Public Archaeology: What Does It Mean? Disseminating, Communicating and Sharing the Results of a Long-term Archaeological Project¹

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What is a "public archaeology"?

The concept and practice of Public Archaeology have increasingly become more firmly established over the last two decades, since when we began speaking explicitly and formally about the relationship between archaeological practice and ways of disseminating the results and interacting with the public and local communities. Recent years have seen an increase in scientific contributions on this subject and in debates at conferences and workshops² which has led to the founding of dedicated journals, both online and in print, the bestknown being "Public Archaeology", whose title speaks for itself. It was founded in 2000, also thanks to the interest by Peter Ucko, and is published by the Institute of Archaeology of University College of London edited by Tim Schadla-Hall (Schadla-Hall et al. 2010). Leafing through these journals, and Public Archaeology in particular, we can see an increasing tendency emerging in recent years to stress the need to move beyond presenting individual case studies by developing around them a theoretical and methodological basis

for the creation of "standards of practice", capable to measure the outcomes and the effectiveness of the communication and population engagement operations carried out in different contexts (Tully 2007; Matsuda and Okamura 2011; Skeates et al. eds. 2012; Richardson and Almansa Sanchez 2015; Gould 2016; Oldham 2017). It has even been suggested that this specific area of archaeological field practices should acquire the status of an autonomous "discipline". Against this background, a public archaeology project, the Community Archaeology Project Quseir in Egypt, has received an award by the British Academy, because it "recognised community archaeology as a research topic in its own right" (Tully 2007, 157).

These studies and attempts to define standards of practice have often focused on specific issues, as those connected with the role of archaeology in bringing benefits to the local population in terms of economic development (Gould and Burtenshaw eds. 2013), or in developing a public awareness of the value of Cultural Heritage (Endere et al. 2018).

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It was not easy to choose a topic to deal with in tribute to Susan Pollock, both because of her wide-ranging interests and fields of research, and the fact that I had already thoroughly discussed with her so many topics of interest to both of us that I considered it would have been repetitive and unhelpful to take them up again here. And so, I decided to deal with a subject I have never explicitly discussed before in a paper (with the exception of some very preliminary contributions), which, I believe, falls within one of the many areas to which Susan has devoted her work, hoping it will be of interest to her.

² In particular, I would like to recall the workshop on "Public Archaeology: Theoretical Approaches and Current Practices in Turkey", organised in Istanbul by the British Institute at Ankara and Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations of Koç University on 30–31 October 2014, and the Conference "Archaeology and Economic Development" held at the University College of London in 2012.

The need to develop a new sensitivity towards the issue of communicating archaeological research, and hence its social, cultural, as well as economic impact on contemporary societies, which are the context in which archaeology operates, is certainly right and desirable. Thinking about what and how to communicate beyond the researchers' inner circle also entails the need to reflect on the purpose and meaning of what we do. I do not think, however, that in order for this legitimate interest to be met we need necessarily to identify a single explicit shared methodology and, much less, to create a 'disciplinary sector' in its own right, for which I cannot see any justification. Even Tully's and other works on these issues advocating the need for a standard methodology (Gould 2016) oscillate between contradictory statements: on the one hand, they offer case studies as exemplary researches that "have begun to articulate suitable methodological approaches", while, conversely, they admit that "there may be no standard approach to community archaeology" (Tully 2007, 156).

And there are several reasons why it is impossible and unnecessary, in my opinion, to develop a single and commonly-agreed communication methodology.

The first reason is that the ambition to communicate and disseminate knowledge is obviously not exclusively and specifically relevant to archaeology, but is, or should be, the ultimate aim of all scientific research in every discipline. How to do it, and with what means, must therefore be based on the one hand, on a more general philosophy of science communication, while, on the other, communication must be adapted to meet the specific research methods, purposes, and contents of individual disciplines and projects. Every effort to rationalise and systematise the ways and means of properly communicating and disseminating knowledge is certainly welcome, and this is already being done at various levels, as demonstrated by the establishment of dedicate educational institutions

for this purpose such as the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, or such prestigious publications specifically designed for this purpose as the Oxford Handbook of the Science of Science Communication (Hall Jamieson et al. eds. 2017). But we are still a long way from any real "Science of Science Communication" that can lay down any universally valid precepts for the proper use of Science for the public good, to be used as a unitary theoretical basis, which archaeology can also refer to.

Which brings me to the second ground for considering it impossible to identify "standard methods" which will be valid always and everywhere, even within only one single disciplinary area: the wide variability of cases and the contexts in which we operate in terms of the subject-matter, methods, and above all the aims of individual research projects, as well as the social environment to which communication aims to be addressed. There is a huge variety of different situations both in the degree of complexity and the "universality" of the scientific message we want to communicate and the type and breadth of the "public" to be addressed, as well as in the degree of involvement we want to obtain, or expect, from this public. It is mainly on these three variables - the type of message, the type of audience, the degree of their possible involvement – that we have to question, I think, before embarking on any kind of operation to disseminate the knowledge we have acquired. This entails working on the general goals that drives our approach to the issue, consistently with the scientific aims of our research - that is 'what' we are investigating - and the results obtained.

The difficulty of finding in the practices of "community or public archaeology [...] a clear sense of research focus, a sound methodological structure and a set of interpretive strategies" is certainly "due to the different range of contexts in which community archaeology is practised," as Tully herself acknowledges (2007, 155). But I

think that it is also and above all due to the diversity of objectives and intended levels of communication, in addition to the people to be targeted by communication. The scientific message is complex and, in the necessary process of simplification that is required for transmitting it to a wider audience, it is necessary to choose first of all "what" to communicate, and then "how" to do it.

By virtue of the material and tangible nature of the object of its study and the results of its research, as well as its direct linkage with the population of the place where it is practiced, archaeology has a peculiar and sometimes invasive impact on the life of the communities living in the operation territory. When archaeological remains are unearthed, for instance, solutions have to be found to protect and conserve them, with repercussions on the urban development plans in the surrounding area and the local economic potential (we only need to think of the involvement of local workers in the field or tourism-related activities). But the powerful impact that the outcomes of archaeological research have, or might have, on the local populations depends above all on the way they shed light on the tangible vestiges of their history, both the vestiges of their local or regional history and those of the general events and anthropological processes of the past of which those populations become to some extent protagonists. Appraising the nature and the complexity of the message to be conveyed, and taking into account the features and the breadth of the circle of recipients of this message (the people living in the village, the region, the nation, or the whole world) becomes a particularly sensitive and important task. Drawing a distinction between the terms "Public Archaeology" and "Community Archaeology" (Marshall 2002), which are often used indistinctly, can become significant in this regard, if by "community archaeology" we intend to refer to the involvement of the local community in the archaeological experience. I believe, however, that all communication must always have to envisage more

levels and recipients, because we have both a duty to involve the community in which and with which we work, while also being equally duty-bound to pass on new knowledge to a broader audience, reaching out, when possible, to the international community, and thus promoting the public understanding of complex issues.

As has already been said, the object of archaeological research is "History" in its many perspectives of "local history" and "universal history". But, unlike other historical disciplines, archaeology works on bits and pieces of the life of extinct peoples, and is forced to be a "global science" in terms of both its methods and purposes: as for the methods, archaeology must draw on different sources and disciplines (historical, philological, social, economic, natural and physical-chemical sciences) in order to be able to produce a comprehensive understanding of the subject under research, and to fill the missing knowledge that has been bulldozed away by the passage of time. As for its purposes, the same fragmentary nature of the data and, in the case of pre- and proto-historical ambits in particular, the lack of any written sources both entail that, unlike scholars working on contemporary phenomena, archaeologists are led to analyse multiple aspects of the collective life, linking all of them in an all-embracing and global perspective – which is in turn made possible precisely by the scarcity of the data available. The object of our study then inevitably moves beyond the observation of particular local phenomena delimited in time and space to also explore the fundamental historical processes that underlie them. What we analyse is therefore something that lies behind both the contemporary societies in which we operate and the wider-ranging developments that have left their marks on History with a capital H.

So what do we want to communicate and to whom? What message do we convey and with what degree of complexity? And how do we convey it? There is no single or simple answer to these questions, and account must be taken of other factors.

Communication decisions have actually to be adapted to the social, political and cultural features of the target public. Crucial factors influencing communication efficacy in archaeology are: (1) the number of people regularly and directly involved in excavation operations (workers and participants in various capacities), and how near they live to the excavations (the neighbouring village, the city, the region), all of which are factors that influence the intensity and frequency of the relations between the research team and the local population; (2) the educational background of the people engaged in the excavation activities and their occupations during the rest of the time (farmers, workers, students); (3) the duration of the archaeological project and hence the solidity and depth of relations between the local population and the excavation team; (4) the level of education, culture, and economic development of the majority of the local people in general, which affects their degree of interest in the archaeological venture and their readiness to become involved with it; (5) the degree of interest and participation by the regional and national authorities in fostering public awareness, and the tourism strategies adopted.

Archaeology has indeed another distinctive feature, too: its "research laboratory" in the field is the living space where other subjects live, operate and work with researchers. The so-called "context" of the archaeologists' work is not only a framework or scenario, but an integral part of the practice of the archaeological research we engage every day. Those who take part in or cooperate with our research make a contribution to the success of our work. They also witness and play a part in digging and recording procedures, becoming silent or variously active observers of our working methods and strategies, albeit with little awareness of their scientific significance

and value. I believe that when we come to communication, in addition to disseminating research results, it is also important to be able to publicise the ways in which those results have been obtained, though in an essential and simple way. This would help to provide the public with the critical tools they need to judge the plausibility of the narrative they have been told and the reconstructions they have been presented with, as well as acquiring a critical understanding and awareness of the many persisting doubts and still unsolved questions, stimulating their curiosity and making them aware of a fundamental fact that is becoming increasingly less evident today in the age of Twitter and Facebook, namely, that in Science there are never any absolute and eternal truths. Communicating Knowledge should always also entail teaching people to question and play an active and critical part in the learning process in which they are not only objects but are, or should be, subjects.

Archaeology therefore communicates with, and involves the public in many different ways, both in what we might call "Community Archaeology", and in a broader and more universal "Public Archaeology", although both these aspects and their many facets are in reality closely related.

Public and community archaeology practices

"Community" and "Public" Archaeology can both be viewed, as already mentioned, in many different ways, depending on their purposes and their target audience – local, national, or international. As many writers on this subject have said, archaeological practices are performed in several spheres and deal with various aspects, aims and areas of operation: Politics, Education, Community Participation, and the Preservation of Knowledge. In each of these areas, the work is carried out for differing purposes and with varying levels of public participation. Thus, in details:

- 1. The sphere of "Politics", in which the main players and stakeholders are institutions, is primarily intended for local, regional and national, but ultimately also international audiences, and the activities may concern:
 - a. conservation and restoration politics;
 - b. heritage management, which includes politics against looting and destructions, salvage excavations and rescue archaeology, museums;
 - c. tourism and economic development, which also includes, among many other things, the establishment and development of museums and the exhibition of archaeological areas;
 - d. Politics for the salvage of indigenous traditions and heritage (particularly important in certain countries with close connections to indigenous cultures, as for instance in Australia). Politics, in this respect, also frequently are oriented to developing local or national identities. This is a very sensitive and hazardous aspect, because it can lead to an improper use of history with the purpose of creating politically-oriented and often untrue identities.
- 2. "Education" involves many different institutions as well as both political and cultural/educational players. All the local, national and international recipients of the communications are, or may be, interested, because the goal is to make Cultural Heritage meaningful for the public, which is made up of different types of audience. Once again, care must be taken to avoid the risk of misusing archaeology education to generate false ideas about local and national identities. Educational work is usually undertaken through several channels:
 - a. Field schools for non-professional people or students
 - b. Learning in museums
 - c. Teaching in schools
 - d. The media

- 3. "Community participation" has an essentially local or regional target audience, and is implemented by establishing a direct relationship between the local people and the teams of researchers operating in a given territory. The main ways of operating in this sector, are designed:
 - a. to involve the workers in a learning process
 - b. to disseminate knowledge among community groups in the nearby village or town
 - c. to train guides and involved staff
 - d. to develop archaeological experience for children
 - e. to learn from local communities deeply rooted traditions, perceptions and ideas, habits, know-how and daily life practices, which may enlighten ancient customs and behaviours, helping us to both understand the social environment where we are and interpret our archaeological data.

Community Archaeology has rightly given rise to a great deal of debate regarding its ethical aspects and the need to take account of the social, political and economic effectiveness of the operations, keeping an eye on the real effects of the implemented practices of local community involvement in terms of actual "inclusivity" and "sustainability". Richardson and Almansa Sanchez remind us that "[...] we first need to situate our work socially, politically and economically [...] sustainability, inclusivity and ethics are the basis for a responsible practice" (Richardson and Almansa Sanchez 2015, 194).

But what do we mean by inclusivity and sustainability? Some scholars on this respect speak of the need for communities to be "actively engaged with the process of managing the projects, rather than simply being involved as passive recipients of outreach work or receiving an explanation of the work undertaken by the professionals" (Richardson and Almansa Sanchez 2015, 201) and the need that "at every step in a project at least partial control remains

with the community" (Marshall 2002, 212). Some of these scholars have gone so far as to say that "the need for, and ethical responsibility of archaeologists involved in the presentation of their work in the public realm is to understand, respect and value the interpretations of the past by non-professionals, without the imposition of their 'correct' interpretational methods" (Richardson and Almansa Sanchez 2015, 204; and see also Copeland 2004; Holtorf and Högberg 2005; Smith 2006; Hodder 2008). But these latter statements require critical consideration. Learning is always an interactive process, but this does not rule out that there should be knowledge transmission by those who have researched, elaborated and built it up over years of specialised work. And properly and critically interpreting the past is exactly what we, as scientists, are duty-bound to do. While not implying it to be absolute truth, passing on the knowledge acquired using scientific methods cannot be construed as a form of imposition, although this has wrongly been done in the past and may still be part of bad, colonialist practices. Although it may seem obvious, I would reiterate the fact that, even within the specific confines of our discipline, archaeological communication is but one aspect of the more general scientific communication, whose principles and philosophy must be constantly referred to. The primary objective of archaeology, like every other science, is to acquire knowledge and understanding of the world. Its task is therefore to disseminate what we learn and understand, although it must certainly provide the recipients of our narrative with the means of judging its plausibility and of challenging any of its less-convincing claims. Just as the public cannot be free to decide how the universe is made and runs with regard to discoveries in physics which have to be correctly offered as partial truths, subject to change, archaeology must also offer its understanding of the past with all the doubts and the gaps that leave room for re-interpretations, continual additions, and even reversals.

It is, on the other hand, absolutely correct to point out that we should "collaborate with the local communities at every stage of the research process to facilitate effective involvement in the 'investigation and presentation of the past" (Tully 2007, 158). I believe that we can achieve this by building up a long-lasting and constant relationship with the local people and the workers and their families, indirectly fostering a sense of "appropriation" of the archaeological site by the whole community for whom it becomes part of their own personal "experience". The site is there, next door to them, creating jobs, possibly bringing them benefits and opening up the community to new knowledge as well as new relations and friendships. It is at this level, I believe, that the efforts of archaeologists and operators can profitably play a role by offering and spreading knowledge about what the site they are working on represents for the community and for the world, further reinforcing their sense of belonging and pride at being the principal players in something important and meaningful to mankind. It is in this way that the community may be involved in the investigation and presentation of the past. Even the teaching to children in local schools, in this perspective, might also be usefully supplemented with the experiences of their parents and grandparents who have worked on the site, physically bringing it to light, making it an asset belonging to the whole community. This is what makes archaeology distinct from other sciences.

I will be presenting later the case of Arslantepe, a site in Eastern Turkey, where I have been working for 45 years, and where we have established intense and long-lasting relationships with the workers and the local community, also endeavouring to provide them with some tools to critically follow the narrative we have been offering them.

Community involvement will only exist to a very limited extent or not at all unless we share the material / tangible and cognitive experience, while respecting everyone's roles and skills.

This implies real interactivity through which the archaeologists teach the local community, but also learn from it (Tully 2007, 155). Just think of how many suggestions and possible interpretations we have learned by observing the daily life of the local people, which are still often closely linked to ancient traditions and can help us fill the information gaps and blanks in our knowledge, making it possible to "piece together the past" (Childe 1956).

One of the risks we might run in this interaction is to think we might involve the people, enlist their participation, and raise their awareness by teaching them ancient techniques and practices that people no longer use, and which are not, or no longer, significant parts of their life. Attempts, for example, to teach women from the nearby villages to weave with traditional looms that fell out of use generations ago, which no-one would no longer know how to use, and which at all events do not produce objects of any practical value to the local population, is more a matter of folklore (often alien to people's feelings) than a useful recovery of the past. It moreover hardly brings any real economic benefit to the local population, or really enable them to feel part of and close to an old past, trying to revive practices that they no longer feel to be their own.3 It is quite another matter, to take another example, to address our efforts to make people understand the value of their traditional mud-brick architecture, which is still in use and in danger to be abandoned, convincing them of the advantage to recover this long-lasting, effective, and sustainable architecture that is part of their heritage, as we shall be seeing later.

The ultimate goal of communication in archaeology is to disseminate "knowledge", as has already been said, creating a linkage between the "short history" of the local population and the 'long history' of a past belonging to the whole of humankind.

I think that the link between "Community Archaeology" and "Public Archaeology" lies precisely on the effort to re-incorporate local history into regional history, and then into a great History of all. What must then be done is to disseminate the knowledge acquired at the national and international levels, making the local community conscious of the role played by "their site" in History with a capital H, and the fact that this long history can unravel many of the hidden aspects of their own present, giving the community the sense of being a part of the world. This might also have an important political significance in a historical moment such as the present one in which values of national and ethnic identity prevail over the sense of belonging to the human family.

Successfully performing all these operations in parallel through a difficult process of simplifying the complex issues being communicated is the real challenge. And it is this that can also make the local population fully aware of the value of their archaeological site and the work taking place there.

This is what we have been trying to do at Arslantepe in the course of many years:

1) telling the whole regional and universal history as it has emerged from the excavations in a correct and comprehensible manner; 2) giving the local people a close first-hand experience of the site through the long and intense participation of the workers and their families; 3) through the messages on the explanatory panels, the workers' direct participation in excavating the site, and the visitors' personally witnessing the work in progress, making all of them realise that archaeological knowledge, like all

³ Particularly when the past we are bringing to light belongs to prehistoric times.

knowledge, is in a constant state of coming into being, and what is presented is only a small part of what still remains to be discovered and known, thus stimulating the public's critical spirit and curiosity as much as possible.

Communication at Arslantepe, Malatya (Turkey)

The open air museum

The first point I want to stress is that I do not think it is possible to create a communication system with the public based on the principles indicated above after only a few years' work, but, like archaeological research itself, it takes a long time: a long time to produce historically and anthropologically significant results, and a long time to create solid and firmly-established relations with the local population, so as to inspire interest and trust.

It was only after many years of fieldwork that we felt the need to systematically communicate the results that we were obtaining and which we deemed important in many respects. So, we embarked on a period of reflection and experimentation to both conserve the architectural structures that were the evidence of what we wished to communicate and find the appropriate ways and means of communicating it.

The first question was "what to communicate". Arslantepe has a very long sequence of levels superimposed over millennia, which had been largely investigated. But the exhibition could not include what was no longer there because it had already been removed, nor whatever was still awaiting investigation. Conservation policy for an archaeological excavation requires a continuous strategic decision regarding which remains should be preserved and displayed to the public, and which to remove to be able to continue the research. This has to be done after carefully appraising the historical significance, and possibly the uniqueness, of the evidence we wish to preserve, as well as

the progress of the research conducted on them, which, only if sufficiently thorough, can guarantee the reliability of our reconstructions and our narrative.

In the case of Arslantepe, the choice obviously fell on the monumental palatial complex from the end of the 4th millennium BCE, which is extraordinarily well preserved – with walls rising more than two metres high, still retaining the original plaster, in some places with red and black paintings - and is the tangible and still visible evidence of crucial phenomena in the history of human societies, such as the birth of a secular central power and the State (Frangipane 2012; 2016; 2019). This architectural complex, made up of mud-brick buildings, was also particularly fragile and had to be assured adequate protection. The first thing needed was therefore to address the tricky question, for which there are still no unambiguous and universally agreed solutions, of how to preserve the earthen architecture, and then to work out how to exhibit and transmit all the knowledge brought to light by the excavations, of which this monumental whole was the tangible expression.

The challenge was how to work on two different levels of communication: on the one hand, the need to communicate what the site represents as evidence of crucial socioeconomic, political and cultural processes of general historical-anthropological value, which is well-documented in the Palace and in what remains of the earlier imposing structures; and on the other, the need to tell the millennia-old history of the site, of the Malatya region and the whole of Eastern Anatolia, as evidenced by the "tell", but whose remains had long since been largely removed.

So "how" could we communicate all this? An Open Air Museum project was launched targeting both the local and national population and hopefully visitors from other parts of the world.

As already mentioned, the first problem to be solved was how to protect and conserve the earthen architecture. The climatic conditions under temporary roofs and the effects of different solutions on mud-brick structures have been studied for years, finally designing a roofing project that takes into account various needs (Fig. 1): (1) to maintain stable climatic conditions under the permanent roof, where the circulation of the air and the use of multilayer panels prevented exposing the structures, wall plaster and wall paintings (which, after careful consideration with the restorers, were kept in situ) to humidity and excessive changes in temperature; (2) to protect the underlying archaeological levels - an important aspect in a multi-layered deposit such as a "tell" - by building a roof that obviated the need to make any deep holes in the ground, while ensuring solidity and safety; (3) to consider the aesthetic and environmental impact of the roof system, while harmonising it with the monument itself. From the outset, this project was planned to lead people to enter the Palace, walking along its corridors and rooms and between its high walls, to experience the monument directly, capturing as much as possible the original atmosphere, colours, materials and light (Frangipane and Mangano 2010). The structure of the roof was necessarily made of metal to be solid, strong, and safe, and the part corresponding to the actual roof was covered with wood, while light enters through glass panels over the originally open areas, such as courtyards and unroofed spaces (Fig. 2b). The sides of the roofed areas are completely open to ensure the circulation of the air; the painted walls, covered with a second wooden canopy, have been fitted with the curtains to protect them from sun, light and dust, and are opened by the guides accompanying the visitors so that they can fully enjoy these artworks (Fig. 2a).

Basic information is supplied to the public by means of traditional panels bearing texts in three languages – Turkish, English and Italian – and images, to attract the attention of the visitor not using spectacular multimedia tools but telling an enthralling story following a historical common thread running throughout the entire visit (Fig. 3). In other words, the idea is to stimulate the curiosity of the people entering the Palace not only by explaining the monument itself, but above all by narrating them events and processes related to that monument, which have opened new perspectives in History still unknown to the public, giving them the pleasure of learning and taking part in the archaeologists' own learning process (Fig. 3d).

Different types of audiences and visitors have been taken into account by designing the panels to provide different depths of explanation and analysis: a title and brief summary is for the uninterested visitor with perhaps little time to take everything in, while a more detailed explanation (setting out the essentials, and of a reasonable length) is for the more curious visitors who are eager to find out more and gain a better understanding of the site and the story it tells about the birth of a new society (Mangano 2012).

After leaving the Palace, visitors can follow the rest of the long history of the site, walking along a path that continues up the mound (Fig. 4a). This path also leads the visitors to a point from where a beautiful view with the Euphrates in the background is enjoyable and, in the summer months, they can observe the excavations in progress from above, thus acquiring a general idea of the way archaeologists unearth the data with which to reconstruct the facts that have just been offered them. Some panels in the Palace also point out the most significant operational tools of the archaeologist's work (Fig. 3d).

Today, with this walking tour in the monumental palatial complex, Arslantepe is able to tell the public the story of the birth of the State, the initial formation of a hierarchical and unequal society, the earliest forms of political power, control over the economy, and



a

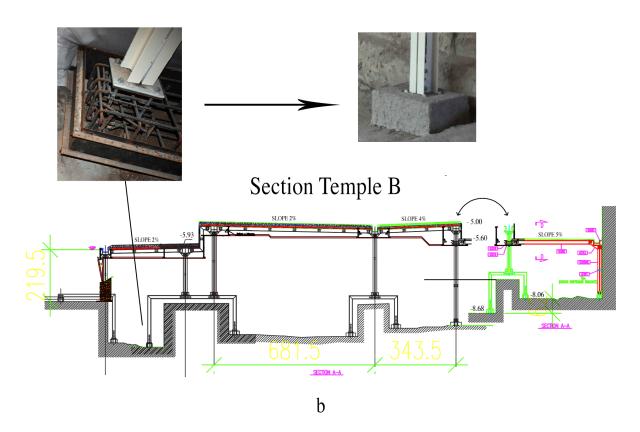


Fig. 1. Arslantepe, Malatya (Turkey), the Open Air Museum. a. The entrance to the 4th millennium BCE Palace and the roof designed for protecting and exhibiting the monument. Photo R. Ceccacci, Archive MAIAO. b. The pillar system used to avoid any digging in the underlying archaeological layers. Drawing by G. Berucci; photos and drawing Archive MAIAO.



Fig. 2. Arslantepe, the 4th millennium Palace. a. Protection of wall paintings and their enjoyment by visitors; b. Illumination of the Palace by means of glasses placed in the areas we assume were open in the past. (Photos R. Ceccacci, Archive MAIAO.





ARSLANTEPE SEÇKİNLERİ

ÉLITES AT ARSLANTEPE

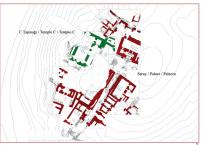
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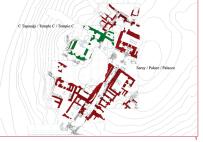


a

GÜCÜN YAYILMASI THE EXPANSION OF POWER



C Tapınağı terk edildikten sonra M.Ö. 3350 yıllarında büyük bir kamusal yapılar topluluğu ortaya çıktı: burada toplur ekonomik, politik, yönetimsel ve dini etkinliklerini gerçekleştiriyordu.





c



History is not the devastating bulldozer they say it is. It leaves tunnels, crypts, chasms and hiding places. Eugenio Montale



ETKİNLİKLERİN YAPILANDIRILMA RECONSTRUCTING ACTIVITIES

d

Fig. 3. Arslantepe Open Air Museum. Types of explanatory panels. Graphic design of the panels: D. Mangano.



Fig. 4. Arslantepe. a. The visitor route on the mound; b. Enjoying the visit with audio-guides; c. Explanation to members of local institutions. Photos taken during the public inauguration of the open air museum; Archive MAIAO.

the organisation of bureaucracy. At the same time, continuing with the visit to the mound, the visitors learn about the long history of the site, running from the 5th millennium BCE to the Roman and Byzantine ages, and the history of the entire Upper Euphrates region as reflected in it. This historical narrative aims at highlighting, concisely and simply, the site's changing external relations across time, the population and culture shifts that took place there, as well as the crucial role played by this geographical and cultural frontier area, where, perhaps precisely thanks to these interactions and the mingling of different peoples and cultures, original civilisations and innovative phenomena developed.

A few large introductory panels, designed jointly with a semiotics and communication expert scholar, and erected along the road leading up to the Arslantepe Open Air Museum, link past and present, stimulating the visitors' curiosity by asking a number of important questions, crucial for the understanding of contemporary societies and left unanswered (**Fig. 5**). These panels should work as an invitation to look for the answers by visiting the site (**Fig. 6**; Mangano 2012).

Local community involvement

Communications with the local community at Arslantepe were built up spontaneously over the many decades of work on the site through the teams' relations with the workers and their families, the great majority of them from the village of Orduzu where the mound stands, and mostly living in the area of the village adjacent to the site (Fig. 7). Their right to be the first to be chosen as workers was also tacitly agreed without objections by the other members of the community, as if Arslantepe "belonged" to them in a sense, giving them a preferential right to work on it. The long duration of the excavation activities, regularly carried out for two to three months every summer from 1961 onwards, created close bonds between the research team and the local

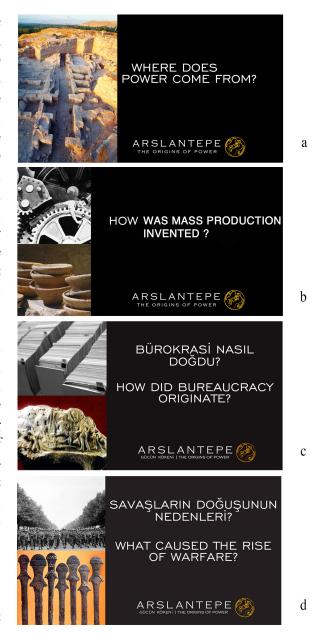


Fig. 5. Arslantepe. Panels located along the road leading to the site, which address crucial questions to visitors before they arrive. Graphic design of the panels: D. Mangano.

people, who welcomed us in an increasingly fraternal spirit, even inviting us to join them in their celebrations and important family events. By the time Alba Palmieri took over the direction of the excavations in 1983, followed by myself in 1990, our relations with the village community had grown so close that the fact of having a woman as a boss did not whatsoever affect the mutual respect and our good relations with the workers and the villagers. And in more general terms, the relationships





Fig. 6. The large panel placed at the entrance of the Arslantepe Open Air Museum, suggesting the visit may offer the answer to the questions previously put in the introductory panels. Graphic design of the panel: D. Mangano.

that the villagers have established with us have always been based on a delicate balance between seeing us as "foreigners" — so that the local people accepted from us many things that differed from and were alien to their traditions—and, at the same time, as honorary, authoritative members of the village.

Over the years, the main occupation of the workers during the rest of the year gradually changed from being local small-holders who used to spend the summer working with us to supplement their incomes, to mainly students working to pay for their University education, although there are still some older people taking part in the field activities. But this has only slightly changed relations between us: while there has been indeed a decline in the continuity and the number of years the workers use to spend with us, with a consequent decrease in their manual skill of expert diggers, on the other hand there has been an increase in the intellectual curiosity

and understanding of what is being done on the mound and with which objectives. What has remained unchanged through all generation is the perception that the Arslantepe excavation is valuable for the community, offering practical benefits (in addition to earning money, for instance, by improving the conditions for retiring with a pension).

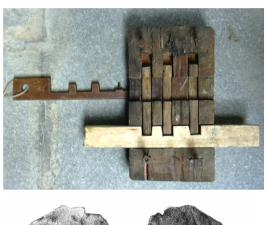
All this is essential to enlisting real participation and support for what we are doing, acquiring knowledge about the project, and sharing its aims.

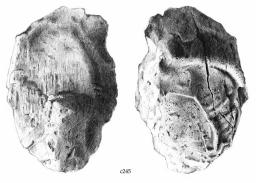
The sense that Arslantepe is "theirs" has always increased over time, producing one very important side-effect: even before the site had a permanent year-round guardian, protection structures and an Open Air Museum was inaugurated with other security staff supplied by the Malatya Museum, it was above all the local people in the village surrounding the mound who protected it, keeping their eye on it, and considering the site an asset of their own to be safeguarded. No illegal attempts have ever been made to loot Arslantepe, even after excavation campaigns that have unearthed high value objects, the news of whose discovery had inevitably spread. Indeed, I know for sure that on various occasions in our absence, the local people have reported sightings of individuals or cars "acting suspiciously" to the guardian, begging him to check! There was also another episode many years ago that I shall never forget: on a Friday, which is the weekly holiday when the workers go to the mosque, a fire broke out on the mound; as soon as I saw the smoke rising, and was about call the fire fighters, I saw all our workers arriving with their friends and relatives, in their best clothes ready to attend the prayer, and instead brandishing shovels and pickaxes to douse the fire, which they did successfully! No-one had called them out, but Arslantepe was "theirs", as they commented.

This deep mutual understanding is what has underpinned the "interactivity" process



Fig. 7: a. Local school students visiting Arslantepe in the sixties; b. Lecture at the Inönü University of Malatya; c. Poster announcing a workshop on the Arslantepe archaeology for Malatya children, and d. teaching to local school students at the site, within a UNDP project. Photos: Archive MAIAO.







a



b

Fig. 8. a. Modern and ancient wooden locks: Today's ethnographic example, cretula on a wooden lock from Arslantepe and reconstructive drawing of the locking system. Photo E. Fiandra, drawings T. D'Este, Archive MAIAO. b. Restored mudbrick houses in the village of Orduzu, Malatya. Photo G. Fazio.

through which the workers have learned about the history of Arslantepe as part of their own distant past and cultural heritage, while we have learned so many things from them, such as the mud-brick manufacture technique, the use of domestic spaces and cooking activity practices in traditional homes, and – the most surprising and unexpected of the discoveries - the existence of a type of wooden door-lock of which we knew nothing whatsoever, but which enabled us to understand and interpret the use of some 4th millennium cretulae from Arslantepe, which had been affixed to a "mysterious" object (Fig. 8a; Ferioli and Fiandra 1993). The discovery of this lock and its comparison with the impressions that a similar object had left on the back side of some of the Arslantepe cretulae have revealed the existence, all those millennia ago, of secure locks on store-room doors. In turn, our team's studies of ancient mud-bricks and the value we have attributed to this sustainable architecture, whose restoration we have tried to encourage, have begun, albeit timidly, to bear fruit, leading one of the governors of Malatya province to restore the village's mud-brick houses located along the road leading to the mound (Fig. 8b).

This interactivity has also laid the foundations for the birth of new initiatives intended to disseminate the knowledge of the site beyond the narrow confines of the village community. I would like mention, in this regard, one project carried out jointly with local staff and funded by UNDP Turkey to teach school students, inform teachers, and train tour guides (Fig. 7c-d). Lectures and lessons have also been given at the local İnönü University and municipality institutions (Fig. 7b). Lastly, articles published in national and international popular magazines have also contributed to the wider dissemination of knowledge about Arslantepe (Balossi Restelli 2011; 2012; Balossi Restelli et al. 2017; Frangipane 2017; 2018).

I shall conclude by mentioning a very interesting piece of research initiated by the architect Aysun Tuna with her students from Inönü university, to test the level of awareness and the perception of the site by various categories of members of the Orduzu community (women and men of various ages), some preliminary results of which are discussed by Aysun Tuna below.

The Relationship between the Local People of the Orduzu District and Arslantepe

A CONTRIBUTION BY AYSUN TUNA*

The role of local people in sustainable conservation of cultural heritage is critical. In order to ensure effective protection, the relationship between local people and cultural heritage must be defined correctly. On the other hand, it is known that participatory approaches give efficient results in urban planning, and play an active role in defining problems

and developing solutions. Such basic observations brought us to approach the issue of the Arslantepe archaeological park from the perception of the environment that the local people has. We were convinced that this would help us develop a holistic and effective approach in The role of local people in sustainable conservation of cultural heritage is

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Fig. 9. Local women in Orduzu during the Community Mapping process. Photo: A. Tuna.

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For this purpose, a master thesis titled "Community Mapping for the Identification of Historical Landscapes: The Case Study of

Orduzu (Malatya)" was carried out by Bilge Hatun AY (now collaborating in a TÜBİTAK Project on a related topic) under my supervision as a coordinator of the TÜBİTAK Project.⁴

The aim of this thesis was to make an inventory of the locally perceived natural and cultural heritage (within the borders of Orduzu). The method used has been that of "community mapping". The aim is to identify and include identity-forming places in the protection strategies. In the community assemblies in the village, we tried to understand the connection of the local people with their past, their perception of the environment, their expectations, problems and ideas for the solutions to these problems.

⁴ This master thesis is supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), Project Number: 217O290.

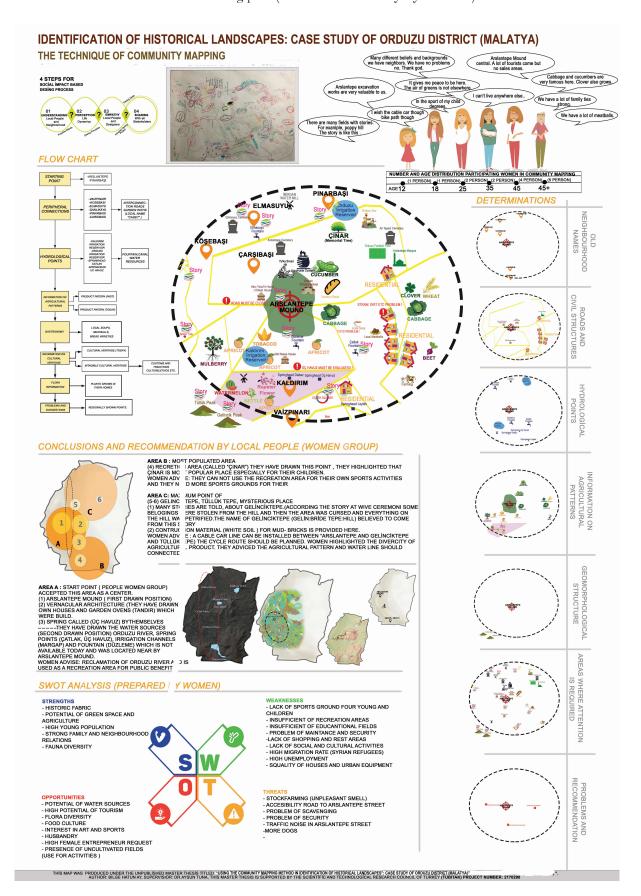


Fig. 10. The poster showing the results of community mapping (analysis-synthesis-evaluation). Poster: A. Tuna.

We met with women and men separately. A total of 27 men and 15 women of different age groups participated voluntarily in the community mapping events. We wanted the participants to be from Orduzu and residing in different areas of the village. In the "community mapping" process, we first asked them to draw the neighbourhood where they are living on a blank sheet of paper (Fig. 9). We did not mention the Arslantepe mound, because our goal was not only to measure the relationship between the local people and Arslantepe but also to analyse their perception of Orduzu in general.

The main results might be summarised as follows (Fig. 10):

- The Arslantepe mound was the first point drawn by both groups, who worked independently of each other, on the map.
- Both groups positioned the Arslantepe mound at the centre of their map, even if the site is not at all in the centre of the village, and they described the other locations in relation to the mound.

- Both groups emphasised the importance of the Arslantepe excavations in terms of economic benefits, as for example being registered for the first time to the national insurance system for the work done at Arslantepe.
- Men and women know the chronology of the Arslantepe settlement (High awareness).
- The members of both groups visited Arslantepe at least once.
- Women know the Arslantepe Excavation Team (all women said the name of the director of excavation – Marcella Frangipane – correctly). After the mapping process, it has been observed that they have emotional bonds (especially sense of obligation!) with the excavation team members.

The community map provided important clues to the development and sustainability of the Archaeological Park model to be prepared. Moreover, the results show that the community mapping process is critical in determining the perceptions, needs and wishes of local people.

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