Teaching the “Science of Antiquities” in the Late Ottoman Turkey: Eckhard Unger and “İlm-i Asar-ı atika Medhali” [Introduction to the Science of Antiquities]

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Abstract

Archaeology, art & architectural history, and aesthetics were all new fields of intellectual activity in the late Ottoman era. Even as some of them were being taught in institutions of higher education and articles were appearing in journals and newspapers on these subjects, it was difficult to name their development as the emergence of separate new disciplines. Rather, the general tableau they presented was a composite area of interest with a high degree of interpenetration. As for courses in academic institutions, the professors usually were not trained in these areas and the courses had neither continuity nor a precisely defined content. We have to admit that our knowledge of these courses is rather restricted as well. For most of them, only the name of the course and/or the name of the professor is known. In this context, the notes of the ilmi asar-ı atika medhali [introduction to the science of antiquities] lectures given by the German archaeologist Eckhard Unger at Darülfünun [University] appear to be a valuable source that may help to clarify the notion of ilmi asar-ı atika and to shed light on the history of archaeological education in the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords

Antiquities, Archaeology education, Ottoman Empire
1. Antiquities [Asar-ı atika] and the science of antiquities [İlm-i Asar-ı Atika]

“Asar-ı atika” is a generic term used for antiquities in Ottoman Turkish. The law of antiquities issued in 1874 describes it in a very general manner: “All kinds of artifacts that remain from ancient times should be considered as antiquities” (Madran, 2002). Even though the definition does not express any time limit, considering the contexts for which it was used, it can be said that asar-ı atika meant archaeological finds primarily for the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1906 revision of the law, the same general regard remains, with a more detailed description: “...all artifacts, remnants of the peoples lived earlier ... and which are related to their art, science, crafts, literature and religion should be considered as antiquities.” (Madran, 2002). However, in the list of examples that accompany the definition, it is noteworthy to observe that mosques and charity buildings, houses, and palaces were also included. Parallel to the growing interest in the early twentieth century in the Islamic and Ottoman past, asar-ı atika began to cover more recent objects and buildings belonging to the Islamic and Ottoman geographies. Examples of civil architecture were to be considered as a part of antiquities as well. One can observe that the language related to its preservation -- both the language of bureaucracy and the popular language of newspapers and periodicals -- was parallel with this change. Celal Esad, in his 1924 French-Turkish dictionary of art terms, points out a difference between French and Turkish usage. The programs of the first three years were performed in the curricula prepared for the literature & philosophy department (Dölen, 2009; İhsanoğlu, 2010). According to Ergin (1977), it was the lack of professors and books that led to the elimination of some courses from the intended program. The second attempt for teaching asar-ı atika is in the context of the newly founded Imperial Museum [Müze-i Hümayun]. Probably led by the growing need for educated staff for and the excavations conducted by

meaning of ilmi asar-ı atika [the science of antiquities]: it may include both archaeology and art history. However, the art historian Mehmed Vahid, in his Opinions on Some Important Art Terms published in 1915 gives “archéologie” and “altertumskunde” as ilmi asar-ı atika’s translations in French and German (Mehmet Vahit Bey, 2003). In a study published by the Committee for Scientific Terminology, archaeology is translated as “atikiyat”, a word which connotes a complex field that may cover many areas related to the study of the antiquity -- similar to altertumskunde (Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti Istılahat-ı İlmiye Encümeni, 1331). Celal Esad also uses atikiyat as the equivalent of archaeology in his dictionary of art terms, but he explains it as the science that examines the art works and monuments of ancient times (Djelal Essad, 1340). Thus, whether it comprises other fields related to the study of antiquity or it is the exact equivalent of archaeology, it seems that ilmi asar-ı atika should not be understood as a general art history but as a field consecrated to the study of antiquity.

2. Teaching the “science of antiquities”

The earliest attempt for the establishment of a course on ilmi asar-ı atika appears in the regulation of public education issued by the ministry of education in 1869. In the section devoted to the establishment of a university [Darülfünun-ı Osmani], courses in ilmi asar-ı atika and numismatics can be observed in the curricula prepared for the literature & philosophy department (Dölen, 2009; İhsanoğlu, 2010). But neither of these courses appear in the programs of the first three years (1870-73) during which Darülfünun remained open (Dölen, 2009; İhsanoğlu, 2010). According to Ergin (1977), it was the lack of professors and books that led to the elimination of some courses from the intended program.

Along with many others, the well known article of Halil Edhem entitled "Asar-ı Atika-i Milliyemiz Nasıl Mahvoluyor?" [How our national antiquities is falling in ruins?] appeared in 1911 in Şehbal may be remembered here as an example of this change in language.
Teaching the “Science of Antiquities” in the Late Ottoman Turkey: Eckhard Unger and “İlm-i Asar-ı Atika Medhali” [Introduction to the Science of Antiquities]

In texts written in Ottoman Turkish the name of the school is Asar-ı Atika Mektebı whereas in French newspapers it is Ecole d’Archéologie.

...
a third type of ilmi asar-i atika course, maybe close to art history.

Sarkis Balyan's proposal for the institutionalization of architectural education is generally accepted as inspired from the École Central in Paris where he studied. However, the Ottoman institutionalization of architectural education would instead follow another Parisian institution as model: École des Beaux Arts. In 1882, the decision was made to establish a School of Fine Arts [Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi] under the direction of Osman Hamdi, a Beaux-Arts graduate painter and the director of the Imperial Museum. Following the decision in 1882, a regulation and a course list were prepared in which an ilmi asar-i atika course—along with art history—would be among the common courses to be taken by all of the art and architecture students (Cezar, 1995). However, from its opening in 1883, this institution always offered art history and later on architectural history classes in its curriculum, but those on ilmi asar-i atika have never been realized (Cezar, 1983). Considering that the need felt for a special school of ilmi asar-i atika had presented itself just a few years earlier and that the School of Fine Arts and the Imperial Museum were in a very close relationship—the school was constructed on the premises of the museum and, apart from the director Osman Hamdi, most of the professors were also working in the museum and going on excavations—it is difficult to understand why the planned course on ilmi asar-i atika could not be realized.

The final establishment of Darülfünun and ilmi asar-i atika courses within it took place with the fourth Darülfünun, realized during the reign of sultan Abdülhamid in 1900 [Darülfünun-1 Şahane]. According to the regulation of 1900, students in the literature department were expected to take two ilmi asar-i atika courses given by Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann, in their second and third years (Selçuk, 2010). At that time, J. H. Mordtmann was the German consul-general in Istanbul. Moreover, he was the Istanbul-born son of the German diplomat A. D. Mordtmann who was known for his knowledge of oriental languages and antiquarian interests. J. H. Mordtmann had studied classics and oriental philology in Leipzig and Bonn. After receiving his PhD in 1874 from the University of Berlin, with a thesis entitled Marmora Anycyra, he worked successively as dragoman, consul, and consul-general in Thessaloniki, Istanbul, and Izmir (Behn, 2006). According to Hilprecht, the Imperial Museum had asked for his cooperation in the cataloguing of south Arabian and Palmyrene antiquities (Hilprecht, 2010). The catalogue of Himyaritic and Palmyrene antiquities of the museum written by J. H. Mordtmann and published in 1898 should be the outcome of this period. This cooperation may have been influential in his appointment at the Darülfünun as well, as Osman Hamdi and Halil Edhem were both in the commission that selected the professors (İhsanoğlu, 2010). How long Mordtmann taught this course is not clear. According to Selçuk (2010), Mordtmann was still at Darülfünun after the reorganization of the curriculum in 1908. However, his name does not appear in the list of the professors published in the newspaper İkdam in 1908. In this list, ilmi asar-i atika seems to be combined with the science of languages [ilm-i elşine] and two professors were assigned for this course: Halil Edhem for ilmi asar-i atika and Necib Asm for the science of languages.

Halil Edhem, was Osman Hamdi's younger brother. He had studied chemistry and geology in Wien and had his PhD in chemistry from the University of Bern in 1885 (Eldem, 2010). After working in several teaching and bureaucratic positions, he succeeded his brother as director of the Imperial Museum in 1910, specializing in the domain of Islamic and Ottoman antiquities.

In 1912-13, during the ministry of Emrullah Efendi, a set of regulations were established in Darülfünun. In addition to reorganizations in the administration and the conditions of acceptance and examinations, the organizational structure of the education was also changed. Darülfünun was now arranged into five departments: religious studies, literature, law, medi-
3. Eckhard Unger

Eckhard Unger was born in Landsberg an der Warthe in 1885. Between 1904 and 1911, he was a student at the University of Leipzig where he studied classical archaeology with Studniczka, art history with Schmarsow, ethnology with Weule, and Assyriology with Zimmern and Weissbach (Genge, 1967, 135; Parrot,1966, 338). He received his PhD in in Assyriology in 1911 from the same university, with a thesis entitled *The Bronze Door of Balawat--Contributions to the explanation and interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions and Shalmaneser III's relief*. The discovery of the gates of Assurnasirpal II & Shalmaneser III in 1878 by a local archaeologist was a remarkable event in the history of Assyrian art. Unger's thesis may be considered one of the early studies to evaluate these gates' several parts which, at the time, were dispersed in various collections in London, Paris, and Istanbul.

The year he finished his thesis, Unger was invited by the Ottoman government to work as conservator and to prepare the catalogues of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Ancient Orient collections of the Imperial Museum (BOA.I.M.F.17/1329-S-1; Unger, 1927). The archival material concerning his recruitment does not provide any clue about the way he was chosen, but the acknowledgement to Halil Edhem in his PhD dissertation suggests that he may have contacted the museum during his doctoral research (Unger, 1913). His one-year contract as conservator was signed on March 14, 1911 and extended consecutively for two and then three years, until 1918 (BOA.I.M.F.17/1329-S-1; BOA.I.M.F.22/1332-S-2).

According to Mansel (1948), the years following 1911 showed a remarkable effort to rearrange the Imperial Museum’s collections in order to gather in the same exhibition hall the pieces that could be related to each other and provide an easily accessible and chronological itinerary to visitors. From articles that Unger wrote on the work he did in this section, one may think that he was occupied mainly with the classification and the spatial organization of the collections during this first stay (Unger, 1927; Dağlıoğlu, 1934). His articles “Two Babylonian antiquities from Nippur” and “Sabâ and Semiramis relief-decorated stele of Adadniraris III” in 1916; “A Monument from the time of Salmanassar IV: The relief-decorated stele of Bel-Harran – Bel Ussur” in 1917, all among the museum's publications, were also products of the research conducted on pieces in its collection. As for the catalogue of the Assyrian and Babylonian collections for which he was invited, only the third volume was published in 1918.

Apart from his work on the muse-
um collections, he also realized one of the first archaeological excavations in Istanbul, in the premises of Topkapı Palace (Unger, 1916) and made two expeditions to Pinarhisar near Kırklareli (Unger, 1916) and Cebel-i Sencar near Mosul (Unger, 1916). During the years of war, he conducted research with H. Glück on Yerebatan Cistern, and with equipment provided by German military forces that were in Istanbul at that time, he prepared measured drawings of it (Unger, 1934; Eyice, 1994).

During the reformation of Darülüşşafaka in 1915, he was invited to teach the re-established course of ilmi asar-ı atika, in the newly established history department of the faculty of literature. The recruitment process of Unger in Darülüşşafaka is again far from clarity. It is known that Professor Schmidt, who was in charge of the recruitment process, was in favor of young academicians, thinking that it would be more advantageous for the university (Dölen, 2013). In addition, in the contracts prepared for the invited professors, the Ottoman government required a commitment to learning Turkish and teaching in Turkish after the second year of their stay in Istanbul (Selçuk, 2010). This difficult demand remained unrealized for the majority of the professors. But at the beginning, as someone who had been living in Turkey for four years, Unger should have a certain advantage from this point of view as well. However, the main factor seems to be Halil Edhem’s intervention. Dölen (2013) states that the establishment of a chair for archeology and numismatics took place only after a request on the part of Halil Edhem. It is highly probable that he suggested Unger for this post or was at least provided a reference for him. A last but probably not least advantage may have been economical. The range of salaries for the invited professors was between 1000 and 750 Ottoman lira per year. But as Unger was already in Istanbul and paid by the Ottoman government for his position in the museum, he was paid only 300 liras

for teaching at the university (Dölen, 2013; Selçuk, 2010). Considering that Schmidt’s proposal for inviting a professor of art history was rejected by the ministry due to economic reasons (Dölen, 2013), to replace it with an ilmi asar-ı atika professor at a considerably smaller cost must have seemed a reasonable solution to the bureaucrats of the ministry. With all these advantages, Unger was appointed to the chair of auxiliary sciences to history on November 15, 1915 (BOA. I.MMS. 201/1334 M-1).

In 1915, Refik Bey was assigned assistant for Unger’s courses at Darülüşşafaka, but as his health problems prevented him from attending regularly, he was replaced on August 15, 1916 by Abdülvahhab Bey who at the time was teaching history and geography in Trabzon (BOA. MFALY.96-129/1334.Z-3). It is known that assistants were chosen among high school teachers who had received their education in Europe and had a command of the German language. As for Abdülhavvab Bey, from his title of Dr. on the cover of the lecture notes that he translated, one may suppose that he had a PhD, but no other information could be found in this research to clarify the personal backgrounds of any of the assistants or their role in the teaching.

According to İhsanoğlu (2010), the Ottoman government provided for almost every German professor a place and equipment to establish an institution [darülmesai]. For some of them, separate buildings were rent, others were given place in the Zeynep Hanım mansion where Darülüşşafaka was actually placed. Based on the fact that no specific building was arranged for it, İhsanoğlu supposes that the institute of archaeology was among those in the Zeynep Hanım mansion. However, no activity of such an institute can be found in the documents or publications of the period. Furthermore, from an archival document dating 1918, it can be understood that Unger was offering some of his classes in the Imperial Museum (BOA. MFALY. 86-28/1334.S.7). While having his own office in the museum, and the necessary material, equipment and library with it, working for the establishment of a new research institute might have seemed unnecessary for Unger. However, he was contributing to the research activities of the university by publishing his research articles

13 Though not based on documentation, Selçuk states that Unger spoke Turkish. Even though it is not certified, it is possible to suppose that as someone who had been living in Turkey for four years he might have reached a certain level of communication skills. However, it should be noted that this was probably far from lecturing in Turkish, as his need for a translator in the lecture notes prove.

14 In the archival documents Unger’s salary was always expressed as “2500 gurus” per month, which corresponds to “300 liras” per year.

15 For a general definition of the assistants’ responsibilities in the regulation of 1914 please refer to: Selçuk, 2010, p. 133
in the university’s journal [Darülüşûn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası].

At the end of the war, the conditions of the armistice of Mudros obliged all German citizens to leave Ottoman lands. Accordingly, Unger left Istanbul in 1918. After his return to Germany, he had his habilitation at the University of Berlin in 1924, and was appointed full professor there in 1930 (Genge, 1967; Parrot, 1966). During this period, he returned to Turkey, first from 1924-25 and later from 1932-35 to work again, now as an expert, in the museum16 (IAMA. K.41/1-d.3302/17704). In his early years in Germany he had founded the Association of the Ancient Orient [Alterorientalische Gesellschaft] in Hiddensee, and after the Second World War he participated actively in the restoration of the demolished city of Mecklenburg and the establishment of a local museum (Genge, 1967). He wrote books and articles published both in Germany and Turkey17 among which Assyrian and Babylonian Art in 192718 brought him wide renown (Parrot, 1966). After his retirement from the University of Berlin in 1945, he kept teaching at the Universities of Greifswald and Rostock. He died in 1966 in Helmstedt, on the way to a conference (Genge, 1967; Parrot 1966).

4. İlm-i Asar-ı atika Medhali
[Introduction to the Science of Antiquities]

The notes of the lectures Unger gave at Darülüşûn were published in 1919 with the translation of his assistant Dr. Abdülvahhab. As a small booklet of 27 pages it is a compendium rather than a complete record of the lectures (Unger, 1335).

From these lecture notes it can be understood that the course was divided into six sections. The first section is reserved for the notion of ilmi asar-ı atıka and its relation with philology and epigraphy. Unger considers ilmi asar-ı atıka as the equivalent of archeology and uses it interchangeably with atikiyyat. He defines it as a science which reports and explains monuments and all kinds of artifacts that remain from ancient times [Ezmin-i kadimened kalan abidat-ı müşekkele ve asar-ı muhtelifenin tefsir ve beyanına mahsus bir fendir]. Although admitting its beginnings in fifteenth century Italy, he dates the emergence of the discipline to the nineteenth century and points out its critical importance for history. He also calls attention to the change in the time periods and geographies covered by the discipline: while fifteen years ago its subject area was restricted to ancient Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Egyptian, and early Christian, now it covers a large time span and geography, from prehistoric times to Renaissance; and studies ancient times of all nations lived in every part of Europe and Asia. For Unger, the research in archeology is possible only with a good command of the languages, but on the other hand it is the findings of archaeology that fill the gaps in the written material. The same relation applies to the epigraphy.

The second section is reserved for the destruction of antiquities. In this context, different types of destruction and the resistance capacity of different materials in the face of destructive forces are mentioned.

The third and fourth sections depict the discovery, excavation, restoration, and display processes of the archaeological materials. He begins by pointing out the importance of the travelers of earlier centuries in raising awareness for antiquities and their role in the discovery of archaeological materials. He compares and contrasts the haphazard and hazardous processes of earlier times with the scientific methods of discovery and excavation. He calls attention to the differences in the excavation of organic and inorganic materials as well as the attention that should be paid to the position of found pieces. He describes different types of museums according to their size and function, and gives European and Ottoman examples. He mentions important points in the cleaning process of the material brought to the museum and principles of display concerning light and color preferences in the halls and criteria for indoor or open-air displays. Finally, he gives information on fake antiquities and on current laws concerning the preservation of antiquities.

In the fifth chapter, Unger provides guiding principles for documentation of the archaeological finds and publica-

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16 An archival document dating 11 February 1933 informs us that Unger was recruited in Galatasaray high school as teacher of German for five months. Considering the length of the assignment one may suppose that it might be a temporary solution to a bureaucratic problem or a demand from the part of the high school to meet an unexpected need. It is also noteworthy that Ernest Mamboury was also working there at the time and it is just before the publication of their book Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel that would appear in 1934. For the recruitment of Unger at Galatasaray high school please refer to: BCA. 30.18.1.2./51.9.9

17 For a complete bibliography of Unger please refer to: Genge, H. (1971) Bibliographie Eckhard Ungers 1913 bis 1970. In Memoriam Eckard Unger: Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des Alten Orients, Verlag Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden.

18 Unger, E. (1927). Assyrische und Babylonische Kunst, Breslau.

Teaching the “Science of Antiquities” in the Late Ottoman Turkey:
Eckhard Unger and “İlm-i Asar-ı Atika Medhali” [Introduction to the Science of Antiquities]
tion of the results. He distinguishes two different documentation methods following the nature of the find: while architectural objects necessitate in-place measuring, drawing, and photographing; for movable finds, different types of paper casting and galvano-plastic techniques may be applied. He indicates the important points that should be included in a written description, criteria for categorization, and printing techniques for the visual material.

The final chapter deals with the value and importance of archeological research for literary and historical studies, as it supplies information that may not be found in written sources; for patriotism, as love for a country is possible only by knowing it well; and for the artistic point of view, as the artistic quality of archeological finds is always capable of creating artistic emotions and sentiments.

5. Conclusion
Sharer and Ashmore point out a dichotomy in the general usage of the term archaeology: the term may refer to a specific body of techniques used to recover evidence about the past, or to the information about the past gained primarily through excavations (Sharer & Ashmore, 1979). Regarding the overall composition of Unger's lectures, it is obvious that he was not considering archaeology in the second meaning. Although placed in the history department of the faculty of literature, the aim of his course seems practical rather than historical. In this respect, it is in contrast with many of the early archaeology courses of the nineteenth century European institutions. Probably due to a still active antiquarian tradition which was used to reveal historical knowledge through the intermediary of objects, the early courses of archaeology in European universities concentrated mostly on material remains19.

Unger's explanation of the uses of archaeology for history, however, fits well into the early twentieth century. Halsall (1997), while explaining the history of the archaeology-history relationship, relates "archaeology as the auxiliary science to history" perspective to the approach of culture-history in archaeology. According to Halsall, culture-history20, simply by attempting to flesh out, illustrate, or extend political historical narratives, and by usually being conducted by researchers trained as historians, positions history as dominant and archaeology as simply auxiliary.

Recent studies focusing on the development of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire regard it largely as a response to the European interest in antiquities and a search for a new imperial identity capitalizing on the historical wealth of its territories (Bahrani & Çelik & Eldem, 2011; Shaw, 2003). This point of view which puts the interest in antiquities subordinate to politico-historical discourses is parallel with the approach that places archaeological knowledge subordinate to grand historical narratives. In this context, if the main purpose of the interest in antiquities was to provide necessary proofs for historico-political discourses, it became understandable that the purpose of the science of antiquities would be the acquisition of the necessary information to prepare these proofs. It is probably this point of view which regards the science of antiquities as a sum of practical knowledge rather than a search of historical truth in the vestiges of the past that shaped the cadre of Unger's lectures.

Abbreviations
- BOA: Başbakanlık Devlet Osmanlı Arşivleri [Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives]
- I. MMS.: İrade Meclisi Mahsus
- I.MF.: İrade Maarif
- MF. ALY.: Maarif Nezareti Tedrisat-i Aliyye Dairesi
- BCA.:Başbakanlık Devlet Cumhuriyet Arşivleri [Prime Ministerial Republic Archives]
- I.AMA: İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Arşivi [Archives of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum]

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