

# HERITAGE TURKEY

BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

Volume 8 | 2018





The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) supports, enables and encourages research in Turkey and the Black Sea region in a wide range of fields including archaeology, ancient and modern history, heritage management, social sciences and contemporary issues in public policy and political sciences. Founded in 1948, the BIAA was incorporated in the 1956 cultural agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom. The BIAA is one of the British International Research Institutes (BIRI). It has offices in Ankara and London, and a dedicated staff of experts from a wide variety of academic and cultural backgrounds.

The Institute's premises in Ankara are maintained by a small administrative and research staff, and provide a research centre for visiting scholars and students. The centre houses a library of over 65,000 volumes, research collections of botanical, faunal, epigraphic and pottery material, together with collections of maps, photographs and fieldwork archives, and a laboratory and computer services.

The Institute uses its financial, practical and administrative resources to conduct high-quality research. The overall focus of the research sponsored by the BIAA is on history, society and culture from prehistory to the present day, with particular attention to the ideas of Turkey as a crossroads, Turkey's interactions with the Black Sea region and its other neighbours, and Turkey as a distinctive creative and cultural hub in global and neighbourhood perspectives. The BIAA supports a number of projects grouped within its strategic research initiatives, which reflect current research concerns in the international and UK academic communities. These are: Cultural heritage, society and economy in Turkey; Migration, minorities and regional identities; Interconnections of peace and conflict: culture, politics and institutions in national, regional and international perspectives; Anglo-Turkish relations in the 20th century; Climate changes and the environment; Habitat and settlement in prehistoric, historic and contemporary perspectives; Legacy data: using the past for the future. The Institute also offers a range of grants, scholarships and fellowships to support undergraduate to postdoctoral research.

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*The front cover shows village houses amongst the ruins of Selge (© Ekin Kazan): see page 9.*

# HERITAGE TURKEY

British Institute at Ankara Research Reports

Volume 8 | 2018

## Contents

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### 2 News & events

- 2 A letter from the Director, *Lutgarde Vandeput*
- 3 *Lutgarde Vandeput & Leonidas Karakatsanis* on  
THE MOVE and the new BIAA premises

---

### 7 Cultural heritage, society & economy

- 7 *Lutgarde Vandeput, Gül Pulhan and Işıl Gürsu*  
on Safeguarding archaeological assets
- 9 *Işıl Gürsu* on living amid the ruins
- 11 *J. Riley Snyder & Emanuele E. Intagliata* on ancient  
Apollonia ad Rhyndacum

---

### 13 Migration, minorities & regional identities

- 13 *John McManus* on the Africa Cup
- 15 *Emel Akçalı & Evrim Görmüş* on the Syrian  
business diaspora in Turkey

---

### 17 Interconnections of peace & conflict

- 17 *Ece Algan* on the Turkish TV industry
- 19 *Stelios Lekakis* on archaeology on the front line in  
1919–1922



---

### 21 Anglo-Turkish relations in the 20th century

- 21 *Yaprak Gürsoy* on the Turkish elite's perception of  
the UK from 1973 to Brexit
- 23 *Peter Cherry* on harems and hidden treasures at  
the turn of the 20th century

---

### 25 Climate changes & the environment

- 25 *Darrel Maddy* on the Pleistocene environments of  
the Gediz valley
- 27 *Warren Eastwood* on human-environment  
interactions along the Büyük Menderes river

---

### 29 Legacy data: using the past for the future

- 29 *Leonidas Karakatsanis & Lutgarde Vandeput* on  
the BIAA digital repository
- 31 *Geoffrey D. Summers* on Institute collections and  
Ian Todd's Central Anatolian Survey

---

### 32 Habitat & settlement

- 32 *Douglas Baird* on Boncuklu
  - 35 *Ian Hodder* on moving forward after Çatalhöyük
  - 37 *Christoph Bachhuber & Michele Massa* on  
emerging patterns on the Konya plain
  - 39 *Michele Massa* on metallurgical technology and  
metal exchange networks
  - 41 *Gonca Dardeniz* on metallurgy in the Delice valley
  - 42 *Naomi Carless Unwin* on the East Stoa at Labraunda
  - 44 *R.R.R. Smith* on work at Aphrodisias in 2018
-

From the Director, Lutgarde Vandeput  
Ankara, November 2018

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Dear members,

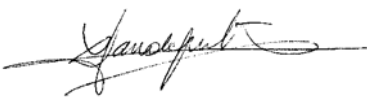
Like last year, 2018 has been packed with events, but this year had a clear peak: the BIAA moved premises for the first time since the early 1980s! It took Gülgün Girdivan (Ankara Manager), Leonidas Karakatsanis (Assistant Director) and myself the best part of the winter and spring to find the location, plan and oversee renovations and finally coordinate ‘The Move’. We closed the library on 1 May and the movers arrived at Tahran Caddesi 24 on 21 May. Before Bayram started on 14 June, everything had arrived at Atatürk Caddesi 154; but it was only once the movers left that the real work started for us. You can find a well-illustrated account of ‘The Move’ and the new premises on the following pages.

In spite of the fact that the past academic year has been unusual, the BIAA postdoctoral fellows have continued their work. John McManus published his book, *Welcome to Hell*, and Peter Cherry has made steady progress with his project, ‘Writing Turkey in British literary and travel narratives (1914–1945)’. His work clearly impressed Bilkent University (Ankara), and Peter took up a position there at the beginning of the current academic year. Whilst this is a wonderful opportunity for Peter, we at the Institute are quite sad to see him go a year earlier than expected. His early departure made it possible, however, for the BIAA to grant two new BIAA postdoctoral fellowships for 2018–2020. The specialisations of the new fellows once again illustrate the wide range of disciplines that is currently supported by the Institute. Gizem Tongo Overfield Shaw (Oxford) is a cultural historian, who started work on her project, ‘Art in Istanbul during the armistice period’, in September 2018, whereas Benjamin Irvine (Edinburgh/Berlin) is a physical anthropologist, who works on the movement of humans and domesticated animals during the Early Bronze Age based on isotope analysis. He arrived at the beginning of October 2018.

Digitisation is one long-term BIAA project that deserves mention here. Although the digitisation of the Institute’s collections started back in 2004, it is thanks to the current Assistant Director, Leonidas Karakatsanis, that it has now been completed successfully. Moreover, in collaboration with the BIAA IT Manager, Hakan Çakmak, he has also set up the infrastructure to enable the Institute to function as a regional digital repository. At the beginning of November, Nurdan Atalan Çayırmezmez took up the position of Manager of the newly established repository office, and she will continue to oversee its development. You can find out more about the digital repository on pages 29–30 of the magazine.

I have important news to pass on from the ‘London end’ of the BIAA too. Last year I reported that Claire McCafferty had left the BIAA to return to her native Australia. Unfortunately, another departure needs to be reported for 2018: Simon Bell, Claire’s successor, decided to part ways with the BIAA in summer 2018 and his successor, Vanessa Hymas, took up the position of London Manager in August. Vanessa is, however, no longer the only Institute employee in London. Three days a week she is joined by Martyn Weeds, the BIAA Development Manager. One of Martyn’s first successes was to secure a grant of £50,000 from the prestigious Wolfson Foundation toward the renovations of the new premises in Ankara – a very significant contribution to the renovation budget! You may have noticed an upsurge in BIAA social-media activity, and, if not, please do follow our BIAA Facebook and Twitter pages. We owe this increased activity to Claire Reynolds, our part-time Social Media Manager.

However, as always, the focus of this edition of *Heritage Turkey* is fixed firmly on reports about the research funded or facilitated by the BIAA or realised by its staff, fellows and project-related scholars. I hope that you will enjoy the rich and varied contents of the magazine!



Lutgarde Vandeput

The new Institute premises.





## THE MOVE: new premises for the research centre in Ankara

Lutgarde Vandeput & Leonidas Karakatsanis | British Institute at Ankara

For many years now, it had been obvious that the premises at Tahran Caddesi 24, home to the BIAA for 36 years, no longer responded to the needs of the Institute's research centre. Although ingenious solutions were sought – and found – to 'cram' incoming publications onto the shelves in the library or even off-site, the space was filling up rapidly. BIAA scholars and fellows no longer had proper spaces to work and, although we did organise events at the premises, the available space was once again far from ideal. In addition, the ever-increasing financial burden of the rent for the premises had to be taken into account. However, because we were all so attached to the building – which represents one of the last well-preserved examples of Ankara domestic architecture from the 1950s – and its wonderful garden we pushed aside this sword of Damocles dangling over our heads for as long as possible. When a partially arranged 'deal' on establishing a co-location with another Ankara-based research institute fell through though, we decided it was time to take a deep breath, start scouting the available properties and 'do the maths'.

As soon as we – that is, the Ankara management team composed of Gülgün Girdivan, Leonidas Karakatsanis and Lutgarde Vandeput – were shown two floors in a larger building at Atatürk Bulvarı 154 by the real-estate agents, we agreed that we could 'see' the BIAA there. Most importantly, the second floor was one large open-plan space, where the library would fit beautifully. Together, both floors amount to over 900m<sup>2</sup>, which is considerably more than the old premises. Last but not least, the rent was notably lower than what the BIAA was paying for the old premises.

Once permission was sought and gained from the Institute's trustees and the British Academy, we secured a ten-year lease and started planning the renovation of the new location. In February, building work began and the finishing touches were still being executed when the first removal trucks rolled onto the driveway. Gülgün kept a close eye on the budget and it was a huge relief to all of us that the Wolfson Foundation granted us £50,000 for the renovation of the library and the conference room.

One of the major challenges we faced was planning and implementing the move of the library and its 65,000 volumes. A principal advantage of the move to new premises was certainly the opportunity to redesign the library space from scratch. At Tahran 24, library readers had to navigate through a labyrinth of different rooms spread over several floors in order to locate a book. This complexity could now give way to the simplicity of one open-space library floor where all the books and journals could be shelved on the



Nihal Uzun and Burçak Delikan packing books.

basis of the existing classification system. The ability to design the library space anew also gave us the opportunity to introduce a ten-year projected-growth plan in order to accommodate new acquisitions.

However, this major advantage of having a newly designed space created a significant challenge with regards to the logistics of the move itself, since the books – following removal from their spots on the shelves of Tahran 24 – could not simply be transferred to the same locations on the same shelves in the new premises. Thus, reshelfing had to be planned as a totally separate process for the entire collection.

A four-tiered process was designed to tackle the task. We envisioned that, in the first stage, books would be boxed and tagged according to the BIAA library classification system. Then the condition of the existing shelves was to be assessed. Some shelves would be identified for repair, some would be replaced and some new shelves, matching the existing system in terms of quality and style, would be ordered. A third projected stage consisted of moving all the existing shelving to the new premises and arranging it according to the new design for the space. The fourth and final phase of the process would then be to send the books and journals from Tahran 24 in reverse alphabetical order of the classification system and start reshelfing.

However, we soon realised this plan wouldn't work. The space restrictions at the old premises, with its narrow corridors, many small rooms, various floors and minimal open space, forced us, in consultation with the removal company, to adopt a different strategy which involved the simultaneous implementation of three of our four planned stages (boxing books *and* moving shelves *and* moving books). This made the calculation of space allocation for boxes and shelves at the new premises a highly demanding task! The BIAA staff in full force – including the Director, Assistant Director, librarians, fellows, scholars and caretakers – were separated into teams located in both the old and the new premises, and worked non-stop to assess shelves,



The creation of the new library space.



Team work: team Sergio, Burcak and Nihal.



All hands on deck!

organise 'islands' of boxed books at the new premises according to the various sections of the library classification system and maintain some vital working space for unpacking and shelving. Everybody lent a hand by lifting or marking a box, or moving one shelf to find another matching one and positioning them side by side. All got dusty and exhausted. But we also all agreed that it was a true bonding experience and, at times, even fun! The images accompanying this piece demonstrate all of this. Special reference must be made here to the 2018 BIAA Research Scholar, Sergio Russo; his input and impact on the library's move cannot be overestimated.

Once all the shelves had been arranged, the detailed work of unpacking the books, checking them against the catalogue and reshelving them started. Thankfully, volunteers from Hacetepe, Gazi, Ankara and Bilkent universities were on hand to help. They made a real difference to the speed with which shelving proceeded. Understandably, some glitches emerged and new shelves had to be ordered – and made by the carpenter at full speed; but these minor inconveniences were easily overcome. Meanwhile, the librarians organised their brand-new offices and by mid-August the new library opened its doors to full members. Since the beginning of September, the library has been fully functional once again.





The pottery collection: time to start unpacking!

On the same floor, one large room was created to house the collections of historical maps, squeezes and the physical photographic archive. This is a very airy and pleasant space that has also served as the office of the Digital Repository Manager since the beginning of November. You can read more on the repository elsewhere in this volume.

Meanwhile, although the library certainly posed the largest challenge, the other resource collections also had to be moved. The available funding allowed us to acquire mobile archival shelving units for the ceramics collection. Ben Irvine, who was at the BIAA on a short-term contract to complete the photographic recording of the ceramic collection, single-handedly oversaw the packing and moving of the whole ceramics collection. He did not shy away from helping with the actual lifting of it either – to such an extent that the removalists suggested he come and work with them! Ben also undertook the entire reorganisation of the ceramic collection in the new units, and the result is fabulous.

The new premises are spacious enough to house also the BIAA's palaeobotanical and archaeozoological collections. These were previously stored in the 'lab-flat', a separate unit on Büklüm Sokak, about 300m from Tahrir Caddesi 24. This not only means an additional saving in rent, it also has the additional benefits that the collections are under much closer control and that scholars coming to use them are now properly part of the academic community here. We faced several hurdles in moving these collections. First, the lease on Büklüm Sokak ended in March. We therefore had to move the contents of the lab-flat much earlier than and separately from those of the main premises. The contents of the flat were thus moved into the designated laboratory space, but before the renovation of the premises was completed. So they remained stored away and plastic-protected for several months. Unpacking the glass tubes with the seeds was a delicate business, but we managed.

With relief, we realised that there was, at most, only very little damage! For the organisation of the archaeozoological collection, we had help from Gamze Durdu, a Masters student at the Middle East Technical University specialising in archaeozoology. Her presence made a huge difference and we would like to take this opportunity to thank her for helping us out.



The entrance to the new premises.

A further important asset of the ‘New BIAA’ is the conference room, or – as it is officially named – the BIAA Wolfson Foundation Conference Room. It was indeed thanks to the Foundation’s grant that we were able to furbish the space. The room is actually ‘multi-functional’. On a day-to-day basis, it serves as the BIAA tea room. Two evening lectures have already taken place, and we can seat up to 70–75 people. The space can also be used for workshops with a limited number of participants since we can convert it into a room housing one large or several smaller conference tables.

In all, we feel that the new premises provide a solid base from which to face new challenges. The new offices are not only light and spacious, there is also room to house more scholars than we have today. The BIAA Wolfson Foundation Conference Room provides us with a splendid in-house location for events, workshops and even small symposia, and is already significantly increasing the public visibility of the Institute. It also provides UK HEI researchers in search of a location for workshops and events in Turkey with a base at an established British institution. The new arrangement of the library is more user-friendly than ever before and it has space to accommodate new acquisitions for at least ten years, and probably many more. The Wolfson Foundation grant allowed us to acquire new furniture for readers and increase the number of spaces available for library users. A reader-satisfaction survey executed before the move revealed additional seating as one of the main demands.

Furthermore, reorganisation of the working hours of the librarians has allowed us to increase the opening times for students. It is satisfying that, since the opening of the library, quite a few new members have signed up already.

Last, but not least, having the digital repository office housed in the new premises will enable the BIAA to build solutions for the digitisation of large-scale physical archives in Turkey and the surrounding region.

We would love the opportunity to welcome you to our wonderful new premises, or, in Turkish, *bekleriz!*



The library.



The BIAA Wolfson Foundation Conference Room.



The library reading room.



## CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

The promotion, management and regulation of cultural heritage is a complex process involving many different agents and stakeholders on local, national and international levels. This is a critical area of public policy involving a range of actors that includes international organisations, government ministries and agencies, political parties, businesses, museums and local communities. How cultural heritage is produced, interpreted and understood can have a profound impact on social and economic activity and decision-making. It influences the formation of social values and ideas as well as notions of common identity and history, and also affects economic and infrastructure management. The importance of cultural heritage management is increasingly recognised and acknowledged in Turkey, and the field is developing rapidly. New issues and problems have emerged, for which solutions that comply with and enhance the highest international standards have to be found within Turkey. This strategic research initiative sets out to examine the relationships between the many agents and actors in the field of cultural heritage in the Turkish context.

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### Safeguarding the archaeological assets of Turkey

Lutgarde Vandepuit, Gül Pulhan & Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

As reported in last year's *Heritage Turkey*, the British Institute at Ankara received a large award from the Cultural Protection Fund in support of the Safeguarding Archaeological Assets of Turkey Project (SARAT). The funding, from the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, is administered and managed by the British Council. The BIAA is the lead institution and partners with the Research Center for Ancient Civilizations of Koç University in Istanbul (ANAMED) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) UK. The SARAT project intends to build capacity and raise awareness concerning the safeguarding of archaeological assets in Turkey. This will be realised through three central aims: to provide emergency training for the protection of archaeological assets; to map public perceptions of heritage and the value it holds in Turkey; to raise awareness through activities with journalists and private collectors of the damage that the looting of archaeological sites causes. Since last year's magazine went to press, the project has developed rapidly and there are significant results to report.

In September 2018, the project's website was launched in Turkish and English. Please take the time to visit it at <http://www.saratprojesi.com/tr>. In addition to information on the project itself, the website also hosts pieces by the

project's media specialist, Nur Banu Kocaaslan, on heritage-related issues, under the heading 'SARAT's features' (<http://www.saratprojesi.com/en/resources/sarats-features>). Topics range from 'ICOM red lists: what are they and what are they good for' and 'How did the Perge Hercules sarcophagus find its way back to Turkey?' to 'UN Security Council's first cultural heritage resolution: "War crimes are being committed in Iraq and Syria"'. Already, the topics covered demonstrate that both current issues and general questions are being tackled. In the near future, content will be added to another section, entitled 'An artefact and its story', where world-famous archaeological artefacts and their stories will be presented in order to illustrate the importance of archaeological context for understanding history through objects. The website is part of the capacity and awareness-building activities of SARAT. Whilst the development of activities with journalists and collectors is scheduled for 2019, this year's work has otherwise concentrated largely on the emergency training component of the project and a national survey of public perceptions of heritage.

Since last year's *Heritage Turkey* article, the model for emergency training for the protection of archaeological assets has changed completely. Rather than providing actual training in eight museums in Turkey, the project is now developing an



Interview with Aparna Tandon.

online course. In collaboration with Koç University, SARAT is currently working on a course entitled ‘Safeguarding and rescue of archaeological assets’. The course will not only be accessible to museum staff, archaeologists and heritage professionals, but also to students and anyone else who is interested. The course will provide information on a wide range of issues and training for a number of scenarios. Topics include why safeguarding archaeological assets is important, which international agencies are concerned with cultural heritage and how museums should deal with emergency situations, as well as components on the UNESCO World Heritage List and on ‘Turkey on the World Heritage List’. Finally, course elements in which ‘crash-introductions’ are provided on photography and conservation are being prepared. The course content will be enriched by interviews with national and international specialists who are familiar with specific topics of the course, such as, for instance, Aparna Tandon from the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). Whereas the language of the ‘lessons’ themselves will be Turkish, the interviews with international specialists will mostly be subtitled. An interactive element will be incorporated, so that students can ask questions and receive feedback on assessments. Courses will be provided without charge and those who successfully complete the course will be awarded a certificate by Koç University.

Plans to translate the course into other languages in the future exist, but their execution will depend on the time frame and availability of funding. Interest for translations into Arabic and English has already been signalled from a variety of sources.

In addition to solid progress on the development of the online course, another milestone for SARAT this year has been the implementation of a nationwide survey on the public perception of the archaeological assets of Turkey. The questions were based on three main strands: understanding of archaeology, engagement with archaeological assets and the past, and general approaches towards archaeological assets.

The actual survey was executed by a professional polling company, KONDA Research and Consultancy, in May 2018. The questionnaires were developed by means of stakeholder meetings (of academics, heritage workers, social scientists and public servants) in Ankara, Istanbul and Mardin. Once the questionnaire was finalised, 3,601 people were interviewed in 29 different provinces across Turkey. This is a representative sample size for Turkey. By interviewing larger numbers of people in Istanbul, Antalya and southeastern Turkey, it is now possible to discern regional variation in the collected data. Following the survey, KONDA prepared an extensive report; whilst this is currently being assessed in detail, some results really stand out.

For instance, 36% of the respondents indicated that when they hear the word archaeology, ‘excavation/science of excavation’ comes to mind, while 17% did not give an answer. Just over half the interviewed people could name a civilisation that had existed in Turkey in the past and almost 85% said that archaeological objects are under state ownership; 60% think that archaeological assets have an intangible value. When asked ‘which civilisations shaped today’s Turkey?’ the most common answer was ‘civilisations of thousands of years’ (46%). The results overall indicate a high interest in, but a rather low level of knowledge of, the archaeological assets of Turkey. They also give us many insights into how people learn about archaeology, what is needed to foster this interest and which institutions stand out in people’s minds regarding the protection of archaeological assets.

The data are undoubtedly very rich and the plan is to use these results to organise incentive workshops with museum, heritage and tourism professionals, academics and authorities who can use them to develop strategies for the protection of archaeological heritage on a regional basis. In addition, the available data can help in the development of ideas to increase social and economic benefits for local communities.



A stakeholders’ meeting in Mardin.





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## Living amid the ruins: archaeological sites as hubs of sustainable development for local communities in southwestern Turkey

Işıl Gürsu | British Institute at Ankara

Since 2013, the BIAA has created and implemented a number of projects within its cultural heritage management strategic research initiative. One of these projects, titled Living Amid the Ruins: archaeological sites as hubs of sustainable development for local communities in southwestern Turkey (LAR), was completed in March 2018. It was funded by the British Academy's Sustainable Development Programme. Building on the Institute's earlier Pisidia Heritage Trail Project, which involved the development of a 350km-long trekking route connecting ten archaeological sites, LAR adopted a public archaeology theoretical framework.

### *Setting the scene*

The BIAA's previous research in the field of cultural heritage management indicated that one of the drawbacks of policies and recommendations related to heritage issues has been an overemphasis on 'creating socio-economic benefits for the local communities through archaeology'. The number of policy papers that require these benefits to be considered by archaeologists or heritage planners is on the rise. However, none of these publications seems to consider what these benefits actually are, who should define them or how.

LAR took the long route in order to identify these benefits, namely by asking the opinions of the people who are considered the main recipients of them. For the purposes of understanding the dynamics of country-to-city migration at a micro scale and creating strategies to incentivise younger generations to stay in or return to their home towns and

villages, the researchers of the LAR team have interviewed villagers living along the Pisidia Heritage Trail, in the vicinity of the archaeological sites.

Two types of questionnaires were employed for this research. The first, the standard form that was applied to every respondent, is composed of nine themes: household demographics; settlement; migration history; economy; agriculture; animal husbandry; forestry; spatial imagination, memory and experiences; and, lastly, ancient ruins, ecology and sustainable development. The second questionnaire was prepared to facilitate the gathering of information on oral history and aimed to compile an intangible cultural heritage inventory as well as to build an understanding of how each settlement has changed over the years.

### *Summary of the results of the anthropological fieldwork*

Although the villages are very close to one other, the fieldwork has shown that they are very different in terms of their migration stories. For every single village, there seems to have been a turning point. From that point onward, migration accelerated. In the case of Kovanlık, for instance, host to the ancient site of Döşemeboğazı, the failure to meet irrigation demands for a newly established cotton industry was the game changer. The decreasing demand for hand-made Döşemealtı carpets played another significant role in the decline of the village.

From the point of view of a public archaeology project, the number of features shared by these villages seemed greater than their differences, since they are all mountain



The landscape along the Pisidia Heritage Trail.

villages located by or amid the ancient ruins of Pisidia. However, a closer look proved otherwise. In summary, these differences tend to stem mainly from the age of the population, a relatively younger versus older population; whether there has been any reverse migration (even if this is in its initial stages); whether the ruins are seen as an economic resource for touristic activities by the local community; whether the settlement is connected to employment opportunities – which is, in turn, connected to the issue of transportation; and whether farming, husbandry and/or forestry still represent a source of income.

Nonetheless, common features were not non-existent. A sense of attachment to the ruins, a use of natural resources, and ideas and plans for migration, for instance, all showed considerable similarities.

This fieldwork-based component of our research enabled us to identify ‘key people’, in terms of capacity and their willingness to get involved in entrepreneurship, as well as key products that could be marketed. In addition, the individuals within the communities who still possess the necessary skills to produce these products and to teach them to others were identified. Furthermore, we collected many migration stories, listing the main reasons for migration as well as ideas to reverse it. This relates to issues such as nationwide policies about the use of land, continuously

decreasing incentives for farming and the restriction of land-use due to the creation of national parks and archaeological conservation zones.

Experts in Turkey often complain that the people living by ancient ruins do not see them as part of their heritage. Although the relationship is not seamless, the findings of LAR indicate the opposite. As such, when asked directly about whether they see the ruins as part of their heritage, 65% answered ‘yes’. However, this does not guarantee a level of knowledge about the sites. Only 20% of the respondents felt content with the amount of knowledge they had about the ruins. Interestingly, this does not reflect a desire to have these ruins removed or destroyed. Even in cases like Selge, where most of the respondents complain about the difficulties of living in an archaeological conservation zone, when asked whether the ruins should be protected, only one respondent said no, and this response was based on a desire to see a lifting of the construction restrictions related to the conservation zone. Thus, nearly all (98%) of the respondents thought that the ruins should be protected, including those who do not see them as part of their heritage.

The data also reveal that a high percentage of villagers (81%) spend time around the ruins for various reasons, the most common being ‘for exploring’ (35.1%). They also commented that when they have visitors from out of town, the ancient site is one of the places that they take them to. These data could indicate that any kind of visitor facility and interpretation will be of interest to those living by the ruins.

For this reason, all outputs of the BIAA’s research related to heritage management (website, guidebook, 3D reconstructions of the monuments – all of which are about to be realised) will be produced in Turkish as well as English and will be made available to our respondents. We have also borrowed some ideas from visual anthropology in order to create a final output of the LAR project. A short documentary addressing many of the points raised in the course of our research can be viewed on the BIAA’s YouTube channel at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PykH0Dc-ytE>.



The research team walk past an abandoned village house.



Village women making scarves to sell to tourists.





Gölyazı (photo: J.R. Snyder 2016).

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## The ancient infrastructure of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum: Gölyazı Survey 2019

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**T**he ancient town of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum is located around 35km west of Bursa and dates back to at least the second century BC. It is now the modern town of Gölyazı, located on a peninsula and associated seasonal island on Lake Apolyont (Ulubat) between the Sea of Marmara and Uludağ. Until quite recently, little detailed attention had been given to the town's rich history and extensive archaeological remains. Multiple surveys were carried out between 2002 and 2010 (Aybek, Öz 2004; Aybek, Dreyer 2016), but this work has not significantly expanded our knowledge of the ancient city beyond written accounts from 19th-century travellers such as Philippe Lé Bas and Salomon Reinach (1847). In 2017, however, under the direction of the Bursa Museum and Uludağ University, systematic archaeological excavations began on features such as the Temple of Apollo on neighbouring Kız Adası, the theatre and the numerous tombs of the necropolis.

Nonetheless, only one recent publication has included even a limited discussion of the fortification structures of the ancient town, and this is primarily concentrated on discussion of the reused decorative stone elements and inscriptions that were incorporated into the circuit wall and 'kastro' (Aybek, Dreyer 2016). Many questions remain about changes to Apollonia ad Rhyndacum's urban layout over time and how such changes affected its infrastructure. How and when were the multiple phases of the town's fortifications built? Did the changes in urban layout and geographical constraints dictate the nature of the fortifications as well as the water-supply system over time? What do the physical remains of this urban infrastructure tell us about the town's evolution, particularly in late antiquity and the so-called 'dark ages'? How did these changes coincide with events at neighbouring settlements in Mysia and wider Anatolian settlements?

Newly planned fieldwork, which it is hoped to commence in the summer of 2019, aims to address these questions. The project will carry out an intensive archaeological survey of the fortification walls and associated structures, including both the circuit walls of Gölyazı Merkez and the walls and gate surrounding Zambaktepe (St George Hill), as well as the remains of the water-supply system. These archaeological features present a complex formation of numerous building phases and a range of reused building materials dating from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine period. A detailed survey of their remains, in conjunction with the excavations being carried out by Uludağ University and Bursa Museum, will provide the documentation needed to preserve and present the important history of Gölyazı to both the academic community and the wider general public.

The documentation of these features will be conducted using a variety of methods. For the walls and associated fortifications, all available remains of the walls will be photographed and measured in conjunction with the collection of GPS data. The latter will be integrated into a geographic information system (GIS). The approach to the aqueduct will be similar to that of the walls. Based on the state of current preservation, GIS work will be conducted using topographical data from the surrounding environment to pinpoint the path of the water-supply system. Furthermore, the fieldwork will entail identifying possible locations of the natural springs that would have fed the aqueduct as well as exploring how water might have been distributed within the city.

Architectural and epigraphic elements incorporated in the walls of Gölyazı will be identified and recorded for the purpose of reconstruction through 3D models. In the first season of fieldwork, we will conduct a pilot study using photo-based 3D scanning, in order to test the suitability of this method. We will use the collected survey data to identify phases of construction and rebuilding within the archaeological remains. This will include investigating the earliest date for the wall, based on its foundations, as well as identifying the provenance of spoliated materials used in subsequent phases. Furthermore, stone building materials and decorative elements used in the construction of the walls and aqueduct will be compared with the local bedrock geology to differentiate between local and imported resources.

During this survey, we intend to investigate how urbanisation over the past few decades has affected the remains of the walls and how these structures form part of the collective identity of the local community. This information can be used both as a tool to inform heritage management and as a means of understanding the changing urban demography of Gölyazı. Işıl Gürsu from the British Institute at Ankara will lead this aspect of the project, and in the first year will build the foundations for future anthropological fieldwork, which will involve discussions with longstanding members of the local community and those who live in domestic spaces integrated into these archaeological features.

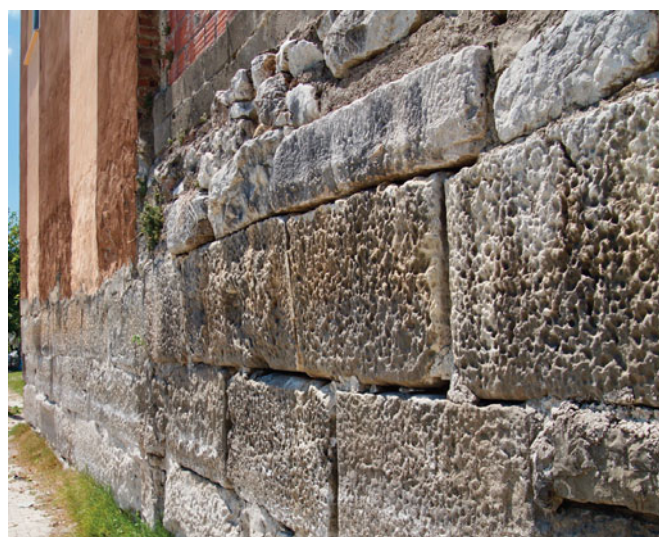
With this research, we hope to shed light on the urban transformation of Gölyazı, especially in the late antique and Byzantine periods, through an exploration of the relationship between the fortification walls and the built environment within them. This is particularly important in building an understanding of the city's changing importance through time and its relationship to other settlements in the wider region, such as ancient Bursa and Iznik.

In addition to the authors, the team consists of Mustafa Şahin, Derya Şahin, Gonca Gülsefa, Nur Deniz Ünsal and Hazal Çitakoğlu, from Uludağ University, Ayşe Dalyancı-Berns, from Technische Universität Berlin, and Işıl Gürsu from the British Institute at Ankara.

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Blocks from the ancient city walls of the 'kastro' used in the construction of modern houses (photo: J.R. Snyder 2016).





## MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES

Turkey and the Black Sea region are located between various geographical and political areas: Europe and the Balkans, the former constituents of the Soviet Union, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Iran and the Middle East. Their location has inevitably constituted them as a physical bridge and placed them at the crossroads between different historical forces and empires. This was as much a feature in prehistoric as in historical and contemporary times when cross-boundary migration remains an important domestic and international concern. The interplay between geographical factors, diverse political entities and patterns of migration has been a significant factor in shaping the countries' domestic and social make-up. It has played an important role in forming cultural identities, whether at individual, regional, national or supra-national level. Simultaneously, these processes in relation to migrant communities have also influenced the neighbouring areas around Turkey and the Black Sea region. This strategic research initiative aims to promote research across different academic disciplines that relate to the themes of migration in Turkey and the Black Sea region.

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### The Africa Cup

John McManus | British Institute at Ankara

On any given Saturday in June, if you get off the Istanbul metro at Ulubatlı, stroll along Adnan Menderes Bulvarı and peer into the small municipal stadium, you will be met with an unusual sight. For one month every year, this unremarkable corner of Turkey's largest city is transformed into a hub of international footballing activity. Ghanians, Nigerians, Sierra Leonians and hundreds of other African migrants living in Istanbul come together to take part in a football contest.

Named the 'Africa Cup', the tournament is an annual fixture for the African community in the city, providing a chance for fun, competition and communal solidarity. It also serves as a venue for men with dreams of playing professional football to catch the eye of agents and managers. First launched by African migrants in 2004 or 2005, since 2012 the tournament has been funded and hosted by the municipality of Fatih, one of the districts that make up greater Istanbul.

For over two years now I have been conducting ethnographic research at the Africa Cup, exploring the various people it brings together – African and Turkish, prospective footballers and agents, those looking for fun and those seeking employment and fame. I stumbled upon the tournament when conducting research for my book, *Welcome to Hell? In Search of the Real Turkish Football*, which was published in spring 2018. It immediately caught my attention

because it encapsulated many of the themes that interest me about Turkey today: its transformation from a country of net emigration to one of net immigration, the massive growth of its sports industry and Istanbul's emergence as a 'world city'. In the thoughts and activities of the Turks and Africans involved in the tournament, we glimpse the difficulty of 'making it' amidst the increasingly neoliberal business models of sport and the pressures often placed on those who are outsiders in Turkey.

Attending games, I observed the importance of ideas of 'hospitality' to the functioning of the tournament. The special status of the *misafir* (guest) in Turkish culture is held up – by both Turks and outsiders – as one of the nation's emblematic characteristics. Fatih municipality makes much of its benevolence in putting on this tournament for African migrants. 'Both as a state and as a nation we try to do what we can to make them feel they are not alone', one of the local officials told me.

The municipality undoubtedly spends thousands of lira on organising the tournament, as well as providing free kits and stadium access. It may well be true that some of its employees are driven by the zeal of helping the less fortunate. Yet ethnographic research and interviews with the Africans taking part in the contest revealed that they did not always find that being subjected to hospitality was a positive experience.

Just as the sated guest who has found their plate yet again piled with more food will attest, displays of hospitality can be unwelcome, even oppressive. Some of the African participants I spoke with felt that excessive displays of Turkish benevolence denied them the agency to assert their own autonomy and to ‘make it’ as football players in Turkey. Disputes frequently emerge over the council’s handling of the tournament. ‘Fatih *belediyesi* [municipality] have no right to take this tournament from us’, one participant angrily shouted in one such encounter. ‘We do it to enjoy our African solidarity not to impress them – do you understand?’, another participant exclaimed.

Many players at the Africa Cup have dreams of playing in one of Turkey’s top professional leagues. Earning money as a foreign footballer in Turkey requires two official documents – a residence permit (*ikamet*) and a football license (*lisans*) – both of which are difficult to obtain.

The greatest help the municipality could provide to the players would be with navigating these bureaucratic hurdles. They prefer instead to shoulder the costs of hosting the cup, suggesting that it is the agents, managers and scouts who come to the tournament on the lookout for new talent who can help these players. ‘The way these Africans are being “saved” is actually [through] these clubs’, a council employee told me. ‘If the clubs decide to transfer them, they can get their residence and work permits.’

The employee’s response reveals much about the ascendancy of neoliberal conceptions of governance within Turkish state structures. Rather than shouldering responsibility, the state entity (the municipality) merely provides the platform. It is for the private organisations – the clubs – to come in and ‘save’ the players. Whilst some are happy with the arrangement – ‘With Turkey organising it, it’s more better’, one player told me – others angrily reject the language of paternalism and positioning of Africans as agentless. ‘We have fifty-four countries, we are not a small continent!’, one coach shouted during one particularly heated exchange.



The intertwining of the discourse of hospitality with neoliberal forms of governance paradoxically has the effect of limiting the opportunities for migrant footballers. By being permanently labelled as guests, they remain outside the mechanisms of the state and are denied the permits needed to take part fully in society and earn a living. Legislation hence mirrors the cultural logic of the ‘guest’, whose welcome is only ever contingent and time-limited.

The wider implications of this conceptualisation of African sporting migrants are manifold. Whilst the majority of Africans in Turkey see their stay as temporary, there are some who settle. For these people, being seen as a guest is a barrier to full participation in life in Turkey. This issue looks like becoming only more pronounced. There are over 3.5 million Syrians based in Turkey, a small number of whom have already made the move from resident to citizen, but who in the minds of many Turks will not alter from the fixed idea of the ‘guest’. In sport in general, and the African Cup in particular, we perhaps glimpse the increasingly unequal and fraught mediations that growing inequality in the world system is producing. Not only Turkey but the world as a whole will have to devise better strategies for ‘hosting’ in the years to come.





# Diaspora business: the economic contribution of Syrian refugees to Turkey and their political role in (post-)conflict resolution

Emel Akçalı & Evrim Görmüş | Swansea University & MEF University, Istanbul

Capital flight constitutes one of the most important dimensions of the Syrian war, with a significant impact on the current course of the conflict and also the post-conflict process. Since the start of the civil war in March 2011, many business people have ceased operations and moved their assets out of Syria. Due to the simplicity of Turkish business legislation in relation to Syrians and their pre-existing business contacts with Turkey, this country has become a commercial hub for the Syrian business diaspora. The number of companies established with joint Syrian capital has multiplied almost 40-fold since 2011 and trade with Syria in border cities such as Gaziantep, Mersin and Hatay far exceeds 2010 levels (<http://www.tepav.org.tr/en/yayin/s/862>). Export revenues of these cities have significantly increased due to the fact that many Turkey-based Syrian firms have counterparts in Syria. Of the 363 foreign-owned companies created in Turkey in January 2014, 96 were Syrian owned, according to the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB). The Gaziantep-based Syrian Economic Forum reports that, since 2011, Syrians have invested nearly \$334 million into 6,033 new formal companies in Turkey (<https://www.alnap.org/help-library/another-side-to-the-story-a-market-assessment-of-syrian-smes-in-turkey>) and Syrian firms rank first among non-Turkish new companies each year since 2013 in terms of numbers of companies established (TOBB). It is estimated that in 2017 Syrians established over 2,000 companies in Turkey, with around \$90 million of Syrian capital (TOBB; based on data for the first four months of 2017).

Our project on Syrian capital flight to Turkey aims to illuminate three main issues: (1) the role this capital plays in the Turkish economy, (2) the capacity of the Syrian refugee business community to organise as an interest group and (3) its role in the process of (post-)conflict resolution.

The fieldwork phase of the project, conducted in August to October 2018, relied on observations of real-life situations and semi-structured interviews with Syrian business people, civil society representatives and local chamber of commerce officials in Istanbul, Adana, Mersin, Hatay, Gaziantep and Bursa, where the majority of Syrian business is located. We conducted a total of 35 semi-structured in-depth interviews on an individual level. In addition to formal interviews, we had many informal conversations with local Turkish and Syrian communities in the cities we visited. In order to include the most representative informants in our sample we used a snowballing technique, asking each interviewee to recommend others who could offer further insights.

All participants were interviewed on a voluntary basis, and the response rate for interviews was 100%. The length of the interviews ranged from 45 to 60 minutes. The interviews were recorded and sorted into themes. Interview data were collected using a semi-structured guide with open-ended questions. We encouraged informants to share openly what they thought was important for us to understand Syrian capital in Turkey. The guide was occasionally revised due to new issues that came up in the course of the interviews. We also added some additional questions concerning the specific context of each city.

Our semi-structured questions were divided into three parts aiming to capture the role of Syrian capital in the emergence and articulation of interconnected economic and political spaces and practices in Turkey and beyond. In the first part, we sought to uncover our interviewees' own personal experiences and their interpretations of the course of events. We wanted to discuss the challenges they have experienced while doing business in Turkey as Syrians and their views on the effects of Syrian capital flight on the Turkish economy in terms of increased demand for labour, cash injections through the establishment of new companies and joint ventures with local partners. In the second part, our questions aimed to reveal the factors that contribute to the capacity of the Syrian business community to organise as an interest group regarding their economic interests as well as their capacity and/or willingness to exert economic, political and socio-cultural influence on other groups of Syrian refugees in Turkey. In the last part our questions sought to explore the possible engagement of the Syrian business diaspora in assisting the processes of conflict resolution and (post-)conflict reconstruction in Syria, with a focus on remittances, philanthropic work and participation in peace processes.

Our preliminary findings focus mainly on the first research question, as data relating to the other two have still to be analysed. They suggest that Istanbul, Mersin and Gaziantep are the main locations of Syrian business in Turkey. While Istanbul hosts general Syrian trade and tourism businesses, textile, shoe, soap and food factories and small businesses are predominantly based in Gaziantep. Mersin is the centre of Syrian export and import activity in Turkey since it is also the hub of raw materials coming into the region from other countries. Significant Syrian investments have also been made, however, in more rural and peripheral areas of Turkey such as Kadirli, where Sharabati Denim, one of the biggest fabric manufacturers in the Middle East, has built a huge denim factory, and Kahramanmaraş,



Sharabati Denim JNR textile factory in Kadirli, Osmaniye.

where Mahmoud Zakrit has established a remarkable dairy business. These initiatives have also been possible thanks to generous grants offered by the Agricultural and Rural Development Support Institution in Turkey to investors willing to operate in peripheral areas.

Syrian capital in Turkey has thus far created advantages for both the host nation and the Syrian business community. In Istanbul, Syrian restaurants, bakeries, sweet shops and jewellery stores have revived socio-economic life in the areas of Fatih and Aksaray. In Mersin, Syrian imports and exports have contributed to the overall international trade volume of Turkey. In return, all the packaging of Syrian products now has a 'Made in Turkey' label, which Syrian business people say is perceived as a guarantee of quality for their products abroad. In Gaziantep, Syrian business has revived several dormant sectors, such as the production of olive-oil soap and women's shoes, while poorer Syrian refugees have provided cheap labour for the host business community in Gaziantep. To this end, Gaziantep is about to open its sixth industrial zone, a clear indication of increased industrial activity. Business people from Aleppo are generally viewed by the host community as educated, cultured and experienced individuals who enjoy advanced business networks in the Middle East. They are thus considered to have revitalised the business environment of Gaziantep, which was not particularly international previously. Syrian products produced in Turkey do not generally target the domestic market in Turkey; they are usually destined for Middle Eastern and some European countries. They are also intended for the sizable Syrian community now living in Turkey. Syrian products do not, therefore, compete directly with longer-standing Turkish products.

Nonetheless, the fact that most Syrian businesses operated for a long time without formal registration and consequently did not pay taxes has created resentment within the host communities in all the cities where we conducted our fieldwork. This is also related to Syrian business people not being used to operating within the more modernised and advanced Turkish business environment and its tax and

banking systems. The lack of Turkish language has been a further massive challenge for them. In response, the Syrian Economic Forum in Gaziantep launched campaigns in order to formalise the Syrian businesses in the area by providing technical assistance to Syrian business owners seeking to understand the operating environment and helping them to comply with regulations. The Forum has also translated many Turkish investment laws into Arabic. This initiative has helped to normalise the relationship between the host and Syrian business communities.

However, Syrian business people still operate somewhere between the traditional *hawala* system, in which huge sums of money are transferred through networks based on mere trust, and the modern Turkish business environment; they form a hybrid business community combining traditional and non-traditional business conduct. Furthermore, having previously operated under a dictatorial regime, Syrian business people operating in Turkey are not familiar with business associations and trade unions. As most of our interviewees confirmed, this lack of experience has left most Syrians scared of forming such organisations in Turkey now. Nonetheless, some business institutions have been established, such as the Syrian Business People Association and the Syrian Economic Forum in Gaziantep where Syrian business people gather to talk about their socio-economic integration and related problems. Issues concerning both domestic and Syrian politics, conflict resolution in Syria and the post-conflict environment are carefully being avoided by Syrian business circles in Turkey at the moment in all the cities where we conducted our research; this is in order to maintain stability and unity within this flourishing community. Syrian business people do engage, however, with philanthropic activities, especially concerning Syrian orphans and students both in Turkey and Syria.

We would like to thank all our interviewees who agreed to talk to us on these delicate topics, as well as Elife Hatun Kılıçbeyli, Zahed Mukayed, Mahmood Al-Rawi, Jon Rose and Abdurrahman Bredi for their assistance and pleasant company during the various stages of our fieldwork.



Alpha Cosmetic: a Syrian cosmetic business now established in Adana but originally based in Aleppo.



## INTERCONNECTIONS OF PEACE AND CONFLICT: CULTURE, POLITICS & INSTITUTIONS IN NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Turkey, located between Armenia, Greece, Cyprus, Syria, Iran and Russia, lies at the heart of processes of both peace and conflict. There are similar processes occurring within Turkey itself (the product of internal political cleavages and boundaries, and the role of religion or ethnicity as an engine for polarisation or contact). Both regionally and domestically, there are opportunities for research on these issues, which can help achieve a better understanding of the historical backgrounds of such processes of peace and conflict, and offer the opportunity to map similarities and differences across the various states and societies involved in them. This strategic research initiative promotes interdisciplinary collaboration across a range of academic disciplines in order to approach the theme of peace and conflict in the region from a broad perspective. The programme aims to identify best practice procedures which have produced positive results in the past (for example, the shift in the nature of the Greek-Turkish relationship from one of protracted conflict to one of manageable disputes), and to bring such understanding to bear on other confrontational pairings. The initiative's wider objective is a positive spill-over of the results of academic research across policy making and the promotion of peace and stability in the region.

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### The globalisation of the Turkish television industry

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In recent years, Turkey has become the second largest producer of TV series in the world, after the US. Indeed, the Turkish television industry has become a global growth industry with over 250 commercial TV channels, whose audiences span more than 100 countries from the Balkans to the Middle East and from Asia to Latin America. Through in-depth interviews with Turkish TV industry professionals, my project explores the transnational appeal of Turkish television series, as well as the production and marketing strategies of the industry. It also aims to examine the impact of Turkish government policies on media and culture on the global flow and sales of these shows. Turkish TV industry professionals claim that their cultural products have strengthened Turkey's soft-power in the world, particularly in the Middle East. While their discourse echoes that of government officials and the current aspirations of foreign-policy makers, it has also caused the industry to be seen as accountable for Turkey's image in the world; both government figures and popular actors have criticised the TV industry for inaccurate representations of Turkish national identity, history and cultural values. Therefore, my research also explores both the possibilities and limits of this assumed soft-power against the backdrop of the current media environment in Turkey.

In 2016 alone, exports of Turkish television series generated over \$350 million in revenue; they reached over 500 million viewers in more than 100 countries, with a number of TV series breaking viewing records both inside and outside Turkey (Sofuoglu 2017). Their popularity has prompted public debates, both in the national and transnational realms, on a wide variety of key societal issues, such as Ottoman history, nationalism, violence against women, secularism, cultural traditions, gender roles and Islam. Furthermore, Turkish TV series have even been credited with helping to boost commerce and tourism in Turkey. Between 2002 and 2010, Turkish trade with Syria increased threefold, nearly fourfold with the Maghreb countries, fivefold with the Gulf countries and Yemen, and sevenfold with Egypt (Kirişci 2011). Many popular magazines and newspapers have featured articles containing quotes from Arab tourists visiting Istanbul who wanted to see the Ottoman palaces, ancient monuments and other locations of the city featured in the television series. In order to improve economic and political relations with the Arab world, the Turkish government launched the Arabic-language television channel TRT-7-al-Turkiyya in 2010 and visa requirements for nationals of several Arab countries were waived.

Most importantly, the popularity of Turkish TV soap operas has been seen as responsible for improving Turkey's image in the Middle East. Statistics – for example 75% of Arabs across seven countries characterised Turkey's image positively in 2009 and 77% called for a larger Turkish role in the region (Akguin, Gündoğar 2013) – have been used to suggest a direct correlation between Turkish soaps and Turkey's soft-power, without taking into consideration the impact of the bold policy moves of Turkey's then prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, which were welcomed in the Middle East. In an effort to boost the sector further, the cultural ministry increased its support for films and television series from \$28.5 million to \$40 million in 2017 (Sofuoglu 2017). In 2008, 85 million people across the Arab world tuned in to see the final episode of *Muhtesem Yüzyıl* – the most popular Turkish soap to date globally – and the fact that Justice and Development Party (AKP) government officials were accompanied by popular TV soap stars during diplomatic tours in the Middle East raises questions regarding the nature of the symbiotic relationship between the Turkish TV industry and government, as well as about how much soft-power Turkish soap operas are expected to generate for the state.

The soft-power of Turkish soaps and the new 'Ottoman-cool image' (Kraidy, Al-Ghazzi 2013) that the Turkish government has worked to create are not without limits. It is wishful thinking indeed to assume that the success of a particular nation's cultural products in global media markets results in that nation gaining soft-power. As J.S. Nye (2014) has cautioned us, we should not confuse the international appeal of media products with soft-power; soft-power can only be enhanced if foreign policy and democratic values are also adequately developed. As Z. Yörük and P. Vatikiotis (2013: 2374) have argued, 'While Turkish political and economic influence coincides with the improving exports of Turkish TV series, the rhetoric of the "Turkish model" and "soft power" do not convincingly demonstrate the link between these phenomena, given that cultural popularity and power of any type (be it soft or hard) do not automatically follow one another.' For instance, the tourism boom is largely a consequence of long-term development policies. Similarly, increase in trade and other collaborations, especially with Turkey's allies in the Middle East, is related to AKP policies that go back to the early 2000s, before these soap operas became popular.

Moreover, 'the growing international attention to media culture as a useful source for boosting national brand images could have concerning effects, such as the development of a pragmatic and opportunistic cultural policy for the purposes of enhancing national images and economic profits in the international arena' (Iwabuchi 2013: 444). Indeed, the Turkish state has made direct and indirect impositions on the Turkish television industry from time to time due to concerns about the image of Turkey represented in these TV series.



Thus another question that I have explored in my interviews with TV production company executives is whether or not Turkey has developed new cultural policies with the goal of enhancing the nation's image through these television exports. The first preliminary conclusions I have been able to draw indicate that no such policies have been developed to date, with the exception of some monetary support for distributors who participate in the marketing and advertising of these soaps abroad at regional and international conventions.

Regarding the reason for the transnational popularity of Turkish soaps, the executives of the TV production and distribution companies I have talked to point to high production values and the universal themes of Turkish soaps, along with audience boredom with American TV programming as playing a significant role in the success of the Turkish TV industry and its international expansion.

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# Archaeology on the front line: digging politics in Asia Minor 1919–1922

Stelios Lekakis | Newcastle University

*(Dear sirs) ... Supervisors of military units informed the government that Greek soldiers came across ancient reliefs and inscriptions in many villages, as they were going through, ... used by the villagers in various ways ... ; this was the reason that the director of the Archaeological Service K. Kourouniotes and the stewards N. Laskaris and Str. Paraskevaides were sent to collect and dispatch the antiquities back to Smyrna, to be deposited in the great Museum for Asia Minor ... These archaeologists travelled along the front line and visited various villages, from the Maeander (Büyük Menderes Nehri) to Uşak, Afyon Karahisar, Eskişehir, Prussa, to Moudanya on Bosphorus. The nearby military authorities were notified for any significant antiquities ... and were assigned to dispatch them back to Smyrna. Inscriptions and antiquities of minor value were catalogued and left in situ, while the military authorities were charged to secure them in a public building. (Kourouniotes 1924: 2)*

This is part of the report written by K. Kourouniotes, the director of the Greek Archaeological Service in Asia Minor in 1922, describing his efforts to collect and protect cultural heritage in the area. But, what were Greek archaeologists doing in the crossfire, a few months before the collapse of the Asia Minor front line and the sweeping counter-attack of the Kemalist forces?

My research examines the years after the end of the First World War, when Greece, having joined the victorious Entente powers (Britain, France and Russia), annexed new lands and was seeking to materialise the contradictory promises about post-war territorial gains made by the Allies. Specifically, at the Paris Peace Conference (1919), E. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, lobbied hard for the vision of an expanded Hellas. This *Megali Idea*, a notion deeply rooted in the political and religious consciousness of the Greeks, expressed the goal of uniting the lands on either side of the Aegean, incorporating Greek-speaking populations of neighbouring countries into an expanded Greek state. Such lands included the coastal area of Asia Minor, considered one of the cradles of ancient Greek civilisation: ‘the holy land of Ionia’.

## Archaeologists at war

Following the landing of the Greek army in Izmir on 15 May 1919, the newly established Greek government of Asia Minor, backed by mainland Greece, organised and funded a number of cultural and social activities in the occupied area. This was

an attempt to solidify Greek identity and establish the infrastructure for the final incorporation of the ‘liberated’ lands into a Greek state ‘of the two continents and the five seas’.

Great care was given to the establishment of an Archaeological Service, the express purpose of which was the protection of ancient monuments, principally the remains excavated and the collections organised by foreign archaeological institutes. These were remains that had been ‘abandoned and left unguarded by the Ottoman government after the end of World War I, with considerable losses’, as the Greek sources of the time report.

The Greek archaeologists surveyed, excavated, restored buildings, collected antiquities and curated collections; they employed guards and stewards from local communities to protect large archaeological sites and handled excavation permits for foreign archaeological institutes. The main project, as noted in Kourouniotes’ report, was the establishment of an ‘Asia Minor Museum’ in Izmir containing antiquities of ‘explicit beauty and importance’, which reflected the continuous presence of Greek civilisation in this ‘primordial’ Hellenic land of Ionia (Kourouniotes 1924: 73–87).

Undoubtedly, the most impressive project of the Asia Minor Archaeological Service was the excavation of the basilica of St John in Ephesus. During the summer of 1921, while the Greek invasion of Anatolia reached a climax, the Archaeological Society at Athens, following an invitation from Kourouniotes, took up a rather impressive endeavour: the excavation of the basilica of St John, a famous pilgrim site of the Byzantine period. The Greek government of Asia



The basilica of St John in Ephesus, after the end of the 1922 excavation season.

Minor funded the project to the tune of 15,000 drachmas and provided 20 or 30 prisoners from the Smyrna prison as workmen. The findings were so impressive that in its second season, while the military expedition was moving towards catastrophe, the excavation received 20,000 drachmas in funding, 60 prisoners as a workforce and was visited by the Greek governor of Asia Minor and the king of Greece. The remnants of the 60m-wide basilica were arranged, a guard and a Greek steward from the local community were employed, while the moveable finds were sheltered in a renovated mosque nearby (Sotiriou 1924: 97, 115).

#### *Pasts revisited*

The activities and the role of the Greek Archaeological Service in Asia Minor remain largely unresearched. Even though some publications exist – most of them rather emotionally or ideologically orientated – discussion of the archaeological projects in Asia Minor undertaken by the Greeks has been pushed to one side thanks to a focus on the military events of 1922 and the emergence of the modern Turkish state. These archaeological projects have never been examined in the context of contemporary political and archaeological developments, let alone in relation to Ottoman practices and policies or through the endeavours of western powers in Asia Minor.

It appears that archaeology in Asia Minor in the early 20th century did not differ much from such endeavours across much of Europe, where the past became a battleground between various stakeholders who strived to align cultural heritage to their own national-identity narratives. The supposedly decadent Ottoman Empire, busy seeking to incorporate its own emerging identity within a pan-European one, was probably an easy target (Özdoğan 1998: 114–15; Shaw 2004: 132).

The Greeks, on the other hand, had already established their connection with the classical past for nearly a century. They commenced their projects in Asia Minor with a determination to ‘document the 2,500 years of Greek history in the land of Ionia’, while broadening the boundaries of their homeland. The Ephesus project emphasises the newly explored Byzantine self of the Greek state that concluded the tripartite national narrative, forming a middle/medieval pillar between the glory of antiquity and the modern national state. It also acted as a unifying element, referring to the Christian identity of the local populations of Asia Minor who were also involved in the project.

Broadening the scope, these Greek archaeological activities were only one part of a wider heritage project – with a political tinge – taking place at this time in Asia Minor. The great powers of the time – Germany, Britain and France – were also busy excavating archaeological sites following large-scale public works in the area, often critiquing the ‘Christian-Greek Ionian’ endeavours for their own benefit (Scherrer 2000: 37).



Monastirakia and Karantina island (to rear), Urla (2018). Both sites were excavated by the first Ephor of the Greek Archaeological Service in Asia Minor, G.P. Oikonomou.

#### *Future paths*

Nearing 100 years on from the landing of the Greek forces in Asia Minor, what is to be gained from historical research such as this, apart from discussing an interesting and largely unknown story and the use of heritage in a turbulent era? To a certain extent, examining cultural politics in times of political crises can provide a solid paradigm by which to discuss the formulations of national identity, in this case of the Mediterranean/Balkan states in the interwar period, and the role of heritage in the illumination of specific parts of national histories. However, most importantly, it can create a platform from which to discuss rapprochement between Greece and Turkey through heritage projects, by exploring the hidden biographies of contemporary touristic areas, such as Urla and Ephesus, and, in contemplating conflict and trauma, by considering the potential role of heritage in their eventual resolution.

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## ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Pioneering a new research agenda on the history of UK–Turkey relations, the Institute introduced this strategic research initiative in 2015 in combination with the undertaking of a major research project entitled *Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: from enemies to allies*. The research initiative aims to build on this project in order to create an active and sustainable network of scholars from Turkey, the UK and other countries that will promote diverse approaches to the study of the early Turkish Republic, especially its foreign policy, its relationship with Britain and its place in the world order. Research and funding administered under this initiative will support diversity and collaboration across different historiographical traditions (diplomatic and military history, oral and micro history, etc.) aimed at unearthing and accessing a full range of archival and other source material from the UK, Turkey and elsewhere. The initiative’s objective is to promote the exploration of new themes significant for understanding bilateral relations in the past, as well as their development in the present and future.

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### The Turkish elite’s perception of the UK from 1973 to Brexit

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Anglo-Turkish relations have entered a new phase following the Brexit referendum and the July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey. Distancing themselves from Europe, both countries have approached each other to increase their cooperation in security and trade. The literature on bilateral relations has mostly focused on the history of Anglo-Turkish relations, but, given contemporary developments, there is a need to analyse relations from a more present-day point of view. The main objective of my project is to examine the historical and contemporary perceptions of the Turkish elite of bilateral relations from 1973 to the present by conducting archival research and interviews in Turkey. The results of this field research should reveal and explain the main drivers of bilateral relations, contribute to the wider discipline of international relations and have an impact on the formulation of foreign policies.

Anglo-Turkish relations have historically fluctuated between animosity and partnership, as the title of a major Institute project – *Turkey and Britain 1914–1952: from enemies to allies* – perfectly summarises. British predominance in the Middle East and Balkans during the colonial era resulted in thorny relations between the Ottoman Empire and the UK, which led to them taking opposing sides during the First World War. Adversarial relations continued in the decades that followed the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, although both countries became NATO members after the Second World War. The most significant problems since then have been the withdrawal of Britain from Cyprus in 1960 and Turkey’s intervention on the island in 1974.

Despite these issues, the UK became the most fervent supporter of Turkey’s EU accession following its own membership in 1973. Britain emphasised Turkey’s geographical location and military contribution to Western security as the primary reasons why Europe would benefit from enlargement towards the east. The two countries shared similar discourses on international terrorism and domestic separatism, advocating military responses and security cooperation as the best means by which to combat these threats. Being close allies of the US, both the UK and Turkey positioned themselves in international relations differently from the other European countries. Unlike many European countries that raised concerns over immigration and human rights violations in Turkey, successive British governments did not seek to form bilateral relations to address these issues, despite the existence of a significant Turkish migrant community in the UK.

In recent years, both Turkey and the UK have gone through major transformations. Since the 15 July 2016 coup attempt, Turkey has had strained relations with its former European allies and the US. Although relations with Europe have had their ups and downs, a lingering uneasiness has led Ankara to search for new and unexpected partners in arms deals, such as Russia and China. The UK has had its fair share of major transformations as well. Long-standing disagreements within the British Conservative Party over the merits of EU membership came to a head during the 2010–2015 coalition government and led to a pledge to hold a referendum on the UK’s EU membership. The government was also influenced by a radical populist discourse in

support of Britain leaving the EU and reducing the level of immigration, including from Turkey. Indeed, the populist rhetoric during the Brexit referendum targeted Turkey's proposed membership of the EU as one of its focal points, contributing to the country's decision to leave. Ironically, however, in the aftermath of the Brexit vote, the British government has started to look for new international partners outside the EU, including Turkey, for possible future trade relations.

With their previous partnerships in disarray, the UK and Turkey were partly brought together in order to augment the challenging relations each had with former associates. In the wake of the coup attempt, in September 2016, the UK Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, visited Turkey and conducted high-level diplomatic talks, stressing cooperation in security and trade. This trip was then followed by Prime Minister Theresa May's visit to President Erdoğan in January 2017, aimed at facilitating cooperation in trade, defence and security. The two countries signed an agreement valued at 100 million pounds to procure Turkish fighter jets. Taking military cooperation further, in September 2017 the Turkish Minister of EU Affairs, Ömer Çelik, hosted a reception for Turkish and UK defence-industry representatives at the Embassy in London, where he announced new collaborative ventures and the possibility of receiving military training from the British armed forces. In May 2018, in the midst of his electoral campaign, President Erdoğan visited London and met with the Queen and the Prime Minister. During this three-day visit, delegations from both countries discussed cooperation in various fields.

The main research question of my project emerged from consideration of these events: what are the historical and contemporary perceptions of Turkish politicians, diplomats and business people of bilateral relations in security, trade and migration? My analysis starts from 1973, which is the year that the UK became a member of the EU and the year before Turkey intervened in Cyprus. Both events were critical turning points in bilateral relations and, along with other momentous developments since then, have continued to influence Anglo-Turkish affairs up to the present day.

In my first research period, during August and September 2018, the Turkish National Assembly archives were examined with the help of a research assistant, Nail Elhan. Words related to 'Britain' are mentioned in the minutes of hundreds of parliamentary sessions from 1973 to 2016. Data were collected from around 750 pages of documents, containing 340,000 words. In the second phase of field research, in November and December, interviews will be conducted with former and current diplomats, politicians and business people. Transcripts from these interviews, as well as the data from the National Assembly archives, will then be analysed with theoretical and conceptual links to the discipline of international relations.

Outside of academia, the main beneficiaries of this project will be foreign-policy makers in both countries. Taking on historical and contemporary points of view, the project will also provide generalisable conclusions and benefit especially British policy makers in terms of how their country's policies are perceived from the outside, as well as how more positive perceptions can be built.

**Başbakan, İngiltere'yi Türkiye'den pahalı buldu**

**Özal, Londra'da pazarlıkta**

İngiliz Ticaret Bakanı ile görüşen Başbakan Özal, AET'nin Türkiye'ye uyguladığı tekstil kısıtlamasının kaldırılması halinde İngiltere'den "Air-Bus" uçağı alabileceğimizi söyledi

Başbakan, Londra'ya hareketinden önce Azınlık Nesi'nin "Ekin-Bılar diye bir şirket yok" dedi

HABERLERİ 9. SAYFADA



**Temaslara başlandı** Resmi bir ziyaret için İngiltere'nin başkenti Londra'ya giden Başbakan Turgut Özal (solda), dün İngiltere Ticaret ve Sanayi Bakanı Paul Channon ile görüştü. Bugünkü Thatcher buluşmasının provası niteliğindeki görüşmede Turgut Özal, Channon ile tekstil ihracatı ve Air-Bus uçaklarının alımı konusunu ele aldı.

Prime Minister Turgut Özal's visit to London and meeting with Minister Paul Channon is reported on the front page of *Milliyet*. Özal asked for Channon's support regarding textile exports to the European Economic Community in exchange for the purchase of Airbus planes. These sorts of deals between Turkey and Britain in their affairs with the European Union have been common. Source: *Milliyet* Newspaper Archives, 18 February 1986.



## Who are you calling ‘Turk’?

### Harems and hidden treasures at the turn of the 20th century

Peter Cherry | Bilkent University

Picture the scene. It’s a Friday afternoon. About an hour ago, a jaded cargo deliverer came into my office with a book from France that I’ve been waiting to receive for about four months. I’m now dusting off my French dictionary and struggling to understand a book which could be a further piece in a puzzle that occupied most of my time as a postdoctoral fellow at the British Institute at Ankara and whose results will soon be published. I hope it doesn’t offend the BIAA’s archaeologists if I say this is about as Indiana Jones as it gets for a literature scholar.

The book in question is *Le jardin fermé* (*The Closed Garden*) and it’s by Marc Hély. Well, actually it isn’t. Like just about every writer and character I’ve been researching recently, Marc Hély is a pseudonym. Marc Hély was actually a woman called Marie Léra.

The story goes that two of these characters, Hadidje Zennour and Nouriye Neyr-el-Nissa, were granddaughters of a French nobleman, the Marquis de Blosset de Chateaufort. The Marquis had settled in Istanbul after falling in love with an Ottoman Circassian woman while providing training for the Ottoman military forces. He subsequently converted to Islam and changed his name to Reşit Bey. Reşit Bey’s son, and therefore also the two women’s father, Nuri Bey, had served as Minister for Foreign Affairs under Sultan Abdülhamit II.

Reina Lewis’ book *Rethinking Orientalism* (2004) describes how, as their father became more influential within the Ottoman government, Hadidje Zennour and Nouriye Neyr-el-Nissa felt increasing pressure to conform to the persona of a Turkish elite woman. More specifically, to wear the veil and to enter into arranged marriages. It should, of course, be noted here that arranged marriages were also common amongst the British elite in this period.

Nevertheless, it was Hadidje Zennour’s rejection of an arranged marriage that led the sisters to seek out the French writer Pierre Loti (also a pseudonym, for naval officer Julien Viaud) for help. For many readers in Britain and France at this time, Istanbul was synonymous with Loti due to the popularity of his bestselling novel *Aziyadé* (1879), which is set in the Ottoman capital. In this novel, Loti evoked Istanbul as a place of exotic intrigue, plotting, homoeroticism and sex. The modern-day influence of Loti’s Orientalised Istanbul is most conspicuous today in the famed Piyer Loti Cafe in Eyüp, which still boasts one of the best views of the city.

The two sisters told their story to Loti in the hope that he would write a novel that would be as popular as *Aziyadé* and save them from forced marriages. The resulting novel was *Les désenchantées* (1906) in which Hadidje Zennour is

renamed Zeynep Hanoum (an anglicised version of *Hanım*) and Nouriye Neyr-el-Nissa is renamed Melek Hanoum. Soon after publication, the two sisters fled Istanbul and travelled through Europe. They visited Italy, Germany, Switzerland, France and the UK. While doing so, they adopted the names that Loti’s novel gave them and described themselves as *les désenchantées* – that is, the disenchanted. They were disenchanted, they argued, by the restrictions they felt as educated Turkish women in patriarchal Ottoman society.

But ... Loti’s novel has it that there’s a third *désenchantée*, and that is Djenane. And this is where my Friday night reading comes in, as Hély claims that Djenane is actually her. She claims that she is also the person who first introduced Hadidje and Nouriye to Loti. At this point, you could be forgiven for just laughing all this off and saying ‘what a confusing but charming little story’. But my research at the BIAA has convinced me that this story plays a long, frustratingly overlooked role in British-Turkish relations.

While in France, for instance, Hadidje and Nouriye met the British journalist Grace Ellison. Ellison was well acquainted with Istanbul, having been twice before and having covered the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 for the *Daily Telegraph*. Ellison encouraged Hadidje (Zeynep Hanoum) to write her reflections of her trip around Europe in letter form to her. Zeynep Hanoum’s letters were collected, edited and published by Ellison in a book entitled *A Turkish Woman’s European Impressions* (1913). These letters are sharp and frequently sarcastic critiques of cultural norms that Hadidje encountered as she travelled across the European continent.

Time and again, she comes across the Orientalist expectations of her European hosts, who are frustrated by the ways she does not conform to behaviour they expect of a Turkish woman. Most pointedly, while in Britain, she notes a



Zeynep & Melek.



Zeynep Hanoum.

series of patriarchal injustices and instances of misogyny that shocks her and leads her to consider whether Britain really is an arbiter of civilisation as she had previously thought. While visiting the Houses of Parliament in London, for example, she records how the now-defunct Ladies Gallery is ‘nothing but a harem in your workshop of law’.

The two sisters also provided Ellison with a lot of material for her journalistic endeavours. Indeed, Ellison returned to Turkey in 1913 from where she wrote a newspaper column entitled ‘Life in the harem’ for the *Daily Telegraph*. Hadidje and Nouriye’s influence exists in the way they provided contacts for Ellison and suggested background reading. Applying the thoughts of the literary critic Stanley Fish, then, Ellison’s column was a key source of information for the ‘at home or informed reader’ of Ottoman and Turkish affairs in the early 20th century.

Ellison’s column was compiled into a volume entitled *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem* (1913). This was a book that, although not uncritical, was unashamedly pro-Turkish in its outlook and therefore quite at odds with the majority of philhellenic travel and cultural production of the time. Like her Turkish friends in Europe, Ellison too indulges in ethno-masquerade as she is photographed in ‘Turkish costume’ and describes herself as ‘becoming Turkish’.

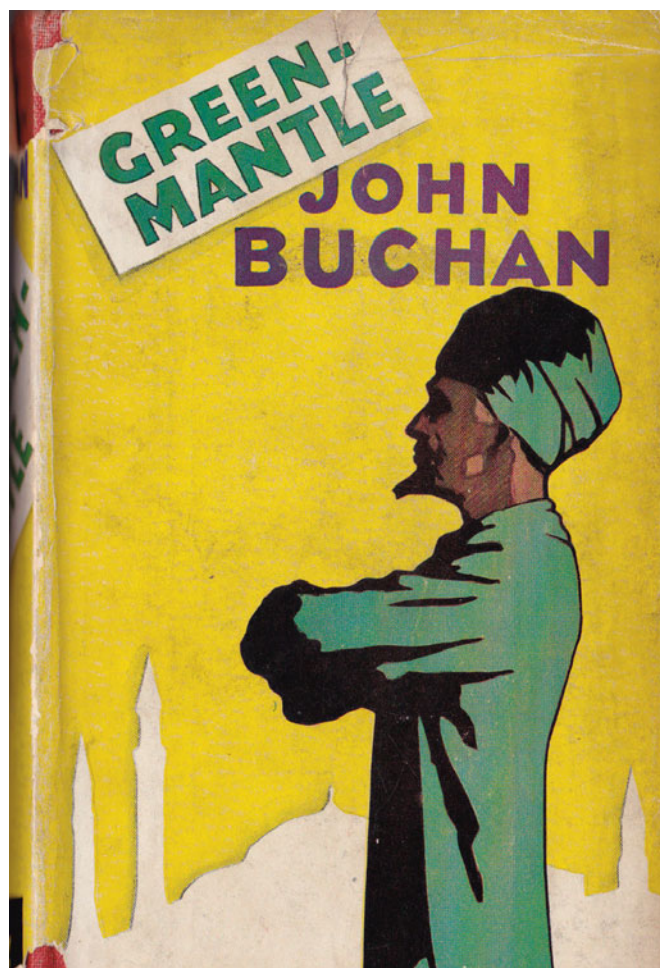
It should also be emphasised that this book was published just before the start of the First World War when Britain and the Ottoman Empire would be in conflict with one another. In fact, Ellison ends her book remorsefully, noting how the enemy of Britain is really Germany, and she looks forward to a time when once again the Ottoman Empire and Britain can be on friendly terms.

Lastly, Ellison’s book was also listed by the Scottish novelist John Buchan as an influence on his 1916 novel *Greenmantle*. *Greenmantle* was an enormously popular spy thriller from the writer of the now better-known *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915). In *Greenmantle*, British spy Richard Hannay (the same protagonist as in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*) is sent on a mission to suppress a Muslim uprising in Erzurum that is hoped will help Muslims in parts of the Empire, such as the British Raj, to rise up against their colonisers and hasten a British exit from the First World War. Spoiler alert

coming up ... but in Buchan’s novel, the brains behind this mission of derailing the British, the holy man Greenmantle, is revealed to be a British traitor in disguise who is ‘performing’ being Turkish.

While writing the novel, Buchan was also working for the British War Propaganda Ministry. *Greenmantle*, like Ellison’s book, was a novel that intervened to show the Turks as harmless pawns in a game controlled by the Germans. But maybe, just maybe, his idea for duplicitous identities, of people not being who they say are, owes something to the confusing tale of Hadidje, Nouriye and Marie Léra.

I began my postdoctoral fellowship with the aim of exploring the various Turkish and British literary interactions in the early Republican era, but I was never able to get past this fascinating and frustrating story. It is my contention that it’s not just an entertaining detective case, but that these connections had a demonstrable effect on what readers of newspapers and novels in the era thought about Turkey in the final years of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, in all their performed identities and pseudonyms, Ellison, Hadidje, Nouriye, Marie Léra, Loti and even Buchan’s protagonist point to the ways that Turkishness was textually produced and constructed for British and French audiences at the turn of the century, exposing that, in this era of entrenched borders, nationality is really just one other constructed identity.





## CLIMATE CHANGES & THE ENVIRONMENT

As environmental issues become an increasingly acute concern worldwide, Turkey is a country of prime interest in the field of climate studies. Due to its location, it presents an ideal opportunity for exploring and understanding climate development and the history of global environmental change within the context of contemporary international relations. Lake sediments, tree-rings, speleothems and peat deposits represent valuable natural 'archives' of environmental change which have been under-explored in both Turkey and the wider Black Sea region. This programme of research into the vegetation and climate history of the region focuses on changes in vegetation, water resources, landscape stability and hazards in Turkey, the Black Sea area and much of the wider Middle East over time. It also provides a key context of interaction concerning human use of the landscape from prehistory to the present day.

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### Pleistocene environments of the Gediz valley

Darrel Maddy | Newcastle University

With T. Demir, T. Veldkamp, S. Aytaç, I. Boomer, R. Scaife, J. Schoorl & S. Aksay

Our field area lies within the Kula Volcanic UNESCO Global GeoPark, which, as the name suggests, is a landscape dominated by classical scoria cones and their associated lava flows formed during episodic periods of volcanism during the past 1.4 million years (Ma). Traversing this volcanic field is the Gediz river which has been repeatedly dammed and diverted during these volcanic episodes. The sedimentary archive of the Gediz river has been a focus of our research for nearly 20 years, but our latest project concerns a different part of this hydrological system, namely freshwater springs where emergent calcium-carbonate-rich waters have precipitated extensive travertine deposits. This study is focused on determining the origins of these deposits, especially their association with the volcanism and faulting (neotectonics), and specifically whether their geochemistry can divulge insights into past environmental changes.

During the past year we received our first batch of detailed geochemical analyses of carbonate samples taken during our first field season (2017). These included Miocene lake sediment (Ulubey Formation limestones) together with travertines and calcretes (soil carbonates) both of presumed Plio-Pleistocene age. Our analysis comprised elemental chemistry (using XRF methods) and isotopic analyses. The primary aim of this work was to establish whether each of the carbonate sources could be discriminated based upon their geochemistry, as these deposits are difficult to separate when observed at outcrop. Commercial exploitation of the travertine at Palankaya disputes their mapped assignment to the Ulubey Formation and thus this casts doubt on the mapping elsewhere.

Isotopic analysis of 106 samples suggests a general pattern for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ , where the travertines are generally heavier than the Ulubey samples and the calcretes are considerably lighter. A similar, but reversed pattern, is shown for the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  data; i.e. the travertines are the lightest, the Ulubey is slightly heavier on average and the calcrete heavier still. Outliers in each of these groupings blur the general picture however, but the suggested discrimination is promising. The observed pattern is consistent with a thermogenic (warm-water) source for the travertines suggesting rainwater (meteoric) is mixed with waters from deep within the crust, heated and chemically altered during the volcanic episodes. The data also show stratigraphical changes during deposition, but more detailed analysis is needed to establish their meaning.

Our 2018 fieldwork concentrated on further sampling for geochemical analysis and more extensive field observation. Specifically, field observations included detailed travertine facies mapping at outcrop (to determine the architectural elements of the travertine deposits; i.e. how the deposits built up over time) and landform mapping using low-altitude UAV-based ('drone') aerial photography. The travertines were subdivided into sheets, mounds and ridges and, for specific examples, their geometry was accurately positioned and measured. In addition, we examined the casts of plant remains in order to establish the palaeoecology of the cooler and terrestrial peripheral zones of travertine deposition. Samples were also taken for scanning electron micrography to examine their micro character and possible genesis.



UAV aerial photograph of the large Palankaya quarry (higher level) and the adjacent lower mound with clear central feeder. Insets show us preparing for the UAV flight (left) and a detailed fracture (right) within the travertine, infilled with palaeosol material. The Gediz river can be seen at the top left of the picture.

The travertines are the results of carbonate precipitation along spring lines, many of which are positioned along structural fractures in the underlying bedrock. The oldest travertines show clear evidence of contemporaneous (syndepositional and post-depositional) faulting. Some of these movements lie along pre-existing (exhumed) faults, but there is also evidence for new faults, suggesting comparatively recent crustal movement that creates, and reactivates existing, fractures. Detailed analysis of these observations is underway, and their implications will be critical in establishing patterns of recent crustal movement (neotectonics). These movements, which are most likely related to the volcanic episodes, are significant not only for travertine formation but also for our wider study of the Gediz river archive.

Observing these patterns is important, but establishing a geochronology for events is critical to our understanding. Significantly, any new geochronology can be compared directly with our existing Ar-Ar chronologies from the lava flows (see Maddy et al. 2017: ‘The Gediz river fluvial archive: a benchmark for Quaternary research in western Anatolia’ *Quaternary Science Reviews* 166: 289–306, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.quascirev.2016.07.031>). This year we have extracted 60 short cores from several travertine sites for palaeomagnetic measurements. These measurements should provide a coarse geochronology; i.e. magnetically reversed thermoremanent magnetism would indicate a high likelihood of early Pleistocene age (deposition in the

Matuyama Chron between 2.6Ma and 0.78Ma), whereas normal field orientation would suggest a younger age (deposition in the Brunhes Chron and thus <0.78Ma). Given the stratigraphy of the sampled travertines and their close association with the early phase of volcanism (1.4Ma–0.99Ma), the expectation is that these samples will yield a reversed field. Our previous attempt to measure palaeomagnetism, over ten years ago, at the Palankaya quarry yielded only one unequivocal measurement and that was reversed. Hopefully our new dataset will provide more comprehensive information.

In addition to the palaeomagnetic samples we are also attempting to obtain more precise age estimates directly from the travertine using more experimental techniques. Six travertine sites were sampled with a view to possible U-Pb age estimation. An application to measure these samples will be made via the NERC Isotope Geosciences Laboratory in 2019. Samples have also been sent to the Leibnitz Institute in Hanover, Germany, for possible ESR (electron spin resonance) age estimation, but so far these have failed to yield a useful ESR signal. We also continue to extend our Ar-Ar database, with five new basalt samples submitted to the University of Amsterdam laboratory for Ar-Ar age estimation.

Our database of travertine attributes is slowly growing. Each new dataset provides new insights. Our 2018 programme was very successful in generating new ideas and new hypotheses to explore. We have no reason to suspect that work in 2019 will not do the same.



# Living with the 'Big River': human-environment interactions along the Büyük Menderes (Big Meander) river, southwestern Turkey

Warren Eastwood | University of Birmingham

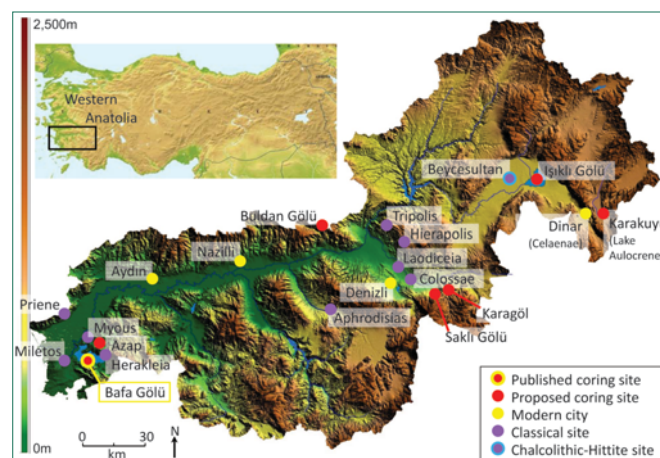
With Çetin Şenkul, Neil Macdonald, Paul Brewer, Jonathan Dean & Helmut Brückner

There has been long-standing debate in historical geomorphological studies about the relative importance of natural drivers of erosion, such as climate change, versus human-induced land-cover change (e.g. Grove, Rackham 2001). Some of the most widely studied field evidence for past changes in soil erosion and sediment flux comes from downstream records of alluviation and incision in Mediterranean river valleys (e.g. Vita-Finzi 1969). Dating and sedimentological analyses have enabled the reconstruction of regional alluvial chronologies, and this led to the recognition that significant geomorphological changes have taken place during historical times. Among them is the Younger Fill of Claudio Vita-Finzi (1969), found in many Mediterranean valleys and which formed during post-Roman times. While these studies highlight the widespread nature of historical slope destabilisation and soil loss, they have been less informative about their underlying causes. Vita-Finzi, for example, attributed his Younger Fill primarily to historic variations in climate (e.g. Medieval Climate Anomaly) rather than to post-Classical abandonment and subsequent lack of maintenance of agricultural terrace systems. In practice, alluvial records do not easily permit the kind of controlled field experimental conditions needed to establish clear causal relations. However, when reconstructed alluvial chronologies are analysed alongside lake-sediment data, then greater chronological precision and accuracy can be achieved (Vannière et al. 2013), and the analysis of lake-sediment data also offers the possibility of testing different causal mechanisms using a multi-proxy approach (Roberts et al. 2018).

Of the four main rivers that drain western Anatolia, it is the eponymous Büyük Menderes (Big Meander, typically referred to as the 'Meander', the ancient Maiandros) river that dominates and drains most of southwestern Turkey; it is also the largest river that drains into the Aegean Sea (see map). From its source near Dinar (ancient Celaenae) the Meander (~580km long, catchment of 25,000km<sup>2</sup>) drains axially and passes through a series of tectonic basins and gorges eventually flowing for ~150km through the Meander graben. It is in this final reach (from Nazilli) that the Meander is especially characterised by the meander belts and cut-off (oxbow) lakes which have given their name to this meandering river channel pattern type.

Since mid- to late Holocene times, the Meander river has advanced its delta, silting-up a marine embayment that once reached inland for tens of kilometres (Brückner et al. 2017).

The port city of Miletos, now 10km from the sea, was in Classical times located on the Latmian gulf; Bafa lake is the remnant of this once deep indentation of the sea (see map); other cities with coastal ports fared a similar fate (e.g. Myous, Priene, Herakleia). Various causes of this increased sedimentation and delta progradation have been advanced and include natural erosion, sea-level changes, tectonic activity and riverine sediment load, which is the main process effecting progradation. Helmut Brückner and colleagues (2017) hypothesise that human impact on the vegetation cover of the drainage basins is the main causal factor to account for increased erosion rates and increased sediment flux. However, there are very few data with which to test empirically the competing roles of natural forcing processes (e.g. climate change), on the one hand, and human agency on the other (Roberts et al. 2018). This is mainly because research carried out to date has either focused on a narrow strip of the coastal zone associated with the great Classical cities (e.g. Miletos, Priene, Ephesos) or on specific archaeological sites in the continental interior or montane zone (e.g. Sagalassos); essentially, previous research investigations have effectively divorced the floodplain from its interior and upland catchments. In order to understand the processes that have led to marked regional environmental and landscape changes over decadal, centennial and millennial timescales, and that have caused significant environmental and landscape change with concomitant impacts on local settlements in this part of southwestern Turkey, it is imperative that a regional landscape approach is adopted.



The Büyük Menderes (Big Meander) river.

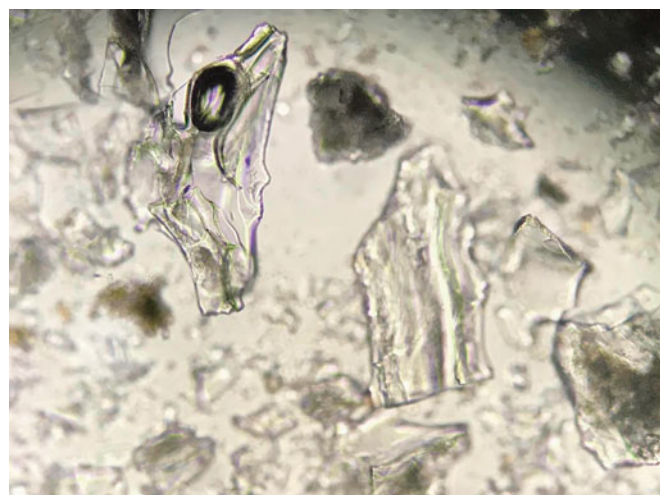
Our project adopts a ‘catchment-to-coast’ (source-to-sink) approach in order to reconstruct past natural and human-induced environmental and landscape changes that have led to increased erosion rates along the course of the Meander. We will investigate the extent to which upland catchment processes via human agency (deforestation, burning, agriculture, grazing) may have caused vegetation change, increased run-off and mobilisation of catchment soils (Eastwood et al. 1998b; 1999; Roberts 2018). We will also investigate the extent to which regional climate change, for example to drier climatic conditions, may have caused decreased vegetation density and increased run-off and mobilisation of catchment soils. In order to test these hypotheses, we will reconstruct the pre-civilisation natural environment of the Meander catchment in order to establish baseline conditions and chart the *longue durée* of human occupation and landscape change.

The Meander flows through a series of cascading basins which act as intermediate, temporary sinks (e.g. Karakuyu, Işıklı, Denizli), so our fieldwork to date has concentrated on coring lakes in close proximity to these basins and archaeological sites (see map). Over the coming months, retrieved sediment cores will be subjected to a range of multi-proxy techniques (pollen, charcoal and coprophilous fungal analyses) to acquire data on vegetation change and local/regional burning, and to assess the magnitude of grazing and potential impacts on forest cover. Chronological control will be achieved using radiocarbon age dating on retrieved sediment sequences. Discovery of volcanic ash in trial sediment cores from Karagöl, most probably from the mid-second millennium BC Minoan eruption of Santorini (Thera), provides the opportunity to date some sediment sequences using tephrochronology (see photo to right; Eastwood et al. 1998a). Hydroclimate change will be reconstructed using stable isotope analysis of authigenic carbonates from large and small lakes (Dean et al. 2017). Enhanced hydro-geomorphic instability and palaeo-flood analysis will be reconstructed using core magnetic susceptibility, Itrax X-ray fluorescence ( $\mu$ XRF) core scanning and other geochemical techniques.

We thank Mustafa Doğan, Turkan Memiş, Yunus Bozkurt and Ahmet Köse, for assistance during fieldwork coring.

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‘Glassy’ shards of volcanic ash recovered from a 5cm tephra layer at depth 695cm from Karagöl lake, southwestern Turkey. Geochemical determinations will indicate the provenance of this tephra unit, but its physical characteristics and depth in the sediment core suggest a Santorini origin.



## LEGACY DATA: USING THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

Legacy data present an immensely rich and varied body of largely unstudied information and allow present-day scientists and researchers to further our understanding of Turkey and the Black Sea region. The BIAA's own historical collections, including paper and photographic archives as well as archaeological collections, offer insights into the evolution of the topic or material under study as well as information about assets now lost. The British Institute at Ankara owns collections of squeezes and ceramic sherds as well as large photographic collections and archives that offer excellent study material for scholars in many disciplines, including archaeologists, historians, anthropologists and specialists in epigraphy and ethnography. This strategic research initiative aims to promote interdisciplinary academic research that relates to legacy data concentrating on Turkey and the Black Sea region. Work on the BIAA collections will be an important component, but research on other legacy data available in Turkey and the Black Sea region is also supported.

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### The BIAA digital repository

Leonidas Karakatsanis & Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

The British Institute at Ankara is happy to announce the launch of its digital repository office. The office is devoted to the digitisation, preservation and long-term accessibility of various types of archaeological and historical data originally produced in Turkey and the wider region (including the Black Sea littoral and the Middle East).

The repository will have the capacity to host a variety of digitised and born-digital archives and data produced across several disciplines: any type of primary archaeological record (excavation documentation and reports, drawings, tables, etc), new types of digital records, such as 3D scans, and also collections of historical maps and photographs of archaeological, historical or ethnographic interest.

Offering both digitisation and repository services, the BIAA aims to become a digital hub for the promotion and accessibility of legacy data that will serve the international academic research community and promote knowledge sharing and preservation.

#### *Step by step, from the physical to the digital*

The establishment of the repository office is the culmination of a long process that dates back to the meticulous archiving procedures introduced by the BIAA's former Director David French during the 1970s and 1980s. This resulted in the transformation of the Institute into a regional resource centre for archaeology. By the 1990s the BIAA was an exemplary host to physical collections of pottery sherds, squeezes, historical maps, photographs and reference collections of bones and seeds as well as a herbarium.

The next crucial step was the transition from the physical to the digital world, a task that was initiated during Hugh Elton's directorship in 2004 and given significant impetus under Lutgarde Vandeput's supervision since she became the BIAA Director in 2006. During this phase of the process, up to 2015, the BIAA invested heavily in the digitisation of the majority of its physical collections and the creation of a tailor-made digital infrastructure to host the data collections and provide accessibility to the wider research community.

The BIAA's Information Technology Manager, Hakan Çakmak, designed the first generation of the Institute's bespoke online database, which offered public access to the digitised collections, with significant input and scientific advice from several BIAA staff members, fellows and researchers. He also undertook the demanding tasks of setting up the first BIAA digitisation station and organising the digitisation of the squeeze collection. Yaprak Eran, the BIAA's Librarian and Resources Manager from 1984 to 2009, contributed greatly to the process by providing practical help and overseeing the relation between the physical archives and the digital records. Toby Wilkinson (BIAA Research Scholar 2007) created the metadata structure for the pottery collection, while Michele Massa (BIAA Research Scholar 2011) worked meticulously on the establishment of metadata sets for the photographic collection and the organisation of the digitisation of both the photographic and ceramic collections. Since then, many research scholars and assistants have helped with the digitisation of the collections, including Riley Snyder, Emma Baysal, Benjamine Irvine, Martina Massimino.



Hakan Çakmak and Yaprak Eran digitising the BIAA squeeze collection during the first phase of the development of the Institute's digital services.

Since September 2015 a major upgrade and restructuring of the BIAA digital interface and database has been undertaken. Under the scientific supervision and management of the Institute's Assistant Director, Leonidas Karakatsanis, the project was again implemented by Hakan Çakmak. The aim was to produce a new generation of the BIAA's bespoke digital infrastructure that would align with international standards in data management and offer a much faster and more user-friendly digital interface; at the same time, we intended to offer richer information and increased searchability. After meticulous work and continuous testing, a brand-new system was introduced in early 2017. Initially it hosted the BIAA library records, but has expanded since to host all BIAA collections. At the same time, under the Assistant Director's supervision, a team of researchers has worked toward the completion of the digitisation of these collections. The final results are a showcase of the capacity of the BIAA as a digital host to legacy data and can be fully accessed and searched via the portal <http://biaatr.org>.

*The new vision: the BIAA as a regional digital repository*  
In June 2017 the BIAA invited an expert team from the UK-based Archaeology Data Service (ADS) to assess the new system and the wider capacity of the Institute as an archive management institution. The results of this assessment paved the way for the transformation of the BIAA's resource centre in Ankara into a regional digital repository for archaeological and other legacy data. The ADS team found that the BIAA's bespoke system and general infrastructure presented significant potential since they were tailor-made to respond

to the needs of the wider academic and research communities of the region, offering a highly specialised service. This assessment phase also resulted in the establishment of a long-term connection between the BIAA and the ADS. A series of training programmes for BIAA staff at the ADS base at the University of York was launched and the ADS will offer regular consultation and advice regarding the operation and development of the BIAA's regional repository office.

On 1 November 2018, Nurdan Atalan Çayırmezmez took up the position of BIAA Repository Office Manager. Nurdan, who is a member of the Association of Experts of Culture and Tourism, the Association of Museum Professionals and ICOM Turkey, previously worked – from 2004 – for the General-Directorate for Cultural Assets and Museums of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism as an expert on culture and tourism. She was the Project Coordinator for the National Museums Digital Inventory System Project.

The Institute's digital repository office is now preparing all the necessary documentation to offer its services to the academic and research communities with the support of and in consultation with UK experts in digitisation and archiving. Our aim is for the office to be ready to accept its first deposits by late summer 2019.



BIAA Research Scholar Sergio Russo digitising the pottery sherd collection with the latest generation of digitisation equipment at the new BIAA premises at Atatürk Bulvarı 154.



# Institute collections and Ian Todd's Central Anatolian Survey

Geoffrey D. Summers | Fellow, British Institute at Ankara

The British Institute's registered collection of pottery sherds contains material from all periods collected from most areas of modern Turkey. There is also some comparative material from northern Mesopotamia and Bulgaria. This finite collection, made back in the days when the Turkish authorities issued survey permits that could span several *vilayets* and permitted academic institutions to retain study material (*etüdlük*), is a tremendous research resource. It is now splendidly curated in the new premises. A considerable portion of this collection was made by Ian A. Todd in the summers of 1964 to 1966. Todd's survey, more perhaps a reconnaissance than the kinds of intensive and multidisciplinary survey like that conducted by Roger Matthews in Paphlagonia, covered a huge area bounded by a line from Ankara to Yozgat, Kayseri, Niğde and Konya. It included the Tuz Gölü basin and the central reaches of the Kızılırmak river. Todd's first interest was the Neolithic, which was the subject of his 1967 doctoral thesis, and that led to a monograph published in 1980 (Todd, I.A. 1980: *The Prehistory of Central Anatolia 1: The Neolithic Period*, Gothenburg; see also 1998: 'Central Anatolian Survey' in R. Matthews (ed.), *Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Years' Work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*, London: 17–26).

In the 1980s, at the instigation of David French, I began a study of the sherds collected by Todd, and occasionally others, from the *vilayets* of Kirşehir, Nevşehir and Niğde as they were before redrawing of the present boundaries. In this work I was aided by a team of illustrators who drew the sherds and Institute secretarial staff who typed a gazetteer of sites onto large floppy discs. The plan to publish a substantial monograph, which was well advanced, came to an abrupt halt with the retirement of David French as Director of the Institute. In 2017, having largely completed two monographs on Kerkenes that are now in press, I resurrected the project, but now as a BIAA online publication with Google Earth thumbnails of each site and copious photographs of the sherds to go side by side with the drawings. In this I have been greatly encouraged by Lutgarde Vandeput, the present BIAA Director, and Michele Massa, who has most kindly made his GIS database available and who will collaborate in the distribution maps and spatial analysis.

The first aim of this project is to make the collection available to scholars for further research. A subsidiary aim is to draw some broad conclusions concerning settlement patterns and distributions of classes of ceramics. There are, of course, considerable limitations that result from a focus on mounded sites visible from roads or marked on the 1:200,000 maps, geographic coverage largely restricted to the limited number of

roads suitable for a camper van in the early 1960s and various factors, such as ploughing, vegetation cover and site size, that influence what sherds were and were not found on the surface.

Nevertheless, it is proving possible to make some important observations and to draw some significant, if tentative, conclusions. It is surprising, perhaps, that our general knowledge of prehistoric ceramics within the area of the survey, from the Chalcolithic to the Late Iron Age, has improved very little since the 1960s. This reflects the small number of excavations that have taken place and the absence of definitive publications, with the exception of the Hittite period, of excavations now in progress. This situation will doubtless improve in the coming years as a result of ongoing excavations at a range of large sites too numerous to list here.

The most interesting results of the present study relate to the periods at the start and the end of the span, i.e. the Chalcolithic and the Late Iron Age/Hellenistic. With regard to the Chalcolithic there have been great advances in knowledge as a result of excavations at Tepecik Çiftlik and Kösk Pınar, Gelveri and Güvercinkaya as well as sites outside the survey area. At the other end of the time scale, in the Middle Iron Age there are distinct differences between the area of the Phrygian kingdom, dominated by grey wares, and the Lands of Tabal, where pattern-painted pottery dominates. Furthermore, it is now possible to document settlement patterns in both the Achaemenid period and the Hellenistic. On the one hand, a tradition of painted pottery continues unbroken from the Early Iron Age well into the Hellenistic while, on the other, it is possible to document developments through this long period.



Iron Age sherd from a rhyton.



Achaemenid polychrome sherd.

## HABITAT & SETTLEMENT IN PREHISTORIC, HISTORIC & CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

This strategic research initiative supports research focused on assessing long-term change from prehistory to the present day. Anatolia has one of the best-defined long-term records of settlement during the Holocene period and its study is central to a range of questions in prehistory, including the changing relationships of humans with the environment, the formation of large-scale settlements and shifts in urban-rural relationships. Developments in the Black Sea coastal region sometimes ran parallel to changes in Turkey, but followed a different course at other periods, creating interesting comparisons, parallels and alternatives. Of particular interest are mankind's attempts to live in, as well as adapt to and change, conditions set by the environment through time as well as the effect of human beings on their natural environment and landscape.

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### Boncuklu: the spread of farming and the antecedents of Çatalhöyük

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool

With Andrew Fairbairn & Gökhan Mustafaoglu

The Boncuklu project offers the opportunity to understand what the uptake of farming meant for early Holocene foragers, in terms of their household organisation and social practices, landscape engagements, ritual and symbolism, as well the spread of farming from the Fertile Crescent, to points to the west and ultimately into Europe. The ritual and symbolic practices at Boncuklu are especially intriguing, given that Boncuklu seems to be a direct predecessor of Çatalhöyük and is located only 9.5km to its north.

In 2018 excavation took place in three trenches: Area P, Area M and the relatively new Area R. We are investigating the structures of Area P with the intention of learning more about the domestic activities that took place in the houses here and the deployment of ritual and symbolism within them. In Area M we are investigating open areas between buildings as well as one building that does not appear to be a standard domestic house. In Area M we aim to dig a sounding to natural through what is likely the full sequence of the site. In Area R we are investigating a distinctive anomaly noted during geophysical survey in 2015, which suggested there may be a larger than normal building.

#### *Household archaeology*

We continued to excavate one building that seems to be a variant of the typical Boncuklu residential structures: Building 21 in Area P. Here we are able to investigate the use of the kitchens of the Boncuklu buildings, which we refer to

as 'dirty' areas. Unlike the main, 'clean' floor areas, the kitchen spaces saw repeated patching of floors with much greater frequency; for example, this year we excavated many patches in sequence in the areas south and north of the main hearth of Building 21. One long-term feature in the life of the structure had puzzled us for some time: a construction built north of the hearth against the inside face of the wall. It was outlined by a series of sloping mudbricks and its interior was packed with bricks. We have long speculated about the function of this feature and this year were able to investigate it in some detail. It appears to have had a complex life and a series of uses over the latter years of the use of the building. Late in its life it had small posts inserted into its outer edge. Its upper edge had several plaster faces and it seems likely it was used both as a bin and a bench feature.

#### *Non-standard structures*

This year we found a further example of one of our non-standard, 'light' structures – possibly kitchen or work buildings – that predate those we have excavated previously in Area M. This building had no surviving walls, and was characterised, like its successors, by a series of trampled-silt floors, multiple stakeholes and some pits. For the first time we found evidence of human remains associated with one of these structures; in a pit early in the life of this sequence of floors, we found fragments of the skull of a young child. It is notable that this was not a conventional articulated inhumation, but rather just a few skull elements. This is more



akin to the mortuary practices we find in the open spaces, and is an interesting further distinction in the use of these structures, but one that suggests that they too, on occasions, witnessed ritual practice.

#### *Later middens – a very public convenience*

We excavated a series of features and deposits in the latter phases of the midden deposit in Area M. These included large multiple-phase hearths with reed linings, preserved as phytoliths (silicified plant cells). These open spaces also housed evidence of the presence of large posts and basket installations.

We continued to excavate a toilet area in the southern part of this open space. Our more extensive excavations this year allowed us to appreciate that this was created within a large shallow hollow that was lined with plant materials, probably reeds or sedges. Periodically, after episodes of deposition of human faeces, the deposits were covered with similar plant materials, presumably for purposes of hygiene. The hollow was not very deep and in quite small sections of this toilet area we have excavated hundreds of coprolites. So it seems likely that this is some of the earliest evidence of a ‘public convenience’. In addition, the slight hollow would have left the users fairly ‘exposed’; so the inhabitants clearly had different views from us today about certain basic human functions and what may well have been a refreshing lack of embarrassment about such activities. Intriguingly, we have now also found public toilet areas in Areas P and R, so such zones may not have been uncommon in the central areas of the site.

Of course, the human coprolites from these areas will be a rich source of information about past diets. Luke Cartwright from the University of Queensland has started research on possible starch content to help indicate plant consumption. A study by Michelle Feider (University of Bournemouth) already indicates that a number of coprolites have fish and amphibian remains within them.



Neolithic coprolites.

#### *Earlier middens*

On the western side of Area M we excavated a series of midden lenses, representing a general dump of organic material in this open space. In the northeastern part of the area, we removed a series of very fine laminations of alternating clay, dark-grey ashy silt and thin white ash lenses, all representative of very repetitive activity. So far we estimate many hundreds of laminations.

We have now reached some of the earliest deposits on the site and they indicate that the early phase activity in this part of the settlement is represented by an open space with a densely distributed patchwork of small features, including small phytolith-lined pits with stakeholes around their edges, small hearths with clay-lined bases and a series of neat plaster-lined oval pits. These suggest a series of distinctive open-area activities requiring lined features and the use of fire.

#### *Burials*

We have also continued to find burials in the open spaces at Boncuklu. In Area P we found the burial of a small child, whose head and body were covered with ochre and who was accompanied by obsidian tools as grave goods.

#### *Area R*

In Area R we continued to investigate the possible presence of a large building. We removed a number of layers of interleaving midden and structural debris, and located a large external hearth in one of the midden layers. We have detected unusually thick plaster floors under the earliest structural debris we excavated, so there does appear to be a distinctive type of structure in this area, which we will investigate in 2019 in order to explore its extent and function.

#### *Experimental archaeology*

Gökhan Mustafaoglu oversaw experimental activities.

*A Neolithic construction programme.* A Neolithic village is emerging again at Boncuklu. We undertook a major programme of ‘Neolithic’ building activity in 2018. This involved the construction of two more Neolithic houses (sponsored by BIAA fundraising activity; sponsors listed below) to join our two original constructions, thus creating a veritable Neolithic village. These reconstructions develop our knowledge through experimentation and simultaneously enhance the visitor experience at the site. The two buildings we chose to reconstruct this year will allow us to understand better how the largest houses excavated to date were constructed and experienced, and also how the lighter, non-standard structures might have worked.

One of the key challenges was to understand the method of roofing of the largest houses, given that we have no evidence, even within these larger structures, for the use of regular and permanent post arrangements. Thus we



The reconstructed Neolithic light structure.

constructed a building 6m long by 5m wide. Gökhan Mustafaoğlu, following discussions with our local craftsman, who had trained in mudbrick building in his youth, wanted to test what seemed a plausible solution: to use the thickest, longest beams that would have been available to span the central area of the building (i.e. ca 5m), and then use thinner beams at the narrower ends of the structure in order to keep the beam weight lower on the relatively thin walls. This system worked well (the building hasn't fallen down so far!) and illustrates neatly the advantage of oval structures in terms of lower thickness and length requirements for beams.

The light structure is small and constructed of wattle around a basic frame of upright posts, to which was added mud, in a classic wattle-and-daub construction. A gap was left between the walls and roof, which was constructed of reeds on very light branches covered by mud. A kerb of plaster-covered mudbricks protects the base of this light wall. Altogether, this created a waterproof shelter with good ventilation properties. In particular, smoke from the experimental fires lit in this structure cleared quickly, confirming our view that the Neolithic light structures might have worked well as kitchen or work structures employing regular fires.

*Putting in a post.* We know that posts were inserted and removed at regular intervals throughout the lives of the Neolithic houses. How easy or difficult that might have been remained an interesting question. We therefore experimented with inserting a post in our experimental Building 1. By digging the posthole to the requisite depth and slightly wider than the post, we could slip the post in at an angle and then hammer it under the relevant roof beam. This system worked well; it planted the post firmly and did not damage the roof. This now seems an easier process than we had originally envisaged and the experiment allows us to understand better the frequency with which posts could be inserted and replaced in the structures.

*Neolithic garden.* As part of our experimental endeavours, and in order to communicate some of our results relating to analyses of the less tangible archaeobotanical and environmental evidence, we aim to reconstruct some of the Neolithic settings – agricultural and natural – for the benefit of our visitors. Given the importance of farming to our local communities, we thought an effective way to bring home the results of our research on the development of the Neolithic to these local communities, and particularly the children of the area, would be to display more directly the nature of Neolithic landscapes and farming. We have, therefore, started to develop a Neolithic garden. This includes a small garden-field of the types of cereals cultivated in the Neolithic. It also includes a raised area containing some of the trees that yielded the nuts and fruits collected from the surrounding hills in the Neolithic – wild almond, terebinth and hackberry. In addition, we have started to create a pond to house some of the wetland plants we have evidence for in the surrounding Neolithic environment, including some probably exploited by the Neolithic inhabitants, whether for fuel, food, building material or matting and basketry. Adjacent to the pond we have created a reed bed and planted willows, reflecting other aspects of the Neolithic wetlands.

#### *Acknowledgements*

2018 excavation season sponsors and funders: British Institute at Ankara; University of Liverpool; University of Queensland; Wainwright Fund, Oxford; Institute of Field Research. We would also like to thank the Directorate General for its continued support, the Director of Konya Museums, Yusuf Benli, for his constant help, and our Ministry representative, Enver Akgün, for kind guidance.

We are grateful to the following sponsors who, through the BIAA fundraising programme, contributed towards the building reconstructions, gardens and visitor facilities: Stevenson Family Charitable Trust, Aurelius Charitable Trust, Robert Kiln Charitable Trust, Charlotte Bonham-Carter Charitable Trust, Society of Dilettanti and several individual donors.



Wild almond, terebinth and hackberry freshly planted in the Neolithic garden.



# Moving forward after Çatalhöyük

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

The site of Çatalhöyük consists of two mounds near Çumra, Konya, in central Anatolia. The main East Mound has over 18 levels of Neolithic occupation dated from 7100 to 5900 BC, while the West Mound has Chalcolithic levels. The site is one of the largest Neolithic sites in the Middle East and is a well-preserved example of the mega-sites that emerged in the later pre-pottery and pottery Neolithic. The site was established as being of international significance by the work of James Mellaart in the 1960s and a new team has been working there since 1993, resulting in the site being placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2012.

In 2018, for the first time in 25 years, we had not applied for a permit to work on site at Çatalhöyük. Some excavation work was carried out at the site under the auspices of the Konya Museum, with Çiler Çilingiroğlu from Ege Museum as scientific advisor. It is very much hoped that Dr Çilingiroğlu will take over as the director of a new phase of Çatalhöyük excavations and research in 2019. In the meantime, some members of the old team continued to work at the site, particularly with regard to conservation. A team from Poland led by Arek Marciniak also started excavations with Dr Çilingiroğlu in a new area – the small eastern portion of the main East Mound. I am very grateful to Dr Çilingiroğlu for taking on the task of the site and for being so keen to encourage continuity with the team and methods used in the previous phase of work at the site.

Instead of working at Çatalhöyük itself, the main team assembled in Sicily in order to work on analysis and publication of all the material excavated since 2009. We were very fortunate to be housed and looked after in the Scuola Superiore of the University of Catania. In this pleasant and congenial villa we were able to concentrate on specialist reports and collaborative chapters.

We have previously published 11 monographs covering the results of surveys and excavations at Çatalhöyük since 1993. The aim of the 2018 study season in Catania was to prepare four new volumes. The first of these will describe the excavations that took place between 2009 and 2017; the second and third will be devoted to reports by 30 different specialist teams; and the fourth will discuss 26 different themes that the team has found itself involved in over recent years. The workshop in Catania was organised in relation to these different volumes. Part of the time (often in the mornings when we were freshest!) we worked through the excavations, building by building and space by space. Those who had supervised the excavations showed powerpoints of what had been found in each building, and the different specialists (archaeobotanists, faunal analysts,

groundstone researchers, isotope analysts, etc) presented results that pertained to that building. The aim was to integrate all the different types of data into one coherent interpretation of each building or space. It is the excavators' unenviable task to pull all these different types of data into a single account.

There were two other types of discussion that took place in Catania this past summer. One involved the data specialists presenting draft reports on their results, looking at the site overall and at changes across space and time. For many of us this was the first time we had got to hear of these data results and it was exciting to see how the different accounts related to each other – although not always as smoothly as we might have liked! The aim of these discussions was for other team members to be able to compare results with their own data, and to respond to contradictions where they emerged. The final type of discussion involved all team members working in groups to present their initial thoughts on themes. The team identified 26 different themes that ranged from demographics to inequality to temporalities to seasonality to notions of self and creativity. The aim here was to integrate data from excavations and specialist analyses of data in order to address broader topics that cut across specialisms.

One theme that was discussed at some length was social units and networks. We have long been interested in how up to 8,000 people, all packed into dense housing, could have managed to organise their lives in order to prevent conflict and disaggregation. One result of our recent work has been to understand how many houses were occupied at any one time. There were certainly more open spaces than we had earlier thought, but, on the other hand, many buildings were rebuilt on the same spot without interruption and densities were indeed quite high. We have also come to recognise that the inhabitants were organised into subgroups. Some of these subgroups lived together in local neighbourhoods or segments within the site. For example, there seem to be clear differences in material culture between the northern and southern parts of the main East Mound. But other affiliations cross-cut these spatial groupings. It is often the case that houses with similar wall paintings, for example, are located in different parts of the mound (as shown by the research of Gesualdo Busacca). The networking seems to have been very complex. Recent research by Camilla Mazzucato has used formal methods of network analysis to show the full complexity of social networks and how they changed over time. Work by Justine Issavi has shown the ways in which open spaces, often interpreted as 'middens', were in fact often places where a wide range of activities

took place between houses. Work by Chris Knüsel, Scott Haddow and the human remains team has started to tell a new story about burial practices – that in fact the dead were often not buried immediately but after a considerable amount of time. This delayed burial involved the circulation of the skeletal remains through time and across space in the settlement, contributing to the building of complex networks. Overall, it seems that individuals at Çatalhöyük had a wide range of social networks they could call upon when needed.

Off site, an exhibit about the methods used by the project, presented at ANAMED in Istanbul, continued into 2018. It was organised by Duygu Tarkan and Şeyda Çetin, and was a great success in terms of visitor numbers and impact. Indeed, it won an important prize from Koç Holdings for digital innovation.

The exhibition, ‘The Curious Case of Çatalhöyük’, was developed to celebrate last year’s 25th excavation season of the Çatalhöyük Research Project. Known for its fascinating cutting-edge archaeological research methods and laboratory collaborations, Çatalhöyük is presented through experiment-based display features including 3D prints of finds, laser-scanned overviews of excavation areas and immersive digital displays that bring the 9,000-year-old Çatalhöyük settlement back to life. The exhibition narrates the reflexive methods of the excavations from the initial phase when the trowel touches the soil to the documentation of the finds,

from laboratory analysis to the transfer of information. It sheds light on the work of the research team of international specialists and elucidates the various stages of an excavation project. Although field excavation remained a primary form of investigation at Çatalhöyük throughout the 25 years of this phase of work at the site, digital, experimental and visual reconstruction methods were increasingly employed to aid research and interpretation. This legacy is reflected in the exhibition displays and followed by incorporative artistic interventions to underline how the site has been subject to various artworks and offer new perspectives to understand the life of one of the most complicated societies of its time.

The exhibit has now been moved to London where it will be shown at the Brunei Gallery in SOAS before moving on to Ankara in 2019.

I am deeply grateful to the team who have come together every year and produced such wonderful work. In particular, this year I wish to thank Bilge Küçükdoğan, for her management and care of the team, and Gesualdo Busacca, for introducing us to the Scuola and to Catania and Sicily. Thanks in particular to Francesco Priolo and Francesca Scolla at the Scuola Superiore di Catania. I am, as ever, grateful to our main funders and sponsors, including the John Templeton Foundation, Yapı Kredi, Boeing, Koçtaş and Shell. I am particularly grateful to the staff of the British Institute at Ankara for their long-term support of our work and to Ömer Koç for his long-term friendship and advice.

The Çatalhöyük team at the Scuola Superiore in Catania in August 2018.





# Emerging patterns on the Konya plain: the second season of KRASP

Christoph Bachhuber & Michele Massa | Oxford University & British Institute at Ankara

Since 2016 the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP) has been generating and collating data from previous projects focused on the Konya plain, from satellite imagery and from our own pedestrian survey that we initiated in the Çumra and Karatay districts in the eastern region of the plain in 2017. In this report we will mostly discuss activities and results from our 2018 field season, and how these new data are fitting into the larger picture of settlement and land-use in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age periods (ca 8500–300 BC).

So far, KRASP's fieldwork has prioritised the 'marginal' landscapes of the Konya plain, including the steppe region that surrounds the alluvial plains and lakes, and a highland landscape defined principally by the arch of the Boz mountains. Historically, much less survey has been undertaken in the steppe and the highlands compared to the well-trodden Çarşamba alluvium, the home of well-known sites such as Çatalhöyük and Boncuklu. KRASP is necessarily examining the relationship between the margin and the alluvial/lacustrine landscapes of the plain in different historical periods. Likewise, it is examining both historically contingent settlement in the margin and the economic, political and ideological motivations to interact with these landscapes.

Our 2018 fieldwork in the margin was driven by two primary aims: to complete an extensive survey of the mounded settlements in the northern steppe area of the Konya plain and to initiate intensive surveys of fortified hilltops, focusing on Kane Kalesi, which crowns a volcano at the northern rim of the plain. The results from both survey activities have added much to our understanding of the marginal landscapes of the plain.

The steppe is the driest ecozone of the KRASP survey area, with an average rainfall of 240mm/year, which is below the minimum for rain-fed agriculture. Today, farming and settlement on the steppe relies entirely on irrigation. With the exception of late prehistoric sites located near water springs at the piedmonts of the Taurus and Boz mountains, sedentary (farming) settlement in this landscape did not begin until the Late Bronze Age. Douglas Baird has already raised the possibility that late antique settlement in this region was dependent upon irrigation. The results from the KRASP survey suggest that similar strategies were already in place on the steppe in the Late Bronze Age (and no earlier), with implications that are addressed below.

In the 2018 field season we initiated a programme of digital architectural recording of Kane Kalesi. This site, built on the peak of a volcano, is the largest fortified hilltop in our survey area and is located at a major north-south passage onto the Konya plain (today this is the motorway that

connects Konya with Aksaray). A preliminary plan of the site created with a total station shows a defensive wall with at least two phases of reuse, as well as an extensive settlement around the lower slopes that may have served as a garrison. A preliminary study of the pottery collected this year shows that the hilltop site was first occupied in the Middle Bronze Age and continued to function as a fortress in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. We also identified a village built on terraces at the base of the northern slopes of the volcano with Middle/Late Bronze and Iron Age pottery, possibly providing for the garrison.

The biggest surprise of our 2018 season was a discovery we made at the base of this volcano, near the terraces mentioned above. Here we identified large quantities of early prehistoric chipped stone (mostly obsidian) on a site called Beşağıl divided by a small stream. The scatter, which includes spearheads, arrowheads, scrapers and microliths, points to a seasonal hunting encampment that we can tentatively date to the late Aceramic Neolithic. Beşağıl joins a growing number of small sites and artefact scatters on the steppe and highlands that demonstrate regular (hunting) forays into these marginal landscapes during the tenth to eighth millennium BC, roughly contemporary with Pınarbaşı and Boncuklu.

Following the extensive survey results of our 2017 field season and the results of earlier surveys in the region, this year we prioritised two large settlement mounds in the cultivated alluvium: Sarlak Höyük and Türkmen-Karahöyük. Sarlak Höyük, occupied between the Late Chalcolithic and the Late Iron Age, is a key site to understand the emergence of the first large-scale settlements on the Konya plain (after the Neolithic), between the late fourth and early third millennia BC. Our intensive survey revealed that the site reached its maximum spatial extent of 20ha during this period, making it one of the largest-known sites from this time period in western and central Anatolia. The settlement contracted considerably following a site-wide conflagration in the mid- to late Early Bronze Age, visible in the sections of several looting pits.

We collected radiocarbon samples from the destruction horizon at Sarlak Höyük and from two additional large settlement mounds that show a contemporary violent destruction and subsequent abandonment (Samih Höyük and Emirler Höyük; samples from all the sites were extracted from looters' pits). James Mellaart was the first to recognise this pattern of destruction and abandonment in the Early Bronze Age, but the cause and consequences of this regional phenomenon remain far from understood. KRASP aims to provide greater chronological resolution on these destructions and abandonments, including through radiocarbon dating of the samples we have extracted.



View of Türkmen-Karahöyük from the northwest.

We also turned our attention to the gargantuan settlement mound at Türkmen-Karahöyük. With an upper mound of 35ha that rises 35m above the plain and a lower town that expanded in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age to perhaps as much as 80–100ha, it is the largest mounded settlement on the Konya plain from these periods. The upper citadel was rung by a massive circuit wall that is visible on satellite imagery and probably Iron Age in date. In 2018 we initiated a preliminary survey on the mound and in the lower town. On the mound we prioritised several erosional channels that cut up to 12–15m deep into the mound. From these channels and other areas of the upper mound we collected very finely made pottery representing all periods between the latter half of the Early Bronze Age through to the Hellenistic, as well as large quantities of loomweights and spindle-whorls. We also identified at least two phases of citadel fortification in the section profiles.

Preliminary surveys on the lower mound and in the lower town focused on several small satellite mound features. All the material we collected from these features and from the lower mound/lower town dates to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. We determined that the site reached its maximum horizontal extent during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, after which the lower town of the settlement appears to have been abandoned.

#### *A few meaningful patterns*

The Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project is developing a political-economic approach to understanding the archaeological landscapes of the Konya plain. Thus far, some of our most salient results relate to the Bronze Age and Iron Age. During the 2017 and 2018 field seasons we have prioritised four features of the archaeological landscape of these periods.

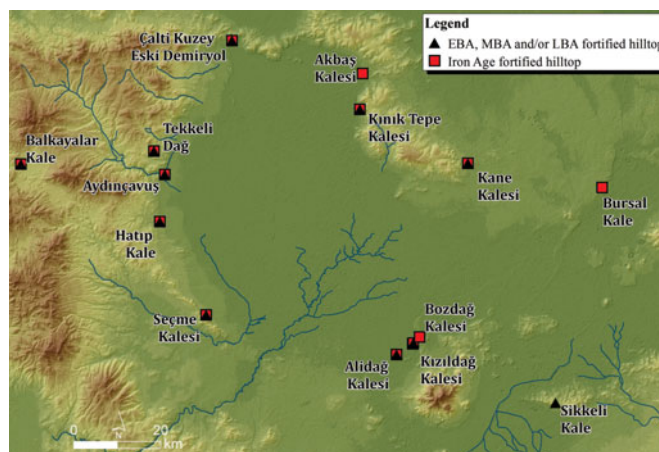
The first is the violent destruction and abandonment of several sites in the Early Bronze Age I–II (ca 2800–2600 BC). We revisited several of the sites that Mellaart recorded as destroyed and abandoned in the Early Bronze II late

period. We observed violent conflagrations in destruction layers visible in the sections of looters' pits. Our assessment of large amounts of surface pottery confirms that the settlements were either abandoned or contracted considerably after the conflagrations around 2600–2300 BC. The radiocarbon samples that we collected from three of these sites will hopefully provide chronological resolution on this 'destruction horizon'.

The second feature is the presence of a number of fortified hilltops surrounding the Konya plain (see map below), including Kane Kalesi which we intensively surveyed in 2018. Some of these are dateable already to the late third millennium BC, but most show Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age and Iron Age occupations. The defensive network that KRASP has identified strongly suggests an intention to control strategic access points onto the Konya plain, hinting at a process of territorial state formation that had reached a mature stage already in the early second millennium BC.

The third feature is the colonisation of the steppe landscapes in the northern region of the Konya plain beginning in the Late Bronze Age. While more analysis is needed (in particular with geoarchaeological and remote-sensing investigations), we are developing a hypothesis that unprecedented settlement in these marginal landscapes beginning in the late second millennium BC may have been associated with a coordinated (state-sponsored) effort to irrigate the plain with a canal system beyond the fertile delta of the Çarşamba river.

The fourth feature is the likely candidate for a regional capital of a state-like polity on the Konya plain at Türkmen-Karahöyük. Our working hypothesis is that its rise as a central place of the plain is closely associated with the initiative to irrigate the steppe in the Late Bronze Age, the maintenance and expansion of the fortification network around the Konya plain and the commissioning of Luwian-inscribed monuments at Kızıldağ and Karadağ at the southeastern margin of the plain. Many more years of research, including excavation, are needed to test and develop further this hypothesis.





# Metallurgical technology and metal exchange networks: a case study from the western Anatolian Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages

Michele Massa | British Institute at Ankara

**F**rom Mines to Graves (FMTG) is a four-year project sponsored by the British Institute at Ankara and dedicated to shedding light on the early stages of metallurgy in western Anatolia. Commencing in 2016, the research aims to investigate patterns of extraction, raw-material procurement and the manufacture and circulation of metal in western Anatolia between the Late Chalcolithic and the Late Bronze Age (c. 4000–1200 BC). The study area, which is rich in metal deposits and evidence of pre-modern mining, has also been extensively investigated archaeologically through numerous excavated sites and survey projects. This research corpus thus allows a seamless integration of the metallurgical and archaeological evidence, something that has not been possible so far for other Anatolian contexts.

FMTG's main research foci are: to understand the organisation of metal extraction, refinement and production and its diachronic changes; to identify episodes of metallurgical technology transfer; and to understand the mechanisms of metal exchange and the importance of metal for western Anatolian societies.

## Methodology

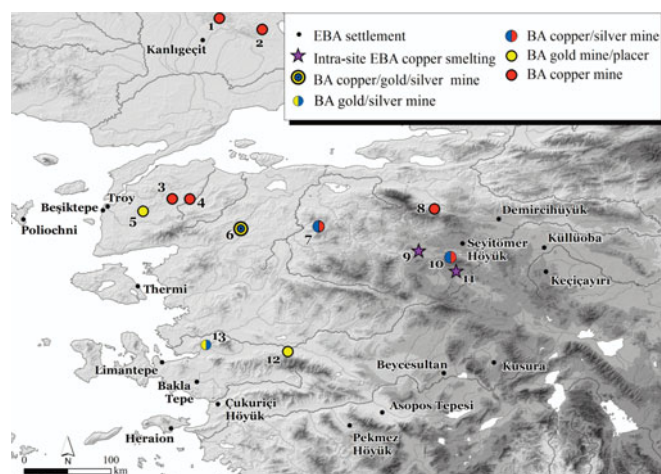
Previous research has suggested an increasingly sophisticated division of labour at major Anatolian mining sites already in the late fourth and early third millennia BC. Göltepe/Kestel and Derekutuğun in particular seem to reveal a spatial separation between different activities such as extraction, refinement, production of metal ingots/blanks and artefact manufacture. A field survey led by Erkan Fidan (an FMTG collaborator), investigating inland northwestern Anatolia (Kütahya province) in order to identify prehistoric mining sites and metallurgical workshops, provides the arena to test this hypothesis in the field.

Another focus of investigation is the development of metallurgical technology between the mid-fourth and late second millennia BC across the whole of western Anatolia, looking at extraction (mining), refinement (smelting/roasting) and production technologies (for example alloying practices, but also manufacturing techniques). In order to explore these issues, we have launched an extensive programme of chemical-composition analysis using non-destructive portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (pXRF), as well as destructive inducted coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS) and metallographic analysis of ores, slags and artefacts.

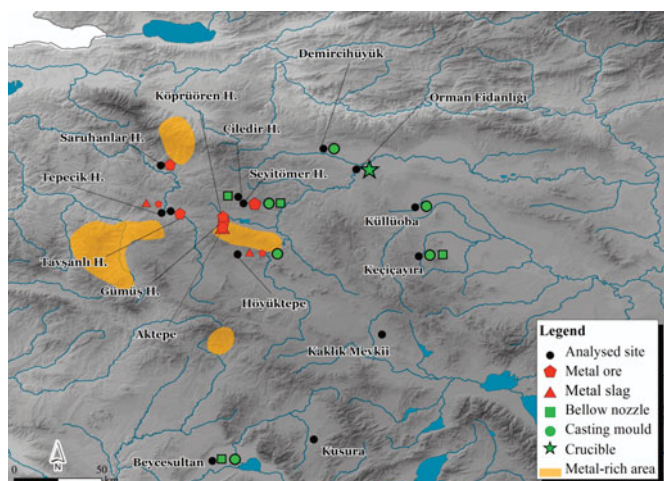
The last major focus of the project is the analysis of metal exchange networks and their organisation; this is being tackled through a range of different perspectives. Employing contextual analysis, we are trying to understand how much of the metal production may have been exported, by looking at, for instance, the presence and frequency of tools to create blanks and ingots, as well as the circulation of actual blanks in the study area. In addition, investigation of the metallurgical workshops themselves allows an understanding of whether they are 'wealthier' or more connected with distant communities (witnessed, for example, by the presence of exotic materials) than the average domestic context in the same site/area. Furthermore, a GIS platform allows us to visualise the analytical results in a spatial framework and to contextualise them within their ancient natural and human landscapes. It also provides the opportunity to plot the distribution of different artefact types in order to sketch broad patterns of exchange. Lastly, a programme of lead isotope analysis is allowing us to assess directly the origins of raw materials and finished products.

## Results from the 2018 season

The first component of fieldwork in 2018 entailed an archaeometallurgical survey in the Kütahya province. An important result was the discovery of three mounded settlements (Saruhanlar Höyük, Tepecik Höyük and Tavşanlı Höyük) that yielded copper slags (debris from metal refinement) most likely dateable to the Early and/or Middle Bronze Ages.



Evidence for Bronze Age mining in northwestern Anatolia.



Evidence for metallurgical smelting and casting in north-western Anatolia during the Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age.

The locations of these slag-yielding sites are between 5km and 10km from known copper deposits. While more research is needed (particularly in order to explore these potential metal sources), this indicates that primary smelting of copper-rich minerals could have taken place relatively far away from the mines. This new evidence adds up to extensive traces for contemporary intra-site metallurgical workshops in the region. Several excavated Bronze Age sites in Kütahya (Seyitömer Höyük and Höyüktepe in particular) have also yielded copper ore and slags. Furthermore, all Early and Middle Bronze Age settlements within a 100km radius from known copper sources have evidence of small-scale metal manufacturing activities in the form of bellow nozzles, casting moulds and/or crucibles (see the map above). Even though large metallurgical workshops have so far not been identified, the widespread evidence of metallurgy in the region certainly hints at its importance for local economies.

Part of the survey season was also dedicated to investigation of the multi-period silver mine of Gümüşköy/Aktepe, already known through research conducted in the 1980s. At that time, the Turkish-German team was able to identify evidence of extensive exploitation of the silver-rich lead minerals (galena) during the Roman, late antique and Ottoman periods. In addition, radiocarbon samples from several narrow tunnels yielded three dates between c. 2500 and 1700 BC, dating the earliest exploitation to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. During our investigation we were hampered by the significant destruction of the archaeological levels as a consequence of recent (post-1980s) mining, and, unfortunately, we were unable to find any evidence of prehistoric occupation. We did, however, document in detail the large extraction operations (Roman to Ottoman in date) on the hills surrounding Aktepe, including numerous open-air pits

pockmarking the area for at least 3km<sup>2</sup>. Within a 5km radius from Gümüşköy/Aktepe, two roughly contemporary mounded settlements yielded numerous silver-lead slags, indicating an intensive use of the mine during the first millennium AD.

The second component of the 2018 fieldwork entailed the pXRF analysis of metal objects from Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age sites along the Büyük Menderes valley and the central Aegean coast (Denizli, Aydın and Izmir provinces). This assemblage includes 135 samples from Beycesultan, Çine-Tepecik, Yassitepe, Yeşilova, Bakla Tepe and Çeşme-Bağlararası. Together with the new dataset, we have now collected over 500 samples from 27 sites collectively spanning over two millennia.

Even though analysis of individual assemblages is ongoing, some general trends are readily detectable. Across western Anatolia, artefacts made of unalloyed or arsenical copper comprise the lion's share of the metal assemblages dateable between the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age II, and continue to be a significant (often dominant) component until the Late Bronze Age. In contrast, while the first tin bronzes start to appear in northwestern Anatolia relatively early (c. 2900–2800 BC), they remain uncommon throughout the whole Bronze Age. This pattern suggests the continuation of traditional alloying practices (with arsenic) and possibly the exploitation of local copper sources. The only exception is represented by sites with good access to major trade routes; these have considerably higher proportions of tin bronzes from at least the mid-third millennium BC.

Intriguingly, the large dataset at our disposal has allowed us to detect several rarer alloys that suggest an intensive process of experimentation particularly during the Early Bronze Age. These include copper with intentional addition of lead, nickel, antimony and/or silver. Particularly in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, we detect an increase of 'dirty' alloys, with inclusions of metals not normally found together in earlier periods (for example tin and arsenic). This possibly suggests a higher rate of metal recycling from different sources.

#### Further work

The remainder of the 2018/2019 period of research will be dedicated to laboratory-based work on metal artefacts, slags and ores. Geochemical composition analysis (ICP-MS) will be employed to confirm and strengthen the results obtained with faster, non-destructive but less accurate pXRF. Metallography on slags will allow understanding of issues related to smelting technology and its diachronic changes. Lead isotope analysis on finished metal artefacts, slags and ores will allow us to propose potential copper and silver sources for our dataset and for already published assemblages, leading to a better understanding of the broader dynamics of metal exchange.



# The ancient metallurgy of the Delice valley

Gonca Dardeniz | University of Liverpool

With Bülent Arıkan, Tayfun Yıldırım & Emin Çiftçi

The Delice valley lies in the Halys basin and was the homeland of the Hatti people, a culture absorbed into the Hittite Empire. The textual and archaeological evidence indicates well-developed metallurgy after the 16th–15th century BC under the Hittites, and, dating even earlier, a wealth of Early Bronze Age (EBA) metal artefacts has been recovered from the region (dating especially to the second half of the third millennium BC). However, our knowledge about the ores used, the locales of production and the technologies employed at the beginning of metallurgy in north-central Anatolia is far from complete. For example, neither archaeological nor geological research has been conducted to identify the ore deposits exploited during the Bronze Age or to associate particular archaeological sites in north-central Anatolia with these ores.

The scope of our project, which is sponsored by the BIAA and generously funded by the ITU Research and Science Council, is to identify possible sites of metallurgical production, to locate possible resources relevant to metallurgy and to characterise chemically the metallic resources of the Delice valley in north-central Anatolia. By examining petrographic and isotopic data from resources as well as establishing isotopic data for metal artefacts from a case site (Resuloğlu), the project aims to construct a model of the relationship between ancient societies and their environment in terms of the manipulation of local metal resources.

This research derives data from both the Delice Valley Survey Project (DVS) and the excavations at Resuloğlu. The DVS, initiated in 2016 under the direction of Bülent Arıkan with a team of archaeologists, archaeometallurgists, geologists and geomorphologists, focuses on establishing a better understanding of the use of raw materials in the region and how the Bronze Age settlement systems relate to the use natural resources, the exchange of finished goods and the long-term environmental impacts of technological production.

Systematic excavations targetting the Hatti settlements are relatively rare and thus work at Resuloğlu is significant in terms of the assessment of ancient societies in north-central Anatolia. The site has been excavated systematically for more than 15 years under the direction of Tayfun Yıldırım; it is one of just a few Hatti sites providing valuable evidence for the EBA settlements and metal assemblages of the region. Located on a hilltop in the western part of Çorum, the site dates to the late EBA II–III (c. 2500/2400–2100/2050 BC). Discovery of both the settlement and adjacent cemetery makes Resuloğlu an exceptional case-site by which to study the social, cultural and economic setting of highland communities during the latter half of the third millennium

BC. Ongoing archaeometric research on the metal assemblage has identified gold, silver, electrum and lead, along with copper and its binary (ex. arsenical copper) and ternary alloys (ex. copper-arsenic-tin alloy).

By combining data from both the DVS and the Resuloğlu excavations our project seeks answers to the following questions. Where are the ore deposits of north-central Anatolia located, particularly within the Delice valley between Sungurlu and Çorum? Were there sites for processing ores? Which ores might have been used for the manufacture of the metal assemblages recovered from the EBA settlements of the region, particularly that of Resuloğlu?

This year, our fieldwork consisted of intensive pedestrian survey between the villages of Üçoluk and Karaevliya, where a number of copper mineralisations have been investigated. The DVS area was photographed to produce high-resolution imagery. Elemental analysis of the Resuloğlu metal corpus was evaluated and 40 samples were sent to the Central Laboratory of the Middle East Technical University for lead-isotope analysis. Polished sections from each copper occurrence were prepared and petrographic studies are in progress. Similarly, XRD analyses are ongoing.

This project forms an essential component of the holistic study encompassing the DVS and the Resuloğlu excavations. We are optimistic that the results, together with those of the survey and the excavation, will have a capacity building effect on protohistoric metallurgy studies. The research area is one of the richest regions in terms of ores, and this research will enable us to build a database of the physical and chemical signatures of the metal deposits, which may then be used to trace the source of finished metal artefacts found in archaeological contexts. The results will bring much-needed momentum to research on Hatti culture and its development.



A representative sample of Resuloğlu metal artefacts.

# The East Stoa Project at Labraunda

Naomi Carless Unwin | University of Warwick  
With Jesper Blid & Baptiste Vergnaud

The sanctuary of Labraunda was located in the mountains to the north of the ancient city of Mylasa, in southwestern Anatolia. Occupation at the site dates back as far as the Bronze Age and continued into late antiquity, when Labraunda appears to have become a centre of Christian activity. The overall layout of the sanctuary, however, was not the result of gradual accretion, but was primarily due to a period of intense construction during the fourth century BC under the direction of the local Karian dynasts, the Hekatomnids.

The Hekatomnids, named after the first dynast Hekatomnos, were native to Karia and Mylasa; after the rule of Persia over Asia Minor had been confirmed by the King's Peace in 387/386 BC, they were promoted to being regional satraps. They remain best known today, as they were in antiquity, for the reign of Maussollos, who constructed his monumental mausoleum at Halikarnassos, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Their architectural legacy in southwestern Anatolia, however, was much broader, most notably at Labraunda.

*The Hekatomnids at Labraunda and the East Stoa Project*  
Under the patronage of the Hekatomnids, the sanctuary of Labraunda was completely transformed. A series of terraces was constructed on the hillside and new monumental buildings were erected on each level, including a new temple, two *andrones* (dining halls), a structure identified as the *oikoi* and a new entrance gate (*propylon*) to the sanctuary. These are all identified by dedicatory inscriptions, made by either Maussollos or his brother Idrieus, to the titular deity Zeus Labraundos. Another structure at the eastern side of the site, identified as a stoa, has long been thought to be of Hekatomnid date, though it has not been excavated.

The aim of the East Stoa Project is to identify the different chronological phases of this building and to understand its relationship with its direct architectural environment. The East Stoa itself measures 14.5m × 45m and consists of a Doric marble colonnade in front of six square rooms. It is structurally connected to an elongated building further to the west, traditionally known as the 'Palace'. This structure originally consisted of a row of four or five rectangular rooms entered from the south, in the area below the East Stoa terrace, next to the *propylon*. The East Stoa Project takes the East Complex, incorporating the stoa, the terrace and the 'Palace', as a whole.

The Hekatomnid dynasty was at the forefront of a number of architectural innovations in southwestern Anatolia, commonly called the 'Ionian Renaissance'; the East Stoa is

an important witness to such developments. The intention of the project is to take a holistic approach to this structure and the surrounding area. The stoa itself will be partially excavated and a full architectural study of the building will be undertaken in order to determine its functions and chronology; the working hypothesis is that it was used for ritual dining during festivities at the site. The project will further enable us to reconstruct more completely the nature of Hekatomnid patronage at the site, in particular the Hekatomnids' dual role both as Karian dynasts and Persian satraps. Under the Hekatomnids, the profile of Labraunda as a sanctuary rose dramatically, and it came to be the major religious centre of Karia; however, it also served as a centre of dynastic self-representation. The East Stoa is the missing piece in this picture; the project will open up this area of the sanctuary to in-depth research, integrating it into our understanding of Labraunda as a unified architectural and dynastic project.

## *The 2018 campaign*

This year's campaign focused on three different aspects: the excavation of one of the rooms of the stoa, namely Room 4; the investigation of the open court located in front of the stoa; and a renewed architectural analysis of the East Complex, which includes the strong terrace wall commanding the *propyleia* area, the so-called 'Palace'.

In its current state of preservation, the layout of the East Stoa remains visible; however, the walls have collapsed into the rooms, which impedes investigations. Efforts were directed towards the excavation of Room 4 for practical



View of the East Stoa from the north.





View of the East Stoa terrace.

reasons: its internal surface seemed to contain less blocks and their extraction could be facilitated by the presence of a sizable flat area located to the back of the room where the blocks could be stored. In total, 90 blocks were removed and numbered. Due to the time it took to remove the blocks, and the size of the room (6.3m × 6.3m), a full excavation of the room was not possible in this campaign. It was decided instead to open a small trench (2.5m × 1.4m) in its southeastern corner in order to get an idea of the stratigraphy. As the topsoil around the blocks was removed, a mixed pottery sequence was unearthed, containing glazed sherds from the Byzantine era and late Roman ware, as well as glass. This suggests that the room may have been used as a dump after the walls had collapsed. Below this level, a sandy layer was reached; this can be interpreted as a natural deposition made after the destruction of the roof but before the collapse of the stone walls. Below this, a very dense layer of roof tiles was discovered. The homogeneity of the material and its dispersion across the trench surface leaves little doubt that it is the collapse layer of the roof. Whether this is the original Hekatomnid roof or a later one remains to be ascertained. This level provided a mix of Hellenistic to Roman ceramics, indicating that the building collapsed in Roman times. The material has yet to be studied and drawn, but it clearly contains a wide range of ceramic types from fine wares (drinking cups, plate fragments) to coarse (pithoi, amphorae), as well as glass, bones and metal; three coins have also been retrieved.

No layers of material have yet been found dating back to the original occupation of the building in the fourth century BC. The roof-tile layer rests on a level which is located approximately 88cm below the threshold level, and thus below what one would expect to be the floor layer. The circumstances surrounding this stratigraphy, and the sequence of occupation in the stoa, will be explored next

year, with the full excavation of Room 4. Interestingly, however, a comparable sequence was encountered in a test trench, Trench 1, on the terrace in front of the building. This provided a sequence spanning approximately 2.3m, with a concentration of material of late Hellenistic/Roman Imperial date occurring below the stylobate of the East Stoa itself. The majority of the material appears to have been deposited as part of a fill layer. It seems that the terrace was cleared of its deposits in the first to second century AD, with fill material subsequently deposited on the natural deposit encountered at the bottom of the trench. A clean sand layer was excavated above the fill deposits, which has been interpreted as an imported bedding layer for the terrace. An extension of Trench 1 to the east determined that this sand layer hit the stylobate just below its surface, indicating that the new terrace layer was meant to permit access to the building.

#### *Future research*

The unexpected discovery of Imperial materials in both Room 4 and Trench 1 at a level significantly below that of the stoa stylobate suggests that the occupation of the East Stoa and the terrace was disrupted at some stage. Future campaigns will be focused on determining what precisely happened at the East Complex between its construction in the fourth century BC and the Roman Imperial period – also, when and why this occurred. One working hypothesis is that structural damage to the East Complex required the building to be underpinned and the terrace reworked with strengthening fill layers.

The full excavation of Room 4 will be the focus of the 2019 campaign, which will hopefully provide evidence allowing fuller comprehension of the occupation levels in the building. The focus will then turn to the terrace in subsequent seasons, again seeking to establish a full stratigraphy, both alongside the stoa and towards the western end of the terrace. The long-term aim is to reconstruct the role of the East Complex within Labraunda, considering mobility around the site, the activities that took place and any chronological differentiation.



View of the 'Palace'.

# News on the street and other research at Aphrodisias in 2018

R.R.R. Smith | Oxford University

If you want to understand the energetic culture of the Greek East under the Roman Empire and its supercharged production of grand marble monuments, Aphrodisias is one of the best places to go. The site has been excavated continuously since 1961 and offers a brilliant picture of eastern city life from the first to the sixth century. The city was part of the Roman province of Asia but had a special autonomous status until c. AD 300 when it became the capital of the new province of Caria. Recent research at the site has shown also how a changing community continued to live among the imposing remains of the Roman city through the Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

## *Fieldwork in 2018*

After the completion of major excavation in the South Agora and its pool in 2017, work in 2018 was focused on excavation in the Tetrapylon Street, on a new project in the Basilica and on the publication of the South Agora excavation. Our research team worked from 25 June to 20 August, our conservation team much longer, from 11 June to 31 September. There were 55 of us, both senior staff and students, from Turkey, the UK and the US, as well as 60 local workers employed in excavation and site conservation. Our government representative, kind and knowledgeable, was Fatih Mehmet Yıldırım from the Aydın Museum. We had important results and interesting finds.

*The street.* The Tetrapylon Street runs north-south from the Tetrapylon to the Theatre, and its excavation is designed to investigate a key urban artery, to bring new information about late antique, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman Aphrodisias, and eventually to open the street for visitors. In 2018 an impressive new stretch of street to the south of the Sebasteion was uncovered. The columns, capitals and brick arches of its colonnade were found as they fell in a dramatic earthquake collapse across the full width of the paved avenue. Several columns carried painted late antique inscriptions, praising both the Christian God and the emperor, ‘lord of the inhabited world’.

The architecture had come down directly onto the street paving, which was therefore still in use at the time. The earthquake, which brought about the same collapse in the northern part of the street, is dated there by a coin hoard closed in AD 616/617. Unusual finds from this part of the street include a marble frog, a fragment of a beautifully worked alabaster face and a complete green-glazed classical Ottoman bowl.

The architectural details of the colonnade are of considerable interest. The columns carried a fascinating set of varied Ionic capitals, each one a thoughtful late antique

(fifth-century) reception and redesign of the classic Ionic capitals that still dominated the public cityscape. The capitals carried plain impost blocks for the springing of the brick arches. The Ionic capitals with separate imposts seem to document a short, experimental period in late antique architecture, before the two components became fused in standard sixth-century impost capital designs.

Excavation directly in front of the entrance to the Sebasteion explored successive levels of the street paving and uncovered a well-built sixth-century street drain whose walls made liberal use of Roman spolia – statue parts of various scales broken up for use as building stone. The most remarkable item was part of a colossal portrait statue, probably of an emperor. Its plinth was carved with a large support in the form of an Archaic Corinthian helmet with rams’ heads carved on the cheek pieces. The idea was to represent the emperor as armed like the heroes of old.



Tetrapylon Street, view from the south.





A statue support in the form of a Corinthian helmet that was built into a drain wall.

Further north on the street, a large baulk in front of the Niche Building was removed, which led to the discovery of further incontrovertible evidence that the structure to the west of the street wall was a bath building. The evidence consisted of a well-preserved hypocaust accessed by what seems to be a *praeefurnium* punched through the street wall in late antiquity. This bath should be the evocatively named ‘First Bath for the Council of Elders’ which is mentioned in the inscribed text on the statue base in the central niche of the Niche Monument.

Conservation work on the street paving north of the Niche Monument produced a striking find from the street drain: a small, finely worked, grey-marble head of an African boy. The expressive head had separately inlaid eyes and was perhaps part of an elaborate table support.

**Agora.** The excavation of the South Agora pool was completed in 2017, and this season was devoted to conservation and to collaborative publication work. The bones, coins, pottery, small finds and carved marbles were studied and written up by a team of some 12 specialists. Surprises included the identification of a camel’s leg bone. The long series of mask-and-garland friezes from the South Agora colonnades, returned to Aphrodisias from Izmir in 2009, were displayed in a magnificent new ‘frieze wall’ constructed on the square outside the Aphrodisias Museum. It is designed to greet visitors as they enter the site.

**Basilica.** A major new project to conserve and present the façade of the Civil Basilica was begun in earnest. It faces directly onto the South Agora at its southwestern corner. Its large double half-columns and capitals were moved to our marble workshop (the Blue Depot) for repair. Extensive marble-tile floors immediately inside the building were re-exposed and conserved. And an impressive polychrome mosaic was found in the eastern aisle beneath the level of the 1970s excavation. It contained an unusual motif of a wide-staring eye in its border. The mosaic was carefully conserved.

**Further research.** Other individual research projects were also pursued this year, on the Bouleuterion, Sebasteion, Stadium and Temple of Aphrodite, as well as on the South Agora. There were other important finds to record and study, including a small inscribed altar dedicated ‘To Hadrian the Saviour’, the much-travelled emperor, and a new arcaded sarcophagus from the southeastern necropolis that combines figures of the nine Muses and five figures from the realm of Dionysos.

#### Publications

Publication remains a high priority, and new Aphrodisias monographs that came out in 2017–2018 include: N. de Chaisemartin and D. Theodorescu 2017: *Aphrodisias VIII: le Théâtre d’Aphrodisias*; E. Ögüş 2018: *Aphrodisias IX: The Columnar Sarcophagi*; J. van Voorhis 2018: *Aphrodisias X: The Sculptor’s Workshop*.

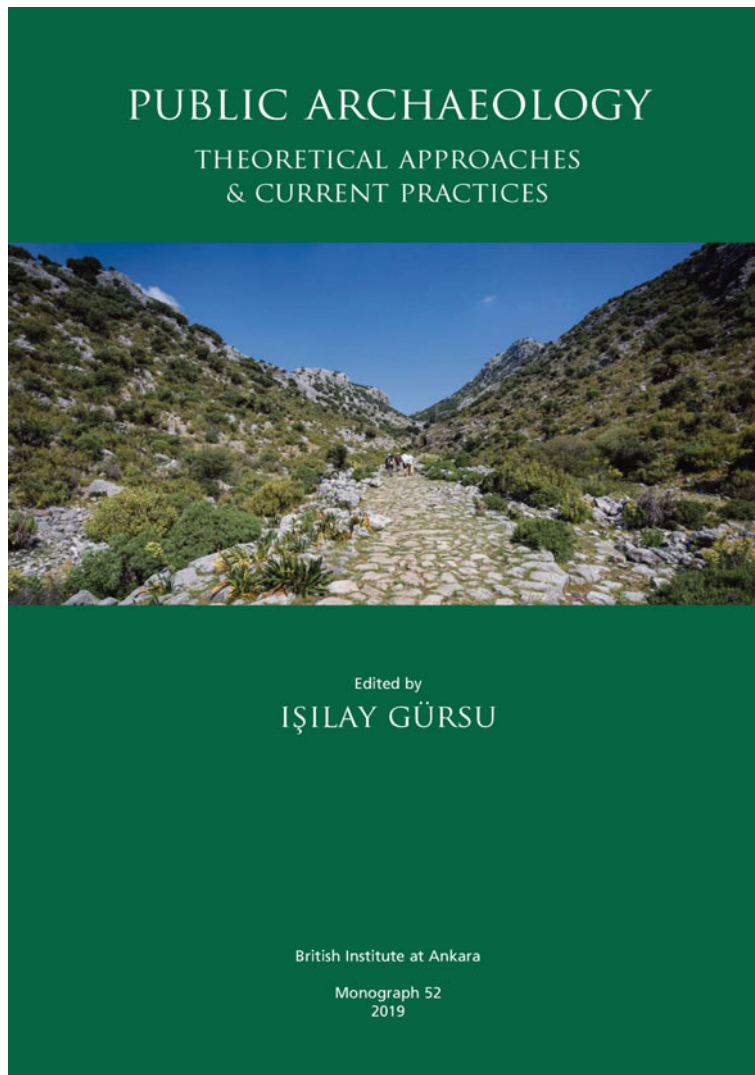
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Conservation of the marble-tile floor in the Basilica.



**Public Archaeology: Theoretical Approaches & Current Practices  
(British Institute at Ankara Monograph 52)  
Edited by Işıl Gürsu**

This volume explores the relationship between archaeology and contemporary society, especially as it concerns local communities living day-to-day alongside archaeological heritage. The contributors come from a range of disciplines and offer inspiring views emerging from the marriage of archaeology with a number of other fields, such as economics, social anthropology, ethnography, public policy, oral history and tourism studies, to form the discipline of 'public archaeology'. There is growing interest in investigating the meanings of archaeological assets and archaeological landscapes, and this volume targets these issues with case studies from Greece, Italy, Turkey and elsewhere. The book addresses both general readers and scholars with an interest in how archaeological assets affect and are affected by people's understanding of landscape and identity. It also touches upon the roles played in these interactions by public policy, international conventions, market economies and the theoretical frameworks of public archaeology.

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