

Mega engineering projects and archeological discovery.

Institutional context, organizational challenges and professional issues at Yenikapı, Istanbul.

Abstract

Between 2004 and 2012, archaeological excavations for two side-by-side subway stations at Yenikapı, Istanbul uncovered 36 well-preserved Roman and medieval shipwrecks. The excavations were remarkable for their unprecedented size, duration, and serious conservation challenges. Moreover, each station had its own contracting and funding structure, creating situations that required institutional and professional improvisation.

Our paper examines the unique managerial approach developed at Yenikapı, where the archeological excavations were supervised by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, a peripheral body of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. To help deal with the inherent complexity of the case, we use the concept of the 'Heritage Chain' to consider discrete stages of "production" and the interrelationships between activities, analyzing them through the structure-behaviors-performances model.

This approach allows us to identify asymmetries in achievements and performance at different points in the heritage chain, illuminating many issues of interest for organizational scholars. These include the effects of weak institutional and legal frameworks for rescue archaeology, the project's unusual mixed outsourcing approach, conflict between different professional cultures, and how a megaproject can work to determine practices at the micro level.

1) Introduction

The archaeological rescue excavations at Yenikapı discovered the late Roman and Byzantine harbor of Theodosius, including 36 well-preserved shipwrecks and stone and wooden piers; the only known sections of the walls of Constantine; an early Byzantine church; and a Neolithic village, with architecture, burials, and even footprints from a ritual event. Archaeological excavations began in November 2004 and were completed in June 2012 and have already transformed our understanding of Istanbul's past.

The excavations at Yenikapı only occurred because the site was a focal point of two of Turkey's largest ever engineering projects, the extension of the Istanbul Metro system and the construction of the Marmaray rail tunnel under the Bosphorus, connecting the European and Asian sides of the city. The financial, organizational, and administrative complexity of these projects makes them a potential object of study in themselves; combined with the unexpected and unprecedented archaeological finds, Yenikapı becomes a uniquely interesting case study that combines rescue archaeology with the administration of cultural heritage and organizational engineering. In this paper we zoom out from the dramatic archaeological finds to focus on the managerial and administrative systems behind their discovery, exploring their implications for professional practice, conservation, and public access to cultural heritage.

Rescue projects raise critical issues for heritage professionals. Unexpected finds present unique challenges to professional values, working routines, and institutional structures. As the site of explicit conflict between modern development and heritage values, archaeologists' professional values toward meticulous and thorough recording may be upset by externally-imposed time pressures. Because finds are by definition unexpected, management structures must be created *de novo* with constant negotiations between contractors, government agencies, and heritage

professionals. They often must change to accommodate the nature of finds, which are unknowable before excavation begins. These issues require compromises between efficiency (costs and time) and effectiveness (recovery of artifacts and data) that are not trivial either economically or in terms of the archaeological record. Rescue excavations are also strongly shaped by legal principles and bureaucratic routines for archaeology, which are part of an ‘administrative heritage’ that is different in every country: a rescue project in the United States, with its long tradition of private-sector archaeology, is something quite different than in Turkey, which lacks a ‘polluter pays’ principle in its heritage regulation and runs most rescue excavations through state museums.

Turkey had previously seen large-scale rescue excavations (at Zeugma, the Atatürk Dam, and the BTC pipeline, for example, see Çeziker 2011). However, the confluence of size (5.8 ha), duration (8 years), conservation challenges (wet wooden materials dating back more than a thousand year), and urban politics at Yenikapı created unprecedented situations that required institutional and professional improvisation. Though the archaeological excavation has finished, the project is by no means over: as we shall see, long-term questions remain about conservation and construction of a museum. By examining the management of Yenikapı we look at the effects of the project on related professional communities, heritage management institutions, and the public.

Given this complexity, how can we ‘make sense’ of Yenikapı? Heritage studies is a growing field, but has remained substantively theory-driven, focused on theories of value, deliberative democracy, and political issues such as decolonization and imperialism. At the same time, managerial rhetoric (the ‘Latin of our times’, Gherardi and Jacobson 2000) has made its appearance in heritage projects: strategic planning, mission statements, SWOT analysis, and other elements of now routinely appear in conservation-related documents at heritage sites. Both heritage theory and the rhetoric of ‘site management’ – strongly driven by international institutions such as UNESCO – are rarely driven by empirical data and pay little attention to law, administration, human resources, or financing. This despite the fact that archaeology, conservation, and other heritage practices are highly regulated activities whose success depends on bureaucratic procedures, specific professional expertise, and sufficient funding streams.

Our approach, by contrast, is phenomenon-driven, departing from empirical case studies rather than from theoretical constructs, and focused on the relationship between administrative and professional values and practices. This approach inevitably is more descriptive than is typical in the literature, but this is also its strength. It can, however, be challenging to access data, as our experience showed: although there is a large archive of field reports, meeting minutes, and budget documents from the Yenikapı project, our repeated approaches to the responsible administrations were unsuccessful at gaining access. The reconstruction of the case study is therefore based on interviews with managers and staff involved in the excavations, review of the the voluminous press coverage, and review of published articles and books about Yenikapı.

Heritage studies face the additional challenge of extreme complexity. The many disciplines involved – including but not limited to archaeology, art history, conservation, and museology – are each highly idiosyncratic with distinct institutional settings, professional knowledge, literatures, and career trajectories. To deal with this issue, we approach case studies through the concept of the ‘Heritage Chain’ (BLINDED QUOTATION). The idea is adapted from the concept of the ‘supply chain’ in industrial organization, where discrete stages of production are considered (inputs, value added, outputs) along with the interrelationships between steps. By individuating the discrete activities present in a particular context, the internal dynamics of each phase of ‘production’ can be distinguished, while enabling easier comparison between different realms of action. In the heritage chain we group activities into five ‘links’: protection, excavation, conservation, research, and public access (for Turkey, see BLINDED QUOTATION). Here we try to ‘make sense’ of Yenikapı through these five areas of action, explore the connections between them, and offer observations on the relevance of the case for rapidly changing heritage management in Turkey and rescue archaeology more generally. Building on this, we use another approach rooted in industrial organization, structure-behavior-performance (SBP) analysis, in order to identify the main results

and emergent problems in each link of the heritage chain and their relationship with the structure of the heritage system as defined by law and administrative framework.

According to the framework presented above, the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 quickly presents the history of the Yenikapı excavations and its institutional context. Section 3 analyzes the case of Yenikapı through the lens of the heritage chain, distinguishing among protection (3.1), excavation (3.2), conservation (3.3), research (3.4), and public access (3.5). Finally, the conclusion (Section 4) presents the problematics and dynamics of the case in itself, and discusses their significance for heritage professionals, for scholars of Turkey, and for scholars of management and organization.

2) The Megaprojects at Yenikapı: Metro, Marmaray, and Transformative Archaeological Discoveries

The first serious plans for connecting the European and Asian sectors of Istanbul by rail tunnel stretches back to 1860, when Sultan Abdülmecid commissioned French engineer Henri Preault to design a project. A similar initiative was proposed in 1902 and again in the 1920s (Özmen 2007:23, Çeziker 2011). The first feasibility study for the Metro and Marmaray projects began in 1985, followed by further studies in 1991, 1992, 1996, 1998, and 2004 (Çeziker Chapter 3, Lykke and Belkaya 2005). In 1999 Yenikapı was selected as the transfer point between the planned ‘Marmaray’ rail tunnel under the Bosphorus (a project of the Ministry of Transportation), a new subway line of the Istanbul Metro (operated and funded by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality), and the existing seabus port (Çeziker 2011, Ch 3; Lykke and Belkaya 2005; IMM 2012). Yenikapı thus became the focal point of one of the most complex and expensive engineering projects in the history of Turkey, which led coincidentally to the most important archaeological discoveries ever found in the Mediterranean basin.

Funding for the almost €2 billion cost of the Marmaray project was secured from outside of Turkey: Japanese Bank for International Cooperation provided a loan for about €650 million in 1999, and another €650 million was secured from the European Investment Bank in 2005. The Turkish government guaranteed the remaining funding (Lykke and Belkaya 2005). The Marmaray engineering services contract (TL100,000,000) was won in 2002 by Avrasya Consult, a partnership of three Japanese and one Turkish company that reports to the General Directorate of Railways, Harbors, and Airports (DLH) of the Ministry of Transportation. Avrasya subcontracted the construction of the Bosphorus tunnel to a second partnership, including Japanese companies Taisei and Kumagai GUMI and Turkish companies Gama and Nurol. The contract was worth TL 1.5 billion in 2004. This consortium (hereafter Taisei-Gama-Nurol or TGN) was responsible for the Marmaray excavation work at Yenikapı (Lykke and Belkaya 2005).

The Metro project, by contrast, was funded entirely through the IMM. Despite a series of proposals in the 1910s, 1930s, and 1950s, Istanbul built its first metro and light rail systems only in the late 1980s. Operated by Istanbul Transport SA (İstanbul Ulaşım A.Ş.), a company owned by IMM, the system has seen rapid expansion in the 1990s and 2000s. The extension of the M2 underground metro line from Taksim Square across the Golden Horn to Yenikapı was approved in 1998, with an investment of TL168 million through 2011. Yenikapı will serve as a transfer station between the M1 and M2 Metro lines and Marmaray. The main contractor for tunnel and station excavations on the project was a partnership led by Yüksel Proje A.Ş. (also the Turkish partner in Avrasya Consult) (IBB 2012).

Yenikapı (‘New Gate’) is located along the southern shore of Istanbul’s Historic Peninsula on the Sea of Marmara. Since the historical peninsula is Istanbul’s geographic center – but also the most archaeologically sensitive area – any large-scale transportation project for the city as a whole faces challenges in balancing the conflicting needs of heritage and development.

Following the orders of the Regional Conservation Council for Istanbul – the body responsible for issuing permission for construction projects in conservation areas – archaeological excavations for the Metro and Marmaray stations began in November, 2004 (see table 1). The 58,000m² excavation was gridded into 10x10m squares and excavated by around 40 freelance archaeologists, 200 unskilled workmen, and a dozen other professionals including conservators, photographers, and architects, all under the direction of the archaeologists from the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.

The first six months of excavations found remains of houses and the extensive market gardens that filled the area in the Ottoman and late Byzantine periods. The first dramatic find emerged in April 2005: a well-preserved 11th century shipwreck was discovered, confirming that the area had indeed been the Port of Theodosius known from literary sources. A second wreck was found in August – with its cargo of amphorae still intact – and by January 2006 seven Byzantine shipwrecks had been discovered, all in remarkably good states of conservation (Erdem 2005). These were the first shipwrecks found on land in Turkey and one of only a few such sites anywhere in Europe. The Mayor of Istanbul proposed that the ships be exhibited inside the future Metro station, which would become a ‘station-museum’ (Erbil 2006a, Sabah 2005). The dramatic finds continued as 2006 progressed. In May excavators in the Marmaray area discovered part of Constantinople’s first city wall, the exact location of which was previously unknown, and an early Byzantine church. The Regional Conservation Council declared this area as a conservation zone in order to preserve these structures. This halted archaeological excavation in these areas, and required the Marmaray contractors to eliminate a planned exit from the future station (Birgün 2006, Erbil 2006b).

In 2007 and 2008, Yenikapı went from unusual to extraordinary and attracted worldwide media attention. Eleven shipwrecks were found between January and April, for a total of 19. At this point, the Marmaray excavation teams began working 24-hour days to reduce the already significant construction delays. Yet the rapid pace of discovery continued: the number of shipwrecks increased to 24 by June 2007, 27 in December 2007, 30 in January 2008, and 32 by May 2008 (Tempo 2007, Sabah 2007, Erbil 2008a, Cumhuriyet 2008). When the Marmaray excavations concluded in mid-2009, 34 shipwrecks were known and two more were discovered in the final three years of excavation in the Metro area (Habertürk 2009, CNN Türk 2012). The 36 ships are the largest collection of ancient shipwrecks ever found in the Mediterranean and among the best preserved. Many ships were excavated with their complete cargoes intact, and artifacts discovered included rope, shoes, baskets, and even plates of fruit.

The drama of the Yenikapı finds increased exponentially in late 2008. Excavation below the shipwrecks in the Metro area reached a clay layer which was initially presumed to be sterile – until the a village of Neolithic wooden houses and an adjoining cemetery were discovered in July 2012. Dating to 6,000 BC, these finds extended knowledge of Istanbul’s history by over 5000 years (Kınalı 2008). More urn burials of the same period were discovered in 2008 (Erbil 2008d). Just before completion of the Metro excavations in February 2012, a Neolithic clay surface of the that preserved hundreds of human footprints was discovered, an unprecedented find that further delayed completion (CNN Türk 2012, Korkut 2012).

Conserving wet wood and organic materials is technically challenging and labor intensive. IAM Director Ismail Karamut invited experts from İstanbul and Texas A&M Universities to evaluate the site’s conservation needs in August 2005 (Ozgun 2005), and the two universities won public tenders for conservation services in early 2006. Shipwreck removal formed a parallel project: the ships had to be kept wet constantly during the long process of uncovering and recording, then lifted by means of special metal cages for transportaiton to desalination tanks.

Besides the shipwrecks, the excavations at Yenikapı produced tens of thousands of smaller artifacts, many of them rare examples of organic materials. Upon discovery, artifacts were mapped and then sent to a on-site finds laboratory to be washed and dried. Urgent conservation interventions took place on site; all artifacts were registered, photographed, and then chosen either to enter the specialist laboratory, be sent to the inventory of the IAM, or to be reburied. Those selected for

specialist treatment were sent to off-site researchers with permission from the museum. (Çeziker interview). 11,160 artifacts were inventoried by May 2008, 26,330 by March 2010, and over 35,000 by 2012 (Ayaz in Ozdamar 2010, Eyigün 2010, HDN Feb 2012).

The Marmaray excavations were completed in late 2009, and the Metro excavations in June 2012. The archaeological excavations were finished at Marmaray in June 2009. Only after that date did tunnel excavation machines enter the site to begin work in December 2009 (raylisistem.blogspot.com; <http://yuksekhizlitren.blogspot.hk/2009/06/yenikap-arkeolojik-kaz-alannda.html>). While tunnel work was underway on the Marmaray side, archaeological work continued on the adjacent Metro site, concluding in June 2012, after which construction for the Metro station began (Yukselhizlitren 2009). Both stations are currently under construction. Initial plans for a ‘station-museum’, however, had to be modified: IMM and IAM decided to construct a multi-story museum building at Yenikapı, and a preliminary architecture competition was held in 2011 with finalists selected in April 2012.

Table 1 - Yenikapı Excavation Chronology

Date	Ship-wrecks	Event
1999		Yenikapı chosen as site for two train stations
1999-2002		Preliminary geophysical survey carried out
2003		Decision made to excavate
November 2004		Excavation begins at Metro and Marmaray
April 2005	1	First shipwreck found
August 2005	2	Second shipwreck found; C. Pulak invited to help with conservation
January 2006	8	Conservation tender won by Istanbul + Texas A&M Universities
May 2006	8	Church and Constantine Walls discovered, declared conservation areas
April 2007	19	Move to 24-hour work schedule; Marmaray contractor changed
June 2007	24	Istanbul 8000 Years' exhibition opens at IAM
December 2007	30	Istanbul 8000 Years' exhibition closes
July 2008	32	Controversy over mechanical excavation; discovery of Neolithic village
Aug-Sept 2008		Strikes by workmen and freelancers
June 2009	34	Marmaray excavations conclude
2009-2011		Shipwreck lifting and excavation continues in Metro Area
June 2011		IMM launches architectural competition for Yenikapı Museum
February 2012		Neolithic footprints discovered
April 2012		Finalists in museum competition announced
June 2012		Final shipwreck lifted; Metro excavation concludes

3) Yenikapı and the Heritage Chain

With two separate construction projects and a succession of huge, dramatic, and challenging finds over almost 8 years, the organization of archaeological work at Yenikapı was necessarily complex. Like excavations anywhere, national law and regulation played a role in shaping this structure: but, in this case, only a minor part. Instead, the management of the excavations was the result of a series of ad hoc institutional, organizational, financial and managerial solutions that were improvised specifically for Yenikapı based on its unique problematics and the evolution of the finds. In this section we describe the organizational structures that shaped the project at each stage of the heritage chain based on the structure behavior and performance model, with particular attention to the complex relationship between Turkish law and the unpredictable nature of the finds (table 2).

3.1 Protection

Protection is the first and most important link in the heritage chain, and creates the framework for excavation, conservation, and interpretation of heritage sites. In Turkey, branches of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are responsible for heritage protection, most significantly through the system of Regional Conservation Councils, which can grant protected status to ‘cultural property requiring conservation’. Once a site is registered for protection, a ‘conservation zoning plan’ should be prepared by the relevant administration (municipal or provincial) to regulate land use within the site. The RCC has the power to approve or deny applications for conservation and research interventions, including development based on these plans and establishes interim principles while the plans are being prepared. When protected sites are placed in danger by looting, erosion, natural disasters, or construction, RCCs can request urgent archaeological or conservation intervention by Museum Directorates.¹

Rescue archaeology in Turkey began in the 1960s but was concentrated in dam construction areas under a variety of management models. Recently, the Ministry has established special technical advisory boards in this area that work with the State Waterworks Administration (DSİ) to establish principles for intervention at archaeological sites (Principles 749, 717, 765; Çeziker 48). Beginning in the 1990s, the special challenges of urban rescue archaeology – especially in Istanbul – became more prominent, leading the MoCT to issue the first principles for urban archaeology in 1993 (Principles 338, 658; Belge 2004.) Yet, Turkish main cultural heritage law is silent on rescue excavations: procedures for rescue archaeology are specified instead only by principles and circulars issued within the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Instead of a formal law, the MoCT’s Museum Directorates are given responsibility to conduct rescue excavations under the “Circular on the implementation of archaeological survey research, testing and excavation works relating to cultural and natural heritage”, issued by the Ministry itself. When the need emerges, Museum Directorates apply to the MoCT’s General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums for permission to excavate. These conditions apply to all areas in Turkey, whether or not they are protected sites. For sites already registered for protection, Articles 15 and 16 define procedures for archaeological testing and excavation. Rescue excavations can also occur as part of use conditions imposed by RCCs at urban archaeological sites and urban sites (Articles 15, 16).

The RCCs have long played a central role in protecting Istanbul’s heritage. In 1995, the whole Historic Peninsula of Istanbul was declared a protected area when Istanbul Conservation Council #1 declared it “an Urban and Historical Site, Urban and Archaeological Site, and the area within the Sur-1 Sultanı² as a 1st degree archaeological site” (Decision 6848, 12.7.1995). Yenikapı, which is located within this area, is therefore protected as an Urban and Historical Site, and an Urban and Archaeological Site. However, creating a conservation zoning plan for the Historic peninsula has

¹ Under Law 2863, Regional Conservation Councils – peripheral administrations of the MoCT - play the key role in protecting Turkey’s cultural heritage sites. Though evaluation dossiers proposing the conservation of buildings and sites can be prepared by MoCT, GDF, or the Regional Conservation Councils (Article 7), only the Regional Conservation Councils can grant protected status (2863, Articles 7 and 8). RCCs then classify sites according to one of five statuses: individual building, urban site, archaeological site (1st, 2nd, 3rd degree), urban archaeological site and historical site.¹ Site boundaries are determined by the RCC. New construction is prohibited outright only at 1st and 2nd degree archaeological sites; it is possible at individual buildings and other types of sites under conditions set forth in respective principles (Principles 658, 702, 720, 421) and with the approval of the RCC. (The Regulation on Evaluation and Registration of Immovable Cultural Heritage and Sites Requiring Conservation).

² This area, within the grounds of Topkapı Palace, was the central district of Byzantium.

been a highly contentious process. Begun in 1995, the first draft was finished in 2005 but was cancelled after a lawsuit alleging that it did not provide sufficient protection for the area. A second version was finished in 2010, and after revisions requested by the RCC was approved in January 2012 by the IMM assembly (Arkitera 2005, IMM 2012). The Yenikapı excavations, therefore took place under the authority of the RCC in the absence of a formal plan.

When planning the Marmaray project, the Ministry of Transportation commissioned an assessment of its potential impacts for cultural heritage and the environment in 1984-1986, with updates in 1996-1998 and again in 2003-2004 (Batur in Çeziker 2011:68; Lykke and Belkaya 2005:601). Marmaray also attracted the attention of UNESCO, which examined potential impacts to the Yenikapı site in several reports between 2000 and 2004. Historical sources indicated that a major port – the harbor of Theodosius – had been present in the area from the 4th through 12th centuries, and the Batur report recommended that archaeological investigations should be included in the project design, with necessary excavations taking place before the beginning of construction (Batur).

Though IAM archaeologists were also aware of the ancient port, they believed that the area was less archaeologically sensitive because it was open water during antiquity. According to former museum director İsmail Karamut,

we didn't think that such important cultural heritage would be found in the the area we were going to excavate. We were going to excavate in the middle of a harbor, so we thought that mud and sand were going to come out (Karamut interview)

After the locations for the two stations had been identified at Yenikapı, the RCC asked that test excavations be carried out at the proposed 58,000 m² construction area, and the MoCT delegated the IAMD to do so. As a Marmaray official reported

In 2001, we had carried out a remains research by geo-radar method and were about to complete expropriation. We started the first research in Yenikapı, with the museum in 2003. The first research was composed of 22 boreholes on the expropriated 32,000 square meters of land. On May 25, it had been decided that [archaeological] research was to be carried out on the entire area (Yalçın Eyigün, quoted in Özdamar 2010:77).

The RCC continued to be actively involved even after excavations were underway. When the Constantinian walls of the ancient city were discovered in the Marmaray zone known as '100 Ada' in late 2005, for instance, RCC 4 'took the area under conservation' and ordered a stop to the archaeological excavations, which otherwise would have removed the walls and proceeded downward (Güven 2006). Moreover, the RCC in June 2006 ordered a change to the initial plan for the Yenikapı Marmaray station, eliminating an exit and therefore the planned connection with the existing suburban rail line (Karabaş 2008). In December 2006, a Byzantine church was found near the proposed Marmaray station site. After a debate about whether to change another station exit, RCC 4 decided to require the church to be removed and reconstructed later in a new location.

From this brief summary, several questions emerge about heritage protection at Yenikapı. Striking a balance between heritage and development is a challenge, and Yenikapı presents both positive and negative elements. On the positive side, the discovery of the shipwrecks, Constantinian walls, and Neolithic village have transformed knowledge of Istanbul's history and Byzantine seafaring and trade. Without the infrastructure development plans of non-archaeological actors, these would otherwise have remained unknown. However, instead of relocating the transport hub to another location, the entire archaeological deposit was removed quickly – a deposit that, if

preserved, could have provided scholars with research opportunities for decades with limited destruction through excavation.³

The two small areas of architectural remains that were preserved - the church and the Constantinian wall - illustrate both the strengths and the weaknesses of the RCCs. By declaring these conservation areas, the RCC was able to use its powers under Turkish law to substantially modify the engineering of the train stations, requiring the DLH and Ministry of Transportation to cancel two planned exits. These two areas, however covered only a very small part of the site, and had rather an architectural more than an archaeological significance. This result, odd from an archaeological point of view, could possibly be explained by an professional bias toward architectural remains over archaeological deposits due to a comparatively larger number of architects than archaeologists on RCC boards. RCCs are composed of five members from the disciplines of archeology, art history, law, architecture and city planning plus representatives of relevant ministries. Since the law treats these specialties as interchangeable, the focus of board decisions may reflect professional biases, depending on its composition.

3.2 Archaeological Excavation

The Turkish heritage law's lack of specificity not only leads to ambiguity in the site protection system, but also fails to specify a standard organizational structure and financing mechanism for urban excavations. Apart from the legal vacuum, the Yenikapı archaeological excavation was complicated by the completely unexpected nature and scale of the discoveries, which would have thrown any system into crisis. It was impossible to plan timelines and resources (human or financial) in advance: for example, the number of archaeologists at Yenikapı grew from 25 to 50, the number of workmen from 100 to 500, and the Marmaray budget from \$4 million to over \$10 million over the course of the excavation. Though this uncertainty is a common problem in rescue excavations, Yenikapı certainly represents an extreme case.

The only reference to the organization rescue archaeology in Turkish law is in the Circular noted above, which states that

the [museum's] application should state the need for the excavation, the personnel situation of the museum, how the project fits into the internal and field work situation of the museum, and in summers (which are very busy) which experts from the General Directorate, central Ministry, or peripheral branches will be made responsible (Article 14).

According to the circular, therefore, rescue excavations take place within the existing museum structures and are not allocated special resources. However, Turkish museums are not autonomous institutions: they cannot hire temporary employees or fully manage their own budgets. Moreover Museum Directorates have limited numbers of archaeologists who are already overloaded with normal routines of museum life and do not receive additional staffing or funding for these projects. These structures are not designed to cope for the special needs of rescue excavations, which have short time lines and may be very large in terms of financial and human resource requirements.

Thus large rescue projects, which require more resources than museums possess, enter a legal-institutional vacuum. The projects that have emerged are ad hoc solution that are not necessarily replicable [Perhaps give examples of preceding projects and their ad hoc structures: Four Seasons and Eresin Hotel⁴.]

³ Less potential was lost in respect to exhibiting the site to visitors, since the fragility of the organic materials found in wet contexts such as Yenikapı made them impossible to preserve or exhibit *in situ*, even had the Metro and Marmaray stations been relocated.

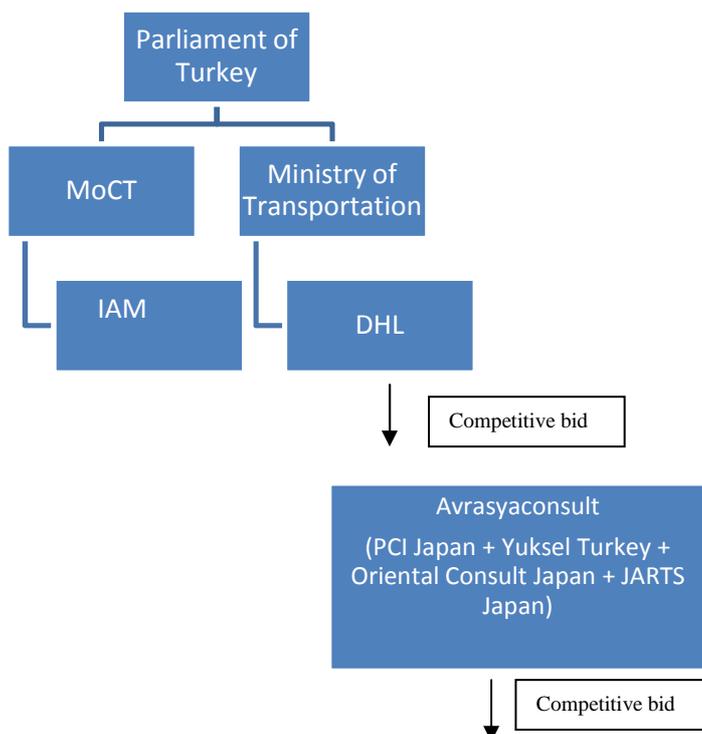
⁴ For instance, quite different management models were developed for the Keban Dam project (1960s-1970s), the BTC pipeline project (1990s), and Yenikapı. See Çeziker 2011 for detailed descriptions.

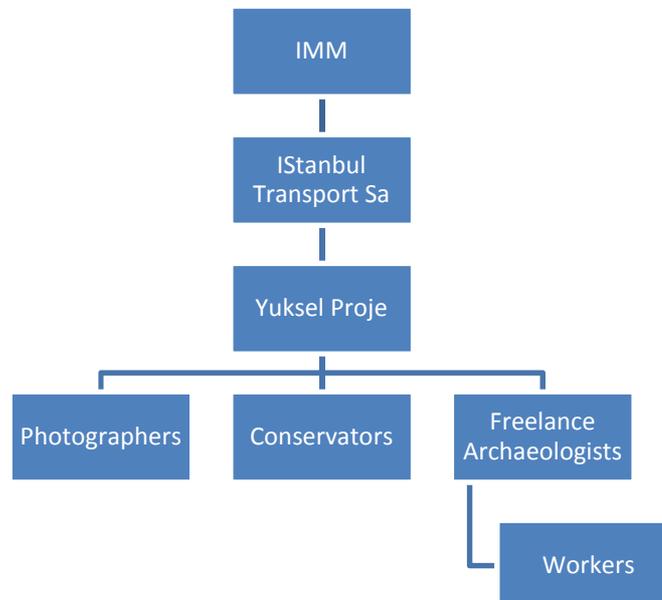
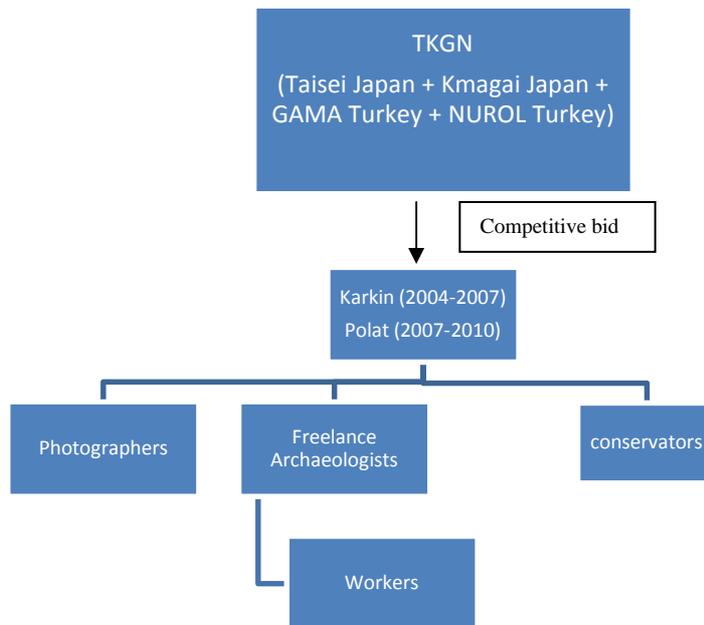
The Metro and Marmaray projects made the limitations of this system clearly evident. The Istanbul Archaeology Museum was responsible for archaeological excavation at five new train stations (Yenikapı plus Üsküdar, Sirkeci, Şehzadebaşı, and Aksaray) under construction simultaneously. However, the museum staff includes about 30 archaeologists, far too few to conduct so many archaeological excavations while maintaining the museum’s normal functions of exhibition, registration, and research. The IAM director, Ismail Karamut, was forced to split his time between his museum duties and his responsibilities as director of five Marmaray and Metro excavations. He estimated

Weekends and Fridays, I would go to the site and stay until noon. I’d talk to friends there, listen to their problems, since they didn’t have any vacations there – they worked on Sunday as well. We would look around the site together, and they would ask me about the problems they were having and I would give instructions. I also had to go to different government bodies regarding Yenikapı, including Conservation Board meetings and Monday meetings with the construction firms... I can say that about 20 hours per week I was working on Yenikapı (Karamut 16.05.2011).

The fact that IAM does not have the legal authority to hire temporary employees had serious unanticipated consequences. The lack of sufficient archaeologists within the MoCT system led the IMM and DLH to agree to hire freelance archaeologists and other specialists (such as architects, conservators, photographers) through the two construction firms and their subcontractors. In the Metro excavations, these staff were hired directly by Yüksel Proje, while in the Marmaray project TGN subcontracted the work to Karkin SA (2004-2007) and Polat SA (2007-2010), both construction firms. In the resulting system, Yüksel, Karkin, and Polat determined wages, hired freelance archaeologists and unskilled workmen, and provided excavation equipment. Over the life of the project, an average of 30-50 freelance archaeologists and 200-300 workmen worked at the Yenikapı excavations. These staff were supervised by 6-10 archaeologists from IAM, who managed all decisions related to archaeological issues (see Table 4).

Table 4 - Organization of the Marmaray & Metro excavation





The complexity of this organization had important consequences in terms of professional outcomes at Yenikapı. The first of these is typical of these situations, i.e. the implicit conflict between the professional values of archaeologists and the incentives that motivated the construction firms. Here, however, this conflict is exacerbated: the entire project exhibits a dual hierarchy, with scientific-professional issues managed by the IAM and organizational-logistical issues managed by the contractors. The archaeologists were motivated by scientific considerations and would have preferred to work carefully, without attention to time schedules. The Marmaray contractors, by contrast, were paid by the cubic meter and therefore had an incentive to accelerate the excavations. This conflict was exacerbated by the rapid discovery of over 20 shipwrecks by early 2007, making it obvious that the project, far from being finished, would continue to produce significant archaeological finds. Because the delays were seriously affecting the cost of the overall Marmaray project, pressure was put on the archaeologists to accelerate excavation work. In response, the Ministry of Transportation demanded in April 2007 that the excavations in the Marmaray area move to a 24-hour work schedule on three shifts, seven days per week.

However, working at night, especially in rainy or snowy conditions, posed problems of quality control and illicit trafficking in artifacts. According to the press, workmen were largely unsupervised during night shifts:

During the night work the archaeologists don't come out of the containers, so the workers work according to their own preferences. The construction firms pay them by the cubic meter, so they choose to dig more. No one checks the workers' coming and going. Because of this artifacts found in the area can be easily taken out. Excavation trucks are continuously filled with artifacts. Some illegal antiquities dealers gather the artifacts a stone's throw outside the site (Erbil 2008b).

IAM director Karamut did not deny the allegations, but pointed out that it was a problem of human resources, over which he had no control: only 2 IAM and 6 freelance archaeologists were available on the night shift to supervise 200 workers. Other participants in the project noted that the construction companies refused to pay for enough lights to sufficiently illuminate the project, harming the workers' and archaeologists' efficiency (Çeziker interview).

The conflict between contractors and archaeologists became even sharper in August and September 2008 when both unskilled workers and freelance archaeologists went on strike, protesting that they had not been paid in two months. Several freelancers were fired, provoking more protests by the archaeologists, who demanded that they be rehired (Archaeologists' Association 2008a, 2008b; Akşam 2008, Evrensel 2008). One of the strikers' grievances was related to time pressures: they accused Polat Construction of encouraging low quality work in order to finish the excavation sooner. Workers went on strike again for a week in July 2009 (Erbil 2009) and for a month in 2010, protesting that their salaries had not been paid and that legally-required social insurance payments had not been made by Polat. These issues created a difficult working environment, as well as further delaying the project.

Second, the issue of time not only created tensions between archaeologists and the construction firms, but was also created ambiguities and contrasts between the two parts of the excavation: though IAM archaeologists managed freelance archaeologists and workmen as a single excavation project, Metro and Marmaray had different and complex organizational and financial structures. In this sense we can identify two 'double hierarchies': IAM-Metro and IAM-Marmaray. This led to numerous coordination problems, as one freelance archaeologist at Marmaray reflected:

There were big differences between Marmaray and Metro in terms of archaeology as well. You could see that they had different stratigraphy... They [Metro] found more architectural elements, and since we [Marmaray] were in the sea [i.e. the ancient harbor] we didn't find those things. And the Metro excavations are working much slower than we were, since they were getting more money when they took the soil out. Our company was paid by the cubic meter, but the municipality had some kind of different system. The speed of work was different. I was excavating like mad with 100 workers, and my friend was digging 5 trenches with 3 workers. They were brushing and we were drilling! They were not using the 3 shift [24 hour] system.

As noted above, these issues required excavation director Karamut to spend significant time in coordinating meetings with representatives of construction firms, engineering firms, the DLH, and the IMM (Karamut). When further resources were needed in a particular zone, Karamut's requests were directed to the relevant agency. Despite this coordination problem, however, Karamut felt that it was possible to manage the excavation as a single scientific project (Karamut interview). Considering that the commercial logics of contracting firms are usually dominant in rescue archaeology situations, this would represent a significant accomplishment.

In late July 2008, contemporaneously with the first strike, a third kind of conflict emerged about which institution was responsible for determining excavation methodology. To speed excavations, IAM Director Karamut proposed to use heavy machinery to excavate a 110m² area of clay soil

below the level of the shipwrecks. However, Regional Conservation Council 4 rejected the use of heavy equipment, insisting instead that ‘scientific excavation’ methods be used. In response Karamut (also a member of the council) declared that the IAM, not the RCC, was the competent body to decide on excavation methodology (Erbil 2008c). Excavation in the clay area began that month, and almost immediately discovered the well-preserved architecture of the Neolithic village. Excavation in this area with heavy equipment continued until November, when archaeologists switched to hand excavation after the discovery of more neolithic urn burials (Erbil 2008d).

3.3 Conservation

Conservation systems for the rich artifactual finds at Yenikapı also emerged from the ad hoc nature of the project, with small finds and shipwrecks under two different organizational structures. Turkish law (2863, Articles 24-25, 41) gives IAM responsibility for cataloguing and preservation of movable cultural heritage – including archaeological artifacts – found in Istanbul Province. Materials were found in excavation were cleaned, photographed, and catalogued in an onsite laboratory by freelance conservators hired by the Metro and Marmaray contractors. Afterwards, a IAM archaeologist would choose examples for accessioning into the museum’s collections. The laboratory staff, about 12 current or former conservation students at İstanbul University, were supported by workmen assigned to wash pottery.⁵ Overall it seems that the processing and transfer of the Yenikapı artifacts did not present a major logistical or administrative challenge, but rather fit well into the existing administrative routines of the museum.

The Yenikapı shipwrecks, by contrast, were a much greater administrative, financial, and professional challenge. To Karamut it was initially unclear how the unexpected finds of shipwrecks would be managed or paid for:

To tell the truth, we were not ready. As we expanded [the excavations], questions arose, not just for us but also for the Transportation Ministry. As the boats were coming out, we wondered who would remove them, who would pay for them.

With the first discoveries, Karamut invited Sait Başaran from Istanbul University’s conservation department (which had experience with organic materials but not with shipwrecks) and Cemal Pulak of Texas A&M University (who had worked on several of Turkey’s most famous underwater excavations) to offer their advice on conservation solutions. Istanbul University (and Turkish academic institutions more generally) had limited experience with excavating shipwrecks on land, requiring the rapid development of scientific and logistical skills and appropriate conservation facilities. In this Pulak and the Texas A&M team played an important role in training and skill transfer to an Istanbul University team led by professor Ufuk Kocabaş.

The fact that the shipwrecks emerged only after the excavation was already underway, and that the IAM lacked the appropriate skills to deal with such finds, thus required the development of an ad hoc solution that added yet more organizational complexity. Soon after the first shipwreck finds in late 2005 it was decided to outsource shipwreck conservation and removal, with separate public tenders for ship removal and conservation in their respective areas which were won by the two universities early in 2006, a situation which continued into 2012 (Gökçay interview). In the end, Pulak and the Texas A&M team took responsibility for lifting and conservation of 9 shipwrecks, all in the Metro area, while the remaining 27 shipwrecks (13 in the Marmaray and 14 in the Metro areas) were managed by Istanbul University (HDN Sept 26 2011). Both projects were responsible directly to the excavation director for scientific issues (Gökçay). Shipwreck conservation, therefore, added yet another parallel organizational structure to the already complex excavation system, with a separation between operation, financial issues, and scientific supervision.

⁵ From a formal point of view there were two laboratories, one for Marmaray and one for Metro, but it is unclear from our sources whether they were located in practice in the same structure.

Government contracts are not public documents in Turkey, but we can reconstruct a few numbers from published sources. Lifting the first four shipwrecks, for instance, cost 460,000 TL (€50,000 each), and the next ten cost 1,430,000 TL (€62,000 each). By 2008, the Metro system had spent 2.3 million TL (€1 million) constructing desalinization pools. The contract with Texas A&M's Institute of Nautical Archaeology totaled \$650,000 (Eyigün 2008). Ship conservation also received private sponsorship from BASF corporation.

Conflicts between professional values and languages also emerged here: the contractors and engineering firms were asked for financial support for lifting the ships and building desalinization pools, but they initially did not understand the scientific importance of these procedures and were reluctant to accept the additional cost (Karamut interview):

As we were building the [desalinization] pools each [project] had to get permission from their separate committees. Of course the committees that had to give permission didn't know anything about archaeology. So it was hard for them to understand, why are you making this? What will it be? (...) It was hard to get the money. They [the IMM and MoT] were not expecting this! They were not expecting that we would find 35 shipwrecks. The conservation got very expensive for them.

Eventually both the IMM and the MoT provided substantial funds for the conservation of the ships, but the process of obtaining them was not linear and required extensive negotiations, especially in the case of the IMM.

Beyond funding issues, discovery of a ship created significant logistical problems for the excavation as a whole. Excavating wood and other organic materials is a much slower process than normal excavation, and finds must be kept constantly wet during the process of uncovering, recording, and lifting them. Excavation, however, might continue around a discovered ship, leaving it raised on a pedestal as the soil around was removed. According to one archaeologist who worked at the site, these pedestals could be as much as 6 meters high, creating obstacles to movement around the site and also complicating scientific recording (Çeziker interview).

With the conclusion of the Metro excavation in mid-2012, all 36 shipwrecks have been moved to desalinization pools. Istanbul University's Kocabaş, however, estimated that conservation work on the ships would require 20 years of further work (Sept 2011 newspaper interview). It is not clear, however, what institutional and financial arrangements have been made to enable completion of conservation work, a discourse also missing from the debate about the eventual Yenikapı museum, as we shall see below.

3.4 Research

Turkish law grants publication rights personally to excavation directors (2863, Article 43). In Turkey, as in many other countries, assigning such exclusive rights to one individual or institution can lead to significant or permanent delays in publication, limiting the production and diffusion of scientific knowledge (TAY Project; for China, see BLINDED QUOTATION). In the case of rescue archaeology, the MoCT circular specifies that "Publication rights belong to the administration actually carrying out the work, but the Museum Directorate can share these with mission members according to subject" (Article 14(f)(7)). At Yenikapı, besides outsourcing conservation services, IAM Director Karamut was unusually active in inviting outside institutions from Turkey, Europe and the United States to participate in specialized studies on topics such as osteology, geology, geophysics, and dendrochronology, and took an unusually open approach toward publication rights (e.g. Algan et al 2011, Bony et al. 2012, Onar et al, 2012, Pearson et al. 2012). This had important results in terms of the speed and number of publications:

While I was inviting all of these scientists, I was also giving them publication rights. One thing I'm proud of is that in this case, for the first time in urban archaeology done

by the Ministry of Culture, there was a book published before the end of the excavations, and an [academic] symposium about the Marmaray excavations was organized (Karamut interview).

As a result, publication on many aspects of the Yenikapı excavations has been very rapid compared to most purely academic projects. At least five major volumes about the project have come out and at least 40 academic articles. There have been at least 6 academic conferences in Istanbul on the project, as well as presentations about various aspects of the project at a wide range of international conferences and meetings. Major publications on the archaeological aspects of the project have been largely produced by IAM staff archaeologists, illustrating both Karamut's widespread delegation of publication rights and suggesting that, despite the museum staff's heavy workload, they did not neglect academic publication. Outside the IAM, Istanbul and Texas A&M University conservators have published most of the material on the shipwrecks, while scholars from other institutions have developed specialized studies on topics such as palaeogeology and palaeodemography.

3.5 Public Access

Heritage management literature increasingly emphasizes the importance of sharing scientific finds with the public, yet not all finds become equally important in public consciousness, and there are few attempts to assess the effectiveness of public outreach. As we have seen, the discoveries at Yenikapı have transformed academic knowledge, but did they do the same for popular consciousness in Istanbul, Turkey, and elsewhere? Lacking survey data, here we examine three proxies: coverage in popular media, public exhibitions and events, and museification.

Press Coverage

The excavations at Yenikapı were extremely well-covered in national, and international media, with hundreds of newspaper articles, dozens of instances of television coverage in domestic media and major articles in international media including the New York Times, Archaeology Magazine, and National Geographic Magazine. As Table 5 shows, just three major national newspapers combined to publish 180 articles on the Yenikapı excavations between 2003 and 2012. Yenikapı and the Marmaray project have been the subject of documentaries by the CBC (2011), Discovery Channel (2011?) and National Geographic Channel (2008)⁶ that reached international audiences of millions. Besides this intensive press coverage, a webcam at site itself broadcasted live footage of the excavations 24/7 between 2007 and 2010.

Exhibitions

To date there have been three exhibitions related to the archaeology of Yenikapı. In the second half of 2007, the IAM sponsored 'In the Daylight: 8000 Years of Istanbul', which exhibited hundreds of artifacts from the excavations, which were then still ongoing. The Sakip Sabancı Museum showed numerous artifacts from Yenikapı as part of its 'Istanbul of Legend: 8000 Years of a Capital' exhibit in Summer 2010. From April to September 2012, the Rahmi M. Koç Museum showed an exhibit of photographs from the excavations entitled 'Yenikapı's Ancient Boats'. There have also been two exhibitions focused on architectural design in the Yenikapı area, including ideas for an eventual museum. Both entitled 'Yenikapı: Transfer Point', the first exhibited work by students at Bilgi University and the Politecnico di Milano at Bilgi University in June 2008. The second displayed the projects of the finalists of BİMTAŞ's architectural design competition for the proposed Yenikapı archaeological park, submitted by international and Turkish firms.

A Museum for Yenikapı

⁶ Put the link in a footnote.

On August 31, 2005 Karamut and İstanbul Mayor Kadir Topbaş announced plans for a ‘Museum Station’ that would exhibit finds from Yenikapı at the point where the Metro and Marmaray stations met (Karamut, IBB press release, 2005). The Regional Conservation Council approved the project concept (Zaman 2005), and the IAM and the IMM agreed that the city would construct and manage the museum, while IAM would retain ownership of the artifacts (Karamut interview) – an unusual proposal given Turkey’s history of strong centralization of cultural heritage, yet one which created institutional fragmentation and ambiguity about responsibilities (Table 6).

The rapid increase in the number of shipwrecks during 2007 created difficulties for the ‘Museum Station’ concept, and by January 2008 newspapers reported that a multi-story museum building was now planned for Yenikapı under the auspices of the IMM Urban Design Group (*Milliyet*). As Karamut noted,

It is impossible to exhibit 30 shipwrecks inside a station museum. For this reason, we are looking for a place to build a museum at the excavation area, within the scope of the Metropolitan Municipality’s Urban Design Project (Ömer Erbil in *Milliyet*).

With the emergence of the İstanbul 2010 Capital of Culture agency in 2008, the IMM Urban Design Group decided to ask the agency to fund and administer an international architectural competition for the Yenikapı museum area. This decision, possibly motivated by the presence of significant available funds, might also have presented a solution to the administrative fragmentation inherent in the project if İstanbul 2010 had not been a temporary institution and therefore unable to manage the project past 2010.

Moreover, İstanbul 2010’s involvement also introduced conceptual ambiguity to the museum development plan by articulating a new vision of the project: beyond serving as an archaeological museum, the project should be “a symbol of the city, designed by a well-known architect” and should “deal with the meaning and purpose of the city itself” (Keskin 2009). The new project was conceptualized as a ‘transfer point and archaeo-park’. However, the planning process was slow: though initiated in January 2009, the contract to administer the competition was not signed until late October 2010 (Arkitera Jan 9, 2009, Özdamar).

The İstanbul 2010 agency was dissolved in January 2011 before the competition had begun, and IMM absorbed the agency’s unfinished projects. At the end of June 2011, the ‘Yenikapı Transfer Point and Archaeo-Park International Preliminary Architecture Project’ was finally announced. After evaluation a shortlist of 9 projects was announced in December and three finalist designs were chosen in April, 2012. Despite estimates by Topbaş that the project would cost 300 million TL, no further action has been announced on the project or IMM websites as of October 2012 and the status of the project remains unclear.

Over time, the project vision expanded from a single museum structure to an urban design plan for a large zone around Yenikapı, of which a museum structure was only one of many parts. This raised serious concerns within the heritage community: staff of the archaeological museum noted that they had little information about the status of the museum process and pointed out the problem of holding a design competition before the elements of the project had been clearly defined. Others argued about whether the ‘museum-station’ plans should go forward in parallel with a central Yenikapı museum (116), or whether it was safe to exhibit artefacts in train stations at all. There was widespread uncertainty among archaeologists about what institution was the ‘owner’ of the project, and contention about who should pay for it: in a 2010 symposium, the MoCT representative suggested that the Ministry of Transportation pay for the museum, while the MoT representatives declared that this would be legally impossible, and instead asked the Japanese sponsors of Marmaray to assist with the project (Özdamar 2010:106-110).

The rapid evolution of finds and organizational structure at the excavation itself had notable consequences as well for museum design, making it impossible to carry out the initial modest ‘station-museum’ plans. However, delays and the remaining ambiguities in the museum project are

also connected to the role of the IMM. On the one hand, the municipality's decision to involve the Istanbul 2010 Agency in the project imposed significant (and perhaps unforeseeable) delays. More generally, it exemplifies the new trend in Turkey for metropolitan municipalities to exploit cultural heritage for urban prestige and economic development through tourism, a trend made possible by decentralization initiatives since 2004 (as in the case of Gaziantep, BLINDED QUOTATION). These initiatives often are accompanied by unrealistic expectations and a lack of professional expertise in cultural heritage within municipal administrations. In the case of Gaziantep, for instance, the dominance of architects and urban planners has impoverished the discourse about archaeology, museology, and heritage. In Yenikapi as well, This predominance of architectural perspectives may have contributed to the lack not only of a professional museological design, but also the lack of serious consideration of the institutional and financial frameworks of the museum. What institutional status the museum will have, who will manage it with what staff, and who will fund its operating costs (beyond construction costs) remain open questions.

Examining this final link in the heritage chain exposes both major strengths and serious weaknesses of the project as a whole. Over eight years – and especially between 2008 and 2010 – the Yenikapi excavations were intensively covered in many media platforms, including print, television, and internet. Several major museum exhibits have focused on the site, even before completion of the excavations themselves, accompanied by scholarly conferences and high-quality publications. Finding a permanent home for the 36 shipwrecks and tens of thousands of small finds from Yenikapi, however, is a much greater challenge. Far from moving a museum project forward, eight years of discussion and project delays has succeeded only in moved museum construction from the center of agenda.

Table 2 – SBP in Yenikapi

	Protection	Archaeological excavation	Conservation	Research	Museum Presentation
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - RCC registers urban archaeological sites and defines possible interventions - No law for Rescue archaeology, only regulated in circular: - Rescue archaeology It could be initiated under RCC, MD or MOCT initiative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The MoCT circular on rescue excavation states that they are conducted by museum directorate under MOCT permission - rescue excavations are carried out within existing museum structure and resources (no specific structures/resources for urban archaeology) - Turkish museum are non autonomous institutions that cannot hire temporary employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law 2863 gives to museums the responsibility of artifacts cataloguing and preservation - Laws XXX permits the excavation director to be supported by external experts on specific scientific matters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law 2863 grants publication rights to the excavations director with possibility to give it to other experts on specific scientific issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A centralized system with MoCT responsibility
Behaviors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 1999 Yenikapi is selected as a transfer point of Marmaray and metro station without preventive excavation before the location decision - Underestimating the potential finds (also by archaeologists) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 2003 MoCT assigns to the IAM the responsibility of conducting rescue excavation at 5 train stations (including yenikapi) - Ad hoc solution for yenikapi excavation: free lance archaeologists and other specialists are hired by the construction firms - “per cubic meter payment” for the archaeological excavation at Marmaray - Double hierarchy: Split between professional and logistical-organizational responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Artifacts: The museum is supported by a on site laboratory crew of free lancers and workmen - Shipwrecks: Lack of skills within the museum leads the director to ask Texas A&M university and Istanbul university experts for advice and cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - open approach of the excavation director who gives publication rights to professionals variously involved in the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unusual involvement of IMM with proactive role - 2006: initial plan to build an onsite museum - 2008: Change of plan toward transfer point - 2009: involvement of Istanbul 2010 agency - 2010: the museum project get back to the IMM
Performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Thanks to the construction the ancient port and shipwrecks are found → development of knowledge - The deposit is destroyed and the transport hub is created: loss of research opportunity for future generation RCC intervention permits only to save 2 small parts of the site (church and wall) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institutional and organizational complexity - Conflicts between scientific values and incentives of construction firms - 24 hours shift leads to quality and control problems in the excavation - Strike of archaeologists and workmen leads to delays in excavation - difficult working environment - Overload of work for the excavation director and museum staff as a whole - Even if the site is successfully managed as a single scientific project the two double hierarchies existing (marmaray and metro) lead to coordination problems - Conflicts between RCC and IAM on excavation techniques 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Artifacts conservation is successfully included in the Museum routines - Shipwrecks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Good cooperation and transfer of knowledge between Universities o Additional layer of organizational complexity o Conflicts between professional values and contractors (to find resources) o Logistical problems to excavate and conserve the ships contemporaneously o What about conservation in the long term? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very rapid publication even before excavation ends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Important media coverage - 3 temporary exhibition on yenikapi + 2 on architectural projects - Museum: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Institutional fragmentation of responsibilities o delays and ambiguity in the overall process o no museum at date has been built or budgeted o new role of IMM on museum privileges architecture than archaeology