global shift in the geography of museum collections and the flow of museum audiences? Could Turkey cause a shift in cultural affairs between European and Middle Eastern countries?

The future will tell what consequences the Hittite sphinx case could have in different regions, but for now a climate of tension can be felt between the parties involved and future negotiations for heritage can become particularly heavy between the East and the West. Turkey did not burn bridges with Europe yet, but it does occasionally threaten to light up the fire.

¹¹¹ Kaye, 1996:38.

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ANNEX A

Chronology of the Hittite Sphinx Case

1834-1901	Hattuša's ruins were first discovered by Charles Texier, a French archaeologist. The first investigations are performed by the French anthropologist Ernest Chantre and relevant developments – such as the discovery of fragmented clay tablets, as well as deciphering Hittite language – were achieved in the following years.
1906	Excavations began in Hattuša in the form of a partnership between German archaeologist and assyriologist Hugo Winckler and Ottoman Greek archaeologist Theodore Makridi. By this time, the Turkish Republic had not been established yet, but the Ottoman Empire was going through incredible change and was already under a constitutional system, rather than one of absolute power.
1914-18	World War I. Excavations and research at Hattuša continue despite the war.
1915-17	Two twin sphinxes were found in pieces by the German Archaeological Institute, and sent to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin for restoration purposes.
1924	The Turkish Republic having been established in 1923, Turkey was going through dramatic changes and archaeology too served the purpose of justifying and validating a secular system. During this year and until 1942, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin returned one of the twin sphinxes along with 10,000 cuneiform tablets to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Under the argument that the second sphinx was not yet under perfect condition, it was not returned.
1934	The second Hattuša sphinx was finally reconstructed and was put on display at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin.
1938	Death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. The case of the Hittite sphinx remains stagnant, as Turkey requests its return but the Pergamon Museum in Berlin does not comply.
1939-1945	Second World War. Negotiations were nonexistent and excavations at Hattuša were interrupted.
1952	Excavations at Hattuša resume after a period of inactivity due to the Second World War.
1974	29 years after the end of the Second World War, negotiations for the repatriation of the Hittite sphinx restarted, with the late recognition of the German Democratic Republic (founded in 1949) by the Turkish government. Turkey was then governed by CHP, the Republican People's Party.
1985	Nomination of <i>Hattuša: The Hittite Capital</i> for UNESCO's World Heritage List under criteria i, ii, iii and iv. By this time (1984-87), Turkey was preparing to apply for a full membership to the European Community.
1986	<i>Hattuša: The Hittite Capital</i> is inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List.
1987	Turkey applied for full membership at the European Community.
1989	The Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or Its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation (hereafter referred to as ICPRCP) reported Recommendation Nr.2 about the Hittite sphinx case, acknowledging with satisfaction "the willingness of both parties to find a mutually acceptable solution". After applying for full membership at the European Community in 1987, Turkey was rejected.

1990's	<p>Turkey experiences an inward focus in cultural policy after being rejected by the European Community. Requests for the repatriation of the Hittite sphinx continue, but no resolution is achieved.</p> <p>In 1999, ICPRCP again addresses the issue of the Hittite sphinx, hoping to help mediate bilateral negotiations and advising both Turkey and Germany to develop with further dialogue on the issue.</p>
2001	<p>At its 11th session, ICPRCP notes that bilateral negotiations between Turkey and Germany have reached a point of stagnation.</p>
2002	<p>AKP (Justice and Development Party) comes to power, and Ertuğul Günay is appointed as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Investment in archaeological excavations increases dramatically and the repatriation of archaeological artefacts in Western countries becomes a priority for Minister Günay, as effects start to show in 2007, 2008 and reaching its peak in 2011.</p>
2003	<p>At its 12th session, ICPRCP acknowledges the multiple attempts from Turkey and Germany to establish a healthy dialogue, with few results nevertheless.</p>
2005	<p>ICPRCP repeats its recommendation from the 12th session, recognizing “the continuing concern of Turkey for the long-awaited resolution of the issue of the Sphinx”.</p>
2006	<p>During the 17th session of the Turkish-German Joint Cultural Commission Meeting (Ankara, 16-17 October), both parties continued dialogue and Turkey submitted a new dossier to the German side regarding the return of the Hittite sphinx.</p>
2007	<p>At its 14th session, ICPRCP repeats its recommendation from 2005, acknowledging the effort for dialogue both parties had shown at the Turkish-German Joint Cultural Commission Meeting in 2006.</p>
2009	<p>At its 15th session, ICPRCP reminds both Germany and Turkey that the Hittite sphinx belongs to a UNESCO-recognized heritage site which is inscribed on the World Heritage List, and again invites both parties to reach a “mutually acceptable solution”.</p>
2010	<p>One last time, ICPRCP addresses the issue of the Hittite sphinx in Recommendation Nr.2, “hoping that the close cooperation in the field of culture between the two countries will facilitate the solution of the Boğazköy Sphinx issue”.</p>
2011	<p>In February, the Turkish government threatened to revoke Germany's archaeological license at Hattuşa if the sphinx was not returned. In May, an agreement is reached at last: the Hittite sphinx would be delivered to Turkey. The Press and Information Office of the Federal Government in Germany published the Press Release No.171: “Turkey to Receive Hittite Sphinx”. UNESCO addresses the case in a short online notification, “Bilateral agreement reached on the Boğazköy Sphinx”.</p> <p>In July, the Hittite sphinx was returned and reunited with its twin sphinx. Both were put on display at the Boğazköy Museum, alongside other artefacts found at the Hattuşa archaeological site.</p> <p>The date of 28 November 2011 had been chosen owing to the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inclusion of Hattuşa in the World Heritage List.</p>
2012 - Present	<p>Excavations in Hattuşa continue under the responsibility of the German Archaeological Institute, in cooperation with the German Oriental Society and partially funded by the German government and the Japan Tobacco Group of Companies.</p>

ANNEX B

Curriculum Vitae

MARIA INÊS SIMÕES TEIXEIRA



📍 Almada, Portugal
✉ contact@mariainsteixeira.com
www.mariainsteixeira.com
💬 [skype.mariainsteixeira](https://www.skype.com/people/mariainsteixeira)

Sex Female | **Date of birth** 10/12/1992 | **Nationality** Portuguese

Education

09.2014-08.2015 – Exchange Programme at Koç University (Istanbul, Turkey)
09.2013-Present – Master of Management and Cultural Studies at ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon, Portugal)
09.2010-07.2013 – Bachelor of Art Studies at University of Lisbon (Lisbon, Portugal)

Work Experience

08.2015-Present – Intern: Researcher at Contraditório Think Tank (Lisbon, Portugal)
03.2015-04.2015 – Intern: Researcher at Sakip Sabanci Museum (Istanbul, Turkey)
07.2014-09.2014 – Intern: Curatorial Assistant at National Museum in Gdansk (Gdansk, Poland)
02.2013-06.2013 – Intern: Miscellaneous at Casa-Museum Fernando Pessoa (Lisbon, Portugal)

Language Skills

Portuguese (Native)
English (Fluent)
Spanish (Fluent)
Turkish (Intermediate)
French (Beginner. Intermediate reading skills)
Arabic (Beginner)

I.T. Skills

Familiar with Portuguese and Turkish keyboards
Familiar with audiovisual material in the classroom/conference room setting
MS Office (Advanced)
Google Apps (Advanced)
Social Media Marketing Strategy (Beginner)
Wordpress, Blogger, Wix (Beginner)
ArcGIS (Beginner)

Research Interests

International Human Rights, Islam and Human Rights, Human Rights in Turkey and the Middle East, Cultural Heritage Management, Arts Management, Visual Culture and State Propaganda.