LEGISLATIVE, ETHICAL AND MUSEOLOGICAL

ISSUES REGARDING

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HUMAN REMAINS

IN TURKEY

By

ELIFGÜL DOĞAN

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

Archaeology and History of Art
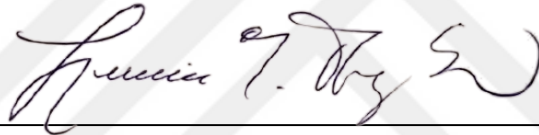
Koç University

July 2018

Koc University

Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by
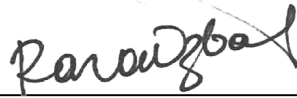
Elifgül Doğan

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by the final
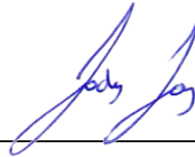examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

_____
Assoc. Prof. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak

_____
Asst. Prof. Rana Özbal

_____
Dr. Jody Patrick Joy

Date: _____July 31, 2018_____

To *my mom and dad*

ABSTRACT

The ethical concerns and discussions about the management of archaeological human remains are recognized to different extents in the legislative and professional frameworks of various countries and depend on the diverse archaeological and socio-cultural contexts of these countries. The current legislation in Turkey regarding all categories of archaeological finds makes no distinction between human remains and other archaeological materials and defines archaeological human remains like other finds as "state properties". This position ignores that human remains are not just another artifact and their management requires a different approach, based on ethical codes of conduct and inclusive cultural stewardship.

This research investigates how the archaeology of human remains in Turkey has been negatively impacted by limited legislative and insufficient professional frameworks, which have led to ethical problems in museum displays and archaeological excavations. The reasons behind these limitations are analyzed based on findings from interviews with several archaeologists and museum personnel working in Turkey, and the examination of on-site practices in selected museums and archaeological sites. Using a case study conducted on human remains at the Seddülbahir Fortress, several professional and policy solutions are proposed to address the problems of human remains management in Turkey.

Keywords: archaeological human remains, cultural heritage management, display of human remains, ethics, heritage policy, legislation.

ÖZET

Arkeolojik insan kalıntıları koleksiyonlarının yönetimi konusundaki etik endişeler ve tartışmalar; farklı ülklerde arkeolojik ve sosyokültürel geçmişlere bağlı olarak, yasal ve profesyonel çerçevede farklı ölçülerde kabul görmektedir. Türkiye'deki güncel yasalara göre ise; arkeolojik insan kalıntıları diğer arkeolojik buluntulardan ayrılmaksızın "devlet malı" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bakış; arkeolojik insan kalıntılarının sıradan birer buluntu olmadığı, etik ve kapsayıcı koleksiyon yönetimi gerektirdiği gerçeğini gözden kaçırmaktadır.

Bu araştırmada, Tükiye'deki kısıtlı yasal ve profesyonel çerçevelerin; arkeolojik insan kalıntılarının kazılması ve sergilenmesinde ortaya çıkan etik problemler üzerindeki etkisi incelenmektedir. Bu sınırlılıkların sebepleri; Türkiye'de çalışan müze profesyonelleri ve akademisyenler ile yapılan görüşmeler ve uygulanan bazı pratiklerin yerinde tetkiki ile edinilmiş bilgiler doğrultusunda analiz edilmektedir. Bu araştırma kapsamında; Gelibolu Yarımadası, Seddülbahir Kalesi'nde bulunan insan kalıntıları üzerine örnek olay incelemesi yapılmıştır. Bu inceleme ve araştırmanın genel verileri ışığında, Türkiye'deki insan kalıntıları koleksiyonlarının yönetimine dair saptanan sorunlara profesyonel ve ilkesel çözüm önerileri sunulacaktır.

Keywords: arkeolojik insan kalıntıları, kültürel miras yönetimi, insan kalıntılarının sergilenmesi, etik, kültürel miras diplomasisi ve yasaları.

ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

"Human remains are not just another artifact; they have potency. They are charged with political, evidentiary and emotional meanings…"(Cassman, Odegaard, and Powell 2006a). These multiple layers of meanings assigned to these artifacts change depending on different groups of people, who look at them. Because of this significant degree of relativity, it is difficult to standardize the policies and procedures to deal with these types of remains. Archaeologists may excavate burials of ancient people for the sake of revealing past lives and observe the steps of human progression throughout the ages, whereas physical anthropologists may approach human remains with an intent to decode the signs of evolutionary development of the human body. From another perspective, museum professionals may see displaying human remains as essential to show museum visitors something that they could have never seen otherwise. However, human remains are not ordinary artifacts that come from exotic ancient worlds to amaze visitors. Rather, they are the remains of actual people who lived different journeys in the past and were/ are somehow related to people living today. Because of this particular relationship and connection between the living and the dead, it is not always easy to determine how to negotiate the ethical dilemmas which surround the use of archaeological human remains collections. The ethical concerns about the management of archaeological remains are approached differently in various countries, depending on how well established the professional norms and standards concerning excavation, treatment and display of human remains are.

The management of archaeological human remains in Turkey has many challenges due to problems concerning the respect for these types of finds. The most

important reason for the problems in Turkey is a structural problem: limited appropriate legislative and professional frameworks. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MoCT) in Turkey has no specific standards and guidelines concerning the excavation or display of archaeological human remains, even though Turkish universities have had anthropology/archaeology departments since 1925 (Üstündağ and Yazıcıoğlu 2014, 201). The current legislation in Turkey which covers all archaeological finds makes no distinction between human remains and other archaeological materials and considers archaeological human remains as "state properties" like other finds (Law 2863, Part 1 Article 5) (Üstündağ 2011, 459). The professional practices which result from diverse interpretations of this limited legislation lack in standardization in treatment and curation of human remains, dating from the Palaeolithic to World War I in Turkey.

This research is composed of three sections: policy analysis, field work and a case study. It investigates how the limited legislative and professional guidelines have impacted the management of archaeological human remains in Turkey. The term *management* here covers the aspects of excavation, preservation, study and display of archaeological human remains. In the first part of this research Turkey's legislative and professional context is comparatively analyzed and an assessment of different legislative frameworks and cases from several countries, including the United Kingdom, United States, France, Australia and Netherlands is provided. These countries were selected due to their exemplary legislative guidelines or their contextual similarities to Turkey, and because they serve as examples of effective solutions to the lack of legislative guidelines for archaeological human remains collections in Turkey. The second part of the research is the results of field work with academics and museum professionals who work with human remains

collections. Interviews were conducted as a part of the investigation of the common practices and major problems concerning the management of human remains in Turkey. Finally, based on a case study in the Gallipoli Peninsula several solutions are proposed for managing archaeological human remains in Turkey.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Although research about the ethical management of archaeological human remains (including excavation, treatment and display) has been extensively conducted in many countries, especially in those with indigenous populations or rich archaeological human remains collections, no study has been conducted yet on this topic in Turkey. Therefore, the majority of the literature consulted in this thesis research is based on non-Turkish contexts. A diverse range of cases and legislative frameworks from different countries were reviewed during this research to find the most suitable solutions for the Turkish context.

The Routledge Handbook of Archaeological Human Remains and Legislation, is the most comprehensive introduction to the legislative and professional frameworks concerning archaeological human remains used around the world. In this book, extensive analyses of the regulations and practices from 60 countries are provided by professionals working in the field in these countries. A chapter is also dedicated to Turkey, written by anthropologist Handan Üstündağ, who gives an overview of the Turkish legislation for the protection of cultural heritage (Üstündağ 2011, 455-467). Besides the legislative settings, a general outlook of anthropological studies and practices used to manage archaeological human remains are analyzed in each country's chapter. The chapters dedicated to the United Kingdom, United States, France, Australia, Netherlands and Turkey were

specifically helpful for my research to develop a comparative analysis that enabled me to detect the shortcomings of the Turkish legislation and professional practices.

Another important source for this research has been the book, *Archaeological Human Remains: Global Perspectives*. In this book, experts from 16 countries, including Turkey present the history and development of archaeological human remains studies along with interesting cases from their countries. In chapter 15, Handan Üstündağ and Gökçe Yazıcıoğlu discuss how the fields of anthropology and archaeology have developed in line with the nationalist agenda of the newly established Turkish republic since 1930s (Üstündağ and Yazıcıoğlu 2014, 199-206). This source outlines some of the historical and socio-cultural concepts surrounding archaeological human remains and the possible reflections of these on the practices that exist in the field today.

To build the theoretical background of my research concerning the issue of ethics in human remains research and heritage management, three books *Contesting Human remains in Museum Collections*, *Bioarchaeology: An integrated Approach to Working with Human Remains* and *Curating Human Remains: Caring for the Dead in the United Kingdom* have been the most helpful. These sources shed light on controversial issues of scientific racism, ownership, cultural authority and ethics of displaying human remains. Since these are rather unexamined topics for the museum profession in Turkey, these sources significantly helped me to build a foundation for a similar discussion in the Turkish context.

When developing my proposed solutions for the major problems of the human remains management in Gallipoli and the public museums of Turkey, the book, *Human Remains: Guide of Museums and Academic Institutions,* became a fundamental source of information. Besides providing a rich collection of the most

accepted international norms and guidelines in this field, it also gave me examples of guidelines prepared by museums and other cultural institutions from many countries. Among these, the British Museum's *Regarding the Dead: Human remains in the British Museum* has been the most valuable source for my research since the real-life challenges of decision making in the curation of human remains, stakeholder and public relations and ethics are thoroughly discussed in this book.

Lastly, to be able to make a historical and comparative analysis of human remains management in Gallipoli, which constitutes the case study of my research, I benefitted greatly from the sources provided by the war grave commissions of the U.K, Australia and France. The online archival information provided by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Australian War Memorial and the accounts of Charles Bean in *The Official History of Australia in The War of 1914-1918* provided great insights about the approaches that shaped the difficult practices concerning the burial procedures and different aspects of the war dead in the Gallipoli Peninsula. Finally, the book *Bodies in Conflict: Corporeality, Materiality and Transformation* provides a multidimensional portrayal of human remains management in former battle zones and helped me to formulate my own case study on the human remains discovered in the Seddülbahir Fortress. With these different types of sources, it was possible to bring a multidisciplinary perspective to my research and this thesis that includes ethics, heritage management and battlefield archaeology and implement this at Seddülbahir.

Chapter 3: The History of Research and Display of Archaeological Human Remains

The curiosity of humans about the constituents of their own bodies may be as ancient as human existence on earth. The history of recorded studies on the human body goes back to the times of the Ancient Greeks whereas the collection and use of human remains may be even an older tradition. How people perceive the human body and its use after death for any purpose reveal differences depending on factors such as belief systems and relationships with death. However, these differences have not prevented humans from pursuing their curiosity and learning more about human body in ways that can be controversial. The displays of human remains in museums are among the most controversial uses of these types of remains.

3.1. Research of Archaeological Human Remains

The earliest recorded systematic studies on a human body were conducted in the third century B.C by two Greeks, Hereophilius and Erasistratus. However, a more widespread appreciation of the human body as a source of knowledge initially emerged in the 18th century-Britain where a boom in anatomical studies led to many inventions as well as certain problems (Walker 2000, 5-6). The growing interest in human anatomical studies ended up beneficial for humans, but the increasing demand for cadavers led to the emergence of an illegal market for corpses. The demands for cadavers were met through some questionable methods. These methods included robbing graves, hiring body snatchers and even murdering homeless people as well as ordinary passerbys, who were unfortunate enough to accidentally cross paths with these "businessmen" (Walker 2000, 6). These controversial developments were not limited to Britain, but also occurred in the United States and other

industrializing countries whose public had developed an interest in the scientific study of the human body.

Since the earliest recorded anatomical research by the ancient Greeks, solving the problems concerning physiology and surgical anatomy have formed the core of studies on human body (6). Although medical curiosity dictated the research focus in most of the studies until after the Renaissance, with the formation of *Wunderkammers* in the 1600s, new questions concerning human adaptation, variation and mankind's ancestral roots became too evident to be ignored by researchers. Antiquarians collected many historical and archaeological artifacts from the sites all around the world, stored and displayed these finds in their Wunderkammers (Cabinets of Curiosity) (Aldrich 2009, 138). Bones were also intriguing elements of these collections and were catalyst for intellectuals and scientists of the time in their pursuits to discover from where exactly humans originated. Hence, the anatomical studies of ancient human and ape bones were used to answer these types of questions in the late 17th century (Walker 2000, 7-8). Although these studies aimed at decoding the mysteries of human past by looking at biological variations in human anatomy, they also brought various problems owing to the sensitive nature of these finds, most of which came from the colonized worlds. Some European travelers, who later formed their own Cabinets of Curiosity, brought many sensational artifacts back from their expeditions to the colonized parts of the world (Jenkins 2010, 3). Thousands of human remains that belonged to various local communities of Oceania, Americas, the Levant and Africa, were among these sensational artifacts which were used in anthropological studies on 'race' (Aldrich 2009, 138). By bringing these curiosities from the colonized nations, the European travelers not only contributed to a production of a very problematic eugenic

literature written on these remains, but also left a contested inheritance to the biggest museums of Europe. The museums in London, Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels were flooded with new acquisitions of artifacts coming from colonies. Ethnography museums eventually had to be opened to display thousands of ethno-archaeological finds that included skeletons, skulls, mummies as well as cultural objects (Aldrich 2009, 138). As a result of these new collections, the new trends towards museum displays of human remains emerged.

3.2. Display of Archaeological Human Remains in Museums

Human remains have been held, stored, researched and finally displayed in museums since the 18th century. The museums categorized these human remains in different ways in accordance with archaeological, ethnographic, scientific and medical classification systems (Jenkins 2010, 2-3). While the reasons for displaying human remains varied in the earliest examples of museum displays, the colonial views frequently shaped the themes and display choices of the curators in museums. Displaying human remains from the colonized countries was another way of promoting colonialism and became a way in which remains from vanishing races could be preserved to be shown to the European public (Jenkins 2010, 3) (Aldrich 2009, 138). As a result, the public could be educated about the scope of the empires, the power which extended to encapsulate the homes and bodies residing in these unfamiliar cultures and places. Though many museums have started to reevaluate their display choices concerning archaeological human remains and ethnographic objects since the 1990s, displays of archaeological human remains with echoes of colonial narratives continue to exist. Today, the reasons for displaying human remains are not limited to these traditional narratives, which may be considered offensive to some cultures or disturbing for some visitors due to the nature of these

finds. Two other reasons for displaying human remains in museums also exist: attracting more visitors and educating the public.

3.2.1. Attracting Visitors

The colonial narratives have dominated the exhibition halls in the earliest museums and continue to do so in some museums today, but colonial propaganda in museums manifested itself in different ways. Museums were not always places for learning or intellectual contemplation. They were also new forms of entertainment venues in the 19th and 20th centuries. They needed visitors and aimed to expand their audience by making sensational displays of the unknown and "other" exotic cultures. In line with the curious mentality of the 19th century, "the other" was put on the stage in museums as it was in circuses and in "human zoos". In these human zoos and circuses, the unfamiliar and exotic-looking human beings from distant worlds, or humans with disabilities or physical abnormalities were used to attract the European gaze and revenue from visitors. The controversial displays of humans from the colonized worlds characterized the new trend of ethnographic settings in the entertainment venues of the 19th and 20th centuries (McLean 2012, 608).

The museum curators of the time were not immune to the appeal of these ethnographic settings, which later dramatically transformed the museum displays. Along with cultural objects that belonged to other cultures, mostly those of colonized civilizations, the archaeological and non-archaeological human remains of "the others" were displayed to attract more visitors to museums. Mummies from Egypt, prehistoric burials from the Middle East and the remains of the indigenous communities of Australia, New Zeeland and American Indians were quickly placed under the spotlight in European museums (Aldrich 2009, 138-139). The motive behind these displays reflected the colonialist mentality of the time, but also laid a

foundation for the sensationalist displays of human remains in many museums of today. Even though this mentality may not necessarily continue to be the motivation behind displaying human remains in all museums, the goal of attracting more visitors through human remains exhibitions continue today to be among the driving forces for the presence of these types of exhibitions. Considering the fact that human remains displays are often the most visited sections of museums, we can assume that museums often succeed in attracting visitors through human remains intentionally or unintentionally (Swain 2002, 100) (Curtis 2013, 22). Since museums provide a legitimate venue for visitors to encounter death and the human body away from any stigma, visitors show great interest in visiting these types of displays (Alberti et al. 2009, 138). It is undeniable that having the chance to view the human body after death is quite appealing for some people. Hence, the awareness of curators concerning this appeal has long served the agendas of museums in attracting more visitors, and revenue.

3.2.2. Educational /Scientific Reasons

Since the establishment of the first museums and particularly since the 19th century, education has been one of the top museum agendas. Despite the normalization of displaying human remains in the 18th and 19th centuries, whether to display human remains or not has been a complicated decision for curators because of the ethical dilemmas arising from the display of human remains to many cultures today. Therefore, curators working in popular museums often need to provide justification and explain their intentions when deciding to display archaeological human remains. Educational and scientific purposes often stand out as more justifiable than the former seems: revenue products and the increase of visitor

numbers (Alberti et al. 2009, 135) (Gazi 2014, 3) (Curtis 2013, 25). When arguments advocating the educational benefits of displaying human remains are voiced, an important question often follows these arguments: Do we really need to use 'actual' human remains to educate the public about them? This question is motivated by ethical concerns, which suggest alternative ways of displaying human remains such as illustrations, reconstructions or digital installations. However, many curators believe that the educational benefits of displaying actual rather than reconstructed human remains outweigh the costs even when there is a risk of the visitor being emotionally and spiritually distanced from the human remains on display (Curtis 2013, 25). The justification based on the museum curator's desire to present these remains for scientific education is significantly different than the approach among curators who aim for pure sensationalism in their displays. In contrast, educational story-telling can help visitors to form a real connection to the individual whose story is told through human remains. According to Daniel Antoine, a curator of bioarchaeology at the British Museum, his team chooses unique individuals to display from the BM's human remains collection for the purpose of educational story-telling (Antoine 2017). By telling the stories of these unique individuals, the curators hope to help visitors to learn, empathize and visualize different cultures and burial customs of an earlier archaeological period. Moreover, visitors may find the chance to establish a connection with the individual on display and the remains become more than objects, but appear as an individual, who lived a life narrated by the museum team.

Particularly when a museum detects signs of trauma or evidence of a strange cause of death of an individual in their human remains collections, the number of stories that can be told in the display of human remains increases exponentially. The

use of smart display techniques and interactive digital installations can be significantly helpful for museum professionals to communicate and educate visitors about these interesting stories and may shed light on the individual life experiences and time in which the person on display lived. People often learn better through visual communication in museums, which makes museum curators adopt these new technologies to tell a more memorable story (Hooper-Greenhill 2007, 32). Rather than the desire to shock, the educational intent behind these modern human remains displays may be considered a more justifiable reason for displaying human remains. However, some displays continue to be points of philosophical and ethical discussions for academics, museum professional and general public.

3.3. Debates surrounding the Display of Human Remains

For any human being, approaching an "object" (human remains) that indeed shows the essence of what one person is physically made of may be challenging. Depending on how one defines and distances oneself from death, the attitudes may change dramatically. One may feel quite comfortable while looking at a skeleton in a museum, but another may feel terrified seeing a human being displayed daily to hundreds of people. The attitudes towards human remains by archaeologists, anthropologists and museum staff are not very different than those of ordinary people and there is great diversity in these groups. It is understandable that different occupational groups regard human remains differently, or show different levels of respect and care depending on individual occupational or personal perspectives. Attitudes towards human remains differ in such a way that even the vocabularies used in the field vary significantly, indicating the level of regard by people who work with human remains. According to Cassman et al., words used for human

remains such as artifact, object, specimen, decedent and corpse imply the greatest distancing; whereas fossil, skeleton, mummy and cadaver may connote more objectiveness and impartiality. The words that convey the greatest respect and sense of connection to human remains are individual, person and human remains (Cassman, Odegaard, and Powell 2006a).

If the vocabularies of different specialists show such a degree of disunity, it is not surprising to come across difference in practices used while managing human remains collections. Inevitably, there are good and in some cases, very bad examples. Although the bad examples of management may not necessarily result from a lack of respect for archaeological human remains, the question remains: Should we display the dead? This question has been asked by many academics and museum professionals who work with human remains. The reason for asking are often driven by ethical concerns, which were first loudly vocalized and reflected in the earliest codes of professional ethics in medical studies in the first half of the 19th century (Turner 2005, 4). The history of how these concerns came to dictate changes in legislations and the development of standards and professional guidelines in five countries is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: International Legislations and Practices concerning Archaeological Human Remains and Museum Display Practices

Having professional standards and guidelines for practices used in any scientific field is beneficial for assuring the quality of research and maintaining certain ethical values. However, the enforcement of these standards generally operates at a local and national level. For the study of human remains, there is no international standard or legislation by which all countries with human remains collections abide (Alfonso et al. 2006, 5-7). Therefore, the task of developing these must be taken by the national or local administrative levels of each country, all of which seem to be following different pathways to achieve this task. Though each country follows different guidelines and legislative acts, the common emphasis of most guidelines is on ethical considerations, which points out the issues such as respect for the dignity of the deceased, importance of dialogue and consultation, and the criteria regulating excavation, storage and conservation of the human remains (Cassman, Odegaard, and Powell 2006b, 21) (Antoine and Taylor 2014, 43-48) (Márquez-Grant and Fibiger 2011).

The guidelines considering all these issues vary considerably in different countries, but there is one commonly used and well known guideline: the Code of Ethics of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) which aims to set the minimum standards of professional practice and performance in a variety of issues for museums (ICOM 2013).This guideline sets standards also for human remains by categorizing them under 'culturally sensitive material', which should be housed securely and cared respectfully (ICOM 2013, 3-8). Another important agreement is *the Vermillion Accord on Human Remains*, which was adopted by the World

Archaeological Congress in 1989. This international agreement similarly recognizes the sensitivity of archaeological human remains for indigenous peoples and underlines the need to consider the beliefs and wishes of people about human remains before conducting scientific and educational studies with them (Alfonso and Powell 2006, 13). However, neither ICOM's Code of Ethics nor the Vermillion Accord is legally binding, but represents recommendations for professional self-regulation (Schärer 2014). This means that there is no one to enforce these codes other than the institutions themselves, which may lead to incomplete or no implementation of the codes at all.

There have been many legislative acts that different countries developed to regulate the management of human remains. In the following section, several legislative acts that were initiated by the United Kingdom, Australia, the United States of America, Netherlands and France are presented. These countries were selected for this thesis research for two reasons; their historical link to the human remains management in Turkey and their contextual parallels to Turkey, which might help develop solutions for the Turkish context.

4.1. The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has an interesting history of both scientific and criminal activities concerning human remains which impacted the development of certain rules concerning these types of finds in the country. Further the U.K.'s practices are examined here because of this country's (and Australia's) role in shaping the history of human remains management in the Gallipoli Peninsula of Turkey, a topic to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.1. Archaeological human remains have probably been natural "objects" of curiosity for humankind throughout the history, but this curiosity intensified in the U.K. during the 16th through 19th centuries owing

to the interest of antiquarians in exhumations (White 2011, 479). The development of anatomy, anthropology and archaeology as fields of science increased the number of research on human remains and the number of excavations. These excavations yielded large number of human remains that required guidance in better treating these remains. The "Burial Act" of 1857 was enacted by the parliament as primary piece of legislation in the U.K which aimed to regulate several aspects of human remains management such as the removal of the human remains from their place of deposit with respect and care, the usage of the remains for scientific purpose, and the archival storage of the remains for future investigations (White 2011, 484). Later, the 1884 and 1981 Disused Burial Ground Act in line with the 1857 Burial Act was introduced to secure the protection of former burial grounds from theft and construction works "unless any human remains have first been removed and cremated or reinterred…"(White 2011, 484). The 1857 Burial Act does not have any implications for the Scottish or Irish law, which have their own legislative acts, though the 1857 Burial Act applies to rest of the UK.

The 1857 may have come into existence precautionary measures in response to criminal activities, but two key steps taken in 2004 and 2005 by the British government were ethically driven. In 2003, the Cultural Property Unit of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) was appointed to examine all aspects of care, safe keeping, legal status and repatriation of human remains found in the publicly funded galleries and museums. In 2004, the Human Tissue Act was enacted to regulate the removal, storage, use and disposal of human tissue, organs and bodies (Human Tissue Authority 2004). The following year, the DCSM published the document, *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums* (White 2011, 482). These official initiatives considerably shaped the practices

adopted in the British museums which have developed their own guidelines in line with the legislation to self-regulate; these, in turn, have become examples to other institutions in other countries.

The contributions of individual institutions such as the British Museum and Leeds Museums and Galleries to the issue of human remains deserve to be mentioned. The guidelines and policies of these two institutions are very valuable sources for evaluating how to deal with human remains in museums as well as in the conservation and storage phases of excavations. The issues of how to hold and display human remains, how to curate, store, transport and conserve them in an ethical way as well as the limits of research practices are discussed in great detail and illustrated with case studies (Taylor and Antoine 2014, Leeds Museums and Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013). Moreover, conferences organized by the Manchester Museum, which resulted in a practical guideline for respectful treatment and reburial methods, have also focused on sensitive issues such as consent and consultation with ethnically relevant communities, faith groups and scientific circles, who are interested in the issue (Restall Orr and Bienkowski 2006).

4.2. Australia

As mentioned earlier, due to Australia's role in the Gallipoli battles of WWI, the legislation of this country also needs to be addressed in order to comprehend the human remains management practices carried out in Gallipoli since the WWI. As a significant percentage of the dead in Gallipoli were from Australia and New Zealand, human remains management in term of how these intersect with Turkey's approach need to be evaluated. Australia's historical and cultural ties to the British Empire have had influence on development and operation of many scientific studies. Similar to the U.K, the development of anthropology (and the curiosity of European

antiquarians for the culture and origins of indigenous people) go back to the late eighteen century in Australia as well (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 633). However, the laws that regulate the practices concerning human remains in Australia evolved much later. The reason for this delay may be related to the influence of British Law on Australian Law until Australia started to actively recognize the different historical contexts and needs of its territories. Australian law consists of the Australian Common Law (based on English common law) and federal laws, which are designed to answer the specific needs of two mainland territories and six states where different indigenous and European-origin communities live (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 637).

The excavations that started in 1960s and intensified towards the 1980s in the territories, which were mainly inhabited by the aboriginal communities, paved the way to the first efforts to regulate the studies on human remains in Australia. In 1972, the Aboriginal Heritage Act was passed to protect the Australian indigenous heritage (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 638). Soon after this legislation, a series of other legislative acts were enacted in other states in 1974 (National Parks and Wildlife Act in New South and Wales), in 1975 (Aboriginal Relics Act in Tasmania) and in 1980 (the Coroners Act in all states) (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 638-639). The regional jurisdictions slowly picked up these legislative acts and adapted them for their own needs. Although these laws touch on the specifics of their respective region, they require researchers to obtain permits to excavate Aboriginal skeletal remains and consult with the local community in all steps of the excavation. For example, a legislative act such as the Coroners Act regulates excavation of human remains and prohibiting unnecessary disturbance of Aboriginal burials whereas the Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Act (1986) prohibits

the export of objects relating to the Aboriginal race of Australia (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 637-638). Although some of these laws are viewed as disadvantages by some researchers due to the limitations that they have on scientific analysis, the ethical concerns behind these legislative acts are appreciated by many groups. The collaborations of the local Aboriginal land councils and Australian museums work towards establishing a basis for consultation between different stakeholders when it comes to making decisions about the future of indigenous remains (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 639). These decisions did not stay limited to the activities in Australia. The Aboriginal institutions such as the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre (TAC) has also sought for Aboriginal human remains that were kept in the various museums of the U.K and demanded repatriation (Jenkins 2010, 1).

Apart from the matters concerning indigenous human remains, Australia also has developed regulations regarding war dead due to a growing sentiment for the recovery of human remains of Australians who went missing during the First and Second World War and the Vietnam War (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 642). The laws and practices concerning WWI is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.1.2, but the rules, which apply to all human remains from these contexts, address the circumstances where any missing human remains are detected. Because the Australian government does not actively search for the locations of these remains, families have often conducted their own search campaigns. In case of any discovery, the Australian government conducts an investigation and appoints teams (consisting of archaeologist and anthropologists) within the Department of Defense to make systematic recoveries of human remains found (Donlon and Littleton 2011, 642).

4.3. The United States of America

Similar to the case in Australia, legislation regarding recovery and treatment of human remains varies depending on the specific state legislation in the U.S, which also has a federal system. The regulations vary in every state, but they mutually aim to monitor the activities which may yield human remains affiliated with American Indians or any other ethnic group. The first comprehensive federal act was passed in 1990 in response to widespread objections of the American Indian tribes for the curatorial custody and excavations of archaeological human remains discovered in the ancient American Indian settlements, which many tribes regard as part of their heritage. In 1989, the United States Congress passed the National Museum of the American Indian Act (P.L. 101-85), which was followed by the famous legislative federal act, the NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) in 1990 (Ubelaker 2011, 536). These legislative acts obliged all federal agencies and institutions to make an investigation of their inventories to see if they had any human remains collections which could be related to any of the federally recognized tribes (Ubelaker 2011, 535-536). The NAGRPA stated that the tribal authority must be recognized when making decisions about excavation and display of American Indian remains on federal and tribal lands. Moreover, institutions that hold inappropriately acquired sacred objects or any other property of tribes should return these remains to the living 'culturally affiliated' American Indian tribes (Jenkins 2010, 12).

These attempts were significant in terms of reviving a dialogue between the Native American community and the institutions that have human remains in their collections. Apart from this dialogue, ethical considerations were revised and state "ownership" of remains has come to an end as a way to deliver the dignity of the

deceased back by returning them to their living relatives. However, the issue of "relatedness" needs to be further discussed here since cultural affiliation is also frequently recognized along with genetic linkage. Although this issue will be further discussed in the Chapter 6.3 with a focus on the case of the Kennewick Man, the problem of how to determine the living relatives of archaeological human remains and which stakeholders to recognize in this process dominate the discussions all around the world, especially in the Turkish context.

Besides legislative acts, archaeological and museum professionals working in the United States have felt the need to develop their own professional guidelines concerning the ethics of human remains studies. Setting up the standards may have come as natural step for professionals since the medical studies intensified this in the 1800s along with archaeological excavations, which started to yield archaeological human remains at the same time. Several professional bodies such as the American Anthropological Association, the Society of Professional Archaeologists and the American Society of Conservation Archaeologists have produced professional ethical guidelines and policies (Gareth Jones and Harris 1998, 254). Similar to the museums in the U.K and Australia, American museums do not limit themselves to the framework drawn by legislative acts, but have created their own human remains management policies to assure the best museum practices and to provide a balanced response to the demands of the indigenous communities and researchers.

4.4. France

The history of anthropological studies in France similarly go back to the 19th century when the establishment of the Society of Anthropology of Paris marked the development of the physical anthropology field in 1855 (Michel and Charlier 2011, 151). The studies conducted on medical and archaeological human remains naturally

led professionals to develop their own methodologies and principles in time, but the legislation was slow to catch up and rather general. Among the countries of the Allied Forces that fought in the Gallipoli battles of WWI and managed the remains of their dead on the peninsula, France may have the least specific laws concerning the management of human remains. According to the French Law, human remains from archaeological contexts do not have legal status. The human remains that were excavated from archaeological sites are not mentioned separately in the Law no 2001-44 (2001), which has inherited the general definitions of the older heritage law from 1941 (Law no.41-4011). Thus human remains are not differentiated from any other artifact (Michel and Charlier 2011, 153). Unlike the legislative acts from the U.K, Australia or the U.S, no religious measures are considered with regards to excavation of human remains. Therefore, there is no obligation for archaeologists to inform authorities when human remains are discovered during an excavation (Michel and Charlier 2011, 154).

Although there are no clear-cut rights or wrongs in this topic, this non-differentiating approach, which is partially driven from the ambiguous French law, may not always result in the best museum practices. There are unfortunate outcomes of this approach in museums such as the former human remains displays of some natural history museums, which curated the human remains from France's former colonies. These displays ultimately received criticisms from the public (Michel and Charlier 2011, 156). They were not only criticized because they lacked purpose, but also disregarded ethical concerns, which later evolved into restitution demands from the former French colonies. However, human remains found in museum collections cannot be repatriated according to the Article 11 of Law no. 2002-5 since "the items of French museum belong to the public domain and are inalienable" (Michel and

Charlier 2011, 156). The article L69-1 leaves space for some exceptional cases of repatriation requests that first need to be investigated and validated by a specific commission. Although French legislation has been relatively less accommodating of ethical concerns of different communities, this rigidity of the law also compelled human remains researchers such as Henri Duday to find new solutions by organizing conferences to propose guidelines for professional and ethical conduct in 2008.

Unlike the legislative attitude towards the archaeological human remains in France, the laws regulating the practices of excavation and treatment of the burials from the WWI and WWII seem to be rather unique compared to other countries listed above. First, the legislative acts concerning treatment of human remains from the war time are not determined by the Ministry of Culture, but by the Secretariat of War Veterans (Michel and Charlier 2011, 154). According to legislative code of Military Invalid Pensions and War Casualty Pensions, "Since 1915, every civil or military person killed as a result of a war conflict is entitled to be recognized as 'Dead of France' "; thus these remains must be returned to the families and their reburial should be paid for by the state (Michel and Charlier 2011, 154). This unique approach separates France from some of other allied countries which fought in the Gallipoli Peninsula (for more see Chapter 7.1.3).

4.5. The Netherlands

Although the Netherlands may have not had a role in the Gallipoli front of WWI, it is still included in this chapter owing to the recent academic and public discussions surrounding the display of human remains in Dutch museums. A curious museum case, which made the news in the country, is also discussed in Chapter 6.4 along with the personal accounts of one of the curators who was involved with the case. In the Netherlands, the laws that protect cultural heritage are based on the

European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage. The Ministry of Education is responsible for archaeological heritage whereas the RCE (Rijkdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed) issues the permits for excavation and assures the protection of sites and monuments (Smits 2011, 310). Because of the provincial system of Netherlands and the involvement of commercial companies with archaeological excavations, the activities in this field are of a distinct nature.

When a site is discovered, it is evaluated by the local officials in accordance with certain criteria to determine the physical quality of the site and its research potential. Evidence of human remains within the site and high research potential for these will evidently impact the overall evaluation score for the site. If human remains are found in an ongoing excavation, the regulations oblige the excavation directors to contact a physical anthropologist for supervision and/ or excavation of these human remains. However, if human remains are found accidentally, they are often taken to the police, who collaborate with the Dutch Forensic Institute to determine if the remains are older than 50 years old, which qualifies them as archaeological. The KNA (Kwaliteitsnorm Nederlandse Archeologie), which defines the quality standards of Dutch archaeology, provides guidelines to researchers to use when excavating graves and for anthropological studies (Smits 2011, 311-312). Although the system seems to be favoring seemingly practical decisions (such as preserving only when there is high research potential), professional guidelines and ethical concerns are not neglected in the Netherlands. Elisabeth Smits accepts that, for example, the option of reburial is often not preferred when medieval Christian graves are found, but this is not just an attempt to save data for potential future research (Smits 2011, 312). It is because reburial often means 'dumping' all the

bones in one communal grave pit, which diminishes the integrity of the individuals, according to Smits.

On the museological side, debates surrounding human remains are happening more visibly. Significant media coverage, which the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities received recently because of its decision to remove an Egyptian Child mummy from display, is just one example. This case is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 6.4 because of its possible implications for solutions to the problems of the Turkish context but some introduction is useful here. For many years, this particular Egyptian child mummy had been on display and had become a kind of an icon of the museum. However, the museum decided to remove the mummy from the display at the beginning of 2016 because they thought that the mummy was "too nude, too vulnerable and not functional" (Vinckx 2016, Weijts 2016). The Egyptologist Lara Weiss, who was one of the decision makers in this case, noted they received backlash from some newspapers because they thought the museum was "censoring" its displays. However, the motive was the opposite of censoring; the museum staff thought that they were exposing this mummy for no reason. Thus, they had to reassess their display strategies and enhance their exhibition methods to actually serve a purpose other than exposing a body. Even though the Dutch law may not necessarily offer specific legislation concerning the curatorial custody of human remains, the museum professionals questioned the practices that they used. In the case of child mummy, this questioning was directed to the purpose of displaying human remains. In the American and Australian contexts, the discussion revolved more around respecting human rights and religious beliefs.

Chapter 5: The Situation in Turkey

5.1. The Current Legislation and Regulations

Anthropology in Turkey emerged as a scientific discipline in 1925 with the establishment of the Turkish Anthropological Research Center, which was one of the academic locomotives of the newly established Turkish Republic to build a new future for Turkey among developed countries. The most remarkable aims of the founders of the country was to build a new national identity for the Turks, who had lived for centuries as subjects of the Ottoman Sultan. The aim of the Republic was to craft a new identity based on "citizenship", which did not only bring rights and responsibilities to the Turkish people, but also underlined their value/ place in this world. The world in the west was rapidly progressing towards a new future, and the new leaders in Turkey wanted to be a part of that future, not of the Middle East (Özdogan 1998, 113). To contemplate a future in the developed world, Turks first had to learn about their past and were thought that they were deeply rooted in the Anatolian land (Özdogan 1998, 116-117) (Özbek 1998, 106). Therefore, between 1920s-1940s, anthropologists and archaeologists mostly focused on trying to assess the biological and racial origins of the Turkish people in Anatolia; these studies came to a standstill due to the changing political atmosphere after the 1960s and continued until 1980s (Üstündağ 2011, 455-456). The military coup of 1980 changed many things in Turkey including political, educational and cultural activities due to the new laws brought by the new government. The introduction of the first comprehensive legislative act regarding the protection of cultural and natural heritage of Turkey came along with these new changes in 1983.

Very similar to the situation in France, Turkey has a more general legislative act called the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, Law 2863 (1983). This

legislation defines cultural and natural properties (heritage elements), regulates the procedures and activities and assigns responsibilities to individuals/organizations in charge of archaeological projects (Üstündağ 2011, 460). However, there is no specific official procedure concerning management of human remains neither in Law 2863 nor the Law 3386, which emerged as an update of Law 2863 in 1987. According to the Article 24/ Part 3 of Law 3386, the movable cultural and natural properties of Turkey are defined as:

> All kinds of animal or plant fossils, **human skeletons**, flints (slag), volcanic glass, bone, all types of metal tools, tile and ceramic vessels, statues, figurines, tablets, cutters, weapons of defense and bludgeons, icons, glass objects, decorative objects, ring stones, earrings, needles, pendants, seals, bracelets and similar types of objects, masks, diadems, documents made of leather, textile, papyrus or metal, weights and measures, coins, inscribed or stamped plates, handwritten and illuminated manuscripts, miniatures, engravings, oil and watercolor paintings that have artistic value, inherited relics, medals and medallions, ceramics, earthenware, glass, wooden, textile and similar moveable objects and their parts.[1]

This article classifies different types of objects including anthropological specimens together as natural and cultural properties and does not make any distinction between human remains and other types of objects- defined as fossils (Üstündağ 2011, 461). Furthermore, there is no official chronological line drawn between archaeological and forensic human remains (462). The only other legislation in Turkey that addresses archaeological human remains is the Military Museum Law (Resmi Gazete 18531) passed in 1984.[2] This law (Article 18.3) stipulates that the Military Museum and its resources include all materials, which are military in nature and which have been acquired through various means including those in the nation's

---

[1] Translation and emphasis by Elifgül Doğan and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2863.doc
[2] That law can be found in the first part of the second section (ikinci kısım, birinci bölüm) of the legislation.

forensic institutions *(Adli Tıp Müessesesi)*.[3] However, there is no other clause that further identifies any procedure concerning the treatment of human remains in either of these legislative acts. Moreover, both acts refer to human remains as "state properties", which is problematic in terms of its ethical implications, and will be discussed further in the following chapters.

The limited legislative framework of Turkey concerning management of human remains enables individuals working on human remains to use their own methodologies similar to the situation in France. Despite a few guidelines in the law 3386 touching on the issues such as transportation and preservation of human remains, the applications of these guidelines are often challenging in state museums or excavations.[4] For example, Article 41 orders project leaders/excavation directors to transfer their human remains to state museums, universities or Turkish research centers that are authorized by the ministry to provide storage. However, there are not adequate numbers of institutions (especially state museums) that can provide the suitable environmental or spatial conditions for these remains (Üstündağ 2011, 463). In the following section, the implications of limited legislations on the practices used in research and museums of Turkey are discussed.

5.2. Research Practices concerning Archaeological Human Remains

Despite having anthropology departments since 1925, research on human remains so far has been very limited in Turkey due to many factors, such as the quality of education in this aspect of the archaeological field, the limited number of experts and laboratories, the political and cultural distancing from the study of

---

[3] See Askeri Müzeler Yönetmeliği (the regulations for the military museums), http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,14427/askeri-muzeler-yonetmeligi.html
[4] Also, see the 2001-Museology Guide (Müzecilik Klavuzu) of the MoCT based on the Law 3386 to insure standardization in general practice in the state museums of Turkey: http://teftis.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,13998/muzecilik-klavuzu.html

human remains, and the lack of an organized scientific community to overcome these problems. There are very few bioarchaeologists (nine according to Üstündağ), who are actively working in the field (Üstündağ 2011, 460). This number is significantly higher for anthropologists owing to a dozen of anthropology departments that have been training students since the last several decades. However, there are still no official academic associations in Turkey for bioarchaeologists, physical anthropologists or paleoanthropologists; this contrasts with the situation in countries such as the UK (BABAO) and America (AAPA).[5] Although a workshop series was organized in 2016 to take a step towards establishing an association for anthropologists, this initiative has not officially resulted in an association yet (TAK Atölyeleri 2016). The absence of such an organization unfortunately limits sharing information and reaching a consensus among scholars to acknowledge and to offer solutions for the problems of human remains management in Turkey.

The professional collaborations among anthropologists are not totally absent in Turkey. There are some valuable initiatives such as the seminar series titled *Physical Anthropology and Archaeology: New Methods and Future Prospects* which took place in 2011 at the French Institute of Anatolian Studies. This seminar program was planned to be a long-term initiative by Yasemin Yılmaz from Düzce University to create a platform for anthropologists and archaeologists to share their experiences and to start a dialogue about the challenges in the field (Astruc, Yilmaz, and Tibet 2011, 163). The new methods of analyzing human remains, issues surrounding sampling strategies and data loss were also discussed in the first

---

[5]British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO), http://www.babao.org.uk , American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA), http://physanth.org .

seminar. The 2011-seminar was a significant development for the Turkish anthropology and could have potentially initiated new discussions in the field if it continued in the following years. Although there are individual efforts as such concerning human remains research in Turkey, limited collaboration and discussion hamper the establishment of professional guidelines and codes of practice in the field. Thus, the diversity in practices and ethical understanding are a natural outcome of these limitations.

5.2.1. Conducted Interviews / Fieldwork

As there was no a previous study conducted about the ways in which archaeological human remains are managed in excavations and museums of Turkey. I decided to collect my own data by surveying museums and interviewing people who work in the field. The interviews form a vital component of my research.[6] I conducted thirteen interviews with seven highly experienced academics and six museum professionals, who all work with archaeological human remains in Turkey. In addition to my interviews in Turkey, I interviewed six professionals (four human remains collection managers and two academics) in London to gain more information about their practices which have become valuable sources of knowledge for me to understand the real-life challenges of managing human remains collections. Among the first interviewee group, six professors are from Koç University whereas one professor is from the Department of Prehistory of Istanbul University (see Appendix D).[7] At the time of the interviews, the professors were each working on six different archaeological periods and in different geographical locations of Turkey, so this provided me with a good overview of different problems

---

[6] See Appendix D for the full list of the interviewees and other details.
[7] For the full list of names, interview locations and dates, see Appendix D.

that can be encountered in diverse regions in Turkey (Table 1). The second interviewee group works in four different museums in Turkey; Istanbul Archaeology Museums, Niğde Museum, Aksaray Museum, Amasya Museum, which I identified as holding some of the most remarkable archaeological human remains collections in Turkey. Lastly, my third interviewee group works in various cultural institutions in London: Daniel Antoine from the British Museum, Jelena Becvalac from the Museum of London, Alice Stevenson, Gabriel Moshenska and Sandra Bond from the Institute of Archeology at UCL and Jayne Dunn from the UCL Pathology Collections.

Before I met any of the interviewees, to certify the ethics of my research methods and interview questions, I obtained a permit from Koç University's Committee on Human Research (CHR) in 2016 and later in 2017 (see Appendix B). For my meetings with the academics, I prepared an interview composed of four sections (focusing on issues relating excavation, storage, conservation and research) and forty-eight questions (see Appendix C). Before I could meet my interviewees from state museums, I had to apply for a ministry permit, which I obtained on 31 May in 2016 and 21 November in 2017 from the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums (see Appendix A). For these meetings with the museum professionals, I adapted my interview questions and narrowed them to thirteen topics that mostly focused on the issues of acquisition, storage, ethical treatment, research and display of human remains in museum (see Appendix C). When formulating my questions, I used the several criteria stated in the guidelines of the British Museum[8], Museum of London[9], BABAO[10], Leeds Museums and Galleries[11] and German

---

[8] Daniel Antoine et al., 2014. *Regarding the dead: human remains in the British Museum.*
[9] Museum of London 2011, *Policy for the Care of Human Remains in Museum of London Collections.*
[10] BABAO Working Group for Ethics and Practice 2017, *Code of Practice.*

Museums Associations[12] for the care of human remains. The questions were kept open ended to not to influence the interviewees' answers in any way. Four of the interviews with the museum professionals were recorded with a voice recorder upon the verbal permission of the interviewees and the written permission of the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums in Ankara. These records are also transcribed on a word document. The interviewees are referred to by their initials once they are introduced in this thesis and in the transcriptions of the interviews.

Through these interviews, the question of how these academics and museum professionals deal with the management of archaeological human remains was answered. Although the results of these thirteen interviews provide insights only about the works of this small group of professionals, the large involvement of these experts with several other projects and museums enabled me to gain information that goes beyond the more limited scope of these interviews. Moreover, my visits to several important museums with human remains collections provided me with the chance to gather data about display choices used for human remains as well as visitor reactions to them. The combination of the interview results and museum surveys points out the diversity of the applications that may have resulted from three main reasons: absence of professional guidelines, budget limitations, personal choices as a result of lacuna in the legislation.

---

[11] Leeds Museums and Galleries 2013, *Human Remains Policy.*
[12] German Museums Association 2013, *Recommendations for the care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections.*

Table 1. The archaeological projects that the interviewee (academics) work on.

Projects	Periods
Aşağı Pınar Kırklareli Project	Late Neolithic
Barcın Höyük Excavations	Late Neolithic- Byzantine
Gygaia Projects (Kaymakçı)	Early Bronze Age (EBA)-Iron Age
Troy and Gordion Excavations	EBA, Iron age
Sagalossos Archaeological Research Project	Roman Period- Early and Middle Byzantine
Küçükyalı Archaeopark Project	Byzantine Period (Early 5-6th c to 1340)
Seddülbahir Fortress Restoration Project	Ottoman (Early Modern) Era
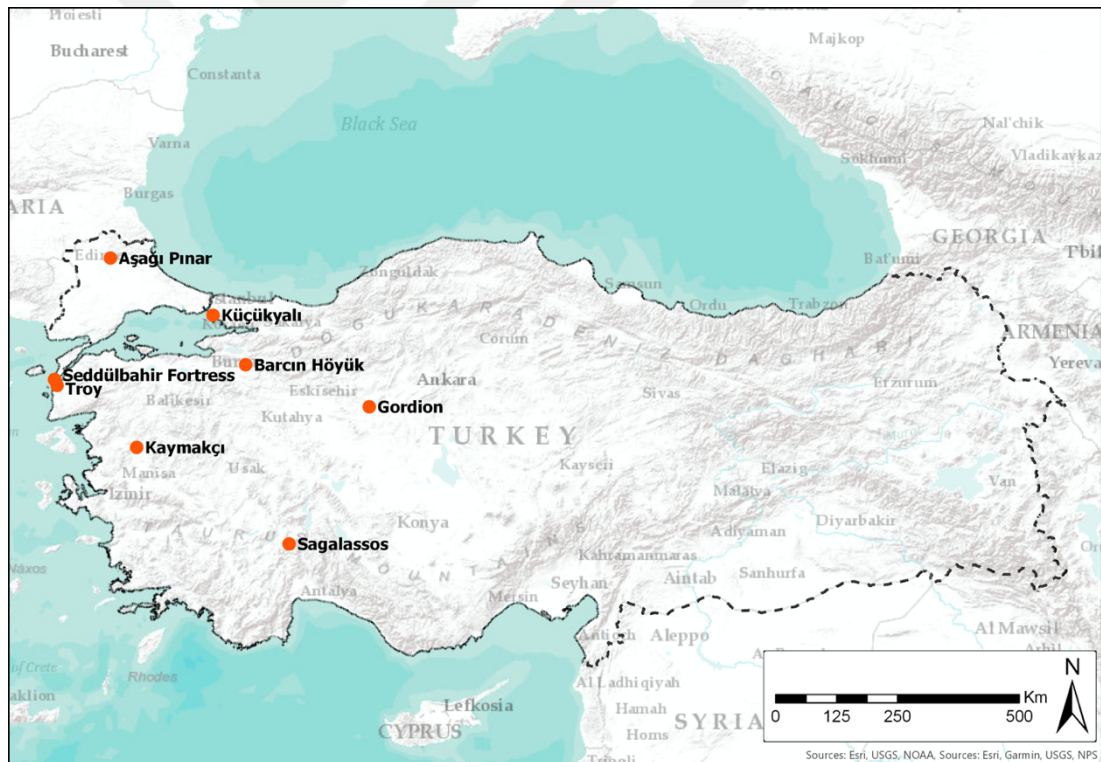
Figure 1. Map showing the sites where the interviewees work on, by Petrus J. Gerrits.

33

5.2.2. Excavation

The issues related to excavation of archaeological human remains constitute the first category of my interview with three subcategories (on professionals/techniques, respect/care, security) and twelve questions. The professionals and techniques section included questions about the individuals who are responsible for excavating human remains in these excavations, documentation techniques/ methods used, methods of cleaning and preparations for storage. One of the most interesting data that came from this section was that only the Gygaia Archaeological Project (Kaymakçı) has a team of bio-anthropologists (a professor and her anthropology students), who are specifically assigned to excavating human remains and no other excavator is authorized to excavate them. The co-director of Kaymakçı noted that Kaymakçı team dedicated one whole season (Summer 2017) only for the excavation of burial grounds by a team of anthropologists. All the other academics stated that trench supervisors or assistants often (e.g. undergraduate or graduate students) excavated human remains found in their respective trenches. Nevertheless, C.A. noted that, in the team she worked at Troy they had a forensic anthropologist, and she excavated burials if she was present at site. In her absence, graduate students excavated human remains. The director of Aşağı Pınar Excavations shared his experiences from his previous excavations, since his current project Aşağı Pınar did not have a burial context. He stated that they did not have an on-site anthropologist to excavate all the time, but they sent human remains to a specialist after they were excavated by trench supervisors.

Other categories of the questions concerning excavation were about excavation techniques, security and precautions against health risks. Since answers to these questions may be tied to the archaeological period that is excavated, I

expected to hear various answers. However, all of the interviewees stated that their techniques do not change depending on the archaeological or chronological context. They also had some reservations concerning the issues of preservation and care. Since preservation of human remains from older periods is often poorer than those from younger sites, excavators may need to adjust their techniques to the circumstances. The co-director of the Barcın Höyük Project noted the difficulties of properly excavating human remains found in the deeper Neolithic layers where human remains are found more fragile than for example the Byzantine burials found on the upper levels. The director of Aşağı Pınar Project similarly underlined the conditions of remains and the type of soil as a determinant of their techniques, since the type of soil can damage or preserve remains. Therefore, more detailed techniques are applied in soils which are acidic and lead to rapid deterioration of organic materials. All the interviewees indicated that in terms of the level of respect given to human remains, it should not matter from which period these were found. However, the directors of Küçükyalı Archaeopark Project and Barcın Höyük Excavations stated that the discovery of human remains that are more closely tied to the societies living today (such as those from Byzantine Greek or Ottoman periods) and this proximity in time generally creates an additional concern for excavators owing to religious sensitivities of the society. Therefore, they tend to carry out their activities meticulously by immediately informing the authorities to avoid any future conflicts.

As stated in the earlier chapters, the concept of respect and care for human remains is not well established in Turkish archaeology. Although the interviewees were quite ethical in their answers to my questions on this topic, ethical professional conduct showed not be limited to personal choices. Professional guidelines and

codes of conduct are often needed for excavations since there generally is a constant influx of newcomers, who may be inexperienced in excavating human remains. To understand where the issue of ethical conduct stands in these projects, I asked whether the interviewees provided any guidelines or gave any speech to the excavators at the beginning of / or anytime during an excavation season. The answers varied significantly. For example; Küçükyalı, Sagalassos and Kaymakçı have guidelines to help excavators and they gave an informative speech to excavators at the beginning of each season to remind the participants of general professional codes of conduct and ethical obligations. On the other hand, Troy, Gordion, Seddülbahir and Barcın Höyük inform the excavators about unwanted conducts via an informative speech which is not specific to issues concerning human remains. However, these individual project guidelines do not specifically touch on the excavation of human remains since the required guidance is provided when human remains are actually discovered at the site. During these meetings, I have noticed that all the interviewees believed that their team members should have been aware of their ethical obligations even if they were not officially informed. However, this assumption may not necessarily be true for all circumstances or for all people. Because the unethical treatment of human remains is not always caused by lack of guidance, but sometimes due to an individual's lack of understanding of care and respect that needs to be given to archaeological human remains during research. This lack of understanding can be seen as an outcome of the lack of professional and ethical rules for these issues in Turkey.

There are a number of ethical and professional questions which are rarely addressed by the researchers in Turkey. How much the stakeholders should be included into decision making process was one of these questions that I asked during

my interviews. In terms of consulting the stakeholders (the ministry, team members, local residents, general public), all the interviewees stated their obligation to inform the officials about their discovery of human remains. However, the official authorities are only one group among the stakeholders, which also include local residents and the general public. Among these projects, only Küçükyalı project has a public engagement program that informs the local residents about the process of excavation and asks for the public's insights. When asked about the reasons for limited consultation to public or local residents, the interviewees listed top two things: the fear of attracting looters and having to face religious sensitivities towards human remains. Another reason was that some sites are in locations where there are no residential areas to engage. On the other hand, an academic has strong opinions regarding the issue. According to him, consultation with the local residents is not necessary or appropriate since they are neither educated in nor relevant to the archaeological time periods when the excavated deceased lived. Therefore, he feels it is not an issue that the public should decide. Moreover, he stated that consulting public for such matters would slow the scientific process down and result in loss of energy and money.

5.2.3. Storage

The questions that are asked in this section focuses on rather technical details of preserving human remains: storage facilities, utilities, organizational matters such as environmental control and transportation and funding. The precautions taken against any physical damage human remains during and after excavation show similarities in almost all of the projects that the interviewees worked in. Security precautions against extreme sun, rain, and accidents during and after the excavation process are no different than the precautions and measures taken for other artifacts,

but human remains are given separate containers in each project (plastic, wooden, close or open lid boxes). Barcın Höyük, Kaymakçı and Küçükyalı have plastic containers, whereas Troy has wooden ones. Only Sagalassos has a plastic cool box which provides a certain degree of climate control for the human remains found at the site. For the projects of Küçükyalı and Troy, the close proximity of depos is given as reasons for having regular open lid containers. While excavating or storing human remains, the use of masks and gloves are mandatory in Küçükyalı, Kaymakçı and Sagalassos; whereas Barcın Höyük, Troy, Gordion and Seddülbahir used only gloves. The post excavation cleaning and preparation for analysis is quite standard for each project. After documentation and excavation, human remains are cleaned before storage (or analysis) by using brushes rather than washing them, which would clean away any residue and trace left on the bones.

The most important question of this section was about the issue of climate control as it was the common criteria of all the professional guidelines to maintain good preservation. According to the answers, only Küçükyalı Project has proper climate control in their storage unit that has a humidifier and temperature controller. All projects have control over the light going into the storage depos, but possible risks that may be caused by fluctuations in temperature, insects and dust and flood are still present. All the depos use elevated shelves that may provide a degree of protection against such threats. Two anecdotes shared by the interviewees who work on the Küçükyalı and Seddülbahir exemplifies the problems that may result from unexpected incidents. A flood that happened after a big rain in Küçükyalı, which fortunately did not cause any damage to the human remains placed at the depot, made the team to decide elevating the depot higher for future risks. Another unfortunate problem with storage took place in Seddülbahir. A ransacking incident

happened to the Seddülbahir depot in 2006 when the excavation of Seddülbahir Fortress was officially completed and turned over to the Ministry of Forestry and Natural Park Directorate for protection. Fortunately, the human remains at Seddülbahir had been turned over to the National Park Directorate's archaeologist before the ransacking occurred. Security is always an issue in archaeological excavations of Turkey owing to the massive numbers and distant locations of sites that make them prone to such risks owing to limited security control provided by the state. Due to such problems, the academics who work on Küçükyalı and Kaymakçı chose to store some of their finds in other institutions (e.g. Koç University laboratory, Akhisar Museum) to insure better protection of excavated remains. Similarly, the director of the Aşağı Pınar Project mentioned his previous collaborations with the anthropology laboratories of Ankara University and Hacettepe University, which provided an excellent protection and preservation against any type of damage.

In terms of organizational matters such as labeling and container organization, the projects have different preferences. In Barcın Höyük, Küçükyalı, Kaymakçı and Troy, plastic boxes are used to keep human remains, whereas Sagalassos uses big metal cupboards to keep every burial context in separate drawers. All the projects use durable labels and markers when labeling the remains. They all prefer separately bagging certain body parts such as fingers, ribs etc. from the rest of the skeleton. Kaymakçı, Sagalassos, Küçükyalı and Troy (and Gordion) use certain type of cloth to support the remains in the box, but Barcın Höyük uses acid free tissue paper only for very fragile remains. Lastly, the policies used to manage access to human remains are very similar in five projects. They only allow the team members to go into the storage. However, C.A. mentioned a different

application in Troy where one needs to have another team member to assure the security of the objects inside the depot. None of the projects allow anybody outside the excavation team to enter the storage areas except the situations in which one would have a permit from the ministry representative.

5.2.4. Conservation and Research

The questions in this part focus on the practices concerning conservation and research and the challenges associated with them. As it is discussed in the Chapter 5.2, the bio-archaeologists, anthropologists and conservators in Turkey are small professional groups and not every excavation can employ them full time. The interviewees mentioned a similar trend. For example; Barcın Höyük, Sagalassos, Küçükyalı have had one anthropologist and conservator (not specialized on human remains) each season but these experts are not present at the site most of the time. Kaymakçı has one anthropologist team and a specialized conservator, who does not come to the project every year. They all unfortunately can do the assessment of the remains only on an annual basis, every summer, since the ministry representative seals the depots of their excavations at the end of each excavation season. All the professors are confident about their specialists' use of up-to-date international guidelines.

All the archaeologists among the interviewees explained the importance of studying human remains by paying attention to a degree of professional code of ethics. Nevertheless, they also acknowledged the appeal of "research greed" that often prevents the option of reburial or repatriation to even come to the table. Three of the professors from Koç University stated that the option of reburial sometimes never comes to mind if human remains discovered have a lot of research potential. In such a situation, the benefit of doing certain analyses on bones may outweigh the

costs of irreversibly damaging the remains. In this case, choosing the option of reburial is considered as a loss of resources. Moreover, they were not sure if reburial was really allowed or regulated by the ministry. On the other hand, the other three professors from Koç University discussed the concept of "ownership" when it comes to studying or holding human remains collections. They agree that there should be a limit for research especially for human remains dating closer to the current era and for those, which may belong to a living tribal, ethnic or religious group. Among the interviewees, one professor disagreed most prominently with these ethical considerations. He believed that the scientific research should not be restricted or limited by acknowledging these arguments. Human remains in his opinion, are just another archaeological find which deserves careful treatment as with all archaeological human remains. Therefore, scientists should extract as much information as possible from human remains as with any other organic finds such as animal bones. Furthermore, human bones should not be differentiated from animal bones and should be evaluated free of ethical or emotional responses when working on them. Thus, he considered reburial as a total loss of scientific data which could possibly shed light on the history of human progress in Anatolia.

5.3. Museums Practices concerning Archaeological Human Remains

For this part of the thesis, the common practices and opinions of museum specialists were assessed through interviews with the specialists of four important museums of Turkey which have remarkable human remains collections, consisting of not only skeletons but also of mummies. Although Niğde, Aksaray, Amasya and Istanbul Archaeology Museums are all famous for their mummies, the context where mummies come from differs as well as the attitudes of the museum specialists surrounding the appropriate ways of displaying human remains. However, what they

agree on was the fact that it is more difficult to work with human remains than any other cultural find in museums because of the 'human factor' (Figure 2).

The questions that were asked in the following sections to six professionals focus on the topics of context, acquisition, conservation, display techniques, visitor reactions and ethical dilemmas that the specialists of these four museums confront when working with human remains (for the questions see Appendix C).
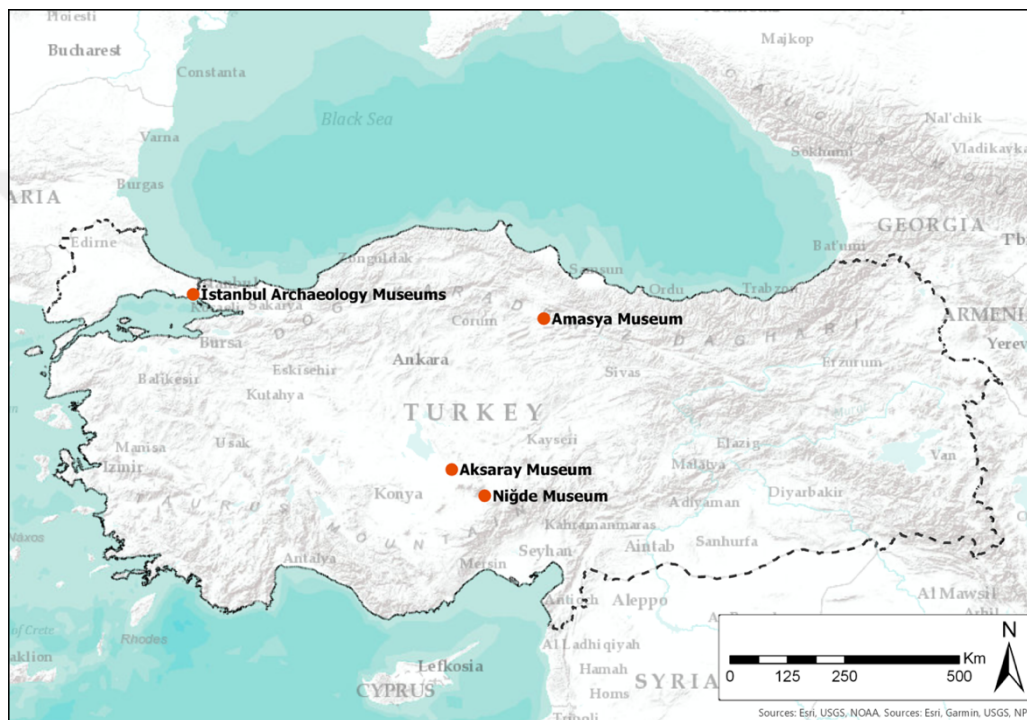
Figure 2. Map showing the geographical locations of the museums interviewed for this thesis, by Petrus J. Gerrits.

5.3.1. Niğde Museum

In this field work, two museum specialists (an archaeologist and an art historian) and the director of the Niğde Museum were interviewed.[13] The museum director, who is also a conservation expert, provided me with the most critical information regarding context, acquisition, and conservation and display techniques used in his museum. Niğde Museum is most famous for its mummies even though they have other human remains in the collection. Currently, the museum has five

---

[13] Interviews with the professionals from the Niğde Museum on 14 April 2016 during the 25th Annual Symposium of Rescue Excavations and the 2nd Museology Workshop in Antalya.

mummies on display and a mummified human foot in their storage facilities. These mummies (one adult woman and four children) were recovered during the excavations in 1965 at Yılanlı Church, which is one of the most famous Cappadocian Cave churches located in the Ihlara Valley (Figure 3).

The director F.A. stated that, the museums treatment for its mummies and other human remains could not be differentiated from the other finds in the museum and the staff pays the same attention and care for all finds. However, since the mummies are organic remains, it is very difficult to work with them due to the perpetual need for checks against degradation in organic tissue. He says that, their conservation criteria are determined in accordance with the 'least possible intervention' principle. Therefore, they regularly record all kinds of degradation and

use chemical solutions to stop any decay whenever they detect any evidence of decay.

The last comprehensive conservation work concerning human remains in the Niğde Museum was carried out by the famous Turkish conservator, Behçet Erdal in 2001. Erdal's work has been supported by the Nevşehir Regional Conservation Lab, which has been occasionally informed by the museum staff in case of any need. F.A. is very confident about their display cases, which he defines as 'not very penetrable by insects or any other agents of decay'. These cases have drawers on the bottom for disinfection purposes. Moreover, the mummies have a separate display section, which is isolated from natural light and has artificial lights with a motion sensor. Therefore, the mummies are not exposed to light when there are no visitors. F.A. makes it sure that the staff do the regular humidity controls, the latest of which had happened 15 days before our interview. The museum has an air conditioning system that keeps the temperature the same in the exhibition halls and storage areas. However, the display cases of human remains do not have a special device to measure relative humidity and temperature or the fluctuations in their value. F.A. admits that having data-logging capabilities to make more regular and accurate measurements might have been safer.

The exhibition setting has not been changed since the work of Behçet Erdal in 2001. Nevertheless, F.A. notes that the current exhibition setting was designed by a group of specialists from the General Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums, Istanbul University and Niğde Museum itself. Therefore, the setting was a result of teamwork rather than a top down decision-making process. For the general organization of the museum, they followed a chronological and a thematic order. The mummy section fits into both orders and has a special corner (Figure 4).

They placed three main panels in which they shared the individual stories of the mummies so that the visitors could better relate to the mummies. F.A. is not sure if they actually achieved this aim of establishing a link between the visitors and mummies but he says that he observed a higher level of interest in the mummies when the visitors read the stories on the panels. They feel encouraged to ask questions to the staff.

Figure 4. Mummy Section of the Niğde Museum, photo by the author.

In terms of visitor reactions, two museum specialists (an art historian and an archaeologist) from the Niğde Museum shared interesting anecdotes. The art historian of the museum described certain groups of visitors who she saw praying in front of the mummy displays. Those individuals asked why the mummies had to stay in the cases and be displayed and if it is possible to rebury them instead. Moreover, both specialists observed crying or frightened children though the archaeologist of the museum does not interpret this behavior as a result of seeing a mummy on display. He, similar to the museum director, commented on the frightened children as "just kids influencing/copying each other"; though they accepted that the child mummies might look a bit scary to a child of a similar age visiting the museum. Additionally, all the specialists stated that they encountered

visitors, who requested reburial of the mummies and complained about how bad they felt about seeing them on display. However, the interviewee also observed that the more knowledgeable and educated the visitors are, the fewer the negative reactions they get.

In relation to these observations, my questions on ethics of displaying human remains were answered variably. Both the director and archaeologist of the museum said that they did not see human remains any different than other objects. The archaeologist, Y.Ü. defined human remains as cultural properties whereas F.A. was not as strict and admitted that he empathized more with the deceased when he was working on their conservation. Both specialists agreed that they did not alter the display just to make it less frightening. In contrast, they felt that they should have displayed everything within their own contexts without considering today's normative viewpoints. For example, the Neolithic skull in the museum, which is colored with red ochre gets a lot of attention from the press and the public since the red color makes it seem as though it still has flesh on it (Figure 5). The museum archaeologist believes that this was a Neolithic ancestor cult skull, which might have been placed on a platform. Therefore, he believes that the museum should display it in the same context and it should not be displayed in a more didactic way that conforms to contemporary ethical norms in order to revive the Neolithic atmosphere better. In this sense, the museum chooses to display what is thought to be the original context rather than what is comfortable or ethical to look at.

5.3.2. Aksaray Museum

Though Aksaray Museum's mummies are from the same context in the Cappadocia region, their acquisition process differs from that of the Niğde Museum. The mummies in the Aksaray museum are dated between 10th and 11th centuries and were acquired by the local security forces during illegal excavations and smuggling activities between the 1970s and 1990s. Compared to the Amasya and Niğde Museums, the Aksaray Museum has the advantage of having a new building with new exhibition spaces which opened in 2014. The mummies have their own display room where the doors and lights are activated via motion sensors and a humidifier works constantly to keep the humidity stable in the room (Figure 6).

Figure 6. The mummy display room in the Aksaray Museum, photo by the author.

In addition to having climate control and new display technology, the museum received the guidance of the Ankara Regional Directorate of Restoration and Conservation for determining the strategies of displaying and preserving human remains. The head of the regional directorate, Latif Özcan came to Aksaray with his team and informed the museum staff about the common problems that they could face with mummy collections. He also briefed the staff about the short-term solutions that they could try until the conservators from the Regional Conservation Lab of Nevşehir could come to assist them. The interviewee (one of the archaeologists of the Aksaray Museum), states that the regional lab has their own schedule, but they can also come for help when the museum calls them for an unscheduled meeting.[14] Nonetheless, the museum personnel are responsible for most of monitoring procedures which are followed during regular condition assessments in the museum.

---

[14] The interview took place on 12 April 2016 at the Aksaray Museum.

Figure 7. A panorama of the mummy display room, photo by the author.

Before meeting the museum archaeologist, I was lucky to have time to observe a visitor crowd in the mummy hall which is a semicircular hall that is only accessible to visitors if they pass additional doors unlike the other exhibition halls in the museum (Figure 7). Similar to the Niğde Museum, young children that I observed were either agitated or afraid to approach child mummies, which look interestingly both impressive and eerie (Figure 8) (Figure 9). Another child was calmed by his mother who was trying to make photos of and pray for the soul of the mummy at the same time. It was definitely an interesting visitor reaction to watch. Hence, I shared my observations with my interviewee, M.M., who responded that these reactions were just a few of many different reactions he had observed. He also encountered curious visitor groups (specifically students), who showed great interest in mummies and asked questions about them to the museum personnel rather than showing any sign of discomfort. Although M.M. admits that he is empathetic of human remains on display, issues such as visitor reactions and ethics of displaying human remains are not among the priorities of the museum management. M.M. states that the staff do not follow any specific ethical guidelines, but they do not always feel comfortable with the human remains kept in storage with no intention to display due to lack of contextual information. M.M. does not see any point of keeping them in storage bags and may have preferred reburial if the chance was

given. However, he states that these are not urgent concerns for his profession considering more important issues with proper preservation and limited budget. Moreover, he thinks that these concerns are not voiced among his broader network of colleges though need to be discussed to come to an agreement in Turkish museums. On his part, he is hoping to implement new display strategies with an anthropologist to re-curate one of the burial contexts in an ethical and contextually accurate way as they have been trying to do since 2014.

Figure 8. Child Mummy, the Aksaray Museum, photo by the author.

Figure 9. Baby mummy with its shoes and bracelet, the Aksaray Museum, photo by the author.

5.3.3. Amasya Museum

Similar to Aksaray and Niğde Museums, Amasya Museum is famous for its mummies that come from a different context than those of the Aksaray and Niğde. The museum has 8 mummies all of which are from Anatolian Seljuk tomb contexts. The mummy specialist of Amasya Museum, Muzaffer Doğanbaş has been working on these mummies for the last 20 years and has written a book on them.[15] M.D. is mainly the person who gathered the life story of these mummies from the oldest museum records on them. According to these record, these mummies were first registered to the Amasya Museum records in 1929, after they were taken from Cumudar Tomb located in the Amasya city center. Unfortunately, the old museum building experienced a heavy flood in 1952 since it was located next to Yeşilırmak River. During this flood, the museum lost one of its adult mummies, which was on the lowest level of a shelf. The rest of the mummies were damaged, but they survived the flood. The heavily damaged mummy was later reburied in the city graveyard.

Although the museum is not as new as Aksaray or Niğde, M.D. believes that their exhibition hall and technology are adequate for exhibition purposes but it could certainly be improved (Figure 10).[16] He regrets that the exhibition halls do not have a humidifier to control climate or motion sensors to prevent constant lighting when there is no visitor. Like Niğde Museum, the last comprehensive conservation work on the mummies of the museum was undertaken in 2001 when new display cases were brought to the exhibition hall. However, the regional conservation laboratory comes to control the conditions of the mummies whenever the museum staff observe

---

[15] Mumyalama Sanatı ve Anadolu Mumyaları / Art of Mummification and the Anatolian Mummies
[16] Interview with Doğanbaş on 14 April 2016 during the 25th Annual Symposium of Rescue Excavations and the 2nd Museology Workshop in Antalya.

any problem. The museum has yearly and monthly monitoring procedures to clean the mummies. They also regularly measure the humidity and temperature inside the exhibition halls. In terms of display, M.D. admits that the museum needs improvements. He suggests that more modern looking and visitor friendly panels, local lighting and more interesting display settings can be added to the museum to make the visit more meaningful for any type of visitor.

Figure 10. The mummy room of the Amasya Museum, photo from the Amasya Municipality website.

M.D has a very distinct viewpoint compared to the other museum professionals who I interviewed regarding the ethical dimension of working with and displaying human remains. He asserts that he is very uncomfortable displaying the mummies without any cloth, as this was what was originally wrapped around the mummies. Since the clothes decayed in time, the previous museum staff threw them away. He approaches this problem from a scientific and ethical perspective. He supports the idea of maintaining an in-situ context in which the mummies were covered with a white cloth. Moreover, he empathizes with the deceased and says

that he would not like to be displayed like this after his death. He states that he prepared a number of reports as a solution to this problem, which is also voiced by some inhabitants of Amasya city, via petitions complaining about the nudity of the remains. However, he does not believe the authorities have heard anybody's voice yet.

He indicates that he often tries to observe the visitor reactions and takes notes of them even if some reactions may shock him. M.D. has many strange and informative anecdotes about visitor reactions. He says that he occasionally sees groups of people who come to pray in front of the mummy cases since they believe mummies have a mystical power for curing illnesses. An extreme incident happened in the recent years due to one of these groups, a member of which wanted to sacrifice an animal in the museum garden for the sake of one of the mummies whom he believed helped an ill person from his family. M.D. thinks that people attribute different meanings to these remains and no matter how emotional these reactions may be, the museums should insure the security and integrity of their human remains and should not be required to satisfy the demands of all visitors. This is because he considers these human remains not as "properties or things", they are actual human beings who lived in the past. Therefore, the traditionally exposed manner in which they are exhibited in many museums may need to change according to M.D.

M.D. complains that the efforts to change these traditions are often hampered because of the general unwillingness for change in the Turkish state museum sector. He does not believe that making new laws or professional guidelines will be enough to force people to be ethical. He states that laws don't make things right, but the people who implement them have to do right and critiques some of his colleagues'

lack of willingness to follow procedures. Even if they are willing to follow the procedures he states, the absence of clearly defined authority in his sector complicates things further. He points out the unclear boundaries between Turkish institutions, which sometimes create conflict or lead to a power vacuum in terms of authority. For example, the Seljuk tombs are officially under the administration of the General Directorate of the Pious Monuments Foundation, but the Presidency of Religious Affairs administers these tombs as heritage places. This dichotomy makes the management of the tombs inefficient and facilitates blaming the other institution in case a problem is encountered. To exemplify this, M.D told a story of four Seljuk mummies who were residing in their tombs in Amasya until the elected village headman decided to bury them without asking any permission from the authorities. A couple years later the next village headman decided to recover them and managed to find the graves of two mummies. He eventually exhumed them but this has made the issue even more problematic. M.D documented the problem and petitioned to both the General Directorate of the Pious Monuments Foundation and the Presidency of Religious Affairs, but could not get any answer from either of them.

Unlike the other interviewees, M.D. shed light on internal and bureaucratic issues that further complicate the management of human remains collections for museum professionals.

5.3.4. The Istanbul Archaeology Museums

My last interview for this thesis was at the Istanbul Archaeology Museums which is both the biggest archaeology museum complex in Turkey, and also directs several important excavation projects in Istanbul. [17] The museum complex is composed of three museums: the Archaeology Museum, Museum of Ancient Orient

---

[17] Interview with Zeynep Kızıltan on 2 March 2018, at the Istanbul Archaeology Museums.

and the Tiled Kiosk. This complex hosts the largest archaeology collection in Turkey, including human remains from various contexts. Although the Istanbul Archaeology Museum is currently under restoration, visitors can partially visit the main building whereas the other two museums are fully open. As confirmed by the museum director, Zeynep Kızıltan, there are currently two displays of human remains open to visit in the complex. One of the human remains exhibitions is dedicated to a Late Neolithic burial context which was discovered in the Pendik Excavations. The skeleton is placed in the hocker position on the bottom of the showcase which is covered by the original burial soil brought from the excavation. Z.K. believes that showing the archaeological context accurately here serves an educational purpose. In this way, the curators can better inform visitors about the burial traditions of the Neolithic period. Thus, displaying the actual skeleton in the actual archaeological context is necessary according to Z.K. On the other hand, she defines the display of the Egyptian mummy in the Museum of Ancient Orient as 'less exposing'. This mummy is displayed along with an inner and outer sarcophagus in which the mummy was buried before its discovery. The mummy still has its original wrappings and the body is not exposed to the visitors in any way. The showcase of the mummy is kept in the dark and a button activates a relatively dim light when visitors press on it to view the mummy. In this way, the mummy is exposed to light as little as possible and damages that may be caused by light to the mummy or associated artifacts are minimized. Z.K. notes that there was another mummy display from a Phoenician context, but it is not on display now due to the restoration activity continuing in the hall where it was displayed. This mummy is believed to have belonged to the Sidonian Tabnit King who lived in the 5th century BCE and was on display in the most visited main hall of the Istanbul Archaeology

Museum. Although Z.K. did not comment on the former display of this mummy, compared to other two human remains displays this mummy was considerably more exposed to visitors since it did not have any wrappings and all bones and remaining organs of the mummy are visible (Figure 11)(Figure 12). Considering the former central location of this display, it is highly probable that most of the visitors viewed this mummy without a choice. The discussion surrounding human remains displays in the literature particularly focuses on this concept of "giving a choice to the visitor" which the Istanbul Archaeology Museums addresses in the case of the Egyptian Mummy. However, the Phoenician Mummy was considerably more accessible owing to its very central location in the museum.

Figure 11. Mummy of the Sidonian King Tabnit, Istanbul Archaeology Museum, photo by Ken Grubb on Turkey Central website.

Apart from curating human remains and storing them in the museum depos, the Directorate of Istanbul Archaeology Museums are also in charge of several excavations in Istanbul which have yielded many human remains. The Yenikapı Marmaray Metro Excavations can be considered the biggest and most famous excavation project that the museum directed. This excavation received great media coverage not only because the site was accidentally discovered by the Marmaray Metro Project workers in 2004, but it also pushed the history of Istanbul 8500 years back (Dönmez 2017, 95). These excavations revealed hundreds of thousands precious finds including 36 well-preserved wooden ships and 3000 coins from Byzantine Period, organic trade goods, 2080 human footprints, Late Neolithic burials and 178 skeletons from the Byzantine Period (Gökçay 2007, 86-89). For the study of human remains from Yenikapı, the museum directorate worked with two teams of anthropologists whose works were overseen by the museum's two full time

anthropologists. Mehmet Görgülü, who is a medical doctor and an anthropologist at Turkey's Forensic Medicine Institution, worked on the 178 Byzantine skeletons whereas anthropologist Yasemin Yılmaz from Düzce University's Archaeology Department and her team worked on the Neolithic burials, urns and cremations found in Yenikapı.

The director of the museum defines the process of granting permits to external human remains researchers as a tedious and long process of elimination. Any professional who wants to work on any cultural property that is in possession of the museum must make an application to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums. Z.K. notes that they investigate the applicant's professional background, research objectives and eligibility for conducting such a research. If the directorate feels that an applicant is qualified to conduct a research, they grant the permission and the applicant can start working on the material in the museum or the institutions that these researchers are linked to. However, for big projects, the museum directorate may make an open call and invite professionals to apply for a research permit for a particular find group about which the museum wants to incur more scientific research. In these cases, the museum directorate eliminates the unqualified applicants and chooses the best expert for this job. Z.K. accepts that the Istanbul Archaeology Museums are very lucky in terms of reaching experts owing to the museum's involvement with many famous excavations and resources as the biggest archaeology museum in Turkey. Since 2007, the museum has preferred working with the anthropologist, Yasemin Yılmaz's team for the study of the majority of human remains in the museum, including the human remains from Yenikapı Neolithic levels, Pendik Neolithic and Beşiktaş Bronze Age excavations. Although the museum has developed a harmonious work

relationship with this team, Z.K. encourages future applicants to apply if they want to work on any of the human remains in the museum's collections. As an example, a team from Çorum Hitit University that petitioned to work on the 12th century human remains discovered in the Dimitris excavations was welcomed by the museum.

Besides the rules concerning permits applications, the museum has other rules concerning the documentation and conservation of human remains. Z.K. notes that they have quite standard documentation techniques and special skeleton sheets to record each human remain. After counting, measuring, photographing and recording each human remains in a skeleton sheet, they place the remains in plastic boxes. The remains are supported by acid free tissue and paddings in these boxes and stored in the museum's depots away from light and humidity. When the museum grants a permit to a university team to study human remains in their own institutions, these documentation steps are repeated and the museum controls the inventory of human remains boxes upon their return from the study. If DNA, C^{14} or any other analysis need to be conducted on remains, the museum monitors the sampling process through an internal committee. If an analysis cannot be made in Turkey, the researcher must prove this to get a permit from the ministry to send the samples abroad. The museum requires researchers to present regular reports of each study conducted on remains to be submitted to the ministry. In this way, the studies are regularly monitored. However, the museum does not require the researchers to follow a specific professional code of conduct since according to Z.K. each team chosen is among the best experts. Studying human remains of the museum is therefore not standardized because all the external teams come from different schools and have their own methods. Z.K. states that the museum chooses each expert after a thorough screening process to ensure the reliability of his/her

methodologies. Therefore, she trusts in the ethics and professionalism of their methods and states that she never encountered problematic professional or ethical behavior concerning the study of human remains with the teams that the museum worked.

5.4. Summary of the Major Problems concerning Archaeological Human Remains in Turkey

5.4.1. Limited Regulation and Professional Guidelines

The underlying reasons for the challenges that affect the management of human remains in Turkey are diverse, but the most concrete issue is a structural problem: the limited legislative and professional frameworks for the management of these collections. In Turkey, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has no standardized guidelines concerning the excavation, preservation, study or display of archaeological human remains. The current legislation in Turkey regarding all categories of archaeological finds makes no distinction between human remains and other archaeological materials and considers archaeological human remains as "state properties". This approach disregards the fact that human remains may not be considered as just another artifact by some people. My research in the field has shown that this type of limited legislation results in diverse ethical and religious concerns with respect to the management of archaeological human remains and their display in Turkish museums.

5.4.2. Limited Ethical and Professional Codes of Conduct

The indistinct status of human remains in the Turkish law has certainly affected the implementation of the law as well as professional practices in the field. During this research, I have greatly benefitted from studying the professional

guidelines from countries such as the U.K, U.S., Netherlands, Australia and Germany. The number of guidelines and research on this topic was extensive. To contrast, there are no specific guidelines published on this topic in Turkey. This is not necessarily because the Turkish professionals do not care about professional ethics regarding these types of finds. Rather, they postpone solutions concerning this issue because they often face 'more urgent' problems such as limited budgets. The practices at excavations are heavily affected by the budget of the projects and the limited ministry support, especially in providing guidance, suitable storage areas and protection of finds. Though most of the professionals I interviewed agree to give their remains to the museums after research, museums do not accept the remains because they do not have suitable storage areas. This results in professionals to make their own choices with available resources. In the cases of museums, limited budget and resistance to the dramatic changes in display methods are also important problems. Moreover, the irregularity of conservation assessments and the inadequate environment control in the display and storage areas limit the abilities of museums to preserve organic remains like human remains. The absence of mechanisms and professional guidelines to deal with the multidimensional problems of human remains collections leaves the professionals doing what they consider best or convenient when managing human remains collections. This may not necessarily result in negative outcomes, but prevents forming a mutual and standardized understanding of "best museum practices" in Turkey where personal value judgments could be minimized.

The experts' emotional and psychological position to human remains is another important issue to discuss. It was noted during many of the interviews that the majority of the interviewees do not differentiate human remains from other

cultural "properties". Only M.D. from the Amasya Museum acknowledges that human remains are inherently different and should not be seen as one of many archaeological objects as many of his colleges do. The more commonly expressed general indifference initially ignores the fact that human remains are the "material memory" of the people who preceded us (Walker 2000, 24). Seeing them as artifacts may lead professionals to make rather mechanical decisions which disregard different opinions and feelings of visitors and possibly living stakeholders who may be tied to these human remains culturally or genetically. However, some of the interviewees claimed that because Turkey does not have an indigenous community unlike the U.S. or Australia and human remains could not be linked to today's population. Thus, they conclude, there is no need to ask any community's opinion or have extra ethical concerns according to these professionals.

In a country like Turkey where many different communities and cultures have lived together throughout the history, heritage cannot have a single dimension or belong to one culture. When the Turkish Republic was established in 1923 it inherited the cultures and heritages of several ethnic and religious communities that had lived alongside Turks in Anatolia over centuries. The Christian communities (mainly Greeks and Armenians), Jews, Kurds and Arabs have been among the major groups who have created art, architectural and intangible heritage elements and contributed to the accumulation of cultural wealth of Turkey. Archaeological human remains from different communities are also part of this multidimensional heritage although they were not intentional products of this heritage formation process. Fortunately, some of these groups have still living descendants who in some cases show tremendous sensitivity concerning the ownership of their remains. Especially the Greek churches are known to be cautious about the remains of historically

important Christian individuals whose remains are treated as religious relics (BBC Turkish 'Kutsal Emanetler' 2004). Considering the number of excavations conducted on the Byzantine Greek sites and museum collections having Byzantine Greek remains, claiming the absence or insignificance of stakeholders related to them would not be factual. Therefore, this absence of recognition for the demands of these groups stands as a problem facing heritage professionals in Turkey. This problem is not limited to the management of human remains, but is a reflection of general expert hegemony, which fails to embrace public opinion and inclusive decisions-making.

5.4.3. Exclusivity of Decision-Making

Apart from indifference to living relatives, there are also rather practical reasons behind the expert-dominated decision-making processes in Turkey. Professionals believe that the scientific analysis of human remains may be hampered by the emotional sensitivities of locals if they were made aware of the remains. They also hesitate to consult communities because they fear they will attract looters. Different than these reasons, M.Ö. and Y.Ü. are strongly against the consultation process because they believe that the public should not be consulted about these matters as they do not have an education in the field. Furthermore, they believe that a more standardized protocol for the management of human remains would only slow down scientific projects and cause inefficiencies for archaeological research. M.Ö. also states that possible genetic links between the living communities and archaeological human remains should not be an obstacle to scientific research, "because the priority of science should be producing knowledge". Moreover, he claims that due to possible movements of populations over thousands of years, today's communities are not likely to be the descendants of those who lived in the

past. However, this shows the problem of neglecting cultural affiliation by only focusing on genetic affiliations. According to Walker, in the debates surrounding archaeological human remains, two types of ancestors should be taken into account; genetic and cultural. Therefore, this type of focus on only the genetic relationship is what Walker refers to as "misguided biological reductionism" (Walker 2000, 23). Walker's approach is not familiar in Turkish archaeological practice, which has neglected the possible existence of descendants for a long time.

Although the issues listed above mostly result from structural deficiencies in the system and the personal choices enabled by the system, the professional and ethical dilemmas that professionals face are not specific to Turkey. In the next chapter, six cases chosen from six countries will be presented comparatively. The issues that are dealt with in these cases demonstrate significant parallels with the problems of the Turkish context concerning excavation, display and ethical management of archaeological human remains. For this reason the solutions that worked for these cases and their possible implications for the Turkish context will be critically analyzed here to build a road map for the human remains management of the Seddülbahir Project, which is the case study of this thesis research (see Chapter 7.3).

Chapter 6: Different Solutions concerning the Management of Archaeological Human Remains around the World

6.1. Practices of the British Museum, Museum of London and UCL Culture

During my museum internship at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in the summer of 2017, I had chance to meet and learn from some of the leading museum and heritage professionals who manage archaeological human remains in the British Museum, Museum of London, UCL Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL Pathology Collections and UCL Bone Laboratory. Although I have studied the published guidelines and principles of these institutions on archaeological human remains management before, my interviews with these professionals and visiting their collections provided me with an in-depth perspective on how they actually apply their methods and principles when dealing with these collections. First, my visits to Daniel Antoine at the British Museum (BM) and to Jelena Bekvalac at the Museum of London (MOL) have been instrumental in shaping my own perspective on the effective ways in which management and display of archaeological human remains can be introduced into the Turkish context.[18]

The BM and MOL share many of their characteristics in terms of having significant numbers of visitors from many countries, having large display spaces and displaying crucial pieces of their rich human remains collections at the center of these large display spaces. Owing to their long history, the BM and MOL have accumulated large archaeological collections which come from various periods and

---

[18] Interview with David Antoine on 25 August 2017, at the British Museum, with Jelena Bekvalac on 30 August 2017, at the Museum of London.

sites since their foundations. This abundance is not only limited to archaeological artifacts but their collections also include large numbers of human remains. The B.M holds and manages over 6000 human remains whereas the number of human remains at the MOL's collection is over 20,000 (The Museum of London 2018b) (The British Museum 2017b). These human remains can be found in the forms of human hair, skin, teeth, bones; all which require different methods of preservation and handling. Both D.A and J.B. underlined the importance of the storage conditions which should be safe, clean, regularly checked and monitored for their environmental conditions. The boxes that are being used for human skeletons are specifically designed for human remains and provide the necessary dry, acid free and supporting environment for these types of finds. The information about these remains are recorded on both paper and digital inventory systems. The MOL presents an exceptional example in this because their database system built on Oracle Middleware, provides considerably detailed information in the MOL's human remains collections. In this database, the user can access anthropological, osteological, preservation-related and previously conducted research data on a specific human remain in the collection. Additionally, this database is publically accessible with an informative handbook through the museum's website (The Museum of London 2018a). Similarly, the BM collection can also be accessed online though it is limited to the main inventory data (The British Museum 2017a).

Both D.A. and J.B. see transparency and sharing information as the pillar principles of their museums. Their belief in the importance of sharing with the public seems to have impacted their display decisions concerning human remains. During the interviews, they both underlined how they cared about general professional ethics and specifically ethics of displaying and storing human remains.

Their approaches concerning the display of archaeological human remains overlap considerably since both believe that displaying human remain must have a purpose. The purpose should not be pure sensationalism; rather a display of human remains needs to serve an educational and scientific purpose. The policies of the BM and MOL concerning their human remains similarly underline the museum's mission of helping visitors to develop an understanding of an ancient individual through viewing and learning about his/ her remains (Antoine 2014, 7) (Museum of London 2011, 3). The curators' choice of not displaying human remains if they will not tell a story or contribute to the visitors' understanding of ancient lives is not only an ethical choice. With these policies, they enhance the preservation of human remains on the long run by not exposing these to unnecessary light and heat in the display cases.

In this sense the mummified remains of an adult male which are displayed at the center of the Early Egypt Gallery of the BM deserves special attention according to Antoine. This adult mummy comes from an exceptional context which led to a natural mummification process: a desert burial. This mummy belongs to an adult male who is dated to the late Pre-dynastic Period (c. 3500 BC) (Antoine and Ambers 2014, 24) Although the museum has 6 more naturally mummified bodies from the same period, D.A. thinks that this mummy is unique due to his story and deserves to be displayed, whereas the others need to be preserved safely in the storage of the BM. This mummy, the Gebelein Man, died because he was stabbed in the back, which made him a victim of a murder. His wound shows the traces of a dagger that was used in the Predynastic Period and was shown in the wall reliefs of the time (Antoine "Murder and mayhem" 2012). D.A. points out the political developments of the time when the regions of Upper Egypt including Gebelein started a struggle

for power and territory which led to many conflicts and was reflected even in the artistic works from that time. Owing to the Gebelein Man's well-endowed grave with many grave gifts, one can assume that he was not an ordinary man who may have taken part in the power struggle, although Antoine does not ignore the possibility of interpersonal violence (Antoine 2012, "Murder and mayhem"). Furthermore, the CT scanning and infrared imaging studies conducted on this mummy showed one of the earliest surviving examples of tattooing on his arm where common iconographic images of his time, were depicted. The fact that his death may have been linked to the important events of his time and the exceptional environmental conditions in the desert sealed his story for more than 5000 years, make his story unique. His display in the BM is a good example of educational displays of human remains. The reconstruction of his grave conditions supported with technological installations help visitors to understand his time and the studies conducted to reveal his story (Figure 13) (Figure 14).

Figure 13. Gebelein Man, the British Museum, photo from the British Museum Blog.

The displays and management strategies of the UCL institutions, do not differ from the BM and MOL fundamentally since the major legislation of the U.K concerning the display and collection of archaeological human remains require all museums and laboratories with these remains to follow same main procedures and principles. In this sense, the UCL Pathology Collections stands out differently since its collection consists of human tissue and organs that came from the medical collections of three hospitals. However, their history also dates to more than a century, making them historic. The Petrie Museum and Bone Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology both have human remains from the archaeological contexts even though the laboratory does not have the permit to display them. The human bones of the laboratory come from the excavations of the department and are stored in the basement depos in the Institute of Archaeology, away from light and humidity. Although all three institutions have limited capacity of environmental control where human remains are kept, they monitor the depots regularly to keep temperatures and humidity steady. With its human remains policy to be used across all the UCL institutions, the UCL Culture aims at standardization in ethical

management of human remains. In 2017, the managers from the UCL institutions with human remains collections came together to update UCL's former policy paper on human remains management and made this file accessible to public on UCL Culture's website (UCL Culture 2017b). Their policy reflects the practices and ethical approaches that I observed when visiting their collections. Jayne Dunn, the manager of the UCL Pathology Collections, informed me that they followed the current ethical debates surrounding the curation of human remains in the U.K and tried to be a good example in their curation which aims at educating visitors (mostly medical students for the time being) about human body and illness.[19] Therefore, they work with a full-time pathologist who helps the curatorial team to decode the medical past of the specimens and curators convey this information in the exhibition space in the most understandable and educating way possible. Although the UCL Bone Laboratory does not have the license or aim of displaying their human remains, Sandra Bond, who is responsible for the care of the human remains at the lab, similarly underlined the educational value of their collection.[20]

On the other hand, the Petrie Museum has a more traditional role since it receives a more general museum audience who are not as specialized as the audience of the other two collections. Alice Stevenson, the former curator of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, is very passionate about stressing the value and meanings of curating (and sometimes not curating) any type of human remains in museums.[21] In her 2017 exhibition at UCL, *What Does It Mean to be Human? Curating Heads at UCL,* for which I also worked for as an intern in the summer of 2017, Stevenson and her colleges aimed examining " the power of

---

[19] Interview with Jayne Dunn on 31 July 2017, at UCL Pathology Collections.
[20] Interview with Sandra Bond on 28 July 2017, at UCL Institute of Archaeology.
[21] Interview with Alice Stevenson on 28 July 2017, at UCL Institute of Archaeology.

human remains to generate debate and critical reflection" (UCL Culture 2017a). In this exhibition use of archaeological human remains for scientific purposes, the history of collecting human remains, and problematic motivations and philosophies behind the collection of these types of finds are discussed. This exhibition can be considered as an amalgamation of the practices adopted in different UCL human remains collections (medical and archaeological). The exhibition does not censor the display of human remains; rather it expects the visitors to confront them by pointing out the issue of consent which the curatorial team had thanks to Jeremy Bentham and Flanders Petrie, who donated their bodies for science and education (Jenkins 2010, 106). However, a few ancient human remains are also displayed along with Bentham's Head. Working for this exhibition made me aware of many important dilemmas in curatorial decisions. Where should the line be drawn when curating human remains? Do we compromise curatorial ethics when we want to educate public by displaying human remains? Which is of the greatest value: ethics or education? It is certain that a good balance is needed when deciding to curate human remains and these institutions are trying this.

6.2. Repatriation of New Zealand's Maori Heads

Although it may not be an urgent concern for the professionals working in Turkey, having certain protocols to deal with future repatriation demands is an important asset for institutions that holds human remains linked to current living populations. In this sense, the cases of Maori Heads and Kennewick man (see Chapter 6.3) reiterate important lessons. The discovery of one elaborately-tattooed Maori head in 1988 during an auction at Bonham's Auction House in London generated great controversy and fruitful discussions surrounding collections of human remains. This human head set the New Zealand Maori Council in motion to

start a process of repatriation of the Maori human remains that were held by the museums or auction houses in the U.K (O'Keefe 1992, 393) (Benthall 1988, 1). The story of this Maori head began in 1820 when a Maori warrior (or possibly a slave), died in New Zealand and his head was preserved by the Maori as part of their ritual beliefs. The Maori has the cultic practices of preserving human heads to grieve over, or to revile, "when a person's body couldn't be brought back in entirety after a battle, and so were made specifically as memorials" (Stumpe 2005, 131). After 1820s, especially slaves were tattooed and then killed (or in some cases their heads were tattooed after death) and European captains bought these heads to sell them to museums or collectors (131). This is how this specific Maori head came to the attic of a house in Suffolk, England, stayed there for 100 years before it was given for auctioning on 20 May 1988 (O'Keefe 1992, 393). It turned out that an ancestor of this house's owner worked as a whale hunter in New Zealand and must have brought the head to England (383). Similar to this head, many heads came to the U.K, but the publicity surrounding the Bonham head finally put a stop on the auctioning of these.

The president of the New Zealand Maori Council went to the High Court of New Zealand to get the administration of the estate of the deceased warrior which was approved. This approval by the court opened a way for the Maori Council to seek an injunction in the High Court in London to prevent Bonham from displaying or selling the head (Benthall 1988, 1) (O'Keefe 1992, 394). The decision was made in accordance with the general rule of British common law, stating that "there is no property in dead bodies, executors or next of-kin of the deceased have rights to supervise the disposal of his or her remains". Thus, the rights of the warrior were given to the Council (Benthall, 1). Eventually, the head was withdrawn from the sale

and returned to New Zealand to be reburied at Whatuwhiwhi on the Karikari peninsula (O'Keefe, 394).

This case presented a powerful example and precedent for the later efforts of the New Zealand Maori Council, who managed to get another tattooed Maori head, which belonged to a Maori leader, from the National Museum in Liverpool (Stumpe, 130,131). The British Press and many curators supported these efforts because the Council claimed that the remains would be treated better in New Zealand museums where they are regarded and curated as ancestral remains, not museum objects. Moreover, their display cases would be 'restricted access' (only open for appropriate rituals and procedures) (136). These efforts opened the grounds for discussion within the museums in the U.K, which used either ethnographic or evolutionary (natural history) narratives in the display of these remains or kept them in depots along with other artifacts. Even though the attitude towards the requests of the Council are quite positive and contributed to British museology, there are still several heads in the museums of the U.K that could not be repatriated since the museums claimed these may have great "research potential" in the future (138).

6.3. Does Science Need to Battle with Beliefs?: The Case of Kennewick Man

Kennewick Man was accidentally found on July 1996, in Kennewick, Washington, lying in the Columbia River (Thomas 2001, 20). Though the first bones collected were thought to be from late 19th century, after the full-scale excavation it turned out to be one of the oldest and intact human skeletons found in North America (Ackerman 1997, 360). The remains were 9200-9500 years old (Thomas 2001, 21). The unique characteristics and vitality of the Kennewick Man made the news. The anthropologists who carried out the investigation informed four tribes

which might have been related to the deceased in line with rules of NAGPRA. All four tribes (and an additional fifth tribe that heard about the discovery) claimed ownership and asked for repatriation (Ackerman 1997, 362). On the other hand, the scientific community was concerned that they would have lost potentially significant scientific data about the earliest colonization of North America if the Kennewick Man was reburied by the tribes (Ackerman 1997, 363). Moreover, there was also an argument that the remains were "so ancient that they belong to the American public rather than any special interest group" (Thomas 2001, 23-24). However, while there were new tribes claiming rights over the remains of Kennewick Man, the University of California was analyzing DNA from the remains to be able to come up with an answer to these claims and to extract as much information as possible before the remains had to be given back to tribes (363). The tribes were upset and claimed that their oral history was going back thousands of years back and they knew that the remains belonged to them even before these invasive analyses of scientists (23-24). The Army Corps of Engineers, which has a jurisdiction over the area, stopped the analysis so as not to damage the remains any further. This decision was overturned by a lawsuit brought by eight scientists, claiming that even if Kennewick Man was culturally affiliated to one of these tribes according to NAGPRA, it was impossible to assess this without a scientific analysis, which could also contribute to scientific research in the United States (363-364). The Army Corps defended itself by stating the fact that the scientific disturbance would disrespect the religious beliefs of the tribes about the deceased and decided to lock the remains (Thomas 2001, 24-25).

A considerable number of lawsuits took place between 1997 and 2002 and scientists from the Smithsonian Institution proved that the Kennewick Man was not related to any of the present day-tribes which claimed they were. Thus the NAGRPA

did not apply to this case (Preston 2014, "The Kennewick Man"). Although this case caused a lot of controversy and was considered to be "a legal thriller" by some, it shows how differently people may approach human remains despite presumptuous conceptions of the experts. It is apparent that in this case there was no single correct way of managing archaeological human remains especially if the legal setting allows for inclusivity. Limited legal contexts such what exits in Turkey may be favoring expert opinion in decision-making at the moment, but the legal invisibility of stakeholders should not invalidate the opinions of this latter group about human remains to which they may be affiliated in some way.

6.4. The Egyptian Child Mummy of the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 4.5, the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities' decision to remove the Egyptian Child Mummy from its display is a useful example for the Turkish context. The details of this decision-making process are shared here thanks to the Egyptologist Lara Weiss from the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities, who recounted her experience in an interview with me for this research.[22] For many years, the Egyptian child mummy had been on display and had become a kind of icon of the museum but was removed from display because it was "too nude, too vulnerable and not functional" (Figure 15) (Vinckx 2016, Weijts 2016). Weiss, who was in the team that made the decision states that this was not an impulsive and sudden decision. Rather, they put a lot of thought into why and how they should (or should not) curate this mummy and followed current professional codes of conduct.

---

[22] Personal communication on email, on 22 February 2016.

The experts at the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities adhere to a number of human remains guidelines such as ICOM's *Code of Ethics*, *Treatment of Human Remains in Ethnographic Museums in Netherlands* and *The Human Remains Guidelines* of the Manchester Museum. Moreover, they consulted with specialists working in the Manchester and Munich Museums, as well as other institutions in the Netherlands. In addition to that, Weiss and her colleague Maarten Raven prepared a statement in which they assessed the pros and cons of displaying the child mummy. In this statement, they provided significant insights into the issue of displaying mummies in a respectful and meaningful way. These are summarized below.

The Pros and Cons of the Mummies on Display[23]

People are coming to see the mummies to learn about the Egyptian culture and mysterious stories about it. However, museums are places not only for having fun, but also to receive scientific knowledge. Museums with mummy exhibitions often try to show what type of methods the Egyptians used to immortalize their dead. While contributing to society in terms of providing scientific and historical knowledge, museums also have the responsibility of respectfully preserving and displaying real human beings. Therefore, the museum must explain the choice of exhibiting actual human beings to the visitors. ICOM's ethical code and manual explains how to display human remains, but the museum specialists need to be conscious about religious and emotional sensitivities about displaying dead. Not only the sensitivities of the living populations, but also the perspective of the ancient people should be considered if the information is available. For example, it is known from the archaeological records that Egyptians did not appreciate their dead to be buried outside of Egypt. Therefore, Ancient Egyptians might have felt disturbed by

---

[23] Translated from Dutch by Petrus J. Gerrits.

the fact that their mummies are spread all around the world and are exposed to gaze of millions of visitors.

Because of these reasons, mummies need to be displayed respectfully and insightfully by considering human dignity that all human beings have in common. Since human remains are not objects, museums should not display them for the sake of creating sensational exhibitions. The criteria should be displaying the elements of the ancient Egyptian culture in an archaeologically correct and respectful context. Maintaining the bandages on mummies and not displaying them naked is essential. Therefore, the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities has chosen not to display dismantled or naked body parts. Since the child mummy was unwrapped, probably for scientific purposes, in the 19th century, the body was displayed naked. According to the specialists of the museum, the curiosity, scientific/ educational needs of the visitor could be satisfied by the CT scanning through which the mummy could be digitally unwrapped and looked at. The museum added educational texts about the technical aspects of mummification and story of the mummy along with these scans. The museum decided that displaying the actual child mummy would not add anything to his story, but would only satisfy the curiosity of the visitor. If the museum wants to educate the public about this mummy, exposing him may not be the only option. Rather, the studies which were conducted on this mummy and published as scientific and popular science articles have the potential to make bigger impact, according to the museum specialists.
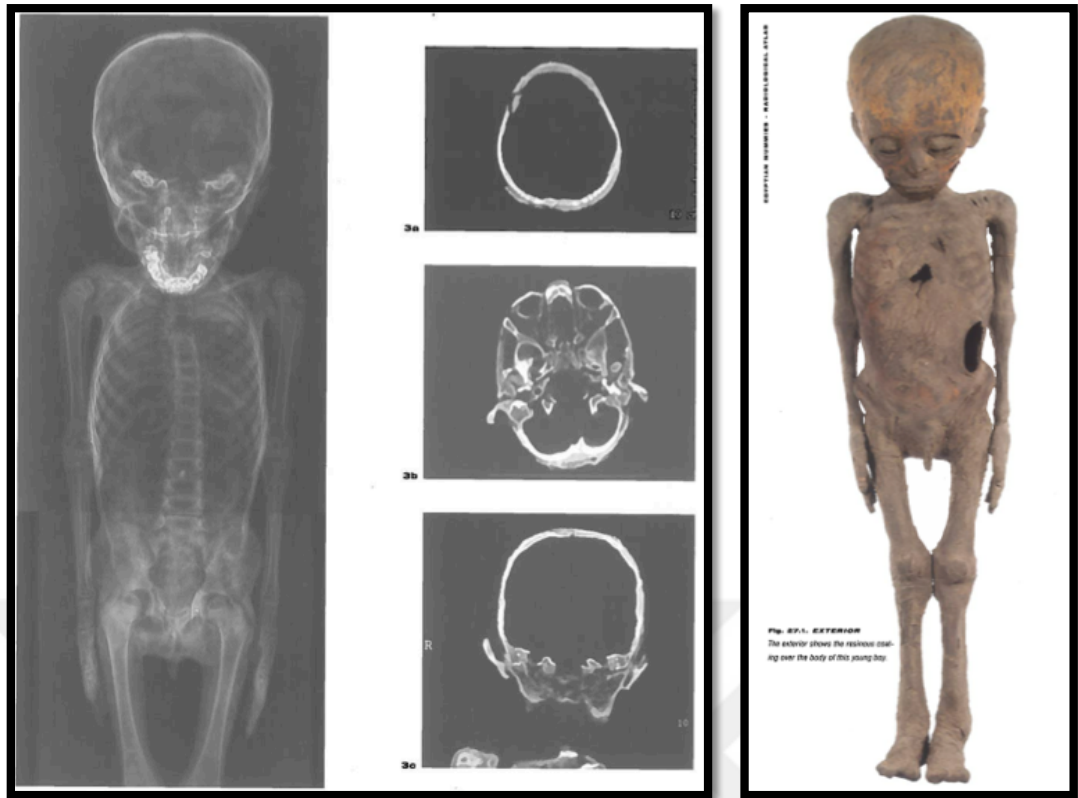
Figure 15. CT scan for Skull Thorax and Abdomen of the child mummy, from (Raven, Taconis, and Maat 2005).

The Dutch National Museum of Antiquities is not alone in this act of confronting ethical dilemmas of curatorial decisions. Other museums in Europe with Egyptian objects have realized the same issue and either applied the same scientific methods to their displays or totally removed mummies from the display. However, the Dutch museum does not want to go that far. Therefore, the continuation of displaying Egyptian objects were decided as acceptable ways to protect the dignity of the deceased as well as contribute to educating public about the ancient Egyptian culture.

As it is repeatedly underlined in the museum's statement, museums might have the mission of educating and sharing the reality of the past in the correct context, but they also have ethical obligations as well. Displaying human remains for the sake of sensationalism may bring visitors, but it may not be the best way to

attract public attention. In the next chapter, the major issues discussed within the Turkish context will be evaluated for the Gallipoli Peninsula in the light of the positive solutions discussed above. The implications of these useful solutions for the Turkish context will be analyzed below with a focus on a case study conducted within the scope of this research on human remains at the Seddülbahir Fortress in Gallipoli.

Chapter 7: Gallipoli as a Case Study

Bu memleketin toprakları üstünde kanlarını döken kahramanlar! Burada bir dost vatanın toprağındasınız. Huzur ve sükûn içinde uyuyunuz. Sizler Mehmetçiklerle yanyana, koyun koyunasınız. Uzak diyarlardan evlâtlarını harbe gönderen analar! Gözyaşlarınızı dindirinizi. Evlâtlarınız bizim bağrımızdadır. Huzur içindedirler ve huzur içinde rahat rahat uyuyacaklardır. [Onlar] bu topraklarda canlarını verdikten sonra artık bizim evlâtlarımız olmuşlardır.

Those heroes that shed their blood and lost their lives are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore, rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehmets to us where they lie side by side here in this country of ours. You, the mothers, who sent their sons from far away countries, wipe away your tears. Your sons are now lying in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land, they have become our sons as well.[24]

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Gallipoli (Gelibolu) is one the most important historical landscapes of Turkey where troops of the Ottoman Empire and the Allied Powers, which included the British, Australian and New Zealand Army Corps and French soldiers, fought and lost their lives (Figure 16). According to the records of the Commonwealth War Graves Commissions (CWGC), 205,000 Commonwealth servicemen, and 47,000 French Servicemen became casualties on this small peninsula (CWGC "Gallipoli" 2018). The CWGC estimates the number of the Ottoman casualties between 250,000 and 350,000 Ottoman soldiers whereas the records of the Turkish Armed Forces shows this number as 211,000 (Güven 2016, 1283). Regardless of which estimate reflects the most accurate numbers, on this 825 km^2-peninsula more people died than the actual population of it in 1915. According to the 1914 Ottoman population census, Çanakkale (Dardanelles), which had twelve districts including Gallipoli, had a population of 160,927 people.[25] Soon after the war broke out, the peninsula eventually turned into a graveyard owing to the horrible numbers of dead on both

---

[24] English translation of the Turkish text in (İğdemir 1978, 39-40).
[25] The 1914 Ottoman Census (Proportions des populations en Asie Mineure statistique officielle).

sides. Hence, the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, spoke the quoted words in 1934 to commemorate the honorable sacrifices of the foreign soldiers, who lost their lives on this land (Jones 2005, 10-1).

Figure 16. Map of Turkey showing the Gallipoli Peninsula, created by the author on ArcGIS.

On the November 3 1914 when the attacks of Allied fleets on Gallipoli started, both sides started to experience their first casualties to this war on the land and in the sea. The incisive cannon strikes by the Ottomans placed on the ridges of Gallipoli targeted and sank several Allied ships in the earliest days of the war. Therefore, human remains of Gallipoli are not limited to the bodies of the soldiers who died on the land. It is quite possible that the shipwrecks of the Çanakkale Wars still contain human remains of the soldiers, who came with these ships to fight in Gallipoli but could never be found after their death. Until the evacuation decision of the Allied forces from the peninsula in the winter of 1915, what to do with the dead had become a daily problem. The longer the Allied forces stayed in the peninsula,

many more soldiers lost their lives during combat and due to illness (Scates 2006, 145). These bodies were often buried in times of ceasefire to prevent more illness on both sides. These bodies were buried in designated burial areas and more often into places which were available in the chaotic days of the war. Many of the bodies were later exhumed to be repatriated when the war ended or were transported to concentration cemeteries of some of the countries who fought in Gallipoli. Currently, there are 67 war cemeteries and memorials in Gallipoli, but a considerable number of human remains are still buried in the battle grounds and have not yet been discovered (ÇATAB 2018b). Owing to rapidly proceeding touristic and archaeological projects on the peninsula, human remains are regularly encountered.

Despite the occasions of encounters with human remains, the management of human remains in the peninsula has never been established with any standardized protocol. Before the war, the Ottoman military did not have a tradition of honoring its war dead with individual burial and there was no standardized approach to manage the internment of fallen soldiers (Uyar 2016, 167). This was a contrast to the better established burial practices of the Allied powers, especially those of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. However, with the unmanageable numbers of dead after this war, the Turkish authorities had to adopt practices that they never needed before. They worked with the war grave commissions of the British, ANZAC and French armies to find, exhume, rebury and repatriate the fallen soldiers of the war. Currently, all the decision-making bodies in the peninsula which are the war graves commissions of the countries who fought in the war follow their own procedures and laws concerning the management of their human remains. Although there is no standardized protocol followed by these bodies, the mutual

understanding about the maintenance and respectful care of the burial grounds has for the most part been present since the first internment activities of the war.

The contributions of some important actors of the time to this understanding are also worth mentioning here owing to their role in promoting sensitivity and respect whilst dealing with the bodies of the fallen soldiers in the peninsula. It is undeniable that every war leaves death, sorrow, disappointment and many other tough realities to deal with for the ones who survived it. The war at Gallipoli was as brutal as any other war of the time. However, there are some reasons why this war has been called "the last gentlemen's war". According to Bülent Günal, who wrote a book about 100 Vatican archival documents and the stories of ANZAC and Ottoman soldiers (Yaman "Gallipoli" 2014). There was a humanitarian side of the battles. Günal does not limit his narrative to the stories of the living, who received help and compassion from "the enemy", but also includes the stories about the dead. The accounts and correspondences of influential actors of the time such as the Ottoman War Minister Enver Pasha, Pope Benedict XV, Charles Bean and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk exemplify the sensitivity that was manifested towards the treatment of the bodies of the fallen soldiers. According to Monsieur Dolci, who regularly reported to the Pope during war time, Enver Pasha paid particular attention to the management of graves and asked his generals to respect and take care of the dead regardless of their nationality (Yaman "Gallipoli" 2014). The German General Staff, Count von Lüttichau similarly wrote about how carefully the Turks took care of the graves and helped the Allied authorities to search for their soldiers. These stories apparently impressed the Pope, who was already involved with promoting peace during the first World War and he was honored by a statue in Istanbul for his efforts (Pollard 2015, 151). He became an authority that the Catholic families tried to reach

out to find missing sons. His role in finding the body of the ANZAC lieutenant Frank Matthew Coffee stands out the most among many stories owing to his dedicated support of the Coffee's family. In this case the Pope's connections in Gallipoli provided the documents and photographs that informed the family about the whereabouts and the care given to the lieutenant's grave, and they eventually decided to leave their son's body in Gallipoli (Tyquin 2017, 64).

Frank Coffee's case was not an exception. Most of the bodies that could be found during many search campaigns were delivered to their respective country's commission for appropriate treatment. The majority of them are buried in the 35 cemeteries designated and maintained by CWGC for the Allied dead. This foreign land became their final resting place. This bitter truth may have influenced Atatürk whose sentimental words about the tragic end of these lives in Gallipoli is quoted at the beginning of the chapter. Although his statement is sentimental, it does resonate with the claim that this was the last gentlemen's war. Whether this war really was the last gentlemen's war is disputable considering all the horrors which this war also included, but the stories shared in this part illustrate the humanitarian side of the war that paved the way to the formation of sensitive management practices in the peninsula.

7.1. Practices of the British, French and ANZAC War Graves Commissions in the Gallipoli Peninsula

7.1.1. The British Practices

The WWI irreversibly changed lives of innumerable number of families along with the geographical and political boundaries of the world at the expense of these lives. When the war ended, the British government forbade the exhumation and repatriation of human remains of their war dead. The sheer number of casualties in the first World War forced the British Empire to formulate a solution to deal with the internment of the fallen soldiers. Fabian Ware, who was the commander of a mobile unit of the British Red Cross (later officially recognized by the War Office as the Graves Registration Commission in 1915), established the Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) in 1917 (Commonwealth War Graves Commission 2018). This organization was in charge of recording, identifying and registering the dead to be buried in specially designed cemeteries later. The IWGC decided to not to allow a single individual to be exhumed or repatriated on 19 Nov 1918 as their primary policy (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 67). They further determined to "exhume and re-inter isolated graves and smaller burial places into larger concentration cemeteries" and to maintain cemeteries with over 40 burials (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 67). The commission believed that not only exhumation and repatriation of burials would have been a huge task that may require large resources, but also they believed that the dead themselves would have preferred to lie next to their comrades (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 68). However, the decision of the IWGC was not truly appreciated by the public opinion, which were voiced clearly in a hundred letters that the commission received every week (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 72). Another public outcry concerning the IWCG's practices was about the decision of placing

uniformed headstones instead of crosses in the cemeteries (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 71). Some families found the gravestones similar to ugly milestones whereas some families thought these "un-Christian" gravestones were desecrating (Scates 2006, 44-45). To battle the IWGC's decisions, the unhappy families established an association, which sent hundreds of petitions and complaints to the commission about the problematic burial practices and officially made complaints to many politicians and even to the prime minister about the commission (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 76). This battle continued even after WWI. Nevertheless nothing changed the commission's mind and the ban on exhumation and repatriation of the fallen soldiers continued (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 72-79). Thus, the current practices of the IWGC (renamed as the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in 1960) in the Gallipoli Peninsula have become a reflection of this process. Currently, there are 41 Commonwealth cemeteries 27 of which belong to the British soldiers in Gallipoli.

The process of exhumation for identification and registration to transport human remains to the concentration cemeteries were tedious in Gallipoli and other fronts of the WWI where the British fought. The methods of identifying and transporting these human remains were surprisingly careful and respectful considering the chaotic circumstances of the time. For example, the regulations (CWGC Archives: WG1294/3 Pt.1) from the end of 1919 show that the commission adopted a distinct attitude towards the exhumation of bodies of the non- Christian soldiers fought for the British army. The officers were warned to not to disturb the remains of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 73). The U.K. poses a good example of how establishing laws and regulations concerning

management of human remains could ease the tough decision-making processes for the authorities regardless of the circumstances and difficulties of the time.

7.1.2. The ANZAC Practices

The story of Australian and New Zealander Army Corps (ANZAC) in Gallipoli is an interesting one for many reasons. The most important of these reasons may be Gallipoli's role in shaping the national identity of these countries. According to Peter Slade, Gallipoli has become the legendary place for many Australians and New Zealanders whose nations were conceived in this peninsula (Slade 2003, 782). Although the New Zealand gained its right to self-government in 1856 and the Commonwealth Australia was formed by the unification of former British colonies in the continent in 1901, these nations were still very young when the WWI broke out. The Gallipoli Wars became the first test of these young nations (Scates 2006, xxii). Prior to the war, Australia and New Zealand established their own compulsory military training schemes whose first students fought their first war in Gallipoli (Slade 2003, 782). The number of casualties amounted to 80% of the Australian and New Zealander soldiers, who fought in this war (782). This devastation significantly impacted public conscience and shaped the national narratives which were going to define this place of combat, Gallipoli, as the birthplace of their nations (Waite 1919, 189) (Bean 1941, 516, 605) (Scates 2006, xxii).

The sons who lost their lives in Gallipoli should have been honored. Thus, the head of the Australian Historical Mission, Charles Bean, returned to Gallipoli in 1919 to examine the battlefields and to start the process of mapping the landscape, identifying, burying and reburying the dead (Slade 2003, 793). Bean witnessed the war in Gallipoli from the first day until the end, and this shaped his sensitivity

towards the remnants of the war that he considered as "sacred things" (Australian War Memorial 2018). Bean's perspective became influential in the Australian practices concerning the Australian War graves and treatment of human remains in the peninsula. Bean believed that all possible Anzac relics were immensely important for the Australian nation (Scates 2006, 35). This particular sentiment diverged the Australians from the British practices although the Australia was still very much tied to the British Empire. The Imperial War Graves Commission initially oversaw all the decisions concerning exhumation and repatriation, yet the Office of Australian War Graves found a way to do many things on their own.

First, the Australians were not as strict as the British in terms of complying with the decision that prohibited repatriation of the bodies at the beginning. Some of the families managed to receive positive answers in reply to their petitions for the search and repatriation of the bodies of their family members (Scates 2006, 5). They had to go through many steps and write to several authorities. Some eventually took the matter in their own hands and travelled to Gallipoli to actually find the bodies of their sons and husbands (Scates 2006, xx). Burying their sons on enemy soil was unthinkable (Prost 2011, X). Some managed to find their sons and brought their bodies back to Australia. Nevertheless, this relative flexibility concerning the repatriation was unsustainable and a very costly procedure for all parties. Thus the state resources were dedicated to building an honorable resting place for the deceased in the peninsula. Another dissimilarity of Australian protocols from the British was the decision concerning the tombstones. Even though the Office of Australian War Graves followed the IWGC's decision concerning the uniformity in gravestones, the office was not indifferent to public outcry about the shape of the stones. The negative sentiment of the British families concerning the uniform

tombstones was shared by the Australian families. However, the office favored crosses over milestone shaped tomb markers, which were considered ugly and non-Christian by many families (Scates 2006, 45). Besides, the location of the cemeteries was another topic of discussion. Charles Bean's perspective again became influential in shaping this discussion. He believed that the men should be left "where they fell", hence the War Graves Commission built 5000 Anzac graves and 21 cemeteries primarily on the former battlefronts and crumbling trenches (39). The War Graves Commission supervised the survey and mapping of the graves between 1916 and 1919 and employed Turkish gardeners to tend the burial grounds where they planted Australian trees and plants (Prost 2011, X) (Slade 2003, 793). In 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed and the Turks granted the Anzac burial area to the IWGC (Rutherford 2015). According to this, the Turkish Government granted "to those Governments the land which the Commissions provided for in Article 130 shall consider necessary for the establishment of cemeteries for the regrouping of graves, for ossuaries or memorials." (The Treaty of Lausanne, Section II, Article 128). Although this article later caused some sovereignty disputes among the Turkish and foreign governments, the official arrangements concerning the management of war graves in Gallipoli were introduced by this article.

7.1.3. The French Practices

Before the first World War started, the regulations that were followed by the French Army advocated communal graves for ordinary soldiers despite the existing customs of burying soldiers individually when the circumstances were suitable (Prost 2011, II). The French Parliament changed this regulation soon after the outbreak of the war on December, 1915 and declared that "any soldier who has died for France has the right to perpetual resting place at the expense of the state" (Prost

2011, II). Many families were in search of their sons and wanted to bring their dead back home. However, the number of dead on many fronts made this an unmanageable task to carry out for the army. The French government banned all exhumations for three years in 1919, leading families to fall for the promises of semi-commercial organizations that searched for and exhumed graves especially in the cemeteries of Belgium. However, this ban ended in 1920 owing to the pressure from public, which led to a decree concerning the exhumation and repatriation of the war casualties (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 71). By this decree, the French government promised to families to conduct extensive search campaigns and repatriate the bodies of their sons and eventually returned 230,000 bodies to the families by 1924.

Anonymous bones and scattered remains were buried in the communal graves or the ossuaries such as the one located at the Morto Bay Cemetery in Gallipoli (Figure 17) (Figure 18) (Prost 2011, IV). However, these procedures could not start immediately owing to the complicated political setting resulted from the war. During the war, the French buried their dead in eight cemetery grounds that were spread around the Cape Helles at the fronts where the French fought (Çatalbaş 2017, 2). However, the French troops had to evacuate the peninsula in January 1916 and could not come back for their dead until 1919. Their return to the peninsula was possible only after the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain signed the Armistice of Mudros on the 30th of October in 1918, which marked the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the WWI and allowed the Allied powers to return to the peninsula to tend to their dead who had fought during the war (Encyclopædia Britannica 2017). The Senegalese troops of the French Army who also fought in this war were brought to the peninsula in the early 1919 to conduct a search campaign and find the graves of

the fallen French soldiers. They exhumed the burials and carried the bodies of the soldiers to the eight main cemetery grounds designated for the fallen French troops. Later in 1923, the bodies that were buried in these cemeteries were all transported to the National French Cemetery located at the Morto Bay after the Treaty of Lausanne was signed (Çatalbaş 2017, 2) . Currently in Gallipoli, there are 3236 French graves and four ossuaries containing the bones of 12,000 unidentifiable soldiers in the Morto Bay French Cemetery (Figure 18) (Department of Veterans' Affairs 2018).

Figure 17. The French Masnou Ossuary at the Gallipoli Peninsula, photo from the archives of the Istanbul Research Institute (IAE), (FKA_008511). These human remains were later transported to the Morto Bay cemetery.

Figure 18. The French cemetery at Morto Bay, Seddülbahir, and the French Memorial to the Gallipoli campaign of 1915, photo from https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au.

The practices of the French at Morto Bay differed from those of the U.K. in several ways. Firstly, the Ministry of Defense was responsible for the practices concerning the war dead rather than a special commission similar to Britain's IWGC (currently the CWGC). As explained more thoroughly in Chapter 4.4, the French authority approached the issue of repatriation positively and considered it as a matter of state responsibility. Secondly, the IWGC's policy of not disturbing the graves of the Muslim and Sikh soldiers by exhuming them was not present among the practices of the French authorities. The French authorities decided to move on with the exhumation activities even if an individual was from different religion than Christianity. However, they were re-interred in the nearest cemetery in a separate plot for each religion (Cornish and Saunders 2014, 73). In Gallipoli's French cemetery, Morto Bay, a similar procedure was followed, but the separation between the burials (Christians and non-Christian) is not that clear. There are several non-Christian burials located often in groups, but not separated all together from the

Christian burials (Figure 19). Additionally, instead of tombstones metal crosses were used to mark the graves of the Christian soldiers whereas the same metal markers, which do not have the arms of a cross, were used to mark the graves of the non-Christian soldiers. These markers are often distinguishable from the crosses since the non-Christian soldiers are often buried as groups of three or four. Even though the practices of the French authorities differed from those of the British and ANZAC, their mutual respect and consideration of the soldiers and their memories reflect on the carefully planned cemeteries and memorials erected in these cemeteries.

Figure 19. Examples of Christian and non-Christian grave markers visible on the first row, photo by the author.

7.2. Issues regarding Human Remains in Gallipoli

The cemeteries at the Gallipoli Peninsula highlight the role of well-organized bodies and principles in successfully dealing with the formidable responsibilities concerning the war dead (Prost 2011, 10). Despite the horror of the events that took place on this small part of Turkey, Gallipoli also witnessed exceptional stories of collaboration and devotion in the aftermath of war. The nations that fought in the Gallipoli front are organically tied to this land since they left thousands of their dead here. This place shaped the history and national heritage of several countries besides Turkey. Therefore, all the major state parties (stakeholders) of this heritage, the U.K., Australia, New Zealand, France and Turkey (the Ottoman Empire at that time) devoted their personnel and resources to the most appropriate treatment of their war dead. The activities of search, exhumation and reburial of the fallen soldiers and the construction of the burial grounds and memorials continued after the war in accordance with the protocols and laws of each state concerning this matter.

At the core of their practices, we see respectful and ethical treatment of the war dead no matter how politically, emotionally or ethically driven these practices may be. Although all state parties had the autonomy over maintaining their own grave grounds, the Directorate of Çanakkale Wars and Gallipoli Area (ÇATAB) since 2014 oversees the management of the heritage places including burial grounds in the peninsula. However, even ÇATAB has limited access to the records and databases of these commissions which do not have an official mechanism to share information or to collaborate when it comes to the management of human remains. The limited collaboration and openness does not necessarily signal hostility or secrecy, but eventually restricts quick access to information. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission poses a good example in this sense since it provides access

to the records of war dead from the Gallipoli Battles. In these records, one can access the information about the name of the war dead, where they lost their lives, their rank and regiments via an easy search system on the CWGC website (Figure 20) (CWGC "Find War Dead" 2018). Considering the popularity of the WWI history as a topic of research, the limited data accessibility and record sharing mechanisms in Gallipoli pose some challenges not only for the WWI historians but also for archaeologists working in the region.
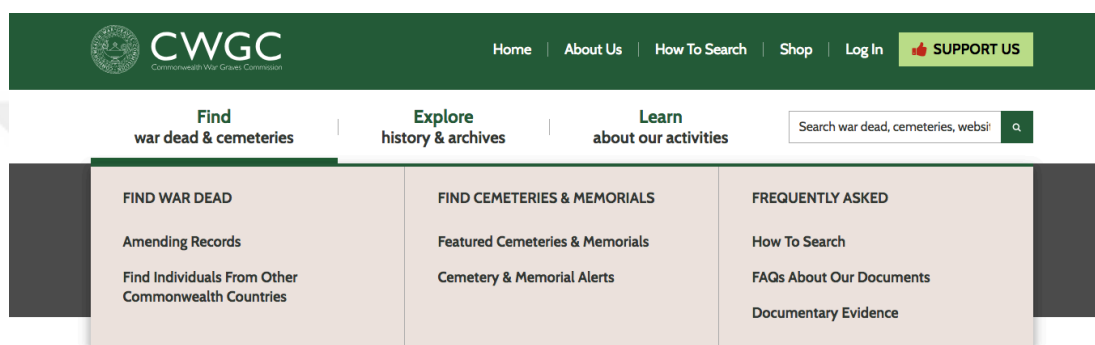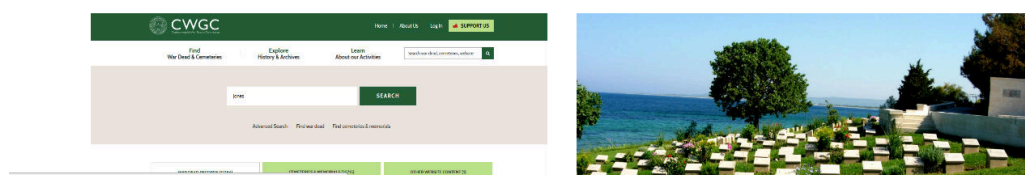
Figure 20. The CWGC online search page.

Currently, many projects which can be categorized as touristic, archeological, restoration or construction projects, continue their operations in the Gallipoli Peninsula. Although only three of them are archaeological excavation projects (Biga, Seddülbahir and Mydos), human remains are often encountered during field works of any project. However, the majority of the professionals working in these projects are usually not trained archaeologists and do not know how to deal with excavation and documentation of human remains. According to the

Turkish legislation concerning cultural properties, these projects have to inform the local branches of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism that they have found archaeological finds (human remains are classified as one of archaeological finds, see Chapter 5.1). In Gallipoli's case, ÇATAB is responsible for carrying out the appropriate activities to excavate, document and assure the preservation of these remains. However, currently there is no established mechanism to identify, reinter or repatriate these human remains if they could be identified. Despite the difficulty of identifying human remains, the associated artifacts found within the burial context frequently help archaeologists to identify the individual's country of origin (if they are from the WWI period). In the case of identifying a soldier who may have fought on the side of the Allied Forces, it is only ethically responsible to inform the respective authorities and be inclusive in the decision making processes about reburial and repatriation. Nevertheless, the steps to follow in this process are not officially established and practices may change depending on who finds or excavates these human remains. In order to maintain certain standards and an ethical approach, ÇATAB needs to create official procedures and inform the foreign war grave commissions about these procedures. This step is not only essential to improve the professionality of ÇATAB's practices, but also may help ÇATAB to develop an official collaboration with the other commissions. This collaboration is more than necessary because correspondence between these commissions and other respective authorities (such as foreign ministries) often take a long time. This inefficiency in communication forces ÇATAB to postpone decisions which are often urgent.

Another issue concerning human remains management in Gallipoli results from this limited communication. Over the past century, the foreign war grave

commissions that have operated in this peninsula independently developed their own strategies to cope with the difficulties of managing human remains. Recording and archiving human remains eventually showed some differences since they did not develop a mutual platform to keep a record of their human remains. Therefore, the records of the burials have been only accessible to those institutions, who managed them except for those of the CWGC which has made their records publicly accessible online. Naturally, the techniques used and level of detail differs in these archives. When researchers working on the peninsula (and actually those who research the people who died during the WWI history in Gallipoli) want to look at any of these archives, they are unable to access the records (except those of the CWGC) without going through long inquiry processes. This is the case even for the staff of ÇATAB who is supposed to oversee the matters concerning the heritage and history of Gallipoli. The time spent trying to reach information and data concerning the fallen soldiers may be constraining the decision-making process when human remains are discovered at a site. In other circumstances, having no mechanism or shared platform to keep the data of fallen soldiers is also limiting for independent researchers. Nevertheless, there are two valuable projects worth mentioning owing to their individual efforts to create a database for the archaeological finds (including human remains) discovered in the peninsula. First, the Anzac Gallipoli Archaeological Database (AGAD) Project gathers the results of five seasons of archaeological survey of the WWI battlefield at Anzac on the Gallipoli Peninsula. This project which was born thanks to the collaboration of several Australian institutions such as the University of Melbourne and Australian Government Department of Veterans' Affairs with Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, contributes to the study of WWI through its emphasis on landscape and artefacts

(Cleary et al. 2018). Although this database does not solely focus on archaeological human remains, the graves and cemeteries that were found during the surveys are among the features of the database. The second project is undertaken by the Turkish Ministry of Forestry and is called the Gallipoli Martyrs Project. The project aims to identify all the names of the soldiers who died during this war and the places where they are buried. The main project data comes from the Şevki Pasha Maps, which were made between 1915 and 1916 by one of the Ottoman generals, Mehmet Şevki Pasha to map the battle fields of the Gallipoli Wars (Sagona et al. 2011, 323). The maps illustrate trenches, wells, lines of fire, location of artilleries, observation posts, water ways, roads, streams and graveyards. Based on the Şevki Pasha Maps and the archival records of the ATASE (Turkish General Staff, Military History and Strategic Studies Center), a comprehensive database of the Ottoman cemeteries is being currently made. Some of the symbolic cemeteries in the peninsula that have been recently built are created based on the data coming from this database. The AGAD and Gallipoli Martyrs Projects are valuable acquisitions for the archaeology of the peninsula in terms of data management. However, these projects operate separately and provide data only about the human remains that they investigate. Gallipoli can greatly benefit from a future collaboration of these projects which may bring human remains data together and potentially expand towards including the data of the human remains found in the peninsula museums. Considering the important problems facing the human remains collections in these museums, expansion of professional data management and documentation strategies to these institutions may initiate important changes in the peninsula concerning the management of human remains.

Several human remains that have been displayed in the museums (up until recently) and war galleries in the peninsula can be considered as a direct result of lack of established management strategies in Gallipoli. By the late 1920s, vacated battlefields of the Gallipoli peninsula started to accept visitors who came to see cemeteries and monuments created for the war dead. However, the museums to accommodate tourists were established much later in 1983 although some private individuals had begun forming their own collections made of war memorabilia since the end of war (Thys-Şenocak and Doğan 2018, 294). Charles Bean was the most famous of those who treated war time objects as 'national relics'. Nevertheless, he was not the only person who had this perspective. Salim Mutlu, who was a migrant from the Balkans to Gallipoli, similarly devoted his time to collecting war memorabilia and opened his private collection to the public in the village of Alçıtepe village in 1960 (Thys-Şenocak and Doğan 2018, 294). Several other individuals who still live on the peninsula also collected and often displayed war memorabilia in their houses, hotels or shops. Human remains of the fallen soldiers have unfortunately been among these memorabilia, which are sometimes on display of these war galleries (Figure 21). A similar practice was present at the museum of Legend of Gallipoli in Kabatepe where a human skull which had a bullet embedded into it was on display until recently (Figure 22) (Thys-Şenocak and Doğan 2018, 305). The labels used in these displays adds an additional layer of sensationalism to these displays and emphasizes upsetting details of death.

Figure 21. Human bones displayed in a private War Gallery in Gallipoli, from the photo archive of L. Thys-Şenocak.

Figure 22.Human skull in a private war gallery in Gallipoli, from the photo archive of L. Thys-Şenocak.

Figure 23. Shoe with human bone inside on display along with other war memorabilia at a war gallery in Gallipoli, photo by the author.

The unregulated display of human remains from WWI in the past and present museum displays is an expected outcome of the absence of procedures concerning this issue in Gallipoli. Although this is a more general problem for Turkey, the Gallipoli Peninsula with its recent history and battles that took the lives of so many people, needs a more defined and urgent solution. Without any regulation, the private collections may continue to keep and display the human remains of the fallen soldiers, who would have been repatriated or reinterred otherwise. The issues concerning management of archaeological human remains in Gallipoli are more tangibly tackled and solutions are offered in the following part. This part is based on the case study that Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, scientific consultant to ÇATAB for the Seddülbahir Fortress Restoration Project, and I started in the peninsula in collaboration with ÇATAB for the ethical management of human remains that were found in late 2017 during the excavation of the Seddülbahir Fortress.

7.3. The Case of the French Soldiers at the Seddülbahir Fortress

The Seddülbahir Fortress is located at the end of the Gallipoli Peninsula on the European side of the straits of Dardanelles (Figure 16). The location of Seddülbahir made it instrumental in the defense of the peninsula, but also exposed the fortress to the threats that could come from the Aegean Sea. Hence, the first martyrs of the Ottomans Empire in the Gallipoli War lost their lives in this fortress and a monument to memory of these soldiers was erected first 1980. Although the story of the fortress started in 1657 with the initiatives of Hatice Turhan Sultan, the mother of the Sultan Mehmet IV, its most commonly commemorated history was formed during the Gallipoli Campaign of the WWI (Thys-Şenocak et al. 2009, 191). On November 3 in 1914, the British and French Navy ships started bombarding the bastions protecting the strait on both sides of the Dardanelles. As a results of an explosion caused by this bombardment in the Seddülbahir Fortress, 86 soldiers lost their lives and became 'the First Martyrs of the Gallipoli War' for the Ottomans (ÇATAB 2018a). However, they did not end up as the only casualties of the war at this fortress. After the invasion of Seddülbahir by the French forces on April 25 in 1915, this fortress became not only a defense structure but also a cemetery for many other soldiers from the French side who were buried in the Galinier cemetery within the fortress.

The history of these men and the life during the war at the Seddülbahir Fortress started to be revealed with the beginning of an academic research project on the fortress in 1997. This research was conducted by a team of researchers from Koç University and the Istanbul Technical University and lasted until 2002. The first phase of a restoration project followed this initial documentation and research and was conducted by project directors Lucienne Thys-Şenocak and Rahmi N. Çelik.

The project lasted until 2009 and included two seasons of excavation in 2005 and 2006. The excavations were led by the archaeologist Carolyn Aslan with the Çanakkale Archaeology Museum. At the end of the 2006 season, the security of the site and all archaeological materials in the depot were transferred to the National Park Directorate and the Archaeological Museum in Çanakkale. A restoration project and excavation was reinitiated by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2015 and is currently being implemented by ÇATAB (Aslan, Thys-Senocak, and Celik 2008, 105-106).

Although the research conducted before 2015 provided architects, historians and archaeologists with significant data, the most recent project at the site shed more light on the lives and death of people who made the history of Seddülbahir during the Gallipoli War. A recent discovery of ten graves in the Seddülbahir Fortress in late 2017 has provided new challenges and opportunities to the heritage professionals working on the peninsula.[26] These ten burials were found on five different locations underneath one of the towers of the fortress (Cezayir Kale) which had collapsed prior to the war (Figure 24). The removal of this earth and the excavation of the tower area on one of the Ottoman walls connecting to the tower revealed the graves of ten French soldiers, who had been part of the invasion of the Seddülbahir Fortress by Allied Forces in 1915. During the French occupation, the Seddülbahir Fortress served the French not only as a front or a defense structure, but it also became a living quarter for the French soldiers. As the war continued, the fortress was also used as a graveyard. The bodies of the fallen soldiers had to be buried in and around the fortress in this chaotic time of war. Towards the end of the war, the destiny of the Allied Forces in the Gallipoli Front became clear. The defeat

---

[26] Showing the number of graves discovered at the time of this case study at the fortress.

was inevitable. On the 15th of December in 1915, the Allied Forces started to evacuate the peninsula and had to leave many of their fallen and buried comrades behind (Thys-Senocak 2013, 129). The discussions concerning what to do about the graves started soon after the evacuation of all the countries that fought and buried their dead on the peninsula. As is discussed in the previous section, the French were allowed to come back to the peninsula in 1919. The Senegalese troops were responsible for exhuming the war dead and transporting them to concentration cemeteries (Figure 25) (Çatalbaş 2017, 2).

Figure 24. Aerial Photo of the Seddülbahir Fortress, showing the southwest wall where the French graves were discovered, photo from (Çatalbaş 2017).

Figure 25. The Senegalese soldiers were responsible for the exhumation and reburial of the fallen French soldiers, photo from the archives of the Australian War Memorial (G00485).

Figure 26. The Senegalese soldiers of the French Army who carried out the exhumation activity in Gallipoli, in front of the Masnou Ossuary, photo from the archives of the IAE (FKA_008506).

7.3.1. The Excavation and Conservation of the Human Remains

Although the French Army transported their human remains from the Galinier cemetery to the main cemetery in Morto Bay, the human remains of ten soldiers that were found underneath the south-west wall in the Seddülbahir Fortress were somehow left behind (Figure 27) (Figure 28). These human remains were either partially exhumed or undiscovered. At least eight of these ten graves were considerably lacking in skeletal completeness. The site archaeologist, Mert Çatalbaş believes that if the Senegalese really opened these graves, the exhumation and transportation activity must have been carried out a bit hastily or inattentively in this particular section considering the incompleteness of skeletons left in these graves. Especially three of these graves (grave number 8, 9 and 10) contained the least complete skeletons, which suggest that the Senegalese must have actually found these graves, but forgot only a few bones and uniform buttons behind (Çatalbaş 2017, 13-14). The reason why these graves could be found is likely related to their location as these three graves were placed into shafts that were opened in the southwest fortification wall (Figure 28). Çatalbaş suggests that these shafts may have been formed by the removal of some stones from the wall to open space for the graves.
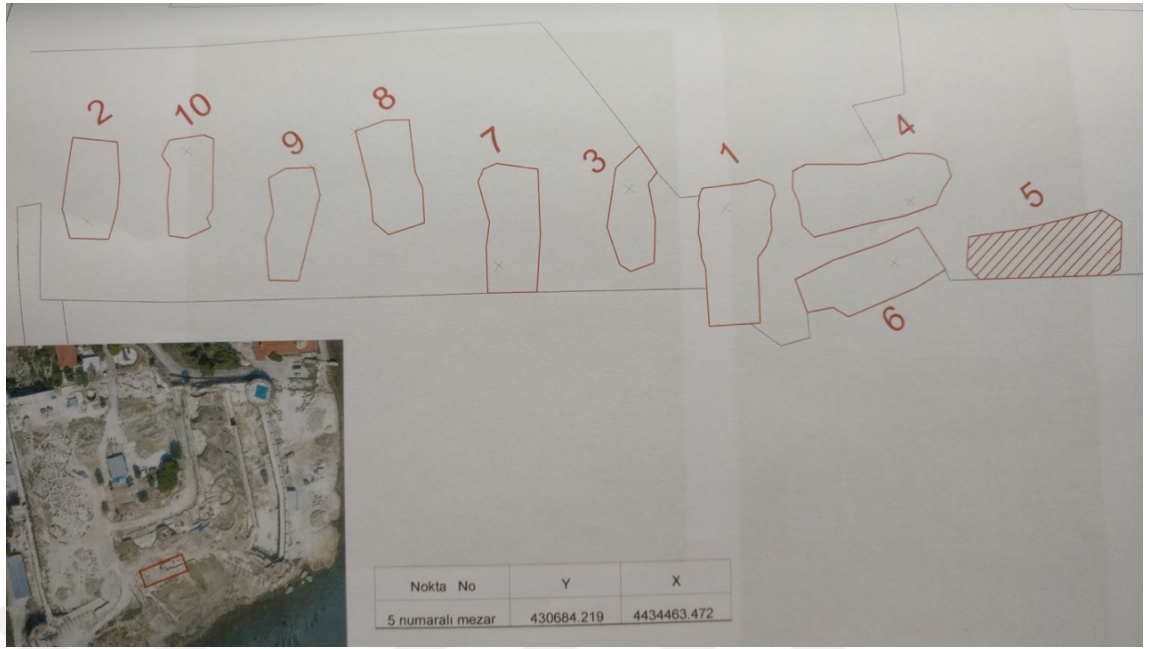
Figure 27. A plan of the grave locations, photo of the ÇATAB inventory file taken by the author.

Figure 28. Grave number 8 found in the fortification wall, from (Çatalbaş 2017).

Figure 29. Grave openings in the southern fortification wall, photo by the author.

Seven other burial contexts were discovered close to the wall in the southwest corner of the site, but on relatively higher elevations. Among these graves, grave number 6 particularly attracted the team's attention since it is the most complete grave in terms of bone presence and contains significant grave finds, which may help researchers to identify the individual for repatriation (Figure 30). Fortunately, the case of this individual has created a platform of discussion for researchers to think about the processes for the ethical management of archaeological human remains in the peninsula. For the preparations of procedures concerning the exhumation and possible repatriation of this individual, Thys-Şenocak and I have collaborated with ÇATAB to come up with a management plan. A study for this purpose became the first in the history of excavations in Gallipoli since no other projects have designed an ethical care and management framework

concerning human remains although human remains, are often encountered in the peninsula projects and museums.

Figure 30. Grave number 6, Seddülbahir Fortress, photo from (Çatalbaş 2017).

Within this collaboration, I prepared a set of guidelines that are drawn from internationally accepted procedures I have examined as part of this thesis research. These guidelines included the matters of excavation, transportation, storage and conservation materials to be used in any of these steps. Documenting each bone and associated artifacts on a detailed skeleton sheet, taking measurements/coordinates of the burial and photographing the burial from the top and other angles were some of the suggestions given to assure proper documentation of in-situ context, which could be easily transferred later into a digital platform such as a GIS in the future for further analysis in a greater site context. After the excavation, the bones were cleaned without washing and made ready for the investigation of an anthropologist. ÇATAB invited the anthropologist, Erhan Tarhan to conduct a preliminary analysis. Tarhan prepared a report concerning the preservation conditions of human remains and the signs of possible trauma on bones (Tarhan 2017). After his analysis and

further documentation, the bones were wrapped with acid free tissues and bagged separately depending on which body part they belonged to (Figure 31). The bags were carefully tagged. The bones of each individual were placed in a plastic container that had acid free tissue and padding as supporting material. Besides the aspects concerning excavation, documentation and storage, our management plan included two other elements: inclusive decision-making and a roadmap for future display strategies.

Figure 31. A collage of photos showing the storage conditions and methods of preservation in Seddülbahir.

As the first step of the inclusive decision making, ÇATAB informed the Turkish and French authorities about the discovery and exhumation of the burials. While the team was waiting for the official decision about the recommendations from these parties, the French military attaché came to see the human remains. The inclusion of the French officials gave the team the chance to investigate the living relatives of the identified soldiers. Although the decision of whether all the individuals will be reburied in the Morto Bay Cemetery has not been made yet, repatriation of some of the individuals to France may be an option for the future. This has been one of the most important accomplishments of this management project since the issues of repatriation and stakeholder inclusion are not well established concepts in Turkish archaeology.

7.3.2. Telling the Story of the French Soldiers: At the Museum and the Site

The second most important step of the management plan was to discuss the different ways in which the story of ex French soldiers could be told in an exhibition. Since the project expects to open a museum in the fortress in 2019, thinking about the narratives of future exhibitions on Seddülbahir's human remains has become an objective. In contrast to several display choices on the peninsula, the Seddülbahir Project does not plan to display actual human remains, but rather plans to tell the story of individuals who were buried and/or exhumed and repatriated. The team is not in favor of displaying actual human remains because they do not believe this would contribute to any narrative that they would like to tell about the fortress. Therefore, the primary goal is to build a narrative in line with the stories of the fallen soldiers. Telling the history of exhumation and repatriation on the peninsula will be another motive of the Seddülbahir site museum since these issues have never been dealt with in any other museum of the peninsula despite being extensively

practiced by the grave commissions. The museum will have a section designed for the story of the French occupation and the lives and deaths of the French soldiers in the Seddülbahir Fortress. In this section, the issues concerning exhumation, reinternment and repatriation of the fallen soldiers will be brought to the attention of the visitors with information about the historical and ethical aspects of the ÇATAB excavation. There are many creative human remains exhibitions which manage to present a compelling narrative without displaying actual human remains. Some of these use smart installation strategies that both attract the visitor's curiosity and avoid sensationalism (Figure 32). For Seddülbahir, a similar approach will be adopted to focus on the story rather than the sensationalism of human bones. Displaying the bones of these soldiers can cause serious controversies since some of them have now been identified and may have living relatives. These remains have already been presented to the French military authorities and may be repatriated or reburied in the Morto Bay cemetery. Apart from this, presenting actual human remains here will not serve any purpose (as in the case of the Egyptian child mummy) or contribute to the effective delivery of the project's message. The Seddülbahir Restoration Project aims to preserve this heritage place in an ethical manner with its all layers and without favoring a single layer of the fortress' history. Although the story of the First Martyrs of Gallipoli has officially been promoted and been commemorated with a monument since the 1980, the project wants to be inclusive towards all stories, including those of the French. To be able to perceive this story, the team has decided that the visitors do not need to see proof of the physical existence of the French in 1915's Seddülbahir.
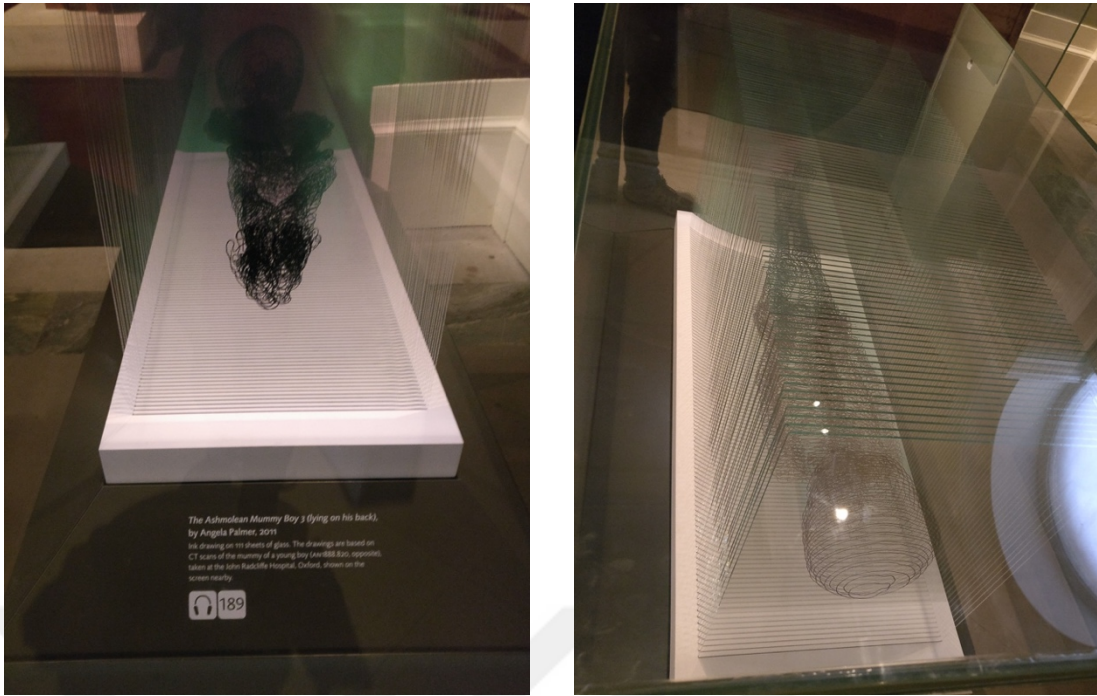
In addition to constructing a narrative to tell in the museum, the site management team also plans to construct a visitor route which takes into account the burial locations. The intent is certainly not to create a commemorative burial site within the fortress, but to show visitors where these soldiers were buried and present the story of exhumation from the 1920's. The grave locations will be marked and the name of the identified soldiers will be written. An informative panel will be placed along this route, close to the burial area, to give a sense of the geographical and historical place of this burial within the greater context of the Ottoman burials and the loss of life at the Seddülbahir Fortress. This panel is not intended to make visitors face with death on this corner of the path or to make this place an area for prayer, but to pinpoint the history lying beneath this corner after thorough documentation, since no physical evidence of the grave area will be preserved after the restoration of this section of the fallen wall. Even though the physical evidence of this history may not survive in situ, the story telling in museum and in this section

of the fortress will help the team to preserve this history in an effective and ethical way without exposing the dead or making sensationalist use of them.

This case study will hopefully help us to make an example of how to manage historical human remains ethically as it deals with many elements including excavation, documentation, study, preservation, display and repatriation. Raising awareness about the ethics and methods of human remains management and display in the Gallipoli peninsula may have larger impact than just the Gallipoli Peninsula and can shape how care is given to archaeological human remains in Turkey in general. Precisely because this former landscape of conflict continues to be of great interest to Turkish and foreign governments as well as the general public due to the important events that occurred here a century ago. The impact of how human remains are dealt with by ÇATAB on the Gallipoli Peninsula is expected to have farther reaching implications. The awareness which this project can create for the ethical preservation of the remains of fallen soldiers on all sides of the conflict in WWI can raise new dialogues among the public and the academic communities in Turkey about the proper management of human remains in other archaeological sites and museums of Turkey.

Chapter 8: Proposed Solutions

Deriving from this research and series of interviews, a list of actions is proposed in this chapter to answer the major problems of archaeological human remains management in the Turkish context. These proposed solutions are divided into four main categories that will address the issues concerning limited legislation, professional guidelines, inclusivity of decision making and data management.

8.1. New Legislation and Policies for Museums

As is discussed thoroughly in Chapter 5.4, human remains are classified along with other fossils, art objects and animal remains; no separate distinction is made in the Turkish law. Moreover, they are considered as "cultural state properties". This statement in the law fails to acknowledge possible cultural, historical and personal meanings of human remains for certain groups of people, who may have affiliations with these finds in one way or another. The case of the human remains found in the Gallipoli Peninsula exemplifies the challenges which result from a narrow definition in the related legislation. Therefore, this research proposes a structural change: a re-evaluation and updating of the existing legislation and policy concerning the management of archaeological human remains.

The issue of management includes two main elements: redefining the status of human remains and clarifying the procedure that needs to be followed during excavation, documentation, analysis, display and reburial of human remains. Although the route concerning where to preserve archaeological material after excavations is defined in Article 41 of the Law 3386, the organic nature and special preservation needs of archaeological human remains are not taken into account in this rather general article flow. Additionally, the limitations concerning scientific analysis of archaeological human remains in foreign research centers outside of Turkey need to be reevaluated in future regulations. The current law obliges researchers to carry out their analysis on archaeological human remains in Turkey unless they are able to prove that the particular analysis which they want to make cannot be done in any research facilities within Turkey. This limitation naturally restricts researchers to access the facilities that they may desire to work with and negatively impacts possible international scientific collaborations as well as research

potential of these types of remains in Turkey. Moreover, a division should be defined between archaeological and non-archaeological human remains. For example, the Human Tissue Act of the U.K divides human remains in the museums and other collections into two categories: human remains that are older than 100 years old and human remains that are less than 100 years old. This divide is particularly important since holding and displaying human remains which are less than 100 years old can be possible only after consulting to the living relatives, according to the British Law. Turkey also has human remains that falls into this category left from the WWI and other periods of domestic conflict which are not discussed openly due to political conservatism in the country.

Moreover, the status of religious relics is similarly not regulated by Turkish law. The Islamic religious relics kept in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul receive considerable attention and protection from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism whereas the attention given to Christian ones are often questioned (Shaw 2003, 35). Regardless of religious tendencies and value judgments of the officials, the human remains from the Seljuk and Ottoman tombs and as well as those from the Christian contexts deserve equal attention since many groups in Turkey continue to consider these as religious relics. However, the practices concerning the protection, preservation and display of these human remains are not regulated by the state. Therefore, we often encounter negative outcomes of this limited legal state of human remains in the media. An unfortunate incident that happened in Konya where the bones of Seljuk Sultans from a tomb complex were plundered at the time of restoration by stray dogs, is only one of the examples (Bardakçı 2004). These types of incidents are not that rare due the limited state regulation. Therefore, the narrow outlook of the legislation needs to broaden to answer the needs of different types of

human remains in Turkey. Besides expanding definitions and recognizing heritage value of human remains, legislation also needs to ensure the preservation and protection of human remains.

8.2. Introducing Professional Guidelines

The problems with the limited legislation and its implementation may be the most important structural reason. In general, there is a greater need for museums and archaeologists in Turkey to address the complex issues surrounding the ethics of excavating, storing and displaying human remains. According to the mummy expert Doğanbaş from the Amasya Museum, the laws may be limited, but even if they were adequate, problems would still persist. Because the people do not like to change how they are doing their job in Turkey in his opinion. M.D. may be sharing his anecdotal experience, but it was not difficult to verify his anecdotes during some of the interviews that were conducted within the scope of this research. Although my dataset does not represent the whole and a larger survey needs to be conducted on this topic, there is a general inclination among professionals to follow the status quo. Therefore, it is essential to consider how to develop some fundamental ethical rules to institutionalize the assessment, treatment and conservation of human remains, starting with the state museums.

Three fundamental rules that find consensus in the international literature need to be first introduced along with professional guidelines: "(1) human remains should be treated with dignity and respect, (2) descendants should have the authority to control the disposition of the remains of their relatives, and (3) owing to their importance for understanding the history of our species, the preservation of the collections of archaeological collections of human remains is an ethical imperative" (Walker 2000, 19-20). To unanimously bring such a guideline may not be easy for

professionals working in the field, thus the MoCT may need to initiate this by establishing a subject specialist working group to discuss these issues.

8.3. Inclusivity in Decision Making

8.3.1. Establishing Stakeholder Protocols

The status of archaeological human remains as "cultural and state properties" in the Turkish law seems to have biased the professional attitudes of some experts towards these finds, which are often treated as just another artifact. In some cases (for instance; when dealing with prehistorical archaeological human remains with no affiliations with today's communities), such professional attitudes may not pose any complications as long as these organic finds are excavated, stored, preserved and displayed properly. Nevertheless, Turkey's archaeological human remains are not limited to those from prehistoric periods, but also include human remains from the Byzantine Greeks, Armenians, Kurds, Ottoman and Seljuk Muslims, many whose descendants still live in Turkey. Although most of the human remains of these communities are protected in churches/ monasteries and in tombs that are administered by the General Directorate of the Pious Monuments Foundation, they can also be found in the museum collections and in archaeological excavations. Despite the sensitivity and discreetness of some communities about the treatment of their archaeological human remains, there is no mechanism or protocol for museums or tombs to follow in case of requests from stakeholders.

Apart from these communities, human remains from the controversial periods of Turkish history pose similar complications. Beside the human remains left from the Gallipoli War, other conflict periods that include the 1878 Ottoman-Russian War period and 1915 Turkish- Armenian conflict have also left casualties of

war whose current relatives might be another group of stakeholders. For example, the recent discovery of a burial that belonged to a major general who fought for the Russian army in 1878 has caused a dispute among the stakeholders which hasn't been solved since last year (Figure 33). The repatriation of Vasiliy Geyman, who is now identified to be a Polish general that fought in the Russian army against the Ottomans, is requested both by the Polish and Russian states (Yılmaz 2018). The dispute is being evaluated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and there is still no resolution. If there was an established protocol for repatriation and consulting stakeholders, this incident could have been solved by now.

Figure 33. The burial of Vasiliy Geyman, photo by Deniz Başlı from DHA.

My proposal here is an establishment of a protocol or a mechanism by the Directorate of Cultural Properties and Museums to monitor such cases and meet the expectations of the stakeholders. Educational programs targeting academics and museum professionals may help changing the perspective that discourages consulting stakeholders. Using definitive examples such as how sacred the remains of the Ottoman "Martyrs" of Gallipoli are perceived by many Turks today may be helpful because these remains can often not be as easily disregarded as those belonging to other communities in Turkey. The awareness, which human remains at Gallipoli can create could be efficiently channeled into altering mindsets and then

practices. In this way, even if the law may continue to regard human remains as state properties, the ethical and professional practice may augment this limited definition.

8.3.2. Eliminating Visitor Alienation

The museum profession in Turkey often neglects the emotional and psychological effects that human remains unlike many other artifacts may create on visitors. Although most of the professionals whom I interviewed acknowledged the fact that they have never conducted any study concerning visitor reactions, visitors may sometimes be quite emotional or ethically concerned about viewing human remains, even though they may not have a historical / ancestral relationship to remains displayed. According to social psychologist Natalia Zhuravska, these emotions may not be related to a personal affiliation with the history in the display case. However, "the more something is similar to oneself, the more empathy it evokes" and "…the person connected to the corpse resides only in the minds of other human beings that encounter it…" (Zhuravska 2015, 29-30). Similarly, Jody Joy underlines how recognizing features of people such as skin, hair, facial features and wrinkles in displayed human remains (such as bog bodies) may strike the museum visitors more than fossilized bones and make it difficult to perceive human remains as artifacts detached from their humanity (Joy 2014, 10). Therefore, treating human remains as just another artifact (and a cultural property) because of their legal status, underlines a professional failure to perceive this possible formation of empathy between the visitor and the human on display. This does not mean that the museum experts should treat human remains as some sort of relic or treasure. However, the decisions concerning the display of human remains should take these different factors into account.

During this research, I have had chance to accumulate my own small data set concerning visitor reactions. Among my observations in the human remains display sections of Turkish museums, I encountered praying women, crying children and disapproving people as well as people with curious and amazed faces. Without having any preliminary information about the educational or socio-cultural background of these visitors, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the role of empathy and ethical concerns in these reactions. According to a survey by the English Heritage on the visitors' perception of displaying archaeological human remains in the British museums, 87% of the participants agreed that displaying human remains could be educational for people about the past. However, 9% of them strongly opposed the display of human remains for various reasons. Two major reasons were ethical concerns and the feeling of discomfort that human remains evoke in visitors (Antoine 2014, 6). The survey also showed that there is a greater concern about displaying the skeletal remains of named individuals or those who are younger than 100 years. This outcome of this survey also points out the emotional link/association that visitors may be forming with human remains who have names and are not ancient enough to mitigate the humanity in them. Although the Turkish and British society may be significantly different from each other in many ways, conducting such a study in Turkey may provide similarly interesting results.

Collecting feedback through regular visitor surveys is more commonly used in the private museums in Turkey. However, these museums often have art collections in addition to archaeological artifacts, rather than archaeological human remains. Therefore, the visitor engagement with archaeological human remains most commonly take places in the state museums which are often affiliated with excavations and the protection of archaeological materials from these excavations.

121

Therefore, the visitors have more chance to encounter human remains in state museums. Nevertheless, these museums still have a more traditional outlook when it comes to engaging with their public or measuring visitor reactions. Therefore, decisions concerning archaeological human remains in Turkish museums are made by a relatively small groups of decision-makers who pay limited attention to the views and needs of their main stakeholders; the public. This indifference to visitor opinions may be related to many reasons. According to my data, based on my interviews, some of these reasons can be listed as the following: experts' lack of interest of visitor opinion, distrust for visitors intellectual/educational capacity; visitors' inability to differentiate human remains from other artifacts displayed in museums. Although the culture of museum visiting in Turkey may not be as well established as in the U.K., these preconceptions of the Turkish experts need to be documented and assessed in a comprehensive survey like that of English Heritage. Thus, it is essential for museums in Turkey to conduct these visitor surveys to measure visitor reaction about the display of archaeological human remains. This does not mean that they may have to remove their human remains from display, but it is only ethical and professional to collect data on the impact of exposing these types of remains associated with death to the public in a museum context. The results may at least help museums to reorganize their displays or reevaluate their display choices and would eventually be helpful for both museums and visitors.

8.4. Better Data Accessibility and Management Strategies

The last part of my set of proposals for the problems of archaeological human remains management is dedicated to a more technical issue: data management. Poor access and documentation in museums pose a key limitation for successful management of archaeological human remains in Turkey. Currently,

there are 193 state and 238 private museums registered by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey. In addition to these, many Ottoman and Seljuk tombs are registered by the MoCT, which possibly have important numbers of historical human remains that are under protection of the General Directorate of the Pious Monuments Foundation. Only in Istanbul there are 120 tombs registered to the Directorate of Museums and Cultural Properties. However, records of museums and tombs that curate and/or store archaeological human remains are not accessible to the public. Statistic data of museums from 2016 the MoCT show an estimate of 941 human remains in registered museums but no information regarding their location. [27] This estimate seems low considering the number of excavations in Turkey, past and present. Archaeologists are obliged to deliver excavated remains to state museum/university laboratories for curation (Üstündağ 2011, 462). This proposed estimate is therefore likely incorrect and reveals the magnitude of the problem with documentation. Apart from the data generated by the individual efforts of a few researchers, there is no documentation on numbers or locations of all archaeological human remains in Turkey. This makes research and keeping curators accountable for their practices more difficult. Besides, this number is supposed to be the total number of fossils and skeletons, which is a very vague description. This description does not provide any clear information about what counts as a fossil and if the number given above refers to complete skeletons or individual bones. Moreover, it is not clear if mummies are considered to be skeletons or fossils, according to this definition.

This number of 941 is the only data one can currently access about the archaeological human remains in the Turkish museums. If a researcher wants to

---

[27] Müze İstatistikleri (the Museum Statistics by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism), 2016, http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,43336/muze-istatistikleri.html

learn more about any human remains, their contexts, and /or preservation conditions, they first must find where this specific human remain is located by checking academic articles or excavation reports. To conduct any scientific research on human remains in a museum, a researcher may have to go through months-long process for obtaining a research permit. Fortunately, some museums are very helpful once you have a permit. However, the problem is not only limited to data accessibility or transparency. It is also related to the absence of a uniformed data management strategy in the state museums which could assure a standard in recording techniques and level of detail in these records.

My research has shown that the state museums in Turkey use different approaches when managing their data: some use very advanced museum databases and others are still using excel sheets. Until 2014 the state museums in Turkey did not have a common data management system. All of them followed an inventory procedure in a hardcopy format, but did not always have a digital inventory. Therefore, the MoCT started a project called MUES (Müzeler Ulusal Envanter Sistemi /the National Museum Inventory System). This system was proposed to standardize the data management in all state museums, prevent theft and damage and achieve the sustainable preservation of Turkey's cultural heritage (Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü 2014). This system was planned to keep information concerning not only inventory, but also the details of display and transportation of the objects on loan and ideally the links to the scientific research conducted on a specific object in MUES. According to the Strategic Plan of the MoCT for the years between 2015 and 2019, the MUES project has still not been fully established in all the state museums. Although the ministry statistics show almost 3,5 million artifacts in the museum inventories, 2 million of them have been

entered into this digital inventory so far (Stratejik Geliştirme Başkanlığı 2015). However, this system is not publicly accessible yet and is linked to the E-Devlet system, which is a web portal of the state where the citizens can retrieve official information and public records by using their citizen IDs (Müze Ulusal Envanter Sistemi 2018). Yet, this system for the museum data is only accessible to museum administrators.[28] Therefore, we do not have any information about how the system works and how many archaeological human remains along with other finds are registered (if they are) in this system.

Data management is a more general problem for the Turkish state museums and documentation of archaeological human remains is certainly affected by this problem. Standardization in documentation and better accessibility need to be achieved in museums to eliminate probable costs of existing limitations. First, lack of accessible data mean loss in research potential in archaeology of human remains, anthropology, human bioarchaeology and similar fields. This is almost an untouched field of study in Turkey compared to the studies in Europe and North America. In order to answer some questions concerning human remains in museum collections, the researchers must first obtain a permit which may turn into a long and discouraging process.

Another significantly negative outcome of poor data management is not being able to keep professionals accountable for their practices in museum. To be able to ensure the proper preservation and protection of human remains in museums, it is essential keep records of these finds, research conducted on them, and the ways in which they were managed over time. The Ministry's MUES project is a good start

---

[28] The e-Devlet Platform only allows museum administrators to access the MUES system: https://mues.kultur.gov.tr/giris;jsessionid=FSUGIjXDJ2rlV4IHhKPrfi-SHLE7jDtktHOOaL7a.mues01 .

in this sense and needs to be better established and used in all state museums. The professional management guidelines proposed in the previous section could be complemented with such a standardized data management system that will compel professionals to follow certain criteria rather than personal choices that may not necessarily be the best for preservation of human remains. In this sense, the proposal of this research for a collaborative data management platform for human remains of the Gallipoli will be a case to test the ways in which this could expand to other regions of Turkey.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

"Archaeological human remains have been used as the basis for a range of narratives such as human evolution, tracking ancient diseases, human variation, past migrations, and the reconstruction of past lifestyles,... and politically motivated narratives of ethno- genesis"(O'Donnabhain and Lozada 2014, 1). Though the narratives show varieties in different historical contexts of different countries, the sensitivity surrounding human remains prevails. Since the attitudes towards human remains vary across the world, preparing an international regulative act, even a professional guideline is a challenge. Therefore, there is no internationally recognized legislation that every country abides by or requires its institutions to comply with. Thus, each country follows its own legislative acts, which varies in many respects. There are successful comprehensive acts such as those of Australia and the U.K, and they prevent ad hoc decisions and inconsistencies in practices.

Deriving from this research and series of interviews conducted in the field, major problems of the management of archaeological human remains in research and museum are discussed in the previous chapters. According to the results of this

research, it is clear that Turkey's cultural heritage legislation, Law 2683 (and 3686) provide a limited definition for archaeological human remains of Turkey. There is no specific protocol defined for the treatment and management of archaeological human remains in excavations or museums. Because of this lack of distinction, professionals working in the field tend to consider human remains as just another artifact. Moreover, there is no professional and ethical code of conduct for the management of archaeological human remains collections, which reflects a lack of agreement and standardization. Therefore, arbitrary decisions and mistakes are unavoidable when excavating, preserving or displaying human remains in Turkey.

Furthermore, the absence of associations and periodicals of anthropologists is a cause of discontent among scholars (Üstündağ 2011, 459). Some of my interviews showed that this discontent stems from a failure to share scientific knowledge and current professional approaches. There are scholars who defend the human value and dignity that they feel should be given to the human remains. Others assert that human remains are also archaeological objects that should be subject to inquiry and used to produce knowledge. Indeed, archaeological human bones are sources of knowledge about the health, lifestyle and individual stories of ancient people (Gareth Jones and Harris 1998, 259). But does this mean that we need to make a choice between scientific aims and ethical conduct? This decision does not have to be prompted as a black or white situation. However, the legislation in Turkey now leaves much space for value judgments and the decision maker's cultural background to play a role rather than institutionalizing rules.

Considering the multiple archaeological contexts and stakeholders who may have religious or ethical sensitivities concerning human remains with which they feel they are an affiliation, one would expect to have certain procedural guidelines

for museums and excavations well established in Turkey. However, there are no standards and guidelines or protocols to answer any concerns that may come from stakeholders. The law defines human remains as "state properties" and professionals mostly believe that there is no living stakeholder to consult. In contrast to this belief, there are many stakeholders who may claim rights of human remains, including the remains of the Byzantine Christians, those from Islamic tombs, remains of the soldiers who died in the WWI or in other conflicts in Turkey.

The urgent actions that need to be taken for the Turkish context should be: making a clear distinction between human remains and archaeological objects, redefining the status of human remains by taking these out of the definition of "state property", setting minimum standards for data management, storage and exhibition capabilities, publishing an inclusive management guideline by following internationally accepted standards. Raising awareness among museum professionals about the internationally accepted exhibition norms concerning human remains is another vital step to have a chance in altering traditional mindsets in museum management teams. All who are involved in the conservation, storage and display of human remains need to be better guided through legislative, curatorial and educational guidelines.

Moreover, museums that display human remains should implement more engaging methodologies and measure visitor reactions to understand how human remains displays are viewed by the Turkish visitors. Some reactions such as the feelings of discomfort among children and praying are interesting responses that may be helpful if assessed better to evaluate display choices in these museums. In addition, it is essential that the museum and archaeological community and the public begin to regard human remains not only as "property". By addressing this

attitude, this thesis does not propose that management of human remains should be based on emotions, beliefs or value judgements. Nevertheless, it also should not focus only on "major scientific gains" or attracting more visitors. Several case studies from international contexts discussed in this research show how scientific ambitions and creating impressive showcases may not always be the best approaches when managing human remains collections. The balanced and succeeded solutions outlined in this cases, may similarly prompt change in the Turkish context.

To research the feasibility of a balanced approach in the Turkish context, a case study was conducted within the scope of this research in the Gallipoli Peninsula where human remains from WWI are often encountered during excavation and construction activities. A collaboration was made with the local branches of the MoCT to propose and implement an ethical human remains management strategy for excavation, documentation, display and repatriation of human remains found at the Seddülbahir Fortress. This case study demonstrated the importance of establishing a set of standards and formulating a management plan, which is responsive to all problems of human remains management. Besides determining the ways in which particular human remains need to be excavated, documented, stored and studied, we developed an inclusive decision making strategy. The key stakeholders were listed and contacted before making further decisions about analysis or reburial. Many positive reactions came from some key stakeholders such as the heritage experts working at Seddülbahir, state parties (the MoCT and The Ministry of Defense in France), who would help the team to identify the living relatives. This collaboration illustrated that different interest groups can work together using a clear management plan.

As a result of this collaboration, ÇATAB, the local branch of the MoCT on the Gallipoli Peninsula adopted the criteria of this plan to follow in the future when human remains are discovered in other parts of the peninsula. Moreover, the management plan included matters concerning the site museum which will be built at the Seddülbahir Fortress. The team decided not to display any of the French human remains since some of these have been identified and may be repatriated. Even if they were not identified, the team would still not display them since a display of these types of remains will not add anything to their story. Finally, the display of human remains should have a purpose. However, the story of these soldiers as well as the history of their exhumation and repatriation on the Gallipoli peninsula will be the focus of one of the exhibits in the site museum and along walking route that will be constructed in the fortress.

Archaeological human remains management is certainly not an established field of study but has great potential since it has not received much attention except in bio-archaeological research in Turkey. For my future research, I intend to broaden this thesis research to other regions of Turkey using the fundamental principles developed in the Seddülbahir study. Furthermore, other major problems of human remains management such as data management and accessibility, which are briefly examined in this thesis need to be further investigated. Lastly, the most neglected groups of human remains, those coming from religious contexts and conflict zones requires more research which would not only help the protection of these heritage finds but could also lead to the establishment of new fields of research such as battlefield archaeology in Turkey.

References Cited

Ackerman, Douglas W. 1997. "Kennewick Man: The Meaning of Cultural Affiliation and Major Scientific Benefit in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act." *Tulsa Law Journal* 33 (1):359-383.

Ahrndt, Wiebke , Claus Deimel, Michael Geißdorf, Christian Lenk, Susanne Roeßiger, Wilfried Rosendahl, Anja Schaluschke, Markus Schindlbeck, Thomas Schnalke, Carola Thielecke, Claudia von Selle, Anne Wesche, and Ursula Wittwer-Backofen. 2013. Recommendations for the care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections. German Museums Association.

Alberti, Samuel JMM, Piotr Bienkowski, Malcolm J Chapman, and Rose Drew. 2009. "Should we display the dead?" *Museum and society* 7 (3):133-149.

Aldrich, Robert. 2009. "Colonial museums in a postcolonial Europe." *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 2 (2):137-156. doi: 10.1080/17528630902981118.

Alfonso, Marta, Bernardo Arriaza, Mary Brooks, Phillip Cash Cash, Natalie Drew, Julie Eklund, Monica Gustafsson, Brian Fagan, Sherry Hutt, and Teresa Militello. 2006. *Human remains: guide for museums and academic institutions*. Plymouth: Rowman Altamira.

Alfonso, Marta, and Joseph Powell. 2006. "Ethics of Flesh and Bone,or Ethics in the Practice of Paleopathology, Osteology, and Bioarchaeology." In *Human remains: guide for museums and academic institutions*, edited by Vicki Cassman, Nancy Odegaard and Joseph Powell, 5-19. Plymouth: Rowman Altamira.

Antoine, Daniel. 2012. "Murder and mayhem in Predynastic Egypt." *Blog*, Dec 6. https://blog.britishmuseum.org/murder-and-mayhem-in-predynastic-egypt/.

Antoine, Daniel. 2014. "Curating Human Remains in Museum Collections: Broader Considerations and a British Museum Perspective." In *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, edited by Alexandra Fletcher, Daniel Antoine and JD Hill, 3-9. London: The British Museum.

Antoine, Daniel. 2017. Concerning the Management of Human Remains in the British Museum. edited by Elifgül Doğan.

Antoine, Daniel, and Janet Ambers. 2014. "The Scientific Analysis of Human Remains from the British Museum Collection Research: Potential and Examples from the Nile Valley." In *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, edited by Alexandra Fletcher, Daniel Antoine and JD Hill, 20-30. London: The British Museum.

Antoine, Daniel, and Emily Taylor. 2014. "Collection Care Handling, Storing and Transporting Human Remains." In *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in*

the British Museum, edited by Alexandra Fletcher, Daniel Antoine and JD Hill, 43-48. London: The British Museum.

Aslan, Carolyn, Lucienne Thys-Senocak, and Rahmi Nurhan Celik. 2008. "Research of the Historical and Battlefield Archaeology of the Gallipoli Peninsula: The Ottoman Fortress at Seddülbahir." *TUBA-AR-Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology* 11:105-120.

Astruc, Laurence, Yasemin Yilmaz, and Aksel Tibet. 2011. "Physical Anthropology and Archaeology: New Methods and Future Prospects." *Tüba-Ar* (14):161-202.

Australian War Memorial. 2018. "Charles Bean." The Australian War Memorial, accessed Apr 15. https://www.awm.gov.au/about/organisation/history/charles-bean.

BABAO Working-group for ethics and practice. 2010. Code of Practice. the BABAO Website: British Association of Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology.

Bardakçı, Murat. 2004. "Selçuklu sultanlarının kemiklerini köpekler yedi." *Hürriyet*, March 20. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/selcuklu-sultanlarinin-kemiklerini-kopekler-yedi-211262.

BBC Turkish. 2004. "'Kutsal emanetler' Patrikhane'ye dönüyor." BBC, accessed June 12. http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkish/europe/story/2004/11/041127_orthodox_relics.shtml.

Bean, Charles Edwin Woodrow. 1941. *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson. Reprint, 11th Edition.

Benthall, Jonathan. 1988. "The Bonham's Head Affair." *Anthropology Today* 4 (4):1-2. doi: 10.2307/3032986.

Cassman, Vicki, Nancy Odegaard, and Joseph Powell. 2006a. "Introduction: Dealing with the Dead." In *Human remains: guide for museums and academic institutions*, edited by Vicki Cassman, Nancy Odegaard and Joseph Powell, 1-4. Plymouth: Rowman Altamira.

Cassman, Vicki, Nancy Odegaard, and Joseph Powell. 2006b. "Policy." In *Human remains: guide for museums and academic institutions*, edited by Vicki Cassman, Nancy Odegaard and Joseph Powell, 21-28. Plymouth: Rowman Altamira.

ÇATAB. 2018a. "İlk Şehitler Anıtı." Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, accessed May 12. http://catab.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,129446/ilk-sehitler-aniti.html.

ÇATAB. 2018b. "Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız." T.C Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, accessed May 27. http://catab.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,121062/ziyaret-noktalari.html.

Çatalbaş, Mert. 2017. Seddülbahir Kalesi Restorasyon Projesi Kapsamında Sürdürülen Arkeolojik Alan Çalışmalarında Ortaya Çıkarılan Fransız Askerlerine Ait Mezarlar In *Makama Bilgi Notu*: Çanakkale Savaşları Gelibolu Tarihi Alan Başkanlığı.

Cleary, Michelle Negus , Peter Neish, Leo Konstantelos, Antonio Sagona, Sarah Midford, Abby Robinson, Jessie Birkett-Rees, and Simon Harrington. 2018. "Anzac Gallipoli Archaeology Database." The University of Melbourne, accessed July 3. http://www.agad.anzac.unimelb.edu.au/index.php.

Commonwealth War Graves Commission. 2018. "History of the CWGC." Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed May 15. https://www.cwgc.org/about-us/history-of-the-cwgc.

Cornish, Paul, and Nicholas J Saunders, eds. 2014. *Bodies in conflict: Corporeality, materiality, and transformation*. London: Routledge.

Curtis, Neil G. W. 2013. "Human remains: The sacred, museums and archaeology." *Public Archaeology* 3 (1):21-32. doi: 10.1179/pua.2003.3.1.21.

CWGC. 2018a. "Find War Dead." The Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed May 30. https://www.cwgc.org/find/find-war-dead.

CWGC. 2018b. "Gallipoli." First Wold War Campaigns, accessed Feb 18. https://www.cwgc.org/history-and-archives/first-world-war/campaigns/gallipoli.

Department of Veterans' Affairs. 2018. "Morto Bay French Cemetery." Department of Veterans' Affairs,, accessed May 30. https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/history/conflicts/gallipoli-and-anzacs/locations/explore-helles-area-sites/morto-bay-french-cemetery.

Donlon, Denise, and Judith Littleton. 2011. "Australia." In *The Routledge handbook of archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant and Linda Fibiger, 633-645. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Dönmez, Şevket. 2017. "Yeni Bulgular Işığında İstanbul Öntarihi." *TUBA-AR* 21 (2).

Encyclopædia Britannica. 2017. Armistice of Mudros. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. britannica.com: Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.

Gareth Jones, D., and Robyn J. Harris. 1998. "Archeological Human Remains: Scientific, Cultural, and Ethical Considerations." *Current Anthropology* 39 (2):253-264. doi: 10.1086/204723.

Gazi, Andromache. 2014. "Exhibition Ethics-An Overview of Major Issues." *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 12 (1):1-10.

Gökçay, Metin M. 2007. "Yenikapı Kazıları." 16. Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma
    Kazıları Semineri, Marmaris, Apr 25- Apr 27.

Güven, Cemal. 2016. "Çanakkale Muharebelerinde Türk Ordusunun Zayiatı." *Abant
    İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* May 7, 1278-1294.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. 2007. *Museums and education: Purpose, pedagogy,
    performance*: Routledge.

Human Tissue Authority. 2004. "Human Tissue Act." Human Tissue Authority, Last
    Modified Jan 2016, accessed May 13.
    https://www.hta.gov.uk/policies/human-tissue-act-2004.

ICOM. 2013. ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums. In *Culturally Sensitive Material*.
    Paris: ICOM.

Jenkins, Tiffany. 2010. *Contesting human remains in museum collections: the crisis
    of cultural authority*: Routledge.

Jones, Adrian. 2005. "A Note on Atatürk's Words About Gallipoli." *History
    Australia* 2 (1):10-1-10-9. doi: 10.2104/ha040010.

Joy, Jody. 2014. "Looking Death in the Face: Different Attitudes towards Bog
    Bodies and their Display with a Focus on Lindow Man." In *Regarding the
    Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, edited by Alexandra Fletcher,
    Daniel Antoine and JD Hill, 10-19. London: The British Museum.

Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. 2014. "Müzeler Ulusal Envanter
    Sistemi (MUES)." Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Bilgi Sistemleri Daire
    Başkanlığı, accessed March 20. http://testsite.kultur.gov.tr/TR-
    98489/muzeler-ulusal-envanter-sistemi-mues.html.

Leeds Museums and Galleries. 2013. Human Remains Policy. edited by Leeds
    Museums and Galleries. Leeds: Leeds City Coincil.

Márquez-Grant, Nicholas, and Linda Fibiger. 2011. *The Routledge handbook of
    archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to
    laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human
    remains*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

McLean, Ian. 2012. "Reinventing the Savage." *Third Text* 26 (5):599-613. doi:
    10.1080/09528822.2012.712769.

Michel, Juliette, and Philippe Charlier. 2011. "France." In *The Routledge handbook
    of archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to
    laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human
    remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant and Linda Fibiger, 151-162.
    New York: Taylor & Francis.

Museum of London. 2011. Policy for the Care of Human Remains in Museum of
    London Collections. edited by Centre for Human Bioarchaeology: Museum
    of London.

Müze Ulusal Envanter Sistemi. 2018. "Müze Ulusal Envanter Sistemi E-Devlet Giriş." Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Bilgi Sistemleri Daire Başkanlığı, accessed June 4. https://mues.kultur.gov.tr/giris;jsessionid=qccZwXnqxzcEBVc2yZL4uxiOmGX9U9_SQ2RyodhZ.mues01.

O'Donnabhain, Barra, and María Cecilia Lozada. 2014. *Archaeological Human Remains: Global Perspectives*: Springer.

O'Keefe, Patrick J. 1992. "Maoris claim head." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 1 (02):393-394.

Özbek, Metin. 1998. "Cumhuriyetle başlayan antropoloji." *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 15 (3).

Özdogan, Mehmet. 1998. "Ideology and archaeology in Turkey." In *Archaeology under fire: nationalism, politics and heritage in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, edited by Lynn Meskell, 111-123. New York: Routledge.

Pollard, John. 2015. "Papal Diplomacy and The Great War." *New Blackfriars* 96 (1062):147-157. doi: 10.1111/nbfr.12114.

Preston, Douglas. 2014. "The Kennewick Man Finally Freed to Share His Secrets." *Smithsonian Magazine*.

Prost, Antoine. 2011. "The Military Cemeteries of the Great War, 1914-1940." *Le Mouvement Social* 237 (4):135-151. doi: 10.3917/lms.237.0135.

Raven, Maarten J, Wybren K Taconis, and George JR Maat. 2005. *Egyptian Mummies: radiological atlas of the collections in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*: Brepols.

Restall Orr, Emma, and Piotr Bienkowski. 2006. "Respectful Treatment and Reburial: A Practical Guide.'." Respect for Ancient British Human Remains: Philosophy and Practice. A conference organised by the Manchester Museum (University of Manchester) and Honouring the Ancient Dead, supported by the Museums Association (17.11. 2006)–unpublished.

Rutherford, Dianne 2015. "Establishing Gallipoli's Graves." The Australian War Memorial, Last Modified Jan 19, accessed May 29. https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/establishing-gallipolis-graves.

Sagona, Antonio, Mithat Atabay, Richard Reid, Ian McGibbon, Chris Mackie, Muhammet Erat, and Jessie Birkett-Rees. 2011. "The ANZAC [Arıburnu] Battlefield: New Perspectives and Methodologies in History and Archaeology." *Australian Historical Studies* 42 (3):313-336. doi: 10.1080/1031461X.2011.595012.

Scates, Bruce. 2006. *Return to Gallipoli: Walking the battlefields of the Great War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schärer, Martin 2014. "An Introduction to ICOM's Code of Ethics." Wordpress.com, Last Modified 2014-02-09. https://icomnathist.wordpress.com/2014/02/09/an-introduction-to-icoms-code-of-ethics/.

Shaw, Wendy MK. 2003. *Possessors and possessed: Museums, archaeology, and the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire*: Univ of California Press.

Slade, Peter. 2003. "Gallipoli thanatourism: The Meaning of ANZAC." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30 (4):779-794. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(03)00025-2.

Smits, Elisabeth. 2011. "Netherlands." In *The Routledge handbook of archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant and Linda Fibiger, 308-315. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Stratejik Geliştirme Başkanlığı. 2015. 2015-2019 Dönemi Stratejik Planı. T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.

Stumpe, Lynne Heidi. 2005. "Restitution or repatriation? The story of some New Zealand Māori human remains." *Journal of Museum Ethnography* (17):130-140.

Swain, Hedley. 2002. "The ethics of displaying human remains from British archaeological sites." *Public Archaeology* 2 (2):95-100. doi: 10.1179/pua.2002.2.2.95.

TAK Atölyeleri. 2016. "Antropoloji Atolyesi,." Tasarım Araştırma Katılım (TAK), accessed May 20. http://takortak.org/etkinlik/kadikoy/antropoloji-atolyesi-3/.

Tarhan, Erhan. 2017. SED'17 Mezar Raporları. Çanakkale Savaşları ve Gelibolu Tarihi Alan Başkanlığı.

Taylor, Emily, and Daniel Antoine. 2014. "Collection Care Handling, Storing and Transporting Human Remains." In *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, 49-75. London: The British Museum.

The British Museum. 2017a. "Collection Online: Human Remains." Trustees of the British Museum, accessed March 25. http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/management/human_remains.aspx.

The British Museum. 2017b. "Human remains." Trustees of the British Museum, accessed March 25. http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/management/human_remains.aspx.

The Museum of London. 2018a. "About the Wellcome Osteological Research Database." Museum of London, accessed March 24.

https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections/other-collection-databases-and-libraries/centre-human-bioarchaeology.

The Museum of London. 2018b. "Centre for Human Bioarchaeology." Museum of London, accessed March 24. https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections/other-collection-databases-and-libraries/centre-human-bioarchaeology.

Thomas, David H. 2001. *Skull Wars Kennewick Man, Archaeology, And The Battle For Native American Identity: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*: Basic Books.

Thys-Senocak, Lucienne. 2013. "Divided Spaces, Contested Pasts: The Gallipoli Peninsula Historical National Park." In *Public Nature: Scenery, History, and Park Design*, edited by Ethan Carr, Shaun Eyring and Richard Guy Wilson. University of Virginia Press.

Thys-Şenocak, Lucienne, R. Celik, Arzu Özsavaşçı, and Gülsün Tanyeli. 2009. Understanding Archaeology and Architecture through Archival Records: The Restoration Project of the Ottoman Fortress of Seddülbahir on the Gallipoli Peninsula of Turkey. Proceedings of the British Academy: The British Academy.

Thys-Şenocak, Lucienne, and Elifgül Doğan, eds. 2018. *Archaeology, Museums and Tourism on the Gallipoli Peninsula: Issues of Human Remains, Ordnance, and Local Decision-Making / Gelibolu Yarımadası'nda Arkeoloji, Müzeler ve Turizm: İnsan Kalıntıları, Mühimmat ve Yerel Karar Alma*. Edited by Burcu Akan, Katja Piesker, Duygu Göçmen and Seçil Sezer-Altay, *Heritage in Context 2: Archäologie und Tourismus / Archaeology and Tourism / Arkeoloji ve Turizm, Miras 4*. Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü).

Turner, Trudy R. 2005. "Introduction: Ethical Concerns in Biological Anthropology." In *Biological anthropology and ethics: From repatriation to genetic identity*, edited by Trudy R Turner, 1-4. Albany: SUNY Press.

Tyquin, Michael. 2017. "The search for the missing Gallipoli grave." *The Australasian Catholic Record* 94 (1):60.

Ubelaker, Douglas H. 2011. "United States of America." In *The Routledge handbook of archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant and Linda Fibiger, 533-540. New York: Taylor & Francis.

UCL Culture. 2017a. "What Does It Mean To Be Human? Curating Heads at UCL." UCL, accessed Apr 10. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture/projects/what-does-it-mean-be-human.

UCL Culture. 2017b. "Working with Human Remains." UCL, accessed Apr 10. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture/collection-management-0.

Üstündağ, Handan. 2011. "Turkey." In *The Routledge handbook of archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant and Linda Fibiger, 455-467. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Üstündağ, Handan, and Gökçe B. Yazıcıoğlu. 2014. "The History of Physical Anthropology in Turkey." In *Archaeological Human Remains: Global Perspectives*, edited by Barra O'Donnabhain and María Cecilia Lozada, 199-211. Springer.

Uyar, Mesut. 2016. "Remembering the Gallipoli campaign: Turkish official military historiography, war memorials and contested ground." *First World War Studies* 7 (2):165-191. doi: 10.1080/19475020.2016.1234965.

Vinckx, Yael. 2016. "Wie kijkt er nog naar een dood kind?" *NRC Reader*, Jan 7.

Waite, Fred. 1919. *Official History of New Zealand's Effort in the Great War*. Illustrated ed, *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli*. Aucland: Auckland, Whitcombe & Tombs.

Walker, Phillip L. 2000. "Bioarchaeological ethics: a historical perspective on the value of human remains." In *Biological Anthropology of the Human Skeleton*, edited by M. Anne Katzenberg and Shelley R. Saunders, 1-40. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Weijts, Christiaan. 2016. "Haal de lijken niet uit de vitrinekasten." @nrc, Last Modified Jan 9, accessed May 15. http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/2016/01/09/haal-de-lijken-niet-uit-de-vitrinekasten-1574060.

White, Bill. 2011. "The United Kingdom." In *The Routledge handbook of archaeological human remains and legislation: An international guide to laws and practice in the excavation and treatment of archaeological human remains*, edited by Nicholas Márquez-Grant and Linda Fibiger, 479-491. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Yaman, Zeynel. 2014. "Gallipoli: The last gentlemen's war." *Daily Sabah*, Dec 16. https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2014/12/16/gallipoli-the-last-gentlemens-war.

Yılmaz, Turan. 2018. "Rusya da sahiplendi Polonya da." *Hürriyet*, April 2. Accessed April 11. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/rusya-da-sahiplendi-polonya-da-40791325.

Zhuravska, Natalia 2015. "Bodies in showcases. Objectification of the human body from a cognitive perspective." *Amsterdam Bulletin of Ancient Studies and Archaeology* (1):24-32.

Appendices

Appendix A

Research and Interview Permits from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism
  a) Permit for Niğde, Amasya and Aksaray Museums

T.C.
KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü

3 1 Mayıs 2016

Sayı   : 64298988-155.99 103300
Konu : Röportaj Talebi

…./…./2016

KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İnsani Bilimler ve Edebiyat Fakültesi
Rumelifeneri Yolu Sarıyer 34450 / İstanbul

İlgi: Koç Üniversitesi İnsani Bilimler ve Edebiyat Fakültesi'nin 11/06/2016 tarihli yazısı.

Koç Üniversitesi Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü son sınıf öğrencisi Elifgül DOĞAN'ın, Doç. Dr. Lucienne THYS ŞENOCAK danışmanlığında hazırladığı bitirme tezi kapsamında, Bakanlığımıza bağlı Niğde, Aksaray ve Amasya Müze Müdürlüklerinde sergilenen insan kalıntıları hakkında müze müdürü ve uzmanları ile röportaj yapılması ve röportaj neticesinde edinilecek bilgilerin bitirme tezinde ve Doç. Dr. Lucienne THYS ŞENOCAK'ın hazırlayacağı makalede kullanılması talebine ilişkin Müsteşarlık Makamından alınan 31/05/2016 tarih ve 103035 sayılı onay yazımız ekinde gönderilmektedir.
Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Mustafa Y. GÜNEŞ
Bakan a.
Daire Başkanı

EK : Onay Örneği (1 Sayfa)

DAĞITIM
Gereği :
- Amasya Valiliği
- Aksaray Valiliği
- Niğde Valiliği
(İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü)

Bilgi:
- Koç Üniversitesi
İnsani Bilimler ve Edebiyat Fakültesi
Rumelifeneri Yolu Sarıyer 34450
İstanbul

I. T.B.M.M. Ulus 06543 Ulus-ANKARA
Telefon: (0312) 508 61 83 Faks: (0312) 508 61 13
E-posta: coskun.tufekci@kulturturizm.gov.tr Elektronik Ağ: www.kultur.gov.tr

Ayrıntılı bilgi için irtibat:
Coşkun TÜFEKÇİ
Müze Araştırmacısı

b) Permit for Istanbul Archaeology Museums

Haber verildi mail

T.C.
KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI
Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 76252222-152.99-E.243305   21.11.2017
Konu : Tez Çalışması İzni (Elifgül DOĞAN)

KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ NE

İlgi : Koç Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nün 14.11.2017 tarihli yazısı.

Koç Üniversitesi Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencisi Elifgül DOĞAN'ın Doç Dr. Lucienne THYS-ŞENOCAK danışmanlığında hazırlamakta olduğu *"Türkiye'deki Arkeolojik İnsan Kalıntıları ile İlgili Yasal, Etik ve Müzeolojik Durumlar"* başlıklı yüksek lisans tezi için İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi ve Çanakkale Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde sergilenen insan kalıntıları hakkında, tez konusu ile ilgili olarak müze personelinin görüşlerini almaya yönelik röportaj/görüşme yapma talebini içeren ilgi yazı incelenmiştir.

İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi ve Çanakkale Müzesi'nde tez konusu ile sınırlı kalmak kaydıyla röportaj/görüşme yapılması talebi Bakanlığımız Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü'nce uygun değerlendirilmekte olup ilgiliye gerekli yardım ve kolaylığın sağlanması hususunda bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

e-imzalıdır

Melik AYAZ
Bakan a.
Genel Müdür Yardımcısı V.

Ek : İlgi Yazı (1 sayfa)

Dağıtım:

Gereği: Bilgi:

ANKARA VALİLİĞİNE   KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER
(İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü)   ENSTİTÜSÜ NE
ÇANAKKALE VALİLİĞİNE   (Ek konulmadı)
(İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü)
İSTANBUL VALİLİĞİNE
(İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü)

Not: 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza kanunu gereği bu belge elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

Evrak Doğrulama Kodu : TYDURICQQTPGQKQTTYTI Evrak Takip Adresi: http://belgedogrulama.kultur.gov.tr/
II. TBMM Binası 06050 Ulus / ANKARA
Telefon: 0(312) 508 60 00 Faks: 0(312) 508 61 13

Bilgi için:Ömer BALAMİR
Kül. ve Tur. Uzm.

Appendix B

Ethics Reviews of this thesis research by the Committee on Human Research (CHR) at Koç University
   a) Ethics review in 2016

**KOÇ
ÜNİVERSİTESİ**

ETHICS COMMITTEE DECISION FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Meeting Date:	04.04.2016
Protocol No:	2016.093.IRB3.058
Principal Investigator	Lucienne Thys-Şenocak
Title:	The legislative, ethical and museological issues regarding archeological human remains
Start Date:	08.04.2016
Duration of The Approval:	1 year (with a possible extension)

The research proposal with the title and protocol number given above and the supporting material have been thoroughly examined by the Committee with regards to its aims, purpose, approach and methods.

The Committee reviewed the research proposal and approved the study protocol. You may begin your research on the start date listed above.

Best Regards,

Hakan S. Orer
Chairman

b) Ethics review in 2017

KOÇ
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Toplantı Tarihi:	04.04.2016
Karar No:	2016.093.IRB3.058
Sorumlu Araştırıcı:	Lucienne Thys-Şenocak
Araştırma Başlığı:	The legislative, ethical and museological issues regarding archeological human remains in Turkey
Başlangıç tarihi:	08.04.2016

Sorumlu araştırıcının talebi üzerine projenin 20.11.2017 tarihinden itibaren bir yıl süreyle uzatılması talebi uygun bulunmuştur.

Saygılarımla,

Hakan S. Orer
Başkan

Appendix C

Interview Questions

   a) Questions used for the interviews with the academics

Human Remains Interview by Elifgül Doğan

1) Excavation
   a. <u>Profession, techniques, tools</u>
       i. What are the limitations that effect the excavations of specific burials depending on their dating? How does the treatment change?
       ii. Who does excavating the burials?
       iii. What are the techniques and tools you use for excavating? (Do you change them depending on the type of burial?)
       iv. How do you clean human remains? (washing, brushing?), who does the cleaning?
       v. How do you prepare them for the storage after cleaning?
   b. <u>Respect and care</u>
       i. What is the level of training or experience of burial excavators?
       ii. What are the ways that make them to be aware of their ethical obligations with regard human remains?
       iii. What is the decision-making process on excavating a burial?
       iv. Who are the people you include in decision making? (Do the stakeholders change depending on the era?)
   c. <u>Security</u>
       i. What kind of precautions do you have when there is a security risk such as rain, extreme sun, accidents by the excavators?
       ii. Can you describe your site containers? (Are they adequate for the safe transportation of the human remains)
   d. <u>Precautions against health risks (bacteria, small pox)</u>

2) Storage (Antoine-Taylor)
   a. <u>Capacities and funding</u>
       i. Where do you store human remains? (place appropriate for a safe a storage?
       ii. What is the funding you devote to the storage visa vi your total budget?
   b. <u>Organizations</u>
       i. How do you store them? (In plastic, wooden, metal containers? cushioned surface)
       ii. How are your shelving/drawers organized? (no shelves, metal, wooden, plastic)
       iii. Are your shelves or containers raised above the floor (against flood, insects)?
       iv. What is your labeling structure?

1. What kind of materials do you use for labeling? (durable labels and pens? Or regular)
2. What type of relevant information do you write on the label?
3. Do you prefer saving all human remains separate from the other objects or with the associated objects?
4. How do you find the associated object if you store them separately? Does your system support fast finding procedure?

v. How do you store a whole body? (What is your particular organization of placing parts?)
1. the skull up down? Separate from body?
2. Where do you put heavier bones (legs and arms) in the box?
3. Are teeth-mandible separate than the body? Do you have a specific placing?
4. Do you do separate bagging OR all bones together?
5. Do you apply this procedure depending on the condition of the skeleton? (if bones fragile or fragmented)

c. Environmental control
  i. What are your solutions for humidity control? (Do you have a humidity control in the storage?)
  ii. Temperature control in the storage?
  iii. Light control in the storage?
  iv. Precautions against Bacteria, pathogens (less than 100-year-old risky for staff) OR Heavy metal contamination
  v. How do you do the condition assessment check for the remains? (by trained staff? If yes, how regular is it?)

d. Transportation
  i. What are your solutions for the transportation of the human remains? (Is it different than other objects?)
  ii. In what kind of containers? (Do you use supportive or cushioning substances?)

e. Security
  i. How do you secure your human remains storage? Against rain, insects, people with food or other damaging material in hands?
  ii. What are the difficulties you had to deal with regarding this issue?

f. Access management
  i. Who can access your human remains collection? (Is it open to further requests from people who want to study on them?)

     ii. What are the requirements that one must follow when studying them? (physical precautions, publication rules?)

  g. <u>Respect-dignity issues</u>

     i. What is your policy regulating your team's approach for human remains in storage different than other artefacts?

3) Conservation and Research

  a. <u>Professional, techniques, tools</u>

     i. Do you have a conservator or a specialist in human remains in your project?

     ii. How regularly does the specialist study or do the damage assessment of the remains?

     iii. What is the guideline he/she follows for the conservation?

  b. <u>Research potential</u>

     i. Do you store and conserve the ones with the 'research potential' (though it takes time, space and resources/ Do you excavate, store and conserve all the remains equally?

     ii. How do you decide the limits of research in terms of overuse or damage?

     iii. What do you do with the remains which are not providing good information? Is Reburial an option?

     iv. If you decide to rebury, who decides how to do it? What are your criteria for reburial? Who are the decision makers?

b) Questions used for the interviews with the museum professionals

Röportaj soruları / *Interview Questions*

1. Müzenizdeki insan kalıntılarının geldikleri yerler nelerdir? Bu kalıntıları müzesinize nasıl kazandırdınız? (*Where do the human remains in your museum come from? How did you acquire these collections?*)

2. Kalıntılar müzenize gelmeden önce ne durumdaydılar? Size gelmeden önce ne durumda korundukları ve saklandıkları hakkında bilgilerinizden bahsedebilir misiniz? (*What were the conditions of the human remains before they were acquired by your museum? Could you share some information about how they were preserved and stored before the acquisition?*)

3. Kalıntılar size sergileme için mi yoksa korunma amaçlı mı gönderildiler? (*Were the remains sent to you for display or preservation purposes?*)

4. Kalıntıların durumlarını nasıl kontrol ediyorsunuz? Kullandığınız konservasyon ve saklama teknikleri nelerdir? (ışık, sıcaklık, nem vb) (*How do you monitor the conditions of the remains? What are the conservation and storage principles that you follow? - concerning light, temperature, humidity and etc-*)

5. Müze konservatoru/ restoratörü ne gibi rehberlerden ve etik kurallardan faydalanıyor? (*What type of guidelines and ethical principles that your museum conservator/ restorator benefits from?*)

6. Müze çalışanlarının insan kalıntıları ile ilgili düşünceleri ve hissettikleri neler oldu? (*What are the general thoughts and feelings of the museum staff concerning the human remains in your museum?*)

7. Sizin için, insan kalıntıları ile çalışmanın zorlukları nelerdir? (*What are the challenges of working with human remains in your opinion?*)

8. Kalıntılar ile çalışırken etik veya yasal takip etmeniz gereken kurallar nelerdir? (*What are the ethical and legal regulations that you must follow while working on human remains?*)

9. Kalıntıları sergiye hazırlarken, ne gibi karar aşamaları ve tartışma süreçlerinden geçiyorsunuz? (*What type of decision making processes and discussions that you go through when you are preparing the remains for display?*)

10. Sergileme öncesi planlamaları kimler yapıyor? Kimlerin düşüncelerinden faydalanılıyor? (müze uzmanları, müzedeki uzmanın görüşü, dışarıdan uzmanlar vb.) (*Who does the planning before new exhibitions? Whose opinions are often included in this planning process? – museum staff, the specialist from the museum, external experts etc-*)

11. Kalıntıları görmeye gelen halktan ne gibi tepkiler alıyorsunuz? (*What are some reactions of the public who come to see the human remains?*)

12. Bu tepkiler değişik gruplara göre farklılık gösteriyor mu? (öğrenci, arkeolog, aile vb.) (*Do these reactions change depending on different groups? –e.g. students, archaeologists, families etc-*)

13. Kalıntılar hep gösterimdeler mi? Ara ara sergilemeden kaldırılıyorlar mı? Bu gibi süreçlerde, taşıma konservasyon gibi teknik kararlar nasıl alınıyor? (*Are the human remains always on display? Do you sometimes remove them? If so, how do you make the decisions concerning the technical details such as transportation and conservation in these times?*)

Appendix D

The Professionals who were interviewed for this thesis research

Academics who work in Turkey	Institution/ Project (at the time of interview)	Date
Lucienne Thys-Şenocak	Department of Archaeology and History of Art, Koç University Seddülbahir Fortress Restoration Project	22 Dec 2015
Rana Özbal	Department of Archaeology and History of Art, Koç University Barcın Höyük Project	2 Dec 2015
Christina Luke	Department of Archaeology and History of Art, Koç University Gygia Project (Kaymakçı)	8 Dec 2015
Inge Uytterhoeven	Department of Archaeology and History of Art, Koç University Sagalassos Project	14 Dec 2015
Carolyn Aslan	Department of Archaeology and History of Art, Koç University Troy and Gordion Excavations	17 Dec 2015
Alessandra Ricci	Department of Archaeology and History of Art, Koç University Küçükyalı Arkeopark Project	15 Dec 2015
Mehmet Özdoğan	Department of Prehistory, Istanbul University Aşağı Pınar Kırklareli Project	3 Mar 2016
Museum professionals	**Institution (at the time of interview)**	**Date**
Fazlı Açıkgöz (director)	Niğde Museum	14 Apr 2016
Yakup Ünlüer (archaeologist)	Niğde Museum	14 Apr 2016
Gülcan M. Kirlenmez (art historian)	Niğde Museum	12 April 2016
Mehmet Muhsiroğlu (archaeologist)	Aksaray Museum	12 Apr 2016
Muzaffer Doğanbaş	Amasya Museum	14 Apr 2016

(museum specialist)		
Zeynep Kızıltan (director)	Istanbul Archaeology Museums	3 Mar 2018
Professionals interviewed in London	**Institution (at the time of interview)**	**Date**
Daniel Antoine (curator)	British Museum	25 Aug 2017
Jelena Bekvalac (curator, collection manager)	Museum of London	30 Aug 2017
Alice Stevenson (academic and curator)	UCL Institute of Archaeology	28 July 2017
Sandra Bond (collection manager)	UCL Bone Laboratory, Institute of Archaeology	28 July 2017
Jayne Dunn (collection manager)	UCL Pathology Collections	31 July 2017
Gabriel Moshenska (academic)	UCL Institute of Archaeology	21 Sept 2017