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BRITISH INSTITUTE AT ANKARA

Volume 2 | 2012

BIAA | British Institute at Ankara

Understanding Turkey and the Black Sea

The British Institute at Ankara (BIAA), founded in 1948 and incorporated in the 1956 cultural agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the United Kingdom, is internationally renowned for conducting world-class research in Turkey and the Black Sea region in the fields of history, archaeology and related social sciences. As one of the British Academy's overseas Institutes, the BIAA facilitates the work of UK academics working in Turkey, and promotes collaborations with scholars based in Turkey and the Black Sea region. It has offices in Ankara and London, and a dedicated staff of experts from diverse disciplinary backgrounds.

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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 a global and neighbourhood perspective. The BIAA supports a number of projects grouped within its Strategic Research Initiatives, which reflect current research concerns in the international and the UK academic communities. These are: Climate and its historical and current impact; Migration, minorities and regional identities; Religion and politics in historical perspective; Habitat and settlement in prehistoric, historical and environmental perspective; Cultural heritage, society and economy in Turkey. The Institute also offers a range of grants, scholarships and fellowships to support undergraduate to post-doctoral research.

Subscription to the Institute costs £40 per annum (£20 for students and those who are unwaged). Members are entitled to copies of the Institute's annual journal, *Anatolian Studies*, and of its annual publication which reports on current research, *Heritage Turkey*, a discount on other Institute publications, notification of conferences and lectures, and access to the Institute's library, research collections, accommodation and other services in Ankara.

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*The front and back covers feature photos from 20 years of research and exploration at Kerkenes Dağ (front cover photo courtesy of Marc Herzog; back cover photos courtesy of the Kerkenes Archive).*

# HERITAGE TURKEY

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BIAA | British Institute at Ankara

Understanding Turkey and the Black Sea

Dr Lutgarde Vandeput
Director, British Institute at Ankara

September 2012

Dear members,

Having just returned from my 2012 fieldwork season, I find myself collecting my thoughts and thinking over the past year.

Several successful events took place here in Ankara as well as in London. The mini-symposium organised by the Institute in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute and the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations was very well received. This took place at the museum in early April and marked the launch of *Inscriptions of Roman Ancyra* 1 by David French and Stephen Mitchell. Another highlight was the workshop entitled On the Cusp: States that Straddle Neighbouring Regions: an Inter-Area Comparative Study of 'Cusp States', held in collaboration with Oxford University and the Middle East Technical University (Ankara). This took place in March and was largely organised by the Institute's Assistant Director Marc Herzog. The workshop was made possible by an award from the incentivisation programme of the British Academy. In collaboration with the British School at Athens, Marc applied for and was granted three years of funding from another British Academy programme (strategic development) for the Balkan Futures project. Working also with the École française d'Athènes, Balkan Futures is an international network which supports original research by a new generation of scholars in the field of Balkan regional studies. Since his arrival in September 2011, Marc has invested much energy in increasing the dialogue between the foreign institutes in Ankara. One of the results of this superb effort is the birth of FIT (Foreign Institutes in Turkey), a platform for joint activities. The opening event was co-organised by the Institute and the Dutch Institute for Higher Education in Ankara.

Unlike the news on our contemporary Turkey activities, that on the archaeological activities of the Institute is not all positive, unfortunately. New rules from the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism have made life difficult for archaeologists wishing to work in Turkey. For various reasons, three British excavations did not take place this summer, namely Amorium, Kerkenes and Domuztepe. This year has seen the last year of fieldwork in the current phase of research at Kilise Tepe and also of the Pisidia Survey Project. As you will read in this edition of *Heritage Turkey*, these and several other archaeological projects completed very successful campaigns in 2012.

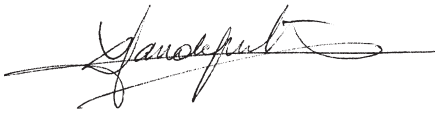
Big news on the archaeological front is certainly that Çatalhöyük has been added to the UNESCO World Heritage List. All of us at the Institute would like to offer warm congratulations to Ian Hodder and his team for this achievement. Sadly, Çatalhöyük's first excavator, Jimmy Mellaart, passed away this summer. It was a sad day for the Institute and a great loss for the wider archaeological community. We hope that the UNESCO recognition of Çatalhöyük will have given him great satisfaction and joy.

As for life at the Institute itself, the premises have been buzzing with activity all year. In addition to the presence of our Fellow, Magda Craciun, and Research Scholar, Ben Irvine, Riley Snyder has joined us to work on the digitisation of the archives and Abby Robinson has been with us to manage the online publications programme. Since September, the number of long-term stayers in Ankara has increased further, and we have been joined by our two Fellows for 2012/2013. Emma Baysal is exploring the role of boundaries in the exchange of ideas in Anatolia from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age and Leonidas Karakatsanis' project is entitled 'Turkish-Greek friendship reiterated: genealogies of rapprochement at the Aegean borders'. Furthermore, the Balkan Futures Fellow, Özge Dilaver Kalkan, is dividing her time between Athens and Ankara.

Last, but not least, in January, the Headley Trust/Hedef Alliance Fellow, Işılay Gürsu, will join us to start work on the Institute's cultural heritage management project. Indeed, the Institute has greatly increased its engagement with cultural heritage management issues this past year. This has become an area of focus in Turkey, and the Institute wishes to contribute, drawing on the extensive expertise in the UK.

This letter has shown already that a lot has happened in the past 12 months, and I hope you will enjoy reading more about these activities in the following pages!

Best wishes from Ankara,



**New laboratory equipment courtesy of a legacy gift**

Alan Greaves | University of Liverpool

Robin Guthrie, who recently passed away at the age of 71, had a life-long commitment to charity work. In his career he held important posts in the charity sector, including such senior positions as Director of the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust and Chief Charity Commissioner for England and Wales. He had a strong personal commitment to voluntary projects and to arts, educational and social causes. An obituary of Mr Guthrie in the *Yorkshire Post* said of him that he was 'inspired by adventure and driven by an overwhelming passion to help and support others'.

Mr Guthrie was also a member of the British Institute at Ankara and he very generously remembered the Institute in his Will. His unexpected gift of £1,000 gave the Institute a rare opportunity to upgrade its facilities and invest in new equipment. A gift of this kind is especially useful to a charitable organisation like ours at a time when sources of government funding and private sponsorship are increasingly difficult to find. Following consultation with the staff, it was agreed that the best way to benefit the Institute in the long-term would be to use Mr Guthrie's very generous gift to acquire new scientific conservation equipment for our laboratory.

The Institute's laboratory in Ankara houses extensive scientific reference collections and has the scientific equipment necessary to support a wide range of environmental research. There are four major collections in the laboratory: the seed collection has 2,792 samples; the herbarium collection has 2,568 specimens of plants; the wood collection has 80 specimens from modern Turkish trees and shrubs; and the bone collection has 102 skeletons (complete and partial) of mammals and birds. Microscopes, measuring devices, scales, geological sieves, computers and other equipment are available for researchers who use the collections for environmental studies. Research is further supported by a large section in the library of the Institute being devoted to environmental studies, including reference books and atlases as well as reports, conference proceedings, doctoral theses and other publications covering work undertaken in Turkey and across large parts of the Middle East, the Black Sea region and the Balkans.

The archaeobotanical collections are of particular value to archaeologists and environmental scientists who are researching Turkey's ecology and agricultural history over time. Unfortunately, it is not just humans that find seeds good to eat! An infestation of weevils recently attacked the seed collection, and, without the means to preserve it, the collection would eventually have been lost. Thankfully, Mr Guthrie's legacy meant that we were able to buy the essential conservation equipment needed to save the collection – a dedicated deep-freeze system.

Systematically freezing the samples to very low temperatures and holding them there for a long period of time before returning them to room temperature kills off any insects that they may be harbouring. This halts the damage being caused by the weevils. It also means that our scientific collections can be safely expanded in the future, because, once they have been treated by freezing, new samples can be added to the existing collection without fear of introducing new infestations. This deep-freeze system can also be used to conserve other archaeological materials and ethnographic collections, such as textiles and carpets, to prevent decay and deterioration.

Turkey is home to many unique species of plants and was one of the cradles of early agriculture, so preserving and improving our research collections is fundamental to the work of the Institute's Strategic Research Initiatives that seek to understand early human settlement in Turkey and the region's changing environment. Ceren Kabukcu, a doctoral student at the University of Liverpool, is researching vegetation ecology and the origins of agriculture in Neolithic central Anatolia. She comments: 'I have used the BIAA botanical collection for the identification of seed macro-remains and found this resource to be extremely useful. The collection is well organised, has an extensive coverage of Near Eastern *taxa* and provides one of the best tools for identifying charred plant material from archaeological sites, and it has been an essential part of my research'.

Halime Kalaycıoğlu cleaning and reorganising the seed collection containers

The seed collection storage system

With this valuable new addition to the laboratory, the future of the Institute's plant collection is secure and it will continue to be an invaluable asset to students and scholars engaged in research of Turkey's archaeology and changing environment. We are very grateful to Mr Guthrie and his family for their support of our work. Gifts such as that left by Mr Guthrie make a real difference to the work of the Institute in furthering research and conservation of Turkey's heritage and environment.

To leave a legacy to the Institute in a new Will, or by amending an existing Will, the wording below may be useful to you/your solicitor; residuary gifts are particularly appreciated:

> *I give [X]% of the residue of my estate to the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) Reg. Charity No. 313940, of 10 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AH.*

Is important to ensure your intentions are recorded accurately, and it is always advisable to consult a solicitor over precise wording, whether making a new Will or adding a Codicil to an existing Will.

**Research collections**

**If you would like to know more about the Institute's research collections, you can search both the scientific and library collections online at:**

**http://www.biaatr.org/org/index.php**

**Online publications**

Abby Robinson | British Institute at Ankara

We are pleased to announce the launch this year of the Institute's online publications series. Like the existing monograph series, which it complements, the new series focuses on substantial works, while articles will continue to be published in the Institute's journal, *Anatolian Studies*. Authors have now been invited to propose volumes for the series. Selection will be based in part on how well the work fits the online format; for example, there may be advantages related to navigating text and images, or interesting ways of linking to databases, multimedia libraries or other electronic resources. As with all Institute publications, submissions will be subject to peer review.

Volumes in the online series are freely available via the Institute's website (biaa.ac.uk), where they are offered as downloadable PDF files. At present there is no cost to the user. The inaugural online publication is David French's *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* (*RRMAM*). The first fascicle, *Republican Milestones* (*RRMAM* 3.1), was published in April 2012 and the second, *Imperial: Galatia* (*RRMAM* 3.2.1), appeared in September 2012. The third fascicle, *Imperial: Cappadocia* (*RRMAM* 3.2.2), will be published in the last quarter of 2012 and four additional fascicles will follow in due course, on Pontus et Bithynia, Asia, Lycia et Pamphylia and Cilicia, Isauria et Lycaonia.

*Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor* features hundreds of photographs, maps and drawings alongside David French's expert commentary. It is an excellent example of a publication which is ideally suited to – as well as made viable by – the online series. The product of decades of work by David French, the size alone would make it prohibitively expensive to publish in book form. Furthermore, the electronic format enables the user to move around the vast amount of content quickly and intuitively, and to access it from any location. The online publications project has made it possible to provide specialists and the general public alike with easy access to this exceptional resource.

There are some further developments planned on the production side of the project. We hope in the future to employ more sophisticated desktop-publishing software; this is partly with the aim of better integrating the layout of the online publications with the style of the Institute's monograph series and *Anatolian Studies*. The possibility of developing versions of the texts for portable devices, such as tablet computers, will be explored. A strategy is also being formulated for more actively publicising and promoting the series to readers and authors.

We look forward to hearing from writers with proposals for volumes that they believe could employ the new online format creatively. As part of the process of developing and expanding the Institute's's newest publication series, we also welcome comments or suggestions from users about their experience of accessing the volumes online.

## CLIMATE AND ITS HISTORICAL & CURRENT IMPACT

With environmental issues becoming an increasingly acute concern for countries worldwide, Turkey is a country of prime interest in the field of climate studies. Due to its location, it presents an area ripe 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 Institute research programme 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.

**Quantitative vegetation modelling in southwest Turkey**

Warren J. Eastwood | University of Birmingham
With Çetin Şenkul, Ralph Fyfe, Anneley McMillan, Andy Moss

Grove and Rackham in their 2003 book *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe* assert that '... plants are not just the environment, part of the scenery of the theatre of historical ecology, the passive recipients of whatever destiny mankind's whims inflict upon them. They are actors in the play' (45). Their statement reaffirms the importance of the study of vegetation and vegetation change in any discourse on human-environment interactions and why it is crucial to investigate the effects of human activities on vegetation and *vice versa*. Research into vegetation change strives to elucidate the drivers and triggers of vegetation changes as part of a wider discourse on landscape studies. Clearly, these drivers and triggers may have natural causes – for example changes in climate affecting and impacting upon vegetation distributions – or be human-induced – for example clearance of woodland for crop growing and pastoral activities. More often than not, explanations of vegetation and landscape change include combinations of both natural and human-induced triggers.

Pre-historical changes in vegetation can be reconstructed using a range of archaeobotanical and palaeoecological techniques, but one of the most useful is pollen analysis. Analytical pollen data from waterlogged deposits (for example lake/marsh sediments) allow the reconstruction of vegetation histories across a range of spatial and temporal scales. However, accurate interpretation of pollen data is dependent upon detailed knowledge and understanding of modern vegetation assemblages and how these are represented in the modern pollen rain; this is essentially a calibration exercise that can be achieved chiefly through two techniques: the analysis of moss cushions and pollen trapping apparatus.

Extracting pollen from cushions of moss growing on rocks and boulders is relatively quick and 'easy' to undertake; most pollen sequences in Turkey have been interpreted using modern pollen from moss cushions. However, ascertaining the actual age of the moss cushion is very difficult (due to inherent growth rates and environmental/local micrometeorological conditions), so moss samples provide only an 'average' of the pollen rain for an unspecified number of years. Other limitations include the fact that there may be differential deterioration and hence preservation of some pollen grains due to the predominantly aerobic environment of the moss cushion.

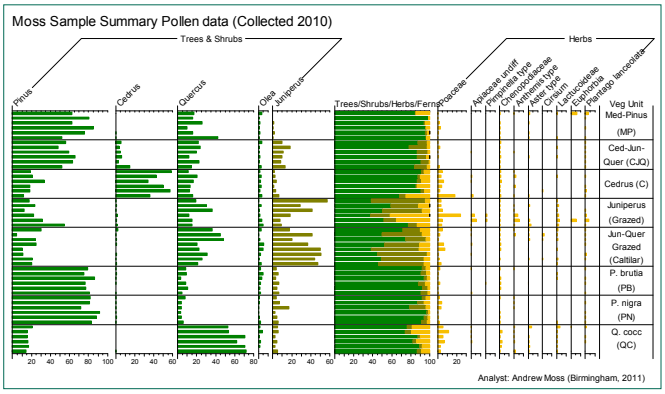
The other principal method for calibrating pollen sequences involves the analysis of pollen 'trapped' or captured over one calendar year using a container complete with a pollen-absorbent medium that is buried in the ground. The addition of glycerol effectively 'captures' the pollen grains and limits evaporation. Of the two types of pollen-trapping apparatus available, we opted for the Tauber pollen trap. Adoption of this trap ensures that our resultant pollen data can be compared on a like-by-like basis more widely with continental European pollen deposition rates via the European Pollen Monitoring Programme (http://www.pollentrapping.net/pmp.html).

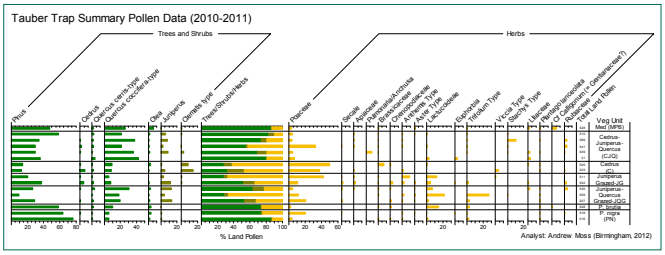
The study of modern pollen-vegetation relationships is crucial for greater accuracy of reconstructed vegetation sequences. However, very little systematic research has been undertaken in Turkey. Apart from Vermoere et al.'s (2000) Sagalassos study, we are aware of only one other modern pollen-vegetation study; namely, Efe et al.'s (2010) project in the Istıranca and Belgrade Forests of Thrace/Trakya. Thus, our project aims to address the paucity of systematic modern pollen-vegetation research in southwest Turkey and our data will be used to transform published pollen-count data from sedimentary basins (lakes and marshes) into quantified vegetation cover.

Our project commenced in 2010 with a reconnaissance and pilot study which included the collection of moss samples and the deployment of Tauber traps in the various vegetation units or belts that lie on an arc-shaped transect from the coastal town of Finike inland to near Afyon. Collected moss samples were subsequently processed and counted and the Tauber traps were recovered during the summer 2011 field season. Although recovery for 2010–2011 was disappointing (33%), at least one trap survived from each vegetation unit.

Generally, moss pollen data are well delineated for each vegetation unit. For example, the data for the *Cedrus* (cedar) vegetation unit shows that cedar pollen is only deposited at high percentage values at sites where it is locally abundant (i.e., it is not far travelled). However, the Tauber trap pollen data appear to suggest that cedar is under-represented even within its own vegetation unit. Likewise, both moss and Tauber trap data suggest that *Juniperus* (juniper) tends to be under-represented where it does not grow locally. *Olea* (olive) is expressed at low percentage values in the moss samples from nearly all vegetation units; Tauber trap data however, show very low percentage values for all units apart from the Mediterranean *Pinus brutia* unit (MPB) which is where olive grows locally. *Pinus* (pine), as expected, finds expression in all vegetation units due to its tripartite nature (produced abundantly, well dispersed, good preservation) and attains percentage values of ~80% where it is locally abundant. *Quercus* (oak), both evergreen and deciduous, is well expressed where it grows locally and finds expression in the other vegetation units, presumably where it grows as a shrub. The Tauber trap pollen data also show that herbs tend to be well represented in the modern pollen rain, particularly in more open woodland habitats that are heavily grazed; this may be an artefact of the Tauber trap design as its burial in the ground means that it is closer to the source of herbaceous pollen. Similarly, Tauber traps tend to have an over representation of entomophilous- or insect-pollinated plants because they act as pitfall traps for insect fauna.

Following the low recovery rates for 2010–2011, some Tauber traps were relocated to more inaccessible locations; additionally we attempted to conceal and 'camouflage' the traps better and attached mesh to minimise faunal input. To date, these actions appear to have been particularly successful; for 2011–2012 we achieved recovery rates of 80%. Future work will include the recovery and redeployment of traps over a timeframe that allows us to examine issues of inter-annual variability. We will also deploy new traps in newly reconnoitred vegetation units, along woodland-to-open habitat transects and in areas that are currently sustaining higher levels of human impact. A primary aim will be to undertake vegetation surveys around each Tauber trap and moss sample in order to establish translation relationships between modern pollen and vegetation and link these quantitatively to produce pollen productivity estimates (PPEs), which are a measure of the relative pollen




productivity of different plant species. PPEs will then be compared with modern pollen data collected from surface sediment samples from lakes and reservoirs located in our study area using models that are able to convert pollen data to regional vegetation. The modelled vegetation will then be compared with actual vegetation cover and, once these model comparisons are validated, it will be possible to transform fossil pollen data from sequences in the wider region to generate absolute or quantitative vegetation cover through time for comparison with archaeological and historical data on landscape change.

In conclusion, the study of quantitative pollen-vegetation relationships together with the implementation of novel suites of models can help to improve our knowledge and understanding of vegetation distributions and dynamics. This is central to important archaeological and palaeoecological debates and will also allow us to engage with many of today's key research questions, such as the potential impact of climate change on vegetation and anthropogenic activity, and the impact of anthropogenic activity on vegetation species distribution, as well as longer-term views, for example an examination of the *longue dureé* of human-environment interactions within this region.

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**Coupling Holocene climate variability and cultural shifts in Cappadocia, central Turkey**

Samantha Lee Allcock | Plymouth University

This PhD project work, partially sponsored by the British Institute at Ankara, aims to develop new ideas relating to the complex interactions between changes in climate/environment and human culture during the last 10,000 years in central Anatolia. The former can be identified through sedimentary and geochemical analysis of sediment core material extracted from lakes, while the latter can be identified by documenting occupational histories for central Anatolia, primarily from systematic archaeological site surveys. Archaeological material can record effectively the success or failure of people during times of cooler, warmer, wetter or drier climatic conditions. A key focus of the project is to detail periods of stability and instability of past lifestyles as documented by changing settlement histories and to compare these shifts against variability in regional climate. By understanding the longer-term dynamics of the two, research will bring to light new ways of understanding people's exposure to climate systems and their ability to react to such changes. The lake sediment record can also provide a history of human impact upon the landscape, via deforestation and soil erosion.

Nar Gölü in Cappadocia, central Turkey, was cored under the general direction of Professor Neil Roberts (Plymouth University) in 2010, as part of a multi-collaborative project to investigate Holocene climatic and environmental change. A successful coring season resulted in 21.6m of sediments, most of them annually laminated (or varved), dating back into the Late Glacial (~16 kyrs BP) (see Roberts 2010; 2011). This continuous and highly resolved lake record provided material which is ideal for comparison with archaeological studies over *longue-durée* timescales. Varved deposits recovered at Nar lake present a way of correlating climate and culture with a higher temporal control than is usually achievable. In light of this and previous successful analyses of Nar lake material to investigate the links between climate, people and environmental change (for example Eastwood et al. 2009; England et al. 2008), my PhD project work was developed to study long-term patterns of cultural change in the context of dynamic interactions with the environment and changing climatic conditions of the Holocene.

To document spatial and temporal variability in settlement histories, a study grant provided by the Institute in 2011 was used to support desk and archival research of primary and secondary archaeological sources. Work centred on the Institute's library resources to document settlement numbers and sizes for broad archaeological time periods, mainly for the three key provinces (Aksaray, Nevşehir and Niğde) of modern Cappadocia. These data have been collated alongside settlement patterns gathered primarily by the Institute's Research Scholar, Michele Massa, to provide a synthesised picture of occupation for central Anatolia. Over 900 archaeological sites have so far been included, of which the majority date to the Early Bronze Age (5000–4000 BP) and Iron Age (3200–2330 BP). A significant proportion of sites is datable to the ceramic Neolithic (9000–8000 BP) and Hellenistic/Roman times (2330–1605 BP). Whilst there are clear biases associated with the record, linked to investigator specialities and site visibility, for at least parts of the Early Bronze Age and Iron Age, there are clear indications of more extensive human occupation.

Comparing preliminary analyses conducted on the Nar lake material to the spatial and temporal changes in past occupational activity has begun to highlight some interesting results. The growth of Neolithic populations in the area and the development of 'mining factories' on nearby Nenezi Dağ for obsidian abstraction coincide with periods of increased landscape instability as witnessed by geochemical variations in the lake sediment profile. Similarly, at times of greatest instability in the lake sediment record, we see an increase in Phrygian, Persian, Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine rule, suggesting an increase in human landscape disturbance during these periods. Interestingly, when archaeological survey data suggest less intensive occupation of Cappadocia, more stable environmental conditions are indicated around the lake. The question remains therefore whether more intensive resource gathering during Neolithic times had an adverse effect on landscape stabilisation or whether geochemical changes at this time were caused by a period of explosive volcanic activity in the region. From a climate perspective, parts of the Bronze Age, in particular, are documented as having experienced some of the driest climatic conditions of the Holocene, with low lake levels indicated at Nar. This period of climatic down-turn coincides with the growth of complex societies and extensive trade networks in the area, and large-scale settlement complexes like those seen at Acem Höyük and Alaca Höyük. In summary, it seems that the Nar lake geochemical record, coupled with archaeological survey data, details notable changes in both natural (for example climatic) and human-induced processes, with the balance between them changing over time.

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**The Anatolian archaeobotany (ANAR) research network**

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Müge Ergun | University of Istanbul

In Farsi, ANAR means 'pomegranate' and it is found in a similar form in Turkish (*nar*). In folk traditions, mythologies and religious texts across the region and beyond the pomegranate ('seeded apple' is the meaning of its Latin binomial *Punica granatum*) is a symbol of abundance, bountifulness, prosperity and ambition. Given the astonishing richness of Turkey's cultural heritage and the ever increasing number of excavated archaeological sites sampled for plant remains, it is difficult to imagine a better term for describing the Anatolian archaeobotany research network. Our aim and ambition is for the same to prove true for the potential that this new network holds for the future development of archaeobotanical science in Turkey.

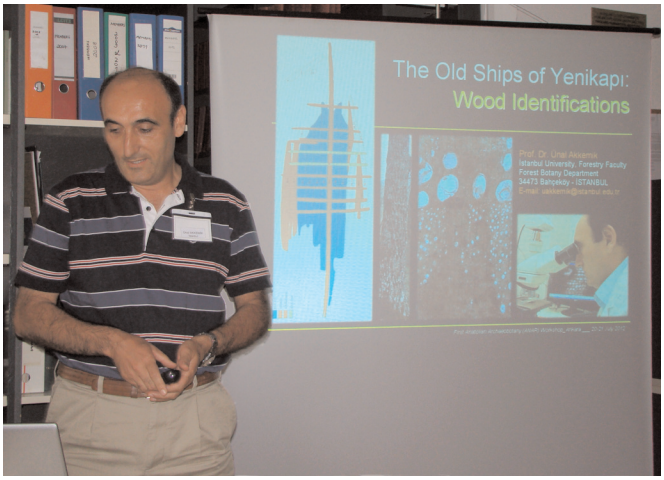
The idea for ANAR originated in a rather modest intention to create a small, informal network of specialists working in Turkey where we could share new results and ideas, and find solutions to unresolved questions and analytical challenges. In recent years there has been an amazing expansion of the categories of plant remains sought by archaeobotanists in order to understand past plant uses and people-plant interactions: the study of macro-remains such as seeds (usually the remains of plant foods and condiments but also of fuel and the preparation of secondary products such as olive oil and wine), wood and charcoal (the remains of wooden artefacts, timber and fuel use) has been increasingly complemented by that of micro-residues invisible to the human eye without the aid of high-power microscopy: phytoliths (plant silica skeletons) that may be preserved in archaeological sediments and pollen grains deposited in lake and marsh sediments that can provide unique information on local and regional vegetation histories and climate change. Integrating these diverse categories of botanical evidence and examining them against other categories of archaeological evidence (human remains, zooarchaeology, stable isotope analysis, material culture and architecture) has thus become an increasingly complex task, requiring high levels of cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary communication.

However we also realised very quickly that it was worth trying to develop something ambitious in its scope and aims, yet still informal in its lack of hierarchical structures and user-friendly nature: that is, to create an open network, accessible to all scholars, researchers and students regardless of specialism and academic status. The only condition for membership should be to have an active interest in the study of ancient plant remains from all periods of Turkish archaeology, and in the history and palaeoecology of the Anatolian landscapes. This general principle guides and focuses our work in the ANAR network. In initiating the network we also move beyond it to embrace a set of specific aims that we feel are directly relevant to the present as well as the future of archaeobotanical sciences in Turkey, and their relevance to its cultural life and prosperity and the preservation of its ecological heritage.

First, to communicate within the ANAR network as well as nationally and internationally the latest results of current archaeobotanical research in Turkey, and their scientific and cultural importance. Second, to raise the profile of archaeobotanical sciences in Turkish archaeology and contribute to improvements in fieldwork and laboratory practices, including sampling and analytical techniques. Third, to foster closer links between Turkish and foreign colleagues leading to the development of mutual research collaborations and knowledge exchange networks. These networks should enable and facilitate the training of Turkish and foreign postgraduate researchers in seed archaeobotany, wood and charcoal analysis, phytolith and pollen analysis, and related disciplines, both in Turkey and abroad.

The first workshop of the ANAR network was generously sponsored by the British Institute at Ankara and held at the Institute's premises on the 20–21 July 2012. Workshop activities included 15 presentations on recent research undertaken on ancient charred plant remains, phytoliths and pollen analysis across Turkey including Epipalaeolithic and aceramic Neolithic sites in central and southwest Anatolia, Neolithic sites such as Aşıklı höyük and Çatalhöyük, the recently excavated site of Körtik Tepe (Epipalaeolithic/aceramic Neolithic) and the Assyrian city of Ziyaret Tepe in southeast Anatolia, the Hittite levels of the multi-period site of Kaman-Kalehöyük in central Anatolia and the Byzantine port of Yenikapı in Istanbul. Presentations were accompanied by thematic discussions involving 30 archaeobotanists, palaeobotanists and other archaeologists from Turkey and abroad. Every effort will be made to produce a bilingual English-Turkish publication of the proceedings of the first workshop. We also agreed that meetings will be held biennially.

The workshop concluded with agreement for the need to offer continuing support to Turkish archaeobotanists, thus increasing public awareness of the enormously diverse ecological heritage of Turkey and its direct relevance to the economic, social and cultural life of the country.




Professor Ünal Akkemik of Istanbul University presenting on the Yenikapı shipwrecks

## MIGRATION, MINORITIES & REGIONAL IDENTITIES

Turkey and the Black Sea region are located between different geographical regions such as the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe. Their location perforce constitutes them as a physical bridge and has traditionally pitted them at the crossroads between different historical forces and empires. This was as much a feature in prehistoric and historic times as in the contemporary era, when trans-boundary migration remains an important domestic and international concern. The interplay between these diverse historical forces and migratory patterns has been a significant factor in shaping the region's domestic and social make-up over time. It has played an important role in forming cultural identities whether at individual, regional, national or supranational 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 interests across different academic disciplines that pertain to the themes of migration across time in Turkey and the Black Sea coastal region.

As part of its focus on contemporary aspects of Turkey, over the past couple of years the Institute has been involved in two significant and exciting research initiatives which promise to generate new knowledge and insights regarding Turkey's emergence as an increasingly significant regional and international member of the international community. On the Cusp: States that Straddle is concerned with the field of international relations and the role of countries that cannot be placed easily into one regional category or another. Balkan Futures concerns itself with the development and contemporary history of the Balkan region, with a particular emphasis on Turkey and Greece.

**Balkan Futures**

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

The Institute has become centrally involved in a new long-term project over the past year: the Balkan Futures research programme. This is a very ambitious endeavour, funded by the British Academy, which is being jointly run with the British School at Athens (BSA) with the collaboration of the École française d'Athènes (EfA) as a key partner institution. The London School of Economics is also affiliated to the programme.

Balkan Futures aims to foster new research in the area of Balkan regional studies and examine inter-regional development and cooperation in southeastern Europe during a period of crisis rather than consolidation within the European Union (EU). Through assessment of the processes and trajectories of regional interaction and development over the past 10–20 years, the project aims to define potential areas for future policy-making and research. A particular focus will be Balkan perceptions of the region, examining how the region has changed since the collapse of communism. The increasing relevance of the EU *vis-à-vis* the development of internal state structures and institutions will be assessed, as will inter-state relations and the management of trans-boundary issues. In the current atmosphere of political and economic crisis within the EU, it is also of interest to look at constructions of identity and self-image, given the rise of nationalism and the political right in many states in the region.

The project also encompasses a more specific focus on Greece and Turkey within the context of the Balkans, examining their roles and aspirations in the region, and their bilateral relations which historically have played a major part in shaping Balkan political identities. Due to the Ottoman legacy, Turkey is historically tied to the Balkan region. The collapse of the Ottoman empire at the end of World War I and the reluctance of the early Turkish Republic to involve itself actively in its neighbouring regions dampened this connection. This development was furthered by World War II and the onset of the Cold War, during which Turkey became a staunch NATO member. Thus the country was excluded from the region until the dropping of the iron curtain in 1989. Since then, the level of Turkish involvement in the region at political, economic and socio-cultural levels has risen steadily and Turkey has emerged as a major regional actor.

At the same time, Turkey and the Ottoman legacy have also been present in debates on Balkan identities and nation-building narratives among many of the countries in south-eastern Europe in which it figures as the main historical 'other'. Until the debt crisis and resulting tension with key EU member states, Greece, the oldest EU member (and the earliest independent nation-state) in southeastern Europe, aspired to increase its political and economic influence in the region. The crisis has altered the balance of power, and its impact on Greek society, politics and economic concerns will be examined in terms of Greece's regional and supra-regional attachments in the Balkans, keeping in mind potential future scenarios such as an exit from the Euro zone or a debt default. How it will seek to position itself as the crisis unfolds will be a matter of great interest and will impact on debates concerning the development and international orientation of the region.

A primary objective of the Balkan Futures programme is to foster new research and to support a new generation of scholars who focus on this field. As part of this aim, a three-year post-doctoral research fellowship has been established and awarded to Özge Dilaver Kalkan. She will conduct her research on the evolution and particular nature of trade links between the regional economic hubs of Thessaloniki and Istanbul. In that sense, the project hopes to create a wide-ranging and interactive network among the academic community that can support researchers and facilitate wide-spread dissemination of the research findings of the three-year project. In order to encourage and create these links, the programme will organise three separate multi-day workshops. The first, to be held in Ankara in spring 2013, will concentrate on the contemporary role of Turkey within the region. This part of the programme will also attempt to link to the notion of the cusp state, by looking at Turkey as major regional actor which is simultaneously also seen as an outsider by many in the Balkans. The other two workshops will be held in Athens, at the BSA and EfA, and will look more generally at the Balkan region as well as Greece's contemporary links to it.

On the Cusp workshop 2012, Ankara

**On the Cusp: States that Straddle**

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

On the Cusp is a research project in the field of international relations led by Philip Robins of Oxford University and funded by a major grant from the British Academy. It also involves other institutions such as the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, the Netherlands Higher Education Council in Ankara (NIHA) and the Ca' Foscari University of Venice. On the Cusp is partly based on a research article that Dr Robins wrote in 2006 ('The 2005 Brismes Lecture. A double gravity state: Turkish foreign policy reconsidered' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 33.2: 199–211) which dealt with the conventional characterisation of Turkey being located between major regions of international politics and how this affected Turkish foreign policy. A state that is geopolitically clearly part of a region may be expected to assume the behaviour that is dominant among its neighbours, both functionally and normatively. The European Union and the Middle East offer good examples of groups of states with unified behaviour. In Turkey's case, its particular geographical placement has led it to adopt approaches that mix regional norms and political cultures. Philip Robins argues that this need not just be seen as detrimental for the conduct of an effective foreign policy. Instead, 'the double gravity of Turkey's normative geography' may have provided the country's foreign policy with skills and resources that have served it well in its emergence as an influential multi-regional actor. This article constitutes the initial source for the later development of the On the Cusp research project.

Extending the focus of this initial work, the project seeks to examine country cases in the international system, such as Turkey, which cannot easily be assigned to one region or another and are therefore treated as 'outsiders' or 'deviants' in the literature of international relations. In addition to looking at how Turkey's foreign policy is influenced by its condition of being part of several regions simultaneously, the research project also seeks to open up new dimensions of understanding in the scholarship of international relations regarding countries in a similar position to Turkey. This project therefore presents an exciting opportunity to contribute new theoretical insights at a broad level to international relations scholarship.

A first major workshop was held at METU in Ankara in March 2012. The opening event was chaired by Sir David Logan, the Chairman of the Institute, and featured presentations by Şafak Göktürk, the head of policy planning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yaşar Yakış, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, as well as David Gardner, the international affairs editor of *The Financial Times*. The three-day workshop brought together a highly diverse group of international scholars to discuss approaches to and ideas on the concept of the cusp state in international relations. Apart from Turkey, other cases included Brazil, Iran, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Taiwan and Ukraine. A second workshop will be held in October at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice.

**Rural settlements in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia**

Dweezil Vandekerckhove | Cardiff University

This report marks the completion of one phase of my PhD research in Cilicia, southeast Turkey, which fills an important lacunae in the archaeology of this area. My PhD thesis, which is partly funded by the British Institute at Ankara and the Arts and Humanities Research Council, traces the origins and development of Armenian fortifications and their relationship to rural settlements within the wider context of rural and urban landscape development in the eastern Mediterranean region.

The migration of the Armenian people into Cilicia in the late 11th century AD dramatically transformed the rural settlement pattern. At that time, several Armenian princes agreed with the Byzantine emperor to leave their homelands to the north and accept imperial military appointments in Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Cilicia. Following the defeat of the emperor, Romanos Diogenes, at Manzikert by the Seljuk Turks in 1071, however, the Byzantines gradually lost control of these territories, allowing the Armenians to establish more or less independent chieftaincies. This culminated in 1198 in the establishment of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which lasted until the Mamluk conquest in 1375. A dearth of historical sources makes it difficult to establish a definite framework for the political history of this period.

Despite the abundance of archaeological remains, little work has focused on the Armenian fortifications and rural settlements. In his 1987 book, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington DC), Robert Edwards argues that the organisation of the Armenians in Cilicia represented the triumph of a non-urban strategy. Rather than directly contesting Edwards' hypothesis, my aim is to investigate first the spatial distribution of Armenian rural settlements, secondly their relationship with nearby fortifications and ecclesiastical institutions, and thirdly the influence of topography on their location.

In the spring of 2012 I visited several archaeological sites, Armenian fortifications and the remains of Crusader era rural settlements that date from the late 12th to the early 14th century. The spatial distribution of these rural sites suggests a pattern of settlement which insures a degree of security between the exposed village and the adjacent fortification. The symbiotic relationship between these two entities will be a main focus point in my thesis. From ancient times and especially in the middle Byzantine period rural garrisons were encouraged to take families and to farm allotted lands. The medieval villages or *burgi*, adjacent to the castle, were carefully adapted to the topography but survive however in a very fragmentary state. The photographs and descriptions of the archaeological remains at Andıl, Babaoğlan and Fındıkpınar support my hypothesis. They are all unfortified communities either immediately adjacent to the fortress outcrop or within a distance of no more than 1km.

**Marking time: Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul**

Souad Osseiran | University of London

How do Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul mark time, and do these practices become modes of *making* time? Through their socialising, labour and, ultimately, their movement Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul transform their wait – they make time. Time here is taken as socially constituted through interaction and engagement rather than an assumed measure of change. Through an ethnography of the experiences of Syrian nationals present in Istanbul, I will explore how Syrian migrants/refugees render their presence in transit socially significant. The research focuses on individuals and families who have fled Syria as a result of the current uprising and travelled to Istanbul rather than Hatay province in southern Turkey as well as Syrian nationals living in Istanbul prior to the revolution in Syria. Turkey's position in the Middle East is unique as a European Union (EU) candidate country and as a frontier to the EU space. In 2009, visa rule changes gave Syrian nationals unprecedented access to enter Turkey, ultimately reconstituting EU space and how it is accessed. In exploring the daily lives, imagined futures and legal status of Syrian migrants/refugees in Istanbul, the city's role as a transit space will be examined. Istanbul, rather than the border regions, is the research site as a migratory node into and through which various mobilities occur.

This research project investigates how Syrian migrants/refugees transform their waiting and go from measuring their time in Istanbul to making time. In 'waiting' in Istanbul, some migrants/refugees direct their energy towards reaching Europe while others concentrate on aiding the revolution against Assad's regime in Syria. Simultaneously, some Syrian nationals have been living in Istanbul prior to the uprising in Syria. The research focuses on those Syrian migrants/refugees who came to Istanbul before the start of the revolution due their political activities in Syria or to seek economic opportunities. The aim is to explore these various migratory experiences, their modes of intersection, how the revolution and migration from Syria have altered imagined futures, and the ways in which presence in Istanbul is rendered meaningful.

To answer the proposed research questions, I have started a 12-month period of fieldwork in Istanbul. I am currently undertaking participant observation with Syrian migrants/refugees living in the city. This involves engaging with Syrian migrants/refugees from different backgrounds, religions and regions. I am documenting Syrian migrants/refugees' (both individuals and families) diverse uses and organisation of time, their 'waiting' practices and economic incorporation while in Istanbul, as well as examining Syrian migrants/refugees' discourses of their presence in Istanbul and imagined futures in Turkey, Europe or Syria. This ethnography of Syrian migrants/refugees' practices of 'waiting' investigates how *marking* time is transformed into purposeful projects of *making* time while in Istanbul.

## RELIGION & POLITICS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This Strategic Research Initiative concentrates on the interaction between religion and politics that has always served as a crucial determinant in the evolution of state and society in Turkey and the Black Sea region across time. Political ways of mobilising for, maintaining and contesting leadership and authority have often been expressed and transmitted through the use of religion. This theme has at times also been merged with discussions on tradition and modernity as well as change and continuity regarding the development of state and society. In the Turkish context, this has not just influenced the evolution of the domestic environment and political systems but has also had an impact on its international standing and behaviour. Likewise, the balance between church, state and society has also accompanied processes of state formation and nation building for other countries around the Black Sea, including during the Soviet and post-Soviet period.

**Understanding British/Ottoman relations at the twilight of the Ottoman empire, 1880–1922**

Christopher Catherwood | University of Cambridge
Warren Dockter | University of Exeter

Diplomatic relations between the Ottoman empire and the various European powers during the latter phases of the 19th century and early 20th century have been described as 'symbiotic'. This is especially true for British-Ottoman relations during that period. From the British courting the Ottoman empire as an ally against their traditional foe the Russian empire in the 'great game', to the occupation of Egypt in the 1880s and after, the British empire had complex and, at times, contradictory relations with the Ottoman empire. Given the importance of the role the Middle East plays in the current geo-political environment, and Britain's imperial legacy in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, understanding British diplomatic relations with the Ottoman empire is paramount in understanding the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the creation of the modern Middle East. Focusing on British-Ottoman relations from Gladstone's second government (1880–1885), at the height of Victorian Britain, through the First World War to the ultimate collapse of the Ottoman empire and birth of modern Turkey in 1922, this research project seeks to create a better and more nuanced understanding of British-Ottoman relations.

The project covers specific events in British-Ottoman relations and the major personalities who helped shape British policy concerning the Ottoman empire during this period. While there has been some research on British-Ottoman diplomacy in this period, such as Joseph Heller's *British Policy Towards the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914* (1983), typically such works only explore British-Ottoman relations in terms of political strategy and war aims, often ignoring the Ottoman perspective. However, our research will go beyond this by considering (and often comparing) the cultural aspects of diplomacy from the British and the Ottoman perspectives to illustrate the social and cultural forces at work inside British-Ottoman diplomacy.

This approach has several benefits which set it apart from existing previous work on the topic because it will allow us to focus on specific cultural themes which affected British-Ottoman relations. For instance, a major theme throughout the research project will be an evaluation of the extent to which British-Ottoman relations where prejudiced by orientalism and the British fear of pan-Islamism and political Islam. From the Ottoman perspective, this approach will allow us to explore the mounting fears of nationalism, anxiety regarding Ottoman international standing in Europe, the stress of balancing traditional and modern cultural influences, and increasing fear of Russian expansionism.

By exploring such themes, our research aims to answer key questions surrounding British-Ottoman diplomacy. It will address the role Britain played in the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the creation of modern Turkey and the modern Middle East, and consider whether British-Ottoman relations were doomed because of the expanse of British imperial interests in Cyprus, Egypt and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In addition, the research aims to demonstrate how these forces affected major historical individuals such as Enver Bey Paşa, Winston Churchill, Lloyd George, Atatürk and others. Another outcome of the research will be to raise awareness of the Ottoman empire's role as a governing force in the Middle East and how, after its collapse, the Middle East became increasing complex and chaotic.

This research project, which is generously sponsored by the British Institute at Ankara, brings together a host of academic scholars with expertise in British diplomatic history, Ottoman diplomatic history and Middle Eastern history. Making extensive use of the Ottoman archives in Ankara, our aim is to fund each of the scholars associated with the project to travel to Turkey and undertake research regarding their particular aspect of the research programme. Moreover, our findings will be published as a co-edited collection with I.B. Tauris, which has already contracted the project, and we plan to produce a further journal article. These publications will help raise the profile of British-Ottoman diplomatic relations, as well as the Ottoman archive and the British Institute at Ankara, while facilitating the creation of an international research network. To that end, the final phase of the research project anticipates an international conference which will help foster closer links between Turkey and Britain, and lead to academic collaboration and knowledge exchange on an international stage.

Though in its nascent stage, the research project has already signed on leading academics such as Professor Chris Wrigley (Nottingham), Dr Peter Caterall (Westminster), Professor John Young (Nottingham), Dr Neil Fleming (Worcester), Dr John Fisher (Western England), Dr Gaynor Johnson (Salford) and Dr Andrew Holt (Nottingham).

Our initial meetings with our scholars and publishers have lead us to the conclusion that this research programme will make a valuable contribution to the literature surrounding British-Ottoman relations, and diplomatic history as a whole, while also helping to develop a greater understanding of the creation of the modern Middle East.

"Who says 'Sick Man' now?"

Sir John Tenniel, *Punch* 1897

**The social rootedness of Turkey's Islamist party spectrum**

Marc Herzog | British Institute at Ankara

Turkey has had a tradition of multi-party democracy going back almost 65 years since the government introduced elections after World War II. However, due to the central prominence of the state in Turkey's political tradition, the country's party system remained weakly established within society. This was compounded by frequent military interventions in political life, in particular the three coups of 1960, 1970 and 1980, which time and time again reshuffled the cards of the party system. This brief article is based on broader research which is trying to map out the social rootedness and presence of Turkey's party system since the 1980 military coup. Social rootedness as a concept examines the extent to which political parties manage to penetrate society and establish themselves as acknowledged organisations. The particular focus of this article will look at the social rootedness of Turkey's Islamist party spectrum since the 1980 military coup.

Political party systems reflect the interactive totality of all parties that exist within a particular body politic. Therefore, the shape of the party system is an important determinant in the relationship between society and the state. Giovanni Sartori described it as 'the traffic rules that plug the society into the state' (1976: 41). Studies classifying party systems have traditionally focused on characteristics like the ideological space separating parties within the left/right spectrum or the number of parties within a system. A newer approach developed by Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully concentrates on the degree of institutional strength that party systems possess. Institutionalisation in this sense means that there is a certain amount of stability in party competition and that the rules governing the electoral process have been internalised. Weakly institutionalised party systems in which parties disappear from one election to the next and have very weak social connections to their electorates are held to obstruct further democratic development, especially in developing countries.

The degree of parties' rootedness in society shows how strongly they exist in the political imagination of the public. In Western Europe, mass parties like those of the Christian democrats or social democrats established close social and cultural bonds between themselves and their specific constituencies. They created grassroots structures, like youth groups, trade unions and recreational organisations, in order to address the different socio-economic needs of their main constituent groups. This helped to anchor the public to the party system and to the broader political process. It also gave parties a veritable social existence within their constituencies. However, when traditions of socially-rooted parties do not exist, voters feel more indifferent towards political life in general and parties find it more difficult to fulfill their function as the tools of popular representation that allow society to participate and engage in a country's political life.

The genealogy of Turkish democracy and its party system finds its roots in the priorities and imperatives of the state's structures rather than deriving from a mixture of social and political pressures as was the more typical precedent in Western Europe. The highly state-centric nature of the Turkish polity and the weakness of civil societal actors meant that parties did not make any efforts to forge strong links within their constituencies. Rather than substantive ties, the politics of patronage and clientelism governed relations between mainstream parties, on the one hand, and voters, on the other.

The Islamist party movement is the one segment of Turkish politics that seems to succeed remarkably well at creating grassroots links with its constituencies. Party political Islam emerged in 1970 with the founding of the National Order Party (MNP). Although different parties existed up to 2001, they were effectively the same party only with different names, since military coups or constitutional decisions periodically closed them down. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Islamist party movement under the Welfare Party (RP) began to focus intensely on establishing a grassroots presence in the main constituencies it targeted. The party's religious orientation mixed with a discourse of social injustice and anti-systemic populism provided a basis that allowed it to connect well with constituencies of a working class or lower-middle class social background. The RP was also involved as an organisational umbrella in running social service programmes, hospitals and its own media, and had close ties with religious charities and social organisations.

*Genealogy of Turkey's Islamist party spectrum*

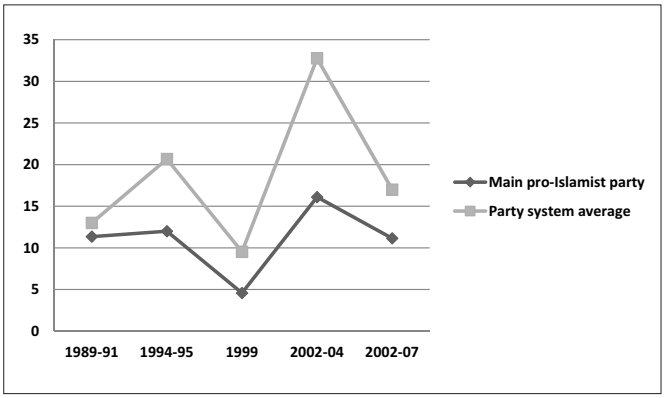
| | |
|---|---|
| National Order Party (MNP) | 1970–1971* |
| National Salvation Party (MSP) | 1972–1980* |
| Welfare Party (RP) | 1983–1997* |
| Virtue Party (FP) | 1997–2001* |
| Justice and Development Party (AKP) | 2001– |
| Felicity Party (SP) | 2001– |
| People's Voice Party (HAS) | 2011– |

* dissolved

The RP systematically used door-to-door canvassing methods during political campaigns, district by district, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, thus building up a reservoir of social capital through repeated face-to-face contacts and providing vital social services in poor areas (Eligür 2010: 36). It created very well-organised networks of partisan support that were constantly maintained and were of invaluable service during elections. Additionally, support networks at a local level were divided into different groups, such as youth or women's organisations, which also proved to be particularly effective tools in building up local networks of partisan support. Most other parties in Turkey were unable to replicate these campaigning efforts at the same level. Simultaneously however, since the founding of the MNP in 1970, the Islamist party spectrum traditionally had its strongest voter basis in central Anatolia where its ideological orientation blended easily into the rural mores of religious, conservative piety.

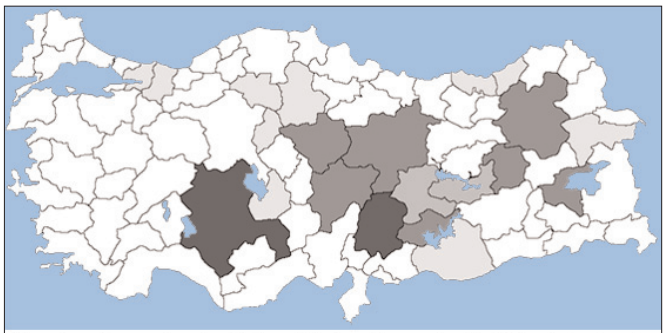
Although the Muslim Democrat Justice and Development Party (AKP) was founded in 2001 by a dissident faction of the main Islamist party movement, it inherited a lot of the grassroots structures established in the 1980s and 1990s. This factor has been of invaluable assistance in the AKP's drive to become a party of nationwide coverage, but questions remain as to whether the rootedness of Turkey's Islamist party spectrum has contributed towards the overall party system becoming more institutionalised and, if so, whether this has been a positive factor in driving democratic consolidation of the country's political system and culture. It is these general questions within which this research frames itself. As part of this, a series of statistical investigations and comparisons of electoral data were undertaken in order to identify the rootedness of the Islamist party spectrum in contrast to the rest of the party system and to map out from where it derives most of its electoral support.

In their research, Mainwaring and Scully (1995) employ several methods to examine the social rootedness of party systems. Firstly, they examine the age of political parties, stating that the higher the average age, the more likely it is that parties have managed to ground themselves sufficiently to become acknowledged in everyday society. However, in the Turkish context, this measurement is problematic due to the number of times that parties have been closed down during military interventions. A second method that relies on comparative examinations of electoral data was more suitable for this investigation. Mainwaring and Scully argue that where parties are strongly rooted in their constituencies and people vote on the basis of party labels, the difference in vote-share between national and local elections is less pronounced (1995: 9). To examine this, data from individual national and local elections were paired up and compared, by looking at each party's vote-share. This comparison encompassed all freely-held elections after the 1980 military coup. As seen in the graph below, when




Relative electoral difference (%) of the main Islamist party in each electoral pairing compared to the party system average

all provincial results are averaged, the main pro-Islamist party in each election did indeed seem to show far less difference in comparison to the average of all parties. Similar results also emerge at regional levels. A second means of examining the rootedness of Islamist parties aimed to map out the areas in which they where particularly successful and had continuously obtained their best electoral results. This was done by counting those provinces that repeatedly appeared in the best 20 results at each national election. As seen in the map below, the best results tended to be concentrated in central and eastern Anatolia, especially in provinces like Konya and Kahramanmaraş.



Overview of the provinces in which pro-Islamic parties received the highest vote-share in the seven national elections from 1987 to 2011. The different shadings indicate in how many elections they figured in the top 20 provinces. All other provinces are unshaded.

Seven elections | Six elections | Five elections | Four elections

A first evaluation of these preliminary statistical findings would indicate that the Islamist party spectrum is by far more socially rooted in Turkey than any other ideological political grouping, giving it a crucial advantage over its electoral competitors. However, it will be far easier to arrive at more definite results after the next local elections which will be in 2014. Furthermore, the implications of such an inbalance in social rootedness between the Islamist party spectrum and the rest of the party system also needs to be examined at this point in terms of the implications for further democratic consolidation. Have other parties felt compelled to create genuine links with their electorates in order to compete meaningfully? It must also be seen whether this inbalance may indeed facilitate a long-term shift towards a party system dominated by one party actor like the AKP, which would be detrimental towards Turkey's further democratisation. If this were to be the case, this process would contribute towards entrenching one particular party at the expense of the party system and the wider democratic political process.

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**The Church of the East and the construction of identity**


N. Kaitlyn Pieper | School of Oriental and African Studies


The Assyrian Church of the East, an international church with modern communities ranging from the US to Iraq, Australia to Russia, traces its origin back to Mesopotamia and the early Persian Church. Known commonly as the Syrian Church, or Nestorian Church following the fifth century schism, a portion of its members eventually settled in the southeasternmost corner of what is now Turkey. Here, the Syrians, or Chaldeans as they were often called, functioned within the boundaries of the Ottoman empire as an ethno-religious community, part of which was known as the Nestorian millet and part of which was self-governed. The major forces that helped shape their modern identity began in the early 19th century and continued for about a century. My research hopes to flesh out our understanding of the forces that contributed to the trajectory of this ethno-religious community, and particularly to the development and construction of its identity.

'Western' influence has often been cited as being majorly influential for the course the Church took, with American and European travellers (primarily missionaries and archaeologists) establishing a presence there as early as the 1830s and 1840s. And, indeed, much research has demonstrated how the interactions of East and West left their mark. Western publications presenting theories concerning the national heritage of the members of this community would later become very influential, as the community itself selected and gradually adopted an identity during the nationalist movements in the early 1900s. Among the heritages suggested by the English-language Western writers were the Lost Tribes of Israel, ancient Assyrians and ancient Chaldeans. Due to British and American dissemination and usage, the term 'Assyrian' rose in prominence and popularity, and was eventually the appellation selected by the community itself, and subsequently justified linguistically and academically. Since then, attempts have been made to show the continuity of the Assyrian race, and a number of ancient Assyrian motifs have been introduced into the modern Church's culture and identity projection.

My research looks at the role that other traditions played in the historical and cultural trajectory of the Church of the East, and explores, specifically, the extent to which the Russian Orthodox Church may have been influential in the process of identity construction. The Russian empire had interests in the region and the Church from the early 19th century. In 1898 a mass conversion of Eastern Christians to the Russian Orthodox Church took place and a Russian mission was sent to the Ottoman empire. This point of interaction between cultures, religions and empires remains an under-developed field of study; few of the primary documents have been explored. Perhaps an in-depth look at this aspect of Russian/Assyrian interactions will shed light on the history of a multi-faceted Church, in addition to furthering understanding of the way that identity formation occurred within the Ottoman empire.

## HABITAT & SETTLEMENT

Anatolia has one of the best-defined long-term records of settlement during the Holocene and its study is central to a range of questions from changing relationships with the environment, to the formation of large-scale settlements and the changing of 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 people's attempts to live in as well as adapt to and change conditions set by the environment throughout time as well as the effect of human beings on their natural environment and landscape. Research focused on assessing long-term change has recently been supported at the sites marked on the map below, as detailed in the following reports.

**The Boncuklu Project: the spread of farming and the antecedents of Çatalhöyük**

Douglas Baird | University of Liverpool
With Ofer Bar-Yosef, Adnan Baysal and Andrew Fairbairn

Arguments have raged about the mechanisms by which the earliest farming spread around the world. Some researchers suggest colonising farmers transported farming practices along with domestic plants and animals, others that indigenous foragers adopted farming through exchange and communication networks. More recently, researchers have suggested a mixture of these processes. Central Anatolia may well be one of the earliest instances in the spread of farming from the Near East into Europe, and we are investigating this issue at the site of Boncuklu in the Konya plain, about 40km southeast of the modern city of Konya. Part of the problem with many of the debates about the spread of farming is that there are few sites where we are able to observe directly evidence for the early adoption or development of farming, and a focus on the mechanisms of spread may have distracted from understanding the significance of the adoption of farming for those caught up in the process. At Boncuklu we have previously demonstrated the adoption of farming by indigenous central Anatolian foragers (Baird et al. 2012), so the on-going project provides the opportunity to understand what this uptake of farming meant for such foragers, in terms of their household organisation and practices, engagements with the landscape, ritual and symbolism. This last is especially intriguing given that Boncuklu is located just 9.5km north of the famous World Heritage site of Çatalhöyük and appears to be a direct predecessor of Çatalhöyük.

In the flowing sections, we review the principal discoveries of 2012 in relation to key issues of investigation at the site of Boncuklu.

**Settlement organisation**

In the central and southern parts of the site we excavated two trenches, Areas M and P, to see whether possible domestic residences were to be found all over the site and how densely packed households might have been. In addition, we wanted to understand whether different areas of the site were used in different ways and whether there were non-residential structures.

In Area P we confirmed that there were structures on the southern edge of the site by revealing two buildings, one at least with features of domestic residential structures. Building 13 was a small oval structure, one of the smallest detected, but it nevertheless showed features typical of other buildings we interpret as domestic dwellings, with relatively high-quality plaster floor surfaces in the southeastern area of the building and ashy areas relating to food preparation in the northwestern 'kitchen' area. To the north of this and slightly later was a building constructed on several occasions. The latest phase of this has a gently curving or straight southern wall. Further work may reveal a building of different shape and size to the classic oval residential structures that typify Boncuklu.

In Area M we excavated elements of structures and buildings which probably had lightly constructed superstructures, and floors and features that suggest they were distinct from the more standardised, probable residential structures in the north and south sides of the site. For significant periods of time, open spaces characterised this central area of the site, spaces in which midden deposits accumulated. Thus a picture is emerging of a site with quite modest densities of dwellings and thus probably quite a small community overall: c. 100–200 inhabitants. The residential structures were probably grouped together in small clusters around the peripheries of the settlement, with more central areas of the site given over to distinct activities carried out both in the open, where midden deposits were dumped, and also in distinctive sorts of structures whose use contrasted with the structures to the north and south.

**Use of space within structures**

We excavated 11 structures in whole or part during the 2012 season. The accumulating evidence bears out earlier observations that shared expectations and practices shaped the use of much residential architecture. There were also interesting new elements to this and some idiosyncratic practices reflecting household developments during the occupation of particular structures.

Previously we have noted standardised arrangements in what are presumably residential structures – sunken northwestern or western 'kitchen' areas have a hearth and evidence for food preparation. Such a pattern is apparent in most structures, but with some interesting variations. Thus in Building 14, excavated this year in Area H, in the northern part of the site, there was a small hearth in the western part of the building from its earliest phase, set in floors sloping to the west, equivalent to other sunken kitchen areas in other buildings. However, this was joined by a much bigger hearth a little later in the life of the structure and a more marked northwestern sunken area was cut out of underlying deposit to the northwest of the hearth. Both hearths appear to have continued in use during the life of the building. The scale of cooking activity appears thus to have increased through time in the house, perhaps as the household was augmented as adults joined it, hinted at also by the burial repertoire (see below). Interestingly this building, 14, was replaced by Building 12, which also ended up with two hearths in its western area, at least at the end of its life.

We continued excavation of Building 6, our best preserved building. This showed significant differences between the northwestern hearth area and the southeastern cleaner floors. Notable were several lines of small post-/stake-holes parallel with the long axis of, and close to, the hearth. These arrangements seem plausibly related to food preparation, perhaps installations for roasting and racks for smoking foods. Some, for example a line of 14 stakeholes a little further away from the hearth than other groups, may represent partitions to separate off activities. Some of these lines of stakes clearly existed for a period of time, probably several years, since the floors were plastered up to them several times.

The Building 12, 14 and 6 evidence indicates that, whilst broad patterns of activity structured the use of space to a significant degree, there were still distinctive household-specific variations to these practices, particularly in those areas related to food preparation within domestic residences.

Next to the entrance of Building 6, a small sub-oval structure was set against the southeast corner of the building. In previous seasons, storage arrangements have been far from clear at Boncuklu, whether within or outside structures. We have assumed some baskets were used within buildings and possibly clay bins externally. The modest size of this structure (Building 15), length c. 1m, and lack of internal fixtures, suggests this may have been a storage structure, a large bin in effect, linked to Building 6. It is interesting that so far this is the only such structure we have observed and that it is connected to a residential building. It seems likely that not all co-resident households may have used such facilities. A further notable feature of this structure was the presence within it of an element of the skull of a large animal, deliberately installed in the wall. This echoes the bucrania of Building 4 and it is intriguing that rituals connected with the residence are also applied to apparently distinct storage entities, further singling this structure out as a highly significant element of this household's arrangements.

Structures in various phases of Area M show notable contrasts with the more standard residential buildings described above. These Area M structures are characterised by silty floors, a dense array of frequently repositioned features, including small hearths, fire pits, plaster basins, pits and reed floor surfacing, and evidence of much burning. Associated with these structures was at least one plastered channel, presumably for channelling liquids, again pointing to distinctive activities in this area. Even though the floors of these structures are distinct

from those of the residential structures found in other areas, it seems likely that these structures were roofed in some fashion for the floors to have survived. In one case, some sort of brick walls or mud roof had burnt and collapsed onto burnt floor material. The burnt material on the floors suggests a wood and reed floor surfacing, perhaps required due to the silty character of the floors. The latest structure in Area M had a flimsy mud-brick boundary wall with bricks set on edge. Thus these seem to be roofed structures with thin brick or organic walls, possibly wood and reed roofs, distinctive floor surfaces, often covered with reeds, and an array of processing activities, perhaps involving both fire and liquids. This raises interesting questions about who used, or possibly even may have resided in, these structures, given their contrast to surrounding, relatively standardised and more obviously residential buildings.

**Mortuary practices**

For Building 14, we have now been able to document the people associated with this house in death (study by J. Pearson, Liverpool). Unusually, a burial was located under the northwest sunken area of the structure, but this grave was cut before the first floor and quite likely predates the building. The first burial unequivocally associated with the building was cut from the very first floor of the building and was of an adult female and neonate buried simultaneously. This burial was followed several floors later by that of a small child. This was in turn followed by the burial of a c. 10-year-old child, followed towards the end of the life of the building by an adult male and female. One small burial related to the building remains unexcavated. The mortuary history of the house consisted of the burial of one adult male, two adult females, two very young children and one older child, with probably another child burial as yet unexcavated. The building continued to be occupied after the death of the adult male and female. If these people lived in Building 14 during its life, already a substantial assumption, this hints at a household composition of one to two adult males and females and some children, perhaps with some people marrying in on the deaths of other adults and/or as some children in the house reached the age for forming partnerships.

Interestingly, the burials of this single household showed much variability in body orientation and head position, and there was little in the way of significant grave goods deployed by this household. In contrast, as further evidence this year revealed, there may be inter-household variability in some aspects of mortuary practice. We excavated the upper part of Grave 16 cut down from Building 4 in previous seasons, but this year we were surprised to discover that there was an earlier burial in the grave. The participants apparently arranged the second burial with reference to the first. The lower burial was an older male. He showed interesting pathologies on head and sternum related to injury and/or disease. The male was buried with red ochre next to his skull, a bone point on his chest, a large obsidian core and blades near his legs. He had been placed on his back, legs akimbo and then covered with soil. The second burial, an adult female, was laid face down, over the soil covering the man's body, with her head next to and facing his. She was buried with an obsidian scraper and pig scapula. These bodies were carefully arranged with respect to each other, presumably in a fashion symbolic of their relationship. Additionally, it is intriguing that they were both accompanied by grave goods, including some of the largest obsidian tools and raw material we have found. It seems, therefore, that there was some variability of mortuary practice relating to households, with grave goods more appropriate in some houses than others.

**Plants and animals**

Studies have continued on the question of the appearance of farming in central Anatolia and the nature and consequences of its adoption by indigenous foragers, as previously established at Boncuklu. Domestic cereals and legumes, studied by A. Fairbairn, remain a regular albeit not abundant feature of the Neolithic deposits. This evidence, along with isotope work by J. Pearson, suggests that the initial adoption of agriculture may not necessarily have radically transformed people's diets. Rather, the restricted distribution of storage facilities, and ritual and symbolic practices connected with them, may suggest other importance for agricultural adoption. Ongoing studies also suggest the assembly of a classic Anatolian early crop package can be fruitfully explored at Boncuklu.

Studies of animal bones by L. Martin (UCL) and C. Middleton (Liverpool) and isotopes by J. Pearson continue to indicate the importance of two principal hunted species, as major contributors to the diet: aurochs and boar. This season the presence of other animals has been documented, notably bear, whose bones and possibly pelts seem to have been subject to distinctive treatments. This is especially interesting given the importance of the bear in the symbolism of later Çatalhöyük, where it is represented by the famous splayed figures on walls and in other figurative art at the site. Fish remains are also frequent at Boncuklu and may have had some importance in human diets. Their symbolic role too may be indicated by a possible fish depiction on one of the decorated stones that so typify the site.

**Acknowledgements**

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**Çatalhöyük is added to UNESCO World Heritage List**

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

On 1 July 2012 the 21-member World Heritage Committee of UNESCO voted in St Petersburg to place Çatalhöyük on the World Heritage List. This was a major achievement resulting from years of work by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism at all levels from the Minister (Ertuğrul Günay) and Director-General (Murat Suslu) down to the Konya Museum (Yusuf Benli) and local officials. The impact of the inscription rather dominated our excavation season. In particular, we had a major press day when the Minister and local dignitaries visited and toured the site and there was a considerable amount of press coverage.

Çatalhöyük is the only Neolithic tell site on the UNESCO List in the whole of the Middle East, and indeed there are few Neolithic or early prehistoric sites on the List worldwide. The site was placed on the List because it was deemed to have outstanding universal value in that it provides a unique example of the way of life in early agricultural settlements and of the organisation and changes that took place in those villages. The authenticity, integrity and management of the site were also considered of high quality.

The Minister of Culture and Tourism visits Çatalhöyük after the UNESCO inscription. All photos Jason Quinlan

Çatalhöyük is indeed an important and distinctive Neolithic site with good preservation. It is located near Çumra, Konya, in central Turkey. The East Mound was inhabited between 7400 BC and 6000 BC by up to 8,000 people who lived in a large Neolithic 'town'. There were no streets and people moved around on the roof tops and entered their houses through holes in the roofs. Inside their houses people made wonderful art – paintings, reliefs and sculptures – which have survived across the millennia. The art was first excavated in the 1960s. New work at the site started in 1993 and is planned to continue to 2018, under the auspices of the British Institute at Ankara and with permission from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The 1960s excavations were undertaken by James Mellaart and it was with great sadness that the project heard of his death in London this summer. On an evening in July the team gathered together at the top of the East Mound, remembered Jimmy and held a minute of silence. He made the site famous and we have increasingly understood what a good field archaeologist he was. His 1960s ideas and interpretations about the site have withstood the test of time and of our renewed analyses for the most part. He had visited the new work over the years with his wife Arlette, and he and his kindness to the new project will be sorely missed.

One hundred and sixty people came to Çatalhöyük this summer from Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Canada, Serbia, Australia, Poland, Italy – in fact 23 different countries. All came to join Turkish colleagues working at the site. The new excavations use modern scientific techniques to reconstruct the ways that people lived at Çatalhöyük. The aim is to place the art of Çatalhöyük into its full environmental, economic and social context. In the current phase of the project we are attempting to understand the overall social geography of the site, how it was organised ritually, socially and economically. In particular we are trying to work out how the organisation of the site developed in the earliest levels.

In order to pursue this latter aim we focused in 2012 on excavating buildings in the lower levels in the South Area, so that ultimately we can get to the base of the mound in a larger area than was achieved in 1999. We got to the underlying clay marls then, but in the lowest levels we found only refuse or midden areas. Now we are hoping to find out what the earliest houses looked like, especially since Doug Baird has found oval houses at the nearby earlier site of Boncuklu (see pages 16–18).

So in the South Area we have been excavating a series of buildings, such as Buildings 43, 89, 96 and 97. These have proved very interesting in their own right. In Building 89 a new plastered skull was found. This is only the second example found at the site and emphasises again that human skulls were kept, passed down generations and sometimes plastered. The skull was associated with the abandonment

Excavation beneath the south shelter at Çatalhöyük

and closure of the building, which in this case was unusual for other reasons also. The house was in the process of being renovated. A western room had been dismantled and earth collected in a pile in order to rebuild it. But, in the midst of this renovation project, the work was abandoned and the house was closed and filled in so that another house (Building 76) could be constructed on top. We had always thought that houses were rebuilt when they reached the end of their 'use-lives'. But clearly that was not always the case.

In the North Area our main achievement was to gain a fuller plan of all the buildings beneath the shelter. Ultimately we hope that the UNESCO heritage site will provide an opportunity for visitors to see how a 9,000-year-old town was organised. In previous years we had excavated individual buildings in the north part of the shelter, but in 2012 we made good progress on filling in the gaps between them. The plan now shows a certain amount of ordering along a linear north–south axis, suggesting a degree of community control of or collaboration in the layout.

In order to start excavating these buildings in the North Area we had to excavate a good number of historic (Byzantine) and later Neolithic burials, the latter probably from houses that have been eroded off the top of the mound over the last 8,000 years. Two clusters of Neolithic burials were discovered. One of these produced two beautifully made and complete obsidian mirrors. Although other examples are known from the 1960s excavations, we had only found fragments in our excavations since 1993. The mirrors are made by exhaustively polishing the obsidian surface with progressively finer abrasives. The end result is a surface that you can still see a face in. While the mirrors may have been used for the application of facial cosmetics, it is also possible they were used in divination or had some other function.

Once these later burials had been removed, we were able to start excavating the new buildings that were discovered beneath the north shelter. Some of these were of particular interest. Space 87 is a very small and unusually shaped building that was initially excavated as part of the BACH project in the 1990s and early 2000s, when a large number of burials was found. In 2012 we started excavating the fill in the remainder of the building. We found large amounts of disarticulated animal bones – and one very intriguing human body. We nearly always find human bodies in crouched positions in graves beneath the floors of houses. In this case the body was sprawled out within the fill of the building – as if in mid stride! All the smallest bones were in good articulation suggesting that the body had been thrown in with flesh on. But at some later date the head was removed. Again we have evidence of the special attention paid to human heads at Çatalhöyük.

Of course, it is inadequate to reconstruct the organisation of Çatalhöyük from the two excavation areas between the south and north shelters. In 2012 we also started a new excavation area termed TPC just to the east of the south shelter. And we continue to have teams working on the later West Mound. We also had two teams – one from Italy and the other from Southampton – conducting geophysical survey over large swathes of the East Mound. Although we had done similar work in the 1990s, the techniques have developed since then to such a degree that it seemed worthwhile to conduct a new survey to see if there was any aspect of spatial organisation that we had missed in the earlier work. In fact, what we were able to see using ground-penetrating radar has only fortified our view that the mound consists only of closely-packed houses and areas of midden. There is, however, evidence of linear divisions such as that running to the north of the mound.

An obsidian mirror found in a burial in the North Area

Another very important part of our work, related to the UNESCO inscription, is the conservation and presentation of Çatalhöyük to a wide audience and the engagement of different stakeholder communities in its care. We have a number of teams working on this aspect of the project, for example dealing with conservation, site presentation and the use of multimedia and 3D visualisation (see page 35). We trust that this work will ultimately provide a heritage site worthy of its new UNESCO designation.

**Acknowledgements**

An international team now based in the University of London (UK) and Stanford University (USA) has undertaken archaeological research at Çatalhöyük since 1993, with a permit granted by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and under the auspices of the British Institute at Ankara. We are especially grateful to the General-Director of Monuments and Museums.

The main sponsors of the project are Yapı Kredi and Boeing. Other sponsors are Shell, Hedef Alliance, Konya Şeker and Konya Çimento. Funding for the project in 2012 has also been received from the National Geographic Society, the British Institute at Ankara, Templeton Foundation, Stanford University, University College London, State University of New York at Buffalo, the University of Poznan and the Polish Heritage Council.

**Çaltılar Archaeological Project**

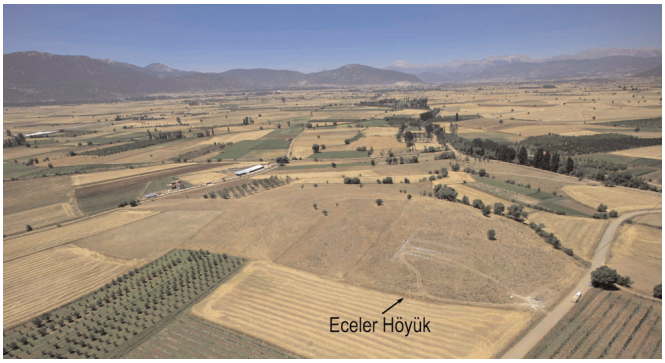
Nicoletta Momigliano | University of Bristol
With Alan Greaves, Belgin Aksoy, Tamar Hodos, Andrew Brown, Neil MacDonald and Pedar Foss

The overall goals of this project are to provide substantial new knowledge on the settlement history, material culture and environment of pre-Classical northern Lycia (Chalcolithic to Early Iron Age, c. fourth to early first millennium BC), and to explore the role of this region within the context of broader eastern Mediterranean–Anatolian–Aegean interactions in these early periods. Developing from our work at Çaltılar Höyük in 2008–2010 (see our 2011 article in *Anatolian Studies*), our 2012 season was largely devoted to the exploration of Eceler Höyük, a comparable site located about 12km south of Çaltılar, next to the modern town of Seki and near ancient Oenoanda. In addition, we conducted further geomorphological work at both Çaltılar and Eceler.

Eceler Höyük has never been systematically surveyed before, but it was reported as having Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman and possibly later pottery, on the basis of previous limited collections of surface material. Çaltılar and Eceler also offer an interesting contrast regarding their environmental contexts, with the former being situated near a spring and a possibly marshy area, and the latter being adjacent to a river.

The specific objectives and activities of our 2012 season aimed at providing an initial assessment of the settlement at Eceler, identifying areas where more intensive survey could be carried out in future seasons and supplying data for our continuing environmental and landscape studies of this *yayla* region. Our activities, described in more detail below, included: (1) an assessment of the extent of the site of Eceler (rapid reconnaissance); (2) detailed topographic survey and aerial photography of the site; (3) geomorphological investigations in the environs of both Eceler and Çaltılar; (4) intensive surface survey (collection of visible artefacts) at Eceler, using a series of transects across the site; (5) processing, recording and preliminary study of all the recovered artefacts from the intensive survey, including sampling of ceramics for petrographic and other analyses; (6) outreach activities with the community in Çaltılar.

A rapid survey of the fields around the visible höyük at Eceler was conducted to assess the extent of the site. The area examined covers approximately 33ha. During this rapid reconnaissance, no artefacts were collected, but the density of pottery in each field unit was recorded and evaluated. This information was then used to determine the overall area to be sampled for intensive survey. The area around Eceler Höyük showing significant quantities of pottery, indicative of settlement activity, covers approximately 15.2ha, including the visible höyük, which is about 4.2ha. Evidence of settlement activity is especially clear in the fields to the south, southeast and east of the höyük, whereas to the north and




Aerial view of Eceler Höyük and surrounding fields

northwest artefacts are scarce or virtually absent. It is also clear that there are features in the topography around the höyük that might be indicative of farming terraces and natural processes by the river.

We conducted a detailed topographic survey of the visible höyük, the surrounding fields and adjacent areas of interest to the geomorphological survey, including the riverbed and its banks on both sides. The aims of this survey were to provide an understanding of the physical shape of the höyük, as a means to interpret its settlement history, and to provide detailed landscape information for the geomorphological study. In total, 8,823 topographic points were taken and combined into a three-dimensional model of the site using GIS. We also established a grid of 5m by 5m squares over the site, enabling the geo-referenced collection of artefacts.

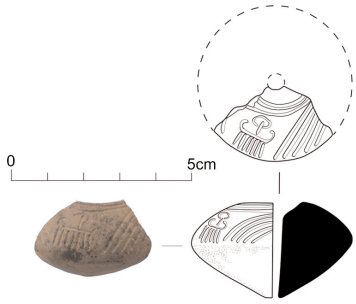
In addition, to obtain further information about the mound's shape and its surroundings, a series of aerial photographs was taken by Erhan Küçük of Air Studyo Antalya.

Field survey of the area surrounding both Eceler and Çaltılar Höyük was undertaken, consisting of field mapping near the two sites and including a broader catchment assessment. The hydrological structure of the region was assessed in relation to tectonic structure and landscape history. The region within which the two sites are situated can be considered as a series of cascading catchments, with both sediment and water flowing along the river systems through these basins, until they reach the constraints of the gorge leading to the lower Xanthus basin (modern Eşen Çay). The geomorphological mapping clearly illustrates that the river channel has remained relatively stable in terms of location during the establishment and occupation of the settlements, but deposition of sediments by the fluvial system has occurred between the site at Eceler and the river. Sediment cores were extracted at both Çaltılar and Eceler for examination of landscape and environmental change.

Once a grid was established across the area of Eceler to be sampled, we conducted intensive surface collection of artefacts across a series of transects to gain an overall idea of the settlement's character and history. These transects ran in an east–west direction and sampled all the different topographic zones of the site. In all, we covered 13,550m$^2$, which amounts to c. 9% of the settlement's total estimated area.

We collected just over 8,000 pottery fragments and 375 other finds, such as chipped stones, querns, burnt mud-brick, slag, etc. Ceramic samples were collected by Dr Mustafa Kibaroğlu for petrographic analyses. Our preliminary study of these artefacts suggests the following main periods of occupation at the site.

Among the material collected in 2012, the earliest that we could safely date can be assigned to the Late Chalcolithic period, and comprises pottery fragments such as lug handles, which find exact parallels in the Late Chalcolithic pottery of Bağbaşı in the Elmalı plain. Many sherds could be assigned to the Early Bronze Age, especially to the Early Bronze Age II phase, such as bowl rims decorated in white paint on red or black/grey burnished surfaces, closely comparable to material found at Çaltılar and at Karataş in the Elmalı plain. An interesting find, also assignable to the Early Bronze Age, is a truncated bi-conical spindle-whorl with incised decoration on a buff burnished surface, consisting of concentric arcs and an unusual fringed motif.



Early Bronze Age spindle-whorl

Unlike Çaltılar, Eceler Höyük has not yielded, so far, clear evidence for occupation in the second millennium BC. Only one fragment, belonging to a carinated bowl with handles set on the rim, could be assigned, very tentatively, to this period, but its small size and very poorly preserved surface cannot preclude a later date (possibly Iron Age?). The Early, Middle and Late Iron Ages (c. 1100 to c. 550 BC) are represented at Eceler Höyük through ceramic finds with parallels identified at Çaltılar and elsewhere. It is clear that during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, in particular, Eceler was connected with other regions, especially western Anatolia and the Greek world, as shown by a number of imports.

The majority of material collected from Eceler can be associated with the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The apparent absence, in our assemblage, of material datable between the late sixth and late fourth century BC may not be an accident of retrieval, but could reflect an observed regional gap that coincides with Persian control, and may relate partially to a shift to pastoral occupation in this area. Preliminary analysis suggests that we have material across the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Occupation may also have continued in the late Roman period (approximately fifth to seventh century AD), since some Late Roman D Ware sherds have been identified. In addition, several forms and fabrics of roof tile can be distinguished, including types also common at Balboura. In general, much of the post-Bronze Age material appears to be very weathered, and also shows heavy traces of burning.

Late Iron Age imports: (A) Western Anatolian Ware; (B) late seventh century BC Middle Wild Goat II Ware; (C) mid sixth century BC Attic Siana cup

**Outreach activities**

This year our outreach activities took the form of a public meeting and a small poster exhibition illustrating the work conducted at Çaltılar between 2008–2010. The exhibition was displayed in one of the abandoned schools of Çaltılar village, which we restored in 2010 to serve as a visitor centre and base for our field operations. Over 80 people from the village attended the meeting, and during our fieldwork season over 150 people visited the exhibition.

**Acknowledgements**

Our season took place between 16 July and 10 August 2012, and we offer our warmest thanks to our temsilci, Sadraddin Atukeren of Manisa Museum, for his invaluable contribution. We are also very grateful to the Vali of Muğla, the Kaymakam of Fethiye, the Director and members of staff of the Archaeological Museum in Fethiye, the muhtar (Nafiz Aktan) and all the people of Çaltılar. For their excellent work in the field and in the depot we thank our students Yasin Ezik, Gonca Tutuk, Osman Solmuş, Susan Williams, Danielle Bradshaw, Hege Usborne, Danica Anderson and Kathleen Raymond-Judy. Warm thanks also to Pınar Döğerli Başerkafaoğlu for her indefatigable liaison work with the Turkish press and TV.

Hellenistic to Roman wares

**Kilise Tepe**

Nicholas Postgate | University of Cambridge

This year was our final season working at Kilise Tepe, although we shall no doubt be paying the occasional visit to the museum at Silifke to dot some i's and cross some t's. With a raft of outstanding questions resolved in the 2011 season, this summer we had nothing more than an intensive interrogation of two of our major stratigraphic cross-sections to complete on site, while our trusty workforce from Kışla village systematically continued the back-filling begun last year until, in the words of the collect, it was 'thoroughly finished'. With no touristic monuments to conserve, and the known propensity for some of the stone masonry to find its way into rather more recent structures in the vicinity, this seemed the best way to protect the site for the future, and henceforth visitors will be able to make out the areas of excavation but not the actual walls, except where they are visible in some of the vertical sections.

Site information board and site guard (Tuncay Korkmaz)

While the site was being mothballed, writing up the excavations and studying the finds from the last five seasons continued in the classrooms of the old school and under its pine trees in Kışla village in preparation for final publication which is being assembled by T. Emre Şerifoğlu (assistant director) for the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Nicholas Postgate (director) for the Late Bronze and Iron Age, and Mark Jackson (co-director) for the Hellenistic and Byzantine material, with Carlo Colantoni providing the architectural plans and sections and other digital expertise. Margaret O'Hea (University of Adelaide) completed her examination of all the glass, and the 2011 zoo-archaeological material was recorded by Julie Best and Jennifer Jones of the Cardiff Osteoarchaeological Research Group for inclusion with Peter Popkin's work on the 2007–2009 seasons. Naoíse Mac Sweeney (University of Leicester) was able to complete her

The Central Strip sounding after backfilling

catalogue of all the pre-Classical small finds for the planned final publication, with the collaboration of Bob Miller, Franca Cole and Vicki Herring, who took care of the photography, conservation and illustration respectively. They also helped Mark Jackson to prepare the equivalent catalogue for the Byzantine finds in collaboration with Frances McIntosh who was located back at Newcastle University, where Tom Sutcliffe continued digitisation of the Byzantine archive. Long hours were also devoted to the ceramics of all periods: by Nazlı Evrim Şerifoğlu and Mark Jackson, who both accomplished remarkable reconstructions of jars from the beginning and end of our timespan respectively, by Christina Bouthillier (Cambridge University), who finalised her work on the Iron Age repertoire, and by Ekin Kozal (Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University), who continued her analysis of the Late Bronze Age ceramics from the North-West Building.

It was of course also the last season at Kışla for the finds – whether pottery, spindle whorls, bags of seeds or Byzantine coins. They were almost all stored in the plastic crates now familiar on almost every excavation in Turkey, and Caroline Steele and Susan Poll conducted a complete audit of all 286

Early Bronze Age jar restored by Nazlı Evrim Şerifoğlu

Byzantine jar reconstructed by Mark Jackson

crates to ensure that our database is up-to-date and accurate. On 27 August, escorted for the first part of the journey by the jandarma from Sarıkavak, the entire assemblage, together with ten items too large for a crate, was ferried down the valley to Silifke Museum and safely stacked in the depot which had been furnished with an upper storey and (much appreciated) air-conditioning in anticipation of its arrival. So our final season concluded smoothly, thanks in no small measure to the unfailing co-operation of the museum and its Director, İlhame Öztürk. Many thanks to her, not only for 2012, but for all the years back to 1998, and to Yaşar Yılmaz, the Ministry representative from the Konya Museum, who was a most agreeable member of the team and gave us the right advice when needed and only then.

When we first worked at Kilise Tepe in 1994 it was as a joint project with the Silifke Museum because the site was thought to be endangered by the imminent construction of a hydro-electric barrage at Kayraktepe just downstream of Değirmendere on the Göksu. By the time we ceased in 1998 to publish, this danger had receded and when we resumed work in 2007 we were informed that there were no plans for the barrage. Now, however, the idea has resurfaced, and there is again a real possibility that in a few years' time the southern part of the Mut basin will find itself under water. Kilise Tepe itself lies too high to be affected, but on the opposite side of the river on much lower ground stands Çingentepe, the next most significant pre-Classical site so far identified between Silifke and Mut. Surface collections have shown that like Kilise Tepe it was occupied in the second and early first millennia BC. So, although our project at Kilise Tepe is now entering its publication phase, it would be very rewarding to see the results of rescue excavation at Çingentepe. Hence we are hoping that in years to come it will be possible for our assistant director, T. Emre Şerifoğlu, who is now running the Department of Archaeology at Bitlis Eren University, to survey the area and excavate there. With this in mind and collaboration from the village we have resolved the problem of what to with our well-used but mostly still serviceable dig equipment and furniture by storing it in the vicinity where it will be available for use across the river if needed.

Our work this year was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, which has also supported Carlo Colantoni as the project's research associate from 2010 to 2013. Sue Poll's contribution as the 'archivist' and web-site manager (see http://www.kilisetepe.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk) was enabled by a research assistance grant attached to Nicholas Postgate's Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust and T. Emre Şerifoğlu's work on the Early and Middle Bronze Age at Kilise Tepe by a generous grant from the Mediterranean Archaeological Trust. We are all indebted to our universities at Bitlis, Cambridge, Çanakkale and Newcastle for their support in cash and kind. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism is to be thanked for regularly granting us the excavation permit, while in Silifke, the consistent support of the museum staff and their Director, İlhame Öztürk, has been indispenable, and we are deeply grateful to them.

The project has benefited enormously by having its base in the attractive village of Kışla. For the use of the school premises and not least the shade of its pine trees we have been constantly grateful to the muhtar, Selçuk Kılınç, and our admirable crew of workmen are all recruited from the village, not to mention our site guard, Tuncay Korkmaz, who has been indispensable in so many capacities, and Mariye Korkmaz, whose cooking does wonders for morale. Just before Ramazan we had an enjoyable evening with village residents under the plane tree at the foot of the tepe, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the construction of the spring head which has provided us with life-saving shade on many a morning in July and August when the mercury was over 40°. We will all miss the village and its grand new football pitch, the ice-cream at the shop, the birds, the squirrels and not least our cheery workforce.

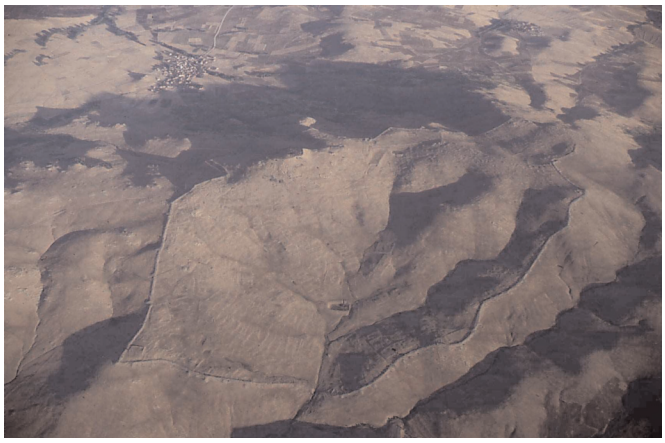
Crates being loaded for transport to Silifke Museum

**Kerkenes: 20 years of research and exploration**

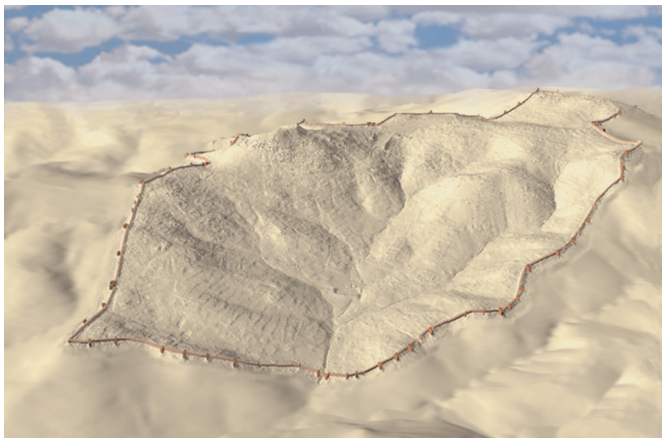
Geoffrey Summers | Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations
Françoise Summers | Middle East Technical University
*www.kerkenes@metu.edu.tr*

2012 was the 20th and last year of our archaeological research at the Iron Age capital on the Kerkenes Dağ. Each year has brought surprises, re-evaluations and new perspectives. As our knowledge and understanding increased, some ideas and interpretations had to be abandoned, others modified. Final publication of excavations at the Cappadocia Gate and the Palatial Complex are well advanced, but these will not be the last word on Kerkenes, a most remarkable site that doubtless holds many more secrets which will not easily be given up.

The future of exploration is now in other hands, with Scott Branting from the University of Chicago continuing his long-term research into urban dynamics and Abdulkadir Baran from Muğla University beginning new large-scale work, both under the auspices of the Yozgat Museum. The time is thus ripe for a retrospective overview.

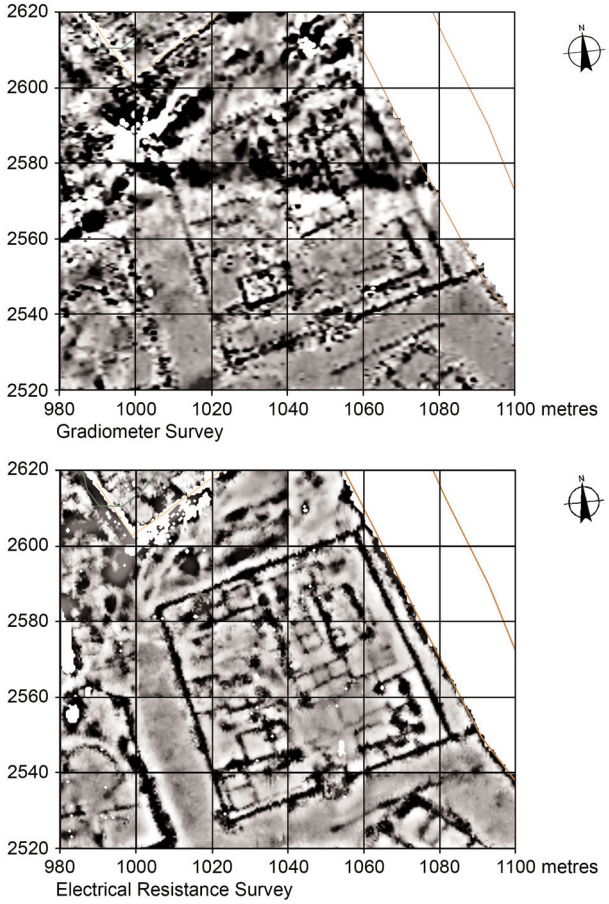


The ancient city on the Kerkenes Dağ photographed from the Cloud 9 hot-air balloon in 1993



Simulation of Kerkenes made in ArcView 3D Analyst and Adobe Photoshop with the 7km defensive circuit

In 1993 we began with remote sensing, principally photography with a tethered blimp and geophysics. Electrical resistance survey continues to be a major research tool, revealing new and unexpected imagery while the vegetation is still green each spring.




Gradiometer and electrical resistance survey images of an urban block in the northern sector of the city

Developments in technology, both hardware and software, made a huge impact on the development of the research design as well as on the everyday conduct of research. Desktops and laptops now have gigabytes of memory, software permits rapid processing of huge data sets and production of stunning graphics, digital photography has revolutionised field and laboratory practice and, were it to be redone, would make fast and simple the stitching together of photographs taken with balloons. Differential GPS allowed Scott Branting to make accurate simulations of the surface from which photographs and geophysical data can be transformed into three-dimensional images. There are however downsides, such as the cost of updating equipment and frustrations caused by incompatibility of current and old programs with new operating systems. A continual headache is the archiving of so much digital data and updating storage capacities. The World-Wide Web

made wide and rapid dissemination of results a pillar of our approach. Fundamental to the initial research design was a shift from earlier practices when it was possible to dig relatively large areas with considerable numbers of workmen. The new strategy was to conduct survey using different techniques of remote sensing over large areas supplemented by a few carefully located test trenches to help interpretation of geophysical results. As several of the remote-sensing platforms neared completion, the need to shift the focus towards excavation on a larger scale became overwhelming. However, application for a full excavation permit necessitated construction of a depot and field laboratory together with a promise of medium-term funding. These conditions were met through five years of collaboration with David Stronach and his team from the University of California, Berkeley.

The end of a first season of collaborative work was marked by a large gathering on 11 August 1999, when the path of a total solar eclipse just bypassed Kerkenes. At the next total eclipse, 6 March 2006, Kerkenes was at the centre of the track and the weather perfect. Spectators from far and near witnessed 'the day turning into night', Herodotus' description of the 585 BC Battle of the Eclipse, which, in his untrustworthy account, ended a war between Medes and Lydians.

Several lessons have been learnt or re-learnt from excavation. First, and in some ways disappointingly, has been the realisation that regardless or the exceptional clarity of remote-sensing imagery, gaining an adequate understanding requires excavation on a scale commensurate with the site and the structures under investigation. Large-scale excavation, however, raises issues of conservation and preservation where regulations do not permit routine backfilling. A few small test trenches did not answer larger questions, and indeed could be misleading.

The entire city at Kerkenes was put to the torch, resulting in severe cracking and even melting of granite in walling laced with timber. Added to this ancient destruction are the vicissitudes of climate, with harsh winters and long freeze-thaw cycles. A grant from the US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation has made possible restoration of a portion of the stone glacis at the Cappadocia Gate, and demonstrated that much more could easily be done with bottomless budgets (cover picture). Vertical walling at the gate is more challenging. The most successful approach to date has proved to be the rebuilding of wall faces in character with the original construction which included the incorporation of horizontal timbers at regular intervals. This will require maintenance, and even treated timbers are unlikely to last more than 50 years. No attempt has been made to render these walls in mud plaster, as they once were.

What, then, has been discovered, and how do these discoveries fit into a bigger picture. Here we can do no more than outline our current conclusions and remark on the most exceptional of the finds. Identification of the city with the Pteria of Herodotus has gained broad acceptance and, while it cannot be said to have been proven, no ready alternative presents itself. Archaeological evidence shows that the city was a new foundation on a low mountain, selected no doubt for its broad strategic location, the fine views it afforded, its defensible qualities and a sufficiency of water. Its foundation was an act of strength that exuded power, dominance and wealth: it was intended to intimidate. The city was protected by 7km of strong stone defences pierced by just seven gates, one of which, our Cappadocia Gate, has been fully excavated.

The date of the foundation is probably to be placed no earlier than the mid seventh century BC, after the death of King Midas. This approximate dating is supported by pottery and by sculptural style. We are on firmer ground when it comes to the date of the destruction, surely connected with the Battle of Pteria fought between Croesus and Cyrus the Great, when Pteria itself was crushed between the superpowers of the day, Lydia and Persia. Earlier, the Pterians, who as we shall see were of Phrygian origin, would have been on the side of the Medes in their conflict with Lydia, since Phrygia itself was subjugated by Croesus. Thus archaeology has shed much light on these shadowy times and hinted at events recounted, in ways difficult to evaluate, by Herodotus.

The ivory excavated in 1996, probably from a throne or a similar piece of temple furniture. Pairs of goats and sheep occupy the right side, a stag at left would have been followed by a doe and another pair of wild animals

The city does not seem to have been burnt when it was captured, although further excavation could yet demonstrate otherwise. Once alight it would have burnt for several days, the column of smoke being visible over all its territory. Everyone would have known that Pteria was destroyed in a deliberate act of terror. Everywhere we have dug there is evidence for looting and the smashing of sculptures before buildings were set alight. At the Cappadocia Gate, two people attempting to flee through the heat and smoke were killed as timbers in the wall faces burnt, causing the masonry to collapse. We will never know whether these two unfortunates were alone or the last stragglers of a larger throng, but it is likely that one of them threw down the exquisite gold ornament that featured on the cover of the 2011 edition of *Heritage Turkey*. This and another unique ornament, a sumptuous ivory furniture plaque embellished with amber, gold leaf and inlay, discovered in 1996 are perhaps Ionian or, more probably, Lydian pieces. Whether it was the pieces themselves that were imported or the craftsmen who made them, they signal an élite taste for the finest artistic products of the greater Mediterranean world. Less valuable, but certainly more curious, is part of the jaw of a crocodile from the Nile recovered amongst rubbish associated with the Audience Hall.

Who, then, were the founders and inhabitants of Pteria? The language, on a monumental stone inscription from the Palatial Complex and graffiti on pottery, is Old Phrygian. In fact, every aspect of Kerkenes turns out to be Phrygian: the stone defences and plan of the Cappadocia Gate have clear parallels at Gordion; the tradition of freestanding buildings comprising a hall and anteroom provided with a double pitched roof of thatch echoes buildings on the citadel at the Phrygian capital and rock-cut architectural façades in the Highlands; semi-iconic idols, typical manifestations of Phrygian cult, were set up at gates and entrances as well as represented by graffiti. Life-sized sculpture in the round from the Monumental Entrance to the Palatial Complex has its closest parallels in much smaller Phrygian ivory carving. Remarkably, a fragment from the statue of a goddess, presumably Kybele, set up on a base embellished with a pair of sphinxes in deep relief, sports not one but three brooches of Phrygian type.

One seemingly inescapable conclusion, therefore, is that the foundation of this exceptional capital represents the movement of a very large group of people from somewhere in central or western Phrygia across the Kızılırmak (the Halys river) to create a new kingdom to the east of Phrygia. Little more than 100 years later, perhaps less, this city of Pteria was destroyed and abandoned.

All of this was completely unexpected when we arrived at Kerkenes with a blimp, two cylinders of helium and two young daughters, 20 years ago. The vehicle was our own second-hand Ford Escort estate, with only two doors and the steering wheel on the right. We were immediately welcomed at Şahmuratlı village where, over the years, the disused village hall has been transformed into the core of an excavation house, above which the Eco-Center has grown and the splendid Erdoğan Akdağ Center for Research and Education acts as a base for hosting students and visitors as well as providing facilities for the excavation. This year, 2012, the 1974 blue Ford Escort estate was laid to rest at the Turkish Customs.

Kerkenes House and blue Ford Escort in 1993

The list of team members, colleagues, friends, local and national officials as well as individuals, institutions and corporations that have provided building materials, funds and support would fill several pages. It would be invidious to mention some and not others and here we can only express our sincere gratitude to all the participants and to those who have supported the Kerkenes Project since 1993. Here too, we should mention the Eco-Center that was inaugurated as a way of making the archaeology communal and of providing benefit to the village that hosted the expedition. Some of its successes have been influential internationally while others have brought long-term improvements to the village. Its future, however, is at this point uncertain...

The Erdoğan Akdağ Center hosting visitors at the Kerkenes Eco-Center

**Pisidia Survey Project**

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara

In July, the final fieldwork campaign for this phase of the Pisidia Survey Project took place in the territory of Pednelissos. Six campaigns have been dedicated to locating and studying remains in a c. 750km$^2$ area around the Pisidian city of Pednelissos, located on the southernmost slopes of the Taurus mountains to the northeast of modern Antalya. More fieldwork could be done and would yield an even denser set of remains, but the data gathered seem to provide a good overview and an idea as to the borders of the territory of the ancient city.

From the outset, specific questions formed the basis of the project. In Pisidia, the territories supported their poleis for a period of over 1,000 years, but it is only for Sagalassos (for example Vanhaverbeke et al. 2011) that detailed data on the territory of a Pisidian city and its development through time are available. Thus our work in the territory of Pednelissos aimed to describe and reconstruct the relationship between the central settlement, i.e. Pednelissos, and those in its territory from a *longue durée* perspective. Moreover, the location of the city and its territory means that the geography in the survey area evolves from high mountains in the north over a range of lower foothills to the borders of the Pamphylian plain in the south. Obviously, such terrain will have had implications for communication on a local as well as on a regional level. In general, the landscape and climate would have had a very significant impact on life in antiquity, as they still do now. The torrential rains and resulting flash-floods of winter 2011, for instance, destroyed the lower-lying quarters of the village of Pınargözü, made major alterations to streambeds and damaged vegetation. Antique settlement patterns in the territory of Pednelissos often reflect the impact of the landscape in their setting and spacing. Remains demonstrating the opposite, however, are equally obvious. Intense terracing and a complex road system are but two examples of human intervention in the landscape. Furthermore, abundant remains testifying to the economic activities of the past have been recorded, allowing assessment of how income for the city was generated when Pednelissos was inhabited. Traces of olive-oil and, most likely, wine production are preserved throughout the area and hint at a differing organisation of production between the mountains and the plain. Most spectacular and unexpected has been the discovery of at least seven production units of Late Roman D Ware, the so-called 'Cypriot Red Slip Ware' (Jackson et al. 2012) on the brink between the foothills and the plain.

Despite these results, many questions remained unanswered. The seeming lack of pre-Hellenistic remains had only partially been resolved by the discovery of a very thin scatter of flint tools during the intensive survey under the direction of Katie Green (Newcastle University) in 2011 (Vandeput 2011). Therefore, this fieldwork season was partially devoted to increasing our knowledge of pre-Hellenistic activities in the survey area. Sabri Aydal, Seth Price (Liverpool University) and Kyle Erickson (Lampeter University) visited a total of 28 caves of widely varying dimensions with our local guide, Mehmet Tekin. Many of the caves are located at great heights and are extremely hard to reach. Some 75 lithic pieces were found, from 11 sites out of a total of 53 sites surveyed. Seth Price examined all the finds and reported that most were indeterminable. However, some sites may be tentatively dated to the late Epipalaeolithic or early Neolithic based on tool and core morphology. One chert nodule source and workshop, located on top of one of the conglomerate outcrops bordering a fertile valley to the northeast of Gebiz, at Kuruçen Ovası, was revisited. Traces of modern activity were abundant, but retrieved tools and flakes allow us tentatively to suggest activity in prehistoric times as well. This site illustrates perfectly two of the main problems in identifying early material. First, local chert was used in prehistory, and this resource was in use until about a generation ago, when rows of flint flakes were inserted into grooved wooden boards and used for threshing. Second, there has been continued use of the caves in the region. In many of the caves a thin scatter of Roman or late Roman ceramics was discovered, but the main problem consists of continuing use of the caves as sheep and goat shelters. Archaeological remains may therefore exist, but they would be deeply buried in excrement as well as natural cave depositions. Taking all these factors into account, prehistoric activity, possibly dating to the early Neolithic/late Epipalaeolithic, can be suggested at three sites, with further possible sites at three other locations, two of which are caves.

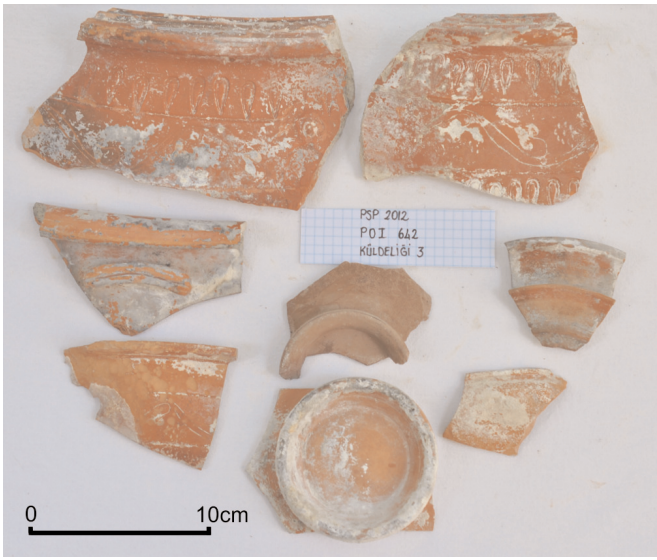
Damage to trees caused by the floods of winter 2011

Some of the caves did testify to their usage in the Hellenistic and/or Roman periods. A recently-dug illegal excavation in the primary chamber of the medium-sized cave Küldeliği 3 on Tarakçıl Dağı (Hasdümen Köyü) revealed ceramics within a thick ash layer underneath debris from cave collapse. The second, smaller chamber appears to have been utilised as a midden deposit, with bone and pot sherds in clear evidence. The sherds belong to large, high-quality bowls and vessels, and should probably be considered as related to funerary practices or rituals. This cave illustrates that, apart from the general usage of the caves in the Hellenistic to late antique period as animal shelters or larders, they could also be attributed a spiritual significance. The cave at Küldeliği 3 may have served for burials, but Erenler Mağarası (Haspınar Köyü) (Vandeput 2011) and the cave at Arpalıktepesi (Yumaklar Köyü) had a ritual function and both were in use as central elements of sanctuaries over long periods of time.

The remains at Arpalıktepesi formed a further focus of attention during the 2012 fieldwork season. Its sanctuary consists of a cave over which a temple was built at some stage. The Antalya Museum excavated part of the cave in the mid 1990s, after severe looting activities. Votives from the cave testify to uninterrupted use from the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century BC until the fourth century AD (Işın 2006). Arpalıktepesi is extremely interesting because a settlement developed around the sanctuary over the course of time. A team consisting of A. Çinici (METU), G. Işın (Akdeniz University), C. Namirski (University of Reading) and the author has completed a topographical map of the site. Unfortunately, looting has clearly continued unabated since the museum's excavations. As a result, the plan of the temple can no longer be recognised. Elsewhere too, large holes have been dug. The preserved housing facilities consist almost exclusively of c. 13 very large compounds with multiple rooms, arranged around a courtyard. Clearance of large areas for agricultural purposes in recent times has obviously destroyed some of the remains. Excessive looting in one specific area in the centre makes it impossible to reconstruct a plan of the complex. A few preserved inscriptions and remains of stucco and mosaic from an apse, probably of an early Christian church that was built into the pre-existing complex, seem to indicate that this area had a public function at some point. In all, evidence for buildings with anything other than a domestic function is scanty and hard to interpret before the early Christian period. The structures of the latter period, however, seem unusually large and complex, and may have had functions other than purely domestic.

Apart from caves, 25 other sites were located and identified. The overwhelming majority dates to the Hellenistic, Roman and especially late Roman periods, and fits well with the settlement typology constructed in previous years.

The caves provide evidence for prehistoric occupation in the mountains and foothills of the Taurus. None of the sites identified in previous years in the Pamphylian plain have allowed us to trace development further back in time than the Roman period. Only a thin scatter of chipped stone was recovered during the intensive survey in 2011. Southeast of the village of Gebiz, a site by the name of Tesbihli Belen was revisited this season. Local informants pointed us to a young olive grove and told us that the area had been a höyük which had been flattened by bulldozer about a generation ago. The earth of the mound has been spread over a large area and recovered stone material was reused in the present-day houses of the village of Gebiz. The area yielded numerous chipped stones along with a variety of ceramics, pointing to long-term occupation.



Ceramics from Küldeliği 3 cave

The 2012 fieldwork season of the Pisidia Survey Project thus succeeded in lifting a corner of the veil on pre-Hellenistic occupation in the area. The cave survey in combination with the results of last-year's intensive survey clearly demonstrates the limitations regarding further research on the early remains.

These and our previous results would not have been possible without the dedication of the members of the fieldwork teams over the past six years. I would therefore like to extend my sincere thanks for all the determination team members have shown over the years.

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**The Avkat Archaeological Project**

John Haldon | Princeton University
With James Newhard, John Wall, Angelina Phebus and Hugh Elton

The Avkat Archaeological Project (AAP) focuses on the archaeology of the late Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman eras around the village of Beyözü (earlier Avkat), now identified as ancient Euchaita, as part of a historically-driven research project concerning the Turkish ilçe of Mecitözü in Çorum province, lying between the modern cities of Amasya and Çorum. During the summer of 2012, the project engaged in transforming the informatics system used during fieldwork into a condition to facilitate easier querying, analysis, curation and archiving. This included a migration of the project data – collected as two database systems – into a single overarching database allowing for the efficient storage of geospatial and tabular data; a cleaning of data to ensure full relational integrity; and a revision of the user interface to enhance querying and retrieval functions for project personnel.

During fieldwork, data for the AAP were collected implementing two databases. A client-server system was organised in MySql with a front-end user interface for data entry and querying coded in HTML and PHP. Within this database, the project stored field data observations collected via standardised paper forms. Geospatial information was managed via a geospatial database using ESRI's spatial database engine (ArcSDE), accessed in the field via a local geospatial server and served via the College of Charleston's group geospatial server following the completion of data collection. This component stored satellite imagery and spatial data tied to features and survey units.

During summer 2012, work began to integrate these two systems within a single database built in SQL Server 2008. SQL Server operates as a relational database management system (RDBMS) which natively stores tabular data. After installing the ArcSDE middleware, spatial data (i.e. attributes) could also be stored within the native tabular format thereby allowing both tabular and geospatial queries. At the time of writing, migration of the tabular data and its relational schema had been completed, with a full merging of geospatial components occurring in autumn 2012.

A plan of the final user interface was conceptualised, and implementation began in earnest. The system is designed to facilitate the querying of data via a search process focused upon survey unit (field or feature), artefact/ceramic vessel type, date or function; or geographically via the project's GIS via a map server using a Representational State Transfer (REST) service. Regardless of the query origin, results are displayed in a tabular form in a preformatted shortened query result (known as a view) and geographically within the adjacent map window. Further selection of individual results will provide a full description of the item of interest as recorded on project forms and related images. Users will be presented with the option of downloading query results in a variety of formats (.txt, .xlsx, .shp, .dbf, .jpg) to facilitate further analyses via other applications. Within the web mapping application, basic geospatial tools to allow for the measurement of distance and basic movement (pan, zoom in, zoom out and full extent) were added. Per user feedback, additional functionality can be designed as needed. The user interface is coded employing the ArcGIS Application Programming Interface (API) for JavaScript. The JavaScript API provides for customisation and the incorporation of code from libraries – not only the one provided by ESRI but also others such as jQuery, YUI and Dojo.

To date, data migration of tabular data into SQL Server, views and general layout components of the user interface (including the web mapping application) have been completed. Work in autumn 2012 will be focused upon a final merge of tabular and geospatial data into SQL Server and user interface refinements to allow for full functionality. Access to the system will be made to project personnel via a secure username/password, with full presentation to the academic community available coincident with final publication of the project results. Documentation of database schema and metadata is being stored concurrent with this phase of the project, facilitating long-term curation and storage via standard repository services (such as tDAR or ADS).

In addition to this work, further research on modelling landscape features related to the site of medieval Euchaita was undertaken and presented at the 2012 AIA conference. When considering Byzantine defensive systems of the sixth to 13th century, textual sources suggest a complex and integrated system of installations, ranging from large-scale *castra* to smaller, more ephemeral outpost locales. While larger installations have been identified in Turkey, Syria and elsewhere, traces of small late Roman/Byzantine defensive elements can be difficult to identify – even via intensive survey – owing to their scanty surface remains. Using refined survey methods developed by the Avkat Archaeological Project in combination with Byzantine texts and analysis in GIS, a range of defensive structures has been positively identified in the area around Euchaita. A method was presented by which smaller outposts were identified in the landscape. Intensive survey allowed the location of hill-top promontories with dense scatters of pottery and roof tiles. These promontories were noted to have a wide field of view. Deductive modelling within GIS incorporating geographical location and viewshed analysis were employed to determine whether the designation of these features as watchtowers was appropriate. The interpretation of these features as outposts is supported by the descriptions of defensive structures given in Byzantine military treatises and historical texts, archaeological evidence, GIS analysis and modelling. Furthermore, the process used to determine the likely functionality of these features in the landscape provides a means for developing interpretative frameworks for other elements in the ancient landscape.

**Large-scale construction in the hinterland of Constantinople**

Riley Snyder | British Institute at Ankara

In AD 324, after defeating his eastern rival, Constantine set about creating a new metropolis on the Bosporus, but much work had to be done in order for it to be worthy of the name 'New Rome'. The fourth, fifth and sixth centuries saw many large construction projects within the city, intended to lift the status and glory of Constantinople. With a growing population and increasing threats from its neighbours, the new city required new infrastructures far beyond the confines of the modern megacity of Istanbul.

To meet the needs of the growing city, two of the largest construction projects of late antiquity were primarily built well beyond the city walls. The first was the water supply lines of the fourth and fifth centuries, which extended far into Thrace, almost 120km from Constantinople to modern Vize. This system of channels, tunnels and aqueduct bridges brought much-needed water to the many baths and cisterns of the city (Crow et al. 2008). The second was the sixth century Long Wall of Thrace, also known as the Anastasian Wall, built from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea. At a distance of around 65km from the city (Crow, Ricci 1997: 235), this fortified system of towers, forts and curtain walls restricted access to Constantinople and small settlements beyond the protection of the Theodosian Land Walls.

Following the research undertaken by the Anastasian Wall Project, led by James Crow of the University of Edinburgh, my PhD project aimed to build on this research by investigating material technology and structural requirements for the construction of these large systems. The fundamental questions throughout this project revolved around the scale and logistics of the construction of the water-supply system of Constantinople and the Anastasian Wall. These were two of the largest building projects in late antiquity (Crow et al. 2008) with the water-supply lines totalling 502km and the long wall measuring 58km. While these lengths are substantial, understanding the material requirements could provide new insight into their true scale.

The first step of this project was to collect and test samples of mortars from the water-supply system and the Anastasian Wall. Thin-section petrography, scanning electron microscopy (SEM), electron backscatter diffraction (EBSD) and X-ray diffraction (XRD) were used to investigate the finer details of one of the most abundantly used building materials of these structures. The second step extended this research through quantitative means, directly addressing the scale of the water-supply system and the Long Wall. A large inventory of measurements collected from these systems was used to calculate their structural volumes. These volumes were broken down into individual building materials such as facing stones, rubble stone and mortar components. Obtaining these estimates would prove useful in understanding the logistics of the construction processes.

Results of the mortar analysis revealed three primary materials: lime, crushed brick and sand. Additionally, the mortar samples indicated that variations in the mortar recipes were limited to sand-grain size and the proportions of the ingredients. XRD analyses of samples of crushed brick used in the mortars suggest that they all came from similar – if not the same – clay sources, despite the differences between them observed by the naked eye. These results show careful selection of local and imported materials that would otherwise be unobservable.

The volumetric calculations and analysis of the petrographic statistical data yielded some important figures about the scales of these systems. The stone necessary for the long-distance water-supply lines totalled 2.5 million cubic metres. To put this in perspective, the area of a standard football pitch would have to be quarried to a depth of 350m – 30m deeper than the height of the Eiffel Tower – producing enough stone to build the Great Pyramid of Giza (Levy 2005). The amount of mortar would fill three and a half of the largest super oil-tankers or 457 Olympic swimming pools. Bricks needed for the mortar would almost encircle the globe if laid end-to-end.

The final stage of this project was to examine the man-power required for the construction process. It was concluded that, despite the far greater length of the water-supply line, the Anastasian Wall would have required nearly the same amount of effort. In the hypothetical and extremely unlikely scenario that 10,000 labourers worked 12-hour shifts every day of the year, it would have taken almost seven years to complete the wall.

From the microscopic to the macroscopic, the water-supply system of Constantinople and the Anastasian Wall enable us to take a closer look at the ingenuity and dedication that was focused on New Rome in late antiquity – a discussion that has typically been limited to Rome at the height of the empire.

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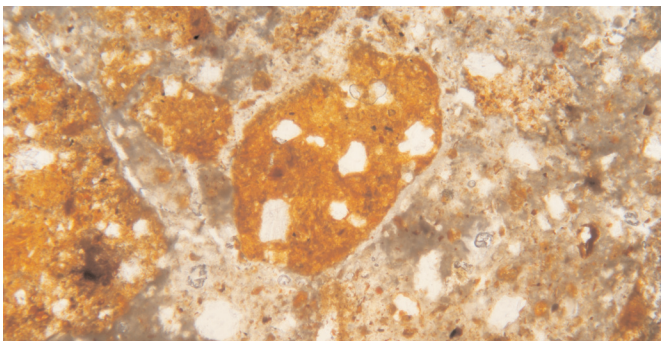

Mortar from the Anastasian Wall in thin section

**Growing up in the Anatolian Neolithic**

Brenna Hassett | Natural History Museum

The site of Aşıklı Höyük, near Aksaray on the Anatolian plateau, represents the earliest settlement in central Turkey. At least 8,300 years ago, people began to come together to live, settling on the banks of the Melendiz river. Archaeological excavation by the Aşıklı Höyük Research Team from Istanbul University is slowly uncovering the fascinating history of these ancient inhabitants of Cappadocia using a wide variety of scientific and archaeological analytical techniques. Specialists in identifying the remains of animals and plants are working alongside experts in mud-brick building techniques to recreate – both in the laboratory and in the real world – the conditions of this early settlement in order to understand what life would have been like at Aşıklı Höyük: how and what people ate, where they lived and how they structured their small community. Many questions remain to be answered by archaeological investigation, and one of the new investigations which started this year, funded by a study grant awarded by the British Institute at Ankara, looks at understanding not just the way that people in general lived their lives, but at mapping out the life histories of individuals, as locked into the structure of their teeth.

Teeth are a unique source of information on how people in the past lived. Because teeth grow once, during childhood, and never remodel, they form a perfect record of a person's childhood experiences. They can include a record of different chemicals and chemical ratios which gives clues about what the individual ate and where they lived, as well as giving a week-by-week account of childhood growth. Because teeth grow in a regular, predictable fashion, we can tell when growth has faltered and, using these regular structures, we can work out the timing of events in a child's early life that caused growth to falter: such as episodes of fever, disease or malnutrition. Using microscopic analysis it is possible to reconstruct a weekly schedule of growth from tiny wave-like structures that line the surface of the teeth, perikymata.

In this new project, dental casts accurate to the micron level have been taken from the teeth of several burials from Aşıklı Höyük. These will be made into epoxy replicas that will be lightly coated in gold so that they can be viewed under the microscope. By counting the perikymata and noting when they have not grown normally, an unparalleled level of detail about childhood health and the growth of children who lived in Anatolia more than eight millennia ago will be revealed (see figure of replica tooth covered in gold: the gap in the lines is a hypoplastic defect of enamel, which is evidence of growth disruption). This project will in turn help archaeologists to understand the many different factors that went into the formation of this unique, early settlement at the dawn of civilisation.

**Everyday architectural decoration in the late antique city**

Solinda Kamani | University of Kent

This research deals with the architectural decoration of late antique modest structures in the region of the eastern Mediterranean and is part of a project entitled 'Visualizing the late antique city: everyday life AD 300–650'. Although the decoration of monumental structures of this period, especially ecclesiastical and imperial ones, is well synthesised, this is not true of street porticoes, shops, workshops, modest houses, small baths and churches, regardless of the fact that they were major elements of every urban built environment. In recent decades, academic debates have erupted over the changing topography of the fourth to sixth century city, yet few can picture quotidian urban life at this period and we have no image to offer the wider public. To provide realistic urban images it is essential to consider not only major public structures but also in-between spaces, and, above all, to concentrate not just on the great capital of Constantinople, but also on smaller provincial cities, which provide some of the best-preserved examples (especially those of Asia Minor, for example Ephesus, Pergamon, Sardis, Side, Selge, Sagalassos). Hitherto, the empirical data to permit this visualisation have not been collected.

In this framework, my research aims to bring together all the empirical data that exist for the architectural decoration of street porticoes, shops, modest houses, small baths and churches of the late antique city in the eastern Mediterranean so as to understand better the everyday visual and social experience of urban life. Along with the evidence of architectural decoration, a focal point will be the evidence for light fittings, shutters and textile hangings which might have modified the appearance of these structures. The research will consider how this decoration, which might not have attracted as great an investment as that of monumental buildings, aged, weathered and was repaired, helping to reconstruct more realistically how it once looked in its spatial setting. In this context, this study will also examine the views of ancient authors as to whether the weathering and ageing of the decoration added value or took it away from these late antique buildings.

Given the condition of the evidence, which is widely scattered rather than concentrated in one sub-region or site, the research will compile gazetteers of dated examples of decoration. These data will be analysed to support discussion concerning the regional and chronological distribution of different types of decoration and the social and functional significance they conveyed. The range of sites selected for this study will allow the evidence of architectural decoration to be interpreted and reconstructed at an empirical level by setting particular site observations into a broader context.

This research seeks to contribute to making the late antique city accessible, especially to the general public for whom the late antique city means little, if anything.

## CULTURAL HERITAGE, SOCIETY & ECONOMY

The promotion, management and regulation of cultural heritage is a complex process involving many different agents and stake-holders on a local, national and international level. It is a critical element of public policy involving a diverse range of actors such as international organisations, governmental ministries and agencies, political parties, private organisations, museums and local communities. How cultural heritage is produced and consumed, interpreted and understood can have profound impacts on structuring social and economic interaction and decision-making. Likewise, it influences the formation of social values and ideas as well as notions of common identity and history. It also affects economic and infrastructural development across a range of different levels. Cultural heritage management and its importance has only become an issue recently in Turkey and is now rapidly developing. As a result, a whole range of new issues and problems for which solutions have to be found within Turkey, but also on a much wider scale have risen. It is these inter-relationships that are contained within the field of cultural heritage that this Strategic Research Initiative sets out to examine in the Turkish context.

**Cultural heritage**

Lutgarde Vandeput | British Institute at Ankara
Veli Köse | Hacettepe University

After more than a hundred years of archaeological discoveries in Turkey, it is now an urgent priority to conserve and protect Turkey's cultural heritage and to promote an understanding and knowledge of it among local people. The British Institute at Ankara has singled out cultural heritage management as a priority area for its own activities, as archaeological projects under its auspices have already done. Since an understanding of cultural heritage has proved so important for economic and cultural development in the United Kingdom, it seems appropriate that this should be a major part of the Institute's activities and contribution to the archaeology of Turkey. The initiative is currently supported by grants from the Headley Trust (a Sainsbury Family Charitable Trust, UK) and Hedef Alliance (Turkey).

Lately, as a result of a call from the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, there has been increased interest from the private sector to undertake the outsourcing of some visitor services at archaeological sites and museums. Some of the resulting products of these partnerships, like the Museum Card for Turkish citizens, have been concrete steps to attract Turkish visitors to sites of cultural heritage significance. These initiatives are mainly designed to increase revenues from local and international tourism, but they can still be considered as tangible traces of a shift in the mind-set of decision makers regarding cultural heritage management.

The Institute's specific aims are to support work at Boncuklu and Çatalhöyük (see the following two reports), two British excavation projects located in the Konya plain, and to initiate and develop a cultural heritage management project in southwest Anatolia (the modern provinces of Antalya, Muğla, Burdur and Isparta), a region containing many of the most famous and best-preserved Classical cities of Asia Minor. The area has traditionally been of particular interest to scholars and researchers from the Institute. Several of the Institute's current projects are based in the region (Çaltılar Archaeological Project, Pisidia Survey Project) and experts linked to the Institute are involved in several other international or Turkish projects, notably the current Turkish survey and excavation of the ancient city of Aspendos in Pamphylia. This project has close links to the Pisidia Survey Project. The Institute has now initiated a pilot project on cultural heritage management for the city of Aspendos, as well as for Cremna, Ariassos, Sia, Panemoteichos, Melli and Pednelissos, six antique poleis in south Pisidia, an area in which the Pisidia Survey Project has been active for many years.

For the Aspendos-Pisidia Survey Project initiative, Işılay Gürsu has been appointed as programme director. She will start work as the Headley Trust/Hedef Alliance Fellow in January 2013. The project will involve working closely together with the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In addition to the main partner institutions – the British Institute at Ankara and Hacettepe University – support is also assured from the Public Archaeology Programme at UCL and the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations at Koç University in Istanbul, the leading Turkish institution in this field. Also in partnership with the Research Center for Anatolan Civilizations, the Institute co-funds an annual research fellowship in cultural heritage.

Thanks to the Institute's long-standing research tradition in the area, local specialists can also be appealed to. A clear initial objective will be to establish mutually supportive relations with the museums of Antalya and Burdur, and the Cultural Directorates of the provinces of Antalya and Burdur, and engage them in plans to protect and disseminate information about the region's cultural heritage on a step-by-step incremental basis.

Cultural heritage management for most sites in Turkey is still lacking. On the one hand, the remains from the past are being 'trampled' by millions of tourists. The spectacular theatre at Aspendos, for instance (Köse forthcoming), the most complete theatre surviving from the ancient world, is visited by several hundred thousand tourists a year. On the other hand, remains in nearby but more remote areas, such as the highlands of Pisidia, are left largely unprotected. The cities in Pisidia were abandoned in the early medieval period and many are in an excellent state of preservation, with monumental public buildings standing several storeys high in some cases. But these ruins have fallen victim to looters and illegal excavations, and are now particularly vulnerable as new road building has opened up this interior mountainous region. Until recently, these Classical cities, located in the most wonderful locations in the mountains, have been almost completely unknown except to a handful of scientists and adventurous travellers. They are now accessible, highly attractive, still relatively little known, but at great risk.

The project seeks to find ways to improve the chances of their preservation on a local as well as a regional level. For this, basic principles employed by English Heritage (Reynolds 2011) will be adopted and adapted by the project in Turkey. They include promoting knowledge and understanding of historical and archaeological sites and of irreplaceable natural landscapes, as well as protecting and conserving the sites for the future. Furthermore, the project aims to draw on cultural heritage to promote regional economic development and, last but not least, it hopes to help forge close bonds between local people and the cultural heritage of their region.

Google Earth view with photographs taken and uploaded by tourists, illustrating the discrepancy in visitor numbers between the theatre and the remainder of the site

The spectacular landscape in Pisidia

Indeed, there is much local pride to be found in Turkey's regions and cities, often focused on local produce, high-quality cuisine or spectacular landscapes and natural resources. In the UK, however, the most important source of local pride is historical heritage. It will be a key objective of the project to strengthen the engagement of local people with their cultural heritage and to increase the awareness that 'their' cultural heritage is world cultural heritage.

An important element for ensuring sustainability of both Aspendos and the ancient poleis of Pisidia, and to increase the bond between the local population and their heritage will be to intertwine economic benefits with the cultural heritage. At the moment, the vast majority of the revenues generated by visitors to Aspendos – from tourists visiting the site as well as from audiences of the opera and ballet performances staged at the theatre – goes directly to the central authorities in the capital (Köse forthcoming). These visitors hardly dwell at all in the village or those nearby. A lack of visitors to the sites in Pisidia means that these presently do not generate any income for the local population.

Meanwhile, unplanned and uncontrolled building and road construction projects have damaged several of the sites in the area. However, development is essential to Turkey's future prosperity, and it is therefore essential that sustainable management of the region's cultural heritage is linked effectively with local infrastructure, business and economic interests. As experience in the UK and elsewhere has shown, the improvement of access to and information about archaeological sites and the creation of attractive visitor centres significantly boosts 'soft tourism'. The Institute's project therefore aims to set up a survey, sampling options for increasing local revenue, such as bed and breakfast, shops with local produce and handicrafts, restaurants offering local cuisine, etc. Especially for the remote sites in Pisidia, the creation of hiking routes and the option for travellers to spend the night should open opportunities.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey has set up signs in every province directing visitors to places, especially archaeological sites, of historic or cultural interest, but without any further information about them. An important aim of the

cultural heritage programme is to provide information locally, by making up-to-date information at the sites available for both local people and for tourists. Generally, the intention will be to produce printed material, as well as to create a website and promote awareness by means of educational activities in collaboration with local museums and authorities. Special attention will be given to providing information for school children and students about their cultural heritage and its historical importance for the region in which they live. We hope to initiate these educational activities by working with local schools, colleges and universities, and providing facilities for teachers. Merriman's public attitudes survey (1991) in the UK, about people's attachment to the past and heritage, revealed a distinction between a personal past and impersonal heritage. In Turkey, people, especially locals, tend to see the ancient remains as impersonal heritage, if heritage at all. Therefore, in order to foster care and awareness, it is crucial to build a relationship between children and the archaeological sites, so that the sites become part of their personal past.

The sites themselves also need protection and conservation for the future. Archaeological – especially excavated – sites become degraded and suffer enormous damage if they are neglected. The programme therefore aims also to work with archaeological project directors and in partnership with the responsible museums, as well as with local and national officials, to create site management plans. For Aspendos, the first phase of the project, improved access to the site via good pathways, is being developed, and locations for assembly points and shelters for visitors are being considered. As excavations at Aspendos have started only this year, the protection of excavated areas and conservation of buildings can be planned from the very first days of the project. In the second phase, realistic visiting options and protection measures for the sites in Pisidia will be developed.

In sum, we hope to provide sustainable solutions for Aspendos, a Classical site under pressure because of the high numbers of tourists, as well as for the poleis in Pisidia, which remain largely unknown and are therefore in danger of constant looting. Especially for Pisidia, but also for remains in Aspendos and its territory – for example the famous aqueduct – the natural beauty of the region will add immeasurable value to cultural tours and the development of sustainable heritage management in its widest sense.

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**Çatalhöyük**

Ian Hodder | Stanford University

The Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük was first discovered in the late 1950s and was excavated by James Mellaart between 1961 and 1965. The site rapidly became famous internationally due to the large size and dense occupation of the settlement, as well as the spectacular wall paintings and other art that were uncovered inside the houses. Since 1993 an international team of archaeologists has been carrying out new excavations and research, in order to shed more light on the people that inhabited the site. This year, Çatalhöyük was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List (see the report on the 2012 season on pages 19–20).

Much of our work on conserving and presenting the site this year focused on the north shelter, because this shelter has caused more problems over recent years and because we have opened up new areas of excavation there that need to be put on display. In addition, the new status of the site as a UNESCO World Heritage Site means that we have to be yet more careful about long-term planning for conservation and public access.

In the north shelter, we completely reorganised and upgraded the visitor walkways and signage, so that visitors could get a better look at the new excavations and the new buildings being exposed. This included having tourists walk along a wooden pathway laid on a Neolithic 'street' – actually not a street but an area of refuse between two building blocks. We also had the results of monitoring the shelter's environments over the last year and were able to make decisions about how to conserve properly the Neolithic buildings under the north shelter over the long term. So we started a new programme of capping the walls to protect them and we are expecting that this new method, using clay recycled from the mound itself, will provide a solution to our long-term needs. We also put up a sign in the north shelter saying that the refurbishment of the shelter was funded by a grant from the Hedef Alliance.

New organisation and presentation of buildings in the north shelter. The new walkways and display panels can be seen

In the south shelter, we added substantially to the reinforcement of the exposed earth surfaces by using sacking and geotextiles.

In addition, a team from Southampton University came to the site and made important changes to the display in the Visitor Centre and to the information panels on the site. The team members also assisted in the production of plans for the new series of experimental houses that we would like to start constructing in 2013, and the plans were passed through the Konya Koruma Kurulu successfully. The Southampton team also prepared for printing a version of the site guide book in Turkish, to be sold at the site, and a new information leaflet to be handed to tourists during their visits. A new updated information panel was placed at the entrance to the site.

The educational programme based at the site has continued to be highly successful. Over recent years, Gülay Sert has brought up to 600 children and educators to the site each season. The children and other participants spend a day at the site in small groups learning about the site and about heritage in Turkey. They also take part in craft exercises (see photo below) and in excavating and sieving the mounds of earth left by James Mellaart. In 2012 a wide range of schools and educational programmes was included. Veysel Apaydin is studying the long-term effectiveness of these programmes as part of his PhD research at University College London.

Local community participation in the site and project was fostered by a series of activities organised by Sema Bağcı. Newsletters were produced for the local villages and talks were given for local groups. The local villagers were also invited to a festival at the site, at which the work on the site and in the laboratories was explained, and discussions were held with the men and women from the villages about how the site should be developed.

**The Boncuklu Project**

Steve Chaddock | Timeline Heritage

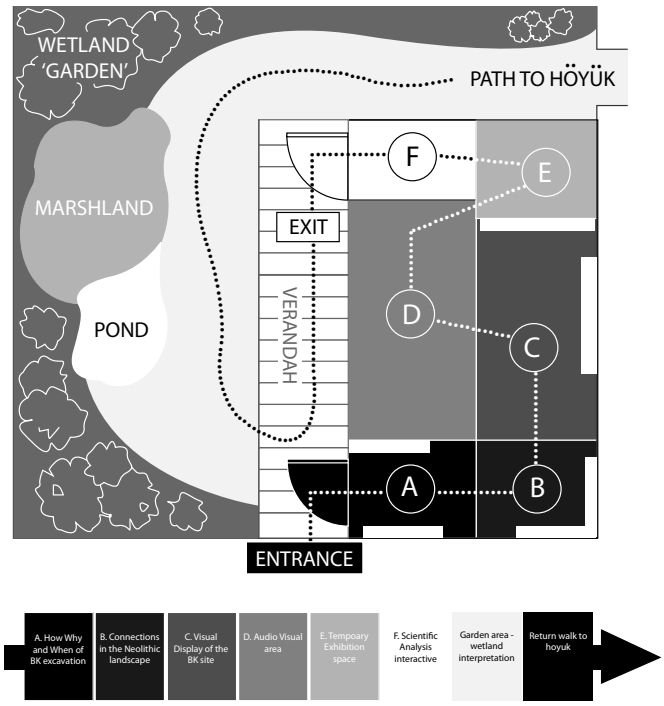
Driving through central Anatolia today, the plain east of Konya is notable for its well-developed network of arable fields serviced by irrigation canals which are set in a predominantly flat landscape. What is less obvious is that this area of modern farming practice is custodian to a remarkable ancient heritage. Approximately 10,500 years ago people in this area adopted a settled farming lifestyle, and at Boncuklu we are uncovering evidence of this Neolithic phenomenon. The change in lifestyle coincided with major environmental changes and archaeologists are interested in researching the wider significance of these changes and how they relate to other geographical areas, such as the Fertile Crescent. To help visitors understand how significant the archaeological remains at Boncuklu are, plans are now underway to construct a Visitor Centre adjacent to the höyük in the village of Hayıroğlu.

The Visitor Centre will operate all year round, access being provided by the site guard. The expected audience is a mix of Turkish- and English-speaking visitors covering a broad age range, including groups of school children. The Visitor Centre at Boncuklu, in conjunction with the facilities at and related to the UNECSCO World Heritage Site of Çatalhöyük, will create a Neolithic trail in this part of Turkey, increasing the attractiveness of the area to visitors. The methods of interpretation used at the centre will reflect the diversity of our audience. Although it will be a modern construction, the Visitor Centre building will contain echoes of the mud-brick Neolithic buildings found during excavations: wall and floor textural finishes and colours will be derived from discoveries made on site.

In line with the guidelines of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, there will be no original artefacts on display, and images or reconstructions will be used instead. Text, photographs and illustrations will help visitors to understand the reason for the Boncuklu excavation programme and the significance of its findings.

During 2012 I have created a staged interpretation plan for Boncuklu. Stage one of the plan aims to deliver interpretive content in the Visitor Centre as well as a new visitor pathway onto the höyük and a site orientation leaflet and supporting web content. Later stages envisage the development of a recreated mud-brick dwelling, a shelter to enable the display of the excavated house remains as well as publications such as an educational pack aimed at schools.

The plan is based on a developed understanding of the Boncuklu site and an analysis of the current visitor experiences on offer at nearby Çatalhöyük and Aşıklı Höyük. Bearing in mind the strengths of these other sites, a clear focus on what is significant at Boncuklu is proposed – being both different from and complimentary to other regional attractions. We have identified four key foci for the new centre.




Schematic of the visitor experience at Boncuklu

(1) Environmental change. To illustrate how different the local environment was 10,500 years ago, an interpreted garden will be developed adjacent to the Centre. Wetland environments will host the sorts of plants found during the excavations.

(2) Neolithic landscape context. Regional connections will be demonstrated through annotated regional/local maps showing the relative location of raw materials and other resources in the Neolithic landscape which have been found during excavations.

(3) Visual connection between Boncuklu and the Centre. To convey a sense of what the site may have looked like in the Neolithic and because there is little in the way of easy-to-conserve upstanding remains, a scale model will be constructed within the Centre and a look-through image will be printed onto film and adhered to a window that overlooks the site.

(4) Scientific study. A significant feature of the research work at Boncuklu is the detailed processing and analysis of all finds, providing much of our new understandings about the Neolithic lifestyle. For instance, we understand the local environment and the diet of the Boncuklu residents better by studying phytoliths (silicon plant skeletons), and carbon and nitrogen isotope signatures in excavated bone fragments. In the new centre, a scientific interactive exhibit is planned to enable visitors to take part in the discovery process.

In implementing the interpretation plan, we are very fortunate to have secured funding from Hedef Alliance which will enable the Visitor Centre building to be constructed. Additional funding is currently being raised to deliver the fit-out of the centre, the garden and further phases. For more information about the project or to get involved, please contact Dr Douglas Baird at dbaird@liverpool.ac.uk.

**Islamic fashion, economy and morality in modern Turkey**

Magdalena Craciun | British Institute at Ankara

This report presents an on-going anthropological research project on Islamic fashion and the articulation of economy and morality in contemporary Turkey. A first stage of fieldwork was carried out in Istanbul between March and June 2012, while I was the Post-doctoral Research Fellow of the British Institute at Ankara.

Since it first burst onto the scene, Islamic fashion has traversed different stages, stylistically and institutionally. Nevertheless, it has remained a controversial domain, nourishing anxieties among seculars and Islamists alike. In the 1980s, after decades in which the secular regime denounced veiling as 'backwards' and 'uncivilised', the Islamic revival movement brought it centre stage. However, Islamic women donned a stylistically unprecedented form of veiling, consisting of a large pinned headscarf, that completely covered the hair, neck and shoulders, and a long loose-fitting overcoat. In response to the increasing public visibility of this political style of veiling, the secular public vehemently voiced its fears that the modernisation of Turkish society would be reversed. The state banned the wearing of the headscarf in public institutions. The headscarf, fashionable or not, remains a highly charged political issue.

Fashion incorporated this politicised style of veiling and softened it, offering more colourful garments, smaller headscarves and ever more form-fitting overcoats. Although the requirement to cover the head and the neck completely remains a constant preoccupation for designers and manufacturers of *tesettür* garments, how this further translates into particular styles of dress is highly variable. And whether and to what extent the resulting styles and their marketing reflect Islamic values and virtues is a topic of on-going debate among seculars and Islamists alike.

Moreover, with the empowerment of an Islamic bourgeoisie that keenly embraces consumerism, wearing a certain style of veiling does not necessarily signify political affiliation and personal piety, but becomes a performance of distinction, in terms of class, taste, urbanity and gender. The wearers of fashionable Islamic outfits are often accused of moral weakness by seculars and Islamists alike, their clothing decisions thought to reflect consumer and aesthetic choices rather than political and religious convictions.

Today, Islamic fashion is a mature sector, with an ever increasing number of companies and designers offering a profusion of styles and marketing them through fashion shows, advertising, fashion magazines and specialist boutiques. This fashion is both high-profile and mass-produced, and it is incorporated into mainstream fashion cycles. In addition, this is a relatively normalised sector (i.e. not overtly ideological). While Tekbir (God is great), the leading company in this sector, has maintained over the years that its mission is to use fashion

as an instrument for the Islamicisation of society, many other companies prefer to emphasise the fashionability of their products and the modernity of their customers. However, accusations of 'selling Islam' are often voiced in relation to this thriving sector by secularists and Islamists alike.

Islamic fashion, in Turkey or elsewhere, has only recently become a topic of academic interest. Some studies discuss pious consumption as a project of subjectification, presenting Muslim women's responses to accusations of insincerity, frivolity and vanity and their considerations about modesty, beauty and fashion. These are laudable efforts to correct a widespread assumption that Islamic dress oppresses Muslim women through denial of freedom through fashion. In contrast, there is a profusion of studies on the politics and politicisation of the headscarf.

This research project focuses on a less-explored component of Islamic fashion, that is, on the design and production of commodified forms of religious appearance, and addresses the relationships between religion, economics and materiality that these activities, and their presentation and legitimation, might reveal. Therefore, the project represents an attempt to go beyond a tendency to consider 'the way of God' and 'the way of money' as mutually exclusive and searches for sites where the practical and discursive articulations might become visible.

My fieldwork is carried out in Istanbul and involves ethnographic observation in spaces of retail and consumption, internet research (personal fashion blogs, on-line discussions of styles and the requirements of *tesettür*, websites and Facebook pages of Islamic fashion designers and companies) and semi-structured interviews with designers and producers, with special attention to ways of legitimating their presence in this market, and semi-structured interviews with consumers, with special attention given to the Islamic fashion styles and commodities they consider religiously appropriate. In addition, sites of 'excess' have been identified as potentially useful for understanding the articulation of religion and commerce, that is, fake branded headscarves and glossy Islamic fashion magazines, both engendering accusations of generating 'easy money'. The following snapshots illustrate the type of research material that it is currently collected as part of this fieldwork.

Snapshot 1: Colourful satin scarves hang at the front of a booth that faces the main entrance to the Eyüp Sultan Mosque. The wind pushes them backwards and forwards, their colours blended one into the other, their brand names reduced to letters. For branded they are. Versace, Valentino, Gucci, Fendi, Dior, Chanel, Burberry. More precisely, fake branded scarves. The seller, an elderly woman, wearing a modest headscarf tied under the chin, murmurs her prayers while waiting for the occasional customer (field note).

Snapshot 2: The glossy magazine *Âlâ* (*The Most Beautiful*) was launched in the summer of 2011, as a 'magazine for a beautiful lifestyle'. The Turkish secular media nicknamed it 'the *Vogue* of the conservative woman'. The founders of this magazine are strongly criticised both by secular and Islamist commentators for trying to hide a crass capitalistic enterprise under a religious face and for advertising expensive garments and accessories, and, consequently, stimulating 'consumption as usual', a form of enchantment and frivolous self-decoration. In turn, *Âlâ*'s founders legitimise their business by emphasising their Muslim identity, drawing parallels between Islamic banks and their business, pointing out their role in guiding the production of clothes and the assemblage of outfits that conform to *tesettür*, and stressing the high moral/Islamic standards of the lifestyle that their magazine promotes. In the spring of 2012, *Âlâ* was presented as a 'magazine for ladies'. In the autumn of 2012, a covered woman became the fashion editor and an uncovered woman the style editor (field note).

Snapshot 3: A seller of fake branded scarves seems not to understand my question about the morality of this trade. I reformulate it. A branded scarf is a piously-coded object, which was produced by a Muslim for a Muslim. A fake branded scarf objectifies a theft. He is also a Muslim. Can a Muslim do this to another Muslim? The seller tells me that the Muslim I have in mind and he, a Muslim indeed, do the same thing. They do business. The Muslim I have in mind entered this sector with one thing in mind, that is, to earn money. He is guilty for turning the pious *tesettür* dress into fashion and for encouraging women to think they need to show their religiosity through the consumption of their highly decorated, increasingly expensive and attention-grabbing garments. The Muslim I have in mind might declare that his business is grounded in virtuous intention. The seller points out that this is rarely the case. It is business as usual, motivated by a desire to make profit and not to serve God (a seller of fake branded garments, conversation with the author).

Snapshot 4: 'What is the most difficult part of your work?'. '*Tesettür* is a thin line. We have to be very careful about the kind of garments we present in our magazine. This is why the selection of garments always takes time and it is the most difficult and demanding part of the work we do here. There are not so many companies that produce these kinds of garments. We therefore look for garments from other companies too. They might present the scarf around the neck. We put it on the head. We take long skirts and combine them with other garments that are religiously appropriate' (the editor of *Âlâ*, in conversation with the author).

Snapshot 5: A warning on an on-line shopping website: 'Questions from our customers: Can we buy Armine scarves for less than 50 TL? How can we be sure that the products we are buying are original? Let me try answer to such questions… The best thing our customers can do is to buy from known and trusted sites. They should think twice before buying an Armine scarf for 50 TL (http://www.akavm.com/asp/menu_items.asp?ID=79).

Snapshot 6: An uncovered woman flips through an issue of *Âlâ* I happen to be carrying with me. She keeps murmuring to herself: 'frills, ribbons, ruffles, more frills, ribbons and ruffles'. She finally concludes: 'oh, dear, they really want to turn these women into cute dolls'. A covered woman flips through the same issue and tells me she does not like the sort of ensembles promoted by this magazine. They are overly decorated. Beauty and modesty can and should be achieved through means other than frills, ribbons and ruffles (conversations with the author).

**Memento and exhibition: consuming city, consuming character in Orhan Pamuk's *The Museum of Innocence***

Laura Helyer | University of Chichester

In the autumn of 2012 I will make a short research trip to Istanbul, supported by a study grant from the British Institute at Ankara. As part of a PhD in creative writing in which I am writing a novel, with a supporting thesis in literary studies, my proposed research in Turkey will form the basis for a chapter of my critical thesis. My research project considers how cultural heritage and a shared identity and history are produced through the example of Orhan Pamuk's combined novel (2008) and museum (April 2012) project, *The Museum of Innocence*. My study trip to Istanbul will therefore provide an excellent opportunity for primary research at the museum and surrounding Çukurcuma neighbourhood (which Pamuk envisages as being part of the exhibition) for my critical thesis on the novel as archive/catalogue.

My thesis aims to set Pamuk's work in a wider debate around the relationship between museums and novels, and narratives of the individual and the nation. As Pamuk argues in his recent museum manifesto, 'the measure of a museum's success should not be its ability to represent a state, nation or company, or a particular history. It should be its capacity to reveal the humanity of individuals ... The future of museums is inside our own homes' (Orhan Pamuk, 'State museums are so antiquated', *The Guardian*, 20 April 2012). Thus, both creative manifestations aim to document: to capture the detail and celebrate the things of ordinary, everyday experience. The novel also demonstrates how the privileging of object description can displace the reality or subjectivity of a character in a narrative. My main objective is to examine how Pamuk uses the obsessive, collecting/cataloguing impulse and 'consolation of objects' as a narrative and structural device to depict characters, to observe the behaviour of secularist bourgeois families and to comment on the Westernisation of Istanbul. I will focus on how the novel is in dialogue with the museum, with how the protagonist, Kemal, addresses the imagined museum visitor throughout, in a retrospective accounting of himself and his collection: 'having become – with the passage of time – the anthropologist of my own experience' (Pamuk 2008).

This research will complement work on my PhD novel, which experiments with the form of the archive/inventory novel and is similarly concerned with the nature of memory and loss, and with the desire to possess one's own experience. As Pamuk encourages, 'do your museum, and you will have power'. Set in Nova Scotia in the early 20th century, my novel questions notions of truth and fiction through the activity of record-keeping, in which clinical files and museum/archive catalogues are set against the immediacy of the protagonist's narrative account.

I am very excited about making my first trip to Istanbul and my intention is to develop this work beyond my PhD project, from 2013, as a post-doctoral project.

**A political economy of insecurity? Industrial relations in modern Turkey**

Didem Özkızıltan | University of Bath

Most of the contemporary literature on Turkey's industrial relations emphasises the impact of globalisation in bringing about fundamental institutional changes to labour markets that have both increased socio-economic insecurity for workers and reduced their capability to act as independent socio-economic actors. However, what is often overlooked in these accounts is the historical continuity of insecurity as an embedded rationale in the institutions regulating industrial relations, the roots of which can be traced to the first steps towards industrialisation following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The emergence of what I call the 'political economy of insecurity' in Turkey was carried out by generations of state managers and had two far-reaching consequences in the domain of industrial relations. First, it generated insecurity as an institutional outcome for labour on a continual basis. And second, it served as an effective tool for state managers to empower capital and state *vis-à-vis* labour, starting from the early years of the Republican period. Against this background, my study investigates the institutionalisation of insecurity as a rationale of Turkey's industrial relations during the 20th century. It highlights the centrality of the modern Turkish state in shaping the interests of, and interactions between, the socio-economic actors of modern Turkish society and economy, and adopts a long historico-institutionalist perspective, beginning with the early years of the Republican period and ending with Turkey's integration into the global economy.

This study has three fundamental aims. First, it attempts to offer a detailed historical account of institutional continuities, developments and changes in Turkey's political economy of industrial relations. Second, it seeks to provide a holistic approach to the history of Turkish industrial relations by laying equal emphasis on, and analysing, the circumstances, interests and interactions of labour, capital and state in consecutive politico-economic periods. And third, it aims to pin-point the role of the state in the (re)construction of Turkey's industrial relations. In order to achieve this, the study employs a historical institutionalist approach in identifying institutional path dependencies and historical legacies as well the discontinuities and ruptures that have shaped actors' interests in the field of industrial relations. Central to this approach is the role of the Turkish state in privileging some actors over others, either formally, i.e. in shaping 'the rules of the game', or informally, i.e. through practices like paternalism, patronage, etc. The study relies primarily on documentary research and its main data sources are: (1) archival records and official legal documents; (2) academic studies; (3) media sources; (4) publications of trade unions and employers' organisations; (5) parliamentary proceedings; (6) official and semi-official statistics. The study covers the period from 1839 to 1980.

**Honour-based violence**

Ferya Taş | King's College London

Throughout the world and across all cultures, women have long experienced honour-based violence. In Turkey, this violence has deep traditional, cultural and even religious roots. Because of a strict patriarchal and traditional family structure, women's daily lives are restricted by the so-called 'code of honour' in many parts of Turkey. The code of honour is still accepted by some in the commuinity as *jus non scriptum* (unwritten laws and customs) and considered as superior to the formal, written laws of Turkey. Therefore, any situation that tarnishes or attacks honour may be responded to with violence, as it is believed that only violence, or more extremely 'blood', restores honour and stops the attack on it. When asked whose blood restores honour, the community response is 'women's blood'. The significant reason for this is that women's bodies, their sexual activities and their bodily integrity stand at the centre of the concept of honour for both the family and wider society.

As a result of the increasing number of honour-based violent attacks across Turkey and Europe my doctoral research at King's College London starts by questioning and analysing the concepts of honour and gender relationships among Turks. Following this, it analyses the motives of honour-based violence and how national and international laws respond to this violence. It aims to compare the existing laws of Turkey and the UK, from the aspects of both criminalising honour-based violence and protecting victims from it.

Although my research mainly comprises legal analysis and the study of case law, it also requires intensive empirical work both in Turkey and in the UK. With the generous support of the British Institute at Ankara, I have now conducted the first part of my empirical work in Turkey. Starting in June 2012, I travelled across Anatolia to collect data for my thesis. This was not only an academically productive period of time, it was also very exciting and interesting for me on a personal level. As an academic researcher, I collected a number of cases for my thesis, but, more importantly, I also conducted interviews with and met many people from the eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey. I engaged with different cultures and traditions during my visit. Without the wonderful Turkish hospitality I experienced, my empirical work would have been greatly lacking. During my interviews, I was introduced to indigenous cultures that have enabled me to understand and analyse better the concept of honour in the region. On a personal level, spending time in Anatolia also enriched my knowledge of wider Turkish culture and heritage; I had the opportunity to discover many parts of Anatolia and many aspects of Turkish life. This has been a great experience of my life and I really look forward to going back again to spend more time and discover more about Turkish culture and heritage. There really is no limit for knowledge and discovery ...

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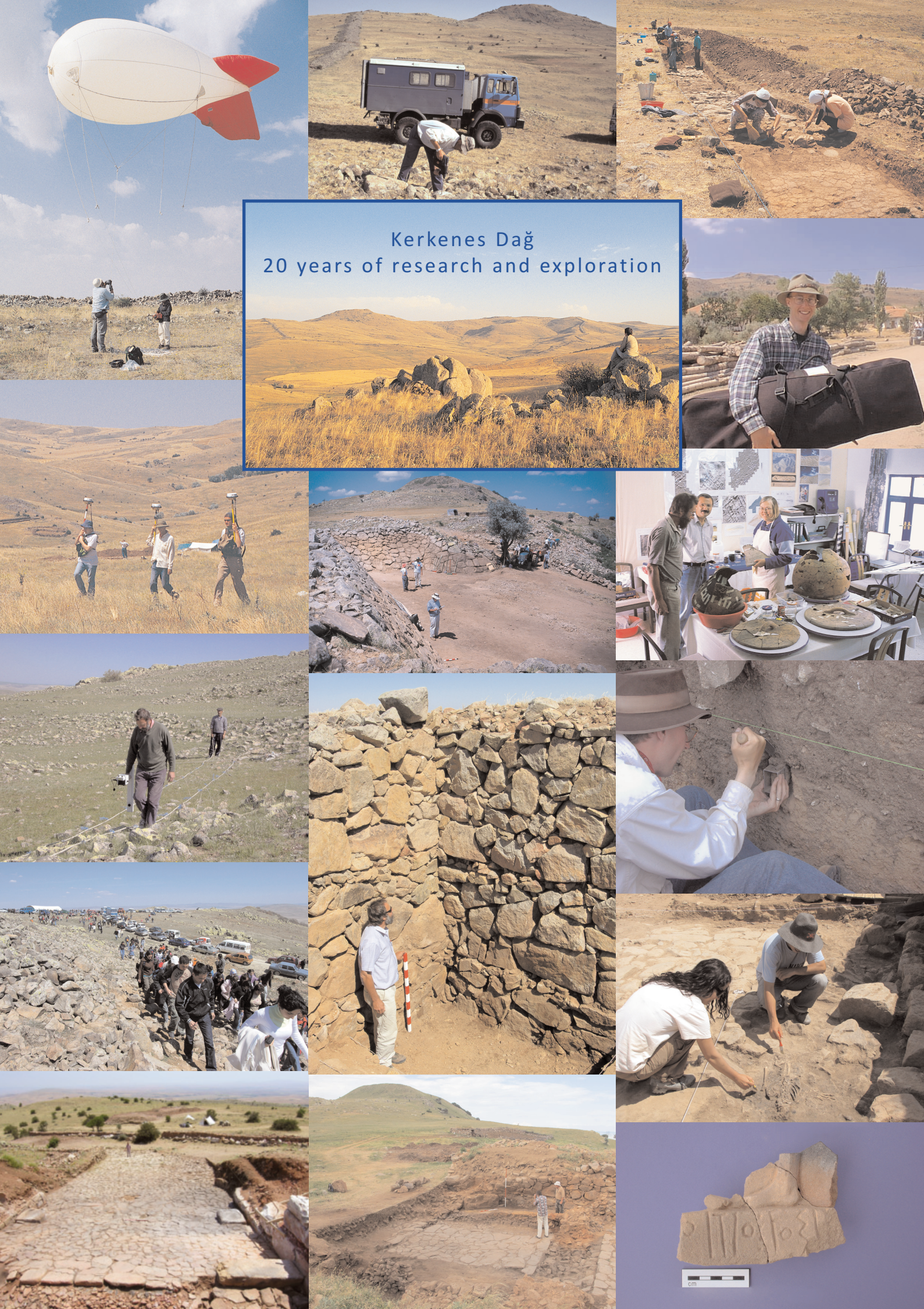
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