

Negotiating antiquities: Institutionalisation of French archaeological research in Anatolia (1890–1930)

Taybuğa Aybars Mamalı^a and Gül Cephaneçigil^b

^aIstanbul Technical University, Türkiye / Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Türkiye

^bIstanbul Technical University, Türkiye

mamali17@itu.edu.tr / taybuga.aybars.mamali@msgsu.edu.tr

Abstract

This article examines the process that led to the establishment of the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul in 1930, situating it within the broader context of French cultural diplomacy and inter-imperial competition in the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic, as well as the scientific curiosity towards Anatolian and Turkish Islamic antiquities. The article argues that the creation of the institute was not a predetermined outcome but rather the product of a protracted negotiation involving French and Ottoman/Turkish governmental, diplomatic and scholarly actors. These negotiations were shaped by shifting political contexts, conflicting institutional agendas and the broader redefinition of Franco-Turkish relations following World War I and the Allied occupation of Constantinople. By tracing the evolving proposals for the establishment of an institute from the late 19th century through the 1920s, and by focusing on key figures such as Albert Gabriel, the study highlights how scholarly interests and cultural diplomacy were entangled with political sovereignty and national identity. The institutional negotiations examined here reveal not only the challenges of maintaining cultural influence in a changing geopolitical landscape but also provide a window into the broader dynamics of scholarly diplomacy, negotiation and institutional formation in the early 20th century.

Özet

Bu makale, 1930 yılında İstanbul'da kurulan Fransız Arkeoloji Enstitüsü'nün kuruluş sürecini ele almakta; bu süreci, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemleri ile erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si bağlamında Fransız kültürel diplomasisi ve emperyal rekabet, ayrıca Anadolu ve Türk İslam eserlerine bilimsel ilgi çerçevesinde değerlendirmektedir. Makale, enstitünün kuruluşunun önceden belirlenmiş bir sonuç değil, Fransız ve Osmanlı/Türk hükümet yetkilileri, diplomatlar ve akademisyenler arasında yürütülen uzun süreli müzakerelerin ürünü olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bu müzakereler, değişen siyasal bağlamlar, çelişkili kurumsal hedefler ve I. Dünya Savaşı ile İstanbul'un İtilaf Devletleri tarafından işgalinden sonra yeniden tanımlanan Fransız-Türk ilişkileri tarafından şekillendirilmiştir. Enstitü kurulmasına dair önerilerin 19. yüzyıl sonundan 1920'lere uzanan gelişimini ve Albert Gabriel gibi aktörlerin rolünü izleyen bu çalışma, bilimsel çıkarlar ile kültürel diplomasinin siyasi egemenlik ve ulusal kimlikle nasıl iç içe geçtiğini göstermektedir. İncelenen kurumsal müzakereler, değişen jeopolitik ortamda kültürel nüfuzu sürdürmenin zorluklarını ortaya koyarken, aynı zamanda 20. yüzyılın başlarında bilim diplomasisi, müzakere ve kurumsal oluşumun dinamiklerine ışık tutmaktadır.

In recent years, the history of archaeology has moved beyond excavation reports and individual biographies to explore broader networks of actors, including states, museums and scholarly institutions. While this shift has illuminated the political dimensions of archaeological practice, especially in colonial contexts, the specific role

of archaeological institutions as diplomatic agents remains underexplored. In the Levant and Anatolia, foreign institutes not only facilitated research but also mediated cultural and political interests. Yet their institutional agency, evolving functions and strategic positioning, have rarely been examined in relation to their scholarly output.

Throughout the 19th century, as archaeology developed into a scientific discipline, Western countries adopted different models of institutionalisation. Some inherited learned societies, others operated as direct state enterprises; while certain nations established institutes abroad, others conducted research without formal institutions. Alongside Athens and Rome – long regarded as the roots of modern European civilisation – Egypt, Palestine and Anatolia stood out for their political and historical significance. The Russian Archaeological Institute operated in Constantinople between 1895 and 1917, while the disruptions of the First World War gave rise to short-lived initiatives such as the Hungarian (1916–1918) and Swedish (1922–1924) institutes. Although the Istanbul branch of the German Archaeological Institute was officially established in 1929, German institutional presence in the Ottoman Empire had existed earlier in different forms. Among these efforts, the French initiative to establish an archaeological institute in Anatolia, first proposed in 1893, was one of the earliest, although its official foundation did not occur until 1930. Over this unusually prolonged period, the nature, function and scope of the envisioned institute were repeatedly contested and renegotiated.

The institutionalisation of French archaeological research in Anatolia was neither linear nor inevitable; rather, it emerged from a complex interplay of diplomatic, academic and cultural negotiations. From early initiatives in the 1890s to the foundation of the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul in 1930, French officials and academics had to adapt to changing political conditions and cultivate Ottoman/Turkish consent. This process coincided with a broader shift in French archaeological interests, moving beyond classical antiquity to embrace Turkish and Islamic heritage as legitimate and valuable fields of study.

As plans for the institute evolved, its scope expanded to include disciplines such as history, geography and architecture. This kind of interdisciplinary approach aligned with French ambitions to cultivate cultural ties and scholarly authority in the country. Crucially, the increasing emphasis on Turkish antiquities was not merely academic; it was also part of a strategic effort to position French scholarship as a partner in documenting and valorising the heritage of the new Republic.

Recently, a number of scholars have shifted focus from solely European archaeologists to include Ottoman actors such as statesmen, archaeologists and locals, as active participants in the history of archaeology (Bahrani et al. 2011; Çelik 2016; Papatheodorou 2017). While these works portray the Ottomans as engaged contributors to archaeological activity on their own soil, the institutionalisation of foreign archaeological institutes has not been their primary concern. French scholars, meanwhile, have

contextualised France's archaeology policies, scholarship and activities in the Middle East (Thobie 2000: 100–09; 2006: 13–21; Chevalier 2002; Fenet 2013; Chairi 2022). However, by focusing primarily on the French perspective, they often leave unexplored the nature of the process as one of negotiation, and the position of the receiving side in this procedure. A number of case studies have focused on the work of prominent individual actors (Lerou 2004; Erdur 2006; du Crest 2009: 77–102; Nafilyan 2012; Poulain et al. 2013; Pinon 2014; 2019). While these publications offer valuable insight into the careers of individual archaeologists, they often overlook their role within the broader institutionalisation process. More recently, the fate of cultural property and heritage politics during the Allied occupation of Istanbul has attracted particular attention (Ercan Kydonakis 2022; Abi 2019; 2024: 6–8; Özlü 2024: 93–94). As the idea for the French institute crystallised during this period, this growing scholarly interest is especially relevant to understanding its institutionalisation. Even so, these studies focus on power relations between the occupier and the occupied through the lens of cultural properties, and do not prioritise the French-Ottoman *longue-durée* negotiations on establishing an institute.

This study builds on and extends this body of literature by prioritising institutional negotiations as the central lens through which to understand the establishment of the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul. Rather than focusing on individual actors or unilateral projections of French cultural power, it conceptualises institutionalisation as a negotiated process shaped by inter-imperial competition, Franco-Ottoman and Franco-Turkish diplomacy, inter-ministerial tensions within the French state, and the evolving cultural policies of the Turkish Republic.

Methodologically, this study relies on a wide range of unpublished archival materials, including diplomatic correspondence, institutional reports and preliminary proposals, to reconstruct how these negotiations unfolded over time. To trace this process, the study draws upon documents from several key repositories. In France, the National Archives (Archives nationales) house the field reports of key archaeologists, while the diplomatic manoeuvring behind the operation is captured in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères) and the Diplomatic Archives Centre in Nantes (Centre des archives diplomatiques de Nantes). Crucially, the Ottoman and Republican State Archives (Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Arşivleri) provide the Turkish perspective on these matters. The institutional records of the French School at Athens (École française d'Athènes) elucidate the involvement of the school and its members in Anatolia. Finally, the personal papers of Charles Diehl at the National Institute for Art History

(Institut national d'histoire de l'art, in Paris) and of Halil Edhem at the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu in Ankara) provide valuable personal context that complements the official state records.

Following Meerts (2015: 11, 15, 19), diplomatic negotiation is approached as a structured exchange of concessions and compensations between sovereign actors, shaped by both interest and circumstance. A complementary framework is provided by cultural diplomacy, understood not merely as state-sponsored image-making, but as a long-term, interest-driven engagement premised on mutual recognition and intellectual reciprocity (Goff 2013). In this context, the French scholarly turn toward Turkish art and architecture was not only a genuine academic development, but also a key factor in building the trust that ultimately secured institutional acceptance.

This article illustrates how an array of events, often considered isolated acts by individual actors, is in fact a coherent part of a fragmented yet consistent process of negotiation, which this article refers to as the institutionalisation of French archaeological research in Anatolia. A network map is presented at the end of each phase to better understand the complex web of relationships. Ultimately, the superposition of these snapshots reveals continuity and disruptions over decades.

This article also demonstrates how French archaeological research in Anatolia became institutionalised through a series of negotiated engagements with Ottoman and Turkish counterparts, which eventually resulted in the foundation of the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul in 1930. By focusing on critical junctures in this process, it shows that institutionalisation functioned not only as a response to inter-imperial rivalry, but also as a vehicle for embedding cultural diplomacy within academic structures. The French case is particularly revealing due to its fragmented yet adaptive character, involving multiple governmental and scholarly bodies with sometimes divergent aims. Unlike more centralised institutional models, the French effort unfolded through prolonged negotiation, individual initiative and alignment with local heritage policies. Examining the actors, debates and strategies behind the institute's creation offers new insight into how archaeology operated simultaneously as a scholarly practice and a diplomatic tool during the transition from the late Ottoman to the early Republican era.

Institutionalisation of French archaeological research in Anatolia (1890–1930)

The École française d'Athènes (EFA), founded in 1846, was the first French archaeological institution in the Orient and served as the primary vehicle for French archaeological activity throughout the 19th century. Although initially oriented toward classical antiquity in Greece, the EFA

extended its reach into Asia Minor, notably collaborating with the Imperial Museum in Constantinople during the Franco-Ottoman excavation of the Temple of Hekate in Lagina in the early 1890s (Roy 1996: 375; Fenet 2013: 46; Herring 2019: 104). However, fragile political relations between the Ottoman Empire and Greece limited the EFA's operational capacity in Anatolia, and its activities there remained sporadic (Basch 2011: 157–60). The school's inability to maintain a consistent presence in Asia Minor exposed the need for a more permanent and locally grounded French archaeological institution.

By this time, Germany had already institutionalised its archaeological activities, supported by state patronage, diplomatic engagement and the bureaucratisation of excavation efforts (Marchand 1996: 75–76). The success of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) and high-profile excavations such as those at Pergamon reflected a new vision of archaeology as both scientific exploration and cultural diplomacy. Even a flawed example, such as Schliemann's Troy excavation, contributed to this vision that centralised and bureaucratised archaeological operations abroad (Marchand 1996: 118–20). These developments, backed by substantial funding and close Germano-Ottoman relations, allowed a new generation of German archaeologists to expand their presence in the Ottoman Empire (Marchand 1996: 99–102). As a result, Germany's peaceful penetration into the Orient led to a marked increase in its archaeological activities across the region (Marchand 1996: 193).

Similarly, the Russian Empire pursued archaeological institutionalisation to advance its imperial claims and religious interests. Prioritising the study of Byzantine and Slavic antiquities, Russian scholars established the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople in 1895, housed within the Russian Embassy (Üre 2014: 132–36; 145–60). The political entity of the institute caused concern among Ottoman officials, who viewed it as an instrument of Russian influence (Halil Etem 1937: 7). Like Germany, Russia's model of embedding archaeological activity within diplomatic structures proved effective in securing sustained access and influence.

In contrast, France's only formal institutional presence at this time was the French Institute of Byzantine Studies (Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, IFEB), also established in Constantinople in 1895. Created by the Assumptionist congregation, IFEB aimed to support the Catholic mission and foster ties with the Eastern Orthodox Church through the study of Byzantine history and culture (Failler 1995: 9–10). It developed a substantial library and manuscript collection, and produced scholarly publications (Failler 1995: 17; 24–7). While IFEB demonstrated France's ability to establish a durable cultural institution in the Ottoman capital, it also highlighted the absence of compa-

nable institutional support for archaeological research, which remained limited and fragmented.

Overall, French archaeologists lacked organisational unity, consistent archaeological policy and, crucially, sufficient financial backing (Chairi 2022: 133). The rising influence of German and Russian institutes in the Ottoman Empire underscored France's lack of permanence and coherence, particularly given the EFA's limitations in Anatolia. By the 1890s, growing awareness of this deficiency and the increasing importance of antiquities in cultural diplomacy spurred French diplomatic efforts to rival German archaeological activities and assert France's cultural enterprise in the Ottoman Empire. These efforts would culminate in the first formal attempt at institutionalisation, led by Paul Cambon and André Joubin.

The beginnings of French archaeology politics in the Ottoman Empire: The Cambon / Joubin projects in the 1890s Project no. 1: The French School at Constantinople. The first significant attempt to establish a French archaeological institution in the Ottoman Empire was undertaken in the early 1890s by Ambassador Paul Cambon and André

Joubin, an archaeologist then affiliated with the Imperial Museum. Joubin had previously taken part in the Lagina excavations and had travelled to Cyzicus on a scholarly expedition (Boissier 1891: 388; Radet 1901: 233). In 1892, he met with Cambon and Osman Hamdi, director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople, to explore the possibility of founding a permanent French institution for archaeological research. Over the next several years, Joubin's role in the city evolved: he served as a conservator at the Imperial Museum from 1893 to 1894, and later as overseer of archaeological affairs at the French Embassy between 1895 and 1898 (du Crest 2009: 78–79). These positions were shaped by both academic ambition and diplomatic intervention (Figs 1, 2).

Building on the momentum of the Lagina excavations, and with Joubin's expertise in Ottoman antiquities as a foundation, Cambon submitted a comprehensive report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in April 1893. It was the first of its kind, offering a detailed overview of France's archaeological policy in Ottoman territories. In it, Cambon highlighted the limitations of the EFA's operations in Asia Minor, particularly due to fragile Ottoman-



Figure 1. Yervant Osgan and André Joubin at Ottoman-French joint excavations in Lagina, 1892. (EFA FCP 26-5 1892b. Courtesy of the École française d'Athènes).

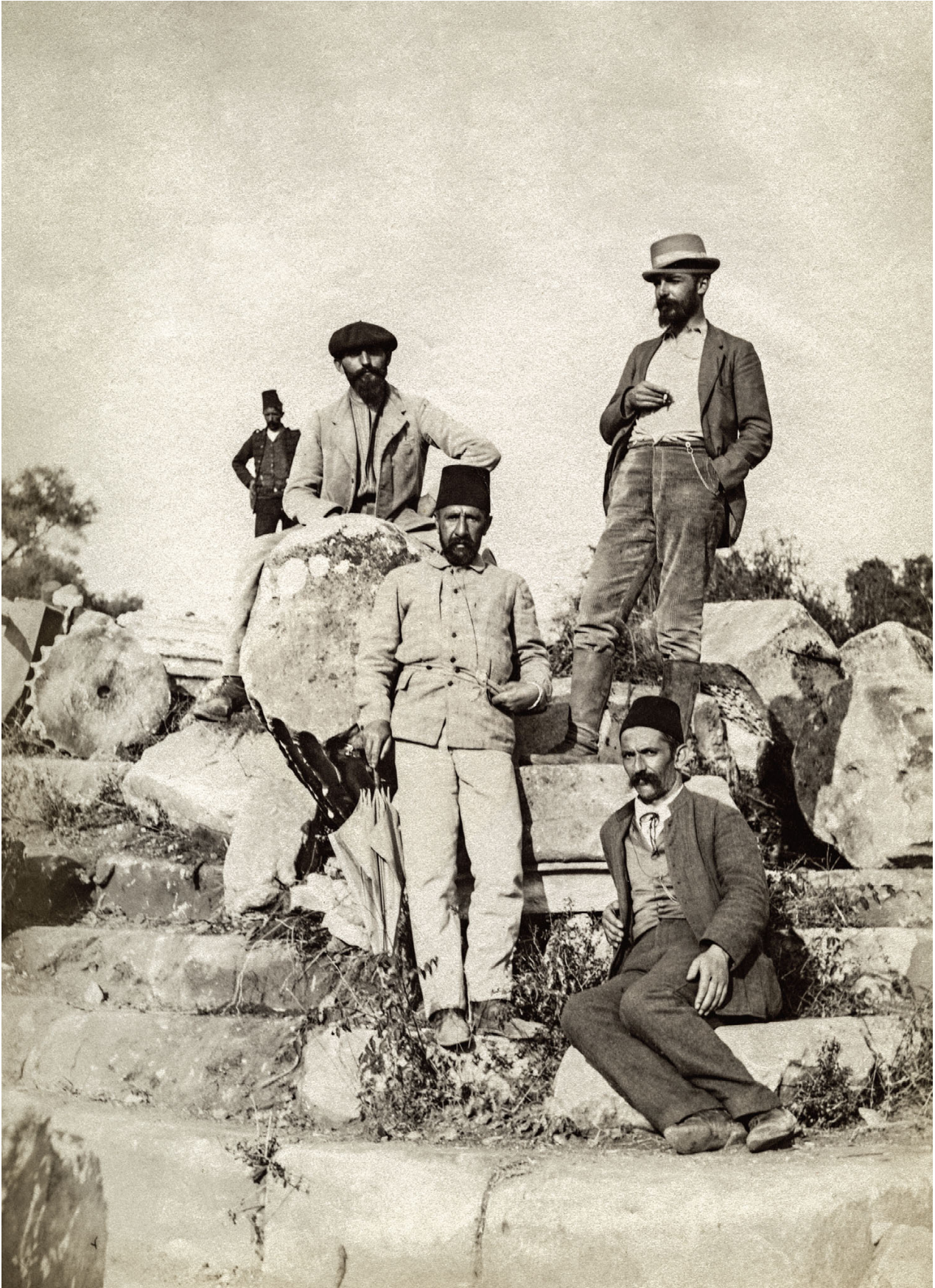


Figure 2. Osman Hamdi, André Joubin and Joseph Chamonard in Lagina, 1892. (EFA FCP 26-5 1892a. Courtesy of the École française d'Athènes).

Greek relations, and argued that the school could no longer function effectively in the region. He maintained that to excavate Ottoman soil, French archaeologists needed to convince the authorities that such activities would benefit the Ottoman state equally. As a direct response to the increasingly assertive presence of Carl Humann, the Prussian representative in Izmir, and in anticipation of the planned Russian archaeological institute, Cambon called for the creation of a permanent French mission. His proposed solution was the founding of the *École française de Constantinople* (EfC), modelled on the EFA but based in Constantinople, and tailored to the Ottoman context (AN F/17/13052 1893; Chevalier 2002: 63).

The proposal was met with resistance from the EFA, which viewed the idea of a separate institution as a challenge to its authority. Its director, Théophile Homolle, contended that the EFA could expand its remit to include orientalist studies, as it had already done with Byzantine scholarship. He also expressed concerns regarding the initiation of an underfunded project in Asia Minor, especially given the likelihood that Osman Hamdi would insist on significant control over the school. Homolle argued that the EFA's independence and its established reputation with Ottoman authorities made it the better vehicle for French archaeological interests. Instead of creating a new institution, he recommended that the French Embassy continue to serve as the intermediary in archaeological matters, at least until adequate resources became available for a more formal initiative under the aegis of the Imperial Museum (CADN 166PO/E-494 1893; Chevalier 2002: 80–81). This disagreement revealed underlying tensions between the MFA and the Ministry of Public Instruction (MPI), which would come to define France's inconsistent approach to archaeology in the region.

Joubin's post in the embassy. Following his dismissal from the Imperial Museum in 1894, Joubin's presence in Constantinople was secured through Cambon's intervention with his close ally Xavier Charmes at the Ministry of Public Instruction (Chevalier 2002: 84–85). Charmes was a powerful figure in the ministry's science and letters section and had previously directed state funding toward leading scientists and played a key role in creating the French archaeological institute in Cairo and managing the Antiquities Service (Gran-Aymeric 2007: 697). As a result of this alliance, Joubin was appointed in 1895 as overseer of archaeological questions at the French Embassy, a post designed to balance the competing visions of Cambon and Homolle (Chevalier 2004: 159; Thobie 2006: 15). While Homolle regarded the appointment as an extension of the EFA's institutional authority, Cambon envisioned it as a means of embedding archaeological oversight within broader diplomatic operations (CADN 166PO/E-494 1894).

This arrangement echoed the German approach, which combined archaeological authority with diplomatic positioning. Carl Humann had been acting as the Berlin Museums' representative in Izmir since 1884. The Germans would later refine this model when Humann's successor, Theodor Wiegand, moved to Constantinople and aligned himself with diplomatic circles, eventually securing a formal post at the German Embassy (Marchand 1996: 202). These developments demonstrate that the mediation of archaeology through diplomatic channels became a significant trend in the institutionalisation of the discipline during this period.

Joubin's role, however, lacked a clear definition. His stated duties included monitoring archaeological activities across the Ottoman Empire, reporting to French authorities, liaising with both Ottoman officials and foreign archaeologists, and coordinating with the EFA. There was also an expectation that he would pursue systematic exploration leading to potential excavations. For instance, he was advised to accompany Colonel Defforges' cartography mission in Anatolia, where he envisioned collaboration with a Byzantinist and an architect. Yet his inability to commit to a clear course, whether to join the cartographic expedition, focus on Phrygia or excavate Phocaea, stalled progress toward an efficient role. More pressing, however, were his complaints about insufficient compensation and lack of clarity regarding the scope and duration of his assignment. His position, beset by structural ambiguity and poor support, ended in 1897 with little to show for it (Chevalier 2002: 84–86).

Project no. 2: A Constantinople branch of the EFA. Despite the 1895 compromise, questions about the institutionalisation of French archaeology remained unresolved. In 1897, Joubin wrote to Cambon, expressing his disappointment that the mission had failed to meet its objectives (AN F/17/2978 1897a). Cambon forwarded this letter to the MFA and reintroduced the issue, this time with a revised proposal. Abandoning the idea of an entirely new institution, he suggested the establishment of a Constantinople branch of the EFA to avoid direct competition with existing structures while still strengthening France's archaeological presence in the Ottoman Empire (AN F/17/2978 1897b).

This initiative aimed to harmonise the interests of diplomacy and scholarship. Homolle endorsed the proposal and, with funding secured from the MPI in 1898, nominated Charles Diehl, a Byzantinist, to oversee the agency. The envisioned branch would accommodate the EFA members and other scholars, with a library to support their work (Chevalier 2002: 86–90). However, the plan faltered: the EFA's priorities shifted to the newly inaugurated Delphi excavations, which in turn absorbed the

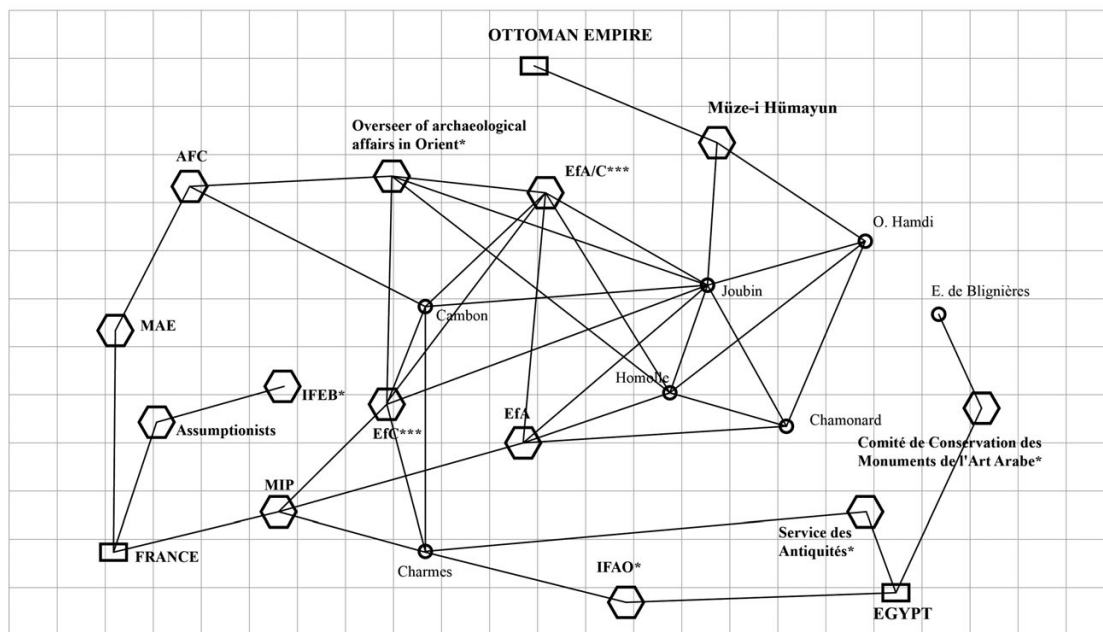
school's attention and resources. As a result, plans for the Constantinople branch were quietly shelved.

Paul Cambon was particularly decisive in these preliminary initiatives. As a young archaeologist, André Joubin provided the necessary scientific expertise but found himself caught between Théophile Homolle, the EFA and MPI on one side, and Cambon and the MFA on the other. Failing to reach a consensus, these two early efforts reflect the inconsistencies and competing interests that hampered France's attempts to institutionalise archaeology in the Ottoman Empire. Diplomatic initiative and occasional ministerial backing were insufficient to overcome the absence of clear objectives, financial support and coherent leadership. Moreover, the actors of these early initiatives did not engage meaningfully with the local context. By viewing Osman Hamdi as the main decision maker and focusing on satisfying his expectations, Cambon and

Joubin neglected other factors, such as the study of Turkish and Islamic heritage, and failed to include the newly created IFEB into dialogue. Yet the lessons of these failures would not go unheeded. In the years that followed, a more sustainable model would emerge, one that sought to reconcile scholarly ambition with diplomatic pragmatism and establish a lasting institutional presence in Anatolia (Fig. 3).

A model archaeologist and diplomat: Gustave Mendel's success in the Imperial Museum

The deterioration of Greek-Ottoman relations, particularly during the war in 1897, compromised the EFA's operations in Asia Minor and highlighted the need for a more autonomous and adaptable French archaeological presence in the Ottoman Empire (Roy 1996: 375). In this context, French diplomatic and scholarly circles recognised the



MAE: Ministère des Affaires étrangères

AFC: Ambassade de France à Constantinople

MIP: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique

EfA: École française d'Athènes

EfC: École française de Constantinople

IFAO: Institut français d'archéologie Orientale (École du Caire before 1898)

EfA/C: École française d'Athènes / Constantinople branch

IFEB: Institut français d'études Byzantines

* new creation

*** unrealised project

Figure 3. Network diagram 1, 1893–1898 (produced by the authors).

urgency of establishing structures capable of dealing with the region's complex cultural and political dynamics.

While French archaeological efforts remained sporadic, Germany continued to expand its trajectory. The founding of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, the Kaiser's visit to Constantinople in 1898, and a secret export treaty signed the following year provided the Germans with an institutional framework and diplomatic leverage (Marchand 1996: 195–99). The Kaiser's visits often included discussions on archaeological privileges, which were granted through political rather than bureaucratic channels, circumventing Ottoman antiquities laws and overriding objections from Ottoman officials. As Meerts (2015: 24) notes, in such contexts, negotiations conducted by politicians are often more impactful than those led by diplomats.

Theodor Wiegand, now officially recognised as the representative of the Royal Museums within the German Embassy, conducted negotiations from a position of strength. His cultural diplomacy was backed by state support, private funding and close ties to Osman Hamdi (Eldem 2014b: 121; Marchand 1996: 202–03). Ironically, while French diplomats lamented Germany's archaeological expansion, German officials voiced similar concerns. The desire to match the Louvre and the British Museum fed into what one might call a shared anxiety about imperial prestige (Marchand 1996: 193–94, 198).

Germany's secret treaty of 1899 proved overly ambitious. From 1902, growing discontent among the Ottomans with German dominance in archaeological affairs began to threaten their privileged position (Shaw 2003: 121–22). Around this time, the transfer of the Mshatta Façade to Berlin presented France with an opening. Instead of installing another German figure in the Imperial Museum, Ottoman authorities appointed Gustave Mendel, a former EFA member, as conservator. Mendel revitalised the museum's internal structure, published detailed catalogues and became the intermediary for Franco-Ottoman archaeological collaboration (Nafilyan 2012: 28–41, 56–59). His success derived from his ability to represent French interests while securing the confidence of Ottoman officials (Nafilyan 2013: 60–61). His interest in Seljuk and Ottoman history and archaeology coincided with growing enthusiasm within the Ottoman elite, and contributed further to Mendel's strong position in Constantinople.

Mendel in the Imperial Museum. Mendel's influence grew as the Imperial Museum expanded its authority in the early 20th century. He supervised excavations, oversaw the classification of collections and travelled across the Empire inspecting newly founded provincial museums. These official missions reinforced his position as both a museum professional and a diplomatic asset (Nafilyan 2012: 34, 46–48; Shaw 2003: 126–30). However, Mendel's tenure

in the Ottoman Empire was not always smooth. He was employed under different titles and needed to constantly negotiate to extend his missions. Osman Hamdi had to cede a portion of his salary to keep Mendel in the museum, whereas Halil Edhem had to convince the Ottoman and French governments to jointly pay his salary (Eldem 2013: 111–26; 2014a: 27–59). In the end, his long-standing presence, genuine interest toward the Ottomans and their history, and trusted status enabled him to mediate French excavation requests with tact.

He often reviewed French proposals before they reached Ottoman authorities. For instance, in 1913, when Félix Sartiaux consulted Mendel prior to corresponding with Halil Edhem regarding a permit for Phocaea, Mendel criticised the tone of the letter and returned it with instructions to revise and resend it directly to Halil Edhem (CADN 166PO/E-494 1913d). His diplomacy lay in knowing when to advocate and when to step back. He also used symbolic gestures to build rapport and advised the French authorities on which Ottoman personalities should be decorated (Nafilyan 2012: 56–57).

Toward the end of his tenure in Constantinople, Mendel's influence culminated in a broader institutional initiative. His recommendations led to the creation of the Advisory Commission for Archaeological Excavations in Asia Minor, which allocated 100,000 francs for five simultaneous French excavations at Notion, Phocaea, Aphrodisias, Konya and Sidon (Chevalier 2002: 109). Mendel was appointed general director of the excavations and took charge of related publications (Nafilyan 2012: 66). These coordinated efforts marked a departure from ad hoc activities. For the first time, France's archaeological agenda reflected strategic planning and diversification, not least in Mendel's insistence on including Islamic architectural heritage, particularly in the Konya mission (Chevalier 2014: 138).

Mendel did not act alone. His efforts were actively supported, promoted and complemented by Ambassador Maurice Bompard and his wife, Gabrielle Bompard. The Ambassador facilitated the travels of French researchers within the Ottoman Empire and showed a particular appreciation for Turkish arts. Gabrielle Bompard, the daughter of Ernest de Blignières, who had played a key role in founding the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe (Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art) in Egypt (Volait 2014), was particularly influential. Having spent part of her childhood in Cairo as the daughter of a prominent collector of Islamic art, Gabrielle developed, from an early age, a deep appreciation of Islamic and Ottoman material culture (Volait 2021: 57–58). During her husband's tenure in Istanbul, she demonstrated a similar sensitivity to Turkish arts and spearheaded the creation of the Société des Amis de

Stamboul (Society of Friends of Istanbul), an initiative she initially envisioned as a subsidiary of the EFA and ultimately as the foundation for an independent French Archaeological Institute (Bompard, Kuneralp 2016: 27–31).

Gustave Mendel and the foundations of studies on Turkish architectural history. While classical sites continued to draw attention, Mendel opened new directions for French archaeology by encouraging the study of Turkish and Islamic art. Through his mediation, numerous scholars, including Henri Prost, Charles Diehl and Gabriel Millet, conducted research on Byzantine and Islamic heritage (Fig. 4). By publishing in popular Ottoman journals, Mendel engaged with Turkish intellectual circles (Çelik 2016: 99).

By the 1880s, Islamic art had gained traction as a recognised category. The 1893 Exhibition of Islamic Arts in Paris symbolised its international acceptance. Yet critics argued the term ‘Islamic art’ risked ignoring regional and cultural variation, which prompted more specific studies

in different geographical contexts (Vernoit 1997: 3). Within the Ottoman Empire, the museum’s Islamic arts section, established in 1889, received renewed attention under Halil Edhem. In parallel, the EFA archives contain Turkish monuments photographed by its members. They began to be noticed by EFA members during their Anatolian expeditions in the 1890s, though these encounters were mostly anecdotal (EFA FCP 26-5 1892c; Çelik 2016: 145–53).

Ottoman archaeology emerged in close interaction with Western practices and was shaped by new historiographical developments, particularly in fields such as art history (Papatheodorou 2017: 88). It is therefore unsurprising that Mendel’s tenure coincided with a growing interest in art historiography among Ottoman intellectuals, whether focused on Turkish art or the broader artistic heritage of Anatolia, including Byzantine traditions (Papatheodorou 2017: 81–84; 2025: 73–74).

Mendel’s approach was deliberate. He had visited Konya as early as 1901, and was appointed conservator at a time when Halil Edhem was already working to highlight Turco-Islamic heritage. In 1905, Mendel facilitated visits by Henri Prost and Ernest Hébrard, then affiliated with the French Academy in Rome, as well as prominent centres of Turkish art such as Bursa and Konya, alongside Constantinople (Hauteceœur 1960: 14–16; Pinon, Amprimoz 1988: 149; Nafilyan 2012: 57). Prost established ties with Turhan Pasha, Minister of Evkaf (Religious Foundations), and was later asked to advise on the restoration of Hagia Sophia in 1911 (CADN 166PO/E-494 1911). In the same period, painter Albert Mille and consul Grégoire Bay, also a renowned protagonist of influential poet and author Ahmet Haşim’s anthology of his newspaper columns, *Gurebahane-i Laklakan* (Stork Sanctuary), also sought official permission to study Ottoman architecture (CADN 166PO/E-494 1909; 1913c).

Alongside other researchers, Mendel himself examined Medieval Turkish monuments in Konya and Sivas, and published a two-part study on Turkish architecture (Fig. 5). He concluded that the art of the Sultanate of Rum was eclectic and lacked the time necessary to develop into a truly original form (Mendel 1908: 126–27). Nonetheless, he expressed admiration for Turkish architecture, also evident in his 1909 article on the new galleries dedicated to Islamic arts at the Imperial Museum and in his visit to the Exposition of Islamic Art in Munich in 1910 (Mendel 1909; 1910).

Mendel’s mediation drew increasing attention to Konya. Archival evidence shows a visit by Marcel Letourneau, Charles Diehl’s architect collaborator to study Seljuk monuments (BOA DH.İD 28-15 1911; CADN 166PO/E-494 1913a). The following year, French Ambassador Maurice Bompard requested an official delegation



Figure 4. ‘Mihrab de Karaman’ (Mihrab from the İbrahim Bey Imaret) by Henri Prost, 1905. (Hauteceœur 1960: n.p. Courtesy of the Académie d’Architecture).

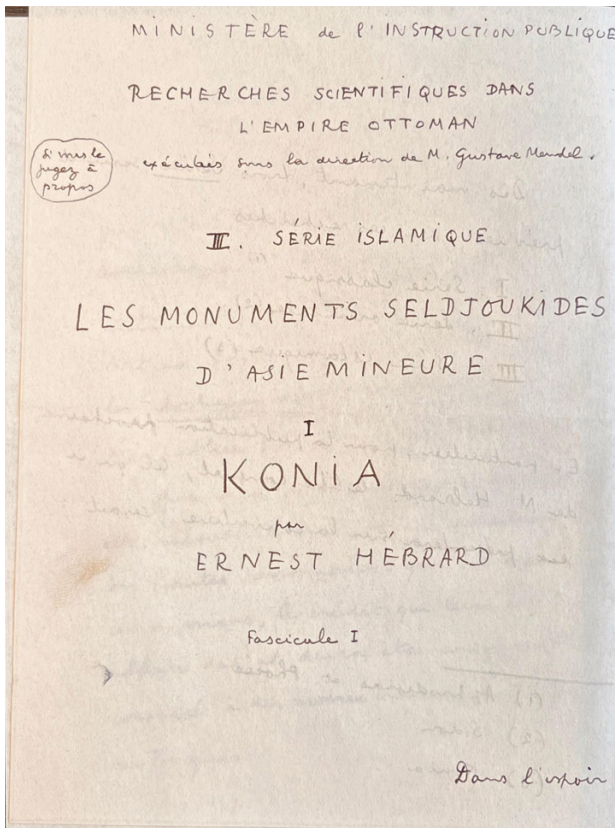


Figure 5. Gustave Mendel's letter to Charles Bayet demonstrating a draft for the cover of Ernest Hébrard's publication on the Seljuk monuments in Konya, July 25, 1914. (Archives nationales de France, F/17/17243, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. Public domain / Reproduced freely under public information reuse policy).

of scholars to study Islamic archaeology (CADN 166PO/E-494 1913b), and Hébrard soon after travelled to Konya for this purpose (Hébrard 1914: 161). Mendel also began preparing publications, including Hébrard's monograph on Konya, though this project was halted by the outbreak of war (AN F/17/17243 1914). During the war, as head of the Archaeology Service of the French Army of the Orient, Mendel proposed producing a photo album of Turkish decorative arts, building on his efforts to document and engage with the region's artistic heritage (Mendel 1918: 16–17).

Félix Sartiaux: Organiser of the archaeological material. The surge in excavation activity brought a new challenge. To that end, Félix Sartiaux, originally trained as an engineer and later the excavator of Phocaea, was tasked by Mendel and Charles Bayet, Director of Higher Education, with organising the excavation materials (AN F/17/17284 1913). His technical background made him an ideal choice for this logistical role. The need for such a post underlined the growing scale and complexity

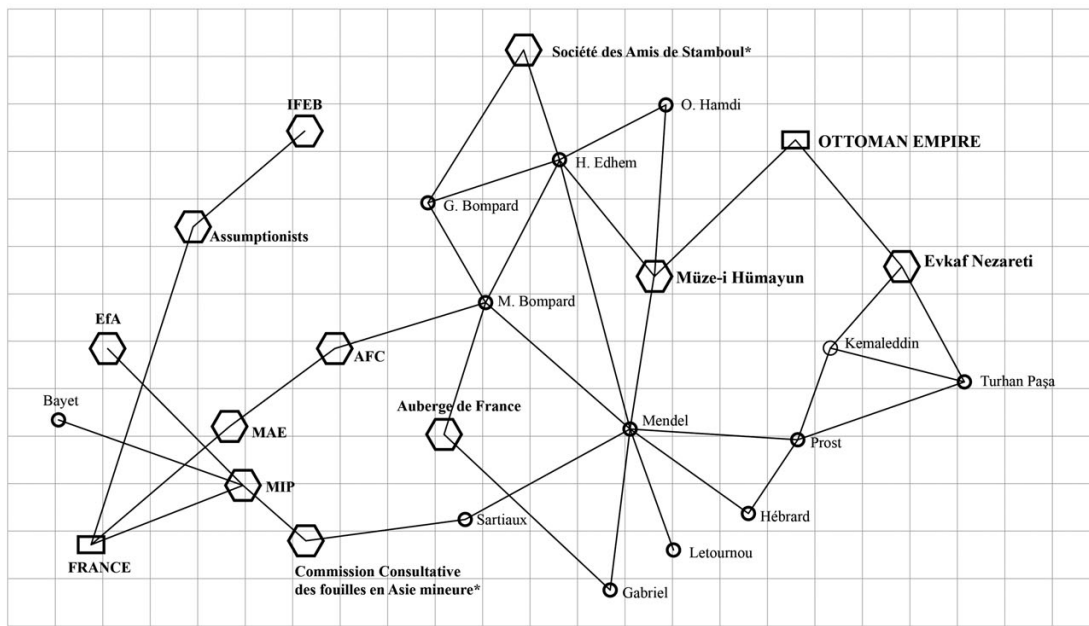
of France's archaeological involvement by 1913. While Mendel coordinated at a higher level, Sartiaux handled the material requirements.

Sartiaux's role extended beyond logistics as his excavations coincided with tumultuous times. He, along with his crew, witnessed the violent expulsion of the Ottoman Greek residents from Foça by armed bandits in 1914. Moreover, he intervened in these events by forcing the local governor to assign the gendarmerie to provide safe passage for the Greek community so they could leave the town (Sartiaux 1914; Yiakoumis 2008: 181–251; Erol 2016: 163–93). In the shadow of these events, he became an outspoken figure through his publications, highlighting the Hellenic heritage of Anatolian cities, critiquing German expansion and advocating for France's role in the Orient. In the propagandistic atmosphere of World War I, he reconceptualised the Trojan War and framed the recent conflict as a continuation of ancient struggles for control of the East (Sartiaux 1915: 215–18; 1918: 37–41). By asserting the cultural stakes of the war through the lens of antiquity, Sartiaux became both a participant and chronicler of France's evolving archaeological policy.

Ultimately, Mendel operated as more than simply a diplomat or an archaeologist; he was a highly effective cultural intermediary, adept at bringing two worlds together while facilitating a new appreciation of Anatolian heritage. His exceptionally prolonged tenure in Constantinople stemmed from a genuine appreciation of the Ottoman Empire and its history, which was a prerequisite for fostering successful cultural diplomacy. He strategically positioned himself at the juncture of numerous French and Ottoman actors. Mendel functioned as the central bridge between these distinct groups, which confirms his role as the primary conduit for scholarly exchange. Through this central position, his work laid the foundations for French scholarly interest in Turkish and Islamic architecture that would endure into the Republican era. However, the intricate web of personal relationships that Mendel cultivated ultimately required a permanent structure to survive. Relying solely on individual initiative rather than an institutional framework, rendered this progress highly vulnerable. Indeed, these fragile connections were soon entirely disrupted by the outbreak of the Great War (Fig. 6).

Excavating the occupied soil

Official French archaeological activities in the Ottoman Empire came to an abrupt halt with the outbreak of World War I. Nonetheless, archaeology was far from dormant during the conflict. The Ottomans and their German allies established the German-Turkish Monument Protection Command for Syria and Palestine, led by Theodor Wiegand,



MAE: Ministère des Affaires étrangères
AFC: Ambassade de France à Constantinople
MIP: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique
EfA: École française d'Athènes
IFEB: Institut français d'études Byzantines
 * new creation

Figure 6. Network diagram 2, 1903–1914. (produced by the authors).

which carried out significant documentation efforts (Abi 2019: 48–60). Projects for a German Institute for Cultural History, supported by the German Embassy, or a Byzantine Institute in Constantinople, were considered but ultimately unrealised (Marchand 1996: 255).

The Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople enjoyed a brief revival during the Russian occupation of northern Anatolia, but it ceased operations permanently following the collapse of the Russian Empire (Üre 2014: 257–58). A Hungarian scientific institute was established in 1916 but closed in 1918. Despite its short existence, it contributed to the study of Byzantine topography and urban history, and even engaged in the early planning debates for the modern city (Fodor 2020). During the occupation following the Armistice, the Italian army created an antiquities collection at its Antalya consulate, and the Greek Army conducted excavations and restoration work in Smyrna (Abi 2019: 86–94).

The French Army of the Orient also took part in archaeological initiatives. Beginning in 1915 in Gallipoli and later in Salonica, these efforts led to the creation of an

Archaeology Service under Gustave Mendel (Krempf 2017: 79–82; Abi 2019: 69–70). The service coordinated systematic excavations, preservation and exportation of antiquities, along with publications serving propagandistic ends (Krempf 2017: 85). The French army even established a museum in Adana during the Cilicia Campaign (Normand 1921: 195–96). France expanded its influence through archaeological services and museums in its Syrian mandate, and conducted excavations at key Ottoman sites (Abi 2019: 182; Ercan Kydonakis 2022: 310). Even more significantly, the Allied occupation of Constantinople presented new opportunities.

The War, the Armistice and Turkish heritage. A draft addressed to General Franchet d'Esperey in 1918 reveals a persistent interest in Turkish cultural heritage. Although ultimately unrealised, the enclosed proposals by Gustave Mendel, such as a photographic album on Turkish arts or a comprehensive study on gravestones, demonstrate a methodical French interest in documenting Turkish cultural heritage (EFA MACÉD-1 1918).

Post-war approaches to cultural properties, shaped by the Allied occupation and Treaty of Sèvres, spurred debates over antiquities. Allied institutions pushed for new laws to permit the export of antiquities and sought to retrieve artefacts from the Imperial Museum for their mandates. Such returns would symbolically legitimise Allied control in the region (Abi 2019: 183–88). These proposals, aiming to commodify Ottoman heritage, prompted concerns over sovereignty.

Amidst the highly political debates regarding sovereignty and cultural properties, Gustave Fougères, director of the EFA, demonstrated genuine academic interest and criticised Article 421 of the Treaty of Sèvres, which required the Ottoman government to repeal existing antiquities laws. He objected to the chronological cut-off in 1700, arguing for the value of 18th- and 19th-century monuments, including rococo mansions and fountains. Fougères advocated for the preservation of recent heritage, such as Mehmed Ali Pasha's mansion in Kavala (AN F/17/17244 1919). His views reflected contemporary art historical currents and a broader awareness of modernisation's threats to heritage. Despite his objections, the treaty proceeded without amendment.

Robert Demangel in Constantinople. Wartime cultural policies evolved into varied practices following the Armistice. The linguistic competences of EFA members had made them convenient for various roles (René-Hubert 2010). Accordingly, EFA members served as technical advisors to the French Army of Occupation and the Embassy in Constantinople, which revealed the intersection of military and scholarly agendas (Ercan Kydonakis 2022: 310). Robert Demangel assumed this advisory role, intending to continue the work of Joubin and Mendel until a formal institute could be established (EFA FCP 3-1 1923). The aim was to replace military dominance with a scientific presence (Ercan Kydonakis 2022: 311). His new responsibilities aligned with broader French efforts to engage Turkish authorities following the Treaty of Ankara in October 1921 and the Ankara government's assumption of control in Constantinople in November 1922. Yet, despite these diplomatic overtures, the two sides operated from unequal positions. Even Halil Edhem, though leveraging personal connections to manage negotiations, wielded limited formal authority in this period of transition (Özlü 2024: 95–96).

Picard's decision to align the EFA with French military operations in Cilicia and western Anatolia later proved a liability. Demangel's appointment, coming after the liberation of Izmir, was ill-timed (Roy 1996: 379; Lerou 2004: 269). Although Greece authorised the EFA excavations in Phocaea and Notion in June 1922, Picard was forced to negotiate anew with the Ankara government within three

months (EFA 2 ADM 21 1922). Demangel, arriving late and facing political shifts, struggled to gain traction. For instance, Jean Garoby, cultural attaché, would wryly congratulate Demangel in 1924 for finally securing the Teos excavation licence (EFA AS1 1924).

Demangel's role was ambiguous. He was described as an EFA representative, liaison to Turkish museums, and technical advisor to both the Army and Embassy. He remained linked to the MFA until 1924 and consistently reported to Picard (Lerou 2004: 272–73). He would later publish the results of French Army excavations at Protesilaus's Tumulus, Mangana and Hebdomon, where Charles Diehl celebrated such research in connection with France's colonial scientific traditions and the Louvre's enrichment (Diehl 1926: vii).

Nevertheless, Demangel attempted local collaborations with Ernest Mamboury and Theodor Makridi, the former for research, the latter for both science and diplomacy. Yet Makridi bore the brunt of controversy over the alleged exploitation of antiquities carried out by Allied forces (Lerou 2004: 274). Ottoman officials were closely monitoring these activities, filing protests and seeking contact with both the Army and the EFA (Abi 2019: 97–104; Ercan Kydonakis 2022: 315–24). Demangel's local collaborations thus became contentious.

As a liaison officer, Demangel negotiated excavation permits, yet his efforts faltered amid military tensions. The Army's unapproved fieldwork at Seddülbahir, just as negotiations for the Teos excavations were underway, prompted Halil Edhem's protest to General Charpy. When ignored, Edhem warned Picard that excavation licences could be revoked. Eventually, Charpy agreed to return artefacts found after 1 December 1922, with Demangel and Makridi overseeing their transfer (Ercan Kydonakis 2022: 319–24). In the end, Demangel's ambiguous role proved so ineffective that Picard had to travel himself to Constantinople twice to mediate between the Army and the Museum (EFA 2 ADM 21 1922).

The alternative strategy involved establishing an institute to create a more permanent framework for French archaeological efforts. The institutionalisation of French archaeology in different regions had undergone distinct processes. The founding of the EFA was driven by philhellenism and Europe's self-proclaimed genealogical ties to Ancient Greece. In contrast, archaeological institutes in the Middle East were often rooted in colonial practices (Valenti 2006: 11–15). For instance, the institute in Egypt was established in the aftermath of the country's political destabilisation following the French campaign (Avez 1993: 17–21; Jockey 2013: 89–91). Concurrently, the process in Syria not only initiated monument conservation programmes but also facilitated the trafficking and export of antiquities as war spoils (Yücel 2015: 948). The Allied

occupation of Istanbul presented a similar opportunity to establish an institute, dictate antiquity laws and enable the export of artefacts. However, the lack of consensus over the envisioned institute persisted. Then, the occupation was followed by the establishment of the Turkish nation-state, and the political void disappeared.

Return to school: An old project anew. Prior to Demangel's appointment in Constantinople, the French government had begun rethinking its archaeological engagement in the Middle East. The establishment of an antiquities service in the Syria-Palestine mandate and the creation of the Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger (SOFÉ) signalled this shift within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Thobie 2000: 101). Two individuals were tasked with assessing the potential for a new archaeological school in Constantinople: Maurice Pernot, a former member of the École française de Rome turned journalist, was commissioned by the French High Commissariat; a year later, Byzantinist Charles Diehl was engaged by the Ministry of Public Instruction (Thobie 2006: 18).

This evolving initiative would soon adopt the nature of a protracted negotiation, involving multiple French and Ottoman, later Turkish, governmental, diplomatic and scholarly actors, each with differing expectations and priorities. The lack of a unified vision among French institutions, coupled with competing claims over jurisdiction and purpose, further compounded the ambiguity surrounding the project's scope and long-term viability.

Pernot's report. Pernot submitted his report on 19 September 1921 to General Maurice Pellé, the High Commissioner in Constantinople. The proposal originated from French Byzantinists seeking to fill the gap left by the closure of the Russian Institute in 1914 (CADN 166PO/E-344 1921). Pernot envisioned absorbing the existing Institut français d'Études Byzantines (IFEB) and its library into a new institution while distancing it from overt associations with Byzantine studies, which were strongly linked to Greek national claims. The propagandistic role of the Russian Institute and plans by the Holy See to establish a branch of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Constantinople had made such associations problematic.

Pernot instead proposed the founding of the École française de Constantinople (EfC), which focused on the antiquities, history and art history of Thrace and Anatolia without chronological limitation. This school would complement the work of the EFA in Athens, which would retain responsibility for prehistory and classical archaeology, while the EfC would cover Byzantine and Islamic studies in Anatolia, Greece, the Balkans and surrounding islands.

Said Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of Education, approved the project in principle. He saw it as a means of

fostering intellectual ties with France, a nation he characterised as an educator to the Ottomans. The proposed institution would include a library and study halls, and provide accommodation for staff including a director, librarian and museum conservator. It would host two three-year fellows, selected from PhD holders, *agrégés* or graduates of the École du Louvre, along with independent members. A place was reserved for a Byzantinist from the Jesuits or Assumptionists. Final approval was to come from the MPI, the Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, or the Commission for Archaeological Excavations.

The project derails. An undated letter from the Director of Higher Education at MPI to the High Commissariat, likely written after Pernot's report, introduced complications (INHA 60-3 n.d.a). The letter stressed that the EFA's prestige must not be diminished, nor its activities curtailed. It emphasised the importance of neighbouring institutions and their established domains. While approving the proposed division of labour and the focus on Islamic civilisations, the director recommended a different model.

Rather than a traditional school, the director proposed a 'house of missions' open to all scholars conducting research in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire. This institution would welcome researchers funded by the MPI, the Institut de France and other academic bodies, including foreigners. It would facilitate interaction with Ottoman scholars and provide access to scientific resources. The letter concluded by noting that, if General Pellé agreed, Charles Diehl would be sent to examine this proposal further.

Diehl's report. Diehl's subsequent study, presented on 12 June 1922, introduced key revisions (CADN 166PO/E-344 1922). Most notably, he abandoned the previous title 'École française de Constantinople' in favour of 'Institut français de Constantinople' (French Institute in Constantinople). Despite this name change, Diehl retained the original operational concept of a 'house of missions', essentially a logistical base for visiting researchers. Although counting on Ottoman consent and the allocation of the Soğukçeşme Junior High School building, he urged prompt action to counter potential British, Czech or Swedish initiatives, as well as the diminishing French military presence. However, ambiguity persisted, as the report occasionally described the project as a school.

Diehl's urgency was also shaped by French concerns over foreign competition. Officials suspected Swedish efforts to establish a research institute in Constantinople, facilitated by scholar Johannes Kolmodin's presence since 1917 and the temporary Swedish administration of Theodor Wiegand's villa and library during the Armistice (Whitling 2024: 142–47). Though the Swedish institute proved short-



Figure 7. Excursion to the Marmara Sea Walls, 1922. (Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris, Fonds Charles Diehl, INHA 60-3. Courtesy of the Institut national d'histoire de l'art).

lived, these developments highlighted the intertwining of German and Swedish interests, fuelling Diehl's conviction that France needed to act swiftly to secure its own institutional foothold (Whitling 2024: 152–61).

Diehl reiterated the need to avoid the term 'Byzantine studies' due to its political implications. He visited the Evkaf Museum, assessed Turkish and Islamic artefacts and archives, and identified significant scholarly potential. Unlike Pernot, he built broader connections with Ottoman scholars and suggested collaboration.

He proposed hiring an architect rather than a general secretary, given the level of destruction across the city and the likelihood of new archaeological finds during reconstruction. Permanent staff would include a director, architect and librarian, alongside visiting researchers. The traditional Athenian model of an archaeological school was thus discarded. Diehl concluded by urging the appointment of an archaeologist to oversee French Army excavations, responding to a previous request from General Charpy. This recommendation would lead to Demangel's assignment in Constantinople.

General Pellé, reporting to MFA on 27 April 1922, acknowledged Diehl's findings and recommended naming the project the French Institute of Archaeology and History

to avoid confusion (CADN 166PO/E-344 n.d; INHA 60-3 n.d.b). Ottoman officials contacted by Diehl were informed, whereas the issue of funding from MPI remained unresolved. This situation exposed the persistent ambiguity in the institute's patronage (Fig. 7).

Ambiguity and rejection. Initially conceived as a prestigious school akin to those in Athens and Rome, the project was downgraded to a house of missions and finally rebranded as an institute of archaeology and history. These shifts, coupled with ambiguous negotiations, delayed its establishment and confused Ottoman officials. Though the Ottoman government approved it, the Ankara authorities were already asserting control over cultural institutions.

As the Ankara government took over the Museum, Halil Edhem reported to the Political Affairs Director at Ankara. He noted the French project's initial school status and criticised its downgrading to a house of missions. He viewed the project as an embodiment of French science, and its diminished scope offered no benefit to the Turks (BOA HR.İM 45-7 1922).

In the end, although the MFA allocated funding in 1922 (AN F/17/17244 1923), the lack of consensus on the

institute's character led to Turkish rejection. The paradoxical and conflicting motivations of French officials were in fact a general feature of the post-war context, where shifting political landscapes, overlapping institutional agendas and competing cultural ambitions often produced more confusion than cohesion (Abi 2024: 15). The proclamation of the Republic and Ankara's new cultural policies sidelined the French initiative for the foreseeable future.

In 1937, Halil Edhem would retrospectively claim that Diehl, who was to remain in France while Albert Gabriel resided in Istanbul, had steered the institute toward Byzantine studies. He expressed concern over the Assumptionists' involvement, alleging plans to convert a former mosque in Soğukçeşme into a church (Halil Etem 1937: 10). While partially inaccurate, his account reveals the basis for Turkish objections. Despite efforts to avoid Byzantine labels, the presence of Diehl and the Assumptionists had undermined French efforts to distance the institute from such associations.

Consequently, the plan to establish a French archaeological institution faltered. Furthermore, the traditional formula of deploying an EFA member to Constantinople proved ineffective. Unlike their predecessors, neither Demangel nor any other EFA representative possessed the agency to find a middle ground among the competing factions. The involvement of numerous actors did not lead to cohesion; instead, these actors were starkly polarised, with connections heavily dominated by institutional actors of a military character rather than cultural intermediaries. As Meerts notes, successful international negotiations depend on contexts that are 'ripe for negotiation' and 'ripe for a result' (Meerts 2015: 309). These conditions were demonstrably lacking during the Allied occupation of Constantinople, where military dominance and the uncertainty of political reorganisation defined the diplomatic landscape. In such environments, characterised by conflicting interests and divergent values, and especially under a significant asymmetry of power, outcomes often default to domination, avoidance or failure rather than compromise. The French pursuit of an institute during the Occupation typified this: cultural initiatives were advanced in a top-down, interest-driven manner, while the Ankara government viewed these efforts through the lens of sovereignty, heritage and national pride, values inherently resistant to negotiation. The absence of a stable institutional framework further compounded French miscalculations, as shifting situational power in the post-occupation period decisively favoured Ankara (Meerts 2015: 324–26). (Fig. 8)

Preparing the establishment: Albert Gabriel in Istanbul (1925–1930)

As a consequence of its previous collaboration with the Greek army in Anatolia, the EFA had found itself margin-

alised once again in the early years of the Turkish Republic (Roy 1996: 379; Thobie 2006: 20). Though the school continued excavations at Notion and Teos until 1925, the Turkish authorities would decline any renewal of excavation licences thereafter. In an attempt to maintain a presence, EFA members corresponded with Aziz Ogan, renounced the excavation rights and sought to continue the work through the Izmir Museum as scientific advisors (EFA AS4 1927). Despite petitions for licence renewal until 1928, they eventually had to abandon their operations in Asia Minor completely (EFA AS4 1928).

Meanwhile, the question of establishing a French institute re-emerged in 1925. Upon the inquiry of Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger on 6 January (CADN 166PO/E-344 1925d), High Commissioner Jessé-Curély reported that the Turkish government had offered a building other than the one in Soğukçeşme, this time within the university, potentially placing the institute under Turkish academic jurisdiction. He proposed that the institute might include sections on Greco-Byzantine and Islamic studies, and stressed the importance of appointing a director with the flexibility to manage this dual focus (CADN 166PO/E-344 1925a). MFA agreed to the concession and planned to send a prominent figure to negotiate its terms (CADN 166PO/E-344 1925b). Jessé-Curély was cautioned again not to use the term 'Byzantine studies', although he clarified that the term was pronounced by the university chancellor himself to identify the institute's academic range (CADN 166PO/E-344 1925c). The issue had to be temporarily set aside as it became entangled in broader Franco-Turkish cultural negotiations.

The French schools crisis. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger faced several challenges regarding cultural affairs with the Turkish government, the most pressing of which concerned the legal status of French schools. Post-Armistice, France pushed to reopen schools that had operated under capitulatory privileges. While the Ottoman authorities complied, the Ankara government was less accommodating, excluding special status for French schools in the Ankara Agreement and Lausanne Treaty. A new conflict emerged when the Turkish government banned religious symbols in foreign schools. In response, France's new leftist coalition, sympathetic to Turkish reforms, dispatched Colonel Louis Mougin to mediate. As a result, French schools reopened for the 1924–1925 academic year after accommodating Turkish demands (Tanır 2016: 304–13).

Despite these developments, legal uncertainties remained. Colonel Mougin drafted a new agreement to define the schools' status, which aimed to align French cultural influence with the ideals of the Turkish Republic. The resulting Agreement Concerning Intellectual, Literary,

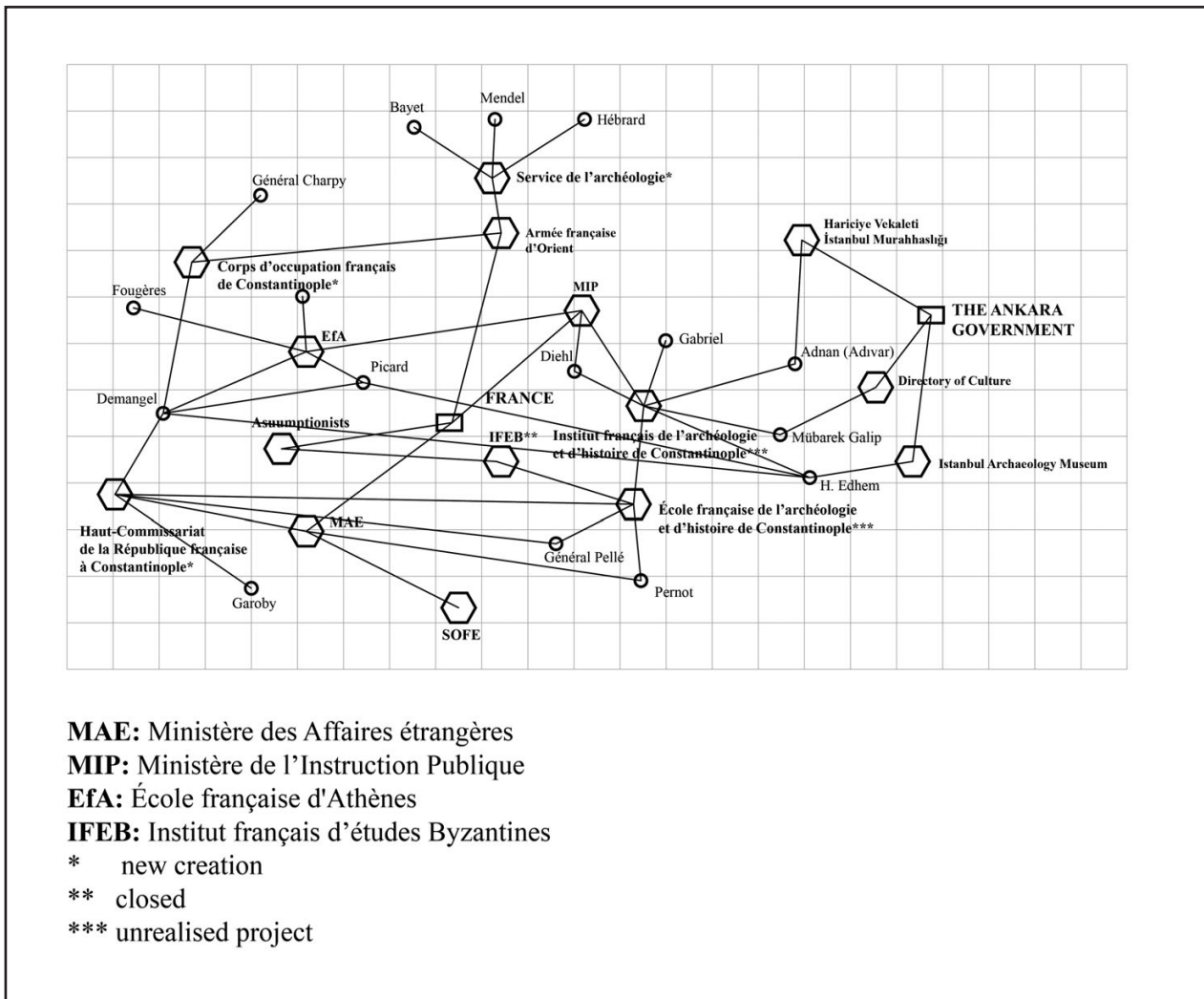


Figure 8. Network diagram 3, 1914–1922 (produced by the authors).

Scientific and Academic Relations proposed broader Franco-Turkish cooperation: exchange of university personnel, expansion of French language instruction, founding of a secular French high school and creation of a French institute in Istanbul. Although never formalised, several provisions were implemented and notably impacted bilateral relations (Mamalı, Cephaneçigil 2024: 91–93).

Albert Gabriel's arrival. Following these agreements and MFA directives, Darülfünun (Istanbul University) accepted 15 French professors, including Albert Gabriel (Dölen 2010: 132–35). Gabriel, an art historian at the University of Strasbourg, had been travelling through Anatolia since 1908. At Darülfünun, he taught two one-hour art history classes (Talebe Rehberi 1928–1929 Sene-i Devriyesi 1928: 169), while also being tasked by the Turkish Ministry of Education with documenting Medieval Turkish architecture in Anatolia (Fig. 9). Concurrently, the French MFA entrusted him with preparing for the institute's establish-

ment (Pinon 2019: 15). These overlapping responsibilities facilitated his acceptance by Turkish authorities.

Gabriel's lectures revived previously discontinued courses. The course on the science of antiquities, established in 1900, had been taught by Johannes Mordtmann, Halil Edhem and Eckhard Unger, while art history was taught by Halid Ziya and others. However, both fields had been dormant since the war (Cephaneçigil 2016: 176–79; Bingöl 2023: 19–26). Archival evidence proves that, prior to Gabriel's arrival, the Turkish Directory of Culture had been envisioning a chair in antiquities, whereas the Ministry of Education planned to employ an archaeologist (BCA 180-9-0-0, 81-397-1 1924a; 1924b; 1924c). These two responsibilities converged in Gabriel himself.

Gabriel, trained at the École des Beaux-Arts, served as an architect at the EFA and participated in excavations from 1908 to 1911. Guided by Maurice Holleaux and Charles Diehl, he researched the fortifications of Rhodes and restored the Auberge de France, later turning his field

work in Rhodes into a doctoral thesis (Pinon 2019: 9–11). His systematic methodology, classifying and analysing monuments within their urban context, would shape his later work in Anatolia (Gabriel 1921; 1923).

As an early career academic, Gabriel made excursions in Fustat, Palmyra and Constantinople. Maurice Bompard, former ambassador in Constantinople, had already introduced him to Halil Edhem in 1921 (TTK HEE 1-36 1921; Prieur 1974: 9; Pinon 2019: 13–14). By the time he arrived in Istanbul in 1925, Gabriel was already well-versed in Turkish architecture and politics, and known to a certain extent by Turkish intellectuals.

Gabriel's intellectual engagement with the Turkish context. Gabriel engaged Turkish audiences through publications, lectures and advisory roles. In 1924, he published 'L'avenir de l'art turc' in the francophone newspaper *Stamboul*, where he urged the Turkish government to cultivate a distinctly Turkish art by modernising traditional elements. For Gabriel, this new direction was best exemplified in the Konya Teacher-Training College (Gabriel 1924). This early article targeted Turkish intellectuals and aligned with nationalist art historiography.

Gabriel presented his preliminary research in two significant articles. In 'Les mosquées de Stamboul' (Gabriel 1926), he developed a typological classification of classical Ottoman mosques in Istanbul. In 'Les antiquités turcs d'Anatolie' (Gabriel 1929), he systematically classified Seljuk and Ottoman monuments, refuting exaggerated claims of foreign influence, especially Armenian, which he deemed to be extrinsic to Turkish architecture. Gabriel also critiqued Gustave Mendel's earlier evaluations and advocated for a more nuanced interpretation of architectural evolution.

Gabriel's public speeches and magazine articles brought him greater recognition. For example, his talks at Türk Ocakları (Turkish Hearths) and the Academy of Fine Arts addressed art history, archaeology and Turkish architecture, appealing to the broader public (Gabriel 1927; 1928; *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* 1929: 2; *Cumhuriyet* 1930: 2). Through these efforts, he positioned himself within the emerging Turkish history thesis discourse (Redford 2006: 79).

Besides publishing in scholarly journals, penning popular articles and giving public speeches, Gabriel leveraged his connections to facilitate opportunities for figures such as Remzi Oğuz Arık and Ömer Lütfi Barkan, and supported Turkish students studying in France. In 1931, he served on a scholarship committee with Halil Edhem and others, steering students toward French institutions (AMAE 417QO/168 1930a; 1930e; Thobie 2006: 62–63; 84; Mamalı, Cephaneçigil 2024: 96–97). Gabriel frequently advised Turkish authorities, reporting on museum

staffing, monument classification and student progress (Pinon-Demirçivi 2006: 189–90; Pralong 2006: 199, 203). His recommendations even extended to faculty selections, which demonstrates his significant influence (YMM 1929; Özcan, Kuban 2023: 90).

Gabriel distinguished himself from other foreign scholars through his sustained scientific and cultural engagement with Anatolia and the Turks. Unlike contemporaries such as Demangel, who became disillusioned by the ambiguity of his role and the limited success of his mission (Lerou 2004: 270–72), Gabriel maintained a consistently constructive outlook. His early perspective on Anatolia already set him apart. During his first visit to the Ottoman Empire, which coincided with that of Le Corbusier, Gabriel openly criticised the Orientalist tropes that coloured many Western views of Turkish society. While Le Corbusier echoed conventional stereotypes, Gabriel condemned persistent Turkophobia, tracing it to Lord Byron's philhellenic narratives (Gabriel 1912: 419; Le Corbusier 1966: 87–91). This nuanced appreciation of Turkish culture proved essential in the 1920s. It laid the groundwork for reciprocal cultural exchange, and legitimised Gabriel's role in the negotiations for and the creation of the French Archaeological Institute.

In the French context, bureaucratic inertia, coupled with an ambiguous institutional vision, had transformed negotiation into an exercise in fragmentation. It was within this fragmented landscape that Gabriel's sustained and tactful engagement proved decisive. His long-term investment in Franco-Turkish cultural relations, his ability to build academic networks and his role in preparing the ground for renewed dialogue signal the kind of gradual, trust-based interaction that defines successful cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy does not typically aim to produce immediate policy change; rather, it establishes lasting channels for engagement by prioritising education, scholarly collaboration and the soft influence of cultural exchange (Goff 2013). Gabriel's efforts exemplify this approach. By cultivating reciprocal understanding and legitimacy, he partially restored French control over archaeological affairs and paved the way for formal negotiations over the eventual creation of the French Archaeological Institute.

Establishing the Institute. In contrast to French efforts, Germany reopened excavations in the 1920s and elevated its Istanbul station to full DAI branch status by 1929 (Marchand 1996: 276–77; 281–84). Inspired by French initiatives, Martin Schaede envisioned the DAI branch as an inclusive hub for German scholars.

Gabriel's rising esteem among Turkish intellectuals and the DAI's official establishment in Istanbul triggered French action. In 1929, René Dussaud, director of Oriental

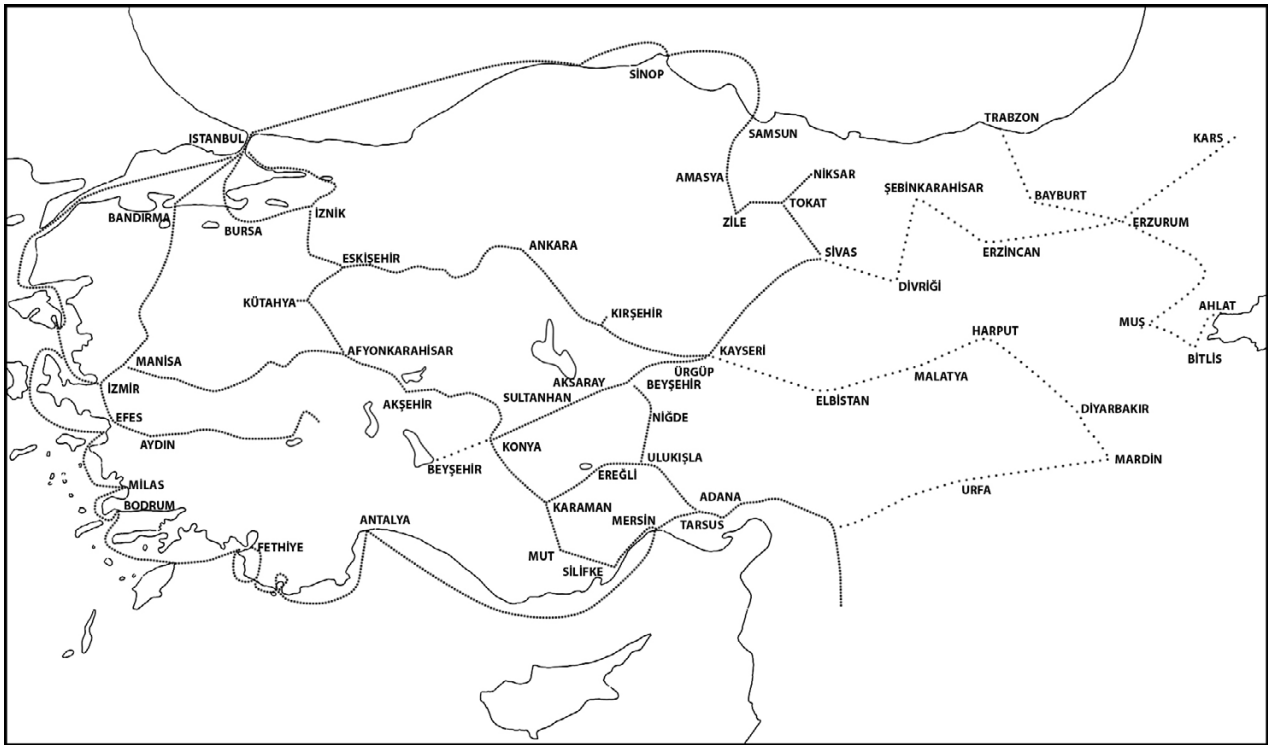


Figure 9. Albert Gabriel's excursions in Anatolia, 1925–1929. (Produced by the authors, based on Gabriel 1929: 259).

Antiquities at the Louvre and Gabriel's former thesis advisor, visited Istanbul and advocated for founding a French institute there (Thobie 2006: 20–21).

A commission oversaw the institute's creation. Its members included chancellors of the Academy of Paris and Strasbourg, the Administrator of the National School for Living Oriental Languages, the Director of Higher Education of MPI, representatives from the Louvre Museum, Sorbonne University, Collège de France, the French Ambassador in Ankara, Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, and several other MFA officials. The inclusion of scholars from the Louvre, Collège de France and Sorbonne University illustrates the institutional network behind French studies on Anatolia. In contrast, the involvement of diplomatic delegates shows the project was a joint effort. By early 1930, French Ambassador Charles de Chambrun referred to it as a joint MFA-MPI venture under the Strasbourg and Paris Academies. The institute would be staffed by two permanent members (a Turkologist and a former EFA member) and three short-term scholars (AMAE 417QO/168 n.d.; Thobie 2006: 26).

The debates surrounding the institute encompassed various aspects, including its name, status and governance, all of which remained unresolved. The primary issue delaying its creation was whether it should function as a school under the MPI or as an institute under the MFA. Central to the negotiations were discussions about its scientific programme. Initially focused on archaeology and art history, the programme was eventually revised to

incorporate research in the social sciences. Byzantine studies were excluded politically in favour of prioritising research on Turkish history, language, culture and art.

The spatiality of the institute was also debated. This debate can be viewed as an indicator of the modalities of associating with the Turkish context. The school in Soğukçeşme was immediately near the Archaeological Museum. The possibility of Sarıkışla was rather dictated by the Turkish government to associate the institute with the university. The eventual destination of the institute within the former Embassy placed it under French diplomacy.

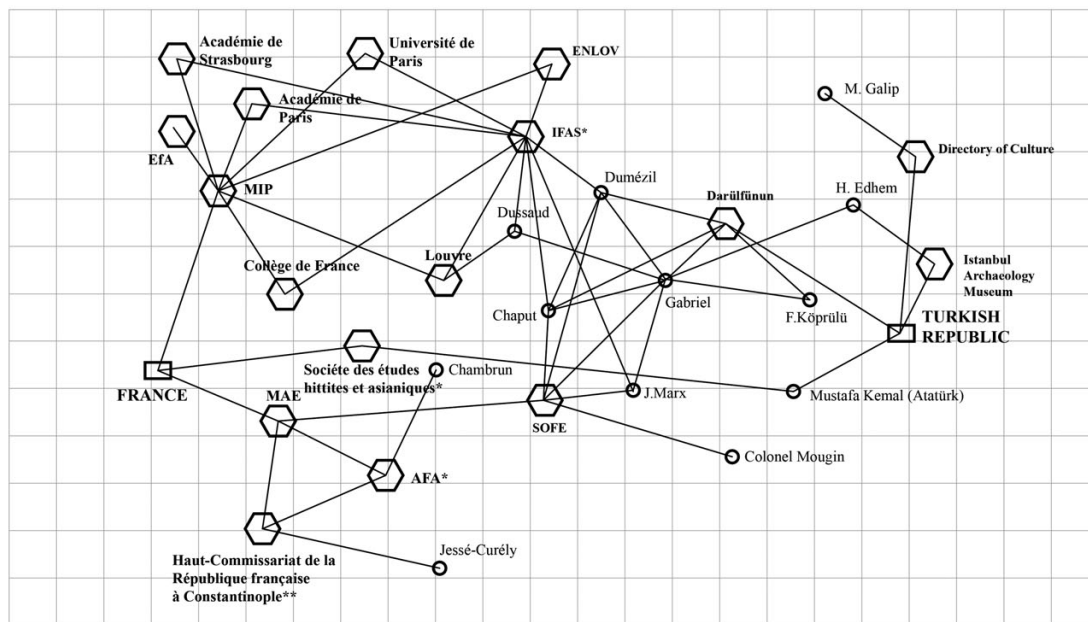
The MFA instructed the embassy to formalise the request in February 1930. Following an official submission on 26 March and Charléty's visit in October, Gabriel continued his work, including identifying research subjects and assembling the library (AMAE 417QO/168 1930b; 1930c; 1930d; Thobie 2006: 77; 81–83). Turkish approval arrived on 28 February 1931, contingent on three conditions: no extraterritorial status, no programme changes without approval and no public university-style lectures (Amandry, Davesne 1989: 47; Thobie 2014: 190).

The institute's diplomatic dimension was soon acknowledged. In 1935, Charléty celebrated the institute's role in intellectual diplomacy and called it a centre for collaboration and a vantage point for observing the Turkish Republic's transformation (Charléty 1935: 1).

In parallel with these French initiatives, another significant factor in Franco-Turkish scientific relations was

Atatürk's patronage of la Société des études hittites et asiatiques (Society for Hittite and Asiatic Studies). This was crucial because during the formative years of the Republic, history played a crucial role in shaping the new nation-state. The Hittites were selected as symbolic ancestors due to their ancient, non-Muslim Anatolian roots (Erimtan 2008: 142–43). Following the society's reclamation in December 1930, Atatürk declared his support as its perpetual benefactor (Anonymous 1939: 41). Atatürk's involvement with the society coincided with the establishment of the Institut français d'études anatoliennes (IFAS) in October 1930 and its official recognition by the Turkish government in February 1931. As a result of Atatürk's patronage, and at his invitation, the society would conduct studies at Has Höyük in Kırşehir and initiate excavations at Arslantepe in Malatya, for which the institute edited the excavations' publications (Anonymous 1939: 42). Atatürk's support thus added another dimension to the Franco-Turkish intellectual collaboration.

Meanwhile, the establishment of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) Istanbul branch in 1929 demonstrated the viability of creating a similar French institution. By this time, Gabriel had long been fostering cultural and political rapprochement between the two nations. Firmly rooted in French academic bodies, he actively cultivated meaningful engagements with Turkish institutions. He had already developed a profound appreciation for the country, and was well-versed in its evolving political and cultural landscape. Upon arriving in Istanbul, he continued to embed himself within local intellectual circles. Gabriel occupied a highly strategic central node in the map depicting the institutions and actors in negotiation for a French institute in Istanbul, effectively bridging the juncture between the French and Turkish spheres to bring the two academic cultures into cohesion. Ultimately, Gabriel's fruitful agency, combined with Atatürk's patronage of the Society of Hittite and Asianic Studies, and the precedent set by the DAI, successfully navigated the diplomatic



MAE: Ministère des Affaires étrangères
AFA: Ambassade de France à Ankara
SOFE: Service des œuvres françaises à l'étranger
MIP: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique
EFA: École française d'Athènes
ENLOV: École nationale des Langues orientales vivantes
IFAS: Institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul
 * new creation
 ** closed
 *** unrealised project

Figure 10. Network diagram 4, 1925–1930 (produced by the authors).

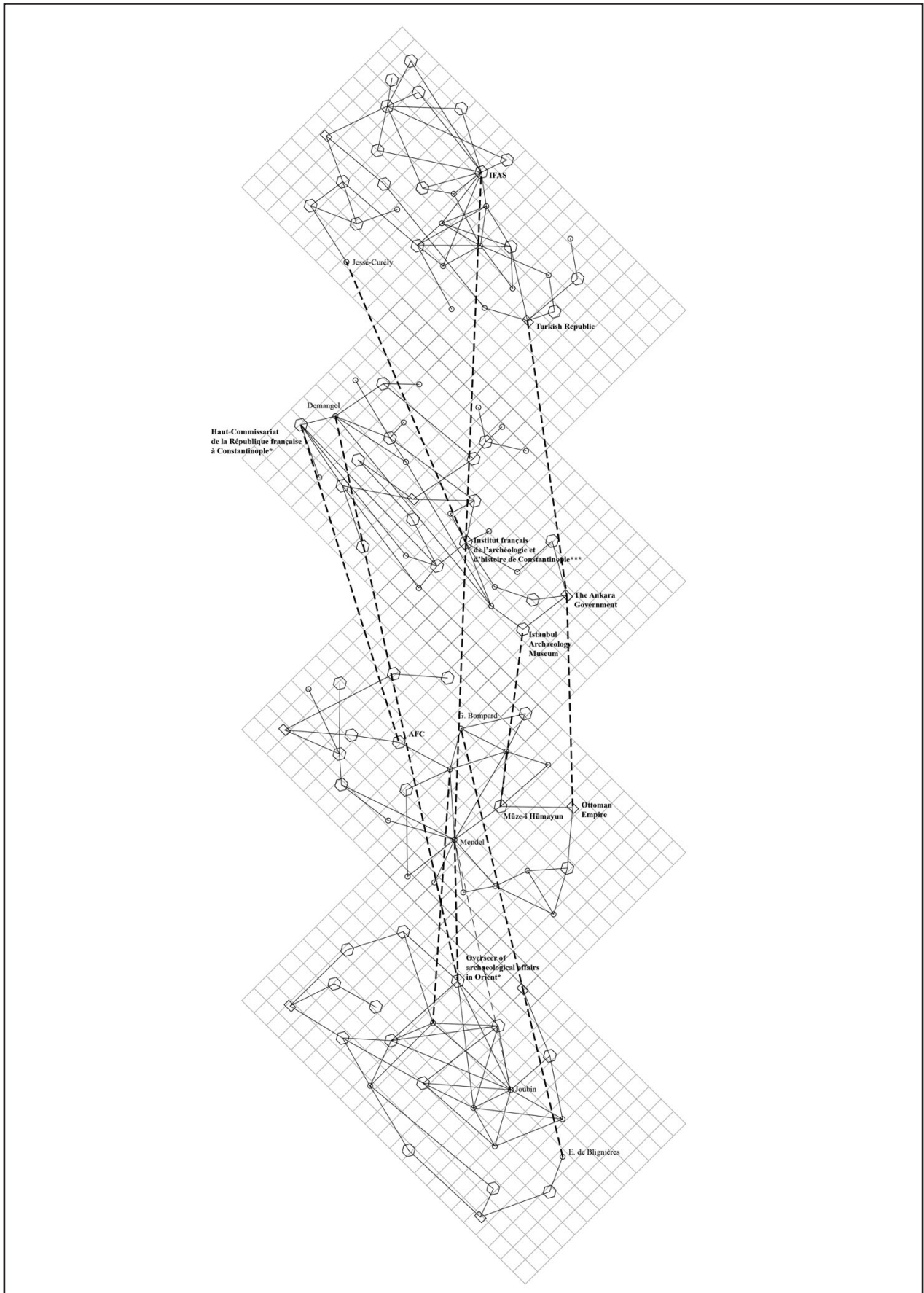


Figure 11. Composite network diagram: Overlapping connections across all periods, 1890s–1930 (produced by the authors).

complexities and paved the way for the eventual establishment of the IFAS (Figs 10, 11).

Conclusion

The process that led to the creation of the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul unfolded in phases, and was shaped by cultural diplomacy and diplomatic manoeuvring, rather than by a straightforward projection of French influence. The legal status, functions and research programme of the proposed institute were continuously debated by multiple French government bodies and academic institutions, and once a basic consensus emerged, the project became subject to delicate bilateral negotiations with the Ottoman Empire and, later, the Turkish Republic.

The initial Cambon-Joubin project revealed early tensions: a desire to counteract Prussian dominance motivated diplomatic actors like MFA and the Embassy, while the EFA and MPI resisted ceding influence or resources. The project reflected French-Prussian rivalry on the Greco-Roman antiquities more than regard for the local context, with vague references to Turkish or Islamic studies. Joubin's subsequent appointment to the Embassy handed over archaeological activity into diplomatic hands, but even his pragmatic role could not compensate for the lack of institutional clarity or alignment between ministries. The proposal to create a Constantinople branch of the EFA similarly failed because of persistent organisational confusion and inter-ministerial rivalry, which left the project in limbo.

While French diplomacy faltered, Prussia succeeded through coordinated state support, systematic excavation programmes and the personal diplomacy of prominent figures such as Kaiser Wilhelm II. The contrast exposed France's diplomatic disarray. Yet, Prussian overreach, especially through the 1899 secret treaty, alienated Ottoman authorities and created an opportunity for France. Here, Gustave Mendel emerged as a key figure: his dual role as archaeologist and diplomatic mediator allowed France to reassert itself. His effective negotiation of excavation licences, organisation of multiple digs and engagement with Turkish art helped institutionalise French archaeology informally. Mendel's activity shows how individual agency could momentarily substitute for structural cohesion, but it also highlights the fragility of such arrangements. Mendel's success was supported by Ambassador Maurice Bompard and Gabrielle Bompard, who sought to represent France's presence through the Société des Amis de Stamboul. This initiative, aimed at creating an institute independent of the EFA, reflects the fragmented nature of French archaeological ambitions in Istanbul.

After World War I, French efforts again diverged. Some sought to continue Mendel's model under military auspices, as seen with Robert Demangel, who straddled

multiple roles within the Army and Embassy. However, Demangel was held back by a lack of authority and familiarity with the local context. Such drawbacks, along with the contentious atmosphere of occupation, limited his effectiveness, further increasing the need for a permanent institute. Unlike the colonial contexts of Egypt or Syria, where French archaeological institutes emerged amid political destabilisation, Istanbul's occupation failed to yield similar institutional gains, in part due to the rapid consolidation of the Turkish nation-state.

The contest between the MFA and MPI continued in the early 1920s, with Pernot advocating a school and Diehl promoting a residence for missions. This ambiguity was met with a certain scepticism. Turkish officials perceived the transformation reflecting ministry priorities rather than realities deriving from the local context. As a result, the absence of a unified vision stalled progress. Only when the EFA withdrew from Anatolia and the MPI lost interest did the MFA, through Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, take full control to enact a deliberate policy and deploy Albert Gabriel. Gabriel's dual role as professor at Darülfünun and official in the Ministry charged with documenting Turkish architecture was strategically aligned with Turkish cultural priorities. His familiarity with Anatolia, diplomatic finesse and methodological rigour made him a credible figure in both scholarly and political circles.

Gabriel distinguished himself through genuine engagement with Turkish culture and history, in contrast to peers like Demangel. His early critique of Turkophobia and his alignment with emerging Turkish nationalism facilitated reciprocal Franco-Turkish relations. By 1925, the French cultural diplomacy apparatus was operating with clear goals, including student exchanges, scholarly support and the creation of a Franco-Turkish institute, even as negotiations over French school status remained unresolved.

Atatürk's patronage of la Société des études hittites et asiatiques further solidified scientific collaboration. His interest in pre-Islamic Anatolia and support for excavations at Arslantepe paralleled the Turkish Republic's efforts to construct a national identity rooted in ancient Anatolia. These developments, alongside the foundation of the DAI Istanbul branch in 1929 and Gabriel's increasing influence, catalysed the foundation of the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul.

The DAI's development contrasted sharply with the French experience. Prussian representation had evolved gradually and spatially over time, whereas France lacked continuity and a permanent institutional base. By distancing itself from Byzantine studies and establishing IFAS as a novel institution focused on Turkish history, language and antiquities, French institutions adjusted themselves to respond to Turkish expectations and public opinion.

Institutionalisation was thus not a linear extension of French power, but a negotiated and adaptive process shaped by competing French ministries, individual agency, and Turkish diplomatic and intellectual agency. Debates over the institute's name, status, governance and spatiality mirrored these dynamics. Over the decades, continuities and disruptions shaped these negotiations. Most importantly, the institute emerged through bilateral negotiation, not imposition, and its success relied on aligning French scholarly interest with Turkish cultural policy.

The prominence of Turkish art and architecture in French scholarship by the 1920s was both a product of academic interest and a diplomatic necessity. Figures such as Gustave Mendel and ultimately Albert Gabriel forged this field. Gabriel, who would later establish the Centre d'études turques (Center for Turkish Studies) in Paris and hold the Collège de France chair in Islamic art history, cemented Turkish art's place in French academia. In doing so, he extended the mission of IFAS beyond Istanbul, and further institutionalised the study of Anatolian and Turkish heritage as a legitimate and respected field of study in France.

Acknowledgements

This article is based on research conducted for the first author's doctoral dissertation in the Architectural History programme at Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ). The research was supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK) under the 2214-A International Research Fellowship Programme

for PhD Students, awarded to the first author, and was hosted by Dr Mercedes Volait at INVISU (l'Information visuelle et textuelle en histoire de l'art, nouveaux corpus, terrains, outils, CNRS UAR 3103 | INHA Institut national d'histoire de l'art) from November 2022 to October 2023. The project also received a short-term research scholarship from the École française d'Athènes (EFA) in August 2023.

The authors are grateful to the editors and anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and constructive suggestions, which have significantly improved the quality of this manuscript. The authors would like to extend their sincere gratitude to Serdar Kılınç at the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (MSGSÜ) Library for his invaluable assistance in accessing key publications, and to Marie Stahl, Head of Archives at the EFA, for her indispensable support during both on-site and remote archival research. We also thank the staff of all the archives and libraries consulted during this project. Furthermore, we are deeply grateful to Dr Chloé Rosner for generously sharing documents from the Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes, to Dr Özlem Özcan for providing materials from the Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi Archive, to Agostina Pinon Doré for her kind assistance, to Marilena Kourniati for her prompt and invaluable help, and to the Académie d'Architecture for kindly granting permission to reproduce the image of 'Mihrab de Karaman' by Henri Prost, all of which significantly contributed to this study.

Bibliography

Unpublished Archival Sources

Archives de ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE) (France)

- 417QO/168 1930a: Albert Gabriel's letter to Jean Marx on July 28. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Œuvres diverses, Institut français de Constantinople, écoles Berlitz, école des Mines, école des Arts et Métiers 1927–1932
- 1930b: Albert Gabriel's letter to Jean Marx on October 8. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Œuvres diverses, Institut français de Constantinople, écoles Berlitz, école des Mines, école des Arts et Métiers 1927–1932
- 1930c: Albert Gabriel's letter to Jean Marx on November 6. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Œuvres diverses, Institut français de Constantinople, écoles Berlitz, école des Mines, école des Arts et Métiers 1927–1932
- 1930d: Albert Gabriel's letter to Jean Marx on November 22. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Œuvres diverses, Institut français de Constantinople, écoles Berlitz, école des Mines, école des Arts et Métiers 1927–1932
- 1930e: Albert Gabriel's letter to Jean Marx on November 28. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Œuvres diverses, Institut français de Constantinople, écoles Berlitz, école des Mines, école des Arts et Métiers 1927–1932
- n.d.: Proceedings of the commission responsible for studying the French Institute project in Constantinople. Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger, Œuvres diverses, Institut français de Constantinople, écoles Berlitz, école des Mines, école des Arts et Métiers 1927–1932

Archives Nationales (France)

- F/17/2978 1897a: André Joubin's letter to Paul Cambon on August 25. Archives Nationales F/17/2978. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Service des missions, Missions scientifiques et littéraires en Grèce et en Asie mineure: dossiers individuels (1846–1937), André Joubin

- 1897b: Paul Cambon's letter to Gabriel Honataux (MFA) on August 26. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Service des missions, Missions scientifiques et littéraires en Grèce et en Asie mineure: dossiers individuels (1846–1937). André Joubin
- F/17/13052 1893: Paul Cambon's letter to Jules Develle, April 1. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Service des Voyages, 1884–1903 Missions, Projet de mission scientifique permanente à Constantinople
- F/17/17243 1914: Gustave Mendel's letter on July 25. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Service des missions. Missions scientifiques et littéraires en Grèce et en Asie mineure: dossiers individuels (1846–1937), Publications des résultats des missions en Asie Mineure. 1914 “Recherches scientifiques dans l'empire ottoman”, prévue en trois séries: – classique avec Aphrodisias et Phocée; – orientale avec Sidon; – islamique avec Konia
- F/17/17244 1919: Gustave Fougères' letter on May 29. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Service des Missions, Fouilles en Asie Mineure et en Asie occidentale, Conventions et lois réglementant les fouilles en Asie occidentale 1919–1920
- 1923: Charles Picard's letter to the Director of Higher Education on September 26. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Service des Missions, Fouilles en Asie Mineure et en Asie occidentale
- F/17/17284 1913: Félix Sartiaux's letter to Charles Bayet on May 13. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Service des missions. Missions scientifiques et littéraires en Grèce et en Asie mineure: dossiers individuels (1846–1937), SARTIAUX (Félix)

Archives de l'École française d'Athènes (EFA)

- 2 ADM 21 1922: Charles Picard's report on the work of EFA from November 1921 until November 1922. Archives Administratives de l'École française d'Athènes, Administration générale, Rapports sur les travaux et les fouilles de l'EFA, 2 ADM 21/ Rapports sur les travaux et les fouilles de l'EFA (classement chronologique): épreuves, rapports, rapports oraux, rapports destinés à l'AIBL, rapports de l'AIBL sur les activités de l'EFA
- AS1 1924: Jean Garoby's letter on March 12. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Séries géographiques: voyages, fouilles et études, Asie Mineure, AS1 – Rapports et correspondance, 1905–1927 Correspondance: fouilles, fonctionnement
- AS4 1927: Yves Béquignol's letter to Aziz (Ogan) on January 27. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Séries géographiques: voyages, fouilles et études, Asie Mineure, AS4 – Fonds Yves Béquignol
- 1928: Yves Béquignol's letter to Pierre Roussel on July 18. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Séries géographiques: voyages, fouilles et études, Asie Mineure, AS4 – Fonds Yves Béquignol. Mylasa, dossier thématique: publication
- FCP 3-1 1923: Charles Picard's letter on March 20. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Papiers et fonds d'archéologues, Fonds Charles Picard (FCP), FCP 3-1 École française d'Athènes: correspondance de Ch. Picard, directeur de l'EFA, Duplicata des lettres envoyées par Ch. Picard, directeur de l'EFA (1921–1925)
- FCP 26-5 1892a: Osman Hamdi, André Joubin and Joseph Chamonard in Lagina, 1892. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Papiers et fonds d'archéologues, Fonds Charles Picard (FCP), FCP 26-5, Photographies “Asie mineure. Divers”, “Athènes et le Pirée”, “Carie”, “Chios”, “Chypre”, “Délös et Myconos” [c. 1892]
- 1892b: Yervant Osgan and André Joubin at Ottoman-French joint excavations in Lagina. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Papiers et fonds d'archéologues, Fonds Charles Picard (FCP), FCP 26-5, Photographies “Asie mineure. Divers”, “Athènes et le Pirée”, “Carie”, “Chios”, “Chypre”, “Délös et Myconos” [c. 1892]
- 1892c: Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Papiers et fonds d'archéologues, Fonds Charles Picard (FCP), FCP 26-5, Photographies “Asie mineure. Divers”, “Athènes et le Pirée”, “Carie”, “Chios”, “Chypre”, “Délös et Myconos” [c. 1892]
- MACÉD-1 1918: Notice for the General Franchet d'Esperey, no date. Archives scientifiques manuscrites de l'École française d'Athènes, Séries géographiques: voyages, fouilles et études, Macédoine, MACÉD 1-1918 Activités du service archéologique de l'Armée d'Orient en Macédoine, sous la direction de L. Rey

Başkanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)

- 180-9-0-0, 81-397-1 1924a: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. Letter from the Vice director of the Office of Higher Education to the Directory of Culture, on 8 Mart 1340 (March 6, 1924)
- 1924b: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. Letter from Mübarek Galip, Director of the Directory of Culture, to the Office of Higher Education on 4 Mart 1340 (March 4, 1924)

- 1924c: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. Letter from Mübarek Galip, Director of the Directory of Culture, to the Office of Higher Education on 8 Mart 1340 (March 8, 1924)

Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)

- DH.İD 28-15 1911: Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Dahiliye Nezareti – İdare (DH.İD), 28-15, Nezaret-i Umur-u Hariciye, Umur-u Siyasiye Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi, Devair ve Vilayet Kalemi (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Directorate of Political Affairs, Bureau of Offices and Provinces) to Dahiliye Vekaleti (Ministry of Interior) on 16 Rebîülâhîr 1329 (April 16, 1911)
- HR.İM 45-7 1922: Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Hariciye Nezareti – İstanbul Murahhaslığı (HR.İM), 45-7, Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Dahiliye Nezareti - İdare (HR.İM), 45-7, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Müzeleri Müdüriyeti (The Directorate of Antiquities Museums of İstanbul under the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye) to Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İstanbul Mümessilliği Umur-ı Siyasiye Müdürü Hikmet Bey (Director of Political Affairs of the İstanbul Delegation of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye) on 23 kanun-ı evvel 1338 (December 23, 1922)

Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN)

- 166PO/E-344 1921: Maurice Pernot's report addressed to Maurice Pellé on September 19
- 1922: Charles Diehl's report addressed to the Minister of Education on June 12
- 1925a: Gaston Jessé-Curély's telegram to Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger on January 7
- 1925b: Edouard Herriot's telegram to Gaston Jessé-Curély on January 10
- 1925c: Gaston Jessé-Curély's telegram to Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger on January 11
- 1925d: Telegram from Service des Œuvres françaises à l'étranger to Gaston Jessé-Curély on January 6
- n.d.: Maurice Pellé's letter to Raymond Poincaré, no date
- 166PO/E-494 1893: André Joubin's letter on June 9
- 1894: André Joubin's letter to Paul Cambon on April 10
- 1909: Albert Mille's letter to the French Embassy on July 1
- 1911: Henri Prost's letter to Auguste Boppe on August 11
- 1913a: Copy of MPI's letter to MFA on March 14
- 1913b: Copy of MPI's letter to MFA on April 14
- 1913c: Grégoire Bay's letter to MFA on May 5
- 1913d: Gustave Mendel's letter to Auguste Boppe, the chargé d'affaires at the French Embassy in Constantinople on June 18

Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA)

- 60-3 1922: Gülhane excavations. Archives, autographes, manuscrits, dessins, objets et photographies de la bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art. Archives 60 – Charles Diehl, 3 – Deuxième période de la carrière de Charles Diehl: études sur Byzance, Études scientifiques, Constantinople, Mission de 1922, 4 – Photographies des fouilles
- n.d.a: Letter from Alfred Coville to Maurice Pellé. Archives, autographes, manuscrits, dessins, objets et photographies de la bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Archives 60 – Charles Diehl, 3 – Deuxième période de la carrière de Charles Diehl: études sur Byzance, Études scientifiques, Constantinople, Mission de 1922, 1 – Projet de création d'une École française d'archéologie et d'histoire à Constantinople
- n.d.b: The letter of the High Commissioner of France in Constantinople to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Archives, autographes, manuscrits, dessins, objets et photographies de la bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art. Archives 60 – Charles Diehl, 3 – Deuxième période de la carrière de Charles Diehl: études sur Byzance, Études scientifiques, Constantinople, Mission de 1922, 1 – Projet de création d'une École française d'archéologie et d'histoire à Constantinople

Ministère de la Culture (France)

- INHA-MPP n.d.a: Photo of Torumtay Mausoleum in Amasya. Ministère de la Culture (France), Fonds Albert Gabriel INHA, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, AG20K003324
- n.d.b: Photo of a street scene and Pir Mehmet Çelebi Mosque in Amasya. Ministère de la Culture (France), Fonds Albert Gabriel INHA, Médiathèque du patrimoine et de la photographie, AG20K003357

Türk Tarih Kurumu

HEE 1-36 1921: Maurice Bompard's letter to Halil Edhem on August 21. Türk Tarih Kurumu, Halil Edhem Eldem Arşivi 1-36

Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi Arşivi

YMM 1929: 10th Assembly of the Council of Education of the Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi (Higher Engineering School) on October 17

Primary published sources

Anonymous 1939: 'Atatürk' *Revue des études hittites et asianiques* 34(5): 41-42

Boissier, G. 1891: 'Rapport de la Commission des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome sur les travaux de ces deux Écoles pendant les années 1890-1891' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 35(5): 384-93

Bompard, G., Kunalalp, S. 2016: *Une ambassadrice de France à Constantinople: Les souvenirs de Gabrielle Bompard de Blignières (1909-1914)*. Istanbul, Isis Press

Charlét, S. 1935: 'Idées et Doctrines. Diplomatie intellectuelle' *La Dépêche* 5 April: 1

Cumhuriyet 1930: 'Yunan heykeltraşlığı' 8 December: 2

Demangel, R., Mamboury, E. 1939: *Le Quartier des Manganes et la Première Région de Constantinople*. Paris, E. de Boccard

Diehl, C. 1926: 'Préface' in Demangel, R. (ed.), *Le Tumulus dit de Protésilas*. Paris, E. de Boccard: vii-viii

Gabriel, A. 1912: 'Les Turcs et l'opinion' *Revue socialiste* 15 novembre 1912: 413-21

— 1921: *La cité de Rhodes MCCCX-MDXXII: topographie architecture militaire* Volume 1. Paris, E. de Boccard

— 1923: *La cité de Rhodes MCCCX-MDXXII: architecture civile et religieuse* Volume 2. Paris, E. de Boccard

— 1924: 'L'avenir de l'art en Turquie' *Stamboul* 30 October: 1

— 1926: 'Les mosquées de Constantinople' *Syria* 7(4): 353-419

— 1927: 'Türk San'atı ve Tarih-i San'atdaki Mevki'i' *Hayat* 1 September: 15-18

— 1928: 'Sanat ile Atikiyat' *Hayat* 5 April: 7-8

— 1929: 'Les antiquités turques d'Anatolie' *Syria* 10(3): 257-70

Hakimiyet-i Milliye 1929: 'İki mühim konferans' 17 April: 2

Halil Etem 1937: *İstanbul'da iki irfan evi: Alman ve Fransız Arkeoloji Enstitüleri ve bunların neşriyatı*. Istanbul, İstanbul Müzeleri Neşriyatı

Hébrard, E. 1914: 'Les monuments seldjoukides de Konia (Asie mineure)' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 58(2): 155-61

— 1923: 'Les monuments seldjoukides de Konia' *L'Illustration* 4199 (le 23 Août)

Herring, A. 2019: 'Claiming the classical past: Ottoman archaeology at Lagina' *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 8(1): 89-114

Le Corbusier 1966: *Le Voyage d'Orient*. Paris, Les Éditions Forces Vives

Mendel, G. 1908: 'Les Monuments Seldjoukides en Asie Mineure' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 23: 113-27

— 1909: 'Les Nouvelles salles du Musée de Constantinople' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* octobre: 251-66, 337-52

— 1910: 'Exposition des arts musulmans à Munich' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* juillet: 253-68, 351-66

— 1918: 'Les travaux du service archéologique de l'armée française d'Orient' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 62(1): 9-17

Normand, R. 1921: 'La Création du Musée d'Adana' *Syria* 2(3): 195-202

Radet, G. 1901: *L'histoire et l'oeuvre de l'École française d'Athènes*. Paris, Librairie des École française d'Athènes et de Rome

Sartiaux, F. 1914: 'Le sac de Phocée et l'expulsion des grecs Ottomans d'Asie Mineure en Juin 1914' *Revue des Deux Mondes* 24(1) (November): 654-86

— 1915: *Troie: la guerre de Troie et les origines préhistoriques de la question d'Orient*. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie

— 1918: *L'Archéologie française en Asie Mineure et l'Expansion Allemande*. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie

Talebe Rehberi 1928-1929: *Sene-i Devriyesi 1928*. İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa

Secondary literature

- Abi, C. 2019: *Digging Deeper: Cultural Property in the Ottoman Empire During the Great War and Allied Occupation 1914–1923*. PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles
- 2024: “‘If it is not too paradoxical’: Archaeology in İstanbul under occupation as a window into understanding the creation of a post-war cultural heritage regime’ *New Perspectives on Turkey* 71: 62–82
- Amandry, M., Davesne, A. (eds) 1989: *Anatolie antique: fouilles françaises en Turquie. Catalogue de l’exposition*. Paris, Institut Français d’Études Anatoliennes
- Avez, R. 1993: *L’Institut français de Damas au Palais Azem (1922–1946) à travers les archives*. Damas, Presses de l’Ifpo
- Basch, S. 2011: ‘Archaeological travels in Greece and Asia Minor: On the good use of ruins in nineteenth-century France’ in Z. Bahrani, Z. Çelik, E. Eldem (eds), *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1753–1914*. Istanbul, SALT: 157–79
- Bingöl, V. 2023: *The Establishment of Art History as a Discipline in Turkish Universities*. PhD thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul
- Cephanecigil, G. 2016: ‘Teaching the “Science of Antiquities” in the Late Ottoman Turkey: Eckhard Unger and “İlm-i Asar-ı atika Medhali” [Introduction to the Science of Antiquities]’ *A|Z ITU: Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 13(2): 175–84
- Çelik, Z. 2016: *About antiquities: Politics of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire*. Austin, University of Texas Press
- Chairi, E. 2022: ‘L’œuvre des missions scientifiques françaises sur les sites antiques de Grèce et d’Asie Mineure au XIXe siècle: évolution des conditions de fouille et bilan des profits mutuels’ in I. Apostolou, A. Zambon (eds), *Du pillage à la conscience patrimoniale en Grèce et dans l’Empire ottoman: le rôle des Français et des autres Occidentaux (XVIIIe – XIXe siècles)*. Bordeaux, Ausonius Éditions: 133–40
- Chevalier, N. 2002: *La recherche archéologique française au Moyen Orient 1842–1947*. Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
- 2004: ‘Peut-on parler d’une archéologie française dans l’Empire ottoman à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale?’ in V. Krings, I. Tassignon (eds), *Archéologie dans l’Empire ottoman autour de 1900: entre politique économie et science*. Bruxelles, Institut historique belge de Rome: 153–64
- 2014: ‘La présence archéologique française en Turquie (1912–1939)’ in G. Işıksel, E. Szurek (eds), *Turcs et Français: Une histoire culturelle 1860–1960*. Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 133–50
- Dölen, E. 2010: *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 2: Cumhuriyet Döneminde Osmanlı Darülfünun’u (1922–1933)*. Istanbul, Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları
- du Crest, X. 2009: *De Paris à Istanbul 1851–1949. Un siècle de relations artistiques entre la France et la Turquie*. Strasbourg, Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg
- Eldem, E. 2013: ‘“Gustave chez les Turcs” Mendel au service du Musée imperial ottoman’ in M. Poulain, F. Queyrel, G. Paquot (eds), *Éclats d’antiques. Sculptures et photographies. Gustave Mendel à Constantinople*. Paris, Armand Colin: 111–29
- 2014a: *Mendel-Sebah: Müze-i Hümayun’u Belgelemek – Mendel-Sebah: Documenting the Imperial Museum*. Istanbul, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
- 2014b: *Nazlı’nın Defteri. Osman Hamdi Bey’in Çevresi / Osman Hamdi Bey’s Circle*. Istanbul, Homer
- Ercan Kydonakis, A. 2022: ‘Archaeology between Imperial Imagination and Territorial Sovereignty: The French Occupation Army and the Mangana Excavations in Sarayburnu/Gülhane 1920–23’ in O. Delouis, B. Pitarakis (eds), *Discovering Byzantium in Istanbul. Scholars Institutions and Challenges 1800–1955*. Istanbul, İstanbul Research Institute: 303–28
- Erdur, K.E. (ed.) 2006: *Albert Gabriel 1883–1972. Mimar, Arkeolog, Ressam, Gezgin / Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur*. Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları
- Erimtan, C. 2008: ‘Hittites, Ottomans and Turks: Agaoglu Ahmed Bey and the Kemalist construction of Turkish nationhood in Anatolia’ *Anatolian Studies* 58: 141–71
- Erol, E. 2016: *The Ottoman Crisis in Western Anatolia. Turkey’s belle époque and the transition to a modern nation state*. London, I.B. Tauris
- Failler, A. 1995: ‘Le centenaire de l’Institut byzantin des Assomptionnistes’ *Revue des études byzantines* 53(1): 5–40
- Fenet, A. 2013: ‘Paris-Athènes-Constantinople. Rivalités et collaborations archéologiques en Méditerranée orientale à l’aube du XXe siècle’ in M. Poulain, F. Queyrel, G. Paquot (eds), *Éclats d’antiques. Sculptures et photographies. Gustave Mendel à Constantinople*. Paris, Armand Colin: 43–56

- Fodor, G. 2020: 'Harp İstanbul'unda Macar Arkeolojisi: Konstantinopolis Macar Bilim Enstitüsü (1916–1918)' *Yıllık* 2: 103–17
- Goff, P.M. 2013: 'Cultural diplomacy' in A.F. Cooper, J. Heine, R. Thakur (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Gran-Aymeric, E. 2007: *Les chercheurs du passé 1798–1945. Aux sources de l'archéologie*. Paris, CNRS Éditions
- Hauteceœur, L. 1960: 'Henri Prost à la Villa de Médicis (1902–1907)' in L. Hauteceœur (ed.), *L'Oeuvre de Henri Prost. Paris, Académie d'architecture*: 11–30
- Jockey, P. 2013: *L'Archéologie*. Paris, Belin
- Krempp, T. 2017: 'Le service archéologique de l'armée d'Orient: une archéologie en guerre' *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 46(2): 77
- Lerou, S. 2004: 'Robert Demangel conseiller scientifique du Corps d'occupation français de Constantinople et agent de liaison (1922–1924)' in V. Krings, I. Tassignon (eds), *Archéologie dans l'Empire ottoman autour de 1900: entre politique économie et science*. Brussels, Institut belge de Rome: 267–87
- Mamalı, T.A. Cephaneçigil G. 2024: 'Darülfünun'un Gelişiminde 1925 Fransa-Türkiye Akademik ve Kültürel Anlaşması' in A.Z. Furat (ed.), *Sahn-ı Seman'dan Dârülfünûn'a Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası VI: Dârülfünûn ve Yükseköğretimin Yeniden Şekillenmesi*. Istanbul, Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları: 87–128
- Marchand, S. 1996: *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750–1970*. Princeton, Princeton University Press
- Meerts, P. 2015: *Diplomatic negotiation: essence and evolution*. The Hague, Clingendael
- Nafilyan, H. 2012: *Gustave Mendel (1873–1938) archéologue et conservateur aux Musées impériaux de Constantinople. Mémoire de recherche*. Paris, École du Louvre
- 2013: 'Une figure inconnue l'énigme Gustave Mendel' in M. Poulain, F. Queyrel, G. Paquot (eds), *Éclats d'Antiques: sculptures et photographies Gustave Mendel à Constantinople*. Paris, Armand Colin: 57–66
- Özcan, Ö., Kuban, Z. 2023: 'Architecture education before ITU Faculty of Architecture: Actors shaping the architecture education in Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi Mimari/İnşaat Şubesi and their impact (1928–1941)' *A|Z ITU: Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 20(1): 85–100
- Özlü, N. 2024: 'Under the shadow of occupation: Cultural, archaeological, and military activities at Topkapı Palace during the armistice period, 1918–1923' *New Perspectives on Turkey* 71: 83–113
- Papatheodorou, A. 2017: *Ottoman policy-making in an age of reforms: Unearthing Ottoman archaeology in the 19th and early 20th centuries*. PhD thesis, University of Oxford
- 2025: 'A late Ottoman intellectual on the Chora monastery: Mehmed Ziya's book on the "Ka'riye Cami-i Şerifi" in context' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 49(1): 68–77
- Pinon, P. 2014: 'Albert Gabriel et les Turcs' in G. Işıksel, E. Szurek (eds), *Turcs et Français: Une histoire culturelle 1860–1960*. Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 239–48
- 2019: *Albert Gabriel et l'architecture turque: Biographie et oeuvres inédites*. Istanbul, Isis
- Pinon, P., Amprimoz, F.-X. 1988: *Les envois de Rome (1778–1968): Architecture et archéologie*. Rome, École Française de Rome
- Pinon-Demirci, M. 2006: 'Türkiye'de sanat tarihi ve Türk sanat varlığı / L'histoire de l'art en Turquie et le patrimoine turc' in K.E. Erdur (ed.), *Albert Gabriel 1883–1972. Mimar Arkeolog Ressam Gezgin*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları: 185–98
- Poulain, M., Queyrel, F., Paquot, G. (eds) 2013: *Éclats d'Antiques*. Paris: Armand Colin
- Pralong, A. 2006: 'Türkiye'de öğretim ve araştırma / Enseignement et recherche en Turquie' in K.E. Erdur (ed.), *Albert Gabriel 1883–1972. Mimar, Arkeolog, Ressam, Gezgin / Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur*. Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları: 199–297
- Prieur, B. 1974: 'La vie et l'oeuvre d'Albert Gabriel' *La vie en Champagne* 22(229): 4–17
- Redford, S. 2006: 'Albert Gabriel, Türkler ve Selçuklu mimarisi / Albert Gabriel, les Turcs et l'architecture seldjoukide' in K.E. Erdur (ed.), *Albert Gabriel 1883–1972. Mimar, Arkeolog, Ressam, Gezgin / Architecte, archéologue, artiste, voyageur*. Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları: 79–84
- René-Hubert, M. 2010. 'Des hellénistes en guerre Le parcours atypique des membres de l'École française d'Athènes durant la Première Guerre mondiale' *Revue historique des armées* 261: 88–105
- Roy, C.L. 1996: 'L'École française d'Athènes et l'Asie Mineure' *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 120(1): 373–87
- Shaw, W.M.K. 2003: *Possessors and Possessed: Museums Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley, University of California Press

- Tanır, E.D. 2016: *Cumhuriyet'in Kuruluş Sürecinde Türkiye'de Fransız Okulları (1919–1925)*. PhD thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi
- Thobie, J. 2000: 'Archéologie et diplomatie française au moyen orient des années de 1880 au début des années 1930' in R. Etienne (ed.), *Les politiques de l'archéologie: du milieu du XIXe siècle à l'orée du XXe siècle*. Athens, École Française d'Athènes: 79–111
- 2006: *Aux Origines de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes: La correspondance commentée Marx-Gabriel 1930–1932*. Istanbul, Isis
- 2014: 'La fondation de l'Institut français d'archéologie de Stamboul (1930–1932)' in G. Işıksel, E. Szurek (eds), *Turcs et Français: Une histoire culturelle 1860–1960*. Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 173–91
- Üre, P. 2014: *Byzantine Heritage, Archaeology and Politics Between Russia and the Ottoman Empire: Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (1894–1914)*. PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science
- Valenti, C. 2006: *L'École française d'Athènes*. Paris, Belin
- Vernoit, S. 1997: 'The Rise of Islamic Archaeology' *Muqarnas* 14: 1–10
- Volait, M. 2014: *L'invention du monument historique dans le context cosmopolite égyptien (1870–1890)*. halshs-01059420. <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01059420v1>
- 2021: *Antique Dealing and Creative Reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850–1890. Intercultural Engagements with Architecture and Craft in the Age of Travel and Reform*. Leiden, Brill
- Whitling, F. 2024: 'The "Non-Institute" in the Ex-Capital: The Swedish Institute in Constantinople, 1922–1924' in B. Forsén, G. Salmeri, D. Shankland (eds), *The Long March of Archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean. Political and Cultural Entanglements*. Rome: Edizioni Quasar: 141–66
- Yiakoumis, H. 2008: *Phocée 1913–1920 Le Témoignage de Félix Sartiaux*. Paris, Éditions Kallimages
- Yücel, İ. 2015: 'Suriye'de Fransız Mandası ve Asar-ı Atika Araştırmaları' in A.Y. Akengin, S. Koçaslan (eds), *100. Yılında Birinci Dünya Savaşı Uluslararası Sempozyumu. 3–5 Kasım 2014, Budapeşte, Macaristan*. Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi: 937–50