

GORDION ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE AND MUSEUM: A CRITIQUE

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ABSTRACT

GORDION ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE AND MUSEUM: A CRITIQUE

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Gordion is one of the most important archaeological sites, both because it was the cultural and political capital of Phrygia and has been the most excavated and studied Phrygian site so far. Despite the fact that Phrygians have a deep-rooted place in the history of Anatolia, and despite the inherited cultural heritage, they have not been able to go beyond a couple of legends and characters in the social memory. This thesis examines the Gordion archaeological site and museum by focusing on the concepts of archaeology, museum and cultural memory. It is aimed to study the Gordion Archaeological Museum by placing the processes of the archaeological excavations, construction of the on-site museum, and Gordion as a cultural landscape into the context of the evolution of archaeology and museology from the mid-19th century in the Ottoman Empire to the mid-20th century in Republic of Turkey. Within the scope of the thesis, the Phrygians –which still maintain their physical and cultural traces in the Anatolian lands– and the capital Gordion are discussed extensively. Based on the history of the Gordion Archaeological Museum and the archaeological excavations carried on since 1950, an answer to the question “Why the knowledge about Gordion, which had been settled by various civilizations for centuries, cannot go beyond a few public figures and legends?” is provided through an analysis of the architectural, sociological, and cultural details.

Keywords: archaeology, archaeological museums, cultural memory, Phrygians, Gordion

ÖZ

GORDİON ÖREN YERİ VE MÜZESİ DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

ECEMİŞ-ÖZBİLEN, Deniz

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan Özkaya

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Gordion, Frigya'nın kültürel ve politik başkenti olması ve bugüne dek en çok kazılan ve çalışılan Frigya bölgesi olması nedeniyle en önemli arkeolojik alanlardan biridir. Frigler'in Anadolu'da köklü bir yeri ve kültürel mirası olmasına rağmen, toplumsal hafızada birkaç efsane ve karakterden öteye geçememektedirler. Bu tez çalışması, Gordion Antik Kenti ve çevresini, arkeoloji, müze ve kültürel hafıza kavramlarını odağına alarak inceliyor. Arkeolojik kazı ve müzenin kuruluş süreçlerini ve bir kültürel peyzaj olarak Gordion'u 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan 20. yüzyıl Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne kadar olan süreçteki arkeoloji ve müzeciliğin gelişimi bağlamına oturtarak araştırmayı amaçlıyor. Tez kapsamında, Anadolu topraklarında gerek fiziki gerek kültürel olarak izlerini hala barındıran Frigler ve başkenti Gordion kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alınıyor. "Tarih boyunca birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmış, Friglere ise başkent olmuş Gordion hakkındaki bilgilerimiz neden birkaç isim ve efsaneden öteye gidememektedir?" sorusuna, Gordion Arkeoloji Müzesi tarihi ve Gordion Antik Kenti'nde 1950 yılından beri sürdürülen kazı çalışmaları temel alınarak hem mimari hem sosyolojik hem de kültürel detayları analiz eden bir cevap aranıyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: arkeoloji, arkeoloji müzeleri, kültürel hafıza, Frigler, Gordion Antik Kenti

To my mother and father who have dedicated all their life to me...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots.”¹

Marcus Garvey

Although the Phrygians have a significant place in the cultural past of Anatolia and especially of Ankara and its vicinity with their architecture as tangible heritage and the reflections on the cultural image as intangible heritage, they have not been integrated with the social identity and cultural memory of the Turkish Republic except the extant Phrygian legends and a couple of well-known figures like King Midas and Alexander the Great.² Moreover, Gordion is one of the most important archaeological sites, both because it was the cultural and political capital of Phrygia and has been the most excavated and studied Phrygian site so far. It has been the focus point for the

¹ Natasha Bowens, Preserving Culture and Community in *The Color of Food: Stories of Race, Resilience and Farming*, (Canada: New Society Publishers, 2015), 77.

² The legendary Phrygian king Midas or Mita –as called king of Mushki in Assyrian texts– lived in Gordion between 738 BCE-696 BCE. He is popularly remembered in Greek mythology for his ability to turn everything he touched into gold (Midas touch). He was also famous for his donkey ears that he was punished for judging Pan the better musician than Apollo. (Retrieved from <https://www.ancient.eu/midas/> on May 09, 2019.) Alexander the Great arrived at Gordion in 333 BCE and cut the “Gordian Knot” to prove that his destiny was to become the only ruler of Asia. According to the prophecy, a man who untied the knot was to receive power over all of Asia. However, he cut the knot in half with his sword instead of untangling it with patience. True to the prophecy, he went on to conquer Egypt and large swaths of Asia before his death at age 32. (Retrieved from <https://www.history.com/news/what-was-the-gordian-knot> on May 09, 2019.)

excavations for about 70 years. Gordion is the leading archaeological site of the civilization with its monumental architecture, the broad destruction level dating to around 800 BCE, and a series of Phrygian royals' and elites' burials. Besides, Gordion owes its importance and its contacts with a wider world to being on a very busy trade route, Royal Road, from Ephesus, Turkey to Susa, Iran; therefore, because the settlement was very open to interaction with the other cultures, the cultural variety was very rich. Moreover, Phrygians have a great importance especially for the capital of Ankara. The city started to be first formed in the Phrygian period in the 8th century BCE, even though the traces of the humans were discovered dating back to the Paleolithic Age in and around Ankara.³ The findings show that the city of Phrygia was established in and around Hacı Bayram hill, which is situated today in the Ulus area. However, the findings of the Phrygian civilization have been far from offering visual and historical contributions to the city and the society. Even today, the ruins of the Phrygian city are completely under the urban fabric, except for a few preserved areas. In the case of Gordion/Yassihoyuk, although the site offers an enormous amount of historic evidence in its settlement mound and several tumuli, the lack of a strong visual image of Gordian architecture, and the dislocation of the site's artifacts from their architectural contexts to various museums, adds to the confusion of visitors.⁴ The architecture of the site does not make them gain a vivid and memorable perception. Therefore, despite the historical importance of Phrygians and Gordion, leaving a mark in cultural memory and national identity becomes more difficult.

Cultural memory and national identity are two concepts that define the history and the roots of a person, a class, or society, and makes oneself belong to the community they live in. The community is united under the same roof of a single identity, which is

³ Ela Alanyali Aral, "Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma", *TÜBA-KED*. Vol. 15 (2017), 22.

⁴ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 2.

changeable and varies according to time and circumstances of the period just as societies do. National identity is effective on the formation of the collective memory. Every nation and society has its own history, its own structure, and cultural character and accumulation. It is enough to choose any time span from past to raise awareness in society. This chosen past should direct the feelings, encourage people to act, and be perceived easily; in short, it must be a socio-cultural act. Moreover, archaeology plays a crucial role in forming the basis of cultural heritage and the collective memory of a community. Archaeological ruins are memories made manifest in the landscape. They become main places in the control as much of the landscape as of the society, a locus where legitimacy and authority can be instituted and reconfirmed. The public display of this establishes the knowledge and effective dissemination of this important information. Thus, they are not only mnemonic devices which help the creation and recreation of the past, but also very effective modern-day political statements. If land is the essential for prosperity, these stones are one of the ways in which wealth and power are made manifest within the landscape.⁵ However, meaning is unstable and acknowledgment of function and importance change within time and place.⁶ Moreover, sites or landscapes can be presented in various forms day by day, and this enables us to be able to evaluate them from different perspectives. It is not only the meaning or the value that changes in progress of time, but the way it is presented to the public as well. While archaeology and archaeological museums demonstrate a complicated and dynamic harmony between improving, recording, and conserving objects, they also share knowledge, access, and discipline at the same time. They have a crucial role in conserving and forming the attitude of society to the past, and indicate the expectations. Therefore, the museum is the main institutional bond between archaeology and society.

⁵ Gareth Longden, "Iconoclasm, Belief and Memory in Early Medieval Wales" in *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*, ed. Williams, H. (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 178.

⁶ Gareth Longden, "Iconoclasm, Belief and Memory in Early Medieval Wales" in *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*, ed. Williams, H. (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 181.

Appraisal of the heritage goes back to time immemorial, but the classification of it is a relatively recent phenomenon, intertwined with the cultural and political progresses of the past 200 years. The interest of the European rich traders, antique dealers and noble families led to the development of archaeology at that time. Travels to the unknown, researches of antiquities, archaeological excavations, the creation of large collections, and the establishment of large museums take place after this excitement in this period. Even if the enlightenment movement in thought and art does not instantly correspond in Anatolia, researchers, scholars and travelers examine many civilizations, artifacts and cultures in the Anatolian lands. The growth of the interest in antiquities led to an increasing curiosity for the lands of the Ottoman Empire which comprise of a large part of the classical world, and the Biblical and pre-Biblical worlds together in the Near and Middle East.⁷ In the 19th century, the advancements in archaeology led to a large number of excursions to the Ottoman lands, excavations of the ancient sites, and the transfer of large amounts of antiquities to Europe's and North America's developing museums and collections. However, in time, the looting of antiquities from excavation sites by the European researchers caused reaction among the newly emerging intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire. Hence, as a result, a collection of antiquities in İstanbul was organized in 1846, and in 20 years, the collection led to the foundation of Ottoman Imperial Museum. As the collection grew rapidly, a new museum building –still in use as the İstanbul Archaeology Museum– was needed and built in 1891. Moreover, since the archaeology was an imported field for the Ottoman lands, the disciplines and the methods of the Classical archaeologists were followed; therefore, the museum of the empire were mostly composed of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine collections. However, one of the most important contributions to the Turkish archaeology was

⁷ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 15.

restraining the transfer of the finds out of the country.⁸ In 1884, the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi Bey developed a new law for preserving the cultural heritage from looting, which was used until 1973 with small changes and formed a basis for the “Code of Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties” (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*) today. However, at the turn of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire experienced some struggles which led to political, economic and administrative changes arising from the running battles of the period.

Moreover, the concept and ideology of nationalism has been affecting the empire since the first half of the 19th century, and following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire led up to the formation of a new Turkish state in 1923. One of the main concerns of the newly founded nation state was forming and spreading the new concept of Turkish identity. It was a fundamental ideology for a ruined empire in order to establish a new nation state by giving moral direction and identity.⁹ Atatürk, the founder of the new republic, developed an ethnohistorical theory relating all the civilizations that once settled in Anatolia, regarding all the cultures as equally important, and integrated them into the cultural memory of the republic. Therefore, the archaeological activities evolved accordingly. Since the 1930s the number of archeologists, excavation sites, and museums has been increasing. The first –Osman Hamdi, Makridi, Halil Edhem etc.– and second generations –Ekrem Akurgal, Tahsin Özgüç, Afif Erzen etc.– of Turkish archaeologists were educated and experienced archaeology mainly in France, Germany and Hungary. Moreover, the Turkish Historical Society was founded in order to facilitate scientific studies in 1931. Various extensive excavation projects aiming to unearth ancient Anatolian civilizations were started. Together with the increasing

⁸ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey” in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Meskell, L. (Routledge, 1998), 114.

⁹ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey” in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Meskell, L. (Routledge, 1998), 115.

number of foreign researchers, long-term and state-supported projects began. However, despite all the studies and developments in archaeology, Turkish archaeology lost its dynamism and could not catch up with the developments in the world because of the administrative changes in the 1940s.¹⁰

The aim of this research was to examine the evolution of archaeology and museology from mid-19th century in the Ottoman Empire to the mid-20th century in the Republic of Turkey, and to probe where Phrygians are located in this endeavor which have an important place in the cultural history of Anatolia and especially of the capital of the Turkish Republic, Ankara. Since the first days of the Turkish Republic, the basis of the nation was established on the equal importance of all the civilizations settled in Anatolia once. However, despite the fact that Phrygians has a deep-rooted place in the history of Ankara, and despite the inherited cultural heritage, they have not been able to go beyond a couple of legends and characters in the social memory. Within the scope of the thesis, the Phrygians and their capital Gordion within the borders of today's capital Ankara are studied through the history of architectural and scientific researches, and the analysis of the site itself. It is aimed to prepare a comprehensive source for the literature of architectural history about the Phrygians as cultural heritage which have been still physically standing in our cities, but which has not yet taken place in our public memory. The gathered data of political, architectural, sociological and cultural history of the Phrygians and Gordion form a base for the future Phrygian studies.

The two research questions of the study are respectively: (1) Why is the place of the Phrygians in the cultural memory so weak even though they have a significant place in the cultural history of Ankara, and their traces are still in our daily life materially?; (2) Why did the knowledge about Gordion, which had been settled by various civilizations for centuries, not go beyond a few public figures and legends?

¹⁰ Mehmet Özdoğan, "Türkiye Arkeolojisine Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Bir Bakış" in *Uluburun Gemisi: 3000 Yıl Önce Dünya Ticareti*, eds. Yalçın, U. & Pulak, C. & Slotta, R, (Ege Yayınları, 2006), 40.

The thesis is organized in four chapters. Following this chapter of introduction, the Chapter 2 analyzes the evolution of archaeology and museology from the mid-19th century in the Ottoman Empire to the mid-20th century in the Republic of Turkey. The chapter is studied under two separate cases as the Ottoman case from 1846 to the 1910s and the Turkish Republic case from 1923 to the 1950s. The first museology and archaeology activities and the question of why museums and archaeology were needed in Ottoman lands in the mid-19th century and how the archaeology and the museum can shape the cultural memory and the national identity of a society are examined to better understand the position and the ambitions of a newly founded nation. In Chapter 3, the period which is studied until the 1950s in the previous chapter is carried on with a case study. The excavations of the archaeological site of Gordion which began in 1950 and the Gordion Archaeological Museum are the focus points of the case study. The previous chapter, analyzing which phases archaeology and museology have gone through until 1950, forms a base for the case study, and helps to comprehend the Gordion case better. The chapter delves into the archaeological, architectural, technological and historical details of Gordion and the Phrygian culture. Finally, the Chapter 4 is concluded with the main findings of the study together with the evaluations based on the inferences from the previous chapters and the observations.

I used the content analysis as a research technique by interpreting the textual material and making valid inferences from the primary and secondary sources throughout the thesis. The sources of the history of Gordion which are used in the context of the thesis have increased significantly from the year of the Gordion archaeological excavations (1950). Most of these are annual excavation reports (excavation reports by Rodney Young between 1950-1974; by Kenneth Sams between 1988-2013; by Brian Rose between 2014-2017), and booklets for local museum and excavations (Sams, K. & Temizsoy, İ. 2000; Young, R. 1975). These sources, which contain quite enlightening information about what has been going on in the field so far, are important for constructing the general framework of the study. In addition to these, there are sources which are specialized on the Phrygians and Gordion, and contain writers from many

different disciplines (ed. Rose, B. & Darbyshire, G. 2016; ed. Kealhofer, L. 2005; ed. Sivas, H. & Sivas, T., T. 2007; ed. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas H. 2012; ed. Matero, F., G. 2011). Every article in the content of the publications is written by experts in the field, and the contributing researchers are those who worked individually on the Phrygians and at the Gordion excavation site. Examining the subject from the perspective of different disciplines is important both to enrich the study and to think and interpret the history in a multi-dimensional way. In order to understand better the stages of Gordion and the Phrygians, the sociocultural and socio-political situation of the region should be examined since the beginning of the first researches on the Phrygians. An architectural history thesis to be studied without examining what the periods have brought would be incomplete; because architecture, like every other discipline, changes according to the conditions of the period and cannot be separated from the conditions of the present. Therefore, a period of approximately 100 years –from the years of the beginning of archeology and museum studies in the Ottoman Empire (1846) to the year the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations was established (1943)– is examined (Öngören, P., G. 2012; Shaw, W., M., K. 2003; Bedel, B. 2006; Çelik, Z. 2016; Koçak, A. 2011; Özyürek, E. 2007; Redford, S. & Ergin, N. 2010). This study provides historical information within a chronological sequence. Such an architectural research becomes only meaningful once the research question is approached in respect to its context. The main argument and the main research question are analyzed and detailed within the framework of the analysis of the given periods.

CHAPTER 2

THE EVOLUTION OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEOLOGY FROM THE MID-19TH CENTURY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE MID-20TH CENTURY IN REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

2.1 The Case of the Ottoman Empire

2.1.1 Archaeology and Museology in the Late Ottoman Empire

In western countries, especially in Italy, an interest, an admiration and a curiosity about ancient history, art and cultural works, ruins, marble structure, sculptures, reliefs and inscriptions, mosaics and frescoes found among the ruins emerged in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. It was the common curiosity and pleasure of travelers, scholars, thinkers and artists. This was a new window to the past, history and archaeology. This is a resistance against the darkness and pressure of Middle Age which does not offer any alternative like humanity, creativity and freedom but God.¹¹ It gave an opportunity to people to be able to reinterpret the notion of humanity. It was this curiosity, this admiration and this revolt that created the humanism in thought, Renaissance in art, and secularism and Reform in religion.¹² Besides, 17th and 18th centuries are the

¹¹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 7-17.

¹² Ali Artun, *Mümkün Olmayan Müze* (İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 21-23.

enlightenment era of the ‘West’. Travels to the unknown, researches of antiquities, archaeological excavations, the creation of large collections, and the establishment of large museums take place after this excitement in this period. Even if the Enlightenment movement in thought and art does not instantly correspond in Anatolia, researchers, scholars and travelers examine many civilizations, artifacts and cultures in the Anatolian lands.

Studies of the Ottoman Empire’s archaeology and preservation of ancient monuments began in the 19th century. Ottoman appropriation of the past was, to a great degree, a response to the ever-growing European drive to possess the antiquities on Ottoman lands, as well as to the European metaphor that equated the ruinous state of the artefacts and the monuments with the decline of the empire.¹³ In this period, the newly established universal museums of Europe have an insatiable desire for the Greek-Roman antiquities as well as the art objects. Because the western cultural historiography is based on the Hellen-centered narratives by Winckelmann in *History of the Art of Antiquity* (1764). Thus, these narratives were the ones that leave their marks on contemporary museology. A Greek statue symbolizes both the initial point and the peak point of the civilizations progressing through the ultimate goal.¹⁴ Therefore, the Ottomans also want both to take a share in the heritage of ancient Greece, and to demonstrate that they are able to compete with the other enlightened dynasties of Europe by taking advantage of the antiquities in their lands and exposing them. Hence, they hope to join a universal timeline that is reproduced by the categorization and display of the treasures of these dynasties within the framework of modern knowledge. It is not possible to abstain from the concept of contemporary museum for Ottoman Empire, as it has become the symbol of a colonialist and an imperial state for that time. Moreover,

¹³ Zeynep Çelik, “Defining Empire’s Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities” in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, eds. Bahrani, Z. & Çelik, Z. & Eldem, E. (SALT/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., İstanbul, 2011), 447.

¹⁴ Ali Artun, *Mümkün Olmayan Müze* (İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 39.

museum is a place that public can perceive the power of the state by means of the historical artefacts which are organized carefully. All of these causes urge the imperial bureaucracy to carry the legal and administrative acts a step forward to find and preserve archaeological remains.¹⁵

Ottoman Empire symbolically tried to reestablish the control over its territories by claiming that the historical properties belong to it. Therefore, the formation of the first museum of the Ottoman Empire in 1846 –was named as Müze-i Hümayun (Imperial Museum) in 1869– is triggered by the archaeological artefacts which began to be attracted in the Ottoman Empire. As Wendy Shaw states in her book, the name of the institution as Müze-i Hümayun shows that it has focused on the notion of the empire which the artefacts in the museum can represent, rather than the artefacts themselves.¹⁶ In 1846, the first museum endeavors of the Ottoman were started at the Hagia Irene (Aya İrini) Church which was then used as a military warehouse. The place was organized in two sections under the name of *Mecma-i Asar-ı Atika* (The Collection of Antiquities) and *Mecma-i Esliha-i Atika* (The Collection of Ancient Arms).

However, the interest shown at the beginning of this dual collection has been replaced by archaeological artefacts and the interest in old weapons has begun to decrease.¹⁷ After that, an intense work began to expand the collection of the museum. The artefacts discovered from the excavations within the borders of the empire were being collected, donations were being received, and the governors were competing to present the

¹⁵ Ali Artun, *Mümkün Olmayan Müze* (İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 40.

¹⁶ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 106.

¹⁷ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 101.

artefacts to the center. However, the artefacts were categorized not by their historical function but by their contemporary relationship with Ottoman territories.



Figure 1 The Basilica of Hagia Irene, ca. 1890

Source: Wendy M., K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. (University of California Press, 2003), 33.

Figure 2 Mecma-i Esliha-i Atika (The Collection of Ancient Arms), 1880.

Source: SALTOnline, *Hagia Irene as Weapons Museum*. Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/saltonline/26792250290> in February 3, 2019.

By this way, the Imperial Museum used archaeological objects as metonymic devices for its territories.¹⁸ Thus, as a result of the extending collection, there was a need for a larger building for the museum when there was a lack of space in Hagia Irene. In 1875, it was decided that *Çinili Köşk* (Tiled Kiosk) which was built as the first building of the Topkapı Palace in 1472 was a less expensive choice instead of constructing a new one, and repairs and renovation of the building started.¹⁹ Of course, the choice of the Tiled

¹⁸ Wendy M., K. Shaw, “From Mausoleum to Museum: Resurrecting Antiquity for Ottoman Modernity” in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, eds. Bahrani, Z. & Çelik, Z. & Eldem, E. (SALT/Garanti Kultur A.Ş., İstanbul, 2011), 426.

¹⁹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 115-121.

Kiosk was not a coincidence. As Wendy Shaw interprets a bond was tried to be established among the most magnificent period of the Ottoman history, the grandeur of the ancient civilizations and the progression of the Ottoman.²⁰ The first one is recalled by the architecture of the building which belongs to the period of conquest; the second is reflected by the artefacts displayed in the museum; and the last one is proved by the establishment of a European style museum.

The visual relation between a building belonging to Ottoman architecture and a model associated with the classical civilizations would have reflected the links between the Ottoman and the classical civilizations. The museum is no longer just a place to canonize the sultan's name, but it is also a place that intends to attract visitors, and it is not just a house for the artefacts, also a place where the artefacts are placed in a certain order. The new museum is given two roles: The first one is to provide information on the historical progress through its artefacts, and protect the material culture that began to be considered as belonging to the Ottomans rather than the Europeans.

The second one is to educate the Ottomans and teach the Europeans to respect the Ottomans.²¹ The museum plays the role of a showcase in which the progress of the Ottomans could be observed by the Europeans. Following the loss of the war in 1878 (The Russian-Turkish War), recalling the military past of the Empire would have meant rubbing salt in the fresh wounds of the Empire.

²⁰ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 121.

²¹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 120.



Figure 3 Tiled Kiosk before renovation, 1870.

Source: Retrieved from http://primo.getty.edu/primo_library/libweb/action in February 3, 2019.



Figure 4 The Tiled Kiosk after renovation

Source: Retrieved from http://primo.getty.edu/primo_library/libweb/action in February 3, 2019.

In fact, embracing a distant past that was embodied in antiquities could create new ways of transforming the empire into a part of a European identity without confronting

political concerns and wars. Therefore, the museum was a new place where the issues of Ottoman sovereignty over the lands and politics could be discussed by placing the relations between Ottoman and Europe on a cultural basis. The museum hoped to erase the derogatory memories of the recent military defeats by using a new language of archaeological property.²² In 1872, Philipp Anton Dethier –studied history, classical philology, archaeology and art history at the University of Berlin– was brought to the head of the museum.²³ From 1872 to 1880, he remained in this position until his death. One of his first works after his appointment to the museum was to implement new regulations on antiquities on the basis of the former regulations declared in 1869 – “*Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi*”–.²⁴ It was issued to regulate the movement of the artefacts in 1874. Although the new regulation seems to be protecting the Ottomans in the first instance, it legalizes the incidents of historical artefacts being taken out of the country.²⁵ One-third of the discoveries from an excavation were left to the excavator. Moreover, one of the biggest deficiencies of the regulation of 1874 was that what is meant by the concept of the ancient works was not explained with concrete examples. In this case, the definitions of the regulation were always open to interpretations.²⁶ Besides, Dethier was also active in seeking out fresh antiquities for the Museum’s collection. However, he had

²² Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 102.

²³ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 109.

²⁴ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 73.

²⁵ Halit Çal, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Asar-i Atika Nizamnameleri” in *Vakıflar Dergisi*. Vol. XXVI, (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1997), 392.

²⁶ Halit Çal, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Asar-i Atika Nizamnameleri” in *Vakıflar Dergisi*. Vol. XXVI, (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1997), 392.

been unable to obtain funds for the transport of antiquities from the provinces to the museum.²⁷

Moreover, after the death of Dethier in March 1881, Osman Hamdi Bey was assigned as the director of the Müze-i Hümayun in September 1881. From now on, a new period began for the museums and archaeology. Osman Hamdi was to remain as director until 1910, and his active leadership of the institution earned him the reputation of being “the father of the Ottoman museology”.²⁸ He studied law and art in France, and he worked as a painter, an academician, director of the museum and an archaeologist when he turned back to Ottoman lands. He is still the most important museologist and archaeologist in Turkish history with the archaeology museum (Müze-i Hümayun) opened in İstanbul (1891), the Academy of Fine Arts next to archaeology museum (1882), the thoughts of extending the museum ideology to Anatolia, his protests against the smugglers, his oppositions to the palace because of the convenience provided to smugglers, and his endeavors of rearranging the *Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi* of 1874 in 1884²⁹ –which is stricter than the previous one, and also sought to make the Müze-i Hümayun, rather than the Ministry of Education, the directing authority in all matters concerning antiquities³⁰ It is stated by Mustafa Cezar that Osman Hamdi was one of the first intellectuals who embraced the broad lands of Ottoman Empire as the natural successor of all civilizations

²⁷ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 71.

²⁸ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 96.

²⁹ Fehim Kuruloğlu, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Müzecilik” in *Tarih Okulu*. Vol. 6, (2010), 45-61.

³⁰ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 102.

that had once lived on these lands.³¹ Therefore, as a result of the archaeological activities that were concentrated in the 1880s, the efforts of Müze-i Hümayun to have the historical monuments and the artefacts, and the archaeological studies carried out by the museum, the collections of the museum exceeded the capacity of the Tiled Kiosk. Thus, the size of the new collections was a very good reason for building a new museum building. Osman Hamdi assigned Alexandre Vallaury who was the architect of Yıldız Palace and gave lectures on architecture at The Academy of Fine Arts to design a new museum building. The museum was opened in 1891 under the name of *Lahitler Müzesi* (Sarcophagi Museum).³² The museum embraced the idea of adopting Greek-Roman past by concentrating on the Hellen-Byzantine sarcophagi within the scope of the museum. The sarcophagi of Alexander the Great, Lykian, the Mourning Women and the Satrap etc. and stelae were located on the lower floor of the new museum.³³ This collection of sarcophagi was the centerpiece of the museum. The value placed on the collection was expressed in the Neoclassical architecture of the museum, which made direct stylistic references to the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women.³⁴

The symbolism of the neo-classical architecture chosen by Vallaury and the harmony between this architecture and the collections in the museum show that the new museum is the symbol of the relationship of the Ottomans with Europe. While the new museum

³¹ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi I, II*, (İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 1995), 13-15.

³² Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 219.

³³ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 120.

³⁴ Zeynep Çelik, "Defining Empire's Patrimony: Late Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities" in *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, eds. Bahrani, Z. & Çelik, Z. & Eldem, E. (SALT/Garanti Kültür A.S., İstanbul, 2011), 446.

building was protecting the cultural heritage of the “West”, it placed the people living in the Ottoman lands into a new position as the rightful heirs of the Hellenic heritage.³⁵



Figure 5 Sarcophagi Museum (İstanbul Archaeology Museum)

Source: Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mbell1975/8314245117> on January 29, 2019

Figure 6 The Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women

Source: Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/69716881@N02/8186137744> on January 29, 2019

The neo-classical architecture of this new museum right across the arched, Ottoman-style Tiled Kiosk reinforced the closeness between these two architectural languages. It seems like implying the existence of cultural ties between the two. On the other hand, the simplicity of the museum’s interior compared to the outside ornaments was designed based on the idea of not leaving the invaluable displays at the background.³⁶ In short, the new museum created a little Europe in the Ottoman capital both with its inside and

³⁵ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 220.

³⁶ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 122.

outside, and announced the beginning of the Ottoman progress. The archaeological discoveries brought from all sides of the empire were exhibited not in the name of remembering the old times, but in the name of modernity. They played a critical role in the creation and preservation of a modern Ottoman identity. At a time when nationalist riots threatened the integrity of the empire, both the museum and archaeology tried to spread the idea that the empire was a unitary state. Osman Hamdi expresses the symbolic relationship between the preservation of the sarcophagi belonging to the past civilizations and the preservation of the Ottoman culture in his painting entitled *Şehzade Türbesi'nde Derviş* (Keeper of the Mausoleum) in 1908.³⁷

As explained by Shaw, in this painting, he depicts himself as a dervish standing in front of two sarcophagi. He portrays himself as a man with an alter ego, who has a great respect for the Ottoman past, and who is tasked with the preservation of the graves – metaphorically the preservation of the memory.

Although the empire tried to strengthen its political identity as the leader of the Islamic world, it preferred not to include the works of art and culture belonging to the Ottoman or Islamic identity until 1889 in the museum collections. When the empire became even weaker in the early 20th century, the adoption of Islamic artefacts became important in terms of creating a unifying Ottoman identity.

However, collecting religious objects and putting them on display was not a smooth process in Ottoman Empire. The removal of objects from their religious contexts to the secular halls of a museum itself had revolutionary implications.³⁸ The collection of Islamic works in Müze-i Hümayun was the first collection exhibiting a contemporary identity directly.

³⁷ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 231.

³⁸ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 121.

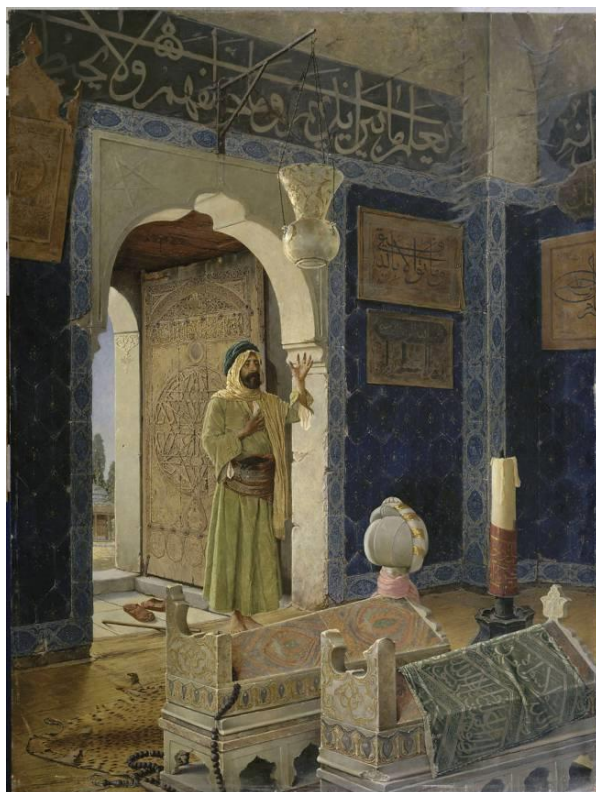


Figure 7 *Şehzade Türbesi'nde Derviş* by Osman Hamdi Bey

Source: Retrieved from <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres>

Unlike the Hellenic-Byzantine artefacts or the spoils of war, the historical artefacts of the Islamic world aimed to form not only a part of the Ottoman past, but also a part of the present. An extension in the museum was used to house the Greek and Roman finds, and to display the Islamic works in an appropriate and separate surrounding in the Tiled Kiosk.³⁹ The transportation of the Islamic collection shows that the recent past and the meaning of this past in terms of nationalism were realized in Ottoman lands. Therefore, after the extensions in the museum, it had six sections: the first section included the

³⁹ Alev Koçak, *The Ottoman Empire and Archaeological Excavations: Ottoman Policy from 1840-1906, Foreign Archaeologists, and the Formation of the Ottoman Museum*, (The Isis Press, 2011), 127.

Greek, Roman, and Byzantine artefacts; the second, the Assyrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Hittite, African, and Asian collections; the third, the Islamic artefacts; the fourth one, ancient coins; the fifth, natural history exhibits; and the last section was a library formed by a large historical and scientific books' collection.⁴⁰

Müze-i Hümayun functioned as a warehouse for the objects collected from the Ottoman lands and gained a new spirit in the museums. As the gathering of the historical artefacts discovered from various parts of the empire in İstanbul represented the integrity of the empire, the establishment of the regional museums was the second step towards the nationalization of the museum notion. They were first established in places such as Konya, Bursa and Jerusalem, which were central to archaeological activities. Besides, the regional museums, founded in the important excavation sites such as Pergamon in İzmir and Kos in Greece, made it possible to take inventories of the artefacts at the excavation site right after they are unearthed. These archaeological museums were the results of a state program that aimed to spread scientific archaeological data to a large number of regional hubs. This program also included the creation of a place for the immediate recording of the artefacts and the development of the methods for attracting the tourists.⁴¹ As Wendy Shaw stated that the Pergamon Museum in İzmir was established for the preservation of “lower quality” artefacts which were not worth to be included in the museum in İstanbul.⁴² While it functioned as a place that visitors could see historical artefacts from the excavation of Pergamon, it lessened the burden of the museum in İstanbul by reducing the amount of artefacts to be sent there.

⁴⁰ Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Washington Press, 1986), 140.

⁴¹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 235-236.

⁴² Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 236.

Müze-i Hümayun wanted to show the integrity of the Ottoman lands to foreign visitors by adopting the Hellenistic-Byzantine heritage, glorifying the military past, and emphasizing the national and religious pride; it did not have the intention of educating its viewers through the museum and instilling them the ideal of progress. Although different types of museums were also opened, the archaeological museum had a very dominant role in the late Ottoman period. In order to represent a collective memory and identity, it witnessed the basic function of archaeological studies in the relation formed with history.⁴³ Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the collective memory and identity of the Ottoman Empire was characterized by referencing to the classical heritage, in accordance with the approach of European nations; while references to the Islamic culture played a crucial role for displaying the heritage of the Islam via the museum towards the end of the Ottoman Empire.

2.1.2 The Ottoman Museology in the Beginning of the 20th Century

The stylistic pluralism seen in the architecture and art in the late-19th century caused a concern among Ottoman intellectuals. According to them, the developments in the art and architecture were signs of corruption and decline in the empire. The works of the architect Sinan (Mimar Sinan) from the 16th century were still being seen as the masterpieces of the architecture in Ottoman and a matter of pride besides all these European-influenced styles. The pluralist architectural language was created by four major styles in the capital of the Ottoman: Classical revivalism, Gothic revivalism, Islamic revivalism, and Art Nouveau.⁴⁴ For the Ottoman intellectuals, “saving” the

⁴³ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 149.

⁴⁴ Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Washington Press, 1986), 126.

Ottoman architecture was pretty much the same thing with the general purpose of saving the empire from declining. Moreover, the emerging nationalism in Ottoman lands affected the architects as well. “First National Style” was mainly influenced by Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey as opposed to the European domination in Ottoman architecture. The style was established on the imperial heritage of Ottoman, but was shaped with modern ideas of a national architecture in the first decades of the 20th century.⁴⁵ Therefore, as a result of the nationalist movement, *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi* (The Museum of Pious Foundations) was established in order to be able to present and gather the Turkish-Islamic arts together.⁴⁶ The efforts to establish such a collection and museum dated back the late-19th century. Nevertheless, it could be realized in *Süleymaniye Külliyesi* (Complex) in 1913. The collection was presented in one of the parts of the complex which was an *imaret* (public kitchen) once built by Mimar Sinan in 1557. This re-functioning example of a significant historical building initiated the mentality of preservation of cultural heritage. Since the Ottoman Empire was gradually declining during the early 20th century, more awareness in the sense of an Ottoman national identity became more crucial.⁴⁷ In this sense, the sultan of that period – Abdülhamid II– used the power of Islam in order to bring the Ottoman Muslims together and to withstand against “Western dominance” and nationalist riots throughout the empire.⁴⁸ During his reign, the restoration activities gained importance, and a serious

⁴⁵ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 110.

⁴⁶ The museum was the first one dedicated to Islamic arts. Furthermore, it was the fourth and last one of the Ottoman period apart from *Müze-i Hümayun*, *Bahriye Müzesi* (Naval Museum), and *Askeri Müze* (Military Museum).

⁴⁷ Wendy M. K. Shaw, “Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923” in *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 30, (2000), 58.

⁴⁸ Wendy M. K. Shaw, “Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923” in *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 30, (2000), 64.

number of national buildings in the capital and the provinces were renovated. These efforts could be evaluated as bringing the Islamic past back to life, and conserving the buildings and the cultural heritage at the same time.⁴⁹

The Islamic collection was transported from Müze-i Hümayun to the *imaret* in Süleymaniye Complex, because it was aimed to establish a bond between the most magnificent past of the Empire and the present. Furthermore, the centrally organized geometric plan of the *imaret* could be easily adapted to the display concept of the European museums where the colonnaded courtyards were designed with artefacts and the halls surrounding the courtyards were organized for display.⁵⁰ The re-functioning museum space was, from now on, an object for the exhibit with its four hundred years of Ottoman history. Therefore, the collection inside the building was dignified with the building itself. However, until the year of 1939, it is not possible to talk about a systematic organization with the displays that could not give a profound idea of the collections to the visitors.⁵¹ The artefacts were placed irregularly and without any referential bounds. As Wendy Shaw stated the museum administration was much more interested in the religious meanings rather than the artistic values.⁵² However, everything aside, the building's structural elements were transferred from various ancient sites like

⁴⁹ Müjde Odabaşoğlu, *The Perception and Representation of Islamic Art and the Emergence of the Islamic Department in the Müze-i Hümayun (1889-1908)*. Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, (2002), 47.

⁵⁰ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 140.

⁵¹ Elif Naci, "Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi" in *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*. Vol. 99, (1950), 27-30.

⁵² Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923" in *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 30, (2000), 63-66.

Solomon's Palace in Baalbek, Alexandria, and Constantinople⁵³; which means it uncovers a multi-layered past of the Empire's identity. It was inherently the combination of the mentioned multi-layered past, although the Islamic past of the Empire was specifically emphasized in the museum to shape the collective memory.

2.2 The Case of the Republic of Turkey

2.2.1 Forming Cultural Identity in the Republic of Turkey

The main notion that constitutes the nation state is national identity. Identity provides the history and the roots for people, classes and societies, and ensures feeling of belong to a community. Traditions, morals, myths, rituals, special days and celebrations are among the important values that form identity and history, and bring the society together around these common values. They are focused on the past, but are more about the present; they bring people together and strengthen the ties between the living as much as ties between the living and the dead.⁵⁴ A national community is united under the same roof of a single identity by ignoring original ethnic origins or former differences between people. National identity is changeable and varies according to time and circumstances of the period just as societies do. Knowing the past is, in a sense, recognizing oneself and the individuality. This phenomenon is one of the essential elements in the life and continuity of people, societies and states. Every nation and society has its own history, its own structure, and cultural character and accumulation.

⁵³ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in İstanbul: An Interpretation" in *Muqarnas*, Vol. 3, (1985), 104.

⁵⁴ Valerie M. Hope, "Remembering Rome" in *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies*, ed. Williams, H. (Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 117.

According to Confino social memory is the discovery of a common identity that unites any social group with different interests and motivations such as family or nation.⁵⁵ It is enough to choose any time span from the past to raise awareness in society. This chosen past should direct the feelings, encourage people to act, and be perceived easily; in short, it must be a socio-cultural act.

When defining identities, collective memory offers members of society some stories including who they are, where they come from and where they are going. These stories generally aggrandize the inner group, while marginalizing the others. Success is highlighted; unethical, negative actions and mistakes, on the other hand, are covered.⁵⁶ The selection of a coherent past which is suitable to the existing norms and criteria also justifies the actions at that moment. Thus, when the images of the past come together, they legitimize the existing social order at that time. It can be said that our experiences on modern-days which are largely based on what we know about the past, and the images which are related with the past all help to legitimize the existing social order.

Following the divisions and the decline in the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 after the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922) –a multi-fronted political and military struggle to preserve the integrity of the country–. In the case of the Early Republican period, the aim of the newly-founded nation state was to form a fresh Turkish historical past that required new symbols. The past was designated as Turkish instead of Ottoman or Greco-Roman with references to Anatolia and the civilizations that had lived so far in the lands of Anatolia. Anatolia equaled to the national borders of the newly-founded Republic. In addition, the civilizations selected as

⁵⁵ Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method” in *American Historical Review*. Vol: 102, No: 5, (1997), 1390.

⁵⁶ Laurent Licata, Olivier Klein & Raphaël Gély, “Mémoire des conflits, conflits de mémoires:une approche psychosociale et philosophique du rôle de la mémoire collective dans les processus de réconciliation intergroupe.” in *Social Science Information*. Vol: 46, No: 4, (2007), 563-589.

the Turkish past were mainly the Hittites (2000-1000 B.C.) and the other cultures such as Phrygians, Lydians and Urartians.⁵⁷ Ekrem Akurgal expressed this interest as the earliest civilizations were necessary for the Republic since that period of the past had not been studied and worn out so far, and those civilizations were open to new criticisms and interpretations.⁵⁸ Atatürk supported and promoted the *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis) which claimed the origins of the Turks rooted in far history instead of the Ottomans or Seljukids. Nevertheless, the studies of Ottoman and Seljukid periods were never stopped in the Early Republican period. Therefore, one of the main concerns of the new Republic in the process of nation-building was archaeological excavations, the discovery of archaeological artefacts, and increasing knowledge of the constructing of Turkish history. In order to exhibit the archaeological artefacts which were discovered from the various sites of Anatolia together, foundation of a museum building was on the agenda of the state. The museum was a tool for the newly-adapted ideology of the Republic which focused on establishing a connection between the past and the present. Museums have always been used for adoption of a remarkable past in the process of nation-building.⁵⁹ All nations like the Republic of Turkey make use of the museums in order to dignify their historical entities that represent their national character.⁶⁰ The archaeological discoveries were being exhibited at different points of the capital separately, and they were wanted to be brought together in one place. By gathering the archaeological remains together, it would be possible to display them in a specific

⁵⁷ Vedat İdil, *Ankara: Tarihi, Yerler ve Müzeler* (Net Turistik Yayınlar, 1993), 30.

⁵⁸ Ekrem Akurgal, “Tarih İlmi ve Atatürk” in *Belleten*. Vol. 20, No. 80, (1956), 583.

⁵⁹ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 240.

⁶⁰ Burçak Madran & Şebnem Önal, “Yerellikten Küreselliğe Uzanan Çizgide Tarihin Çokpaylaşımlı Vitrinleri: Müzeler ve Sunumları” in *Müzecilikte Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme*, (2000), 170-186.

chronological sequence of history. It had planned to establish as a complex including a museum, library, and an academy in it in 1933.⁶¹ The project was conceptualized by Ernst Egli –Austrian-Swiss architect–, but it was never realized due to the financial restrictions.

The prepared project by Ernst Egli was located on a hill on the west of the city and the Ankara Citadel. The building was designed with an entrance in *Bit-Hilani* manner. It was an ancient architectural form which was utilized by Assyrians, Mycenaeans, and the neo-Hittite Kingdoms. High towers were located on both sides of the entrance of the museum to develop the visibility of the building. *Bit-Hilani* generated an impressive external perspective. With its rectangular and symmetrical plan, semi-open colonnaded exhibition areas, and the monumentality of the museum were evocative of Altes Museum in Berlin by Karl Friedrich Schinkel.⁶² This is because Ernst Egli had been sent to Europe for gathering information and observing the museum buildings for 2 months in 1933. In order to catch up with the modern and technologically advanced design techniques of Europe, this 2-month trip was organized. It would not be wrong to say for the Hittite Museum project that the architect was inspired by his investigations during his trip. As Bernd Nicolai clarified, it was kind of a patchwork which brought different architectural languages together.⁶³

⁶¹ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 185.

⁶² Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 208.

⁶³ Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil, Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1925-1955* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998).

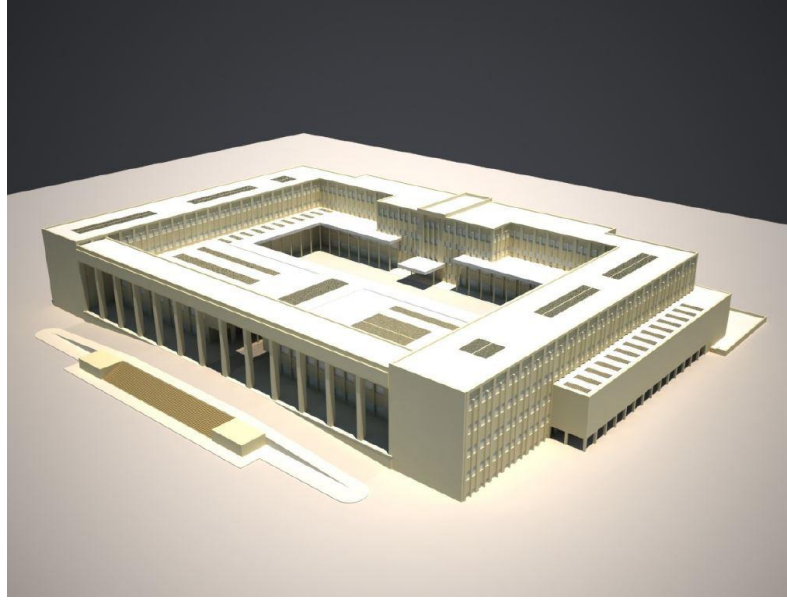


Figure 8 The unimplemented project of Hittite Museum

Source: Öngören, P., G. *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic* (2012). Architectural History Doctoral Dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 434.

As mentioned before, due to financial difficulties of the period, the project of erecting a new building for a museum-library-academy complex was switched with the idea of converting two historical buildings into a museum building.⁶⁴ With this decision, the selected historical buildings, *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* and *Kurşunlu Han*, would be protected from destruction by restoring them. The buildings belonging to the 15th century were the very well-known ones among the locals and still had a significant place in their memories. However, especially the severe fires in 1827 and 1881 caused heavy damages in the buildings.⁶⁵ After the cleaning of the *bedesten* in 1939, the artefacts from

⁶⁴ İnci Bayburtluoğlu, “Müze Belgelerine Göre Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kadar Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi” in *Ankara Dergisi*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (1991), 100.

⁶⁵ Hikmet Gürçay, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesi” in *Önasya*, Vol. 37, (1968), 13.

Hacıbayram and *Çankırıkapı* were carried there and this is how the Anatolian Civilizations Museum was started to be formed. Initially, it was planned to bring to light specifically the Hittite heritage which was highlighted as the real origin of the Turkish society, but the antiquities from other cultures –such as the discoveries from a Roman temple, Temple of Augustus, in Ankara– were also housed in the *bedesten*. On the other hand, *han* was used as a storage unit for antiquities. The *bedesten* building was opened to public as a museum in 1943.⁶⁶ The central hall of the *bedesten* was used to exhibit the bigger sized artefacts from the excavations of *Alacahöyük* (Çorum), *Carchemish* (Gaziantep), *Arslantepe* (Malatya), *Sakçagözü* (Gaziantep), *Havuzköy* (Sivas), *Köylütolu* (Konya), and different sites in Ankara.⁶⁷ The artefacts were all from the Hittite culture between 2000-1000 B.C. When the museum was completed, it contained all the pre-classical artefacts discovered in the archaeological excavation sites of Anatolia. In addition to this, the discoveries from the Hittite period outnumbered other civilizations. Therefore, the planned but never realized “Hittite Museum” was put into practice without indicating only its name or only the Hittite monuments.⁶⁸ Between the huge monuments in the central hall, the showcases had the smaller artefacts transported from the excavations in *Alacahöyük* and *Gordion* (Yassihöyük). Therefore, the chronological sequence of the displays starting from Neolithic periods to the Urartian culture was completed in 1968.⁶⁹ A more inclusive approach started after the 1970s which involved

⁶⁶ Ferruh Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği* (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999), 365.

⁶⁷ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 233.

⁶⁸ Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Ankara Eti Bedesteninde Bulunan Eti Müzesi Büyük Salonunun Kılavuzu* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), 52.

⁶⁹ İnci Bayburtluoğlu, “Müze Belgelerine Göre Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kadar Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi” in *Ankara Dergisi*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (1991), 104.

all the history of Anatolia with the discoveries of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman.⁷⁰

The Anatolian Civilizations Museum should be seen as a part of a larger project of rewriting Turkish history. Defining a homogeneous Turkish culture and collecting all civilizations of Anatolia under one roof were two of the primary purposes of the museum.⁷¹ Moreover, by the chronological displaying principle of the museum –which was also imposed and emphasized by the architectural design–, the visitors witnessed the reconstruction of Anatolian history through time. The feeling of time travel was rooted in a deterministic, unilinear, and evolutionary conception of history, which assumes a continuous development of humanity toward a singular and universal aim of civilization.⁷² The museum tells the story of the Anatolians: peoples in a chain of civilizations that share a cultural essence starting from the Paleolithic Age until the present.

2.2.1.1 Museology in the Early Republican Turkey

The purpose of the newly founded Republic was to determine a method to represent the new modern and secular position of the nation, and to shape a new Turkish image. However, these all required brand-new and different symbols to strengthen the

⁷⁰ Raci Temizer, *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations* (Akbank Yayınları, 1979), 50.

⁷¹ Aslı Gür, “Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum” in *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, ed. Özyürek, E. (Syracuse University Press, 2007), 47.

⁷² Aslı Gür, “Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum” in *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, ed. Özyürek, E. (Syracuse University Press, 2007), 50.

revolutionary program.⁷³ They needed a complete break from the traces of Ottoman Empire as much as possible. Shortly after the foundation of the Republic in Turkey in 1923, as a state discourse, Islam was left as the unifying official force and was replaced with Kemalism and Turkish nationalism. Avoiding the religion and the discourses of secular nationalism made it necessary to move away from the Ottoman past and seek an alternative origin that could be replaced with Ottomans. In order to ease the scientific studies that make the potential alternative roots of modern Turks, *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti* (Committee for the study of Turkish History) was established in 1931.⁷⁴ This institution played a key role in the preparation and the propaganda of *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis), which was published in the book *Türk Tarihi'nin Ana Hatları* (The Essentials of the Turkish History) in 1930. The Turkish History Thesis claims that the homeland of the Turkish people is Central Asia, the origins of all the civilizations exist there, and Turks were the first people who developed the language and the civilization before immigrating to the West by focusing on a Turkish-oriented world history consciousness.⁷⁵ Therefore, the state decided to implement regulations on gathering, categorizing, conserving, and exhibiting the historical artefacts, and to make use of the museums as global, modern and national institutions. As a result, in order to be far away from the Ottoman past and the Ottoman identity, the new capital of Turkish Republic, Ankara, was chosen for establishing the first museum of the Republic. Moreover, the new period represented the selected version of material culture to shape the outline of the collective identity and memory. Hence, the museums were again one

⁷³ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 147.

⁷⁴ In 1931, *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti* (The Association for the Study of Turkish History) was founded, and in 1935, it was renamed as *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society). Scott Redford, & Nina Ergin, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açıları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri* (Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 13.

⁷⁵ Scott Redford, & Nina Ergin, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açıları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri* (Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 13.

of the most appropriate ways to introduce the newly founded state and its frames, which was based on the idea of a “common culture rooted in a common history”.⁷⁶

In the early times of Republic, archaeology and ethnography were the results of the specifically defined relation to history and its reflection in museums –both the architectural components and the collections–. Archaeology in the Republican period dealt with the significant issues related with the confrontation of Turkey with modernism, and the efforts to form a unique yet modern identity.⁷⁷ Interest and curiosity in archaeology still continued, but the interest in ethnography was new. Ethnographical museums exhibiting compiled materials and reflecting local and foreign cultures had begun to be opened consecutively in various European countries beginning from 1841 in Copenhagen.⁷⁸ European states benefited from those museums as representing their own national culture’s history in a certain flow both with the artefacts of their culture and other cultures. In order to show the structure, the identity and the character of the nation, ethnology and the ethnographical museums were regarded as one of the most valuable evidences. For this reason, the ethnographic articles were considered as the treasure of a nation. In Turkish museology, ethnographical and archaeological studies, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay was a key figure. He dealt with both tangible –fishing, farming, clothing, craftsmanship etc. products– and intangible products – such as folk literature, folk religion, folk traditions– starting from the ancient stages to today.⁷⁹ The science of

⁷⁶ T. Elvan Altan, “Searching for a National Architecture: The Architectural Discourse in Early Republic Turkey” in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements: Working Paper Series*, Vol. 130, (2000), 102.

⁷⁷ Murat Ergin, “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiyesinde Yunan, Roma ve Bizans Dönemlerinin Algılanması ve Arkeoloji” in *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açılırları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri*, eds. Redford, S. & Ergin, N., (Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), 23.

⁷⁸ N. Tapan, “Müzelerin Etnografik Çalışmaları ve Kurulacak bir Etnografya Müzesi için Düşünceler” in *Folklor ve Etnografya Araştırmaları*, (Offprint, 1984), 546.

⁷⁹ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Etnografya, Folklor, Dil, Tarih v.d Konularda Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1974), 17.

ethnography gathers, categorizes, depicts and conserves the material culture in the museums. It emphasized the nationalist approach of the new regime by highlighting the Turkish identity and the frame of territories through Anatolia. Hence, the museums were one of the mediums of state propaganda apart from the printed and visual media.

The very first museum constructed in the capital of the Republic focused on ethnographic studies. It was named as Ankara Ethnographical Museum and required not only archaeological but also ethnographical studies in relation to the institutionalization of museums in the young Republic.⁸⁰ Likewise, the newly founded museums in that period included ethnographical sections within themselves like the museum in Adana (1935) and Edirne (1936).⁸¹ The museum in Ankara was constructed in 1925-1927, and opened to the public in 1930. It was not just the first ethnographical museum in the history of the Republic, but the first specifically purposed building after the foundation of the Republic.⁸² It was the basis of Ataturk's new cultural policy, was organized and commissioned by him, and was perceived as a public art and cultural warehouse.⁸³ According to a catalog of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum which was published in 1956 and was written by Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, "the aim of the museum was to involve commemorative culture of the state, and gather commonalities."⁸⁴ This priority given to

⁸⁰ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 150.

⁸¹ N. Tapan, "Müzelerin Etnografik Çalışmaları ve Kurulacak bir Etnografya Müzesi için Düşünceler" in *Folklor ve Etnografya Araştırmaları*, (Offprint, 1984), 547.

⁸² Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 158.

⁸³ Yıldırım Yavuz & Süha Özkan, "Finding National Idiom: The First National Style" in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, eds. Holod, R. & Evin, A. (University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 64.

⁸⁴ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu* (Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 2.

ethnography was stimulated by the motivation of independence and nationalist tendencies. The historical background of the Republic was never intended to be forgotten; but it was archived in the museums by trying to leave it completely behind. Hence, the other goal was to ensure the society to recall the old arts, old clothing habits and old customs which might likely fade away after all the revolutions in the daily lives. However, as Zeynep Kezer stated that the displays were still part of everyday use, but were classified as historical in the museums and showed for public viewing.⁸⁵ By abstracting the well-known from its context and alienating them from its users, the museum attempted to isolate the practices and the objects which were determined as parts of the past by the then-current ideology.

The museum was situated on the Namazgah Hill which was used as a Muslim cemetery. Its highly visible location provided wide panorama of the capital. The selection of the specific location was to celebrate the integrity of the nation state and to highlight the dominant ideals to the public.⁸⁶ Besides its physical visibility, since it was placed somewhere between the new Ankara and the old town, it was both the tangible and intangible bridge between the past and present. It was designed by the Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu. The rectangular planned museum has an area of 854 square meters with its eight rooms arranged for exhibition purposes. The main façade was underlined with excessive ornamentation, while the other façades are quite simple. The main entrance of the museum was highlighted by monumental staircases with 24 steps and a monumental gate adorned with 4 columns and muqarnas. Entering the museum, a hall with a dome atop meets the visitor. The dome is the only adorned face of the interior

⁸⁵ Zeynep Kezer, "Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey" in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*. Vol. 8, (2000), 107-108.

⁸⁶ Jessica Evans, "Introduction: Nation and Representation" in *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage and Museums*, eds. Boswell, D. & Evans, J. (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 6.

especially with hand-drawn palmettes. Stylistically, the museum was designed with historical concerns by applying Seljukid and classical Ottoman architectural elements. Pelin Gürol Öngören clarifies the issue as follows:

The façades as well as the architectural design of the museum building is reminiscent of Ottoman religious architecture: Such elements as the portico with four columns and monumental staircases on a symmetrical axis that emphasize the entrance, the square shaped space at the entrance covered up with a dome that was ornamented with Turkish motifs, the colonnaded courtyard with a pond at the center, pointed arches on both exterior and interior, the column capitals with muqarnas and baklava, Seljuk style rosettes on the pediments, the exposed corner blocks, floral motifs on eaves and fascia of the building, and the tile decorations on the main façade are some of the characteristics of the museum building that make it to be classified as one of the representatives of the so-called style of the First National Movement.⁸⁷

This architectural style called First National Style in the first quarter of the 20th century was the result of the “anti-western” nationalist movement. The western effect in the field of architecture caused a reaction among the well-educated middle class, and made them promote the nationalist-historicist policies developed after 1908; therefore, the national style was shaped by nationalist sentiments of the era. Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, the architect of the ethnographical museum in Ankara, continued the new style in his design by utilizing the national past instead of the European forms, which he called it as neo-Ottoman style.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 169.

⁸⁸ Hasan Kuruyazıcı, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Mimar, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu: Anılar, Yazılar, Mektuplar, Belgeler* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 25.



Figure 9 The wide panorama of the city from the Ankara Ethnographical Museum, 1927.

Source: Retrieved from <http://sanat.ykykultur.com.tr/basin-odasi/basin-bultenleri/osmanli-sonrasinda-devinen-sehirler-basin-fotografcilarinin-gozunden-ankara-belgrad-İstanbul-saraybosna-1920ler-ve-1930lar> in February 3, 2019.

He was not only one of the pioneers of the First National Movement, but also had education on Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. He was asked to design the building in accordance with the character of the displays in the museum. Hence, there was an interrelation between the architectural style and the contents of the museum.

Once the museum opened to the public, the collections were diverse. It was a worldwide ethnographical collection including artefacts from African tribes, Australians, United States, Eskimos etc.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the architect had not been inspired by those collections at all while designing the museum. His interest in national objects formed the frame of the museum. Besides, the non-national artefacts were taken away from the museum later, and it more focused on the national values.⁹⁰

The metal works, ceramic collections, jewelries, embroideries, local costumes were one of the examples to display the ethnographical past of the Turkish people. One room in the museum had artefacts taken from the religious institutions which had been closed after the proclamation of the Republic. The collections from the religious organizations had an important meaning for the Republic to celebrate the victory of the science. Displaying not only the artefacts from the Ottoman era, but also the periods of Hittites, Romans, Byzantines and Galatians supported the idea of the integrity of civilization in Anatolia. Beginning from the Hittite period, Anatolian folk art was displayed to emphasize the unity of Anatolia for centuries, and the development and relationships of the civilizations so far.

The museum was supposed to be the place that makes the society proud of their unified entity and the ultimate development point they have reached so far. As İnci Aslanoğlu stated Ankara Ethnographical Museum was a powerful proof to demonstrate the connection of the Turkish nationalism and architecture.⁹¹ In addition, Zeynep Kezer summarized the period as follows: “one of the top strategies used by the nationalists was

⁸⁹ Pelin Gürol Öngören, *Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Graduate School of Social Sciences, (Middle East Technical University, 2012), 173.

⁹⁰ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Emografya Müzesi Kılavuzu* (Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 5.

⁹¹ İnci Aslanoğlu, “Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-Economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period” in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, Vol. 2, No. 7, (1986), 16.

to instill in the minds of the people a sense of continuity from the past into the future as a nation with a shared history and a common destiny.”⁹² Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that Ankara Ethnographical Museum had an important role in contemporary nationalism for shaping national identity and collective culture and memory with the help of the physical entity of the museum and the artefacts.



Figure 10 The main entrance of Ankara Ethnographical Museum

Source: SALTOline, *Ethnography Museum of Ankara*. Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/saltonline/24599186846> in February 3, 2019.

2.2.1.2 Archaeology in the Early Republican Turkey

In the early years of the Republic, Turkish archaeology focused on “Anatolism” which is an approach linking Turkish history to Anatolia and ensuring the survival of the

⁹² Zeynep Kezer, “Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara’s Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey” in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*. Vol. 8, (2000), 103.

Anatolian cultures by adopting them.⁹³ As indicated in the previous section, the Turkish History Thesis was aiming to remind the public who experienced a radical change in the structure of the state that how deeply rooted the past of the lands after the Ottoman Empire. In the 1930s, the Turkish History Thesis was at the center of the national policy of the state. The state, as a national policy, considered Anatolia as a whole together with its entire history and adopted all of the cultures that settled on the land without any exclusion. By this way, the archaeology attempted to trace the pre-Islamic Turkishness, to reveal how developed the Turkish civilizations were, and ultimately, to discover the common origins of Europeans and Turks. As Alper Gölbaş states in his article, according to the thesis, the Hittites which was the first state established in Anatolia, and the Mycenaean and Minoan cultures which are considered as the basis of the ancient Greek culture, are Anatolian-rooted cultures. Therefore, ancient Greek culture is automatically associated with Turkishness.⁹⁴ However, since it was not possible to find convincing historical ties between the Turks and the Hittites, the Turkish History Thesis could not be proven and supported by the archaeological data, and the thesis was maintained only in 1931-1945 (after the transition from one-party system to multi-party).⁹⁵ Although it has been criticized negatively, it brought a potential of interpretation and theorization to the Turkish archaeology.⁹⁶ Demirtaş Ceyhun defines the 1930s in his book as “the period of archaeologists and archaeological excavations’.”⁹⁷

⁹³ Alper Gölbaş, “Türk Arkeolojisinin Kuramı” in *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. Vol. 9, No. 46, (2016), 307.

⁹⁴ Emre Yıldırım, “Erken Cumhuriyet Yılları Milli Kimlik Tartışmaları: Hasan Ali Yücel ve Türkiye’de Hümanizma Arayışları” in *Turkish Studies – International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*. Vol. 8, No. 7, (2013), 757.

⁹⁵ Alper Gölbaş, “Türk Arkeolojisinin Kuramı” in *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. Vol. 9, No. 46, (2016), 308.

⁹⁶ Yücel Karadaş & Timur Demir, “Türkiye’de 1930-1970 Arası Arkeoloji Paradigmasının Bilim Sosyolojisi Açısından Bir Betimlemesi” in *İnsanbilim Dergisi*. Vol. 2, No. 2, (2013), 12.

Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish History Association) was responsible for commissioning archaeological missions in various parts of Turkey. The archaeological sites were mapped and experts to the various sites were assigned. In 1933, the first excavation on behalf of the Turkish History Association was carried out in Ahlatlıbel –a Hittite site– under the leadership of Hamit Zübeyr Koşay. The site is situated within the Middle East Technical University property in Ankara. It was discovered during the detection of the Phrygian tumuli around Ankara in 1933; therefore, it was the first archaeological excavation done by Turkish archaeologists. However, the first excavation organized by Turkish History Association was in Alacahöyük in 1935.⁹⁸ It was one of the most significant religious centers of the Hittites. Excavations of other prehistoric sites in central Anatolia were in Karalar (1933), Göllüdag (1934), Etiyokuşu (1937) and Pazarlı (1937), and all of them dated back to either the Stone Age, Iron Age, or Hittite and Phrygian civilizations.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, an interest in Classical archaeology had not been aroused until the 1950s among Turkish scholars. The Hellenistic and Roman sites started to be excavated after the 1950s, and even a separation of Classical archaeology did not exist at İstanbul University until 1946.¹⁰⁰ The reason of the negligence is looking for the “true” roots of the Turkish history to obtain the “pure Turkishness” without any references to Classical period which had already been adopted by the west.

⁹⁷ Demirtaş Ceyhun, *Ah Şu Biz Kara Bıyıklı Türkler* (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 1992), 145.

⁹⁸ Recep Yıldırım, “Atatürk’ten Günümüze Eskiçağ Tarihi ve Arkeoloji Çalışmaları” in *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Vol. 2, No. 6, (1996) 37.

⁹⁹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, “Whose Hittites, and Why? Language, Archaeology and the Quest for the Original Turks” in *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*, eds. Galaty, M., L. & Watkinson, C. (Springer, 2004), 133.

¹⁰⁰ Wendy M. K. Shaw, “Whose Hittites, and Why? Language, Archaeology and the Quest for the Original Turks” in *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*, eds. Galaty, M., L. & Watkinson, C. (Springer, 2004), 133.

As Ömür Harmanşah states Anatolia is assumed only within the current boundaries of Turkey, even though the Anatolian peninsula had never been a culturally and politically unified geographical entity in antiquity.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, the definitions of “Anatolian archaeology” and “Anatolia civilizations” have always been left vague. Under the impact of the political discourse of Anatolianism and Turkishness, an interest in the Hittites of Anatolia was grown, and was the center of research during the construction of a new national identity in modern Turkey. In the 1930s when Anatolism is a mainstream idea, an artefact discovered in Alacahöyük –later called “Hittite Sun”– was erected as a monumental sculpture in the mid-1970s in Ankara, the capital of the newly established Republic of Turkey.¹⁰² Harmanşah interprets the issue in his article as the Hittite finding took over the visual repertoire of the modern Turkish Republic and was associated with the Hittites anachronistically.¹⁰³ Briefly, it is an act of revitalization of a Hittite culture which is not compatible with any event or time period at that time. However, through the integration of the history of Anatolia into the ideological framework, Anatolia and the population was considered as an ethnic combination of thousands of years.¹⁰⁴ It has been the center of various civilizations because of its strategic position at the intersection of Asia and Europe since prehistoric time.

¹⁰¹ Ömür Harmanşah, “Monuments and Memory: Architecture and Visual Culture in Ancient Anatolian History” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, eds. McMahon, G. & Steadman, S. (Oxford University Press, 2011), 624.

¹⁰² Alper Gölbaş, “Türk Arkeolojisinin Kuramı” in *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. Vol. 9, No. 46, (2016), 311.

¹⁰³ Ömür Harmanşah, “Monuments and Memory: Architecture and Visual Culture in Ancient Anatolian History” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, eds. McMahon, G. & Steadman, S. (Oxford University Press, 2011), 630.

¹⁰⁴ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey” in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Meskell, L. (Routledge, 1998), 117.



Figure 11 Sun disk from the collection of Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara

Figure 12 Sun disk with deer displayed in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara

Source: Photographed by the author.



Figure 13 Monument of Ataturk Bulvarı, Ankara

The Turkish History Thesis –established as a result of an attempt to prove the existence of the state to the world following the collapse of a multinational empire– has formed the theoretical identity of Turkish archaeology until the 1950s. The only period that the practice of archaeology integrated with a theory in Turkey was limited to the time of the

single-party regime from 1931 (when the Turkish History Theory was proposed) to 1945.¹⁰⁵ In the 1950s, new theoretical developments have not occurred in Turkish archaeology. Karadaş and Demir calls this period as “*Teorik Boşluk*” (Theoretical Gap).¹⁰⁶ Turkish archaeology fell behind the rapid developments in the world. There was no theory production in parallel with the identity that the Turkish archaeology has gained in these years. Moreover, the distance of archaeological practice from theory caused breaking the connections between archaeology and the other social sciences. However, especially the poor and unstable conditions that Second World War (1939-1945) brought to Turkish archaeology were aimed to overcome by various excavations and studies with the supports of Turkish History Association. These studies added a new dimension to the history of Anatolian culture and unearthed the existence of the prehistoric and especially the Neolithic Age cultures which had been ignored until that time.¹⁰⁷ One of the most important excavations started by Turkish scholars are Fikirtepe (1952, İstanbul), Karain (1946, Antalya), Büyük Güllücek (1947, Çorum), Güzelova (1961, Erzurum), Kültepe (1948, Kayseri), Karatepe-Arslantaş (1947, Osmaniye) and by foreign scholars are Gordion (1950, Ankara), Harran (1951, Şanlıurfa), Beycesultan (1954, Denizli) and Hacılar (1957, Burdur). As Mehmet Özdoğan states in his article, the “expansionist” movement which was focused on Mesopotamia dominated the archaeology until then. The movement asserted that there were no other civilizations older than the Bronze Age (3000 BCE), and the civilization came to Anatolian lands

¹⁰⁵ Alper Gölbaş, “Türk Arkeolojisinin Kuramı” in *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. Vol. 9, No. 46, (2016), 313.

¹⁰⁶ Yücel Karadaş & Timur Demir, “Türkiye’de 1930-1970 Arası Arkeoloji Paradigmasının Bilim Sosyolojisi Açısından Bir Betimlemesi” in *İnsanbilim Dergisi*. Vol. 2, No. 2, (2013), 12.

¹⁰⁷ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Arkeolojisine Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Bir Bakış” in *Uluburun Gemisi: 3000 Yıl Önce Dünya Ticareti*, eds. Yalçın, U. & Pulak, C. & Slotta, R, (Ege Yayınları, 2006), 39.

from Mesopotamia as a result of colonization.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the hypothesis failed in the light of the remains discovered during these excavations. Moreover, together with the new discoveries in the field of archaeology, there were some breakthroughs implemented for the first time in Turkey. For instance, Halet Çambel who took over the Karatepe-Arslantaş excavations in 1952 carried out a project providing an in-situ intervention, restoration and conservation of architectural reliefs without transferring them to distant museums and decontextualizing them.¹⁰⁹ She evaluated the excavation site with respect to its environment which becomes today a very popular title as “cultural landscape”. She made it possible to exhibit each pieces on-site without carrying them to big museums. Çambel accepted that in-situ protection could only be possible if the local people embrace the discoveries and the culture, and for her, only way to achieve this was raising awareness among them and ameliorating their economic conditions.¹¹⁰ The utilization of the Karatepe-Arslantaş excavation site as a national park and an open air museum has been the trigger for the other historical national parks increasing in number today. Despite all the progress in the field of archaeology and a great number of excavations in Turkey, the field could not catch up the developments in the world and lost its dynamism after 1945. Especially, after Second World War, archaeology started to evolve in terms of its purpose, the methods and its description. This period of change was introduced by the workshops and the organizations around the world, but Turkey

¹⁰⁸ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Arkeolojisine Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Bir Bakış” in *Uluburun Gemisi: 3000 Yıl Önce Dünyaya Ticareti*, eds. Yalçın, U. & Pulak, C. & Slotta, R, (Ege Yayınları, 2006), 39.

¹⁰⁹ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Arkeolojisine Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Bir Bakış” in *Uluburun Gemisi: 3000 Yıl Önce Dünyaya Ticareti*, eds. Yalçın, U. & Pulak, C. & Slotta, R, (Ege Yayınları, 2006), 40.

¹¹⁰ Aktüel Arkeoloji, *100. Yaş Gününde Karatepe'nin Anası Halet Çambel*. Retrieved from <http://www.aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/100-yas-gununde-karatepenin-anasi-halet-cambel> on March 30, 2019.

was not represented in the organizations effectively.¹¹¹ The radical changes in the world archeology were able to be reflected on a limited scale.

Above findings suggest an investigation and in-depth analysis of an excavation process. The next chapter will be analyzing an excavation process which was started by the Americans in 1950 in the capital of Turkey.

¹¹¹ Mehmet Özdoğan, “Türkiye Arkeolojisine Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Bir Bakış” in *Uluburun Gemisi: 3000 Yıl Önce Dünya Ticareti*, eds. Yalçın, U. & Pulak, C. & Slotta, R, (Ege Yayınları, 2006), 40.

CHAPTER 3

ANKARA GORDION EXAMPLE

3.1 History of the Phrygians

As emphasized by Ersöz-Berndt the history of the Phrygians is a historical reconstruction based on archaeological evidence and written sources. The written sources are mostly unclear and not enough and leave researchers lots of unanswered questions.¹¹² Furthermore, we still have very limited information about the language of the people from Phrygia. The protected documents in Phrygian language consist of about 300 texts. These provide very limited information about the origin or history of the Phrygians. Today, even though most of the scholars have reached a consensus on the Phrygian roots and the historical background, various theories on the Phrygians had been put forward as a result of the uncertainty of the sources. Therefore, in the face of the obscurity of the Phrygian written sources, information given by ancient writers, archaeological excavations and the findings from these excavations help us to figure out the Phrygian world.¹¹³

¹¹² S. Ersöz-Berndt, “The Phrygian Kingdom: Origins, History and Political Development” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 16.

¹¹³ S. Ersöz-Berndt, “The Phrygian Kingdom: Origins, History and Political Development” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 16-17.

The Phrygians arrived in Central Anatolia early in the 11th century BCE, and both ancient literary sources and modern ceramic analyses indicate that they may have come from the Balkans.¹¹⁴ However, the appearance of the Phrygians in the stage of history dates back only to 750 BCE. The Phrygians, one of the Anatolian civilizations founded after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, were able to form a political unity only in 750 BCE due to their disorganized tribes and irregular political structure in Anatolia. The Phrygians extended their sphere of influence to Çorum, Tokat and Kırşehir in the east of Kızılırmak; Samsun in the north; Niğde and Konya in the south; Burdur and Elmalı plain in the southeast; Eskişehir, Afyonkarahisar and Kütahya in the west, and Bandırma in the northwest.¹¹⁵ The first person to mention the Phrygians is Homer in Iliad in the 8th century BCE. He describes them as being settled along the Sangarios River, which is called Sakarya today. However, what this community actually called itself is unclear, because the Assyrians made reference to them as Mushki, and the Greeks referred to them as Phrygians. As our traditional view of the Phrygian civilization is based on Greek sources, the latter has remained as the embraced name of the community.

First archaeological discoveries about the Phrygians were made at the beginning of the 19th century by European travelers. The earliest explorer was Captain William Martin Leake in 1800.¹¹⁶ He had the chance of exploring the most monumental and well-preserved rock-cut façade in Yazılıkaya (close to Eskişehir) where the name of Midas was easily read from the inscription on the façade. Owing to this certainty, the village which is, today, known as Yazılıkaya was named as Midas City; its exact name is still unknown. Phrygians' historical wealth is largely due to their engagement with other

¹¹⁴ Richard F. Liebhart & Gareth Darbyshire & Evin Erder & Ben Marsh, "A Fresh Look at the Tumuli of Gordion" in *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millenium BCE*, eds. Kelp, U. & Henry, O. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 627.

¹¹⁵ Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, "Phrygians and the Phrygian Civilisation" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 11.

¹¹⁶ S. Ersöz-Berndt, "The Phrygian Kingdom: Origins, History and Political Development" in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 16.

empires of the Near East in the Iron Age and in the Archaic Periods (ca. 950-540 BCE).¹¹⁷ Phrygian lands were at the junction of the oldest roads of Anatolia. The connections between the main roads from the Aegean coasts to Eastern Anatolia, Syria and Northern Mesopotamia were provided by the roads in Phrygian lands. Thanks to this position of Phrygia, it was the vital point between the Aegean and Asia Minor in terms of transportation and trade.¹¹⁸

Phrygians became dominant in Central Anatolia beginning from the Early Iron Age. After a long period after the collapse of the Hittite Empire (at the end of the 13th century BCE), Phrygians were the first civilization that was able to form political unity in the second half of 8th century.¹¹⁹ According to the findings up to now, the first king of the Phrygian Kingdom was Gordios and he gave the name to the capital, Gordion. The conclusion that Gordios was the king in the first half of the 8th century BCE is derived from the date of 738 BCE when his son Midas took the throne. During the time Midas was on the throne, the relations between the Phrygians and the West had intensified. He was the first Iron Age king of Anatolia that had relations with Urartu, Northern Syria and Assyria in eastern and southeastern Anatolia on one hand, and Western Anatolian coasts in the west and Greece on the other.¹²⁰ Archaeological data show that stability and rich life of Phrygia continued at the end of the 7th century BCE. The Phrygian Kingdom remained independent until 590 BCE, when the king of Lydia, Alyattes, was on the Kızılırmak campaign. After this, cultural independency of the Phrygians continued

¹¹⁷ C. Brian Rose, & Gareth Darbyshire, *The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 17.

¹¹⁸ Tülin Kaya, *Arkeolojik ve Filolojik Belgeler Işığında Frigler*, Master's Thesis, Gazi University, (2007), 22-23.

¹¹⁹ Tülin Kaya, *Arkeolojik ve Filolojik Belgeler Işığında Frigler*, Master's Thesis, Gazi University, (2007), 13.

¹²⁰ G. Kenneth Sams, "Midas of Phrygia" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 59-63.

under the reign of the Lydian Kingdom in the 6th century.¹²¹ After the collapse of the Lydian kingdom in 546 BCE, Phrygians continued to keep their life style and culture alive as part of the Persian Empire for over 200 years, and the influence of the deep-rooted Phrygian culture continued until the late Roman period. However, Gordion which was once a magnificent capital rapidly lost its significance and was silently forgotten after gradually turning into a village. The Phrygians, after Midas's death, could not rise into force again, but they remained as a well-known Anatolian figure, especially thanks to the reputation of their religious culture (Cybele), the myths, the cultural traditions which are still being observed and their music which has been used by the later generations in Ancient Greek music. Moreover, the Phrygian language was spoken in the Hellenistic and Roman times, and the Phrygian cults were particularly influential in the Roman Empire.¹²²

3.1.1 Phrygians and Ankara

Even though the traces of the humans were discovered dating back to the Paleolithic Age in and around Ankara, the city started to be first formed in the Phrygian period in the 8th century BCE.¹²³ Many monuments and tombs were built in and around the city in 200 years following the settlement of the Phrygians in Ankara. The findings show that the city of Phrygia was established in and around Hacı Bayram hill which is situated today in Ulus area. As Ela Alanyalı Aral states in her article, the Phrygian period in the urban history of Ankara was a crucial one with its 30-known tumuli which are the visual and symbolic values of the city of Phrygia and can be still included in the city image of

¹²¹ Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, "Survey of Phrygian Settlements and Rock-Cut Monuments in Western Phrygia" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 77.

¹²² Rodney S. Young, *Gordion* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1966), 16.

¹²³ Ela Alanyalı Aral, "Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma" in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 22.

Ankara. Today it has been largely destroyed and erased from the memory of the city and the habitants, although the Phrygians continued as the components of the oldest known visual structure in the history of Ankara until today. Ankara has been settled in every period with its structure offering a fertile land surrounded by elevations that make the protection easier and a transition zone in the center of Anatolia.¹²⁴ Unlike other important Phrygian cities, Ankara has existed as a center that has been permanently resettled until today; however, it has entered into a very rapid process of urbanization in recent years starting with being the capital of Republic of Turkey. Hence, the possibility of archaeological excavations and investigations has been restricted by the dense urbanization in Ankara.

The first Phrygian excavation in Ankara was conducted by Theodor Makridi (Makridi Bey) in 1926, and as a result of these excavations, Phrygian potteries below the Byzantine level were discovered.¹²⁵ These excavations were also the first ones on behalf of the Republic of Turkey at that time. With the Republic, a period of intensive research and excavations began in Ankara, both in the historical center and in western tumuli. However, excavations were stopped because of a collapse of the tunnel trenched to find the "Great Tumulus" (tumulus number 10 in Figure 14) burial chamber.¹²⁶ It is situated between ASTI (Ankara Intercity Coach Terminal) and Beşevler metro station on Konya Road, is the largest tumulus discovered so far and still retains its 125 m.-wide diameter and 24 m. height. After the attempts of Makridi in 1926, METU Museum and Archaeological Research Center reinitialized the tumuli recovery project under the

¹²⁴ Ela Alanyalı Aral, "Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma" in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 23.

¹²⁵ Mustafa Metin, "Ankara (Ancyra) and the Phrygians" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 93.

¹²⁶ Numan Tuna, "Research and Excavations at the Phrygian Necropolis in Ankara" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 101.

leadership of Ekrem Akurgal as the main focus of the 1967 Project by METU. The excavation was directed following the discovery of the burial chamber using geophysical methods and many burial findings were unearthed during the excavations.¹²⁷ The findings are still been displayed at METU Museum.

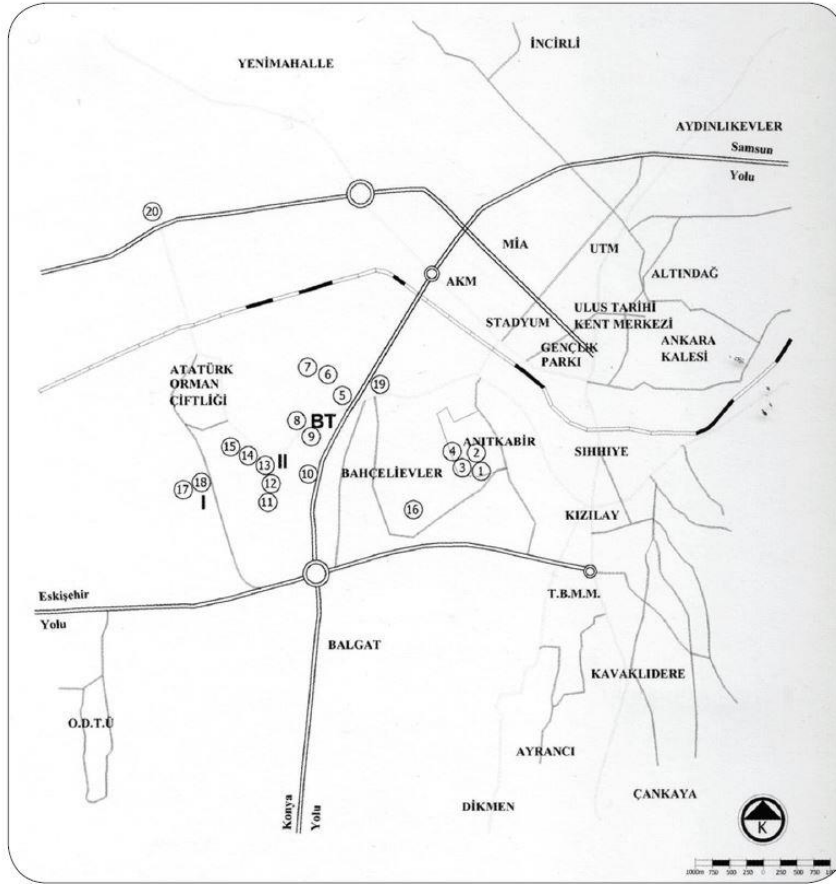


Figure 14 Tumuli Map of city center of Ankara developed by METU Museum and Archaeological Research Center in 1967

Source: Numan Tuna, “Research and Excavations at the Phrygian Necropolis in Ankara” in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 2007), 100.

¹²⁷ Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 23.



Figure 15 Some displays from Tumulus II at METU Museum

Figure 16 Some displays from Great Tumulus (tumulus number 9) at METU Museum

Source: Photographed by the author.



Figure 17 A general look to Phrygian period in METU Museum

Figure 18 A general look to Phrygian period in METU Museum

Source: Photographed by the author.

Later, during the 1940s the place called Rasattepe, where the Mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, is located in our day and its surroundings were studied. The Phrygian tumuli were excavated during the construction

of the Mausoleum for Atatürk, went into history as a small part of the Phrygian heritage in and around Ankara. The history is adapted to the conditions of the era through certain references. One of the most significant examples of this adaptation is Anıtkabir, the tomb of the founder of Republic of Turkey, in Ankara. The burial tradition of Phrygians emphasizes monumentality in order to make the tombs visible even from the lowest point of the settlements. In accordance with this purpose, the selected location for Anıtkabir is not a coincidence. Rasattepe Mound, which is not a natural topographical formation in Ankara, is dated back to the 8th century BCE and embodies several Phrygian tumuli and was selected as the location of Anıtkabir by a commission consisting of 17 people, including representatives of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the Ministry of National Education and Turkish General Staff.¹²⁸



Figure 19 Great Tumulus (Tumulus number 10) among the urban fabric

Source: *Ankaralılar 5 Bin Yıllık Tarihle İç İçe Yaşıyor*. Retrieved from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ankaralilar-5-bin-yillik-tarihle-ic-ankara-yerelhaber-2862798/> in February 4, 2019.

¹²⁸ Sabit Dokuyan, “Anıtkabir Nasıl İnşa Edildi? Süreç ve Tartışmalar” in *History Studies International Journal of History*, Vol. 6, No. 5, (2014), 133.

However, in order to prepare the site to initialize the construction, 2 tumuli on the site had to be removed without any damages to the artefacts. The scientific excavations were conducted by Prof. Dr. Tahsin Özgüç and archaeologist-architect Mahmut Akok on behalf of the Turkish History Society in 1945 and the archaeological finds during the excavations have been displayed in Museum of Anatolian Civilizations since then.¹²⁹ The design of Anıtkabir (1944-1953) on this artificial mound causes both the erasure of the history by destroying the tumuli and the functional and symbolic repetition of Phrygian history by revitalizing the site as a monumental grave in the modern era. Urban developments, constructions and neglect have caused this destruction. Even, one of the tumuli in Ankara (tumulus number 10 on Figure 11) which survived in magnificence and still unsurveyed was recently ruined for the construction of a subway station building.¹³⁰

During the 1960s, with the initiative of METU, a new study in Yalıncağ and Koçumbeli which are situated within the campus of METU was started in this area. The idea of establishing a university museum aroused with the discoveries of artefacts from Yalıncağ and Koçumbeli.¹³¹ The archaeological excavations were initiated in 1964 under the leadership of archaeologist Burhan Tezcan in cooperation with METU and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara, and was continued by Prof. Cevdet Bayburtluođlu and one of the former directors of METU Museum Prof. Sevim Buluç in 1966-1968. They have one of the richest findings among the similar settlements

¹²⁹ A. Erdem Akyüz, "Atatürk ve Anıtkabir" in *Bütün Dünya*. (September 2017), 35.

¹³⁰ Mustafa Metin, "Ankara (Ancyra) and the Phrygians" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 103.

¹³¹ Numan Tuna, "Research and Excavations at the Phrygian Necropolis in Ankara" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 99.

discovered in and around Ankara, and have an important place for the Early Bronze Age chronology of Central Anatolia.¹³²



Figure 20 Remains of the Yalıncağ excavations

Source: ODTÜ Arkeoloji Müzesi: Yalıncağ. Retrieved from <https://muze.metu.edu.tr/galeri/yalincak> on March 26, 2019.

Figure 21 Remains of the south of the Koçumbeli settlement

Source: ODTÜ Arkeoloji Müzesi: Koçumbeli. Retrieved from <https://muze.metu.edu.tr/galeri/kocumbeli> on March 26, 2019.

The foundation of METU Museum and Archaeological Studies Center (later known as Center for Research and Assessment of Historic Environment, TAÇDAM¹³³) and

¹³² ODTÜ Arkeoloji Müzesi: Koçumbeli. Retrieved from <https://Müze.metu.edu.tr/galeri/kocumbeli> on March 26, 2019.

¹³³ In 1966, scholars from various universities and scientific institutions of Turkey joined together under the leadership of the former president of Middle East Technical University, Kemal Kurdaş, to establish a research institute which would undertake the Keban Project. Retrieved from <http://tacdham.metu.edu.tr/about-tacdham> on March 26, 2019.

initialization of the project “Phrygian Necropolis Salvage Excavations” in 1967 accelerated the detection and excavation of tumuli, and presentation of Ankara's Phrygian period with museum exhibitions and events.¹³⁴ The Great Tumulus (tumulus number 9) excavation, as mentioned before, which had previously been stopped because of the security problems, Tumulus I and Tumulus II were among the main focuses of METU in 1967. Very rich burial findings were obtained from these excavations within the scope of “Phrygian Necropolis Salvage Excavations” project under the supervision of Prof. Ekrem Akurgal in 1967. However, although the Great Tumulus was intended to be opened to the public as a museum like the Great Tumulus in Gordion, it was then thought to be very difficult and expensive, and the tomb was closed with a steel cage instead after taking out the artefacts from the tumulus.¹³⁵ Therefore, the METU Archaeological Museum was founded in METU in 1969 for the preservation and display of the findings from the archaeological excavations of Yalıncağ and Koçumbeli within METU campus in 1964-1968, and the excavations of Phrygian necropolis in the plain of Ankara.¹³⁶ It is the first university museum in Turkey established with the support of Kemal Kurdaş –president of the METU in 1961-1969–. What makes the museum unique is the presence of archaeological sites in the campus area dating back 5000 years ago, and being able to exhibit the artefacts discovered from these sites in an archaeological museum established directly under the Rectorate.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 26.

¹³⁵ Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 29-33.

¹³⁶ Numan Tuna, “Research and Excavations at the Phrygian Necropolis in Ankara” in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 99.

¹³⁷ Retrieved from <https://Müze.metu.edu.tr/Müze-hakkında> on March 27, 2019.

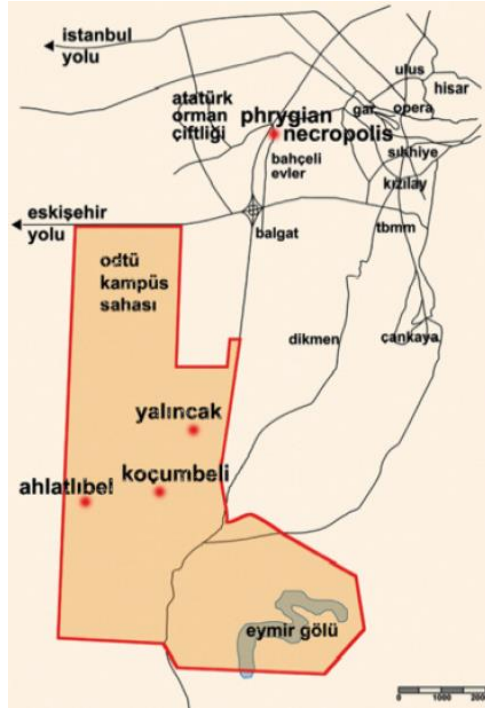


Figure 22 Archaeological Sites in the METU campus

Source: ODTÜ Arkeoloji Müzesi. Retrieved from <https://muze.metu.edu.tr/sergiler> on March 26, 2019.

Establishing an archaeological museum in the university encouraged the idea of researching the Phrygian tumuli in Ankara afterwards. After the collaboration of METU and Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, and excavations of tumulus 5 and 6 (as seen on Figure 11) in 1986-87, no tumulus has been excavated.¹³⁸ Phrygian architectural remains and small artefacts have been continued to be found during the constructions from time to time. During the rebuilding of Ulus Bazaar at the foot of Hacı Bayram Hill in 1995, a Phrygian layer was discovered under a Roman road.¹³⁹ Although there have been regular

¹³⁸ Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 26.

¹³⁹ Suavi Aydın & Ömer Türkođlu & Kudret Emirođlu, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzu: Ankara* (Dost Kitabevi, 2005), 57.

excavations in the Roman Bath excavation area after this period, because of the intense urban fabric of the city, comprehensive excavations could not be carried out.¹⁴⁰

Although the impacts of the tumuli on the surrounding landscape of Ankara are crucial, these monumental elements are not recognized by the citizens and cannot take the place they deserve in the image of the city. They almost disappeared from the image of the city and the memory of the citizens and could not find their place in the cultural identity of the city. The most visible traces of the Phrygian period in today's city can be said to be a few neglected tumuli. Today, only 4 out of 20 tumuli (5, 8, 9 and 10 on Figure 11) can be read in the urban fabric even if they have lost their original appearance through the centuries.¹⁴¹ However, some of these tumuli that we can see within the borders of Ankara have become unable to contribute to the city because of buildings and roads, while the others are used daily by the city dwellers without any information. For example, the previously mentioned Great Tumulus No. 10, which is open to access, is utilized by many urban residents with various uses. As Ela Alanyalı Aral indicated the hill is used as a landscape view terrace, and a picnic area in summer times, and a ski slope in winter informally.¹⁴²

Such ways of usage are precious to reveal the adoption of this unique form, and the bond that the citizens establish with the space. Therefore, a bond between the space and the users must be established in order to make the tumuli permanent in the urban memory. The archaeologist Sevim Buluç, in one of her articles, stated that “Like the importance

¹⁴⁰ Kutalmış Görkay & Musa Kadioğlu & Stephen Mitchell, *Roma Dönemi'nde Ankara* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011).

¹⁴¹ Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 38.

¹⁴² Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in *TÜBA-KED*, Vol. 15, (2017), 39.

of the pyramids in Egypt for the Egyptians, these historical tomb hills are very important for Ankara and Turkey”¹⁴³



Figure 23 The traces of daily use on the Great Tumulus 10

Source: Ela Alanyalı Aral, “Ankara Kentinde Frig Dönemi İzleri: Frig Tümülüsleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma” in TÜBA-KED, Vol. 15, (2017), 40.

However, in Ankara, although the sense of form of a few tumuli still exist, their existence cannot transfer neither the historical values, nor the visual relations they have with the city; they remain an unknown and invisible value even for the users with archaeological background.

3.2 History of Gordion

Gordion has been the capital of the Phrygians and the focus point for the excavations for about 70 years. What we know about Gordion was obtained much more from

¹⁴³ Sevim Buluç, “İlkçağda Ankara” in *Ankara Dergisi* (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1991), 13-28.

archaeological excavations than written sources. Therefore, approximately 300 undeciphered documents offer very limited data about the history of Phrygians. This is why ancient Greek and Assyrian sources have been the ones that historians use to give references. According to Rodney S. Young, who directed the Gordion excavations from 1950 to 1973 and a former President of the Archaeological Institute of America, the name of the city as Gordion could be the shortened state of “*Gordeion*” which means the throne of the King Gordios; but, because the name of Gordios was not mentioned in the documents belonging to that period, king’s name was most probably derived from the city’s name coming from the same root with “*grad*” in Slavic language which means simply “city”.¹⁴⁶ Based on the sources written by Herodotus (ca 425 BCE) and Strabon (ca 7 BCE), Phrygians originally came from southeast Europe; Macedonia (as Herodotus stated) or Thrace (as Strabon stated).¹⁴⁷ The reason of this Slavic origin is most probably the fact of their origin as stated in ancient Greek sources. Besides, up to now, no specific evidence has been found on whether the location of today’s Gordion is exactly the designated area since it was first discovered 120 years ago. However, ancient sources¹⁴⁸ indicate that Gordion is on the Sakarya riverfront, and the river flows through the city; so, because the only place that fits to this explanation is Yassihöyük, the current area is accepted as Gordion.¹⁴⁹ Alfred Körte¹⁵⁰ utilized the Roman consul Manlius Vulso’s

¹⁴⁶ Rodney S. Young, *Gordion: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum* (Ankara Turizmi, Eskieserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği Yayınları 4, 1975), 10-11.

¹⁴⁷ S. Ersöz-Berndt, “The Phrygian Kingdom: Origins, History and Political Development” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 17.

¹⁴⁸ Apart from the archaeological excavations, the ancient writers such as Homer, Strabo, Herodotus helped us to figure out the Phrygian civilization so far. However, Homer was the first one who mentioned the Phrygians in history. In *Illiad*, he describes the Phrygians as they settled along the Sangarios River, which is called Sakarya today. Herodotus, Aristotle and Ovid, describes the famous King Midas of Gordion as well. Livy and Polybius wrote about the conquest of the Celtic Galatians at Gordon.(John M. Marston, *Agricultural Sustainability and Environmental Change at Ancient Gordion* (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, (2017), 4.)

¹⁴⁹ S. Ersöz-Berndt, “The Phrygian Kingdom: Origins, History and Political Development” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 16-17.

descriptions that marching through Galatia in Livy's text to argue the location of existing remains matched well classical descriptions of Gordion's location along the ancient Sangarios River.¹⁵¹

Gordion is one of the most important archaeological sites, both because it was the capital of Phrygia and has been the most excavated and studied Phrygian site so far. It was occupied for 5,000 years from the Early Bronze Age (ca 3000 BCE) through to modern times.¹⁵² It is known as being the political-cultural capital of the Phrygians who dominated the Middle Anatolia in the years around 1000 BCE, and as being the seat of the most famous Phrygian king, King Midas, towards the end of the 8th century BCE. Couple of reasons why Gordion was once preferred by the Phrygians are as follows: The settlement is on the major roads that traverse Anatolia; The Sakarya River and the resources provide plenty of water; there are also so many vast lands for dry agriculture and animal husbandry. Gordion owes its importance and its contacts with a wider world to being on a very busy trade route, Royal Road, from Ephesus, Turkey to Susa, Iran.¹⁵³ These natural conditions explain why Gordion was settled starting from the 3rd millennium BCE until today. Gordion had maintained its importance in terms of trade

¹⁵⁰ German classical philologist. He discovered Gordion in 1893, and after 7 years, he came back to Gordion with his brother Gustav Körte, and started a 3-month excavation season. This excavation was one of the first controlled field studies in Central Anatolia. They discovered up to 6th century BCE through the excavations at the Citadel Mound. They conducted the excavations over 5 out of 100 tumuli at Gordion and its immediate vicinity. These 5 tumuli are now called as K (Körte) I-V Tumuli. (dijitalGordion, *Gordion'daki Arkeolojik İncelemeler*. Retrieved from <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/tr/arkeoloji/arkeoloji-bak/> on March 19, 2019.)

¹⁵¹ John M. Marston, *Agricultural Sustainability and Environmental Change at Ancient Gordion* (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, (2017), 4.

¹⁵² Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, "Taming the Beast: The Digital Gordion Mapping Project" in *Expedition*. Vol. 55, Issue 2, (2013), 27.

¹⁵³ The trip takes 90 days by foot. (Rodney S. Young, "Gordion on the Royal Road" in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Vol. 107, No. 4, (1963) 348.)

and military for a long period of time. However, the Royal Road cannot be followed all the way across the plain to the city site and the river. A route which is more than 6-m in width was discovered and the most preserved section of the route lied close to the base of the Great Tumulus (Tumulus MM).¹⁵⁴ However, its continuity is cut at some point, because the river which has altered its course a number of times because of the intensive grazing and the removal of trees over the last two and a half millennia wiped away the route. The road probably was crossing from the north of the city by passing through a wooden bridge on the Sakarya River.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, apart from the trade routes, there is also another reason for such longevity of occupation in Gordion/Yassihöyük lands. The site has had one of the most fertile soils thanks to Sakarya River, Porsuk River and Ankara River.¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, the site is watered by the rivers and the surrounding springs. In the region, there was an abundance of cultivated land suitable for dry farming –the cultivation of crops without irrigation–, which is the economic basis of all living communities in Gordion.

Gordion entered into the domination of Hattis in old Bronze Age (3000-2000 BCE), Hittites between 2000-1100 BCE, Phrygians in Iron Age (1200-550 B.C.), Lydians in the early 6th century, and Persians in the middle of the 6th century. In Hellenistic period (3rd - 1st centuries B.C.), Gordion was just a trade city belonging to Galatians, but been settled both in Roman period (1st - 4th centuries), Seljuk period (10th -15th centuries),

¹⁵⁴ Rodney S. Young, *Gordion. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum* (Ankara Turizmi, Eskieserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği Yayınları 4. Ankara, 1975), 9.

¹⁵⁵ Rodney S. Young, *Gordion. A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum* (Ankara Turizmi, Eskieserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği Yayınları 4. Ankara, 1975), 10.

¹⁵⁶ Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas & Hakan Sivas, *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments* (Ege Yayınları, 2013), 52.

Ottoman period (15th - 20th centuries) and Modern period starting with the proclamation of the republic in Turkey (1923).¹⁵⁷

3.3 The Location of Gordion and the Cultural Landscape of Phrygia

The landscapes reflecting the human and nature interaction on earth contain both the intangible and tangible cultural traces of civilizations existing on these lands. The areas where the tangible and immovable cultural traces are found intensively are the indications of the sequential livings and convenient ecological conditions.



Figure 24 Borders of Phrygia and the other major sites in Turkey

¹⁵⁷ Selda Balta, *Gordion (Yassıhöyük) Arkeolojik Sit Alanı Üzerindeki Tarihsel Dokunun Korunması*, Gazi University, Master's thesis, (2010), 15.

Source: Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments* (2012). Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 13.

The cultural landscapes involve the historical structures, archaeological sites, vegetation, ecological and biological diversity, and the social norms such as cultural diversity, traditions and customs. Therefore, they are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible culture, biological and cultural diversity.¹⁵⁸ They represent the nature of culture and public identity. They are the symbol of the growing recognition of the principal ties between local communities and their inheritance, humankind and its natural habitat.¹⁵⁹ Briefly, in order to create a full image of the site, collecting the information merely from a single archaeological site is not enough. In this case, the concern of Gordion exceeds far beyond the boundaries of the archaeological site in Yassihöyük itself. The 2,500-year-old Phrygian valley which consists of 240 Phrygian tumuli lets the observer be a witness to the complete picture of one of the historical periods in time. Phrygian Valley is an essential and relatively less known example of our cultural heritages. It has been inhabited by numerous civilizations from prehistoric ages to now and is a very important site in terms of the richness of immovable cultural properties it contains. The notion of “valley” does not refer to a geographical border; it refers to the area among Eskişehir, Kütahya and Afyonkarahisar where Phrygians have richer traces; thus, there is not an exact borderline of the valley.¹⁶⁰ The mountainous Phrygian region located to the south of Eskişehir where the Turkmen Mountain stands at the center is the region where the Phrygians were the most powerful and influential in political and cultural ways. There are numerous Phrygian fortress-type settlements on

¹⁵⁸ Ken Taylor, & Jane Lennon, “Cultural Landscapes: A Bridge Between Culture and Nature?” in *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Vol. 17, No. 6, (2011), 3.

¹⁵⁹ Mechtild Rössler, “World Heritage Cultural Landscapes” in *Landscape Research*. Vol. 31, No. 4, (2006), 333-353.

¹⁶⁰ Fatma Aşiloğlu, & Yalçın Memlük, “Frig Vadisi Kültür Mirası Alanlarının Belirlenmesi ve Değerlendirilmesi” in *Ankara Üniversitesi Çevre Bilimleri Dergisi*. Issue. 2, (2010), 187.

high rocky plateaus that border deep valleys of the region. While Phrygian administrators lived in the fortresses, villagers engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry must have dwelt in simple villages on the skirts of the fortresses. The Yazılıkaya -Midas City- located at the southern edge of these valleys, where the Midas Monument is located, was founded on a high plateau, and was probably the most important settlement in the region. The volcanic ash thrown out by Turkmen Mountain carpeted the region, and the consolidated tuff created easily the carved rocks. Since the stone is an easily workable one, it eases to create the ancient roads which are still noticeable today.¹⁶¹ Moreover, fortress-type settlements and the rock-cut monuments around them are the most significant monumental structures inherited from the Phrygians. Many Phrygian fortresses are now located within the borders of Eskişehir dated back between 8th century BCE and the first half of the 6th century BCE. Moreover, Phrygians adorned the land with mysterious cult monuments they built for the Mother Goddess Matar Cybele. These cult monuments carved on to the rock indicate their respect and devotion to the Goddess Cybele symbolizing the nature.¹⁶² Although the function of each monument is the same and dedicated to their goddess as an open air altar, the design of the monuments varies, and they are the unique works of Anatolian cultural history. The traditional wooden architecture of Phrygians was revived by carving the whole detailed image of the façade even with the akroteria and gabled roof onto the bedrock.¹⁶³

All these examples represent the front façades of the megarons in Gordion where the most monumental examples exist. It is important that, as in the Midas City case, when

¹⁶¹ Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, “Phrygian Valleys and Sacred Yazılıkaya-Midas City” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 112-115.

¹⁶² Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, “Phrygian Valleys and Sacred Yazılıkaya-Midas City” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 137.

¹⁶³ Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, “Phrygian Valleys and Sacred Yazılıkaya-Midas City” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 140.

the architectural component is transferred into nature, it turns into something new which contains more ritual values in itself. For example, the most important part of the carved façade on the bedrocks is the central niche in the form of a door where a goddess monument or relief is situated.¹⁶⁴

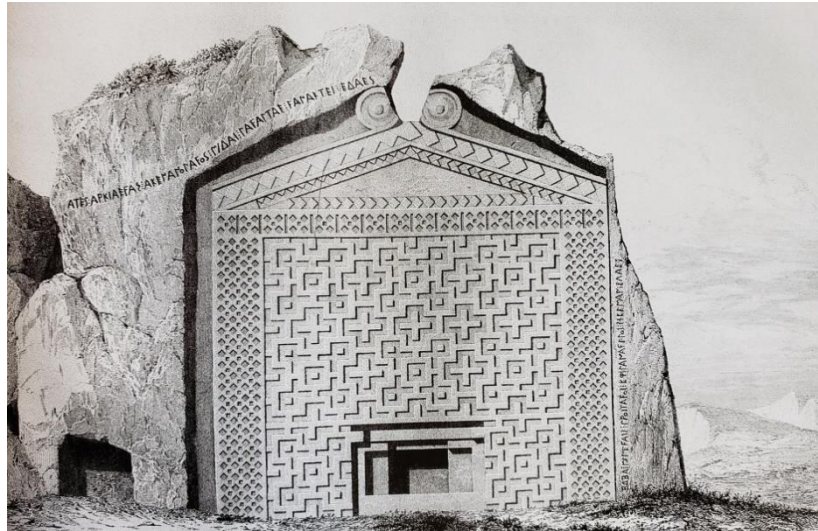


Figure 25 Midas Monument: Gravure drawn by C. Texier in 1839

Source: Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, “Phrygian Valleys and Sacred Yazılıkaya-Midas City” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 115.

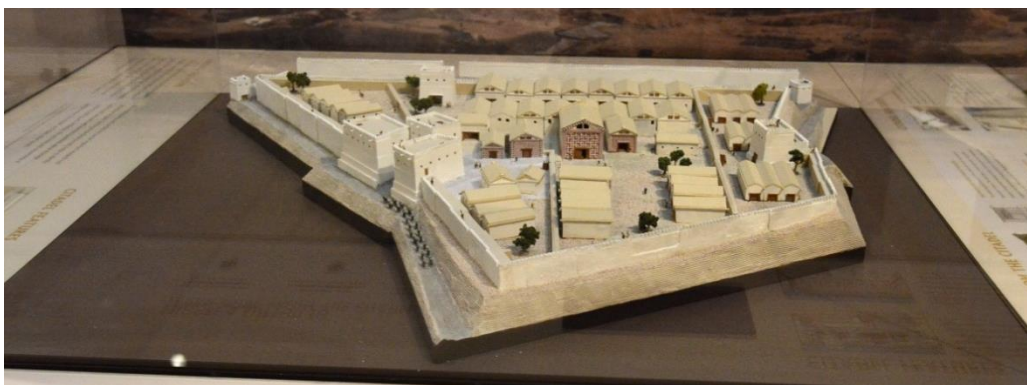


Figure 26 Site Model of the Citadel Mound in Gordion showing the gabled roof order of the buildings

¹⁶⁴ Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, “Phrygian Valleys and Sacred Yazılıkaya-Midas City” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H. (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 140.

Source: Photographed by Gareth Darbyshire from the actual model of the Citadel Mound in University of Pennsylvania.



Figure 27 The Phrygian Houses "doodle" scratched one of the wall faces of Megaron 2. It proves the existence of the gabled roofs in Phrygia.

Source: digitalGordion, *The Gordion 'Doodles'*. Retrieved from <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/articles/art-architecture/the-gordion-doodles/> on January 29, 2019.

There are many things worthy to discover in order to fully understand the scale, the contents and the undecipherable details of Phrygia, and the relationships with each other. Gordion is part of a whole that can never be considered alone. If it is wrong to examine and try to understand an area on its own for archaeologists, it is also misguided to describe the area by the same way to others. Gordion is a wide and deeply layered landscape with its hidden potential to express its ancient and modern cross-sections as an archaeological site.¹⁶⁵ Its landscape is a composition of many different elements that trace the site's history from the ancient past to today. Even though most of the archaeological excavations occur at the Citadel site and in various tumuli, Gordion, the

¹⁶⁵ University of Pennsylvania Architectural Conservation Laboratory (Conlab), *Reports*. Retrieved from <http://www.conlab.org/acl/gordion/reports.html> on March 20, 2019.

Phrygian capital, goes beyond the boundaries of the main settlement mound and extend across the entire Phrygian valley.¹⁶⁶ Such a rich history carries with it great challenges in designing and constructing a way for visitors to properly understand the site. When being researched only from its own scale, it would be decontextualized and incomplete; in other words, a limited part of the whole can never be considered alone. Thus, only being able to experience the cultural texture provides an exact comprehension, and leaves a mark in memory. In order for the Gordion landscape to be understood in time and space, the disparity of its many elements must be nurtured together into a cohesive whole.

The project of “Phrygian Way” which includes also Gordion itself is important to comprehend the cultural landscape and both the importance of Gordion and interaction with others. Phrygian Way is among the cities of Ankara, Eskişehir and Kütahya where the Phrygians has ruled over for years, built on the basis of the ancient walkways, and a long hiking and biking path marked with international standards. The idea was promoted by FRIGKUM (Association for Development and Protection of Phrygian Cultural Heritage), and was concluded by a group of volunteers in 2013.¹⁶⁷ The routes first start from 3 different points –Gordion (Ankara), Seydiler (Afyonkarahisar) and Yenice Çiftliği (Kütahya)-, enter the lands of Phrygia, and merge in the city of Eskişehir where the Midas City (Yazılıkaya) –the heart of Phrygia- is located. The recreated Phrygian cultural landscape experience with paths, roads, circulation schemes, and various designs is actually part of a puzzle when viewed on a large scale. It is a branch of a 506 km route which was made for trekkers to experience the traces of Phrygian civilization and the landscape of the Phrygian valleys. The Phrygian Way follows the ancient routes forming as a result of the volcanic tuff stone, Phrygian valleys with different

¹⁶⁶ Elisa Del Bono, “Architectural Conservation at Gordion” in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 48.

¹⁶⁷ Culture Routes Society. *Phrygian Way: Trek Through Nature and History*. Retrieved from <http://cultureroutesinturkey.com/phrygian-way/> on December 6, 2018.

dimensions, the ancient cities as Gordion, Yazılıkaya and Pessinus, the artefacts as Aslantaş, Yılantaş, Maltaş and Aslankaya, the unique settlements as Ayazini, Döğer, Kümbet, Nasrettin Hoca, and the villages having different cultural origins spread throughout the region. It makes the trekkers go on a journey in time in company with the landscape and gain an extraordinary experience all through the journey.

3.4 Main Elements of Gordion

3.4.1 Citadel Mound

The archaeological site of Gordion consists of three different topographical zones: Citadel Mound, Lower Town, and Outer Town. The Turkish name of the Citadel Mound is *Yassihöyük* -flat-topped mound- which is also the name of the nearby village.



Figure 28 The topography of Gordion

Source: G. Kenneth Sams, "Midas of Phrygia" in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 66.



Figure 29 Site map of Gordion

Source: Pizzorno, G. *Digital Gordion Mapping Project*. Retrieved from <https://scholar.harvard.edu/pizzorno/dgmp> on May 9, 2019.

It rises 16 m above the present land. However, it is known that the mound extends at least 4 more m below the layer of earth.¹⁶⁹ Roughly, the dimensions of the mound from east to west are 500 m and from north to south is 400 m. For about 70 years, one of the main focuses of the site at Gordion has been the Citadel Mound. The Early Phrygian citadel of the later 10th and 9th centuries BCE is the premiere showcase for monumental Iron Age architecture in central Anatolia.¹⁷⁰ Up to now, two main districts have been excavated within the citadel. One is the Palace Area, which consists of two open and large courts and a thick wall between the courts flanked by megarons. As the inner court has not been yet wholly excavated, the order is not known exactly. The other one is the

¹⁶⁹ G. Kenneth Sams, “Excavation at Gordion” in *The Mysterious Civilization of the Phrygians* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 66.

¹⁷⁰ Digital Gordion. Retrieved from <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/history/iron-age-gordion/> on June 6, 2018.

Terrace Building Complex. It is situated on the southwest of the Citadel Mound and southeast of the Palace Area.



Figure 30 The excavation site of Terrace Building Complex

Source: From the archives of Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara.

After the first season (1950), excavations in the western half of the mound stopped, and the efforts were concentrated on the eastern side (the “Main Excavated Area”).¹⁷¹ Therefore, because the western half of the mound was also settled in the Roman and Medieval periods, relatively less is recognized about the western part, and, about the Roman and Medieval periods in Gordion.

During the 1950s’ and 1960s’ excavations of Rodney Young, he discovered that while the former area was settled by the elites, the latter was for industrial purposes.¹⁷² Palace Area consists of a Gate Building and megara buildings for elites. The Gate Building,

¹⁷¹ G. Kenneth Sams, “Explorations over a Century” in *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians*, ed. L. Kealhofer, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 13.

¹⁷² C. Brian Rose, “Gordion and the Penn Museum” in *The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue*, eds. Rose, C., B. & Darbyshire, G. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 7.

which is over 10 m, was called the Polychrome House by the early archaeologists in order to emphasize the different stone colors on the walls. The gate was flanked by high tower at either side. Other than the Gate Building, there are megaron type buildings resided by elites within the Palace Area.

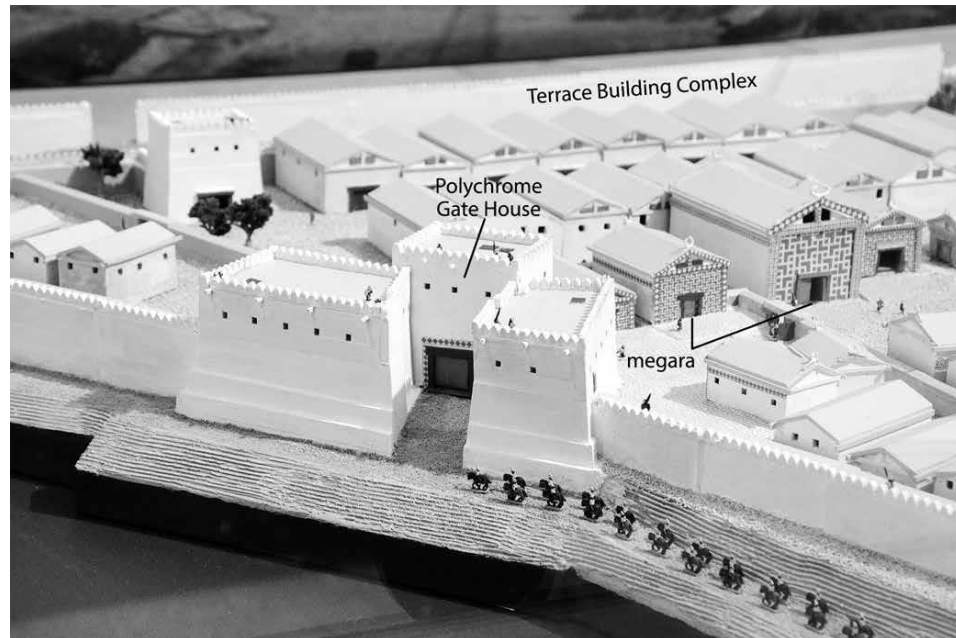


Figure 31 The model of the citadel mound in the early Phrygian period

Source: C. Brian Rose, “Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013-2015” in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 121, No. 1, (2017), 141.

These are the rectangular structures with a large, deep hall fronted by a much smaller porch. Lastly, The Terrace Building Complex consists of series of chambers aligned side by side, isolated from each other by the shared side walls.¹⁷³ It consists of 8 big rooms which were once used for textile production and food handling. The structure which is

¹⁷³ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati, (2006), 19.

completely excavated is longer than 100 meters. This makes the structure one of the biggest of its era in Anatolia. For the chambers of the Terrace Building Complex, the megaron plan was used as well and had two rows of posts in their main chambers. These posts may have supported an upper storey, and this storey may have been used as a living space, or storage, or a different arrangement for the roof.¹⁷⁴ The walls of these structures were seriously damaged because of the fire in citadel in around 800 BCE.¹⁷⁵

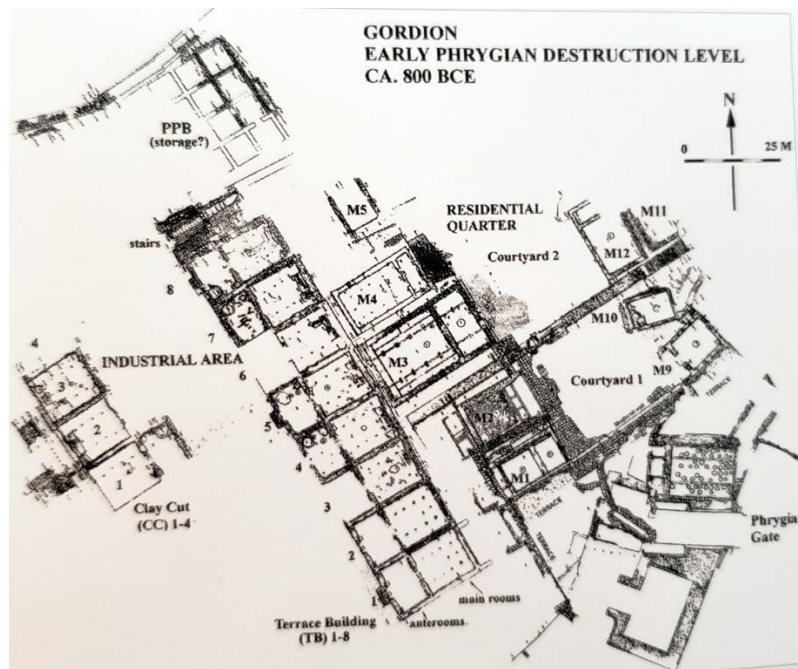


Figure 32 Plan of the Old Phrygian Citadel, ca. 800 BCE.

Source: G. Kenneth Sams, “Gordion, the Capital City of the Phrygians and its Buildings” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H, (Ege Yayinlari, 2013), 57.

¹⁷⁴ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati, (2006), 19.

¹⁷⁵ The loss of this fire is often described as the “Destruction Level”. At first, Young dated this fire back to the 700 BCE, and then associated it with the Kimmer attacks described in the Greco-Roman stories. However, with the advances in archaeological science, especially with the developments in the dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating method, we are able to determine that destruction happened in 800 BCE, that is, 100 years earlier than Young had predicted. (Rose, C., B. & Darbyshire, G. *The Golden Age of King Midas* (2016). University of Pennsylvania Press, 8-9)

Megaron is a common form of Phrygian architecture consisting of a wide and deep room engaged with a smaller and much shallower anteroom or porch. Phrygians mostly preferred to use this type of structure made up of wood and mudbrick on rubble foundation. Megaron 2 is, however, distinctly made up of stone and embodying a colorful-red, blue, white and black- and complex patterned mosaic, which is exhibited in the Gordion Museum. However, what was their origin or the source of their inspiration? Although a study of Phrygian art suggests a number of influences from other parts of the eastern world—from Assyria and North Syria, from Urartu and even from Iran—, the composition has always a Phrygian flavor of its own.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the found pebble mosaic suggests that the art of mosaic-making was first practiced in Phrygia in the eighth century.¹⁷⁷ According to the Architectural Conservation Laboratory in University of Pennsylvania, it depicts woven textiles for which the city was so famous,¹⁷⁸ and which was a great contribution to Phrygian commerce.

This complex geometric patterned mosaic was found in 1956 and, 7 years later, the best preserved sections of the mosaic were cut from its own place in order to be protected. Several decades, it was situated in the site's dig house, and the exact date of transferring to museum is not clear.¹⁷⁹ However, the actual conservation program was started in

¹⁷⁶ Rodney S. Young, "Early Mosaics at Gordion" in *Expedition*. Vol. 7, Issue 3, (1965), 12-13.

¹⁷⁷ Tiffin Thompson & Frank Matero & Meredith Keller, *Conservation and Management Plan for the Megaron 2 Pebble Mosaic Pavement* (Philadelphia: Architectural Conservation Laboratory, School of Design, University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 1.

¹⁷⁸ University of Pennsylvania Architectural Conservation Laboratory. Retrieved from <http://www.conlab.org/acl/gordion/mosaic.html> on September 6, 2018.

¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth Tiffin Thompson, *Documentation and Evaluation of the Conditions of the 9th century B.C.E Mosaic, from Gordion, Turkey and Recommendations for its Conservation and Treatment* (University of Pennsylvania Master's Thesis, (2011), 1.

2013, even though the colored pebble mosaic is first of its kind and has a critical importance for the history of architecture.¹⁸⁰



Figure 33 Early Phrygian Fabric Fragment, ca. 800 BCE

Source: C. Brian Rose, & Gareth Darbyshire, *The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 102.

Figure 34 Pebble mosaic from 9th century BCE, discovered during Megaron 2 excavations

Source: C. Brian Rose, & Gareth Darbyshire, *The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 103.

Megaron 3 is the biggest and the most impressive unit of the citadel, where the richest objects as wooden furniture with inlaid ivory plaques are found and exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. The scale of this building and the richness of its furnishings lead the excavation team to suppose that it was a part of the royal palace.¹⁸³ It is thought that Megaron 3 was used as a reception and audience hall

¹⁸⁰ C. Brian Rose, “Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013–2015” in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 121, (2017), 160.

¹⁸³ Rodney S. Young, “Gordion: Phrygian Construction and Architecture II” in *Expedition*. Vol. 4, No.4, (1962), 9.

by the rulers in the 9th century B.C.E, which they built for demonstrating their power and wealth.¹⁸⁴

The overall archaeological site and the excavations can be observed throughout the designed visitor route which encircles the excavation area from above. Visitors climb the stairs of the mound at the entrance gate, and from the top have a beautiful view into the city and out across the landscape. A circuit at the top of the mound allows visitors to experience the citadel and the surrounding landscape in 360 degrees.¹⁸⁵ For the sake of conservation, the excavated areas of the Citadel Mound are not accessible for touristic purposes, although visitors can walk and experience through the entire excavation process from the top of the excavation scarp.¹⁸⁶ The visitor path surrounding the site allows them to observe the Citadel Mound excavations as well as the landscape around the mound. The focus of the work since 2009 has been the implementation of new fences, stone steps, and information signs to improve the experience of visitors.¹⁸⁷

Thanks to the improvements, while the Citadel Mound and the rest of the site was interconnected visually, a more intimate experience was created for the visitors by facilitating the understanding and interpretation of the architecture and archaeology of the site. Throughout the designed Citadel Mound path, 11 new bilingual (Turkish and English) information signs allowing visitors to reach the full history of the settlements at Gordion were placed. All along the route, there are several information boards informing the visitors about the main spots as the Early Phrygian Citadel, the Middle Phrygian Citadel, Phrygian Fortifications and Sakarya River. Moreover, the river valley,

¹⁸⁴ Digital Gordion. Retrieved from <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/history/iron-age-gordion/> in 06/03/2018.

¹⁸⁵ Frank G. Matero, & C. Brian Rose, "Resurrecting Gordion" in *Expedition*. Vol. 53, Issue 1, (2011), 22.

¹⁸⁶ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati, (2006), 29.

¹⁸⁷ C. Brian Rose & Gareth Darbyshire, *The Golden Age of King Midas* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 55.

Yassihöyük village, Gordion Museum, Tumulus MM and the dozens of other tumuli can be all seen from the above of Citadel Mound.



Figure 35 The old rusted fence along the visitor circuit before 2009

Source: C. Brian Rose & Gareth Darbyshire, *The Golden Age of King Midas* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 51.

Figure 36 The old fence replaced with a new fencing system and signage

Source: Photographed by the author on January 11, 2017.



Figure 37 New signage system

Source: Photographed by the author on January 11, 2017.

Figure 38 New signage system

Source: Photographed by the author on January 11, 2017.



Figure 39 The view of Tumulus MM (BLUE), Gordion Archaeological Museum (YELLOW), Dig House (RED) and Yassihöyük Village (GREEN) from the top of Citadel Mound

Source: Photographed by the author on January 11, 2017.



Figure 40 The view of Sakarya River from the top of the Citadel Mound

Source: Photographed by the author on January 11, 2017.



Figure 41 Partial view of the dozens of the tumuli in Gordion from the top of the Citadel Mound

Source: Photographed by the author on January 11, 2017.

3.4.2 Tumulus

In Anatolia, there are several tumuli which are the biggest examples of these artificial burial mounds throughout the world; Bin Tepeler (Lydian), Gordion (Phrygian), and Mount Nemrut (Commagene) are three of the most important tumuli in Anatolia. However, in the 9th century BCE, they were merely created in Gordion.¹⁸⁸ The first of the monumental burial mounds discovered so far, Tumulus W, was constructed ca. 850 BCE. Moreover, more than 120 tumuli surrounded Gordion. The source of this burial tradition is unclear. Burial mounds were first occurred in southeastern Europe –the

¹⁸⁸ C. Brian Rose, “Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013–2015” in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 121, No. 1, (2017), 171.

homeland of the Phrygians- during the Bronze Age (ca 1600 BCE- ca 1200 BCE). Therefore, their migration happened in the later 12th century, and the earliest excavated tumuli in Gordion did not appear until the middle of the 9th century.¹⁸⁹

After the death of Phrygian royal family members, commanders, and rich people, their wooden burial chamber is covered with large amount of soil and creates a big mound harmonious with the surrounding nature. These massive and artificial tomb structures are called “tumulus”, and created in order to protect the burial chambers especially against the grave robbers.¹⁹⁰ They are also very remarkable monuments at the same time. Even if the exterior surface of the tumulus looks like a natural hill in the middle of the plain, they house a well-planned architecture under the stacked hill. The ancient Phrygians had recognized the importance of these expressions. Most of the large tumuli in the area and the smallest ones are located in a direct line of sight with the city that extends alongside the river. In addition, the tumuli were located on the hills and valleys along the ancient roads, and were visible from the city; thus their appearance and their effects have been increased. Different sizes of the tombs reflect a graded hierarchy in each tumulus, which must be directly related to the relative importance of the buried body.¹⁹¹ The king or the family members of the king are buried together with their various items they used and the gifted objects for them in the designed wooden chamber.

After the burial process of the death, large and long pits are dug on soil, the burial chamber is surrounded by an exterior wall, and the surrounding of the wall is filled with rubble stone. After this, the chamber is covered up with a wooden roof, and a big

¹⁸⁹ C. Brian Rose, “Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013–2015” in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 121, No. 1, (2017), 172.

¹⁹⁰ Hasan Tahsin Uçankuş, *Bir İnsan ve Uygarlık Bilimi Arkeoloji: Tarih Öncesinden Perslere Kadar Anadolu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), 593.

¹⁹¹ C. Brian Rose & Gareth Darbyshire, *The Golden Age of King Midas* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 29-30.

amount of pebbles on it. And finally, this planned structure is filled with soil and takes the form of a hill and a “tumulus”. Thus, this gateless chamber covered with tons of soil becomes the tomb of only one person and can never be opened in an easy way. Additionally, for the sake of guarding the tumulus against the grave robbers, they located the burial chambers far from the center of the tumulus.¹⁹² The burial chamber was not designed or constructed as a free-standing unit. The structural stability of the chamber has been dependent on the existence of the tumulus outside the perimeter stone wall.

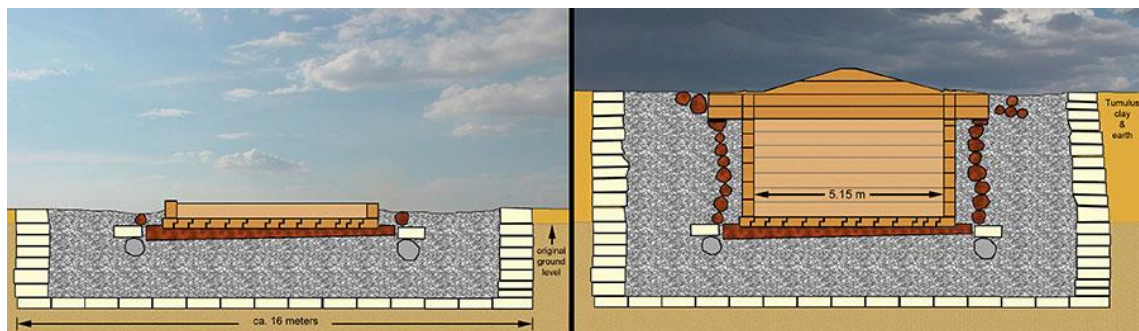


Figure 42 The tomb chamber complex ready for the burial, with cross beams and double-pitched roof supports in place. Drawings by Richard Liebhart and Banu Bedel.

Source: Richard Liebhart & Lucas Stephens, “Tumulus MM: Fit for a King” in *Expedition*. Issue. 57, (2015), 36.

The burial chamber and the soil hill were built and established together.¹⁹³ The proportions of the tombs (tumuli), the quality and the number of the objects in the burial chambers define the importance of the buried person; the bigger it is, the more royal the

¹⁹² Selda Balta, *Gordion (Yassıhöyük) Arkeolojik Sit Alanı Üzerindeki Tarihsel Dokunun Korunması* (2010). Gazi University, Master’s thesis, 41-42.

¹⁹³ Richard F. Liebhart & Gareth Darbyshire & Evin Erder & Ben Marsh, “A Fresh Look at the Tumuli of Gordion” in *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millenium BCE*, eds. Kelp, U. & Henry, O. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 633.

individual is.¹⁹⁴ The royal tumuli that formed the landscape have highlighted both the wealth and the power of the kingdom and the size of the labor force during their construction.¹⁹⁵

More than 120 tumuli, most of which date between 900 and 500 BCE, define the surrounding landscape of Gordion.¹⁹⁶ The number and the scale of the tombs (tumuli) in other Phrygian lands do not reach the level of Gordion. The height of the tumuli in Gordion ranges between 3 meters, which cannot be even noticed, to 53 meters, which are still that high after a 2700-year erosion. The buried bodies can be both woman and man, and the age range differs from 4 to 60.¹⁹⁷ As already mentioned, the excavation of the Gordion tombs (tumuli) was first started in 1900 by Gustav and Alfred Körte. They opened 5 tumuli which they named as K (I, II, III, IV and V), and the researches in these tumuli provided the first profound information about the monumental tombs of Gordion.¹⁹⁸ However, it took 50 years to start the second phase of the tumulus excavations in 1950 under the leadership of Rodney Young from Pennsylvania University.

¹⁹⁴ Selda Balta, *Gordion (Yassihöyük) Arkeolojik Sit Alanı Üzerindeki Tarihsel Dokunun Korunması* (2010). Gazi University, Master's thesis, 41-43.

¹⁹⁵ C. Brian Rose, "Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013–2015" in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 121, No. 1, (2017), 172.

¹⁹⁶ Frank G. Matero, *Gordion Awakened: Conserving A Phrygian Landscape* (Architectural Conservation Laboratory, 8, 2011).

¹⁹⁷ Dündar Tokgöz & Nejat İşcan, *Frigya* (Eskişehir: Uğur Ofset Matbaası, 1982), 31-37.

¹⁹⁸ Serap Erdoğan, *Gordion Tümülüsleri Işığında Frigler'de Oda Mezarlara Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri*, Selçuk University Master's Thesis, (2007), 13.



Figure 43 The general view of Gordion tumuli

Source: From the archive of Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara.

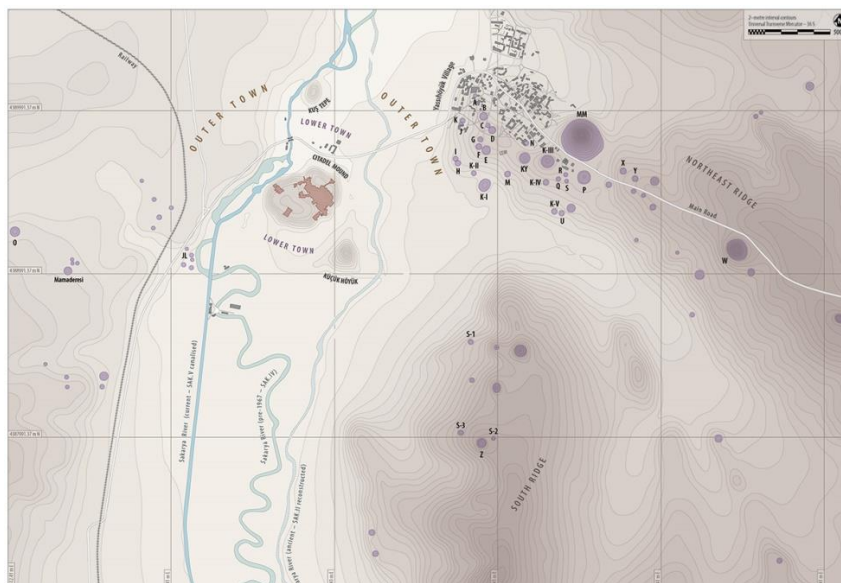


Figure 44 The map of tumuli around Gordion. Letters identify the burial mounds.

Source: Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, “Taming the Beast: The Digital Gordion Mapping Project” in *Expedition*. Vol. 55, Issue 2, (2013), 26.

He enlightened the history regarding how Phrygian tombs progress in time by investigating 31 tumuli named in alphabetical order like Tumulus P, Tumulus W,

Tumulus X, Tumulus Y, Tumulus KY, Tumulus A and particularly the Great Tumulus (MM) which include richer objects.²⁰⁰ However, except the Great Tumulus (MM), the other tumuli were reclosed with soil after taking out and investigating the artefacts and furnitures. Therefore, the only tumulus opened to public is the Great Tumulus (MM).

3.4.2.1 The Great Tumulus (Tumulus MM)



Figure 45 Tumulus MM

Source: G. Kenneth Sams, “Phrygian Tumuli” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H, (Ege Yayinlari, 2013), 250.

It was started to be excavated in 1957 by Pennsylvania University. It is still standing at 53 meters tall and 300 meters wide, and it is visible even from long distances on every

²⁰⁰ Richard F. Liebhart & Gareth Darbyshire & Evin Erder & Ben Marsh, “A Fresh Look at the Tumuli of Gordion” in *Tumulus as Sema: Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millenium BCE*, eds. Kelp, U. & Henry, O. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 628.

major ancient or modern road.²⁰¹ It is the biggest of central Anatolia and Gordion, and the second biggest of the whole Anatolian tumuli. According to Young, the diameter of the tumulus would be 250 meters and the height of it would be 70-80 meters; after the erosions the height was gradually going down, while the diameter was increasing.²⁰² It is the one of a kind with its burial chamber formed with pine-trees and 3750-year juniper logs. American researchers utilize the tunnel method, one of the excavation methods, which has not been applied before in order to protect the monumental appearance of the tomb while trying to reach the burial chamber in 1957.²⁰³ Because it is not always placed in the middle of the mound, the exact placement of the chamber is found as a result of the drilling works, and is reached by excavating a 70-meter tunnel with the help of the mineworkers from Zonguldak.²⁰⁴ Being able to reach the Great Tumulus without any harm is one of the most important achievements in the archaeology history.

As mentioned before, Tumulus MM is the only mound accessible to the public. One can walk directly into the center of the mound and observe the preserved remains of a royal Phrygian tomb, but not walk any farther than the end of the entrance tunnel. The area at the end of the tunnel does not provide the best view of the tomb.

However, in order to prevent such a delicate structure which is completely organic and prone to fire against potential hazards from the visitors, this kind of a restriction was the only solution. As Banu Bedel states in her thesis, the graffiti on the walls of the tomb

²⁰¹ Richard Liebhart & Lucas Stephens, “Tumulus MM: Fit for a King” in *Expedition*. Issue. 57, (2015), 31.

²⁰² Rodney S. Young, *Gordion: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum* (Ankara Turizmi, Eskieserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Dernegi Yayinlari 4, 1975), 43-44.

²⁰³ Serap Erdoğan, *Gordion Tümülüsleri Işığında Frigler'de Oda Mezarlara Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri*, Selçuk University Master's Thesis, (2007), 29.

²⁰⁴ Selda Balta, *Gordion (Yassıhöyük) Arkeolojik Sit Alanı Üzerindeki Tarihsel Dokunun Korunması*, Gazi University, Master's thesis, (2010), 47.

chamber left from the times when there were no restrictions on access.²⁰⁵ There is very little relevant documentation about this issue, so what Gareth Darbyshire, the Gordion archivist in the Penn Museum, found and shared about the topic from the archives of the Penn Museum is very important. He stated that the tomb chamber was open to at least

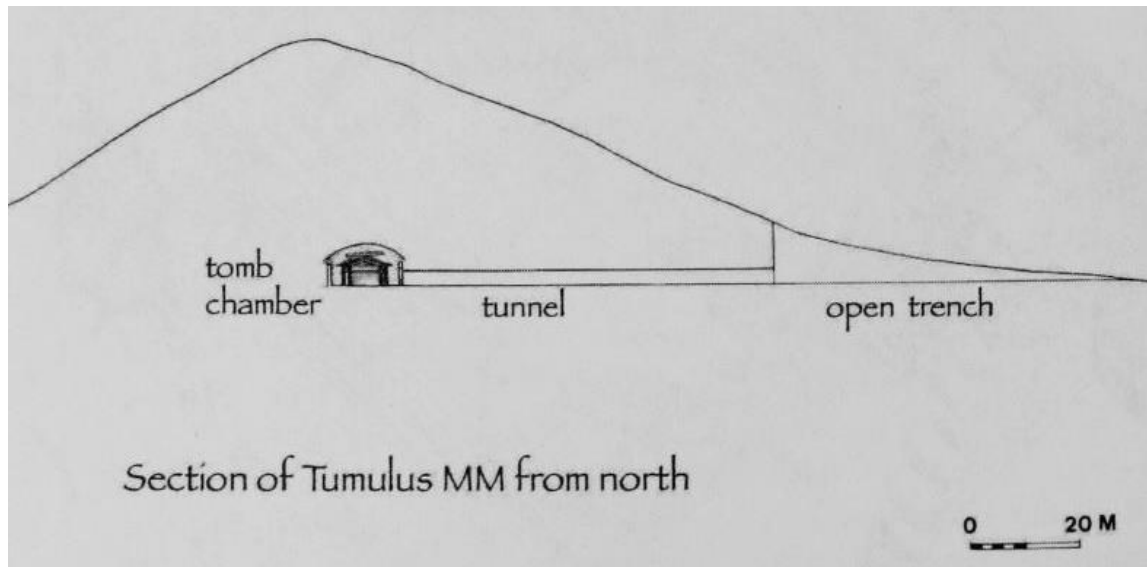


Figure 46 Section of Tumulus MM

Source: Richard F. Liebhart & Jessica S. Johnson, “Support and Conserve: Conservation and Environmental Monitoring of the Tomb Chamber of Tumulus MM” in *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, ed. Kealhofer, L., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 194.

some visitors for some time after the 1957 investigation, and before the completion of the concrete barrier around the tomb chamber in 1960–1961. Unfortunately, during this time, some of these people vandalized the monument (stealing pieces of wood, writing graffiti etc.) Precisely how long the chamber was accessible to visitors between 1957 and 1961 is uncertain, however. The concrete barrier around the chamber was built in

²⁰⁵ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 30.

1960–1961, by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums. However, there are no photographs from this period.

The only undamaged Phrygian tumulus is the Tumulus MM, because it was built at ground level unlike its counterparts which are under the soil. Therefore, because of its richer concentration, the monumental construction, its relative grandness, and having different structural characteristics considering the other Phrygian tumuli all strengthen the idea of the tomb belongs to a king. This is why, for years, the tomb has been supposed to belong to King Midas, and even the name of the tumulus has been memorialized as “Tomb of Midas”. However, one of the very important discoveries during the excavations is that the Tumulus MM was constructed almost 40 years earlier than King Midas’ death. As indicated in *Recent Work at Gordion*, recent tree-ring or dendrochronological dating of tomb timbers by Peter Kuniholm (2001) indicate that they were cut around 740 BCE, about the time that Midas came to the throne.²⁰⁷ Moreover, as Young stated, because King Midas killed himself right after the invasion of Cimmerians, and such a magnificent monument cannot be built after his death under the occupation.²⁰⁸ Therefore, the tomb must belong to his father, King Gordios, and must be built by King Midas; but apparently not used by him. The tumulus was constructed by Midas as the first expression of his power and ambition. However, whoever the actual occupant, it is very clear that the tumulus belongs to a Phrygian king of that time. Because it is the biggest tumulus excavated so far –twice as high as any other tumulus around the area-; it does not have a flat roof like the other tumuli do -has a double

²⁰⁷ Lucas Kealhofer, “Recent Work at Gordion” in *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, ed. Kealhofer, L, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 7, 2005).

²⁰⁸ Rodney S. Young, *Gordion: A Guide to the Excavations and Museum* (Ankara Turizmi, Eskieserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Dernegi Yayinlari 4, 1975), 50.

pitched roof-; and, lastly, the discovered artefacts in the burial chamber are more expensive and more in number than the others.²⁰⁹



Figure 47 The objects found in Tumul MM. They are exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara

Source: All are photographed by Raddato, C. 2016. Retrieved from;
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/41523983@N08/26322239656>
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/41523983@N08/26255843722>
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/carolemage/26255825532>
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/carolemage/25745438443>

²⁰⁹ Richard F. Liebhart, & Jane S Johnson, “Support and Conserve: Conservation and Environmental Monitoring of the Tomb Chamber of Tumul MM” in *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, ed. Kealhofer, L., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 191.

When researchers first entered the interior of the burial chamber, there was a skeleton lying down in the northwest corner of the chamber which is 159 cm tall and a male body.²¹² Even if the whole parts of the body was complete when it was first discovered, today only his skull and his chin bone remain, and are exhibited in Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara. Apart from the skeleton found in the chamber, the objects buried with the body are 170 different bronze vessels, 2 wooden screens, 2 wooden tables and 145 fibulas –brooch or clasp- which were all produced by Phrygian artists in a much elaborated way are also exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.²¹³

3.5 History of Archaeological Excavation in Gordion

What we know about Gordion has been mostly obtained from the excavations because of the lack of written sources and knowledge of Phrygian language. The early history of Phrygia can only be traced on the basis of archaeological evidence. Thus, in the light of the excavations, Gordion is the most important settlement, both because it became the capital and is currently the most extensively excavated Phrygian site. The site of Gordion was first “discovered” in 1893, when the German Classicist Alfred Körte visited a location on the Sakarya River where engineers working on the Berlin–Baghdad Railroad had come across the remains of an ancient settlement. The selection of the placement of the railway construction was not random. This was the military route from the coast to the interior of Anatolia in ancient times, just as it is the route followed by the

²¹² Serap Erdoğan, *Gordion Tümülüsleri Işığında Frigler'de Oda Mezarlara Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri*, Selçuk University Master's Thesis, (2007), 31.

²¹³ Serap Erdoğan, *Gordion Tümülüsleri Işığında Frigler'de Oda Mezarlara Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri*, Selçuk University Master's Thesis, (2007), 32-34.

railroad today.²¹⁵ As Wendy Shaw stated in her book,²¹⁶ in the 19th century railway constructions were accelerated first by the British and then the Germans in order to be able to obtain the historical artefacts while developing the transportation network. The railway projects which follow the historically important places and the historical trade routes, eased the transportation of artefacts and the Europeans who were interested in the archaeology. In 1856, the British obtained the first railway concession to build the İzmir-Aydın line and since then the acquisition of the historical artefacts had taken place due to compulsory excavations for railway construction. For example, right after the British began the construction of the railway infrastructure in 1863, John Turtle Wood –a British architect, engineer and archaeologist– started the project that would later turn into the Ephesus excavation. The early trade route from Ephesus to Susa is the one that identifies the traces of this railway; therefore, none of the discoveries following the earlier traces in the land was a coincidence. As mentioned before, Körte identified the site on the trade route, the Royal Road, as Gordion primarily on the basis of what ancient Greek and Latin writers had to say about the old Phrygian capital. 7 years later, in 1900, he returned to Gordion with his brother Gustav to carry out a single, three-month season of excavation which is among the first controlled field projects to take place in central Anatolia.²¹⁷ Körte brothers investigated the Citadel Mound and opened 5 tumuli which are called Körte I-V today. On the Citadel Mound they reached levels that were perhaps as early as the sixth century BCE. They opened 5 tumuli out of 85 known in the immediate vicinity of Gordion. Various wooden furnitures, bronze stones, and potteries were discovered in these tumuli during the three-month excavation in 1900,

²¹⁵ Rodney S. Young, “Gordion: 1950” in *University Museum Bulletin*. Vol. 16, No. 1, (1951), 3.

²¹⁶ Wendy M., K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. (University of California Press, 2003), 131-132.

²¹⁷ G. Kenneth Sams, “Gordion: Explorations over a Century” in *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*, ed. Kealhofer, L. (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Achaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 10.

and were distributed among İstanbul Archaeological Museum and German State Museums in Berlin.

After 50 years Körte discovered Gordion in 1950 Rodney S. Young²¹⁸ began excavations in Gordion under the University of Pennsylvania Museum. When Young began the Gordion excavations, there had been a longstanding competition among the Ivy League universities of America, related with the excavations of the great ancient cities. As Brian Rose stated in one of his articles:

Princeton had dug the Athenian Agora and the Lydian capital of Sardis, subsequently taken over by Harvard and Cornell; Yale had explored the Syrian caravan site of Dura Europas; and Penn had excavated the Mesopotamian cities of Nippur and Ur. In a sense, each university wanted to incorporate into their identity the greatest achievements of antiquity and, thus, targeted for exploration the city centers of the wealthiest ancient sites to which they could gain access.²¹⁹

The Curator of the Mediterranean Section of the University Museum and part-time lecturer in the Classics Department of the University of Pennsylvania, Prof. J. F. Daniel, was planning to undertake a large-scale excavation, and with the assistance of Rodney Young, they took a trip to Turkey in 1948. They were impressed by what they observed in Gordion, because in spite of a short excavation period –three-month excavation– 48 years ago by Körte brothers, what had been found so far looked very promising in terms

²¹⁸ Rodney Stuart Young was an American Near Eastern archaeologist. He graduated from the Department of Classics in Princeton University in 1929, received his M.A. from Columbia University in 1932, and earned his Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1940. He became the Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania in 1950, and he helped to form the graduate program which is known today as the Graduate Group in the Art and Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. In the same year, he began to excavate Gordion and kept excavating and investigating until his death in 1974.

²¹⁹ C. Brian Rose, “Gordion and the Penn Museum” in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 13.

of the discoveries to come.²²⁰ However, during their trip in Turkey, Daniel passed away because of an attack. Therefore, the project was taken over by Rodney Young. He and his team led the excavations for 17 seasons, from 1951 to 1973. As part of the effort to convey the cultural and historic importance of the site, a team from the University of Pennsylvania, Architectural Conservation Laboratory, worked to improve the presentation of the current architectural fabric. In the excavation report of the season 1950, Rodney Young stated that:

It is hoped that excavation on this site may suggest answers to many of the unsolved problems concerning the Phrygian people: their origin, the date of their appearance in Asia Minor, their relations with a waning Hitite Empire, and later, their relations with Greek culture in its formative stages.²²¹

The artifacts that were discovered during the excavations after 1950 are exhibited both in Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, and Gordion Museum. As a result of these excavations, valuable works of art that brought new dimensions to the knowledge about Phrygian art and culture came to light. The eastern half of the Citadel Mound and the fortification system were the focal points of the Young era. He discovered that there was a fortification wall and stratified monumental structures just below the level of destruction, which was mentioned before in the “*Citadel Mound*” section of the thesis. He observed an archaeological continuity extending a very long period of time. However, the fire that occurred around 800 BCE destroyed almost every structure in the citadel.²²² As the destruction had left the daily used objects in their own places for many

²²⁰ Keith DeVries, “Rodney Stuart Young” in *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young*, ed. DeVries, K. (The University Museum University of Pennsylvania, 1980), xvi.

²²¹ Rodney S. Young, “The Excavations at Yassihüyük: Gordion 1950” in *Archaeology*. Vol. 3, No. 4, (1950), 197.

²²² digitalGordion, *Iron Age Gordion*. Retrieved from <http://sites.museum.upenn.edu/gordion/history/iron-age-gordion/> on March 20, 2019.

years, today it provides ability for archaeologists to talk about not only the architectural forms, but the intended use of the objects.²²³ The Phrygian architecture of its time, material culture and life conditions could be clarified, and are kept being clarified each passing day by the excavations.

Normally, perceiving a settlement rests on the connections of its components. In the case of Gordion, the components such as buildings, fortification walls, and living spaces are discernible and comprehensible.²²⁴ However, although Gordion contains all these features within itself, this exceptional composition is currently illegible due to deterioration and a number of past presentation approaches.²²⁵ Yet, apart from enhancing the Gate complex with cement, partially reburying the walls, and removing some selected stones, there is little preservation occurred on the site during the era of Rodney Young until 1974.²²⁶ For instance, in 1956, a pebble mosaic, which is mentioned in the previous chapter, found in one of the megarons in citadel which is the earliest example of its kind was lifted in panels and carried to Gordion Museum. Then the panels were placed in an outdoor shelter in the museum which does not provide a sufficient protection. After the death of Young in 1974, the excavations in Gordion were stopped

²²³ G. Kenneth Sams, "Gordion, the Capital City of the Phrygians and its Buildings" in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H, (Ege Yayınları, 2013), 57.

²²⁴ As Gordion's kings decided to make an unusual decision in 800 BCE, the structures in the settlement were well preserved. The decision they made was to increase the height of the mound by 4 to 5 meters to give the city a more authoritarian impression. This meant that the Early Phrygian Citadel Mound and the 50-year buildings had been completely buried. Such a radical recreation of a whole city had been never seen before in the ancient world. It would be appropriate to consider the decision as a way to tackle the growing magnificence of the northern castles of Syria, which Gordion was in contact with. (Rose, C., B. & Darbyshire, G. *The Golden Age of King Midas* (2016). University of Pennsylvania Press, 7-8.)

²²⁵ Frank G. Matero, & C. Brian Rose, "Resurrecting Gordion" in *Expedition*. Vol. 53, Issue 1, (2011), 24.

²²⁶ Elisa Del Bono, "Architectural Conservation at Gordion" in *The Golden Age of King Midas*, eds. Rose, B. & Darbyshire, G., (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 50.

until 1988, and the archaeological site was exposed to the harsh weather conditions of Central Anatolia region. Brian Rose stated the Young's period as:

During the 20th century, large fieldwork projects focused far more on excavation than conservation, and Gordion was no exception. Young's determination to uncover most of the eastern side of the Citadel Mound yielded an enormous amount of information concerning the settlement's history and organization, but the buildings he uncovered are now in desperate need of attention, and that is true for most other sites in the Near East.²²⁷

However, after the reinitiation of the excavations on the site, G. Kenneth Sams²²⁸ started a new conservation program; he assumed the responsibility for publication of the Young discoveries as well as architectural conservation, while Mary M. Voigt²²⁹ launching an entirely new series of excavations.²³⁰ Tumulus MM and the Citadel Mound were the main focal points of the program. After Young's discovery of monumental architecture at Gordion, Sams and his team tried to develop a different perspective on reinterpretation of the site. In her article, Mary Voigt stated this new perspective as

²²⁷ C. Brian Rose, "Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013–2015" in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 121, (2017), 147.

²²⁸ Kenneth Sams graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1965. He earned his PhD from the University of Pennsylvania in 1971. His doctoral research was on the painted pottery in Gordion. He studied with Rodney S. Young during his dissertation. He began working for the excavations in Gordion in 1967. He served as director of the excavations in Gordion from 1988 to 2013. His one of the most important contributions to the scholarship of Gordion was the two-volume *The Early Phrygian Pottery* in 1994. He passed away on September 2018.

²²⁹ Mary Mathilda Voigt received her B.A. from Marquette University in 1962, and earned her PhD from University of Pennsylvania in Anthropology in 1976. She co-directed a Neolithic Village excavation at Hajji Firuz Tepe in the northwestern Iran with Anthropology Professor Robert Dyson in 1968-69. In the 1980s, she was a research assistant to Robert Dyson at University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and wrote and published on the archaeology of Iran and Turkey. She directed the Gordion Excavation Project from 1988 to 2012.

²³⁰ C. Brian Rose, "Gordion and the Penn Museum" in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 19.

follows:

Breaks between minimal stratigraphic units defined within each operation correspond to minor changes in human activities and/or in natural processes. After analysis, these shorter units (representing weeks or months) were grouped into phases, which represented significant periods of time (decades or centuries). Two topics discussed there: the initial appearance of monumental architecture at Gordion, signaling the formation of a powerful Phrygian polity, and the rebuilding of Gordion after the Early Phrygian destruction. New evidence has changed our understanding of the nature and timing of these key events at Gordion.²³¹

It is generally tourism which encourages exposing and displaying the sites. However, it shifts the priorities of archaeological research to managing deterioration and interpreting the findings and histories.²³² In 2004, the Architectural Conservation Laboratory²³³ was invited to the archaeological site by the heads of the excavation, G. Kenneth Sams and C. Brian Rose. After all, with the help of the increasing funding and prepared conservation plans, the process which includes site and architectural conservation, maintenance and interpretation are accelerated. In 2008, a Cooperative Agreement was signed between Middle East Technical University (METU) and University of Pennsylvania (UPenn) under the leadership of Evin Erder (METU) and Ayse Gürsan-Salzmann (UPenn). The newly prepared program was supported and funded by TÜBİTAK (Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) to develop a

²³¹ Mary M. Voigt, “Old Problems and New Solutions: Recent Excavation at Gordion” in *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians*, ed. L. Kealhofer, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 28.

²³² Frank G. Matero, & C. Brian Rose, “Resurrecting Gordion” in *Expedition*. Vol. 53, Issue 1, (2011), 21.

²³³ It was founded in 1991 under the School of Design at University of Pennsylvania. It has focused on architectural conservation and building technology.

regional Conservation Management Plan for Gordion and its vicinity.²³⁴ Within the scope of the plan, there are various ongoing projects focusing on Terrace Building Complex, the visitor circuit and the Citadel Gate which are the areas requiring primary action in the site.



Figure 48 Citadel Mound Circuit. Green line shows the borders of Citadel Mound, red line shows the visitor circuit and grey areas are the excavation sites.

Source: Rose, C., B. Fieldwork at Phrygian Gordion, 2013-2015 in *American Journal of Archaeology* (2017). Vol. 121, No. 1, 138.

The first monument that one sees when approaching the Citadel Mound is the monumental Early Phrygian Citadel Gate. Its stone walls still rise to 10 m. This was the principal entrance into the citadel beginning from the 9th century through the 4th

²³⁴ Elisa Del Bono, "Architectural Conservation at Gordion" in *The Golden Age of King Midas*, eds. Rose, B. & Darbyshire, G., (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 50-51.

century BCE. Despite the armed conflict –*Sakarya Meydan Muharebesi* (Battle of the Sakarya) in 1921, close to the banks of the Sakarya River in the immediate vicinity of Polatlı- and the destruction of earthquakes, it is still the best preserved Iron Age citadel gate in Asia Minor.



Figure 49 Aerial photo of Terrace Building Complex

Source: Pizzorno, G. *Digital Gordion Mapping Project*. Retrieved from <https://scholar.harvard.edu/pizzorno/dgmp> on February 2, 2019.



Figure 50 Citadel Mound

Source: Matero, F., G. *Gordion Awakened: Conserving A Phrygian Landscape* (2011). Architectural Conservation Laboratory, 73.

3.6 Gordion Archaeological Museum

3.6.1 The Unimplemented Museum

One of the main objectives of the Turkish General Directorate of Monuments and Museums are on-site intervention to on-going excavations, and inform the foreign and local tourists properly during their visiting time by constructing local museums in Turkey's major archaeological and touristic areas.²³⁵ Therefore, to display, conserve and study some of the finds from Gordion near the site of their recovery, a local museum studies started at Gordion, which gained a great deal of importance in both archaeology and tourism, in 1965. There was a need for a local museum near the excavation site in

²³⁵ M. Önder, "Introduction" in *Gordion.*, ed. Young, R., (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1966), 19.

Gordion in order to attract the attentions to the historical site, findings and Phrygian culture. Until a museum was founded in Gordion, the artefacts had been sent to primary museums like Museum of Anatolian Civilizations and İstanbul Archaeological Museum. However, immovable cultural properties, the cultural landscape, the artefacts and the traces of the Phrygian history and the culture constitute a meaningful whole all together. Therefore, in order to present a more meaningful whole to the visitors, they all had to be gathered in one place, and the museum was the first step to draw the attention into the whole.

Before its current site and building, it had been planned on a different site and in a totally different shape. A museum at Yassihöyük / Gordion was being planned by the Turkish government by 1962. As Rodney Young stated in his article they were asked to sketch some plans and diagrams for a museum building which will fit better into the historical atmosphere than an ordinary concrete box.²³⁶ As Charles Kaufman Williams²³⁷ (architect and archaeologist) sketched and suggested that a Phrygian building would be, naturally, in accordance with the historical environment in Gordion. Therefore, Williams proposed to construct the Megaron 3, which had already been excavated on the Citadel Mound, as the new museum building. It was the most suitable one for a museum building with its adaptable plan – the great hall for display, the galleries for storage, the vestibule for housing the guard and the ticket and information office. The proposed material was reinforced concrete and masonry with fireproof modern construction techniques. The skeleton of the proposed building was designed by translating the interior posts as reinforced concrete piers onto the facades. In between the equally

²³⁶ Rodney S. Young, “Gordion: Phrygian Construction and Architecture II” in *Expedition*. Vol. 4, No.4, (1962), 11.

²³⁷ Charles received his B.A. with honors (1953), and an M.F.A. in Architecture from Princeton University (1956), and worked as an architect in the office of Philip Johnson, while taking classes at NYU’s Institute of Fine Arts. During that time art, architecture, and archaeology vied for his attention. His two seasons with Alan Wace at Mycenae sealed his fate, however, and they were followed by further work at Mycenae and then at Aghios Stephanos, Morgantina, Gordion, Nemea, and Halieis. He received his PhD from the University of Pennsylvania (1978). In 1966 he became director of the Corinth Excavations.

spaced piers around the periphery filled with masonry screens, and formed the skeleton of the reconstruction.²³⁸ The front elevation was inspired from the Phrygian rock façades at Midas City where they still exist and offer a lot of details. Even though there was no evidence for the original height of the megaron, the width matched with the proportions of the Midas City monument without any waste space above. Therefore, the plan of the megaron, the façade and the interior arrangement were all based on on-site evidences. However, apart from the two-dimensional evidences (plans, ruck-cut monuments in Midas City etc.) they needed to make assumptions about the third dimension of the structure because of the ruined situation of Megaron 3; they added series of windows high up below the roof in order to provide more sunlight. In the same year, a trench was excavated as the proposed museum site. This location is not where the museum is today, but fairly close to the Gordion Excavation House.

However, neither the proposed location for the museum nor the proposed design was implemented. The megaron type museum in Gordion has not found its way to practice, and a more conventional structure was built instead. If the proposed museum had been erected, the project team would have been able to discover more about the third dimension of the structures while trying to imitate the historical ones.²³⁹ However, in order to ease the perception of the third dimension of the proposed museum, it was created by referring to architect's sketches and created a 3D model of the museum. As it is an unimplemented museum and the sketches of the architect are the only sources that can be used, there were vague details that needed to be interpreted in order to complete it. For illustrate, the pattern on the front elevation is not clear from the sketch, and the selected materials are not specified on every detail. Hence, it is required to crosscheck the project from Megaron 3 data, or interpret the details from an architect's perspective.

²³⁸ Rodney S. Young, "Gordion: Phrygian Construction and Architecture II" in *Expedition*. Vol. 4, No.4, (1962), 11.

²³⁹ Rodney S. Young, "Gordion: Phrygian Construction and Architecture II" in *Expedition*. Vol. 4, No.4, (1962), 11.



Figure 51 The view of the proposed Gordion Museum, looking toward the Tumulus MM.

Source: G. Roger Edwards, "Gordion: 1962" in *Expedition*. Vol. 5, No. 3, (1963), 42.

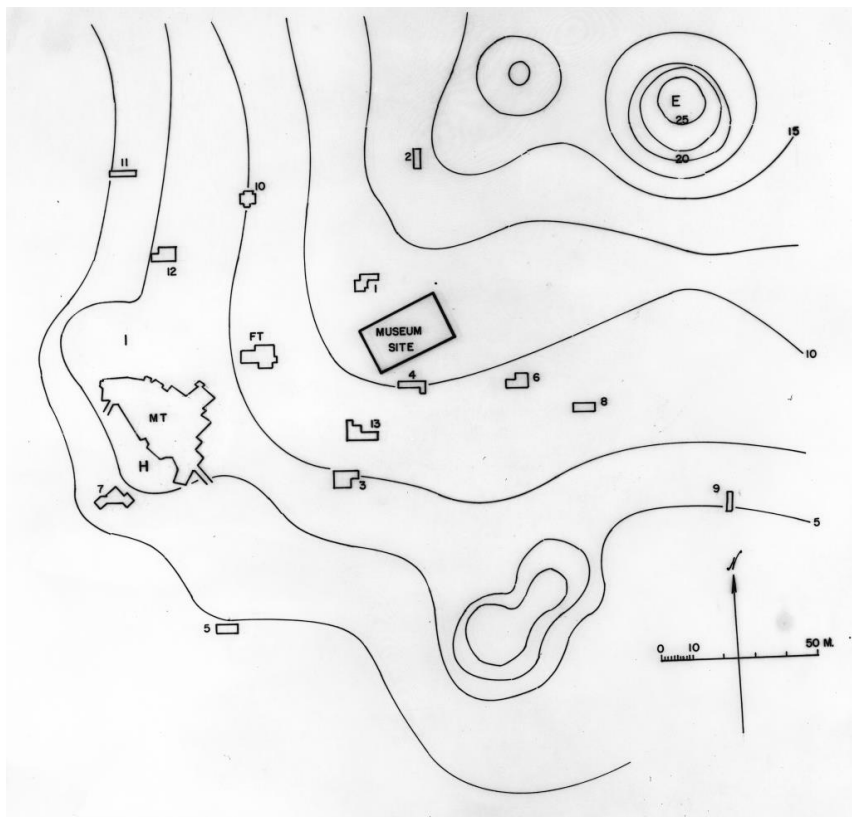


Figure 52 The site plan of the proposed Gordion Museum

Source: G. Roger Edwards, "Gordion: 1962" in *Expedition*. Vol. 5, No. 3, (1963), 43.

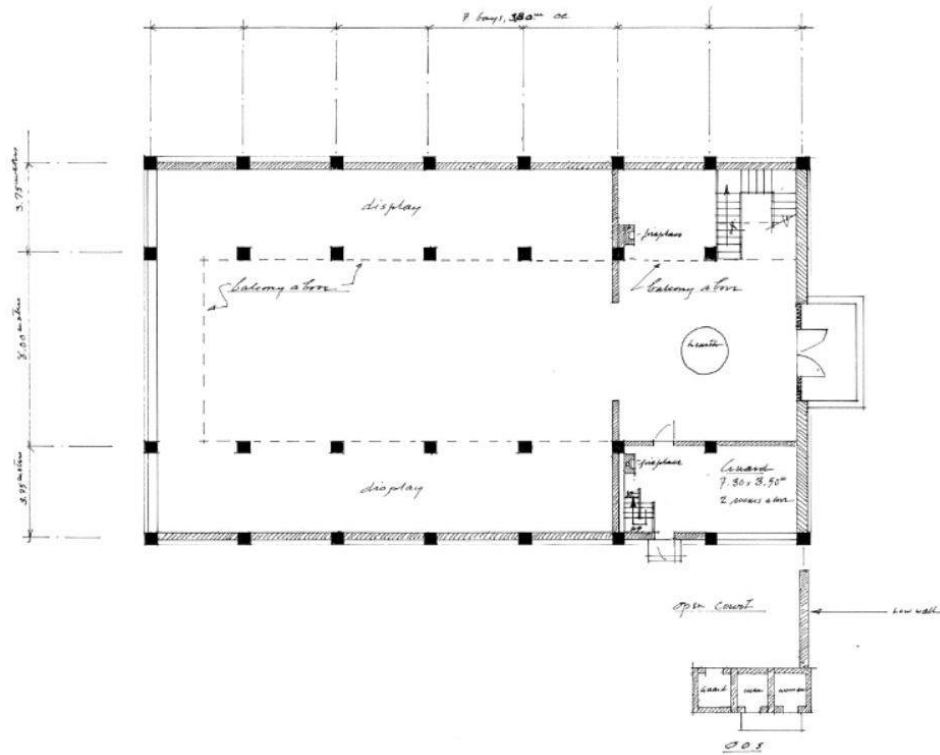
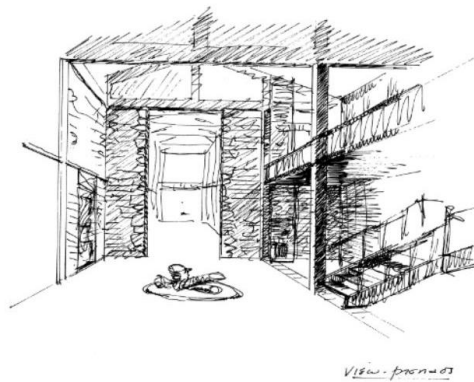


Figure 53 The floor plan of the proposed museum, 1962.

Source: Retrieved from the archives of University of Pennsylvania on December 8, 2018.



GORDION MUSEUM
 SKETCH SHEET #1
 1962 - 4 FEB.

1962-31

Figure 54 The interior sketch of the proposed museum

Source: Retrieved from the archives of University of Pennsylvania on December 8, 2018.

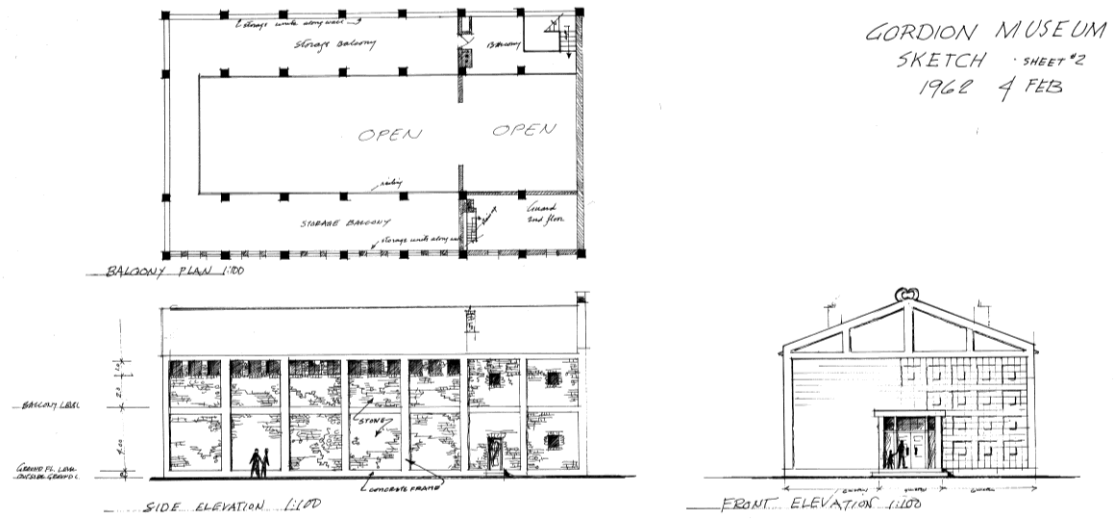


Figure 55 The balcony plan and the side and front elevations of the proposed museum, 1962.

Source: Retrieved from the archives of University of Pennsylvania on December 8, 2018.

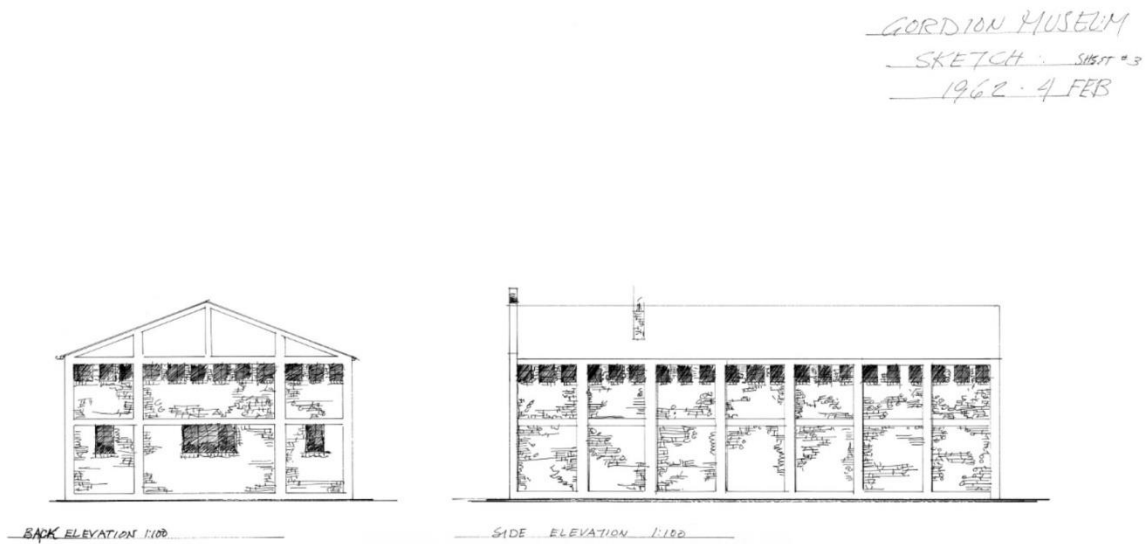


Figure 56 The back and side elevations of the proposed museum, 1962.

Source: Retrieved from the archives of University of Pennsylvania on December 8, 2018.



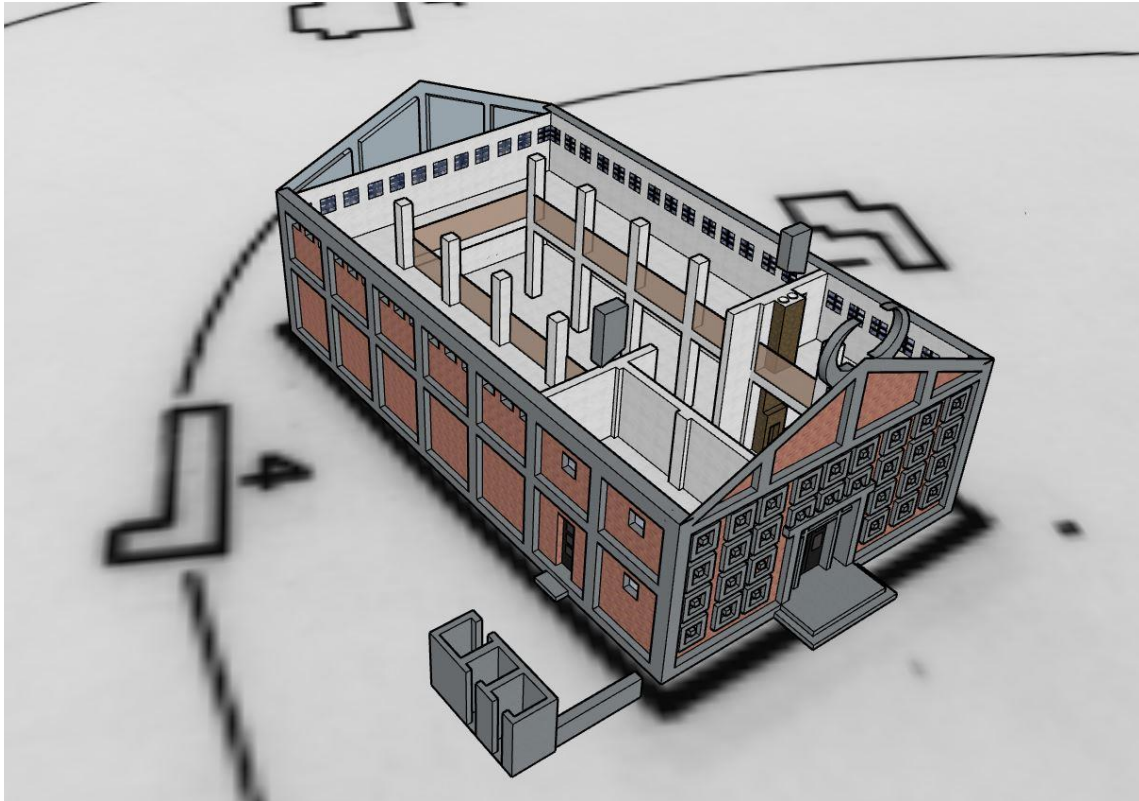
Figure 57 3D model of the proposed but unbuilt museum building. Created by the author.



Figure 58 Back elevation of the museum. Created by the author.



Figure 59 Section render of the museum. Created by the author.



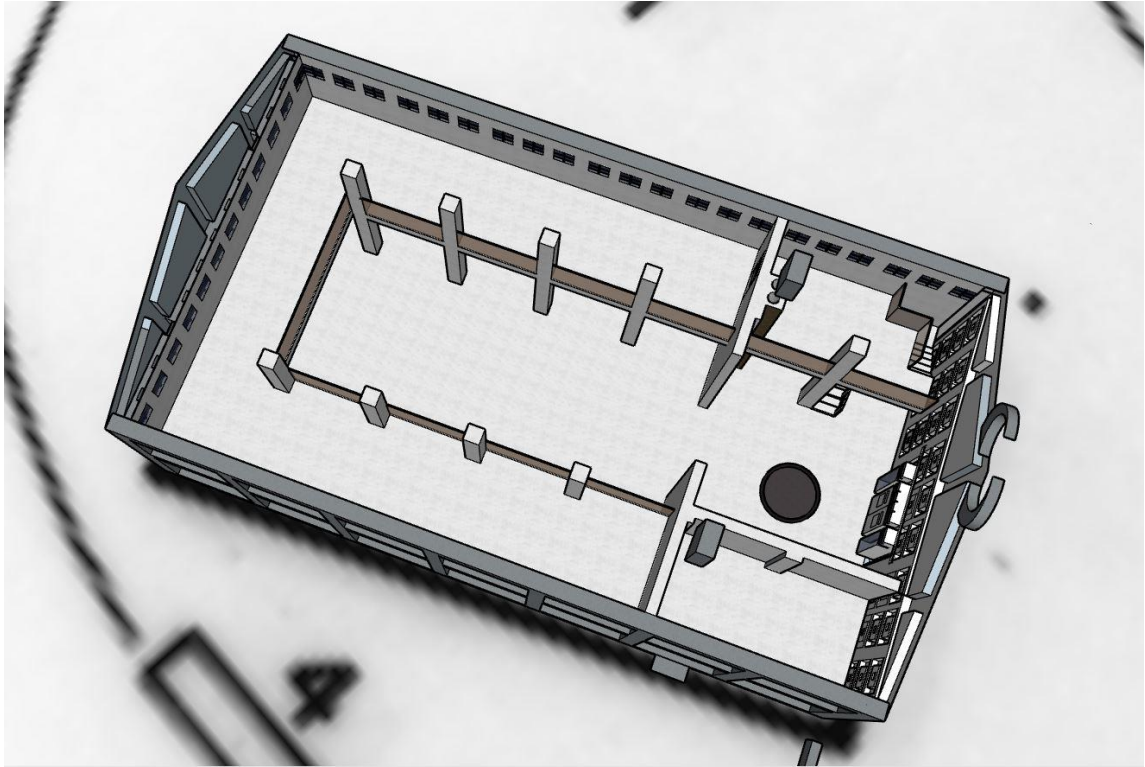


Figure 60 Interior images of the proposed museum. Created by the author.

3.6.2 Current Museum

The current Gordion Archaeological Museum was constructed over three years later, next to Tumulus MM, in 1965–1966. It was founded in one year as a dependent branch of Museum of Anatolian Civilizations near Yassihöyük village. After the site for the museum had been decided, it was started to be dug, tested and cleared in April 1965. After the archaeological team left the site, the construction of the museum building was

started in September 1965, planned to have it ready in the spring of 1966, completed in 1966 as planned.²⁴⁰



Figure 61 Tumulus MM and Gordion Museum in 1967

Source: Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 333.

Upon entering Yassihöyük from Ankara one first arrives at the Gordion Museum. Located on the main road entering the village of Yassihöyük, the Gordion Archaeological Museum is bordered by broad agricultural landscapes, the imposing Tumulus MM (Great Tumulus), and the edge of a small, rural township. Visitors approach the museum after driving past numerous smaller tumuli usually arriving from

²⁴⁰ Rodney S. Young, “The Gordion Campaign of 1965” in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 70, No. 3, (1966), 267.

the town of Polatli. The museum is currently the home for the display of artefacts collected from the site as well as a place for visitors to learn about Gordion and the region. It is placed near the southwest base of the Tumulus MM, the museum allows a short walk to the top of the mounds for a panoramic view of the larger region. The funding was provided by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums to erect the museum building, and was an adjunct of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara under the direction of Raci Temizer.²⁴¹ The General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, Mehmet Önder, thanks the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations team who supervised the project in the foreword of the 1966 guidebook.²⁴² Önder also states the objectives of the General Directorate of the Monuments and Museums as making the Gordion Museum a “living museum” and “open to all”. It is part of a broader mission to create local museums across the country.

In spite of the deficiencies of its provincial setting and the distance from its administration, the museum presents the Gordion in an informative way with its rich collection.

This level of richness was achieved with a renovation project in 1999 by the collaboration of Gordion excavation team and the Turkish Ministry of Culture.²⁴³ Entirely new displays which were brought from Museum of Anatolian Civilizations – directed by İlhan Temizsoy- were installed in the Gordion Museum.

²⁴¹ Rodney S. Young, “The Gordion Campaign of 1965” in *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. 70, No. 3, (1966), 267.

²⁴² Rodney S. Young, *Gordion* (Ankara Turizmi, Eski Eserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Dernegi, 1966), 19.

²⁴³ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 23.



Figure 62 The location of Gordion Museum

Source: The image was taken from Google Maps.



Figure 63 The entrance of the museum



Figure 64 The exterior of the museum

The size of the original 1965 museum was also doubled by the additions –a large gallery wing, additional object storage and new workspaces-.²⁴⁴ The renovation process took two full field seasons. The installation project was carried out by John Russick who is a Chicago-based exhibit designer and the mounts for the new displays in the museum were designed by Martin Giese, again from Chicago. After two seasons, 214 unstable and poorly restored objects from the previous excavations were treated by the conservators and interns before installing them to the exhibition in the museum.²⁴⁵ Moreover, by the

²⁴⁴ Jessica S. Johnson & Cricket Harbeck, “History of Object Conservation at the Gordion Archaeological Project, Turkey” in *Engaging Conservation: Collaboration Across Disciplines*, eds. Owczarek, N. & Gleeson, M. & Grant, L., (London: Archetype Publications, 2017), 102.

²⁴⁵ Jessica S. Johnson & Cricket Harbeck, “History of Object Conservation at the Gordion Archaeological Project, Turkey” in *Engaging Conservation: Collaboration Across Disciplines*, eds. Owczarek, N. & Gleeson, M. & Grant, L., (London: Archetype Publications, 2017), 102.

help of the Gordion team, over 600 objects were studied, archived and installed. Therefore, the new Gordion Museum was officially opened by the Minister of Culture, İstemihan Talay in October, 1999. The current museum exhibition space is comprised of 2 rooms, including the original museum building and a later addition extending off the back. It is a modest building with glass and wood display cases and a clerestory. The stratification on the Citadel Mound is the general outline of the displays in the Gordion Museum. The artefacts are presented in a chronological order and each period is represented by characteristic examples from the excavations. The artefacts are grouped by type as coins, iron, and glass; fragments of architectural elements; cases presenting different discoveries from each designated period from the Citadel Mound; a timber model of the Tumulus MM and various bronze objects discovered in the tumulus; and a replica of a portion of a chamber from the Terrace Building which is filled with material from the actual building.²⁴⁶ However, while artefacts are displayed in a chronological order, there is no clear way-finding for the visitor to guide them through the exhibit. It has an open plan which means there are no walls to direct the visitors and enforce them to any circulation diagram. Based on the general observations, visitors, mostly, meander haphazardly by the cases, stopping only occasionally to look at a particular object more closely or to read one of the many panels of explanatory text.²⁴⁷ The exhibit, therefore, fails to engage the visitor's interest and that there is a burdensome amount of text to read, some of which repeated in more than one display case. As Matero indicates one of his articles, this miscommunication is resulted by interventions which only address the physical condition of the artefacts and structures without concerning any cultural rituals

²⁴⁶ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 23.

²⁴⁷ Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, "Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011" in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 88.

or beliefs. These interventions can sometimes isolate the artefacts from their spirit and the social values.²⁴⁸

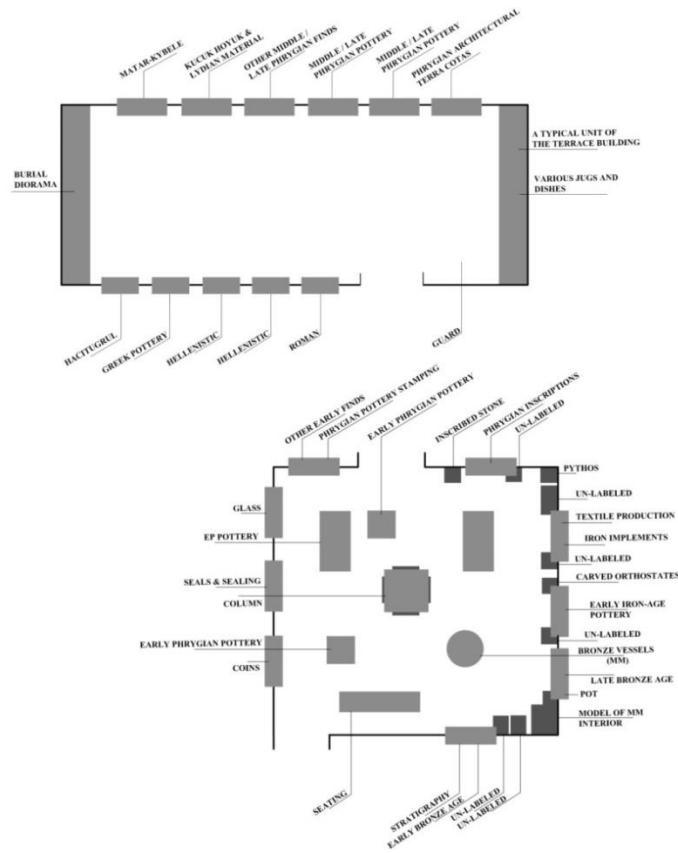


Figure 65 Above plan shows the southeast portion of Gordion Museum and its scheme. Below plan shows the scheme of main hall.

Source: Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in Prospectus (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 83. (Revised by the author)

The museum complex consists of a variety of buildings and structures, all surrounded by a boundary wall. It houses the main elements of the artifact collection while two mosaic floors and a stone tomb are displayed separately, outside, under pavilion shelters, and

²⁴⁸ Frank G. Matero, “Heritage, Conservation, and Archaeology: An Introduction” in *Heritage, Conservation and Archaeology* (Archaeological Institute of America, 2008), 3.

specimens of vegetation illustrating Gordion's ancient environment. However, the location and lack of signage for the two mosaics, tomb, and garden leave them often ignored.



Figure 66 The site plan of the museum and the other structures within the museum site

Source: Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, "Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011" in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 78. (Revised by the author)

First mosaic is the one which is the world’s earliest known extant mosaic pavement that dates to the 9th century BCE in the world.²⁴⁹ It was found intact in Megaron 2 in 1956, and has been displayed at the Gordion Museum since 1983. The other mosaic is The Roman Kayabaşı Mosaic which was discovered off site in Polatli in 1989 and dated back to 3rd century AD. Due to the space shortage in the museum, the mosaic panel could not be carried there, and the transfer of the panel could be happened after 10 years, in 1999.²⁵⁰ The panels are placed in semi-closed exhibition space at the garden of Gordion Museum and exhibited here without any alteration since then.

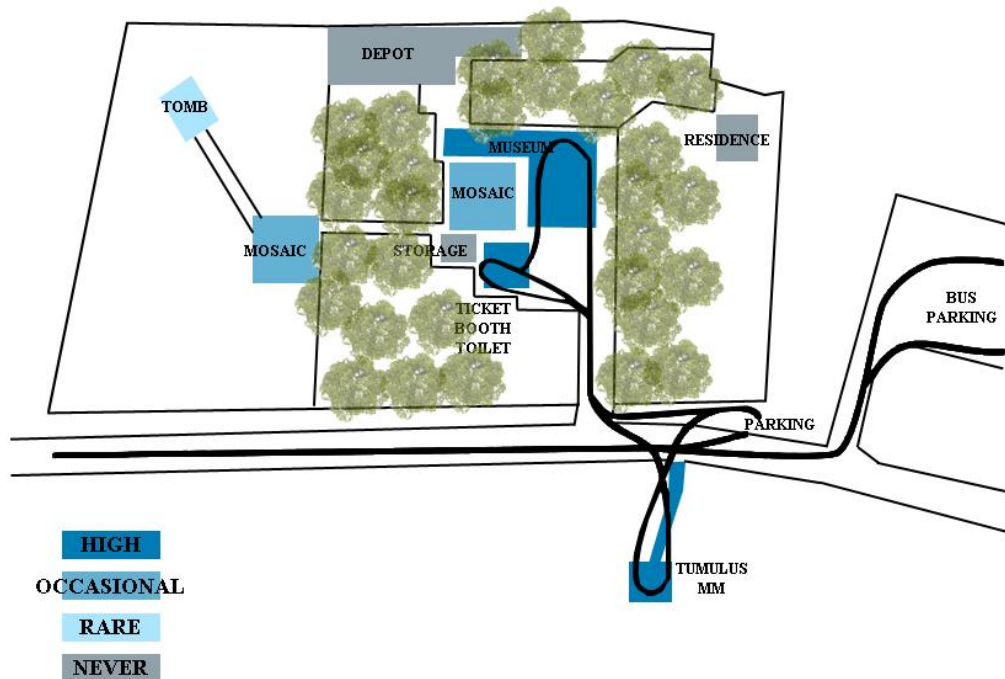


Figure 67 Scheme of tourist traffic. Showing the typical visitor sequence

Source: Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 76. (Revised by the author)

²⁴⁹ Tiffin Thompson, *Conservation and Management Plan for the Megaron 2 Pebble Mosaic Pavement* (Architectural Conservation Laboratory School of Design University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 14.

²⁵⁰ G. Kenneth Sams, & Ilhan Temizsoy, *Gordion Museum* (Turkish Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums. Ankara, 2000), 88.



Figure 68 Kayabaşı Mosaic in the museum garden

Source: Photographed by the author.

Figure 69 The mosaic of Megaron 2 located in the garden of Gordion Museum

Source: Photographed by the author.

In addition to two mosaic panels, there is also a Galatian Tomb displayed in the garden of Gordion Museum. It was found in 1954, but waited to be carried to the museum until 1999 with the renovation project of Gordion excavation team and Ministry of Culture in 1999—which is mentioned before-. In 50 years, it had been destroyed by human and nature. However, with the intervention of Ministry of Culture, it was saved from going out of existence.

Apart from the exhibition elements, there are also other buildings within the museum. The storage depot at the rear of the complex contains a small conservation lab and catalogued artefacts not on public display, which is accessed only by special permit. The office building includes a ticket window and rest rooms, as well as the adjacent small storage building. All enclosed structures are made of mud-brick or stone construction, some with the local vernacular. The site is heavily planted and provides a significant amount of shade and respite from the sun for visitors.



Figure 70 Galatian Tomb

Source: Photographed by the author.

Across the street is the gated entrance to Tumulus MM, which can be accessed with the same ticket to the museum exhibition. However, the location and lack of signage for the two mosaics, the Galatian Tomb, and garden leave them often ignored. Moreover, archaeologists use the museum complex primarily for access to working with artefacts within the depot. It is guarded, accessed by permit only, and provides an insufficient amount of storage space, especially if digging resumes with increased intensity. The usual sequence of visiting consists of stopping at the museum exhibition, enjoying the shade of the trees at museum complex, entering Tumulus MM and having refreshments at the café. Their visit typically lasts under 45 minutes and most of the time they leave Yassihöyük without travelling down to the citadel mound excavation site.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 76.

According to the observations of Kate Rufe and Abigail Smith, the disconnections in the area cannot integrate the landscape, museum and excavation area, and cause difficulties for many visitors at the site to form a context in their minds. The powerful relationship between the museum and Tumulus MM cannot be established with the Citadel Mound site, which is 2 km away from the museum site, and the visitors are mostly not aware of even the existence of the site and leave Gordion without experiencing it. Moreover, the Yassihöyük Village, which is in the middle of the road between Citadel Mound and the museum, cannot be integrated to the route as well. Apart from the visual interaction with the surrounding landscape, there are not any physical connections as well. In fact, there should be a strong tie among citadel, museum and landscape which all complete each other. At the same time, the relationship between Dig House (aka White House) and Citadel Mound should be extended to museum and village, and the interaction among the scholars, visitors, and locals should be increased.²⁵² Only by this way, one can talk about an absolute integration of visitors and scholars, history and present, and landscape and living space at Gordion.

By offering a variety of solutions -such as new modes of graphic representation of the current exhibition, an additional exhibition introducing contemporary photographs and crafts, strong connection to the landscape of the ancient city, new circulation routes through the museum complex, or an entirely new museum building and depot workspace-, the museum receive the attention it deserves. In 2011, with the studies of UPenn Regional Planning Studio, a multidisciplinary studio team worked on rehabilitating and developing the Gordion –the museum and its environ. Their research based on 4 main areas organized by theme as landscape, museum, buildings, and village. In the museum section, they proposed an entirely new museum building which contains all these features within itself:

²⁵² Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 102.

The proposed massing study for the museum is based on a central axis, connecting Tumulus MM, the museum collection, the landscape and citadel. The newly curated exhibit begins in the lobby with the mythical tales and lore of Gordion’s famous characters and continues from there in a chronological loop from the Bronze age to the Ottoman Empire. By placing the Megaron II Mosaic at the center of the museum, its historical significance is emphasized, while it is flanked on either side with artifact display galleries. The rear of the museum is opened to the exterior with a glass curtain wall which provides access to a back patio, giving further vantage toward the Citadel Mound. The rear of the museum additionally contains a large gallery space which can be used to display a modern and historical photography exhibit and to host special events.²⁵³

By the transparent boundaries, the museum opens its axis to connect the Citadel Mound, Gordion Archaeological Museum, and the historical landscape. Moreover, the display configuration and the proposed visitor circulation are important steps to break the confusion and create a more organized exhibition.

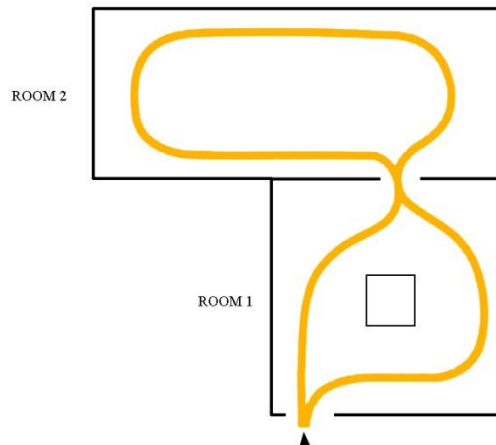


Figure 71 Current museum circulation scheme

Source: Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 82. (Revised by the author)

²⁵³ Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 105.

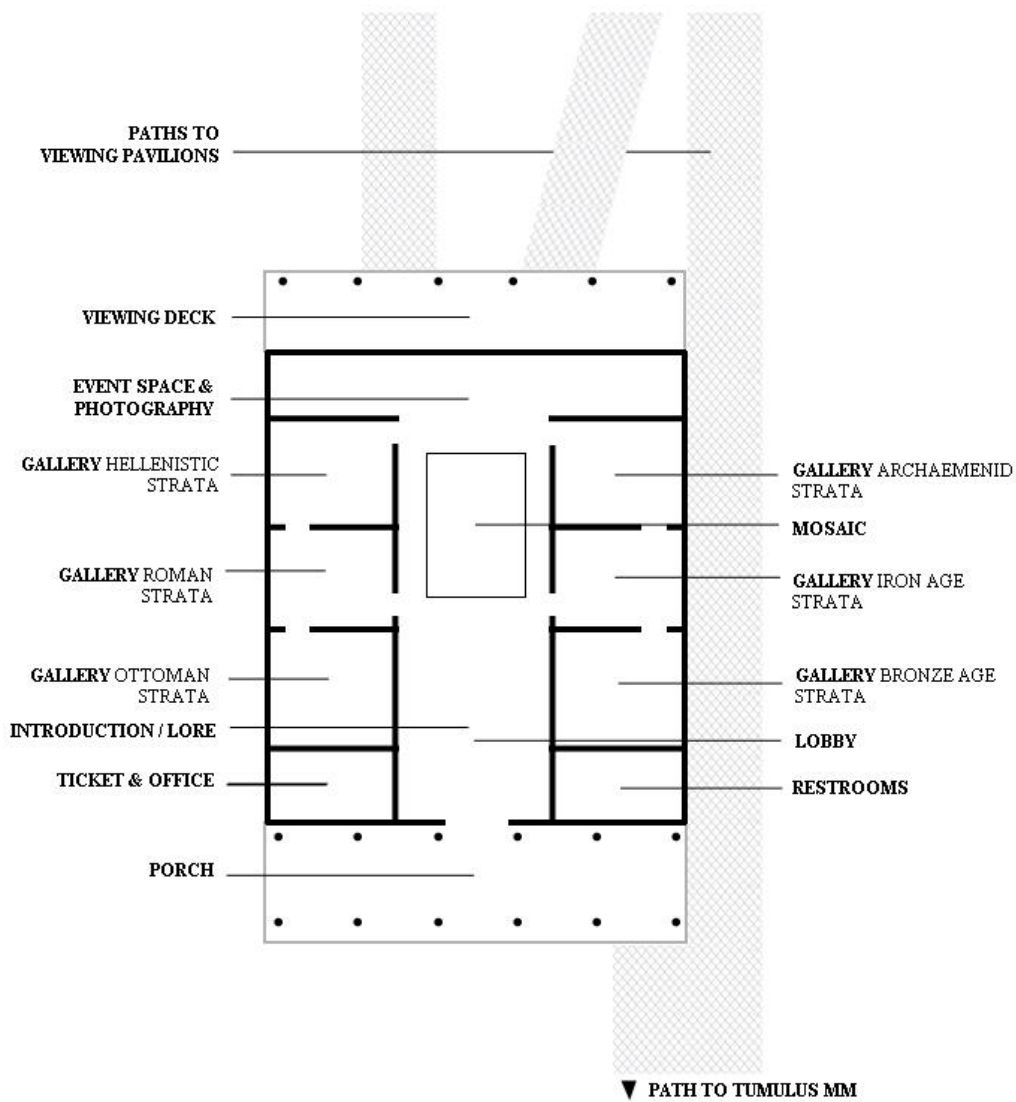


Figure 72 Proposed museum plan by the students of UPenn Regional Planning Studio, 2011.

Source: Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, "Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011" in Prospectus (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 105. (Revised by the author)

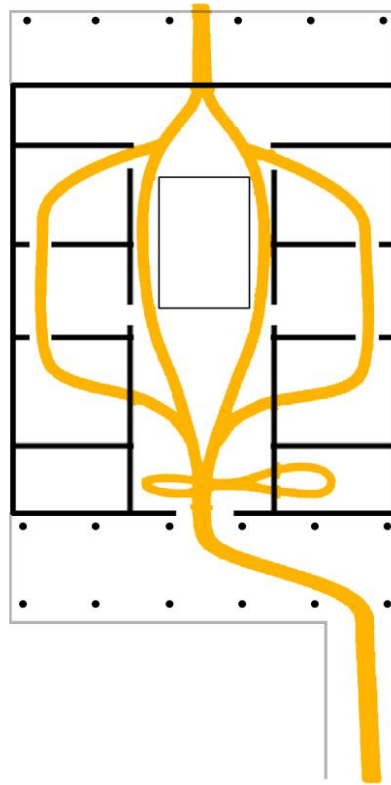


Figure 73 Proposed museum circulation scheme

Source: Kate Rufe & Abigail Smith, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 99. (Revised by the author)

3.7 Yassihöyük

The Yassihöyük village is situated within the legal boundaries of the Gordion archaeological site. The southern portion of the main road is designated as a “first degree” archaeological site whereas the northern portion is designated as a “third degree” archaeological site by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.²⁵⁴ The village is

²⁵⁴ Frank G. Matero, *Gordion Awakened: Conserving A Phrygian Landscape* (Architectural Conservation Laboratory, 2011), 9.

accessible via the road to Polatlı which is just over an hour's bus ride from Ankara, and thereafter 18 km by country road to Yassihöyük village. There is no regular bus service between Polatlı and Yassihöyük, so private transport or a taxi from Polatlı is essential. The village is situated on the expansive steppe-landscape of ancient Gordion (Citadel Mound) in the Sakarya River valley which is the main source of water for agriculture in the immediate region. It is surrounded by numerous tumuli, and has developed on the top of a cluster of mounds. The town of Polatlı is the closest large scale settlement and the administrative center to which Yassihöyük is legally affiliated.



Figure 74 The map indicating the first degree and third degree protected areas at Gordion

Source: Frank G. Matero, *Gordion Awakened: Conserving A Phrygian Landscape* (Architectural Conservation Laboratory, 2011), 9.

As shown in the map, the excavation area of the Citadel Mound, Tumulus MM and nearby tumuli are designated as 1st degree protected zone, but only a small portion of the

Yassihöyük Village is within the 3rd degree zone.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, only scientific researches and new constructions such as parking lots are allowed by the Conservation Committee in Ankara for the 1st degree protected zones. On the other hand, for the 3rd degree protected zones, only after the investigations and drilling processes around the area, new constructions are allowed by the Director of Excavations and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. It is, now, a village that has maintained a traditional way of life and most of its traditional architecture. The built fabric has begun to change with the introduction of concrete structures but not in an intensive way, so the overall character is not yet changed in any significant way. In accordance with the data and the observations obtained from the studies that conducted by the Regional Planning Studio in University of Pennsylvania,²⁵⁶ there are only two commercial facilities within the village; a café located next to the museum and a small grocery store. The store does not meet the needs of the locals and the café does not provide quality space or amenities to serve as an attractive gathering space for tourists and local villagers. Today, the village and the archaeological site coexist, but have seldom interaction with each other. It is a typical Central Anatolian village with a population of 243 people (134 men, 109 women).²⁵⁷ The economy is agro-pastoral, leaning more towards agriculture within the last decades. The Gordion excavations have provided seasonal employment opportunities for some of the inhabitants of the village in the past.²⁵⁸ Yassihöyük takes its name from the shape of the ancient settlement which means “Flat Mound” in Turkish.

²⁵⁵ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 338.

²⁵⁶ Joe Torres & Aysem Kilinc Ünlü, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 168.

²⁵⁷ Retrieved from the population database of the website of Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK). <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/Start.do> on November 12, 2018.

²⁵⁸ Joe Torres & Aysem Kilinc Ünlü, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 171.

A traditional house in Yassihöyük is a one or two storey, mudbrick structure with a hipped or pitched tile roof. Service units such as depots, barns, toilets, poultry house etc. follow the same construction technique and material. Generally, both residential and service buildings are located in a large courtyard which is enclosed by a stone or mudbrick wall as a part of household tradition. Families add buildings along the courtyard wall if a family member gets married or if they need extra service space. Most of the houses built with traditional techniques have a rough stone foundation that rises up to 60-80 cm above ground level. The rest of the walls are constructed in mud brick and sometimes have timber tie beams for seismic reinforcement. Walls are covered with layers of mud plaster and lime-wash. Roof constructions show a greater variety in terms of material and technique. Traditional techniques are the use of wood frame and a layer of reeds on top, covered with mud plaster and tile, whereas renovated roofs usually have wood and tile construction.²⁵⁹ However, as a result of the ever-growing modern agriculture systems, the migrations are inevitable for seasonal employments outside the village, and the village population decreases accordingly. The abandoned houses and an atmosphere of decay are the outgrowths of the modernization.²⁶⁰

In addition to information above, there is also a dig house which has changed the economic and cultural face of the village since its establishment. Like most houses in the village of Yassihöyük, it is built of mudbrick and plastered with white lime, giving rise to its local name: the “White House.” The village of Yassihöyük is part of the experience of living and working at Gordion. The dependable workers and staff come from the village. According to the excavation reports of the excavation team, they live in the village schoolhouse or with a family in the village, and their food is locally produced. The dig house is where the Museum’s team of archaeologists, conservators,

²⁵⁹ Joe Torres & Aysem Kilinc Ünlü, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 177.

²⁶⁰ Ayse Salzman-Gursan, “Gordion: Socio-economic Structure in the Light of Ethnoarchaeological Data” in *Phrygians: In the Land of Midas, In the Shadow of Monuments*, eds. Sivas, T., T. & Sivas, H., (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012), 105.

and administrators live, and all work not carried out at the Citadel Mound or museum usually takes place here as well. While the villagers help the team feel themselves belong to the community, the cultural and social interactions between them are inevitable.²⁶¹ Moreover, the daily life of the villagers was changed because of the excavation regulations and restrictions. Each archaeological project has a temporal limit; this means that the locals should be prepared to protect the archaeological site and its surroundings willingly.²⁶² Thus, the excavation team has to rely on the locals to take care of the ancient remains at Gordion. For that purpose, they prepared a new program in 2014 for the Yassihöyük residents, to train them in the preservation of cultural heritage and to inspire them with the history of Gordion and its surroundings. Although these kinds of community education programs are neglected in excavation areas, in order to maintain both the past and the future of the sites, adopting the past with the education programs is the key point.²⁶³



Figure 75 Dig House Complex

Source: Betty Prime & Nathaniel Rogers, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 117.

²⁶¹ Ayse Gursan Salzmann, “A Day in the Life” in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 61-66.

²⁶² University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.penn.museum/sites/gordion/season-report-2016/> on September 17, 2018.

²⁶³ Ayse Gursan Salzmann, “A Day in the Life” in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 66.

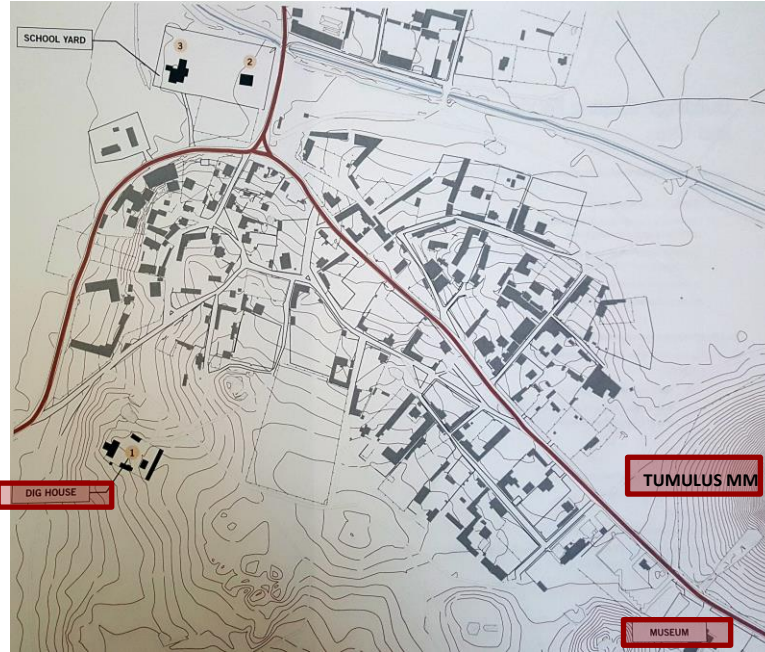


Figure 76 Map of Yassihöyük highlighting the Dig House, Tumulus MM and Gordion Archaeological Museum

Source: Betty Prime & Nathaniel Rogers, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 115.



Figure 77 The Site Plan of Dig House Complex

Source: Betty Prime & Nathaniel Rogers, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus* (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 118.

3.8 Social Changes due to Excavations

The physical and social landscapes of Gordion have been changed by the archaeological excavations since 1950. After the excavations started in 1950, many villagers preferred to work and settle in Yassihöyük. However, today, most of the population of Yassihöyük is farmers. As Ayşe Gürsan-Salzman and Evin Erder state in their article the village is more than its physical appearance, but it is changing at a fast pace. While the older single-storey mudbrick structures reflect a simpler lifestyle, they are quickly replaced by 'modern' two-three storey concrete structures, with indoor plumbing and kitchen. Nevertheless, remnants of the traditional culture still persist.²⁸³ With the start of the excavations, the need of a local museum and a dig house for the workers started to change the conventional village life and face. Especially, it was expected by the museum to attract more Turkish and foreign visitors around the world not only to the site, but also to Yassihöyük village and Polatli region. However, in spite of the predictions of culture tourism, the development and the growth of the region has been slower than expected.

Each year, the working staff for the excavations in Gordion stays in the area for only 2 months. This is why the history and the future of the area rely on the local community in order to be protected and promoted. Due to this reason, a new education program for the children in the region and for the habitants was pioneered by Ayşe Gürsan-Salzman, Assistant Director of the Gordion Project. It was for increasing the local awareness in history of the region and cultural heritage protection. For the last 4 years, the "Gordion Cultural Heritage Educational Program" has been carried out by Ayşe Gürsan-Salzman in partnership with Halil Demirdelen, Deputy Director of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, and with the assistance of the Penn Museum's palaeo-botanist Naomi F. Miller. The focal point of the program was training the children on cultural heritage in 2014 and 2015, but the focus shifted to especially teachers and administrators near Gordion in 2016. In 2017, the objective of the workshops aiming the children,

²⁸³ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, "A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs" in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 335.

teachers and the general public was to initiate a partnerships with officials to be able to preserve Gordion and its environ. The locals have to participate in the efforts of the preservation of the history, and have to learn the value of the heritage of the region, because tourism merely cannot be enough to save the place. The programs also intend to incorporate the locals more into the preservation of heritage culture by tying the promotion of the site to the marketing of local products and women's handicrafts.²⁸⁴ Therefore, in order to promote the women to sell their handicrafts and local foods in the village of Yassihöyük, a proposal presented to the Municipality of Polatli. It was approved, and both the local economy and visitors' interest were expected to develop.²⁸⁵ As Ayşe Gürsan-Salzman and Evin Erder state in their article that such a milieu, in which the region's inhabitants are closely linked to and dependent on their cultural heritage, will promote a powerful local stewardship that is both collaborative and sustainable.²⁸⁶ Therefore, the local museums are, apparently, not only for the visitors outside the village, but also for the locals. They create a strong connection between the old and existing civilization. In other words, a self-sustaining protection program by raising the community awareness is the key for the future. In the earlier days of the excavations, these kinds of community education programs were neglected, although the archaeological teams included the programs into their strategic plans.²⁸⁷ The long-term sustainability of this program will be assessed by changes in students' attitudes, and their willingness to share their knowledge with the local community.

²⁸⁴ University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.penn.museum/sites/gordion/season-report-2017/> on September 17, 2018.

²⁸⁵ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, "A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs" in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 342.

²⁸⁶ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman, "A Conseration Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs" in *Expedition*. Vol. 52, Issue 1, (2010), 7.

²⁸⁷ C. Brian Rose. "The Next Decade at Gordion" in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 68.

Secondly, in recent years, the Conservation Management Plan (CMP) for Yassihöyük, which has been conducted by a multi-disciplinary team from the University of Pennsylvania (The School of Design and Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) and Middle East Technical University (Faculty of Architecture) in Ankara,²⁸⁸ has required the definition of the values of the site and its environs based on past and present fieldwork (archaeological and historical, natural, scientific, cultural, educational, local and social, economic, touristic, political, symbolic, and spiritual).²⁸⁹ By making the cultural and natural landscape environmentally and economically sustainable for modern-day people, they hope to preserve it as well. Therefore, the survey began in 2007-2008 with the establishment of GIS database. It provides a geographic map that includes Gordion, surrounding tumuli, and the villages around Yassihöyük under the co-directorship of Dr. Evin Erder (METU) and Dr. Ayşe Gürsan-Salzmänn (Penn Museum). The attempts are to ease the presentation and conservation of the site historically, environmentally, and culturally for anyone interested.²⁹⁰ This project has shown the importance of documentation led by people-based research. The locals are again the most important components of the project, and they are expected to be aware of the significance of the over 120 tumuli and the destruction caused by the farming activities they made. Without raising such awareness, the tumuli are in danger of disappearing from the landscape. However, now, the villagers, when asked about Gordion, know it well and have often visited the site, but they also need to be aware of

²⁸⁸ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzmänn & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 337.

²⁸⁹ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzmänn & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 341.

²⁹⁰ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzmänn, “A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Expedition*. Vol. 52, Issue 1, (2010), 6.

their own role in the preservation.²⁹¹ Consequently, the Gordion Archaeological Project at the University of Pennsylvania developed a map which is indicating the high priority tumuli which needs preservation. If the site and its environs are known as an “eco-park” which needs to be protected, it is always easier to persuade the locals to the importance of the preservation of the tumuli and the cultural landscape from ancient periods to modern-day. Because the younger generations started to leave the villages for larger cities, only older inhabitants remain in the villages, and the villages are gradually becoming vacant. Villages will survive only if there are economic and social conditions which would encourage the residents to stay, continue with agriculture and pastoralism, and preserve their buildings. The spirit of the place can be preserved only through collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and local authorities.²⁹²

3.9 Digital Gordion Mapping Project

Digital Gordion Mapping Project was initiated by Gareth Darbyshire and Gabriel H. Pizzorno in 2008. It is a new means of dealing with the complexity and the stratification of the Gordion and the dataset. As the site covers 4 km across in the time of Midas and rises, now, 16 meters above the surrounding plain, trying to study a site in such a big size is a tough challenge.²⁹⁹ In order to discover the earlier material underneath the ground, the archaeologists first need to remove the above evidences which belong to a later period. This is why it is not wrong to say that archaeological excavation is a

²⁹¹ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conseration Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 344.

²⁹² Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conseration Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 343-344.

²⁹⁹ Gareth Darbyshire, “The Role of Science” in *Expedition*. Vol. 57, Issue 3, (2015), 57.

destructive process by its nature. Therefore, the recording is crucial as the work goes on. Because the removed artefacts or the actual remains are no longer in situ or may be no longer exist, accurate mapping is essential for much more improved archaeological practice. In order to properly represent spatial layouts belonging to one specific time period and sequences of layouts through time, the remains must first be linked to a reliable system of planimetric (horizontal) and altimetric (vertical) coordinates.³⁰⁰ The accuracy of the recorded coordinates depends on the technology of the day.

The Gordion Project carried out by the University of Pennsylvania has been using a range of scientific approaches like dendrochronology, remote sensing, radiocarbon dating, and geophysical survey over the last seven decades. When Darbyshire and Pizzorno started the Digital Gordion Mapping Project in 2008, the existing maps, sketches and plans were not enough reliable; even the spatial relationships and the accurate locations of the discoveries were roughly known.³⁰¹ In order to achieve the problem, they started to unify the data in a single and reliable system which is constituted by planimetric and altimetric coordinates. By utilizing the Geographic Information System (GIS), they began the process of referencing the cartography to a world-standard coordinate system, Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM).³⁰² The project takes the burden of dealing with the data from the researchers and carries it to the computer. Moreover, this digitalization project eases the collaboration between the researchers who are working on the same data at the same time and from separate spots by providing masses of data. Therefore, the processed data give freedom to the

³⁰⁰ Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, “Taming the Beast: The Digital Gordion Mapping Project” in *Expedition*. Vol. 55, Issue 2, (2013), 27-29.

³⁰¹ Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, “Taming the Beast: The Digital Gordion Mapping Project” in *Expedition*. Vol. 55, Issue 2, (2013), 28.

³⁰² Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, “Taming the Beast: The Digital Gordion Mapping Project” in *Expedition*. Vol. 55, Issue 2, (2013), 28.

researchers while working at any place, and help them only concentrating on the interpretation of the material.³⁰³ The fundamental elements of the dataset are field notebooks, photographs, large format plans and maps drawn to scale, drawings of artifacts, many lists, and post-excavation written reports.

As Darbyshire states in his article, to encourage the imagination and ease the visualization, 3D architectural and topographical reconstruction works –as a result of correct and detailed dataset- are still in progress.³⁰⁴ The studies on visualization have not been completed yet.

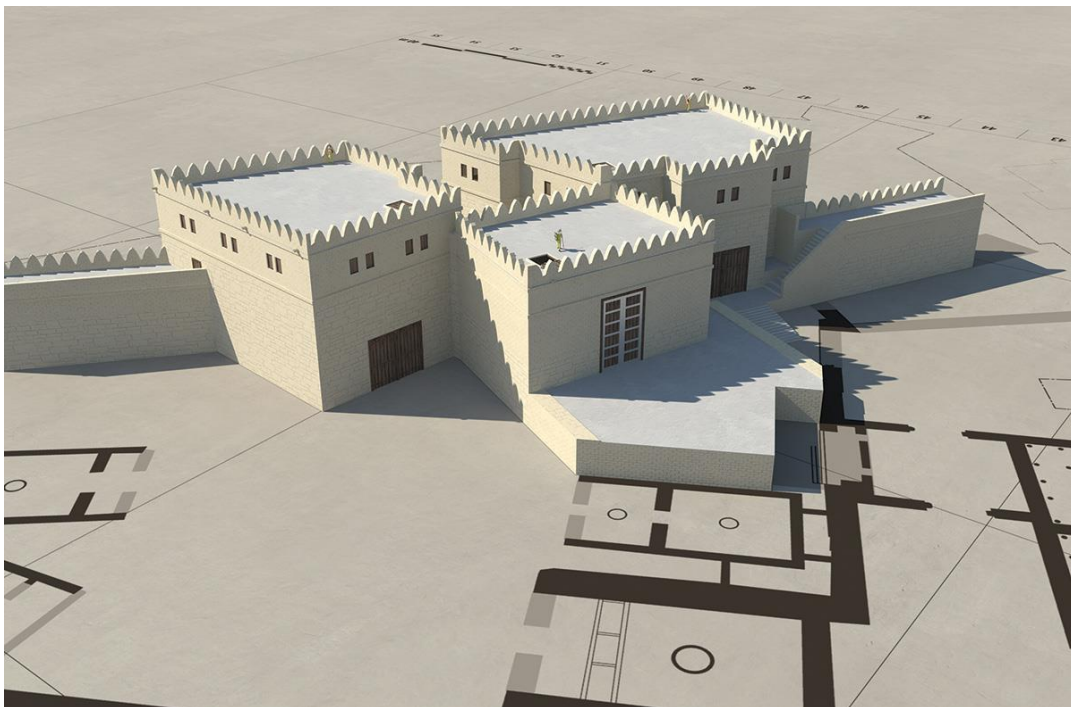


Figure 78 One of several reconstructions of the Early Phrygian Citadel's gate complex at Gordion

³⁰³ Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, "Building Digital Gordion" in *Expedition*. Vol. 51, Issue 2, (2009), 24-25.

³⁰⁴ Gareth Darbyshire & Gabriel H. Pizzorno, "Taming the Beast: The Digital Gordion Mapping Project" in *Expedition*. Vol. 55, Issue 2, (2013), 29.

Source: Pizzorno, G. *Digital Gordion Mapping Project*. Retrieved from <https://scholar.harvard.edu/pizzorno/dgmp> on February 2, 2019.

These 3D reconstructions are used not only for the researchers to provide more detailed and comprehensive sequence of architectural elements, but also for the general public to improve the presentation of the site and its history. They are planning to form an online database to reach more people, but, for now, this is a major project that will take some years to complete. Modelling the site was a big necessity for simply being able to materialize for the ones who do not have enough background on the topic. Reconstruction not only presents but also explores knowledge.³⁰⁵ Rather than attempting to make display artifacts of reproduced ancient buildings, it tries to regenerate and re-imagine ancient architecture as the setting, the context or horizon of a multifaceted life which once belonged to the people of a civilization, and that modern audiences can relate to some extent with their own, recognizing it as a vivid “world”: a context of human existence.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 3.

³⁰⁶ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 4.

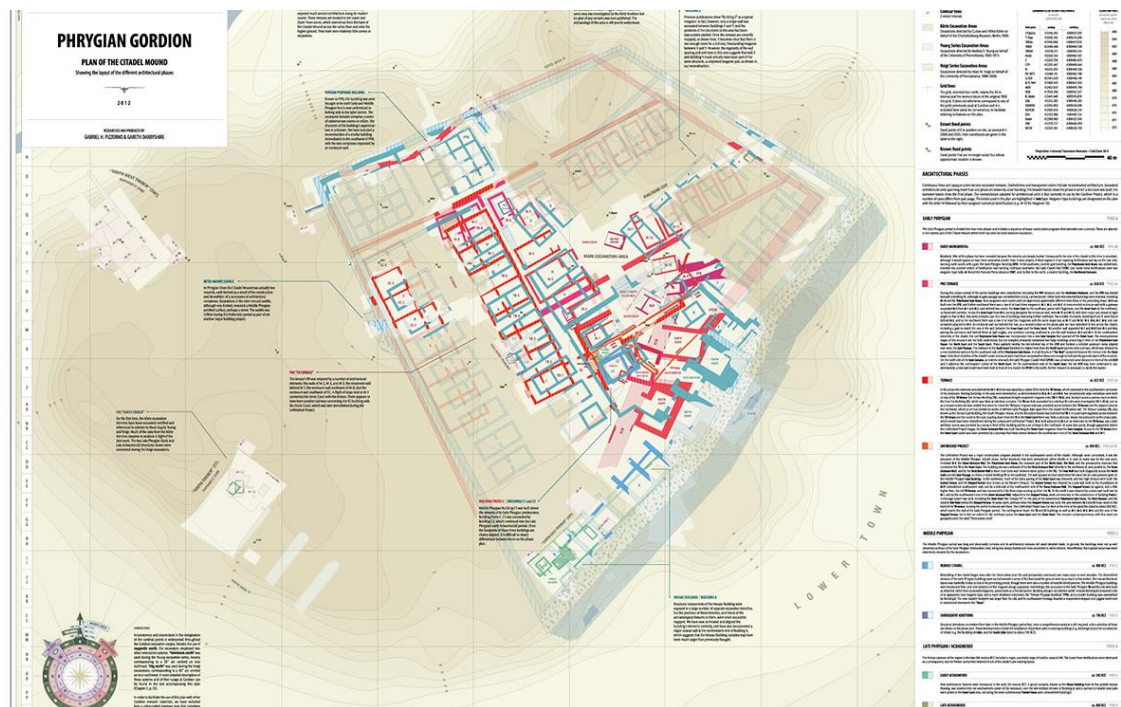


Figure 79 Phase plan of the Phrygian Citadel at Gordion showing the spatial relationships of site layouts through time.

Source: Pizzorno, G. *Digital Gordion Mapping Project*. Retrieved from <https://scholar.harvard.edu/pizzorno/dgmp> on February 2, 2019.

3.10 The Exhibition of “The Golden Age of King Midas”

For the Golden Age of King Midas³⁰⁸ exhibition held in 2016 in Penn Museum,

³⁰⁸ The exhibition was opened to public in February 13, 2016 at the Penn Museum in Philadelphia. The artefacts were on display for 9 months, until November 27, 2016. 123 objects were borrowed from Turkey –the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, the Gordion Museum, the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and the Antalya Archaeological Museum– by courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and other objects were brought from the Delphi Museum in Greece, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. (Hickman, J. The Penn Museum and the Kingdom of Midas in Expedition. Vol. 57, Issue 3, 2015, 2.) It served as a record of 65 years of exploration and research at Penn’s longest running excavation, and the exhibition focused on the archaeological site of Gordion. It highlighted the discoveries that have been made during excavations since 1950, and presented the links between Phrygia and the other great cities and kingdoms of Greece and the ancient Near East, including Urartu, Lydia, and Assyria. (Rose, C. B. & Darbyshire, G. The Golden Age of King Midas: Exhibition Catalogue. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016, 3.) The exhibition offered a view of what life was like when Midas held power nearly 3000

Christopher Ray –an experienced model maker, exhibit designer, and artist– and Gareth Darbyshire started to create a detailed physical model of the Gordion citadel in the Early Phrygian period, a three-dimensional reconstruction to give the viewer one impression of how Gordion's Early Phrygian citadel may have appeared around 825 BCE.³⁰⁹ Darbyshire conducted detailed research on the original excavation records, from which he then created a three-dimensional design-layout at 1:300 scale for Ray to follow. They, then, worked on building and painting the model for over a year. Designing and building the model is a very thought-provoking process, because it raises hundreds of questions (and a few answers) about the layout, architecture and functioning of the citadel. For the display, Darbyshire worked with the Penn Museum Exhibits department to create a “light show” to highlight particular aspects of the model. The most impressive of these is a burning effect, to show the known extent of the great fire of c. 800 BCE. The model is extremely useful for discussing and thinking about Gordion and its layout, it gives people something substantial to visualize and discuss. Moreover, as much as Darbyshire stated whenever he gave presentations about the model, he was always very careful to point out the difference between the actual excavated evidence and “informed reconstruction”, and the interpretative issues involved. This point is very important for the cases of archaeology to figure out the past, present and the future of the sites, cultures and artifacts. The exhibition provided visitors a rare chance to observe and witness the objects together which are normally displayed separately in Ankara, İstanbul, Antalya and Gordion museums in Turkey.

years ago. Through the artifacts, they tried to bring the life during the 8th century BCE to life. As the curator of the exhibition and archaeologist Brian Rose said that “we dig them up. We make sure they are conserved. We write the narratives that we can construct. We try to bring them to life.” The exhibit’s Interpretive Planning Manager Jessica Bicknell explained as they knew from the surveys that people mostly recognize Midas and his tales, so part of the goal of the exhibition was to introduce this culture through something that people recognize to be able to access to visitors. (Sy, A. Penn Museum celebrates life and myth of King Midas in *The Daily Pennsylvania*, February 16, 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.thedp.com/article/2016/02/penn-museum-king-midas-exhibit> in February 9, 2019.)

³⁰⁹ Gareth Darbyshire & Christopher Ray, “Modelling Gordion’s Citadel” in *Expedition*. Vol. 56, Issue 2, (2014).

The constructed models and the visualization of the existing data strengthen the dialogue among the people from different professions who are free from these exclusive professional vocabularies.³¹⁰ A further step can be taken to expand the sphere of dialogue to non-experts and to get them engaged as participants and provide an environment which helps to create an interaction between the viewer and the information presented.³¹¹ Interactivity is a better learning environment than sheer exposure, as interactivity engages the learner in the process. Furthermore, digitalization of the data provides archaeologists to introduce their discoveries to the general public.

The archaeological remains, which do not make any sense by themselves for the untrained eyes, become more meaningful through the studies of experts.³¹² Digital images from models have the advantage that they can communicate information about the spatial configuration of a historic environment to anyone who is familiar with visual media, regardless of professional background.

³¹⁰ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 34.

³¹¹ Ian Hodder, *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction* (Oxford; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1999), 117-128.

³¹² Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 34.



Figure 80 Model of Citadel Mound from The Golden Age of King Midas Exhibition

Source: Sent by Gareth Darbyshire.



Figure 81 The burning effect on the model to demonstrate the known extent of the great fire in c. 800 BCE

Source: Yuan Yao Design, *The Golden Age of King Midas*. Retrieved from <http://www.yuanyaoesign.com/#/the-golden-age-of-king-midas/> on March 27, 2019.



Figure 82 Images from the exhibition

Source: Yuan Yao Design, *The Golden Age of King Midas*. Retrieved from <http://www.yuanyao.com/#/the-golden-age-of-king-midas/> on March 27, 2019.

Even though digital reconstruction of the historical structures and landscapes is a scientific activity, it also has the potential to produce stunning images, great educational resources and interactive applications, both in museums and online. The remarkable results of the early efforts promoted the use of more technologies for the researches and the visualization of the ancient sites by the other. Digitalization is seen as a remedy for conserving the discoveries and the documentation on sites where the deterioration is unrecoverable.³¹³

³¹³ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 36.

In order to reach and address more people and more education background, and to ease the process of communication, online platforms are the solution. For instance, Çatalhöyük has an official web site where such theories are put to the test and shared with the general public.³¹⁶ A well designed interface presents visual and textual information to those interested in the site. The website also has a forum where anyone can post comments or requests, and sign up as a member if they desire. Gordion's own website must be prepared, which does not belong only to UPenn. The existence of a website, which contains all the written and visual data within itself and does not need an extra effort to reach the information, would be more efficient for every curious person from every background.



Figure 83 The embedded photograph of the mosaic floor into the 3D model of Megaron 2 by Banu Bedel

Source: Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 93.

Figure 84 3D reconstruction of the three megarons from the Early Phrygian Citadel by Banu Bedel

Source: Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 103.

³¹⁶ <http://www.catalhoyuk.com/>

3.11 The Current Visitor Experience

Conceptually, Gordion has “accessible collections” for everyone and is open to public. However, in terms of the correlation between its location and means of transport, the communication ability of Gordion is problematic. Transportation is only provided by private vehicles, which makes the communication with Gordion and Phrygians almost impossible for many people. The range of the visitors remains limited because of the shortage of vehicles. However, despite this fact, many people are still attracted to this site because of the well-known names and their legends, and the visitors expect to see an environment that matches the glory that is based upon the oft-told tales. Even though the name of Midas and the tales of Gordian knot continue to live in the memories, there is little awareness of the city which was once the heart of the Phrygians and the throne of King Midas. Although the archaeological site presents an excessive number of historic evidence, the subtle remains of the Phrygian civilization could be only observed from a designated distance by the visitors of the site of Gordion. Most of the traces of the once-magnificent civilization have been vanished over centuries because of battles, natural disasters, reconstruction activities, and neglect.³¹⁷ The lack of a strong visual image of Gordian architecture, and the dislocation of the site’s artifacts from their architectural contexts to various museums, adds to the confusion of visitors. Therefore, they complicate the process of forming a memorable, understandable, and strong image of the architecture and the history of Gordion.³¹⁸

Gordion tours usually have three steps: the mound, the museum, and the tumulus. Despite the predictions of heritage tourism, development in the region has been slow. The Midas Mound MM and museum complex with its local café remain isolated from

³¹⁷ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 105.

³¹⁸ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 2.

the Gordion Citadel, village and excavation. Although the Museum's collection offers and excellent cross-section of the cultural diversity of the region, the complex is in need of renovation and rethinking in terms of a new vision of visitor experience and amenities. Recently renewed archaeological and conservation activities at the citadel offer an exciting potential for Turkish and foreign visitors and the need for new developments in the form of a visitors' or information center and other tourism amenities. Beside the fact of the importance of the Phrygian culture in our lands with its long-lasting historical process, the extant effects of the Phrygian culture and being a reference for the next generations with its traditions, foods, legends, architecture and so are indisputable truths. For the ones who want to comprehend and perceive the historical past of the lands profoundly, one era cannot be thought from the other separately; they are all in a sequence and culturally affect each other inevitably. Therefore, for the Phrygian era and more specifically for Gordion case, the existing deficiencies in the site and the museum cause a superficial learning for those who do not have enough background before.

First of all, because there is no integral approach in exhibition order, visitors have difficulties in gathering the information together, making them a meaningful whole and keeping them in memory. Moreover, the background and level of the visitors coming to discover the Phrygian culture are not equal. This situation is also the one which makes a healthy communication with each person almost impossible in the museum. Through the created programs in the museums, it can be possible to reach the target audiences which belong to determined groups, and a more beneficial museum experience can be sustained with a representation matching with the needs and background of the target audience. On the other hand, archaeology involves the accepted reality by nature, and place the visitor in a passive position. The visitor who merely takes the given information considers the artefacts just a piece of art without any interpretation, and misses the main historical reality. The only way to make the visitors active in the museum and make them interpret what they see is including them into the museum process by letting them create their own experiences. This is the only way to interiorize history and make it a part of collective memory in the museum.

Because of the physical and mental distance of the remains and artefacts from the visitors, in the words of a tourist guide there is a saying like “Gordion is a site that only archaeologists like”.³¹⁹ Therefore, Digital Mapping Project of Gordion is a very crucial step for using the technology around the whole site and for showing the subtle details of the architecture and the history. The interactive tools are particularly useful in such a site that is historically important, but not easy to interpret for a “non-archaeologist” visitor. And, perhaps, this was the reason for the public’s lack of interest.³²⁰ Using digital models in archaeology offers a spatial expression of archaeological documentation, a tool that helps to visualize various stages of a site and the outcomes of proposed interventions, and a medium for communicating the experts’ knowledge to the general public.³²¹ A digital reconstruction like Digital Mapping Project can also bring together the objects that are dispersed to several different museums and re-contextualize them so that they will support the understanding of an architectural setting.

Secondly, when the mosaic was lifted from its original position in 1963, some of the floor was lost or left in place. Today it is displayed in a fragmentary state, and a very poorly placed board gives the only information about the mosaics. The signage and the photographs of the mosaic describe only the recent history of it: damages, its discovery, removal from the original site, and installation process in the museum garden.³²² The Kayabaşı Mosaic is also invisible on the circulation scheme of the garden. It is in a

³¹⁹ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 25.

³²⁰ Vivo, C. 2012. Retrieved from http://www.predella.it/archivio/indexa84a.html?option=com_content&view=article&id=276&catid=91&Itemid=119 on April 10, 2018.

³²¹ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 32.

³²² Tiffin Thompson, *Conservation and Management Plan for the Megaron 2 Pebble Mosaic Pavement* (Architectural Conservation Laboratory School of Design University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 65.

sunken display like the other Megaron 2 mosaic from 9th century BCE. In *Conservation and Management Plan for the Megaron 2 Pebble Mosaic Pavement*, it is explained as follows:

The most noticeable difference is the low stone wall that runs around the perimeter of the mosaic. This clearly demarcates the boundary of the room where the mosaic was originally located and places it in the context of a building. An opening in the wall even suggests a doorway. The tops of these walls were built to emulate what may be found on an archaeology site.³²³

However, apart from this feature, it still does not have a historical information about the mosaic. The poor state of preservation reaches almost 50 years back of virtual neglect. It is still under a semi-open shelter, and exposed to birds, dust, rain and other environmental factors. Although the Gordion mosaic from Megaron 2 is the earliest known pebble mosaic pavement in the world, it is safe to say that very few visitors to Gordion would have been accustomed to such ornamentation, and even one who has enough background on decorative floors may not be able to appreciate the effect it might have had.³²⁴ The design and/or the signage of the museum should be rethought in order to be able to include the open-air exhibited two mosaics and the Galatian tomb. The lack of signs causes most of the visitors miss them, although they are the one of their kinds and very valuable. Therefore, the Megaron II mosaic floor could be integrated into the visitor experience and enlarging the circulation loop by adding an additional exit from the museum and preferably enclosing it in a dedicated space. Moreover, although the mosaic depicts the woven textiles of Phrygians, there are no samples of what the textiles look like in the museum. Replicating the original pattern of the floor mosaic may help

³²³ Tiffin Thompson, *Conservation and Management Plan for the Megaron 2 Pebble Mosaic Pavement* (Architectural Conservation Laboratory School of Design University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 65.

³²⁴ Elizabeth Tiffin Thompson, *Documentation and Evaluation of the Conditions of the 9th century B.C.E Mosaic, from Gordion, Turkey and Recommendations for its Conservation and Treatment* (University of Pennsylvania Master's Thesis, 2011), 14.

both to understand the mosaic better and provide an example of a complex patterned textile at the same time. Therefore, being able to create more integrated displays with their time and place where they belong is very crucial for the sake of better visitor comprehension.

Thirdly, exhibiting the one part of the excavated objects in Gordion Museum and the other part in other cities (Ankara, İstanbul, Antalya) may be creating a decontextualization. Although displaying the most attention grabbing objects in the center museum in the capital of Turkey is an understandable situation, it is also very important that gathering them under a single roof, displaying them to the visitors, and speaking the same language for the displays in the name of integrity. Because of the fact that the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations demonstrates the flow of the Anatolian history from the beginning and needs Phrygian objects as part of the Anatolia, this issue is always the disputable one; this situation, however, kills the locality and the integrity, and provides any other museum experience different from the expected one. Tankut, Buluç, and Tuna indicate that the preservation of culture within their own historical and natural environment will strengthen the meaning.³²⁵ In this manner, the visual richness is the only thing that is able to go beyond the historical discipline taught in the books. Therefore, the specialized information needed to be internalized is unable to exceed the chronologically presented information. Even though most of the artifacts are situated in Gordion Archaeological Museum, the disorganized exhibition makes visitors confused and causes distraction.

Last but not least, a true understanding of Gordion requires an understanding of the extent of the ancient city and its monumental tumuli across the landscape. As previously stated, Yassihöyük village exists as completely detached from the context, and non-integrated to the existing route. However, it enables the visitors to experience a still-

³²⁵ Gönül Tankut & Sevim Buluç & Numan Tuna, “Ankara Arkeoloji Master Planı Ön Çalışmaları” in *Sevim Buluç Anı Kitabı*, eds. Tolun, V. & Takaoğlu, T., (Çanakkale 18 Mart Üniversitesi, 2006), 32.

living Central Anatolian village example individually, with its traditional mudbrick architecture, with its traditional mudbrick architecture, ‘kitchen gardens’, vegetables and fruit trees alternating with flower beds, sheep folds, and mudbrick ovens.³²⁶ However, although the history of Yassihöyük is an integral part of the history of the site, today, it is barely visited by the museum and archaeological site visitors. Relationship of Gordion with the upper scale must be reviewed in order to be able to transmit the fact to wider society. The Gordion landscape is a composition of many different elements that trace the site’s history from the ancient past to today. Having served as regional capitol and urban trade center, domain of a migratory river, and sustenance producer for many in the area, this land is a testament to the varying needs of the Turkish people. Such a rich history carries with it great challenges in designing and constructing a way for visitors to properly understand the site. To the untrained eye, remains and the landscape are very subtle to be identified.³²⁷ In order for the Gordion landscape to be understood in time and space, the disparity of its many elements must be nurtured together into a cohesive whole. Gordion is part of a whole Phrygian landscape and cannot be imagined separately from its elements with several dimensions. In that sense, the museum site should be connected to the surrounding landscape, which includes the citadel mound and river, ancient city boundaries, outlying tumuli, modern agriculture and the modern village of Yassihöyük.

³²⁶ Evin Erder & Ayse Gürsan-Salzman & Naomi F. Miller, “A Conservation Management Plan for Preserving Gordion and Its Environs” in *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, (2013), 335.

³²⁷ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 25.

3.12 Gordion Archaeological Museum With Respect to Other On-Site Museums in Turkey

Archaeological on-site museums play a crucial role in the preservation of the cultural heritage. They are referred in a decree of 572 issued on March 3, 1998 by Ministry of Culture under the title of “Establishing Places for Protection and Exhibition of Cultural and Natural Assets in the 1st and 2nd Degree Archaeological Sites” (*I. ve II. Derecede Arkeolojik Sit Alanlarındaki Ören Yerlerinde Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarının Korunması ve Sergilenmesine Yönelik Mekanların Oluşturulması*). The decree expresses that the archaeological on-site museums can be built only with the intent of conserving and presenting the cultural and archaeological heritage within their original context either on the relevant archaeological site or close to the site.³²⁸

According to their site selection and the collection that they embody, Turkey has 6 on-site archaeological museums: the Aphrodisias Museum (Aydın), the Miletus Museum (Aydın), the Side Museum (Antalya), the Hierapolis Museum (Denizli), Troy Museum (Çanakkale) and the Gordion Museum (Ankara).³²⁹ The other museums which are located on or close to the archaeological sites such as the Boğazköy Museum (Çorum), the Alacahöyük Museum (Çorum), the Pergamon Museum (Bergama), the Ephesus Museum (Selçuk). However, in terms of what they contain and exhibit are not limited only with the discoveries from the excavations. Apart from the exhibition findings,

³²⁸ Retrieved from <http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/yazdir?BCBE914177ACF38CD9814B68D57CAFA4> in March 14, 2019.

³²⁹ Nevra Ertürk, “A Management Model for Archaeological Site Museums in Turkey” in *Museum Management and Curatorship*. Vol. 21, No. 4, (2006), 339.

ethnographic objects are also exhibited in these museums to indicate the local history. Therefore, they can be regarded as local museums.³³⁰

The archaeological site of Side was started to be excavated in 1947 by Prof. Dr. Arif Müfid Mansel. This port city was dominated by Hittites, Lydians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines and Ottomans chronologically. The Side Museum was built in this ancient town of Side, and the discovered agorabath, which is dated back to the 2nd century AD, was rearranged as the museum building. The bath was restored between the years 1959 and 1961 by the architects Ragıp and Selma Devrez and opened to public in 1962.³³¹ The museum complex has one story and consists of exhibition galleries, open-air exhibition areas, museum shop, ticket office, administration office, laboratory for preserving the sculptures, and an archive. According to the data obtained from the statistics of Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism Central Directorate of Revolving Funds (DÖSİMM), the museum was visited by 65,330 visitors in the year of 2018.³³²

³³⁰ Nevra Ertürk, “A Management Model for Archaeological Site Museums in Turkey” in *Museum Management and Curatorship*. Vol. 21, No. 4, (2006), 339.

³³¹ Aygül Özdemir, “Tanrıların Evi Olympos Misali Side Müzesi” in *Side Tanıtım Kitapçığı* (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Tanıtma Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016), 13-15.

³³² Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.



Figure 85 Street view of the Side Museum

Source: Side Müzesi. Retrieved from <http://www.antalyagezirehberi.net/side-Müzesi.html> in March 14, 2019.

Figure 86 Interior of the Side Museum

Source: Side Müzesi. Retrieved from <http://www.antalyagezirehberi.net/side-Müzesi.html> in March 14, 2019.

The Miletus Museum is situated on the site of Miletus Ancient City in Didim, Aydın, Turkey. The earliest settlement in the area was dated back to 3500-3000 BCE to Neolithic Age. Although the excavations were begun in 1899 by the German archaeologists, the foundation of the museum was as late as 1973.³³³ At first, the artefacts were being stored in an old primary school which was demolished because of an earthquake in the 1960s. This is why a new museum building was urged for the artefacts. The existing museum consists of indoor exhibition areas, storage space, ticket office, administration office, sculpture garden, and philosophers' garden. According to the data obtained from the statistics of *DÖSİMM*, the museum was visited by 32,556 visitors in the year of 2018.³³⁴

³³³ Nevra Ertürk, "A Management Model for Archaeological Site Museums in Turkey" in *Museum Management and Curatorship*. Vol. 21, No. 4, (2006), 340.

³³⁴ Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.



Figure 87 Outside of the Miletus Museum

Source: Milet Müzesi. Retrieved from <http://www.Aydinkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-64433/milet-Müzesi.html> on March 14, 2019.

Figure 88 Indoor display of the Miletus Museum

Source: Milet Müzesi. Retrieved from <http://www.Aydinkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-64433/milet-Müzesi.html> on March 14, 2019.

The Aphrodisias Museum is situated in Geyre, Aydın, Turkey. The settlement history of the ancient city dates back to 5000 BCE. The investigations took place in 1904 throughout the region by French and Italian archaeologists, and after 1961, the excavations were started by New York University with the attempts of Kenan Erim. The artefacts discovered during the excavations were being delivered to the İstanbul Archaeological Museum and the İzmir Archaeological Museum at that time when there was no specified on-site museum or storage area around the excavation site. After the 1961 excavations, the finds were stored in the storages of dig house.³³⁵ The team was in need of a museum building for proper maintenance and better storing conditions, and the architect Erten Altaban started to design one in 1971, and the museum was opened to the visitors in 1979. The one-story building consists of indoor exhibition areas, sculpture

³³⁵ Afrodiasias Müzesi. Retrieved from <http://www.aydinkulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-64405/afrodiasias-Müzesi.html> on March 15, 2019.

garden, storage areas, museum shop, ticket office, and a room for researchers.³³⁶ According to the data obtained from the statistics of *DÖSİMM*, the museum was visited by 68,782 visitors in the year of 2018.³³⁷



Figure 89 Entrance view of the Aphrodisias Museum

Source: Photographed by the author.

Figure 90 Interior of the Aphrodisias Museum

Source: Photographed by the author.

The Hierapolis Museum is in Pamukkale, Denizli, Turkey. The investigations were started in 1957 by Italian archaeologists, but a museum building was not built until 1984. A Roman bath dated back to the 1st century AD was restored and converted as the museum building which has a single storey and consists of administration office, a room for the researchers, archive, indoor exhibition areas, storage space, ticket booth, and

³³⁶ Nevra Ertürk, “A Management Model for Archaeological Site Museums in Turkey” in *Museum Management and Curatorship*. Vol. 21, No. 4, (2006), 341.

³³⁷ Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.

sculpture garden.³³⁸ The artefacts exhibited outdoor places are mostly made up of marble and stone. According to the data obtained from the statistics of *DÖSİMM*, the museum was visited by 152,360 visitors in the year of 2018 while the archaeological site of Hierapolis was visited by 2,189,529 visitors.³³⁹

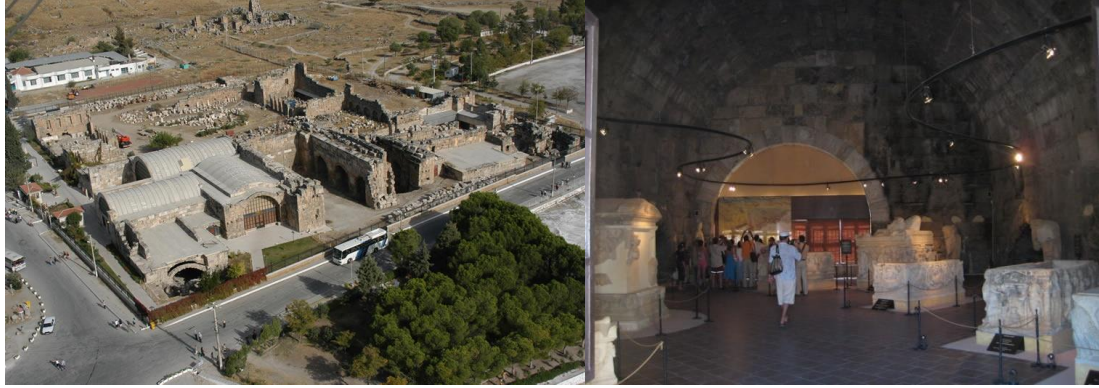


Figure 91 Aerial view of the Hierapolis Museum and the ancient town

Source: Pamukkale Arkeoloji Müzesi. Retrieved from <http://www.pamukkale.gov.tr/tr/Muzeler/Pamukkale-Arkeoloji-Muzesi> on March 15, 2019.

Figure 92 Interior view of Hierapolis Museum

Source: Retrieved from <http://www.pamukkale.gov.tr/galeri2009/arkeoloji/images> on March 15, 2019.

The Troy Museum is located at the entrance of the ancient city of Troy (Tevfikiye Village, Çanakkale, Turkey), which was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998. The excavations of the archaeological site were started in 1870 by the German archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann, and the Çanakkale 18 Mart University in Turkey has been carrying out the excavations since 2013. Chronologically, the Persians, Alexander

³³⁸ Nevra Ertürk, “A Management Model for Archaeological Site Museums in Turkey” in *Museum Management and Curatorship*. Vol. 21, No. 4, (2006), 342.

³³⁹ Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.

the Great, the Seleucids, the Kingdom of Pergamum and the Romans dominated the region. The finds unearthed by the excavations were distributed to the İstanbul Archaeological Museum, the Topkapı Palace, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, and İzmir Archaeological Museum.³⁴⁰ The museum was designed by Ömer Selçuk Baz ve Okan Bal, and the construction of Troy Museum was started in 2014 and completed on October 2018. The three-story project consists of administration offices, temporary and permanent exhibition areas, laboratory for the researchers, ticket office, café, storage areas, and ateliers. According to the data obtained from the statistics of *DÖSİMM*, the museum was visited by 11,189 visitors beginning from October 2018.³⁴¹



Figure 93 The exterior view of the Troy Museum

Source: Troya Müzesi, Türkiye Kultur Portalı. Retrieved from <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/portal/troya-Müzesi> on March 17, 2019.

Figure 94 The interior of the Troy Museum

Source: Troya Müzesi, Türkiye Kultur Portalı. Retrieved from <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/portal/troya-Müzesi> on March 17, 2019.

³⁴⁰ Troya Eserleri, Troya Müzesi'ne Naklediliyor, June 13, 2018. Retrieved from <http://arkeofili.com/troya-eserleri-troya-Müzesine-naklediliyor/> on March 16, 2019.

³⁴¹ Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.

With respect to the other 5 examples of on-site archaeological museums in Turkey, it is possible to evaluate the current situation and the development of the Gordion Museum since the beginning of its construction. First of all, 2 out of 5 museums (the Side Museum and the Hierapolis Museum) are the converted ones, while the other three museums (the Aphrodisias Museum, the Miletus Museum and the Troy Museum) are specially designed for the ancient towns. Although the Gordion Museum was first planned as reproduction of one of the ancient buildings in the site (Megaron 3), it was implemented with a totally different design without any references to Phrygian history. On the other hand, secondly, even though the Gordion Museum was opened to the public after 60 years of the beginning of the excavations (1966 – which seems like very late for the sake of the artefacts), in comparison to the other 5 museums, the Gordion Museum is the second earliest example of on-site archaeological museums (the earliest example is the Side Museum built in 1962). Moreover, 4 out of 5 excavations –except the archaeological excavations of Side– were started by foreign archaeologists and 3 out of 5 –except the archaeological excavations of Side and Troy– are still being carried on by foreigners. Gordion is one of the sites that the excavations have been conducted by foreigners (first Germans, then Americans). Thirdly, one of the common features of both six museums is the reason that they were needed to be built: the necessity of maintenance of the finds and the shortage of proper storage areas for the increasing number of the artefacts year by year, and the touristic concerns in these regions. Before then, the movable artefacts were transferred to biggest museums of Turkey in order to be exhibited. Fourthly, the number of visitors per year was the highest at the Hierapolis Museum in 2018. It is not possible to compare the Troy Museum with the other museums because of its opening date, but among the 5 museums, the Gordion Museum is number 4 with its 38,598 visitors in the year of 2018³⁴² (Hierapolis Museum-Aphrodisias Museum-Side Museum-Gordion Museum-Miletus Museum).

³⁴² Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.

3.13 Forming Cultural Identity and the Place of the Phrygian Culture

Cultural identity consists of narratives that are set up over the possible existence of a common root. For the case of modernization in Turkey, it is inevitable to embrace the Ottoman as forming the cultural habits throughout the centuries, and the Seljukid as full of “heroic” narratives and monumental structures being able to stand up until today. Both the Seljukid and Ottoman effects can be all seen all around the cities and are somehow part of our daily lives.

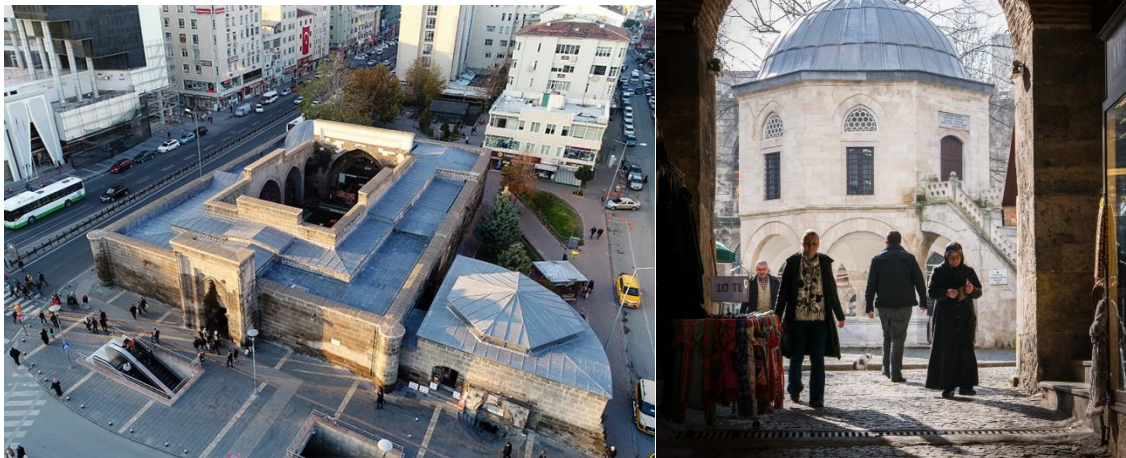


Figure 95 Very centrally located Sahabiye Medresesi (Sahabiye Madrasah) from Seljukid period in Kayseri.

Source: Tüzün, M., Z., 2017, *Medeniyetleri Buluşturan Meydan*. Retrieved from <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/medeniyetleri-bulusturan-meydan/999713> on March 20, 2019.

Figure 96 Koza Han from Ottoman period in Bursa which is still in use and connection with the public.

Source: Retrieved from <http://www.kozahan.org/foto-galeri/koza-han-ici-foto-galeri> on March 20, 2019.

Therefore, constructing a history full of “heroism” and the accustomed cultural habits and unite the society under a common and well-constructed historical background are one of the main concerns for a newly-emerging state. However, the objective was

forming a fully independent nation, instead of being part of “developed western countries”. This is why the existence of the Greek or the Roman culture in our lands did not occupy the collective memory as part of the Turkish past. However, the question needed to ask here is why the Phrygians who had also continued its existence for many ages on these lands and leave a cultural heritage both culturally and physically like Ottoman and Seljukid could not get the attention that it deserves for years. In order to exemplify the mentioned case, there is no need to go further; almost 20 Phrygian tumuli in Ankara are not known even by locals. We have to face the truth that the mounds a lot of people pass by everyday have not aroused curiosity, although the sites of the mounds are mostly in busy places, and can stay empty up to today –which is not a common thing in big cities–. However, this is beyond oblivion of the society; what is wanted to be brought to daylight is transmitted with the power of display. On the other hand, even the nearest one that is not wanted to be shown can stay invisible for years. Therefore, the general disinterest in the ancient cultures and the decontextualization compared with Ottoman and Seljukid can find an answer, though it is in our lives both physically and culturally. The monumental structures, which physically stand at the core of our daily lives and are visually internalized by society, are much easier and more effective in order to establish a bond with past.

According to statistical data for 2018³⁵⁰, archaeological sites and museums in Turkey were visited by 28,169,615 visitors in total. The 5 most visited museums and archaeological sites were the Topkapı Palace Museum (İstanbul) with 3,004,620 visitors; the Hagia Sophia Museum (İstanbul) with 2,922,037; the Mevlana Museum (Konya) with 2,817,386 visitors; the Ephesus archaeological site (İzmir) with 1,555,559 visitors; and the Göreme Open-Air Museum (Nevşehir) with 1,113,409. In addition, even though the natural formations of Hierapolis (white travertine terraces) were visited by 2,189,529

³⁵⁰ Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Müze ve Örenyeri 2018 Yılı Toplam Ziyaretçi İstatistikleri. Retrieved from <http://www.dosim.gov.tr/assets/documents/2018.pdf> on March 16, 2019.

people, the archaeological site and the on-site archaeological museum right next to the travertines were visited by only 152,360. The Gordion Museum and the archaeological site, comparing with the 5 most visited museums in Turkey, have less visitors and interest all the year round. Both the on-site museum and the archaeological site had 38,598 visitors in total in 2018. Moreover, the situation is not different for the other on-site museums and the archaeological sites which are studied in the previous chapter.

The question is why these particular museums got the most attention in 2018 and in previous years as well, and not the on-site archaeological museums. The architectural images play an important role to make the past cultures live in the public memory vividly. Symbolic structures such as the Parthenon, Coliseum, Hagia Sophia or the Great Sphinx of Giza, which have elements as pointed arches, pyramids, onion domes or columns can be all associated with a period or a culture even by the people who have no architectural background at all.³⁵¹ The presence of the architectural elements complements the visual identity of the cultures, and makes it much easier for modern time people to associate themselves with the remains. The list of most visited museums in Turkey shows that people are mostly interested in places where they can establish a bond through their history knowledge. As Banu Bedel states in her thesis, for the case of Phrygian culture, such a strong image is missing, although there is a unique typology like megaron. Since the Phrygian culture was a more local one in west-central Anatolia, a widely-shared iconic image could not be a part of the cultural memory like the Roman culture expanding to three continents.³⁵² Furthermore, although the extant names of the Phrygian characters and their legends create a huge potential for the cultural and public memory, the Phrygian lands do not match with this glory because of the wars, disasters

³⁵¹ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 30.

³⁵² Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master's Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 31.

and neglect over centuries. Even though Gordion is the best preserved and examined Phrygian site among all, the incompleteness of the discoveries creates a challenge for constructing a Phrygian architectural image.³⁵³ As previously mentioned in the Great Tumulus (Tumulus MM) section, the tomb chamber was proved that it does not belong to King Midas. However, it is still mentioned as the “Tumulus of King Midas” even in the primary online sources³⁵⁴ that a non-academic person might consult to get information about the Gordion Archaeological Museum and the site in the first instance. The reason why this misconception has not been yet corrected may have the same basis with the mentioned motivation which aims establishing mutual relations and associating the modern time people with the past. A structure which is remembered with the well-known name of King Midas may be creating a stronger bond between the structure and the public, even though it is mentioned in both Turkish and foreign academic sources as Tumulus MM or the Great Tumulus. Therefore, it would not be wrong to infer that history continues to live in the concrete events and in the language, memories and aspirations of the people and the era.³⁵⁵ The lack of a strong visual image of the relevant period and the deficiencies to display it properly for awareness and appreciation create decontextualization, disconnection and a gap in cultural memory.

³⁵³ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 31.

³⁵⁴ <http://www.anadolumedeniyetleriMüzesi.gov.tr/TR-77791/gordion-Müzesi.html>

³⁵⁵ Banu Bedel, *Revealing Gordion: A Case of Virtual Heritage Interpretation*. Master’s Thesis of University of Cincinnati (2006), 2.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Society is an example of continuous collectivism that includes not only the present and the visible one, but the past, the future, the visible and the invisible together. Memory is very crucial for societies as how important it is for the individuals existentially. The one losing the memory is considered as losing the identity, and likewise, the one losing the identity is considered as losing the entity. Collective memory, on the other hand, forms the common schemas of groups of people. Unlike history, collective memory is a living phenomenon; so it is open to manipulations.³⁵⁶ History is one of the most proper means of forming the collective memory and constructing a national identity.

Turkey was transformed from a multinational and multicultural empire to a political structure based on nation state in a short span of time. The republic was trying to build a homogenous Turkish identity against the heterogeneous structure of Ottoman, and within the frame of this social identity, making an effort to redefine its past and future.³⁵⁷ With modernization in this context, therefore, a radical change concerning the whole of social life was sought. The republican government had a crucial mission as constructing a national consciousness in the memory of the society, and construing a nation over this conscious. One of the most important means to make this real is organizing urban spaces

³⁵⁶ Yuliya Biletska & Cemile Şahin & Ismail Şükür, “Kolektif Hafıza ve Milli Kimlik Bağlamında Türkiye’de Resmi Tarih Yazıcılığı” in *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi*. Issue 1, (2014), 94.

³⁵⁷ İnci Yalım, “Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulama Çabası” in *Başkent Üzerine Mekân Politik Tezler, Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, ed. Sargın, G., A., (2002). 157-214.

in accordance with the principles of republic. The formation of a national identity for the Republican regime aiming for a radical social change by adapting Enlightenment ideals could be achieved through the acceptance and adoption of every innovation that the 'modern' image brings together with its historical context.³⁵⁸ The new modernization interprets itself by rejecting the Ottoman identity in respect to religion, culture and institutions, and constructs the nation-state by searching its past in different roots. While doing this, it takes the "west" as a reference, but also aims to get rid of the guidance of the "west". However, despite all, while aiming to building a new state, the notion of republic is very new and different, and indeed, so sudden and unexpected. Thereby, constructing a new, powerful and independent state without breaking the connection with history is the leading objective. In the first 15 years of the Turkish Republic, in order to form a national identity and promote the national pride, archaeology was one of the means. At first, it was an essential tool for binding together a multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic population as proud citizens of one nation.³⁵⁹ Establishing a bond between the society and the lands was helping to legitimize the existence of the republic. While convincing the society that it really stayed in past and being able to impose it, at the same time, being obliged to look ahead and trying to construct a new foundation over the old habits are very difficult. In the light of these, we may easily understand why the ideological and political orientation of the new state largely depended on archaeology. From the state viewpoint the monuments were the only "ready" national symbols for use.³⁶⁰ Although what really matters is the newly founding republic and its principles, there is also need of a common past to unite the society on a common ground. Therefore, it can be observed that historical continuity is a crucial part of the nation-

³⁵⁸ Süleyman Çetin & Ş. Hasan Haştemoğlu, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, Cumhuriyetin Isparta'daki Simgesi: İstasyon Caddesi" in *Mimarlık*. Issue. 338, (2007), 60-61.

³⁵⁹ Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic" in *Journal of Field Archaeology*. Vol. 31, No. 4, (2006), 390.

³⁶⁰ Andromache Gazi, *Archaeological Museums In Greece (1829-1909) The Display Of Archaeology* (Department of Museum Studies University of Leicester, 1993), 46.

building ideology of a national community striving to conquer its national unity and seeking a historical basis for its national claims.³⁶¹

The aim of this research was to examine the evolution of archaeology and museology from mid-19th century in Ottoman Empire to mid-20th century in Republic of Turkey, and where Phrygians are located in this endeavor which have an important place in the cultural history of Anatolia and especially of the capital of the Turkish Republic, Ankara. Since Phrygians have a significant place in the cultural past of Anatolia with their architecture as tangible heritage and the reflections on the cultural image as intangible heritage, the archaeological excavations and the Gordion Archaeological Museum were the focal point of the thesis.

The expected outcome of the thesis was to raise awareness about the Phrygians which was a civilization once settled in Anatolia and whose physical and cultural traces can still be observed. The adoption and the protection of the cultural heritage and the unity of the lands were the outcomes of the accumulative knowledge of the history of the civilizations and their heritages to the land. In the case of Phrygia and specifically of Gordion, despite its fame coming from the extant legends and the historical figures, the discoveries unearthed by the archaeological excavations are not meaningful for the ones who are not directly the part of the Phrygian researches. Many of the visitors of Gordion in the borders of Ankara are interested in the historical figures and their legends, but the reputation they heard about does not match with what they see. It was explained and proved in the previous chapter that Gordion Archaeological Museum and the archaeological site have much less number of visitors and interest comparing with the 5 most visited museums in Turkey. Having well-known architectural elements helps people to establish a bond with a period or a culture through their history knowledge and visual memory. For the case of Phrygian history, such a strong image is missing, and the visual incompleteness of the site creates a challenge to form a Phrygian architectural

³⁶¹ Paschalis Kitromilides, "Historiographical Interpretations of Modern Greek Reality: An Exploratory Essay" in *New Trends in Modern Greek Historiography*. Modern Greek Studies Association Occasional Paper, (1982), 8.

image for people. The case in the city center of Ankara is even worse. The monumental tombs of Phrygians (tumuli) are standing at various locations at the very center of Ankara. However, these monumental elements are not recognized by citizens and cannot take the place they deserve in the image of the city. They almost disappeared from the image of the city and the memory of the citizens, and could not find their place in the cultural identity of the city. Based on the researches done in the last section, the list of most visited museums in Turkey shows that people are mostly interested in places where they can establish a bond through their history knowledge. It would not be wrong to say that the presence of the architectural elements complements the visual identity of the cultures, and makes it much easier for modern time people to associate themselves with the remains. As indicated in the previous chapter, history continues to live within the concrete events and within the language, memories and aspirations of the people and the era.

Establishing a bond becomes even harder by the deficiencies of the museum and the upper scale problems. Based on the general observations, visitors of the Gordion Archaeological Museum, mostly, meander haphazardly by the cases, stopping only occasionally to look at a particular object more closely or to read one of the many panels of explanatory text. The displays fail to engage the visitor's interest and that there is a burdensome amount of text to read, some of which repeated in more than one display case. The miscommunication is resulted by interventions which only address the physical condition of the artefacts and structures without concerning any cultural rituals or beliefs. These interventions can sometimes isolate the artefacts from their spirit and the social values.³⁶² Additionally, the location and lack of signage for the two mosaics, and a Galatian tomb, which are displayed separately in the museum's garden under pavilion shelters, leave them often ignored. Furthermore, the current location of Gordion Archaeological Museum is at the base of Great Tumulus, outside of the Yassihöyük

³⁶² Frank G. Matero, "Heritage, Conservation, and Archaeology: An Introduction" in *Heritage, Conservation and Archaeology* (Archaeological Institute of America, 2008), 3.

village, and disconnected with the Citadel Mound which is the main archaeological excavation site. Because of this disconnection the site is skipped most of the time. However, Gordion is a wide and deeply layered landscape with its hidden potential to express its ancient and modern cross-sections as an archaeological site.³⁶³ Gordion goes beyond the boundaries of the main settlement mound and extend across the entire “valley”. Its landscape is a composition of many different elements that trace the site’s history from the ancient past to today. Studying or observing a limited part of the whole Phrygian landscape creates decontextualization and incompleteness. In order to create a complete image and leave a mark in memory, experiencing the cultural texture, nurturing the separate parts of the landscape together and encouraging the visitors to discover more are the key points. Based on the observations and the researches, the elements of Gordion are not connected with each other and cannot display the glory of the legends in the minds. A period and a civilization should not be minimized only to small objects and tombs, and should be perceived in totality from the upper scales. Designing specific routes is very crucial to form a complete perception and encourage the visitors to discover more. The landscape provides a more versatile and holistic view to visitors with a narrative that tells the story of the site by making use of powerful vantage points linked by a continuous trail.³⁶⁴

Before the museum’s current site and building, it had been planned on a different site and in a totally different shape. It was proposed as the copy of the Megaron 3, which had already been excavated on the Citadel Mound. The megaron type museum in Gordion has never been implemented, and a more conventional structure was built instead. Besides, if the proposed museum had been realized, the third dimension of the structure was able to be discovered thoroughly while trying to imitate the historical one. However,

³⁶³ University of Pennsylvania Architectural Conservation Laboratory (Conlab), *Reports*. Retrieved from <http://www.conlab.org/acl/gordion/reports.html> on March 20, 2019.

³⁶⁴ James Fleet Hower & Karli Molter, “Gordion Heritage Complex: Regional Planning Studio Spring 2011” in *Prospectus*. (University of Pennsylvania, School of Design, Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, 2011), 14.

in order to ease the perception of the third dimension of the proposed museum and Megaron 3, I found the architect's (Charles Kaufman Williams) sketches from the archives of the Penn Museum in University of Pennsylvania and created a 3D model of the museum. It was the first time that the unimplemented museum project in Gordion was visualized in the third dimension. Therefore, as the sketches of the architect are the only sources that can be used, there were vague details that needed to be interpreted in order to complete it. Even though the unimplemented museum project has much more historical references than the conventional current museum, it was not preferred to be built. However, in my opinion, if it could have been implemented, the museum visitors could engage with the era and the civilization more.

As mentioned in the previous sections, the three-dimensional physical model of the Citadel Mound and the mapping project of the whole site are necessary both for the researchers and for the general public. The visualization is important to enhance the dialog between the visitors from different backgrounds and the culture. Digital representations can ease to visualize the spatial configuration of the historic environment for everybody, and they are the great educational resources and interactive applications in museums. In the case of Gordion Archaeological Museum, the exhibit fails to engage the visitors' interest because of the large number of texts to read. The museum is behind the times, because the technology and interactivity is barely used as in the modern museums. It would be very beneficial for a much better museum experience if the current studies on visualization could be the part of the museum. The passive position of the visitors in the museum must be turned into an active one to make them interiorize and adopt the Phrygian culture by letting them create their own experiences. However, as the archaeological excavations have been carried out by University of Pennsylvania for almost 70 years, these kinds of studies have been mostly conducted by the university itself as well. It is resulted by the disconnection between the Turkish government (museum) and the team working on Gordion which was observed during my thesis process. University of Pennsylvania has been taking advantage of being executive for 70 years in the field by holding and using the documents and studies for the future

researches. I could find anything I asked for in the archive of University of Pennsylvania. The abundance of English sources and the insufficiency of the Turkish studies on Gordion may be creating a challenge for the researchers who do not know English.

All those researches and observations have attempted to present the importance of the Phrygians and how the archaeology, museology, and politics are powerful and forceful on the guidance of the society and formation of the cultural memory. By exemplifying an era which had once an important place in the lands of Anatolia and still maintains its physical presence, an answer for how the Phrygians has not been able to consolidate their place in the cultural memory was sought. The preferred cultural heritage and the accordingly defined national identity are formulated under the influence of political ideologies, and it was considered by examining the process from the mid-19th century Ottoman Empire to today. The archaeological activities, the museums with their displays, the spatial arrangements, and the distribution of the archaeological findings among the museums play a significant part in forming the cultural memory and social identity by discovering and displaying the cultural heritage; but, at the same time, are shaped by the changing contexts of the time passively. In order to raise awareness of Phrygian culture and Gordion, minimize the public's lack of interest, establish a bond between the less known past and today, increase the accessibility, and promote more scientific researches, the museum and the technology must be utilized more, every age and background must be included in the process –their passive position in the museum or the site must be turned into an active one where they can form their own perception and approach–, the connection between the foreign scholars and the Turkish scholars must be developed, the documents that have been kept so far must be organized in the archives and must be prepared and be ready for the future researches. Otherwise, Phrygian culture and Gordion will not be able to take the place in the cultural memory, and will disappear from the image and the cultural identity of the cities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Frigler; mevcut Frig efsaneleri, Kral Midas ve Büyük İskender gibi birkaç tanınmış figür dışında, toplumsal kimlik ve kültürel hafıza ile bütünleşmemiş olsalar da, Anadolu'nun ve özellikle Ankara ve çevresinin kültürel geçmişinde gerek mimarisıyla gerekse kültürel imajdaki yansımalarıyla çok önemli bir yere sahiptir. Gordion ise hem Frigler'in kültürel ve politik başkenti olması hem de bugüne kadar en fazla kazılmış ve çalışılmış Frig alanı olması ile en önemli arkeolojik alanlardan bir tanesidir. Gordion, anıtsal mimarisi, MÖ yaklaşık 800'e kadar uzanan geniş tahribat seviyesi ve bir dizi Frigyalı kraliyet ve elit mezarı ile Frigler'in önde gelen arkeolojik alanıdır. Ayrıca, Gordion önemini ve temaslarını, Efes'ten (Türkiye) Susa'ya (İran) kadar çok yoğun bir ticaret rotası olan Kral Yolu'na borçludur. Bu nedenle, yerleşim diğer kültürlerle etkileşime çok açık olduğu için kültürel çeşitlilik çok zengindir. Gordion haricinde, Frigler başkent Ankara'da da çok büyük bir öneme sahiptirler. Şehir, insanların izleri Yontmataş Devri'ne kadar gidiyor olsa da, ilk olarak şeklini almaya MÖ 8. Yüzyılda Frigler döneminde başlamıştır. Buluntular Frig şehrinin ilk olarak bugün Ulus bölgesinde bulunan Hacı Bayram tepesinde ve çevresinde kurulduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak, Frig uygarlığının bulguları şehre ve topluma görsel ve tarihi katkılar sunmaktan uzaktır; Frig kentinin kalıntıları, birkaç korunan alan dışında, tamamen kentsel yapı altındadır. Gordion'u ele aldığımızda, alan yerleşim höyüğünde ve birkaç tümülüsünde muazzam miktarda tarihi kanıt sunsa da, Gordion mimarisinin güçlü bir görsel imajının olmaması ve alanda bulunan eserlerin mimarı bağlamlarından koparılarak çeşitli müzelere gönderilmeleri, ziyaretçilerin karmaşa yaşamasına sebep olmaktadır. Alanın mimarisi, canlı ve unutulmaz bir deneyim edinmelerini sağlayamaz. Bu nedenle, Friglerin ve

Gordion'un tarihsel önemine rağmen, kültürel hafızada ve ulusal kimlikte iz bırakması daha zor hale gelmektedir.

Kültürel hafıza ve ulusal kimlik, bir insanın, bir sınıfın veya toplumun tarihini ve kökenini tanımlayan ve kendilerini içinde yaşadıkları topluluğa ait hissetmesini sağlayan iki kavramdır. Ulusal kimlik, kollektif hafızanın oluşumunda etkilidir. Her milletin ve toplumun kendi tarihi, kendine ait yapısı, kültürel karakteri ve birikimi vardır. Toplumda farkındalığı arttırmak için geçmişten herhangi bir zaman dilimi seçmek yeterlidir. Bu seçilen geçmiş duyguları yönlendirmeli, insanları harekete geçmeye teşvik etmeli ve kolayca algılanmalıdır; kısacası, sosyo-kültürel bir eylem olmalıdır. Ayrıca, arkeoloji de kültürel mirasın temelini ve bir topluluğun hafızasını oluşturmada önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Arkeolojik alanlar, meşruiyet ve otoritenin başlatılıp onaylanabileceği yerlerdir. Bu bilgilerin kamuya açık gösterimi, onların aynı zamanda etkili bir şekilde yayılmasını sağlar. Bu nedenle, bu kalıntılar sadece geçmişin yeniden yaratılmasına yardımcı olan anımsatıcı araçlar değil, aynı zamanda çok etkili modern zaman politik ifadeleridir. Fakat, anlam değişkendir ve fonksiyonun kabulü ve önemi zaman ve mekan içinde değişir. Dahası, arkeolojik alanlar veya peyzaj gündün güne çeşitli biçimlerde sunulabilir ve bu onları farklı bakış açılarıyla değerlendirebilmemizi sağlar. Zamanın ilerleyişini değiştiren yalnızca anlam veya değer değil, aynı zamanda kamuya da sunulma şeklidir. Arkeoloji ve arkeoloji müzeleri nesnelere geliştirme, kaydetme ve koruma talepleri arasında karmaşık ve dinamik bir uyum sergilerken, aynı zamanda bilgi, erişim ve disiplini paylaşırlar. Toplumun geçmişe yönelik tutumunu korumak ve oluşturmada çok önemli bir rol oynarlar ve beklentileri yansıtırlar. Bu nedenle, müze arkeoloji ve toplum arasındaki ana kurumsal bağıdır.

Mirasın değerlendirilmesi çok eski zamanlara kadar uzanmaktadır; ancak sınıflandırılması son 200 yılın kültürel ve politik ilerlemeleri ile iç içe geçmiş, görece yeni bir olgudur. Avrupalı zengin tüccarların, antikacıların ve soylu ailelerin ilgisi, o zamanlar arkeolojinin gelişmesine yol açmıştır. Bilinmeyen seyahatler, antika araştırmaları, arkeolojik kazılar, büyük koleksiyonların yaratılması ve büyük müzelerin kurulması bu dönemde bu heyecanın ardından gerçekleşmiştir. Düşünce ve sanattaki

aydınlanma hareketi Anadolu'da anında uyuşmasa bile, araştırmacılar, alimler ve gezginler Anadolu topraklarındaki birçok uygarlığı, eseri ve kültürü incelemiştir. Antikalara olan ilginin artması, klasik dünyanın büyük bir bölümünü oluşturan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu topraklarında ve Yakın ve Orta Doğu'da İncil'deki ve İncil öncesi dünyalardaki merakı artırdı. 19. yüzyılda, arkeolojideki gelişmeler, Osmanlı topraklarına, antik bölgelere yapılan kazılara ve çok sayıda antik eserin Avrupa'ya ve Kuzey Amerika'nın gelişmekte olan müzelerine ve koleksiyonlarına transfer edilmesine neden olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, zamanla, antikaların kazı alanlarından Avrupalı araştırmacılar tarafından yağmalanması, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yeni ortaya çıkan entelektüeller arasında tepkiye yol açmıştır. Bu nedenle, sonuç olarak, 1846'da İstanbul'da bir antika koleksiyonu düzenlendi ve 20 yıl içinde de koleksiyon, Osmanlı İmparatorluk Müzesi'nin kuruluşuna öncülük etti. Koleksiyon hızla büyüdü, 1891'de İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi olarak kullanılan yeni bir müze binasına ihtiyaç duyuldu. Ayrıca, arkeoloji Osmanlı topraklarında ithal bir çalışma alanı olduğu için Klasik arkeologların yöntem ve disiplinleri takip edildi; bu nedenle imparatorluğun müzesi çoğunlukla Helenistik, Roma ve Bizans koleksiyonlarından oluşuyordu. Ancak, Türk arkeolojisine en önemli katkılardan biri, bulguların ülke dışına aktarılmasını engellemektir. 1884 yılında, Osmanlı İmparatorluk Müzesi yöneticisi Osman Hamdi Bey, kültürel mirası korumak için 1973 yılına kadar küçük değişikliklerle kullanılan ve Kültürel ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu için temel oluşturan yeni bir kanun geliştirdi. Ancak, 20. yüzyılın başlarında, Osmanlı Devleti, dönemin devam eden savaşlarından kaynaklanan siyasi, ekonomik ve idari değişikliklere yol açan bazı mücadeleler yaşadı.

Milliyetçilik kavramı ve ideolojisi, 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısından bu yana imparatorluğu etkiledi ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin çöküşünün ardından 1923'te yeni bir Türk devletinin oluşumuna yol açtı. Yeni kurulan ulus devletin ana kaygılarından biri, yeni Türk kimliği kavramını oluşturmak ve yaymaktır. Ahlaki bir yön ve kimlik vermek yeni bir ulus devlet oluşturmak için yıkılmış bir imparatorluğun temel ideolojisiydi. Yeni cumhuriyetin kurucusu olan Atatürk, bir zamanlar Anadolu'ya yerleşen ve tüm kültürleri eşit derecede

önemli olarak ele alan, bütün medeniyetleri ilgilendiren ve bunları Cumhuriyet'in kültürel hafızasına entegre eden etnohistorik bir teori geliştirdi. Geçmiş, Anadolu'ya ve Anadolu topraklarında bugüne kadar yaşamış medeniyetlere atıfta bulunarak Osmanlı veya Greko-Romen yerine Türk olarak belirlenmiştir. Anadolu, yeni kurulan cumhuriyetin milli sınırlarına denk olarak görülüyordu. Buna ek olarak, Türk geçmişi olarak seçilen medeniyetler temel olarak Hititler (MÖ 2000-1000) ve Frigler, Lidyalılar ve Urartular olmak üzere diğer kültürlerdi. Sonuç olarak, arkeolojik aktiviteler de bu doğrultuda gelişim gösterdi; 1930'lardan beri arkeologların, kazı alanlarının ve müzelerin sayısı arttı. Türk arkeologlarının birinci –Osman Hamdi, Makridi, Halil Edhem vs.– ve ikinci kuşakları –Ekrem Akurgal, Tahsin Özgüç, Afif Erzen vs.–, Fransa, Almanya ve Macaristan'da arkeoloji eğitimi aldı. Atatürk ise, Osmanlılar ya da Selçuklular yerine uzak tarihin kökeni olan Türklerin kökenlerini iddia eden Türk Tarih Tezi'ni destekledi. Ayrıca, 1931 yılında bilimsel çalışmaları kolaylaştırmak amacıyla Türk Tarih Kurumu kuruldu. Eski Anadolu medeniyetlerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlayan çeşitli kapsamlı kazı projelerine başlandı. Yabancı araştırmacı sayısının artmasıyla birlikte, uzun vadeli ve devlet destekli projeler başladı. Ancak, arkeolojideki tüm çalışmalara ve gelişmelere rağmen, Türk arkeolojisi 1940'larda yapılan idari değişiklikler nedeniyle dinamizmini yitirdi ve dünyadaki gelişmeleri yakalayamadı.

Bu çalışmanın amacı 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı Devleti'nden 20. yüzyıl Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ortasına kadar arkeoloji ve müzeciliğin gelişimini araştırmak ve Anadolu'nun kültürel tarihinde ve özellikle de yeni cumhuriyetin başkenti Ankara için önemi çok büyük olan Frigler'in bu çaba içinde nereye konumlandırıldığını incelemektir. Ancak, Frigler Ankara tarihinde köklü bir yeri olmasına ve kalıtsal kültürel mirasa rağmen, Frigler toplumsal hafızada birkaç efsane ve karakterin ötesine geçememişlerdir. Frigler, MÖ 11. yüzyılın başlarında Orta Anadolu'ya gelmişlerdir ve hem eski edebi kaynaklar hem de modern seramik analizleri, Balkanlardan gelebileceklerini göstermektedir. Ancak, Friglerin tarih sahnesindeki ortaya çıkışı sadece MÖ 750'ye dayanmaktadır. Frig toprakları, Anadolu'nun en eski yollarının kesişimindeydi. Ege kıyılarındaki ana yollar ile Doğu Anadolu, Suriye ve Kuzey

Mezopotamya arasındaki bağlantılar, Frig topraklarındaki yollar ile sağlanmıştır. Frigya'nın bu konumu sayesinde, Ege ve Küçük Asya arasındaki ulaşım ve ticaret açısından hayati öneme sahiptir. Arkeolojik veriler, Frigya'nın istikrarı ve zengin yaşamının, MÖ 7. yy sonunda devam ettiğini göstermektedir. Frigya Krallığı MÖ 590'a kadar bağımsız kalmıştır.

Ankara kenti ilk olarak MÖ 8. yy'da Frigya döneminde oluşmaya başlamıştır. Friglerin Ankara'ya yerleşmesini takiben 200 yıl içinde şehir içinde ve çevresinde birçok anıt ve mezar inşa edilmiştir. Bulgular, Frigya şehrinin, bugün Ulus bölgesinde yer alan Hacı Bayram tepesinin içinde ve çevresinde kurulduğunu göstermektedir. Ankara'daki ilk Frig kazısı 1926'da Theodor Makridi (Makridi Bey) tarafından yapılmıştır ve Cumhuriyet ile Ankara'da yoğun bir araştırma ve kazı dönemi başlamıştır. Ankara kent tarihinde Frig dönemi, Frigya şehrinin görsel ve sembolik değerleri olan ve halen Ankara kent imajına dahil edilebilecek 30 bilinen tümülüsü ile çok önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bugün, Frigler Ankara tarihinin bugüne kadar bilinen en eski görsel yapısının bileşenleri olarak devam etmesine rağmen, kentin ve yaşam alanlarının hafızasından büyük ölçüde tahrip edilmiş ve silinmiştir. Ankara, korumayı kolaylaştıran yükseltilerle çevrili verimli arazileriyle ve Anadolu'nun merkezinde bir geçiş bölgesi sunan yapısıyla her dönemde yerleşilmiştir. Diğer önemli Frig kentlerinden farklı olarak, Ankara bugüne kadar sürekli yerleşilmiş ve yaşamış bir merkez olarak var olmuştur; ancak son yıllarda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkenti olması ile çok hızlı bir kentleşme sürecine girmiştir. Dolayısıyla, arkeolojik kazılar ve araştırmalar Ankara'da yoğun kentleşme yüzünden sınırlandırılmıştır.

Gordion, Friglerin başkentidir ve arkeolojik kazılar için yaklaşık 70 yıldır odak noktası olmuştur. Gordion hakkında bildiklerimiz, yazılı kaynaklardan daha çok arkeolojik kazılardan elde edilmiştir. 5000 yıl boyunca Erken Tunç Çağı'ndan (yaklaşık MÖ 3000) öncesine ve modern zamanlara dek işgal edilmiştir. MÖ 1000 yıllarında Orta Anadolu'ya egemen olan Friglerin siyasi-kültürel başkenti ve 8. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru en ünlü Frigya kralı Kral Midas'ın yaşadığı yer olarak bilinir. Gordion, önemini ve daha geniş bir dünya ile olan temaslarını çok yoğun bir ticaret rotası olan Efes, Türkiye'den Susa ve İran'a kadar olan Royal Road'a borçludur. Gordion'un arkeolojik alanı üç farklı

topografik bölgeden oluşur: Kale Höyüğü, Aşağı Şehir ve Dış Şehir. Höyük, mevcut arazinin 16 m yukarısında yükselir. Fakat, höyüğün toprak tabakasının en az 4 m altında uzandığı bilinmektedir. Kabaca, höyüğün doğudan batıya doğru boyutları 500 m, kuzeyden güneye 400 m'dir. Yaklaşık 70 yıl boyunca, Gordion'daki arkeolojik kazıların ana odak noktalarından biri Kale Höyüğü olmuştur. Şimdiye kadar, kalenin içinde iki ana bölge kazılmıştır. Biri, iki açık ve büyük avludan ve megaronların kuşattığı avluların arasında kalın bir duvardan oluşan Saray Alanıdır. İç avlu henüz tamamen kazılmamış olduğundan, düzen tam olarak bilinmemektedir. Diğeri ise Teras Yapı Kompleksi'dir. Kale Höyüğünün güneybatısında ve Saray Bölgesi'nin güneydoğusunda yer almaktadır. Megaron Frig mimarisinde kullanılan ortak bir mimari formdur. Frigler çoğunlukla moloz temelde tahta ve kerpiçten yapılan bu tür yapıları kullanmayı tercih etmişlerdir. Megaron 3, kakma fildişi plakalı ahşap mobilyalarıyla en zengin nesnelerin Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nde bulunduğu ve sergilendiği kalenin en büyük ve en etkileyici birimidir. Bu binanın ölçeği ve mobilyalarının zenginliği kazı ekibine kraliyet sarayının bir parçası olduğunu düşündürmektedir.

Genel arkeolojik alan ve kazılar, kazı alanını yukarıdan çevreleyen tasarlanmış ziyaretçi güzergahı boyunca gözlenebilir. Ziyaretçiler giriş kapısındaki höyüğün merdivenlerine tırmanırlar ve tepeden şehre ve höyük dışarıya doğru güzel bir manzaraya sahiptir. Höyüğün tepesindeki bir sefer, ziyaretçilerin kaleyi ve çevresindeki manzarayı 360 derece deneyimlemelerine olanak sağlar. Koruma adına, Kale Höyüğünün kazı alanlarına turistik amaçlarla erişilemez, ancak ziyaretçiler kazı işleminin başından itibaren tepede oluşturulan güzergah sayesinde yürüyüp deneyimleyebilirler. Alanı çevreleyen ziyaretçi yolu, Höyük Çevresindeki höyük kazısını ve höyüğün etrafındaki manzarayı gözlemlemelerine izin verir. 2009'dan bu yana çalışmanın odağı, ziyaretçilerin deneyimini geliştirmek için yeni çitler, taş basamaklar ve bilgi işaretlerinin uygulanması olmuştur.

9. yüzyılda tümülüsler yalnızca Gordion'da gözlemlenmiştir. Bugüne kadar keşfedilen anıtsal mezar höyüğünün ilki, Tümülüs W, MÖ 850'ye tarihlenmektedir ve 120'den fazla tümülüs Gordion'u çevrelemektedir. Bu gömme geleneğinin kaynağı kesin olarak

bilinmemektedir. Frigya kraliyet ailesi üyelerinin, komutanların ve zengin insanların ölümünden sonra, onların ahşap mezarlıkları çok miktarda toprakla kaplanır ve çevresindeki doğa ile uyumlu büyük bir höyük oluşturulurdu. Bu büyük ve yapay mezar yapılarına “tümülüs” adı verilir ve mezar odalarını özellikle mezar soyguncularına karşı korumak için yaratılmıştır ve aynı zamanda çok dikkat çekici anıtlardır. Tümülüsün dış yüzeyi ova ortasında doğal bir tepe gibi görünse de, yığılmış tepenin altında iyi planlanmış bir mimariye sahiptir. Kral veya kralın aile üyeleri, kullandıkları çeşitli eşyalarla ve onlar için hediye edilen nesnelere tasarlanmış ahşap odada gömülüdür. En büyük tümülüs olan MM Tümülüsü 1957 yılında Pensilvanya Üniversitesi tarafından kazılmaya başlanmıştır. Hala 53 metre yüksekliğinde ve 300 metre genişliğinde durmakta ve her eski ve modern yoldaki uzun mesafelerde bile görülebilmektedir. İç Anadolu ve Gordion'un en büyüğü ve tüm Anadolu tümülüslerinin ikinci en büyüğüdür. Tümülüsün çapı 250 metre, yüksekliği ise 70-80 metredir; fakat erozyonlardan sonra, çap arttıkça, yükseklik yavaş yavaş aşağıya inmiştir. Çam ağaçları ve 3750 yıllık ardıc kütükleriyle oluşturduğu mezar odası ile türünün tek örneğidir. Amerikalı araştırmacılar, 1957 yılında mezar odasına ulaşmaya çalışırken mezarın anıtsal görünümünü korumak için daha önce uygulanmamış olan kazı yöntemlerinden biri olan tünel yöntemini kullanmıştır. Mezar odası her zaman höyüğün ortasına yerleştirilmediğinden, odanın tam yerleşimi sondaj çalışmaları sonucunda bulunur ve Zonguldak'tan gelen maden işçileri yardımıyla 70 metrelik bir tünelin kazılmasıyla ulaşılır. Büyük Tümülüs'e zarar vermeden ulaşabilmek, arkeoloji tarihindeki en önemli başarılarından biridir.

Gordion bölgesi ilk kez 1893 yılında Alman Klasikçi Alfred Körte'nin, Berlin-Bağdat Demiryolunda çalışan mühendislerin eski bir yerleşim kalıntısı ile karşılaştığı Sakarya Nehri üzerindeki bir yeri ziyaret etmesiyle “keşfedildi”. Fakat, elbette, demiryolu inşaatının yerleşiminin seçimi rastgele değildi. Bu, günümüzde demiryolunun izlediği rota olduğu gibi, aynı zamanda antik çağda sahilden Anadolu'nun iç kısmına giden askeri yoldu. 7 yıl sonra, 1900'de, Alfred Körte orta Anadolu'da gerçekleşen ilk kontrollü saha projeleri arasında yer alan üç aylık tek bir kazı sezonunu yürütmek için kardeşi Gustav ile Gordion'a döndü. Kale Höyüğü'nde, MÖ 6. yüzyıl kadar erken olan

seviyelere ulařtılar. Gordion'un hemen yakınında bilinen 85 kiřiden 5 tümölüs atılar. 1900 yılında yapılan üç aylık kazıda bu tümölüslerde çeřitli ahřap mobilyalar, bronz tařlar ve anak ömlekler keřfedildi ve İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi ile Berlin'deki Alman Devlet Müzeleri arasında dađıtıldı. Körte kardeřler Gordion'u keřfettikten 50 yıl sonra, Rodney S. Young, Pennsylvania Üniversitesi Müzesi adına Gordion'da kazılara bařladı.

Young ve ekibi, 1951'den 1973'e kadar 17 mevsim kazılara önderlik etti. Sitenin kültürel ve tarihi önemini aktarma abasının bir parası olarak, Pennsylvania Üniversitesi Mimari Koruma Laboratuvarı'ndan bir ekip mevcut mimari dokunun sunumunu geliřtirmek için alıřtı. 1950'den sonra yapılan kazılarda bulunan eserler hem Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nde hem de Gordion Müzesi'nde sergilenmektedir. Bu kazılar neticesinde Frigya sanat ve kültürü bilgisine yeni boyutlar getiren deđerli sanat eserleri ortaya ıkmıřtır. Kalenin Höyüđünün dođu yarısı ve tahkimat sistemi, Young döneminin odak noktalarıydı. 1974'te Young'ın ölümünden sonra, Gordion'daki kazılar 1988'e kadar durduruldu ve arkeolojik alan Orta Anadolu bölgesinin sert hava kořullarına maruz kaldı. Ancak, sahadaki kazıların yeniden bařlatılmasından sonra, G. Kenneth Sams yeni bir koruma programına bařladı; Young dönemi keřiflerinin yayınlanmasının yanı sıra mimari korumanın da sorumluluđunu üstlenirken, Mary M. Voigt tamamen yeni bir kazı serisi bařlattı. Tümölüs MM ve Kale Höyüđü bu serinin ana odak noktalarıydı. Arkeolojik alanları göstermeyi ve sergilemeyi teřvik eden genellikle turizmdir. Fakat bu, arkeolojik arařtırma bulgularının ve tarihelerin yorumlanmasındaki önceliklerini kaydırır. Bunun önüne gemek için, 2004 yılında, Mimari Koruma Laboratuvarı, kazı bařkanları G. Kenneth Sams ve C. Brian Rose tarafından arkeolojik alana davet edildi. 2008 yılında, Evin Erder (ODTÜ) ve Ayře Gürsan-Salzman (UPenn) önderliđinde Orta Dođu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) ile Pennsylvania Üniversitesi (UPenn) arasında İřbirliđi Anlařması imzalandı. Yeni hazırlanan program TÜBİTAK (Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Arařtırma Kurumu) tarafından Gordion ve çevresine yönelik bölgesel bir Koruma Yönetim Planı geliřtirmek üzere desteklendi ve finanse edildi. Plan kapsamında, sitedeki birincil faaliyet gerektiren alanlardan biri olan

Teras Yapı Kompleksi, ziyaretçi devresi ve Kale Kapısı üzerine yoğunlaşan çeşitli projeler vardır.

1965 yılında, tarihi mekana, bulgulara ve Frig kültürüne dikkat çekmek için Gordion'daki kazı alanının yanında yerel bir müzeye ihtiyaç duyuldu. Gordion'da bir müze kuruluncaya kadar eserler, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi ve İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi gibi birincil müzelere gönderildi. Fakat, taşınmaz kültürel varlıklar, kültürel peyzaj, Frig tarihinin ve kültürünün eserleri ve izleri hep birlikte değerlendirildiğinde anlamlı bir bütündür. Bu nedenle ziyaretçilere daha anlamlı bir bütün sunabilmek için hepsinin tek bir yerde toplanması gerekiyordu ve müze, dikkati bir bütün içine çekmek için ilk adımdı. Fakat müze, bulunduğu mevcut konum ve binadan önce, farklı bir konumda ve tamamen farklı bir biçimde planlanmıştı. 1962 yılında Charles Kaufman Williams çizdiği ve önerdiği gibi bir Frig binasının doğal olarak Gordion'daki tarihi ortama uygun olacağını belirtti. Bu nedenle, Williams, yeni müze binası olarak, Kale Höyüğü'nde daha önce kazılmış olan Megaron 3'ü inşa etmeyi önerdi. Uyarlanabilir planı olan bu megaron müze binası için en uygun olanıydı - teşhir için büyük bir salon, depo galerileri, gardiyanı yerleştirmek için bir giriş ve bilet ve bilgi ofisi vs. Ancak, ne müze için önerilen yer ne de önerilen tasarım uygulanmadı. Gordion'daki megaron tipi müze pratiğe geçemedi ve bunun yerine daha geleneksel bir yapı inşa edildi. Mevcut Gordion Arkeoloji Müzesi, üç yıl sonra, 1965–1966'da Tümüls MM'nin yanına inşa edildi. Bir yıl içinde Yassıhöyük köyü yakınlarında Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'nin bağlı bir kolu olarak kuruldu. Müze kompleksi, tümü bir sınır duvarı ile çevrili çeşitli bina ve yapılardan oluşmaktadır. Müze kompleksi eser koleksiyonunun ana unsurlarını barındırırken, iki mozaik zemin ve bir taş mezar bahçede üzeri kapalı barınakların altında sergilenmektedir. Ancak, konumlandırma ve tabela eksikliği iki mozaik ve mezarın genellikle göz ardı edilmesine sebep olur.

Dijital Gordion Haritalama Projesi, 2008 yılında Gareth Darbyshire ve Gabriel H. Pizzorno tarafından başlatılmıştır. Bu, Gordion ve veri setinin karmaşıklığı ve katmanlaşması ile başa çıkmanın yeni bir yoludur. Midas zamanında 4 km'yi kaplayan ve yükselen alan, şimdi, çevresindeki ovoidan 16 metre yüksekte olduğu için, böyle

büyük bir boyutta bir alanı incelemeye çalışmak zor bir iştir. Bu 3 boyutlu rekonstrüksiyonlar yalnızca araştırmacılara mimari elemanların daha ayrıntılı ve kapsamlı bir sıralamasını sağlamak için değil, aynı zamanda halka alanın sunumunu yapabilmek ve tarihini geliştirmesini anlatabilmek için de kullanılmaktadır. Şimdilik tamamlanması yıllar alacak büyük bir proje olsa da, daha fazla insana ulaşmak için çevrimiçi bir veritabanı oluşturulması planlanıyor.

Tez kapsamında, Frigler ve bugünkü başkent Ankara sınırları içindeki başkentleri Gordion, mimarı ve bilimsel araştırmalarla incelenmiştir. Kentlerimizde halen fiziksel olarak ayakta olan ancak henüz toplumsal hafızamızda yer alamamış Friglerle ilgili mimarı tarih literatürüne kapsamlı bir kaynak hazırlanması amaçlanmaktadır. Toplanan Frig ve Gordion politik, mimarı, sosyolojik ve kültürel tarih verileri ile gelecekteki Frigya çalışmaları için bir temel oluşturması hedeflenmektedir.

Çalışmanın iki araştırma sorusu sırasıyla: (1) Ankara'nın kültürel tarihinde Friglerin çok önemli bir yeri olmasına ve izleri somut olarak günlük hayatımızda bulunmasına rağmen, kültürel hafızamızda yeri neden bu kadar zayıf kalmıştır?; (2) Yüzyıllardır çeşitli medeniyetler tarafından yerleşilmiş olan Gordion hakkındaki bilgiler neden birkaç halk figürü ve efsanenin ötesine geçememektedir?

Tez genel olarak 4 ana bölümde organize edilmiştir. Giriş bölümünün ardından, 2. bölümde arkeoloji ve müzeciliğin 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ortasından 20. yüzyıl Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ortasına kadar gelişim süreci incelenmektedir. Bölüm, 1846-1910'lar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve 1923-1950'ler Türkiye Cumhuriyeti olmak üzere iki ayrı başlık altında ele alınmıştır.

İlk müzecilik ve arkeoloji faaliyetleri ve 18. yüzyılın ortalarında Osmanlı topraklarında müze ve arkeolojiye neden ihtiyaç duyulduğu ve arkeoloji ile müzenin bir toplumun kültürel hafızasını ve ulusal kimliğini nasıl şekillendirebileceği sorusu yeni kurulan ulusun konumu ve emellerini daha iyi anlayabilmek amacıyla incelenmiştir. 3. bölümde, bir önceki bölümde 1950'lere kadar çalışılan dönem bir vaka çalışması ile detaylandırılmaktadır. 1950'de başlayan Gordion arkeolojik sit alanı ve Gordion

Arkeoloji Müzesi vaka çalışmasının odak noktalarıdır. Arkeolojinin ve müzeciliğin 1950 yılına kadar hangi aşamalardan geçtiğini analiz eden bir önceki bölüm, vaka çalışması için bir temel oluşturuyor ve Gordion vakasını daha iyi anlamaya yardımcı oluyor. Bu bölümde, Gordion ve Frigler'in arkeolojik, mimarı, teknolojik ve tarihi detaylarına odaklanılmıştır. Son olarak, Bölüm 4, önceki bölümlerden çıkarımlara ve gözlemlere dayanarak yapılan değerlendirmelerle birlikte çalışmanın ana bulgularıyla sonuçlandırılmıştır.

APPENDIX B: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Social Sciences
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics
- Enformatik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Informatics
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : GORDION
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE AND MUSEUM: A CRITIQUE

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