



The “Worthless Stones” of Zincirli: Osman Hamdi Bey and the German Excavations of 1888–1902

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the archaeological excavations carried out by the German Orient-Comité at Zincirli Höyük between 1888 and 1902, using the Ottoman archives of the period and the documents in the Ottoman Imperial Museum. In addition to these archival documents, the wider work of the German archaeologists will be analyzed within this context. This study will focus on the relationships between Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum at the time, Carl Humann, and Felix von Luschan. It will also reconstruct their excavation processes in Zincirli in the context of Ottoman bureaucracy. Most importantly, it will analyze how Hamdi Bey’s influence on that bureaucracy allowed the artifacts unearthed during the excavations to be taken to Germany despite the 1884 Asar-ı Atika (Antiquities) Regulation.

Keywords: Carl Humann, Osman Hamdi Bey, Felix von Luschan, Zincirli Excavations, Neo-Hittite



Introduction

From the early 19th century, the archaeological sites within the borders of the Ottoman Empire attracted the attention of European travelers and orientalists in search of antiquities, and subsequent excavations were carried out in various regions. Beginning in 1869, regulations were issued at various points for the excavation and protection of archaeological sites and artifacts (Karaduman 2004). Within this framework, German, French, British and American teams carried out excavations in various parts of Ottoman geography, especially in Anatolia, with legally obtained permits. The artifacts from these excavations were taken abroad and exhibited in various museums (Akın, 1993, 233; Özkan, 2019). To prevent the flow of artifacts out of the country, various regulations were further issued in 1874, 1884, and 1907 (Çelik, 2016; Çal, 1997, 2005; Akın, 1993; Özkan, 2019). However, despite these efforts, the flow of the archaeological artifacts found during these excavations to other countries could not be completely prevented. Most of the artifacts that were transferred abroad were taken without permission. However, some were taken abroad with permission, as gifts, or—as revealed in our study—for various other reasons, such covering transportation costs (Dilbaz, 2018, 29–54; Özkan, 2019, 104–112).

This period of intensive outward flow of artifacts coincided with the development of close relations between the Ottoman Empire and Germany at various levels. German archaeologists used both political alliances and personal connections—particularly with Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910), director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum (Müze-yi Hümayun)—to conduct major excavations in Ottoman territories. This alliance led to the easy attainment of excavation permits and transport of artifacts, despite the legal restrictions of the *Asar-ı Atika* (Antiquities) Regulation of 1884. The excavations of Zincirli Höyük, which were conducted from 1888 to 1902, thus occurred during a period in which these close relationships were evident at numerous levels.

Between 1888 and 1902, the excavations at Zincirli Höyük, first by Carl Humann (1839–1896) and then by Felix von Luschan (1854–1924), revealed extensive remains from the center of the Neo-Hittite/Aramean Kingdom of Sam'al, most of which were brought to Germany and are now exhibited in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (von Luschan, 1893, 1898, 1902, 1911; von Luschan and Andrea, 1943). The artifacts that remained in Turkey are currently housed in the Department of Ancient Oriental Antiquities of the İstanbul Archaeological Museums. Although Article 3 of the *Asar-ı Atika* Regulation—which was drafted by Hamdi Bey himself in 1884—states that all archaeological artifacts found, discovered, and excavated in Ottoman territory belong to the state, and Article 8 prohibits the export of these artifacts abroad (Çal, 2005, 244–245), most of the archaeological artifacts unearthed in Zincirli were allowed to be taken to Berlin as compensation for expenses. However, it is interesting to note that according to the documents from the Ottoman State Archives, Hamdi Bey’s opinion was sought each time and he approved their transfer.

This study therefore explores the archaeological excavations conducted by the German Orient-Comité at Zincirli Höyük between 1888 and 1902, drawing on documents from the Ottoman archives and the Ottoman Imperial Museum. It also examines the archaeological work of German excavators during this period. It will primarily focus on the relationships between Humann, von Luschan, and Hamdi Bey as the Ottoman Imperial Museum's director. It delves into their excavation procedures at Zincirli and, most importantly, investigates how the artifacts unearthed were transported abroad, despite the restrictions imposed by Articles 3 and 8 of the 1884 Asar-ı Atika Regulation.

The Zincirli Mound and its Discovery

Under the direction of the District Governor of Islâhiye, the first investigations at Zincirli Höyük were carried out by Hamdi Bey, who in 1883 set out to investigate the remains of the Commagene Kingdom on Mount Nemrut.¹ During this first excavation/survey, eight reliefs were uncovered on the mound. The mound was also visited by Humann and his team, who had been commissioned by the Berliner Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften and traveled to Mount Nemrut, shortly after Hamdi Bey under the guidance of a miller (von Luschan, 1893, 6) who was in same the region to purchase an artifact² with a relief of a lion hunt in Sakçagözü (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 101).³ The German team reported the presence of several reliefs on the Zincirli mound, which they documented on-site despite the rainy weather (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 167, pl. XLIV, XLV).⁴ Later, Humann would learn that these reliefs had already been uncovered by Hamdi Bey (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 167). It thus appears that Hamdi Bey and Humann traveled to the region around the same time for the purpose of documenting the remains of the Commagene Kingdom. It is difficult to know whether this was planned or coincidental, but Hamdi Bey likely visited the site first, followed soon afterward by the German team.

Zincirli Höyük, located 10 kilometers west of the Islâhiye district of Gaziantep Province, was designated as being within the boundaries of the Islâhiye county of the Cebel-i Bereket Sanjak of Adana Province during the time of the excavations (Fig. 1). The mound is in an area close to the exit of Beylan Pass, which extends east-west direction across the Amanos

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- 1 Hamdi Bey travelled to İskenderun on 27 April 1883 with Osgan Efendi, an Armenian sculptor, to visit Mount Nemrut. Humann and his team would also begin this journey on 30 April (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 157).
 - 2 The relief of a lion-hunting scene was removed from the wall of Ansarı Güllü Bey's house and bought for 50 Turkish lira (about 927 marks), and because it was too thick to carry, it was thinned by stonemasons to make it easier to move (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 166).
 - 3 Felix von Luschan, who would lead the Zincirli excavations after the first excavation season, also participated in this excursion to collect ethnographic data along with Circassian Hasan Bey, who had previously travelled with Humann to Ankara and Boğazköy, joined the expedition to provide logistical support (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 158; von Luschan 1898, 88).
 - 4 Felix von Luschan and Otto Puchstein decided to go to Zincirli. Humann, on the other hand, was to stay in Sakçagözü and carry out a sounding excavation there (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 167).

Mountains. Excavations at the mound revealed the remains of the capital of the Sam'al Kingdom of the Neo-Hittite/Aramean, which ruled the region between the 10th and 7th centuries BC.⁵ The site includes a lower city and a rectangular citadel spread over a large area surrounded by circular double walls.

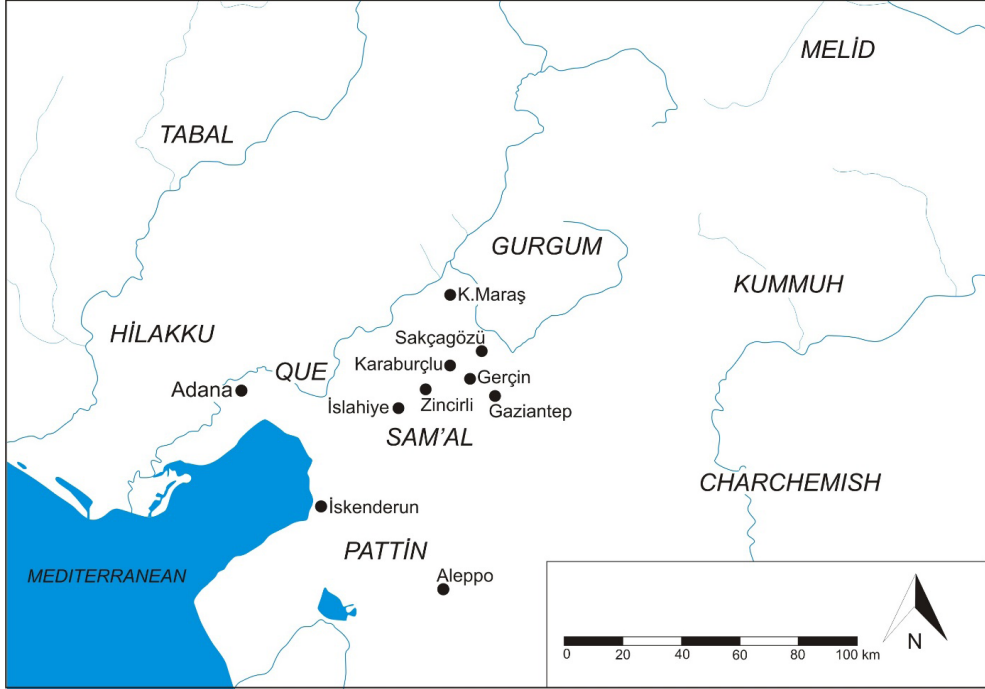


Figure 1: Map showing Zincirli Höyük and its surrounding area.

Foundation of the Orient-Comité and Excavation Preparations

In the late 19th century, there was a growing German interest in enhancing their involvement in Near Eastern excavations to enrich Berlin and other museums with more artifacts. However, concerns that the museums could not cover the costs of the excavations with their own financial resources arose, especially from Adolf Erman (1854–1937), director of the Egyptian Collection in Berlin (Wartke, 2005, 7).

It was therefore decided that excavations would be financed by special committees formed outside the museums, but managed by the museums. Furthermore, the artifacts unearthed during the excavations were to be purchased by the Berlin museums at cost price. This approach was meant to ensure the continuation of excavations and similar projects through consistent funding.

5 New excavations at Zincirli Höyük have been carried out by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute and the University of Tübingen since 2006 (Schloen and Fink, 2009).

For these purposes, the Comite behufs Erforschung der Trümmerstätten des Alten Orients (hereafter Orient-Comité) was founded on June 10, 1887, by a group including Adolf Erman, Alexander Conze (1831–1914), Eberhardt Schrader (1836–1904), and Ernst Curtius (1814–1896) (von Luschan, 1893, 11). At the first meeting, von Luschan, then employed at the Berliner Museum für Volkerkunde, proposed that excavations be carried out at sites in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria, including mounds such as Sakçagözü and Zincirli. The committee decided upon Zincirli (Wartke 2005, 8; 2009, 309–310). The main priority in this selection was the acquisition of archaeological artifacts at affordable prices to make them available to German museums (Wartke, 2005, 8; Pucci, 2020, 34–35).

Negotiations were then initiated with Hamdi Bey, and plans were made to share the artifacts to be excavated by the German team with the Ottoman Imperial Museum. It appears that Humann, who was conducting the excavations at Pergamon at the time, was involved in this process (von Luschan, 1898, 88; Wartke, 2005, 9–10; Pucci, 2020, 35). It is likely that he held preliminary talks with Hamdi Bey before excavations began and formulated plans for the sharing of the artifacts to be excavated (Wartke, 2005, 8; 2009, 309). In December 1887, Humann was then asked by the General Administration of the Imperial German Museums to visit İstanbul and discuss the matter with the relevant authorities (von Luschan, 1898, 88). According to Humann's account, Hamdi Bey personally asked him to examine the Zincirli artifacts and carry out a comprehensive excavation (von Luschan, 1898, 88; Wartke, 2009, 309). In addition, Hamdi Bey ensured that Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) would help him to give some of the reliefs to the Imperial Museums of Germany (von Luschan, 1898, 88).

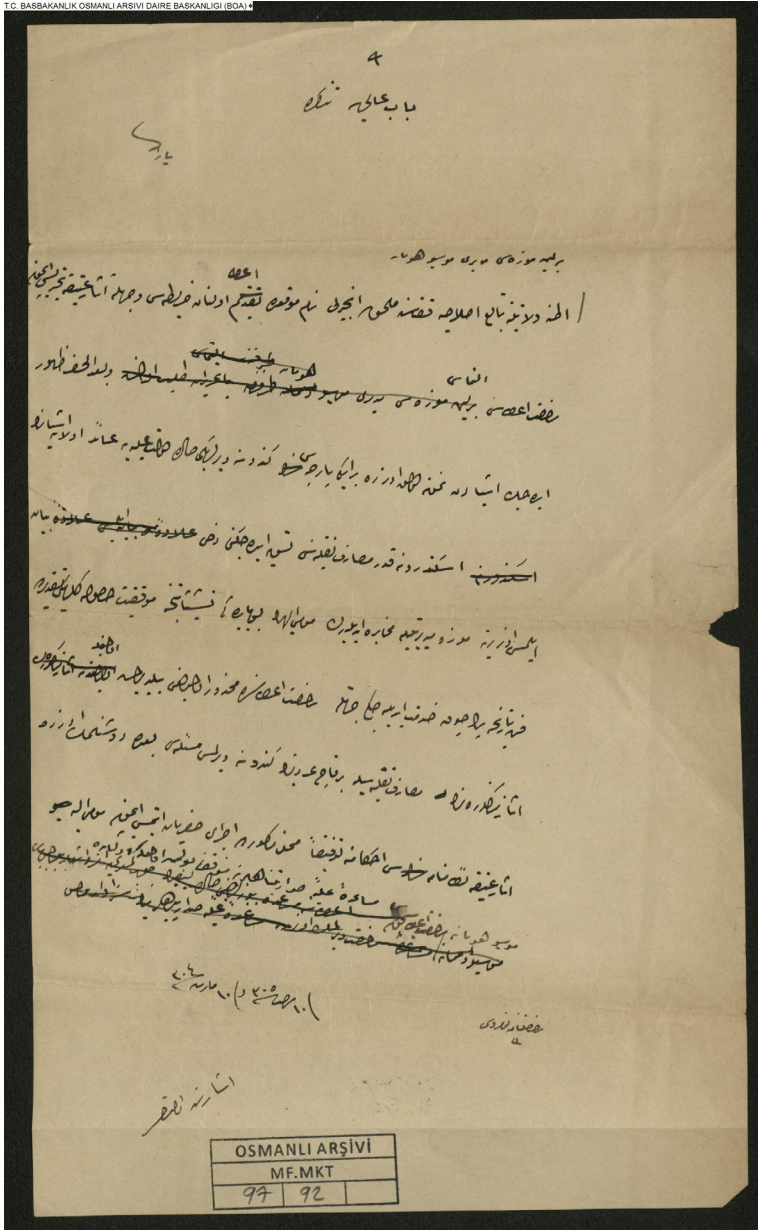
The First Excavation: The Stele of Esarhaddon

An application for the first excavation permit was made in early 1888, which was granted on March 23, 1888, on the condition that the work be carried out in accordance with the Asar-ı Atika Regulation (Fig. 2).⁶ The permit was notified to Humann on March 29, 1888, by Joseph M. von Radowitz, the German Ambassador in İstanbul. Permission to excavate, which was all granted within the Asar-ı Atika Regulation, would be valid for one year (von Luschan, 1898, 89).⁷ Ahmet Bey, an officer of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, was appointed as the Ottoman Empire's representative who would supervise the excavations.⁸

6 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 97/92.

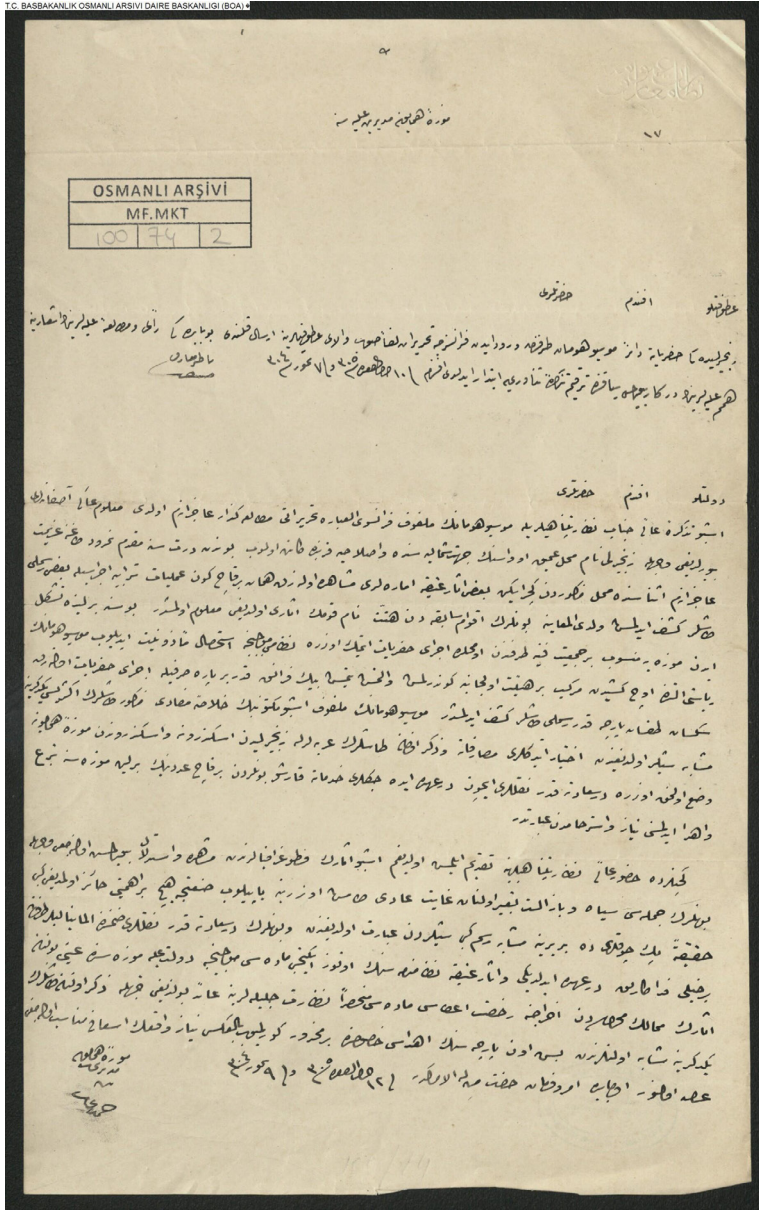
7 During the Zincirli excavations, the Circassian Hasan Bey from Ankara assisted the German team with all kinds of logistical and other matters.

8 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 97/109.



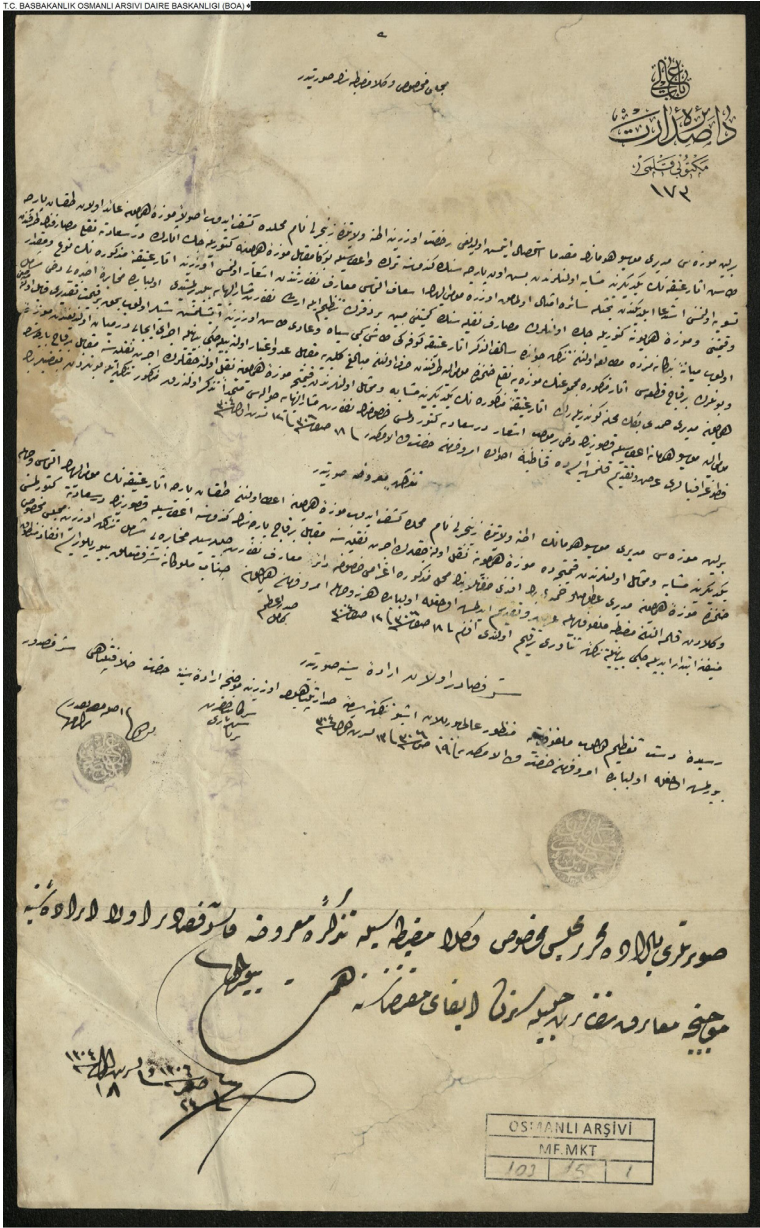
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Figure 2: First Excavation Permit (BOA.MF.MKT. 97/92)



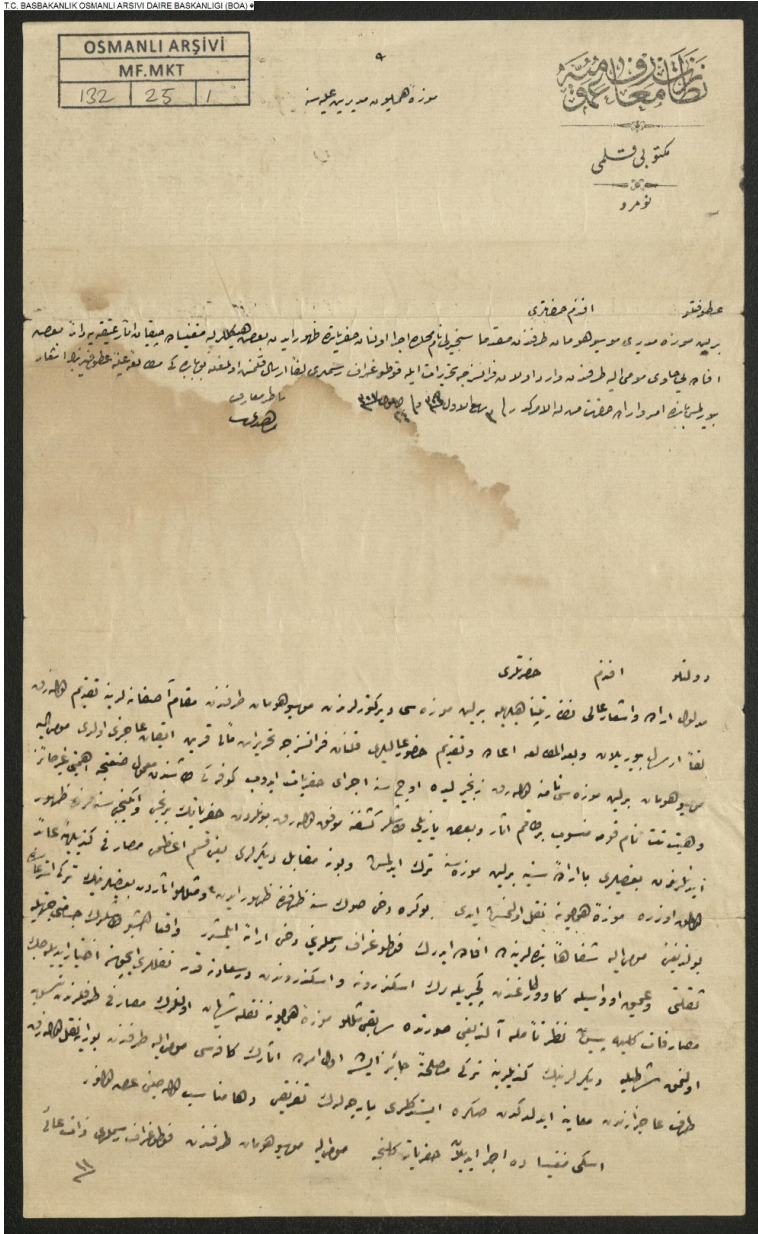
MF.MKT.00100.00074.002

Figure 3: Document written by Osman Hamdi Bey stating that some of the artefacts found during the excavations at Zincirli in 1888 could be given to Humann in return for the cost of transport (BOA. MF.MKT. 100/74).



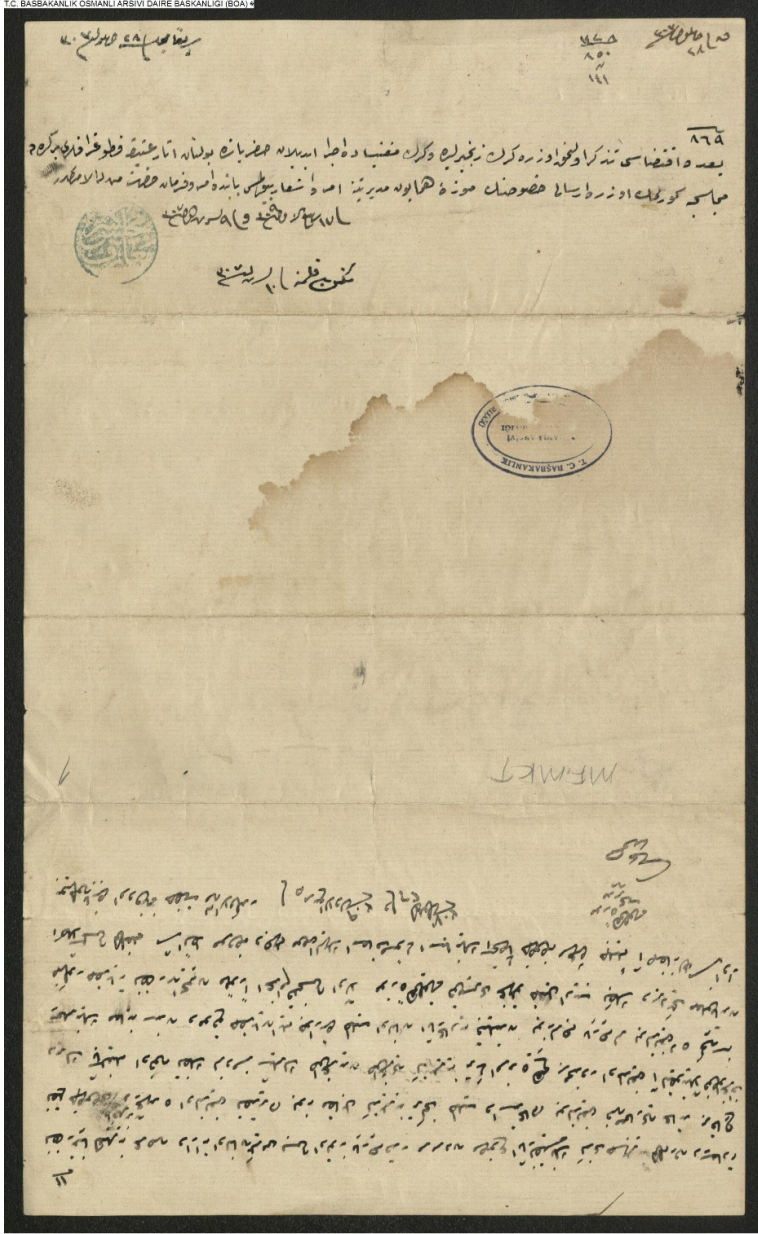
MF.MKT.00103.00015.001

Figure 4: the Council of Ministers agreeing to allow Humann to take some of the artefacts from the 1888 excavations to Germany (BOA.MF.MKT. 103/15).



MF.MKT.00132.00025.001

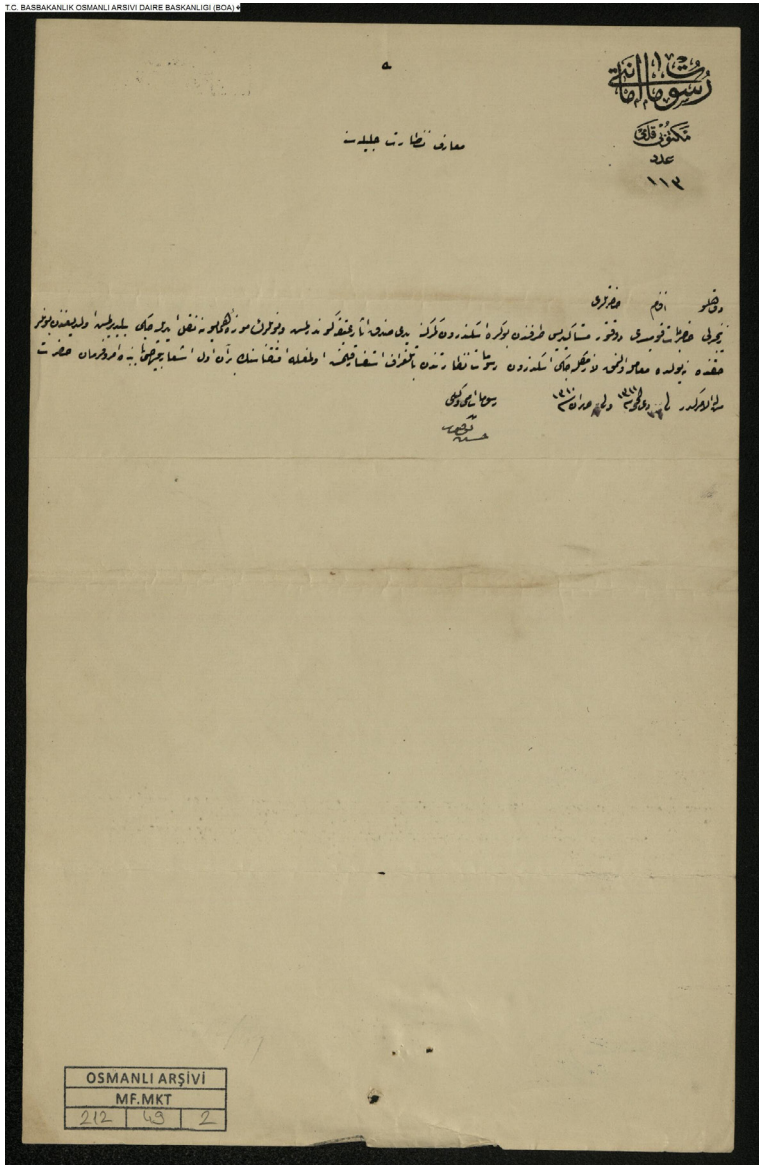
a.



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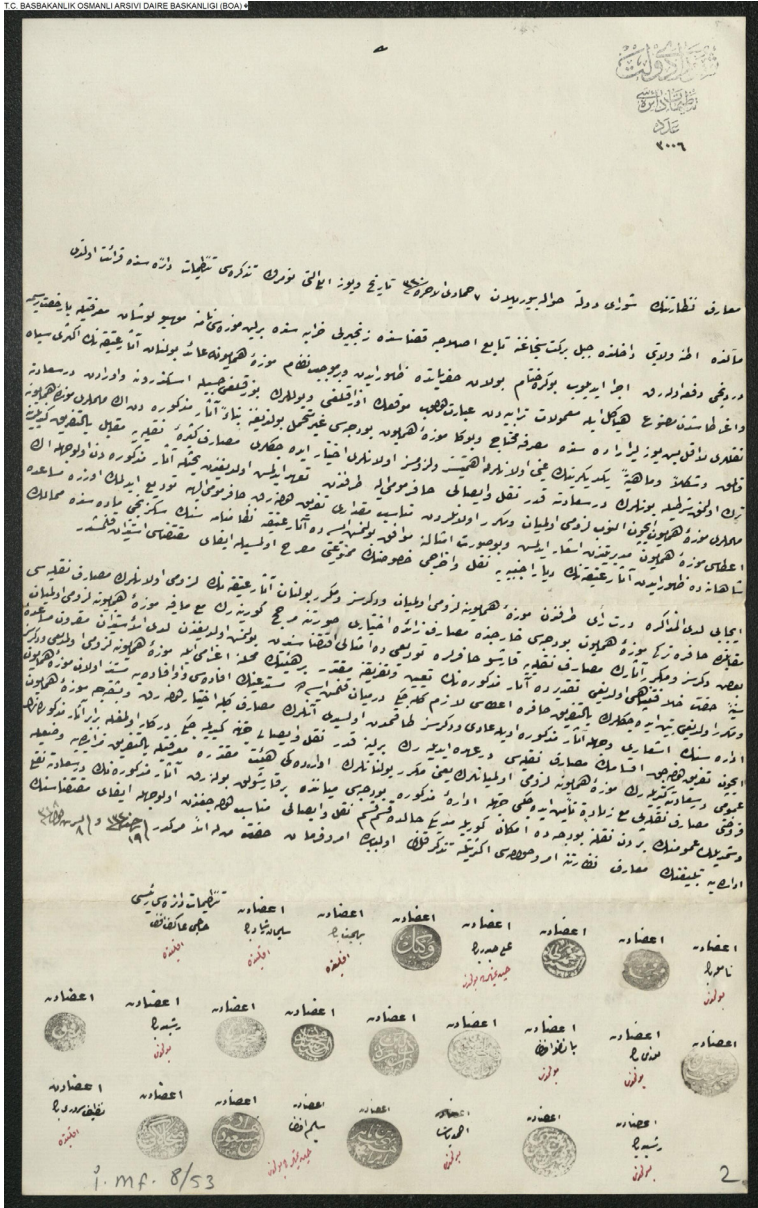
Figure 6.a-b: Hamdi Bey's declaration regarding the handing over of some of the artefacts found during the third excavation season to Humann for his expenses (BOA.MF.MKT. 132/25).



MF.MKT.00212.00049.002

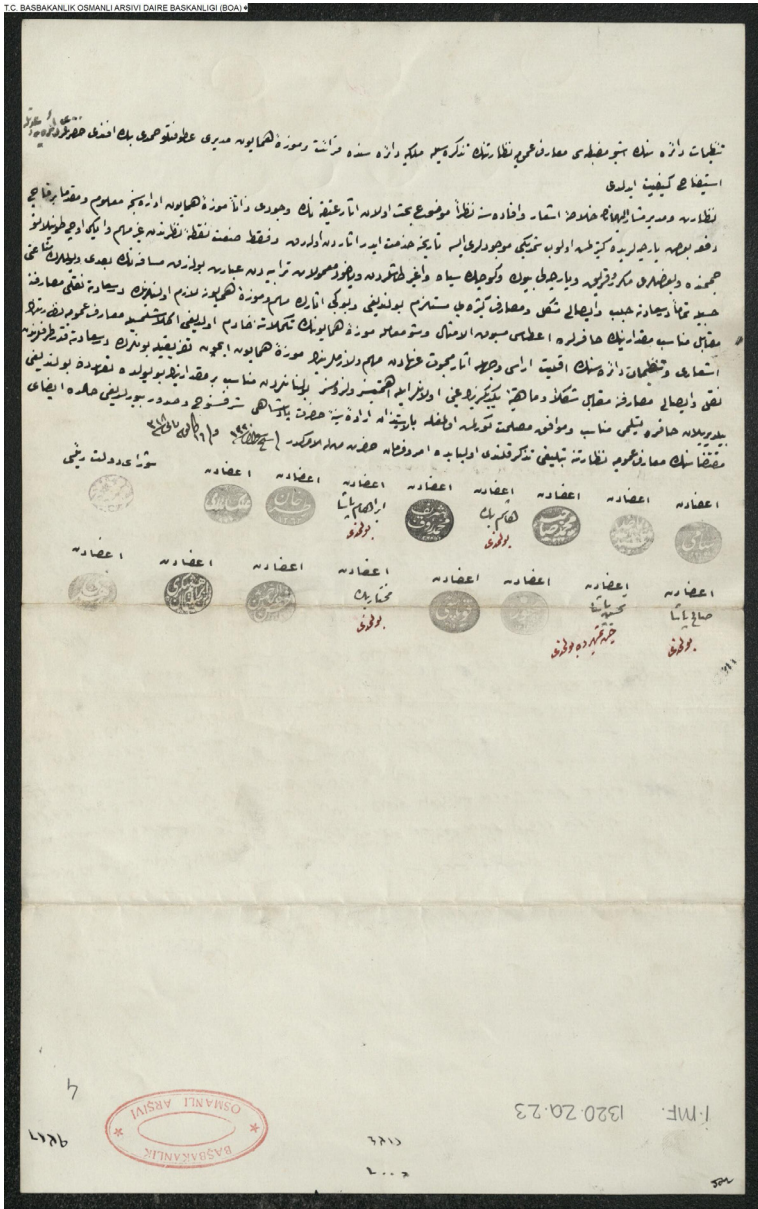
Figure 7: Customs document regarding the artefacts sent to Iskenderun Customs by Mistakidis Efendi, the representative of the fourth excavation season (BOA.MF.MKT. 212/49).

T.C. BASBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARSIVI DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI (BOA)



LMF.0008.00053.002

a.



I.MF.00008.00053.002

b.

Figure 8.a-b: Tanzimat Department of the Council of State refused to hand over the artefacts found during the last excavation season to the excavator in return for the cost of transporting them. However, this decision was changed at a meeting in the Mülkiye Department attended by Hamdi Bey himself, and some of the Zincirli artefacts were given to the Germans in return for excavation and transport costs (BOA.İ.MF. 8/53).



İ.MMS.00101

Figure 9: Relief on the east side of the southern gate of Zincirli Höyük from the 1888 excavation (BOA.İ.MMS.00101)



İ.MMS.00101

Figure 10: 1888 Excavation of the outer gate of the fortress, in front of which is a male figure with a spear in one hand and a hare in the other; a male figure with a spear and a shield, and finally a sphinx (BOA.İ.MMS.00101).

The first excavations at Zincirli began on April 9, 1888,⁹ and continued until July 22, 1888. The excavations were directed alternately by Humann and von Luschan (von Luschan, 1893, 7).¹⁰ Humann initially hoped to conduct excavations rapidly, employing as many workers as possible to uncover new finds and known reliefs. His objective was to transport these artifacts to the port of İskenderun for shipment to Germany.¹¹ He also wanted to excavate at Sakçagözü, but unfavorable climatic conditions, inadequate equipment, and malaria prevented a comprehensive, planned excavation (von Luschan, 1893, 7).

The work began in an area close to the site where Hamdi Bey had carried out the first sounding (von Luschan, 1898, 88)¹², and important finds were soon unearthed. On the third day, a relief of the Neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680–669 BC) was discovered (Wartke, 2005, 26). Humann informed Hamdi Bey about the discovery of this stele through a letter enclosing a reconstruction drawing of the artifact (Wartke, 2005, 26, 90, no. 36).¹³ In addition to this stele, the excavations from the first season also yielded about 40 reliefs (Figs. 9–10), a large citadel gate (also with reliefs), and an Aramaic stele (Panamuwa II) near the mound (von Luschan, 1893, 6). At the end of the excavations, the finds were transported by ox-drawn carts first to Islâhiye and then to the port of İskenderun via the Belen Pass (von Luschan, 1898, 100–101; Wartke, 2005, 27–28).

On May 22, 1888¹⁴, Hamdi Bey, in coordination with Humann, applied for the transfer of the artifacts found in Zincirli to İstanbul. Around a month later, on June 18, the Islâhiye District Governorate¹⁵ was informed¹⁶ so that it would not prevent the transfer of the artifacts excavated in Zincirli to İskenderun.¹⁷ Immediately afterward, on June 30, the Ministry of Education (Maarif Nezareti)¹⁸ received Humann's request to be allowed to take some artifacts to the Berlin Museum in return for the cost of transporting them to İstanbul.¹⁹ The necessary

9 Ahmet Bey, representing the Ottoman Empire, joined the excavation on 8 May 1888, after it had begun (von Luschan, 1898, 89).

10 When Humann and his team arrived at Zincirli in April of 1888 to excavate the site, they found that the reliefs uncovered years earlier by Hamdi Bey on the southern slopes of the mound, and subsequently visited by Otto Puchstein and von Luschan, were still partially buried (von Luschan, 1898, 89).

11 For Carl Humann's letter of 27 December 1887, see: Wartke (2005, 22–23).

12 Hamdi Bey's sounding revealed 8 orthostats which were later recognized as a gate (von Luschan, 1898, 88).

13 See Humann's letter of 2/14 May 1888 in the archives of the German Archaeological Institute in İstanbul: Wartke, 2005, 90 no. 36.

14 *BOA.MFMKT.* 98/115.

15 It seems that the deputy district governor of Islâhiye at the time intercepted these artifacts during their transport from Zincirli on 13 June (von Luschan, 1898, 101).

16 *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/93.

17 *BOA.MFMKT.* 99/12.

18 As the Directorate of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was subordinate to the Ministry of Education in the Ottoman bureaucratic hierarchy of the time, all archaeological excavations throughout the empire came under its jurisdiction.

19 *BOA.MFMKT.* 100/74.

procedures had thus been initiated for the transport of the excavated artifacts to İstanbul.²⁰ On August 10, 82 boxes containing artifacts from the first excavations at Zincirli were unloaded at İstanbul Customs (von Luschan, 1898, 101).

After Humann's request, Hamdi Bey was asked for his advice;²¹ he would prepare a detailed report on the artifacts found in the Zincirli excavation (Fig. 3).²² In a report dated July 22, 1888, it was noted that a three-man committee, chaired by Humann, had conducted excavations at Zincirli in compliance with the "Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi" and uncovered 89 pieces of "carved stones" at a reported cost of "60 to 70 thousand francs".²³ Hamdi Bey reported that many of the reliefs unearthed during the excavation had been transported with great difficulty by steamer first to İskenderun and then to İstanbul, and that the Germans had demanded some as compensation for their expenses. He went on to say that all these reliefs are "common stones of black and basalt," have no artistic value, were highly similar to each other, and that the Germans had brought them to İstanbul at great personal sacrifice. As a result, Hamdi Bey referred to Article 32 of the Asar-ı Atika Regulation and stated that there was no harm in giving "5–10" of the artifacts to Humann. Although Article 8 of the regulation prohibited the transfer of artifacts abroad, Article 32 set out the conditions for potential transfers.²⁴ Under this article, the transfer of these artifacts was permitted if certain conditions—including the opinion of the Ottoman Imperial Museum and the presence of artifacts of the same type and value in the museum—were fulfilled.²⁵

On August 13, Humann again asked the Ministry of Education for some of the artifacts he had found during his excavations, which he planned to take to the Berlin Museum, in return for the cost of transporting them to İstanbul.²⁶ Once again, the Ministry asked Hamdi Bey about these demands, and Hamdi Bey reiterated that "the stones were of no artistic value" and repeated that Humann had made great personal sacrifices in transporting these aforementioned artifacts, and that there was no problem in giving "5–10 similar pieces" to Humann so as not to set a precedent for others. The Ministry of Education also informed with a letter the Sublime Porte (Babiâl) on August 14, and citing Hamdi Bey's belief that it was appropriate to give Humann 5–10 works of art so as "not to set a precedent".²⁷ However, a response signed by Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha (1833–1913), dated August 30, states that instead of giving Humann artifacts to cover his expenses, the artifacts should be appraised

20 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 60/93.

21 (19 July 1888) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 99/146.

22 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 100/74.

23 (22 July 1888) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 100/74.

24 For the relevant articles of the Asar-ı Atika Regulation, see *BOA.HH.d.* 25145.

25 *BOA. MF. MKT.* 100/74.

26 (13 August 1888) *BOA. İ.MMS.* 101/4281.

27 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 100/74.

and sold, and that Humann should be paid with the profits.²⁸ A letter of September 8²⁹ asked Humann to put a price on the works, and again on September 13, Humann wrote to Hamdi Bey³⁰ complaining of a total cost of 3,600 francs had been incurred, specifying the transportation costs in great detail. In response to the suggestion that the stones be appraised and sold, Hamdi Bey again sided with Humann. He reiterated his earlier position, stating that the artifacts "have no value or worth, are made of moldy stone, are very coarse and vulgar, and date from the time of the Hittites". He emphasized that these items were only uncovered due to Humann's skill and efforts. Hamdi Bey thus repeated his recommendation that a few artifacts be sent to the Berlin Museum, again citing Article 32 of the Regulation on *Asar-ı Atika* to justify their transfer.³¹

Despite the Grand Vizier's answer from August 30, Humann continued to demand artifacts in return for his expenses.³² The Ministerial Cabinet (*Meclis-i Vükela*) was also informed by the Ministry of Education that it was appropriate to give him some artifacts.³³ In its subsequent decision, the Ministerial Cabinet agreed to give Humann "5–10 pieces of the artifacts ... in return for the sums and efforts he spent on excavation and transport, so as not to set a precedent for others". The transfer of artifacts to the Ottoman Imperial Museum was considered appropriate at this point. However, in a document dated October 24, the Grand Vizier requested the Sultan's will for Hamdi Bey to go to Zincirli for the transport of the pieces to be brought to the Ottoman Imperial Museum in return for the cost of their transport to İstanbul. However, as we have seen, the transfer had been initiated long ago and the findings had arrived at the İstanbul customs on August 10.³⁴ As a result, again citing Article 32 of the *Asar-ı Atika* Regulation, the Cabinet once more petitioned the Sultan for permission to give "5–10 similar artifacts" to Humann (Fig. 4).³⁵ At last, approval was issued on October 25 on the condition that Hamdi Bey would identify the similar artifacts, and the Ministry of Education was ordered to oversee this process. On November 8, the Ministry of Education thus commissioned Hamdi Bey for this task in accordance with the Sultan's

28 *BOA.İ.MMS.* 101/4281.

29 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 102/22.

30 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 102/22.

31 (15 September 1888) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 102/22.

32 (11 October 1888) *BOA.İ.MMS.* 101/4281.

33 (11 October 1888) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 102/22.

34 (24 October 1888) *BOA.İ.MMS.* 101/4281.

35 (24 October 1888) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 103/15.

will.³⁶ Humann's demands for Zincirli artifacts were thus finally fulfilled after this long and frustrating process within Ottoman bureaucracy.³⁷

It is clear from the documents that Hamdi Bey, the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, was entrusted with the task of allocating the artifacts to Humann and his team. The artifacts found in 82 boxes in the Zincirli excavations of 1888 were taken to the İstanbul customs and it was considered appropriate to hand over only 5-10 of these artifacts which were only similar to each other and of value. During the Zincirli excavations, Hamdi Bey and Humann held a meeting at the port of İskenderun on June 5, 1888. The meeting was requested by Hamdi Bey, who had returned from the Sayda excavations (von Luschan, 1898, 99). In addition to Humann, von Luschan³⁸ attended the meeting, during which Hamdi Bey was presented with a list of artifacts from the excavations. Although Humann's account does not indicate that this visit was planned in advance, it is evident that the visit was related to the sharing of the artifacts excavated at Zincirli. Hamdi Bey promised Humann that he would help him get his share of the artifacts from the excavation, but that he should come with him to İstanbul to discuss the matter as his time in İskenderun was limited. While in İstanbul, it was agreed with Humann that the eastern half of the Great Gate, from which 23 reliefs had been uncovered, the Esarhaddon Stele and smaller finds would be given to him by Hamdi Bey to take to Berlin (von Luschan, 1898, 100).

The Second Excavation: The Walking Camel of the Gerçin Mound

On 25 December 1889, a new license was issued for a second season of excavations at Zincirli, subject to the conditions of the first license and the necessary provisions of the Asar-ı Atika Regulation. The second excavation began on January 27, 1890, and ended on June 14. While Humann continued to make excavation applications until his death in 1896, excavations from 1890 onward were carried out under the direction of von Luschan in collaboration with Robert Koldewey (1855–1925) (von Luschan, 1893, 7; Wartke, 2005, 28).³⁹ In late February of that year, a rail system was imported from Germany (Wartke, 2005, 32). This innovation significantly expedited the removal of the excavated soil, thereby accelerating the progress of the work.

36 *BOA. MFMKT.* 103/15.

37 Other excavations were also carried out in Anatolia in parallel with Zincirli under the direction of Carl Humann on behalf of the Imperial Museums of Berlin. One of these excavations was carried out in the Teke village of Aydın Province. Humann, found the head of a statue of Apollo during his excavations here and asked that if he could find the rest of the body, would he be given a group of artifacts that he had found during his excavations at Zincirli Höyük and brought to the Ottoman Imperial Museum. This request was accepted by the Council of State (Şurâ-yı Devlet). Unfortunately, no document has been found to indicate whether Humann actually found the remaining part of the Apollo statue and, if so, what artifacts were given to him in return (17 March 1889) *BOA.MV.* 41/28.

38 After this meeting in İskenderun, von Luschan returned to Zincirli to supervise the excavations (von Luschan, 1898, 100).

39 The excavation, initially carried out on behalf of Humann, was transferred to von Luschan in 1890 at Humann's request (Humann's letter of 19 January 1890, see Wartke, 2005, 92, no. 40).

In addition, efforts were also undertaken at Gerçin Höyük, a site located approximately 7 kilometers from Zincirli.⁴⁰ A Hadad statue of the Aramaean Storm God, another statue of King Panamuwa II (743–733/732 BC), and fragments of multiple statues were found there and transported to Zincirli by sledges. The artifacts were reported to the Ottoman Imperial Museum on March 31, with photographs by excavation representative Ahmed Bedreddin Bey.⁴¹ The Gerçin artifacts were to be taken to the port of İskenderun together with the Zincirli finds and then to İstanbul to be taken to Berlin. The relevant documents reflect that the progress of the Zincirli excavations was regularly reported to the Ottoman Imperial Museum⁴², and these reports also included information on artifacts discovered by the German team at Tahtalı Pınar⁴³, Karaburçlu⁴⁴ and Elbistan Höyük.⁴⁵

At the end of the excavation, Humann asked for three of the five lion statues found in the excavations. In return, he offered to cover the expenses of the other two lions' transportation to İstanbul. On May 31, this proposal was approved by the Ministry of Education⁴⁶, which oversaw the Imperial Museum, submitted for the authorization of the Cabinet⁴⁷ and then presented to the Sultan for his approval.⁴⁸ On June 8⁴⁹, the museum was informed by Bedreddin Bey that 30 boxes containing the finds from the excavations had been sent to the port of İskenderun and that 12 boxes of artifacts were still to be transported (Fig. 5). However, at the request of the İskenderun Tax Office Directorate (Rüsumat Emaneti)—which did not allow the transfer of the artifacts given to the Berlin Museum on the grounds that it had not been informed of the matter—the Ministry of Education was notified of the decision on the matter.⁵⁰ Upon this, the Ministry of Education requested the İskenderun Tax Office Directorate to open and inspect the boxes containing the three lion sculptures given to the Berlin Museum, and to ship only these lion sculptures and confiscate any other artifacts.⁵¹ This correspondence demonstrates that custom officials at the port of İskenderun were actively trying to prevent the unauthorized removal or smuggling of artifacts from Zincirli. However, the correspondence does not contain any further information about the Gerçin Höyük artifacts. It is therefore difficult to know whether these were licitly given to the

40 During his visit to Zincirli in 1883, von Luschan was informed that a large statue of a walking camel had been found at Gerçin Höyük, but it was not possible to carry out a survey at the time because of the marshland around the mound (von Luschan, 1893, 7, 44-48; Wartke, 2005, 34).

41 *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/102.

42 *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/98; *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/100.

43 Orthmann, 1971, 76, 487, Taf. 14 d Karaburçlu 1; Hawkins, 2000a, 276, 2000b, 127.

44 Orthmann, 1971, 77, 483, Taf. 7a Elbistan 1.

45 *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/106.

46 *BOA.İ.MMS.* 113/4855.

47 *BOA.MV.* 54/39.

48 (12 July 1890) *BOA.İ.MMS.* 113/4855.

49 (8 June 1890) *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/103.

50 *BOA.DH.MKT.* 1772/122.

51 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 124/51; *BOA.MF.MKT.* 124/95.

German team by the museum administration or illegally smuggled to Germany. Fragments of various lion sculptures—such as the statue of Hadad and the Panamuwa inscription found at Gerçin Höyük—are now on display at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.

The Third Excavation: Cholera Outbreak and Quarantine

The third excavation season took place between October 9, 1890, and March 17, 1891. Because the excavations of the second season had been fruitful and many artifacts had been unearthed, von Luschan and his team planned a third excavation after a break of only three months. The fact that the current excavation permit was only valid through the end of December 1890 had a great influence on this decision. The excavations were planned to begin in October and end in December (Wartke, 2005, 37). The Orient-Comité, which was still financing the excavations, also apparently wanted to keep the third excavation short and focus on completing the unfinished work of the second season.

However, the third season of excavation did not go as planned. The winter of 1890–1891 was harsh, with heavy snowfall, and a cholera epidemic and quarantine in the region meant that the excavations started later than planned. In addition, the quarantine⁵² due to cholera⁵³ and the unrest in Zeytinlu Maraş caused difficulties in recruiting workers (von Luschan, 1893, 7; Wartke, 2005, 37). As a result, the excavation team was forced to stay in Zincirli for longer than planned. The excavation permit expired at the end of December 1890, and a new official permit was granted again on April, 1891 (Wartke, 2005, 37).

Most of the work during this excavation was carried out in the area called Upper Palace. Here, many reliefs were unearthed in a section known as the North Hall Building. As in the previous excavations, the collection of artifacts in the region continued. For example, Bedreddin Bey reported that two stone artifacts from Maraş Hacıbeyli were transferred to Zincirli.⁵⁴ Toward the end of March, the large stone artifacts unearthed during the excavation were reburied face down on the mound, with the idea that the work would be continued in the future. Covering them with soil would prevent any wear or damage in the interim (Wartke, 2005, 39).⁵⁵ It is unclear how many artifacts were reburied in this way. However, in a letter dated January 12, 1891, Humann informed the Ministry of Education that he had packed the artifacts recovered from Zincirli into 42 boxes. He requested permission to transport 21 to Berlin and the other half to Istanbul. This was the first time Humann demanded half of the artifacts to cover expenses. The Ministry then

52 Due to the cholera epidemic, Bedreddin Bey, the excavation representative appointed by the Ottoman Imperial Museum, travelled to Zincirli via Tripoli and then Homs instead of Aleppo (*BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/109).

53 On 2 December 1890, Berlin was informed that the Ottoman government had asked von Luschan to work as a quarantine doctor in Hasanbeyli (Hasanbeyli district, Osmaniye), and von Luschan accepted the position, allowing him freedom of movement under quarantine conditions (Wartke, 2005, 38).

54 *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/112.

55 The excavation team left Zincirli on the 27th of March 1891 and arrived in Berlin at the end of April (Wartke, 2005, 38).

sought approval from the İskenderun Tax Office Directorate and instructed it to deliver all 42 boxes to İstanbul.⁵⁶ In addition, the Ministry of Education informed Bedreddin Bey that the cost of transporting the excavated artifacts to İstanbul would be covered by Humann.⁵⁷

On 15 September, Humann wrote a letter to Münif Pasha (1828–1910), the Minister of Education, stating that he was ready to transfer all the artifacts from the Zincirli excavations (along with the architectural artifacts found in the Menderes excavations in Manisa) to the Ottoman Imperial Museum in İstanbul, and that he wanted to carry this out before winter.⁵⁸ In this letter, Humann stated that he had previously made a request on July 22 and that the Directorate of the Ottoman Imperial Museum was aware of the artifacts and could provide further information if requested. His main concern in September thus remained the fulfillment of his July request⁵⁹ for some of the artifacts unearthed in Zincirli and Manisa.

In his own report to the Minister of Education, Hamdi Bey stated that Humann had been excavating at Zincirli for three years and had been allowed to take some of the artifacts he had unearthed during the first and second excavations to the Berlin Museum in exchange for transporting the rest to İstanbul. He explains that the artifacts unearthed during the excavations were large and heavy, and that it was costly to transport them all the way from Zincirli to İstanbul. For this reason, he concluded that it was appropriate to give Humann a share of artifacts in exchange for him to cover the transportation expenses. Hamdi Bey also stated that after all the artifacts were brought to İstanbul, he would examine them and decide which to keep in the Imperial Museum and which to give Humann (Fig. 6.a–b).⁶⁰ Upon this, the Education Council (Maarif Meclisi) was asked to check the photographs of these artifacts⁶¹, and the Ministry of Education wrote to the Directorate of the Imperial Museum to present them.⁶²

On March 11, 1892, Hamdi Bey informed the Ministry of Education that according to the reports of Ahmed and Bedri Bey, who were in Zincirli as officials on behalf of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, the cost of transporting these Hittite artifacts made of moldy stone to İstanbul would be 50,000 kurush. According to him, the museum did not have such a budget. As mentioned above, these artifacts had been brought to İstanbul by Humann at his own expense following previous excavations, and some were given to the Berlin Museum in accordance with Article 32 of the Asar-ı Atika Regulation. Hamdi Bey reiterated that all the artifacts excavated in Zincirli must be brought to İstanbul and, after examining them,

56 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 125/12.

57 (14 March 1891), *BOA.MF.MKT.* 127/8.

58 *BOA.ŞD.* 212/6; *BOA.MF.MKT.* 131/65.

59 *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/115.

60 (8 October 1891) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 132/25.

61 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 132/25.

62 *BOA.ŞD.* 212/6.

he would identify those to be given to Humann.⁶³ The Ministry of Education submitted his request to the Council of State⁶⁴ which then approved it and submitted it to the Sultan. After the Sultan's approval⁶⁵, the Directorate of Imperial Museum was assigned to carry out the necessary procedures.

Until the application for a new excavation permit at Zincirli (which was made October 6, 1893), there was no further information about the fate of the artifacts that had been unearthed during the third excavation and reburied. However, the new excavation application stated that the majority of the excavated artifacts had been transported to İstanbul and that the remainder were expected to reach İstanbul soon.⁶⁶ On February 28, 1894, a letter was sent to Adana Province requesting assistance to Mistakidis Efendi in transporting the artifacts unearthed during the third period of excavations to İskenderun.⁶⁷

The Fourth Excavation

The fourth excavation at Zincirli began on March 20, 1894, and ended on June 28 (von Luschan, 1898, 85). During this period, priority was given to transporting the large reliefs and sculptures uncovered during the third season to Berlin. Kaiser Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918) provided financial support for the excavations conducted during this season (von Luschan, 1898, 85). The Kaiser's letter of April 17, 1893, to the Orient-Comité shows that he personally contributed 25,000 marks to finance the fourth excavation (Wartke, 2005, 9).

Although the Orient-Comité had initially planned a new excavation at Zincirli for the autumn of 1891, it had been three years before it could begin. The existing financial support from the Imperial Museums in Germany had not been sufficient to finance the third excavation and the recovery of the buried finds (Wartke, 2005, 40). The first three excavations had been carried out solely through the funds and support of the Orient-Comité. In 1894, however, the cooperation between the Imperial Museums and the Orient-Comité came to an end for economic reasons.⁶⁸ Due to the lack of operating funds and support from the German Empire, the Orient-Comité was no longer able to support fieldwork in the Near East. From 1898, excavations in the region would be supported by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Unlike the Orient-Comité, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft—with the generous support of the German Empire—offered the finds from its excavations to museums free of charge (Wartke, 2005, 9–11).

63 *BOA.ŞD.* 212/6.

64 *BOA.İ.ŞD.* 118/7071; *BOA.BEO.* 6/411.

65 (4 July 1892) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 144/88; *BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/115.

66 (6 October 1893) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 189/80; (10 December 1893) *BOA.ŞD.* 212/59.

67 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 197/59.

68 On the financing of the Zincirli excavations, see Wartke (2005, 9-11).

The application for permission to start new excavations was made in October 1893, and a permit was issued on March 5, 1894, for a period of one year.⁶⁹ The excavation permit contained very detailed new conditions. Articles 17, 19, 20 and 21 of the *Asar-ı Atika* Regulation were emphasized and it was stated that the excavations should be carried out in such a way that no castles, military fortifications, or official buildings would be damaged and that the excavation area was limited to 10 kilometers.⁷⁰ In addition, if there was private property in the excavation area, the excavation had to be carried out with the consent of the owner of that property. Furthermore, the permit would be terminated if the excavation was not started within three months of the licensing date or if the excavation was stopped for two months without justification. However, the most striking aspect of the new permit is the emphasis on Articles 11 and 12 of the regulation, which state that only drawings and molds of any unearthened artifacts could be kept by the excavator and that the artifacts themselves belonged to the Ottoman Imperial Museum. A record of all artifacts unearthened during the excavation was to be kept and handed over to the Museum.⁷¹ Finally, it is stated that the artifacts unearthened during the third excavation were to be sent to the Ottoman Imperial Museum.⁷² Although the fourth was meant to focus on transporting artifacts to Berlin (Wartke, 2005, 39), then, the new permit demanded their transfer to İstanbul.

During the fourth excavation, new palace structures were also uncovered in the western part of the mound. Several reliefs, including orthostats depicting the Sam'al king Barrakib (733/732–713/711 BC) with his scribe, were found in the so-called Northern Hall.⁷³ The artifacts unearthened during this excavation were first sent to the port of İskenderun, as had been done before. On June 19, 1894, Mistakidis Efendi, the new representative of the excavations in Zincirli, sent seven boxes of artifacts to the İskenderun Customs Bureau. However, the customs office had not been informed of this and asked the Ministry of Education what should be done with them (Fig. 7).⁷⁴ Another 21 boxes arrived at the İskenderun Customs, the Customs Bureau again asked the Ministry of Education for information.⁷⁵ Although there is no information in the records on the fate of these 21 boxes, the Ministry of Education's Commission of Inspection and Control (*Maarif Nezareti Teftiş ve Muayene Encümenliği*) asked that the first seven boxes be sent to the Directorate of the Imperial Museum.⁷⁶

69 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 189/80; *BOA.ŞD.* 212/59; *BOA.İ.MF.* 2/24; *BOA.BEO* 355/26609.

70 For the relevant articles of the *Asar-ı Atika* Regulation, see *BOA.HH.d.* 25145.

71 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 198/21.

72 This licence was amended on 10 March 1894 to the effect that no compensation would be paid to the owner of the excavation in the event that the excavation was cancelled by the State and that it was forbidden to transfer or sell the licence to another person (*BOA.MF.MKT.* 198/21).

73 Mistakidis Efendi was appointed to represent the Ottoman Empire in the excavations (*BOA.MÜZ.ARK.* 60/118).

74 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 212/49.

75 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 212/49.

76 (2 July 1894 and 19 July 1894) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 212/49.

Unfortunately, no further information could be found in the Ottoman State Archives about the fate of the artifacts from this excavation. It is only known that Mistakidis Efendi shipped a total of 28 boxes of excavation finds to the port of İskenderun and that only seven of these were ordered to be sent onward to İstanbul. The next preserved document related to Zincirli is a letter of November 1, 1895, from Hamdi Bey to the Ministry of Education, in which Mistakidis Efendi is awarded the “Mecidi Order of the fourth rank” for his outstanding services in the excavations of Zincirli, Hisarlık, and Ayasuluk.⁷⁷ Zincirli reappears in archival documents from August 24, 1901, when a new excavation application was made. Although there is no further information on this subject in the Ottoman State Archives, von Luschan (1898, 85) stated that all the important artifacts unearthed at the end of the excavation were transported. However, it is not clear where and how these artifacts were taken. It appears that the artifacts excavated at the end of this period were somehow brought to Germany, and there is no information in the archive as to what role, if any, the Ottoman Imperial Museum and its director, Hamdi Bey, played in this process.

The Final Excavation at Zincirli Höyük

The final excavation on the Zincirli mound focused on the completion of the excavations and the recovery of areas excavated between 1888 and 1894. On August 24, 1901⁷⁸, the German Embassy requested a six-month permit to complete the excavations in Zincirli, which would allow the archaeologists to prepare their books on the excavation for publication and to read and photograph the inscriptions found during the excavations. Due to Humann’s death, the application for the excavations was made by von Luschan (Wartke, 2005, 40). The Foreign Department of the Sublime Porte⁷⁹, through the Ministry of Education, received this application.⁸⁰ Given the approval of the Directorate of the Imperial Museum⁸¹, the Minister of Education’s application for a permit was then discussed by the Tanzimat Department of the Council of State.⁸² After receiving the Sultan’s approval⁸³, the Ministry of Education was allowed to grant the license.⁸⁴

The German team-encountered various problems during their last excavations at Zincirli Höyük. The excavation tools and the excavation house they had used in previous periods had been destroyed, and there were even attempts to confiscate von Luschan’s letters in the Beylan Post Office. When von Luschan and his team arrived at Zincirli, they were

77 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 294/5.

78 (24 August 1901) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 583/18.

79 (28 August 1901) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 583/18.

80 (1 October 1901) *BOA.ŞD.* 217/21.

81 (6 September 1901, 24 September 1901) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 583/18.

82 (15 November 1901) *BOA.İ.MF.* 7/49

83 (28 November 1901) *BOA.İ.MF.* 7/49.

84 (14 December 1901) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 583/18.

unable to locate the materials they had used previously, including the railway equipment for transporting the excavated soil. Ralf-B. Wartke (2005, 40) states that the excavation house and its contents were destroyed during the disturbances in the region in 1901. However, the correspondence in the Ottoman State Archives gives a different account. Apparently, von Luschan filed a complaint with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stating that he had entrusted the excavation house and its equipment to a man named Halil Efendi following the Zincirli excavations in 1894, but could not find them when he returned and therefore demanded compensation.⁸⁵ The Ministry then instructed the Adana Provincial Governor to investigate these claims.⁸⁶ When questioned by the İslâhiye District Governor's Office, Halil Efendi denied these allegations (he had moved from the village of Zincirli to the Pazarcık district of Maraş only a few years earlier). Halil Efendi said that the items had been left in the care of the now deceased Gökçan Agha, a resident of Zincirli, and that Agha had handed them over to the "Trappist clergyman Beraytin Efendi" in Şeyhli (in the İslâhiye district) by a "written order" from von Luschan himself. Halil Efendi also stated that the excavated land belonged to him and that von Luschan had made these accusations to avoid paying him the money he was owed according to the article of the Asar-ı Atika Regulation regarding payments to landowners.⁸⁷ The situation was reported to the Adana Governor's Office⁸⁸ then to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.⁸⁹ On September 23, 1902, the Ministry of Internal Affairs relayed Halil Efendi's statement and the relevant documents to the German Embassy through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁹⁰

As mentioned above, further complications arose during the excavations when the postmaster of Beylan in Aleppo Province (today the Belen District of Hatay Province) seized a package containing Luschan's letters to the vice-consul of İskenderun. This package was opened on the grounds that it does not have a stamp. A fine was imposed for each letter and the carrier was released after being detained for two days. In addition, a post office was opened in Hassa (between Zincirli and İskenderun), and von Luschan was informed that he had to deliver his letters there from then on. Following these events, he complained about the situation first to the German Embassy and then to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁹¹ The latter again asked the Ministry of Internal Affairs to investigate von Luschan's allegations.⁹² The

85 It is stated that the entrusted goods consisted of 7 barracks, a railway consisting of rails and wagons laid for transport, an iron forge, many wheelbarrows, picks and shovels for 300 workers, a pharmacy and other excavation tools, and a darkroom for taking photographs (10 March 1902, *BOA.HR.İD.* 2122/64; *BOA.DH.MKT.* 478/8)

86 (12 April 1902) *BOA.DH.MKT.* 478/8.

87 (27 May 1902) *BOA.HR.TH.* 269/15.

88 (27 May 1902) *BOA.HR.TH.* 269/15.

89 (10 June 1902) *BOA.HR.TH.* 269/15.

90 (23 September 1902) *BOA.DH.MKT.* 478/8.

91 *BOA.HR.İD.* 2026/33, (10 March 1902) *BOA.HR.İD.* 2026/34, (24 March 1902) *BOA.DH.MKT.* 462/48.

92 (19 March 1902) *BOA.DH.MKT.* 478/8.

first response came from the Aleppo Governorate, which insisted that the letters in question were only kept at the Beylan Post Office because they were unstamped and that they were sent onward after it was confirmed that the package came from the excavators at Zincirli.⁹³ The Ministry of the Post and Telegraph⁹⁴ responded similarly.

Despite all these difficulties, the final excavation at Zincirli began on January 3, 1902, under wintery conditions and continued until June 13. By the end of May, the work had been completed except for the cleaning and removal of artifacts.⁹⁵ Buildings K and J and the complex south of Hilani II and Hilani III had been uncovered (Wartke, 2005, 41).

As in the previous excavations, some of the artifacts recovered during this last excavation season were also requested by Germany. In his evaluation of this request, Hamdi Bey noted that, as with earlier requests, most of the requested artifacts consisted of black, heavy stones and insignificant sculptures. He also stated that there was insufficient budget for the transport of the items to İstanbul and that it would therefore be appropriate to give some of the unimportant artifacts to Germany in return for their coverage of the transport costs. This opinion was sent to the Ministry of Education⁹⁶ and then to the Council of State to be forwarded to the Sublime Porte.⁹⁷

However, the Tanzimat Department of the Council of State opposed the established pattern of exchanging artifacts for transport costs. The Department's review questioned the assessments of both von Luschan's and the Imperial Museum, asking why, if the artifacts were worthless, did the Germans want to transfer them first to İstanbul and then to Berlin at great expense and inconvenience? The Tanzimat Department stated that all artifacts should instead be brought to İstanbul using the Imperial Museum budget. The unnecessary and duplicate pieces could then be auctioned off in İstanbul to cover the transport costs without the need for German assistance. If there was not enough money to transfer everything to İstanbul at once, it was decided that they should be sent piece by piece. The Department thus challenged the idea voiced by the Germans and the Ottoman Imperial Museum that these artifacts were "vulgar and worthless" (Fig. 8. a–b).⁹⁸

Hamdi Bey was asked to attend an evaluation meeting, which was held at the Mülkiye Department of the Council of State on November 4, 1902.⁹⁹ At this meeting, it was stated that

93 (1 April 1902) *BOA.DH.MKT.* 462/48.

94 *BOA.DH.MKT.* 462/48, *BOA.DH.MKT.* 480/15.

95 Although the last excavations were carried out in 1902, it is clear that von Luschan wanted to continue the excavations at Zincirli and, in particular, to determine the stratigraphy of the mound. However, he did not have the opportunity to excavate at Zincirli again.

96 (22 July 1902) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 441/35.

97 (11 September 1902) *BOA.ŞD.* 218/28.

98 (21 October 1902) *BOA.İ.MF.* 8/53.

99 (30 October 1902) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 441/35.

artifacts found in Zincirli had been brought to the museum before, and that despite their historical value, the artifacts found during more recent excavations were of no artistic importance and consisted of heavy stones weighing 2–3 tons and were often broken, fragmented, and lacking in unique qualities. Transporting them to İstanbul was deemed too difficult and costly due to poor roads and long distances. As with previous excavations, it was nevertheless argued that the procedure of bringing the artifacts to İstanbul by the excavator, examining them, keeping those deemed important and necessary for the museum, and giving an "appropriate amount" of the remaining artifacts to Germans in return for the transportation costs would serve the development of the Imperial Museum. Although some representatives of the Mülkiye Department still argued against giving artifacts to the Germans, it was finally agreed that the important and necessary items should be reserved for the museum and the rest should be given to the Germans in return for the transport costs, on the condition that the museum would carry out its examination procedures in Zincirli rather than taking everything to İstanbul.¹⁰⁰ Following this decision, the Sultan's will was requested¹⁰¹ and then issued¹⁰² on February 21, 1903.¹⁰³

Discussion and Conclusion

The documents from the Ottoman State Archives reveal that Osman Hamdi Bey played an important role in the transfer of the artifacts from Zincirli to Germany. Hamdi Bey became the director of the museum in 1881 and served in this position until his death in 1910. He was also the author of the *Asar-ı Atika* Regulation of 1884, which banned the export of archaeological artifacts abroad and prevented the flow of artifacts from Ottoman lands to Western countries. Foreign archaeologists who wished to excavate in the Ottoman Empire and take archaeological finds back to their home countries therefore tried to establish good relations with Hamdi Bey (Holod and Ousterhout, 2011, 30–31). They would curry his favor by purchasing his paintings, exhibiting his paintings in important international art exhibitions, awarding him honorary doctorates, or trying to establish close friendships with him and his family (Sayce, 1923, 327–328; Holod and Ousterhout, 2011, 30–31; Alaura, 2017; Çifçi, 2019, 375–376). For example, on the initiative of Sir Arthur Evans, Sir William Ramsay, and David G. Hogarth, the University of Oxford awarded Hamdi Bey an Honorary Doctorate of Law in 1913 (Pears, 1916, 177). He also received an honorary doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania (Holod and Ousterhout, 2011, 32).

Hamdi Bey's paintings were purchased by the French through the efforts of Leon Heurzey, Curator of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre, and by the Americans through the University of Pennsylvania (Holod and Ousterhout, 2011, 30–31). Similarly, on the recommendation

100 (29 January 1903) *BOA.İ.MF.* 8/53.

101 (14 February) 1903 *BOA.MF.MKT.* 825/93.

102 (21 February 1903) *BOA.MF.MKT.* 825/93.

103 Unlike the artifacts from previous seasons, those from the final season were donated free of charge to the Berlin museums by the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* on 23 May 1903.

of the rector of the University of Liverpool (Sir F. Chatillon Danson), his *A Young Emir Studying* (1905) was purchased by the Walker Art Gallery in England (Rutland, 2014, 57; Pears, 1916, 177). The Germans who carried out the Zincirli excavations also patronized his artistic career. In 1891, three of his paintings were exhibited at the Internationale Kunst-Ausstellung in Berlin, and he received a certificate of honor for his contributions to the art (Eldem, 2010, 100–101).

However, the most important factor determining the Zincirli excavations and the fate of the excavated artifacts was Hamdi Bey's close friendship with Humann (Eldem, 2010, 280; 2014, 38, 108, 158). This is reflected in their letters of 1893, when Hamdi Bey confided in Humann about the death of his brother and shared his excitement about the birth of his daughter, Nazlı (Eldem, 2014, 38). Hamdi Bey even painted a portrait of Humann, whom he hosted in his own home in 1894 (Eldem, 2010, 282).

This close friendship played an important role in the speedy and easy management of the Zincirli excavations and especially in the transport of the excavated artifacts to Germany.¹⁰⁴ Apart from the 1902 excavation license, Humann made other applications for both excavation permits and to transport the artifacts from the excavations to Germany.¹⁰⁵ Ottoman archive documents analysed during the study show that Osman Hamdi Bey consistently sought to fulfill Humann's requests for artifacts from Zincirli. The Ottoman State Archives show no evidence that Hamdi Bey made efforts to retain artifacts from the Zincirli excavations. On the contrary, he repeatedly supported the idea of giving artifacts to the German team. He downplayed the artifacts' value and argued that it was reasonable to give them to the Germans in exchange for their expenses. While Articles 3 and 8 of the 1884 regulation asserted Ottoman ownership and prohibited the export of ancient artifacts, Article 32 provided a legal basis for their transfer abroad. This article was frequently cited in correspondence regarding the Zincirli excavations, with Hamdi Bey supporting the artifacts' export under its provisions. Notably, Articles 11 and 12, which emphasized that only pictures and molds could be taken and that

104 It is also noteworthy that there is no information in this correspondence about the small finds from the excavations. It seems that the small finds were considered unimportant and were not even mentioned. Again, there is no information in these letters and archival documents about the transfer of the artifacts collected in and around Zincirli Höyük to Germany.

105 Only a few of the excavated artifacts were transported to İstanbul after a long journey under difficult conditions, while the majority were transported to Berlin. However, the excavated artifacts, especially the large reliefs, were often not suitable for such a long journey. For this reason, the back sections of the thick relief blocks unearthed were turned into thin slabs by the stonemasons to facilitate their transport. However, this practice sometimes leads to the fragmentation of artifacts. For example, the orthostat with a hunting scene that was bought in Sakçagözü in 1883 and taken to Berlin was thinned out by stonemasons. This relief consists of 3 parts and during the thinning of the third relief, a crack in one of its corners broke off and the third relief was broken into 5 parts (Humann and Puchstein, 1890, 166). Not only the backs of the reliefs were chipped to transport them, but they were also cut into pieces to reduce their weight. For example, a large double sphinx base unearthed in the fourth excavation season was cut into two pieces, and a newly discovered gate lion was cut into five pieces and placed in boxes for transportation (Wartke 2005, 40).

the originals belonged to the Imperial Museum, were rarely referenced during this process, meaning the artifacts were exported despite these restrictions. However, it should be noted that the close relations between the Ottoman Empire and Germany in the last quarter of the 19th century also played a role in the easy export of these archaeological artifacts, especially in obtaining the approval of the Council of Ministers and the will of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

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